



‘Our multiform, our infinite Pacific’

Editorial

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‘Our multiform, our infinite Pacific’

Editorial

Dougal McNeill and Philip Steer

This special issue of the *International Journal of Scottish Literature* takes as its organising inspiration Epeli Hau’ofa’s description of the Pacific as ‘our sea of islands’. Whereas earlier, colonial, anthropological work had represented Pacific Island societies as isolated, backwards, disconnected and in need of Western ‘development,’ Hau’ofa stressed their interconnected histories, shared (and astonishing) legacies of migration, travel and exploration, and the great, polyglot, tangled sprawl of *communication* from island to island, culture to culture. The peoples of the Pacific Islands today are, Hau’ofa argued, engaged in new forms of ‘world building,’ bringing ideas, language and culture along with food and clothes in their luggage as they trace new travel routes from Apia to Auckland, Nuku’alofa to New York.¹

A specifically *literary* response to Hau’ofa’s expansive and inspired sociological vision is, we hope, visible in what follows. Where can Scotland be located in this ‘sea of islands’, our ‘multiform, our infinite’ Pacific? Earlier generations of postcolonial and socialist criticism were driven, admirably in our view, by a political desire to write back to and against ‘guys like Gauguin’ (the title of a poem by Selina Tusitala Marsh) and their racist, colonial dominations of narratives of the Pacific, and, indeed, the territories and sovereignty of Pacific nations themselves.² This colonial process, initiated, as the history of the Wakefield scheme reminds us, as much in Edinburgh as London, is one part of the Scottish Pacific; reminders of dispossession and cultural devastation abroad ought to warn against easy adoption of sentimental talk of the Scottish ‘experience of colonialism’ in nationalist rhetoric.³ That ‘experience’ was usually as one of the colonisers.

Yet postcolonial criticism, for all its political motivations, produced a strangely individualised and psychological method of reading, ‘the colonial encounter’, with all the uniformity and singularity that use of the definite object implied, being reproduced in reading after reading as discrete, spare, cultures facing each other. But the beach, whether at Falesá or elsewhere, is the site of messier, more complex exchanges.⁴ As Jonathan Lamb’s contribution suggests, the Scottish Pacific was produced, at first, not by official channels but through informal encounter, sexual exchange and cultural assimilation, as Scottish whalers, sealers, sailors, traders and others found themselves amongst and, eventually, within Pacific cultures and settings. Reflecting on his recent attempts to uncover and comprehend his ancestors’ various nineteenth century journeys from Scotland to New Zealand, via Australia and the Pacific Islands, Rod Edmond notes,

I came to realise what a blunt and indiscriminating category this ['the coloniser'] was in much postcolonial writing. Many colonisers were displaced people who left Britain because it had no place for them. [...] I came to understand that missionaries were more than just agents of cultural imperialism, although they were of course that. [...] I became interested in the personal and cultural dislocation experienced by missionaries themselves as well as the disruption they caused in the places they went.⁵

Indigenous writers, in recent years, have turned to investigating aspects of their own Scottish heritage, integrating it into specifically Pacific tales, as Michelle Keown explores in her essay for this special issue. Older postcolonial methods of criticism, separating out settler and indigenous voices and views, seem ill-fitted to this kind of internal communication and cacophony. A looser, more expansive approach is required.

We want a Scottish Pacific made up of *connections* across the sea of islands and across time, joining recent scholarly work, from Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism* (1997) to Margaret Cohen's *The Novel and the Sea* (2010) and Rosalind Williams' *The Triumph of Human Empire* (2013), in looking beyond and between national traditions to writers and literature in movement. One strange sort of motion is traced here by Jane Stafford, considering a 'Scotland of the mind' as the English poet Arthur Hugh Clough is read, in New Zealand, to produce some new Scottish Pacific. A different trajectory altogether is uncovered by Michelle Keown, whose account of Maori-Hawaiian novelist Cathy Koa Dunsford stresses the intersection of Maori, Pacific, and Orcadian mythologies in her depiction of environmental threats to the Orkney Islands, 'locating the discursive encounter between Scotland and the Pacific in the northern hemisphere'. Such work continues the project, developed in this journal and elsewhere, of, in Robert Crawford's phrase, 'devolving English Literature'.

Robert Louis Stevenson is, unsurprisingly, at the heart of this collection. His 'ambiguous, hectic ghost', as Ian Wedde names it in his classic novel of the Scottish Pacific, *Symmes Hole* (1986), runs about in many of the essays here, and is the central focus of essays from Anne Maxwell, Roslyn Jolly, Taku Yamamoto, and Sylvie Largeaud-Ort ga. In Stevenson's multifarious Pacific writings, Scotland and the Pacific constantly abut and collapse into each other:

I was standing out on the little verandah in front of my room this morning, and there went through me or over me a heave of extraordinary and apparently baseless emotion. I literally staggered. And then the explanation came, and I knew that I had found a frame of mind and body that belonged to Scotland, and particularly to the neighbourhood of Callander. Very odd these identities of sensation, and the world of connotations implied; Highland huts, and peat smoke, and the brown swirling rivers, and wet clothes, and whisky, and the romance of the past, and that

indescribable bite of the whole thing at a man's heart, which is—or rather lies at the bottom of—a story.⁶

Near the beginning of *In the South Seas* (1896), Stevenson proclaims, 'I must learn to address readers from the uttermost parts of the sea'.⁷ Our Stevenson, as children readers and then, later, as researchers and writers, has always been a Pacific writer, located in these 'uttermost parts'; if a sense of his international reach and significance has grown over the last few decades, the essays collected here will, we hope, suggest further ways of reading this complex, contradictory figure.

The *IJSL* was set up to encourage new ways of reading Scottish literature as a discipline and project as much as a set of texts, drawing in comparative and international contexts to set up new encounters with familiar writers and problems. Looking for Scotland on a map of the Pacific is part of that project, forcing us to pay attention to the different kinds of cartography cultural location demands. One example: 'work as if you live in the early days of a better nation,' now a free-floating slogan for a certain kind of a liberal nationalism was, in Alasdair Gray's first use of the term in *Lanark*, always more complicated, linked as it was, and as Gray made clear, to Dennis Lee's rather grim *Civil Elegies* (1968). The Canadian poet's tone and voice were made possible, in turn, by a chance encounter with lines from New Zealand writer Denis Glover's 'Threnody'.⁸ National contexts cannot contain these poetic links, but the links would make little sense without an awareness of their place in national conversations and poetic traditions. It's in this sort of exchange – messy, unclear, ongoing – that we seek to locate the Scottish Pacific: 'how marvellously descriptive! And incomplete!'

Our thanks to all of the contributors, who agreed to write for this special issue and then showed great patience through a protracted peer review and revision process; to the reviewers across four continents who helped assess and comment on our essays; to Scott Hames at the *IJSL* for his encouragement, enthusiasm and good humour; and to our colleagues Liam McIlvanney, Linda Hardy and Jane Stafford for suggestions and help along the way.

NOTES

1 See Epeli Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), especially part one.

2 We cite here, as one ancestor among many, Bill Pearson's unjustly neglected *Rifled Sanctuary: Some Views of the Pacific Islands in Western Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

3 The influence of Scottish Enlightenment thought on Wakefield's project of 'systematic colonisation' is extensively discussed by Mark Hickford in *Lords of the Land: Indigenous Property Rights and the Jurisprudence of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

4 See Greg Denning, *Beach Crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures and Self* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2004).

5 Rod Edmond, *Migrations: Journeys in Place and Time* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2013). Edmond's earlier work, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), is another important point of origin for our current work.

6 *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. by Bradford Allen Booth and Ernest Mehew, 8 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994-5), VII, 91.

7 Robert Louis Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, ed. by Neil Rennie (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 5.

8 All traced, with admirable clarity, by Harry McGrath, 'Early Days of a Better Nation', *Scottish Review of Books*, 9.1 (2013). <http://www.scottishreviewofbooks.org/index.php/back-issues/2013-03-27-15-25-26/volume-nine-issue-one/533-early-days-of-a-better-nation-harry-mcgrath> [accessed 5 November 2013].



Stevenson's Pacific Transnarratives

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Stevenson's Pacific Transnarratives

Roslyn Jolly

While travelling and resident in the Pacific region in the late 1880s and early 1890s, Robert Louis Stevenson conducted some remarkable experiments in transcultural narrative production. This essay will discuss two of his transnational narratives, which belong at once to Scottish literature and to the literature of the Pacific. For the long poem 'The Song of Rahéro' (1890), Stevenson took a traditional Tahitian story and retold it in verse for an English-speaking audience. For the short story 'The Bottle Imp' (1891), he borrowed a German folk-tale, transferred the action to a modern Hawaiian setting, and offered it in an original English version to Anglophone readers and in an authorised translation to Samoan readers. In both these texts, the element of translation goes beyond language and geographical positioning to encompass genre and medium as well. 'The Song of Rahéro' crosses from Pacific oral culture to European print culture, in the process taking its author, an established practitioner of the art of prose fiction, into the (for him) new practice of extended narrative poetry. 'The Bottle Imp' emerges from more complex crossings: between the genres of folk-tale, melodrama and short story, and between the media of oral narrative, embodied performance and print. In the attempt to indicate these multiple modes of translation, I have collapsed the term 'transnational narratives' to simply 'transnarratives'. I hope that the concept of the transnarrative, involving as it does a set of closely articulated crossings of multiple literary boundaries, will help to illuminate both what is distinctive about my specific object of study – a Scottish author's engagement with Pacific narrative modes and subjects – and some of the general characteristics of the field to which this study belongs, the theory of transnational literature.

'The Song of Rahéro' is a long narrative poem, which recounts a story Stevenson first heard while staying in the village of Tautira in Tahiti in November 1888. The poem has three sections. The first, 'The Slaying of Tāmatéa', tells how the cynical trickster Rahéro hoodwinks a gullible young man, Tāmatéa, into inadvertently giving the king an insulting gift, which results in Tāmatéa being slain by the king's executioner. The second section, 'The Venging of Tāmatéa', recounts how the young man's mother persuades the king of a neighbouring district to enact her revenge by luring all the people of Rahéro's tribe to a great feast, after which they are murdered in their sleep – only Rahéro himself escaping. In the third section, 'Rahéro', this sole survivor of the massacre takes *his* revenge by killing a man from the tribe of the murderous hosts and stealing his wife in order to start a new clan in his now deserted land.

Stevenson called the story 'a genuine Tahitian legend',¹ and in his notes to the poem was at pains to emphasise its authenticity:

This tale, of which I have not consciously changed a single feature, I received from tradition. It is highly popular though all the country of the eight Tevas, the clan to which Rahéro belonged; and particularly in Taiárapu, the windward peninsula of Tahiti, where he lived. I have heard from end to end two versions; and as many as five different persons have helped me with details.²

'I got wonderful materials for my book, collected songs and legends on the spot', Stevenson wrote to Sidney Colvin of his time in Tautira, and even made 'a day's journey to the other side of the island to Tati, the high chief of the Tevas [...] to collect more and correct what I had already' (*Letters* vi, 239). This critical awareness of the need to compare different versions of the story from multiple informants may be regarded as evidence of the scholarly rigour with which Stevenson approached the role of folklorist. His willingness to undertake an onerous daylong journey in order to 'correct' his findings in the light of new information suggests a strong commitment to accuracy. In this regard, 'The Song of Rahéro' differs from its companion piece in *Ballads*, the Marquesan-influenced 'Feast of Famine', which, Stevenson admitted, 'rest[ed] upon no authority' and was 'in no sense, like "Rahéro", a native story', but rather a patchwork of travellers' impressions (*Poems*, p. 193).

Robert Hillier notes that the American historian Henry Adams, who visited Tautira in 1891 and published his own collection of traditional Tevas narratives ten years later, 'prais[ed] Stevenson's accuracy' in recounting the Rahéro legend.³ Yet Hillier also observes that comparison with a version of the same story titled 'The Revenge of Maraa', collected by London Missionary Society representative J. M. Orsmond in the 1840s and translated by his grand-daughter Teuira Henry, 'shows where Stevenson possibly deviated from his sources'.⁴ The most significant difference between Stevenson's account of the legend and that published by Teuira Henry concerns the character of Rahéro, whom Stevenson presents as a trickster figure responsible for initiating the train of events that leads to the destruction of his clan. Henry's version includes no such characterisation and thus lacks the ambivalence surrounding Rahéro as both destroyer and rebuilder of the clan in Stevenson's narrative. Henry's version also involves a less complex movement between districts and clans than is found in Stevenson's account of the legend, although it too is a story of border contact.⁵

Comparing 'The Revenge of Maraa' with 'The Song of Rahéro' does not enable us to measure Stevenson's fidelity to his sources, because we do not know how closely those sources aligned with or diverged from those from which Henry's version derived. What the comparison does, though, is to fissure the seemingly unitary notion of 'tradition' invoked by Stevenson in his introductory note to the poem (*Poems*, p. 163). 'Tradition' is plural: not a monolithic authority, but an accumulation of voices and versions. Stevenson described the songs and legends he collected at

Tautira as ‘songs still sung in chorus by perhaps a hundred persons, not two of whom can agree on their translation; legends, in which I have seen half-a-dozen seniors sitting in conclave and debating what came next’ (*Letters*, VI, 239). Knit tight in ‘chorus’, tradition ravel in ‘translation’ and ‘debate’. Perhaps one should not speak of Stevenson deviating from his sources, but of tradition diverging and deviating within itself.

In her preface to the posthumously published *Poems*, Stevenson’s widow Fanny confirmed that the high chief Tati Salmon was one of Stevenson’s sources for the story of Rahéro, the other being the Tahitian Princess Moë, with whom Stevenson became friends at Tautira (*Letters*, VI, 239n.). Son of an English father and Tahitian mother, the English-educated Tati was a high-ranking member of the indigenous Tahitian ruling class. He was, Stevenson thought, ‘quite an Englishman’ (*Letters*, VI, 277), although he retained his indigenous authority: Stevenson commented that ‘if there came troubles’ for the reigning king of Tahiti, Pomare V, Tati might ‘have a fly at the throne’ (*Letters*, VI, 276). Calling Tati ‘a man of real power and the most intelligent interests’, Stevenson noted that he was ‘the only man (French, native or English) who has the wit to pay attention’ to Tahiti’s traditional poetry (*Letters*, VI, 276). In a letter to Sidney Colvin, Fanny Stevenson elaborated on Tati’s aims:

He is trying to rescue the literature of his native land from the oblivion, into which but for him, it must fall. He has gathered together a great many of the poems and traditions of Tahiti, and proposes to translate them into English. ... Tati is the only person in the Island who has made the least attempt in this direction. (*Letters*, VI, 234)

Stevenson worked with the chief of the Tevas on the translation of a number of local traditional songs (*Letters*, VI, 235-36) and supported his aim to produce a volume of Tahitian verses (*Letters*, VI, 276). He understood Tati’s desire to ‘rescue the literature of his native land from [...] oblivion’, for in the note to Book II of his volume *Underwoods* (1887), which consists of poems written in a vernacular Scots dialect, he had expressed a similar desire:

The day draws near when this illustrious & malleable tongue shall be quite forgotten; & Burns’s Ayrshire, and Dr. MacDonald’s Aberdeen-awa’, & Scott’s brave, metropolitan utterance will be all equally the ghosts of speech. Till then I would love to have my hour as a native Maker, and be read by my own countryfolk in our own dying language: an ambition surely rather of the heart than of the head, so restricted as it is in prospect of endurance, so parochial in bounds of space. (*Poems*, p. 75)

Stevenson’s ambition to be ‘a native Maker’ exceeds Tati’s more modest aim to preserve his cultural heritage in translation, but they share a sense of parochial pride and a determination to resist the conforming effects of progress. While Stevenson had tried to rescue the language of his native land, Scotland, from oblivion – or at least, to prolong its currency until the inevitable

erosion of 'native' identity should occur – Tati intended to use his international education to translate and thereby save an indigenous literature from disappearing along with the speech that was its traditional medium.

Steeped in his own history of cultural dispossession, Stevenson was thus able to identify with the Tahitian chief's desire to preserve his literary heritage, while he also became increasingly fascinated by similarities between Scotland's past and the enduring traditions of the Pacific. Indeed, his visit to Tahiti provided an opportunity for him to associate himself with the type of clan-based society that barely existed any more in Scotland, but that had fuelled his imaginative sense of the romance of the Highlands. While staying at Tautira Stevenson engaged in a formal 'exchange of names' with a sub-chief of the Tevas, Ori a Ori. This ritual made him an honorary member of Ori's (and Tati's) tribe, the Tevas – the same tribe to which the legendary figure of Rahéro had belonged. Countless such name-exchanges are recorded in European voyage literature, the phenomenon representing a significant mode of contact and transaction between Pacific islanders and foreign visitors. The ritual provided the basis for 'an ongoing exchange of goods and services' between the individuals involved; enabled 'exogamous alliances' to be formed; and functioned as 'a dialectical exercise in status reinforcement' with the potential to benefit both parties to the transaction.⁶ But did it signify *friendship*, as Europeans understood the term? What relations between sentiment, obligation and advantage did it set in motion? Was it a flexible and strategic manoeuvre or a binding and permanent contract?⁷ And how far could the Pacific practice of name-exchange be assimilated to a European understanding of adoption as a legal fiction enabling the creation of artificial, but legally binding, kinship relations?⁸

A letter from Fanny Stevenson to Sidney Colvin, written from Tautira in December 1888, recounts Stevenson's exchange of names with Ori a Ori, and in doing so conveys her family's understanding of the significance of the act. Fanny states that her husband initiated the transaction, using Princess Moë to convey his request to Ori, who responded by offering 'brotherhood' to the foreign visitor. 'So now, if you please, Louis is no more Louis, having given that name away in the Tahitian form of *Rui*, but is known as *Terii-Tera* (pronounced *Tereeterah*) that being Ori's Christian name. "Ori of Ori" is his clan name' (*Letters*, vi, 229). The material significance of the exchange was revealed when delays to repairs on their yacht at Papeete left the Stevensons reliant on Ori's extended hospitality:

[T]hen Ori of Ori, the magnificent, who listened to the tale of the shipwrecked mariners with serious dignity, asking [sic] one or two questions, and then spoke to this effect. 'You are my brother: all that I have is yours. I know that your food is done, but I can give you plenty of fish and taro. We like you, and wish to have you here. Stay where you are till the *Casco* comes. Be happy – *et ne pleurez pas*.' Louis dropped his head into his hands and wept, and then we all went up to Rui and shook hands with him and accepted his offer. (*Letters*, vi, 231)⁹

In Fanny's humorously hyperbolic account, Ori's injunction not to cry has the opposite effect, with the offer and its acceptance being accompanied by outpourings of emotion from all present. The following day, 'amidst a raging sea and a storming wind' (*Letters*, VI, 232), Ori sailed to Papeete to collect European food supplies for the visitors, carrying letters of introduction which express Stevenson's sense of obligation to the man he described as his 'FRIEND and HOST' (*Letters*, VI, 225). These letters, together with Fanny's account, demonstrate that the Stevensons regarded their bond with Ori as one of genuine friendship as well as formal kinship, a relationship in which sentiment, obligation and advantage were all combined.

'The Song of Rahéro' begins with a verse dedication, six lines of unrhymed iambic pentameter addressed to Stevenson's 'brother':

Ori, my brother in the island mode,
 In every tongue and meaning much my friend,
 This story of your country and your clan,
 In your loved house, your too much honoured guest,
 I made in English. Take it, being done;
 And let me sign it with the name you gave.

Teriitera (p. 130)

Stevenson was a prolific writer of occasional poems and courtesy verses. In one sense these lines belong with the many poems, envoys and dedications he composed throughout his career, some of which were formally integrated into his professional oeuvre while others remained unpublished in his lifetime. But the unique terms of the relationship invoked in the dedication to Ori set it apart. While it bestows a gift, this piece of writing also claims something in return: for in publicly honouring his relationship with Ori, Stevenson publicly advertises a new 'Pacific' identity for himself. The same thing happens in one of the notes to the poem, where he refers to the formal clan membership conferred by his name-exchange with Ori. Conceding that he has taken the liberty of transferring the name of one historical figure ('Hiopa') to a different character in his story, he writes: 'perhaps there is only one person in the world capable at once of reading my verses and spying the inaccuracy. For him, for Mr. Tati Salmon, hereditary high chief of the Tevas, the note is solely written; a small attention from a clansman to his chief' (*Poems* p. 166).¹⁰ Here, 'a small attention' harbours a large claim – the claim to belong to the culture of which he writes. Stevenson was aware that '[t]he identities that both Europeans and islanders took on in the name of friendship were not exactly those traded to them':¹¹ Teriitera-Stevenson did not assume the identity of Teriitera-Ori, but modified his own in the light of a new relationship. Nevertheless, his use of that new persona as the authorial signature for 'The Song of Rahéro' gave him, for the occasion, an indigenous Pacific author-name, prefiguring his later assumption of the more casually bestowed but widely adopted Samoan nickname 'Tusitala' as a permanent authorial

identity.

By referring to the name-exchange ritual at the beginning of his poem, the 'too much honoured guest' (p. 130) indulges an impossible desire to 'have [his] hour as a native Maker' in the Pacific, as he had previously done in Scotland. The dedication expresses the tendency (constituted with Stevenson) to associate himself with whatever is ancient and primitive, at the same time that it registers the continuing differences between his own and Ori's worlds. Offering the poem to his 'brother', Stevenson writes: 'This story of your country and your clan ... I made in English' (*Poems*, p. 130). By explicitly naming the language of his narrative, he draws attention to the changes the story has undergone in its passage from oral tradition to print. At the same time, the densely packed and recurrent pronouns – 'my', 'my', 'your', 'your', 'your', 'your', 'I', 'me', 'you' – suggest Stevenson's effort to effect a genuine exchange between himself and Ori. The concepts of 'brother', 'friend', 'country', 'clan', and 'guest' are all invoked as grounds for their relationship, verbal passports with the power to take Stevenson across the border between 'me' and 'you', 'my' poem and 'your' story. Yet while Stevenson uses these powerful social values to suture himself into Ori's clan and culture, the short dedication feels almost overburdened by the multiple terms of relationship it invokes. It is difficult to know how to interpret this: the close juxtaposition of so many relational terms may signify the complexity of the Polynesian custom of name-exchange, which cannot be reduced to a single correlative European concept; at the same time, the jammed pronomial traffic of the dedication may express an anxiety on Stevenson's part about his ability to make this relationship real to his readers at home.

'Everything that Mr. Stevenson does is interesting,' wrote the reviewer of *Ballads* for the London *Daily Chronicle*, but 'he cannot become one of a childish race'.¹² This reviewer saw Stevenson's wish to identify himself with traditional Polynesian society as an illusory goal that had been indulged to the detriment of the poem. He objected to what he saw as a jolting discrepancy between the 'savage' material on which 'The Song of Rahéro' was based and Stevenson's highly literary treatment of that material; he judged the poem to be inauthentic, because the author had 'surround[ed] his character with an atmosphere of his own. Instead of entering into their world he displays them at work in one of his own creation' (*Scrapbook*, p. 82). This reader argued that Stevenson could not use his exposure to traditional Pacific cultures as a means of escaping his own modernity, and that the effort to do so was harming his art. Taking a very different approach, the reviewer for the *Daily News* described the author of 'The Song of Rahéro' as 'a literary beachcomber' (*Scrapbook*, p. 81). The label suggests a collector and adaptor of found materials, which tallies well with Stevenson's self-presentation in his notes to the poem as an inquirer moving between cultures and an intermediary between the poem's Pacific origins and its English and American audience. It also anticipates Vanessa Smith's influential late twentieth-century positioning of Stevenson within a tradition of literary *bricolage*, which is connected to the historical figure of the beachcomber as an interpreter of the Pacific world to nineteenth-century European audiences.¹³ A reading of 'The Song of Rahéro' as the work of a 'literary beachcomber' suggests

that in the kind of text I am calling a transnarrative – a text that carries a story between spaces, languages and cultures – purity of source is less important than richness of mediation. Both these reviewers noticed something important about the process of cross-cultural literary adaptation in which Stevenson was engaged. The *Daily Chronicle* saw that neither the length of Stevenson's residence in the region, nor the many compelling similarities he found between Polynesian and Scots cultures, nor even his formal adoption into the Tevas clan could change the fact that he wrote as a transnational, not an indigene. The *Daily News* eschewed such oppositions and interpreted 'The Song of Rahéro' as a product of 'the beach', of a liminal and often incoherent space between cultures. In a sense, both reviewers were right, for there is a tension in the poem, which Stevenson leaves unresolved, between the would-be clansman of the dedication and the scholarly traveller of the notes.¹⁴

As well as presenting challenges in terms of the author's relation to his subject, the writing of 'The Song of Rahéro' also posed considerable difficulties for Stevenson in relation to his readers at home. The English reception of 'The Song of Rahéro', and more generally of the *Ballads* volume in which it was published, prompted two comments that are often quoted in discussions of the difficult relation between author and audience during Stevenson's years in the Pacific. In a letter to an American friend in January 1891, Edmund Gosse wrote about *Ballads*:

I confess we are all disappointed here. The effort to become a Polynesian Walter Scott is a little too obvious, the inspiration a little too mechanical. And – between you and me and Lake Michigan – the versification is atrocious. [...] The fact seems to be that it is very nice to *live* in Samoa, but not healthy to *write* there. Within a three-mile radius of Charing Cross is the literary atmosphere, I suspect. (*Letters*, VII, 106-7n)

Unaware of Gosse's comments, but having read several reviews of the volume, Stevenson wrote this in a letter to H. B. Baildon later in 1891:

Glad the ballads amused you. They failed to entertain a coy public: at which I own I wondered. Not that I set much account by my verses, which are the verses of Pro-sator; but I do know how to tell a yarn, and two of the yarns were great. 'Rahéro' is for its length, I think, a perfect folk tale; savage and yet fine, full of a tail foremost morality, ancient as the granite rocks; if the historian not to say the politician could get that yarn into his head, he would have learned some of his A.B.C. But the average man at home cannot understand antiquity; he is sunk over the ears in Roman civilisation; and a tale like that of 'Rahéro' falls on his ears inarticulate. (*Letters*, VII, 187)

Gosse's image of the three-mile radius epitomises the metropolitan's disdain for the world beyond the city limits, a world he regards as provincial and therefore unable to generate literature of any value. Indeed, for Gosse, the modern concept of 'world literature' would have been

a nonsense, and the practise of comparing literatures, beyond a defined European and classical sphere, pointless. Stevenson, in contrast, had a cast of mind that was essentially comparative, and a literary imagination that fed eagerly upon the diverse cultures of the globe. Yet he also acknowledged the existence of culturally determined cognitive barriers to such an embrace of difference. The letter in which Stevenson described the resistant English reader of 'Rahéro' as 'sunk over the ears in Roman civilisation' is a fairly early expression of a thesis he was to develop more fully in writings over the next few years, the thesis that Europeans were locked into a worldview defined by the legacies of Roman civilization and as a result were largely incapable of understanding cultures that had not been shaped by Roman influence.¹⁵ In *The Wrecker* and *A Footnote to History* (both 1892) Stevenson used images of 'the verge of the Roman Empire' to signify a frontier between the bounded terrain of Western civilization and the radical alterity of traditional Pacific culture.¹⁶ For Stevenson, Pacific travel meant moving into 'zones unromanized',¹⁷ and the Roman Empire came to feature in his Pacific writings as a recurrent motif for the intellectual conditioning that he, and his readers, needed to overcome if they were to engage with these regions of social and psychological difference.

Reviews of *Ballads* in the British press display a wide variety of responses to the thematic and formal challenges that 'The Song of Rahéro' presented to English readers. Writing in *The Spectator*, R. H. Hutton found fault with Stevenson's subject selection, arguing that 'such acts of reckless butchery' as the revenge-massacre of Rahéro's tribe 'are not proper subjects for a poem until they are in some adequate way made intelligible by being connected with the recognised passions of men'.¹⁸ The reviewer for *The Scotsman*, by contrast, praised Stevenson's telling of 'the tale of the crafty savage Rahéro' precisely because of 'its many instances of the working of the elementary passions of man' (*Scrapbook*, p. 82). Hutton found the characters incoherent and their motivations implausible,¹⁹ prompting Stevenson to defend his representation of the 'savage psychology' behind the characters' actions (*Letters*, VII, 187). On the other hand, the reviewer for the *Daily Chronicle* criticised the poem for being *too* psychological and for importing modern notions of interiority and depth of character into a form that ought properly to have confined itself to the exterior presentation of action (*Scrapbook*, p. 82).

