MONASH UNIVERSITY
THESIS ACCEPTED IN SATISFACTION OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
ON..... 19 December 2001 .....
.....[redacted]...

Sec. Research Graduate School Committee

ERRATA

p 32 line 3: “favourably” for “favourable”
p 32 line 6: “Humboldt” for “Humbold”
p 55 line 6: “how,” for “how ,”
p 59 line 19: “suggests” for “suggest”
p 61 line 21: “upset” for “unpset”
p 88 line 13: “been” for “ben”
p 146 line 28: “do” for “to”
p 146 line 43: “can't” for “can"t”
p 178 line 14: “innumerable” for “inmumerable”
p 190 line 16: “criticism” for “critic”
p 217 line 29: “obesity.” for “obesity.,”
p 233 line 16: “differ” for “differt”
p 257 line 5: “1947.” for “!947.”
p 262 line 12: “Fritz” for “Frietz”
p 274 line 3: “Schopenhauer” for “Schoppenhauer”
p.288 line 30: “Humboldt” for “Humbold”

Paradigms of experiencing the new in Pacific voyages and explorations.

Roy Liegel, M.A. (Monash)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis supervisor: Professor Walter Veit
Department of German and Slavic Studies
Monash University
July 2001

Table of contents.

Abstract.

The purpose of this inquiry is to find out how explorers and travellers experienced the "new in the Pacific" as it emerged in the contact between the European and the Pacific natives, confronting the familiar with the foreign. The inquiry involves an examination and analysis of relevant historical Pacific, anthropological, sociological and philosophical writings. In history, the inquiry takes its departure from Georg Forster's *A Voyage round the World* and proceeds to nineteenth and twentieth centuries travel writings. The analysis is grounded in contemporary hermeneutical thinking, topos research, and the relevant sociological theories.

It will be found, that the pre-understanding of the Europeans who ventured into the Pacific was such as to shape a set of expectations about the Pacific and its people that experience belied. While the question of the superiority of European civilisation had influenced the understanding of the experience of those explorers and travellers who came to the Pacific, it also, was used as a critique of European civilisation.

It will be concluded that there exists a continuity and development of the topoi of the period of inquiry. This finding is not surprising given the nature of social change occuring within that time. That social change applies to Europe and the Pacific.

Statement.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any degree or diploma in any university, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of this thesis.

Introduction.

In spite of all our precautions, a young girl came on board, and placed herself upon the quarter-deck, near one of the hatch-ways, which was open, in order to give air to those who were heaving at the capstern below it. The girl carelessly dropt a cloth, which covered her, and appeared to the eyes of all beholders, such as Venus shewed herself to the Phrygain shepherd, having, indeed, the celestial form of that goddess. Both sailors and soldiers endeavoured to come to the hatch-way; and the capstern was never hove with more alacrity than on this occasion [sic].[1]

At that very moment when Bougainville recorded these observations, the eighteenth century legend of the Pacific, especially Tahiti, came into being: here was the paradise of natural, sensual humanity.[2]

The European navigators who first dared to venture into the Pacific not only discovered a world that was as enchanting as it was surprising but, it appeared to them as a world whose inhabitants often seemed to possess an innocence belonging to an earlier age of mankind. Had not Bougainville professed - admiring the beauty of Tahiti - "I thought I was transported into the garden of Eden"?[3] And Anthony Pagden noted some two hundred twenty years later, discussing the culture contact between European and non-European people, "a 'New World' had now to be incorporated into their cosmographical, geographical and, ultimately, anthropological understanding".[4]

Though, Wallis, an Englishman, had discovered Tahiti on 18 June 1767, it was the

---

[1] L. de Bougainville: *A Voyage round the World*, pp.218-219.

[2] Hermann Pollig in his essay "Exotische Welten Europäische Phantasien" provides an account of the fascination of the exotic which for centuries has fired the imaginative fantasy of the Occident and is manifested in its culture. In: H. Pollig (ed.), *Exotische Welten Europäische Phantasien*, pp.16-25.

[3] L. de Bougainville: op. cit., p.228.

[4] A. Pagden: *European Encounters with the New World*, p.5.

French who promoted the seductive myth of the existence of an earthly paradise in the Pacific.[5] And in consequence, for a decade or so, the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment sought to understand the significance of the newly discovered cultures of the Pacific. Writers such as Diderot were thrilled by the reports of the life-styles of the Pacific islanders: how they plucked their simple meal from the branches of breadfruit and coconut trees; and how freely they indulged their sexuality - unshackled from the strictures of Church morality. But most of all, the Tahitians personified their theoretical ideals. Only a few years earlier Jean Jacques Rousseau had promoted - in his essay *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* - that people in a primitive, "natural state" were good, and that only society was corrupt. And Tahiti was a manifestation of this.

Yet given, both the scientific and literary education of the Pacific explorers and travellers and the sketchy information available at the time, it is understandable that perceptions of the Pacific were subjective and grounded in images of European desires and fantasies rather than the actualities of Polynesian life. The perceptions of the Pacific were but the constructs of the mind of the explorers and travellers. And it is ineluctable that their writings about such perceptions are shaped and limited by a historical awareness.

All speech and all writing are social as well as individual. The values which inform and underlie our factual statements - our ideology - are the means, borrowing Terry Eagleton's words, by which "what we say and believe connects with the power-structure and power-

---

[5] L. de Bougainville (1772): op. cit.; P. Commerson (1769): "Sur la découverte de la nouvelle isle de Cythére ou Taiti", in: B.G. Corney, *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain*, vol.2, pp.461-466; D. Diderot (1796): "Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage", in: *Rameau's Nephew and other works*, pp.183-239; P. Loti (1880): *The Marriage of Loti*.

relations of the society we live in".[6] Eagleton asserts that there is "no such thing as a 'pure' literary critical judgement or interpretation".[7] Clearly, as a consequence of this hermeneutic condition, first-hand Pacific accounts - the explorers' critical responses to what they saw - are understandings that are embedded in their broader held preconceptions and beliefs. Although the explorers of the Pacific were not unsympathetic to the Royal Society's[8] prescription for describing scientific observations, they rarely succeded in their endeavour as this inquiry will show.

In the light of modern hermeneutics and topos research, however, the cognitive situation of the European, such as Cook and Georg Forster, is not regarded as aporetic, but as the condition through which comprehension of the new is possible: preconceptions make "experience of the new [through the eyes of the explorers and travellers] first of all possible".[9]

It will be of particular importance and interest for this inquiry to recognise that it is impossible to say what Pacific explorers and travellers saw, but only how they saw it: the conditions under which observations were made, and the meaning they gave to what they saw in their published reports. The writings of Margaret Mead and Derik Freeman and between Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere are only two spectacular examples to illustrate the

---

[6] T. Eagleton: *Literary Theory*, p.14.
[7] Ibid., p.15.
[8] T. Sprat: *History of the Royal Society.*
[9] W. Veit: "The Topoi of the Imagining of the Non-European World", p.2, in: *Arcadia.* Among others, the following books discuss this and related matters: H.G. Gadamer: *Truth and Method*, especially "Foundation of a theory of hermeneutical experience", pp.235-274; J. F. Harris: *Against Relativism*; A. Schutz: *The Phenomenology of the Social World*, 1967; E. R. Curtius: *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*; W. Veit: "Topos" in: E. W. Herd and A. Obermayer (eds.): *A Glossary of German Literary Terms*, p.225.

point.[10]

It is evident, from work undertaken to date, that the pre-understanding of those Europeans who ventured into the Pacific was such as to shape a set of expectations about Pacific peoples and cultures that experience belied. That is to say, the meaning that the European observers attached to their encounter with the "other", the foreign, was grounded on a European pre-understanding: European conceptions of the different and the exotic determined the expectation of the "other" in the Pacific.

It is this contact between the familiar and the foreign, between the self and the "other",[11] that I am interested in and want to discuss in this work. Furthermore, while accepting the tenets of modern hermeneutics that knowledge is ontologically based and historically conditioned, I am aware that the meaning I, the contemporary reader, give to an historical text is necessarily different from the one the writer may have given it. Consequently, adhering to this supposition, when I speak of the formation of the European mind, or the imagery by which Europeans perceived the Pacific, I do not intend to generalise but, rather aim to explore the mind-set of specific groups: the philosophers, the writers, the explorers, and the educated class. The imagery through which an eighteenth century illiterate sailor perceived the encounter of the new in the Pacific was, for all we know, at total variance with the epistemological

---

[10] M. Mead: *Coming of age in Samoa*; D. Freeman: *Margaret Mead and Samoa*; M. Sahlins: *How "Natives" think about Captain Cook, for example*; G. Obeyesekere: *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook. European Mythmaking in the Pacific*.

[11] The following books discuss this and related issues: U. Bitterli: *Cultures in Conflict. Encounters between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*; B. Mc Grane: *Beyond Anthropology. Society and the other*; S. Greenblatt: *Marvelous Possessions*; the same (ed.): *New World Encounters*; A. Pagden: *The fall of natural man*; the same: *European Encounters with the New World*; M. Quanchi & R. Adams (eds.): *Cultural Contact in the Pacific*.

reflections of one such as Georg Forster, to name but one writer who gave us a first-hand account of the Pacific. This issue is equally relevant when dealing with contemporary Pacific narratives.

The objectives of this inquiry are fourfold: first, to identify and analyse the role of the topoi and images in the development of the argument in the relevant texts; second, to relate some of these arguments to the whole of the texts from which these writings were taken; third, to establish whether and how the identified topoi continued or discontinued; and finally, to examine if and in what manner two centuries of social change have affected the topoi and imagery by which the European mind, of this specific group, gave meaning to the experience of the new encountered in the Antipodes: the experience of the Pacific, its islands and its people - the geographical and cultural opposite of Europe.

Before providing a brief outline of the content of this inquiry, I wish to say a few words about the hermeneutical dilemma that is associated with culture contact; with the encounter of the new. Passages taken from the writings of Georg Forster and John White, Surgeon-General to the First Fleet, describing how natives, at the time of initial culture contact reacted to rifle fire, will help in this task.

In order to persuade a native who had stolen a large iron stanchion from the *Resolution*, after calling in at the Marquesas in April 1774, Cook ordered that "the musket was fired, but the man took no notice of it, looking about him with great unconcern".[12] The islander reacted in a similar manner to a second shot. As a consequence "an officer, who that moment came upon deck, snatched up a musket, and taking exact aim, shot the man through the

---

[12] G. Forster: *A Voyage round the World*, AA 1: 350.

head".[13] Both - firstly the native, not being familiar with the fatal consequences of rifle fire and secondly the officer who fired the mortal shot, "ignorant of the nature of [the] offence" became victims of the hermeneutical situation - were unable to accommodate the experience under existing knowledge. As a consequence, the warning was meaningless for the native and, on the other hand, the Marine did not consider whether or not the native had any kowledge of the lethal power of a gun.

John White, at an encounter with Aborigines at Botany Bay in 1788, experienced - though with less mortal consequences - similar reaction from the natives. He writes:

> One of the most friendly, and who appeared to be the most confident, on signs being made to him, stuck the end of his shield in the sand, but could not be prevailed upon to throw his spear at it. Finding he declined it, I fired a pistol ball through it. The explosion frightened him, as well as his companions, a little; but they soon got over it, and on my putting the pistol into my pocket he took up the shield, and appeared to be much surprised at finding it perforated. He then, by signs and gestures, seemed to ask if the pistol would make a hole through him, and on being made sensible that it would, he showed not the smallest signs of fear; on the contrary he endeavoured, as we construed his motions, to impress us with an idea of the superiority of his own arms, which he applied to his breast, and by staggering, and a show of falling, seemed to wish us to understand that the force and effect of them was mortal, and not to be resisted.[14]

Both, Forster's and White's observations show clearly that the natives encountered difficulties in accomodating the new experience within their existing framework of cognitive structure. Consequentially, they were unable to attach meaning to the happening, they were powerless to deal with the circumstances effectively.

The natives mentioned in Norman Hall's *Lost Island*, displayed a similar lack of understanding when informed that their paradisiacal island and village was to be destroyed - that it was to be converted into an airstrip, by American forces.

---

[13] Ibid., AA 1: 350.
[14] J. White: *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, 1790, pp.110-111.

"Mr. Dodd, [Hall writes] I told them just what is going to happen. I explained everything as you have explained it to me. And still they don't understand. They heard my words, but they haven't grasped the meaning of them - not yet, anyway. They're not dumb, as you might think from this. But they can't conceive of such a thing happening to their island. It doesn't make sense to them."[15]

The passages taken from the writings of G. Forster, White and Hall, support the view that a cognitive framework has to exist, that there has to exist some pre-understanding in form of images and notions to make comprehension possible. Seeing that the islanders have difficulty in perceiving and understanding the new unless their visual experiences of unknown phenomena complies with older mental images, we can assume that the same will be true for the European explorers and travellers who came to the Pacific. It is therefore of interest to find out how the Europeans dealt with this situation, the new, and which older topoi guided the formation of the imagery by which this new experience was given meaning. Because of the hermeneutical dilemma that is associated with culture contact, contemporary ethnographers concern themselves with the view the natives have of their own situation.[16] The inquiry will be conducted along a historical axis.

The first chapter of the inquiry will deal with the writing of Satendra Nandan, a Fiji-Indian author, and those of other indigenous and non-indigenous writers. Their arguments, although of a political and a historical nature will help to contrast Euro-American fictions and other writings that argue for the existence of a paradise in the Pacific.

The second chapter, using passages from Georg Forster's *A Voyage round the World,*

---

[15] N. Hall: *Lost Island*, 1945, p.132.

[16] R. von Gizycki: *Wo der Tag beginnt, enden die Träume. Begegnungen in der Südsee*, 1998; A. Salmond: *Two Worlds. First Meetings between Maoris and Europeans*, 1991.

shall attempt to identify the images Forster used to describe what he saw; these images will then be compared with images used in other relevant writings. Forster's text serves as a benchmark for the analysis of other works.

Chapter three, will investigate some of the writings of Otto von Kotzebue and Adelbert von Chamisso. They travelled the Pacific some forty years after Cook's second voyage and witnessed the impact of European missionary actvity in the Pacific.

The fourth chapter will discuss some of the Pacific experiences of Herman Melville. The fifth chapter will deal with the writings of a new type of Pacific traveller: Robert Louis Stevenson, a health seeking, wealthy tourist who participated actively in Samoa's politics.

Chapter six will discuss some of Paul Gauguin's first-hand experiences: his escape from Europe and his search for artistic inspiration in the Pacific. Gauguin's visual art is intrinsically connected with the European imagination of Tahiti and its people.

In chapter seven, aspects of William Somerset Maugham's fictional Pacific writings will show that the modern author used the Pacific and the life-style of its people to question the direction American and European society has taken after World War I.

Chapter eight will discuss some of the fictionalised World War II Pacific experiences of James, Albert Michener whose, *Tales of the South Pacific* served as the basis for the Roger and Hammerstein highly successful Broadway musical *South Pacific.* This musical play was helpful in the formation of the Euro-American understanding of the Pacific and its people.

Chapter nine discusses the first-hand Tahitian experieces of George Farwell. In the final chapter the writings of lesser known contemporary travel writers highlight a change in Pacific perception. Their experiences suggest that the Pacific now serves as a place to which

Europeans and Americans can escape from their own culture: a place for "time out": a place for spending holidays and leisure time.

Considering some of the writers literary education in classical and biblical texts, it should not come as a surprise to discover that some of the topoi they used derived from pre-Greek, Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian imagery. To establish the extent to which these topoi have guided their thinking and writing will be one of the tasks of this inquiry.

Chapter I

Contemporary perspectives: Satendra Nandan and other writers.

The passages selected for analysis and interpretation in this inquiry are taken from books by writers from Europe and America. The following texts, taken from the writings of a Fiji-Indian writer, and others, will serve as an introduction to the inquiry's theme and arguments.

It is the task of this chapter to find out how the first-hand experiences of Satendra Nandan and those of other indigenous and non-indigenous writers differ from each other on the question of race relations and how their understanding of daily island life differs from those presented in the accounts of Western writers.

a.) Preliminaries.

Though the texts selected for this short, contrasting chapter have strong political and historical overtones and differ from those which follow, they, nevertheless, contrast with the presentations of European and American fictions, and other writings. Such works not only argued for a paradise in the Pacific but also were instrumental in the formation of the image of the Pacific and its people in the Euro-American mind. It will, however, become evident that a difference of such matters exists in the minds of resident islanders be they indigenous or immigrant.

The relationship of contemporary Pacific writers to their historical past has evolved against a background of cultural dichotomy. Many of them, as Renate von Gizycki explains,

grew up in a village setting where traditional culture was transmitted to them by their grandparents. Thereafter, at school-age, they were initiated into Western ethical and religious values as conveyed for example in the Bible and missionary and other such writings. This was followed by a study of a Western view of their own situation at college or university.[17] In short, under the influence of Western education, they read the same or similar literature as Europeans and Americans did - i.e., the research work of Margaret Mead on Samoa, or the Pacific writings of Herman Melville, or Robert Louis Stevenson.[18] In addition, many Pacific writers, though bilingual, write in English[19] and thus face the dilemma of expressing creatively their traditional values and identity in a foreign language. In consequence, their writings of the Pacific do not transmit dreams of a South Sea paradise where the "blessed" live in a biblical Garden of Eden in the manner of Western writings, but they rather depict the harsh reality of the daily struggle of indigenous and non-indigenous islanders.

In consequence, it is argued European and American writings about the Pacific reveal more about Western thought and ideas, than about the Pacific and its people. It will become clear, in the course of this inquiry, that the imaginative interest of Western writers in the Pacific reflects disenchantment with Western culture. Unfortunately, the images they created in their texts have become embedded in the consciousness of Pacific people. As Ken Arvidson, a Pacific writer, has pointed out, "these distortions [images] have also affected colonial policy,

---

[17] R. von Gizycki: *Wo der Tag beginnt, enden die Träume. Begegnungen in der Südsee*, pp.27-30.
[18] Ibid., p.29.
[19] Ibid., p.29.

and have had a direct influence therefore on the Pacific people themselves".[20]

European and American writings are addressed to European and American readers; they are written with them in mind. And despite the extensiveness of such writings there are no "genuine or memorable indigenous characters in the literature. Nor does it give any profound insight into the artistic or intellectual life of the region".[21] The validity of the claim will become more evident in the course of the inquiry.

Bernard Smith in *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850*, provides the following explanation for this:

> Since European thought was so preoccupied with the philosophy of nature during the eighteenth century, the arts and crafts of the Pacific made nothing like the impression the peoples themselves did. The very idea of art, implying industry, was not easily to be incorporated within the Arcadian dream of islanders who gained their bread and milk without toil from the trees. Neither in the poetry nor in the paintings and engravings evoked by the early voyages are the people of the Pacific imaged as craftsmen. At most their arts appear as attributes of dress, or separately as ethnographical illustrations. The only native art that gained wide attention from Europeans from the beginning was the dance, for the dances were interpreted not as evidence of native artistry but of savage freedom.[22]

It could be said that Smith neglected to list native ship building and navigation. These skills were highly admired by the Europeans at the time of first contact.

What Smith says about European art, engraving, and poetry can also be said about European fiction and scientific writings.[23]

Or as Albert Wendt, a modern writer of Samoan-German descent, has put it:

Even serious artists such as Gauguin, Melville, Stevenson and Maugham played a

---

[20] K. Arvidson: "Aspects of Writings in the South Pacific", in: *Mana Annual*, 1973, p.5; quoted in Subramani: "Images of Fiji in Literature", p.48 in: C.Tiffen (ed.), *South Pacific Images*, 1978, pp.43-52.

[21] Subramani: *Altering Imagination*, 1995, p.19.

[22] B. Smith: *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850*, p.87.

[23] Subramani (1995): op. cit., p.19.

crucial role in establishing the sad myth of the South Seas paradises. Literary factories like Michener inflated the glittering corpse further. 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 cliche viewing the South Seas through a screen of cliches.[24]

And Jean-Paul Sartre in his "Preface" to Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (a study of the Algerian revolution that served as a model for other liberation struggles) has argued that European writings that deal with native people and their culture have a different understanding of such matters than the natives themselves. He explains:

A new generation came on the scene, which changed the issue. With unbelievable patience, its writers and poets tried to explain to us that our values and the true facts of their lives did not hang together, and that they could neither reject them completely nor yet assimilate them. By and large, what they were saying was this: `You are making us into monstrosities; your humanism claims we are at one with the rest of humanity but your racist methods set us apart'.[25]

Before presenting and discussing some of Nandan's observations, and those of other writers it is appropriate to have a brief look at some authoritative assessments of the historical conditions that gave cause for their descriptions.[26]

Fiji is a multi-ethnic nation of over 650 000 people. The bulk of the population is comprised of indigenous Fijians and Fiji Indians who are descendants of 60 000 indentured labourers brought to the islands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Europeans, and to a lesser extent part-Europeans and others of mixed descent, constitute a small but powerful economic and political minority. A British Crown colony for 96 years beginning with the unconditional cession of the islands to Great Britain in 1874, Fiji became an independent

---

[24] A. Wendt: "In a Stone Castle in the South Seas", in *Mana Review*, 1, no.2, Dec. 1976, p.28; quoted in C. Tiffen: op. cit., p.6.

[25] F. Fanon: *The Wretched of the Earth*, 1967, pp.7-8.

[26] The information for this background description has been taken from D. Denoon & others (eds.): *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, 1997, esp. "Coups in Fiji", pp.415-419; D. Scarr: *Fiji, Politics of Illusion, the Military Coups in Fiji*, 1988; the same: *Fiji, a short History*, 1984; W. Kasper & others: *Fiji, Opportunity from Adversity*, 1988; E. Dean: *Rambuka, no other Way (his own story)*, 1988; R. Norton: *Race and Politics in Fiji*, 1990; B.V. Lal (ed.): *Politics in Fiji*, 1986.

nation with Dominion status in 1970.[27]

After its Independence in 1970 Fiji had been ruled by the Alliance Party under the leadership of Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara. Yet the country was disturbed:

> the indigenous Fijians owning 83% of the land, and in control of the Government, still find themselves dispossessed. And they are clearly disaffected. The Indians, on the other hand, making up 51% of the population, owning only 2% of the land but visibly in control of the commerce in towns and cities, suddenly discover that the old certainties of the past fifty years cannot be taken for granted. Deeply divided among themselves through religion, family feuds and petty jealousies, they realise that they are in real danger of becoming countryless.[28]

The political history and present situation in Fiji are well known and amply presented in literature, thus there is no need to enlarge here on this issue.

James Michener, whose popular Pacific writings were, at least partly, instrumental in the popularisation and formation of the present-day Western mind in its attempt to understand the Pacific and its people, perceived Fiji's problem basically as an Indian problem. Thus, in *Return to Paradise*, after presenting Fiji as an earthly paradise, as "a group of islands blessed by heaven, rich in all things needed to build a good life", he argues that

> there's only one thing wrong with that picture of Fiji. The Indians. ... It is almost impossible to like the Indians of Fiji. They are suspicious, vengeful, whining, unassimilated, provocative aliens in a land where they have lived for more than seventy years. They hate everyone: black natives, white Englishmen, brown Polynesians and friendly Americans. They will not marry with Fijians, whom they despise. They avoid English ways, which they abhor. They cannot be depended upon to support necessary government policies. Above all, they are surly and unpleasant. It is possible for a traveler to spent a week in Fiji without ever seeing an Indian smile.[29]

That Michener's observations enraged educated Fiji-Indians does not come as a surprise for their understanding of the situation stands in total contrast to what Michener had to

---

[27] B.v. Lal (ed.): op. cit., p.VIII.
[28] Subramani: op. cit., p.36.
[29] J. Michener: *Return to Paradise*, 1951, London, Corgi Books, pp.104-105.

say.

b.) Satendra Nadan's arguments.

Satendra Nandan in his confession *The Wounded Sea*,[30] addresses precisely this issue. Born in Fiji in 1939, Nandan is a descendant of the *girmit* people - the Indian indentured labourers. The following text is taken from this account.

A landscape of little ruins. I left Nandi Airport on Thursday December 3, 1987, around ten-thirty am. It was to be the longest journey of my life: as I've said already, I was leaving my country.

As I showed my passport to a pugnacious-looking official I was asked to step aside. He had to check with the military to find out if I was allowed to leave the country - my country, that is. The country where I was born, had been an MP for five years, had fought and won two elections and had become the Minister for Health and Social Welfare in Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra's multiracial cabinet - the first in the history of Fiji.

That one hour at the airport was a long wait. My wife and our two daughters sat anxiously in the departure lounge. The official had deliberately forgotten me.

When the departure of the Air Pacific flight was finally announced, I joined the eager queue of passengers of cheated hopes. As I fastened the seat belt I wondered if someone would come and take me off the plane. It had happened before, to my political colleagues.

The Air Pacific flight was airborne at last. People used to call it "Air Pathetic" for its service and yet this morning, for me and many others, this much maligned airline was our flight to freedom from a country's Royal Military Force which had abducted and detained a whole government.

For five treacherous nights, with al lights blazing, we had glimpsed the heart of darkness.

In the bright sunlight the plane circled over my childhood village. I once grazed cattle on that stony patch of land before it became a tourist tarmac. I felt as though I was leaving a cremation ground just as the embers were dying and the ashes took over. I looked across to my wife, Jyoti, and at my two daughters, and then to the vast, alive ocean below, marbled in the sunlight. Remember how I ordered a bottle of champagne ...

I hadn't even said goodby to my brothers or sisters, except the one brother with whom I had spent the previous night. He had dropped us at the airport and gone to work at Vuda Point, where the first Fijians were supposed to have landed. There are many myths in paradise.

---

[30] S. Nandan: *The Wounded Sea*, 1991. There after quotations from the book will be indicated by page references from the text.

> Thirty thousand feet above, I was facing the one terrible reality of my own life: exile.
> And like the blood from a ruptured artery, the haemorrhage of exodus would continue, planeload by planeload (pp.133-134). ....
> For most individuals, leaving their country is never an easy decision: one gets used to one's country as one gets accustomed to one's body. Leaving the familiar and the familial is a wrench at the best of times. For me it was especially hard. My young grandfather had indentured himself from India to Fiji, where he married an indentured woman; my parents and all my brothers and sisters were born there. None of us know any other land until I left to study in Delhi in 1958. Before the first coup not a single member of my extended family had ever migrated to another country.
> Today more than thirty are in exile, searching for a home (p.147).

This extract, autobiographical in nature, deals with the agonies of displacement and the consequences of Fiji-Indian inability to come to terms with changing historical circumstances. The account is retrospective, bitter and, in part, intensely personal.

The extract portrays the plight of the Fiji-Indians and uses the imagery of fear, uncertainty, death, injustice, suffering and hardship to convey its arguments. It is coloured by the eagerness of the oppressed to escape from the island; a place they regard as a living hell. This understanding is in total contrast to Michener's description of "a group of islands blessed by heaven" which was the image held in the European mind of an earthly paradise.

The cultural differences between the immigrants, the *girmit* people, their descendants and the indigenous Fijians was too big. The new conditions of multiculturalism caused xenophobia, which led to ethnic tension.

As history tells, colonial Fiji was from the beginning, a multi-racial community: it hosted Tongans, Samoans, and other islanders. The forced arrival of the *girmit* people transformed Fiji's social and economic structure; this gave rise to ethnic tension. The Indians regarded indigenous Fijians as inferior primitive beings, while the Fijians held the Indians in disdain as indentured labourers. In consequence of these opposing understandings, of this

culture clash, there has been very little mixture of the races. The Indians did not attempt consciously to assimilate into the indigenous culture: they continued to practise their traditional way of life by building "their own schools and temples" (p.25). Their life-style was thus shaped by their own culture and especially by their timeless epics, by the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* (p.114). In short, Nandan employs the formal topos of cultural contrast in his argumentation.

Diasporic cultures, however, are quite different from their cultures of origin. And this was no less true of the Indian experience in Fiji. Despite efforts to maintain the traditional life-style, the Indians were subjected to a degree of assimilation.[31] This was inevitable given that culture exchange tal.es place when two unlike cultures experience extended contact. In consequence, of their economic prosperity and the cultural assimilation contemporary Fiji-Indians expect and demand equal rights and conditions as enjoyed by indigenous Fijians.

In the past, the issue of racism was contained. "Race then", as Nandan confesses:

> was unimportant to us. We were unaware of its many manifestations. .... Growing up in Fiji, on the banks of the river Nandi across from a Fijian *koro*; we village children all swam together, grazed our cattle on the same fields, ate the same stolen coconuts, pawpaws and watermelons. My parents sat and drank grog with Fijians every night and ate from the same plate. There was Lesu, Blooma, Kini, Laisa, Anna, with whom we swam in the Nandi from dawn to dusk. Matalita, Ilmeleki, Solomoni were the names of some people with whom my paternal grandfather, and my parents, joked, laughed and worked. Much of the work on our farm was done by Fijians for sugar and tea leaves and Indian rice and curry which my mother cooked in abundance. Fiji always has had an abundance of food (pp.137-138).

As Nandan writes, though on the surface Fiji "was paradise enough" (p.138), the contemporary events show clearly that the inversion of the socio-economic conditions that had turned former migrant servants into masters became offensive to National-minded Fijians.

---

[31] pp.11,16,37,86,151.

Indigenous Fijians began to fear that in the course of time the Indian culture, as Deryck Scarr explains, "will bring about a change in the manners and customs of [their] land".[32]

c.) Some additional views on Fiji's race relations.

In his play, *I Native No More*, Jo Nacola, a contemporary indigenous Fijian writer, addresses the issue of culture change writing:

> Look at the Indians! They're at it all the time. Look at Ramdas. Started at fifteen picking up nails. Now he has multistorey buildings, a big construction firm; and many others are like that among his lot. Go to the bank or any office: they ignore the cues [sic] they rush here, they grab that, they ask, they ask, they ask until the white man at the top is so fed up with them that he yields.[33]

Though the nationalistic-minded Nacola exploits the stereotypical presentation of the migrant Fiji-Indian to make his point and for political advantage, he does not reject the work ethic attitude of the foreigners. In fact, he encourages his people to learn from the immigrants suggesting "now we have to make that our attitude if we want to get somewhere".[34]

Nacola's opinion argues, as a direct result of European intrusion into native culture and their decision to import Indian labour for their own economic gains, that the traditional life-style of the islanders was disturbed. The Europeans had created a situation of conflict where on one hand the Fijians are seen to be

> the most privileged indigenous community in the world. The sweat and suffering of the Indian migrants had ensured for them a future with a sense of wholeness (p.137)

while on the other hand the Indians are seen as having increased their share of Fiji's

---

[32] D. Scarr (1984): op. cit., p.100.
[33] J. Nacola: *I Native No More*, 1976, Mana, quoted in: C. Tiffin (ed.), op. cit., p.49.
[34] Ibid., p.49.

bounty through their "substantial control of business and economy".[35]

Although, Rabuka acknowledges that the prosperity of Fiji depends on the efforts of the Indian immigrants, he believes that the political control of the country must rest with the indigenous Fijians.

Yet, the now existing race conflict was not always so. Robert Norton explains:

> Before 1920, the word `native' or `coloured people' was often used to refer to both Indian and Fijian. By a large section of the European community the Fijian had ... been regarded as a lazy, good-for-nothing who never did an honest day's work, and whose presence prevented the opening up of the land. ... After 1920 the Fijian and European communities regarded themselves as natural allies against the political and economic encroachments of the Indians.[36]

Clearly, in Norton's view, colonial policies engendered both racial conflict and social disruption. The emerging conflict with Indian immigrants had encouraged the European intruders to strenghten their alliance with the indigenous Fijians. The colonial powers gave authority and prestige to the chiefs or, in Nandan's words, the European rulers built a platform from which the "conquest of one race by another" could eventuate (p.141).

In consequence, a once relatively peaceful island community is now disturbed by civil unrest and perhaps, as the developments of the 19 May 2000 coup suggest, imminent of civil war.

The discussion has shown that both cultures, indigenous and immigrant, employ the topos of critique to make their point; that strategy was earlier regarded as a characteristic of Western tradition. This recognition discloses the influence and impact foreign, Western culture

---

[35] E. Dean: op. cit., p.119.

[36] `R. Norton: "Colonial Fiji: Ethnic divisions and elite conciliation", p.60, in: B.V. Lal (ed.), op. cit., pp.52-73.

has on Fiji and Fiji-Indian thought.

From the historical records we know, plantation life was hard for the Indian labourers in Fiji. "Clearing land, trenching, planting and cutting cane in the rain 50 hours a week for the five years of indenture"[37] in order to provide C.S.R. "a fair return for their [invested] money and brains",[38] was most burdensome. But life would have been for many even harder in India "having no end but death". Yet, contemporary Fiji-Indians, in contrast, are not willing to adopt the role of coolies, as their forefathers did, any longer. They now demand active participation in the governing of Fiji, and in determining of its future. These demands, as recent events have shown, are helping to destroy the image of an "earthly paradise" and replacing it with one of a "living hell".

Put an other way, the promise of a life in paradise that had brought the *girmit* people to Fiji had now degenerated to an experience of a "living hell" coveting the Fiji-Indians to leave the island.

[37] D. Scarr (1984): op. cit., p.82.
[38] Ibid., p.82.

d.) Summary.

What has been presented and discussed in this short chapter is the contrasting understanding Fiji islanders, both indigenous and foreign, have of their own situation. In the course of this inquiry it will become clear, that their understanding of daily island life differs from that held in the European mind: that of a Pacific paradise. It is very different from the understanding of European and American tourists who go to the island for a holiday, to spend leisure time in a culture and life-style that differs from their own. We have seen the description of two different ethnic groups: the powerful, privileged indigenous Fijian community and the Indian immigrants who are of the opinion to suffer servitude, injustice and hardship. This point of view is further developed by Nandan who suggests that the enviable life-style enjoyed by native Fijians is a direct result of Indian indentured labour.

In addition, the texts suggest that the writers believe that racial tension between different ethnic groups emerges when a situation has developed in which the survival of the weaker culture is threatened; where the stronger, the dominant culture, seem to absorbe the other culture. In the situation of Fiji, the Indians' economic success poses a threat to indigenous culture.

There is the argument that as a direct result of colonial policies the previously existing harmony between the two main groups has been disrupted to the disadvantage of the immigrants. There is, however, also the contrasting argument, as articulated by indigenous Fijians, that their earlier life-style has been turned into a struggle for survival, and that their future is threatened by the Fiji-Indians.

It also was made clear, that while nationalistic-minded Fijians argued that the political

control of the country must rest with them, Fiji-Indians, demanded a greater level of participation in governing Fiji, the country of their birth; they demanded active participation in the structure of Fiji's future.

Clearly, the formal topos of contrast is used in the presentation. Emerging from this contrasting description are the substantive topoi of work, non-work, free people, slaves, paradise and hell. These images allow the understanding that the economy is the basic topos for the argumentation.

Having identified and discussed some of the arguments, it has become clear that the view of modern Fijian writers, both indigenous and foreign, differs greatly form the myth created by Bougainville's account and the writings of those of similar persuasion. It also has become obvious that indigenous Pacific islanders do not see themselves as "imparadised" - they never have. The notion of paradise is a European one; it is only recognised by those who think they have lost it. The natives' thought processes, on the other hand, were never guided by this topos.

The next chapter of this inquiry will go back to the hegemony of Pacific travel during the eighteenth century and discuss some of the first-hand experiences and observations of Georg Forster - it will examine the topoi that influenced his presented work. His writing will also serve as a benchmark for further discussions.

Chapter II

Georg Forster and the Pacific.

This chapter is concerned with the nature how Georg Forster saw and perceived the Pacific: his second departure from Tahiti and his stay in Dusky Bay, New Zealand; the contrast of these understandings and their relations to European values.

a.) Preliminaries.

Georg Forster[39] was born on 26 November 1754 at Nassenhuben, near Danzig and died in Paris on 10 January 1794.[40] In 1772 he accompanied his father Johann Reinhold Forster[41] - in the capacity of natural history assistant and draftsman - on Captain Cook's second voyage into the Pacific. In the course of that voyage, which lasted for three years, the *Resolution* stopped twice in Tahiti. The first time, for some two weeks, at the end of August 1773. The second time, after another sweep of the high Southern Latitudes, New Zealand and Easter Island, from the last week in April to the first two weeks in May 1774.

After their return to England in July 1776, the young Forster "sat down to nine months

---

[39] I have chiefly relied upon the following works for this introduction: K. Harpprecht: *Georg Forster oder die Liebe zur Welt, eine Biographie*; L. Uhlig: *Georg Forster, Einheit und Mannigfaltigkeit in seiner geistigen Welt*; J. Dunmore: *Who's Who in Pacific Navigation*, pp.106-107; G. Steiner (1977): *Georg Forster*; L. Bodi: "Georg Forster", in: D. Pike (ed.), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol.1, pp.402-403; L. Bodi: "Georg Forster: The Pacific Expert of Eighteenth Century Germany", in: *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, vol.8, May 1959, #32, pp.345-363; A. Leitzmann (ed.): *Georg Forster und Therese Forster und die Brüder Humboldt*; D. Rasmussen: *Der Weltumsegler und seine Freunde. Georg Forster*; H. Fiedler (ed.): *Georg-Forster-Bibliographie 1767 bis 1970.*

[40] L. Bodi: *A.D.B.*, op. cit., vol.1, p.403; K. Harpprecht: op. cit., pp.20-27, 605.

[41] For J.R. Forster see M.E. Hoare (1976): *The Tactless Philosopher*; the same (ed. 1982): *The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772-1775.*

of unremitting bread-and butter labour, fashioning from his father's journals his *A Voyage round the World*[42] in 1777.[43]

A Voyage round the World, was favourable received at the time of its publication; it "became extremely popular all over Europe".[44] In addition, Georg's contemporaries (like the writers, scientists and intellectuals, Christoph Martin Wieland, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Alexander von Humbold, Friedrich von Schlegel, Samuel Johnson and James Boswell to name but a few) praised the author's epistemological reflections and rated them most highly in their writings.[45] Present-day Pacific and Georg Forster scholars' judge *A Voyage round the World* as "one of the outstanding books of travel".[46] As Leslie Bodi explains, "... [Georg's writings] cover a wide range .... [and] more than anyone else he and his father were instrumental in conveying to their countrymen the new and ever increasing knowledge gained by the scientific voyages of discovery".[47]

Although Forster had translated Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's *A Voyage round the World* into English some two years before sailing with Captain Cook, little scientific

---

[42] *Georg Forsters Werke*, vol.1, there after to be quoted as AA 1.

[43] M.E. Hoare (1976): op. cit., pp.162-163. The genesis of the work is fully discussed by Robert L. Kahn in *Georg Forsters Werke*, AA 1: 688-700.

[44] L. Bodi (1959): op. cit., p.347.

[45] G. Steiner: *Werke*, op. cit., vol.1, pp.1038-1042; K. Harpprecht: op. cit., p.182, 196-7. Among others, Steiner also discusses the effect of Forster's literary impact on his time: (1977), op. cit., pp.97-107.

[46] L. Bodi (1959): op. cit., p.347; G. Steiner (ed.): *Georg Forster Werke in vier Bänden*, vol.1, p.1019; B. Smith: *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850*, p.7; B.&E. Thum: "Kultur-Programme und Kulturthemen im Umgang mit Fremdkulturen: Die Südsee in der deutschen Literatur", p.10, in: *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache*. Vol. VIII, pp.1-38. A. Leitzmann: op. cit., esp. chap. XXI-XXII; K. Harpprecht: op. cit., p.10.

[47] L. Bodi: *A.D.B.*, op. cit., vol.1, p.403.

knowledge of the Pacific was available to him and even less to the general European public.[48]

Much of Georg's literary success resulted from the difference of his presentation. When compared with the works of contemporary and later writers, it is evident that - until the early nineteenth century - they had difficulties in freeing themselves from the stereotypical view of the South Sea theme as a Garden of Eden.[49] Georg's account, in contrast, is clearly the work of a person not only trained in scientific observation but also possessed of an understanding of human social development. In consequence Forster's writings leave no doubt that the imaginary earthly paradise in the South Sea is but a dream.[50]

---

[48] C. L. Batten, Jr.: "Literary Responses to the Eighteenth-Century Voyages", in: D. Howse (ed.), *Background to Discovery*, pp.128-159.

[49] B.& E. Thum: op. cit., p.15.

[50] G. Steiner: *Werke*, op. cit., vol.1, p.1033; B.& E. Thum: op. cit., p.8; W. Japp: "Aufgeklärtes Europa und natürliche Südsee", p.41, in: H.J. Piechotta, *Reise und Utopie*, pp.10-56; T. Koebner: "Das verbotene Paradies", pp.23&25, in: *Arcadia*, 1, 1983, pp.21-38.

b.) The Tahiti experience.

The following text (though long, deserves full quotation for its detailed and informative presentation) is taken from *A Voyage round the World*, the travel account of the two Forsters' experiences. After departing from Tahiti on 14. May 1774, the second and final time, Forster writes:

As soon as the dinner was over we weight our anchor, and set sail. O-Too requested the captain to fire some cannon, and was the last Taheitian who stepped into his canoe, after cordially embracing us all. The noise of the cannon, by stunning our ears in some measure, diverted our thoughts from taking that melancholy turn which is natural on these occasions. It prevented our giving a loose to the soft feelings with which the worth of this simple and beneficent nation had inspired us; but it was a favourable opportunity for one of our seamen to make his escape to the island. He was observed swimming towards the shore, and some canoes were seen paddling to his assistance, when we dispatched a boat which brought him back, much against his inclinations. His frolic cost him a fortnight's confinement in irons. There is great reason to suppose that a plan was concerted between him and the natives, who perhaps had promised themselves as great advantages from retaining an European, as that European might expect by dwelling with them. If we fairly consider the different situations of a common sailor on board the *Resolution*, and of a Taheitian on his island, we cannot blame the former, if he attempted to rid himself of the numberless discomforts of a voyage round the world, and preferred an easy life, free from cares, in the happiest climate of the world, to the frequent vicissitudes which are entailed upon the mariner. The most favourable prospects of future success in England, which he might form in idea, could never be so flattering to his senses, as the lowly hope of living like the meanest Taheitian. It was highly probable, that immediately on his return to England, instead of indulging in repose those limbs which had been tossed from pole to pole, he would be placed in another ship, where the same fatigues, nocturnal watches, and unwholesome food, would still fall to his share; or though he were allowed to solace himself for a few days, after a long series of hardships, he must expect to be seized in the midst of his enjoyments, and to be dragged an unwilling champion to the defence of his country: to be cut off in the flower of his age, or to remain miserably crippled, with only half his limbs, might be the alternatives to which he would be reduced. But supposing he could escape these misfortunes, still he must earn his subsistence in England, at the expence of labour, and "in the sweat of his brow," when this eldest curse on mankind is scarcely felt at Taheitee. The drudgery of our country people is continual, and their exertion of strength very violent. Before they can make the least use of corn, they must undergo the various labours of ploughing, reaping, thrashing, and grinding. They are obliged to cultivate an hundred times more than they can consume, in order to support a breed of animals, whose assistance in husbandry is absolutely necessary; and to pay for the liberty of tilling the ground, for the articles of dress indispensable in a raw climate; for their tools, and a variety of things, which they might easily make with their own hands, if agriculture alone did not engross their time and attention. The

tradesman, the manufacturer, the artist, all are obliged to work with equal assiduity, in order to furnish the goods, in return for which the farmer gives them bread. How different from this, how indolent is the life of the Taheitian! Two or three breadfruit trees, which grow almost without any culture, and which flourish as long as he himself can expect to live, supply him with abundant food during three-fourths of the year. The superfluity is fermented and preserved, as a wholesome, nourishing and palatable bread, for the remaining months. Those plants which require the greatest attendance at Taheitee, the cloth-trees and eddo-roots, are cultivated with much less trouble than our cabbages and kitchen-herbs, though their uses are infinitely more extensive. The whole process necessary to plant a bread-tree, is to break off a sound branch, and stick it in the ground. The banana, whose rich clusters seem too great a weight for the herbaceous stem, annually shoots afresh from the root. The royal palm, at once the ornament of the plain, and a useful gift of nature to its inhabitants; the golden apple, whose salutary effects we have so strongly experienced, and a number of other plants, all thrive with such luxuriance, and require so little trouble, that I may venture to call them spontaneous. The manufacture of dress is an agreeable pastime for the women, and the building of houses and canoes, with the making of tools and arms, are occupations which become amusing by being voluntary, and intended for the more immediate use of the artificers. Most of their days are therefore spent in a round of various enjoyments, in a country where nature has lavished many a pleasing landscape; where the temperature of the air is warm, but continually refreshed by a wholesome breeze from the sea; and where the sky is almost constantly serene. This climate, and its salubrious productions, contribute to the strength and the elegance of their form. They are all well-proportioned, and some would have been selected by Phidias or Praxiteles, as models of masculine beauty. Their features are sweet, and unruffled by violent passions. Their large eyes, their arched eyebrows, and high forehead, give a noble air to their heads, which are adorned by strong beards, and a comely growth of hair. These, as well as their beautiful teeth, are the proofs of vigour, and of a sound habit of body. The sex, the partners of their felicity, are likewise well-formed; their irregular charms win the heart of their countrymen, and their unaffected smiles, and a wish to please, insure them mutual esteem and love. A kind of happy uniformity runs through the whole life of the Taheitians. They rise with the sun, and hasten to rivers and fountains, to perform an ablution equally reviving and cleanly. They pass the morning at work, or walk about till the heat of the day increases, when they retreat to their dwellings, or repose under some dufted tree. There they amuse themselves with smoothing their hair, and anoint it with fragrant oils; or they blow the flute, and sing to it, or listen to the songs of the birds. At the hour of noon, or a little later, they go to dinner. After their meals they resume their domestic amusements, during which the flame of mutual affection spreads in every heart, and unites the rising generation with new and tender ties. The lively jest, without any ill-nature, the artless tale, the jocund dance and frugal supper, bring on the evening; and another visit to the river concludes the actions of the day. Thus contented with their simple way of life, and placed in a delightful country, they are free from cares, and happy in their ignorance.

Ihr leben fliesset verborgen;
Wie klare bäche durch blumen dahin.

KLEIST.

It must be allowed, that these advantages are decisive with those, who have nothing so much at heart as the gratification of their senses. No wonder then that a sailor, perhaps less

guided by reason than the rest of his comrades, should hurry on headlong after the pleasures of the present moment. It is certain, at the same time, that being born and bred up in an active sphere of life, acquainted with numberless subjects, utterly unknown to the Taheitians, and accustomed to extend his thoughts to past and future occurrences, he would shortly have been tired of an uninterrupted tranquility and continual sameness, suited only to a people whose notions are simple and confined.

The ideas of happiness are infinitely various in different nations, according to their manners, principles, and degrees of civilization. As the productions and apparent good qualities of our globe, are either profusely or sparingly distributed, on its different parts, the diversity of human opinions is a convincing proof of that paternal love, and unerring wisdom, which, in the plan of this world, has provided for the good of mankind, alike in the torrid and the frigid zone.

Fix'd to no spot is happiness sincere,
'Tis no where to be found, or ev'ry where.
POPE (AA 1: 402-5).

The passage reveals the reflections of a young man - at the time of the experience Georg was nineteen - who had travelled round the world and had explored the Pacific farther south than anyone previously.

The structure of the passage is significant. It consists of four parts. Firstly, Forster describes the parting of friends; his description is enriched by the imagery of human emotion. Secondly, he describes both the sailor's attempt to escape and the prevailing social and economic conditions in Europe. The latter is then contrasted with the paradisiacal life-style of the Polynesians. Next, Forster observes that customs and values differ as between nations, and that natural environmental conditions are, by and large, the cause of this. It is of particular interest, however, to note that the young natural philosopher concludes with an affirmation of European superiority over native culture - the juxtaposition of sophistication and simplicity.

A more detailed analysis reveals that the Europeans and the natives had forged an emotional bond in spite of their cultural differences and the briefness of their contact. It is suggested that it was the natural innocence of the islanders - "this simple and beneficent nation" - which encouraged the Europeans to take them into their hearts. The imagery employed by

Forster - human warmth, sadness and the desire to touch - suggests that the behaviour of individuals from both cultures was influenced and guided by a mixture of emotion, immediate sense perception, and spontaneity. And Forster's opinion about the human condition are quite clear: he thinks that strong human feelings and emotions are natural; he also thinks that native man is kindhearted and generous in the display of his feelings; and he realises that people from different parts of the globe can live together in harmony and brotherly love in defiance of their cultural differences. Nevertheless, the inference that can be drawn from the argument is that progress - symbolised by the deafening noise of cannon fire - is harmful to the "natural setting": it prevented a fuller disclosure of feelings, it "diverted [the natural experience of] thoughts" and that the innate attribute of noble simplicity is destroyed by progress, by civilisation. This interpretation argues that Forster thinks that native culture is uncontaminated by the sophistication of civilisation and at the same time it levels a critique against European culture and its intrusion into the Pacific.

The next part of the passage reports that a sailor, abetted by the Polynesians, attempted to escape and remain on the island. Though neither Forster nor Cook lacked understanding of the man's action,[51] (Cook confessed "I know not if he might not have obtained my consent if he had applied for it in proper time"[52]) he was, nevertheless, put into irons. The venture, if it had been successful, as the writer points out, would have benefited both cultures - both "promised themselves ... great advantages" from the collaboration. The European would have enhanced his daily existence by the island's carefree and ease lifestyle. He would have enjoyed

---

[51] I. C. Beaglehole (ed.): *The Journal of Captain James Cook*, vol.2, pp.403-4.
[52] Ibid., p.404, footnote #2.

for the first time a relative measure of privilege, prestige and wealth well beyond his station in Europe where his life-style was burdened by overpopulation and the negative effects of industrialisation. The circumstances would have turned his superior technological knowledge, his trade, language and firearm skills, into valuable assets for the natives.

As we know from Pacific writings, as from the later part of the eighteenth century, Beachcombers became fixers of muskets; they applied their carpentry and general smithery skills to boat-building; they had knowledge of the best harbours and watering-places and as interpreters and guides they were invaluable. O.H.K. Spate explains: the beachcombers' were a lubricant on the grinding edge where two cultures met".[53] In addition, the standing of one native tribe over another was enhanced - both in utility and prestige - by having a European amongst them.

It could be argued, however, that the sudden introduction of Western science and technology into a traditional society by the deserters would have negative consequences: Forster himself has insisted as much: it disturbed the existing customary equilibrium in tribal relations; it strained the islanders' idyllic mode of life-style; and it deprived them of the natural experience associated with the inevitable development of the social change.

At the time of his first departure from Tahiti in September 1773, recognising the peril facing traditional island life, Forster wrote that:

> if the knowledge of a few individuals can only be aquired at such a price as the happiness of nations, it were better for the discoverers, and the discovered, that the South Sea had still remained unknown to Europe and its restless inhabitants.[54]

---

[53] O.H.K. Spate: *Paradise Found and Lost*, p.231; H. E. Maude: *Of Islands and Men*, chap. 4, "Beachcombers and Castaways", pp.134-177.

[54] G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 217; also pp.133, 182, 257-6, 293-5, 333, 395.

This opinion presents, firstly, a warning against European intrusion in the Pacific which is new in Pacific descriptions. Secondly, it argues that a happy life can be found only in seclusion and obsurity - on the level of social life indicated by the topos of simplicity.

The manner by which Forster presents the Tahitian experience is most informative: he goes to great length to depict and compare life in Europe with that in the Pacific. At the outset of this comparison, he points out that, according to his understanding, there exists a noticeable difference between the two cultures. His description of the life of a common man - a sailor - is laden with negative images: images of discomfort, of struggle, of demands by a European society from which there is no escape. Inactivity for a sailor, after a long period of hardship, is considered a luxury - a condition of privilege. His calling, we are informed, demands sacrifice: the loss not only of personal freedom but also, at times , of limbs or even life.

The description suggests that Forster believes a sailor's life is identical to that of an indentured peasant-labourer - similar perhaps to that of the *girmit* people discussed in the previous chapter. In fact, as he points out, all working class men - "the tradesman, the manufacturer, the artist" and the common farmer - have to work hard to support life and they are all servants of an unjust social system.

These images form part of the negative argument: European society is stratified and attendant by a division of labour. Man is forced to earn his daily bread "in the sweat of [his] face". Such labour, in the Judeo-Christian tradition, is a curse on mankind.

Forster attempts to explain the causes of this curse. In his opinion, European man's lot was a condition of the Northern hemisphere's climate and its social structure. That is to say, the harsh climate demanded extensive preparation of the soil so nature would yield its "fruits"; and

the European practices of landownership and division of labour condemned the lower classes, the peasantry, to pay rent to the landlord.

Thus, Forster argues that European life is by no means as attractive, as it might appear on the surface. This argument is a critique of European culture.

Hannah Arendt supports this view. In her book *The Human Condition*, she takes a human being to be "the animal laborans, which with [their] body and the help of tame animals nourish life ... but still remain the servant of nature and the earth".[55]

In total contrast to the "unblessed" existence of the European, the Tahitian's life-style is depicted as "blessed". The islanders enjoy a healthy climate; they live in a homogenous communal society. Island life seems to be carefree, spontaneous, and uncomplicated. Nature provides of her own accord, thus little effort is needed to sustain life. In fact, the island's food-supply can be likened to the images that make up the topos of the Golden Age, the biblical Garden of Eden, or to a contemporary well-stocked supermarked where everything is within reach - well packaged for the consumer's convenience.

The natives make articles for their own and immediate use and, therefore, they are not subject to alienating work practices. The favourable climatic conditions that bless the island and its people, contribute to the Tahitians' excellent health and cleanliness. Their general life-style is conducive to the pursuit of cultural activities and the formation of human relations. In short, Forster argues that the Tahitians live a "blessed" life-style: there are no wants (apart from the basic needs), there is little need for work; and the purpose of life is mainly procreation.

From a hermeneutical perspective it is noteworthy that Forster, to give support to his

---

[55] H. Arendt: *The Human Condition*, p.139.

argument employs, at times, biblical language: the imagery of permanence, simplicity, happiness and purification, to name but some.[56]

The rhetorical strategy of juxtaposing the two different cultures, used by Forster in his writing, is most effective. It highlights the differences between European life and island life: between hell and paradise. It enhances the contrasts between European constraints and Polynesian freedom, which is an idea promoted by the Enlightenment *philosophes*.

While life on board ship, for a common sailor was measured and rationed - its hierarchies reflected and, to some extent, exaggerated the culture at home - life on the beaches promised freedom, excess, and plenitude. These totally contrasting circumstances - fifteen years after Cook's sailor attempted unsuccessfully to jump ship - helped to lead to the mutiny on the *Bounty*. A group of British men, led by one from a gentry family, Fletcher Christian, chose to turn their backs on European civilisation in order to start anew in the Pacific. When asked what could be the reason for such a mutiny, Captain Bligh, almost echoing Forster's words, argues:

> I can only conjecture that they have Idealy assured themselves of a more happy life among the Otaheitians than they could possibly have in England, which joined to some Female connections has most likely been the leading cause of the whole business. .... What a temptation it is to such wretches when they find it in their power however illegally it can be got at, to fix themselves in the most of plenty in the finest Island in the World where they need not labour, and where the alurements of disipation are more than equal to anything that can be conceived.[57]

Bligh's confession fully supports Georg Forster's view that the Europeans are subjected

---

[56] The following writings discuss the topos of simplicity. W. Veit; "Simplicitas Antipodea. Georg Forster and the Topos of Simplicity", in: W. Veit (ed.), *Antipodean Enlightenment*, pp.499-512; the same: "Sancta Simplicitas", in: J.Riesz, P. Boerner and B. Scholz (eds.), *Sensus Communis*, pp.369-383.

[57] G. Dening: *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language*, p.8.

to an "unblessed" existence while the Tahitians, in contrast, enjoy a "blessed" life-style.

In this analysis so far, it has been established that the passage taken from *A Voyage round the World* is headed by the topos of paradise which serves also as a critique of the European situation. In addition, it is evident that Forster thinks that the Garden of Eden, from which Western man has been expelled, still exists in the Antipodes.[58]

Forster's practice to employ the topos of the "other", the topos of paradise, as a critique of that which is his European "own", however, is not new. Henri Baudet in *Paradise on Earth* explains:

> the whole complex of new primitivism, and of orientalism in particular, undoubtedly contained a substantial element of rejection and renunciation - not of life but of civilization that was felt to be both a burden and a path leading in the wrong direction.[59]

The claim that the "simple way of life", the Tahitian life-style, is not suited to Europeans - a notion supported by Forster throughout the travelogue - not only shows that the author is guided in his observations by the idea that cultural practices and life-styles are relative, but also it discloses the dichotomy of the European soul.

In order to work out and come to terms with this new experience, the young natural philosopher continues to contrast the images of the two distinct cultures: the Polynesian life-style which he took to be a life of instant gratification, and the European practice of relating thought to man's history - "to past and future occurences", to human consciousness. Under the influence of the topoi of simplicity and sophistication Forster understood the Polynesians to live spontaneously and the Europeans to exist through labour inflicted on nature. Forster's thought

---

[58] The topos of `paradise lost' and `paradise regained' is discussed in Neil Rennie: op., cit., esp. pp.176-7.

[59] H. Baudet: *Paradise on Earth*, p.55.

processes are further influenced by the topoi of permanence and progress, highlighting the conflict within the obsever.

Yet, Forster also recognises that while the former life-style is satisfying to people of limited experience, it is not agreeable to those accustomed to a more demanding, technologically structured existence - the dynamic life of Europe. This observation leads to the inference that "the ideas of happiness are infinitely various in different nations".

Thinking about such things is new: it supports the idea of relativism; it reveals an effort to understand the Polynesians on their own terms, thus altering dramatically the European point of view; it establishes a shift in Pacific understanding, a contradistinction to the notion of evolutionary anthropology - a dogma prevalent during the eighteenth century and adhered to by many, if not most, of the representatives of the Enlightenment.[60] There can be little doubt that Forster's ethnographic insights contributed greatly to the view that his *A Voyage round the World* was "one of the outstanding books of travel".

It has been shown, so far, that Forster's writing employed opposing topoi to describe the experience. Although in both cases there are values that influenced and guided the actions. By and large, Forster's presentation of the Polynesian life-style is influenced and guided by the idea of instant gratification of the senses while the European is subsumed under the method of practical reasoning. Island life, the home of the "blessed" and elect, stands in contrast to European drudgery and hardship. It has been argued that while the Polynesians still enjoy the social fabric that has been destroyed in Europe, the idea of work, the basis for advancement, the civilising process, is at the same time the curse that was placed on our forefathers.

---

[60] J.F. Harris: *Against Relativism*; P. Gay: *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, vol.I.

In short, the analysis has revealed that Forster's perception and understanding of the Pacific was directed by skepticism and optimism about civilisation - the dichotomy of the European soul that formed an essential part of Pacific understanding, that of non-European man.[61] In addition, it has been shown that Forster argued for cultural relativism; a theory that recognises that different cultures have different customs, social institutions and moralities; "each has its own gifts, values, modes of creation, incommensurable with one another: each must be understood in its own terms - understood, not necessarily evaluated".[62] This argument is important: it stands in contrast to the established Enlightenment theory of universalism; and it challenges the *philosophes* theory of a universal unchanging human nature.[63] It undermines "the common perception that a particular society's ways of going about social life is rooted in a natural order of things that its moral codes are universal and absolutely correct".[64]

---

[61] H. Baudet: op. cit., p.54.
[62] I. Berlin: *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*, p.9.
[63] N. Hampson: *The Enlightenment*; E. Cassirer: *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*; P. Gay: *The Enlightenment: an Interpretation*.
[64] A. Johnson (ed.): *The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology*, p.66.

c.) The Dusky Bay experience.

Forster's critical attitude towards native life at the end of a visit to Dusky Bay, New Zealand in April 1773, is some what surprising in the light of these considerations. At that time, Forster wrote:

> the superiority of a state of civilization over that of barbarism could not be more clearly stated, than by the alterations and improvements we had made in this place. In the course of a few days, a small part of us had cleared away the woods from a surface of more than an acre, which fifty New Zeelanders, with their tools of stone, could not have performed in three months. This spot, where immense numbers of plants left to themselves lived and decayed by turns, in one confused inanimated heap; this spot, we had converted into an active scene, where a hundred and twenty men pursued various branches of employment with unremitted ardour:
>
> *Qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura*
> *Excercet sub sole labor.*
>
> *Such was their toil, and such their busy pains,*
> *As exercise the bees in flowery plains,*
> *When winter past and summer scarce begun,*
> *Invites them forth to labour in the sun.*[65] (AA 1: 114-115)

The account continues the Europeans turned trees, which otherwise would have "crumbled to dust with age", into lumber and fuel; they collected water and stored it in prepared casks; and they gathered previously "neglected indigenous plants" to brew a "salutary and palatable potion" which, together with the "delicious fish" freshly caught, provided a refreshment for the labourers. And the usual tranquil surroundings became filled with industrious sounds generated by "the caulkers, the riggers" and the blacksmith's "weighty hammer" that worked the anvil. Even "the polite arts began to florish in this new settlement" as the ship's artist endeavoured to "imitate" the "various tribes of animals and vegetables ... [and] the romantic prospects" that set the scene. In addition, scientific work was represented by "an observatory [that] arose in the centre of our works ... where the attentive eyes of the

astronomer contemplated the motions of the celestial bodies", while natural philosophers were employed in the study of surrounding flora and fauna.

In true Enlightenment fashion Forster writes: "all around us we perceived the rise of arts, and the dawn of science, in a country which had hitherto lain plunged in one night of ignorance and barbarism!" This claim affirms the expectation that the voyage "endeavour[ed] to derive the greatest possible advantage to learning [and make it a] ... triumph to science" (AA 1: 9). Forster ends the passage with the observation that the benefits of industrious efforts would be short lived. He claims that the "pleasing picture of improvement was not to last and like a meteor [would] vanish as suddenly as it was formed ... return[ing nature] to its original chaotic state" (AA 1: 116).

From this extract, it is clear that Forster thinks European ideas about life are quite different from those of the natives. And there is no doubt that he is for progress and civilisation. As he observed, that "pleasing picture of improvement", is superior to barbarism, the "original state" of nature.

That Forster is in favour of European civilisation and its progress is evident throughout the *Voyage*.[66] Calling in at St. Helena, in March 1775, on their return trip, Forster confessed that "with no small degree of pleasure and satisfaction, [we] felt ourselves once more in the company of men ... and the spirit with which the conversation was carried on, gave a convincing proof, that the means of aquiring useful knowledge, from a store of good books were by no means neglected among the inhabitants".[67] Obviously, Forster prefers European

---

[65] Virgil: *Aeneid*, I, 430f.
[66] G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 50, 251-2, 475-6, 502, 520, 539-42.
[67] Ibid., AA 1: 643, 649.

civilisation confessing:

In the evening we returned to town [St. Helena], where Mr. Graham gave a ball to the inhabitants. On entering the room, I was very agreeably surprised with the great beauty and elegance displayed in a numerous circle of ladies; I thought myself suddenly transported to the most brilliant capital of Europe: their features were regular, their forms graceful, and their complexion perfectly fair. To these charms we may add an easy deportment, a genteel education, a pleasing flow of spirit, and acuteness of understanding, which gave constant life to their conversation ... (AA 1: 654).

The observation that travellers tend to cling firmly to their own cultural values while in foreign lands is an observation well documented. Thus, Chris von Gagen in his research work *Reise in die Karibik* claims "starr beharren sie [the travellers] jedoch auf der eigenen Ordnung der Dinge und halten an europäischen Idealen fest".[68]

This way of thinking by Forster stands in contradistinction to the allurements of the female Polynesian body as synonymous with an island paradise and the beach as an imagined space for sexual freedom. Bougainville's depiction, discussed earlier, serves well to support this claim .

Though committed to the side of European civilisation, Forster in his writing, at the same time is critical that his own European culture does "not always make the best use" of its "superior knowledge" (AA 1: 618).

Forster continues his observations by pointing out that sustained human labour - the arts and sciences, the force that sustains the process of civilisation - is needed to dominate and subjugate nature: human productive effort is necessary to turn chaos into order. In fact, as Veit points out, Forster's narrative becomes the "metaphor for the whole process of civilization itself

[68] C. von Gagen: *Reise in die Karibik*, p.292.

which had taken place in Europe".[69] The final section of the passage may thus be read as a metaphor that civilisation is in constant threat of relapsing into "ignorance and barbarism" and primitivism.

It can be said that Forster not only offered a critique of the "other" - Polynesian culture - but also that he acknowledged that nature is stronger than the process of civilisation: Nature is omnipresent and omnipotent. This recognition effectively renders the "Ordnungsprinzip" futile and useless if not continuously sustained by order. And this highlights the conflict within Forster's understanding of the new - the unsettling otherness of a culture he is trying to understand. Moreover, it is an advance on the Enlightenment belief that human reason can dominate nature.

Forster's argument that human work is the cause of the process of civilisation is well grounded in the creation-myth where the gods through work, struggle and logos turned chaos into cosmos. As Alois Wierlacher in *Kulturthema Femdheit* explains, "die Schöpfungsmythen berichten allesamt davon, wie die Götter durch Arbeit, Kampf und bewirkendes Wort das Chaos zu einem Kosmos bändigen konnten".[70]

In fact, in order to lend extra support to the "Ordnungsprinzip" argument, Forster borrowed from the classical writings - a practice evident in the presented passage and employed throughout the travelogue. This finding suggests that Forster's understanding of the Antipodean experience was partly indebted to earlier thought, to paradigmatic imagery.

---

[69] W. Veit (1996): "From Queiroz' Terra del Espiritu Santo to Colonial Empires in the Pacific: Missionary Voyages and their Ideologies", p.61, in: *Les Récit de Voyage: Typolcgie, Historicité*, pp. 45-76.

[70] A. Wierlacher: *Kulturthema Fremdheit*, p.228.

d.) Pacific experiences - contrasting perspectives.

In comparing the two passages - those dealing with the Tahitian experience and the European intrusion into Dusky Bay - we find a contrast in perception: while the former was guided by the idea of relativism, the latter was firmly directed by the notion of European superiority. An understanding and presentation that, nevertheless, failed to recognise, that although in Europe industrious labour is essential to subjugate nature and to sustain life, in the South Seas nature yields "fruits" of her own accord. This suggests that the European notion of "alteration and improvements", as practised by the explorers at Dusky Bay, was pointless: life in the Pacific was possible without European work practices.

Following Norbert Elias' work *The Civilizing Process*, it has become evident, however, that given the circumstances of culture contact, the Europeans, while at Dusky Bay, could not deal with the situation other than in the way they did. Elias writes:

> In the areas into which the West has expanded, the social functions with which the individual must comply are increasingly changing in such a way as to induce the same constant foresight and affect-control as in the West itself. Here, too, the transformation of the whole social existence is the basic condition of the civilization of conduct. For this reason we find in the relation of the West to other parts of the world the beginnings of the reduction in contrasts which is peculiar to every major wave of the civilizing movement.[71]

It can be reasoned that Polynesian life had not "lain plunged in one night of ignorance and barbarism" but was preferential to European life; and that the natives were able to sustain life without strenuous labour and toil. Moreover, as Forster rightly foretold, the effects of the crew's industrious efforts would be ephemeral: "the shoots of the surrounding weeds will shortly stifle every salutary and useful plant and ... [nature] must return to its original chaotic

---

[71] N. Elias: *The Civilizing Process*, p.462.

state".

As shown above, the observations make clear that Forster was aware that their industrious effort was artificial: that it was against nature, that it was unnatural and thus of short duration - in time nature would prevail. Civilisation, to his way of thinking, was a hard won victory over nature, which needed sustaining effort lest it fell into disrepair and returned to nature. In this way, Forster shows that he is a true disciple of the Enlightenment.

What is of particular interest is the disclosure that when in Dusky Bay, in April 1773, Forster's account was critical of native life. This suggests that his observations then were formed under the influence of the topos of European superiority. This conclusion highlights the hermeneutical situation by which Europeans encountered the new in Pacific explorations: they were unable, on the whole, to give meaning to the new experience on its own terms. They unconsciously were influenced and guided by their existing pre-understanding, their prejudices - grounded in European tradition and ethics - which prevented them from seeing actuality. This condition, although it made comprehension of the encounter with the new first of all possible, prevented a recognition of an indigenuous understanding of the encounter with the new; a condition that also limited the islanders' experience at the time of culture contact.

This way of thinking facilitates an understanding of Forster's dilemma: inasmuch as his perceptions were grounded in European values, he could not but understand the islanders' mode of living other than as barbarous and primitive. Forster was thus "guided by his own historical fore-judgments and [living] prejudices"[72] which "far more than his judgments

[72] H. Gadamer (1975): *Truth and Method*, p.XX.

constitute[d] the historical reality of his being".[73]

One year later, in May 1774, when departing from Tahiti for the second and final time, his reflections - as pointed out above - were recorded under the guidance of the topos of relativism. This transition, in the way he gave meaning to what he saw, is affirmation of the proposition that the Tahitian experience was less burdened by the Enlightenment theory of universalism: that his perception was not entirely determined by his European "mental luggage". In addition, in the manner Forster gave meaning to what he saw in Tahiti, provides evidence for his practical reasoning, his good judgment: he was able to form new knowledge.

e.) Summary.

It has been suggested that the natives are simple, warm, kind-hearted and displaying more human emotions than practical reasoning. The beneficial climate they enjoy promotes a healthy and care-free life. Their daily needs are easily taken care of as nature provides of her own accord - in consequence there is no need for strenuous labour and toil. And they enjoy a social fabric, based on the principles of family structure - a "Gemeinschaft" - that no longer exists in Europe. This desirable description is contrasted to the presentation of European life: an existence of discomfort and struggle that burdens the common European. In short, while Polynesians are presented as living spontaneously in a terrestrial paradise, European man exists through the labour he inflicts onto nature. These contrasting life-styles seem to confirm Enlightenment thinking about such matters.

The analysis also suggests that the perceived paradise in the Pacific was of a fragil and

---

[73] Ibid., p.245.

vulnerable nature. In the process of culture contact, the European intruders forced their ideologies on the pristine fauna, flora and native man: they imposed domination through the application of science and technology.

Intercultural contact, moreover, posed a potential threat to the delicate equilibrium in tribal relations. This danger is the basis of a warning against European intrusion into the Pacific and it is new in Pacific writings.

The section, dealing with the explorers' stay at Dusky Bay, is dominated by the imagery that makes up the argument of the "Ordnungsprinzip" (in true Enlightenment fashion): planned activities, manual and intellectual - carried out with a spirited heart - that would bring new knowledge and subjugate nature. This observation left no doubt that Forster was imbued with the idea of progress and civilisation against stagnation and barbarism. In addition, the Europeans, through their activities, gave meaning to their existence and saw nature and civilisation as opponents.

The imagery of indolence and hardship, confirmed Forster's thinking: firstly, that Forster is of the view that it is the harsh conditions and needs of force that encourage progress and the development of a higher level of civilisation; and secondly, that this accounts for the different pattern of historical development in Tahiti and Europe. Furthermore, Forster believes that the uneventful life-style of the Polynesians would be tedious and tiresome to Europeans. This belief is supported by borrowing from Kleist: "Ihr leben fliesset verborgen; Wie klare bäche durch blumen dahin" (AA 1: 405). This thought suggests that Forster's perception was influenced by the topos of the superiority of European culture.

In spite of recognising the advantages provided by Polynesian culture and by European

culture Forster was critical of both life-styles. This way of thinking suggests a conflict within the young man; it discloses the ambivalence within his soul and at the same time his practical reasoning.

The tangel of imagery which I have tried to unravel, in the process of identifying and analysing the topoi of Forster's argumentation, is made up of the following topoi, which are frequently found in European writings about the Pacific: Polynesians are "blessed", and they live in a terrestrial paradise while the "unblessed" Europeans have to struggle to support life; sustained labour is the condition for the civilising process; European material progress is preferable to the Polynesian progress in spirituality; European science and technology dominates and subjugates native culture and nature; cultural development is relative and depends on a multitude of different causes; and European culture contact potentially endangers the "blessed" life-style of the islanders.

Although there may be many other topoi in the text, it should be clear that the overriding topoi which influenced and guided Forster's thinking in the perception of the new, were the images of paradise (also employed as a critique on the own European situation) and the development of a higher level of civilisation.

Forster's practical reasoning, resulting at times in the ability to partly distance himself from his own European tradition - evident in the understanding of relativism and the interpretation of the sailor's attempted escape, to name but two examples - shaped and constituded the mode of his argumentation.

Thus Forster's voyage into the Pacific became a live experiment: it supported the European idea of the development of civilisation. For the Polynesians, however, this process of

development was hastened through the European intrusion that deprived the Polynesian culture of its natural pace of development. In addition, the Pacific experience enabled Forster and his intellectual companions to reconstruct in their minds - guided by the imagination, shaped and constituted by practical reasoning - the origin and development of their own culture, a stratified society attended by a division of labour, and ascertain where they thought that the process went wrong.

The next chapter of this inquiry will discuss some of the Pacific writings of Otto von Kotzebue and Adelbert von Chamisso who travelled the Pacific some forty years after Forster and witnessed the culture change resulting from European missionary contact.

Chapter III

Kotzebue and Chamisso and the Pacific.

After having established the material and methodological basis for this thesis - using contemporary perspectives from Nandan's *The Wounded Sea* and other related writings and from Forster's *A Voyage round the World* - and after identifying paradigmatically some of the topoi that informed these descriptions, we will now be able to find out how , over a period of two centuries, other Pacific travellers and writers came to terms with and gave meaning to what they encountered in the Pacific: their understanding of the new, the foreign.

What is of particular interest for this investigation are Kotzebue's and Chamisso's observations and understanding of native life and culture before and after European missionary contact; their observations of the clash of the old Polynesian cultural order with the new European, imposed by the missionaries.

a.) Preliminaries.

Otto von Kotzebue, son of the successful German dramatist August von Kotzebue, was born in Tallinn, then Russia, now Estonia, on 30 December 1788. He died on 15 February 1846 at the place of his birth. A naval officer, he circumnavigated the Earth three times. The first time in 1803-06, then, in 1815-18 and, for the last time, in 1823-26. In the course of crossing the oceans Kotzebue visited many Polynesian islands, charted the Alaskan coast and located and named Kotzebue Sound. The details of his last two circumnavigations are published under the titles: *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits, for the Purpose of Exploring a North-East Passage, undertaken in the Years 1815-1818* (1821)

and *A New Voyage Round the World in the Years 1823, 24, 25 and 26* (1830).

One of Kotzebue's companions on the second voyage, Adelbert von Chamisso, was born at Boncourt in the Champagne in January 1781 and died on 21 August 1838 in Berlin. Like the Forsters, who replaced Joseph Banks in the role as naturalists on Cook's second voyage into the Pacific, Chamisso was appointed naturalist on Kotzebue's second voyage into the Pacific, 1815-18. He replaced Professor Ledebour who had resigned due to ill health.

Chamisso's scientific notes, are published under the heading "Remarks and Opinions".[74] in the second and third volume of Kotzebue's *A Voyage of Discovery into South Sea and Beering's Straits* ... His observations, written as a journal 17 years after the completion of his voyage, were published in 1836, in Leipzig, under the title: *Reise um die Welt mit der Romanzoffischen Entdeckungs-Expedition in den Jahren 1815-18 auf der Brigg Rurik. Kapitän Otto von Kotzebue.*[75]

---

[74] O. v. Kotzebue (1821): *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits, for the Purpose of Exploring a North-East Passage, undertaken in the Years 1815-1818*, vol.2, pp.349-433; vol.3, pp.1-318.

[75] A. v. Chamisso: *Sämtliche Werke*, vol.2, pp.81-371; English translation 1986: *A Voyage around the World with the Romanzov exploring Expedition in the years 1815-1818*. This text is used unless indicated differently.

b.) Kotzebue's experiences.

When visiting Tahiti on 14 March 1824, on his last circumnavigation, Kotzebue confessed that "all that we had read of its loveliness now rose to our remembrance, heightened by the vivid colouring of the imagination".[76]

Kotzebue's description of island life is presented under the influence of the topos of the "blessed" Pacific islanders. That is to say, the natives are described as gentle and good natured; as happy people who pass their time in indolence and enjoyment. They are presented as expert seamen, and as dexterous in swimming and diving - a skill that was utilised by Kotzebue when the "Rurik" was in need of repair.[77] The beneficial influence of a fine climate, a diet of fruit and fish and the absence of burdensome labour are factors contributing to the natives' longevity.[78] Chamisso, whose travel account will be discussed in more detail shortly, provided similar idyllic descriptions.[79]

This kind of description, as already noted earlier, is not new, it is evident in contemporary and earlier Pacific writings. Kotzebue acknowledges that his understanding of the Pacific situation was formed from the accounts of the earlier voyagers, of Wallis, Bougainville, Cook and the Forsters.[80]

This finding supports the hermeneutic theory as Charles Darwin remarked when visiting Tahiti in 1835 "a first impression at all times very much depends on one's previously-

---

[76] O. v. Kotzebue (1830): *A New Voyage Round the World in the Years 1823, 24, 25 and 26*, vol.1, p.144.

[77] Ibid., vol.1, pp.337-8; vol.2, p.233.

[78] O. v. Kotzebue (1821): op. cit., vol.1, chap. X, vol.2, chap. XI; (1830) vol.1, pp.119-223, 289-341, vol.2, pp.151-265.

[79] A. v. Chamisso: op. cit., chap. IX, X, XII, XIII.

[80] O. v. Kotzebue (1830): op. cit., vol.1, pp.123-144.

acquired ideas".[81] Or, borrowing Edward Said's words, "how we formulate or represent the past shapes our understanding and views of the present".[82] In short, old topoi grounded Kotzebue's understanding which is then presented in a new context.

After having spent time at the island and having perceived "the effects of this great [cultural] change"[83] brought about by the penetration of missionary activity into Polynesian culture Kotzebue, however, wrote down the following critical observations:

> True, genuine Christianity, and a liberal government, might have soon given to this people, endowed by nature with the seeds of every social virtue, a rank among civilized nations. Under such a blessed influence, the arts and sciences would soon have taken root, the intellect of the people would have expanded, and a just estimation of all that is good, beautiful, and eternally true, would have refined their manners and ennobled their hearts. Europe would soon have admired, perhaps have envied Tahaiti [sic]: but the religion taught by the Missionaries is not true Christianity, though it may possibly comprehend some of its doctrines, but half understood even by the teachers themselves. That it was established by force, is of itself an evidence against its Christian principle. A religion which consists in the eternal repetition of prescribed prayers, which forbids every innocent pleasure, and cramps or annihilates every mental power, is a libel on the Divine Founder of Christianity, the benign Friend of human-kind. It is true, that the religion of the Missionaries has, with a great deal of evil, effected some good. It has abolished heathen superstitions, and an irrational worship, but has introduced new errors in their stead. It has restrained the vices of theft and incontinence, but it has given birth to bigotry, hypocrisy, and a hatred and contempt of all other modes of faith, which was once foreign to the open and benevolent character of the Tahaitian. It has put and end to avowed human sacrifices, but many more human beings have been actually sacrificed to it, than ever were to their heathen gods (pp.167-9).
>
> By order of the Missionaries, the flute, which once awakened innocent pleasure, is heard no more. No music but that of the psalms is suffered in Tahaiti: dancing, mock-fights, and dramatic representations are no longer permitted. Every pleasure is punished as a sin, among a people whom Nature destined to the most cheerful enjoyment (p.172).
>
> With the chastity of the Tahaitian women, the case is similar; and it does not appear to me that the breaches of this virtue are more frequent on the whole than in Europe. It was with the utmost caution and secrecy, and in the most fearful anxiety lest their errors should be betrayed to the Missionaries, that the females complied with the desires of our sailors (p.196).
>
> I have heard much of an institution established by the Missionaries for the instruction of

---

[81] N. Barlow (ed.): *Charles Darwin's Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle"*, p.355; quoted in N. Rennie: *Far-Fetched Facts*, p.201.

[82] E. W. Said: *Culture & Imperialism*, p.2.

[83] O. v. Kotzebue (1830): op. cit, vol.1, p.123.

the people, and was desirous to learn what progress the Tahaitians had made in the rudiments of science. Being informed that the lessons commenced at sunrise, the first rays of that luminary found me one morning at the school-house .....

I had not waited long before the pupils of both sexes entered. They were not lively children, nor youths, whom ardour for the acquisition of knowledge led to the seat of instruction, but adults and aged persons, who crept slowly in with downcast looks, and prayer-books under their arms....

To pray and to obey are the only commands laid upon an oppressed people, who submissively bow to the yoke, and even suffer themselves to be driven to prayers by the cudgel!

A police-officer is especially appointed to enforce the prescribed attendance upon the church and prayer-meetings. I saw him in the exercise of his functions, armed with a bamboocane, driving his herd to the spiritual pasture (pp.201-204).[84]

The text is about the phenomena of culture contact,[85] culture clash, in the while of which the weaker culture is swept aside. The presentation accounts for the assimilation or acculturation of the Tahitian way of life into the dominant European culture outside of which no real culture seems to exist. The only possible future direction is the extinction of the traditional native culture by the militarily and economic superior colonial power.

The imagery employed, in the construction of the passage, suggest that Polynesian man, even though good and with an "open and benevolent character" needs the "arts and sciences" to perfect his "Bildung" - to "refine and ennoble" his heart. This interpretation suggests that the author's understanding of the experience was influenced by the Enlightenment's positive orientation towards change, which entailed the unfolding of human

---

[84] Ibid., (1830), vol.1, pp.167-9, 172, 196, 201-204.

[85] L. L. Langness: *The Study of Culture*, 1987; B. McGrane: *Beyond Anthropology Society and the Other*, 1989; N.B. Dirks & others (eds.): *Culture, Power, History*, 1994; J. Brenkman: *Culture and Domination*, 1987; A. Giddens: *The Consequences of Modernity*, 1990; J.F. Lyotard: *The Postmodern Condition, a Report on Knowledge*, 1994; L. Hunt (ed.): *The New Cultural History*, 1989; D. Arnold: *The Problem of Nature. Environment, Culture and European Expansion*, 1996; U. Bitterli: *Culture in Conflict*, 1993.

potential, grounded on the educative process.

In addition, Kotzebue is critical of the manner in which culture contact occurred. That is to say, the means and method involved in the process of meeting the "other": the conversion, by force, of a free and happy people to "an oppressed people, who submissively bow to the yoke". This situation, at least partly, according to Kotzebue, resulted from the practice to employ "a half savage, confused by the dogmas of an uneducated sailor, ... to spread Christianity among the islands of the dangerous Archipelago".[86]

Kotzebue's critique strongly opposes his earlier argumentation that the islanders are "blessed", that they enjoy a terrestrial paradisiacal life-style. In contrast, they are now perceived to suffer under the "yoke" of European culture, and to have degenerated into a life-style that is likened to an existence in hell. In short, they are seen as "unblessed". This view, also provides a critique of European colonialism and its oppressive practices. Kotzebue employs the topos of power and of destruction of paradise in its presentation.

Kotzebue, some eighteen months after visiting Tahiti and offering a critique of the method of European intrusion into traditional Tahitian life, described his Hawaiian observations in a similar manner. Setting foot on the island for the second and last time in September 1825, the explorer had this to say:

> It is doubtless praiseworthy in a government to provide for the instruction of the people, but to force it upon them by such unreasonable measures as those adopted by Kahumanna [Queen of Hawaii] and her councellor must have a prejudicial effect ... .
>
> A striking instance of the severity with which the Queen sometimes prosecutes her purpose, fell under our observation. An old man of seventy, who rented a piece of land

---

[86] O. v. Kotzebue (1830): op. cit., vol.1, pp.153-154. For a contrasting view see the "letter of instructions" given to James Wilson, Captain off the "Duff" who commanded the first missionary voyage of the London Missionary Society into the Pacific. J. Wilson: *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean 1796-1798*, pp.LXXXIX-C.

belonging to her, many miles distant from Hanaruro [Honolulu], had always paid his taxes with regularity, and hoping that the distance, and his advanced age, might dispense with his attenance at the church and the school, acted accordingly; but for this neglect, Kahumanna drove him from his home. He sought her presence, implored her compassion for his destitute condition, and represented the impossibility of learning to read at his age. But in vain! The Queen replied with an angry gesture, "If you will not learn to read, you may go and drown yourself."

To such tyranny as this, has Bengham [missionary] urged the Queen, and perhaps already esteems himself absolute sovereign of these islands. But he reckons without his host. He pulls the cord so tightly, that the bow must break; and I forewarn him, that his authority will, one day, suddenly vanish: already the cloud is gathering; much discontent exists. ... I have myself heard many of the Yeris express their displeasure, and the country people, who consider Bengham's religion as the source of all their sufferings, one night set fire to the church: the damage sustained was trifling, and the flames were soon extinguished; but the incendiaries were not discovered.[87]

This report - though in the spirit of the Enlightenment's educational idea - does two things: it levels a critique on the "unreasonable measures" of force employed in the instruction of Christian dogma; and, it forewarns of the possible rebellion of the masses against the hardships inflicted. Kotzebue considers that the means and procedures employed in the process of christianisation might lead to civil unrest and civil war. This is an argument that, once again, suggests European missionary activity in the Pacific is harmful because it has unpset the existing social order and has caused upheaval and unrest.

Clearly the dominating topos that influenced and guided Kotzebue's imagination in the perception of what he saw and comprehended is the image of the destruction of paradise through religious zealotry.

Kotzebue's observations suggest that the idea and intentions - the "sense of responsibility" - of bringing civilisation to the "savages", though in principle a benevolent and noble ideal achieved only a negative outcome. As a result, a previously happy people, envied by

[87] O. v. Kotzebue (1830): op. cit., vol.2, pp.260-262.

the early Pacific voyagers as "blessed", were turned into an "oppressed people, who submissively bow to the yoke".[88] This critique by Kotzebue (directed against the European practice of acculturation by force) is formed under the influence of the topoi of power and development: military, economic, political and cultural power and also the idea of progress as manifested in the thinking of the European Enlightenment.

In addition to the argument that the method of Christian teaching was not suitable for the natives of Polynesia, Kotzebue, on his last visit to Hawaii, claims that the new culture brought about economic strains. To make the point, Kotzebue uses the complain of an old Hawaiian:

"What is the use of the odious B A, Ba? Will it make our yams and potatoes grow? No such thing; our country people are obliged to neglect their fields for it, and scarcely half the land is tilled. What will be the consequence? There will be a famine by and by, and "Pala, Pala" will not fill a hungry man".[89]

And after visiting Tahiti Kotzebue remarks:

Matarai Bay is rich in finely flavoured fish, of various, sometimes extraordinary form, and beautiful colours. The Tahitians eat them raw, or only steeped in sea-water. Their fishing-tackle consists of nothing more than bad angling lines and hooks; to make nets as their forefathers did, would trespass too much upon the time they are obliged to spend in prayer. Hence fish is so great a rarity to them, that their eager desire for it sometimes prompts them to belie their good character, of which we had an example. One of our large nets having brought up a multitude of fine fish, the temptation was too strong to be resisted, and our friends would have forcibly shared our acquisition with us, had not our severe reproof, and the accidental appearance of the judge of the district, restrained them. They then tried to obtain the fish by barter, and offered their most valuable tools for the smallest and worst of them; I gave them, however, so many, that for once their appetite was fully satisfied with a luxurious repast.[90]

Both extracts highlight the negative consequences of European intrusion in the Pacific:

---

[88] Ibid., vol.1, p.203.
[89] Ibid., vol.2, p.260.
[90] Ibid., vol.1, pp.200-201.

the natives' loss of traditional culture and skills and the resultant economic regress and social disruption they suffer. In addition, it is evident that the impact of culture change had serious ramifications: the cultural introduction of Christianity effected the economic well-being of the islanders.

These findings, however, are not new in Pacific description, but are a manifest continuity of imagery that is brought into a new context. They had been already foreshadowed, as shown earlier, by Georg Forster who had warned of the danger facing traditional Polynesian life. Furthermore, the issue concerning the islanders' request to share the fish was, according to native culture, a "natural" practice. It formed an intricate part of native communal life - a custom all too often not recognised by Europeans who, as a consequence of the hermeneutic situation, were forced to give meaning to the other, the foreign, under the influence and guidance of their own cultural pre-understanding.

c.) Chamisso's experiences.

Chamisso never visited Tahiti on his voyage round the world. And "no missionaries had as yet come to the Sandwich Islands"[91] at the time the "Rurik" set sail, 14 October 1817. It is evident that Chamisso had no first-hand experience of the consequences of the culture change that resulted from Christian contact in Tahiti and Hawaii. His understanding of the situation was based on the accounts of Kotzebue and other writers. Kotzebue's *A New Voyage Round the World*.... was published in 1830 and this was some four years before Chamisso put his experience to paper. Nevertheless, Chamisso had strong feelings on the subject. In the

[91] A. v. Chamisso: op. cit., p.309.

"Journal" he confesses:

The missions that have become so controversial did not set foot on these islands until after my time, and I do not take any side in this matter. Look at the documents and don't listen to those who without having seen for themselves raise their voices in the controversy. I myself have not read all of them. The native culture, which must perish in the wake of rising Christianity, I have seen and found worthy. That I mourn for it I am frank to confess. But that I am a man of progress and that the spirit of Christianity with all its blessings means more to me, I believe I demonstrated when I published my poem "A Day of Judgment on Huahine".[92] Even in pious Ellis (*Polynesian Researches*) I have failed to find two things: it seems to me he should have become an O-Taheitian [Tahitian] himself before he undertook to alter O-Taheitians, and he could have conceived and carried out his work in a more spiritual manner. Mariners who have sought women and pleasure in the Sandwich Islands may have become inimical toward the missions, but, dropping more serious accusations, it still seems to me to be plain from all the reports that the missionary work is carried out in an uninspired way in O-Waihi [Hawaii], where no progress in the social order bears testimony to an uplifting of the spirit. The quiet observation of the Sabbath and the forced attendance at church and school still do not account to Christianity.[93]

And some pages further in "Notes and Opinions", he writes:

No missionaries have as yet come to the Sandwich Islands, and, indeed, they could promise themselves that their efforts would bear but little fruit among these sensual people. On the islands of Eastern Polynesia Christianity could flourish only upon the downfall of everything now in existence there. We do not doubt the events in O-Taheiti, but neither do we comprehend them, and Mr. Marini, who earlier visited these islands, tells us, which seems very logical to us, that the natives mostly visited the missionaries only from the desire to amuse themselves later by imitating their habits.[94]

These extracts are of great importance. They not only reveal the inner tension within Chamisso but also disclose the prejudices which grounded his comprehension of the situation in

---

[92] A. v. Chamisso: *Sämtliche Werke*, vol.1, pp.298-302. This poem is based on Ellis's account describing the public trial of the widow of Pomare II, who unlawfully ordered to "cut down a bread-fruit tree growing in the garden of a poor man" and as a consequence was found guilty. Chamisso's poem provides evidence that the author believed in the notion of European democracy and its introduction into the Pacific. For an account of the new code of laws and the description of the trial of Pomare's widow consult W. Ellis: *Polynesian Researches. Society Islands, Tubuai Islands, and New Zealand.* pp.175-214.

[93] A. v. Chamisso: op. cit., pp.190-191.

[94] Ibid., pp.308-309.

the Pacific. That is to say, the contact between two quite different cultures. On the one hand, the European Christian culture, and on the other hand, the Polynesian heathen culture.

A number of inferences can be drawn from an interpretation of the text. Firstly, though native culture is regarded as "worthy", Chamisso's understanding of it was formed under the influence of the Enlightenment view that all forms of life develop from the simple to the complex through natural deterministic processes. This understanding restricts culture to "civilised" races and confines "the non-European to a secondary racial, cultural, ontological status".[95] Secondly, that different life-styles can pose impediments to cultural understanding and relations. Thirdly, that traditional European Christian teaching is not for the Antipodes: it contributes to the destruction of native culture and "the downfall of everything now in existence" as well as to the domination of one culture by another. A practice, as Said points out, which is based on the belief that it "was the great power's right to safeguard its distant interests even to the point of military invasion [and the belief that the] lesser powers were also lesser peoples, with lesser rights, morals, claims".[96]

Both, Chamisso and Kotzebue argue that Western culture, which they supported, was meaningless to the natives of the South Sea because European cultural practices were too different and, therefore, could not be given meaning. Further, this view supports the notion of cultural relativism: this is in contrast to the Enlightenment theory of universalism.

---

[95] E. Said: op. cit., p.70.
[96] Ibid., p.41.

d.) Missionaries' experiences.

Kotzebue's and Chamisso's views on the influence of missionary activities stand in total contrast to those of the English missionary, the Rev. William Ellis who went to Polynesia in 1816. Ellis perceived the change in character and manner of the Tahitians as favourable. In *A Vindication of the South Sea Missions from the Misrepresentations of Otto von Kotzebue* Ellis writes:

> no one can read the accounts of the most transient visits of early voyagers, without disgust at the manners they describe; ... deeds, in broad open day, so gross and horrid, that the slightest notice of them would be to outrage every feeling of delicacy and propriety implanted by nature, or cherished by religion ... Now what is the fact? In 1815, 16, and 17, the people embraced Christianity ... The virtue of chastity was inculcated and maintained; Christian marriage was instituted soon after; ... and whatever deviations may have arisen, the great principle is uniformly maintained to this day.[97]

Ellis' view suggests that Polynesian life is cultureless and that traditional island life is characterised by both the lack of social control and by licentious human desire. This interpretation leads to believe that Ellis' understanding was recorded under the influence of the topoi of civilisation and progress through Christianity which make the "other" - the different, the foreign - appear as primitive. The reference to sexuality is obvious.

According to Bernard Mc Grane "the Other is now *fundamentally primitive* from a progress and evolution frame of reference. The concept of progress was what made possible the experience of the *Other-as-primitive* of the Other-as-fossil".[98] That is to say, the European notion of sensibility and sophistication, formed by the concept of progress, made the encounter with the non-European an experience of "primitivness". This line of argumentation, as Mc

---

[97] W. Ellis: *A Vindication of the South Sea Missions from the Misrepresentations of Otto von Kotzebue*, 1831, pp.78,89,90,91; quoted in N. Rennie: op. cit., p.179.

[98] B. McGrane: op. cit., p.98.

Grane puts it, "authorizes the transformation of the different [island culture] into the primitive".[99] In short, the European critique levelled against the primitiveness of the non-European, the alien, was a discourse about development; and it was this level of development, presented in the pre-understanding, that guided and influenced their imagination in the perception and comprehension of the other culture.

This negative line of argumentation - which influenced missionary and other European thinking - failed to recognise, as Rod Edmond explains, "that Polynesians inhabited a world of meaning, an organized ensemble of customs and institutions; in other words, that they possessed a culture".[100]

The issue of nineteenth century European sexual practices that guided the European understanding of the Pacific and the sexuality of its people will be discussed later. Clearly, suppression of sexuality is the hidden motive of Ellis' Christianity.

The argument concerning the process of civilisation (the subject dealing with the domestication of the Polynesians) was a great concern to Ellis. And in his *Polynesian Researches*, he attempts to synthesise the ideas of Christianity and civilisation by suggesting that

> domestic happiness, though formerly unknown even in name, is now sedulously cultivated, and spreads around their abodes of order and comfort its choicest blessings. The husband and the wife, instead of promiscuously mingling with the multitude, or dwelling in the houses of their chiefs, live together in the neat little cottages reared by their own industry, and find satisfaction and comfort in each other's society. Every household virtue adorns their families; the children grow up the objects of their mutual affection, and call into exercise new solicitudes and unwonted emotions of delight. Often they appear sitting together reading the scriptures, walking in company to the house of God, or surrounding, not indeed the family hearth, or the domestic fireside, which in their warm climate would be no addition to their

---

[99] Ibid., p.99.
[100] R. Edmond: *Representing the South Pacific*, p.107.

comfort, but the family board, spread with the liberal gifts of divine bounty. The father at times, may also be seen nursing his little child at the door of his cottage, and the mother sitting at needle-work by his side, or engaged in other domestic employments.[101]

The passage is of course sheer melodrama, and could have been lifted from a number of Victorian novels. In short, Ellis' account renders Tahitian culture as an ideal version of rural England. Ellis' perception of Polynesian culture took place under the influence of his own European culture which effectively redefined the "absolutely other" as the "domesticated other" - a view that highlights the hermeneutic dilemma Pacific travellers and writers encountered in giving meaning to what they saw.

In support of Ellis and in contrast to Kotzebue's critique, and those of others,[102] inspectors of the London Missionary Society (L.M S.) who went to Tahiti to observe the progress of heathen conversion in 1821, wrote in their report:

While we see, with great satisfaction, all these islands living under just and humane laws, and blessed with all the institutions of the gospel, in full operation, we rejoice beholding the progress which civilization has made in islands so lately in the depths of barbarism and the grossest superstition. That, in so short a period since the downfal [sic] of idolatry, so many of the people should have become acquainted with the arts of reading, writing and arithmetic ... a complete change effected in the manner of the people, from gross sensuality to the greatest decency and good behaviour - a people degraded by crime below any other people upon the face of the earth, but now the most generally, and the most consistent, professors of Christianity of any nation under heaven ... .[103]

This passage, once again, argues that Polynesians are cultureless and in need of domestication. At the same time it is claimed that it is the responsibility of the more civilised

---

[101] W. Ellis: *Polynesian Researches. Society Islands, Tubuai Islands, and New Zealand*, pp.293-294.

[102] F.W. Beechy: *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait*, pp.304-309.

[103] J. Montgomery (ed.): *Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq.* pp.110-111; quoted in U. Bitterli: op. cit., pp.176-177.

Europeans to assure the progress of this transition. After all, "savage life" was a period in the culture and social evolution of the Europeans. Mc Grane argues: in nineteenth-century anthropology "*past and present became contemporary with each other*, because different peoples passed through these fixed stages of development at different velocities".[104] This view argues that cultural differences are basically historical differences.[105]

The finding that the Tahitians were - prior to Christian contact - "a people degraded by crime below any other people upon the face of the earth", challenges the accounts of such as of Wallis, Bougainville, Cook, Banks and the Forsters. Yet, even though these explorers envied Polynesian life, some of them had difficulty giving meaning to the Polynesian practices of cannibalism and infanticide: such practices stained their perception of paradise,[106] and whilst revealing the existence of an inner tension inherent in the European comprehension of the Pacific and its people.

As for the reported enthusiasm with which the Polynesians learned the "arts of reading, writing and arithmetic", Kotzebue suggests that "some of the old people [whom he saw in Hawaii] appeared to have joined the [missionary] assembly rather for example's sake, than from

---

[104] B. McGrane: op. cit., p.102.

[105] Ibid., p.85.

[106] G. Forster: op. cit., for cannibalism see AA I: 295-7, 386-7, 515; for infanticide see AA I: 413-17; Chamisso, while visiting Ratak, was informed of the existing custom of infanticide, p.281; and Cook witnessed the eating of human flesh, an event that struck him with horror, J. C. Beaglehole (ed.): *The Journal of Captain James Cook on his Voyage of Discovery*, vol.2, p.293; for infanticide see: ibid., vol.1, p.128; for Banks' account on infanticide see: J. C. Beaglehole (ed.): *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, vol.1, p.351. And David Arnold in *The Problem of Nature*, drawing on the writings T.R. Malthus, was of the view that Tahiti "far from being an earthly Eden, was ravaged by warfare, hunger and disease, and, the victim of an improvident attachment to the god of Love, could only control its numbers through the savage checks of infanticide and human sacrifice", op. cit., p.50, & #10.

the desire to learn, as they were studying, with an affectation of extreme diligence, books held upside down".[107] That is, the natives conformed because of fear. As one islander confesses:

"Don't think that I am learning to read. I have only bought the book to look into it, that Kahumanna [Queen of Hawaii] may think I am following the general example; she would not otherwise suffer me to approach her, and what would then become of a poor, miserable, old man like me?"[108]

And Chamisso was of the opinion "that the natives mostly visited the missionaries only from the desire to amuse themselves later by imitating their habits".[109]

Though Pacific travellers and writers experienced mimicry as menacing, Ellis is of the opinion that the hybrid nature of Tahitian housing and clothing are a manifestation of "the peculiar plastic, forming state of the nation".[110]

According to Ellis, Tahitian women conform with more propriety to the European custom of clothing than Tahitian men. He confesses that

the only inconsistency we ever observed was that of a woman's sometimes wearing a coat or jacket belonging to her husband or brother. The men, however, were less scrupulous .... I have seen a stocking sometimes on the leg, and sometimes on the arm, and a pair of pantaloons worn one part of the day in a proper manner, and during an other part thrown over the shoulders, the arms of the wearer streched through the legs, and the waistband buttoned round the chest.[111]

This observation argues that Tahitian women are "instinctively more civilised" than Tahitian men.[112] From a hermeneutical perspective, the passage also provides evidence of the

---

[107] O. v. Kotzebue (1830). op. cit., vol.2, p.206.
[108] Ibid., vol.2, p.260.
[109] A. v. Chamisso: op. cit., p.309. Kotzebue's comments on the negative effects deriving from the introduction of European fashion and liquor to Hawaii, are recorded op.cit., (1821), vol.1, pp.329-331; (1830), vol.2, p.167.
[110] W. Ellis: op. cit., *Society Islands*, p.392.
[111] Ibid., pp.393-394.
[112] R. Edmond: op. cit., p.123.

difficulties that are associated with the process of giving meaning to things foreign: such as European dress culture.

As historical accounts reveal, the successful introduction of Christianity and its perceived enforcement depended, by and large, on the co-operation of the native chiefs. Being aware of this, the missionaries (whose first aim it was to "civilise" the natives: "to encourage seemly behaviour and respectable clothing [as understood by the European mind], to root out pagan rituals and customs, and to combat cannibalism and infanticide wherever these might occur"[113]) directed their attention to the families of the prominent chiefs. A conversion of the upper ranks would facilitate and assist in the process of mass-conversion. This procedure is most clearly notable in Tahiti. There, the missionaries formed an alliance with king Pomare II. It proved to be valuable in the spread of Christianity and politically advantageous to the Tahitian king.[114]

---

[113] U. Bitterli: op. cit., p.176.

[114] For accounts that describe the missionary alliance with the Tahitian chief Pomare II and the associated social and political ramifications consult: K. R. Howe: *Where the Waves Fall*, chap. 7, pp.125-151; R. Langdon: *Tahiti: Island of Love*, pp.83-131; D. Howarth: *Tahiti, a Paradise Lost*, pp.159-205; W. Ellis: *Polynesian Researches. Society Islands*; the same: *Polynesian Researches. Society Islands, Tubuai Islands, and New Zealand*. For Kamahameha of Hawaii see: G. Daws: *Shoal of Time*, chaps. 2 & 3, pp.29-105; K.R. Howe: op. cit., chap. 8, pp.152-176; W. Ellis: *Polynesian Researches Hawaii*.

e.) Culture contact - some theoretical understanding.

The discussed condition of culture contact between European and Pacific islanders is not new. Urs Bitterli in *Cultures in Conflict* explains that the conditions of culture clash employed in its "manifold variations" constituted "the commonest form of encounter between European and non-European people ... from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth".[115]

This finding highlights that the mind-set of some of the European Pacific explorers and travellers was partly directed by the understanding that "imperial domination of subjected people was legitimated by the notion that Westerners were serving the interests of the less civilized by wiping out superstition, magic, and false religion and substituting in their place justice, reason, and truth".[116] These are essential values needed in man's quest for perfectibility, as set out in Enlightenment thought. The issue of bringing civilisation to native man, became kown as the "White Man's Burden", coined by Rudyard Kipling.[117]

This adopted "sense of responsibility", enhanced by the Darwinian theory of evolution - published in 1859[118] - located European civilisation at the apex of human evolution and it legitimised the process through which European nations assumed control over native people without their consent. At the same time, this manner of understanding created the "other" which then was seen by Europeans as incapable of self-government and served to "legitimate

---

[115] U. Bitterli: op. cit., p.40.

[116] J. Appleby & others (eds.): *Kowledge and Postmodernism in Historical Perspective*, p.259.

[117] M. Drabble (ed.): *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, p.537. Kipling's verse expressed pride in Britain's overseas expansion though often critical of its failure to live up to its ideals.

[118] C. Darwin: *The Voyage of the Beagle*.

colonialism as a political system".[119]

In order to curtail the effects of colonial practices emerging from this belief, a more humanitarian viewpoint was adopted and presented in the form of instructions to Pacific explorers and travellers. These guidelines set out the procedures to be followed in the event of an encounter with native people. These procedures were made necessary for a number of reasons: firstly, in the absence of a plan to colonise the Pacific region; secondly, by the need to minimise conflict in culture contact which could result in the loss of crew numbers and weaken moral on board; thirdly, not to jeopardise the voyagers' supply of fresh food and water that depended, by and large, on the cooperation of the natives.[120]

As early as 1764, when John Byron embarked on a voyage round the world - the first British explorer for almost a quarter of a century to cross the ocean - he was instructed "to endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship with the Inhabitants, if you shall find any, presenting them with such Trifles as they may value, and shewing (sic) them all possible civility and respect ...".[121]

Instructions given to James Cook in July 1768, before embarking on his voyage into the Pacific for the first time, were of a similar nature. They suggested "to endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a friendship with the Natives".[122]

And the "simple and noble" objective of the London Missionary Society was, "to deliver mankind from the greatest possible portion of misery which beset them, and to confer

---

[119] J. Appleby & others (eds.): op. cit., p.260.
[120] U. Bitterli: op. cit., p.166.
[121] R. E. Gallagher (ed.): *Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766*, p.4.
[122] J.C. Beaglehole (ed.) *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, vol.1, p.CCIXXX.

upon them the most abundant measure of felicity which our nature is capable of enjoying".[123]

It is evident that the intended form of contact between Europeans and non-Europeans underwent intellectual re-orientation: the "prehistoric age of anthropology" came to an end and was then replaced by the classical epoch.[124]

Talking about culture contact, the assimilation of native people into European culture, Gottfried Herder in his work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, as early as 1785, had recognised and warned that "die Natur ist allenthalben ein lebendiges Ganze und will sanft befolgt und gebessert, nicht aber gewaltsam beherrschet seyn".[125] This observation and documentation by Herder and other social writers of the time, stands in total contrast to that what Kotzebue, Chamisso and others had to say regarding the introduction of Pacific islanders into European culture.

f.) Summary.

Summarising the interpretations of Kotzebue's and Chamisso's experiences, it has been found that the imagery of innocence, happy people, the absence of burdensome labour, longevity and fine climate - to name but some - employed in their presentations are continuing earlier thought. They are well established arguments, assembled in the topos of paradise. The critique of European intrusion into the Pacific, of European colonialism, and the associated argument for cultural relativism are, though new to them, arguments of a similar nature which had been well documented at the time of Kotzebue's and Chamisso's Pacific voyages. The

---

[123] J. Wilson: *A Missionary Voyage to the Souther Pacific Ocean 1796-1798*, p.3.
[124] W. E. Mühlmann: *Geschichte der Anthropologie*, esp. pp.48-66.
[125] G. Herder: *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol.13, p.288.

contrasting perception, on the one hand, that native culture is emotionally prefered and, on the other hand, that European culture is superior, was previously argued by Cook, Georg Forster and others and, therefore, well established. Their form of presentation, however, highlight the ambiguity, the inner tension that was instrumental in the European perception and comprehension of the new, their Pacific experiences.

As for the understanding of the hermeneutic situation, the argument that the European method of presenting Christianity to non-European people was unsuitable for the Antiopdes, that is a finding, that was not widely recognised at the time of Kotzebue's and Chamisso's published experiences. In addition, the observation that both races encountered difficulties in understanding each other's culture, is evidence that new experiences, as contemporary hermeneutics suggests, cannot be too foreign in order to be given meaning.

In short, much of the presentations of Kotzebue and Chamisso were written under the influence and the guidance of the imagery that argues that, firstly, European culture is not for the Pacific and secondly, for the destruction of paradise.

The next chapter will discuss some of the Pacific writings of Herman Melville.

Chapter IV

Herman Melville and the Pacific.

Herman Melville came to the Pacific some twenty five years after Kotzebue, accompanied by Chamisso, set out on is second voyage around the world.

a.) Preliminaries.