Divided over the artistic value of Stevenson's chosen subject, critics also disagreed about the poem's formal achievement. Edmund Gosse's private opinion that the versification was 'atrocious' matched Cosmo Monkhouse's damning public suggestion in *The Academy* that Stevenson could only have assembled so many 'infelicities of expression and defects of style' 'by way of a joke'.²⁰ In striking contrast, the reviewer for *The Scotsman* argued that 'the quality of the poem is so strong as to make the work a remarkable one' and singled out for praise the 'stately musical verse that has a strength peculiar to itself' (*Scrapbook*, p. 82). To make any sense of these contrasting evaluations we need to understand what *kind* of poem Stevenson wrote – a difficult task, as the 'The Song of Rahéro' resists clear generic and metrical classification. Included in the collection titled *Ballads*, the poem's narrative mode, strong rhythmic beat, mainly end-stopped lines,

and masculine rhymes all support this generic categorisation, although Stevenson has eschewed the typical quatrain ballad stanza of alternating trimeters and tetrameters in favour of hexameters. As Erik Gray points out, though, the distinction between 'English hexameter' and 'ballad meter' is 'sometimes nonexistent', for an accentual hexameter line with a strong medial caesura can easily be read as two trimeters joined together.²¹ The initial characterisation of Rahéro as a trickster fits with the folkloric world of balladry, but there are no supernatural agents in his story, which entirely lacks the eerie or uncanny quality that tends to pervade even the most politically grounded of the traditional English and Scots ballads.

In fact, the subject of 'The Song of Rahéro' – 'a legend of clan foundation'²² – aligns better with the epic genre than the ballad, and the poem also exhibits many formal features that support this classification. Letitia Henville argues persuasively that Stevenson's employment of 'epic characteristics' such as his abundant use of epithets, as well as a six-foot line which transposes the classical epic metre into English verse, 'serves to appropriately translate', by 'connotation', 'the national importance of the Texas' legend'.²³ Further support comes from a letter Stevenson wrote to W. E. Henley from Honolulu in March 1889, where he explicitly linked his experiment in rendering a Tahitian story in English verse with a longstanding desire to 'try an epic': 'Do you remember suggesting I should try an epic? I have been trying narrative verse, I think with some measure of success. When I get a proof of "The Song of Rahéro", I shall ask you to look at it, and condemn what is inadequate' (*Letters*, vi, 267). Stevenson had a copy of Virgil's *Aeneid* with him at Tautira (*Letters*, vi, 237) – presumably the same copy he had requested to be sent to him at Saranac Lake the previous year (*Letters*, vi, 20), and which he had been reading, with the aid of a dictionary, notes and the advice of his more classically educated friends throughout his travels in the western hemisphere (*Letters*, vi, 60, 86 and n.). His determined and sustained self-exposure to the *Aeneid* during this period, despite his poor command of Latin,²⁴ must have stimulated his general interest in the epic as a narrative genre, and perhaps also a specific desire to 'try' the metrical form Virgil executed with such mastery.

Judged by the metrical standards of the Virgilian hexameter, which is 'quantitative' as well as 'accentual', Stevenson's poem fails, for it does not exhibit the complex and graceful patterning of long and short, as well as stressed and unstressed, syllables that characterises the classical metre. Given this, it is easy to see why critics steeped in classical languages and literatures might have regarded his performance in this poem as that of a barbarian mangling an imperial form. But was Stevenson really attempting to write English narrative verse in Virgilian hexameters? I doubt he would have tried anything so difficult or so foolhardy: his education did not prepare him for such a task, and in any case, the subtle rhythms of the classical hexameter were generally considered at the time to be almost impossible to reproduce in English verse.²⁵ Furthermore, unless his intention was ironic, it would seem strange that he would choose a metrical form closely identified with the golden age of Roman civilisation to give poetic expression to material he understood to be profoundly alien to 'Roman' ways of thought.

Stevenson himself had no illusions about his proficiency as a prosodist. 'Not that I set much account by my verses,' he wrote, 'which are the verses of Prosator; but I do know how to tell a yarn, and two of the yarns were great'. His interest in the Tahitian legends he heard was primarily narrative; he wanted above all to 'tell a yarn', so his choice of metre for 'The Song of Rahéro' would have been guided by a sense of the rhythms that would most effectively carry the Tahitian story in its passage through time and space to a modern English audience. Those rhythms were more English than Roman. The one constant feature of Stevenson's hexameters in 'The Song of Rahéro' is the presence of six metrical beats in each line. Employment of a fixed number of stressed syllables per line, with considerable freedom in regard to the total number of syllables, recalls the Germanic metres of the Anglo-Saxon epics and Norse sagas, although these have four beats per line, not six. Two other formal features of 'The Song of Rahéro' reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon poetry are the extensive alliteration and frequent strong medial caesuras, as in 'A youth went forth to the fishing, and fortune favoured him well' (p. 131); 'Honoura lived like a beast, lacking the lamp and the fire' (p. 133); 'Lazy and crafty he was, and loved to lie in the sun' (p. 134); 'He sat in his house and laughed, but he loathed the king of the land' (p. 135). While the alliteration in the poem is never more than decorative (rather than operating as a consistent structural principle), the frequency with which Stevenson employs alliteration across the caesura suggests a conscious effort to imitate this trademark feature of Anglo-Saxon verse, even though the use of hexameters distends the Anglo-Saxon line. Stevenson's story 'The Waif Woman' (written 1892), which was based on an Icelandic tale, carries the subtitle 'A Cue from a Saga'. It is possible that a 'cue' from a cognate source influenced the diction and rhythms of 'The Song of Rahéro'. We know that Stevenson used Anglo-Saxon material in his Samoan language exercises during 1892,²⁶ and this fact, together with his writing of 'The Waif Woman' in Samoa, supports the idea that the ancestral literatures of England may have influenced his thinking about European modes of ancient narrative just as much as Virgil did. He may have had an Anglo-Saxon rather than a Roman model in mind when he crafted the rhythms of his Tahitian tale, making the poem a latter-day barbarian epic, rather than the imitation of a classical one.²⁷

Of 'Rahéro' and its companion piece, 'The Feast of Famine', Stevenson wrote to his publisher Edward Burlingame in 1889, 'either they are very good or I have made a strange error' (*Letters*, vi, 257). Critics have generally affirmed the second option, although one contemporary dissenting voice stands out: *The Scotsman's* reviewer claimed that 'The Song of Rahéro' should be ranked 'among the best ballads that have been produced by the conscious efforts of writers practising poetry as an art' (*Scrapbook*, p. 82). Importantly, this reviewer recognised that Stevenson's poem should not be judged by the standards of the traditional, popular ballad (widely understood at the time as the utterance of a collective folk-voice), but as a literary ballad – that is, as the result of a modern individual's 'conscious effort' to find a poetic style capable of expressing a strange and primitive subject. Stevenson's solution to the problem was, I believe, to create a hybrid style, combining the singsong rhymes of the traditional ballad with the hexameter's capacity for continuous

narrative unfolding, and permeating it all with the heavy beat of Anglo-Saxon verse. The result is a poetic oddity – a ‘strange error’, perhaps, but an interesting response to the challenge of transporting narratives through vast distances in time and space.

The challenge of conveying ‘antiquity’ (*Letters*, VII, 187) to a modern audience was not an issue for Stevenson with regard to his Hawaiian tale, ‘The Bottle Imp’, which although global in reach, is unswerving in its contemporaneity. Written in 1890 and first published in 1891,²⁸ the story tells of a magic bottle which can fulfil its owner’s every wish, but will condemn to hell whoever dies with it in their possession. The only way the owner can be divested of the bottle is to sell it for a price less than he or she paid for it. Therefore, as the bottle is passed from owner to owner, its price will drop to a level where there are no longer any smaller divisions of money to pay for it; at that point its owner is doomed, without hope of rescue, to burn in hell forever. The story had come to Stevenson from German folklore by way of the British theatre. Stevenson took the main elements of the plot from a melodrama called ‘The Bottle Imp’, which was performed on the London stage in the late 1820s and subsequently printed, with illustrations, in book form. The melodrama borrowed heavily from a German folktale, set during the time of the Thirty Years’ War.²⁹ An awareness of the story’s German origins may have influenced Stevenson’s generic classification of his own prose version as one of a series of planned ‘*Märchen*’ or supernatural folktales (*Letters*, VII, 461).

The British stage version of ‘The Bottle Imp’ had retained its source’s European setting; Stevenson’s innovation was to relocate the action to the Pacific region – in the city of San Francisco, on the Kona coast of Hawaii’s Big Island, and finally in Tahiti. This use of modern locations was integral to his increasing commitment to stylistic realism, even within supernatural stories. When the plan for a volume of ‘*Märchen*’ fell through, and ‘The Bottle Imp’ was published alongside ‘The Beach of Falesá’ and ‘The Isle of Voices’ in *Island Nights’ Entertainments* (1893), Stevenson consoled himself that although the collection was generically diverse, it was unified by the ‘queer realism’ of all three stories (*Letters*, VII, 436). One reason the realism of ‘The Bottle Imp’ is ‘queer’ is because it merges the high romance of the source tale with exact representation of modern Pacific manners and *mise-en-scène*. The Pacific setting also allowed Stevenson to put new twists on the plot element of the bottle’s ever-diminishing price, as the different currencies of American Hawaii and French Tahiti allowed him to play with different units of coinage (the French centime being worth less than the American cent).

The protagonists of Stevenson’s ‘The Bottle Imp’ are Hawaiian islanders, enabling him to introduce the theme of leprosy, which was not part of the earlier (European) versions of the story. The spread of leprosy was a pressing and controversial public health issue in Hawaii in the 1880s and 90s.³⁰ In Stevenson’s story, the hero, Keawe, discovers he has leprosy just after he has become engaged to marry the beautiful Kokua. Rather than give her up, or risk infecting her with the disease, he chooses to buy the magic bottle and cure himself, although its price of one cent means

certain damnation.³¹ Learning of his sacrifice, the resourceful Kokua determines to save him, her saving knowledge being her awareness that 'all the world is not American' (p. 92). The French and the English have coins worth less than one cent, so Kokua suggests that she and Keawe travel to French Tahiti, where they may find a purchaser willing to buy the bottle for a few centimes. When this plan fails, Kokua secretly arranges to buy the bottle herself, thereby sacrificing her own soul to save her husband's. After discovering what she has done, Keawe in turn secretly arranges to buy the bottle back again. The seemingly inevitable tragic outcome of their unselfish actions is averted when Keawe's intermediary, a vicious old boatswain, refuses to sell the bottle back, declaring that he is 'going [to hell] anyway' (p. 102) and wishes to spend his remaining time on earth in an alcoholic stupor funded by the magic bottle.

Stevenson's aims in writing this story, and the effects he achieved, were very different from the aims and effects of 'The Song of Rahéro'. 'The Bottle Imp' expresses no yearning for primitive authenticity. Rather, the tale exemplifies the trades, contaminations and negotiations of the contact zone that was the modern, multi-cultural Pacific, as Stevenson experienced it on his travels of the late 1880s. He called the region 'a no man's land of the ages, a stir-about of epochs and races, barbarisms and civilisations, virtues and crimes' (*Letters*, VI, 312), and in other fictions such as 'The Beach of Falesá', 'The Isle of Voices', *The Wrecker*, and *The Ebb-Tide* he continued to use trade, colonisation and the spread of disease as material and metaphoric signifiers of the global system of exchange in which the Pacific region had become enmeshed. In the case of 'The Bottle Imp' the process of transculturation was taken one step further with the translation of the story into the Samoan language and its publication in a local missionary magazine in 1891. Stevenson would later claim that the story had from its inception been 'designed and written for a Polynesian audience' (*SST*, p. 72). He collaborated with the missionary Arthur Claxton on the Samoan translation (*Letters*, VII, 95) and was proud to be the author of the first work of fiction published in the Samoan language.³²

Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence of how Samoans who read or listened to readings of the translation of 'The Bottle Imp' responded to the story. It is therefore not possible, in terms of reception, to carry out a symmetrical investigation of both sides of the two-way transcultural narrative traffic in which Stevenson engaged when he presented 'The Song of Rahéro' to English readers in 1890 and 'The Bottle Imp' to a Samoan audience in 1891. All we have are mediated accounts of the Samoan response to the story, accounts that originated with Stevenson and which were then taken up and circulated by English friends and critics. In a letter to Arthur Conan Doyle in 1893, Stevenson told how Samoan visitors to his home, Vailima, after admiring the splendours of the house, would 'be seen to shrug a brown shoulder, to roll up a speaking eye, and at last the secret bursts from them: "Where is the bottle?"' (*Letters*, VIII, 155). Only possession of a magic bottle such as the one that featured in his story could account for such opulence, Stevenson claimed these visitors believed. His cousin and later biographer, Graham Balfour, who lived at Vailima in the early 1890s, confirmed the story: 'In one corner was built a large safe, which

[...] was supposed by the natives to be the prison of the Bottle Imp, the source of all Stevenson's fortune.'³³ This anecdote became very popular and was often included in journalistic accounts of Stevenson's life in Samoa. It also formed part of the legend of Tusitala, which became the main interpretative framework through which Stevenson's English and American readers processed the otherwise baffling fact of his residence in Samoa. As Sidney Colvin wrote in the first published edition of Stevenson's letters: 'The name the natives knew him by was Tusitala, teller of tales, and he was supposed by them to be the master of an inexhaustible store of wealth, perhaps even to be the holder of the magic bottle of his own story, the *Bottle Imp*'.³⁴

Stevenson's English and American fans loved this story, because it confirmed their preconceptions about childish 'natives', while at the same time adding to the romantic glamour of the celebrity author. Stevenson may not have objected to either of those effects, but he first told the story for a more serious purpose, to explain to Doyle how he had observed the Samoans' understanding of narrative to differ from that of English readers. 'They do not know what it is to make up a story', he told Doyle, which was why they assumed that the bottle was real (*Letters*, VIII, 155). Stevenson had discovered that the modern, European concept of narrative fiction was not universal, but culturally bounded, and that its sudden importation into a traditional Pacific society, without any gradual process of acculturation, could lead to misunderstandings – possibly on both sides of the encounter.³⁵ Stevenson's story of the mis-reception of 'The Bottle Imp' in Samoa as fact rather than fiction became part of a larger meta-narrative he wove around his experiments in authorship during his Pacific years. Like his assessment, following the reviews of 'Rahéro', that the English literary establishment 'cannot so much as observe the existence of savage psychology when it is placed before it' (*Letters*, VII, 187), Stevenson's claim that the Samoans 'do not know what it is to make up a story' showed an acute (and possibly exaggerated) awareness of the epistemological and cognitive gaps over which his transcultural narratives might stumble.

In fact, intentionally or not, Stevenson had fostered local misrecognition of 'The Bottle Imp' as factual narrative through narratorial statements such as this, in the story's opening sentence: 'There was a man of the Island of Hawaii, whom I shall call Keawe; for the truth is, he still lives, and his name must be kept secret' (p. 73). Most English readers in the nineteenth century would have understood that such a reference to 'the truth' in a work of fiction, particularly one that dealt with the supernatural, was merely a literary convention, a technique of realism with no actual truth-force. But for Samoan readers or listeners, it may not have been so easy to disentangle the strands of the tale's 'queer realism' from its magical content – partly because belief in the reality of ghosts and devils was widespread in late nineteenth-century Polynesia,³⁶ and partly because islanders received confusing cues from Europeans about how to interpret their stories. For example, 'Talofa, Togarewa!', a narrative of recent events on the island of Penrhyn designed to warn Samoans about the spread of leprosy, which Stevenson wrote for translation into Samoan and publication in the same missionary magazine as that in which 'The Bottle Imp' appeared, has been conventionally classified by European scholars as an 'essay'.³⁷ Yet it begins: 'I am going

to tell people here in Samoa the true story of an island'.³⁸ This statement of a storyteller's act in relation to the 'truth' of the narrative he presents is very similar to the first sentence of 'The Bottle Imp' quoted above. Yet, one narrative was intended as fictional entertainment (whatever moral 'truths' it might be supposed to contain), while the other was a non-fictional account of events reported to Stevenson by a source he considered reliable,³⁹ the truth of which he believed it was important for Samoans to recognise if they were to avert certain real-world consequences. How were his readers supposed to tell the difference between the two kinds of 'story'? Visiting the Gilbert Islands in 1889 Stevenson had been 'long of comprehending', but had eventually grasped, how difficult it might be for Pacific islanders to sort the diverse speech-acts of their European visitors into truth, lies and fictions. The experience taught him how 'hard it is, even for a man of great natural parts like Tembinok' [king of Apemama], to grasp the ideas of a new society and culture'.⁴⁰ The alien European practice of fiction-writing only made this general difficulty more acute for the Samoan readership of 'The Bottle Imp'.

The transmission and reception history of this tale extends the narrative of cross-cultural traffic that is its subject matter. 'The Bottle Imp' is a story of consumption, contamination, travel and exchange, which takes place in, and refers to, many countries. In the story, Hawaiians like Keawe are afflicted with a disease (leprosy) they call 'the Chinese Evil' (p. 85). Keawe cures his leprosy with the help of a magic bottle he buys from a Haole (white man) living in Beritania Street (p. 88). One could interpret this choice of setting allegorically, as a reference to the damaging effects of Europeans' presence in the Pacific; given Stevenson's disparaging remarks during his visit to Hawaii about 'beastly haoles' (*Letters*, VII, 295), where else would the imp be likely to reside than in 'Britain Street'? Yet the naming of the street is also a reality effect, as Beritania Street is an actual location, one of Honolulu's main thoroughfares, and its name bears the trace of the historical presence of British visitors to and inhabitants of the city. Stevenson's realism here is 'queer' (*Letters*, VII, 436) because the impress of culture upon culture makes the familiar strange and the strange familiar: British readers of the tale would see the name of their homeland exoticised by the island pronunciation, while for the Hawaiian characters a reference to faraway England operates as the sign of a well-known local address.

As the narrative of 'The Bottle Imp' unfolds, more international references and locations accumulate. Seeking to rid themselves of the bottle, Keawe and his wife Kokua give out the false story that 'they were gone pleasuring to the States' (p. 92), while in fact they travel to Papeete, 'the chief place of the French in the south islands' (p. 93). There, they attempt to interest Tahitians in buying the bottle. When this fails, they each employ a foreigner – in Kokua's case an old man who is 'a stranger in the island' (p. 95), in Keawe's 'an old brutal Haole [...] that had been a boatswain of a whaler, a runaway, a digger in gold mines, a convict in prisons' (p. 98) – to buy the bottle secretly from the other. The boatswain's history and his language (his generic address to males, even if strangers, is 'mate' [p. 101]) suggest that he may be Australian. Australia is one of two Pacific Rim locations mentioned in the story in connection with Keawe's career as a mariner

(p. 80), San Francisco being the other (p. 73). As well as invoking a wide range of ethnic identities and geographical locations, the story contains many references to different national currencies and their differential values. When Keawe is first tricked into buying the bottle, he pays fifty dollars for it, 'or, to say truth, a little less, because one of [the] dollars was from Chili' (p. 77). As the bottle falls in price through dollars, cents and centimes, systems of coinage and rates of exchange are integral to the plot, increasing narrative suspense as the smallest existing coin is inevitably approached, while at the same time constantly reminding the reader of the global network of trade within which the story unfolds.⁴¹

'The Song of Rahéro' by contrast, emerges from a pre-modern and therefore – with regard to Europe – pre-contact world. Yet it too invests deeply in the idea of transnational exchange. This is a story of nation-building, expressed as a legend of exogamy.⁴² Rahéro's actions in the first part of the narrative are part of an attempt to overthrow a moribund dynasty. The unintended and catastrophic consequences of those actions, revealed in Part Two, lead to the destruction of his entire clan. His response in Part Three is to secure the rebuilding of the clan through an act of bride-capture. One of the most interesting aspects of the poem is the function of the two female characters in the narrative. Tamatea's mother leaves her home clan of the Tevas and home land of Taiárapu to join the Námuna-úra people; she takes the story of Part One with her, thereby instigating the action of Part Two. The unnamed fisherman's wife in Part Three makes the opposite journey, leaving the Námuna-úra and accompanying Rahéro to Taiárapu, in order to help him re-establish the clan of the Tevas. That criss-cross movement of the two women across the field of the narrative's action is vital to the story of national renewal it embodies. By means of the women's journeys, 'The Song of Rahéro' suggests that social groups renew themselves through contact with what lies outside them, and that the idea of boundary-crossing exchange is built into the literature of even the seemingly most pristine of cultures.

Both 'The Bottle Imp' and 'The Song of Rahéro' contain thematic motifs that offer suggestive metaphors for transnationalism itself. In 'The Bottle Imp', there is the motif of exchange, already discussed; the motif of infection, associated with the transmission of leprosy; and the relation of the bottle to its owner, which may be thought of as that of parasite to host. Any of these could function as a metaphor for the process whereby Stevenson took a 'very unliterary product, the English drama of the early part of the century' and 'made it a new thing' (*SST*, p. 72) that belongs by virtue of its authorship to the literature of Scotland and by virtue of its setting to the literature of the Pacific. One could figure this as a process of exchange: Stevenson taking from his Pacific travels details of place, character and manners, and in exchange giving Samoa its first published story in the local language. Or it could be seen as a process of controlled infection, by which a moribund European romance was inoculated, and thereby renewed, with a dose of modern Pacific reality. Or, perhaps most suggestively, it could be seen as a process by which Pacific literature 'hosts' Stevenson, the foreign writer, who could be regarded as a kind of parasite upon the culture from which he drew imaginative sustenance.

It is a short linguistic step from host/parasite to host/guest, which is the central relational motif of 'The Song of Rahéro' and which also provides a rich metaphoric field on which to chart the interconnections of literary transnationalism. 'The Song of Rahéro' is a story of kin, clan, gift, hospitality, treachery and revenge. In the poem and its source story, the Namuna-ura host a feast for the Tevas, after which they kill their guests. In the poem's dedication, Stevenson foregrounds his role as a guest of Tahitian society, specifically the 'too much honoured guest' of the sub-chief Ori a Ori. In a wider sense, in seeking from his Tahitian friends the means and permission to retell a local traditional story, Stevenson became a kind of guest writer within Tahitian culture – not just a writer in residence, in the physical sense, but a literary force given space and sustenance to write by the indigenous narrative tradition on which he drew. On the other hand, one could also argue that the established British author was not a literary guest but a host, giving the Tahitian legend a place within his own oeuvre, hospitably extending the shelter and protection of his name and global celebrity to this obscure piece of the world's literature.

So, as we try to understand the double placement of 'The Song of Rahéro' and 'The Bottle Imp' within Scottish and Pacific literature, we must ask which literature is really the host and which the guest of the other – or, to revert to the imagery suggested by 'The Bottle Imp', which is the parasite and which is the host? In his classic demonstration of deconstructive reading, 'The Critic as Host' (1977), J. Hillis Miller showed the porousness of the boundaries between these concepts and the inbuilt capacities of language to break down apparent binary oppositions into shifting, multiple, reversible relations. His etymological investigation of the word 'parasite' leads him to claim that:

'Para' is an 'uncanny' double antithetical prefix signifying at once proximity and distance, similarity and difference, interiority and exteriority, something at once inside a domestic economy and outside it, something simultaneously this side of the boundary line, threshold, or margin, and at the same time beyond it, equivalent in status and at the same time secondary or subsidiary, submissive, as of guest to host, slave to master.⁴³

The parasite therefore is at once alien to and part of its host – a guest, perhaps a destructive one, but incorporated with the host off which it feeds. Miller finds a similarly 'uncanny' linguistic relation between the terms 'host' and 'guest', deriving as both words do from the same etymological root:

The relation of household master offering hospitality to a guest and the guest receiving it, of host and parasite in the original sense of 'fellow guest,' is inclosed within the word 'host' itself. A host in the sense of a guest, moreover, is both a friendly visitor in the house and at the same time an alien presence who turns the home into a hotel, a neutral territory. [...] The uncanny antithetical relation exists not only between pairs of words in this system, host and parasite, host and guest,

but within each word in itself. [...] Each word in itself becomes separated by the strange logic of the 'para,' membrane which divides inside from outside and yet joins them in a hymeneal bond, or allows an osmotic mixing, making the strangers friends, the distant near, the dissimilar similar, the *Unheimlich heimlich*, the homely homey, without, for all its closeness and similarity, ceasing to be strange, distant, dissimilar. (pp. 442-43)

So it is, I have come to think, with Stevenson as a host, guest or parasite of Pacific literature, and with Pacific culture becoming, through him, a host, guest or parasite of Scottish writing. To take the play on words further, as Miller at one point does (p. 446), guests may also be ghosts. The figure of Stevenson continues to haunt Pacific literature, as – to use Harold Bloom's language – a 'strong precursor' with whom modern Pacific writers may feel bound to struggle,⁴⁴ and it is matter for debate whether this lingering ghost has had an enabling or a disabling effect upon the development of indigenous Pacific literature. On the other hand, Stevenson's attempt to authenticate himself as a presence in the literature of the region by retelling 'a genuine Tahitian legend' as 'The Song of Rahéro' is itself haunted by 'the ghosts of speech' (*Poems*, p.75), echoes of the Tahitian voices that were threatened with the same extinction as his 'own dying language' (*Poems*, p.75) in Scotland.

In terms of literary quality, 'The Bottle Imp' is a much greater achievement than 'The Song of Rahéro'. The combination of its 'queer realism', narrative economy and exquisite diction has earned it almost universal critical praise since its first publication. 'The Song of Rahéro', by contrast, failed to please the audience for which it was designed, and never recovered from the critical panning it received upon its initial publication. True, the poem has neither the formal economy nor the verbal finesse that make 'The Bottle Imp' such a successful tale. Yet, as transnarratives the two works are equally interesting. Although the short story clearly expresses a globalised consciousness, whereas the poem seems to speak from a single traditional culture, on closer inspection it can be seen that both texts are pervasively transnational in form and theme. Both place pressure on national fictions of 'boundaried containment'.⁴⁵ 'The Bottle Imp' uses the motif of currency to explore the modern Pacific as a 'borderlands' or 'contact zone' of global exchange. 'The Song of Rahéro' traces the emotional and psychological force of the border on a very small scale – that of relations between the Tevas and the Namuna-ura – to show how nations renew themselves through boundary-crossing contact with the other. The composition and transmission histories of both texts show that crossings between genres and media, as well as between languages – processes of adaptation as well as translation – are integral to the process of generating transnational literature. More specifically, with regard to Stevenson's distinctive position as a Scottish author who contributed to the literature of the Pacific, these transnarratives provoke questions about the ways in which one national or regional literature may 'host' another, with all the complexities and ambiguities of meaning that the metaphor of the host entails.

NOTES

- 1 *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. by Bradford A. Booth and Ernest Mehew, 8 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994-95), vi, 246. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.
- 2 Robert Louis Stevenson, *Poems* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1913), p. 163. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.
- 3 Robert Irwin Hillier, *The South Seas Fiction of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), p. 64.
- 4 Hillier, p. 65; Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti: Based on Material Recorded by J. M. Orsmond* (1928; New York: Klaus Reprint, 1971), pp. 241-46.
- 5 'The Revenge of Maraa' begins at a moment of contact between two districts, Maraa and Matahihae: 'A man named E-te-turi (Deaf-one) and his son Ma-nai (Small-mark) went from Maraa to cast their net along the shores of Matahihae' (p. 241). As comparison of their titles suggests, Henry's version is the story of a group, whereas Stevenson's focuses on a particular individual.
- 6 Vanessa Smith, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 69, 71, 71-72.
- 7 Smith, *Intimate Strangers*, pp. 100-103; Alfred Gell, *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 175-76.
- 8 Victorian jurist Henry Sumner Maine called adoption '[t]he earliest and most extensively employed of legal fictions'. *Ancient Law* (repr. New York: Dorset Press, 1986), p. 107; see also p. 22.
- 9 As Ori's speech was translated by the priest, Ariie, it is not clear which of them used the French phrase. See *Letters*, vii, 231n.
- 10 Cf. a letter written to Tati in December 1888: 'as my name is Teriitera ... am I not one of your clansmen? Let me consider myself so'. *Letters*, vi, 236.
- 11 Smith, *Intimate Strangers*, p. 103.
- 12 Monterey Scrapbook 4 (1889-1893), Margaret Stevenson Scrapbook Collection, Stevenson House Collection, Monterey State Historic Park, California State Parks, p. 83. Further references to this scrapbook are given after quotations in the text.
- 13 See Smith, *Literary Culture and the Pacific: Nineteenth-Century Textual Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 18-52 on the beachcomber tradition in general, and pp. 146-66 on Stevenson's engagement with that tradition in *The Wrecker* and *The Ebb-Tide*.
- 14 Letitia Henville argues that in its assertions of authorial control over its subject the poem's 'paratextual frame' complicates, and to some extent undermines, the 'radical politics' of Stevenson's 'core text', which refuses to treat the islanders of the story as exotic others. "'The Walter Scott of Tahiti": Robert Louis Stevenson's Ballad Translation', *Literature Compass*, 9.7 (2012), 489-501 (p. 489). In addition, I would argue that even within the 'paratextual frame' Stevenson pursues irreconcilable aims, wishing at the same time to speak from within the world of the poem, as a participant in the culture it depicts, and from outside that world, as an observer equipped with an alien intellectual apparatus for analysing and understanding it. The twentieth-century ethnographic ideal of 'participant observation' fused these positions, in theory, but here Stevenson alternates between them.
- 15 'You must remember that we are only the decayed fragments of the Roman Empire, from which we derive all that we value ourselves upon,' he told an interviewer in Auckland in 1893. 'Mr. R. L. Stevenson on Reading and

Literature: An Interview', *Argus*, 6 May 1893, p. 4. Stevenson's fascination with the legacies of Rome originated in his study of Roman Law as part of his legal training in Edinburgh; see Roslyn Jolly, *Robert Louis Stevenson in the Pacific: Travel, Empire, and the Author's Profession* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 37-38. For a detailed analysis of the influence of Stevenson's Roman Law studies on his practice as an anthropologist in *In the South Seas* and *A Footnote to History*, see Jolly, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, pp. 39-58.