The son of an importer of French goods, Melville was born in 1819 in New York and died there in 1891.[126] After his father's business failure and his subsequent death, Herman at the age of eighteen tried his hand at clerking, manual labour, and teaching. In 1839 he signed up as a common sailor on the *St. Lawrence*, a merchant ship, which took him on a four months voyage to Liverpool. In 1841, in search of adventure he joined the *Acushnet*, a whaling ship, bound for the South Sea. Some eighteen months later, in July 1842, disenchanted with life on the *Acushnet*, he and a friend jumped ship in the Marquesas. There he lived with the natives, believed to be cannibals, in the Typee valley - an experience that inspired his first book *Typee*. After spending four months with the natives of the valley, he was rescued by the Australian whaler the *Lucy Ann*. On the *Lucy Ann*, however, Melville found the conditions even worse than on the *Acushnet*.[127] The dissatisfaction among the crew led to mutiny, and subsequently, part of the crew, including Melville, were incarcerated in the "calabooza" - the straw hut

---

[126] This biographical information is taken mainly from J. Bryant (ed.): *A Companian to Melville Studies*; E.H. Miller: *Melville*; J. Duban: *Melville's Major Fictions*; M. Davis & W. Gilman (eds.): *The Letters of Herman Melville*; R. Wightman Fox & J. Kloppenburg (eds.): *A Companion to American Thought*, pp.445-447; G. Daws: *A Dream of Islands*, pp.71-127.

[127] G. Daws: op. cit., pp.76-77.

makeshift jail of Papeete. Soon discharged, Melville became a beachcomber, an "Omoo", at Tahiti and Moorea. Yet, dissatisfied with this life-style, he wanted to move on again; he joined another whaler, the *Charles and Henry*, that took him to Hawaii. There, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy on the frigate the *United States*. When the ship arrived at its home port of Boston in October 1844, Melville left the Navy.

Having spent almost four years on sea roads and ports of call in the Pacific, and having observed life in the Marquesas, Tahiti, Moorea and the Hawaiian Islands, Melville decided to write about his experiences. The Pacific thus provided the raw material for his career as a writer.

The autobiographical works, *Typee* (1846) describing the author's stay at the Marquesas and the sequel *Omoo* (1847) accounting for his wanderings in Tahiti and Moorea, are placed somewhere between fact and fiction.[128] No doubt, the adventure was real, despite being too frequently and fictitiously extended and dramatised - no diary was kept and the accounts were written from recollection.[129] This practice, as Leon Howard explains, formed the conditions where "Melville himself could not always have told where his memory faded and his imagination took over".[130] In short, Melville saw first and read later. As scholarly work has shown, the author borrowed much of the information in his books from other sources and put them before the public as first-hand experiences.[131]

This method of presentation, however, though only partly based on the writer's own

---

[128] H. Melville: *Typee*, p.292; G. Dawn: op. cit., p.85.
[129] H. Melville: *Omoo*, p.XIV.
[130] *Typee*, p.292.
[131] *Omoo*, pp.322-325; *Typee*, pp.291-292; N. Rennie: *Far Fetched Facts*, pp.185,187,200.

first-hand experiences, provides important information for this discussion. It reflects what he himself called the European understanding of the Pacific and its people in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, the change in perception since the days of Cook, even Chamisso, are important to this inquiry.

Although the receptions of *Typee* and *Omoo* were positive[132] - Melville wrote what people wanted to hear about the South Sea[133] - the two works never became best-sellers.

b.) The Typee valley experience and related perspectives.

After spending some time with the natives of the Typee valley[134] and having become more familiar with Polynesian culture and the "habits of its inmates", Melville confesses that,

> despite the disadvantages of his condition, the Polynesian savage, surrounded by all the luxurious provisions of nature, enjoyed an infinitely happier, though certainly a less intellectual existence, than the self-complacent European.
>
> The naked wretch who shivers beneath the bleak skies, and starves among the inhospitable wilds of Terra-del-Fuego, might indeed be made happier by civilization, for it would alleviate his physical wants. But the voluptuous Indian, with every desire supplied, whom Providence has bountifully provided with all the sources of pure and natural enjoyment, and from whom are removed so many of the ills and pains of life - what has he to desire at the hand of Civilization? She may "cultivate his mind," - may "elevate his thoughts," - these I believe are the established phrases - but will he be the happier? Let the once smiling and populous Hawaiian islands, with their now diseased, starving, and dying natives, answer the question. The missionaries may seek to disguise the matter as they will, but the facts are incontrovertible; and the devoutest Christian who visits that group with an unbiased mind, must go away mournfully asking - "Are these, alas! the fruits of twenty-five years of enlightenment?"
>
> In a primitive state of society, the enjoyment of life, though few and simple, are spread over a great extent, and are unalloyed; but Civilization, for every advantage she imparts, holds a hundred evils in reserve; - the heart burnings, the jealousies, the social rivalries, the family

---

[132] J. Bryant: op. cit., p.98.

[133] G. Daws: op. cit., p.82.

[134] Despite the fact that in the text the time span was extended to four months, Melville spent four weeks only in the Typee valley.

dissensions, and the thousand self-inflicted discomforts of refined life, which make up in units the swelling aggregate of human misery, are unknown among these unsophisticated people.

But it will be urged that these shocking unprincipled wretches are cannibals. Very true; and a rather bad trait in their character it must be allowed. But they are such only when they seek to gratify the passion of revenge upon their enemies; and I ask whether the mere eating of human flesh so very far exceeds in barbarity that custom which only a few years since was practised in enlightened England: - a convicted traitor, perhaps a man found guilty of honesty, patriotism, and suchlike heinous crimes, had his head lopped off with a huge axe, his bowels dragged out and thrown into the fire; while his body, carved into four quarters, was with his head exposed upon pikes, and permitted to rot and fester among the public haunts of men!

The fiend-like skill we display in the invention of all manner of death-dealing engines, the vindictiveness with which we carry on our wars, and the misery and desolation that follow in their train, are enough of themselves to distinguish the white civilized man as the most ferocious animal on the face of the earth. ....

The term "Savage" is, I conceive, often misapplied, and indeed when I consider the vices, cruelties, and enormities of every kind that spring up in the tainted atmosphere of a feverish civilization, I am inclined to think that so far as the relative wickedness of the parties is concerned, four or five Marquesan Islanders sent to the United States as Missionaries might be quite as useful as an equal number of Americans despatched to the Islands in a similar capacity.[135]

The passage, which in many ways reminds us of similar remarks in Forster's writings, continues to portray the islanders as happier, healthier, and better looking than the Europeans as long as their life is not compromised by missionaries. Native man was not subjected to "those thousand sources of irritation that the ingenuity of civilized man has created to mar his own felicity".[136] In the valley of Typee "there were no foreclosures of mortgages, no protested notes, no bills payable, no debts to honor". In short, "that root of all evil [Money] was not to be found in the valley". And work, the penalty of the Fall that weighed so heavily on European shoulders, did not even raise sweat on the brow of Polynesian man. In the Pacific, the activity necessary to sustain life, was understood to be "a constant variety of enjoyment". Combined with the perceived carefree life-style of the natives, it permitted "the hours [to trip] along as

---

[135] *Typee*, pp.124-126.
[136] Ibid., p.126.

gaily as the laughing couples down a country dance".[137]

Observing and depicting Polynesian life in such idyllic terms - very similar to Georg Forster's accounts - it comes as no surprise that Melville thought that European man and his "civiiised" culture can learn and benefit from "savage" culture. This observation effectively argues that culture contact in the Pacific is not only a "White Man's Burden".

The imagery employed in the depiction of the experience suggest that Melville understands that, the Polynesian life is preferable to European life; and the cannibalism and infanticide in such a society Melville endeavours to excuse,[138] employing similar arguments as Montaigne and Georg Forster in his description.[139] This responce reveals the ambiguity that directed the comprehension of the experience. It shows the conflict the new experience generated within Melville - a condition similar to that experienced by Georg Forster and other Pacific explorers and travellers. In addition, the text demonstrates that both, Marquesan Islanders and Euro-Americans, can learn from each other; and that both can enrich each others culture.

There is also the argument that some races can benefit from European culture; that the practice of intellectual pursuits and of refined life are the source of much human misery; and that the European cultural practices endanger the idyllic life-style of the Polynesians. To elevate native life over "cultured life", Melville contrasts the understandings of civilisation and "barbarism" and sophistication and simplicity.

---

[137] Ibid., pp.126-127.
[138] Ibid., pp.192-193.
[139] M. Montaigne: "Of Cannibales", in: *Great Books of the Western World*, vol.25, p.95; G. Forster: *A Voyage Round the World*, AA 1: 297,515.

Broadly speaking, Melville describes an unspoiled island onto which he projects his own desires and ideals formed from reading earlier Pacific writings. The presented account is thus within the Enlightenment and Romantic tradition - which appropriated the Pacific in order to construct a case against the negatives of its own European civilisation - leaving little doubt that the author prefers the savage state of Typee to that of Western civilisation. These observations, however, are derivative and are well documented in earlier writings.

Yet, Melville, who praised Polynesian life - effectively placing nature before culture - did not give up civilisation in favour of primitive life. Instead, like Tommo, he chose to leave the Marquesas for Tahiti, Tahiti for Hawaii, and Hawaii for home. Thus, Melville left "savagery" further and further behind. Melville's actions indicate that Polynesian life, though perceived to be paradisiacal, was not for Europeans. It means that savagery was death and that escape to civilisation was life. This view is presented in the character of Tommo, the fictive Melville in *Typee*, who was horrified by the natives' cultural practices and consequently wanted to escape from the valley.[140]

The meaning of the text is that those who come from a modern industrial capitalist world cannot escape its culture and conditioning. This idea, is well documented at the time of *Typee's* presentation to the American and European public. It displays a continuity of old topoi, in description and critique.

---

[140] *Typee*, pp.141-142; the argument that Polynesian life is not suitable for Europeans is also presented in *Omoo*, pp.15,23,198,312.

Both Montaigne[141] and Rousseau[142] had claimed that the cultural development suffocated and did not contribute to man's happiness. In his "Essays", writing about the people of the New World, Montaigne left little doubt that "natural man" - unspoiled by civilisation - was happy and virtuous.

Our world [he writes in "Of Coaches"] has lately discovered another (and who will assure us that it is the last of its brothers, since the Daemons, the Sybils, and we ourselves have been ignorant of this till now?) as large, well peopled, and fruitful, as this whereon we live; and yet so raw and childish, that we are still teaching it its A B C. ..... Most of their answers, and the negotiations we have had with them, witness that they were nothing behind us in pertinency and clearness of natural understanding. The astonishing magnificence of the cities of Cusco and Mexico, and, amongst many other things, the garden of the king, where all the trees, fruits, and plants, according to the order and stature they have in a garden, were excellently formed in gold; as, in his cabinet, were all the animals bred upon his territory and in its seas; and the beauty of their manufactures, in jewels, feathers, cotton, and painting, gave ample proof that they were as little inferior to us in industry. But as to what concerns devotion, observance of the laws, goodness, liberality, loyalty, and plain dealing, it was of use to us that we had not so much as they; for they have lost, sold, and betrayed themselves by this advantage over us.[143]

And in "Of Cannibals" he argues:

We may then call these people barbarous, in respect to the rules of reason: but not in respect to ourselves, who in all sorts of barbarity exceed them. .... And they are moreover, happy in this, that they only covet so much as their natural necessities require: all beyond that, is superfluous to them.[144]

The great Pacific explorer James Cook wrote that the natives of Australia "in reality ... are far happier than we Europeans; being wholy (sic) unaquainted not only with the superfluous but the necessary Conveniences so much sought after in Europe".[145] And what

---

[141] M. Montaigne: "Of Cannibales", in: *Great Books of the Western World*, vol.25, pp.91-98; "Of Coaches", in: the same, pp.434-443.

[142] J. Rousseau: "On the Origin of inequality", in: *Great Books of the Western World*, vol.38, pp.323-366; *The Confession of Jean Jacques Rousseau*.

[143] M. Montaigne: op. cit., p.440.

[144] Ibid., pp.95-96.

[145] J. C. Beaglehole (ed.) *The Journal of Captain James Cook*, vol.1, p.399.

Georg Forster had foreshadowed in 1773,[146] Charles Darwin observed some sixty years later writing "wherever the European has trod, death seems to pursue the aboriginal".[147]

Clearly, Melville's sad thought on the shortcomings of European intrusion into the Pacific are similar to those of G. Forster, Darwin and others. Put in another way, the hermeneutic conditions under which Melville wrote his Pacific experiences influenced his understanding: he deliberately exploited earlier Pacific accounts and other writings in order to organise and express his own experiences.

The finding that Melville's account is heavily indebted to other writings becomes most evident by comparing it with Montaigne's *Of Cannibals*.

With the Essay "Of Cannibals", Montaigne in 1588, offered an opinion on the theme of the "noble savage". That opinion suggests that the Indians of the New World enjoyed a communal life in

> a nation wherein there is no manner of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no science of numbers, no name of magistrate or political superiority; no use of service, riches or poverty, no contracts, no successions, no dividends, no properties, no employment, but those of leisure ...[148]

On the issue of cannibalism, Montaigne wrote:

> I conceive there is more barbarity in eating a man alive, than when he is dead; in tearing a body limb from limb by racks and torments, that is yet in perfect sense; in roasting it by degrees; in causing it to be bitten and worried by dogs and swine (as we have not only read, but lately seen, not amongst inveterate and mortal enemies, but among neighbours and fellow-citizens, and, which is worse, under colour of piety and religion), than to roast and eat him after he is dead.[149]

---

[146] G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 127.
[147] C. Darwin: *Voyage of the Beagle*, p.322.
[148] M. Montaigne: op. cit., p.94.
[149] Ibid., p.95.

And regarding the cultural differences between nations, Montaigne observed:

I find that there is nothing barbarous and savage in this nation... excepting, that every one gives the title of barbarism to everything that is not in use in his own country. As, indeed, we have no other level of truth and reason, than the example and idea of the opinions and customs of the place wherein we live".[150]

These and similar observations were echoed by Melville in his Pacific accounts.

This textual similarity suggests, though difficult to prove, that Melville had read Montaigne's *Essays* - or similar earlier writings - and had used them in his presentation.

Melville was interested in ethnography; he wanted to establish the true nature of the Polynesians. His observations led him to argue:

How often is the term "savage" incorrectly applied! None really deserving of it were ever yet discovered by voyagers or by travellers. They have discovered heathens and barbarians, whom by horrible cruelties they have exasperated into savages. It may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that in all the cases of outrages committed by Polynesians, Europeans have at some time or other been the aggressors, and that the cruel and bloodthirsty disposition of some of the islanders is mainly to be ascribed to the influence of such examples.[151]

This critique argues that the Europeans are the real "savages"; and that the Polynesians are the "civilised" ones, who "with open arms [stood] ready to embrace the strangers' to their shores".[152] Though the argument is headed by the topos that "natural man" is kind hearted and civilisation corrupts (by then well documented) it, nevertheless, reveals both the continuity of topoi and their application to new context.

Contemporary Pacific writings argue in a similar fashion. They maintain that at the time of culture contact all to often due to a lack of knowledge of native culture, custom, politics and

---

[150] Ibid., p.93.
[151] *Typee*, p.27.
[152] *Typee*, p.26.

language the Europeans were the aggressors.

In William Pearson's "The reception of European voyagers on Polynesian islands 1568-1797", it is argued that the "first contacts between Europeans and Polynesians were conditioned by conflicts of economic pressures ... [and that] the main cause of breaches in relations on the European side was a disrespect for the rights of the inhabitants".[153]

Anne Salmond in her work *Two Worlds*, is of a similar understanding. She provides evidence that in many cases of violent encounters between Europeans and natives, the intruders were the aggressors who incited hostility. The slaughter of Du Fresne and his party by Maories in the Bay of Islands, 12. June 1772, is a case in point.[154]

This event, combined with the killing of Cook, the massacare of the men of Furneaux, those of La Pérouse and other bloody encounters, brought about a fundamental revision in the European perception of native people: the "noble savage" became the "ignoble savage". In consequence, as Bernard Smith explains, those "who had been portrayed like gods came to be portrayed like monkeys".[155]

It is important to remember, however, that the images and events presented in earlier

---

[153] W. Pearson: "The reception of European voyagers on Polynesian islands 1568-1797", pp.121&140, in: *Journal de la Societé des Oceanistes*, 26,1970, pp.121-154; the same: "European Intimidation and the Myth of Tahiti", in: *The Journal of Pacific History*, 4, 1969, pp.199-217.

[154] A. Salmond: *Two Worlds*, pp.394-5; D. Denoon and others (eds.): *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, chap. 4, "Discovering Outsiders", pp.119-151, esp.p.134; M. Sahlins: *How "Native" think about Captain Cook, for example*; G. Obeyesekere: *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook. European Mythmaking in the Pacific.*

[155] B. Smith: *Imagining the Pacific*, p.62; the same: *European Vision and the South Pacific*, pp.86,87; I.C. Campbell: "Savages Noble and Ignoble", in: *Pacific Studies*, 4, 1980, pp.45-59; G. Williams: "Savages Noble and Ignoble: European attitude towards the wider world before 1800", in: *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol.6, 1978, pp.300-313; A. Sinclair: *The Savage, a history of misunderstanding.*

Pacific accounts, "derived not from observations, experiences, and perceptible reality but from [various] psychological urge[s]".[156] The fact that both extreme images, that of the "noble savage" and that of the "ignoble savage", as assembled in the attraction-repulsion complex, were forged in the European mind - nurtured, and flourished - provides evidence for the complexity of European attitudes to non-European people. This invisible baggage of preconception and misconception, is manifested:

> in the desire of beachcombers to live in the islands, and their desire to get away again; [as seen in Melville's text and discussed above] in the loving way missionaries sought to redeem their people, and in their private remarks about depravity, degeneration, and vile people; in the desire of administrators to preserve, and their compulsion to eradicate indiscriminately many aspects of indigenous culture".[157]

By inference it becomes clear that Melville, like Montaigne before him, employed his understanding of the "other" to level a critique on his "own" European situation; and that both writers encountered difficulties in dealing with the barbaric practice of cannibalism.

As the issue of cannibalism is an important aspect of European Pacific understanding - it stained the idea of paradise - some additional discussion dealing with the subject will be helpful.

Georg Forster - like Montaigne, Melville and others - had difficulties to come to terms with the issue. He writes: "the action of eating human flesh, whatever our education may teach us to the contrary, is neither unnatural nor criminal in itself".[158]

Cook - whose account was embellished with illustrations that helped to form the

---

[156] H. Baudet: *Paradise on Earth*, p.6; I.C. Campbell: op.cit., pp.58-59.
[157] I. C. Campbell: op. cit., p.58.
[158] G. Forster: op. cit., AA I: 297.

European understanding of the Pacific and its people for some fifty years[159] - was at pains to defend the natives of New Zealand from the imputation of savagery. He tells that the practice of "eat[ing] their enimies Slane in Battell ... seems to come from custom and not from a Savage disposission this they cannot be charged with - they appear to have but few Vices".[160]

And the contemporary Pacific writer Campbell argues that:

unless one strongly shares the belief that rising from the death on the day of the Last Judgement depends in part at least on one's having been interred in a fully articulated condition, then what happens after one is killed by the ignoble savages is irrelevant.[161]

Regarding the truth content of the claim that the inhabitants of the Typee valley, these "shocking unprincipled wretches are cannibals"[162], Neil Rennie writes:

that the Marquesans probably were cannibals [certainly no longer when Melville visited the valley] but there is nevertheless much truth in [the idea] ... that cannibalism was a civilized myth, leaving little relation to reality but great significance for those who believed in it, for whom it defined the savagery of others".[163]

The perception and presentation of native people as "amiable" or blood-thirsty", is the consequence of the observer's experience; "his frame of mind".[164]

Though Melville recognised that the natives of the "inhospitable wilds of Terra-del-Fuego" could benefit from contact with Western civilisation, he does not develop his argument far enough. He does not acknowledge the views of such as Herder or of J.R. Forster.[165] The

---

[159] B. Smith: op. cit., *European Vision*, p.79.
[160] J.C. Beaglehole: *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, vol.1, p.539.
[161] I.C. Campbell: op.cit., p.57.
[162] *Typee*, p.125.
[163] N. Rennie: *Far-Fetched Facts*, p.194.
[164] Ibid., p.196.
[165] J.G. von Herder: *Sämtliche Werke*, vol.32, p.19; J.R. Forster: *Beobachtungen ...*, pp.255-256; english translation: *Observations ....* pp.202-203; W. Marschall (ed.): *Klassiker der Kulturanthropologie*, esp. pp.7-17, 51-69; W. Mühlmann: *Geschichte der Anthropologie*, esp. pp.62-65.

former proclaimed that taste and mentality are dependent on climatic, geographical and historical circumstances; that "humanity has not one form, but many, and these forms find expression in the host of different societies and nations that populate the historical scene".[166]

Again, it is clear that Melville's interpretation and description of the experience are not original but are grounded in earlier writings concerning life in the Pacific. In this context, however, further questions arise: how does the author's understanding of "original" native Polynesian life - as practised in the Typee valley - compare with the experiences encountered later in colonial Tahiti and Moorea; how does the *Typee* presentation contrast with that of *Omoo*.

c.) Tahiti - a contrasting experience.

Arriving in Tahiti in the second half of 1842, at a time when the French were in process of taking control of parts of Polynesia,[167] Melville observed first-hand the drastic change to which the Polynesian life-style had been subjected. And he attributed this to the missionaries, the whalers and French officialdom. Melville was not happy with what he saw in Tahiti; coming from a place where he had experienced first-hand the culture of "original man", in the Typee valley, he believed that an outrageous crime had been committed: the European poison of civilisation and disease had already done its work and the effort to adjust to that poison had been too much for the islanders. Thus, it seemed to Melville that Tahitian culture had been

---

[166] C.P. Edwards (ed.): *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol.3, p.489.

[167] *Omoo*, p.69; R. Langdon: *Tahiti, Island of Love*, pp.135-211; R. Aldrich: *The French Presence in the Pacific 1842-1940*; J. Dunmore: *French Explorers in the Pacific*, vol.2.

unable to cope neither with disparity between it and European culture nor with the rate of social change. The cultural differences were too great to be assimilated meaningfully into the existing Tahitian culture. Even though the French colonisers had been more relaxed than the British in matters concerning Tahitian morals,[168] Melville was still most critical of the consequences that had ensued the process of culture contact and culture conflict - the original crime of European intrusion in the Pacific.

Melville portrays Europeanised Tahiti in some twenty chapters (27-47). He points out, in the preface to *Omoo*, that the object of his writing "is to give a familiar account of the present condition of the converted Polynesians. That is to say, he wants to show how they have become affected by their promiscuous intercourse with foreigners, and the teachings of the missionaries, combined"[169], Next, he compares between life in the Marquesas with that in Tahiti: a comparison between native culture and Europeanised Polynesian culture. He writes:

> It has ben said, that the only way to civilize a people, is to form in them habits of industry. Judged by this principle, the Tahitians are less civilized now than formerly. True, their constitutional indolence is excessive; but surely, if the spirit of Christianity is among them, so unchristian a vice ought to be, at least, partially remedied. But the reverse is the fact. Instead of acquiring new occupations, old ones have been discontinued.
>
> As previously remarked, the manufacture of tappa is nearly obsolete in many parts of the island. So, too, with that of the native tools and domestic utensils; very few of which are now fabricated, since the superiority of European wares has been made so evident.
>
> This, however, would be all very well, were the natives to apply themselves to such occupations as would enable them to supply the few articles they need. But they are far from doing so; and the majority being unable to obtain European substitutes, for many things before made by themselves, the inevitable consequence is seen in the present wretched and destitute mode of life among the common people. To me, so recently from the primitive valley of the Marquesas, the aspect of most of the dwellings of the poorer Tahitians, and their general habits, seemed any thing but tidy; nor could I avoid a comparison, immeasurably to the disadvantage of these partially civilized islanders.
>
> In Tahiti, the people have nothing to do; and idleness, everywhere, is the parent of vice.

---

[168] W. Ellis: *Polynesian Researches, Society Islands*, chap.7, pp.175-214.
[169] *Omoo*, p.XIII.

"There is scarcely any thing," says the good old Quaker Wheeler, "so striking, or pitiable, as their aimless, nerveless mode of spending life."[170]

The text recounts the unsuccessful attempts by the Europeans to industrialise Tahiti: the cultivation of cotton, suger-cane; and the industry of weaving. Melville believes that the civilisation that exists in the South Sea Islands, is directly due to foreigners. Thus, at Honolulu, the capital of the Sandwich Islands, Hawaii, there are

> fine dwelling-houses, several hotels, and barber-shops, ay, even billiard-rooms; but all these are owned and used, be it observed, by whites. There are tailors, and blacksmiths, and carpenters also; but not one of them is a native.
>
> The fact is, that the mechanical and agricultural employments of civilized life, require a kind of exertion altogether too steady and sustained, to agree with an indolent people like the Polynesians. Calculated for a state of nature, in a climate providentially adapted to it, they are unfit for any other. Nay, as a race, they can not otherwise long exist.[171]

To lend support to his argument that the existence of the Polynesians is doomed, Melville uses Cook who estimated the population of Tahiti "at about two hundred thousand", while the "regular census, taken some four or five years ago", accounted for "only nine thousand". This decrease in population numbers is, according to Melville, resulting "solely of foreign origin".[172] He notes the islanders,

> distracted with their sufferings, they brought forth their sick before the missionaries, when they were preaching, and cried out, "Lies, lies! you tell us of salvation; and, behold, we are dying. We want no other salvation, than to live in this world. Where are there any saved

---

[170] *Omoo*, pp.189-190.

[171] *Omoo*, p.190. In Hawaii, between 1852 and 1898, some fifty thousand Chinese were imported under plantation labour contracts to work the suger plantations. In our days, however, though one of the smallest ethnic group - they make up about four percent of the population - "they wield influence far out of proportion to their numbers in nearly every field of endeavor: business, education, government, law, politics, medicine and art". J. F. Mc Dermott and others (eds.): *People and Cultures of Hawaii*, esp. chap.4, "The Chinese", pp.53-72; G. Daws: *Shoal of Time*, "Sugar", pp.173-182; T. Fairbairn and others (eds.): *The Pacific Islands*, esp. chap.5, "The Islands and the World", - China and Japan- pp.91-92.

[172] *Omoo*, p.191.

through your speech? Pomaree is dead; and we are all dying with your cursed diseases. When will you give over?"...

"How dreadful and appalling , breaks forth old Wheeler, "the consideration, that the intercourse of distant nations should have entailed upon these poor, untutored islanders, a curse unprecedented, and unheard of, in the annals of history."

In view of these things, who can remain blind to the fact, that, so far as mere temporal felicity is concerned, the Tahitians are far worse off now, than formerly; and although their circumstances, upon the whole, are bettered by the presence of the missionaries, the benefits conferred by the latter become utterly insignificant, when confronted with the vast preponderance of evil brought about by other means.

Their prospects are hopeless. Nor can the most devoted efforts, now exempt them from furnishing a marked illustration of a principle, which history has always exemplified. Years ago brought to a stand, where all that is corrupt in barbarism and civilization unite, to the exclusion of the virtues of either state; like other uncivilized beings, brought into contact with Europeans, they must here remain stationary until utterly extinct.

The islanders themselves, are mournfully watching their doom. Several years since, Pomaree II. said to Tyerman and Bennet, the deputies of the London Missionary Society, "You have come to see me at a very bad time. Your ancestors came in the time of men, when Tahiti was inhabited: you are come to behold just the remnant of my people. ... I have frequently heard it chanted, in a low, sad tone, by the Tahitians:

The palm tree shall grow,
The coral shall spread,
But man shall cease.[173]

Melville argues that the life-style of the islanders has regressed; they are "far worse off now, than formerly". Not only have they lost their traditional skills to provide for themselves but also they live an idle and aimless existence. Many of them are poor. He thinks that the European way of life is not suitable for the Tahitians. And he argues that the Europeans (with their belief of being the lords of mankind - a conviction grounded in the Enlightenment tenet of European cultural and religious superiority) brought infectious disease, epidemics, robbed the islanders of their innocence and destroyed their culture.[174]

The natives were "menaced by the introduction and transmission of such previously

---

[173] *Omoo*, pp.191-192.

[174] A finding set out in more detail in: G. Price, *The Western invasion of the Pacific and its continents*.

unknown diseases as smallpox, tuberculosis and syphilis", to which they were exceptional vulnerable as they were "unable to build up any resistance" to fight the disease.[175]

Again, as discussed in the last chapter, it is clear, the serious ramifications, that went far beyond the initial intent, that culture contact and culture clash had for the people of the Pacific. This argument is presented by the use of the topoi of the fatal impact and a culturally dying Pacific.

In short, Melville argues that culture contact had unleashed the worst aspects of corruption from both races -from "barbarism and civilization" - and it had been to the detriment of virtues. He is critical of the European presence in the Pacific, of the European intrusion into a perceived former Garden of Eden. And he cannot conceive of the possibility of a hybrid culture of the kind Robert Louis Stevenson was to talk about some fifty years later - Stevenson will be discussed in the next chapter.

These arguments he used are not new; they are a continuity of old topoi. The fatal impact argument, for example, is well documented in the writings of Cook, Blight, G. Forste Vancouver and Kotzebue to name but a few. In more recent times, this theme has been popularised in Alan Moorehead's *The Fatal Impact*, which relies heavily on the earlier cited recordings. Moorehead argues, in cliché fashion, that when Cook entered the Pacific in 1769, the inhabitants lived a life of primeval innocence. Some seventy years later, however, he explains that the introduction of firearms, disease, and alcohol had corrupted this paradisiacal existence.

Though arguing for a dying Pacific culture, Melville's work, nevertheless, echoes the

---

[175] U. Bitterli: op. cit., p.33.

century old tradition of using the Pacific as a dream territory for Western fantasies. Thus, this inquiry has shown, it was easier for mutineers and beachcombers to escape from their own world than to join the foreign world of the Pacific - freedom is thus illusory. A finding, although foreshadowed by Georg Forster,[176] which was relatively new in Pacific perception at the time of Melville's writings.

Melville's belief that the natives must be civilised as "their constitutional indolence is excessive"[177] highlights that his Pacific understanding was continued under the influence of the prevailing "Zeitgeist" of the nineteenth century. In addition, he questioned the wisdom of shortening the time necessary for social change. This concern was shared, amongst others, by the German explorer Ludwig Leichhardt, a contemporary of Melville, who in 1844 wrote of the Australian Aborigines

> ... As I see him, I can't believe that the black man of this part of the colony is a stupid creature incapable of education. But he can't be educated in 2, 3 or 10 or even 20 years. To educate this race would take centuries.[178]

On the same question, J.R. Forster was of the opinion that "the approach towards civilization, must be left to time; it is a work of ages to bring the mind of a whole nation to maturity. Nor can it be forced or accelerated by the best instructions".[179]

---

[176] G. Forster: AA 1: 402-403.
[177] *Omoo*, p.189.
[178] M. Aurousseau (ed.): *The Letters of F. W. Ludwig Leichhardt*, vol.2, p.707.
[179] J.R. Forster: *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, pp.199-200.

d.) The fatal impact theory - contemporary opinions.

As the accounts of early Pacific explorers show, the Europeans were delighted to perceive, in their encounter with the islanders, examples of Rousseau's "Noble Savage", this was particulary evident in Tahiti, where the life-style was understood to be of a pre-industrial, Arcadian purity. Such a "rose-coloured" perception, as Kerry Howe suggested, gave rise to this question: "if there were such child-like innocence and harmony what would happen now that Europeans had burst onto the scene?".[180]

Guided by the existing conditions of European society and the yearning for a previous paradisiacal existence - however real or imaginary - the philosophers, writers, Pacific explorers, and travellers conceptualised what became known later as the "fatal impact" theory. This recognition helped to merge the "Noble Savage" and the "Ignoble Savage" image "into that of the Dying Savage".[181]

As to the truth contained in the fatal impact argument, the work of modern Pacific historians presents "a much more accurate picture of what has happened to the savages" at the time of culture contact.[182] Their research suggests that "the blanket interpretation of a Fatal Impact cannot be sustained in the face of the great amount of evidence to the contrary",[183] i.e., instead of "portraying islanders as passive helpless and inferior, they have substituted the image of an active, initiative-taking savage whose way of life was not necessarily ravaged by

---

[180] K. Howe: "The Fate of the Savage in Pacific Historiography", p.138, in: *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol.9, 1977, pp.137-154.
[181] Ibid., p.142.
[182] Ibid., p.154.
[183] Ibid., p.151; D. Denoon and others (eds.): op. cit., pp.145-148.

European contact".[184] Neither suggesting that the Pacific natives were better off, nor that they were worse off, as a result of European contact, the historians have concluded that the "fatal impact" theory is "more often than not the product of an over-fertile and perhaps guilt-ridden imagination".[185]

In sympathy to Melville's critique of the Tahitians, Greg Dening explains that the natives in their display of "indolence showed their satisfaction with the present and their unconcern for the future".[186]

The intrusion of European civilisation into traditional Polynesian life, however, had profound effects on island culture: it changed the natives' sense of time. The European contact changed the notion of "cyclical time" into that of "linear". In consequence, the islanders had to "break-out" - they had to change - from a "present" oriented life-style to a "social discipline informed by an image of the future".[187] This change, as Dening explains, "needed an emptiness in their souls that left room for the future".[188]

Though the new climate of inter-cultural tolerance that governed relations between Europe and the Pacific in the later part of the eighteenth century and the finding that European culture was never adopted by the islanders "as a seamless whole",[189] the "massive culture-shock"

to which the natives were exposed made it imperative for them to assimilate the incident by locating it within their horizon of expectation. And they did this by extracting from their own mythology allusions to an imminent visit from the gods and seeking omens and

---

[184] K. Howe: op. cit., p.147.
[185] Ibid., p.151.
[186] G. Dening: *Island and Beaches*, pp.263-264.
[187] Ibid., p.264.
[188] Ibid., p.264.
[189] U. Bitterli: *Cultures in Conflict*, pp.49,166.

prophecies to support this interpretation.[190]

In general, as Bitterli explains, younger people often responded more favourably to the social change than the older, more conservative members of a tribal organisation. This condition produced in the process of assimilation "complicated displacements and overlaps, known as `cultural lags'"[191] - evident in contemporary Pacific observations to be discussed later.

Despite the fact that cultural interpenetration is a process that effects both cultures, that cultural assimilation is mutually interactive, it was "seldom [that] the components of an alien culture adopted by white colonial society had the destructive effects" frequently recognised in native society.[192] This resilience of Western culture, manifested at the time of culture contact, "was perhaps more important than military and economic superiority";[193] over time, it had "acquired an astonishing capacity for change and renewal".[194]

Norbert Elias' (whose theory will be drawn into this discussion in more detail in connection with Gauguin's Pacific experiences) *The Civilizing Process*, discusses the concept of the civilising of manners and personality in European culture. According to Elias, the life-style of European man was narrowed through the rules of etiquette, his protection by institutional law and the importance of religion on individual responsibility. Such cultural practices supported the capitalist notion of competition and achievement. This is in accord with Max Weber's thinking in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Though the work

---

[190] Ibid., p.26.
[191] Ibid., pp. 49-50.
[192] Ibid., p.51.
[193] Ibid., p.51.
[194] Ibid., p.51.

was written by Weber some sixty years after Melville recorded his Pacific experiences, the idea of hard work as a duty that carries its own intrinsic rewards, however, had its roots in the Reformation.[195]

e.) Summary.

The analysis has shown that Melville's arguments concerning the cultural crisis Polynesians were subjected to as a result of European interference are a continuity of established topoi. So too is his support for the understanding that the natives' traditional and cultural resources had been eroded by colonial practices. In addition, for Melville to question the European life-style on the one side and his support for the idea of progress, on the other side, they are issues that had been well documented at the time Melville published his Pacific experiences. He merely added another voice to this line of Pacific presentation.

The understanding, however, that the Polynesians are doomed because of contact with Europeans - and forewarned by Georg Forster and others - is developed by Melville into the topos of the "dying savage". Though the mode to be critical of colonialism was well established at the publication of Melville's Pacific experience, the author advanced his own critique. He claimed "foreigners", the intruders into traditional Polynesian life, benefit economically from this practice to the detriment of the natives. Melville believed that the Europeans grow strong while the Polynesians decline - an issue to be developed in more detail further on in this inquiry.

In addition, the ackowledgment that it is seemingly easier for Europeans to escape

---

[195] R. Tarnas: *The Passion of the Western Mind. Understanding the Ideas that have shaped our World view*, esp. "The Reformation" pp.233-247.

from their own corrupt culture than to integrate into the cultural world of the Pacific, and the recognition that the idea of freedom is illusory, are all aspects that are relatively new in Pacific understanding at the time Melville recorded his Pacific observations.

The next section of this inquiry will examine the topoi that influenced the presented work of Robert Louis Stevenson who came to the Pacific some fifty years after Melville.

Chapter V

Robert Louis Stevenson and the Pacific.

The material, so far presented, has shown that various types of persons went to the Pacific in pursuit of a specific missionary profession: G. Forster and A. von Chamisso as scientists; Kotzebue as Captain and leader of the Russian expedition and Melville, an adventurer who worked on a whaler. They were all interested and motivated to find out more about the Pacific and its inhabitants. Their experiences and observations were, at least partly, influenced and guided by their individual life experience. Stevenson's situation was different from the others: he went to the Pacific for the purposes of health and pleasure. He had to pay for his passage; he was a tourist with an assured income. The publication of books like *Treasure Island, The Strange Case of Doctor Jekell and Mr. Hyde,* and *Kidnapped* not only made him known as a writer, but also brought him a decent income. In addition, his economic situation was further improved by a lucrative commission from a publisher for which he was to "write a series of travel sketches" based on his experiences.[196] In short, Stevenson was economically independent and in a position to determine - in great measure - the conditions of his stay in the Pacific: the conditions under which he encountered the new.

---

[196] R.L. Stevenson: *Travels in Hawaii* (ed.) G. Day, p.XII.

a.) Preliminaries.

Robert Louis Stevenson,[197] author, essayist and writer, was born in 1850 in Edinburgh, Scotland. As a consequence of a search for health, Louis and family went to the United States in 1887. They hoped that Louis would benefit from a complete change of climate.

Some nine months later, in June 1888, the Stevensons, however, left San Francisco in their chartered yacht *Casco* to cruise among the warm isles of the South Pacific. The sea voyage they had intended to be mearly a health and pleasure excursion of a few month duration, was the start of a voluntary exile that lasted until the author's death in 1894.

After visiting the Marquesas and Tahiti, the Stevensons arrived in Honolulu in January 1889.[198] Louis paid off the *Casco*, enjoyed the hospitality of the natives, wrote and travelled. One of the excursions took him to the leper settlement of Molokai where Father Damien de Veuster had worked and died.

While in Hawaii, Stevenson gained valuable insight into the life of the islanders whom, in a letter to a friend, he portrayed as "God's best - at least God's sweetest - works".[199]

In June 1889, the Stevenson's left Honolulu on the trading schooner *Equator* bound for the Gilbert Islands "one of the least visited and most primitively mannered of all the island groups of the Western Pacific".[200] On Christmas 1889, they arrived at Apia on the island of

---

[197] R.L. Stevenson: *In the South Seas*; the same: *A Footnote to History*; the same: *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. Sydney Colvin, 4 vols.; the same:*Travels in Hawaii*, ed. G. Day; the same: "Island Nights' Entertainments" in: *The Ebb-Tide*, pp.199-379 (Heron Books); the same: "Letters to the Times" in: *A Footnote to History*, (Heron Books); G. Balfour: *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson*, 2 vols.; G. Daws: *A Dream of Islands*, pp.163-215.

[198] R.L. Stevenson: op. cit., *Letters*, vol.3, p.92.

[199] *Travels in Hawaii*: op. cit., p.128.

[200] *Letters*: op. cit., vol.3, p.62.

Upolu in the Samoas.

Some two months later, Stevenson went on to Sydney, where he embarked on the trading steamer *Janet Nicoll* which took him to the Gilbert Islands, the Marshall Islands and many other remote Pacific islands. During this voyage he started to arrange the material, which he had collected since leaving San Francisco, for his travel book *In the South Seas*. He returned to Apia in October 1890.

Thus, Stevenson had gathered substantial general knowledge and information of the South Sea and its people before settling down in his newly built house *Vailima* - Five Waters - some three miles from Apia. Stevenson died from a brain haemorrhage, at *Vailima* in December 1894.

The previously discussed Pacific travellers spent relatively short times at each location, while Stevenson lived some five years in the Pacific, until his death, in Samoa.

Being familiar with the different conditions under which Stevenson experienced and perceived the encounter of the Pacific and its people, it is my task to find out if and how his observations vary from those of the previously discussed visitors.

b.) Contrasting experiences and observations.

After arriving in the Marquesas in July 1888 the *Casco* had dropped anchor in Anaho Bay - the harbour of the island of Nukahiva. And this gave Stevenson the opportunity to come to terms with what he saw: some of the Pacific and some of its people, after they had been subjected for over one century to European contact, cultural influence and change. In his travelogue *In the South Seas*, he addresses and attempts to unravel the reasons for the depopulation of many of the Pacific islands.

Here, then, [Stevenson argues] we have one side of the case. Man-eating among kindly men, child-murder among child-lovers, industry in a race the most idle, invention in a race the least progressive, this grim, pagan salvation-army of the brotherhood of Oro, the report of early voyagers, the widespread vestiges of former habitation, and the universal tradition of the islands, all point to the same fact of former crowding and alarm. And to-day we are face to face with the reverse. To-day in the Marquesas, in the Eight Islands of Hawaii, in Mangareva, in Easter Island, we find the same race perishing like flies. Why this change? Or, grant that the coming of the whites, the change of habits, and the introduction of new maladies and vices, fully explain the depopulation, why is that depopulation not universal? The population of Tahiti, after a period of alarming decrease, has again become stationary. I hear of a similar result among some Maori tribes; in many of the Paumotus a slight increase is to be observed; and the Samoans are to-day as healthy and at least as fruitful as before the change. Grant that the Tahitians, the Maoris, and the Paumotuans have become inured to the new conditions; and what are we to make of the Samoans, who have never suffered? .... Samoa is, for the moment, the main and the most instructive exception to the rule. The people are the most chaste and one of the most temperate of island peoples. They have never been tried and depressed with any grave pestilence. Their clothing has scarce been tampered with; ... Lastly, and perhaps chiefly, so far from their amusements having been curtailed, I think they have been, upon the whole, extended. The Polynesians fall easily into despondency: bereavement, disappointment, the fear of novel visitations, the decay or proscription of ancient pleasures, easily incline him to be sad; and sadness detaches him from life. The melancholy of the Hawaiian and the emptiness of his new life are striking; and the remark is yet more apposite to the Marquesas. In Samoa, on the other hand, perpetual song and dance, perpetual games, journeys, and pleasures, make an animated and a smiling picture of the island life. And the Samoans are to-day the gayest and the best entertained inhabitants of our planet. The importance of this can scarcely be exaggerated. In a climate and upon a soil where a livelihood can be had for the stooping, entertainment is a prime necessity. It is otherwise with us, where life presents us with a daily problem, and there is a serious interest, and some of the heat of conflict, in the mere continuing to be. So, in certain atolls, where there is no great gaiety, but man must bestir himself with some vigour for his daily bread, public health and the population are maintained; but in the lotos islands, with the decay

of pleasures, life itself decays. It is from this point of view that we may instance, among other causes of depression, the decay of war. We have been so long used in Europe to that dreary business of war on the great scale, trailing epidemics and leaving pestilential corpses in its train, that we have almost forgotten its original, the most healthful, if not the most humane, of all field sports - hedge-warfare. From this, as well as from the rest of his amusements and interests, the islander, upon a hundred islands, has been recently cut off. And to this, as well as to so many others, the Samoan still makes good a special title.

Upon the whole, the problem seems to me to stand thus: - Where there have been fewest changes, important or unimportant, salutary or hurtful, there the race survives. Where there have been most, important or unimportant, salutary or hurtful, there it perishes. Each change, however small, augments the sum of new conditions to which the race has to become inured. There may seem, *a priori*, no comparison between the change from "sour toddy" to bad gin, and that from the island kilt to a pair of European trousers. Yet I am far from persuaded that the one is any more hurtful than the other; and the unaccustomed race will sometimes die of pin-pricks. We are here face to face with one of the difficulties of the missionary. In Polynesian islands he easily obtains pre-eminent authority; the king becomes his *mairedupalais*; he can proscribe, he can command; and the temptation is ever towards too much. Thus (by all accounts) the Catholics in Mangareva, and thus (to my own knowledge) the Protestants in Hawaii, have rendered life in a more or less degree unliveable to their converts. And the mild, uncomplaining creatures (like children in a prison) yawn and await death. It is easy to blame the missionary. But it is his business to make changes. It is surely his business, for example, to prevent war; and yet I have instanced war itself as one of the elements of health. On the other hand, it were, perhaps, easy for the missionary to proceed more gently, and to regard every change as an affair of weight. I take the average missionary; I am sure I do him no more than justice when I suppose that he would hesitate to bombard a village, even in order to convert an archipelago. Experience begins to show us (at least in Polynesian islands) that change of habit is bloodier than a bombardment.[201]

The passage is an example of Stevenson's skillful craft as a writer. His process of thought is clearly visible: he moves from one stage of thought to another in an attempt to construct a coherent picture of the Pacific and its people.

In his writing, Stevenson employs the rhetorical strategy of arguing through opposites. This is shown in the imagery of the child-murderer and child-lover; and in the juxtaposition of the Hawaiians and the Samoans. And the topos of work is contrasted with that of paradise -

---

[201] *In the South Seas*: op. cit., pp.38-42. There after, quotations from the book will be indicated by page references from the text.

the gaiety of the Samoan temperament is set against the lifelessness of the Hawaiians.

Although Stevenson's argumentation, headed by the topos of the "dying savage" is not new, the presentation of the observation is: more of itself is being revealed; the arguments are further developed. Like Georg Forster, some one hundred twenty years before him, Stevenson was not content - unlike many of the writers dealt with so far - with the simple description of what he saw. With critical perspicuity he tries to establish the reasons for the conditions: the economic plight of the islanders, the culture change and its consequences, that haunted the natives of the Pacific and presented a threat to their existence.

After comparing the life-style of the people on a number of Pacific islands Stevenson draws the conclusion that "where there have been fewest changes ... there the race survives. Where there have been most ... there it perishes" (p.41). The reason for this phenomenon the author ascribes to the fact, that a change in life-style produces new conditions to which the natives have to adjust. Yet, this dilemma, according to Stevenson, is not caused by culture contact per se - the natives being subjected to European culture - but by the consequent pace and scale of change. Stevenson is critical of this: too much change, too quickly. In this connection, Stevenson articulates the view expounded by contemporary hermeneuticists who suggest that the "other" must not be too foreign in order to be meaningfully assimilated into the existing horizon of understanding. Gadamer explains, it is "the process of effective history that provides the horizons of our world"[202], a horizon, that "is always in motion".[203]

Stevenson is also critical of the missionaries failure to recognise that their cultural

---

[202] H.G. Gadamer: *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, p.XXVIII; the same: *Truth and Method*, esp."The principle of effective history", pp.267-273.

[203] *Truth and Method*: op. cit., p.271.

values are not universal. In his view, the missionaries failed to acknowledge that "in the lotos islands", where dreaming opium-eater live in a climate where nature provides of her own accord, "entertainment is a prime necessity" (pp.40,41) - a similar observation had been made by Kotzebue some sixty years before Stevenson. This shortcoming, on the part of the missionaries, led to the introduction of numerous laws, that not only reflected on the basis of European norms and values, but also deprived the natives of their own customs.[204] William Ellis' account, which deals with nineteenth century Hawaiian life, provides clear evidence of the change the natives were subjected to. In 1842 he wrote:

> the Sabbath was spent in a manner truly gratifying. No athletic sports were seen on the beach; no noise of playful children, shouting as they gambolled in the surf, nor distant sound of the cloth-beating mallet, was heard through the day; no persons were seen carrying burdens in or out of the village, nor any canoes passing across the bay. It could not but be viewed as the dawn of a bright sabbatic day for the dark shores of Hawaii. Family worship was held at the governor's house, in the native language, in the evening.[205]

The quotation shows that the new life-style of the natives, the socialisation into a fundamentalist Christianity, was hailed by the missionaries as a great success. Sadly, however, the missionaries did not realise, as Ernest Gellner has points out, that

> concepts and beliefs do not exist in isolation, in texts or in individual minds, but in the life of men and societies. The activities and institutions, in the context of which a word or phrase or set of phrases is used, must be known before that word or those phrases can be understood, before we can really speak of a *concept* or a *belief*.[206]

Gellner argues that the introduction of foreign cultural practices can only work if its members can give meaning to them; provided that they can integrate them into, and

---

[204] William Ellis in his *Polynesian Researches. Society Islands, Tubuai Islands, and New Zealand*, provides an account of some of these laws, chap. VII, pp.175-214.

[205] W. Ellis: *Polynesian Researches. Hawaii*, p.408.

[206] E. Gellner: "Concepts and Society", p.119 in: D. Emmet and A. MacIntyre: *Sociological Theory and Philosophical Analysis*, pp.115-149.

subsequently form part of, their own existing customs and tradition. If not, in Gadamer's words, they "shall misunderstand the significance of what it [the historical horizon] has to say to" them.[207]

The Western conception and treatment of the people of the Pacific, and other non-European races, however, was firmly grounded in European ideologies. Edward Said argues that Europeans had a commitment "over and above profit, a commitment in constant circulation and recirculation, which .... allowed decent men and women to accept the notion that distant territories and their native peoples *should* be subjugated". This line of thought became "almost [a] metaphysical obligation to rule subordinate, inferior, or less advanced peoples".[208] This obligation (as shown earlier) became known as the "White Man's Burden".

---

[207] *Truth and Method*: op. cit., p.270.
[208] E. Said: *Culture & Imperialism*, p.10.

c.) The "dying savage" theory - conjectures and opinions.

Some pages earlier in his travelogue, Stevenson addresses the issue dealing with the "dying savage" theory more directly. There he writes:

> The Marquesan beholds with dismay the approaching extinction of his race. The thought of death sits down with him to meat [sic], and rises with him from his bed; he lives and breathes under a shadow of mortality awful to support; and he is so inured to the apprehension that he greets the reality with relief. He does not even seek to support a disappointment; at an affront, at a breach of one of his fleeting and communistic love-affairs, he seeks an instant refuge in the grave. Hanging is now the fashion. ... Far more suitable to Marquesan sentiment is the old form of poisoning with the fruit of the eva, which offers to the native suicide a cruel but deliberate death, and gives time for those decencies of the last hour, to which he attaches such remarkable importance. ... This proneness to suicide, and loose seat in life, is not peculiar to the Marquesan. What is peculiar is the widespread depression and acceptance of the national end. Pleasures are neglected, the dance languishes, the songs are forgotten (pp.29-31).

Stevenson is saying that the forces threatening the life of some Polynesian races are the result of culture change; that the Polynesian culture in time was overwhelmed by European culture. This process entailed changes which were manifested in an anomic[209] uncertainty: it dissolved traditional social bonds and personal ties replacing them with "suicidogenic impulses".

Put in another way, given this situation there seems to be a lack of cultural constants to which the individual islander can relate. This condition, over time, can lead to a state of anomie.

This theory is set out in greater detail in Émile Durkheim's work *Le Suicide*. Though one must be mindful that the conditions Durkheim wrote about are different to those that existed in the Pacific in the later part of the nineteenth century, his thoughts are, nevertheless, helpful in the analysis of Stevenson's text.

---

[209] Anomic is a condition in which traditional social bonds and personal ties have been dissolved, and with them the individual's sense of attachment to society. T. Mauther (ed.): *A Dictionary of Philosophy*, pp.18-19.

Durkheim believes "when society is disturbed by some painful crisis or by beneficient but abrupt transitions, ... thence come the sudden rises in the curve of suicides".[210] Though Durkheim proposed the concept of anomie some seven years after Stevenson had published his Pacific experiences, it can be conjectured that Stevenson's understanding was informed by the contemporary world around him: by currents of opinions similar to those recorded and theorised by Durkheim; hermeneutically speaking: by pre-judgements.

Raymond Aron addressing the connection between change and anomic suicide (using Durkheim) argues that

> Anomic suicide is characterized by the state of irritation or disgust, irritation resulting from the many occasions of disappointment afforded by modern existence, disgust being the extreme form of perception of the disproportion between aspiration and satisfaction.[211]

A century before Stevenson wrote about this issue, Edward Robarts, a whaler and beachcomber, who spent between 1798 and 1806 in the Marquesas, tells in his *Journal* that suicides, among the natives, were far from being uncommon. The islanders "committ self murder, some by hanging, some by climbing to the top of a coco nut tree, and then Jumps down and are dashed to pieces. Others will go into the bush and gather some of the *Ever* fruit. They take the Kernels and eat perhaps four or five of them ... [leading to] the strongest convultions imaginable", resulting in death.[212] Robarts argues the sad act of suicide is usually the result of a quarrel, the natives' emotional temperament. He observed that "a man or wife, a

---

[210] E. Durkheim: *Suicide, A Study in Sociology*, (1897), 1951, p.252; T. Parsons: "Durkheim, Émile", in: *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol.4, pp.311-320.

[211] R. Aron: *Main Currents in Sociological Thought II*, p.36.

[212] G. Dening (ed.): *The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts 1797-1824*, pp.253-4; the same: *Islands and Beaches*, esp. pp.239-261; E.N. Ferdon: *Early Observations of Marquesan Culture 1595-1813*, esp. pp.81-85.

son or daughter may Quarrel [which] raises their anger to such a degree [that] they run head long and commit self murder".[213]

Clearly, according to Robarts' first-hand account, it seems that the islanders committed suicide before the introduction of European culture. This observation suggests that Stevenson's writing was coloured by Robarts', or similar first-hand accounts. It also can be conjectured that Stevenson followed the established nineteenth century trend to level a critique against European colonialism employing the suicide issue to reflect his own disenchantment with Western culture.

In the progress of this inquiry it has become clear that Stevenson's observations and critique - his arguments against universalism in social thought; the transformation effects on the lives of the natives and their relations with each other; the recognition that existing traditional habits can only be changed slowly - have their roots in earlier thought. We thus recognise a continuity of imagery by which the Western mind perceived the Pacific and its people. However, even though the understanding was not new, Stevenson successfully argued that it was not culture, the change of culture per se, but the pace of change that caused the islands' depopulation. That is to say, he argued like Kotzebue and Melville before him, too much change, too quickly leads to destruction. It can be said, Stevenson thought that the culture change created a world where man's creative capacities turned against him: they frustrate him rather than fulfill him. European expansion of man's ability to understand and control the natural world (through the application of science) destroyed the natives' traditional cultural beliefs - so necessary for the individual and social life.

---

[213] Ibid., p.253; E.N. Ferdon: op. cit., p.81.

It can be conjectured, that these, or similar thoughts, motivated Stevenson when he presented the plight of the Marqueseans and of the Pacific islanders generally whom he believed to suffer from "proneness to suicide, and loose seat in life".

It becomes evident that Stevenson levels a critique on the practices of European colonialism: he argues that the introduction of European culture, and the way it was forced onto the islanders, was harmful.

d.) Culture contact - repressive consequences.

Some pages further on, Stevenson provides a poignant example of the harmful effects European contact and its aftermath had on the natives of the Marquesas. He writes:

> The main occasion of these thefts is the new vice of opium-eating. "Here nobody ever works, and all eat opium," said a gendarme; and Ah Fu knew a woman who ate a dollar's worth in a day. The successful thief will give a handful of money to each of his friends, a dress to a woman, pass an evening in one of the taverns of Tai-o-hae, during which he treats all comers, produce a big lump of opium, and retire to the bush to eat and sleep it off. A trader, who did not sell opium, confessed to me that he was at his wit's end. "I do not sell it, but others do," said he. "The natives only work to buy it; if they walk over to me to sell their cotton, they have just to walk over to some one else to buy their opium with my money. And why should they be at the bother of two walks? There is no use talking," he added - "opium is the currency of this country."
>
> The man under prevention during my stay at Tai-o-hae lost patience while the Chinese opium-seller was being examined in his presence. "Of course he sold me opium!" he broke out; "all the Chinese here sell opium. It was only to buy opium that I stole; it is only to buy opium that anybody steals. And what you ought to do is to let no opium come here, and no Chinamen." This is precisely what is done in Samoa by a native Government; but the French have bound their own hands, and for forty thousand francs sold native subjects to crime and death. This horrid traffic may be said to have sprung up by accident. It was Captain Hart who had the misfortune to be the means of beginning it, at a time when his plantations flourished in the Marquesas, and he found a difficulty in keeping Chinese coolies. To-day the plantations are practically deserted and the Chinese gone; but in the meanwhile the natives have learned the vice, the patent brings in a round sum, and the needy Government at Papeete shut their eyes and open their pockets. Of course, the patentee is supposed to sell to Chinamen alone; equally of course, no one could afford to pay forty thousand francs for the privilege of supplying a scattered handful of Chinese; and every one knows the truth, and all are ashamed of it. ... No

native industry was to be encouraged: the poison is solemnly imported. No native habit was to be considered: the vice has been gratuitously introduced (pp.70-71).

Obviously, Stevenson was not satisfied with a simple observation. He went further: he developed the issue concerning the advance of original petty pilfery - "to force locks and attack strong-boxes" (p.68). And the reason for this change, the author believes to rest in the newly acquired vice of opium-eating - a custom introduced by foreigners.

Unlike the earlier products of the islands, that were exported in a raw state, plantation products were refined for export. This concept of "added value" increased the profit for the foreign planters but to attain it required a greater input of labour. Since local labour could not be procured to satisfy the demand - the inhabitants were perceived to be too lazy, and too unmotivated for commercial enterprise - workers had to be brought in from other parts. As Greg Dening points out, the French "brought cotton to the Marquesas, and with the cotton Chinese to work it, and with the Chinese opium and leprosy and racial division".[214]

Stevenson explains that in contrast to the French, the native Samoan Government allowed neither Chinese nor opium into the country.

With this observation, Stevenson levels a critique on the practices employed by European colonial powers. For economic purposes, the short-term benefit of economic gains to a few colonial planters, like in Fiji, they destroyed the traditional life-style of the islanders. And now, the consequences of this are clear: many of the plantations are deserted; most of the Chinese have left; the natives are without work and have also "learned the vice" - they have turned into opium-eaters. The Marquesas became the land of the "lotos-eaters". On the other

---

[214] G. Dening: *Islands and Beaches, Discourse on a silent land: Marquesas 1774-1880*, p.232.

hand, the colonial Government, Stevenson argues, enjoy the revenues derived from the importation and the sale of the poison. This windfall is enhanced by the "godsend" of "convict labour" (p.68) even though the confessions are all too often obtained through the application of "physical or moral torture" (p.69).

Stevenson, though critical of the increase of theft based crime, is at pains to point out that the criminal shares his "acquired wealth" with the other members of his community. He gives money to "friends, a dress to a woman" and "treats all comers" in the taverns. Stevenson thinks that much of the native traditional cultural system has been eroded, but that the custom of sharing - of communal life - still exists.

In short, Stevenson says: firstly, that the colonial powers, for reasons of self-interest, are corrupt and have destroyed the traditional life-style of the islanders; secondly, that the natives became subjects of colonialism and its negative side-effects; and thirdly, that native self-government is preferential to the rule of colonial power. Clearly, his argumentation is in stark contrast with the Enlightenment theory of a European superiority.

e.) Stevenson and Samoan politics.

In consequence, of the "Final Act of the Berlin Conference on Samoan Affairs" of 1889, Malietoa Laupepa was appointed king. The purpose of the Act was to "destroy or even to control, the traditional rivalries which had reasserted themselves so strongly during the preceding years".[215] Stevenson, however, was critical of this nomination, explaining that

Laupepa seems never to have been a popular king. Mataafa [of the opposing royal lineage], holds an unrivalled position in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen; he was the hero of

[215] J.W. Davidson: *Samoa mo Samoa*, p.65.

the war, he had lain with them in the bush, he had borne the heat and burthen of the day; they began to claim that he should enjoy more largely the fruits of victory; his exclusion was believed to be a stroke of German vengeance ... To Laupepa's opposition, ... no dweller in Samoa will give weight, for they know him to be as putty in the hands of his advisers.[216]

Stevenson's *Footnote* provides a detailed comparison of the regions controlled by Europeans and native Samoans.[217] This comparison shows that the subjects of the latter enjoy the benefits of "dignity, plenty, and peace", while the former are burdened by "bankruptcy and distraction".[218]

These findings demonstrate that Stevenson supports native self-government, and that he participated actively in Samoan political life.

Stevenson's commitment to Samoan self-government, was echoed by the contemporary Pacific scholar J. W. Davidson who is of the view that

The establishment of a Samoan government at Mulinu'u and of a European-controlled municipality in Apia also had lasting effects upon Samoan thinking. The area of the municipality had become known to the Samoans as the *'ele'ele' sa* (the forbidden ground), a term used in bitterness and reproach; and the government offices there continued to be regarded by Samoans for nearly half a century as centres of an alien, and largely antagonistic, authority. Mulinu'u, on the other hand, which had possessed no political significance till the end of the sixties, had become before 1900 the venerated meeting place of the Samoan people. It was a place where it was appropriate for *tama'aiga* to be buried, the place to which Samoans continued to come seeking justice or the attainment of their national aspirations.[219]

Though Stevenson, was perhaps, somewhat "naive in imagining that the three Powers [The United States of America, England and Germany] would be interested in bettering the Act

---

[216] *A Footnote to History*: op. cit., pp.279,321. Also see the first-hand account of Adolph Thamm, edited by K. T. Beer: *Samoa - eine Reise in den Tod*, esp. pp.93-96.
[217] Ibid., pp.302-315.
[218] Ibid., p.315.
[219] *Samoa mo Samoa*: op. cit., p.74.

for the benefit of the Samoans",[220] *A Footnote to History* and other writings make clear that he left no stone unturned in trying to influence the Samoan as well as the foreign sector of island society. Thus, in a letter addressed to the Rev. S. J. Whitmee, he writes "White man here, white man there, Samoa is to stand or fall (bar actual seizure) on the Samoan question".[221]

As Mackenzie explains, Stevenson "was certain that if the Samoans could present a united front to the Europeans they would achieve a great deal of autonomy".[222] A coalition between the two Samoan rulers, Laupepa and Mataafa, for Stevenson "implies peace".[223] And understanding the situation from this vantage point, he confesses "I have now made up my mind to do all that I may be able - little as it is - to effect a reconciliation between these two men Laupepa and Mataafa; persuaded as I am that there is the one door of hope"; on the other hand, their continued rivalry, will bring "either war or paralysis".[224]

f.) Political cultures and the hermeneutical problem.

Stevenson's thought concerning the issue of native self-government, is developed in his work *A Footnote to History, eight years of trouble in Samoa.* There he writes:

I am not asking what was intended by the gentlemen who sat and debated very benignly and, on the whole, wisely in Berlin; I am asking what will be understood by a Samoan studying their literary work, the Berlin Act; I am asking what is the result of taking a word out of one state of society, and applying it to another, of which the writers know less than nothing, and no European knows much. Several interpreters and several days were employed last September in the fruitless attempt to convey to the mind of Laupepa the sense of the word "resignation." What can a Samoan gather from the words, *election? election of a king?*

---

[220] K. Mackenzie: "The Last Opportunity", p.164, in: D. Scarr (ed.): *More Pacific Islands Portraits*, pp.155-172.
[221] *Letters*: op. cit., vol.IV, p.35.
[222] K. Mackenzie: op. cit., p.165.
[223] *Letters*: op. cit., vol.IV, p.35.
[224] Ibid., vol.IV, p.35.

election of a king according to the laws and customs of Samoa? What are the electoral measures, what is the method of canvassing likely to be employed by two, three, four, or five, more or less absolute princelings, eager to evince each other? And who is to distinguish such a process from the state of war? In such international - or, I should say, interparochial - differences, the nearest we can come towards understanding is to appreciate the cloud of ambiguity in which all parties grope.

Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half flying.

...Foreigners in these islands know little of the course of native intrigue. Partly the Samoans cannot explain, partly they will not tell.[225]

Here Stevenson argues in a situation where two distinct cultures meet, the more powerful - the European - should not impose its cultural values and norms on the less powerful - the Polynesian. Unfortunately they did! This opinion conflicts - as Bitterli explains and has been discussed earlier - the well established opinion and method adopted by Europeans in situations of culture contact. Stevenson argues, firstly, that the intruders "know little of the course of native intrigue", the intricacies surrounding the two royal lineages of the Samoans[226]; and secondly, that European values and norms are meaningless to the Polynesians.

Obviously, Stevenson's understanding of the Samoan experience was guided by the ideas assembled in the conditions of understanding which had grown under the impact of his experience of the new and the quite novel effort to understand the Polynesians on their own terms, thus altering dramatically the European point of view. As he explains, "the nearest we can come towards understanding [the Samoan situation] is to appreciate the cloud of ambiguity in which all parties grope".[227] How, on the one side, the islanders could give meaning to a language, concepts and values that were foreign to them while, on the other side, how the

---

[225] *A Footnote to History*: op. cit., pp.274,287-288.
[226] *Samoa mo Samoa*: op. cit., chap.3, "The impact of the West", pp.31-75.
[227] *A Footnote to History*: op. cit., p.288.

question persists as to the European colonialists could govern if the natives' traditional cultural way of life was incomprehensible to them.

In connection with Stevenson's critique of the Samoan situation, Kant and Gadamer, among others, maintain that the cognitive process of understanding is structured in such a manner that it imposes its way of knowing upon the perceiving mind and on the perceived object.[228] Both argue that an experience not only depends on what is there to be experienced, but also on the nature of man's faculties: the interaction between the understanding and the manifold of experience. Gadamer has articulated the situation this way: "the text is to be made to speak through interpretation. But no text and no book speaks if it does not speak the language that reaches the other person".[229] Clearly, the "language" used by the three Powers did not "reach" the Samoans.

This hermeneutic aporia, however, was already recognised by Georg Forster who, in *A Voyage Round the World*, presented a telling example. He tells of a midshipman, who witnessed a Tahitian wedding but could not give meaning to what he saw. When asked to give an account of the ceremonies, the sailor "said, that though they were extremely curious, he could not remember one of them, and did not know how to relate them".[230] In short, what the midshipman had experienced lay outside his horizon of understanding; it was too foreign to be given meaning to; it was too alien to be integrated into the existing pre-understanding of

---

[228] I. Kant: *Werke*, "Kritik der reinen Vernunft", vol.III, p.145, #22; "Prolegomena", vol.V, p.189, #36; H.G. Gadamer: *Truth and Method*; the same: *Philosophical Hermeneutics*; J.C. Weinsheimer: *Gadamer's Hermeneutics. A Reading of Truth and Method*, esp. "Being at Home in Language", pp.213-259; J. Wallulis: *The Hermeneutics of Life History*.

[229] *Truth and Method*: op. cit., p.358.

[230] G. Forster: op.cit., AA 1: 393.

wedding ceremonies.

Stevenson's recognition of the hermeneutic difficulties intrinsic to culture contact - similar to the passage taken from Georg Forster's text - are used by him to level a critique at the colonial powers: firstly, he believes that they did not realise that their understanding of the Samoan situation is distinct from that of the natives; and, secondly, that their recommendations are meaningless to the islanders. This argumentation is most important in terms of the understanding of the new: it clearly highlights the difficulties of the conditions under which the understanding of the new was made and the conditions under which culture contact was established. Not what Europeans saw, but their broader held preconceptions and beliefs formed their understanding of the Pacific and its people.

To put the issue into hermeneutical terms and drawing on Gadamer:

> reason exists for us only in concrete, historical terms, i.e. it is not its own master, but remains constantly dependent on the given circumstances in which it operates. ... That is why the prejudices of the individual, far more than his judgments, constitute the historical reality of his being.[231]

Though Gadamer recorded his hermeneutical thoughts some sixty years after Stevenson had died, the latter's recognition that "foreigners in these islands know little of the course of native intrigue" and his call and support for native self-government was grounded in modern principles of hermeneutics.

---

[231] *Truth and Method*, op. cit., p.245.

g.) Summary.

In summary, with Stevenson a new type of traveller enters the Pacific: the wealthy tourist who can afford to cruise the South Seas, and, if he so chooses, can purchase an estate in Polynesia - whether it be for reasons of health or escapism. Clearly, Stevenson prefers Polynesia to Europe or America.

Most of Stevenson's arguments are continuities of earlier thought: that the islanders are "God's best ... [his] sweetest works"; that cultural customs are not universal; that societies operate best under laws of self-regulation, that progress demands its price, and that as a result of colonial self-interest the intruders had destroyed traditional native culture. All these arguments have informed the perception and the understanding of Pacific travellers and writers like Cook and Georg Forster. Yet, Stevenson's belief that cultural change requires time, and his criticism of the three Powers for not acknowledging the futility of their recommendations are cognitive issues, that were not widely recognised at the time. It also has been acknowledged that Stevenson developed his critique on colonialism further - he was concerned with the well-being of the Samoan people, and he wanted to see them treated fairly. In consequence, he advocated the idea of self-government, and subsequently participated actively in world affairs and native political life. In addition, the analysis has revealed that Stevenson employed the topos of the "dying savage" in his writings. This argument, however, was developed further by him in order to find out and to establish the reason, or reasons, for the phenomenon. This led him to believe that it was not cultural change per se, but the pace of change that caused the extinction of the Polynesians. This finding is relatively new in Pacific descriptions.

The next chapter of this inquiry will discuss some of the Pacific writings of Paul

Gauguin in which a different approach to understanding the Pacific becomes manifest.

Chapter VI

Paul Gauguin and the Pacific.

As the Pacific scholar and author Robert Langdon, amongst others, has observed, "few names are more famous in the annals of Tahiti than that of Paul Gauguin" who came to the island in 1891.[232]

a.) Preliminaries.

Gauguin[233] was born in Paris on 7. June 1848 and died in the Marquesas on 8. May 1903. At the age of one, his family moved to Peru, Lima, when his father died on the way. Early in 1855, the Gauguins returned to France where Paul began his school years: first in Orléans and then in Paris. At the age of seventeen he joined the merchant marine, travelled to Rio de Janeiro and later round the world. While serving the French government, like all registered sailors, he travelled European waters and engaged in the Franco-Prussian war. In 1871, his military service completed, he found a job in a stockbroker's office, took up painting, and two years later married. In 1882, after the stock market had crashed, Gauguin decided to earn his living as a painter. Thus began the economic hardship that beset Gauguin for the rest of his life.

After several trips in Europe, a voyage to Taboga - a Pacific island located off the coast

---

[232] R. Langdon: *Tahiti: Island of Love*, p.223.

[233] For this information I have relied mainly on the writings of N. Wadley (ed.): *Noa Noa. Gauguin's Tahiti*; D. Guérin (ed.): *The Writings of a Savage. Paul Gauguin*; M. Hoog: *Paul Gauguin. Life and Work*; M. Prather & C.F. Stuckey (eds.): *Gauguin. A Retrospective*; G. Daws: *A Dream of Islands*, "Paul Gauguin", pp.217-270; R. Langdon: *Tahiti: Island of Love*, "Painter or Noble Savage", pp.223-234.

of Panama - Gauguin planned, together with some fellow artists, to go to Madagascar to "found the Studio of the Tropics".[234] But this plan did not materialise.

b.) Expectations and reality.

In late 1890, in a letter addressed to Jens Ferdinand Willumsen, Gauguin set out his future plans confessing:

> as for me, my mind is made up; in a little while I shall go to Tahiti, a small island in Oceania, where material life can be lived without money. There I want to forget all the bad things in the past and die unbeknownst to people here, free to paint without any glory for other people. ... In Europe, terrible times are in store for the next generation: gold will be king. Everything is rotten, men and the arts alike. People are constantly being torn apart. Out there at least, beneath a winterless sky, on marvelously fertile soil, the Tahitian need only lift up his arms to pick his food; for that reason, he never works. In Europe, however, men and women can satisfy their needs only by toiling without respite, while they suffer the pangs of cold and hunger, a prey to poverty; the Tahitians, on the contrary, are happy inhabitants of the unknown paradise of Oceania and experience only the sweet things of life. For them, living means singing and loving. Therefore once I've arranged things so that my daily needs out there are met, I'll be able to devote myself to the grand business of art as such, free of all artistic jealousies, without any need to engage in low dealings. In matters of art, one's state of mind is three-quarters of what counts, so it has to be carefully nurtured if you want to do something great and lasting.[235]

This text is of great importance for this inquiry. It provides evidence for Gauguin's mind-set as expressed in the well-known set of topoi of the European imagination: his dissatisfaction with European life and the imagined anticipations and expectations of a life without work and money in the Pacific. The passage contrasts the life-style of the Polynesians and the Europeans. While the former are described as a happy carefree people who are "blessed" with a good climate and a fertile soil and enjoy the "sweet things of life" without the need for either money or work, the latter, the "unblessed" Europeans, are presented as cursed

---

[234] D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.42.
[235] Ibid., pp.47-48.

by the conditions of hard work, a harsh climate, poverty and the negative of social corruption. Thus, the islanders are seen as living in a Golden Age, while the Europeans are seen as having degenerated into an Iron Age. Clearly, Gauguin identifies with a mind-set which, at least from the second half of the eighteenth century, was filled with "ready at hand" paradisiacal imagery - as set out in Bougainville's or similar writings. And its effect was twofold: it facilitated an understanding of the Pacific experience as well as a critique of European culture.

Similar thoughts were expressed in letters written, in the same year, to his wife Mette, to his fellow artists Emile Bernard and Odilon Redon[236] and also in an article published in *L'Echo de Paris*, February 23, 1891.[237]

Gauguin's understanding of Tahiti and its people was further "coloured" by his reading of Loti's *The Marriage of Loti*. Loti's writing "had popularized Tahiti in 1880s France with his romantic Rarahu".[238] And a comparison of the two accounts highlights a similarity in their observations. Writing about life in Tahiti, Loti observes:

> In Oceania, work is a thing unknown. The forests produce by themselves everything necessary for nourishing these carefree people. The fruit of the breadfruit tree and wild bananas grow for all and suffice for each. The years go by for the Tahitians in an absolute indolence and a perpetual revery, and these big children do not suspect that in our beautiful Europe so many poor people exhaust themselves in earning their daily bread.[239]

Loti's observations show clearly that the mind-set of Pacific writers and travellers were guided and conditioned in the understanding of the new by the imagery dominating the European imagination which have become clichés by now. That is to say, by their pre-

---

[236] Ibid., pp.42-45.
[237] Ibid., pp.49-50.
[238] N. Wadley (ed.): op. cit., p.144; R. Edmond: *Representing the South Pacific*, p.246.
[239] P. Loti: *The Marriage of Loti*, p.37.

understanding of a "blessed people" - by the topoi and imagery that constituted their cognition.

Brochures on Tahiti, published by the Ministry of Colonies, served a similar purpose. As Gavan Dawn points out, "it was not just Loti who said so. It was official... [Tahiti was believed to be] a land of no winter and no discontent, ripe fruits for the picking, a workless world where to live was to sing and to love".[240] And more important for Gauguin the artist, Tahitian woman was portrayed as the perfect model - "dark-eyed, full-lipped, face unmarked by the stresses of civilization, sweet and innocently voluptuous".[241]

Just as Bougainville and Commerson,[242] some one hundred twenty years earlier, had created the myth of the "island of love", so Gauguin had reacted to the printed imagery: their mind-set was conditioned by the topos of paradise. For that reason, it is also clear that Gauguin's understanding of Polynesian and European life is not new in Pacific perception. As shown earlier, these ideas were well documented at the time Gauguin thought about travelling to the Pacific.

What is new, however, is that Gauguin thinks that native life can foster artistic creation: he believes that in the Pacific, the gifted artist can produce "something great and lasting"; that there, a gifted artist is neither subjected to the constraints of civilisation nor burdened by "artistic jealousies". In the Pacific, creative impulses can flow freely whereas in Europe artists

---

[240] G. Daws: op. cit. p.225.

[241] Ibid., p.225.

[242] Bogainville's descriptions were fully confirmed by Philibert Commerson who accompanied Bougainville on his Pacific voyage as botanist and surgeon. His article was published in "Letter, Mercure de France" in 1769. See B.G. Corney: *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain*, vol.2, pp.461-466; also in U. Bitterli (1980): *Die Entdeckung und Eroberung der Welt*, vol.2, pp.250-252.

"dare not cast off their shackles"[243] but remain constrained by traditional imagery and cultural practices. In consequence, "sustenance and vital strength [can only be found] in the primitive arts".[244] Thus, in the "Notebook for Aline",[245] Gauguin writes "you will always find vital sap coursing through the primitive arts. In the arts of an elaborate civilization, I doubt it!".[246]

Guided by this line of thought, and not content to experience exoticism[247] through lectures and pleasure trips, Gauguin abandoned his wife and children and went to the South Seas in 1891. There, in the new surroundings and freed from the "stupid existence Europeans live",[248] Gauguin hoped to produce different art. His aim: was no less than to "revive a classical approach to composition using new themes".[249]

But he soon realised that

> the dream [as he confesses] which led me to Tahiti was cruelly contraticted by the present: It was the Tahiti of times past that I loved. And could not resign myself to the belief that it was totally destroyed, that this beautiful race was no more, that nothing had survived of its ancient splendour. How should I manage to recover the traces of that past so remote and so mysterious. .... My mind was soon made up. To leave Papeete as quickly as I could, to get away from the European centre.[250]

---

[243] D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.147.

[244] Ibid., p.131.

[245] A notebook written in Tahiti in 1892, embellished with watercolours, it contains "a certain number of thoughts, notes, and copies of other people's writings which he valued". He dedicated the notebook to his daughter Aline. D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.67.

[246] Ibid., p.71.

[247] By the end of the nineteenth century, the Western world was well aquainted with the notion of exoticism. For more information see H. Pollig (ed.): *Exotische Welten Europäische Phantasien*, who claimed "die tropischen Trauminseln [in the Pacific] wurden zur Metapher des Exotischen an sich, p.19. T. Todorov: *On Human Diversity*, esp. chap. 4, "Exoticism", pp.264-352. T. Schwarz: "Die Tropen bin ich!" in: J. Link (ed.), *Kultur Revolution*, #32/33, Dec. 1995, pp.11-21.

[248] D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.106.

[249] M. Hoog: op. cit., p.7.

[250] N. Wadley (ed.): op. cit., pp.13-14,69.

In 1893, disappointed, plagued by poverty and loneliness, Gauguin returned to France. His letters contain numerous references to the fact that while living in the Pacific, he lived on "dry bread and a glass of water ... believing that it is a steak".[251]

In short, the paradisiacal life-style was not enjoyed by Gauguin. In effect, the life he experienced in Tahiti was even worse than that in European. But that this should be so is not surprising - it is merely a manifestation of the hermeneutical situation: what Gauguin encountered in the Pacific did not live up to the expectations created by the imagery within his mind. The Pacific was at odds with both his image and expectation of that place.

Back in France, he wrote up his Tahitian experiences in a work entitled *Noa Noa*, which in Tahitian means fragrant. Gauguin hoped to benefit economically from the publication and sale of *Noa Noa* - just as Pierre Loti had done with his book *The Marriage of Loti* - but also he hoped that it would promote his Pacific paintings, i.e., it would help to explain to the Parisian audience the imagery depicted in such paintings: "the civilized and the barbarian world [as the artist has put it] I wanted to strip completely naked, without fear and without shame, and write ... about it all".[252]

Yet, Gauguin's stay in France did not last. He soon became anxious to return to Tahiti which he did in 1895. He just could not ignore the lure of the place where he "had once been captivated by that virgin land and its primitive and simple race".[253]

---

[251] Ibid., p.65; for the second stay in Oceania see pp.125,181.
[252] D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.230.
[253] Ibid., p.112.

c.) The Tahitian experience.

Gauguin's yerning to "shake off" civilisation (to emancipate himself from the "rottenness of Europe" including himself, and to "regress" to the "childhood of mankind" - to become a savage[254]) is most forcefully expressed in *Noa Noa*.

At his first stay in Tahiti - a period when he lived without a *Vahine* - Gauguin, together with a male friend, a young Tahitian, went into the mountain in search of rosewood, used by the artist for carving. Both were dressed with a *Pareu* only. In complete silence they climbed up the mountain, the youth first, through almost impenetrable yet silent virgin forest; Gauguin writes:

> and two we certainly were, two friends, he a quite young man and I almost an old man in body and soul, in civilized vices: in lost illusions. His lithe animal body had graceful contours, he walked in front of me sexless...
>
> From all this youth, from this perfect harmony with the nature which surrounded us, there emanated a beauty, a fragrance (noa noa) that enchanted my artist soul. From this friendship so well cemented by the mutual attraction between simple and composite, love took power to blossom in me.
>
> And we were only ... the two of us -
> I had a sort of presentiment of crime, the desire for the unkown, the awakening of evil - Then weariness of the male role, having always to be strong, protective; shoulders that are a heavy load. To be for a minute the weak being who loves and obeys.
>
> I drew close, without fear of laws, my temples throbbing.
>
> The path had come to an end ... we had to cross the river; my companion turned at that moment, so that his chest was towards me. The hermaphrodite had vanished; it was a young man, after all; his innocent eyes resembled the limpidity of the water. Calm suddenly came back into my soul, and this time I enjoyed the coolness of the stream deliciously, plunging into it with delight - *"Toe toe,"* he said to me ("it's cold"). "Oh no," I answered, and this denial, answering my previous desire, drove in among the cliffs like an echo. Fiercely I thrust my way with energy into the thicket, [which had] become more and more wild; the boy went on his way, still limpid-eyed. He had not understood. I alone carried the burden of an evil thought, a whole civilization had been before me in evil and had educated me.
>
> We were reaching our destination. - At that point the crags of the mountain drew apart, and behind a curtain of tangled trees a semblance of a plateau [lay] hidden but not unknown. There several trees (rose-wood) extended their huge branches. Savages both of us, we attacked

[254] Ibid., pp.43,50,58,89,105,293.

with the axe a magnificent tree which had to be destroyed to get a branch suitable to my desires. I struck furiously and, my hands covered with blood, hacked away with the pleasure of sating one's brutality and of destroying something. In time with the noise of the axe I sang:

> "Cut down by the foot the whole forest (of desires)
> Cut down in yourself the love of yourself, as a man
> would cut down with his hand in autumn the Lotus."

Well and truly destroyed indeed, all the old remnant of civilized man in me. I returned at peace, feeling myself henceforward a different man, a Maori. The two of us carried our heavy load cheerfully, and I could again admire, in front of me, the graceful curves of my young friend - and calmly: curves robust like the tree we were carrying. The tree smelt of roses, *Noa Noa*. We got back in the afternoon, tired. He said to me: "Are you pleased?" "Yes" - and inside myself I repeated: "Yes."

I was definitely at peace from then on.

I gave not a single blow of the chisel to that piece of wood without having memories of a sweet quietude, a fragrance, a victory and a rejuvenation.[255]

Gauguin felt that this passage required further work so that it would "not to be misunderstood".[256] This he did by re-working his original notes and draught into a piece of writing which compared the sexes in both Western and Polynesian culture. It not only elucidates Gauguin's original thought, but also illustrates the moral and sexual codes practised in Europe at the time - customs that were instrumental in the formation and presentation of Gauguin's understanding of the Pacific. I will present Gauguin's re-worked passage before discussing his emotional experience.

Among the people that go naked, as among animals, the difference between the sexes is less accentuated than in our climates. Thanks to our cinctures and corsets, we have succeeded in making an artificial being out of woman. She is an anomaly, and Nature herself, obedient to the law of heredity, aids us in complicating and enervating her. We carefully keep her in a state of nervous weakness and muscular inferiority, and in guarding her from fatigue, we take away from her possibilities of development. Thus modeled on a bizarre ideal of slenderness to which, strangely enough, we continue to adhere, our women have nothing in common with us, and this, perhaps, may not be without grave moral and social disadvantages.

On Tahiti the breezes from the forest and sea strengthen the lungs, they broaden the

---

[255] N. Wadley (ed.): op. cit., pp.25,28.
[256] Ibid., p.74.

shoulders and hips. Neither men nor women are sheltered from the rays of the sun nor the pebbles of the seashore. Together they engage in the same tasks with the same activity or the same indolence. There is something virile in the women and something feminine in the men.

This similarity of the sexes makes their relations the easier. Their continual state of nakedness has kept their minds free from the dangerous preoccupation with the "mystery" and from the excessive stress which among civilized people is laid upon the "happy accident" and the clandestine and sadistic colors of love. It has given their manners a natural innocence, a perfect purity. Men and women are comrades, friends rather than lovers, dwelling together almost without cease, in pain as in pleasure, and even the very idea of vice is unknown to them.[257]

While the first passage is an account of a personal experience, the second is a cultural comparison. The first passage concerns not only Gauguin's sexual phantasy and his liberation from the burden of tradition, but also the cathartic rejuvenation of the wood collecting experience. The confession suggests that Gauguin underwent a transformation from a state where man is in fear of himself - of being overcome by his own natural impulses - to a condition of "peace", of "sweet quietude".

The arguments use opposing imagery: the Westerner's body and soul, in despair, are in contrast to the perfect graceful harmony of native man and surrounding nature; evil thoughts controlled by fear - the tension between natural drives and drive-control - are set against eyes (the mirrors of the soul) free from turbidity, and free from the confusion caused by the historic civilising process; and "composite" impulses controlled by reason are opposed by "simple" sensations derived from sense perception.

Three inferences can be drawn from this passage: firstly, the customs and education that make up the historic civilising process, enslave and corrupt; secondly, in contrast, native life is essentially good: the natives' minds have not yet been corrupted by Western ways of

---

[257] M. Prather & C.F. Stuckey (eds.): op. cit., p.182.

thinking and valuing; yet, thirdly, the individual can renounce his way of life and return to the state of "natural innocence".

The argument that civilised man, after cleansing himself from the evils of his culture - "Cut down by the foot the whole forest (of desires) ..." - can rejuvenate, has great similarities with passages in the Bible.[258]

This recognition suggests that some of the imagery used by Gauguin to give meaning to the experience, was located in much earlier thought.

Although Gauguin was aware of the Tahitians' attitude to homosexuality - at the time of his arrival in Tahiti he was dubbed *taata vahine*, man-woman, by the islanders because of his picturesque hat and shoulder length hair[259] - he used the theme to depict the evil of civilisation. His line of argument seems to be that while homosexuality is accepted in Tahiti it is rejected as a perversion in Europe. This understanding is used by Gauguin to highlight the cultural differences between the two races. In addition, it shows the unsettling "otherness" of the Polynesian culture which he is trying to embrace.

---

[258] Matthew 5, 29-30.

[259] N. Wadley (ed.): op. cit., p.74 #2; Gizycki supports this recognition and writes: "Weibliche Männer, sogenannte *Fa'a fafine*, werden in Tonga und in Samoa durchaus gesellschaftlich akzeptiert". R. von Gizycki: *Wo der Tag beginnt, enden die Träume. Begegnungen in der Südsee*, p.87.

d.) Further arguments and perspectives.

The studies of Norbert Elias are of relevance here. Concerning the historic civilising process - the process of pacification - he argues that the so called "animalistic" functions were not only suppressed, but also that they became prohibitions - taboos. That is to say, the regulation of human drives, in the process of civilisation, led to the elimination of the "irrational animalistic" tendencies in human nature. Elias writes:

> the pressures operating upon the individual now tend to produce a transformation of the whole drive and affect economy in the direction of a more continuous, stable and even regulation of drives and affects in areas of conduct, in all sectors of life. ... Life becomes in a sense less dangerous, but also less emotional or pleasurable, at least as far as the direct release of pleasure is concerned.[260]

That is to say, the "inner fears" in man "grow in proportion to the decrease of outer ones".[261]

Freud, too, argues that European man, burdened by morbid psychic activity, by neuroses - resulting from the civilising process - "take[s] flight from an unsatisfying reality into a more pleasurable world of phantasy".[262] This change, this attempt "to turn away from reality is at the same time to withdraw from the community of man".[263] This practice was adopted by Gauguin: "there [in Oceania] I want to forget all the bad things in the past and die unbeknownst to people here".[264] Clearly, Gauguin seeks the reverse of the "civilising process" for his own person.

This confession is consistent with Freud's observation that "prohibition does not

---

[260] N. Elias: *The Civilizing Process*, pp.452,453; also see: pp.475-498.
[261] Ibid., p.497.
[262] S. Freud: *Totom and Taboo*, p.74; the same: *Civilization and its Discontents.*
[263] Ibid., p.74.
[264] D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.47.

succeed in *abolishing* the instinct. It's only result is to *repress* the instinct and banish it into the unconscious"[265]: the primitive attitude has survived, the "sexual repression" has "brought about a further sexualization" in the thought process.[266] This observation is clearly evident in both Gauguin's experience and writings.

The second extract argues for an unspoiled body. It deals with the conflict arising between European and Polynesian moral and social practices - a conflict between savage and civilised life. And Gauguin purposely used it as a strategy to highlight the differences between the two cultures. He writes:

> It occurred to me that I could bring out the character of "savages" more clearly by comparing it to our own. It seemed an original idea for me to write with a primitive simplicity, side-by-side with the style of a cultured man.[267]

The text maintains that, while European artificiality renders European women effeminate, native women (living by the law of nature) are strong and healthy - effectively juxtaposing the imagery of corset and bare breasts. While the former have "nothing in common" with the male gender, the later develop a friendship; they become "comrades". Put in another way, the Tahitian experience provided evidence for Gauguin's argument that European culture exaggerated the difference between the sexes - an idea clearly evident in many of the artist's Tahitian paintings.[268]

Gauguin's perception, however, is not new; it's roots can be traced back to earlier thought. Rod Edmond explains that the "relation of the Tahitian to the European body was at

---

[265] S. Freud: op. cit., p.29.
[266] Ibid., p.89.
[267] N. Wadley (ed.): op. cit., p.105.
[268] N. Wadley (ed.): op. cit., pp.258,259; M. Prather & C. F. Stuckey (eds.): op. cit..

issue in the late ninteenth-century colonialist discourse as well as in the Enlightenment".[269]

The social bond between the Polynesians, according to Gauguin, is a consequence of specific native cultural practices. Thus any observer could see that "freedom of the flesh should exist, otherwise it is revolting slavery".[270] Such a notion effectively levels a critique at European cultural practices. This understanding is further developed in "Avant et Après" where Gauguin writes:

> Remember that the Danish woman [a reference to his wife Mette] is the most practical woman there is. Don't get me wrong: it's a small country, so they have to be prudent. Even the children are taught to say: "Papa, we've got to have some dough; otherwise my poor father, you're out on your ear".[271]

Clearly, by and large, European matrimonial customs do not work satisfactorily because they are the consequence of repressive social practices and, to Gauguin's mind, they are the consequence of the capitalistic economic system.

Gauguin's cultural critique suggests that "the structure of social functions and the relationship between people" are the consequence of "particular standard[s] of behavioural controls".[272] They are influenced and moulded by cultural customs and habits.

However, Gauguin's call for the liberation of "the flesh", and his critique of European matrimonial practices has precedents in Enlightenment philosophy. The issue was most clearly addressed by Denis Diderot in his "Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage" (1772).[273]

In the "Supplement" Diderot argued, as Ralph Leigh explains, that "modern man has

---

[269] R. Edmond: *Representing the South Pacific*, p.256.
[270] D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.71.
[271] Ibid., p.243.
[272] N. Elias: op. cit., p.517.
[273] D. Diderot: "Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage", published in: D. Diderot: *Rameau's Nephew and other works*, chap.3, pp.183-239.

acquired a spurious conscience, and is burdened and tormented by an artificially-inflated number of prohibitions and inhibitions, social, religious and political"[274] which, in consequence, have "made happiness impossible".[275]

Diderot argued that the way to improve the human condition - the way to make man better and happier - lies in "the path of moral transgression" rather than in the reduction of the "number of sanctionable transgressions".[276]

After having rejected - in the first instance - Tahitian hospitality, offering his wife and daughters to the clergyman, on the grounds "that his religion, his holy orders, his moral standards and his sense of decency all prevented him from accepting"[277] the invitation, Diderot's fictional priest is informed by the native Oron that:

> [European] laws seem to me to be contrary to the general order of things. For in truth is there anything so senseless as a precept that forbids us to heed the changing impulses that are inherent in our being, or commands that require a degree of constancy which is not possible, that violate the liberty of both male and female by chaining them perpetually to one another? Is there anything more unreasonable than this perfect fidelity that would restrict us, for the enjoyment of pleasures so capricious, to a single partner - than an oath of immutability taken by two individuals made of flesh and blood under a sky that is not the same for a moment, in a cavern that threatens to collapse upon them, at the foot of cliff that is crumbling into dust, under a tree that is withering, on a bench of stone that is worn away? Take my word for it, you have reduced human beings to a worse condition than that of the animal.[278]

Diderot refers, firstly, to Western reports according to which European laws are questionable: changing circumstances cannot be ruled by laws of permanence. Secondly, as a

---

[274] R. Leigh: "Diderot's Tahiti", p.118; published in J.P. Hardy & J.C. Eade (eds.): *Studies in the eighteenth century*, pp.113-128. Also see H. Dieckmann: *Studien zur europäischen Aufklärung*, esp. "Zu Diderots Supplément au voyage de Bougainville", pp.466-470.

[275] Ibid., p.116.

[276] Ibid., p.118.

[277] D. Diderot: op. cit., p.203.

[278] Ibid., p.207.

consequence, European bedroom practices are aberrations and distortions of human nature. And finally, according to European understanding, the islanders feel that sexual intercourse in Tahiti is perceived as a purely physical activity.

With this argument, Diderot levels a critique of European cultural practices; and it stands in sharp contrast with the general view of universalism adopted by eighteenth and nineteenth century writers and philosophers.[279] Based on Diderot's arguments, it is clear that Gauguin's view about European cultural practices rest on an old topos, even though they were presented by him in a new context.

Yet, Henry Baudet explains:

> the improper held an inordinate fascination for the eighteenth century. ... One is inclined to believe ... that the exotic nakedness and sexual freedom reported by so many travelers must from the outset have fascinated a Christian Europe hemmed in by so many strict moral rules.[280]

A finding clearly evident in Gauguin's recorded experiences.

As noted previously, nakedness and unchastity were two issues which the missionaries were anxious to stamp out in the Pacific - an understanding which is grounded in the fact that Adam and Eve after the Fall were ashamed of their nakedness.[281] In consequence, as Kotzebue and others observed, even dancing was forbidden because of its erotic connotation.[282]

In total contrast to Diderot's enlightened view in such matters, the feeling of

---

[279] Elias provides an interesting account on the development "on behaviour in the bedroom" and the "changes in attitudes towards relations between the sexes"; op. cit., pp.132-156.

[280] H. Baudet: *Paradise on Earth*, p.48.

[281] Genesis: 3:7, "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons."

[282] Also see W. Ellis: *Polynesian Researches, Society Islands*.

embarrassment about the human body and the bedroom reached a still higher peak in nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe. Elias explains, "the specific standard of shame ... [became] predominant. ... In this period, even among adults, everything pertaining to sexual life is concealed to a higher degree and dismissed behind the scene".[283]

The ramifications of this cultural change, can be appreciated

only if we see how natural it seemed in the Middle Ages for strangers and for children and adults to share a bed. ... And we recognize how far from self-evident it is that bed and body should form such psychological danger zones as they do in the most recent phase of civilization".[284]

Elias argues that the historic civilising process progressively suppressed and removed natural human urges from public life. Yet, regressive cultural practices were justified in the nineteenth century "above all in the form of morality".[285]

This manifestation totally contrasts and motivates Gauguin's stay on Tahiti; both his first-hand experiences and his writing of native life in the Pacific suggest that the islanders are of "natural innocence, [they are of] a perfect purity".

As discussed earlier, such an understanding is totally unrealistic. It is not an accurate description of what is there but a piece of imaginative writing. It is clear, Gauguin wanted to perceive the islanders as "Noble Savages" and so he did.

The division of behaviour between what was and what was not permitted publicly, Elias thought, led to a transformation in the personality structure of European man. He writes:

The prohibitions supported by social sanctions are reproduced in the individual as self-controls. The pressure to restrain his impulses and the sociogenetic shame surrounding them - these are turned so completely into habits that we cannot resist them even when alone, in the

---

[283] N. Elias: op. cit., p.146.
[284] Ibid., p.138.
[285] Ibid., p.140.

intimate sphere.[286]

This explanation by Elias supports Gauguin's observations that the historic civilising process produced an atmosphere of "mystery", full of "excessive stress which among civilized people is laid upon the happy accident and the clandestine and sadistic colors of love".[287]

In the light of the evidence taken from the writings of Diderot, and more fully explained by Elias, it is not surprising that Gauguin was critical of late nineteenth century European relations between the sexes. To make his views known, that the civilising process has repressed human feelings and instincts, Gauguin employed the established method in rhetoric of using the "other" as a critique of his own cultural situation. Adhering to this strategy, he writes: "in Europe, the coupling of two human beings is a consequence of Love; in Oceania, Love is the consequence of copulation".[288]

Documented contemporary evidence supports this view. Margaret Mead thinks that the cultural customs of Pacific natives of introducing young people to "sex practice reduces the possibility of neuroses".[289] And Bronislaw Malinowski in his work with Melanesians found that

> there exists in the Trobriand Islands an extremely interesting institution, the bachelors' and unmarried girls' house, called by the natives *bukumatula*; it is of considerable importance, as it is one of those arrangements sanctioned by customs.[290]

Malinowski observed, in the *bukumatula*, "a strict decorum obtains"[291] and the two

---

[286] Ibid., p.156.
[287] M. Prather & C.F. Stuckey (eds.): op. cit., p.182.
[288] D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.71.
[289] M. Mead: *Coming of Age in Samoa*, p.178. For a challenging view on Mead's account of the sexual mores and behaviour of Samoan natives see D. Freeman's: *Margaret Mead and Samoa*.
[290] B. Malinowski: *The Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia*, p.44.
[291] Ibid., p.62.

lovers, live together "under the spell of personal attraction, are kept together by sexual passion or personal attachment and part at will".[292] That is to say, Malinowski claims, young men and women are together because they choose to be and not as a consequence of a legal bond.

Following native customs in the *bukumatula*, young people have sexual intercourse before they marry. As a result, once they have become husband and wife, "the young people have left the passionate stages of their life together behind them in the *bukumatula*, and the initial months of matrimony, on which they now enter, are not of predominantly sexual interest to them".[293] They are, as Gauguin has observed, "comrades, friends rather than lovers" who share "pain and pleasure" alike.

e.) The Marquesan experience.

In September 1901, Gauguin went to the Marquesas. There, at the island of Hivaoa, in less civilised surroundings, he hoped to find cannibalism, "a completely new atmosphere [as he put it] that will make me do good work",[294] and that will "rejuvenate my imagination and lead to the fulfillment of my talent before I die".[295] In a letter to Monfreid he writes "... I shall do beautiful things ... My Brittany pictures are now rose water because of Tahiti; Tahiti will become *eau de Cologne* because of the Marquesas".[296]

The transformation and rejuvenation of the imagination, was to derive from "the

---

[292] Ibid., p.63.
[293] M.W. Young (ed.): *The Ethnography of Malinowski*, p.122.
[294] D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., p.209.
[295] Ibid., 210.
[296] Ibid., p.XXXIII.

original source ... the childhood of mankind"[297] (the Marquesas) where, Gauguin believed, they "still [practise] some cannibalism ... the altogether wild element".[298] This Dionysian side of human nature, the artist, hoped would "lead to the fulfilment of my talent before I die".[299]

The text argues that, in order to create original art, the artist must free himself from the constraint of civilisation. He has to pull down primitivism "to the depths of savagery where genius is unfettered and where perceptions and dreams are meshed with the fabric of nature".[300] This means, that for Gauguin, it was necessary to enrich his pre-understanding, if he were to produce something new and of value. This process will lead to the formation and conceptualisation of new knowledge.

Three inferences can be drawn from Gauguin's text: that European colonialism had corrupted the paradisiacal conditions of Tahiti[301]; that European civilisation hinders the creation of original art; and, that the artist has to go back to the source and origin of humanity to create great art.

By now it has become clear, in the inquiry, that Gauguin's understanding of the savage state of the Marquesas is the result of the formation of imagery constructed from earlier Pacific writings and pictorial presentations.[302]

In regard to the issue that in the Marquesas they "still [practise] some cannibalism" Neil

---

[297] Ibid., p.112.
[298] Ibid., p.210.
[299] Ibid., p.209.
[300] Ibid., p.XXIX.
[301] There are numerous references where Gauguin is critical of European colonialism and the negative influence it has on island live; D. Guérin (ed.): op. cit., esp. pp.284-294.
[302] N. Rennie provides an interesting account of the European perception of Pacific people; see: *Far-Fetched Facts*, chap.7, "Of the Cannibals", pp.181-197.

Rennie in *Far-Fetched Facts* states "that the Marquesans probably were cannibals, but there is nevertheless much truth in [the idea] ... that cannibalism was a civilized myth, leaving little relation to reality but great significance for those who believed in it, for whom it defined the savagery of others".[303] The perception and presentation of native people as "amiable" or "blood-thirsty", is the consequence of what the observer wanted to see and believe; "his frame of mind".[304]

The arguments that European civilisation is harmful to the "original state" of nature and that it restricts man's life, were well established topoi by the end of the nineteenth century and have been discussed earlier. The claim, however, that artistic originality - great works of art - are possible only through harnessing the powers of the Dionysian, a cruel longing to exceed all norms as practised by Gauguin, is an observation that was, at the time, not widely recognised.[305]

---

[303] Ibid., p.194.

[304] Ibid., p.196.

[305] Guérin argued though the idea of *synthétisme* "was also adopted as a working hypothesis by other artists ... Gauguin was the only one who really grasped the underbelly of the emerging theory"; op. cit., p.XXIX; also see S. Hiller (ed.): *The myth of Primitivism. Perspectives on Art*, p.163.

f.) Further arguments and perspectives.

Putting Gauguin's ideas about art into a philosophical context, Nietzsche's "Die Geburt der Tragödie" is of relevance. Friedrich Nietzsche, a contemporary of Gauguin, had argued that great culture is born from conflict. That is to say, great works of art are the

> Ausdruck zweier ineinandergewobenen Kunsttriebe, des Apollinischen und des Dionysischen[306] ... Apollo konnte nicht ohne Dionysus leben! Das *Titanische* und das *Barbarische* war zuletzt eine eben solche Notwendigkeit wie das Apollinische!.[307]

And Henri Bergson, another contemporary of Gauguin, in his book *Creative Evolution* proposed the idea that the history of life is to be understood in creative terms - in the consciousness of the vital impetus, "élan vital".[308]

Though it is unclear if Gauguin had read Nietzsche (and in 1907 when Bergson published his ideas Gauguin was already dead for four years) his Pacific paintings explored topoi which were also reflected in the writings of these philosophers.

Yet, as Robert Langdon explains, "at the time of" Gauguin's death, "his paintings were almost unknown in Europe".[309] Gauguin's paintings were rejected at first because they were different. They did not conform to the European expectations and demands: his Pacific understanding and pictorial re-presentation were new. This inference supports the hermeneutic claim that "the traveller who has been once away from home is wiser than he who has never left his own doorstep".[310] In addition, it highlights the difficulties Pacific travellers encountered

---

[306] F. Nietzsche: *Werke*, vol.1, 12, p.70.
[307] Ibid., vol.1, 4, p.34.
[308] T.A. Goudge: "Bergson, Henri", in: P. Edwards (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol.1, pp.287-295.
[309] R. Longdon: op. cit., p.234.
[310] M. Mead: op. cit., p.18.

in the presentation of their works, based on their experiences, to the European public.[311]

The primitive qualities evident in Gauguin's Pacific art-works, are also presented in some of the paintings of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres and Pablo Picasso[312] and are paralleled in some of the music composed by Igor Fedorovich Stravinsky,[313] to name but some fellow artists.

g.) Summary.

In summary, many of Gauguin's writings argue: firstly, that Tahiti is accepted as a terrestrial paradise; secondly, that colonialism corrupts; thirdly, that the historic civilising process led, at least partly, to neuroses in Western man; and finally, the finding that ninteenth century European matrimonial customs do not work, was well documented in earlier Pacific writings - they show a continuity of imagery in Pacific understanding and re-presentation. Yet, the proposition that Western cultural practices - the repression of the "animalic", the "pacification" of human behaviour - stifle artistic development and originality while, in contrast, "the depths of savagery" can lead the gifted artist "to the fulfilment of [his] talent" - though already set out by Nietzsche - was not widely recognised at the time. This acknowledgment finds support in Gauguin's pictorial presentations of his Pacific experiences and the European reaction to them.

Clearly, the identified topoi, that the civilising process stifles artistic development and

---

[311] B. Smith worked out this issue more fully in his works: *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850*; and *Imagining the Pacific*.

[312] *The Encyclopedia of Visual Art*, vol.7, pp.331-333; vol.8, pp.521-525.

[313] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol.12, "Problems of musical meaning", pp.664-667.

influences personality structure, and the topos of rejuvenation and the presentation of a new art form, were relatively new at the time of Gauguin's stay in the Pacific. On the other hand, the arguments headed by the topoi of the "blessed and the unblessed", though well established in Europe at the time Gauguin documented his thoughts about the Pacific and its people, show a continuity of images brought into new context.

The next chapter of this inquiry will discuss some of the Pacific writings of William Somerset Maugham.

Chapter VII

William Somerset Maugham and the Pacific.

The passages examined so far in this inquiry, were selected from writings based on alleged first-hand experiences - though, as pointed out above, Melville's account was heavily fictionalised. Maugham's writings are different because whatever of personal experiences may have entered his stories, they belong entirely to the genre of fiction.[314] Yet some of these works can contribute to this inquiry. When they first appeared - and also nowadays - they performed an important function in the formation of the European understanding of the Pacific and its people. And the arguments and critiques employed in Maugham's writings, reflect current ideas: the topoi, that guided and informed the European understanding of the "other", the Antipodes.

[314] As John Mandeville's and Karl May's writings show, exotic accounts do not presuppose travel to foreign lands.

a.) Preliminaries.

Somerset Maugham,[315] a British writer of Irish origin, was born in Paris in 1874 and died at the French Riviera in 1965. He was educated at King's School, Canterbury, read philosophy and literature at the university of Heidelberg and qualified as a surgeon at St. Thomas's Hospital, London. In 1916 Maugham travelled to the South Seas and later to China, south-east Asia and Mexico.

After arriving in Papeete in February 1917 and spending some six weeks there, Maugham gathered material for his work *The Moon and Sixpence*. In that novel, an Englishman, Strickland, a Gauguinesque artist, leaves his wife and stockbroking, seeks to end his life in a leper's hut. As the author confesses, the "novel was suggested by the life of Paul Gauguin",[316] who, also had neglected duty for the lure of the Pacific and for the sake of art. Yet, *The Moon and Sixpence* was not the only novel Maugham wrote about such matters. In *Rain*, *The Fall of Edward Barnard* and other novels he also examined the conflict between American-European and Pacific native life.[317]

Regarding the writings examined so far, we have worked out that the European understanding of the Pacific and its people was an European construction: it was grounded in utopian writings; i.e., the ancient Greek notion of a Golden Age or the Judeo-Christian biblical Garden of Eden. These topoi identified a people living in an earthly paradise; they were used by

---

[315] Somerset Maugham: *Novels*; the same: *Sixty-five Short Stories*; Ted Morgan: *Somerset Maugham*; Robert Lorin Calder: *W. Somerset Maugham & the Quest for Freedom*.

[316] Somerset Maugham: "The Moon and Sixpence", p.695, in *Novels*, pp.693-827.

[317] Somerset Maugham: "Rain", "The Fall of Edward Barnard", "Honolulu", "The Pool", in: *Sixty-five Short Stories*, pp.13-77, 81-103.

European writers as models to contrast the shortcomings of their own situation. Such utopian arguments as employed by philosophers, Pacific travellers, and writers are not simply negations of the present but are also resurrections of the past: they bring "simplicity" to a higher level of consciousness.