16 Robert Louis Stevenson and Lloyd Osbourne, *The Wrecker* (repr. New York: Dover, 1982), p.125; cf. the image of 'the Roman wall' in *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa* (London: Cassell, 1892), pp. 1-2. See also Robert Louis Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, ed. by Neil Rennie (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 9.

17 Stevenson and Osbourne, *The Wrecker*, p. 125.

18 *Robert Louis Stevenson: The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Paul Maixner (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 370.

19 Maixner, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, pp. 369-70.

20 Maixner, *Robert Louis Stevenson*, p. 372.

21 Erik Gray, 'Clough and his Discontents: *Amours de Voyage* and the English Hexameter', *Literary Imagination*, 6.2 (2004), 195-210 (p. 205). Henville argues against such a reading of 'Rahéro', quoting lines that resist 'this kind of neat division', in 'Walter Scott in Tahiti', p. 491. However, one could quote different lines (for example, the first two of the poem), which readily illustrate Gray's point.

22 Smith, *Literary Culture and the Pacific*, p. 143.

23 Henville, 'Walter Scott in Tahiti', p. 492.

24 'If only I knew any Latin!' Stevenson exclaimed in a letter recording the profound impact he received from reading Virgil at Bournemouth in 1886 (*Letters*, v, 235-6). According to his cousin and biographer, Graham Balfour, he 'never mastered the grammar of the language, and to the end made the most elementary mistakes'. *The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson*, 2 vols (New York: Scribner's, 1901), II, 102. Acutely aware of his shortcomings as a Latin scholar, Stevenson would often ask his friend Sidney Colvin for help with translations, or when quoting Virgil would follow with a tentative 'is that right?' (*Letters*, VIII, 322).

25 George Saintsbury, *A History of English Prosody from the Twelfth Century to the Present Day*, 3 vols (London: Macmillan, 1910), III, 397-406.

26 'He began to read and write in Samoan and, under the tutelage of the missionary Samuel Whitmee, translated part of the chronicle of Edwin in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*'. Robert Hoskins, 'Introduction', in *Sophia Scarlet and other Pacific Writings* (Auckland: AUT Media, 2008), pp. 11-15 (p. 11).

27 Cf. John Charlot's argument about 'The Song of Rahéro' as a ballad: 'Stevenson is looking for a non-classical European genre with which to express a non-classical subject'. 'The Influence of Polynesian Literature and Thought on Robert Louis Stevenson', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 14 (1987), 82-104 (p. 93).

28 The story was published serially in the New York *Herald* from 8 February to 1 March 1891 and in the English journal *Black and White* on 28 March and 4 April 1891.

29 The tale's literary genealogy is traced by Joseph Warren Beach, 'The Sources of Stevenson's *Bottle Imp*', *Modern Language Notes*, 25 (1910), pp. 12-18.

30 For an excellent account of this crisis and Stevenson's relation to it, see Rod Edmond, *Leprosy and Empire: A Medical and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 90-93, pp. 145-56 and pp. 224-30. Edmond interprets the imp of the title as 'a figure for the disease itself and the destruction it causes' (p. 227).

31 Robert Louis Stevenson, *South Sea Tales*, ed. by Roslyn Jolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 89. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

32 Roger Swearingen provides a detailed timeline of the story's composition and translation, so far as it can be reconstructed from surviving evidence. 'Introduction', in *The Bottle Imp/O le Fagu Aitu in English and Samoan*, ed. by Robert Hoskins (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010), pp. 24-31. The edition includes a corrected text of the story as it was published in the missionary magazine *O le Sulu Samoa*, indicating the breaks between the seven monthly installments.

33 Balfour, *Life of Robert Louis Stevenson*, II, 130.

34 *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson to his Family and Friends*, ed. by Sidney Colvin, 2 vols (London: Methuen, 1899), II, 205.

35 The place of narrative fiction within oral (as opposed to literate) cultures is a subject of considerable, ongoing anthropological and sociological debate. For an intervention in that debate, which focuses the key areas of recent academic controversy, see Jack Goody, *Myth, Ritual and the Oral* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Goody's own position, based on his research in Africa, is that in oral cultures 'fiction generally is for the young; adults demand more serious matter' (p. 131), such as narratives conveying useful (because true) information about the world, or myths embodying historical and religious truth. If Goody's claims are applicable to traditional Samoan society, this could explain local confusion about the truth-status of Stevenson's story; Stevenson's wealth, power and social status may have seemed incompatible with the 'childish' activity of telling fictional tales.

36 See Stevenson's chapter, 'Graveyard Stories', in Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, pp. 136-51. The supernatural 'stories' Stevenson heard when travelling among the Pacific islands seem to have been offered as news, or anecdotes of real life, not fictional entertainment.

37 See Ernest Mehew's editorial note in *Letter*, VII, 143.

38 Robert Louis Stevenson, 'Talofa, Togarewa!', in *Sophia Scarlet and Other Pacific Writings*, pp. 81-85 (p. 81).

39 Henry Moors, an Apia trader with whom Stevenson had close personal, political and business relations and who supplied many facts for his Samoan history, *A Footnote to History* (1892).

40 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 234.

41 I disagree with Kevin McLaughlin's claim that 'in this story the possibilities of traveling to islands in the South Seas with ever smaller units of currency is, we are led to believe, limitless. [...]The bottle thus betokens an economy that includes a concept, or fiction, of infinitely large and small amounts. A source of potentially infinite credit, it brings with it a debt which is always approaching a fictive absolute zero, as such never to be reached'. 'The Financial Imp: Ethics and Finance in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, 29.2 (1996), 165-83 (p. 175). This asymptotic view of the death-sentence carried by possession of the bottle is not borne out by the story, in which the damnation signified by looming exhaustion of currency units is an unavoidable reality that must fall to someone – just not, as it turns out, the story's attractive main characters.

42 I use the term 'nation' in this context not in the now dominant nineteenth-century European sense of a political state, but in its earlier meaning of a 'group of people having a single ethnic, tribal, or religious affiliation', as was once used to refer to Irish clans, and is still used to designate North America's indigenous tribes or 'first nations'. See *OED* entry 'nation, n.1', definitions 1c, 4 and 5'.

43 J. Hillis Miller, 'The Critic as Host', *Critical Inquiry*, 3 (1977), 439-447 (p. 441). Further references to this essay are given after quotations in the text.

44 See, for example, Albert Wendt's 'Foreword', 'Tusitala: The Legend, the Writer & the Literature of the Pacific', in *Robert Louis Stevenson: His Best Pacific Writings*, ed. by Roger Robinson (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2004), pp. 9-11. Wendt's novels *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* (1979) and *The Mango's Kiss* (2003) engage explicitly with Stevenson's legacy to indigenous Pacific writers. See also Michelle Keown's essay in this issue of *IJSL*.

45 Stephen Clingman, *The Grammar of Identity: Transnational Fiction and the Nature of the Boundary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 3.



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Reading *The Bothie of Toper-na-fuosich* in the Bothie of Porirua Road:

Thomas Arnold, Arthur Hugh Clough and Literary Emigration

Jane Stafford

The Scottish Pacific manifests itself in a variety of forms – in the histories of the immigrants who went from Scotland to the Antipodes, in the ideologies they took with them, in the social institutions they developed on their arrival. It is also apparent in the books that made the journey – the works of Ossian, Burns, and Scott – carried as cabin baggage by the immigrants or sent to connect and reinforce ties to home by those left behind. The manner in which these Scottish canonical works structured colonial reading practice and influenced settler national literatures is a central part of literary historiography. But this paper has a different purpose. I wish to trace how an arbitrary, artificial and largely English conception of Scotland might have ‘emigrated’ and settled through the medium of a literary work, and how that might have sat alongside New Zealand expressions of place and purpose.

Arthur Hugh Clough’s 1848 poem *The Bothie of Toper-na-fuosich: a Long-Vacation Pastoral* tells the story of a reading party of Oxford students and their tutor who spend the university summer vacation in the Scottish Highlands. One of their number, Philip Hewson, falls in love with, successively, Katie the farmer’s daughter ‘by the lochside of Rannoch’,¹ the upper-class Lady Maria at Balloch Castle, and Elspie, the daughter of David Mackaye, who lives at the Bothie of Toper-na-fuosich. Philip courts Elspie and is accepted. Her father gives permission for the two to marry after Phillip has finished his studies, and the couple immigrate to New Zealand.

Despite this seemingly straightforward plot, *The Bothie of Toper-na-fuosich* is a complex work. It contains depictions of Scottish high society and conventionally picturesque peasantry, of mountain, loch and glen, and, to the modern reader, strangely unnecessary and repetitious descriptions of the students bathing in highland streams. A great deal of the poem consists of conversations between the tutor Adam and his charges – on their surroundings and the behaviour of their fellows, but also on the vagaries and specifics of the Oxford undergraduate syllabus. In what Clough described as a ‘contemptuous’ piece in *The Spectator* in December 1848 a reviewer cautiously ventured that *The Bothie* ‘looked like an Oxford satire’ and ‘if it did contain any occult meaning it was confined to the initiated’.² And Clough himself wrote that it had had ‘tolerable success in Oxford—But that its local allusions might readily give it: a larger success is quite problematical’.³ Charles Kingsley, who had asked permission to review the work, was puzzled by it but decided that puzzlement was the proper response. He would, he wrote,

say nothing, for the author has said nothing; and he, doubtless, knows a great deal better than he what effects he intends and we have no wish, or right either, to interfere with him.

The reader, cautioned Kingsley, should not expect a moral attached to the poem ‘as you sew a direction card on a little boy’s back when you send him off to school’.⁴ Modern critics are no more confident as to *The Bothie*’s correct interpretive frame: Scottish post-Reform Bill society, Clough’s difficulties with the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church, educational reform, communication and its problematics, the application of the classical canon to the English, the position of women, class, the Carlylian conception of work, homoerotics, tourism, an exercise in metrical experimentation, and the poet’s farewell to Oxford have all been suggested and argued for.⁵

Thackeray, writing to Clough in November 1848, said that the poem ‘must be like Scotland – Scotland hexametrically laid out’.⁶ Certainly the title, with its mix of Gaelic place-names (however spurious),⁷ Oxford slang (the ‘long vac’) and the classical canon (in the use of the form of pastoral) points to the poem’s interaction of Scottish place, the Oxford culture of Clough and his contemporaries and their Oxford-sourced classical education. Clough had been a tutor and fellow at Oriel College and had led similar reading parties – to Castleton in the Peak District in 1846 and Drumnadrochet in the Highlands 1847, the latter just before he resigned his positions because of his inability to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. As his biographer Katharine Chorley puts it, his Highland trip provided him with the *mise en scène* for *The Bothie*.⁸ In his letters of 1847 he wrote of staying in ‘Hesperian seclusion’⁹ in a ‘pleasant, quiet, sabbatic country inn’¹⁰ ‘out of the realm of civility’,¹¹ and in ‘a strange and solitary place called Loch Beoraik’ where ‘Saxon Foot has never been before’.¹² Donald Ulin describes *The Bothie*’s poetics as ‘expressive of contemporary middle-class claims on a national countryside’.¹³ The year before Clough’s visit Thomas Cook had organised his first tour of Scotland and written *Handbook of a Trip to Scotland* to accompany his customers.¹⁴ Certainly Clough displays the discrimination of a tourist, aware of the generally agreed benchmarks of tourist experience, able to summon to mind comparable beauty spots and apply the relevant tests of authenticity. Both his letters and his journal contain check-lists of significant places he has seen, will see, or has decided not to see. He writes at one point:

This place [Glenfinnan on Loch Shiel] is certainly very beautiful; scarcely however sufficiently exalted out of the Lake country style to meet my expectations of the genuine West.¹⁵

The Bothie reflects this consciously mediated and touristic view of Scotland, an awareness of the capital the experienced tourist should both publicise and protect. At one point there is an extended description of a stream:

[...] the boiling, pent-up water

Frees itself by a final descent, attaining a basin,
 Ten feet wide and eighteen long, with whiteness and fury
 Occupied partly, but mostly pellucid, pure, a mirror;
 Beautiful there for the colour derived from green rocks under;
 Beautiful, most of all, where beads of foam uprising
 Mingle their clouds of white with the delicate hue of the stillness.
 Cliff over cliff for its sides, with rowan and pendent birch boughs [...] (19)

But the description is prefaced with a caveat: 'I name not its name, lest inquisitive tourist/
 Hunt it, and make it a lion, and get it at last into guide-books' (19). Exclusivity is key. In a parallel with Clough's own experience, the student Phillip is tired of his prescribed studies, 'my dismal classics' (17), but also of the predictable Scotland which is served up for his use as a visitor:

Weary of reading am I, and weary of walks prescribed us;
 Weary of Ethic and Logic, of Rhetoric yet more weary,
 Eager to range over heather unfettered of gillie and marquis ... (17-18)

He needs escape into the uncultured landscape not in the guide-books:

This fierce, furious walking – o'er mountain-top and moorland,
 Sleeping in shieling and bothie, with drover on hill-side sleeping,
 Folded in plaid, where sheep are strewn thicker than rocks by Loch Awen,
 This fierce, furious travel unwearying ... (26)

Paradoxically, seeking, as Clough did, 'the genuine West', Philip finds instead the genuine unpicturesque. When he finally arrives at the Bothie of Toper-na-fuosich, its surroundings are a perplexing mix of the barren, the functional and, with the presence of roads, coaches and steamers, the modern:

Who are these? and where? it is no sweet seclusion;
 Blank hill-sides slope down to a salt sea loch at their bases,
 Scored by runnels, that fringe ere they end with rowan and alder;
 Cottages here and there out-standing bare on the mountain,
 Peat-roofed, windowless, white; the road underneath by the water.
 There on the blank hill-side, looking down through the loch to the ocean,
 There with a runnel beside, and pine-trees twain before it,
 There with the road underneath, and in sight of coaches and steamers,
 Dwelling of David Mackaye and his daughters Elspie and Bella,
 Sends up a column of smoke the Bothie of Tober-na-fuosich. (36-7)

This is the un-Romantic Highlands – as opposed to that celebrated, contemporaneously, by Queen Victoria as 'lovely, grand, romantic [...] sublime', 'so full of poetry and romance, traditions, and historical associations'.¹⁶ It is not the place but the inhabitants, their culture and class

that make the *Bothie* appealing to Philip the radical and chartist. It is a place of work. Critics have pointed out the poem's debt to Carlyle's precept 'Know thy work and do it'.¹⁷ This ethic draws Philip to Elspie ('Oh, if our high-born girls knew only the grace, the attraction, /Labour, and labour alone, can add to the beauty of women' [10]). And this ethic leads him to exchange as his mentor Adam the tutor for David Mackaye the labourer.

On its publication, Clough sent a copy of *The Bothie* to his Oxford friends and in particular the friend who had served as one of the models for Philip. Thomas Arnold wrote later that Clough had '[taken] good care not to allow any one character to be paralleled by any one living individual' yet his own career seems most closely to track that of the poet and radical.¹⁸ Son of Thomas the Rugby School headmaster, brother of Matthew the poet, Arnold had emigrated to New Zealand, arriving in March 1848. Like Clough, he had realised that the doubts he held about his religious faith would preclude him from taking up an Oxford fellowship: as he put it, 'Restlessness of mind, with which the theories and criticisms of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* had much to do, beset me from the time of taking my degree'.¹⁹ Despite wavering belief being a cause of his leaving England, he wrote, 'To me, however strange and paradoxical it may sound, this going to New Zealand has become a work of faith, and I cannot but go through with it'.²⁰ There was, he felt,

such an indescribable blessedness in looking forward to a manner of life in which heart and conscience approve, and which at the same time satisfies the instinct of the Heroic and the Beautiful. Yet there seems little enough in a homely life in a New Zealand forest; and indeed there is nothing in the thing itself, except in as far as it flows from principle – from a faith.²¹

Arnold arrived in the colony with high expectations, fuelled by long-standing family connections with the New Zealand Company, his political ideals and his own reading:

Even before my father's death the colonization of New Zealand, in which he was so interested as to purchase two land sections for the New Zealand Company, caused me to read everything about New Zealand that I came across. The descriptions of virgin forests, snowclad mountains, rivers not yet tracked to their sources, and lakes imperfectly known, fascinated me as they have fascinated many since. And joining the two lines of thought together, my speculative fancy suggested that in a perfect locale such as New Zealand it might be destined that the true fraternity of the future – could founders and constitution-builders of the necessary genius and virtue be discovered – might be securely built up.²²

Arnold's ship the *John Wickliffe* first landed in Dunedin. A large number of the ship's passengers were 'Free Church' settlers, ejected from the Church of Scotland in the Great Disruption of 1843, heading for the new Presbyterian settlement of Otago. Arnold looked upon these men and women with some amusement, characterising them in terms of an exaggerated orthodoxy they

perhaps did not truly possess:

I hope I shall like the Free Church people; how alarmed the dear creatures would be if they knew what a mass of heresy and schism I had got down in the hold. Rousseau! Spinoza!! Hegel!!! Emerson!! Stanley observed that Spinoza and Hegel had probably never crossed the Line before.²³

He reported a conversation with the ship's captain, William Cargill, one of the scheme's architects, in which Cargill compared the Free Church members to the Pilgrim Fathers. Arnold was privately doubtful:

All this is very interesting; yet one sighs as one listens, and thinks to oneself how times are changed. Puritanism is no longer at the van of human thought; it is vain to try and cheat oneself into the belief that it is; and a man preaching Puritanism now, is like St. Paul preaching Judaism, when a better light had come into the world.²⁴

While Arnold was waiting in Dunedin to continue his journey to Wellington, the *Philip Laing* arrived, carrying Thomas Burns, nephew of the poet and first minister of the new settlement. Burns, who had set up a virtual theocracy on the voyage out, had a very different view to Cargill's. He told Arnold that the *Philip Laing's* emigrants were

a bad and disorderly set, indeed this Free Church Colony, which had the impudence to announce itself as walking in the footsteps of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the founders of which were to be so eminently religious and moral, seem to be mainly formed of as pretty a set of knaves and idle vagabonds as ever was seen.²⁵

Despite – or perhaps because of – his high ideals and anticipation, Arnold was disconcerted by his surroundings. At Taiaroa Head

[s]ome of us went on shore and climbed to the top of the head, on which was a small Maori settlement, housed in low mean *warès*, and dependent on its potato patches and fishing. Among the bones of huge whales ran about dirty pigs and children. The scene was cheerless, and the human element in the picture discouraging.²⁶

This was neither virgin forests, snowclad mountains, nor a locale for 'the true fraternity of the future'.

Wellington was a New Zealand Company settlement and thus had a strong though not officially endorsed Anglican flavour. The settlers were largely English, in contrast to the Scottish emphasis of Dunedin. The population of Pakeha (Europeans) was still small, but, Arnold felt, intellectually select. With imaginative optimism, he described them as 'ardent poets', 'gallant soldiers', 'the organisers of institutions, the scholars, the explorers of deserts and mountains'.²⁷ Yet he found the colony a dispiriting place. Arnold was a totally inexperienced farmer, and he felt

obliged to refuse an offer of the position of the governor's private secretary, as

the radical idea influenced me that men of independent character ought not to have anything to do with the Colonial Government so long as it was carried on by means of nominee, not representative assemblies.²⁸

'The demon of *ennui*' predominated: 'There was no hunting, no shooting, only poor fishing'.²⁹ He attempted to exchange his land in the Makara valley for a better section on the Porirua Road, and started clearing and building on the new land before he had gained the agreement of his father's trustees for the exchange. They refused permission. He abandoned his Porirua holding and moved to Nelson where he taught at Nelson Boys' College: 'I am better fitted to teach little boys English history than to invent improved methods of cultivation or breed fat cattle' he conceded.³⁰ He left New Zealand for Tasmania in 1850.

The friendships Arnold made in the new colony are recorded in his 1900 autobiography *Passages in a Wandering Life*. It is clear that many such recollections are based on nostalgia for the intellectual debates of his undergraduate years rather than any sense of engagement with his present situation. Of Frederic Weld, aristocrat and Catholic, who had attended Fribourg University, Arnold writes, 'we exchanged ideas and experiences on university subjects – we talked about yachting – we lent each other books' including 'a history of philosophy by the Jesuit professor Freudenfelt [which] seemed to me more genially and lucidly written than any similar book that had been put into my hands at Oxford'.³¹ Of a dinner at the house of Governor Grey's half-brother, he wrote to his mother that although it was 'a little bit of a wooden house consisting of just two rooms and a kitchen' and '[w]e did not dress ... there were silver forks etc, and everything went off so exactly the same as in England that I could have fancied myself in an undergraduate party at Oxford'.³²

It was in this context that he received and read Clough's poem:

The 'Bothie' found me in New Zealand before the end of 1848. The force and variety of this extraordinary poem, the melody of great portions of it, its penetrating dialectic, its portrayal of passionate tenderness, the nearness to Nature of its descriptions and in its whole texture, filled me with wonder and delight.³³

In fact, the poem, published in November 1848, reached Arnold a little later. In a letter of 24 September 1849 he wrote to Clough 'I cannot quite say I *hasten* to thank you for the "Bothie" and your poems, for I have now had them more than a month'.³⁴ And his immediate reaction was more nuanced than his memory suggested. In a letter to his mother he wrote that although it 'greatly surpasses my expectations', and is 'on the whole a noble poem, well held together, clear, full of purpose, full of promise' it has 'a vein of coarseness cropping out here and there'.³⁵ To Clough he wrote that the poem 'presents itself to me indeed rather as an action than a literary composition – an action, I truly think, among the boldest and purest that I have known'. Clough,

Arnold asserted, was his 'Hieland oracle'.³⁶

Alfred Domett, then Colonial Secretary for the Wellington Province, and friend and correspondent of Robert Browning, was a congenial co-reader and fellow aspirant poet and was, Arnold felt, 'the one man then in New Zealand' with whom he could share his experience of reading 'The Bothie', 'perhaps the only one, who was capable of valuing this treasure aright, and with him I hastened to share it ... A Cambridge man, he welcomed with generous fervour this strange product of the Oxford mind'.³⁷ Domett 'read it aloud straight through, two or three times to different persons, all of whom, so far as they could understand it, were delighted with it'.³⁸ The reservation, 'so far as they could understand it', suggests that colonial readers had the same difficulty with the poem as those in England. Nonetheless, Arnold felt that *The Bothie* 'portray[ed] with clearness and fidelity a portion of real human life passed on this actual world', was 'not ashamed or afraid to take up and handle the low and the trivial' as well as 'the high and the weighty'. He praised the realism of the characters' portrayal and compared it favourably to Domett's friend and mentor: 'not like so many masks, ill-concealing the author's own features, as in some of Browning's plays that I have read'. But his judgement that 'every one who hears the poem can find something to amuse and interest him, something which appeals to him, and chimes in with his favourite habits or tastes'³⁹ seems, ultimately, a little evasive.

When Arnold received Clough's poem he was staying with a farming family on the Porirua Road while he built a bothie of his own on the section he hoped to confirm ownership of. His deep friendship and continuing correspondence with the poet, his knowledge of the undergraduate culture that had inspired the poem, and the fact that Philip was at least in part modelled on himself gave his reading of *The Bothie* a particular intensity. As with his letters from his family, he used the poem as a way of recreating past times and lost places. Factual detail was a crucial part of his reading practice. He wrote to his friend John Campbell Shairp who had been a fellow undergraduate:

I want two or three questions answered. First, *Where* is the reading party supposed to be quartered? After laborious geographical and critical induction, I came to the conclusion that the place in the Grampians, I forget its name, where Clough met in 1846, must be intended. The line 'Eager to range over heather unfettered of gillie and Marquis' brought to my recollection Clough's having told me, that there was some glen near where they were then, Glen Tilt I think it was, which they were not allowed to enter, and about which he had some correspondence with the Duke of Athol. 2nd. Is Hesperus, the bathing pool a pure creation, or does it stand for the beautiful pool under the fall in the stream near Drumnadrochet? 3rd. Does not Adam, though of course in great part a creation, stand partly for Temple, partly for Stanley?⁴⁰

The ability to read the poem not in solitude but with congenial friends –specifically Domett and others in his circle – fostered a sociability based on class connection (as university- educated men) which other local reading communities, such as the newly-formed Port Nicholson Pickwick Club, could not aspire to. Domett’s poem *Ranolf and Amohia*, published on his return to England in 1872 but written during the previous decades, is different from *The Bothie* in many ways, but there are similarities which suggest a direct influence. In *Ranolf and Amohia* the sojourner Ranolf falls in love with a Māori princess rather than the daughter of a poor crofter, but the doubts that Amohia expresses about her ability to match Ranolf’s social class parallel Elspie’s hesitations in *The Bothie*. Amohia worries

That kindness might be pity—nay , it must!
 What else could be more likely—natural—just!
 What else could one of such exalted sphere
 Her fancy lifted to a realm so clear
 And high above her, from his glorious place
 Feel towards a being of inferior race,
 Such as her love still made herself appear?⁴¹

Elspie has similar feelings:

Terror nameless and ill understood of deserting her station,—
 Daily heavier, heavier upon her pressed the sorrow,
 Daily distincter, distincter within her arose the conviction,
 He was too high, too perfect, and she so unfit, so unworthy,
 (Ah me! Philip, that ever a word such as that should be written!) ,
 It would do neither for him; nor for her; she also was something,
 Not much indeed and different, yet not to be lightly extinguished.
 Should *he—he*, she said, have a wife beneath him? herself be
 An inferior there where only equality can be?
 It would do neither for him nor, for her. (45)

The metaphor Elspie uses to compare Philip’s superior education, culture and understanding of the world – a torrent of water sweeping her away – is suggestive of the flood that nearly kills Amohia. Elspie explains:

That was what I dreamt all last night. I was the burnie,
 Trying to get along through the tyrannous brine, and could not;
 I was confined and squeezed in the coils of the great salt tide, that
 Would mix-in itself with me, and change me; I felt myself changing;
 And I struggled, and screamed, I believe, in my dream. It was dreadful.
 You are too strong, Mr. Philip! I am but a poor slender burnie,
 Used to the glens and the rocks, the rowan and birch of the woodies,

Quite unused to the great salt sea; quite afraid and unwilling. (43)

Domett describes Amohia:

Alas! no strength of limb or will,
 No stoutest heart, no swimmer's skill
 Could long withstand the headlong weight and force
 Of that wild tide in its tumultuous course!—
 Soon was she swept away—whirled o'er and o'er—
 And hurried out of conscious life
 In that o'erwhelming turbulence and roar
 Almost without a sense of pain or strife.⁴²

And the expansive structure of *Ranolf and Amohia*, with its ability to deal (at length) with complex philosophical arguments as well as with plot, description and character, were perhaps learnt by Domett from his serial performances of Clough's work.

In its new context of the Porirua Road *The Bothie*, read in terms of its Oxford genesis by readers and critics in England, can be seen as open to a different kind of interpretive frame, that of the immigration narrative. The poem's depiction of Scotland and Scottish characters enacts the preliminary and necessary immigration impetus of need and dispossession, with Philip's outrage at the inequalities of the Scottish class system, 'marquis and gillie', and his boredom with the touristic role of the reading party giving this trope a particularly sharp focus. The old world is pictured in all its disadvantage. Any conventional Romantic notion of the sublimity of Scottish scenery is vitiated by being viewed through the superficial perspective of Clough's undergraduate tourists, associated with the restrictive snobbery of the land-owning classes, and contrasted with the admirable but severely un-Romantic industriousness of David Mackaye and his family. The unpicturesque *Bothie* of Toper-na-fuosich is finally seen as the source of greater value than the elegance of the Scottish aristocracy or the beauty of the landscapes the reading party encounter. Consistent with immigration narratives, Philip and Elspie's marriage marks an identification with the future. And the naming of that future as a specific geographical place, New Zealand, is consonant with the philosophy of the New Zealand Company and its adherents that the settler colonies embody modernity and reform. Ulin cites the poem's 'attention to the power of language to reclaim the landscape for the purposes of modernity while retaining, or even reasserting, traditional pastoral associations'.⁴³ But this is convoluted. Rather *The Bothie* suggests that the Scottish landscape can only be reclaimed by being exchanged for a settler version. Only in the settler colonies can modernity and traditional values be integrated.

Philip and Elspie's new immigrant life is symbolised in the material objects that Philip's Oxford friends give them: a medicine-chest, a tool-box, a saddle, a plough, a rifle, a necklace for Elspie, a family bible and an iron bedstead (53). It is all reminiscent of Arnold's own immigrant preparations, but for the absence of an Elspie. The poem concludes:

They are married and gone to New Zealand.
 Five hundred pounds in pocket, with books, and two or three pictures,
 Tool-box, plough, and the rest, they rounded the sphere to New Zealand.
 There he hewed, and dug; subdued the earth and his spirit;
 There he built him a home; there Elspie bare him his children,
 David and Bella; perhaps ere this too an Elspie or Adam;
 There hath he farmstead and land, and fields of corn and flax fields;
 And the Antipodes too have a Bothie of Toper-na-fuosich. (55)

Scotland is both insufficient for the couple's present needs and, as demonstrated by the recreation of the *Bothie of Toper-na-fuosich* in New Zealand, identical to the new place, so that leaving will not be a rupture. As Arnold wrote to Clough from Wellington in June 1848, 'every thing is so novel, and yet so immediately recalls everything beautiful that one has seen in former times and in other countries'.⁴⁴

NOTES

1 Arthur Hugh Clough, *The Bothie of Toper-na-fuosich: a Long-Vacation Pastoral* (Oxford: Francis Macpherson; London: Chapman and Hall, 1848), p. 23. Subsequent page references are in the text. Clough revised the poem for the American collected edition of his works in 1859, changing the title (see note 7, below). The place name he substituted, Tober-na-Vuolich, is, according to Patrick Scott, 'innocuous and nearly meaningless'. *The Bothie: the Text of 1848*, ed. Patrick Scott (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976), p. 23. The significance of the revisions Clough made for the later edition is discussed by Scott, pp. 23-5.

2 *The Spectator*, 2 December 1848; *Clough: the Critical Heritage*, ed. Michael Thorpe (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p.31.

3 To Thomas Arnold, 27 November 1848, *The New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger with further Letters from Van Diemen's Land and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough, 1847-1851*, ed. James Bertram (London and Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 122.

4 *Fraser's Magazine*, January 1849; *Clough: the Critical Heritage*, pp. 46-7.

5 See, for example, Rod Edmond, *Affairs of the Hearth: Victorian Narrative Poetry and the Ideology of the Domestic* (London: Routledge, 1988); Donald Ulin, 'Tourism and the Contest for Cultural Authority in Clough's *Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich*', *Victorian Poetry*, 37.1 (Spring 1999), 71-97; Joseph Patrick Phelan, 'Radical Metre: the English Hexameters in Clough's *Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich*', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 50.198 (1999), 166-187; Meg Tasker, 'Time, Tense, and Genre: a Bakhtinian Analysis of Clough's *Bothie*', *Victorian Poetry*, 34 (1996), 193-211. The variety of readings are summarised in Francis O'Gorman, 'Clough's Difficulties', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 36.2 (2006), 125-38.

6 *Clough: the Critical Heritage*, p. 30; quoted in Ulin, 'Tourism and the Contest for Cultural Authority': 78.

7 An anonymous reviewer in the *Literary Gazette* in August 1849 was the first to point out that in adopting *Toper-na-fuosich* as his place name Clough was the victim of 'a vile jest', *Clough: the Critical Heritage*, p. 49. W.M. Rossetti in his review in *The Germ* (1850) translates the phrase as 'the hut of the bearded well, a somewhat singular title', Katharine Chorley, *Arthur Hugh Clough: The Uncommitted Mind: A Study of his Life and Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1962), p. 168, note 1.

8 Chorley, *Arthur Hugh Clough*, p. 141.

9 To J.C. Shairp, 3 October 1847, *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*, vol. 1, ed. Frederick L Mulhauser (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 185.

10 To Anne Clough, 26 July 1847, *Correspondence*, 1, p. 184.

11 To J.C. Shairp, 1 September 1847, *Correspondence*, 1, p. 184.

12 To J.C. Shairp, 3 October 1847, *Correspondence*, 1, p. 185.

13 Ulin, 'Tourism and the Contest for Cultural Authority', p. 72.

14 See Judith Flanders, *Consuming Passions: Leisure and Pleasure in Victorian Britain* (London: Harper, 2006), pp. 226-7.

15 To J.C. Shairp, 1 September 1847, *Correspondence*, 1, p. 185. For a discussion of the timing of *The Bothie's* composition, see R.B. Rutland, 'The Genesis of Clough's *Bothie*', *Victorian Poetry*, 11.4 (1973), 277-84. Patrick Scott states 'The poem was written, printed, revised and published in the space of about two months', *The Bothie: the Text of 1848*, p. 5.

16 Queen Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands, from 1848 to 1862* (1867), quoted in John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature, 1720-1829* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1997), pp. 232, 231. Victoria toured Scotland in 1842, 1844 and 1847. In his final chapter, Glendening discusses the 'Balmoralisation' of Scotland during this period, popularised by Victoria but, Glendening argues, well underway by the time of her purchase of Balmoral in 1852.

17 Ulin, 'Tourism and the Contest for Cultural Authority', p. 83.

18 See *The Bothie: the Text of 1848*, 'Appendix 1: Some Models for Clough's Characters', pp. 81-2. Scott cites Clough as claiming the work was both 'fiction, purely fiction' and 'here and there' based on his Oxford friends.

19 Thomas Arnold, *Passages in a Wandering Life* (London: Edward Arnold, 1900), p. 63.

20 To Mrs Arnold, 1 August 1847, *Letters*, p. 4.

21 To Jane Arnold, 22 September 1847, *Letters*, pp. 6-7.

22 Arnold, *Passages*, p. 64.

23 To A H Clough, 18 November 1847, *Letters*, p. 9. The works of Spinoza had been a parting gift from Clough.

24 To Mrs Arnold, 24 November 1847, *Letters*, p. 16. For Cargill's career, see Tom Brooking, 'Cargill, William', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (2010) <<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/1c4/1>> [accessed 1 September 2013]

25 To Mrs Arnold, 26 April 1848, *Letters*, p. 41. Arnold felt that 'it was a clever dodge, in order to make lands sell, to represent this Colony as connected with the Free Church movement, and to establish a Church and School fund, etc; but if anyone were so deluded as to come out here under the expectation of finding a religious community, in the true sense of the word, he would find himself, I think, very much mistaken'.

26 Arnold, *Passages*, p. 74.

27 Arnold, *Passages*, p. 120.

28 Arnold, *Passages*, p. 90.

29 Arnold, *Passages*, p. 84.

30 To Mrs Arnold, 25 June 1848, *Letters*, p. 54. Arnold made a concerted effort to persuade Clough to join him in Nelson. See his letter 29 June 1848, *Letters*, p. 57-8. 'What sort of place is Nelson?' Clough wrote in November 1848, 'I

forget where it is. Would you take me for 3 years?—you and Donnett [sic]?', *Letters*, p. 121.

- 31 Arnold, *Passages*, p. 99.
- 32 To Mrs Arnold, 26 April 1848, *Letters*, p. 46.
- 33 Arnold, *Passages*, p. 62.
- 34 To Clough, 24 September 1849, *Letters*, p. 141.
- 35 To Mrs Arnold, 2 September 1849, *Letters*, p. 135.
- 36 To Clough, 24 September 1849, *Letters*, pp. 141-2.
- 37 Arnold, *Passages*, p. 63.
- 38 To J.C. Shairp, 6 December 1849, *Letters*, p. 164.
- 39 To J.C. Shairp, 6 December 1849, *Letters*, p. 164.
- 40 To J.C. Shairp, 6 December 1849, *Letters*, p. 165.
- 41 Alfred Domett, *Ranolf and Amohia: A South-Sea Day-Dream* (London: Smith, Elder, 1872), p. 427.
- 42 Alfred Domett, *Ranolf and Amohia: A South-Sea Day-Dream* (London: Smith, Elder, 1872), p. 446.
- 43 Ulin, 'Tourism and the Contest for Cultural Authority', p. 74.
- 44 To A.H. Clough, 26 June 1848, *Letters*, p. 57.



Building Friendships:

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The Beach of Falesá and *The Ebb-Tide*

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Building Friendships:

'Civility' and 'Savagery' in R.L. Stevenson's *The Beach of Falesá* and *The Ebb-Tide*

Anne Maxwell

Between alighting in Samoa in 1887-8 and dying of a brain haemorrhage in 1894, Robert Louis Stevenson wrote extensively about his experiences in the South Pacific. Described as one of the most moralistic writers of the late nineteenth century,¹ his Pacific fiction certainly lives up to the claim – earned from the stories he wrote while living in Scotland, England and America – that he was fascinated by the human propensity to behave according to the dictates of civility and savagery, as well as good and evil.²

Stevenson's use of the Pacific as a theatre for studying human behaviour stemmed from his recognition that for some Europeans, it represented a way to escape the more pernicious effects of the bourgeois lifestyle and the European class system, while for others it represented an opportunity to exploit a vulnerable race of people and the region's resources. Arguably it is in the two novellas composed right at the end of his life – *The Beach of Falesá* (1893) and *The Ebb-Tide* (1893-4) – that we see his ideas about civility and savagery being most vividly played out in fiction. Reading these stories it becomes clear that Stevenson believed many Europeans were not the civilized creatures they claimed to be; rather their violent and greedy behaviour, together with their lack of restraint and incapacity for feeling, rendered them more like the stereotypical ignoble savages who as a result of missionary and imperialist propaganda had become a mainstay of Victorian fiction.³ Indeed, it was Stevenson's view that if anyone deserved the title 'civilized' it was not the Europeans who were in the Pacific to save souls or make money, but the large number of islanders whose lives and lifestyles they were inadvertently destroying in the process.

This was not the first time that Stevenson had challenged the values that many Victorians had come to attach to the concepts of civility and savagery. He had used this same idea for his novel *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), only here it was the equation between civility and adherence to middle class norms that he questioned, and not the automatic connection between civility and white skin.⁴ When he was writing that novel Stevenson seems to have accepted the idea – prevalent in European scientific and aesthetic circles – that both a whole people as well as single individuals could revert to a state of savagery in a short time;⁵ but he also seems to have held to the belief that the middle classes had never really ceased to be savage, remaining at heart remarkably 'brutish' and 'selfish' in their habits and attitudes. Moreover, the increasing emphasis that modern society placed on capitalism and the ideology of individualism encouraged these

traits. Similarly with the Pacific stories; it is the white races that emerge as the most heartless and uncaring, suggesting that ultimately for Stevenson true civility was not a trait commonly found in European society, but rather in those island societies that promoted communal values and sociability. Many of these same ideas appeared in the book that Stevenson wrote not long after he and his wife Fanny settled permanently in that part of Samoa known as Vailima and only two years before he wrote his last two pieces of short fiction.⁶ Before I examine the stories where he gave vent to his ideas on the twin concepts of civility and savagery I want to refer to this book because I believe that it helps explain from where Stevenson obtained his idea that the capitalist-based form of imperialism being practised in the Pacific was not just costing lives and destroying whole cultures, it was also bringing moral disrepute to Europeans generally.

In 1888 Stevenson and Fanny undertook a voyage to the Marquesas, the Paumotu, the Gilbert Islands, and Honolulu, the result of which was the collection of letters and essays that Stevenson titled *In the South Seas* (1889).⁷ Much criticism has focused on the damage done by this book to Stevenson's reputation as a writer of romance, but what interests me here is not the book's adoption of a more journalistic or anthropological style even though as critics have rightly observed these were new to him; it is rather what it reveals of how Stevenson was using the terms civility and savagery in this last, Pacific-based, phase of his writing career, and of his attempts to understand the nature of Polynesian society and the way it was coping under the impact of European imperialism and capitalism especially. Above all, I want to establish what to his mind constituted the relative virtues and shortcomings of the Polynesian lifestyle and how these stood when measured against the moral values of so-called modern, enlightened Europeans.

The very first essay of *In the South Seas* is titled 'Making Friends' and its main contention is that as a native-born Scots person Stevenson felt he had an advantage over most other Europeans when it came to appreciating and understanding Polynesian peoples, society and customs. This was because in his view the two cultures shared a number of important characteristics. The first is a linguistic feature – their common elision of medial consonants and 'that prevalent Polynesian sound, the so-called catch, written with an apostrophe, and often or always the gravestone of a perished consonant'.⁸ Stevenson's explanation for this mutual feature is that both populations had become isolated at a vital stage in their past, in turn causing the mispronunciation to become the rule. Ironically it was this same phenomenon of isolation that Darwinian theorists were seizing upon to explain why it was that the Pacific cultures had not progressed.

The second is their common grounding in what Stevenson himself called 'savage' customs and superstitious beliefs. Stevenson says, 'When I desired any detail of savage custom, or of superstitious belief, I cast back in the story of my fathers, and fished for what I wanted with some trait of equal barbarism'.⁹ According to Stevenson, the effect was immediate: 'the native was no longer ashamed; his sense of kinship grew warmer, and his lips were opened'.¹⁰ Nor do the similarities end there, extending to the gloomy qualities of the landscape on a stormy night:

And then I turned shoreward, and high squalls were over head; the mountains loomed up black; and I could have fancied I had slipped ten thousand miles away and was anchored in a Highland loch; that when the day came, it would show pine, and heather, and green fern, and roots of turf sending up the smoke of peats; and the alien speech that should greet my ears must be Gaelic, not Kanaka.¹¹

The effect of these parallels is to deny the idea of a natural hierarchy of races and cultures between Scots and Pacific Islanders; but it is also to show the importance of friendships to the long-term survival of the island cultures of the Pacific. I will return to this idea of friendships and their importance for saving the Polynesian lifestyle shortly. For the moment I want to look more closely at how Stevenson set about undermining the idea of a racial hierarchy and why this was important to his ideas about civility and savagery.

At the time Stevenson wrote *In the South Seas*, the mounting influence of Darwinian thinking strengthened and elaborated earlier belief in a natural hierarchy of races.¹² In *On The Origin of Species* (1859) Darwin had argued that all life forms were caught up in the struggle for existence and that only those species that could adapt to their changing environments would flourish. By 1871 he had extended this same theory to humans and introduced the further idea that the so-called 'civilized' races, by which he meant the Caucasian or white-skinned races, would prevail in the contest for survival because being more highly evolved they would 'almost certainly exterminate, and replace, the [weaker] savage races'.¹³

The essays in Stevenson's *In the South Seas* suggest that while he himself accepted the view that many Pacific Islands were undergoing a process of depopulation he did not accept the social-Darwinist explanation that the decline had an evolutionary cause or that it was inevitable. Instead, he pointed to the destabilizing impact of cultural loss, linking the growing despondency of many islanders to the disruption of pre-contact customs and beliefs. Stevenson noted that varying groups of islanders responded differently to radically altered circumstances, the chapter 'Depopulation' linking Samoan resilience, pleasure and strength of tradition:

The Polynesian falls 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 smiling picture of the island life.¹⁴

For Stevenson it is the rapid loss of customs and traditions that explains why the Polynesian race was dwindling. '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'.¹⁵

The book reveals that Stevenson attributed at least some of the blame to those evangelical missionaries who had said to the islanders 'thou shall not dance, you shall not sing, you shall not smoke, under the possible penalty of eternal damnation in the next world'.¹⁶ However, he also blamed the European desire to make money at any cost since this involved exploiting the islanders' weaknesses. Here Stevenson singles out some of the island traders for heavy criticism, especially those who dealt in hard liquor and useless consumer goods.¹⁷ But he was also critical of those copra plantation owners who having imported Chinese labourers to work their trees then turned a blind eye to the large quantities of opium these men were peddling to Islanders.

Given that the missionaries and mercantile capitalism were profoundly different from anything that had gone before, it was hard to see how a people with communal values and little experience of money could survive. Certainly the motivating forces of money and material wealth that seemed to drive Europeans were not something that islanders were familiar with; nor was seeking religious converts or the individual wielding power for the sake of it something that they had been taught to admire. Rather their view of power was that it was inherited and therefore not the right of anyone, and when it was exercised it was usually for the good of the whole society, seldom for the individual.¹⁸ The cultural explanation for population decline that Stevenson proffered had important implications for European claims to civility because it meant that such decline could no longer be put down to the inexorable forces of nature, but to the fecklessness of many of the Europeans who had decided to make the Pacific their stomping ground. If Stevenson had a main purpose in writing this book it was precisely to demonstrate this. On the other hand, Stevenson was also at pains to show that not every aspect of traditional Polynesian society answered to civility either. While in the Gilbert Islands he had chanced to see two women rolling around on the grass, the uppermost one with her teeth locked in her adversary's face, and the other one impotently fighting and scratching.¹⁹ Stevenson was later to learn that it was 'correct manners for a jealous man to hang himself, but a jealous woman has a different remedy – she bites her rival'.²⁰ Having had time to reflect upon the incident, Stevenson wrote:

The harm done was probably not much, yet I could have looked on death and massacre with less revolt. The return of these primeval weapons, the vision of man's beastliness, of his ferality, shocked in me a deeper sense than that with which we count the cost of battles [...] Crime, pestilence, and death are the day's work; the imagination readily accepts them. It instinctively rejects, on the contrary, whatever shall call up the image of our race on its lowest terms, as the partner of beasts, beastly itself, dwelling pell-mell and hugger-mugger, hairy man with hairy woman, in the caves of old.²¹

What Stevenson is lamenting is the momentary loss of those human traits that have enabled humans to rise above their brute passions and instincts. In a civil society those instincts are discouraged and replaced with ones that facilitate social cooperation, whereas in a savage society they are allowed to reign unchallenged, with the result that conflicts can only be resolved through

brute force.

As with personal disputes so with the larger cultural struggle taking place across the Pacific: it was Stevenson's view that unless Europeans developed a better understanding and knowledge of Pacific cultures, they would rip the people and their cultures apart. According to him, such an understanding could best be achieved through friendship. The whole point about friendship and why it seemed so important to Stevenson in the context of the Pacific is that it protected against annihilation by highlighting people's similarities and downplaying their differences; indeed, it is precisely because friendship is based on liking and respect that it tolerates and even values differences. However, for Stevenson both friendship and civility rely on the cultivation of those higher instincts that bind people together. Highest of all, because it impels people to momentarily put themselves in the place of the other, is the trait of sympathy.

Here we touch upon the ideas of that towering figure of the Scottish Enlightenment, David Hume. Even though Stevenson may not have been thinking of Hume directly when he penned his book, the connection is a useful one to make since both men belonged to a tradition of thinking that stressed the importance of sentiment to the highest forms of human behaviour.²² In *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40), Hume described sympathy as the ability to feel with others while still recognising that the feelings are those of the other person. Thus he says, 'Tis indeed evident, that when we sympathize with the passions and sentiments of others, these movements . . . are conceiv'd to belong to another person'.²³ He also writes about sympathy as though it was a disease that one could catch from others, as when he says, 'A cheerful countenance infuses sensible complacency and serenity into my mind; as an angry or sorrowful one throws a sudden damp upon me'.²⁴ He adds that the fact of visible physical resemblance 'must very much contribute to make us enter into the sentiments of others; and embrace them with facility and pleasure'.²⁵

According to Hume the closer we are to a person both in terms of space, kinship or affection the more likely we are to empathise with them. But this doesn't preclude the idea of there being a common human bond between people that renders it possible to feel empathy for strangers or even enemies, as when he says, 'Now 'tis obvious, that nature has preserv'd a great resemblance among all human creatures, and that we never remark any passion or principle in others, of which, in some degree or other, we may not find a parallel in ourselves'.²⁶ It is this ability to rise above our own interests and to feel sorrow, compassion and pity for people who are entirely different that we see repeatedly exercised by Stevenson in his account of the people of the Pacific, and never more so than when he refers to the feelings of sorrow and pity he felt for the lepers of Kona, the solitary and penniless islanders like the man Tari who was shunned by his community because he was injured, and the poor simple folk of the Marquesas for 'whom death was coming in like a tide'.²⁷

Significantly, Hume argued for the role of emotion or sentiment in the development of the moral capacity; after all it is only by imagining ourselves in the place of the people whom we are hurting or harming that we can glimpse the pain we are causing others and hence feel bad about it.²⁸ At the other extreme, Kant argued that it was reason that formed the basis of the moral capacity. Reason, in freeing the self from the control of the passions, allows for order and peace to reign in a person's consciousness. However, according to Hume, the problem with allowing only reason to shape moral thought is that emotions like sympathy get left out, with the result that not only are people unable to imagine what others are feeling, but their sense of being accountable for the pain and suffering caused to others, is also undermined.²⁹

For Stevenson it is the adherence to sentiment rather than reason that helped make Polyne-sians behave in a more civilized fashion than Europeans. The privileging of community values over individual values only added to this. By the same token, the European lack of sentiment and western society's turning away from the cultivation of sympathy helps explain why so many Europeans could occupy other people's lands and destroy their cultures without a semblance of regret. Its emphasis on personal relations meant that what *In the South Seas* had to offer by way of political analysis was limited. Indeed, most critics are of the view that Stevenson saved his political analysis of what was taking place in the Pacific for the small book he wrote next. His *A Foot-note to History* (1892), is not so much about the destructive effects of capitalism as a description of the unscrupulous way the three imperial powers, Britain Germany and the USA, set about gaining an economic foothold in Samoa (and in the case of Germany imperial control) by manipulating the temporary squabble that was taking place between the two hereditary chiefs, Maleitoa Laupepa and Mataafa, who were at that time vying for the throne of Samoa. Perhaps realising that sympathy and friendship would have little impact in this scenario Stevenson for once became politically involved, throwing his weight behind firstly Mataafa and then eventually both chiefs in the belief that only through a political union could they stave off the imperial powers.³⁰ As he notes in the book's closing pages:

There is one way to peace and unity; that Laupepa and Mataafa should be again conjoined on the best terms procurable.³¹

The Beach of Falesá and *The Ebb-Tide* followed in the wake of *In the South Seas* and *A Foot-note to History* and indeed some of the characters were based on real people who feature in these works.³² Unlike Stevenson's earlier romances, neither story has a happy ending; moreover the main protagonists exhibit significant moral flaws, making it hard for the reader to feel sympathy for them. On the other hand, the cultural relativist idea that the islanders are far from inveterate savages, and indeed manifest many of the traits traditionally associated with civility, is central to these works, as is the idea that Europeans' failed (or sham) civility is behind the islanders' misfortunes and decline. As with *In the South Seas*, it is primarily the capitalism practised by small-time, avaricious traders that forms Stevenson's main target. Nothing illustrates this better than the white characters themselves and how they treat the various island people with whom they come

into contact.

In *The Beach of Falesá* it is Case the white trader whom the reader judges as savage and the islanders who represent the most striking instances of civility. Case not only exploits the islanders' superstitious propensities in order that they might believe him to be invested with magical powers, but he masquerades as a friend to the new trader Wiltshire all the while robbing him of customers. Wiltshire, the brash working-class narrator of the story, eventually discovers the extent of his so-called friend's treachery, but not before he also discovers that Case has instigated the murders of several other rival traders. Furthermore, all Case's machinations are done for a single purpose – monetary gain, something he hopes to achieve by completely dominating the local trade in copra. But Wiltshire himself is hardly portrayed as the acme of civility: his capacity for brute behaviour surfaces most obviously when he finally succeeds in avenging himself on Case. In the section of *The Treatise* where he discusses morals, Hume describes the civilizing process that allows us to live peacefully with one another in spite of our natural greed, saying a civilized person 'adheres to justice from reason; that is, from a calm regard to public good, or to a character with himself and others'.³³ Wiltshire, far from seeking justice through calm, peaceable means and the holding of his passions in check, resorts to rank physical violence. Not only does he launch an unprovoked bodily attack on Case when he meets him on the beach, but when he finally murders him by stabbing him in the stomach, he is not content to plunge the knife in once.

With that, I gave him the cold steel for all I was worth. His body kicked under me like a spring sofa; he gave a dreadful kind of long moan, and lay still [...] When I came to myself [...] the first thing I attended was to give him the knife again a half dozen times up to the handle. I believe he was dead already; but it did him no harm and did me good.³⁴

Though Wiltshire is portrayed as a man of uncommonly devilish passion with coarse manners and a fiery temperament, it would seem he is not beyond all hope. His sobriety and the fact he has a conscience are his saving graces, as is his marriage to the ever gracious and ever generous Uma. It is Uma who shows him the evil of his ways by always treating him with the utmost civility. When he insists upon marrying Uma properly (after an initial sham wedding arranged by Case) it is because her own excellent treatment of him shames him into doing so, and because deep at heart he respects her right as a human being to be treated with dignity and respect. Wiltshire also has sufficient moral integrity to recognise the intrinsic civility of most of the other natives. For example, it does not take him long to notice the gentlemanly traits of the big chief Mea with whom he finally manages to transact some business. Nor is it just Mea's natural taste for good quality cigars that Wiltshire admires, it is also the liberal manner in which he spends his money, his largesse towards his people generally and his readiness to share jokes with a white man – all signs of courtesy as far as Wiltshire is concerned. The contrast with Case is clear:

There is no doubt when an island Chief wants to be civil he can do it. I saw the way things were from the word go. There was no call for Uma to say to me: 'He no

'fraid Ese now; come bring copra'. I tell you I shook hands with that Kanaka like as if he was the best white man in Europe. (BOF 58)

Roslyn Jolly has noted that the civilising of Wiltshire is largely achieved through the process of domestication.³⁵ It is Uma's inability to cook edible food and to make drinkable tea that instigates this transformation. As he becomes increasingly wedded to domestic and family life Wiltshire learns the art of caring for others, the very traits that Uma had shown him from the very beginning. As Jolly rightly intimates, the domestic sphere is not just a place of the feminine, it is also the place where traditionally the sympathetic passions are leavened and honed. When we leave Wiltshire he is still in the process of learning how to be civil, but he still retains some of the savage, and not the least of this is his desire to be free of the pledge to deal fairly with the natives that Tarleton forced from him on the day he departed for England.

In *The Ebb-Tide*, Stevenson returned to romance after his one and only attempt at domestic fiction. But as with *The Beach of Falesá* the romance elements – which include three mismatched vagabonds who steal a schooner and land on a remote, seemingly deserted island somewhere near Tahiti – are a superficial wrapping for the moral kernel. The four white men at the centre of the narrative together represent the extremes of civility and savagery, but they also demonstrate how easily the one can be mistaken for the other, especially when people are judged only on appearances.

Attwater, the man who prevails over the pearl industry on the island, demonstrates that civility or lack of it has little or nothing to do with clothes, manners or class. Attwater is from the aristocratic classes and like Tarleton, the missionary from *The Beach of Falesá*, he dresses immaculately in the white uniform of the tropics, yet he is the quintessential brute masquerading behind the outward face of civility. The phrase 'silken brutality' captures perfectly the disjuncture between what the three newcomers Herrick, Davis and Huish along with the natives see when they meet Attwater, and what they get. Critics have remarked on Attwater's similarity to the character Kurtz in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1896);³⁶ both men claim to be civilising the natives, and yet both turn out to be cruel and greedy tyrants whose underlying motivation is the riches they can extort from the natives in the form of ivory (Kurtz) and pearls (Attwater). I would agree that the parallels are sufficiently striking to suggest that Conrad used Attwater as a model for Kurtz in addition to King Leopold of Belgium; however, I would also argue that there are important differences, the most fundamental of which is Attwater's lack of feeling or affect. The fact that Kurtz lives among the natives and takes an African mistress suggests that he at least has feelings for the natives he enslaves; moreover, his frightful utterance as he expires suggests he dies haunted by inner demons. Attwater by contrast forms no personal connections with his charges; nor does he experience any guilt. Rather, he rids himself of all emotion in a bid to become the supreme master of the island. His essential lack of interest in the natives and their culture is born out by his cold indifference to their sufferings as one by one they fall ill to the fatal illness that he himself brought to the island. Timothy Hayes points to the total lack of feeling at his core:

Attwater's [...] identity never seems to have been threatened by his new life in the South Seas. Driven by his own ego and desire for more wealth, Attwater views his island workers as pieces on a chess board that he can manipulate with ease.³⁷

Attwater's comments concerning missionary work also reveal much about the man's indelible coldness. When asked by Herrick what brought him to the Pacific he replies,

Many things [...] Youth, curiosity, romance, the love of the sea, and (it will surprise you to hear) an interest in missions. That has a good deal declined [...] They go the wrong way to work; they are too parsonish, too much of the old wife, and even the old apple-wife [...] They think a parsonage with roses, and church bells, and nice old women bobbing in the lanes, are part and parcel of religion. But religion is a savage thing, like the universe it illuminates; savage, cold, and bare, but infinitely strong.³⁸

Once again it is the feminine aspects of culture and people, indeed precisely the features traditionally associated with civility that are being rejected here; but not only that – anything remotely sentimental, social or even human. Oliver Buckton observes that Attwater is more interested in exerting control over other people than in making money. Hayes agrees, saying he sees himself as God's representative and uses religion to obtain acolytes – servants or slaves who will worship at his feet. By story's end he has cajoled Davis, the schooner's captain, into staying on the island and becoming a devotee, but once he realises he has failed to similarly seduce Herrick he does not bother to hide his cynicism.