Viewed from this perspective, the Pacific and its people constituted an integral part of European civilisation and culture in terms of European desires and aspirations, at least since the second half of the eighteenth century,. In fact, the imaginative meaning of "Pacificism" had more to do with our world - the European culture - than with any objective perception and understanding of the "other", the Pacific and its people. Maugham's short story *The Fall of Edward Barnard*, written in 1921, is illustrative of this assertion. Though the passage taken from it is long, it warrants quotation in full because it reveals essential points.

b.) *The Fall of Edward Barnard.*

The story tells, after his father had failed in business and shot himself, Edward Barnard, a young American went to Tahiti. He intended to remain there for a year or two to learn the details of South Sea trade. Yet, when Edward made no attempt to return to Chicago, effectively rejecting a business career, social life and marriage to a beautiful woman, a friend, Bateman Hunter, went to find out the reasons for Edward's reluctance to return. When they met up, the following conversation developed:

When I saw you this morning, Bateman," he [Edward] said then, "I seemed to see myself as I was two years ago. The same collar, and the same shoes, the same blue suit, the same energy. The same determination. By God, I was energetic. The sleepy methods of this place made my blood tingle. I went about and everywhere I saw possibilities for development and enterprise. There were fortunes to be made here. It seemed to me absurd that the copra should be taken away from here in sacks and the oil extracted in America. It would be far more

economical to do all that on the spot, with cheap labour, and save freight, and I saw already the vast factories springing up on the island. Then the way they extracted it from the coconut seemed to me hopelessly inadequate and I invented a machine which divided the nut and scooped out the meat at the rate of two hundred and forty an hour. The habour was not large enough. I made plans to enlarge it, then to form a syndicate to buy land, put up two or three large hotels, and bungalows for occasional residents; I had a scheme for improving the steamer service in order to attract visitors from California. In twenty years, instead of this half-French, lazy little town of Papeete I saw a great American city with ten-story buildings and street-cars, a theatre and an opera house, a stock exchange and a mayor" (p.56). ...

"It came upon me little by little. I came to like the life here, with its ease and its leisure, and the people, with their good nature and their happy smiling faces. I began to think. I'd never had time to do that before. I began to read."

"You always read."

"I read for examinations. I read in order to be able to hold my own in conversation. I read for instruction. Here I learned to read for pleasure. I learned to talk. Do you know that conversation is one of the greatest pleasures in life? But it wants leisure. I'd always been too busy before. And gradually all the life that had seemed so important to me began to seem rather trivial and vulgar. What is the use of all this hustle and this constant striving? I think of Chicago now and I see a dark, grey city, all stone - it is like a prison - and a ceaseless turmoil. And what does all that activity amount to? Does one get there the best out of life? Is that what we come into the world for, to hurry to an office, and work hour after hour till night, then hurry home and dine and go to a theatre? Is that how I must spend my youth? Youth lasts so short a time, Bateman. And when I am old, what have I to look forward to? To hurry from my home in the morning to my office and work hour after hour till night, and then hurry home again, and dine and go to the theatre? That may be worth while if you make a fortune; I don't know, it depends on your nature; but if you don't, is it worth while then? I want to make more out of my life than that, Bateman.

"What to you value in life then?"

"I'm afraid you'll laugh at me. Beauty, truth, and goodness."

"Don't you think you can have those in Chicago?

"Some men can, perhaps, but not I." Edward sprang up now. "I tell you when I think of the life I led in the old days I am filled with horror," he cried violently. "I tremble with fear when I think of the danger I have escaped. I never knew I had a soul till I found it here. If I had remained a rich man I might have lost it for good and all" (p.57).

... Then Bateman spoke and his voice had in it a genuine distress.

"I'm so bewildered, I don't know what to say. I came here because I thought something was wrong. I thought you hadn't succeeded in what you set out to do and were ashamed to come back when you'd failed. I never guessed I should be faced with this. I'm so desperately sorry, Edward. I'm so disappointed. I hoped you would do great things. It's almost more than I can bear to think of you wasting your talents and your youth and your chance in this lamentable way."

"Don't be grieved, old friend," said Edward . "I haven't failed. I've succeeded. You can"t think with what zest I look forward to life, how full it seems to me and how significant. Sometimes, when you are married to Isabel, you will think of me. I shall build myself a house

on my coral island and I shall live there, looking after my trees - getting the fruit out of the nuts in the same old way that they have done for unnumbered years - I shall grow all sorts of things in my garden, and I shall fish. There will be enough work to keep me busy and not enough to make me dull. I shall have my books and Eva, children, I hope, and above all, the infinite variety of the sea and the sky, the freshness of the dawn and the beauty of the sunset, and the rich magnificence of the night. I shall make a garden out of what so short a while ago was a wilderness. I shall have created something. The years will pass insensibly, and when I am an old man I hope I shall be able to look back on a happy, simple, peaceful life. In my small way I too shall have lived in beauty. Do you think it is so little to have enjoyed contentment? We know it will profit a man little if he gain the whole world and lose his soul. I think I have won mine" (p.59).[318]

The passage can be divided into three sections. The first, deals with Edward's "culture shock". As Maugham has put it, a change that made his "blood tingle": where ever he looked, Edward's American formed mind-set spotted economic opportunities.

It is obvious that many of the topoi relevant for the desciption of progress are presented in this section of the passage, creating the impression that the Pacific is a potential "earthly economic paradise" awaiting an American or European entrepreneur, in our case Edward, to develop it in the capitalist manner.

The second part of the passage, depicts the change that overcame Edward. He begins to question his own progress oriented culture and life-style from which he wishes to escape. That is to say, Maugham uses the culture of the "other" - the foreign - as a critique of American-European culture, i.e., his argument is that American-European cultural practices are highly questionable when juxtaposed to those experienced by Edward in Tahiti. To make his argument, the author employs the topoi of Arcadia, the garden, and the writings of the Bible.

In the final section of the selected passage, Maugham juxtaposes the understanding of

---

[318] Op. cit.: "The Fall of Edward Barnard" pp.56-57,59, in: *Sixty-five Short Stories* pp.40-61.

Bateman Hunter to that of Edward Barnard. The former is an understanding representative of American-European culture; the latter is an understanding modified by the Pacific experience. In this way Maugham shows that the meaning which is ascribed to experience is grounded in the pre-understanding. That is to say, his story supports the theory that pre-understanding is constantly in flux: it is continuously enriched by a living process that forms man's way of thinking. The result, Edward's cultural understanding, as the author argues - which before coming to the Pacific was comparable to that of his friend Bateman as both had shared the same, or a similar socio-economic environment - is now different. In addition, Maugham presents the European imaginative understanding of Arcadia. However, the associated topos of simplicity is elevated here to a higher level of consciousness. Intellectual stimulation is equally important in man's life as experiencing the "beauty of the sunset". The analysis of the passage promotes the understanding that the author under the influence of his Judeo-Christian and classical education argues for two things. Firstly, that man was not born to live an easy life, but as it were he has "to dress and to keep" his garden - he has to work it, as Voltaire has explained.[319] And secondly, that in American-European culture the spiritual side of man is dwarfed by the material component of progress.

In consequence, the topos of escapism though not new in Pacific presentations, as shown earlier, is used by Maugham in a different way. He no longer allows Edward to escape into an imagined land where his needs are almost totally taken care of by a benevolent nature. Rather, in contrast, he requires Edward to live a life that contains the components of work and progress. This suggests that Maugham is not so much against the idea of progress as its rate,

---

[319] Voltaire: *Candide*, p.143.

its concomitant negatives. This argumentation aligns the topos of simplicity with that of limited progress. Maugham's argument is thus clear: a "marriage" between Pacific and American-European culture can be advantageous for man.

In setting the context, Maugham compares the commercial and social life-style of America with the distant and exotic environment and mode of life-style of Tahiti. He contrasts the notion of European progress - the ingredients of "energy" and "determination" - with "the sleepy methods" employed by the islanders. The "lazy little town of Papeete" is set against a "great American city", Chicago. "Inadequate" traditional customs oppose modern industrial work practices. The images of Papeete present a life of "ease" and "leisure", "good nature" and "smiling faces" as opposed to the life-style offered by Chicago - all "hustle and ... constant striving" and a "ceaseless turmoil": a veritable prison. "Corruption, success" and "failure" are in contrast to "beauty, truth [and] goodness". The path of a linear (progressive) culture stands in contrast to an almost cyclical mode of life; the presented paradisiacal life-style, perceived to exist in Tahiti, is set against the argument for a corrupt prison world which seems to exist in America and Europe.

This critique by Maugham is unjust. Though offering a romantic world view to present his argument he knew better: he was well aware that the material quality of life in Europe and America - after the industrial revolution - has become better through time.

Clearly, much of Maugham's understanding has been presented before, i.e., the idea that a life spent in the Pacific is preferable to one in Europe; the idea that the Antipodes provide the opportunity for the resurrection of the past - the promise of a new beginning; the recognition that the European material success is not the path that leads to happiness; the idea

that man must be active; that acculturation requires time; and, that man's knowledge is constantly modified by external factors. All these topoi had become clichés at the time Maugham wrote about the Pacific.

Nevertheless, the concept of a life-style that combined simplicity with some controlled progress (some work activity to meet man's needs) and that gave man an opportunity for aesthetic[320] contemplation, was at the time not widely documented in Pacific literature, it was therefore relatively new in Pacific writings.

The theme of man escaping bourgeois society is at least partly grounded in the European disenchanted lassitude of the 1920s. In these times - following World War I - an atmosphere prevailed that was sympathetic to the notion of escapism.[321] As Calder explains:

Weary of a bitter war and disillusioned with European civilisation and its problems, people turned for relief to the literature of exotic and unspoiled distant lands.[322]

In short, Maugham's arguments are but the reflections and products of his time. And he wrote what the reading public was looking for.

---

[320] The word "aesthetic" is here used as it rests on the Greek meaning "sensuous".
[321] R.L. Calder: op. cit., p.233.
[322] Ibid., p.135.

c.) Further arguments and perspectives.

The practice of using the Pacific and its people in literary works to present a contrary argument which states that work is not only the basis of the civilising process, but also the curse of our forefathers - for it leaves little room for happiness - was, at the time Maugham wrote about the Pacific, well established and documented. As we have seen before, Cook, Banks and Georg Forster used this strategy in their writings: thus, they juxtaposed the happy people of the Pacific with the anxiety ridden people of Europe. And this allowed them to be critical of their own culture. In this connection an extract from the Journal of Joseph Banks is a good illustration. He writes:

> Thus live these I had almost said happy people, content with little nay almost nothing, Far enough removed from the anxieties attending upon riches, or even the possession of what we Europeans call common necessaries: anxieties intended maybe by Providence to counterbalance the pleasure arising from the Possession of wishd for attainments, consequently increasing with increasing wealth, and in some measure keeping up the balance of hapiness between the rich and the poor. From them appear how small are the real wants of human nature, which we Europeans have increased to an excess which would certainly appear incredible to these people could they be told it. Nor shall we cease to increase them as long as Luxuries can be invented and riches found for the purchase of them; and how soon these Luxuries degenerate into necessaries may be sufficiently evincd by the universal use of strong liquors, Tobacco, spices, Tea &c. &c.[323]

The arguments adduced by Banks (that possession, wealth and luxuries, and the associated need for hard work to provide these "necessaries" are the cause for European unhappiness) are similar to those presented by Maugham in Edward's confession. Yet, while many earlier Pacific writers promoted the idea of an Arcadian life in the Pacific - for example Bougainville - Maugham, by and large, argues not so much for a change in place of residence

---

[323] J.C. Beaglehole (ed.): *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, vol.II, p.130; for a similar account see: J.C. Beaglehole (ed.): *The Journal of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, vol.I, p.399.

as for the issue of the development of American-European society. In short, he argues for a change in culture - for a change in socio-economic consciousness. And to ground his arguments, he uses those well established topoi that are critical of European progress.

Maugham's argument, that modern man is imprisoned by the capitalist system is set out in more detail in contemporary sociological writings, particularly in Max Weber's work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*.[324] According to Weber it was not human nature that produced capitalism but the spiritual longings of the Puritans. And he argued that Utilitarianism, the classical philosophy of nineteenth century liberal capitalism, had forgotten the original motives of its own activity. He writes:

> The Puritan wanted to work in a calling; we are forced to do so. For when asceticism was carried out of monastic cells into everyday life, and began to dominate worldly morality, it did its part in building the tremendous cosmos of the modern economic order. This order is now bound to the technical and economic conditions of machine production which to-day determine the lives of all the individuals who are born into this mechanism, not only those directly concerned with economic acquisitions, with irresistible force. Perhaps it will so determine them until the last ton of fossilized coal is burnt. In Baxter's view the care for external goods should only lie on the shoulders of the "saint like a light cloak, which can be thrown aside at any moment". But fate decreed that the cloak should become an iron cage.[325]

In Weber's view, the European notion of progress - the liberation of man from the constrains of nature - had become an end in itself, an end from which the individual had no escape.

Some pages earlier, Weber was even more critical of contemporary European life which he perceived to be, by and large, dominated by the irrational fetish for the acquisition of

---

[324] Originally published in two contributions to the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, in November 1904 and approximately June 1905. A revised version, prepared in 1919 in Weber's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, was published in 1920/1.

[325] Max Weber: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, p.181.

money rather than the pursuit of happiness. He explains:

> In fact, the *summum bonum* of this ethic, the earning of more and more money, combined with the strict avoidance of all spontaneous enjoyment of life, is above all completely devoid of any eudaemonistic, not to say hedonistic, admixture. It is thought of so purely as an end in itself, that from the point of view of the happiness of, or utility to, the single individual, it appears entirely transcendental and absolutely irrational. Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life. Economic acquisition is no longer subordinated to man as the means for the satisfaction of his material needs. This reversal of what we should call the natural relationship, so irrational from a naive point of view, is evidently as definitely a leading principle of capitalism as it is foreign to all people not under capitalistic influence.[326]

Reading these extracts from Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, and seeing them as answers to the probing questions posed by Edward in Maugham's novel ("and what does all that activity amount to ... work hour after hour till night ... (to) make a fortune ... and then hurry home again, dine and go to the theatre?") bring to the fore the great similarity in argumentation. Thus it is clear that the arguments, common to both writers, have a much longer history than is here under investigation.[327] Put differently, Maugham's critique, that the money economy by nature prostitutes every private and personal quality, is supported by Weber's or similar writings,[328] and are summed up by all that is contained in the well established topoi of work, of paradise, and that of simplicity. The inference that "great ideas are responses to the challenges of the milieu in which they arise, however, are based on premises, insights, and perspectives developed by earlier thinkers".[329]

---

[326] Ibid., p.53.

[327] Timothy 6.10; Matthew 19.24.

[328] See also Georg Simmel: *The Philosophy of Money*, pp.54,56; Karl Marx edited by Bottomore and Rubel: *Selected writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*, p.178; Harry Liebersohn: *Fate and Utopia in German Sociology, 1870-1923*, esp. chap. 5, pp.126-158.

[329] R. Nisbet: *The Social Philosophers*, p.354.

In order to level a critique of contemporary American-European society, and, at the same time, to support the claim that public happiness is attainable under a different socio-economic structure - that a happy life can be found only in seclusion and obscurity - Maugham did not use socialism or communist utopias to present his vision but used the Antipodes to bring his argument to bear on American-European culture. This strategy, however, as shown earlier in this inquiry, was a well established one. Philosophers and writers of the past[330] had looked back not only to the Golden Age of Greek and Roman virtues, but also to the "Arcadian civilization that flourished in Pennsylvania"[331] and later to the Pacific. They had examined the past and anticipated in the light of the belief: "whatever was the beginning of this world, the end will be glorious and paradisiacal. beyond what our imagination can now conceive".[332]

Like Saint Benedict in the sixth century, Sir Thomas More a millennium later and the contemporary Russian prince Peter Kropotkin who died in 1921, to name but three social visionaries,[333] Maugham argued that the hope of mankind lay in starting afresh. That is to say, the novelist supported the idea that man once again has to seek that balance of nature: the equilibrium between intellectual and manual labour; between activity and creative leisure, a life-style demanded by the human mind for its "Bildung"; for its highest human development.

In short, it is a reversal of the old myth where the Golden Age came first; a strategy used by Maugham to present his arguments.

---

[330] Carl L. Becker: *The heavenly city of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers*, p.98.
[331] Ibid., p.30.
[332] Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), quoted in C. Becker: op. cit., p.119.
[333] For more detail see R. Nisbet: op. cit., esp. chap. 5 "The Ecological Community", pp.319-382.

Edward's recognition that assimilation into the Tahitian life-style required time - that "it came upon [him] little by little" to adjust to a life of "ease" and "leisure" - shows that the author thinks the process of culture change cannot be rushed. This argument was already presented in the Pacific writings of Ludwig Leichhardt, Kotzebue, Melville, Stevenson and others.

To lend weight to the argument of an evolutionary cultural process (the theory that external conditioning forms man's cultural understanding) Maugham depicts Edward as a changed man. Under the influence of a different socio-economic environment, the young American, Edward, starts to read and learn for "pleasure", while in the past such activity has been undertaken for the purpose of passing "examinations" - thus, achievement orientated. The notion of work, understood before, as a task of labour in the biblical sense, becomes now an exercise in keeping mind and body active. The aim of a "happy, simple, peaceful life", replaces that of making "a fortune". In short, Edward finds a new harmony with man and nature; he begins to feel at home in the world.

This interpretation suggests that Maugham is of the view that "the cultural system shapes the structure of society and provides its source of dynamism and direction. The evolution of society reflects the evolution of its culture".[334]

Maugham, a modern author, though relying on established topoi, endeavours to present a new argument: that the integration of American-European and Polynesian culture is the condition in which man's future rests. This argument is symbolised in the union between Edward and his Polynesian friend Eva.

Maugham's depiction of Edward's character demonstrates that man has to be liberated

---

[334] S. Seidman: *Contested Knowledge*, p.37.

from the strangle hold of economic conditions that prevent his full development. The same argument was already presented by the eighteenth century Pacific writers Cook and Georg Forster, and also re-presented by Gauguin. The continuity of thought seems to be obvious.

Edward's confession about having "enough work to keep [him] busy and not enough to make [him] dull', shows, though critical of capitalism, that no matter where European man settles he cannot escape his cultural tradition and its influence in conditioning his mind. He cannot be "indolent like the natives", but must do his "duty" and be active. Thus, he feels compelled "to dress and to keep" his garden, an argument which was advanced previously by Kant and other writers. He argued, that it is man's "natural disposition" to work. And one consequence of this inclination was the inevitable unfolding of progress "Der Mensch", he wrote:

> will Eintracht; aber die Natur weiß besser, was für seine Gattung gut ist: sie will Zwietracht. Er will gemächlich und vergnügt leben; die Natur will aber, er soll aus der Lässigkeit und untätigen Genügsamkeit hinaus, sich in Arbeit und Mühseligkeiten stürzen, um dagegen auch Mittel auszufinden, sich klüglich wiederum aus den letztern heraus zu ziehen.[335]

The argument that Edward's change in life-style - the shift from a "Gesellschaft" oriented social structure to that of "Gemeinschaft", a life of self-sufficiency - was of great benefit, because it provided a "full" and "significant" life-style, is an assertion that effectively levels a critique on the negative transforming effects of capitalism which confront the individual through out his entire life. In addition, it again, supports the view that man is inducted into the process of cultural socialisation. This view is set out more fully in Ferdinand Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. In his work, the sociologist compares the social structure of a

---

[335] I. Kant: *Werke*, vol.9, "Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht", pp.38-39 (A 393-394).

collective organism, consisting of a self-sufficient economic unit of "Gemeinschaft", with the structure of "Gesellschaft" where the individual is isolated and where his relationship with others and the production of commodities are regulated by contracts and wage labour.[336] This view, however, is strongly coloured by the ideas of Marx and Engels who, half a century earlier, had proclaimed that workers, though legally free, where oppressed by marketplace conditions.[337]

Edward's confession that "I tremble with fear when I think of the danger I have escaped", realising that "it will profit a man little if he gain the whole world and lose his soul", a quote taken from the Bible,[338] has considerable affinity to Marx's concept of "alienation" - that the production and the acquisition of commodities are intrinsically connected with the impoverishment of man's inner life.[339] There is also some affinity to Socrates' claim that "Wealth does not bring goodness, but goodness brings wealth and every other blessing, both to the individual and the state".[340] This view, however, differs totally from the Puritan belief which suggests that to work hard at an occupation and to be successful in business or a career "are clear indicators of a saved soul".[341]

The theory suggesting that man's alienation from the land is harmful, and that such

---

[336] F. Tönnies: *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, pp.7-70.
[337] K. Marx, F. Engels: *The Communist Manifesto*.
[338] Matthew: 16. 26; Mark: 8. 36; Luke: 9. 25.
[339] In the "Economic and Philosophical Manuscript" Marx wrote: "The more the worker expends himself in work, the more powerful becomes the world of objects which he creates in face of himself, and the poorer he himself becomes in his inner life, the less he belongs to himself". Karl Marx, edited by T. B. Bottomore & M. Rubel: *Karl Marx Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*, p.178; (MEGA 1/3 pp.83-4).
[340] "Apology", 30b, in: Plato, *The Collected Dialogues*, p.16.
[341] S. Seidman: op. cit., p.73; R.H. Tawny: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, esp. chap. 4, "The Puritan Movement", pp.197-270.

condition is not curable by any of the techniques or luxuries of civilisation, as argued by Maugham in the presentation of Edward's earlier life-style, was more fully discussed in the writings of P.J. Proudhon. The social scientist and thinker explained, some seventy years before Maugham put his thoughts to paper, in true Romantic fashion, that "we have lost our feeling for nature".[342]

Developing Maugham's argument further, it can be said that he promotes the idea that isolated communities, as symbolised by Edward and his extended family can, over time, have an impact on the entire social order. Darwin in *The Origin of Species*, dealing with the flora of Staffordshire, tells us that the introduction of a single kind of tree, the Scotch fir, affected the character of an entire area.[343]

According to Nisbet, Darwin's evolutionary theory is evident in the human condition. He exlpains: "one or two communities founded in accord with the principles of nature in due time powerfully affect an entire social order".[344] These or similar understandings, concerning the issue of social change, seem to have influenced Maugham when writing *The Fall of Edward Barnard.*

The passage discussed shows a continuity of earlier thought containing no new topoi. These arguments had been well established in earlier publications. As we have seen in the progress of this inquiry, a number of presentations are advanced in Maugham's fiction: firstly, the products of man's own activity, where money is perceived as a concrete and immediate

---

[342] S. Edwards (ed.): *Selected Writings of P.J. Proudhon*, pp.91-92; quoted in R. Nisbet: op. cit., pp. 368-9.

[343] C. Darwin: *The Origin of Species*, pp.57-58.

[344] R. Nisbet: op. cit., p.363.

source of pleasure, have replaced nature as the hindrance to authentic culture; secondly, the entrapment of modern man in the sociological laws and customs of his society; thirdly, the recognition that the old European socio-economic system was corrupt; and finally, writers and philosophers used the Pacific and its people to argue for a more equitable and fuller way of life. The topos of escapism, however, developed in the direction of a critique of Europe and America, though not new, has been worked out more fully in Maugham's text.

Calder writes:

> Where Kipling had presented the British Empire in terms of the "White Man's Burden", Maugham presented it as the means of cutting free from the Western "ratrace", from the profitless amassing of possessions that moth and dust were waiting to corrupt. *The Moon and Sixpence* and *The Fall of Edward Barnard* coloured the outlook of the disillusioned 1920's ... Maugham was the mouthpiece of that decade.[345]

In short, Maugham's account reflects the preconceptions and beliefs of the time, i.e., he wrote what the reading public was thinking about. If this is so, it might be useful to find out how Maugham has presented his arguments and critiques in the novel *The Moon and Sixpence* which was published in 1919. This novel was the first of a long line of studies of the South Seas.

---

[345] R. Calder: op. cit., p.136.

d.) *The Moon and Sixpence.*

Having travelled the Pacific during the First World War, and having contacted anyone who knew Gauguin, Maugham began - while at a sanatorium in Scotland recovering from tuberculosis - work on his South Sea novel *The Moon and Sixpence*. Recognising that post-World War I readers' questioned, by and large, the direction into which society was heading, he thought the reading public was ready for the theme of an "antisocial hero who goes his own way .... [and in] the exotic setting of Tahiti, far from European battlegrounds".[346]

The Moon and Sixpence, is an artist-hero novel, a "Künstlerroman". The protagonist is Charles Strickland - a character somewhat based on the life of Paul Gauguin - who abandons a life of honour and duty to take up painting first in Paris and later in Tahiti. He deserts his family, exploits his friends, drives his mistress to suicide, and finally, finds and attains happiness in the Pacific. The artist settles down with a native girl of Papeete in the country-side. There, in a simple bungalow, living off the produce of the land, Strickland spends the happiest time of his life. As the house was a long way from the village, the European and his native girl, Ata, lived for weeks at a time alone. He painted and read, and in the evenings they sat together on the verandah of the house and enjoyed the night. When Ata had a baby, an old woman came to help and soon two other young natives came to live with them.

A visitor to the artist's place had this to say:

"...the place where Strickland lived had the beauty of the Garden of Eden. Ah, I wish I could make you see the enchantment of that spot, a corner hidden away from all the world, with the blue sky overhead and the rich, luxuriant trees. It was a feast of colour. And it was fragrant and cool. Words cannot describe that paradise. And here he lived, unmindful of the world and by the world forgotten. I suppose to European eyes it would have seemed astonishingly sordid. The house was dilapidated and none too clean. When I approached I saw

---

[346] T. Morgan: op. cit., p.239.

three or four natives lying on the verandah. You know how natives love to herd together. There was a young man lying full length, smoking a cigarette, and he wore nothing but a *pareo*. ...

A girl of fifteen, perhaps, was plaiting pandanus-leaf to make a hat, and an old woman was sitting on her haunches smoking a pipe. Then I saw Ata. She was suckling a newborn child, and another child, stark naked, was playing at her feet. When she saw me she called out to Strickland, and he came to the door. He, too, wore nothing but a *pareo*. He was an extraordinary figure, with his red beard and matted hair, and his great hairy chest. His feet were horny and scarred, so that I knew he went always bare-foot. He had gone native with a vengeance. He seemed pleased to see me, and told Ata to kill a chicken for our dinner. ...

We went down to the stream to bathe while Ata was preparing the dinner, and after we had eaten it we sat on the verandah. We smoked and chatted. The young man had a concertina, and he played the tunes popular on the music-halls a dozen years before. They sounded strangely in the tropical night thousands of miles from civilisation. I asked Strickland if it did not irk him to live in that promiscuity. No, he said; he liked to have his models under his hand. Presently, after loud yawning, the natives went away to sleep, and Strickland and I were left alone. I cannot describe to you the intense silence of the night. ... there was not a sound, and the air was scented with the white flowers of the night. It was a night so beautiful that your soul seemed hardly able to bear the prison of the body. You felt that it was ready to be wafted away on the immaterial air, and death bore all the aspect of a beloved friend."[347]

Ted Morgan, Maugham's biographer, argues that the moral of the novel "is that great art justifies despicable behavior".[348] Maugham makes Strickland, with all his ruthlessness, produce a masterpiece that transcends his physical existence. He produced, as his creater has put it, "the work of a man who had delved into the hidden depths of nature and had discovered secrets which were beautiful and fearful too. It was the work of a man who knew things which it is unholy for men to know".[349] Or as explained further on, Strickland's art captured "the beginning of the world, the Garden of Eden".[350]

Maugham argues, that freed from the constrain of civilisation, the artist "lived a life

---

[347] "The Moon and Sixpence", in: *Novels*, op. cit., pp.811-812.
[348] T. Morgan: op. cit., p.239.
[349] "The Moon and Sixpence": op. cit., p.821.
[350] Ibid., p.822.

wholly of the spirit ... he lived in a dream and the reality meant nothing to him".[351] As a consequence, his "disembodied spirit, immaterial ... seemed to be able to touch beauty".[352] This argument almost reflects Gauguin's expectations when he lived amongst the savages of the Marquesas, and hoped to "do beautiful things".

Maugham acknowledges, however, that this understanding is a myth: "innate in the human race. ... It is the protest of romance against the common place of life"[353] and, moreover, it is the revolt of Romanticism against the ideas espoused by the Enlightenment.

This recognition by Maugham shows, while criticising civilisation with the fictional "other", he was aware that the presentation of the "other", as pictured and stored in the European mind, was a myth. This form of presentation elevated his fictional Pacific writings to a higher level.

The theory of the genius or superman, very popular at the early part of the twentieth century, was made famous by Nietzsche at the turn of the century.[354]

Society's interest in the genre of the artistic antisocial hero, that is, in "artistic individuality, creativity and rebellion" was further enhanced by the recognition that the modern industrial mode of production with its division of labour and capital destroyed these qualities within the individual. As Calder explains, quoting David Paul:

The artist-outcast is a figure of the romantic myths which arose after the advent of industrialism, and because of it. Industrialisation imposes a routine, not based on tradition or any system of beliefs, but simply of the motives of the machine - the saving of time, the non-creative multiplication of production, speed, money. The process of production becomes so

---

[351] Ibid., p.743.
[352] Ibid., p.745.
[353] Ibid., p.701.
[354] F. Nietzsche: *Werke*, vol.,2, pp.279/280, 1100-1, 1134-1136; vol.,3, pp.440, 628.

sectionalised that all creative sense is lost.[355]

After setting a paradisiacal scene employing many of the sub-topoi associated with the topos of Arcadia, Maugham uses a Eurocentric view to bring out, by stark contrast, the existing paradise located in the Pacific. Thus by presenting the aesthetic experience - shared by the visitor and by Strickland - in the manner of Romantic criticism Maugham was able to use the Pacific as a topos for his argumentation directed against the Enlightenment ideas of progress and the pursuit of reason.

Moreover, in *The Moon and Sixpence*, Maugham developed the argument of escapism further. He now includes the imagery of death. Uninterrupted by artificial interference, the conditions of the silence of the Tahitian night provided the means beneficial for aesthetic contemplation. The situation allowed the European to escape the constrain of civilisation; and in consequence "the soul seemed hardly able to bear the prison of the body ... and death bore all the aspect of a beloved friend".

Although evident for the first time in the material used so far the theme, dealing with the consciousness of death, is recognisable in earlier periods of literary writing. Robert Olson explains:

> the consciousness of death has been most acute in periods of social disorganization, when individual choice tends to replace automatic conformity to social values; they point especially to classial society after the disintegration of the city-states; to the early Renaissance, after the breakdown of feudalism; and the twentieth century. ... late antiquity, the early Renaissance, and the twentieth century have made unusually great contributions to the literature on death.[356]

---

[355] D. Paul: *Maugham and the Two Myths*, p.159, quoted in: R. Calder, op. cit., p.134.

[356] R. Olson: "Death", pp.307-8 in: D.L. Sills (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol.2, pp.307-9.

e.) Summary.

This analysis maintains that Maugham, too, presented his fictional account of the Pacific developing further well established imagery. He used these to argue for social change; that is to say, he argued for an end to the American-European life-style grounded in the idea of progress, sophistication and rationality, and in its place he wanted a simple aesthetic life-style which would manifest the idea that great art cannot be created under the negative influence of civilisation where individuality is stifled. In addition, it became clear, that Maugham advances the idea that cultural conditioning is a continuous and external as well as an internal process.

Being disappointed and questioning the direction European and American society has taken after World War I, Maugham seems to think that a new beginning for some individuals is possible. Though using the Antipodes as a reminder of a past Golden Age Maugham - like Georg Forster, Gauguin and others before him - was well aware that in time the Pacific would become like Europe. In short, it is not so much a question of geography as of life-style - a life-style that would enable Euro-American man to enjoy a fuller way of life and to foster artistic development and creativity. This line of argumentation, though relatively new in Pacific writing, formed part of the understanding of the time which, in turn, helped to shape the argumentative powers of Maugham's Pacific accounts.

The next chapter of this inquiry will deal with some passages taken from the writings of James A. Michener which demonstrate the development in thinking the Pacific is undergoing in the generation after Maugham.

Chapter VIII

James Albert Michener and the Pacific.

The passages chosen in earlier chapters in this inquiry dealt with explorers, writers, and travellers who came to the Pacific of their own free will. Some came either to learn - to observe different cultures and their people - or to introduce their own culture to the natives. Others came for adventure or health reasons or, indeed, because they had just about enough of European or American life and wanted to begin anew in the Antipodes. Yet, whatever the reason for coming to the Pacific, all did so of their own volition.

Michener's account, *Tales of the South Pacific*, however, is different because the characters depicted - American military personnel - were sent to the islands to stop the Japanese invasion. The theatre of operation - the geographical location - just happened to be the Pacific: the location was determined by the direction in which the war had developed.

a.) Preliminaries.

James Michener[357] was born in New York City 1907 and died in 1997. Prior to becoming an author, at the age of fourty, Michener worked as an academic and as an editor. He served as a naval historian in the South Pacific from 1944 to 1946. This experience provided him with the material for his first novel, *Tales of the South Pacific*. The work was "hailed as one of the most significant books to emerge from a wartime experience in decades".[358] It not only won the Pulitzer Prize in 1948 but, moreover, served as the basis for the Rogers and Hammerstein highly successful Broadway musical *South Pacific*. *Tales of the South Pacific*, a collection of loosely connected stories dealing with the lives and loves of American GIs stationed in the Pacific, juxtaposes the life-style of a group of indigenous natives with that of a group of American military personnel. And it deals with the interaction between these groups - their lives and cultures.

Michener's other writings, which also deal with the Pacific and its people, are *Return to Paradise* - a work dealing with the scene of his first novel in a mingling of fact and fiction - and the historical novel *Hawaii*, which is a presentation rich in historical and cultural description. Both works became best-sellers and led to popular film adaptations. In addition, in collaboration with A. Grove Day, Michener compiled *Rascals in Paradise*, a collection of sketches dealing with colourful characters who sought fame and fortune, while pursuing their dreams in the Pacific.

---

[357] J. Michener: *Tales of the South Pacific*, 1947; *Return to Paradise*, 1951; *Hawaii*, 1960; *The World is my Home, a memoir*, 1992; J. Michener & G. Day: *Rascals in Paradise*, 1957; S. Windisch Brown (ed.): *Contemporary Novelists*, 1996.

[358] S. Bennett: "Michener, James A(lbert)", p.698 in: S. Windisch Brown, op. cit., pp.697-699.

b.) Perspectives on ethnicity and cultural differences.

Having completed their duties and enjoyed the leisure activities the small island of Bali-ha'i and its people had to offer, "Atabrine" Benny, a field man for the Malaria Control Unit, and First Lieutenant Joe Cable (whose lover, was Liat, a young Tonkinese girl that lived at the island) were about to leave and return to base when the following scene developed.[359]

On Vanicoro the watchers perceived all that had happened on the island [Bali-ha'i][360] that day. They saw the boat come - but not before Liat saw it - and now they heared the bells' fine music. One brave soul, of whom there appears to be one or more in every human group, grunted to his friends that now was the time. He would see if there was fine cloth for the asking. He would see!

So, amidst universal prophecy of destruction and failure, this tested warrior crept towards his hidden outrigger and prepared for the great adventure. He himself was dressed in war clothes: a tightly woven string from which leaves hung behind and to which a penis wrapper was attached in front. He had a hibiscus in his hair. In his canoe he had pineapples and one irreplaceable personal treasure. Cloth looked good to him and, the gods of the volcano willing, by nightfall he would himself be wearing cloth about his loins. ....

With steady stroke the man approached. The wonder in the eyes and minds of the people who watched him could not approach the alternate hopes and fears that assailed this savage as he brought his frail canoe alongside Benny's boat. Meticulously shipping his paddle, he quietly arranged his single strand of clothing, sought his biggest pineapples, and stood up, thrusting the fruit into Cable's hands.

"It's a gift," Benny whispered. "They always bring a gift!" Cable took the fruit and placed it reverently in the bottom of his boat. Benny nudged him roughly. "You must give him something. You must do so. You gotta give him something."

"What shall I offer him?"

"Here! Give him this knife." Benny produced a rusty but serviceable knife. Patiently, Cable explained the knife to the savage. At first the man was bewildered, but when Benny rudely grapped the weapon and sliced a piece of juice-dripping pineapple, the black man understood and grinned. He had never seen a penknife before.

But it was cloth he wanted! Dimly he perceived that with cloth went a certain dignity. Men with penknives, for example. They wore cloth. Grabbing Cable's shirt he endeavored to explain, but the Marine, not understanding, pushed him away. The native was startled, and began to wonder if his mournful advisers on Vanicoro were not right. But having come this far, he was willing to see the thing through. He grapped at the shirt again. Again Cable was about to rebuff him when Benny caught the significance of the act.

---

[359] J. Michener (1947): op. cit., p.165.

[360] It is claimed that Aoba island in the New Hebrides was the model for Michener's Bali-ha'i; R. Trumbull: *Tin Roofs and Palm Trees*, 1977, p.71.

"He wants some cloth!" the druggist shouted. Then rummaging through the duffel bag he always carried on these trips, he produced three long lenght of bright red rayon-silk parachute cloth. Cloth, and red too! The native stared in complete disbelief. He hoped ... that is, he wished he dared to hope ... that one piece of that cloth might be his. He was unprepared, therefore, when Cable caught up the armful and tossed all the pieces into the outrigger!

For a moment the native was unable to do anything but stare at the unbelievable treasure. He fingered it, gently. Then he held one piece out to its magnificent breadth. A tip trailed in the water, and he made a lunge for it. Cable grasped his arm, and at that the bewildered savage broke down completely. From the bottom of his outrigger he dragged forth his greatest prize. Carefully, and with some regret, he handed it up to Cable. Then, without a sound, he grasped his paddle and was off across the bay, his heart pounding faster than when he had first ventured forth upon his expedition.

To Cable his departure went unnoticed, for in his hands he held a dried human head! .... [He] laid the grisly object on a tarpauline[361].

On reaching the dock, Cable gave the human head "in disgust" to Bloody Mary, an old Tonkinese woman - mother of Liat his lover - who had pestered him for this prize possession. She, however, wasted no time to sell the "grisly object" to an American officer. The scene continuous:

Everybody left studying Bali-ha'i and surged around Oferthal, who was holding this head up by its long hair. "Ain't it a beauty?" he [the officer] inquired.

"The son-of-a-bitch paid fifty dollars for it," an admiring friend proclaimed. It was sort of nice to think that your outfit had a guy stupid enough to pay fifty dollars for a human head, with skin on it and all! It gave you something to talk about.

"Yep," Oferthal announced blandly. "I bought it off'n an old Tonk woman. I gave her fifty bucks for it. And to me it's worth every cent."

"Why in hell do you throw your money away like that?"

"What better can I do with it? Shoot craps? Play poker with you sharks? Hell, no! Now I really got me something. Know what I'm going to do with it?"

"Bowl?" an irreverent Marine asked.

"No! I'm gonna take this home and hang it right up in my basement. Right in the rumpus room. Right where we have sandwiches and beer!"[362].

This extract depicts a situation of exchange: the barter of red cloth for a dried human head. In order to present the cultural differences between the two races, between the "savage"

---

[361] J. Michener (1947): op. cit., pp.186-188.
[362] Ibid., p.190.

Polynesian islander and the "civilised" American marine, Michener used contrasting imagery. A home-made G-string and some leaves are set against manufactured rayon-silk. A frail, simple wooden canoe, built by the natives, is contrasted with a technologically sophisticated iron warship. A dried human head, an "irreplacable personal treasure", a war trophy is juxtaposed to a penknife. While the native has difficulties in understanding the function of a penknife, Lieutenant Cable is equally burdened by the "the dried human head"; inevitable he sees it as a "grisly object".

To highten the existing cultural differences, Michener leaves Cable ignorant of the significance of the Polynesian cultural practice that "often a boy could not be acknowledged as a man until he had brought home a personally-collected head".[363]

Notwithstanding the success of the contrasting cognitive strategy that guided much of this extract, Michener is at pains to tell the reader that the philosophy of modern warfare is a philosophy of total war, and while it embraces most aspects of culture and society it is, in principle, cognisant of the nature of man and of human values. In periods of war, however, it is yet possible for adversaries to be regarded as something less than human and therefore extinguishable - such was the faith of the Japanese in the Second World War. As Michener has put it, "a Jap's head .... was nothing like the "human head" of a Polynesian warrior (p.188). No consideration is given to the fact that the Japanese warrior culture differs from that of the West.[364] And no recognition is given to the idea that human behaviour and understanding are

---

[363] J.C. Furnas: *Anatomy of Paradise*, 1948, p.59.

[364] C. Batson: *The War with Japan; a concise history*; Q. Renolds: *Seventy Thousand to One*; G. Odger: *Diggers*, esp. pp.188-239. D. Denoon (ed.): *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, esp. chp.9, "The War in the Pacific", pp.291-323.

culturally determined.

The Suicide cliff located at the island of Saipan serves as a grim reminder of the great cultural differences that existed then between the Orient and the Occident. United States Marines landed there on 15 June 1944 and after the ensuing three week battle, "thousands of Japanese soldiers and civilians leaped 800 feet to their death rather than surrender".[365] In recent times, the cliff located at the northern tip of the island has become a tourist attraction.

c.) Further arguments and perspectives.

In connection with this sad event, sociological and psychological studies have revealed, that "communal spirit of mutual aid ... develops to a far higher degree from membership in a military unit than from anything arising out of the alleged purposes of a particular war".[366] Michener's claim that "a Jap's head ... was nothing like" the head of a Polynesian warrior is not inconsistent with this view.

Clearly, Michener's thinking was guided by the notion of a European superiority complex. Edward Said, in his work *Orientalism* dealing with and challenging the established Western attitudes towards the East, explains that:

> the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony .... the idea of European identity [is understood] as a superior one in comparision with all the non-European peoples and cultures. There is in addition the hegemony of European ideas about the Orient, themselves reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness.[367]

What Said writes about the Near and Middie East in his analysis is also pertinent for

---

[365] R. Trumbull: op. cit., p.273.
[366] R. Nisbet: *The Social Philosophers*, 1974, p.14.
[367] E. Said: *Orientalism*, 1978, pp.5 & 7.

the American-European culture contact in the Pacific as evident in Michener's writing.

Moreover, in *Culture and Imperialism*,[368] Said developed the view that the relationship between European and non-European races - the culture contact between the dominator and the dominated - had created in the Western mind the belief that it is not only their right to rule the world but, also their duty to do so. Quoting Jules Harmand, Said writes:

> It is necessary, then, to accept as a principle and point of departure the fact that there is a hierarchy of races and civilizations, and that we belong to the superior race and civilization, still recognizing that, while superiority confers rights, it imposes strict obligations in return. The basic legitimation of conquest over native peoples is the conviction of our superiority, not merely our mechanical, economic, and military superiority, but our moral superiority. Our dignity rests on that quality, and it underlies our right to direct the rest of humanity. Material power is nothing but a means to that end.[369]

In reference to the cognitive theory of understanding another culture, Said argues that the concept of American-European superiority - a finding confirmed in Michener's and many other texts discussed so far - is not formed in a vacuum, but it is constructed and conceptualised in the ambience

> of the all-pervasive, unavoidable imperial setting. In fact, there is no way that I know of apprehending the world from within American culture (with a whole history of exterminism and incorporation behind it) without also apprehending the imperial contest itself. This, I would say, is a cultural fact of extraordinary political as well as interpretive importance. .... Yet little notice is taken of this horizon, few acknowledgements of the setting are advanced, little realization of the imperial closure itself is allowed for. Instead, one has the impression that interpretation of other cultures, texts, and peoples - which at bottom is what all interpretation is about - occurs in a timeless vacuum, so forgiving and permissive as to deliver the interpretation directly into a universalism free from attachment, inhibition, and interest.[370]

---

[368] Though dealing with the political history of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, with French and British colonialism in Africa and India, Said's findings are, in my view, by and large, applicable to the American and European encounter with Polynesian people as presented by Michener at the time of the Pacific War.

[369] E. Said: *Culture and Imperialism*, 1993, p.17.

[370] Ibid., p.66.

Michener's claim that the native was unable to give meaning to the bartered penknife, that he was "bewildered" and confused in spite of Cable's patient explanations as to the purposeful function of the object, once again, reveals the hermeneutic difficulties associated with culture contact. A dilemma, however, not unique to the native: the "civilised" American encountered similar difficulties. He was unable to give adequate meaning to the human head. Thus, he "laid the grisly object on a tarpauline". The native's war trophy, "his greatest prize", was transformed in the mode of understanding into an object of horror. The American "was dreading the moment when he would have to look in the boat and see a couple of dried heads from Vanicoro. .... He was frightened even when he knew what the object was".[371]

As the issue concerning the hermeneutical dilemma that is associated with culture contact has been discussed in more detail earlier in the introductory chapter, I confine myself at this point to quote Kant only. The great thinker told us "thoughts [i.e., concepts] without content [i.e., sense perception] are empty, intuition [i.e., sense perception] without concepts are blind".[372]

The section of the passage dealing with the exchange of goods makes clear - though leaving the character of Benny ignorant - that Michener was familiar with the Polynesian custom of pure barter, with *gimwali*. This custom, according to Bronislaw Malinowski, is quite distinct from other forms of exchange. We recall, Michener's text tells us that the native was at pains to select "his biggest pineapples" for the offering, while the American in contrast, recompensed him haphazardly with whatever was at hand: "a rusty but serviceable knife". Not satisfied with this exchange, however, the islander made it quickly known that "he wants some cloth"; an article that in his culture conferred "dignity" on the possessor.

In short, Michener makes the point that the native's visit and offering was conditional - he wanted to procure cloth. Thus, the incident described did not relate to the practice of gift-

---

[371] J. Michener (1947): op. cit., pp.192, 194.
[372] I. Kant: *Critique of Pure Reason*, A51, B75.

giving.

Malinowski explains:

in all ceremonial forms of give and take, it is considered very undignified and against all etiquete, for the receiver to show any interest in the gift or any eagerness to take it .... in the *gimwali*, on the contrary, there is a pronounced interest shown in the exchange.[373]

As shown, Michener's native was depicted as emotionally burdened by "hope and fear" while approaching the American boat. After receiving cloth, he "stare[d] at the unbelievable treasure .... and broke down". It seems plausible that Michener in order to set up and present his argument dealing with culture difference, as told in the story of exchange, used research by Malinowski or similar first-hand accounts for his purpose.

d.) The problem of inter-cultural relations.

As noted previously, Maugham argued that intercultural relations can be beneficial. A culture shift, according to him, will lighten the burden of cultural conditioning on Euro-American man and it will lessen the effects of the mould civilisation presses the individual into. To convey his message, i.e., to illustrate the unsettling impact associated with culture contact, Michener developed the well known love story between the American Lieutenant Cable and the Tonkinese girl Liat - a scene made famous through the Roger and Hammerstein Broadway musical *South Pacific*.

Thus, we are told, that Cable, though being warned not to do so, went to Bali-ha'i to visit Liat. Arriving there,

like a surge of unconsolable emotion, Cable leaped from the boat, ran to the lovely girl, and enveloped her in his arms. Her own heart was beating as wildly as his, and by the time she

---

[373] B. Malinowski: *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p.190.

lay upon the sand beneath one of the trees, naked in the shimmering moonlight, Cable's torrential passion could restrain itself no longer. He clasped the delicate Tonkinese to him and surrendered all doubts that had made him miserable that week. She was his, she was his, and that single fact outweighed all lesser questions.

.... He and Liat were experiencing a passion that few couples on this earth are privileged to share. Could it have been indefinitely prolonged, it is probable that their love for one another would have sustained them, regardless of their color, throughout an entire lifetime. This is not certain, however, for Cable and Liat knew of the impossibilities that surrounded them.[374]

As the extract shows, Michener, in contrast to Maugham, seems sceptical of intercultural relations. He recognises the cultural difficulties that would burden a union between the two different races. And to make his point, he has Cable confess to Liat's mother, Bloody Mary, why he will not marry Liat - "I can't. I can't take her home with me."[375]

However, though recognising that a lasting union between him and the Tonkinese girl was culturally not possible, Cable, when meeting the girl, was overpowered by emotions: "he surrendered all doubts that had made him miserable". Human emotions can, although suppressed in Euro-American man because of the conditioning of the civilising process, at times of crisis dominate reason. It also can be said that Michener echoes Georg Forster's findings that

the passions of mankind are similar every where; the same instincts are active in the slave and the prince; consequently the history of their effects must be the same in every country.[376]

Using the character of Sister Marie Clément, who is in charge of the hospital in Bali-ha'i, Michener writes:

"My son," Sister Clément began. "You know what I have to say. I say it only to reinforce your own conscience, for you must already have said it to yourself. What you are

---

[374] J. Michener (1947): op. cit., pp.197-198.
[375] Ibid., p.196.
[376] G. Forster: *A Voyage round the World*, AA 1: 397.

doing is no good. It can only bring hurt to you and disgrace to the girl. If life is so urgent, so compelling now, marry one of the lovely French girls who live on this island. Some of them are beautiful. Some are fairly wealthy. Some are surprisingly well educated. And there are Protestants among them, too. If life is so urgent, it must also be important. Do not waste it, I pray you."[377]

We are dealing again with Eurocentricity and class distinction: all is written from a Western point of view; even the objections by the locals. There is no sign of the islanders' point of view. A suitable partner for Cable, a civilised "Princeton man", has to share his cultural and religious values: physical beauty, education, wealth and faith. In short, the story is at pains to make the reader aware that American-European values stand in stark contrast to those of the Pacific islanders. In addition, this way of thinking attributes a pre-marital partner image to the exotic *vahine*.

To lend additional support to the argument, some pages earlier, the story had argued that American-European understanding of physical beauty, differed markedly from that of Pacific islanders. In order to make his views kown, Michener has his character Eddie, an American marine, produce

> a horrendous picture of a Melanesian woman with frizzled hair, sagging breasts, and buttocks like a Colorado mesa. She was wearing a frond of palm leaves.
>
> "Now that's what I call a woman!" one Marine observed. Others whistled. ...
>
> "Look, Cable!" one officer cried. "The real South Seas!" He passed the repulsive picture to Cable, who looked at it hurriedly and returned it.
>
> "What I don't get," Eddie mused, as he returned the photograph to his pocket, "is how traders out here and planters can marry these women. Or even live with them? My God, I wouldn't even touch that dame with a ten-foot pole." ..... Melanesians, Polynesians, Tonks .... they're all alike."[378]

In consequence, "very few self-respecting American men would attempt to knock off a

---

[377] J. Michener (1947): op. cit., p.191.
[378] Ibid., p.177-178.

piece of jungle julep".[379]

This short extract clearly indicates how Michener used the topos that black women are ugly - presented in colonial literature - when making comparisons about aesthetics, race and culture. He does not acknowledge, as Georg Forster has taught us, that opulence is a sign of prestige in native culture.[380]

Like Graham Greene, eight years later, in his story *The Quiet American* - set in Saigon at the time of the Vietnam War and dealing with the issue of intercultural relations - Michener points out that "Love's a Western word",[381] and that other races "marry for almost any reason except love".[382] And Greene concurs: "how realistic it was of her [Phuong] not to minimise the importance of money and not to make any great binding declarations of love".[383] Both, Phuong's sister, Miss Hei and Liat's mother, Bloody Mary, had intended to secure a strong economic future for their sister or daughter through marriage with an American. Sentimental feelings - love - was for both not a matter of concern. With this writing Michener, once again, highlights the existing cultural differences between the races.

Clearly, Michener delivers a stern warning to ex-American GIs and other Europeans who were stationed in the Pacific during World War II. Thus, he argues: do not be blinded by the exotic; acknowledge that your rightful place is in your own culture; and be aware, island life is "regressive" for Europeans. As a manifestation of all this, Michener uses the character of Benoit, a French plantation owner who was to marry Liat. We are told once a "powerful

---

[379] Ibid., pp.178-179.
[380] G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 178,229.
[381] G. Greene: *The Collected Edition*, p.616.
[382] J.A. Michener: op. cit., p.195.
[383] G. Greene: op. cit., pp.607-608.

person ... [now he is] fat and ugly. His face was marked with tropical disease. He looked like a man of the islands, tough, sloppy, determined".[384] The tropical climate, in a similar fashion, took its toll on the service men. That is, some had to be hospitalised because of the unbearable heat; some were temporary blinded by the glare of the sun reflecting from the coral white, and others were incapacitated by the mold that grew everywhere causing athlete's foot and other fungus diseases.[385]

All in all, *Tales of the South Pacific* should be interpreted as a cultural critique which addresses the situation of those who served in the Pacific War and others. Michener's message is loud and clear: the American-European understanding of a paradise located in the Pacific is nothing but an illusion.

---

[384] J. Michener (1947): op. cit., p.204.

[385] Ibid., pp.310, 301. There are numerous references throughout the book where the author describes the negative effects the climatic conditions had on the service men, pp.76,84,108,134,151.

e.) Additional arguments and perspectives.

Though being critical of European administration and the negative ramifications, Michener, reflecting on his Pacific experiences in *Return to Paradise*, is equally regretful of Polynesia: the "islands were doomed before the white man arrived ... they could never have escaped the onrush of white civilization, such as it was".[386] There is no need to develop this argument further as the issue of the white invasion of the Pacific has been dealt with above. It can be suggested, however, that Michener's reflections are a means to lessen the "burden of guilt feeling" which was later identified with the fatal-impact theory by Alan Moorehead in *The Fatal Impact* - or similar writings.

From the perspective of literary value, it becomes evident, that when contrasting Michener's criticism with the accounts of other writers of the time, that Michener's description of the Pacific War and the associated culture contact, is very narrow, and it is inadequate. He totally neglected to account for the white man's legacy, i.e., for the devastation caused by the hurricans of shells, bombs, land and sea mines that destroyed inmumerable small Pacific islands, with their fauna and flora, and also for the consequences derived from the intrusions by the harsh necessities of war on the conversion of small paradisiacal islands into military bases. Though he ackowledged that "every girl, no matter how ugly or what her color, who might normally be raped by Americans was hidden on Bali-ha'i",[387] he failed to present the consequences associated with dumping hundreds of young fellows who were lonely, homesick, and bored to death, on village culture - especially on the female population and the way of life.

---

[386] J. Michener (1951): op. cit., p.54.
[387] J. Michener (1947): op. cit., p.165.