The rapture was all gone from Attwater's countenance; the dark apostle had disappeared; and in his place there stood an easy, sneering gentleman, who took off his hat and bowed. It was pertly done, and the blood burned in Herrick's face. 'What did you mean by that?' he cried. (*ET* 207)

What Attwater meant of course is that his religious fervour was an act designed to trick Herrick into believing he had a special compact with God. As Buckton has pointed out, his preaching is all about power – the building of an empire over which he can reign in uncompromising fashion.³⁹

In the story only the natives (and possibly Herrick) qualify as civil. Herrick doesn't drink and he abhors violence. However, unlike Wiltshire, this well-brought up 'gentleman', whose only failing is that he is completely 'incompetent', does not trade with or marry into the native community, but continues all the while to dream of his fiancée in England, and consequently he never comes close to being 'Kanakaised' like Wiltshire. On the other hand, unlike the other Europeans in the story, he is not indifferent to the natives and their plight. On board the schooner, as his companions become increasingly drunk, he spends long nights in sympathetic conversation with Uncle Ned the native cook, who tells him 'his simple and hard story of exile, suffering and injustice among cruel whites' and who in return pronounces him a 'gootch man!' (*ET* 167).

That the story ends on an even more pessimistic note than *The Beach of Falesá* suggests that Stevenson was increasingly of the view that the Pacific was becoming like the atoll – a beautiful but lifeless graveyard, its peoples and cultures stripped bare and pummelled to sand by the essentially indifferent winds coming from Europe. When Herrick finally quits the island, nothing much has changed. Huish is dead, shot by Attwater, who unlike Case is still alive and still exerting a tyrannous influence over the few remaining natives, plus Davis. Herrick's lucky escape might have instilled in him a new-found sense of hope, enough at least to start him dreaming once more about returning to Europe and marrying his fiancée, but we don't know how long this mood will last nor even how realistic is his dream, given that Herrick has never been a man of action. Furthermore, if he did manage to return to Europe, we are left with the realisation that the people of the Pacific would be bereft of one more 'gootch man'.

Unlike the whites the natives are unambiguously civil throughout. It is they who assume the control of the schooner in the drunken Davis' absence and who loyally remain on board even when the stores run out. As Herrick himself remarks, 'They were kindly, cheery, childish souls' (*ET* 168). They are also remarkably religious; indeed, as he remembers the way each brought forth his Bible on a Sunday and read or made to believe to read a chapter, Herrick himself reflects that it was a cutting reproof to compare the islanders and the whites aboard the *Farallone*. This raises the question of Stevenson's much vaunted romanticism. By placing savagery more on the side of Europeans and civility more on the side of Pacific Islanders in these stories, was he being excessively romantic about them at the expense of stressing the Europeans' better traits? Perhaps he was; but he was also suggesting that the Europeans' flaws were the more serious because they were cause large-scale suffering and death. This brings us back to the problem of what Stevenson saw as Europeans' general decline into savagery and the problem this posed not just for Pacific peoples, but also for Europeans themselves.

The two tales together suggest that Stevenson thought the decline of civilized behaviour among Europeans was caused by their constant emphasis on the individual and their equally powerful fetish for money, a development which had led in turn to the banishing of the sympathetic passions to that corner of the mind associated with feminine weakness and lack of virility. The stories also imply that he thought the desire to dominate other people and cultures that was implicit to imperialism was eating away at Europeans' capacity for moral behaviour; and that unless they could put a stop to this predilection for domination by beginning to value and even learn from the cultures they were doing their best to destroy, this downward moral spiral would continue.

This returns us to the point about Stevenson being one of the most moral writers of his age. Like his friend and contemporary Henry James, he did not write simply to entertain: Stevenson's stories were also aimed at getting readers to ask what constitutes good and bad behaviour

in humans. This is perhaps another way of saying that his move to the Pacific far from bringing a whole new direction to his writing, enabled him to continue studying what was arguably his life long subject – the moral failings as well as strengths of humanity as a whole: only here in the south Pacific he could study it by watching the interactions of two strikingly different and unevenly matched cultures.

NOTES

1 Barry Menikoff, for example, has remarked that ‘from the beginning critics have commented, and not always favourably, on an abiding moral element as one of the salient characteristics of Stevenson’s fiction’. See his ‘Introduction’ to *The Complete Stories of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New York: Modern Library, 2002), p. xvii. Jenni Calder writes ‘all Stevenson’s fiction reveals a preeminent concern with the moral dimensions of man’. See ‘Introduction’ to Robert Louis Stevenson, *Island Landfalls: Reflections from the South Seas* (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 1987), p. xvii.

2 Among the scholars who have made this claim is Julia Reid. See her book *Robert Louis Stevenson, Science and the Fin de Siècle* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 6.

3 See for example Michelle McKeown, *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa /New Zealand and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 20.

4 Stephen Arata, ‘The Sedulous Ape: Atavism, Professionalism and Stevenson’s “Jekyll and Hyde”’, *Criticism*, 72.2 (1995), 235-36.

5 Some critics, including Stephen Arata, have linked this concept of savagery to the discourses of atavism and criminality that were circulating at the time. According to Arata, for example, this is how John Addington Symonds described the story in his March 1886 letter to Stevenson, reprinted in Paul Maixner, *Robert Louis Stevenson: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1981), pp. 210-11. See also Donald Lawler, ‘Refraining Jekyll and Hyde: Robert Louis Stevenson and the Strange Case of Gothic Science Fiction,’ in William Veeder and Gordon Hirsch, eds., *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde After One Hundred Years* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 247-61; Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder, c. 1848-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 65-67; and Marie-Christine Lepps, *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Discourse* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), pp. 205-20.

6 Before he wrote it Stevenson informed his editor of his hopes for the book, saying ‘[N]obody has had such stuff; such wild stories, such beautiful scenes, such singular intimacies, such manners and traditions, so incredible a mixture of the beautiful and the horrible, the savage and the civilized’. As Treglown has observed, this implies that he planned to ‘incorporate and transcend romance without substituting fiction for fact’. See Jeremy Treglown, ‘Introduction’, *In the South Seas* by Robert Louis Stevenson (London: Hogarth Press, 1987), p. iv.

7 Treglown explains that the book began as a series of letters but ended up as a book partly about travel and partly of research into island history, custom, belief and tradition. See Treglown, ‘Introduction’, p. iv, and Michelle Keown’s article in this issue of *IJSL*.

8 Robert Louis Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, pp. 14-15.

9 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 15.

10 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 16.

11 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 21.

12 As Julia Reid points out, prior to the late 1880s Darwinism was by no means ubiquitous due to there being 'too many conflicting interpretations' and the continuing influence of Jean-Baptiste's Lamarck's model of evolution 'which hypothesised the importance of environmental stimulus'. Stevenson, *Science and the Fin de Siècle*, p. 7.

13 Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection Relation to Sex* (New York: The Modern Library, 1871), p. 521.

14 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 40.

15 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 41.

16 George Herbert Pembroke, 'The Earl and the Doctor' in *South Sea Bubbles* (London: R. Bentley and Son, 1872), p. 160. Quoted in Ann C. Colley, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Colonial Imagination* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 21.

17 One of the most striking (and haunting) examples of the harm that untrammelled capitalism was having on the people of the Pacific that Stevenson describes in his book was the debauched figure of King Tebureimoa of Butaritari in the Gilbert Islands. Both he and his people had rapidly fallen to prey to the cargoes of alcohol white traders were illegally selling to him. Stevenson describes how whenever his addiction took hold (which was frequently), Tebureimoa would lead his subjects on the longest and grossest of drinking sprees, all of which ended in complete dissipation and violence. Not only did Stevenson voice his despair over the harm being done to the Islanders' health by these drinking bouts, but he also remarked that that as more and more islanders joined in so there was a corresponding neglect of family life and the people's traditional customs. See Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, Part Three, Chapter IV 'A Tale of Tapu'.

18 Stevenson found this to be true even of Tembinok the tyrannical king of Apemama in the Gilbert Islands. Tembinok may have used a large Winchester rifle to keep his subjects in order and he may have constantly boasted, 'I got power', but once Stevenson realised that almost everything Tembinok did was aimed at keeping his people safe from the corrupting influences of capitalism, he soon modified his opinion of the man. 'Orderly, sober, and innocent, life flows in the isle from day to day as in a model plantation under a model planter. It is impossible to doubt the beneficence of that stern rule'. Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 324.

19 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 253.

20 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 253.

21 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 254.

22 Stephanie Saint has also made this link, only she explores the extent to which the Scottish Enlightenment's theories of progressive civilization influenced Stevenson's active participation in the on-going racial discourse of his day. See her 'Progress in the Pacific: The "Science of Man" in Stevenson's South Sea Writings', delivered at the 'Locating Stevenson Conference', University of Stirling, 8 July 2010.

23 David Hume, *A Treatise on Hume Nature 1739-40*, eds. David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), Bk 2 pt 1, sect 11.8, p. 208.

24 Hume, *Treatise*, 2.1.11.2, p. 206.

25 Hume, *Treatise*, 2.1.11.5, p. 207.

26 Hume, *Treatise*, 2.1.11.5, p. 207.

27 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 41.

28 Hume advocated a higher class of emotions to those associated with brute instinct – what he called the 'strong calm passions'. According to Hume 'strong calm passions' have not just lost their original emotional intensity due to customary habit, and strength of mind, but in being infused with benevolence they allow us to live peacefully with one

another despite our original natural greed. See John P. Wright, *Hume's Treatise on Human Nature: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 227, 231.

29 Hume makes the point that feelings like pity, which we associate with sympathy, are based on the imagination and not reason. See Wright, p. 210. He further writes that reason is concerned with establishing what is real or truthful and 'it is not pretended, that a judgment of this kind, either in its truth or falsehood, is attended with virtue or vice' (*Treatise* 3.1.1.8, p. 298).

30 For a much more thorough analysis of Stevenson's book and the political arguments he mounted therein, see Colley, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Colonial Imagination*, pp. 136-153.

31 Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa* (Auckland: Pasifika Press, 1996), p. 155.

32 Buckton has also noted the way Stevenson recycled the events and characters of *In the South Seas* for these stories. He notes for example that the 'frail and pretty' island that Herrick and his companions stumble across while making away with the stolen schooner has a predecessor in the Fakarava atoll – one of the eight islands of the Paumotus which Stevenson visited and which he thought was strangely delicate and empty. See Oliver S. Buckton, *Cruising with R. L. Stevenson: Travel, Narrative and the Colonial Body* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), pp. 157-59.

33 Hume, 'A Dissertation on the Passions', in *The Philosophical Works of David Hume*, eds. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose (London: Longmans Green and Co, 1898), vol 2, section 5, para 3-4, p. 162.

34 Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Beach of Falesá* in *South Sea Tales*, ed. Roslyn Jolly (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1996), p. 228. This text is hereafter cited as *BOF*.

35 Roslyn Jolly, 'Stevenson's Sterling Domestic Fiction, "The Beach of Falesá"', *The Review of English Studies*, 50.200 (1999), 463-82 (p. 475).

36 See Jolly, 'Introduction', p. xviii, and Timothy Hayes, 'Colonialism in R.L. Stevenson's South Seas Fiction: "Child's Play" in the Pacific', *English Literature in Transition* 52.2 (2009): 160-181 (p. 173).

37 Hayes, p. 177.

38 Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Ebb-Tide* in *South Sea Tales*, ed. Roslyn Jolly, p. 204. This text is hereafter cited as *ET*.

39 Buckton speculates that the figure of Attwater was modelled on Tembinok, the authoritarian and tyrannical king of Apemama. See Buckton, pp.164 and 170-171. I agree that these two men are similar in many regards, but I would also argue that this overlooks the fact that the latter was a man of strong sentiment, as indicated by his words on the evening before the Stevensons' departure. "'Last night I no can peak; too much here", laying his hand upon his bosom'. Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 346.



Isles of Voices:

Scotland in the Indigenous Pacific Literary Imaginary

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Isles of Voices:

Scotland in the Indigenous Pacific Literary Imaginary

Michelle Keown

This article explores literary encounters between Scotland and the Indigenous Pacific, beginning with an overview of Robert Louis Stevenson's Pacific writings, and responses to his work by Indigenous Samoan writers Albert Wendt and Sia Figiel, before going on to investigate imaginative engagements with Scotland in the work of Indigenous Pacific writers with Scottish descent (including Keri Hulme, Witi Ihimaera and Trixie Te Arama Menzies). The article concludes with an analysis of Cathie Koa Dunsford's Orkney trilogy, one of the most extended literary dialogues with Scotland evident in the corpus of contemporary Indigenous Pacific writing. As I will argue, Indigenous Pacific literary engagement with Scotland has intensified in the last few decades: where earlier generations of mixed race writers tended to identify themselves primarily with reference to their non-European ancestry (in keeping with the counterdiscursive aims of much Indigenous and postcolonial writing that emerged from the 1960s onwards), landmark Indigenous literary anthologies and single-authored works published during and beyond the 1980s bear witness to a more explicit acknowledgement of the Scottish strands in Pacific genealogies and historical trajectories. There are long-established literary links between Scotland and the Indigenous Pacific (witnessed for example in comparisons between Scottish and Maori histories of colonial oppression in the work of Stevenson and other nineteenth-century writers such as Rolf Boldrewood, discussed further below), but within New Zealand in particular – in which all Indigenous writers discussed here have lived and worked at some point in their careers – the renewed engagement with these links also resonates with recent historical scholarship that has countered a previous bias towards English and Irish settler constituencies by exploring the distinctive and significant contributions Scottish migrants have made to the composition of New Zealand society.¹ A related development within recent New Zealand film and popular culture (as well as historiography) is a strategy of projecting Pakeha 'settler guilt' onto the English pioneers, with New Zealand's Celtic communities identified more closely with Indigenous Maori due to their own histories of colonial oppression and displacement.² Such trends have arguably had a bearing on the renewed interest in links between Scotland and the Indigenous Pacific in the work of writers discussed in this essay, adding new dimensions to discursive homologies established within the nineteenth-century context with which this essay begins.

The 'Scottish Pacific': Nineteenth-Century Foundations

Sustained encounters between Scotland and the Indigenous Pacific date back to the early-to-mid nineteenth century, when Scottish missionaries, colonial administrators and settlers established a substantial presence in the region.³ The pivotal role Scots played in the expansion and administration of the British empire is well documented, but as John M. MacKenzie points out, Scots also developed 'an extraordinary reputation for radicalism within the British empire', in some cases instituting or advocating reforms in colonial policy to protect Indigenous socio-political interests.⁴ Such interventions were not limited to missionaries and colonial administrators: Robert Louis Stevenson's *A Footnote to History* (1892), written shortly after he took up residence in Samoa (in an attempt to improve his failing health), is a particularly notable example of Scots radicalism in action. While not an outright condemnation of European colonialism *per se*, the text criticizes the wrangling for power amongst British, German, and US settlers and colonial forces in Samoa, and prompted Sir John Bates Thurston, the incumbent British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, to issue *A Regulation for the Maintenance of Peace and Good Order in Samoa* (1892), which was clearly designed to curtail Stevenson's involvement in Samoan politics. Only the intervention of a fellow Scot, Foreign Secretary Lord Rosebery, prevented Stevenson from being deported from his adopted country.⁵

Stevenson's travel writing and private correspondence reveal that he was not entirely free of the colonial ideologies and prejudices of his time: these are evident, for example, in his repeated infantilization of Pacific peoples and cultures, and his subscription to social Darwinist theories on the putative imminent extinction of Oceanic peoples.⁶ However, his own intervention into Samoan colonial policy was made in part as a result of his sense of cultural affinity with Pacific Islanders, expressed elsewhere in his writing through analogies drawn between Pacific Island and Scottish Highland culture. In his travel narrative *In the South Seas* (posthumously published in 1896), for example, he equates the deleterious effects of colonialism in the Marquesan islands with the socio-economic deprivation suffered by Highlanders as a result of English cultural hegemony:

In both cases an alien authority enforced, the clans disarmed, the chiefs deposed, new customs introduced, and chiefly that fashion of regarding money as the means and object of existence. The commercial age, in each, succeeding at a bound to an age of war abroad and patriarchal communism at home. In one the cherished practice of tattooing, in the other a cherished costume, proscribed. In each a main luxury cut off: beef, driven under cloud of night from Lowland pastures, denied to the meat-loving Highlander; long-pig, pirated from the next village, to the man-eating Kanaka. (p. 14)

At first glance, Stevenson's homology follows familiar conventions within nineteenth-century travel writing and amateur ethnography, deploying a common strategy by which the strange is

rendered familiar through a comparison with the author's home culture.⁷ Further, the final sentence of the excerpt is marked by a lightness of tone that, in referring to the complex social ritual of cannibalism as a 'luxury' among Marquesans, rehearses a familiar discursive formulation in which social practices within colonized cultures are trivialised or lampooned for the entertainment of metropolitan readers.⁸ Nevertheless, as Nicholas Thomas points out, Stevenson's comparisons between Scots and Pacific Islanders, like those of his compatriot Sir Arthur Gordon (governor of Fiji from 1875-80), are distinctive among broader social evolutionary theories of the late nineteenth century in that they equate Pacific cultures with the recent (Scottish) past rather than the beginnings of European civilization.⁹ Such a strategy therefore eschews the 'denial of coevalness' that marks much colonial anthropological discourse, as well as the fictions of other fin-de-siècle writers such as Joseph Conrad.¹⁰

Further, in elaborating on his sense of affinity with Pacific peoples, Stevenson reveals that he was able to use 'points of similarity' between Scottish and Oceanic cultures to elicit information from, and establish a rapport with, the Islanders he met on his travels:

When I desired any detail of savage custom, or of superstitious belief, I cast back in the story of my fathers, and fished for what I wanted with some trait of equal barbarism: Michael Scott, Lord Derwentwater's head, the second-sight, the Water Kelpie – each of these I have found to be a killing bait; the black bull's head of Stirling procured me the legend of *Rahero*; and what I knew of the Cluny Macphersons, or the Appin Stewarts, enabled me to learn, and helped me to understand, about the *Tevas* of Tahiti. (pp. 15-16)

This passage again associates Pacific Island cultural practices with those of a relatively recent Scottish past, and Stevenson's assertion that his own history and folklore helped him to 'learn' and 'understand' about Pacific cultures indicates a certain receptiveness to, and respect for, Oceanic peoples. In this context it is significant that, after resolving to settle in the Pacific, Stevenson experimented with writing fictional narratives that blended European and Oceanic storytelling conventions and were circulated to Polynesian as well as Western readers. His stories 'The Bottle Imp' (1891) and 'The Isle of Voices' (1893), for example, feature Polynesian central characters and oral storytelling conventions (to the bafflement of many of his British and American readers), and copies of *Ballads* (1890), his volume of Polynesian and Highland poems and legends, were given to members of the Hawaiian and Tahitian royal families. 'The Bottle Imp' was also translated into Samoan and circulated widely among Indigenous readers, who affectionately dubbed Stevenson 'Tusitala' (meaning 'writer of tales').¹¹

Stevenson's Legacy in Indigenous Pacific Writing

Stevenson's Pacific writing, and his decision to reside in Samoa during the final years of his life, have had a marked and enduring impact on Indigenous Samoans. As Samoan poet and

editor Savea Sano Malifa points out, Stevenson was held in high esteem by many Samoans of his time due to his advocacy of Samoan political self-determination. His support for Samoan political prisoners during protracted feudal wars in the early 1890s was rewarded when, on their release, those same prisoners carved him a track (subsequently known as the ‘road of gratitude’) to the summit of Mount Vaea (near his homestead), and his 1894 funeral was attended by large numbers of Indigenous mourners who provided valuable ‘ie toga (ceremonial woven mats) to cover his coffin.¹² Albert Wendt, one of Samoa’s best known Indigenous authors, argues that Stevenson has entered into ‘legend’ in Samoa: born in 1939, Wendt recalls the details of Stevenson’s burial (on Mount Vaea) as among the first ‘facts’ he learned from his grandmother and parents, and reveals that most of his generation had to memorise Stevenson’s poem ‘Requiem’ (1887) – part of which is inscribed on the writer’s grave – at school. As a schoolboy in Samoa Wendt also read *Treasure Island* (1883) and *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), and while studying for an MA in History in New Zealand he came across *A Footnote to History*, which, Wendt avers, ‘showed [Stevenson’s] astute and perceptive and enthusiastic support for our struggle against the foreign powers and colonialism’, and was informed by his own experience of ‘the Scottish anti-colonial struggle’.¹³

Wendt has also paid tribute to Stevenson in his own fiction: in his 1974 novella *Flying-Fox in a Freedom Tree* (later incorporated into the mid-section of his 1979 novel *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*), a tubercular young Samoan named Pepe begins writing an autobiographical novel in the hope of becoming an Indigenous version of the Scottish author: ‘I decided to become the second Robert Louis Stevenson, a tusitala [...] but with a big difference. I want to write a novel about me’.¹⁴ As Pepe gazes out his window towards Mount Vaea, he reflects that ‘If my novel is as good as Stevenson’s *Treasure Island* I will be satisfied’ (p. 157). Like Stevenson in his Pacific writings, Pepe draws upon Western and local storytelling conventions: his narrative is no simple imitation of colonial literature, but rather one that draws on Pacific ‘tall tale’ traditions (in which speakers attempt to outdo each other in telling increasingly outlandish and inventive stories).¹⁵ As he contemplates his imminent death, Pepe constructs himself as an iconoclast who, in rebelling against neo-colonialism on the one hand, and the putative tyranny of traditional Samoan hierarchical power on the other, is simultaneously an incarnation of Pepesa (a trickster figure from Samoan mythology) and the anti-establishment existential ‘heroes’ of Albert Camus’s fiction and philosophy.¹⁶ His often polarised points of cultural reference, and his increasingly nihilistic behaviour, are also redolent of the existential desperation of the ontologically divided central character in *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*.

A more extended act of homage to Stevenson takes place in Wendt’s 2003 novel *The Mango’s Kiss*, parts of which are set in the late nineteenth century and feature a ‘magician of words’, Leonard Roland Stenson, whose character is based largely around Stevenson’s. Stenson, like Stevenson, has consumption, lives in a ‘white red-roofed house’ on the slopes of Mount Vaea, and is the author of an array of fictional works including *The Island of Treasures*, *The Earl of*

Bellingtroty, *The Tide at Falelima* and a partially completed novel, *Weir at Lammington* (the titles of which are, of course, thinly disguised versions of *Treasure Island*, *The Master of Ballantrae*, 'The Beach of Falesá' and *Weir of Hermiston*). The correspondences are not exact – Stenson is English, and marries a woman named Rebecca who (unlike Stevenson's wife Fanny) was younger than himself – but in most other respects he is manifestly a fictionalized version of the Scottish author. In this context it is significant that Stenson is represented as a sensitive, compassionate man who makes a strong and positive impression on a perceptive Samoan girl – Peleipu – who has recently learned English and to whom Stenson gives several of his books during her visit to his homestead. Stenson also leaves the remainder of his book collection to Peleipu in his will, and in speculating on the reasons why he would have chosen to do this after meeting Peleipu only once, Stenson's friend (and fellow Englishman) Barker surmises that

you saw right into his skeleton [...] When he got to know you, he saw the meaning very quickly: he was just a sick, dying European in exile; a poor benighted consumptive who believed in nothing. [...] Without knowing it, you made him see so very clearly, starkly, the futility of it all.¹⁷

Barker's suppositions are broadly corroborated in the inscriptions on the title pages of the three books Stenson gave Peleipu during her visit to the homestead: Stenson thanks Peleipu for 'bringing to the heart of an exile the radiant joy of youth', and praises her 'gift of seeing', observing finally that 'There is little at the end of our journey. Perhaps just the courage to face the Night and our Maker. Just a brief glimpse of the fierce light in Peleipu's eyes' (p. 113). Wendt himself describes this more extended literary 'tribute' to Stevenson as an example of his 'taking the outsider literary myth of the writer/artist adventuring in Paradise and reclaiming him ... for Samoa and myself'.¹⁸ Indeed, both novels arguably enact a process of 'indigenizing' Stevenson, who attains honorary 'insider' status by virtue of his choosing to live (and die) in Samoa, and (in *The Mango's Kiss*) by showing the receptiveness and sensitivity towards Pacific peoples that is evident in the travel writing discussed above. Rather than being interpreted as a writer who superimposes Romantic and other Western discourses upon the Pacific from a colonizing 'outsider' perspective, Stevenson/Stenson is depicted as a figure whose twilight years and literary legacy are interwoven with the narratives and lifeways of a people for whom he develops a profound respect. Significantly, Wendt reveals that 'I'd like to imagine that Stevenson would have been a fan of our writing' had he lived long enough to witness the emergence of post-independence Samoan literature.¹⁹

Wendt's approach to Stevenson's legacy contrasts radically with that of a younger Samoan writer, Sia Figiel, who in her 1996 novel *Where We Once Belonged* (a coming-of-age narrative focused on a 13-year-old Samoan girl, Alofa Filiga) associates Stevenson's legacy with an exploitative commercialization of the Western stake in Samoan history, embodied in the Tusitala Hotel in Apia (Samoa's capital):

Tusitala was the name nineteenth-century Samoans gave the tuberculosis-stricken Scottish writer Robert Louis Stevenson, who once lived in the biggest house in the whole of Samoa and had servants to cook for him, and to sing to him, and to make him and Fanny 'paradise happy', and wiped his sick arse, too [...] and hers, too, whenever it was needed. Tusitala means 'writer of stories' in English, or 'a Japanese-owned hotel' [...] depending on who's doing the translation or defining.²⁰

Figiel's acerbic reference to Stevenson's search for a 'paradise' has some validity when considered in relation to his preconceptions about Oceania: in a letter written in spring 1875, for example, he recounts a meeting with an 'awfully nice' public servant from New Zealand who told him 'all about the South Sea Islands till I was sick with desire to go there; beautiful places, green for ever; perfect climate; perfect shapes of men and women, with red flowers in their hair; and nothing to do but to study oratory and etiquette, sit in the sun, and pick up the fruits as they fall'.²¹ However, *In the South Seas* charts an incremental process in which Stevenson sets aside many of his presuppositions and gains a more sophisticated understanding of Pacific lifeways, and much of his Pacific fiction features an Oceania stripped of Romantic associations and attuned to the complex interplay between Western and Indigenous cultural milieus.

When Figiel's dismissal of Stevenson is considered in terms of the wider discursive and ideological issues explored in her novel, however, it becomes clear that her attack is made in the context of a sustained feminist critique of various male purveyors of 'exoticising' myths about the Pacific, including Paul Gauguin and Herman Melville.²² Figiel has also pointed out that her particular narrative style and subject matter, with its specific focus on Samoan female subjectivity and colloquial language, has developed 'because of what was missing from Wendt's work'.²³ In this context her critique of Stevenson can be interpreted at least in part as an iconoclastic gesture, countering the predominantly masculinist focus of much of Wendt's early writing, as well as his affiliative allusions to the work of various 'Western' male authors including Camus and Dostoyevsky (as well as Stevenson).²⁴ It is tempting to view Wendt's depiction of Stenson in *The Mango's Kiss* as a counter-critique of Figiel's caustic representation, particularly given that the narrator emphasizes that (in contrast to the opulent, servant-infested mansion described in Figiel's novel) Stenson's home is 'smaller' if more 'solid' than 'most Apia homes', and almost devoid of waiting staff (p. 90).²⁵

Indigenous Pacific Writers with Scottish Descent: Literary Legacies

Scotland's legacy in the Pacific is also explored in the work of Indigenous writers with Scottish descent, many of whom were born in 'settler-invader' colonies (such as Australia and New Zealand) in which large numbers of Scottish emigrants settled during and beyond the nineteenth century. A substantial Scottish diasporic community also developed in Hawai'i (where Scots were routinely appointed as overseers during the plantation era), and intermarriage between Scots and native Hawaiians was common. One of the most famous products of such alliances was Princess

Victoria Kaʻiulani Cleghorn – daughter of the Hawaiian princess Miriam Likelike, and the Scottish entrepreneur Archibald Cleghorn – who was heir to the Hawaiian throne at the time of the 1898 U.S. annexation of Hawaiʻi.²⁶

As noted earlier, until relatively recently, Indigenous Pacific writers with European descent have tended to identify themselves primarily with reference to their non-European ancestry, but since the dawning of the new millennium many have begun to acknowledge non-Indigenous strands in their genealogies. This development becomes evident, for example, when comparing the biographical notes included in Albert Wendt's four landmark edited collections of Indigenous Pacific writing and poetry. Where in the earlier collections *Lali* (1980) and *Nuanua* (1995) biographical notes for authors of mixed race generally identify only their Indigenous ancestry, in the more recent Polynesian poetry anthologies *Whetu Moana* (2003) and *Mauri Ola* (2010), a substantial number of mixed-race contributors acknowledge one or more European bloodlines in addition to their Indigenous ancestry. Several of these authors – including Michael Greig, Phil Kawana, Susana Leiʻataua, and Brandy Nalani McDougall – claim Scottish descent, though the poetry selected for inclusion does not explore these ancestral links.

A number of other established Pacific writers, however, have explored their Scottish descent at some level in their work. From her first poetry collection *Uenuku* (1986), for example, Trixie Te Arama Menzies has identified herself as being of dual Maori (specifically, Tainui) and Scottish descent, and in her lyric poem 'Anzac' (in her 1988 collection *Papakainga*), she draws attention to her Caledonian ancestry during a meditation upon a photograph of her great uncle Robert, who died in the Battle of the Somme during the First World War. The poem's scope broadens into a consideration of the cost to Indigenous Pacific peoples of more recent military activity, specifically French nuclear testing in French Polynesia (which took place between 1966 and 1996 in the Tuamotu archipelago). There was vigorous opposition to France's nuclear programme both within French Polynesia and across the wider Pacific, and Menzies' poem expresses the anger of Indigenous Pacific peoples who viewed the tests as a new chapter in the history of French colonial incursion into Oceania: 'The French think we are primitive / And pouf! Bomb our waters'.²⁷ Menzies explores the resonance of the term 'primitive' within the context of French Romanticism, associating its antonym – 'civilised' – with capitalist corruption, and issues a call to arms, arguing that if to be primitive 'means remembering our blood', then 'some of us claim cannibal ancestry'. In envisaging vigorous protest against nuclear imperialism as a continuation of her 'cannibal' ancestry, Menzies also appeals to a history of anticolonial resistance associated with her Scottish genealogy, referring directly to Robert the Bruce (who, at the 1314 Battle of Bannockburn, defeated Edward II's invading English army and re-established an independent Scottish monarchy). In terms analogous to Stevenson's, then, Menzies makes explicit links between Scottish and Pacific legacies of colonial incursion, but in contrast to Stevenson's prevailingly social Darwinist view of a Marquesan culture declining towards extinction, Menzies emphasizes the resilience of her Maori and Scottish ancestors and points towards linked histories of martial

resistance to imperial rule.

Menzies' fellow Maori writer Witi Ihimaera, also of Scottish descent,²⁸ makes a more extended analogy between Maori and Scottish anticolonial resistance in his 2009 novel *The Trowenna Sea*, in which medical doctor Gower McKissock, the son of a Scottish woman displaced during the Highland Clearances, helps secure a pardon for Maori prisoners exiled to a penal colony on Maria Island (off the east coast of Tasmania) during the 1840s. McKissock, and his wife Ismay Glossop, are fictional characters, but their migration from the UK to New Zealand, and then Australia, is based in historical fact, following the trajectory of two nineteenth-century Scottish migrants, John Jennings Imrie and his wife Elizabeth Bailey. The Imries took under their care five Maori prisoners who were exiled to Van Diemen's Land (as it was then known) in 1846, having been convicted of insurrection as a result of their involvement in protests against the expropriation of Maori land in colonial New Zealand. Ihimaera's narrative emphasises the dubious nature of the convictions, as well as the widespread outrage among the settlers of Van Diemen's Land (and Britons further afield) at the treatment of the Maori prisoners. The McKissocks, and the Imries (who also appear as more minor characters in Ihimaera's narrative) play a key role in securing the eventual release of the prisoners, and their sympathies for the Maori are represented at least in part as a result of their own experience of English colonial aggression (particularly during the Highland Clearances). Shortly before his departure to the antipodes, for example, McKissock discovers that his mother was raped by Englishmen during the Strathnaver Valley clearances, which took place from 1814 following a decision by the Countess of Sutherland (and her husband the Marquis of Stafford) to turn this part of their estate over to sheep farming. These events, coupled with McKissock's knowledge of the ways in which the British Government sought to suppress Scottish Jacobitism and clan loyalties in the wake of the 1745 uprising, instil in him an intense antipathy towards the English. During his experiences as a settler and doctor, first in New Zealand, and then in Van Diemen's Land, McKissock develops a deep sense of affinity with Pacific peoples whom he views as similarly subject to English colonial repression. He makes a comparison between the exile of Highlanders during the Clearances and the displacement of Tasmanian aborigines sent to Flinders Island in the 1830s, for example, and on the death of one of the Maori prisoners, Hohepa Te Umuroa, he compares the lamentations of Hohepa's compatriots with the 'ancient Scottish dirges' sung by his exiled mother Ailie.²⁹ He also becomes a convict emancipist, viewing British prisoners as victims of a vengeful colonial motherland, and when Van Diemen's Land becomes self-governing he exults: 'We owed England nothing' (p. 261).³⁰

Like Ihimaera and Menzies, Maori author Keri Hulme also has Scottish ancestry, but an added strand of Englishness in her genealogical profile has arguably inspired a less agonistic exploration of racial identity and politics in her work. In an autobiographical essay published in 1993, she celebrates her primary bloodlines:

I gained an early awareness of being part of a large and varied family that was old, as human families go. It stretched back to the Norman conquerors of England; it stretched back beyond the arrival of Takitimu [one of the 'great fleet' of canoes said to have transported Maori to Aotearoa/New Zealand]; it stretched back to border reivers and Orkney fisherfolk. I was taught, unequivocally, love and respect for all my ancestors.³¹

Hulme's pride in her various ancestral links, which stretch across both sides of the colonial dialectic, contributes to a discursive exploration of Scotland's legacy in the Pacific that differs significantly from Ihimaera's and Menzies'. Links between Hulme's Scottish and Maori ancestry, for example, are explored primarily through a shared relationship with the sea: both Maori and Orkney Scots have customarily relied heavily on fishing as a means of sustenance and livelihood, and Hulme's creative writing and poetry are infused with the minutiae of the lives of 'fisherfolk', based in her own considerable experience, as a coastal dweller, of this way of life. (She lives in Okarito, a small settlement on the west coast of New Zealand's South Island). This lifestyle is explored extensively in a number of autobiographical poems in her 1982 collection *The Silences Between (Moeraki Conversations)*, whose title references the fishing village (on the east coast of the South Island) in which she was living at the time. 'Ends and Beginnings', for example, describes the process of weaving flax kits to hold 'silverbelly eels / the way my tipuna [Maori ancestors] did',³² while 'October' alludes to the practice of catching whitebait, another traditional source of sustenance for Maori that is referenced widely in Hulme's writing. 'Hokioi' (addressed to the eponymous native New Zealand bird) obliquely links her coast-dwelling existence with her Orkney ancestry, claiming a legacy of 'lone islands / with deep kilts of kelp' (p. 24). 'Leaving my bones behind' harks back again to Hulme's Maori fishing heritage, designating Maui (a trickster and demi-god said to have caught Aotearoa/New Zealand's North Island with an enchanted fish-hook) as 'fisher of this land' (p. 33), and goes on to describe her own way of life as piscator and writer, engaged in 'building word castles in the air' alongside 'pulling nets' and 'fishing in the wild man-tide' (pp. 36, 37). In an interview with John Bryson, in which they discuss the linked practices of fishing and artistry in Maori culture, Hulme avers:

The tradition of the fisher-artist is based firstly on the fact that to be a good fisher you must be a good observer. You must have patience. [...] And because fishing always [...] contains an element of luck, you must be attendant upon signs [...] [and dependent on] whether the fates actually like you. So, if you were a fisher, this wasn't expected to be your only skill. You had to be good at invocations, prayer chants. We were, and I think still are, a people to whom balance and form and decoration and inherent rightness are extremely important, the balance of the artistic and the practical.³³

Fisher-artist figures of the type Hulme outlines here are widespread not just in her poetry but also in her fiction, which contains rich autobiographical seams featuring isolated creative women who share Hulme's professed love of fishing (as well as food and drink). In Hulme's Book-

er-prize-winning novel *The Bone People* (1984), for example, the daily routines of Hulme's fictional avatar Kerewin Holmes revolve not only around artistic expression but also the catching, cooking and eating of fish and other foods, with precise details about specific recipes and ingredients woven into the narrative. In Hulme's magical realist, metadiscursive short story 'Floating Words' (1989), the narrator (a writer and coast-dweller whose character is again based on Hulme's) entertains an unexpected guest who turns out to be 'an imaginary clone' of herself 'turned real'.³⁴ This time, Hulme explores the Scottish side of her ancestry: on arrival, the guest immediately helps herself to a bottle of Laguvulin Scotch whisky, which she imbibes liberally along with milk which is later described as 'clabber' (a soured and thickened dairy product used in Scottish cooking). As the narrator drinks with her avatar, 'drowning in unreality', the guest begins to take on further Scottish attributes:

Half a bottle gone, half a bottle to go. There she sits, sipping whisky curds, feet propped up on a stool, sharkskin boots too close to my thigh. She wears her hair plaited in a short thick club covering the back of her neck. She has seven silver rings on her fingers, and her shirt is earth-red. The kilt is new, hand-woven hodden, with no elaborate pleats, a simple drape and fold secured by a thin black belt. The kilt is different: I hadn't ever visualised the kilt. (p. 12)

Here, then, Hulme offers a witty excursus on her own penchant for weaving elements of her own biography into her work, building the encounter between her literary doppelgängers to a dramatic climax which prompts the narrator to meditate upon the dangers of blending autobiography with fiction:

It could have been disastrous: it could have been my end. After I'd got rid of Kei-Tu, I became very leery about who I fantasised: it was one thing putting people down on paper, quite another to have them lying, vomit-covered and comatose drunk on the floor (a whole bottle of Laguvulin, even when ruined by two litres of milk, does that to the most hardened drinker). (p. 13)

Although playful, these references to the 'imaginary clone' taking on Scottish attributes point towards the resonance of Hulme's Orkney heritage within her writing, suggesting that her Scottish ancestry is an important component of her aesthetic vision. Such connections are also implicit in *The Bone People*, where Kerewin's irrational fear that her unwanted guest, Simon Gillayley, has died in the night prompts her invocation of a traditional Scottish prayer for protection:

Frae ghosties an ghoulies
an longlegged beasties
an things that gae bump!
in the night
guid God deliver us....³⁵

Critic Erin Mercer interprets the quotation as a manifestation of a distinctly gothic strain in Hulme's novel, but Hulme has also pointed out that she learned the invocation from her maternal uncle, whose mother was the daughter of Orkney shopkeepers.³⁶ Significantly, Hulme's Orkney heritage is kept alive not only through her writing but also through certain social rituals: she lights bonfires on the beach, for example, to mark the births and deaths of family and close friends, following a long-established Scottish (and wider European) tradition of ritual conflagrations: 'Hogmanay fires, solstice fires, fires for celebration and fires for grieving. Some with wine or whisky, some with the water of tears'.³⁷

The Fisher-Artist: Cathie Koa Dunsford's Orkney Trilogy

Hulme's writing, and her Scottish ancestry, have served as a source of inspiration for Maori-Hawaiian writer Cathie Koa Dunsford, who has written a novelistic trilogy set in Orkney. Though not of Caledonian descent, Dunsford became interested in writing about Scotland after performing (as an Indigenous storyteller) at the Edinburgh Festival, and during a later visit to Orkney, she 'fell in love' with the islands and has subsequently published two novels – *Song of the Selkies* (2001) and *Return of the Selkies* (2007) – set in this location, with a third (*Clan of the Selkies*) forthcoming in 2014.³⁸ The novels feature Cowrie, a storyteller and eco-activist of Indigenous Maori and Hawaiian ancestry who also appears in various other Dunsford novels; all are eco-thrillers in which Cowrie (whose ethnicity and personal attributes closely correspond with those of her author) joins forces with other Indigenous eco-activists in order to combat environmental threats.³⁹ In the Orkney trilogy these hazards include, *inter alia*, the Dounreay Power Station at Caithness (radioactive particles from which contaminated the Pentland Firth, posing a threat to Orcadians), and commercial fish farming (which has released harmful organic waste into the sea and compromised more traditional Orcadian fishing methods).⁴⁰ Cowrie, like Keri Hulme's various fictional avatars (and Dunsford herself), is a practised fisher-artist, and Dunsford pays homage to Hulme at various points in the Orkney novels. *Song of the Selkies* carries a dedication to Hulme, accompanied by a message in which Dunsford expresses her hope that the novel will help Hulme's Kai Tahu (South Island Maori) ancestors 'swim with' her Orcadian ancestors. Cowrie draws parallels between Maori and Orcadian culture throughout the novel, arguing 'we are all fishers and island people with much in common' (p. 64), and pays direct tribute to Keri Hulme as a fellow fisher-artist (specifically, a 'whitebaiter' with 'a whisky tale or two' [p. 65]), also lending a like-minded Orcadian woman her copy of Hulme's *The Bone People*. Further, included in the novel's preface (and referenced again towards the end of the book) is a quotation from *The Bone People* that encapsulates the spirit of communalism and collective activism that infuses Dunsford's Cowrie novels:

They were nothing more than people, by themselves. Even paired, any pairing, they would have been nothing more than people by themselves. But all together, they have become the heart and muscles and mind of something perilous and new,

something strange and growing and great. (p. 4)

Hulme's formulation is rooted primarily in Maori philosophy, which privileges the collective over the individual, but in Dunsford's Orkney novels, it also encompasses the particular transformative energies of groups of women, both Indigenous and Orcadian, who work together to combat the environmental and cultural crises outlined above. *Return of the Selkies*, for example, features an Orcadian woman named Caitlin Hulme (a further nod to Keri Hulme) who joins forces with Cowrie, Sasha (an Inuit storyteller-activist) and a group of other local women to try to force the closure of Dounreay by raising awareness of the environmental damage and health hazards caused by the facility. In exploring such collaborations, in both novels the third-person narrator, like Cowrie, draws extended parallels between Orcadian and Maori/Pacific cultures, most commonly focused around a shared passion for fishing, storytelling and communal endeavour, but also in a common antipathy towards (neo)colonial exploitation. In *Song of the Selkies* for example, during a discussion about the recently established Scottish Parliament, an Orcadian man avers that the English 'stole our hearts and souls as well as our voting rights and our land in the seventeen hundreds, and we've done well to rip 'em back again' (p. 160), while in *Return of the Selkies*, the Dounreay Nuclear Power Station – established by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority and the Ministry of Defence – is viewed as another chapter in the history of English exploitation of Scotland's natural environment. On learning of health problems suffered by Scottish workers at the facility, Orcadian fisher-artist Morrigan remarks 'Those bastards think they can rule us still' (p. 2), while Cowrie draws parallels between activities at Dounreay and French nuclear imperialism in the Pacific (pp. 126, 146).

Notably, Dunsford situates Orcadian and Indigenous Pacific resistance to environmental degradation and exploitation within the context of shared animistic beliefs, focused in particular around shape-shifters who migrate between human, animal and spiritual realms. Morrigan, for example, is a selkie (a seal able to take human form), while during a magical realist narrative sequence, Cowrie takes the form of a turtle in order to rescue two other selkies from a shark attack (pp. 148, 164). This episode extends upon a conceit in Dunsford's earlier novel *Cowrie* (1994) in which Cowrie's journey in search of her ancestry parallels that of Laukiamanuikahiki, the Turtle Woman of Hawaiian mythology. Dunsford's narratives represent Orcadian and Indigenous Pacific mythopoeic traditions as living historical archives, embraced as part of a rich cultural 'heritage', but also as a vital component of the quotidian lives of contemporary peoples from these islands (pp. 174-75). In this sense, Dunsford's novels continue the dialogue between Scottish and Pacific storytelling traditions that was initiated by Stevenson in the 1890s, and significantly, among the Orkney narratives she invokes is the tale of 'The Book of the Black Art', which – in focusing on a diabolical magical object that must be sold for less than its purchase value, and returns to its owner if abandoned – is an undocumented but possible source for Stevenson's 1891 story 'The Bottle Imp'.⁴¹ In contrast to Stevenson, however, Dunsford posits Scots and Pacific peoples not as victims of inexorable modernization, but rather as agents of resistance to the colonizing thrust of a modernity that is now most visible in its environmental violence. Her

work is also distinctive in locating the discursive encounter between Scotland and the Pacific in the northern hemisphere, rather than tracing the southward trajectories explored in the work of others authors discussed.

Conclusion

The various literary works I have discussed in this article bespeak the manifold material and discursive links between Scotland and Oceania that have developed in the wake of Stevenson's first contributions to the Pacific literary imaginary. As I argued in the introduction, the more intense engagement with Scotland in recent Indigenous Pacific writing has developed alongside a more nuanced exploration of Scottish (and wider British) settlement in the Pacific that is evident in recent historiography and other forms of cultural production. Within New Zealand in particular, scholars have countered a previous historiographical bias towards English and Irish ethnicities, and have often emphasized the ways in which the Presbyterian faith of Scottish emigrants led them to adopt 'more egalitarian views on social and gender relations' than was putatively evident in other British migrant communities.⁴² Such formulations, as well as an accompanying emphasis (within New Zealand historiography, literature, film and popular culture) on putative commonalities between Scots and Pacific peoples – primarily, shared histories of colonization and martial resistance to English hegemony – clearly resonates with the work of many of the writers discussed in this essay. As outlined above, there is ample evidence to support claims for the pivotal role Scots played in opposing and mitigating some of the most deleterious effects of British colonialism in the Pacific, but as John MacKenzie argues, a significant proportion of recent Scottish historiography has 'downplayed' the pivotal role Scots played in supporting and advancing British imperial agendas, perpetuating a 'powerful myth' of Scots radicalism and liberalism at the expense of an attention to Scottish complicity with British colonialism.⁴³ While the Indigenous writing discussed in this essay is in keeping with this dynamic to some degree, tending to emphasise those aspects of Scottish culture that resonate with Pacific cultural values and histories of anticolonial resistance, it is notable that many of these literary explorations are well-grounded in historical evidence, from Stevenson's advocacy of Samoan political self-determination, to the efforts of John Jennings Imrie and Elizabeth Bailey on behalf of the Maori prisoners exiled to Van Diemen's Land in 1846. Further, Keri Hulme's work is evidence of the varying and multifarious responses to Britain's legacy in the Pacific amongst Indigenous Pacific writers, eschewing a recent tendency, within New Zealand popular culture and creative production, to project settler guilt onto the English migrant (with Irish and Scots posited as more ambivalent agents of empire due to their own histories of oppression by the English). Contrastingly, Hulme embraces and celebrates her English genealogy alongside her Maori and Scottish bloodlines, and is one of a number of contemporary Indigenous Pacific writers acknowledging English strands in their family histories.⁴⁴ Given this burgeoning interest among Indigenous Pacific writers in exploring European elements of their genealogies, coupled with the increased attention to the Scottish stake in Pacific history discussed above, one would expect this dialogue with Scot-

land to continue into future chapters of Oceania's literary history.

NOTES

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1 See for example James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001); *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration and New Zealand Settlement*, ed. by Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2003); and Jim Hewitson, *Far Off in Sunlit Places: Stories of the Scots in Australia and New Zealand* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 1998). Belich's book does not focus solely on Scottish migration, but he describes the 'leading influences' on New Zealand's Pakeha (white settler) community as 'Anglo-Scots', and makes the (albeit speculative and possibly exaggerated) claim that 'Outside Scotland itself, there probably is no other country in the world in which Scots had more influence. [...] New Zealand is *the* neo-Scotland' (p. 221).

2 In *Being Pakeha Now* (Auckland: Penguin, 1999), for example, historian Michael King emphasizes his status as a descendant of 'displaced Irish' immigrants in comparing Maori and Pakeha migration histories in New Zealand, implying that Irish settlers in New Zealand were involuntary migrants and therefore less easily designated as aggressive, exploitative colonists (in comparison to, say, English settlers) (p. 235). In Vincent Ward's film *River Queen* (2005), set during the 1860s, Irish and Scottish soldiers besieging a Maori Pa (fortified village) convey an ambivalent attitude towards the 'British' settler cause for which they are fighting, joining with their Maori opponents in a song in which the devil is cast as an Englishman.

3 In both Australia and New Zealand, the vast majority of Scottish migration occurred from the 1840s (following the British annexation of New Zealand, and the introduction of assisted migration), with dramatic upturns in the 1850s and 1860s during the gold rushes in both countries. Ian Donnachie, 'The Making of "Scots on the Make": Scottish Settlement and Enterprise in Australia, 1830-1900', in *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society*, ed. by T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), pp. 135-53; Terry Hearn, 'Scots Miners on the Goldfields, 1861-70,' in *The Heather and the Fern*, pp. 67-85. The first Scottish missionaries arrived in 1801 as members of the London Missionary Society expedition to Tahiti. Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (Phantassie: Tuckwell, 2001), p. 230.

4 John M. MacKenzie, 'A Scottish Empire? The Scottish diaspora and interactive identities', in *The Heather and the Fern*, pp. 17-32 (pp. 22-3). Tíree emigrant Donald Maclean, for example, who served as Native Minister in New Zealand between 1877 and 1880, tried to ensure that white colonists regularly purchased their land from chiefs who had undertaken sales of their own free will (though officials who succeeded him served settler interests, dishonouring promises he had made to Maori). In Hawai'i, various Scottish settlers helped to preserve the autonomy of the Indigenous monarchy prior to US annexation in 1898, while Sir Arthur Gordon, governor of Fiji from 1875-80, tried to protect Indigenous political structures where possible, and restricted European immigration to the colony. Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, pp. 232, 235, 236. See also Tom Devine, *Scotland's Empire, 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003); *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. by John MacKenzie and Tom Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

- 5 Roslyn Jolly, 'Introduction', in Robert Louis Stevenson, *South Sea Tales*, ed. by Roslyn Jolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. ix-xxxiii (p. xliii); Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, p. 238.
- 6 Robert Louis Stevenson, *In the South Seas* (London: Hogarth Press, 1987), pp. 27, 31. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text. See also Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 167, 170.
- 7 See James Stuart Duncan and Derek John Gregory, 'Introduction', in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, ed. by James Stuart Duncan and Derek John Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1-13; Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*; Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992); David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).
- 8 Betty Hagglund, 'The Journeys of Anne Grant', in *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. by Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 41-54 (p. 47).
- 9 Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 252.
- 10 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 31. See also Tony Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004).
- 11 Michelle Keown, *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 43; Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, pp. 186-8).
- 12 Savea Sano Malifa, 'Thank You Robert Louis Stevenson Foundation. Thank You Samoa', *Samoa Observer*, 3 September, 2012, n. p. <<http://www.samoaoobserver.ws/editorial/742-thank-you-robert-louis-stevenson-foundation-thank-you-samoa->> [accessed 29 April 2013].
- 13 Albert Wendt, 'Tusitala: The Legend, the Writer and the Literature of the Pacific', in *Robert Louis Stevenson: His Best Pacific Writings*, ed. by Roger Robinson (Auckland: Streamline, 2003), pp. 9-11 (pp. 9-10).
- 14 Albert Wendt, *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), p. 159. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text.
- 15 See Paul Sharrad, *Albert Wendt and Pacific Literature: Circling the Void* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003); Keown, *Pacific Islands Writing*, p. 175.
- 16 Michelle Keown, 'The Samoan Sisypheus: Camus and Colonialism in Albert Wendt's *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*', *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 37.1 (2002), 49-64.
- 17 Albert Wendt, *The Mango's Kiss* (Auckland: Vintage, 2003), p. 114. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text.
- 18 Wendt, 'Tusitala', p. 10.
- 19 Wendt, 'Tusitala', p. 10.
- 20 Sia Figiel, *Where We Once Belonged* (Auckland: Pasifika, 1996), p. 88.
- 21 Jolly, 'Introduction', p. ix.
- 22 Michelle Keown, *Postcolonial Pacific Writing: Representations of the Body* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 42-7.
- 23 Subramani, 'Interview', in Sia Figiel, *The Girl in the Moon Circle* (Suva: Mana, 1996), pp. 121-32 (p. 129). See also Keown, *Postcolonial Pacific Writing*, p. 38.
- 24 Keown, 'Samoan Sisypheus'; Keown, *Postcolonial Pacific Writing*.

25 In reality, Stevenson's domestic arrangements in Samoa fell somewhere in between Wendt's and Figiel's contrasting representations: as Michael Fry points out, numerous biographers 'have observed how he lived on Samoa like a Highland chief, gathering relations and dependants round him in a kind of clan, even dressing his servants in lava-lavas of Royal Stewart tartan', *Scottish Empire*, p. 232.

26 Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, p. 235.

27 Trixie Te Arama Menzies, *Papakainga* (Auckland: Waiata Koa, 1988), p. 10.

28 Ihimaera has Lowland Scots ancestry on both sides of his family (personal communication, 19 November 2012).

29 Witi Ihimaera, *The Trowenna Sea* (Auckland: Reed, 2009), p. 437. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text.

30 Similar connections between Scottish and Maori exile and anticolonial resistance are made in Ihimaera's 2011 novel *The Parihaka Woman* (Auckland: Vintage, 2011), where Dunedin Scots offer their support for Maori prisoners from Parihaka exiled to Otago in the 1880s for resisting European confiscation and occupation of their ancestral land.

31 Keri Hulme, 'What I Believe', in *What I Believe: The Personal Philosophies of Twenty-two New Zealanders*, ed. by Allan Thompson (Wellington: GP Publications, 1993), pp. 78-85 (p. 82). Through her Orkney forebears, Hulme also has Norse and Faroese ancestry. Keri Hulme, 'Stories, Songs, and Sisters', in *Cherries on a Plate: New Zealand Writers Talk About Their Sisters*, ed. by Marilyn Duckworth (Auckland: Random House, 1996), pp. 124-47 (pp. 128-29).

32 Keri Hulme, *The Silences Between (Moeraki Conversations)* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1982), p. 52. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text.

33 John Bryson, 'Keri Hulme in conversation with John Bryson', *Antipodes*, 2.8 (1994) 131-35 (p. 134).

34 Keri Hulme, *Stonefish* (Wellington: Huia, 2004), p. 12. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text.

35 Keri Hulme, *The Bone People* (London: Picador, 2001), p. 43. Further references to this edition are given in parentheses in the text.

36 Erin Mercer, "'Frae ghosties and ghoulies deliver us': Keri Hulme's *the bone people* and the Bicultural Gothic', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 27 (2009) 111-130 (pp. 118-19); Hulme, 'Stories, Songs, and Sisters', p. 128; Personal communication, 26 October 2012.

37 Keri Hulme, 'What I Believe', p. 85.

38 Cathie Koa Dunsford, *Song of the Selkies* (Melbourne: Spinifex, 2001) and *Return of the Selkies* (Matakana: Global Dialogues Press, 2007); Personal communication, 1 November 2012. Further references to these editions are given in parentheses in the text.

39 Cathie Koa Dunsford, *Cowrie* (Melbourne: Spinifex, 1994), *The Journey Home* (Melbourne: Spinifex, 1997), *Manawa Toa: Heart Warrior* (Melbourne: Spinifex, 2000), *Ao Toa: Earth Warriors* (Melbourne: Spinifex, 2004), and *Kaitiakitanga Pasifika* (Matakana: Global Dialogues Press, 2012). Further references to these editions are given in parentheses in the text.

40 The environmental dangers explored in Dunsford's texts are based around her meticulous research into available scientific documentation, including reports produced by organisations such as the Scottish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA). See Dunsford, *Return of the Selkies*, p. 233.

41 Dunsford, *The Journey Home*, p. 25; Ernest W. Marwick, *The Folklore of Orkney and Shetland* (London: Batsford, 1975), p. 57. On publishing 'The Bottle Imp', Stevenson acknowledged as his source a melodrama of the same name (by Richard Brinsley Peake) first performed at Covent Garden in 1828. As Roslyn Jolly points out, Peake's play was

itself based on a German folktale that Stevenson seems not to have encountered directly, but given that Stevenson draws on Scottish folklore elsewhere in his writing, it is possible that he may have come across the tale of the Book of the Black Art (which may be of Norse origin given that Orkney and Shetland were a Norwegian province for 200 years before being annexed to Scotland in the late 1460s/early 1470s). Robert Louis Stevenson, *South Sea Tales*, ed. by Roslyn Jolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 72, 270; Marwick, *Folklore of Orkney and Shetland*, p. 14.

42 Tom Brooking, 'Introduction', in *The Heather and the Fern*, pp. 11-15 (p. 13).

43 MacKenzie, 'A Scottish Empire?', pp. 19, 22.

44 Others include, *inter alia*, Hinemoana Baker, Serie Barford, Bub Bridger, Jaq Carter, Michael Greig, Phil Kawana, and Selina Tusitala Marsh.



Appropriating Robert Louis Stevenson:

Nakajima Atsushi in Pre-War Japan

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Appropriating Robert Louis Stevenson:

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Taku Yamamoto

Tusitala means ‘writer of stories’ in English, or ‘a Japanese-owned hotel’
[...] depending on who’s doing the translation or defining.

Sia Figiel, *Where We Once Belonged*¹

Sia Figiel’s *Where We Once Belonged* problematises the legacy of colonialism in the Pacific area, and brings older images of colonial rule into collision with new forces from the globalising 1990s. Located north of Apia market is a bright, false-style dome. To Po, the heroine, the hotel is a remnant of colonial times when Robert Louis Stevenson employed indigenous people to materialise the western imagination of the South Sea dream. But the passage also registers a shift in the global economy, and draws attention to the hotel’s official name, Hotel Kitano Tusitala. In the late 1980s, excess liquidity caused by the economic bubble boosted Japanese companies’ foreign investment. The purchase of the national hotel by the Kitano Construction Corporation was one example of this process in the Pacific region. The juxtaposition of colonialism and economic expansion might suggest Japan has become a new exploiter in the final decade of the twentieth century, but it also reminds us of older Japanese presences in the Pacific, and of the Second World War.