He neglected to mention that the Pacific War had stopped all tourist traffic to the islands, consequentially depriving the natives of additional income.[388] In addition, Michener totally overlooked the issue concerning the breakdown in the moral life of the indentured foreign labourers, and the associated influence on native village life and culture. In short, Michener failed to present a fuller account of the complexities of the Pacific War. He neglected to describe the hardship inflicted on island people and American-European indebtedness to them. Michener could not come to terms with the colonial past and break free of the mind-set which legitimised it. As Greg Dening explains, "the *historical* reality of traditional societies is locked together for the rest of time with the historical reality of the intruders who saw them, changed them, destroyed them. There *is* no history beyond the frontier, free of the contact that makes it".[389]

Some of the issues neglected by Michener in his story are set out and dealt with, amoungst others, in the works of James Norman Hall, *Lost Island*,[390] and J. W. Burton, *Brown and White in the South Pacific*.[391] As these writings address the issue of the mind-set dominating the American-European culture contact with native people at the time of the Pacific War and the negative impact this encounter had on the islanders, it is appropriate for this inquiry to examine their views.

The subject matter of Hall's story is a small Pacific island, a "heaven on earth",[392] which

---

[388] It is of interest to note that after World War II had finished many Pacific Governments imposed tourist restrictions to the islands being "afraid of a postwar, atom-scared flock of beachcombers"; J. Michener (1951): op. cit., p.58.

[389] G. Dening: *Island and Beaches*, p.42.

[390] J.N. Hall: *Lost Island*, 1945.

[391] J.W. Burton: *Brown and White in the South Pacific*, 1944.

[392] N. Hall: op. cit., p.53.

is being converted into a military base. It is the task of George Dodd, an Engineer, to realise this project. However, as the nature of the island changes, so changes the consciousness of Dodd. As Hall has him confess: "I learned something on this asignment. It opened my eyes ... to what the whole world may be coming to if we go on as we're going now".[393] The Engineer begins to realise that European progress, the "machine Age" destroys the simple, happy life of the islanders. It destroys their homes, their livelihood and their culture in record time. We are told, it was "as though a djinn, with one short, contemptuous breath of mingled fuel-oil smoke and carbonmonoxide gas, has said `Begone!' to the island that was."[394]

As a direct consequence of American-European intrusion into the Pacific, demanded by the harsh reality of war, the islanders who until then had lived a mode of life of relative continuity, were forcefully relocated. The story develops as follows:

I [Dodd] had been working on the *motu* to which they [the islanders] had been moved, installing their fresh-water distillation plant, and my heart was sore for every one of them. A few of them were halfheartedly plaiting palm fronds for their new houses, but for the most part they merely erected small lean-tos, temporary shelters, and let it go at that. They sat in groups or wandered aimlessly about the small islet, watching our men at work, but, seemingly, without the wish or the capacity for taking up the broken threads of their own way of living. I had the feeling that the coming of the freighter, with all that had entailed, marked the end of an era in Polynesian life, to be followed, perhaps, by changes even greater than those which had taken place when the ships of Wallis and Cook and Bougainville had first appeared over their horizons. And not only in Polynesia were these changes taking place. On islands and archipelagoes in the Western Pacific the patterns of native life were being broken up to a far greater extent. ... "What kind of life can the people have now? Suppose the war lasts another two or three years - how you going to keep 'em cooped up on one little *motu*? They'll all die of boredom. Wait till they start flying the aeroplanes around here. What about the birds? Won't be any of 'em left in a few weeks. No, this island's finished. When the war's over it won't be worth a damn to anyone, white or native!"[395]

---

[393] Ibid., p.13.
[394] Ibid., p.201.
[395] Ibid., pp.211-213.

In his fictional account Hall employs many of the images assembled in the argumentation of the fatal impact theory. The story paints a bleak picture of island life and culture, fauna and flora. The natives are graphically depicted to be half-alive, sunk in placid inertia and devoid of cultural energy. The picture is enhanced by the recognition that the tragic situation forced onto island life will not be short lived: it will exist not only for the duration of the war; but, will be permanent. Native culture will be lost forever, birds and fish will be killed, the turtles' refuge destroyed and the landscape denuded or smothered by foreign vegetation.[396] This vision presented in no uncertain terms, levels a harsh critique: it accuses American-Europeans of annihilating island life as it was known.

Clearly, Hall uses the Pacific War as a critique of American-European progress. He confesses, "after the war I'd like to see parts of the planet walled off, so to speak: out of bounds to engineers and all their allied tribes".[397]

In the progress of this inquiry it has been shown that the earlier Pacific explorers, travellers and writers were, at times, critical of the European intrusion into the Pacific. This induced some of them to warn of the harm this culture contact may cause to traditional island life and culture. Yet, none of their observations and reflections employed the topos of "total destruction" in their presentations. This aspect is new in Pacific writing.

In *Brown and White in the South Pacific*, a study dealing with culture conflict, Burton explains:

the first thing we must bear in mind is that the native culture in the Pacific is very old, and that its roots go deep into the past (p.4). .... Life flows so smoothly and so leisurely that it seems to have neither plan nor purpose; and the social order is so utterly a part of the ordinary life of the people that it is almost as invisible as the skeleton within a well-nourished body to which it gives grace and stability. One may live for weeks in a native village, feel its rhythm and charm, enjoy its laughter and gaiety, watch its colourful ceremonies, and yet not suspect that even the simplest actions and the most commonplace habits have a long ancestry behind them, and that every part of the common life is regulated by almost imperceptible rules of conduct

---

[396] J. Michener (1947): op. cit., pp.185, 198, 214, 219. Small-leafed fast growing creepers had been introduced by the Americans to camouflage their military installations. This intrusion resulted in smothering much of the island's indigenous vegetation; C. Simpson: *Pleasure Islands of the Pacific*, 1979, p.86.

[397] N. Hall; op. cit., p.13.

(p.6). ....life of the village is assuredly based, perhaps quite unconsciously, on the principle of "each for all and all for each" (p.7).[398]

This form of presentation uses all the well established arguments that depict traditional native life situated in a "timeless cyclical" mode. The observation was used by Burton to sharpen the contrast of what he had to say some pages later. That is to say, the harmonious traditional life-style of the islanders was completely interrupted and destroyed by the immediate impact of the Pacific War:

> [by] the presence of tens of thousands of European service men, with plenty of money to spend and abundant leisure, has had... upon native economy. There has come such an abundance of wealth that it has resulted in many places in natives neglecting their gardens and villages; they are content to do a little washing for the troops or sell a few curios at ridiculous prices, and then spend their money in buying tinned meats and preserved fruits from the trader's store. There is, too, a serious disregard of the village authority, and young girls have had their heads turned by the attentions of random admirers, while their own men are away in other theatres of war. There is no vivid imagination required to sense the danger here.
>
> ...No estimate can be made even of the physical damage done. Hundreds of people have been killed, thousands have been torn away from their village, and, though they have won a great name as stretcher-bearers and carriers, no-one may estimate the rupture of the social fabric of their lives.[399]

Burton's argument is similar to that of Hall. He supports the view that the Pacific War had an undesirable impact on the islanders' economic and moral life - it was "to break down rather than to build up"[400] island culture. As a consequence of geo-political disagreements between world powers, the natives of the Pacific, who had no say in such matters, had to suffer.

When the plight of the natives was, at least partially, recognised by the Americans and Europeans, it was suggested that the Pacific Colonial Administration in its policy formation

---

[398] J.W. Burton: op. cit., pp.4-7.
[399] Ibid., pp.35-36.
[400] Ibid., p.37.

should be guided by the concern for the welfare and social and moral progress of native peoples, and not the geo-political considerations of Europeans. As Burton has succinctly put it at the conclusion of his observations:

> .... we should look on this as an expression of gratitude, inasmuch as many of these native people stood between Japan and the Allied Powers, and bore the brunt of the Pacific struggle in their own lands. They have watched their villages destroyed, they have seen their social and family life broken; they have spilled their blood without stint, they have manifested a surprising loyalty to those who had not always treated them with consideration; and have carried thousands of wounded men through danger to safety, with a happy smile on their brown faces. Without their aid and co-operation it might not have been possible to drive back the enemy. In any case, without their aid, the war would have been prolonged at a terrific monetary cost, and, what is more, many valuable lives would have been lost. All this must be put on the scale when we weigh our obligations to these people who surely deserve the best we can give them.[401]

With this acknowledgment, a new argument has been introduced by Burton and other Pacific writers of the Second World War period: the topos of indebtedness.[402]

Burton's perception, however, differs greatly from that of Michener. In *Return to Paradise*, he argues that the "Americans did much for Santo", suggesting that "even in the deepest jungle the American invasion had an effect"[403]: it turned the island of Espiritu Santo into "a flourishing city that soon grew to a population of 100.000 ... [with] more public services than many American cities".[404] And not only the natives benefited, according to the observation, from this "social and economic revolution": it also freed the Tonkinese; it

---

[401] Ibid., p.63.

[402] Although, Georg Forster, amongst others, had already recognised in 1773 that European contact, at least in part, had adverse effects on the islanders of the Pacific - employing the topos of social consciousness, that of guilt feeling in his description - the topos of indebtedness, as this inquiry has shown, has only been introduced into the understanding of the Pacific as from the time of the Pacific War. G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 133, 217.

[403] J. Michener (1951): op. cit., pp.189, 181.

[404] Ibid., p.180.

provided them with "all civil privileges". They no longer have to

> work for planters, whom they hate, and they won't patronize the established stores because they have opened shops of their own. They run the taxis and own the barbershop. ... Like the Chinese in Tahiti and the Indians in Fiji, the Tonks seem destined to oust the natives".[405]

With this observation, Michener effectively argues that as a result of the war in the Pacific - a turning point in Pacific economic and political relations[406] - the colonial powers lost their domination and prestige. Both, the natives and the foreign plantation workers, according to Michener, have benefited from this change, and especially the latter because of their strong work ethic. Michener, however, also recognises that this change has upset the delicate economic and social balance, because in time, the Tonkinese will dominate the native islanders. This observation presages civil unrest. This issue was discussed and worked out in more detail in the first chapter of this inquiry.

While praising the positive effect the Pacific War had had on native life, Michener totally forgets to mention the negative impact caused by MILLION DOLLAR POINT - the "harrowing scar that will never be forgotton".[407] At the end of World War II, all moveable stock ("tractors, uncrated new jeeps, earth-moving machinery, ambulances - anything you could think of on wheels ... [followed by] those warehouses of canned food, the cloth, the tools"[408]) was dumped in a huge coral pit at the end of the island. All that remains today, of the waste we called war, is a "beach-side signboard that says MILLION DOLLAR POINT [and]

---

[405] Ibid., p.181.
[406] R. Trumbull: op. cit., pp. 9, 113.
[407] J. Michener (1951): op. cit., p.181.
[408] Ibid., p.189.

some rusted bogeys and bodies of equipment [that] stick out of the mud at low tide".[409]

f.) Summary.

The passages selected from Michener's work are guided by arguments that deal with the issue of cultural difference. That is to say, Michener sounded a warning - like Graham Greene in *The Quiet American* - about intercultural relations. This view stands in total contrast to the ideas dominant in the writings of Maugham. Interpretation also shows that Michener argued: firstly, that war propaganda and mind stimulation are influencial factors in the formation of understanding; secondly, that pre-understanding grounds understanding; and thirdly, that the American World War II presence in the Pacific was beneficial - both for the islanders and the foreign Tonkinese workers. In contrast, however, Hall's and Burton's writings, discussing similar issues, argued that American-European intrusion into island life was harmful - a recognition that has been already documented and discussed by the explorers Georg Forster, Cook and others manifesting a continuity of thought. However, Hall and Burton not only used the topos of "total destruction" in their Pacific writings - new in Pacific writing - but, more importantly, they also introduced the topos of indebtedness.

The next part of this inquiry will discuss some of the Pacific writings of George Farwell who lived in Tahiti in the mid 1930s and again in the early 1960s.

---

[409] C. Simpson: op. cit., p.85.

Chapter IX

George Farwell and the Pacific.

In chapter III it has been shown that Otto von Kotzebue came to the Pacific before and after European missionary contact was established. Thus, he experienced first-hand, the changes this impact had had on native life and culture. George Farwell came to Tahiti before and after the Pacific War. In *Last Days in Paradise*, Farwell describes his second visit to Tahiti - an experience that was influenced by his earlier encounter.

a.) Preliminaries.

George Farwell, born in England in 1914, travelled widely in North and South America, the Pacific Islands, South-East Asia, New Guinea and Europe. He came to Australia in 1936, and received the Rothmans-Moomba Award (Australian book of the year in 1967) for his book *Mask of Asia*.[410] On August 6. 1976 he died suddenly, and tragically.

In the mid 1930s, at the age of twenty-one, Farwell lived for eighteen months in Tahiti. He did this to "escape the impoverished world" of Europe.[411] In the early 1960s he returned to Tahiti to "rediscover" the once mythical paradise on earth - the "legendary Tahiti of Gauguin

---

[410] Farwell wrote numerous books which reflect his extensive knowledge of Australia. They include *Land of Mirage*, 1950; *Vanishing Australians*, 1961; *Riders to an Unknown Sea*,1963; a biography of Charles Sturt for young readers; *Ghost Towns of Australia*, 1965; *Ned Kelly*, 1970; *Requiem for Woolloomooloo*, 1971; a biography of a nineteenth-century pastoralist, Edward Ogilvie; *Farwell Country*, 1977, a collection of his writings between 1946-76. He also published a number of short stories and plays [information taken from *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 1985, p.249]. For additional information about Farwell's Australian activities see his autobiographical work *Rejoce in Freedom*, 1976.

[411] G. Farwell (1976): op. cit., p.66.

and Rupert Brook". Memories of which had "haunted him ever since".[412] On returning to Tahiti, Farwell was accompanied by his Italien born wife Noni. In his autobiographical work *Rejoice in Freedom*, Farwell confesses that "for years after in other lands I was to feel as if something essential had gone from life without that assuaging undertone of surf".[413]

b.) Expectations and reality.

The following passage is taken from Farwell's book *Last Days in Paradise*.

"This is what I expected of Tahiti," Noni said, as we went down the hill beyond.
These were landscapes of another kind. Fresher, less tamed, smelling of warm earth. Between road and unseen mountains was only jungle. It plunged downwards, filtering the sun's brilliance, green upon varied green. At the foot of the hill were thatched houses, rough, unpainted timber ones, the homes of fishermen and copra workers. Women with *pareus* tied above their breasts plaited *niau* on the ground, nursed babies, swept away fallen leaves with short rush brooms. We had a glimpse of a young girl squatting on the doorstep, hands clasped about bare brown thighs; another within brushing ivory-black hair. Stocky, bare-torsoed men went by on bicycles, packets of fish or red-stemmed taro slung over handlebars. In a clearing others were splitting coconuts for copra. A group of young men smoked and argued lethargically outside a Chinese store. This was the Tahiti it had always been; the unchanging countryside (p.48).....

The extract is written in the genre of autobiographical narrative; it is a first-hand account of George's and Noni's experiences. This style of writing lends authority to the text: it is comparable with the status given to scientific writings.

Noni's remark "This is what I expected of Tahiti" is consistent with the contemporary hermeneutical thinking which suggests that pre-understanding grounds cognition - an issue that has been dealt with in more detail before.

---

[412] G. Farwell: *Last Days in Paradise*, 1964, dustjacket; further quotations from the book will be indicated by page reference in the text.
[413] G. Farwell (1976): op. cit., p.70.

The structure of the imagery developed in the second paragraph, though not necessarily one an islander might give, is significant. A series of images reveal the immediacy of the travellers' experiences: the play of the light on colour and form; the landscape itself; the climate; the natives' dwellings; and the natives themselves.

This build-up portrays the experience: the description of nature, the landscape, and the climate is linked with that of both, the natives' dwellings and of their inhabitants, and their activities. It promotes the impression that in its "natural state" nature is both manifold and infinite in diversity. This is conveyed not only through the rich array of the colours: "green upon varied green" - but also through the abundance and lushness of the vegetative covering: a natural botanical setting; an impenetrable rainforest untouched and uncontaminated by civilisation. The climate is warm, the sun shines and the sky is blue.

Native women are described as both, traditionally dressed and as active. Moreover, through the application of skills they utilise nature's gifts: they thach roofs, fish, split coconuts or plait *niau*. And they live in families; they care for their children, and they are both clean and tidy.

These images show that the observer thinks that the natives lead a harmonious existence both within nature and amongst themselves. They work and they are family orientated.

Farwell, however, also recognises that the natives' understanding of the notion of work differs from that of his own culture. Clearly, the islanders must work to provide for their needs and wants, but they are not "driven" by the imperatives of both specialisation and the market of an urban industrial society. Neither are the natives represented as being subjected to either

alienating work practices or to the Protestant work ethic - a belief that work is the duty of all men without exception.[414] On the contrary, it can be inferred that they enjoy both a wholesome life-style and a material culture that nurtures their families and bonds them with nature.

These images, that make up the topos of paradise, stand in stark contrast to Farwell's own life-style and culture: an industrial world of noise and pollution, highways, concret jungles, and a hostile climate. It is a milieu in which nature's infinite variety serves the imperatives of consumerism.

The idyllic presentation of Tahitian rural life, based on the first-hand experiences of earlier Pacific writings and other accounts,[415] contrasts with Farwell's own negative experiences in Europe and America: the Great Depression and the necessity of singing for the Dole in London; the bleakness of wintery America where he was banned from working (p.14). It is precisely Farwell's critical attitude towards Europe which is the foil and origin of his vision and experience of the Pacific. They are, as shown earlier, dialectically dependent on each other.

This emerges also from the author's fascination with Tahiti, the vivid memory of having spent eighteen months there at the impressionable age of twenty-one, that had "left scars" on his mind. And as he writes:

> to have lived there so long, in youth, had produced a kind of trauma, left me [Farwell] unable to accept the values and conventions of the industrial world. It was like having some tropical virus in the bloodstream; you were never free of it again (p.14)

---

[414] The notion of work is discussed among others in W. Conze: "Arbeit" in: O. Brunner, W. Conze and R. Koselleck (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, 1994, vol.1, pp.154-215; H. Arendt: *The Human Condition*, 1958; R.H. Tawney: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 1926.

[415] The text and the bibliography show clearly that Farwell was familiar with the writings of Wallis, Bougainville, Cook, Banks, Blight, Otto von Kotzebue, Loti, Stevenson, Brooke, Calderon, O'Brien, Nordhoff, Hall and Maugham, to name but some of these writers.

It is clear that on his second visit to Tahiti, Farwell expected to find, yet again, a paradise: he expected to discover the opposite to "poverty, ugly surroundings [and] uncongenial jobs" (p.22).

Thus, the description of the natives in their various activities suggests that they enjoy both excellent physical health and a pleasant climate. In consequence, there is need for only a few garments and so the islanders work "bare-torsoed". With this observation Farwell introduces the topos of simplicity into his argument - contrasting the opulence of a European life-style.

Farwell's depiction of the *vahines*, the young girls, is influenced by the imagery of the exotic, the sensual, the erotic, the animalistic. The author portrays them as children of nature with "hibiscus [in their hair and] twisting hips" (p.36). This kind of interpretation - the exotic and the erotic *vahine* - occupies Farwell throughout his travel description. This finding, supported by similar observations as presented in other Pacific writings,[416] reveals to us the importance of erotic imagery in the European mind by which it imagined and perceived the Pacific - the foreign. Being emotionally attracted to it, Pacific travellers then used erotic imagery as a critic of their own more restricted and regulated cultures.

Though writing under the influence of the European topos of paradise in which nature provides in abundance - the fish come from the sea, taro and coconuts grow with little cultivation as we have been already told by Georg Forster and other earlier Pacific writers - Farwell recognises that the natives have to work in order to live: fish have to be caught, taro

---

[416] Schwarz claims that the topos of the exotic *vahine* has been handed down by Georg Forster. T. Schwarz: "Die Tropen bin ich!", p.17, in: J. Link (ed.), *Kultur Revolution*, 32/33, Dec. 1995.

has to be dug up, coconuts have to be split and the surplus produce must be transported to be sold or exchanged at the market. It is clear, however, that the economic activity of the natives is relevant to a domestic exchange economy rather than a trade economy that underpins industrial society.

The conclusion of Farwell's paragraph is of particular interest for this inquiry as it manifests a continuity of thought: he writes of "a group of young men (who) smoked and argued lethargically outside a Chinese store"; and he suggests that this custom has not changed since his earlier visit: it "was the Tahiti it had always been".

Although Farwell's description offers a picture of timelessness, of permanence, of leisure and of indolence, it presents the latter favourable. Further, it offers a critique: the Tahitian economy is partly foreign controlled. The Chinese, for example, have considerable economic power in spite being of non-indigenous origin. Moreover, the juxtaposition of images, that present the Chinese store and the smoking young men, suggest that opium smoking is practised. This is a Chinese habit and it is acknowledged by Farwell (p.35).

The author foresees an unhappy future for the Tahitians and he intimates this critique: the impact of Western colonialism and colonisation in the Pacific. Such impact, as shown earlier, was manifest in many ways: the dislocation of custom and tradition; the loss of identity; the increase in unemployment; and, the loss of economic and political autonomy.

c.) Tahiti - a paradise for whom?

Some pages further on, Farwell continues his description of the experience in the form of a comparison. He writes:

> Tahitians live for the moment. By a process of osmosis we had begun to do the same.
> To live in this fashion, of course, means living through the senses. And Tahiti is above all a sensuous land. The essence of the island is something you absorb, it permeates every sense; you are aware of it through the skin, the ears, the keenness of smell, as well as with the eyes. You hear it in the far-off sound of the reef, which never ceases and, in a strong wind, has the menace of drums. You feel it in the sun upon naked flesh, in the transparent glow of breadfruit and banana leaves, upon the pale blue waters of the brimming lagoon. The sun is so much part of the long, slow day that you become aware of it mainly when it is not there, when the *maraa'amu* creates an overcast and clouds gather on the steep, grey mountains to swirl down misted valleys like bushfire smoke; when the amethyst of coral shallows out near the reef becomes opaque and muddied. There are nights, too, when faint perfumes come into the house, from just where you do not know. Sometimes they come on an evening of utter stillness, when the warm air scarcely stirs, or else when the light breeze drifts down from the valley. There is the scent of *tiare tahiti*; the musky smell of copra, faintly aphrodisiacal; the smell of moist earth when it gives up heat after rain. The skin itself takes on a new texture and smoothness in this climate. It is due to many things; because of the diet of fish and fruits; because the air is soft, the sun lacks harshness and so much of the day is spent in water; because you live with a minimum of clothes and use scented *monoi* on the beach and after bathing. The simplicity of dress identifies you even more closely with sun and air.
> In the entire two months here I wore no more than a *pareu*, or shorts for more formal occasions; with a light shirt if nights were cool. Even sandals were discarded for the feel of earth and sand beneath the feet. If this can be called going native, it is not the way Tahitians mostly live. The male has almost rejected the *pareu*, preferring the white man's shorts because they are more secure in moments of energetic fishing or clambering through mountain scrub. Usually he will wind a loin cloth around him at home after work. Even the womenfolk prefer more conventional dresses, however drab and shapeless these appear. One or two younger ones had even adopted skintight pants or pedal pushers for casual wear, but the majority still draped that richly-coloured cloth about their sturdy breast and hips, and looked the more handsome for it (pp.75-76).

In order to describe the new experience more meaningfully, Farwell adopts the values of the traditional local life-style. He begins to appreciate that Tahiti "is above all a sensuous land": its landscape stimulates all the senses - one sees, hears, touches, tasts and smells it. In addition, he argues that this newly adopted life-style is more salutary: it offers a different diet -

consisting mainly of fresh foods provided by nature without extensive processing - a healthy outdoor life, surrounded by clean air and water, and simple clothing.

Once again, it has become clear that Farwell is at pains to make the reader aware that traditional Polynesian culture differs totally from that of his European culture. A culture that includes "fast food dinners", a heated indoor swimming pool, and heavy clothing to protect its people against the harsh climatic conditions.

The observer's account of the unsophisticated traditional island existence really is a critique of the European culture. The imagery of permanence, simplicity, the pleasantness of climate, the blueness of the waters, and the brimming lagoon that make up the description, stand all in stark contrast to life in Europe as we know it. We are faced again with the "Eden myth", that the Polynesians enjoy an "earthly paradise" and that they live in a time and place which Europeans have long since lost.

It seems that Farwell found what he wanted to discover: an earthly paradise in the Pacific - we recall Noni's earlier confession "This is what I expected of Tahiti" (p.48). Yet, the imagery presented is not new. It differs little from other Pacific accounts that have addressed the issue of culture difference between Polynesian and European culture. Many of these writings have depicted and opposed the social structure of a traditional *Gemeinschaft* to that of a *Gesellschaft* - the social structure of a technologically advanced urban industrial society. Putting the argument into Judeo-Christian terms, it is the idea of a "Garden of Eden" lost in Europe, that has shaped the behaviour of Europeans in the Pacific and has formed their pattern of expectations and understandings.

Farwell's argumentations, however, on the surface are far from the truth content of

these or similar observations and writings: they are guided by what has by now become worn-out clichés. In the latter part of the passage, Farwell confesses that "going native, it is not the way Tahitians mostly live". While the tourists enjoy a traditional Polynesian life-style and are "going native" the indigenous islanders, on the other hand, reject the traditional *pareu* in preference for European cloth. They prefer "the white man's shorts" because they are more appropriate for hard work. This finding indicates that the islanders now have to engage in work practices which require European style clothing.

In order to satisfy contemporary food requirements and other domestic and social needs, Tahitians, now, have to work harder than in the past. That was a time when nature was bounteous and the "necessaries of life" could be obtained with "trifling labour".[417] Contrasting their observations, Farwell claims that contemporary Polynesians now have to work hard and long hours. They have to work "six days out of seven" to support life. For example, they have to climb to the high plateau to cultivate each single maturing flower of the vanilla vine. This is a "slow and monotonous work, treating thousands of flowers each day. The sun scorched them [the workers], mosquitoes settled in clouds. They stopped to eat only at daybreak and after dark" (p.203).

In fact, Farwell now confesses, contemporary Polynesian life is a daily struggle: the natives suffer "malnutrition, ... [they] go always at least a little hungry, ... [and live] close to subsistence levels" (pp.71,134,165). He suggests that "life in Tahiti has always been more fantasy than real" (p.42) and it confirms that the European fascination with the island, its people and their culture was but a self-created myth. It was recognised by Farwell, but it is

[417] G. Forster: *A Voyage round the World*, AA 1: 216.

used in his first-hand account.

It is clear then that the Polynesians, if they ever were, are no longer "blessed" as we were made to believe earlier. Both, the economic conditions of Polynesia are much harsher than in Farwell's own society,[418] (historical records would confirm that in the early 1960s, at the time of Farwell's second visit to Tahiti, not many people would have "gone a little hungry" in Australia) and they are in need of economic progress. "Modern youth abandons the countryside, drifting to Papeete in search of easier pay" (p.203), or seek to emigrate.

There is the case of the young Tahitian Na Mara who, like many of his ancestors,[419] migrated to New Zealand because "he could [economically] not support a wife and children" in his home-land (p.19). Similary the example of the young native girl who married a *popaa* so that she could emigrate to Los Angeles (p.59). For the Polynesians "America had now become the fabled land" (p.59). This fact highlights the inversion of cultural values in native Polynesia - effectively criticising, once again, Western intrusion and colonialism.

Cearly, Farwell has changed his mind. The expectations differ from what he saw: Tahiti no longer is a paradise - and perhaps never was - to be enjoyed by the natives, but by foreign tourists who can afford to pay for the privilege. "Going native", discarding sandals, and restrictive clothing has become the privileged holiday life-style of Western tourists who seek to escape their own world of artificiality and self-estrangement.

---

[418] Farwell's recognition that the Polynesians are subjected to hard labour in order to survive, is evident throughout the narrative. See: pp. 69, 79, 93/4, 149, 156, 164/5.

[419] Among others, this and related issues are discussed by A. Sharp: *Ancient Voyagers in Polynesia*; G. Irwin: *The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonisation of the Pacific*; A. Salmond: *Two Worlds*; D. Oliver: *The Pacific Islands*.

d.) Further arguments and perspectives.

Further textual analysis, however, shows that Farwell does not seem to be aware that the Polynesians do not know the difference between work and leisure, but only between work and rest. This recognition is clearly illustrated in the claim that native man "will wind a loin cloth around him at home after work". In fact, the notion and practice of holidays, the relaxation from work, in contrast to "holy days", is a very recent aspect of European culture. As Peter Henle explains, the concept of paid vacation which reflects a quest for leisure is "for most workers in the United States ... a post-World War II phenomenon".[420] In addition, the analysis shows that Farwell uses the imagery of division in his recorded experience: contemporary native life, in contrast to traditional life, demands a separation between the activities of work and leisure.

It is well-kown that, firstly, the labour - leisure dichotomy is also a relatively recent phenomenon in European culture; and, secondly, that modern urban industrial work practices are harmful - they alienate man. As a result of this, to regain his equilibrium, modern man requires leisure time: he needs "time out", and given the expectations of a paradise, a holiday in the Pacific seems to provides such an opportunity.

Reading and analysing the text in this manner, discloses the understanding ideology of the author's argumentations. It also reveals two critiques. They are: firstly, the rejection of Western life-style in favour of the traditional Polynesian life-style; and secondly, the questioning of the legitimacy of modernity. And these critiques effectively reveal the tension within the writer. Thus, while Farwell expects - and consequently perceives - an idyllic life-style, he also

---

[420] *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol.16, p.425.

encounters the non-idyllic aspects which seem to be those very same consequences of progress and social change from which he desired to escape.

This method of presentation (the juxtaposition of opposing topoi) is evident throughout the narrative.[421] It demonstrates the conflict between Farwell's pre-judgements which make up his expectation and his writings - it highlights the tension within Farwell. In short, the imagery that make up the account present a picture of utopia that is at odds with reality. Farwell's critique not only constructs a utopia but also serves as a critique of his own culture.

Clearly, the notion of the existence of an earthly paradise is a figment of the European mind. The cognitive processes of the mind construct this image - of an idyllic world - in order to cope psychologically with the negatives of reality: the political and economic situation, and the sophistication and artificiality of life. As Peter Mesenhöller explains, "der Traum vom Paradies wäre kein europäischer, stünde ihm nicht das Trauma der Hölle zur Seite".[422]

This interpretation is evident in Farwell's presentation of an idyllic Tahitian countryside. Thus, he writes of a pleasant climate, and the simplicity and hospitality of its people. This observation is then juxtaposed to that of the corruption of Papeete and Bora Bora.

---

[421] Thus, we find the imagery that makes up the topos of paradise on: pp. 14, 16, 17, 21, 50, 58, 62, 63, 66, 70, 72, 73, 81, 84/5, 87, 90, 118, 126/7, 125-130, 136,152, 157, 161, 164, 201, 202, 205, 210; and the imagery that opposes this argumentation on: pp. 19, 21, 23-25, 27-30, 33, 35, 36/7, 42, 47, 49, 51, 55, 56, 60/1, 69, 79, 93/4, 112, 119, 130, 131, 134, 137, 148, 149, 152, 156, 157-159, 161, 165, 169, 175/6, 186/7, 189, 191, 193, 194/5, 196, 203, 205/6, 207.

[422] P. Mesenhöller: "Kulturen zwischen Paradies und Hölle", p.350, in: T. Theye (ed.), *Der Geraubte Schatten*, pp.350-379.

e.) Contrasting arguments.

It has become clear that Farwell's dream of an earthly paradise has been displaced and that the situation is no longer as he wished it to be. That is to say, how his sensibility and his imagination constructed the picture in his mind: locating Tahiti and its inhabitants in a system of values which is an inversion of his own situation.

The initial sense of euphoria was short lived. The visitors soon questioned the legendary ideal: the "eternal beauty hovering behind the real world" (p.22) - the earthly paradise in the Pacific. Daily life was by no means paradisical. As the author soon discovered:

> There were times when we wondered how Rupert Brooke had endured Mataiea. He had lived here during the Wet Season. The months of our stay were supposed to be the Dry. There is nothing romantic in sitting around a concrete-floored house like a copra shed while rains sweep past day after day. Close the shutters for a few hours and the air smells musty. Fruit goes bad in a day or two, clothes become spotted with mould and shoes go a mossy green. Fishing is almost out of the question. ... We were coming to realise that, even in good seasons, life here could be little above subsistence levels ... [and you would] go always at least a little hungry (pp.131, 134).

Judging by this observation, there is little doubt that contemporary Polynesian life differs greatly from Farwell's imaginary expectations: Tahitians do not enjoy the continuous bliss bestowed on the inhabitants of the biblical paradise. There is now neither a persistently congenial climate nor an abundance of food. This is a biblical picture which the author uses for contrast to ascertain and describe reality.

The text also reveals that the once legendary physical health[423] of the inhabitants is no longer of enduring nature, but, is now, subject to decay: "old women ... frail and stooping" are

---

[423] J.C. Beaglehole (ed.): *The Journal of Captain James Cook on his Voyage of Discovery*, vol.1, pp.123-4; the same: *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771*, vol.1, p.334; G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 175.

suffering from *fefe*, from "elephantiasis" (p.76). This is a disease, already recorded by earlier Pacific travellers.[424] much more prevalent in this day and age. Perhaps the degeneration of the islanders' health is connected with, or is a consequence of their change in dietary habits (p.143), or the explosion of the H- or A-bombs in the Pacific (pp.215-6).

Yet, the human mind does not wish to relinquish the quest for paradise: there always remains the hope that utopia, the elusive place, still exists "around the corner" at some more isolated location. This thought is revealed by Farwell's visit to Raiatea and Huahine.

Thus, shortly before returning to Australia, being disillusioned with corrupt Tahiti, he boarded a small schooner to explore the Leeward Islands.[425] He visited the islands of Bora Bora, Huahine and Raiatea in search of "the lost tranquility of Tahiti" (p.202). That experience led him to "believe that Tahiti might still survive the degeneration that threatened it" (p.204).

While Bora Bora fascinated Farwell with its natural beauty he was yet critical of the inhabitants' way of life. He perceived them as "a restless community, influenced by American naval occupation in World War II". Bora Bora is poverty-stricken and expensive (p.202), rejecting the idea of a paradise; it also presents a critique of Western contact - the negatives concomitant of progress.

The island of Huahine, on the other hand, was in Farwell's opinion "unspoiled". The reality of the island conformed to his image of paradise: a place "still untouched by the frenzied commerce of Papeete" and not burdened by the presence of "*popaa* [white man] and hotels" (p.202). In fact, Farwell freely confesses that " if [he] ever returned to Polynesia, unspoiled

---

[424] G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 218.
[425] Farwell calls these islands wrongly the Windward Islands (pp.202, 203).

Huahine is where [he] would choose to live" (p.202).

Thus, the "unspoiledness" of Huahine is presented in contrast to the corruption of Papeete and Bora Bora. Clearly, in order to criticise the degeneration caused by westernisation, Farwell argues within the frame of the existing topos of paradise.

Farwell continues the description of his Tahitian experience by depicting a Sunday church parade. To understand and give meaning to this phenomenon he compares what he sees with what he remembers from his earlier visit to the island almost thirty years ago. He writes:

> Before the war I remembered such singing as a regular event. Near my cottage on Pirae Beach had been a large, timbered *himene* house, where people assembled once or twice a month, usually on bright moonlit nights. That singing, which went on half the night, had been a joy to hear. The old chants are rich in harmonies; they have a haunting quality that belongs to the night and the sound of the reef. And now, except for the annual district contest in July, they have almost been abandoned. We heard only one night of Tahitian prayers and chanting in the near-by *himene* house during our entire stay. Island life is the poorer for this lack of music (p. 77).

This recollection of the past and the presentation of the reflections show up an undercurrent of strong feelings. They are evident in the choice of language employed in the description: "the large *himene* house, the old chants rich in harmonies, the assemblies of singing people", and the loss of rich, traditional customs. The description is of great importance because it reveals the tension within Farwell's mind. That is to say, he recognises that the natives' time-honoured habits, their customs, have changed from the point of view of expectations: their cultural and social life have "degenerated" in the thirty years since his first visit to the island. The Polynesians' once legendary paradisiacal life, in the topos presented, no longer existed. Western civilisation has "invaded" the islands; it has changed contemporary Tahitian life. The new experience does not "live up" to the topos - the expectation generated by the vivid mental pictures of the past in his consciousness: it was a disappointment made

obvious in the vocabulary.

Once again, Farwell's presentation is a critique of both Western progress and modernity. European culture contact, as he has put it, have made the "island['s] life the poorer".

This observation shows clearly (once again, in order to justify and support the topos of paradise, which never appears to materialise) that Farwell is critical of what he sees. His criticism is expressed through the critique of the Western cultural impact and its consequences. Thus, by criticising the foreign, Farwell, in a reflexive manner, is critical of the self - i.e., he disapproves of his own situation. He questions not only colonialism and its aftermath but also the legitimacy of Western progress and cultural superiority. Yet, he is also critical of the cultural practices of the Polynesians: the loss of rich traditional customs.

Questioning one's own cultural situation through a critique of the foreign, is a well established practice in the eighteenth century as evident in the writings of Bougainville, Cook and the Forsters. Though difficult to substantiate in detail, as Bitterli points out,[426] it nevertheless can be suggested that their observations were influenced by the "Zeitgeist" - paradigmatically represented by Rousseau's *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, published in 1755 - and, in a reflexive manner, formed part of the development of the European "Geistesgeschichte".[427] In fact, the issue was already addressed in the writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484-1576), Michel de Montaigne (1533-92), Jean de Léry (1534-1613) and Baron

[426] U. Bitterli: *Die Wilden und die "Zivilisierten"*, p.288.
[427] Ibid., pp.411-425.

de La Hontan (1666-1715) to name but a few.[428]

Yet, despite this, Farwell's critique prepares the way for the description of a paradise found "around the corner". The passage describing his departure from Raiatea, serves well to support this claim.

Raiatea, an island, is situated some 200 km N.W. of Tahiti in the Leeward Islands which together with the Windward Islands, of which Tahiti is part, make up the Society Islands. France annexed Raiatea in 1888.

Having spent some time with family members of his Tahitian landlord, Farwell writes:

> The send-off these people gave us was a touching one. We went aboard the schooner with a live sucking pig, one chicken in a basket, papayas, pineapples and two finely-wrought fish traps of split bamboo especially made for us by Louise's grandmother to whom, for lack of a common tongue, we had been unable to speak at all. Here was the generosity of the old Polynesia once again. We had been obliged to travel hundreds of miles from Tahiti to find it still the common rule (p.204).

After depicting the degeneration that has taken its toll on Tahiti and Bora Bora, this confession comes as a surprise. Farwell is at pains to tell that traditional Polynesian customs are still practised if they have not been exposed to Western influence. And it is true of the Raiateans: they are generous and hospitable. Clearly, this description is based on well established travel accounts which have presented Polynesians favourably: as a race "blessed" with natural innocence, a lack of concern for possessions, a relative absence of want and worry, and a life-style "untouched" by the corruption of civilisation. Moreover, Farwell's literary

---

[428] B. de Las Casas: *A short Account of the destruction of the Indies*, 1542; M. de Montaigne: "Of Cannibals", 1580 in, *The Essays*, pp.91-98; J. de Léry: *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, 1578, a work which influenced, among others, the contemporary ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss as he confessed in his travel account *Tristes Tropiques* p.81; La Hontan: *Voyages dans l' Amerique septentrionale*, 1705.

practice of juxtaposing the description of Tahiti's degeneration with Raiatea's more "original state", enhances the depiction of the latter and it conforms more with the author's image of paradise.

f.) Arguments relating to the issue of gift-giving.

As the activity of "gift exchange was as fundamental to Island life as breathing",[429] and as gift-giving was conceived by the islanders "as acts with a social meaning, rather than transmission of objects",[430] it will be appropriate to explore this issue in greater detail.

While living in the country-side of Tahiti, the Farwells shared a house with the native owners. The conditions of this situation - the cross-cultural contact - however, caused difficulties for the Europeans. Employing the well established topos of Polynesian generosity, Farwell writes:

> Charlotte was equally generous. We would be just on the point of cooking dinner and up would come a plate of *poisson cru*, or salad made with coconut milk, or bonito steaks beautifully fried, or freshly cooked breadfruit or a dish of *poe*. When the *iina* were running, she - and the neighbours too - often sent us over a plate of fried whitebait, always attractively placed on a bed of lettuce. We were hard put to it finding gifts to return. If there were nothing else on hand, we usually reciprocated with something from our own table; and they learnt to appreciate our different style of cooking, too.
>
> "If all Tahitians were like this," Noni said, "they'd be the best people in the world."
>
> "They were, most of them. Once."
>
> It was this quality of the old-time Polynesian which had endeared him to generations of visitors. The lost days of plenty, of abundant fruit trees and lagoons once well stocked with fish, of a smaller population, less *popaa* and luxury hotels; these had helped to fashion a generosity it was no longer possible to maintain. This was another reason why we tried to stem the everlasting flow of gifts. Uira of all people, with four children to support, a wife working to earn extra money, the high cost of island living and low pay, was just not in a position to keep appearing at the head of our stairs with yet another gift (p.153).

What is of interest is not that Charlotte or the neighbours appeared "yet [with] another gift", but that they gave intuitively. They gave whatever they had at hand: *poisson cru*, salad made with coconut milk, bonito steaks, freshly cooked breadfruit, *poe*, a native dessert, or *iina*, fried whitebait. Though it seems, their action was directed by the "heart", spontaneous, and

---

[429] J.C. Furnas: *Anatomy of Paradise*, 1948, p.83.

[430] B. Malinowski: *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1932, p.177.

unconstrained in fact, it was grounded - as will become evident shortly - in cultural tradition. Yet, Farwell, to describe this action uses the "abundant nature" topos, which is well established in earlier Pacific writings.

In contrast, the visitor's recompense, his gift-giving, it seems, was an act of obligation. Farwell writes: "we were hard put to it finding gifts to return, ... this was an other reason why we tried to stem the everlasting flow of gifts". This confession highlights the culture contrast between indigenous and European people and employs the formal topos of contrast in its presentation.

Extending this analysis into European moral philosophy, Kant, in "Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten" (where he addresses the issue relating to the difference between the ethical principles and the law of nature) suggested that a moral action is not to be conditioned by any other attainable purpose, but only by the mental disposition of its subject.[431]

With respect to Kant, the p esented Tahitian spirit of gift-giving was, ironically, more akin to the theory of Western moral philosophy, than Farwell's purpose orientated action. It was based on unconditioned humanity, on the openness of heart, while the visitor, in contrast, gave out of a sense of right, a sense of moral obligation which, according to Kant, is not a moral action.

These cultural differences (on the one hand the islanders' unconstrained gift-giving and, on the other hand, the Westerner's effort, to reciprocate out of a sense of duty) highlight the differences in values that help to forge human actions. In addition, it supports the Enlightenment claim that civilisation corrupts.

---

[431] I. Kant: *Werke*, vol.6, p.45, (BA 43).

Comparing Farwell's account of the act of gift-giving with the descriptions of other first-hand accounts, will be appropriate in this discussion; it will reveal existing differences in recognition.

Stevenson, whose Pacific experiences have been considered and discussed above, observed that

> it is neither with any hope of gain, nor with any lively wish to please, that the ordinary Polynesian chooses and presents his gifts. A plain social duty lies before him, which he performs correctly, but without the least enthusiasm. And we shall best understand his attitude of mind, if we examine our own to the cognate absurdity of marriage presents. There we give without any special thought of a return; yet if the circumstance arise, and the return be withheld, we shall judge ourselves insulted. We give them usually without affection, and almost never with a genuine desire to please; and our gift is rather a mark of our own status than a measure of our love to the recipients. So in a great measure and with the common run of the Polynesians: their gifts are formal; they imply no more than social recognition; and they are made and reciprocated, as we pay and return our morning visits. And the practice of marking and measuring events and sentiments by presents is universal in the island world. A gift plays with them the part of stamp and seal; and has entered profoundly into the mind of islanders.[432]

In both cases, neither the Pahoas (Farwell's Tahitian landlords) nor their Raiatean relations could economically afford to present the Europeans with gifts. Both had to work long hours to support their own economic needs and wants (p.203). But it was the custom of "social duty", as Stevenson has explained, which compelled them to uphold this tradition. This finding clearly highlights the existing differences between the two races and their respective cultures.

Malinowski, who lived at the Trobriand Islands "as a native among the natives for many months"[433] authoritatively emphasised that

> whether we have to deal with the wide-spread fallacy of the primitive Golden Age, characterised mainly by the absence of any distinction between *mine* and *thine*; or whether we

---

[432] R.L. Stevenson: *In the South Seas*, pp.80-81.
[433] B. Malinowski: op. cit., p.VII.

take the more sophisticated view, which postulates stages of individual search for food, and of isolated household catering; or if we consider for the moment the numerous theories which see nothing in primitive economics but simple pursuits for the maintenance of existence - in none of these can we find reflected even a hint of the real state of affairs as found in the Trobriands; namely, that *the whole tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take*; that every ceremony, every legal and customary act is done to the accompaniment of material gift and counter gift; that wealth, given and taken, is one of the main instruments of social organisation, of the power of the chief, of the bonds of kinship, and of relationship in law.[434]

Malinowski's first-hand account supports Stevenson's observation that the act of gift-giving in island culture is a matter of social duty.

And Felix Kessing in his book *Native Peoples of the Pacific World*, observed that

by native custom, a person who is given a 'gift' is expected to return in due course something of equivalent value to the giver. Instead of using a bank, the native remembers his debits and credits in terms of such reciprocal giving. Natives frequently pass over such 'gifts' to the newcomer in ceremonious fashion, usually not asking for anything in return. It is from this custom that the tradition has grown up of the 'generosity' of the South Sea Islanders.[435]

It has been found that the three supportive passages leave little doubt that traditional native tribal life is permeated by the act of giving and taking - "the active enjoyment in possession of wealth, through handing it over".[436] The performance of "gift-giving", in native society, forms part of the "fundamental human impulse to display, to share, to bestow"; an action that creates social ties.[437] This native custom, however, stands in total contrast to contemporary Western understanding where enjoyment, by and large, is perceived to be located in the actual possession of objects; the accumulation of wealth.[438]

---

[434] Ibid., p.167.

[435] F. Kessing: *Native Peoples of the Pacific World*, p.66; quoted in J.C. Furnas: op. cit., p.84.

[436] B. Malinowski: op. cit., p.173.

[437] Ibid., p.175.

[438] R. Neville: "Oh say, can't they see?", in: *the Age, Good weekend*, pp.20-24, May 19, 2001.

In traditional island culture, as Malinowski has observed, gifts are by no means presented haphazardly, but "always in fulfilment of definite obligation, and with a great deal of formal punctilio".[439] In many cases, the handing over of wealth "is the expression of the superiority of the giver over the recipient";[440] and little consideration is given whether the gifts are necessary or even useful. "Giving for the sake of giving", manifests itself as a "universal feature" of island society.[441] These additional observations of other writers support much of what Farwell had to say.

Noni's observation "If all Tahitians were like this ... they'd be the best people in the world" and George's reply "They were, most of them. Once." (p.153), again show that their understanding of the Pacific experience was influenced and guided by the well established topos of the "Noble Savage" or similar argumentations which ranked traditional island culture higher than European culture. But no more! The desirable state no longer exists: it was "Once". The high level of generosity is economically no longer possible: traditional moral standards have largely been eroded by European influence.

Farwell, in order to give meaning to what he sees, contrasts the mental pictures of the historical days of plenty - those "of abundant fruit trees and lagoons once well stocked with fish, those of a smaller population and less *popaa* [white man] and luxury hotels" - with the contemporary "high cost of island living and low pay" (p.153). He sets the imagery describing an earthly paradise - the inverse of European civilisation - in opposition to the portrait of human struggle: "a wife working to earn extra money". In short, he understands through the

---

[439] Ibid., p.174.
[440] Ibid., p.175.
[441] Ibid., p.175.

formal topos of comparison. Thus, he sets the contemporary experience against the mental pictures of his mind which were formed from the literary topoi of earlier Pacific writings and from what he remembers from his first visit.

g.) Summary.

In summary, we have seen that Farwell argues nature provides of her own accord and that the natives live a simple harmonious life. They are generous and hospitable, and they enjoy excellent health. The climate is also pleasant. Thus, the description leads us to believe, in the first instance, that the natives enjoy an earthly paradise which Europeans have lost. Yet, it has been shown, that this life-style has now become a privilege and is to be enjoyed only by Western tourists and expatriates; those who want to escape the European world of artificiallity and self-estrangement. It was argued, that the Polynesians have lost their traditional cultural identity and that imperial colonisation and its aftermath, have hastened the natives' loss of original happiness.

It seems that Farwell has documented again a European perception of what life ought to be like in the Pacific from the European point of view. This understanding, however, differs greatly from reality and from the understanding the natives have formed of their own situation.

In addition, Farwell's account contrasts traditional Polynesian customs with Western values and norms, while adopting the former in preference to European "civilisation". The image of the exotic, the erotic *"vahine"* was used by Farwell to argue that "civilisation corrupts". That is to say, he juxtaposed exoticism and simplicity with cultural pessimism. These are but some of the images discovered in the analysis of the passages.

When one understands and interprets the text from this perspective, it becomes clear that the author's comprehension of the experience was guided by topoi emerging from the tension between the expectation and perception of an earthly paradise, and the cost "demanded" for Western civilisation - for progress.

The evidence, however, suggests that the observer's perception was directed by historical, philosophical, and literary arguments, by the European superiority-complex, and by the intension to criticise - a characteristic of Western tradition. It has been established, that in order to give meaning to the foreign, Farwell compared existing mental pictures ready at hand - stored in his mind from his earlier visit and documented Pacific accounts - with what he actually saw. He described the difficulties encountered through the rhetorical method of comparison: contrasting a former Pacific paradise that no longer enjoyed an idyllic existence on high, a "Gegenbild", with a phenomenon more suitable to the imagination - that of a "blessed" people.

Further, Farwell, at times, was able to recognise the "colour of the glasses", to borrow Georg Forster's words, by which he perceived and understood the experience. He was able to add new knowledge onto the existing pre-judgements, allowing the "other", the foreign, to appear in the existing system of knowledge.

Based on this interpretation of the text the analysis has shown, that a great deal of Farwell's account did not offer new insights but, employed clichés, topoi that are overused and no longer hold a truth value, to describe new experiences - this practice, however, revealed a continuity of existing thought.

The next, and final chapter in this inquiry will discuss the observations of some

contemporary writers and identify the development in some of the topoi used in their descriptions.

Chapter X

The Pacific - contemporary observations.

So far in this inquiry each chapter dealt with one well-kown writer - except the chapter presenting the observations of Chamisso and Kotzebue where passages from both writers were discussed. In this, the final chapter of this inquiry, the texts selected for analysis are taken from the works of lesser kown contemporary Pacific writers and travellers.

As discovered in the works already discussed - ranging from Georg Forster to George Farwell - the Pacific has exercised a profound influence on the Western imagination: the imagery formed by the European mind of the "Noble Savage", and of seductive Polynesian goddesses; they fantasised of guilt-free sex, clear watered lagoons, and the perfection of happiness, free of work. In one word "paradise". They argued for an earthly biblical Garden of Eden. In recent years, this imagery, has been successfully advanced by the contemporary travel industry. Georg Forster, however, had already observed and recorded - in spite of the *philosophes'* claim that they had discovered true nobility in the Polynesians - that there existed a negative side of this idyllic presentation: the practice of infanticide and human sacrifice, and the existence of class distinction and socio-economic hardship. In addition to these pertinent observations, Forster warned of a fatal impact. He suggested that "it were better for the discoverers, and the discovered, that the South Sea had still remained unknown to Europe and its restless inhabitants" if their intrusion into the Pacific resulted in the destruction of "the happiness of people".[442]

Clearly, this inquiry has shown that the argumentations headed by the topos of the fatal

---

[442] G. Forster: *A Voyage Round the World*, AA 1: 217.

impact - how in the process of culture contact the West grew strong while Polynesia declined - have been developed and widened in the European "Geistesgeschichte" and are reflected in Pacific writings. Thus, in the final chapter of this inquiry, it is appropriate to find out how contemporary Pacific travellers and writers have perceived and apprehended the process of culture contact: the inevitable infection of the increasing westernisation of indigenous culture, and the allure of the escapism offered by that vision of an earthly paradise located somewhere in the Pacific.

a.) Julian Evans.

Julian Evans, a writer and translator, was born in England in 1955 but spent some years of his youth in Queensland, Australia. He went to the Pacific in the late 1980s. Travelling by ship and plane, Evans visited New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Fiji, Western Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Kiribati and the Marshall Islands. There, he observed and wrote about the impact that gifts of money, military aspirations and colonialism had on the islanders' traditional way of life.

Evans' decision to travel was triggered by a photograph published in a British newspaper in 1988. That photograph depicted a "Last Judgement" sky glowing over an uneasy sea, with brilliant fascias of light streaking down onto its surface. The effect had been produced by the re-entry vehicles of ten Peacekeeper missile.[443] Evans also read Alan Moorehead's *The Fatal Impact* before setting out on his Pacific voyage. He had thus, informed himself about the Marshall Islands with its slums, population explosion, and rumoured high rate of syphilis.

---

[443] J. Evans: *Transit of Venus*, 1992; information taken from dust jacket and pp.7-8. Further quotations from the book will be indicated by page references from the text.

Truely, this was a location "as unromantic as you can get"(p.9). Evans' pre-understanding of the Pacific, although still presented in the "romantic-unromantic" discourse, was thus different from those Pacific travellers and writers who went there expecting to find an earthly paradise.

To present his arguments Evans, amongst other presentations, describes native life at Kili. This was a small island where Bikini islanders were rehoused after the Americans decided to conduct atomic tests at their island. He also describes life on Ebeye - which is a small atoll from where some Marshallese commute daily to the Kwajalein US Army base to work. These two extreems are juxtaposed and contrasted by a picture of traditional native live: the natives live on an island that could not be found on the map - utopia - and is situated between Kwajalein and Majuro.

b.) The plight of the Marshallese.

After arriving at Kili island, located some 700 kilometres south east of Bikini island, at the southern end of the Marshall Island group, Evans made and recorded the following observations:

Kili was a small forested blob with a brushstroke of an airstrip down one side, maybe three kilometres long by one wide. I don't know what I expected, but not the prisioner-of-war camp buildings, the lack of food, the pretence at normality. They had a prisoner's joke: there was one main settlement, Downtown, and a small knot of houses, Chinatown, half a kilometre away, so called because it was so far. Nobody walked between them: the distances were so short that going by car was the only way to inject some interest into a journey from one to the other or to the scrubby coral sportsfield or the airstrip. The ninety houses of tin and plywood were all prefabricated to a uniform five-room design and painted a drab peach colour. To every three houses there was an insanely loud generator. After five in the afternoon the island throbbed and smoked like a place under bombardment.

Hearing the racket of the generators for the first time, you could imagine the conversation between two officials arguing over what was to be done with the evacuated islanders:

What do we do with them? Simple. We give them another island. What do they need?

You're making difficulties. So they can't fish, because the reef is too dangerous? So the island's too small to support them? We fly food in, we build a sportsfield and an airstrip, a church, a school, a dispensary and a restaurant, give them water tanks and electricity. We build them all houses. They'll have everything they need. But they like their old *fales*. No, we've got a prefabricated design, a huge improvement on those. And once they've got electricity and running water, and food on tap so they don't have to go fishing, they'll be really happy. They'll be thanking us for hugely raising their standard of living.

And so on. What a wretched place it was, a Panglossian creation where the chthonic thump of diesels meant everything was normal. The people of Bikini were living fulfilled lives because every peach-coloured house with square windows, a tin roof and a water tank had electric lights and power for an icebox or video. And the thing most often forgotten about the island to which this dismal watered-down version of Americanness had been imported was that, left to their own devices, the Micronesian navigators who had first settled these islands had decided that Kili was not fit for habitation. The coastline, too rocky to fish, was unprotected against storms, the land area too small. It was a real desert island (pp.243-244).

The passage presents a compelling critique of the method the American military administration employed to resettle the Bikini islanders, of the change from "Paradise to Hell".

In 1946, after American-European politics had spilled further into the Pacific, the American military used Bikini island to carry out atomic tests - a location where populations were sparse and the political costs minimal. This activity, in the Marshall Islands, lasted until 1958 and was followed by further tests in 1962 at Johnson Atoll and Christmas Island.[444]

It is evident that the rehousing project of the Marshallese was conceived and excecuted according to American-European understandings and customs. Little, if any, consideration was given to the natives traditional cultural needs. The occupiers thought that all the islanders required to meet their needs and to be "really happy" was "electricity and running water, and food on tap" - the benefits gained through Western progress.

Clearly, Evans argues that the islanders' plight is a direct result of their invasion by an

---

[444] D. Denoon (ed.): *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, chp. 10, esp. pp.324-332.; N. & N. Douglas (eds.): *Pacific Island Yearbook*, 1989, 16th. edition, p.335.

other more technologically advanced race. An invasion which deprived the Marshallese of the natural cycle of development. It is as if without warning they were moved from the "Stone Age" into the "Iron Age". Little thought, if any at all, was given to the recognition that the processes of social change, of acculturation, and assimilation require time. As a consequence, the impact of the intruders' economic and political superiority brought misery to the islanders: it broke up their natural path of development.

On the other hand, Evans advances the idea that the US Trusteeship, in its policy formation when planning the islanders' future, was guided by the understanding that the dignity of ancient Pacific wisdom and traditional native culture were not worth considering. The American occupiers felt that native culture and wisdom were immature and child like. This is a well established topos in Pacific travel writings. Such understanding effectively argues that traditional island culture is inferior to the American-European idea of progress. Moreover, it argues, that in the service of American-European ideas the "other" can be justifiably overwhelmed by modern Western technology.

Clearly, the author thinks that the inexorably destructive white man - an opinion seen also in writings discussed earlier - has not entirely disappeared. The critique is further supported by the claim that already early Micronesian navigators deemed Kili "not fit for [human] habitation".

In addition, Evans uses the negative side of island life - as manifested during and after the war - to criticise his own American-European culture. This issue will become more evident when discussing the passage that deals with life at the US Army base at Kwajalein.

c.) The "lost slum of Atlantis" and related arguments.

The presentation of everyday native life at Ebeye strengthens Evans' argument of the destructive invader. He writes:

To create Kwajalein, they had also had to invent Ebeye. Ten thousand Marshallese lived here on an islet of forty hectares. The children were as thick as flies, the plywood barracks so close you had to slide between them to get to the shore.

The shore: the density of garbage gave it the appearance of a clumsy land reclamation project. Everywhere there were oil-drums, old trucks, earthmovers, the carcasses of cars, freight containers, transmissions, tyres, split bags of household waste, beer cans, disposable nappies. Among the bonanza of waste, the children crawled and played, grinning, their faces streaked with rust.

What had I found? Nothing that people wanted to talk about or look at or visit, unless, like the easy going policeman, they had a mudhen here. But why shouldn't ugliness take on mythic proportions? I had stumbled on another new Pacific myth, man-made like the thunderbolts the islanders watched overhead. Almost treeless, sanitationless, overrun by children under fourteen, it was no earthly island. It was the lost slum of Atlantis. ...

There was nothing to be done. The clock couldn't be turned back, Ebeye couldn't be cured. Small improvements would occur, but nothing that would be allowed to disrupt its chief purpose as a segregated labour reservoir for the base. Of course if the Americans hadn't come, wishful thinking said it would be as it was: an ordinary, undisturbed coral island (pp.262-264).

This argumentation here is more forceful than that concerning native life on Kili. It offers a picture of a slum - island life is shown as most undesirable. The causes for the degeneration are patently clear: the American invasion and nuclear testing in the Pacific. The latter had not only disrupted original island life but also destroyed and contaminated the land.[445]

In scholarly writings it is argued that both, the rupture of traditional Pacific culture, and the years of military spending, had bequeathed a legacy of economic dependence that had repressive effects on local island politics. In recent times, the people

of the radiation atolls depended on American white rice, white flour, canned fish, pancakes and doughnuts. Some suffered from diabetes and obesity., Their lives were organised

[445] The experience of the 1950s induced long-term anxiety among Islanders, most of whom were still afraid to eat local food twenty years later. D. Denoon (ed.): op. cit., p.332.

around compensation moneys, medical care and welfare entitlements. In a cultural transition effected by the bomb, they had become nuclear dependants.[446]

But most of all, it was the loss of land that was a particular concern to the Marshallese. Land

means more than just a place where you can plant your food crops and build your houses; or a place where you can bury your dead. It is the very life of the people. Take away the land and their spirits go also.[447]

Reading Evans' travelogue, it does not require much imagination to recognise that the spirit of life of the Marshallese was broken. Surrounded by obsolete objects of war production, garbage and waste, the islanders had lost their pride and customary way of life. And the aftermath of all this was less than salutary for them: they worried about poisoned fish and land; they worried about still-birth; and they worried about their inability to do anything about such grave matters.

Some Marshallese even thought that they were deliberately exposed to nuclear fallout; used as guinea pigs to study the long term effects on a group of irradiated human beings.[448]

Although such allegations are difficult to imagine and accept, in the light, however, of the Kennedy administration's nuclear war plan of 1961, they do not seem far-fetched. The war plan was directed at the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China; it had called for a first strike "as a response even to the threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe" where an estimated 285 million Russians and Chinese would be killed[449]. For those in the sphere of global politics who contemplated the annihilation of hundreds of million of human beings, a few thousand

---

[446] Ibid.,p.332.
[447] Ibid., p.329.
[448] Ibid., p.330.
[449] Ibid., p.330.

displaced or exposed politically subordinated islanders hardly mattered.

Yet, it is important not to loose sight of the fact that these perceptions and evaluations - both of the natives' conditions and of the text - are based in the understanding of the European "Geistesgeschichte" and that they are not necessarily shared by the islanders. Thus, it can be said, that only those who feel an absence of paradise can recognise it when they see it. Before European contact, the Polynesians do not seem to ever have missed it, while the Europeans, on the other hand, want to live in it.

Yet, as Evans points out, "there was nothing to be done. The clock couldn't be turned back, Ebeye couldn't be cured" (p.263). To make matters worse, the Americans benefited from the situation: they had "a segregated labour reservoir for the base" conveniently close at hand, and were thus reluctant to improve the plight of the natives.

The author levels a critique of European exploitation in the Pacific. He disapproves of the notion that the natives are a race subordinated to the Whites. He maintains that in the process of culture contact the American-Europeans grow stronger while the Pacific islanders decline. In short, Evans' account is a repudiation of Western colonial practices.

The final paragraph of the passage tells us that the Americans are unable, or unwilling, to improve the situation of the natives, whose demise was brought about by them.

By now, the gist of the central topos of Evans' account is clear: the white man destroys the earthly paradise in the Pacific. Yet, by claiming that the Americans were unable, or unwilling, to revive native culture, Evans developed the fatal impact topos in contradistinction to that of a dying Pacific culture. This form of presentation, though already evident in Stevenson's writings, is relatively new in Pacific re-presentation.

In total contrast to this negative description of contemporary native existence in the Pacific stand the first-hand accounts of the earlier Pacific explorers and travellers. In their writings they envied the islanders' life-style and praised their good health and cleanliness. Bougainville thought he "was transported into the garden of Eden"; Cook wrote of the natives of New-Holland that "they are far more happier than we Europeans"; Banks admired the excellence of the Tahitians' teeth and "infinite smoothness" of their skin which he claimed was "much superior to any thing [he had] met with in Europe"; Georg Forster praised the "infinitely superior" style of Tahitian cooking, their "strength, elegance of form", their good health and cleanliness; and his father, J.R. Forster, in his study of mankind, argued that the favourable climatic conditions of the tropics retain the "original happiness" of man. He saw "O-Taheitee, and the adjacent Society-Isles ... [to] contain the most beautiful variety of the first race".[450]

These idyllic accounts, to name but a few, supported by the engravings of the artists tell that eighteenth century explorers and travellers set out to find a paradise in the Pacific, while Evans' contrasting presentation is mainly made up of arguments that come under the heading of the fatal impact topos.

The eighteenth century Pacific accounts cited, and similar writings, which formed part of the then prevailing European "Geistesgeschichte" highlight Evans' negative criticism of a dying Pacific culture. They also support his attack on American-European culture and the invasion of the Pacific and its people and cultures. Juxtaposing these two different accounts accentuates the change of Pacific perception in the European understanding: the former

---

[450] L. de Bougainville: *A Voyage round the World*, p.228; J.C. Beaglehole (ed.): *The Journal of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, vol.I, p.399; the same; *The*

paradise has now become "the lost slum of Atlantis".

I note that Evans uses Plato's legendary island in the Atlantic to give meaning to what he wanted to say; to describe the experience.[451] This recognition shows the dominance of European myth-making even in the twentieth century.

Evans' observations, headed by the topos of the fatal impact, are of a powerful tradition of written and visual presentations. Obviously, this topos has helped to guide Evans' argumentation.

Yet, there is an other side to Evans' stereotypical representation. Research has shown, as Western-style education expanded, more young students from Pacific islands often study abroad in Australia or New Zealand. After completion of their education, some regard it as their mission to return to the islands in order to help in the restoration of their people and culture. The experience of overseas education, however, often resulted in their alienation from their own culture thus compelling many, on their return, to "relearn traditional skills in order to rejoin a community and regain an indigenous identity".[452] It seems that cultural identity is a process and not a product; it "is not a rock that is passed on from generation to generation", fixed and unchanging.[453]

Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771, vol.I, p.334; G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 168,404; J.R. Forster: *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, p.154.

[451] "Timaeus" and "Critias" in: E. Hamilton (ed.), *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, pp.1151-1225. Arround 400 BC, the Greek Philosopher Plato wrote of Atlantis as a rich and powerful island empire. His *Dialogues* describe an ideal city state where the citizens live in peace, obeyed their laws and prospered. As they grow richer, however, they also grew arrogant, angering their gods. In a single day and night earthquakes and tidal waves rocked the island, completely destroying the once mighty people.

[452] D. Denoon (ed.): op. cit., p.431.

[453] Ibid., p.428.

Kerry Howe suggests that the Second World War did much to stimulate such thinking. She argues that the guilt deriving from the destruction caused by the war and earlier European activities was "commonly reflected in an inverted racism - the white man could do no right, the poor brown man no wrong".[454] J.C. Furnas' book *Anatomy of Paradise*, serves as an example for this proposition. Furnas claims that "it looks distressingly as if western medicine and western notions of the sacredness of human life might prove the most destructive of all the things that white men brought".[455]

It appeared to Howe that many writers describe images and events which

> have derived less from observation, experience, and perceptible reality than from various psychological urges. Indeed it is possible to suggest psychological motives for many of the above interpretations - for example, guilt-ridden American historians writing immediately after the second world war; neo-Darwinists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries trying to absolve themselves from responsibility for the apparent imminent extinction of Pacific races by blaming various other European interest groups or influences, or even immutable 'natural laws'; missionaries and traders of the early nineteenth century looking for scapegoats for their own difficulties and accusing each other of ruining Pacific cultures; and the Noble Savage purists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reacting against industrialization and socio-political upheavals in Europe.[456]

In the light of Howe's findings, it could be said that perhaps much of Evans' negative Pacific presentation derived less from what was there - less from reality - and more from what he wanted to see: the existence of an "unromantic slum" in the Pacific (pp.7-10). This condition applies to all the discussed texts and writers, positively as well as negatively.

---

[454] K. Howe: "The Fate of the 'Savage' in Pacific Historiography", p.145, in: *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol.XI, 1977, pp.137-154.

[455] J.C. Furnas: *Anatomy of Paradise*, 1948, p.385. Other writings promoting the theory that the poor benighted islander reeled under Western impact, amongst others, are Douglas Oliver's *The Pacific Islands*, first published in 1951, J.W. Burton's *Brown and White in the South Pacific*, 1944, and most of all, Alan Moorhead's widely read *The Fatal Impact*, 1966.

[456] K. Howe: op. cit., p.147.

Writers from the modern school of Pacific historians, such as J.W. Davidson, reject the notion of a fatal impact. In contrast, their writings portray the islander as an "active, initiative-taking" native whose way of life was not necessarily destroyed by European contact. In *Pacific Islands Portraits*, Davidson sums up the thinking of the groups by explaining that "the indigenous cultures of the Pacific were like islands whose coastal regions outsiders might penetrate but whose heartlands they could never conquer".[457]

d.) The contrast:

i.) American life "at its best".

However, in order to highlight the negative depiction of Kili and Ebeye further, Evans uses and contrasts the US Army base located near Ebeye. He writes:

> The base was clean and it was nice and neatly laid out, spacious and airy. The wind blew all day and dropped its wings at dusk; the temperature/humidity was a constant 85/85.
>
> Off Ocean Road, to the left of Eighth Street, was the sportsfield, with the athletic spire of a Nike-Zeus missile from the Sixties mounted on one edge and the open-air movie theatre on the far corner. Between Sixth and Eighth Street you could find everything else you needed: The Pacific Dining Room, post office, Macy's department store, the library, Bank of Guam and the golf pro shop. In a trailer next to the cycle racks was the Surfside beauty parlour. There was a theatre, a club and a video library called Tape Escape that took $ 14,000 a month in tape rentals at a dollar a tape. To get to the beach you went down Lagoon Road, right for the family beach, left for the bachelors'.
>
> The brick officers' houses, shadowed with palms and frangipani trees, stood in quiet streets with children's bikes lying in the front yards. The high school was here too. On the tip of the island stood Silver City, 250 stainless steel trailers that some residents just lived in and others had lavished verandahs and patios on and the occasional Doric colonnade or conservatory.
>
> Kwajalein was tidy, quiet, ordinary: suburban trailer-park America at its best. (No Marshallese lived here of couse. The Army paid rent to the landowners and sent them to Ebeye, the next island along, from where they commuted to the base to work.) It was *better*

---

[457] J.W. Davidson & Deryck Scarr (eds.): *Pacific Islands Portraits*, 1970, p.267. K. Howe provides an extensive bibliography of published books and articles by the modern school: op.cit., p.149, #45.

than America. No private cars were allowed; people cycled or took the bus or even sometimes walked. And the residents felt comfortable and safe. It was so homey some of them kept renewing their contracts. In Macy's I met a yelly of a woman in a pink tracksuit who had been on Kwaj (rhymed with Dodge) for eleven years.

'It's real nice here. You know there's no drugs, no violence, no street crime, no rape. The high school is terrific. It's a great place to bring up the kids.'

You heard this everywhere. *Real nice*: they became scary words. For a place at the heart of America's military future, which had probably contributed more to the arms race than anywhere else on Earth, Kwajalein's greatest triumph was its niceness. It was true. The base was calm, beautiful, friendly. In the club at lunchtime, a place where people stuck to soft drinks and ate huge salads with the taste frozen out of them, the conversation was about contracts (to renew or not to renew) and girlfriends (just renewed) and the weekend (pp.255-256).

While the passages presented earlier depicted hell on earth, this extract, in contrast, portrays contemporary American life - lived in the Pacific - at its best. That is to say, without the "dismal of Americanness". Without the problems usually associated with contemporary American life: the consumerism and effects of drugs; violence and street crime caused - at least partly - by the prevailing imbalance in the socio-economic conditions. The occurrence of rape and the horrendous impact on the victim which can be linked to a breakdown in traditional moral and social structure, a condition enhanced by the consumption and influence of drugs and other mind "stimulations". In short, Kwajalein is, we are told, the great place that America is not.

This clearly shows that the author not only thinks of a "fallen European and American world" but also of a prelapsarian Pacific which offers the opportunity for man to start anew - this understanding will become more evident when discussing Evans' documentation of traditional native life. The life-style for this new beginning in the Pacific, however, is to be guided by "some power bigger than you"; a situation that enables man to be "in some one else's system and not having to think" (p.265). Evans thinks that a social structure based on a

Hobbesian theory,[458] or that of a social scientist of similar persuasion - who claim that the individual is free but does not have free will; where the notion of freedom is acting in no other way than that prescribed by authority - can function well.

Yet, the institutionalisation of moral order, governmental restriction of individual freedom through regulations, has negative consequences. According to Evans, man's creative consciousness is suppressed; the "ordinariness" of daily life, the sameness of "comfortable life" (p.265) resulted in boredom. This condition is symbolised in the high demand for "Tape Escape".

Thus, Evans uses even the US Army base to be critical of the "fallen world" of America, and, at the same time, to argue that a new beginning in the Pacific under authoritarian leadership is highly artificial. This form of life-style has, at the same time, an intrinsic negative effect: it causes the loss of individual freedom and it stifles human creativity.

The social structure of the US Army base with its regimentation, sterile uniformity, and repressive collectivism contrasts the social structure of a plural society; the latter is distinguished by its cultural diversity and way of living. Already Alexis de Tocqueville in his work *Democracy in America* argued in the nineteenth century that the democratic multitudes, isolated from traditional societies and confined to the recesses of their minds may regard the power of the state - in our case the US Army - not as tyrannism, but as a form of higher, more benevolent freedom in society. He wrote:

> Above this race of men stands an immense and tutelary power, which takes upon itself alone to secure their gratifications and to watch over their fate. That power is absolute, minute, regular, provident, and mild. It would be like the authority of a parent if, like that authority, its

---

[458] T. Hobbes: *Leviathan*, 1651; R.S. Peters: "Hobbes Thomas" in: P. Edwards (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol.4, pp.30-46.

object was to prepare men for manhood; but it seeks, on the contrary, to keep them in perpetual childhood. ... After having thus taken each member of the community in its powerful grasp and fashioned him at will, the supreme power then extends its arm over the whole community. It covers the surface of society with a network of small complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the more original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate, to rise above the crowd. ... Such power does not destroy, but it prevents existence; it does not tyrannize, but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes, and stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd.[459]

Tocqueville's thoughts offer themselves as intellectual background to Evans' description and criticism of life at Kwajalein advancing the idea of liberal pluralism[460] when using the conditions of the US Army base, situated in the Pacific, to make his view known.

ii.) Polynesian life "at its best".

Having decided that "this spruce and beautifully organised" (p.264) life-style was not suitable for him, Evans departed from Kwajalein. Yet after "the Dornier made an unscheduled stop on a green speck" of land, the traveller "made a snap decision to let the plane go without" him (p.266). We are told the green speck of land, was situated between Kwajalein and Majuro, not to be found on the map. It

was a miracle of neatness. The banana gardens were dug and there were lines of pawpaw trees. Around the well and the houses were swept squares of broken coral. At its eastern tip a towering coral-head sat on a declivity of sand that unwound onto a shallow reef swarming with moorish idols and damselfish. I climbed the coral-head and sat watching the

---

[459] A. de Tocqueville: *Democracy in America*, pp.318-319; quoted in: R. Nisbet, *The Social Philosophers*, pp.423-424.

[460] R. Nisbet: op. cit., esp. "The Plural Community", pp.385-442; H.H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills (eds.): *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*.

long feathered edge of palms separated from the water by a belt of white sand. The beach was magnificently empty and rubbish-free. Here there were no more than two hundred people on an island the same size as the dormitory-slum at Ebeye; no cars or electricity; cutting copra, harvesting the fruit trees and fishing were the only activities. Three outriggers sat on the surface of the lagoon. From the shade of the trees I watched for an hour, maybe two, the hunched backs of the fishermen pulling in their catch, before the spreading heat of the ground forced me to move.

> After lunch - more coconut and breadfruit - I dozed (pp.267-268). ...
> In the morning I walked alone to the western tip of the island. It was a lovely place to wake up in, with its tidy *fales* and a loose breeze and the sun pouring through the trees. At the side of the track there were deep stands of swamp taro and immaculate groves of pandanus. Cairns of coconut husks covered with dried leaves had been placed between the houses; in one of the houses the wooden window-screen was up, propped open by a rusty shotgun.
> To the right, beyond the breadfruit trees, the lagoon chimed like a chandelier. Outriggers threaded over its surface. A dog barked. Ahead the track narrowed to a path and the houses thinned out: everything - the madness of the range, Majuro, fatigue, the endless one place after another, the doughnuts, video and garbage that had enriched the dignified tedium of these lives - falling away. There was no peace anywhere - Greene had said that in *The Lawless Roads* - but sometimes you stumbled on quiet sectors of the battlefront. I walked past smouldering copra-driers and through groves of palms cleared and replanted, the underside of their leaves stickled with light thrown up from the mirror of the sea (pp.271-272).

It seems, not even the destructive image of an atomic cloud, appearing behind palm trees, could extinguish the imagery of a Pacific paradise in the European mind. Thus, in constructing his argument, directed against a "fallen American-European world" and the fatal impact that it has caused in many parts of the Pacific, Evans employs rich imagery: order, cleanliness, simplicity, harmony, the kind-heartedness of the natives, a pleasant climate, and the magnificence of nature. Though human activity is needed to sustain life, the notion of labour as embraced in the concept of the European work ethic, evident in modern urban industrial society, is non-existent: "cutting copra, harvesting the fruit trees and fishing were the only

activities" the natives had to perform to support life. The islanders are totally selfsufficent: they provide for their own needs. In short, life at this idyllic green spot conforms to the topos of the romantic dreams of islands; it is a spot almost untouched by Western civilisation, but seemingly a world without work, time or seasons.

In its presentation, this passage stands in stark contrast to the earlier descriptions of the unattractive conditions of native life at Kili, the "dormitory slum" of Ebeye, and the regimental sterile uniformity of the US Army base with its life-style that quashes individual freedom and retards creativity. Yet, like Georg Forster some two hundred years earlier, Evans acknowledges the idyllic existence of island life was threatened: culture contact with a technologically advanced culture had begun to corrupt traditional island life. Local produce was traded by the natives for the luxuries of "coffee and cigarettes", and Airi, the local indigenous shopkeeper has already fallen prey to the Western fetish for consumption which entailed putting himself "up to his ears in bank loans" (p.268).[461]

And this is not all: there seems to emerge a contrasting picture to the earlier presented idyllic island life. There is the unbearable heat, the effect of mosquito-bites that raise "red dots on" the skin, and the strangeness - the discomfort caused by culture change (pp.268-271). Cathy, a former $ 5 000 a day New York model, now a Peace Corps volunteer teaching English on the island for the past eighteen months, confesses that having learned more from native culture "in the last year than in the last ten" in her own world she had become "a little tired of it [island life] now" and needs "to go back and face people" of her own culture (p.271).

---

[461] V. Packard, in his book *The Hidden Persuaders* deals with this issue in greater detail.

Although feeling obliged to portray the existence of an earthly paradise - in order to strenghten his argument directed against the American and European invasion of the Pacific and the corruption of native culture - such pre-judgments did not completely prevent Evans from presenting some "perceptible reality". He was still able to add new knowledge onto the existing pre-judgements.

To Evans nothing is as it seems: the idyllic situation cannot last - it is temporary, and it is transitory. Everything is deceptive, uncertain or double-faced. In addition, the less attractive observations highlight the conflict within the author.

As recognised throughout the progress of this inquiry, though Americans and Europeans are in quest of an earthly paradise and, at times, believe to have found it in the Pacific, reality is different: island life is not suitable for those of European culture; it creates discomfort; and the culture differences are too great. Evans' text presents this understanding. In addition, through the character of Airi, the island's shopkeeper, Evans shows that in the process of culture contact with a more technologically and economically advanced race indigenous culture will be corrupted: its way of life will be Americanised.

Having discussed some of Evans' experiences it is appropriate to ascertain how other contemporary Pacific travellers perceived the encounter with the new, i.e., with island life.

e.) Lucy Irvine.

Lucy Irvine and Gerald Kingsland, both English - she in her early twenties and he some thirty years older - spent one year at the coral island of Tuin. The island is located in the Torres Strait, some 40 km off the north east coast of Australia.

Many people have dreamed of escaping from civilisation and of finding an island in the Pacific. They have dreamed of abandoning their own world, and its culture, but few, however, have dared to leave their own world and culture.

The island of Tuin, with its sunshine, abundant coconuts, exotic fruits and trees could have been paradise for the Kingslands[462] had it not been for the lack of fresh water, an inadequate diet and all the other harshnessess they had to deal with just to survive.

[462] To be allowed to travel to the island the authorities insisted that they married, a condition that was dissolved after the adventure came to an end.

f.) Island life is not "paradisiacal".

After spending some months on the island, Lucy wrote in her diary:

Influences, opinions and comparisons hailing from the "outside world" can contribute nothing to our project. We are here as 20th Century castaways and our main aim is simply to survive, not to achieve. People do things in different ways. We have not come here to Tuin to write a book on expert Bush living or how to tame the jungle. We claim no great knowledge in any of the fields that could serve us most usefully here: raising crops in tropical and drought conditions; locating and securing a permanent supply of fresh water; being able to forecast weather and tidal conditions - but we are managing. We are alive, and all things considered, very much kicking!

We can look around the area of our camp and see very little evidence of work done. Our shelter is not yet erected; we are still borrowing storage space in an islander's deserted hut. But if we look at our time spent here with the eyes of two people intent merely on survival, our ostensible aim, and forget the drummed in notions of competitive civilisation, we have done well. Our efforts at fishing have yielded us a bountiful supply of protein and we have discovered an adequate source of vitamins delightfully packaged in the wild fruits of the island - coconuts and passionfruit plus native plum at this time of year. Our complexions are clear and healthy. The vegetable garden has occupied much time and labour. We have been working against the fact that it is totally out of season for planting, but in our situation we are forced to try for whatever small success might be possible; even if only the hardy beans, rock melon and pumpkins yield a crop, our diet will be substantially augmented.

The worst setback to all our little island plans, the house building project in particular, has been the ulcerous condition of our legs. G has suffered very badly and day after day has had to postpone plans for logging and foundation digging. This has been frustrating for him in the extreme and taken a fair toll of temper and optimism. He has been forced to lie like an invalid for days in camp, sometimes reflecting angrily on his loss of strength and vitality. However, we are tied to no schedules, and patient acceptance of our own limitations is a more sensible attitude to adopt than endless fretting that we cannot immediately do this or that. I have taken a leaf or two out of G's book of patience. My energy and enthusiasm must have exasperated him terrible at times.

It is difficult living beside a sea that is poison to sores. Since the many small wounds on our limbs began to suppurate we have had to try to avoid contact with sea water, not easy when one is obliged to fish for the main part of our diet. A careless step, a splash of coral-infested water, and progress on the legs is set back two days. Yet we have done better than just survive. We have learned to love this island, its sounds, its many different moods, the rhythm of the tides and sun. Each day the island teaches us something, we find a new plant or hear different birdsong, feel a wind stir the trees of Tuin from another direction, feel newly stirred within ourselves....

We are not here to combat the island, to force from it a home fit for man, but to try to live contentedly within its confines, adapting ourselves to fit into a unique environment. Perhaps we will gain inwardly from the rare freedom it offers; if only we can allow ourselves to

let go of other, irrelevant standards.[463]

Lucy's observations are of great importance for this inquiry because they mark a different understanding in Pacific accounts. Clearly, Lucy and her companion no longer seek to dominate nature but are willing to adapt to the new surroundings. They recognise and admit being removed from civilisation they have little choice other than to work with nature if they are to survive - they have to learn from her and not subjugate her.

This method of application contrasts Cook's approach - while in New Zealand in April 1773 - to convert the "original chaotic state" of nature into a state of civilisation. An effort that, as Georg Forster observed, had to end in failure: the "pleasing picture of improvement was not to last, and like a meteor, vanished as suddenly as it was formed ... [nature unattended] must return to its original chaotic state".[464]

Cearly, Lucy and Gerald had to learn that things, on the coral island of Tuin, had to be done in a different way. On a Pacific island, such as Tuin, the ways associated with the concept of European progress, are of little value to those who struggle merely to survive. The norms imposed of their own culture are "irrelevant standards": they have become irrelevant to the new situation where the conditions of life are "ruled by the elements".

Evidence suggests that a change in living conditions was directly connected with a change in behavioural patterns; a change in ethical and social values. Feeling "neither wrong nor unbalanced" (p.127), the Kingslands began to experience this change. The new freedom offered by a life-style liberated from the constrains of civilisation; the relaxation and

---

[463] L. Irvine: *Castaway*, pp.111-112. Further quotations from the book will be indicated by page references.

[464] G. Forster: op. cit., AA I: 116.

abandonment of previously held social values; the purification of the mind of the mental luggage imposed by civilisation - a catharsis symbolised in the text by the festering of the ulcers from their legs - helped them in the adoption of a different value system. The new mental and physical experience demanded, in contrast to their previous life-style experiences, a concern with physical survival. They now had to learn that in the new environment of Tuin, man was powerless against nature, defenceless against the elements; they had to recognise and accept their own "fragility in an unyielding environment" (p.64). In short, they had to learn that nature was not benevolent but hostile. Lucy writes:

> Gradually, within and beyond the banalities of routine, the rhythm of Tuin established itself. Sun, moon and tide wielded an implacable baton, conducting our every move, dictating to us when it was time to fish, time to labour and time to rest. And yet within the metronomic strictures of heat and night and day, we were free to flounder or flourish. To survive one must conform. When the pattern of conformity is set, then you can see where your freedoms lie (p.62).

The recognition by Lucy that man in order to survive must submit to a process of adaptation stands in total contrast (though recognising that their circumstances differ) to the understanding of many earlier explorers and travellers who perceived the Pacific and its people under the Enlightenment theory to dominate and to control. In addition, the author's argument that "people [in the Pacific] do things in different ways", highlights the notion of cultural relativism. This idea, was clearly set out amongst other writings, in *A Voyage Round the World*. There, Georg Forster observed that "the different characters of nations ...depend upon a multitude of different causes, which have acted together during a series of many ages" and that the environmental conditions contributed to the formation of man's temper.[465]

---

[465] G. Forster: op. cit., AA 1: 577,434.

As we have seen, the experiences of Lucy and Gerald no longer epitomise the notion of a biblical Garden of Eden in the Pacific. A place where nature of her own accord provides in abundance. In contrast, their description of their island experiences paints a portrait of hardship and struggle. They are aware of "each other's decrepitude"; they are in little doubt had not a "lifeline from the other world ... been thrown" the possibility they would have not survived was immense (pp.158,162-3).

Recognising that nature was not yielding enough of her own accord for them to survive, and ackowledging that they lack the necessary skills to live off the land and sea like the natives do, they were "forced to try for whatever small success might be possible" to obtain additional food. They were forced to establish a vegetable garden even though out of season, and had to try to catch fish, despite the fact the poison of the coral became a health hazard.

The imagery employed in this presentation form the argument that nature in its natural state does not yield her bounty freely and in abundance; she dominates man.

Clearly, a life-style without the assistance of technology has become for Lucy and Gerald a struggle for survival; they no longer possess the necessary skills, native people still have, in order to live in harmony with nature. In short, island life for Europeans is not paradisiacal but a struggle for survival.

g.) Island living - a psychic experience.

In spite of this strain and the continuous hardship the couple had to endure - and notwithstanding Lucy's remark "what the hell I was doing on this island, what had made me so badly want to come" (p.138) - both travellers recognised that the island had something to offer: "the freedom that was now potentially [theirs], a private space, remote from the rest of the world" (p.17). The surroundings provided the conditions where they can "gain inwardly from the freedom" offered: a "year out", on the island would take Lucy, as she explains, "into areas of mental and physical experience I had never visited before. ... Tuin would provide the limbo where I would not be subject to the usual influences and where there were far fewer doors to worry about (p.139). ... There was no one to judge us" (p.127). In short, Tuin would provide the opportunity for Lucy to flee from reality to an exotic world that satisfied the emotions.

This understanding shows that the Kingslands began to realise firstly, that their thought processes were no longer guided only by the values of their own culture system; and, secondly, that the culture change had also caused a change in behavioural patterns. Conformity, by and large, is the product of the processes of civilisation, socialisation, enculturation and power - an issue more fully developed by other writers[466] - and that contemporary civilised life has negative concomitances: modern man can deal no longer psychologically with the complexities and the sophistication demanded by progress and forced on him. He thus seeks the opposite: "time out". In the case of the Kingslands, escape for one year to a deserted Pacific island; or as we will see shortly, some Americans and Europeans seek a holiday at a Pacific resort operated

---

[466] F. Nietzsche: *Also sprach Zarathustra*; N. Elias: *The Civilising Process*; Collective Behaviour" in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol.4, pp.842-853; "The variety of sociocultural forms", ibid., vol.8, pp.1151-1158.

by *Club Méditerranée* or similar holiday organisations.

Most of Lucy's observations, the idea that things are done differently in the Pacific, that of cultural relativism, and her acknowledgment that the climate and environment contribute to the formation of man's temper, that Europeans lack the skills and thus, struggle to survive - while on the other hand admitting that the natives have less difficulties to live in harmony with nature[467] - that nature is hostile, the recognition that some remote parts of the Pacific offer modern man the possibility to escape his own culture, represent a continuity of earlier thought. They are well established as shown in the progress of this inquiry. The argument, however, that some deserted Pacific island offers the chance for contemporary man to re-establish the necessary balance of life, is less documented. In short, modern man can no longer deal with life as forced on his psyche. Thus, he welcomes the opportunity for "time out": he needs a holiday, leisure time. This requirement, as shown in the last chapter, is relatively new in American and European social culture.

[467] There are numerous references that confirm this argument: pp.146,150,157,160.

h.) Further arguments and perspectives.

The issue of escaping one's own culture and seeking leisure-time in the Pacific is also addressed in the travel writings of Colin Simpson. In his book *Pleasure Islands of the South Pacific*,[468] Simpson is of the view that the holiday organisation of *Club Méditerranée*, with bases on New Caledonia, Moorea and Bora Bora and with their accent on leisure activities, provides the ideal facilities for the modern tourist to escape the psychologial pressures of his own culture.[469]

Yet, having attracted to the Club Moorea "many of its members from a fairly permissive stratum of the swinging singles society of California"[470] it is not surprising, as Simpson explains, that the organisers "had to put barbed wire right round the place so that excited Moorean men wouldn't go bathing with the white ladies".[471] Historically, according to colonial-racist perspectives, a union between a white woman and a black man was regarded as sexual perversion.[472] It could, however, be said that the fence serves the purpose of keeping "the whites" separate from that which is missing in their own effeminate culture: the natural, less civilised man, the "Noble Savage".

Borrowing the words of Paul Theroux, who - equipped with a tent, collapsible kayak and a sleeping bag - had travelled many Pacific islands discovering in the process an extraordinary melting pot of cultures and contrasts, we realise that "history's wheel had taken a

---

[468] C. Simpson: *Pleasure Islands of the South Pacific*, 1979.
[469] Ibid., pp.41-45, 143-146, 153-154.
[470] Ibid., p.45.
[471] Ibid., p.151.
[472] T. Schwarz: "Die Tropen bin ich!", p.16, in: J. Link (ed.), *Kultur Revolution*, 32/33, Dec. 1995.

complete turn, the fantasies were reversed, and now it was the Christian Tahitians who leered, and the pagan French who were naked".[473] As we have seen, in the time of Bougainville, it was the nameless Tahitian girl who dropped her flimsy cloth and impressed the European sailors, in the 1990s, we are told, European women are "sunbathing nude in order to eliminate bathing-suit silhouettes on their skin".[474] It is no longer the Tahitians' dedication to free, joyous, uncomplicated, unsentimental sexuality, as observed and documented by Cook, Georg Forster and other Pacific travellers at the time, but the contemporary Europeans who seek uncomplicated sexual freedom in the Pacific. In short, we witness an inversion of cultural values and behaviours.

i.) Summary.

It has been shown that many of the arguments presented in this chapter were well established and re-used by the different authors in new contexts. There are a number of such arguments: the destructive white man; native life is not ranked high on the scale of European considerations; the ignobility of American and European civilisation; and European exploitation of the Pacific and its people. In short, the arguments that make up the topos of a fatal impact. In addition, there are, on the one hand, the arguments supporting the view that nature in its "natural state" is hostile and dominates white man while, on the other hand, native man has less difficulty in living in accordance with nature's laws. There is the notion of a "fallen American-European world" and a prelapsarian Pacific that permits Western man to start anew.

---

[473] P. Theroux: *The Happy Isles of Oceania*, 1992, p.501.
[474] Ibid., p.500.

Yet, there are also arguments that are lesser known and some have been further developed. The topos of a fatal impact has been extended to that of a dying Pacific culture. There are the images that depict a reversal of cultural roles: the islanders adopt European values while the latter attempt to free themselves of their traditional values. It has been shown (based on Theroux's arguments) that, by and large, it is no longer the naked Tahitian girl that stuns and captures the attention of the European, but the European women who, in the new environment of the Pacific, drop their clothes and become sexually attractive to native men. In addition, it was recognised that the Pacific and its people are no longer the prime objective for European man to learn - though Lucy and Cathy have confessed to learn from nature and native culture - but, in contrast, the Pacific now provides the opportunity for "time out", which is facilitated by the leisure activities provided by *Club Med* or similar holiday organisations. The Antipodes offer the possibility for "civilised Euro-American man" to regain his balance of life, his psychic equilibrium.

Though the idea of abandoning European civilisation for a less complicated life-style in the Pacific is not new and has been well documented in the writings dealing with the Bounty Mutiny, the travels of Gauguin and others presented in this inquiry, Lucy's call for "time out" is relatively new in Pacific descriptions. That is to say, the need for Euro-American man to holiday, to spend leisure time away from his own culture, so that he is able to restore his lost psychological equilibrium. Americans and Europeans no longer come to the Pacific to learn and dominate, but to restore their lost health - to recover from the negative concomitance of progress, and its life-style. Clearly, the writers know that an American and European life-style is less desirable than the topos of paradise with its backward, nostalgic yernings for a utopian

haven. This argument was already advanced by Cook, Georg Forster and other eighteenth century Pacific explorers and travellers. We have, however, also seen that some Pacific explorers, travellers and writers have recognised that Pacific life and its culture is not suitable for Europeans.

Conclusion.

This inquiry has shown that there exists a continuity of thought from the eighteenth century to the present by which, first and foremost, the Western mind has perceived and presented the Pacific, its peoples and their culture. It has also become clear that the overriding visions present in the descriptions of what Pacific explorers, travellers and writers saw, are arguments contained in the topoi of a biblical Garden of Eden, a Golden Age of Antiquity, which in turn are skilfully employed by many observers and writers to level a critique of their own European situation. This is evident in the contrasting presentation of the "blessed" and the "unblessed", the Polynesians and the Europeans.

The inquiry also demonstrated the importance of the hermeneutic principle of effective history in the analysis of the topoi and images which have grounded the understanding of the European mind of the Pacific. Thus, earlier Pacific travellers and writers wrote about the "blessed islands" under the influence of the topos of paradise, some contemporary writers, however, use this topos to present the conditions for "time out", for a holiday in the Pacific others even for "Hell". Historically, the topos of critique was, above all, employed to express the dissatisfaction with the European socio-economic conditions, nowadays it is related to the fatal impact theory or the psychic pressures that burden the life-style of contemporary Euro-American man. In short, the scope of the topos, over time, has been widened, the metaphors used have changed.

We have also seen a change in perception: the inversion of an earthly paradise, as imagined to exist in the Pacific, to that of a living hell; the reversal of cultural roles - the natives adopt European values while the "civilised" visitors attempt to free themselves of their

traditional values and constraints; and, the recognition that contemporary Pacific travel is no longer, above all, for the purpose to see, observe and learn from another culture but, rather, to serve "civilised" Euro-American man to have "time out", so that he might regain his lost psychological equilibrium. In addition to these dominant topoi, a number of associated substantive topoi have been discovered. They are the topos of work, simplicity, permanence and uniformity to name but some. Given the nature of these topoi, it was to be expected that a great part of the pre-understanding, dominating those who came to the Pacific and gave meaning to what they saw, was grounded in earlier thought: in pre-Greek, Greco-Roman, and Judeo-Christian imagery. Many of their observations were expressed in the well-known sub-set of topoi of European imagination contained in the Paradise-complex: dissatisfaction with European life and the hope for a utopia, that is, a life without work and money in a congenial climate, in nature that is benevolent and provides of her own accord in the Pacific. All too often, however, what they discovered did not measure up to the pre-determined imagery that informed their expectations - a condition that brought to light the tension within these observers.

Thus, it became obvious that "Pacificism" had more to do with European culture than with the objective perception and understanding of the Pacific and its people. That is to say, that the perception the Pacific and its inhabitants constituted, and still constitute, are an integral part of European civilisation and culture in terms of European or even American desires and aspirations.

From this cognitive position, some writers have argued that their own American-European life-style is less attractive than traditional island life as we know it while, at the same

time, recognising that Pacific life and its culture may not be suitable for Euro-American man.

On the whole, it came to light that Europeans in their encounter with Pacific islanders were unable to give meaning to the experience of the new on its own terms: the new as such and as the islands and their inhabitants are constructed by the observers' own historical "fore-judgements" and living prejudices.

While in the first chapter which contrasted the writings of European and American authors in order to demonstrate the method of the inquiry, the economy is the basic topos for the argumentation - the claim that the inversion of the socio-economic conditions had turned former migrant servants into economic masters whose economic success threatened indigenous culture - we noticed that the understanding of the indigenous and migrant islanders of their own situation, as presented in their writings, differs greatly from the perceptions offered in texts taken from European and American authors. In addition, their Pacific writings have highlighted the influence and impact foreign, Western culture, had on Fiji and Fiji-Indian thought: both races used the topos of critique to make their point.

In the second chapter, the discussion of passages taken from Georg Forster's *A Voyage round the World*, I demonstrated that the author used the rhetorial method of juxtaposing the two different cultures - the European and the Tahitian, the "unblessed" and the "blessed". The former was likened to a life in hell, while the later was presented, at first, in terms of the Paradise topos. In addition, while skilfully employing the topos of paradise for a critique of his own European situation, Forster left no doubt that he stood firmly on the side of progress and civilisation which would eventually overtake the Pacific.

It emerged that although the Dusky Bay experience was perceived and recorded by the

young natural scientist within the frame-work of the topos of European superiority, the second departure from Tahiti, one year later, was less dominated by this mental luggage - by the Enlightenment theory of universalism. Though Forster recognised the advantages provided by both cultures, the Polynesian and the European civilisation, he, nevertheless, was critical of both life-styles. His description discloses the existing conflict within the young observer and, at the same time, shows his systematic theoretical reasoning which, at times, enabled him to form new kowledge.

In addition, Forster introduces the notion that native life is not for Europeans - effectively saying cultural life-styles and practices are relative - and he warned against European intrusion into the Pacific because he regarded Pacific nature and European civilisation as incompatible. All these arguments were at the time new in Pacific description.

Chapter three uses some of Kotzebue's and Chamisso's writings, in a comparison of native life and culture before and after missionary contact. It emerges that both writers describe the traditional island life under the influence of the topos of the "blessed" Pacific islanders - that they enjoyed the life-style of a terrestrial paradise. We are told, in contrast, that after missionary contact the same islanders were perceived to suffer under the "yoke" of European culture; their new life-style is likened to an existence in hell. They were presented as "unblessed".

Both writers, Kotzebue and Chamisso, felt that European missionary activity in the Pacific was harmful: it has unbalanced the existing traditional social order and affected the cultural and economic well-being of the islanders. In addition, they argued that the forced cultural change, though intended to be benevolent and noble, was harmful to the islanders

because the existing cultural difference was too great and the rate of change too fast.

These observations were interpreted through the topoi of power and development enshrined in the idea of progress as dominant in Enlightenment thought.

Not unexpectedly, these views are totally rejected in the writings of the missionaries. They claimed that the observed change in character and manner of the Tahitians was a marked improvement. This argument tells us that the missionaries failed to recognise that native people possessed a sophisticated culture of their own - they were driven by the overwhelming value system of their own culture and of their particular religious zeal.

Though much of what Kotzebue and Chamisso had to say about their experiences in the Pacific was perceived, recorded and interpreted along earlier lines of thought - the imagery used to present the "blessed" and the "unblessed" and the idea that argues for the destruction of paradise - they, nevertheless, argued that the European method of presenting Christianity to non-European people was unsuitable for the Antipodes. This argument of cultural relativism, was new within the topos of Euro-criticism when the two writers published their Pacific experiences.

Much of what Melville wrote was guided and influenced by earlier first-hand accounts of the Pacific and other writings - as discovered when dealing with some of his text in chapter four. His autobiographical works *Typee* and *Omoo*, writings situated between fact and fiction, add weight to that argument which is critical of European intrusion into the Pacific. Melville argued that the islanders enjoy a more paradisiacal life-style than Europeans do as long as their lives are not compromised by missionaries. He also argued that savagery was death and civilisation was life. Critical of the past customs of cannibalism and infanticide, the stain on

paradise, as Captain Cook, Georg Forster and others argued before him, he tried to understand and excuse it as Montaigne and Forster did before him.

In addition, it became clear that Melville's continuity of the by now clicheed argument for a fatal impact and culturally dying Pacific, the claim that Europeans benefited economically from the culture clash at the detriment of the natives, is strongly contradicted by the writings from the modern school of Pacific history. Today, some historians argue that the islanders' life was not necessarily ravaged by European contact and that the fatal impact theory was, by and large, the product of an over-fertile, guilt-ridden European imagination. It is precisely this criticism which bears out the basic argument.

Though much of Melville's writing argues for a dying Pacific culture he, nevertheless, does so along the century old European tradition of using the Pacific as a territory for Western fantasies, and as a critique on his own situation.

However, in the process the topos describing Polynesians as doomed is developed by Melville into the topos of the "dying savage". In addition, Melville argued that Europeans thought that it was easier to escape their own culture but found that it was rather difficult if not completely impossible to integrate into a new, foreign culture. This inner conflict is generated by the topos of cultural relativism which had already been recognised by Georg Forster some eighty years before. The idea that freedom from cultural chains is elusive is another claim argued by Melville. All these arguments are rather controversial at the time the author presented his Pacific experiences to the reading American and European public.

Chapter five showed that Stevenson perceived and comprehended the Pacific under different conditions of understanding: he came for reasons of health and pleasure; he came as a

tourist with an assured income.

In his interpretations, like in those of other writers before him, Stevenson used the topos of opposites to argue his point which is the internal conflict in the perception of a Pacific paradise: i.e., child-murder is set against child-lover, and the gaiety of the Samoan temperament is set against the lifelessness of the Hawaiians. This observation has become progressively more detailed.

As shown, Stevenson concerned himself with the economic plight of the islanders and with the cultural change and its conditions that threatened their existence. Like Kotzebue and Melville before him, he argued that the rate of cultural change forced onto the Polynesians was too rapid. For the short-term economic gains of a few colonial planters, the traditional life-style of the islanders was destroyed. To support his argument, Stevenson employed the suicide issue which, at the same time, helped him to level a critique against European colonialism which he saw to be harmful. The argument also reflects his own disenchantment with Western culture, which is evident in the confession that he prefers Polynesia to Europe.

Because Stevenson participated actively in Samoan political life, he supported native self-government. He admitted that Europeans knew little about native affairs and that Western laws were meaningless to the Polynesians. This way of thinking shows clearly the difficulties of the hermeneutic situation, i.e., the conditions under which the understanding of the new was made: not what Europeans saw, but their broader pre-judgements and beliefs formed and determined their understanding of the Pacific, its people and their culture.

Though much of Stevenson's arguments are continuing earlier thought in a new context, the existing topos of the "dying savage" was developed and worked out further by

him. He concluded that it was not cultural change per se but, the rate of change that would lead to the extinction of the Polynesians, a projection new in Pacific travel writings.

Discussing some of Gauguin's writings in chapter six, it has been shown, again, that many of the artist's arguments are expressed in the well-known set of topoi of European imagination: his dissatisfaction with European life and the imagined anticipation of a life without work and money in the Pacific. This mind-set enabled Gauguin, at least temporarily, to give meaning to the foreign experience of the Pacific and at the same time it enabled him to level a critique at his own culture.

Not surprisingly, the anticipated paradisiacal life-style was not to be enjoyed by Gauguin for long: what he saw did not measure up to the expectation - reality was a disappointment.

Yet, in spite of the disappointment and following intellectual trends at the time, Gauguin was determined to "shake off" civilisation and its negatives and become a "savage". He wanted to "regress" to the "childhood of mankind" and reverse the civilising process for his own person by arguing that European values and morals - integral to the civilising process - enslave and corrupt. He argued that the structure of social functions and the relationship between people are a consequence of behavioural control. In addition, Gauguin thought that Western matrimonial customs with their exaggerated differences between the sexes do not work satisfactorily, and that the civilising process led, at least partly, to neuroses in European man. In this he anticipates the theories of the nascent psychoanalysis.

The proposition that Western cultural practices, adversely influence both artistic development and the personality structure; that "savagery" fosters artistic creativity and

spiritual rejuvenation and Gauguin's own new art form, were suggestions relatively new when the artist presented his Pacific writings and paintings to the European public. They initiated a European art movement and ideology which reached its zenith in the works of Pablo Picasso.

In the chaper of this inquiry which dealt with some of the imaginary Pacific writings of Maugham, we have seen that he too presented much of his fictional account under the influence of well established imagery. Like earlier Pacific writers and others, Maugham used the culture of the foreign, the Polynesian, as a critique of American-European culture. Though criticising Western civilisation with the fictional "other", Maugham was aware that the conception of the Pacific and its people, as stored in the European mind, was a myth.

Maugham - the mouthpiece of the disillusioned 1920s - had, in sympathy with Marxist thinking, argued: that the production and the acquisition of objects is intrinsically connected with the impoverishment of man's inner life; that the market economy prostitutes every private and personal quality; and that cultural conditioning is an external process into which man is forced. On the other side, he also argued that the hope of mankind lay in starting afresh, i.e., that a new beginning for some individuals is possible. This thinking uses the reversal of the old myth where the Golden Age came first. Now it is to return so that a better history becomes possible.

Maugham is more concerned with the issue of American-European social development than with a change in place of residence. In his view man has the opportunity to make things right, he therefore calls for a change in socio-economic consciousness and practices. And like Gauguin before him, he thinks that great art cannot be created under the negative influence of Western civilisation where the individual is stifled.

Clearly, Maugham developed some of the established arguments about a rejuvenation of society further by using "Pacificism" as his experimental ground. His fictional characters no longer escape into an imagined land where man's needs are almost taken care of by a benevolent nature because his new life-style embraces both work and progress. He argues for a "marriage", a hybrid, between the two cultures - the American-European and the Polynesian - which he sees as advantageous for mankind.

The idea of a life-style in which simplicity is combined with some controlled progress was relatively new in the years following the First World War when Maugham published his Pacific writings and needs to be seen in contrast to contemporary Marxist and utopian thought.

In chapter eight we have seen that Michener's *Tales of the South Pacific* presents, for the most part, a cultural critique which addresses the situation of those who served in the Pacific War. It delivers stern warnings to ex-American GIs and other Europeans, who were stationed in the Pacific during World War II, not to be blinded by the appeal of the exotic because your rightful place is in your own culture and to be mindful of the possibility that island life is regressive for Euro-Americans - the European imagined understanding of a Pacific paradise is nothing but an illusion. It seems that the vision of the Pacific has become completely negative.

To present his argument, Michener employed the effective rhetorical practice of contrasting imagery which, at the same time, once again, highlights the difficulties associated with culture contact experienced by both races - the Pacific islanders and the American-Europeans.

Obviously, much of what Michener had to say about race and culture was influenced

by the topos that argues not only for American-European superiority but also that legitimises colonialism, Eurocentricity and class distinction.

It is, therefore not surprising that Michener thinks that the American presence in the Pacific War was beneficial both for native islanders and for migrant workers, something that was totally rejected by Hall and Burton. Their observations are guided by visions of total destruction and of European indebtedness to Pacific islanders.

To lessen the burden of guilt feeling associated with the fatal-impact topos, Michener is skilfully critical of Polynesian culture. He argues that the "islands were doomed before the white man came". And in total contrast to Maugham, Michener like his contemporary Graham Green or Georg Forster, some one hundred seventy years before him, thinks that intercultural relations do not work.

To argue this point, Michener uses well established strategies: he uses the topos of opposites i.e., the complete difference of cultures, when claiming that the Pacific is not for American-Europeans; and furthermore, the argument of American-European superiority that legitimises colonialism. These topoi have a much older history but Michener uses them in a new context. However, Hall's and Burton's use of the topos of total destruction and that of European indebtedness to the Pacific islanders for their contribution in time of war, were original ideas.

In chapter nine, using some of Farwell's first-hand Pacific experiences we have seen that a modern author returned to an image of a paradisiacal life-style of the Polynesians - the idea of a biblical Garden of Eden - in order to level an effective critique at European culture. Farwell locates Tahiti and its inhabitants in a system of values which is an inversion of his own

situation.

Although Farwell expected, and consequently observed, an idyllic life-style, he also encountered the non-idyllic aspects that seem to be the consequence of progress and social change from which he desires to escape. These opposing positions reveal the tension within the writer.