This essay discusses the many ways in which ‘Stevenson’ was created as a figure in pre-war Japan. Nakajima Atsushi wrote a biographical novel about Stevenson – *Hikari to Kaze to Yume* (*Light, Wind and Dreams*, 1942) – and, in the process, critics began to call him ‘Tsushitara’ after the Samoan Tusitala. On the other hand, Stevenson was a suitable object for ideological projection by writers associated with expansionist views. His interstitial position between European colonisers and Samoans, as well as his popularity among Japanese readers, provided a model for justifying Japanese policy. Japan, for the expansionists, could become Asia’s white knight. Stevenson is a figure Nakajima invests in; he offers much more than mere literary inspiration, and is written as a symbolic hero both for the contemporary Japanese foreign policy and for the author’s unsettled identity. A complex archive around Stevenson made this reception possible, as I show below.

Light, Wind and Dreams and its Critical Response

Light, Wind and Dreams narrates Stevenson's later life in Samoa from 1890 to 1894. Its twenty chapters are thematically categorised in two parts, the protagonist's narration in a diary style, and an omniscient narrator's explanations of biographical detail and asides on the history of Samoa. Each part is arranged alternately; explanatory chapters provide complementary information for neighboring diary sections.² Scholars have not identified all of Nakajima's reading material; the diary parts of *Light, Wind and Dreams* are considered to be based on *Vailima Letters*, whereas the others are based on Stevenson's essays.³

Light, Wind and Dreams was a finalist for, but did not win, the Akutagawa Prize – Japan's prime literary award for new writers – in 1942 when Nakajima was in Palau. Previous stories by Nakajima had utilised Greek mythology and Chinese classics as narrative frames, and had revealed his knowledge of foreign literature and technique; compared to these, the narrative style of *Light, Wind and Dreams* appears plain. Many of its details are redundant and reviews were generally unfavourable.⁴ Criticism, both contemporary and modern, has focused more on Nakajima's biographical similarities to Stevenson. There are clear parallels: shared lung disease from infancy, poor health, a short lifespan. Criticism has tended to base its arguments around Nakajima's adoration of Stevenson, and on the 'exotic' subject matter of his texts, rather than attempting any engagement with his literary techniques and their significance.

More recently, critics have developed another approach to Nakajima's stories, focusing on his Pacific writings and discussing the imperial ideology latent in these tales, alongside his view of the Japanese South Seas. Stevenson's own ambivalent position – being against colonialism while living within it – mirrors Nakajima's, and suggests one reason why a literary treatment of his life could be useful material for a socio-historical study of Japanese imperialism. Robert Tierney examines *Nantô Tan* (*Tales of the South Seas*, 1942) and *Light, Wind and Dreams* in order to point out the political and racial ambiguity of the Japanese Empire. Nakajima's novels have an affinity, he argues, with contemporary views of Micronesian cultures: 'Stevenson supplies the standard against which reality is measured and his standard is tantamount to the standard of civilisation itself'.⁵ Like Tierney, Faye Yuan Kleeman, who addresses her attention to imperialistic attitudes in the colonial literature in Japan and Taiwan, considers Nakajima's image of Stevenson as a metaphor of his ambiguous feelings towards colonialism.⁶

In fact, one of the initial responses to *Light, Wind and Dreams* commented on these contextual and ideological questions. Kume Masao, in his Akutagawa referee report, linked the text to questions of Japanese foreign policy and imperial expansion:

Honestly, I felt the story was splendidly well written and a product of much effort, but I couldn't tell whether it was a good one or not. However, I definitely – no matter what other referees would say – insist that the most honorable thing is the fact

that a Japanese scholar in the South Seas wrote a story from such a global perspective. What would British citizens in this wartime feel if they read its translation?

For the judge of a literary prize, this is an odd method of evaluation: Kume recognises the elaborate organisation of the story but dodges the question of its literary quality. Kume's concern was more with the political elements in the story than with its literary value. His question about the postulated British reaction, however, invites an interpretation of *Light, Wind and Dreams* as a critique of western imperialism. Contemporary anti-war critics also read Nakajima's novel for its historical and contextual information. Iwakami Jun'ichi attacked the author's inadequate understanding of Polynesian culture and European colonisation, seeing its hero's confession of personal anxiety as a symptom of inadequately processed authorial ideology: '[Nakajima's] deviation from history is often noticeable where the author tries to insinuate his own philosophy in *Light, Wind, and Dreams*'.⁸ Critics from left and right agree, perhaps surprisingly, in under-reading the novel as a *literary* response to Stevenson's Pacific. Its artistic value remains largely under-examined.

Stevenson's Popularity and the Politics of Japanese Empire

Nakajima makes Stevenson's speech on the Road of Gratitude the climax of his novel, and this in turn is the most discussed part of his own text in socio-historical readings. Nakajima's re-writing sticks closely to the original sources, but with crucial modifications:

The land committee and the chief justice prescribed by the treaty will soon serve out their term. Then, the land will be returned to you and you will be at liberty about its usage. That is the very moment when wicked white people will try to lay their hands on your land. The men with surveying rods will surely come to your villages.⁹

Compared to Stevenson's text, Nakajima *racialises* Stevenson's narrative discourse: 'the messenger' in Stevenson's original speech is replaced by the 'wicked white people'. Stevenson thus ends up echoing, in however trivial a way, the language of Japanese colonialism, and is presented as a 'middle way' himself, positioned between native Samoans and 'wicked white people' set on colonial occupation.

Nakajima, whether unconsciously or not, writes within the ideological context of the 'Realm of Peace and Prosperity' (*Ôdô Rakudo*), and the 'Co-Prosperity of Five Races' (*Gozoku Kyôwa*), government narratives justifying Japanese expansion developed since the colonisation of Manchuria around 1930. These concepts emphasised the difference of Western and Japanese imperialism: Japan was creating an earthly paradise (*Rakudo*) of the Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere (*Daitôa Kyôeiken*), not by a plundering Western-style military force, but by an application of Eastern virtue (*Ôdô*).¹⁰ These slogans, ironically, indicate the difficulties Japan's government faced: resistance, both domestic, to increasing privation, and foreign, to invasion, forced the

elaboration of ever more developed cases stressing Japanese exceptionalism and ‘anti-imperial’ imperialism. This in turn spurred literary discourse, with writers imagining and sustaining the ideologies of ‘co-prosperity’ and the ‘earthly paradise’ just as administrators worked for its realisation.

An emergent popular genre blending fiction with non-fiction celebrated the toils of Japanese immigrants attempting to start up new industries in the Pacific colonies.¹¹ Maruyama Yoshiji’s 1942 biographical fiction ‘Nankai no Eiyū’ (‘A Hero in the South Seas’) is about Mori Koben, a trader and one of the first settlers in Micronesia. At the climax of the first part of the story, the Japanese fleet arrives at the island on the verge of a native riot. Mori’s long-craved dream, finally, is realised: the islands are now fully possessed by his home country and his islanders become ‘great citizens of Japan’.¹² What follows is strict imperial fantasy and adventure: the narrative stresses Mori’s patriotic devotion to the homeland; it traces his early commitment to a politically extremist sect and his subsequent disappointment; his hardships in the South Seas, including life-threatening battles with native tribes; and then ends with his marriage to a chief’s daughter. However, the most important point in this novel is that the hero’s deeds are assumed to bring great benefits not only to Japanese citizens but also to the colonised peoples. Being the Emperor’s subject, the islanders are under the protection of the Japanese vessels and supposedly enjoy industrial development like people in Taiwan. Thus, Mori becomes a good coloniser.



Figure 1.

‘Savage, you can’t compete with the white man’s wisdom. You shall be forgiven unless you try to eat us.’
 ‘I swear not to eat a white man for good.’

Children's literature of the period developed similar themes even more overtly. *Bôken Dankichi* (*Dankichi, the Young Adventurer*), the popular pre-war comic series, visualises the ideological complexity of 'Co-Prosperity' in a more curious way than Mori's case. On a cannibal island, Dankichi successfully becomes the cannibals' ruler by means of 'the white man's wisdom' (*Figure 1*). Dankichi's self-presentation as 'white' relies on ambiguities in colonial presentation and in the Japanese language. In Japanese white can mean both the 'white' and 'a pale colour'. In this latter sense, Dankichi is correct, but a crucial point is that he uses the word in a quite ambivalent way. He is 'a white king' and at the same time fights for the cannibals' independence against invaders whose physical traits are definitely those of Europeans (*Figure 2*).



Figure 2.

While Dankichi's whiteness justifies his superiority to the 'darker' tribe, he protects them against the 'whiter' colonisers. The protagonist is neither dark nor white, being an outsider in the standardised semantic framework that classifies the races by their skin colors and thus securing his interstitial predicament. Whereas Mori is qualified to be a chief by his native wife, Dankichi obtains the position only by his verbal rhetoric, where ethical judgment of a good coloniser is a

very arbitrary and subjective matter. This is the literary background which made it possible even for a ‘whiter’ Stevenson to be a symbolic advocate for Japanese imperial policy.

How might readers have accepted the words of Nakajima’s Stevenson as a vindication for their country regardless of his being a ‘whiter’ writer? Stevenson’s pre-war popularity may have allowed something of an unspoken ‘naturalisation’ to occur. Stevenson had long been popular in Japan, enjoying huge critical and popular acclaim through the Meiji, Taisho, and early Showa periods, to say nothing of his own evident interest in and knowledge of things Japanese, suggested by his essays on Yoshida Shôin and the forty-seven Rônin (‘Byways of Book Illustration’). Stevenson, in the era of Japanese imperialism, could be re-written, and consumed, according to national preference. His South Seas became, in Nakajima’s hands, Japanese South Seas; the Scottish Pacific a Japanese Pacific.

Stevenson in Japan

As is well known, European technology and culture flooded Japan after the opening in 1858, and British literature was quickly introduced even to ordinary citizens by remakes and translations.¹³ Taking account of the unstable political conditions in the early Meiji period and Japan’s distance from Europe, it must be judged a speedy response that a few poems from *A Child’s Garden of Verses* were translated less than ten years after its original was first published. The first abridged translation of *Treasure Island* (*Shin Takarajima*) was serialised in a literary magazine in 1895.

A brief overview of Stevenson’s reception in Japan provides some sense of his powerful appeal as a figure for colonial discourse. One of his earliest translators was Oshikawa Shunrô, a renowned juvenile adventure writer. He adapted the framework of *New Arabian Nights*, transforming it into a different story where all characters have Japanese names in a British setting: ‘This book is not its translation but rather a new story that utilised the original structure’.¹⁴

Natsume Soseki also produced adaptations of Stevenson. Soseki, an early Stevenson enthusiast, applied a similar narrative structure of *New Arabian Nights* in *Higan Sugi Made* (*To the Spring Equinox and Beyond*, 1912).¹⁵ The novel makes this intertextual connection clear: ‘This bent in Keitarô seemed to have started [...] during his high school days. A teacher of English at his school used Stevenson’s *New Arabian Nights* as the class text’.¹⁶ Soseki’s joke here works only if Stevenson is a familiar author from readers’ exposure to him in the classroom. He had become, in other words, part of the educational and literary ‘structure of feeling’ of mainstream Japanese social thought by early in the century. As Tanabe Yukinobu’s extensive bibliography suggests, from Meiji to early Showa there are numerous entries of his works in English textbooks for junior high school, not to mention translations of the major stories.¹⁷

In 1938 Sagara Jirô produced a comprehensive reader's guide to Stevenson. At more than three hundred pages it remains the most extensive Japanese-language monograph on Stevenson, combining biography (drawing mainly on Balfour) with an outline of most of Stevenson's works, with literary comments attached. Although we cannot be confident how conscious Nakajima was of the historically-accumulated reputation of his favorite author, *Light, Wind, and Dreams* appeared at the climax of Stevenson's Japanese reputation and appraisal. Sagara's book provides another example of interaction between literary popularity and ideological discourse. Referring to Stevenson's comments on the Transvaal war, he utilises these to produce a Stevenson intervening in contemporary politics:

If he were a Japanese citizen of our time, he would never advocate [...] non-confrontational pacifism notwithstanding the control of freedom of speech. He would, if anything, be willing to take a pen or a sword for this sacred war for the peace of Asia.¹⁸

The context existed already, in other words, for Nakajima's deployment of Stevenson as a model Japanese colonialist in *Light, Wind, and Dreams*. Stevenson existed, in his Japanese reception, as a contemporary, and, crucially, as a symbolic hero.

***Nan'yô* and Nakajima**

Provided the imperialist discourses of the pre-war period and this literary context, it is most likely that Nakajima expected attention to be given to the political aspects of his text. Whatever these expectations, however, Nakajima's paratexts all disavowed any connection between politics and literature. In 'Under the Pandanus Trees', written immediately after his return from Palau, he expresses his puzzlement upon visiting a bookstore where a large number of war books were displayed:

I was very surprised to be reminded of how little I had thought about the political situation and literature when I was under the pandanus trees. It was not little but never. War is war and literature is literature. They have been totally different things for me. [...] It has never occurred to me that the flavor of the current situation should be added to my writings, and, still more, literature could possibly contribute to the national object. (vol. 2: pp. 22-3)

We can hardly take this statement seriously. It is almost unimaginable that Nakajima could have submitted his manuscript to the *Bungei Shunjû* without glancing at the journal's content: literary magazines were full of articles and interviews concerning the wars, even before the period of Nakajima's departure to the Japanese South Seas (*nan'yô*).¹⁹ Neither is it possible to assume that he did not know the aim of his job in Palau: he was required to edit Japanese textbooks produced to transform indigenous children into the Emperor's subjects.

In the final part of the essay, Nakajima discloses his intentions without admitting this complicity:

I had been made to resolutely – almost ridiculously – distinguish war and literature in the islands of pandanus trees by my internal conflict between ‘a wish to make myself helpful for something practical’ and ‘an aversion to offer literary works for practical use such as ad posters’. This inclination is unlikely to be amended even when I am back to the gay city of Tokyo from the islands of pandanus trees. I may be still stupefied by the South Sea life. (vol. 2: p. 24)

This explanation obviously contradicts the former statement. His ‘aversion to offer literary works for practical use’ assumes the notion that literature could be beneficial for that purpose. Nakajima’s contribution to colonial political discourse, perhaps paradoxically, is this insistence on literature’s autonomy, something he aligns with the ‘South Sea life’.

Nakajima stayed in the South Seas for less than a year, but his letters give an impression that he was always travelling. For all this travel, however, his reactions are surprisingly bland with no real examination or inquiry, and almost nothing on political issues. Before his departure to Palau, no harsh criticism in his correspondence can be detected in relation to Japanese colonialism; he travelled in the Pacific for money and in the hope of improving his lung disease. Local people and their conditions seem not to have interested him:

The travel this time has explicitly revealed the nonsense of my textbook editing for local people. More profitable things should be done for their well-being. [...] I like the islanders. I like them far better than selfish Japanese residents in the South Seas. They are simple and lovable. You should understand that the adults are big children. They must have been happier in the old days. (vol. 3: p. 631)

This banal suggestion that ‘natives’ be understood as ‘big children’ may remind us of Wiltshire’s discovery of the nature of islanders in ‘The Beach of Falesá’. His racial prejudice, which cannot be amended by his parenthood of ‘half-castes’, could be taken ironically as a counterpart for Nakajima’s view: partly by his innocent racism, a Japanese novelist did not perceive more than what an uneducated hero could recognise in less than a few months. Nevertheless, it does not mean that Nakajima was unperceptive about his surroundings. Rather, it was not the *real* South Sea that attracted his attention. Just as Wiltshire worries exclusively about his own shop, being utterly indifferent to the economy of colonialism, so Nakajima’s continued to be concerned with nothing more than his asthma, family, and the traditional tropical life that Stevenson experienced: ‘I like Jaluit Atoll best among the islands I have visited, because it was least civilised and most similar to Stevenson’s South Seas’ (vol. 3: p. 607).

For Nakajima, *two* South Seas existed: one is the real *nan’yô* archipelago that had been placed under the mandatory rule of Japan since 1922; the other is the exotic islands whose life could be

peeped at via fantasy through exposure to Western literary works. Although his decision to be a Japanese textbook editor was made on account of 'my illness, and livelihood' (vol. 3: p. 556), he did not seem to entirely give up the hope that the place might provide him with new inspiration, for we come across the fact that he 'brought writing paper to start some work when leaving the mainland' (vol. 3: p. 32). Nevertheless, in a letter to his father dated 6 November 1941, Nakajima confesses to the difficulty of maintaining his physical and mental condition and a wish to return home (vol. 3: p. 628), and at the end of the year is convinced of the rightness of his assessment: 'a cultivated person cannot live in the South Seas physically and mentally' (vol. 3: p. 648). It seems reasonable to assume that the only way available for him to have a sense of well-being in such a situation was to make acquaintances with people of his kind and consider the wonders of the tropics.²⁰ As well as his letters, a passage from 'High Noon' ('Mahiru'), a short story based on the author's Pacific experience, allows us to catch a glimpse of the way he looked at the world he was in at the time:

You are always you. No changes at all. Only sunshine and heat-wind cover your consciousness with a transient thick veil. Now you think you see the glittering sea and the sky. Or you may be so flattered as to consider that you see them as the natives do. [...] You only see the replica of Gauguin. You don't see Micronesia. You only see the faded representations of Polynesia by Loti and Melville. (vol. 1: p. 279)

The unpleasant job and disappointment at the real *nan'yô* forced him to stick to an imaginary version of the South Seas, one which Stevenson's stories had partly created. Conscious of his own limitations, Nakajima's biographical exposure to the world of the South Seas prompted his turn inwards, to his *own* South Seas, those constructed through imaginary communion with Stevenson.

Men of Writing, Men of Action

One of the most remarkable aspects of *Light, Wind, and Dreams* is its intertextuality. It is a mosaic made up of different pieces of Nakajima's stories.²¹ Consider this example, Stevenson wandering drunk in Apia:

When I came to my senses, I found myself fallen flat on the dark, moldy-smelling ground. An earth-smelling breeze was blowing lukewarm on my face. Then flashed upon my slightly conscious mind the idea, 'I'm in Apia, not in Edinburgh', like a fire-ball coming nearer to me from a distance, and gradually becoming bigger strangely enough, thinking of it afterwards, it seems that I felt as if I were in a street in Edinburgh all the while I was lying on the ground. (vol. 1: p. 192)

Almost the same passage can be found in an unfinished exercise story, 'Hoppôkô' ('To the North', 1948), only with a change of the place name: 'I'm in Beijing, not in Tokyo' (vol. 2: p. 167). Since the protagonist in this earlier story is a jobless member of the Japanese intelligentsia,

Denkichi, it seems odd that the author applied the same description to a character with different external circumstances. Denkichi and Stevenson become, in Nakajima's treatment, both examples of the unstable self, something to be explored as autonomous from location or imperial history. For Denkichi, the loss of location is closely associated with his unstable identity. Although the story offers no clear explanation for Stevenson's case, his self-interrogation in the same diary entry metaphorically suggests that the accident is the outcome of his perception of a contradiction in his conception of himself: 'It feels as though a crack was made somewhere in the cerebrum. It does not seem that I fell down only by drunkenness' (vol. 1: p. 193). As the story develops, Nakajima's Stevenson becomes doubtful about his own professional and personal identity.

This theme of unsettled identity thus both destabilises *Light, Wind, and Dreams* and, ironically, stabilises Stevenson as a figure in a specifically Japanese-colonial imaginary. The novel's intertextual elements link its main character with other explorations of similar themes while minimising any specific pull the Pacific material might exert. Stevenson, in the novel, ponders the connections between writing and action, between literary imagination and settlement:

I have been a silkworm. I have only spun cocoons of stories with the silk of words as a silkworm does regardless of its own happiness and unhappiness. Now, the miserable sick silkworm has finally finished forming its cocoon. He has no more purpose for his life. [...] The question is whether I still have a power to break it, mentally or physically. (vol. 1: p. 195)

Nakajima had already argued this dilemma as early as in 1936 in 'Rôshitsu-ki' ('A Record of Anxiety') referring to the Pacific islands.²² The story, set in the modern Tokyo area, depicts the ordinary life and discontents of a high school teacher. It begins with his watching a documentary film about the South Pacific:

It was very long ago. At that time, Sanzô often wished that he had been born as one of them whenever he read a record of the primitive life of the savages and saw their pictures. Certainly, younger Sanzô thought, he could have been born as a savage like them. And, under the brilliant sunshine, he could spend his whole life without knowing materialism, Vimalakirti's categorical imperative, Kant's categorical proposition, and even history and the structure of the solar system. (vol. 1: p. 406)

His yearning for the life of '*nan'yô* natives' (vol. 1: p. 405) obviously anticipates the production of *Light, Wind, and Dreams* in later years. At the same time, the illogical dream – without knowledge and the products of letters, Sanzô would not know the culture of the islanders or the disintegration in his self – can be considered as the archetype of Gojô's trouble in 'Waga Sai-yû-ki' ('My Journey to the West', 1942): mental distress caused by literacy.²³

Whereas 'A Record of Anxiety' does not supply a solution to its protagonist's problem, 'My Journey to the West' alludes to a possible alternative to the act of writing: a life of pure action.

Gojô, who was finally enlightened on the futility of obsessive rumination on the self at the end of his pilgrimage in the former part of the story ('Gojô Shusseï' ('The Promotion of Gojô')), observes his comrade Son Gokû's conduct code in the latter part ('Gojô Tan'ni' ('Gojô's Sermon')). He narrates the marvel of the monkey's spectacular achievements with profound admiration:

Gokû has made a move while fools like us are too stupefied to think about what to do. He has already started to walk, taking the shortest way to his destination. People talk about his deeds and strength. However, they notice less of his marvelously prodigious wisdom. In his case, prudence and judgment constitute a harmonious whole with physical actions. (vol. 1: p. 343)

It is worth noticing that Gokû's wisdom was not obtained by writing. He is 'illiterate to such a degree that he knows neither the Chinese characters of Hitsubaon [Protector of the Stables – Gokû's title] nor its duties' (vol. 1: p. 343). His instinctive performances make Gojô painfully aware of 'the incompetence of the culture of writing' (vol. 1: p. 344). 'My Journey to the West' presents an antithesis of writings and actions, but, more importantly, it proposes its sublimation by the sincere approval of the other and improvement of one's own self:

I would never learn from him in the present situation. I have to get closer to him and learn everything from that monkey however irritating to me his rough conduct may be, even if he scolds and strikes me more often and I may sometimes swear at him. It is nothing at all to see and admire him from far away. (vol. 1: pp. 352-3)

Nakajima's adaptation of the Chinese story is judged to be very appropriate in dealing with unsettled identity, because it provided ready-made but handily contrasting characters who are not available in the modern stories such as 'To the North' and 'A Record of Anxiety'. This will also explain why he chose Stevenson as a protagonist.

Stevenson as an Imaginary Model

The life of Robert Louis Stevenson could be another version of 'My Journey to the West'. While presenting an over-pessimistic protagonist, Nakajima utilises the energetic aspects of Stevenson's public image to create a brave hero. In making him stand out as a man of action, Nakajima uses selections from Stevenson's letters and essays in order to exaggerate his isolation from the European community in Apia.

Stevenson as a lonely hero appears in the fourth chapter where a portrait sent by Colvin is mentioned. Nakajima develops the original letter – 'Fanny wept when we unpacked it, and you know how little she is given to that mood; I was scarce Roman myself, but that does not count'²⁴ – in a dramatically pathetic way:

We have received a photograph from Colvin. Fanny – far from a sentimental blubberer – involuntarily shed tears.

Friends! How I am lacking in them at present! Comrades with whom I can talk on equal terms (in various senses). [...] In this refreshing climate and active daily life, those are my only need. Colvin, Baxter, W. E. Henley, Gosse, and – a little later – Henry James; When I think of it, my bloom of youth was blessed with abundant friendships. (vol. 1: p. 123)

While Stevenson's original letters often mention balls and parties, Nakajima's fictionalisation omits these details or refers to them quite briefly. Most visitors to Vailima in the novel are Samoans except for occasional official calls by the Chief Justice. For Europeans in Samoa, he is a nuisance who disturbs their administration: 'Mr. R. L. S. who knows nothing about colonial policy but intrusively extends cheap sympathy to the ignorant natives, acts like Don Quixote' (vol. 1: p. 132). This quixotic disposition is another element of the hero-making that Nakajima employs, displaying enormous divergences of objective and subjective views on the protagonist's ideas about colonialism. First Stevenson's ignorance of practical colonialism is mentioned in the explanatory part of Chapter Five ('the astonishing unawareness of the great novelist' (vol. 1: p. 130)) and then in the following diary section, his unflinching resolution based on 'blind humanitarianism' is represented. After explaining the income imbalance between European administrators and the native king (as is seen in the last chapter of *A Footnote to History*), Stevenson proudly admits his ignorance of colonial policy:

It is the fact that I know nothing about politics and I am even proud of it. Nor do I know what the common attitude prevailing in this colony or semi-colony is, and even if I did know to the extent of understanding it, I could not take it for my criteria because I am a literary man. (vol. 1: p. 132)

Here, in the discrepancy between objective and subjective views, Nakajima converts Stevenson's lack of political experience into evidence of the purity of his motivation. However prominent and influential Stevenson is, his power can be exerted only in literary society and has nothing to do with international politics. Stevenson's acknowledgement of his own defects and impotence enhances the picture of a lonely hero driven to attack vast colonial powers by altruistic and humane motives.

In order to further justify a naively humanistic motivation in the hero, Nakajima equips him with other qualities of leadership. He quotes Stevenson's encounter with Sir George Grey in New Zealand from a letter of 25 April 1893:

The old gentleman agreed with this [Stevenson's idea about colonial policy] in every detail and greatly encouraged me. He said, 'You must not give up hope. I am one of the minority that has live long enough to truly understand that it is no use to give up hope in any circumstances'. Hearing this I felt much better. One must respect a man who knows all about the vulgar, and yet doesn't lose sight of the higher things. (vol. 1: p. 164)

While Grey's encouragement ensures that Stevenson keeps up his anti-colonial campaign, the narrator intervenes and reveals his own judgment about the hero's leadership in the last sentence. A man 'who knows all about the vulgar, and yet doesn't lose sight of the higher things' refers not only to the Governor of New Zealand but also Stevenson himself. We are reminded of his early bohemian life in the previous chapter: 'At twenty, Stevenson was a lump of ostentatiousness, a nasty rascal, and the bastard of upper-class Edinburgh society' (vol. 1: p. 158). The implication is that his decadent youth has made him so aware of 'the vulgar' as to be an eligible chief for the Samoans.

This mode of narrative contrast plays an important part in the invention of Stevenson as a model man of action. Short sentences and sequences of noun phrases are frequently used in the diary sections, particularly in reporting external events. One example is a diary section referring to a rumour of the colonial government's dynamite conspiracy against indigenous rioters. The original passage in Stevenson's letter looks simple enough:

Ever since my last snatch I have been much chivied about over the President business; his answer has come, and is an evasion accompanied with schoolboy insolence, and we are going to try to answer it. I drew my answer to it and took it down yesterday; but one of the signatories wants another paragraph added.²⁵

In Nakajima's narrative, the paragraph is reduced to just three sentences of rather fragmentary phrases: 'The Chief Justice's answer, has finally come. Childish insolence, and cunning evasion. Do not make sense. Immediately, I sent a second questionnaire' (vol. 1: p. 134). This terse narrative style serves to down-play the reflective and meditative aspects of Stevenson's character, and to draw attention to his propensity for action.

In Nakajima's chapter on the Samoan revolt and its failure, Stevenson is a vigorous and lively character. Most of the journal entries begin with a short sentence like a newspaper headline: 'Perhaps the war will break out soon' (vol. 1: p. 171), 'Went to town and heard the news' (vol. 1: p. 171), 'The war broke out at last' (vol. 1: p. 173), and 'The result of the war at length became clear' (vol. 1: p. 175). Omission and combination of the original letters as well as brief sentences and paragraphs emphasise the tension and urgency of the situation, making vivid and lively impressions of the hero as if he were everywhere in Apia. 'After dinner' (vol. 1: p. 173) a messenger came to tell of wounded soldiers, and Stevenson '[rides] on horse back' to Apia, where he feels 'an extraordinary excitement' (vol. 1: p. 174). His visit is so prompt that even doctors have not yet arrived there. Seeing the wounded for a while, he 'ran about the city' (vol. 1: p. 174) and called on committee members at the city hall to obtain their permission to use it as a temporary hospital. 'At midnight [he] went back to the hospital and found a doctor' only to discover that 'two patients were dying' (vol. 1: p. 174). All these events are described in a little over one page, and this rapid narrative is another element in establishing an adventurous hero who commits himself to the cause of humanity whilst risking his own life.

The narrator's representation produces a contrasting image of Stevenson suffering from the instability of an artist while being extremely active in his anti-colonial campaign. However, by putting his own ideas forward, the author attributes these seemingly contradictory aspects to a particular trait of Stevenson—intuitive sensation: 'Indeed, only things which sincerely and directly touch my mind can move me (or any artist) into action' (vol. 1: p. 132). This feature is what the hero shares with the monkey king Gokû, whose principle is seemingly at the opposite extreme to that of Stevenson's.