To argue his point, Farwell used contrasting imagery. Like many writers before him, he employed imagery that depicts the exotic woman, the erotic, sensual, animalistic *vahine* - the child of nature - and set her aginst the assertion that civilisation corrupts. This entails a juxtaposition of exoticism and simplicity with cultural pessimism.

But, Farwell also recognised, ultimately, that the imagery held in the European mind of Tahiti is a myth - it is more fantasy than reality. As a consequence, contemporary Polynesian life as it is, differs greatly from the author's expectations: it is a daily economic struggle. The imagined life-style of the "blessed" has now become the privilege of Western tourists and expatriates only. In short, the author's imagery, used in anticipation, differs greatly from reality. Such imagery is also in contrast to the understanding the natives have formed of their own situation.

The final chapter discusses some of the experiences presented by lesser known Pacific writers and travellers. Here we have seen that much of what they had to say differed greatly from those accounts which described the islanders as "blessed". What Georg Forster forewarned of over two hundred twenty years ago, the contemporary Pacific writer Evans confirms: the European intruders' economic and political superiority brought misery to the islanders.

He thinks that contemporary island life, after being forcefully subjected to American-European culture, is most undesirable. He describes the decrepitude of Western civilisation and that of inverted racism where the white man could do no right and the poor brown man no wrong. In order to accentuate his argument, Evans contrasted the islanders' contemporary life-style, the "lost slum of Atlantis", with the imagery created by earlier accounts which presented the natives as "blessed", and praised their good health and cleanliness.

However, as we have shown before, this well established argument is contradicted by the modern school of Pacific history which rejected the notion of a fatal impact. It is argued that Evans' negative picture of the Pacific derived less from what was there, less from reality, and more from what he wanted to see - providing, once again, evidence for the difficulties associated with Pacific understanding and the power of pre-conceived ideas.

In addition, Evans disapproves of the notion that the natives are subordinated to the whites, he argues for a "fallen European and American world" and a prelapsarian Pacific that offers the opportunity for some to start anew; he recognises that nothing is as it seems: the presented traditional life-style - of those who live at the little island - cannot last, it is temporary, it is transitory.

All these arguments are already well established and are only re-used by the author in a new context showing us a continuity of thought. The extension of the topos of fatal impact to that of a dying Pacific culture, however, is relatively new in Pacific presentations.

In the next section of this chapter, I tried to shown that Irvine's Pacific experience differed from earlier presentations: she and her partner can no longer dominate nature but, are willing to adapt to the new surroundings. The Kingslands recognise that their own cultural

values have become "irrelevant standards", they have become restrictions in a situation where the conditions of life are "ruled by the elements".

Irvine recognised that nature in her "natural state" is hostile, that she dominates man but, that civilised life is equally harmful. She admits that modern man can no longer deal with life forced on his psyche and argued that the Pacific offers a way out: it provides the opportunity for Western man to regain his lost psychic equilibrium. While the later assertion is relatively new in Pacific desciptions, the earlier was formed under the Enlightenment theories of a hostile nature and a corrupt civilisation.

And finally, Theroux argued that "history's wheel had taken a complete turn", a view presented under the influence of the topos describing the reversal of cultural values. The young traveller, though arguing critically that European life is less desireable than traditional island life as we know it recognises, at the same time, that it is not suitable for Europeans. All these arguments show a continuity of an earlier discourse.

I have argued throughout this inquiry, in different ways, that "Pacificism" had more to do with our world, our European culture, than with the objective perception and comprehension of what was there - of the Pacific, its people and their culture. It should be clear by now that I agree with the theory that it was not what the explorers and travellers saw but, how they saw it and what they wanted to see, that determined their understanding of the new experiences encountered in Pacific voyages and explorations. Given this general understanding, the inquiry also shows the diversity of argumentation and arguments arising from the time honoured ideas and topoi about the good life and a better world than our own.

Acknowledgments.

I wish to thank my supervisor Professor Walter Veit for his guidance and critical suggestions relating to the content of this thesis, and Alfred Harrison for helping me with the grammar of the English language. Needless to say that I am responsible for all remaining mistakes.

Bibliography.

Primary works on the Pacific.

Andrew, Loring — 1933. Isles of Eden. London, Hutchinson & Co.

Angas, George — 1866. Polynesia. Facsimile 1973, Christchurch, Capper Press.

Beaglehole, J.C. (ed.) — 1947. The Exploration of the Pacific. London, Adam & Charles Black.

" " — 1955-1974. The Journal of Captain James Cook on his Voyage of Discovery. 4 vols., Cambridge, The Hakluyt Society.

" " — 1962. The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771. 2 vols., Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Beechey, Frederick W. — 1831. Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait. 2 vols., Facsimile 1968, Amsterdam, N. Israel.

Beer, Karl-Theo — 1994. Samoa-eine Reise in den Tod. Hamburg, Kabel Verlag.

Bell, Gavin — 1994. In Search of Tusitala. Travels in the Pacific after Robert Louis Stevenson. London, Picador.

Bird, Isabella — 1875. Six Months in Hawaii. London, KPI, 1986.

Bougainville, Louis de — 1772. A Voyage round the World. Facsimile 1967, Amsterdam, N. Israel.

Brooke, Rupert — 1933. The Collected Poems of Rupert Brooke. London, Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd.

Burton, J.W. — 1944. Brown and White in the South Pacific. Sydney, Australian Institute of International Affairs.

Calderon, George — 1921. Tahiti by "Tihoti". London, Grant Richards.

Chamisso, Adelbert von — 1980. Sämtliche Werke in Zwei Bänden. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Chamisso, Adelbert von — 1836. A Voyage around the World with the Romanzov exploring Expedition in the years 1815-1818. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1986.

Chegaray, Jacques — 1953. My Polynesia. Tahiti Revisited. London, Arthur Barker Ltd..

Clune, Frank — 1958. A Tale of Tahiti. Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Dampier, William — 1697. A New Voyage Round the World. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1937.

Darwin, Charles — 1839. Voyage of the Beagle. Melbourne, Penguin Classic, 1989.

Dean, Eddie — 1988. Rabuka, no other Way. Suva, The Marketing Team International Ltd..

Dening, Gregory (ed.) — 1974. The Marquesan Journal of Edward Robarts 1797-1824. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Dutton, Geoffrey — 1976. Queen Emma of the South Seas. New York, St. Martin's Press.

Ellis, William — about 1830. Polynesian Researches. Society Islands. London, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969.

" " — 1829. Polynesian Researches. Polynesia. London, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969.

" " — 1842. Polynesian Researches. Hawaii. London, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969.

" " — about 1830. Polynesian Researches. Society Islands, Tubuai Islands, and New Zealand. London, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969.

Evans, Julian — 1992. Transit of Venus. New York, Pantheon Books.

Farwell, George — 1964. Last Days in Paradise. Adelaide, Rigby Limited.

Finlay, Iain
Sheppard, Trish — 1981. Across the South Pacific. Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Finney, Ben R. — 1979. Hokule'a. The Way to Tahiti. New York, Dodd, Mead & Company.

Forster, Georg — 1777. Georg Forster Werke. Berlin, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin;
Vol. I, A Voyage round the World. (ed.) R.L. Kahn, 1968.
Vol. V, Kleine Schriften zur Völker- und Länderkunde. 1985.

Forster, J.R. — 1783. Beobachtungen während der Cookschen Weltumsegelung 1772-1775. Facsimile Edition, 1981, (ed.) Hanno Beck, Stuttgart, Brockhaus Antiquarium; english edition: Observations made during a Voyage round the World. (ed.) Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, Michael Dettelbach, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1996.

Gallagher, Robert (ed.) — 1964. Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766. Cambridge, The Hukluyt Society.

Gauguin, Paul — 1893. Noa Noa. (ed.) Wadeley Nicholas, Oxford, Phaidon Press, 1985.

Gerbault, Alain — 1930. In Quest of the Sun. London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Gill, Walter — 1969. Turn North-East at the Tombstone. Adelaide, Rigby.

Gizycki, von Renate — 1998. Wo der Tag beginnt, enden die Träume. Begegnungen in der Südsee. Frankfurt am Main, Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.

Guérin, Daniel (ed.) — 1978. The Writings of a Savage. Paul Gauguin. New York, Viking Press.

Haldane, Charlotte — 1963. Tempest over Tahiti. London, Constable.

Hall, James, Norman — 1945. Lost Island. London, Collins.

Hoare, Michael (ed.) — 1982. The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster. 4 vols., London, The Hakluyt Society.

Humboldt, Alexander von — 1989-1997. Studienausgabe. 7vols., (ed.) Hanno Beck, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

" " — 1992. Die Wiederentdeckung der Neuen Welt. (ed.) Paul Kanut Schäfer, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Irvine, Lucy — 1983. Castaway. A classic story of Survival on an uninhabited Coral Sea island. London, Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Kelly, Celsus (ed.) — 1966. La Australia del Espiritu Santo. 2 vols., Cambridge, The Hukluyt Society.

Kotzebue, Otto von — 1821. A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits. 3 vols., Facsimile 1967, Amsterdam, N. Israel.

" " — 1830. A New Voyage round the World, in the Years 1823, 24, 25, and 26. 2. vols., Facsimile 1967, Amsterdam, N. Israel.

Lamb, Kaye W. (ed.) — 1984. The Voyage of George Vancouver 1791-1795. 4 vols., London, The Hukluyt Society.

London, Jack — 1911. South Sea Tales. Victoria, The Dominion Press - Hedges & Bell, 1985.

" " — 1911. The Cruise of the Snark. London, KPI, 1986.

Loti, Pierre — 1880. The Marriage of Loti. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii, 1976. (Originally published: 1880, "Le Mariage de Loti", Paris).

Malinowski, Bronislaw — 1932. Argonauts of the Western Pacific. London, George Routledge & Sons.

Maugham, Somerset: 1976. Sixty-Five Short Stories. London, Heinemann / Octopus.

" " 1979. Novels. London, Heinemann / Octopus.

Mc Dermott, John W. 1979. How to get Lost & Found in Tahiti. Honolulu, Waikiki Publishing Company.

Mead, Margaret 1928. Coming of Age in Samoa. London, Penguin Books, 1977.

Melville, Herman 1846. Typee. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1968.

" " 1847. Omoo. Evanston, Northwestern University Press,1968.

" " 1851. Moby Dick. London, Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1987.

Michener, James A. 1947. Tales of the South Pacific. London, Corgi Books, 1976.

" " 1951. Return to Paradise. London, Corgi Books, 1977.

" " 1960. Hawaii. London, Corgi Books, 1976.

Michener, James A. and Day, Grove A. 1957. Rascals in Paradise. London, Secker & Warburg.

Nakano, Ann 1983. Broken Canoe. Conversations and Observations in Micronesia. St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

Nandan, Satendra 1991. The Wounded Sea. Sydney, Simon & Schuster.

O'Brien, Frederick 1919. White Shadows in the South Seas. London, Hodder and Stoughton.

" " 1921. Mystic Isles of the South Seas. London, Hodder and Stoughton.

O'Brien, Frederick — 1922. Atolls of the Sun. London, Hodder and Stoughton.

Owen, Roderic — 1955. Where the Poor are. London, The Travel Book Club.

Parkinson, Sydney — 1784. A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas. Facsimile 1984, London, Caliban Books.

Robertson, George — 1948. The Discovery of Tahiti. (ed.) H. Carrington, London, The Hukluyt Society.

Rosenman, Helen (ed.) — 1987. Two Voyages to the South Seas. 2 vols., Melbourne University Press.

Scherzer, Karl von — 1973. Die Weltumseglung der "Novara" 1857-1859. (ed.) Treffer Günter, Wien, Verlag Fritz Molden.

Simpson, Colin — 1979. Pleasure Islands of the South Pacific. Sydney, Methuen.

Steiner, Gerhard (ed.) — 1777. Georg Forster Werke in vier Bänden. Frankfurt, Insel Verlag, 1967.

Stevenson, Robert Louis — 1900. In the South Seas. London, KPI, 1986.

" " — 1883. Treasure Island. London, Macmillan and Co., 1987.

" " — 1892. A Footnote to History. London, Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1967.

" " — 1911. The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson. ed. Sidney Colvin, 4 vols., London, Methuen & Co.

" " — about 1900. Travels in Hawaii. ed. A. Grove Day, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1991.

" " — "Letters to the Times". In: A Footnote to History. pp. 253-310, Heron Books.

" " — "Island Nights' Entertainments". In: The Ebb-Tide. pp.199-379, Heron Books.

Subramani — 1995. Altering Imagination. Suva, Fiji Writers' Association.

Theroux, Paul — 1992. The Happy Isle of Oceania. Melbourne, Penguin Books.

Tiffin, Chris (ed.) — 1978. South Pacific Images. Brisbane, South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature & Language Studies.

Wallis, Helen (ed.) — 1965. Carteret's Voyage round the World 1766-1769. 2 vols., Cambridge, The Hukluyt Society.

Wharton, W.J.L. (ed.) — 1893. Captain Cook's Journal. London; Facsimile Edition 1968.

White, John — 1790. Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales. Angus & Robertson, 1962.

Wilson, James — 1799. A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean 1796-1798. Facsimile, London, Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.

Woodcock, George — 1976. South Sea Journey. London, Faber and Faber Ltd..

Secondary works on the Pacific.

Aldrich, Robert — 1990. The French Presence in the South Pacific, 1842-1940. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

" " — 1993. France and the South Pacific since 1940. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Balfour, Graham — 1901. The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson. London, Methuen & Co..

Berg, Eberhard — 1982. Zwischen den Welten. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Bodi, Leslie — 1959. "Georg Forster: The Pacific Expert of eighteenth century Germany". In: Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand. Vol. VIII, May 1959, #32, pp.345-63.

Borden, Charles — 1961. South Sea Islands. London, Robert Hale Ltd..

Burney, James — 1803-1817. A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. 5 vols., Facsimile 1967, Amsterdam, N. Israel.

Cameron, Ian — 1987. Lost Paradise. The Exploration of the Pacific. Massachusetts, Salem House Publishers.

Campbell, I.C. — 1980. "Savages Noble and Ignoble: The Perception of Early European Voyagers in Polynesia". In: Pacific Studies. Vol. IV, 1980, pp.45-59.

" " — 1982. "Polynesian Perception of Europeans in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century". In: Pacific Studies. Vol. V, 1982, pp.64-80.

Carter, Paul — 1987. The Road to Botany Bay. London, Faber & Faber.

Clark, Thomas Blake — 1969. Omai. First Polynesian Ambassador to England. Honolulu, The University of Hawaii Press.

Corkhill, Alan — 1990. Antipodean Encounters. Australia and the German Literary Imagination 1754-1918. Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang.

Corney, Bolton G. — 1913-18. The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain. 3 vols., London, Hakluyt Society, Series II, #36.

Danielsson, Bengt — 1956. Love in the South Sea. London, George Allen and Unwin.

" " — 1963. What Happened on the Bounty. London, George Allen & Unwin.

Davidson, J.W. — 1967. Samoa mo Samoa. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Davidson, J.W. Scarr, D. (eds.) — 1970. Pacific Islands Portraits. Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Davidson, J.W. — 1975. Peter Dillon of Vanikoro. (ed.) O.H.K. Spate, Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Daws, Gavan — 1974. Shoal of Time. A History of the Hawaiian Islands. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

" " — 1980. A Dream of Islands. Voyages of Self-Discovery in the South Seas. Milton (Qld.), The Jacaranda Press.

" " — 1984. Holy Man. Father Damien of Molokai. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Defert, Daniel — 1982. "The Collection of the World: Accounts of Voyages from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century". In: Dialectical Anthropology. Vol. VII, 1982, pp.11-20.

Dening, Gregory — 1966. "Ethnohistory in Polynesia". In: Journal of Pacific History. Vol. I, 1966, pp.23-42.

" " — 1980. Islands and Beaches. Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774-1880. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii.

" " — 1982. "Sharks that walk on the land. The Death of Captain Cook". In: Meanjin. Vol. XLI, 1982, pp.427-38.

" " — 1986. "Possessing Tahiti". In: Archaeology in Oceania. Vol. XXI, 1986, pp. 103-18.

" " — 1992. Mr Bligh's Bad Language. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Denoon, Donald (ed.) and others — 1997. The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islands. Cambridge University Press.

Diderot, Denis — 1796. "Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage". Published in: Rameau's Nephew and Other Works. Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1956, pp.183-239.

Dodge, Ernest S. — 1965. New England and the South Seas. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

" " — 1971. Beyond the Capes. Pacific Exploration from Captain Cook to the Challenger (1776-1877). London, Victor Gollancz Ltd..

Dunmore, John — 1965-1969. French Explorers in the Pacific. 2. vols.Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Dutton, Geoffrey — 1974. White on Black. Melbourne, Macmillan.

Duyker, Edward — 1994. An Officer of the Blue. Marc-Joseph Marion Dufresne, South Sea explorer, 1724-1772. Melbourne University Press.

Edwards, Philip — 1994. The story of the Voyage. Sea narratives in eighteenth century England. Cambridge University Press.

Edmond, Rod — 1997. Representing the South Pacific. Cambridge University Press.

Fairbairn, T.I.J.
Morrison, C.E.
Baker, R.W. Groves, S.H. (eds.) — 1991. The Pacific Islands. Politics, Economics and International Relations. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Ferdon, Edwin N. — 1993. Early Observations of Marquesan Culture. London, University of Arizona Press.

Fischer, Hans — 1984. Warum Samoa? Touristen und Tourismus in der Südsee. Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Furnas, J.C. — 1947. Anatomy of Paradise. New York, William Sloane.

Gibson, Ross — 1984. The Diminishing Paradise. Australia, Sirius Books.

Golson, Jack (ed.) — 1972. Polynesian Navigation. A Symposium on Andrew Sharp's Theory of Accidental Voyages. Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Greene, Graham — 1955. "The Quiet American". In: The Collected Edition, pp.531-651. London, Heinemann, 1977.

Greenblatt, Stephen — 1991. Marvelous Possessions. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

" " (ed.) — 1993. New World Encounters. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Grimshaw, Beatrice — 1908. In the Strange South Seas. New York, Libraries Press, 1971.

Hassam, Andrew — 1995. Sailing to Australia. Shipboard diaries by nineteenth-century British emigrants. Australia, Melbourne University Press.

Hilder, Brett — 1980. The Voyage of Torres. University of Queensland Press.

Hoog, Michel — 1987. Paul Gauguin. Life and Work. London, Thames and Hudson.

Hough, Richard — 1974. Captain Bligh and Mr Christian. The Men and the Mutiny. London, Arrow Books.

" " — 1979. The Murder of Captain James Cook. London, Macmillan.

Howarth, David — 1983. Tahiti. A Paradise Lost. London, Harvill Press.

Howe, Kerry R. — 1974. "Firearms and Indigenous Warfare: a Case Study". In: Journal of Pacific History. Vol. IX, 1974, pp.21-38.

" " — 1977. "The Fate of the Savage in Pacific Historiography". In: New Zealand Journal of History. Vol. XI, 1977, pp.137-154.

" " — 1984. Where the Waves Fall. Sydney, George Allen & Unwin.

Irwin, Geoffery — 1992. The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonisation of the Pacific. Melbourne, Cambridge University Press.

Japp, Uwe — 1976. "Aufgeklärtes Europa und natürliche Südsee". In: Reise und Utopie. (ed.) H.J. Piechotta, pp.10-56, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag.

Joppien, Rüdiger & Smith, Bernard — 1985-7. The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages. 3 vols., Oxford University Press.

Kasper, Wolfgang & others — 1988. Fiji, Opportunity from Adversity. Australia, The Centre for Independent Studies.

Kent, Graeme — 1972. Company of Heaven. Early Missionaries in the South Seas. Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Kennedy, Gavin — 1989. Captain Bligh the man and his mutiny. London, Duckworth.

Koch, Gerd — 1976. Südsee. Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde.

Koebner, Thomas — 1983. "Das verbotene Paradies". In: Arcadia. Vol. I, 1983, pp.21-38.

Koebner, Thomas & Pickerodt, G. — 1987. Die andere Welt. Frankfurt am Main, Athenäum Verlag.

Kohl, Karl-Heinz — 1983. Entzauberter Blick. Frankfurt am Main, Medusa, Qumran Verlag.

Korn, Alfons L. — 1958. The Victorian Visitors. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Lal, Brij V. (ed.) — 1986. Politics in Fiji. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Langdon, Robert — 1968. Tahiti: Island of Love. Sydney, Pacific Publications.

" " — 1975. The Lost Caravel. Sydney, Pacific Publications.

" " — 1988. The Lost Caravel Re-explored. Canberra, Brolga Press.

Maude, H.E. — 1968. Of Islands and Men. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Maude, H.E. — 1981. Slavers in Paradise. California, Stanford University Press.

Mc Cormick, E.M. — 1977. Omai, Pacific Envoy. Auckland University Press.

Mc Dermott, Jr. J.F.
Tseng, W.
Maretzki, T.W. (eds.) — 1980. People and Cultures of Hawaii. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Moorehead, Alan — 1966. The Fatal Impact. London, Hamish Hamilton.

Moses, J.A.
Kennedy, P.M. (eds.) — 1977. Germany in the Pacific & Far East 1870-1914. St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

Mulvany, D.J. — 1958. "The Australian Aborigines 1606-1929". In: Historical Studies of Australia and New Zealand. Vol. VIII, May 1958, #30, pp.131-151.

Nordhoff, Charles — 1932. Mutiny on the Bounty. Boston, Hall, Norman James Little, Brown and Company, 1989.

Norton, Robert — 1990. Race and Politics in Fiji. St Lucia, Queensland University Press.

Obeyesekere, Gananath — 1994. The Apotheosis of Captain Cook.European Mythmaking in the Pacific. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Oliver, Douglas — 1958. The Pacific Islands. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

" " — 1975. Ancient Tahitian Society. 3 vols., Honolulu, University Press of Hawaii.

" " — 1988. Return to Tahiti. Melbourne University Press.

" " — 1989. Native Culture of the Pacific Islands. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press.

Pagden, Anthony — 1982. The fall of natural man. Cambridge University Press.

" " — 1993. European Encounters with the New World. London, Yale University Press.

Pearson, Bill (W.H.) — 1969. "European Intimidation and the Myth of Tahiti". In: The Journal of Pacific History. Vol. IV, 1969, pp.199-217.

" " — 1970. "The reception of European voyagers on Polynesian islands, 1568-1797". In: Journal de la Societé des Oceanistes. Vol. XXVI, 1970, pp.121-154.

" " — 1972. "Hawkesworth's Alterations". In: The Journal of Pacific History. Vol. VII, 1972, pp.45-72.

" " — 1984. Rifled Sanctuaries. Oxford University Press.

Pollig, Hermann (ed.) — 1987. Exotische Welten Europäische Phantasien. Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen Württembergischer Kunstverein, Edition Cantz.

Prather, Marla
Stuckey, Charles (eds.) — 1987. Gauguin. A Retrospective. Sydney, Bay Books.

Price, Grenfell A. — 1963. The Western Invasion of the Pacific and its Continents. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Quanchi, Max
Adams, Ron (eds.) — 1993. Culture Contact in the Pacific. Essays on Contact, Encounter and Response. Cambridge University Press.

Riesenberg, Felix — 1940. The Pacific Ocean. New York,Whittlesey House.

Rowe, Newton A. — 1955. Voyage to the Amorrous Islands. London, Andre Deutsch.

Sagan, Eli — 1986. At the Dawn of Tyranny. London, Faber and Faber.

Sahlins, Marshall — 1985. Islands of History. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

" " — 1995. How "Natives" think about Captain Cook, for example. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Salmond, Anne — 1991. Two Worlds. First Meetings between Maoris and Europeans 1642-1772. Auckland, Viking.

Scarr, Deryck (ed.) — 1978. More Pacific Islands Portraits. Canberra, A.N.U. Press.

" " — 1984. Fiji, a short History. Sydney, George Allen & Unwin.

" " — 1988. Fiji, Politics and Illusion, the Military Coups in Fiji. Sydney, N.S.W. University Press.

Schieffelin, E.L. Crittenden, R. — 1991. Like People you see in a Dream. First Contact in six Papuan Societies. California, Stanford University Press.

Sharp, Andrew — 1963. Ancient Voyagers in Polynesia. Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

" " — 1968. The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Shineberg, Dorothy — 1967. They Came for Sandalwood. Melbourne University Press.

" " — 1971. "Guns and Men in Melanesia". In: The Journal of Pacific History. Vol. VI, 1971, pp.61-82.

Smith, Bernard — 1960/1989. European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850. Oxford University Press.

" " — 1992. Imagining the Pacific. Melbourne University Press.

Smith, Bernard & Wheeler, Alwyne (eds.) — 1988. The Art of the First Fleet. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.

Spate, O.H.K. — 1979. The Spanish Lake. (The Pacific since Magellan, Volume I); Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Spate, O.H.K. 1983. Monopolists and Freebooters. (The Pacific since Magellan, Volume II); Canberra, Australian National University Press.

" " 1986. Paradise Lost and Found. (The Pacific since Magellan, Volume III); Canberra, Australian National University Press.

Thomas, Nicholas 1997. In Oceania. Vision, Artifacts, Histories. Durham and London, Duke University Press.

Thum, B.& E. 1982. "Kultur-Programme und Kulturthemen im Umgang mit Fremdkulturen: Die Südsee in der deutschen Literatur". In: Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Vol. VIII, 1982, pp.1-38.

Trumbull, Robert 1977. Tin Roofs and Palm Trees. Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Williams, Glyndwr 1981. "Far more happier than we European's: Reaction to the Australian Aborigines on Cook's Voyage". In: Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand. Vol. XIX, 1981, pp.499-512.

Withey, Lynne 1987. Voyages of Discovery. Melbourne, Hutchinson.

Philosophical works.

Arendt, Hannah 1958. The Human Condition. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Adorno, Theodor
Horkheimer, Max 1944. Dialectic of Enlightenment. London, Verso, 1992.

Barnes, Jonathan (ed.) 1984. The Complete Works of Aristotle. 2 vols., Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Becker, Carl L. 1932. The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1960.

Benjamin, Andrew (ed.) 1991. The Problem of Modernity. Adorno and Benjamin. London, Routledge.

Bergson, Henri — 1907. Creative Evolution. New York, Henry Holt, 1911.

Berlin, Isaiah — 1976. Vico and Herder. Two Studies in the History of Ideas. London, Hogarth Press.

" " — 1956. The Age of Enlightenment. The Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. Oxford University Press, 1979.

" " — 1991. The Crooked Timber of Humanity. (ed.) H. Hardy, London, Fontana Press.

Bernstein, Richard J. — 1983. Beyond Objectivism and Relativism. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

" " — 1986. Philosophical Profiles. Cambridge, Polity Press.

" " (ed.) — 1986. Habermas and Modernity. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Blumenberg, Hans — 1959. "Rudolf Bultmann: Geschichte und Eschatologie. In: Gnomon. Vol. XXXI, 1959, pp.163-166.

" " — 1974. "On a Lineage of the Idea of Progress". In: Social Research. Vol. XLI, 1974, pp.5-27.

" " — 1983. The Legitimacy of the Modern Age. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

Boas, Georg — 1957. Dominant Themes of Modern Philosophy. New York, The Ronald Press Company.

Bottomore, T.B. & Rubel, Maximilien (eds) — 1975. Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy. Middlesex, Penguin Books.

Bronowski, J. Mazlish, Bruce — 1960. The Western Intellectual Tradition. From Leonardo to Hegel. New York, Harper & Brothers.

Bruns, Gerald L. — 1992. Hermeneutics Ancient & Modern. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Calhoun, Craig — 1993. Habermas and the Public Sphere. Massachusetts, MIT Press.

Copleston, Frederick — 1975. Arthur Schoppenhauer, Philosopher of Pessimism. London, Search Press.

" " — 1985. A History of Philosophy. 9 vols., New York, Doubleday.

Carroll, John — 1993. Humanism, the Wreck of Western Culture. London, Fontana Press.

Cassirer, Ernst — 1948. An Essay on Man. New Haven, Yale University Press.

" " — 1965. The Philosophy of the Enlightenment. Boston, Beacon Press.

" " — 1922. Das Erkenntnisproblem in der Philosophie und Wissenschaft der neueren Zeit. 4 vols., Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994.

" " — 1923/1931. Philosophie der symbolischen Formen. 4 vols., Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994.

Dallmayr, Fred R.
Mc Carthy, T. (eds.) — 1977. Understanding and Social Inquiry. London, University of Notre Dame Press.

Diderot, Denis — 1821. Rameau's Nephew and other Works

Foucault, Michel — 1972. The Archaeology of Knowledge. New York, Pantheon Books.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg — 1960. Truth and Method. New York, The Seabury Press, 1975.

" " — 1976. Philosophical Hermeneutics. Los Angeles, University of California Press.

" " — 1981. Reason in the Age of Science. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

Gay, Peter — 1969/1977. The Enlightenment: an Interpretation. 2 vols., vol. I, "The Rise of Modern Paganism", London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson; vol. II, "The Science of Freedom", New York, W.W. Norton & Company.

Gerth, H.H & Wright Mills (eds.) — 1948. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD, 1970.

Habermas, Jürgen — 1973. Theory and Practice. Boston, Becon Press.

" " — 1977. Towards a Rational Society. London, Heinemann.

" " — 1984/87. The Theory of Communicative Action. 2 vols., Boston, Beacon Press.

" " — 1985. Philosophical-Political Profiles. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

" " — 1987. Knowledge & Human Interest. Oxford, Polity Press.

" " — 1988. On the Logic of the Social Sciences. Cambridge, Polity Press.

" " — 1989. The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. Oxford, Polity Press.

" " — 1992. Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Habermas, Jürgen — 1993. The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

Hamilton, Edith & Cairns, Huntington (eds) — 1989. The Collected Dialogues of Plato. Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series LXXI.

Hampson, Norman — 1968. The Enlightenment. Penguin Books.

Harris, James F. — 1992. Against Relativism. La Salle, Illinois, Open Court.

Hazard, Paul — 1954. European Thought in the Eighteenth Century. London, Penguin Books.

" " — 1964. The European Mind 1680-1715. Melbourne, Penguin Books.

Heidegger, Martin — 1952-1962. The question Concerning Technology and Other Essays. New York, Harper & Row, 1977.

" " — 1927. Being and Time. Oxford, Blackwell, 1993.

Held, David — 1980. Introduction to Critical Theory. Horkheimer to Adorno. Berkely, University of California Press.

Heller, Agnes — 1990. Can Modernity Survive? Berkely, University of California Press.

Herder, Gottfried — 1877-1913. Sämmtliche Werke. (ed.) B. Suphan and others, Berlin. Vol. IV, V, XVIII, XXXII.

Honneth, Alxel
Mc Carthy, Thomas
Offe, Claus
Wellmer, Albrecht (eds.) — 1992. Cultural-Political Interventions in the Unfinished Project of Enlightenment. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

Husserl, Edmund — 1936. The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1970.

Jay Martin — 1973. The Dialectical Imagination. Boston, Little, Brown and Company.

Kant, Immanuel — 1746-1800. Werke. 10 vols., Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983.

Kaufmann, Walter — 1974. Nietzsche. Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Kelly, Michael (ed.) — 1994. Critique and Power. Recasting the Foucault / Habermas Debate. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

Klibansky, Raymond
Paton, H.J. (eds.) — 1963. Philosophy and History. The Ernst Cassirer Festschrift. New York, Harper & Row.

Liebersohn, Harry — 1988. Fate and Utopia in German Sociology 1870-1923. Cambridge, The MIT Press.

Lively, Jack F. — 1966. The Enlightenment. London, Longmans.

Lovejoy, Arthur — 1936. The Great Chain of Being. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957.

Lovejoy, Arthur &
Boas, George — 1935. Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity. New York, Octagon Books, 1973.

Löwith, Karl — 1941. From Hegel to Nietzsche. The Revolution in 19th. C. Thought. London, Constable, 1964.

" " — 1949. Meaning in History. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Mac Intyre, Alasdair — 1967. A Short History of Ethics. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Mc Carthy, Thomas — 1978. The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas. London, Hutchinson & Co.

Mc Donald, Henry — 1986. The Normative Basis of Culture. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press.

Marx, Karl &
Engels, Friedrich — 1848. The Communist Manifesto. Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1974.

Merleau-Ponty, M. — 1945. Phenomenology of Perception. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962.

Montaigne, Michel de — 1588. The Essays. Great Books of the Western World, Vol. XXV, "Of Cannibals", pp.91-8, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952.

Mueller-Vollmer, K. (ed) — 1986. The Hermeneutic Reader. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Nietzsche, Friedrich — 1885-1900. Werke. 3 vols., Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994.

Nisbet, Robert — 1974. The Social Philosophers London, Heinemann.

Pippen, Robert — 1991. Modernism as a Philosophical Problem. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

" " — 1987. "Blumenberg and the Modernity Problem". In: Review of Metaphysics. Vol. XXXX, 1987, pp.535-557.

Polka, B. & Zelecho, B. (eds.) — 1970. Readings in Western Civilization. 2. vols., New York, Random House.

Popper, Karl R. — 1966. The Poverty of Historicism. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Rabinow, Paul (ed.) — 1991. The Foucault Reader. London, Penguin Books.

Rehg, William — 1994. Insight and Solidarity. A Study in the Discourse Ethics of Jürgen Habermas. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Rorty, Richard — 1980. Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

" " — 1982. Consequences of Pragmatism. Sussex, The Harvester Press.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques — 1755. A discourse on the Origin of Inequality. / The Social Contract. Great Books of the Western World, Vol.XXXVIII, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952.

Rundell, John F. — 1987. Origins of Modernity. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Schmidt, Dennis J. — 1988. The Ubiquity of the Finite. Hegel, Heidegger, and the Entitlements of Philosophy. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

Schopenhauer, Arthur — 1819. The World as Will and Presentation. 2 vols., New York, Dover Publications, 1969.

Schutz, Alfred — 1967. The Phenomenology of the Social World. Evanston, Northwestern University Press.

Seidman, Steven — 1996. Contested Kowledge. Oxford, Blackwell.

Shapiro, Gary
Sica, Alan (eds.) — 1988. Hermeneutics. Questions and Prospects. The University of Massachusetts Press.

Simmel, Georg — 1900. The Philosophy of Money. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

Singer, Peter — 1993. How are we to live. Melbourne, The Text Publishing Company.

Tarnas, Richard — 1993. The Passion of the Western Mind. Understanding the Ideas that have shaped our World view. New York, Ballantine Books.

Thompson, John B.
Held, David (eds.) — 1983. Habermas Critical Debates. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

Tönnies, Ferdinand — 1945. Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1991.

Wagar, W. Warren (ed.) — 1968. Science, Faith, and Man. European Thought since 1914. New York, Harper & Row.

Wallace, R.M. — 1981. "Progress, Secularization and Modernity. The Löwith – Blumenberg Debate". In: New German Critique. Vol. XXII, Winter 1981, pp.63-79.

Weber, Max — 1904. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1978.

Weinsheimer, Joel C. — 1985. Gadamer's Hermeneutic: A Reading of Truth and Method. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Other works.

Ackerknecht, E.H. — 1955. "Georg Forster, Alexander von Humboldt, and Ethnology". In: Isis. Vol. XLII, Part 2, 1955, # 144, pp.83-95.

Andrews, Stuart — 1965. Eighteenth Century Europe the 1680s to 1815. London, Longmans.

Aron, Raymond — 1965. Main Currents in Sociological Thought II. New York, Doubleday, 1989.

Ashcroft, Bill (eds.) Griffiths, Gareth Tiffin, Helen — 1995. The Post-Colonial Studies Reader. London, Routledge.

Appleby, Joyce and others (eds.) — 1996. Kowledge and Postmodernism in Historical Perspective. New York, Routledge.

Bagby, Philip — 1958. Culture and History. London, Longmans, Green and Co..

Batson, Carles — 1968. The War with Japan; a concise history. Sydney, Ure Smith.

Browne, Janet — 1995. Charles Darwin Voyaging. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Baudet, Henri — 1965. Paradise on Earth. Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Bauman, Zygmunt — 1994. Postmodern Ethics. Oxford, Blackwell.

Beck, Hanno — 1959/61. Alexander von Humboldt. 2 vols., Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag.

Bendix, Reinhard — 1973. Max Weber. An Intellectual Portrait. London, Methuen & Co..

Benjamin, Roger (ed.) — 1997. Orientalism, Delacroix to Klee. The Art Gallery of New South Wales.

Bitterli, Urs — 1973. "Der Reisebericht als Kulturdokument". In: Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht. Vol.XXIV, 1973, pp.555-564.

" " — 1976. Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten". München, Verlag C.H. Beck.

" " — 1980. Die Entdeckung und Eroberung der Welt. 2 vols., München, Verlag C.H. Beck.

" " — 1989. Cultures in Conflict. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Brenkman, John — 1987. Culture and Domination. New York, Cornell University Press.

Brenner, Peter (ed.) — 1989. Der Reisebericht. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag.

Bruford, W.H. — 1962. Culture and Society in Classical Weimar 1775-1806. Cambridge University Press.

" " — 1975. The German Tradition of self-cultivation. Cambridge University Press.

Calder, Robert Lorin — 1972. W. Somerset Maugham & the Quest for Freedom. London, Heinemann.

Cameron, Hector C. — 1966. Sir Joseph Banks. Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Chartier, Roger — 1993. Cultural History. Between Practices and Representations. Oxford, Polity Press.

Curtius, E.R. — 1953. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. New York, Phantheon.

Darwin, Charles — 1859. The Origin of Species.
1871. The Descent of Man. The Modern Library, New York, Random House.

Defert, Daniel — 1982. "The Collection of the World: Accounts of Voyages from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century". In: Dialectical Anthropology. Vol. VII, 1982, pp.11-20.

Dieckmann, Herbert — 1974. Studien zur Europäischen Aufklärung. München, Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

Dirks, Nicholas B.
Eley, Geoff
Ortner, Sherry (eds.) — 1994. Culture, Power, History. A Reader on Contemporary Social Theory. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Donaldson, Ian (ed.) — 1982. Australia and the European Imagination. Canberra, Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University.

Durkheim, Emile — 1897. Suicide, A Study in Sociology. New York, The Free Press, 1951.

Eagleton, Terry — 1983. Literary Theory. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1986.

Elias, Norbert — 1939. Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag, 1977; english: The Civilizing Process. Oxford, Blackwell, 1996.

Emmet, Dorothy &
MacIntyre, Alasdair — 1970. Sociological Theory and Philosophical Analysis. London, Macmillan.

Esch, Arnold — 1991. "Anschauung und Begriff. Die Bewältigung fremder Wirklichkeit durch den Vergleich in Reiseberichten des späten Mittelalters". In: Historische Zeitschrift. Band 253, 1991, Heft 2, pp.281-312.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward — 1981. A History of Anthropological Thought. London, Farber and Farber.

Fanon, Frantz — 1961. The Wretched of the Earth. Melbourne, Penguin Books, 1974.

Farwell, George — 1976. Rejoice in Freedom. Melbourne, Nelson.

Forschner, Maximilian — 1989. Mensch und Gesellschaft. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Frankfort, Henri (ed.) — 1961. Before Philosophy. Melbourne, Penguin Books.

Frede, Dorothea — 1987. "Beyond Realism and Anti-Realism: Rorty on Heidegger and Davidson". In: Review of Metaphysics. Vol. XXXX, 1987, pp.733-757.

Freud, Sigmund — 1918. Totem and Taboo. New York, The Norton Library, 1962.

" " — 1930. Civilization and its Discontents. London, The Hogarth Press, 1975.

Frey-Rohn, Liliane — 1990. From Freud to Jung. Boston, Shambhala.

Galbraith, J.K. — 1958. The Affluent Society. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1970.

Gascoigne, John — 1994. Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment. Melbourne, Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, Anthony — 1984. The Constitution of Society. Cambridge, Polity Press, 1985.

" " — 1990. The Consequences of Modernity. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1991.

" " — 1995. Politics, Sociology and Social Theory. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Gifford, Don — 1990. The Farther Shore. A Natural History of Perception. New York, The Atlantic Monthly Press.

Grünbaum, Adolf — 1985. The Foundations of Philosophical Critique. Berkely, University of California Press.

Harpprecht, Klaus — 1987. Georg Forster oder die Liebe zur Welt. Hamburg, Rowohlt Verlag.

" " — 1994. "Ein Fremder namens Forster". In: Die Zeit. 14. Jan. 1994, #2, p.19.

Harris, N. (ed.) — 1991. Romantics. Their lives, works and inspiration. Sydney, Golden Press.

Hentschel, Uwe — 1991. "Die Reiseliteratur am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts. Vom gelehrten Bericht zur literarischen Beschreibung". In: Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur. (eds.) W. Frühwald, G. Jäger, D. Langewiesche, A. Martino, Band 16, 1991, Heft 2, pp.51-83, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Hiller, Susan (ed.) — 1991. The myth of Primitivism. Perspectives on Art. London, Routledge.

Hoare, Michael — 1976. The Tactless Philosopher. Melbourne, Hawthorn Press.

Holub, Robert C. — 1984. Reception Theory. New York, Methuen.

Houghton, W.E. — 1957. The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-1870. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Hunt, Lynn (ed.) — 1989. The New Cultural History. Berkely, University of California Press.

Judt, Tony — 1992. Past Imperfect. French Intellectuals, 1944-1956. Berkely University of California Press.

Kley, Edwin J. van — 1971. "Europe's Discovery of China and the Writing of World History". In: American Historical Review. Vol. LXXVI, 1971, pp.358-385.

Korte, Barbara — 1996. Der englische Reisebericht. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Krusche, Dietrich — 1984. "Palau - Verführung der Ferne". In: Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Vol. X, 1984, pp.33-44.

Koselleck, Reinhart — 1973. Kritik und Krise. Eine Studie zur bürgerlichen Welt. München, Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag.

" " — 1985. Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time. Massachusetts, The MIT Press.

Lahnstein, Peter — 1987. Adelbert von Chamisso. Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Ullstein.

Leitzmann, Albert (ed.) — 1936. Georg und Therese Forster und die Brüder Humboldt. Bonn, Verlag Ludwig Röhrscheid.

Lepenies, Wolf — 1973. "Eine vergessene Tradition der deutschen Anthropologie". In: Saeculum, 24, pp.50-78.

" " — 1976. Das Ende der Naturgeschichte. München, Hanser Verlag.

" " — 1984. "Georg Forster als Anthropologe und als Schriftsteller". In: Akzente. Vol. XXXI, 1984, pp.557-575.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude — 1966. "Anthropology: Its Achievements and Future". In: Current Anthropology. Vol. VII, 1966, pp.124-127.

" " — 1955. Tristes Tropiques. New York, Penguin Books, 1992.

Levine, Peter — 1995. Nietzsche and the Modern Crisis of the Humanities. Albany, State University of New York.

Lilla, Mark (ed.) — 1994. New French Thought: Political Philosophy. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Lyotard, Jean-Francois — 1994. The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge. Manchester, Manchester University.

Mähl, Hans-Joachim — 1965. Die Idee des goldenen Zeitalters im Werk des Novalis. Heidelberg, CarlWinter Universitätsverlag.

Malinowski, Bronislaw — 1944. A Sientific Theory of Culture. Chaple Hill, The University of New Carolina Press, 1994.

Mannheim, Willy M. — 1982. "Exotische Fremde und regionale Fremde". In: Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Vol. VIII, 1982, pp.39-71.

Marcuse, Herbert — 1964. One Dimensional Man. The Ideology of Industrial Society. London, Sphere Books Ltd., 1969.

Marcuse, Herbert — 1968. Negations. Essays in Critical Theory. London, Free Association Books, 1988.

Marquard, Odo — 1989. Farewell to Matters of Principle. New York, Oxford University Press.

Marschall, Wolfgang — 1990. Klassiker der Kulturanthropologie. München, Verlag C.H. Beck.

" " — 1991. "Die zweite Natur des Menschen". In: Neue Zürcher Zeitung. 17/18 Nov. 1991, #267, p.29.

Marx, Karl & Engels, Friedrich — 1842-1886. Staatstheorie. Berlin, Verlag Ullstein, 1974.

Maugham, Somerset — 1949. A Writer's Notebook. London, Heinemann; a Mandarin Paperback, 1991.

Mc Grane, Bernard — 1989. Beyond Anthropology. Society and the Other. New York, Columbia Press.

Mckaness, George — 1951. The Life of Vice-Admiral William Bligh. Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Megaw, J.V.S. (ed.) — 1971. Employed as a Discoverer. Sydney, A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Michener, James A. — 1992. The World is my Home. London, Secker & Warburg.

Moebus, Joachim — 1973. "Über die Bestimmung des Wilden und die Entwicklung des Verwertungsstandpunkts bei Kolumbus". In: Das Argument. Vol. XV, 1973, pp.273-307.

Moravia, Sergio — 1973. Beobachtende Vernunft. München, Carl Hanser Verlag.

Morgan, Ted — 1980. Somerset Maugham. London, Jonathan Cape.

Mühlmann, Wilhelm E. — 1938. Methodik der Völkerkunde. Stuttgart, Ferdinand Enke Verlag.

Mühlmann, Wilhelm E. — 1986. Geschichte der Anthropologie. Wiesbaden, Aula-Verlag.

Neville, Richard — 2001. "Oh say, can't they see?" In: The Age, Good Weekend, pp.20-24, May 19, 2001.

O'Brian, Patrick — 1988. Joseph Banks. London, Collins Harvill.

Odgers, George — 1995. The Australian Army, Navy and Air Force in Eleven Wars. Sydney, Lansdowne.

Packard, Vance — 1957. The Hidden Persuaders. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books.

Pace, David — 1983. Claude Lévi-Strauss. Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Rasmussen, Detlef (ed.) — 1988. Der Weltumsegler und seine Freunde. Georg Forster. Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag.

Ratzel, Friedrich — 1885/6. Völkerkunde. Vol. I, II, Leipzig, Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts.

Richter, Wilhelm — 1971. Der Wandel des Bildungsdenkens. Berlin, Colloquium Verlag.

Renolds, Quentin — 1947. Seventy Thousand to One. Melbourne, Cassell & Company.

Said, Edward W. — 1978. Orientalism. Western Conception of the Orient. London, Penguin Books, 1991.

" " — 1993. Culture & Imperialism. London, Chatto & Windus.

Schnyder, Peter — 1994. "Kein marmorner Klassiker. Zum 200. Todestag Georg Forsters (1754-1794)". In: Neue Züricher Zeitung. 7. Jan. 1994, #4, pp.29-30.

Schwarz, Thomas — 1995. "Die Tropen bin ich!" In: Kultur Revolution, (ed.) J. Link Band 32/33, Bochum.

Seyhan, Azade — 1992. Representation and its Discontents. The Critical Legacy of German Romanticism. Berkely, University of California Press.

Simms, Norman — 1992. The Humming Tree. A Study in the History of Mentalities. Chicago, University of Illinois Press.

Sinclair, Andrew — 1977. The Savage a history of misunderstanding. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Smith, Adam — 1776. An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. Chicago, Great Books of the Western World, vol.XXXIX, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952.

Sprat, Thomas — 1667. History of the Royal Society. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959.

Steiner, Gerhard — 1977. Georg Forster. Stuttgart, I.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Strelka, Joseph — 1971. "Der literarische Reisebericht". In: Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik. Vol. III, 1971, pp.63-75.

" " (ed.) — 1973. Literary Criticism and Sociology. The Pennsylvania State University Press.

" " (ed.) — 1983. Literary Criticism and Philosophy. The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Storr, Anthony (ed.) — 1983. The Essential Jung. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Strenski, Ivan (ed.) — 1992. Malinowski and the Work of Myth. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Tawney, R.H. — 1926. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. London, Penguin Books, 1964.

Theye, Thomas (ed.) — 1989. Der Geraubte Schatten. München, Verlag C.I. Bucher.

Thomas, M.Z. — 1961. Alexander von Humbold. London, Constable & Co..

Uhlig, Ludwig — 1965. Georg Forster. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Veit, Walter — 1961. Studien zur Geschichte des Topos der Goldenen Zeit. P.H.D. thesis, Köln University.

" " (ed.) — 1972/79. Captain James Cook: Image and Impact. 2 vols., Melbourne, Hawthorn Press.

" " — 1983. "The Topoi of the European Imagining of the Non-European World". In: Arcadia, (ed.) H. Rüdiger, Band 18, Heft I, Berlin.

" " — 1987. "Die Hermeneutik des Fremden". In: Anspruch und Widerspruch. (eds.) E. Grassi und H. Schmale, pp.35-69, München, Fink.

" " — 1987. "The foreign and the familiar". In: Aumla, #67, May 1987.

" " (ed.) — 1987. Antipodean Enlightenment. Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang.

" " — 1986. "Sancta Simplicitas". In: Sensus Communis. (eds.) J. Riesz, P. Boerner and B. Scholz, pp.369-383, Tübingen, Gunter Narr Verlag.

" " — 1996. "From Queiroz' Terra del Espiritu Santo to Colonial Empires in the Pacific: Missionary Voyages and their Ideologies". In: Les Récit de Voyage: Typologie, Historicité. (eds.) Maria, Alzira Seixo & Graça Abreu, pp.45-76, Lisbon, Edicoes Cosmos.

" " — 1997. "Misunderstanding as Condition of Intercultural Understanding". In: Cultural Dialogue and Misreading. (eds.) M. Lee & M. Hua, pp.163-173, Sydney, Wild Peony.

" " — 1997. "The Portuguese in the Pacific. Myth and Reality. In: A Viagem na Literatura. (ed.) M.A. Seixo, pp.195-234, Portugal, Publicacoes Europa-América.

Veit, Walter — 2000. "The Antipodes - The alter ego of Europe. Understanding of the self in face of the other". In: Literature e Pluralidade Cultural. Actas do III Congresso da Associacao Portuguesa de Literatura Comparada, 1988. (eds.) I. de Magalhaes & others, pp.727-746, Lisboa, Edicoes Colibri.

Voltaire, François — 1759. Candide. Penguin Books, 1986.

Weber, Max — 1904/5. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. London, George Allen & Unwin, 1978.

West, Hugo — 1989. "The limits of Enlightenment Anthropology: Georg Forster and theTahitians". In: History of European Ideas. Vol. X, 1989, #2, pp.147-160.

Wierlacher, Alois — 1983. "Mit fremden Augen". In: Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Vol. IX, 1983, pp.1-16.

" " (ed.) — 1993. Kulturthema Fremdheit. München, Iudicium Verlag.

Williams, Glyndwr — 1966. The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century overseas rivalry discovery and exploitation. London, Blandford Press.

" " — 1978. "Savages Noble and Ignoble: European Attitutes towards the wider World before 1800". In: Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History. Vol. VI, 1978, pp.300-313.

Willy, Basil — 1965. The Eighteenth Century Background. Studies on the Idea of Nature in the Thought of the Period. London, Chatto and Windus.

Wolf, Eric R. — 1982. Europe and the People without History. Berkely, University of California Press.

Wuthenow, Ralph-Rainer — 1980. Die erfahrene Welt. Frankfurt am Main, Insel Verlag.

Wuthnow, Robert — 1987. Meaning and Moral Order. Explorations in Cultural Analysis. Berkely, University of California Press.

Young, Michael W. — 1979. The Ethnography of Malinowski. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Reference works.

Brunner, Otto; Conze, Werner; Koselleck, Reinhart (eds.) — 1972-97. Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. 8 vols., Stuttgart, Ernst Klett Verlag.

Carsten, F.L. (ed.) — 1961. The New Cambridge Modern History. 13 vols., Cambridge University Press.

Chisholm, Alec (ed.) — 1958. Australian Encyclopaedia. 10 vols., Sydney, The Grolier Society.

Dancy, Jonathan; Sosa, Ernest (eds.) — 1993. A Companion to Epistemology. Oxford, Blackwell.

Douglas, N.&N. (eds.) — 1989. Pacific Islands Yearbook. 16th. edition; Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Drabble, Margaret (ed.) — 1989. The Oxford Companion to English Literature. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Dunmore, John — 1992. Who's who in Pacific navigation. Melbourne University Press.

Edwards, Paul (ed.) — 1967. The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 8 vols., New York, Macmillan and Free Press.

Ferguson, Sinclair B.; Wright, David F. (eds.) — 1991. New Dictionary of Theology. Leicester, England, Inter-Varsity Press.

Green, H.M. — 1984. A History of Australian Literature. 2 vols., Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Hastings, James (ed.) — 1925. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. 13 vols., New York, Charles Scriber's Sons.

Horst, Fiedler (ed.) — 1971. Georg-Forster-Bibliographie. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.

Johnson, Allan G. — 1995. The Blackwell Dictionary of Sociology. Oxford, Blackwell.

Jupp, J. (ed.) — 1988. The Australian People. Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

Mautner, Thomas (ed.) — 1996. A Dictionary of Philosophy. Oxford, Blackwell.

McLaren, Ian F. — 1988-1991. Australian Explorers by Sea, Land and Air 1788-1988. 9 vols., University of Melbourne Library.

Outhwaite, William
Bottomore, Tom (eds.) — 1995. The Blackwell Dictionary of 20 th. Century Social Thought. Oxford, Blackwell.

Pike, Douglas (ed.) — 1966-1991. Australian Dictionary of Biography. 13 vols., Melbourne University Press.

Ritter, Joachim
Gründer, K. (eds.) — 1971-. Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie. 13 vols., Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Seligman, E.R.A. (ed.) — 1937. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. 8 vols., New York, Macmillan.

Sills, David L. (ed.) — 1968. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. 19 vols., New York, Macmillan and Free Press.

Singer, Peter (ed.) — 1991. A Companian to Ethics. Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd..

Strong, James — 1984. The New Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible. Nashville, Thomas Nelson Publishers.

Zedler, H. — 1732-1754. Universal Lexicon. 64 vols., Leipzig.

Wiener Philip P. (ed.) — 1973. Dictionary of the History of Ideas. 5 vols., New York, Charles Scriber's Sons.

Windisch Brown, Susan (ed.) 1996. Contemporary Novelists. London, St. James Press.

Yolton, John W. & others (eds.) 1995. The Blackwell Companion to the Enlightenment. Oxford, Blackwell.

1875-1912. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. 56 vols., Leipzig, Bayrische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

1981. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. Fifteenth edition, 30 vols., Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica; 1771, First edition, 3 vols., Edinburgh.

1983. The Encyclopedia of Visual Art. 10 vols., London, Encyclopaedia Britannica International, LTD.

1909. Meyers Großes Konversations Lexikon. Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut.

2000. South Pacific. Melbourne, Lonely Planet Publication.