The most important thematic correspondence between *Light, Wind, and Dreams* and 'My Journey to the West', and by extension in Nakajima's entire works, is the ability to appreciate the aesthetic. The monkey king, regardless of his native roughness, is strikingly sensitive to the beauty of nature: 'he greets the sunrise, intoxicated with its beauty as if he saw it for the first time. Praises it from the bottom of his heart and with a sigh of admiration' (vol. 1: p. 341). The aesthetic intoxication, or pure indulgence in beauty, is the very thing that the narrator attempts to represent in the final part of *Light, Wind, and Dreams*:

Soon the world under my eyes had instantly changed its appearance. The colorless world, in a flash, had begun to shine with brimming colors. The sun had risen from beyond the eastern rock knoll, which is invisible from here. What magic! The grey world had been dyed in dazzling colors of stain-glossy saffron, sulfur yellow, rose pink, clove red, vermillion, turquoise green, orange, lapis, and amethyst. [...]

Looking now at the momentary miracle under my eyes, I felt with comfort the night within me passing away. (vol. 1: pp. 214-5)

The hero marvels at the morning sun as Gokû does, immersing himself in the flood of millions of colours with full pleasure. More significantly, the sense of beauty obliterates the affliction caused by his self-doubt. Through this aestheticism the author is able to represent a more realistic figure than a mythical creature in the light of the antithesis between writing and action. Since a man of pure action and a preliterate condition are hardly available in reality, Nakajima invents a moment of sensation that makes it possible for the protagonist to break the cocoon of the writing system and liberate himself from the imprisonment of anxiety. For Nakajima, Robert Louis Stevenson could become the realisation of his literary motif, which, failing in 'A Record of Anxiety', he had been able to allude to only in his adaptations of classic literary works. With this 'Stevenson', he could also propose an artistic emancipation – of himself and possibly all moderns who crave for somewhere different to settle a troublesome self.

Conclusion

As we have examined, Nakajima's journey to the South was exceedingly disappointing. His

earlier hopes were betrayed when he encountered the real South Seas where the climate was debilitating and native society was devastated by colonisation. However, our discussion of *Light, Wind, and Dreams* suggests that the most afflicting disillusionment would be the denial of the liberation that he had sought for in his life as well as in his literary works. Rather, the South Seas forced him to taste bitter regret as the narrator in 'Mid Noon' questions himself about his present condition:

What you had expected of the South Seas must not have been this idleness and tiredness. Was it not that you threw yourself into the unknown new place and tried to exert the power that exists but is still latent within you? Was it not the expectation of adventure when the islands became a battlefield in the coming war? (vol. 1: p. 278)

Placed in relation to *Light, Wind, and Dreams* this monologue appears quite symbolic. It sums up not only Nakajima's dissatisfaction with the South Seas, but also the failure of his self-identification with an imaginary Stevenson. In *nan'yô*, he learned that none of his desires would be fulfilled and, what was worse, his artistic talent might be destroyed. Thus, under the pandanus trees, he had to reconsider his own identity as an artist, and to seek reassurance about that conception of the autonomy of literature by which he could attain a more stable artistic self.

Stevenson as a fictional hero provided both advantages and disadvantages for Nakajima. He was able to represent an ideal self in a more realistic setting than he could depict in other stories. However, if we look at the contemporary and later criticism, the disadvantage was as great as the profit. The adaptation of biographical materials with the necessary explanations made the novel look excessive and redundant. Moreover, especially for pro-war readers, Stevenson as an anti-colonial colonialist was too attractive a candidate for posthumous enrolment in the ranks of Japan's colonial champions. Nakajima's Stevenson, then, is one without the complexities, contradictions or tensions of his historical model; a 'man of action' in the South Seas modeling Japanese 'whiteness' without the shading and self-doubt of Stevenson's own Pacific writings. As a result, Nakajima failed to understand the struggle that is evident in the author's own works. Just as the meaning of Tusitala changes depending on the context, so 'Robert Louis Stevenson' presented peculiar dimensions in early-Showa Japan.

NOTES

Unless otherwise specified all translations are my own. Japanese names are cited with the author's surname first in all cases.

1 Sia Figiel, *Where We Once Belonged* (New York: Kaya, 1999), p. 91.

2 The narrative order is inverted in Chapter 16 and 17, both of which employ the diary style. Although the

reason is not clear, a possible explanation would be a narrative requirement of the last chapter (where Stevenson's death and funeral should be put).

3 Iwata Kazuo's detailed examination mentions possible reference to Nakajima in writing the story ("Hikari to Kaze to Yume" to Vailima Letters' ("Light, Wind, and Dreams" and Vailima Letters'). *Hitotsubashi University Research Series: Humanities* 1 1959, pp. 339-98). Besides the materials in the article, Nakajima is supposed to have read *In the South Seas, Essays Literary and Critical* and other biographies. In regard to the availability of Stevenson's text in Nakajima's time, this paper refers to the Tusitala edition.

4 The comments on the novel were generally not very favorable. The referees such as Kojima Seijirō and Uno Kōji were especially critical about the length of the story while the Nobel-prize winning writer Kawabata Yasunari admired both nominees: 'I cannot believe both works do not deserve the prize' (p. 310). See Nakamura Mitsuo's *Nakajima Atsushi Kenkyū (A Study on Nakajima Atsushi)* (Tokyo: Chikuma, 1978), pp. 304-11.

5 Robert Tierney, 'The Colonial Eyeglasses of Nakajima Atsushi,' *Japan Review* 17 (2005), p. 157.

6 Faye Yuan Kleeman, *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), pp. 51-4.

7 Nakamura, p.311.

8 Iwakami Jun'ichi, 'Geijutsu no Ronri' ('The Theory of Art'), *Nihon Hyouron* (June 1942), p. 179.

9 *Nakajima Atsushi Zenshu (The Complete Works of Nakajima Atsushi)*, 4 vols, (Tokyo: Chikuma, 2001), pp. 131-2. All quotations from Nakajima are taken from this edition; subsequent pages references are given in the body of the text.

10 The propaganda was conducted not only by the government but also by mass culture industries and travel agencies. See Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 68-72, 259-68.

11 Many of those stories are based on biographies and travel writings of the early pioneers including a founder of the Nan'yō Trading Company, Taguchi Ukichi (1855-1905). The reprint of Taguchi's record of the South Sea journey by the Ministry of Colonial Affairs in 1933 had the political appeal of further development in the southern regions. Maruyama's *Hansen Tenyū-maru (The Tenyū-maru)* is considered to owe much to Taguchi's story. Many writers are now unknown, but some popular novelists such as Yamada Katsurō, also contributed to the political propaganda.

12 In Maruyama Yoshiji, *Na'yo Guntou (The South Sea Archipelago)* (Tokyo: Yumani, 2002), p. 135.

13 Japanese literature from 1880 to 1910 became a microcosm of nineteenth-century European literature. The first movement was the rise of realism in the mid-1880s when Tsubouchi Shoyō's criticism, *Shosetsu Shinzui (The Essence of the Novel)*, and Futabatei Shimei's novel, *Ukigumo (The Drifting Cloud)* appeared. The 1890s was the period of Japanese romanticism which explored the liberation of human nature in the social context of liberalism. Romanticism was succeeded by naturalism inspired by French novelists and new social theories of the time. However, the popularity of naturalism invited another reaction, namely, anti-naturalism in the 1900s, which would lead to aestheticism, the Shirakaba, and the new realism. Regarding to historical relations of Japanese and European literature, see Sasanuma Toshiaki, *Kokubungaku no Shisō: Sono Han'ei to Shuen (Ideology in 'Japanese Literature': Prosperity and Decline)* (Kyoto: Gakujutsu Shuppankai, 2006), pp. 77-124.

14 Oshikawa Shunrou, *Shin Arabiyan Naito (New Arabian Nights)* (Tokyo: Daigakukan, 1903), p. 2.

15 Soseki's enthusiasm for Stevenson is well known. In the magazine interview in 1906, he highly praises the

narrative style of Stevenson: 'Among European authors, I like Stevenson's narrative style best. It is powerful, concise, without any redundancy, and masculine. [...] I think Stevenson is far better than Scott in terms of wordsmanship' (*Chuô Kôron* Jan. 1906, p. 48).

16 Natsume Soseki, *To the Spring Equinox and Beyond*, trans. Kingo Ochiai and Sanford Goldstein (Rutland: Tuttle, 1985), p. 19.

17 Tanabe Yukinobu. ed. *Nihon ni okeru Stevenson Shoshi* (*The Bibliography of R. L. Stevenson in Japan*), (Tokyo: Asahi Shuppansha, 1974).

18 Sagara Jiro, *Stevenson* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1938), p. 73.

19 We find a lot of war-related essays, discussions, and interviews in the 1930s and 40s. For example, the *Bungei Shunjû* issued a special edition entitled *Genchi Hôkoku* (*A Report from the Scene*) in June 1941 when Nakajima was supposed to be writing *Light, Wind, and Dreams*. In the ordinary issues, political articles often outnumbered literature during this period. According to a letter of 6 December 1941, literary magazines were available in Saipan and Nakajima read them there (vol.3: p. 650).

20 Nakajima's frequent visit to a Japanese sculptor, Hijikata Toshikatsu, was mentioned in many letters and diary entries. His encounter with Hijikata's native assistant, Maria, inspired him to write a short story 'Mariyan' in 1942. As to Japanese artists' visits to and imaginations of *nan'yô*, see Ôkaya Kôji, *Nankai Hyôtô: Mikuroneshia ni Miserareta Hijikata Hisakatsu, Sugiura Sasuke, and Nakajima Atsushi* (*A Drift in the South Seas: Hijikata Hisakatsu, Sugiura Sasuke, and Nakajima Atsushi in Micronesia*) (Tokyo: Fuzambo International, 2007), especially pp. 25-8.

21 The intertextuality and the similar motifs are supposedly due to the author's exceptionally short artistic career. While the earliest professional work was recognised to be 'Tonan-sensei' ('Master Tonan') completed in 1933, almost all of his representative stories were composed a few years before his death: 'My Journey to the West' in 1939-42; 'Kotan' ('The Ancient Stories'), which includes the most highly appreciated stories, 'Sangetsu-ki' ('The Moon over the Mountain') and 'Mojika,' ('The Curse of Letters') in 1940; all of his Pacific stories except for *Light, Wind, and Dreams*, 'Deshi' ('The Disciple'), and 'Riryô' ('Li Ling') in 1942.

22 Kawamura Minato attempts to interpret Nakajima's entire works employing a motif of *rôshitsu* (over-speculation on the self). His stimulating discussion concerning to 'The Ancient Stories' discloses the significance of letters in Nakajima's work. See Kawamura's *Rôshitsu Seiden: Nakajima Atsushi no Bungaku to Shôgai* (*Rôshitsu Seiden: Literature and Life of Nakajima Atsushi*) (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 2009), pp. 197-214.

23 'My Journey to the West' is Nakajima's adaptation of a Chinese classic. The main characters are three idiosyncratic monsters – Son Gokû (Sun Wukong, or Monkey King), Cho Hakkai (Zhu Bajie, or Monk Pig), and Sa Gojô (Sha Wujing, or Friar Sand) – who escort a monk to India. Nakajima depicts Gojô as a bystander of the adventure.

24 Robert Louis Stevenson, *Vailima Letters* (London: Methuen, 1901), p. 81.

25 *ibid*, p. 101.



A Scotsman's Pacific:

Shifting Identities in R. L. Stevenson's Postcolonial Fiction

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A Scotsman's Pacific:

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Sylvie Largeaud-Ort ga

Robert Louis Stevenson first came to the Pacific for reasons of health: in July 1888, aged 38 and chronically ill with tuberculosis, he embarked on a South Sea cruise which, in those days, was thought to be a panacea. The Pacific proved indeed so beneficial that the cruise transformed into permanent exile and subsequent settlement in Samoa:

I shall never take that walk by the Fisher's Tryst and Glencorse; I shall never see Auld Reekie; I shall never set my foot again upon the heather. Here I am until I die, and here will I be buried. The word is out and the doom written. Or, if I do come, it will be a voyage to a further goal, and in fact a suicide.¹

While Stevenson became one of the most famous Scots in the Pacific, his mind always turned back to his homeland. His Pacific letters express an abiding nostalgia for Scotland, such as resonates in a letter written on a rainy Samoa day, two months before he died:

All smells of the good wet earth, sweetly, with a kind of Highland touch. [...] Now the windows stream, the roof reverberates. It is good; it answers something which is in my heart; I know not what; old memories of the wet moorland belike. (p. 604)

He was also prone to compare Pacific islanders to Scottish Highlanders, and to denounce the ravages wreaked on them by British or French (or, for that matter, German, American or Spanish) quasi-colonialism:

Not much beyond a century had passed since [Scottish Highlanders] were in the same convulsive and transitionary state as the Marquesans of to-day. In both cases an alien authority enforced, the clans disarmed, the chiefs deposed, new customs introduced, and chiefly that fashion of regarding money as the means and object of existence. The commercial age, in each, succeeding at a bound to an age of war abroad and patriarchal communism at home. In one the cherished practice of tattooing, in the other a cherished costume, proscribed.²

Yet how Stevenson's Scottishness played out in this imperial context was complex and contradictory. If in Samoa he behaved 'like Cameron of Lochiel or Cluny MacPherson',³ treating the local staff as members of a clan, he did so partly in order to make them work. As Ilaria Sborgi infers, 'clanship was an ethical matter yet it was also part of the colonial game'.⁴ These paradoxes underscore Stevenson's uncertain identity in the Pacific. One may suggest, with Sborgi, that

Scotland represented his country of origins and his past, the 'cultural identity' that enabled him to sympathise with the islanders, while England was the present, the 'home of his literary and intellectual constituency'.⁵ And yet Stevenson's sense of identity is further complicated because his nostalgia for Britain is counterbalanced by his satisfaction at being in the South Seas, and in Vailima, his Samoan home: 'I wouldn't change my present installation for any post, dignity, honour or advantage conceivable to me. It fits the bill; I have the loveliest time' (*Selected Letters*, p. 472).

This paper examines some of the ways in which Stevenson addresses shifting forms of identity in three of his Pacific works of fiction: 'The Isle of Voices' (1893), 'The Bottle Imp' (1893), and *The Ebb-Tide* (1894). Stevenson denounced the fact that Pacific islanders were often endowed with a predetermined and counterfeit cultural identity: 'Everybody else who has tried [writing a South Sea story], that I have seen, got carried away by the romance, and ended in a kind of sugar candy epic, and the whole effect was lost' (*Selected Letters*, pp. 467-68). Although different in genre and style, these three tales present a pioneering picture of Pacific islands and islanders. The innovative nature of these works in part reflects Stevenson's prior legal studies, which shape his use of classical references as a means of critiquing imperialism and Western character. That critique is also shaped by a sense that the destruction of Pacific cultures is replaying the damage done to Highland society. Yet two of these tales also herald postcolonial literature⁶ by endeavouring to present things from Pacific islanders' perspectives: for the first time in Pacific literature, culture clashes are approached from thematic and axiological points of view that purport to be indigenous. Their inconclusive endings reflect the ambivalence of Stevenson's own status in the Pacific, and signal his ultimate reluctance to speak to the last for them. Moreover, structural elements of the stories demonstrate the shaping influence of a new vocabulary of Pacific myths and an awareness of traditional gift-culture. Examining these stories in this light suggests that Stevenson's 'Scottish Pacific' was shaped by the Pacific as much as by Scotland.

Tahiti and the Tuamotu: Paradise and Antiquity Regained

In the South Sea travel literature and fiction surveyed by Rod Edmond,⁷ Tahiti and the Tuamotu islands are commonly represented as a Biblical Paradise, replete with prelapsarian Noble Savages and nude *vahine* (women), all for the benefit of visiting Westerners. It may at first seem that Stevenson's fiction complies with these stereotypes, for instance with *The Ebb-Tide*'s representation of a Tuamotu atoll: 'The isle – the undiscovered, the scarce-believed in – now lay before them [...]. The beach was excellently white, the continuous barrier of trees inimitably green'.⁸ This pristine island, offering salvation to erring white navigators, resembles the 'garden of Eden' that miraculously materialised to Bougainville's bemused eyes, and which started the myth of Tahiti and its neighbouring islands as Paradise regained, in literature and in collective consciousness.⁹ Another leitmotif in South Sea literature was to match up Pacific islands to their Mediterranean counterparts in antiquity. Again, Bougainville's travel account set the trend by eliding Tahiti and Virgil's 'Happy Groves'.¹⁰ The epigraph to the *Voyage autour du Monde* (1771)

is a quote from *The Aeneid*'s catabasis, or voyage to the underworld – '*Lucis habitamus opacis, riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis incolimus*'¹¹ – and he named Tahiti 'New Cythera' after the birthplace of Aphrodite/Venus.¹² The image of the amorous Venus-like *vahine* instantly became another South Sea *topos koīnos*.¹³ And because the Pacific islands were perceived as having been preserved from the corruption of the Old World, they offered an opportunity for visitors to experience a beatific catharsis, or process of purification. This other classical *topos* was also lavishly applied in South Sea literature.

Stevenson's experience of the Pacific was often filtered through classical texts. Virgil's *Aeneid* was a favourite read; it was his only book in Tautira in 1888,¹⁴ and while circumnavigating Tutuila, Eastern Samoa, in 1891. Like Bougainville, Stevenson also referred to *The Aeneid* when describing his Pacific landfalls. In Aoa Bay, for instance:

I had Virgil's bay all morning to myself, and feasted on solitude, and overhanging woods, and the retiring sea. [...] I confused today and two thousand years ago, and wondered in which of these epochs I was flourishing at that moment; and then I would stroll out, and see the rocks and woods, and the arcs of beaches, curved like a whorl in a fair woman's ear, and huge ancient trees, jutting high overhead out of the hanging forest, and feel the place at least belonged to the age of fable, and awaited Aeneas and his battered fleets. (*Selected Letters*, p. 405)

The Ebb-Tide contains numerous quotations from and allusions to Virgil's classic.¹⁵ More destitute than Stevenson in Tautira, the main protagonist, Oxford-educated beachcomber Herrick, has a single possession, a copy of *The Aeneid*, parts of which he can recite by heart. Half of the narrative takes place on a Tuamotu atoll likened to Virgil's '*nemorosa Zacynthos*' (p. 202).¹⁶ On the atoll, Herrick experiences a catharsis, illuminated by the anaphoric 'he forgot the past and the present; forgot [...]; forgot' (p. 189); drinking the Lethean waters of forgetfulness, he enters a state that in many ways parallels Virgil's underworld. Intriguingly, however, this very move signals a variance from the classical *topos*: the waters of Lethe were drunk to get *out* of the underworld, in order to re-enter the world of the living. The straightforward application of the classics to the Pacific is disrupted.

Such classical references therefore function differently in *The Ebb-Tide* than in most other works of South Sea literature: when Stevenson revisits texts from antiquity and Western settlement in the Pacific, it serves to demonstrate how incongruous they are in the context of the late nineteenth-century Pacific. As Roslyn Jolly argues, Stevenson's approach to Virgil was not only literary: 'Roman law', which was a compulsory part of his legal studies at Edinburgh University, 'took the place of classical literature in Stevenson's education', and Stevenson used 'the Roman comparison to measure difference'¹⁷ with the Pacific. *The Ebb-Tide* goes backwards indeed, as the title indicates, recalling antiquity in order to revisit the foundations of empire-building. Like a receding wave, it tries to clear the South Seas of the flotsam and jetsam that have so far hampered

their true representations. Stevenson uses Virgil to 'measure' the inadequacy of Western civilization in the Pacific by likening his disreputable adventurers to Aeneas, icon of colonialism in the Mediterranean. Through them, Stevenson questions the foundations of Western colonialism, demonstrating the disreputable nature of the British, French, American, German and Spanish enterprises.

The Ignoble White Savage and the New White Man in the Pacific

In much of his South Sea fiction, Stevenson chooses to delve into more serious topics than exotic romances: he writes against colonialism and in support of the islanders' assertions of their own autonomous identity. This purpose is equally evident in his non-fiction Pacific writings, notably his eleven letters to the *Times* (1889-1893) and his impassioned survey of contemporary Samoa, *A Footnote to History* (1893). One should not conclude, however, that Stevenson's mostly unfavourable representation of Attwater – he is a tyrant and a murderer – is a distinctively post-colonial feature: paradoxically enough, most colonial literature conformed to a sweeping fatal impact argument which duly blamed the West for the Pacific peoples' demise.¹⁸ Where Stevenson does depart from previous South Sea literature is in his incisive indictment of the West, presented as a *deliberately* destructive force. Attwater is a cold-blooded murderer who shoots any islander who breaks his autocratic rules. Attwater is also a slaver: Jolly demonstrates that his 'engagement in the labour trade violates the most important law governing the activities of British subjects in the region, the Pacific Islanders Protections Acts'.¹⁹ Jolly also demonstrates that Attwater is a phoney missionary, like 'the many who went to the Pacific to evangelise [and] established a strong unofficial British presence in the region'.²⁰ And yet, she indicates that his impact is comparable to some missionaries' dismantling of the political, economic and social structures of the Pacific. Stevenson made this clear in a letter to an aspiring missionary: 'remember that *you cannot change ancestral feelings of right and wrong without what is practically soul-murder*' (*Selected Letters*, p. 593). As a Scotsman in the Pacific, Stevenson was particularly sensitive to that cause, owing to the affinity he would trace between Pacific peoples and the Scottish Covenanters whose 'child' he claimed to be (p. 450n3).

All in all, Attwater is the Savage man: through him, Stevenson daringly inverts the nineteenth-century hierarchies of racial and social identities in the Pacific. Moreover, this kind of Savage proves to be, not Noble, but Ignoble:

As the [native] boy was filling [a white guest]'s glass, the bottle escaped from his hand and was shattered, and the wine spilt on the veranda floor. Instant grimness as of death appeared in the face of Attwater; he smote the bell imperiously, and the two brown natives fell into the attitude of attention and stood mute and trembling. There was just a moment of silence and hard looks; then followed a few savage words in the native; and, upon a gesture of dismissal, the service proceeded as before. (p. 215)

At a linguistic level, Attwater in fact resembles a cannibal – the epitome of Ignoble Savagery – because he is, in Louis-Jean Calvet's term, 'glottophagous': he denies his native labour even the right to speak.²¹ This cannibalism is epitomised by the suicide of one of Attwater's servants, who kills himself because he is not allowed to have a word in his own defence after being unjustly punished. Attwater's glottophagy is underlined in the image of the corpse, whose 'tongue stuck out, poor devil, and the birds had got at him' (p. 217). One may conclude with Ann Colley that Attwater is 'a hybrid of the worst elements delineating a destructive colonial presence'.²² Despite the portrayal of Attwater, *The Ebb-Tide* also offers a pioneering rejection of the fatal impact argument that Pacific peoples were doomed to extinction. This argument was traditionally developed along the following narrative pattern: a white male hero would visit Tahiti or its neighbouring archipelagos, spend some time in the company of the indigenous people – lovers, most of the time – and would finally sail back home to the comfort and safety of Western civilization. The lovelorn islanders left behind, who soon perished in despair, offer a metonymy of their whole race. This elegiac tone is evident in the writings of Melville, Charles Warren Stoddard, and Pierre Loti.²³ While Stevenson's protagonists are white, too, their final destinies in the Pacific are at complete variance with this pattern. One of them, Huish, dies on the Tuamotu atoll, a victim of his own viciousness. Another one, Davis, chooses to stay on the atoll, having become a religious convert and a besotted disciple of Attwater's. Attwater plans to sail home in the distant future, but the narrative does not reach as far as that. The South Sea convention is thus belied, with three protagonists out of four failing to return home. As to the hero, Herrick, his future is totally undecided. The reader does not know whether he might follow Anchises-like Attwater's admonitions to contribute to the colonial exploitation of the island; or whether he might respond to Davis's invitation to help in a mission; or whether yet he may leave the Tuamotu atolls for some unknown place. While the odds are that he will leave Attwater's island, in keeping with his repeatedly expressed opposition to colonialist and evangelical activities, the end of the narrative is inconclusive and it leaves the reader's expectations suspended in mid-air.

As to the native crew that came with the protagonists, while they are now 'disposed of' (p. 252), whether they are to stay on Attwater's island or sail off is not revealed either. This open ending may reflect Stevenson's uncertainty about the prospects of Pacific islanders, or it might reflect Herrick's unfinished quest for an identity: a new type of a white man in the Pacific had yet to be defined. Herrick had befriended the native crew, and their mutual future might lie on some other island beyond the horizon, which Herrick is left gazing at as the narrative closes. Is this a perspective of hope for a joint fresh start, for some cross-cultural new identity? What defines the new prospects of the Pacific may be, after all, this very inconclusiveness, which remains open to all kinds of possibilities. As Oliver S. Buckton similarly discusses in relation to *Catriona* (1893), such indeterminacy may eventually reflect Stevenson's sense of his own ambiguous status in Samoa.²⁴ Stevenson was eager for things to change in the Pacific, but found to his dismay that he had only very limited power to help. The letters he wrote to *The Times* had no resounding effect – except putting him at personal risk – nor had the time-consuming *Footnote to History*. He was a

Scotsman opposed to quasi-colonial rule and yet he contemplated seeking an official British appointment in his adopted country. He denounced Western interests in the Pacific, but, as a writer, 'was still invested in British and American interests through his literary, publishing and social networks in those countries'.²⁵ He was a white supporter of Mataafa, the chief whose opposition to colonialism in Samoa ran so high that, on his approach, white travellers were 'waved from his path by his armed guards'.²⁶ In light of Stevenson's own contradictory experiences and attitudes, Herrick's quest for an identity in the Pacific is unsurprisingly unresolved.

Modern-Day Fridays

Stevenson's opposition to the fatal impact argument is outlined more fully in 'The Isle of Voices' and 'The Bottle Imp', where for the first time in Pacific literature, the indigenous people are neither an exotic background nor simple foils to white characters. In placing them centre stage and acknowledging that they have an identity of their own, Stevenson thus anticipates G rard Genette's plea one century later for a '*Friday*, where Crusoe would be seen, described and judged by Friday'.²⁷ The indigenous people are no longer objects, the ones who that are gazed at, the passive recipients of the actions of a white hero. Instead they are subjects, the ones who steer the action, and who may gaze in wonder at the European interloper. In 'The Isle of Voices', it is the white man's turn to be infantilised: 'Keola knew white men are like children',²⁸ a form of disparagement formerly levelled at islanders. It is the white man who is now deemed untrustworthy: 'it was the trouble with these white men [...] that you could never be sure of them' (p. 113). European characters are repeatedly declared to be 'a fool of a white man' (p. 116) by contemptuous islanders. It is their 'customs' that are represented, in 'The Bottle Imp', as alien and meaningless: 'the Haoles [white men] sat and played at the cards and drank whiskey as their custom is'.²⁹ Here again, Stevenson inverts racial hierarchies; white men are now given new identities by Pacific islanders.

Nor are the islanders reduced to the conventional clich  of the Noble Savage. If Stevenson's native characters are to be typified at all, it may be for their signs of Western acculturation. In Tahiti for instance, the heroes of 'The Bottle Imp' are champions of a society of consumption. They 'make a great parade of money, and themselves conspicuous with carriages and horses', while Kokua exhibits her 'fine holoku' – a garment imposed by missionaries – and her imported 'rich lace' (p. 93). Another striking instance of the islanders' acculturation can be found in the Tuamotu atolls, where part of the narrative of 'The Isle of Voices' takes place. The most isolated archipelago in the Pacific, the Tuamotu was doubly protected from Western influence because of the risks it posed to sailing ships, as attested by its Western appellation, the Dangerous Archipelago. And yet the Tuamotu islanders, or Paumotu, define their home as a 'rich island, where [...] ships c[o]me trading with rum and tobacco' (pp. 115-16), as well as 'a warship', and with both a 'catechist' and a trader stationed there (pp. 117-18) – in other words, it is 'a business, and a colony, and a mission' similar to Attwater's island. Consequently, even the most isolated Paumotu

partly rely on imported Western goods for their subsistence and enjoyment.

As they are also cannibals, it may seem that the Paumotu remain cast as Ignoble Savages. Keola's Paumotu wife confesses to her Hawaiian husband:

[T]o tell you the truth, my people are eaters of men; but this they keep secret. And the reason they will kill you before we leave [the Isle of Voices] is because in our island ships come, and Donat-Rimaraui comes and talks for the French, and there is a white trader there in a house with a verandah, and a catechist. [...] Ah, [...] it is the finest place in the seas except Papeete. (pp. 117-18)

Yet, this kind of cannibalism proves to be a far cry from its original form: human flesh now is a subsidiary delicacy, all the more coveted since it has been declared illegal by forceful Westerners. In sharp contrast, cannibalism was once highly ritualistic. According to Marcel Mauss, cannibalism was part of the gift/counter-gift system that structured all indigenous Pacific societies; it was known as the *kai-hau-kai*, indicating that the *hau*, or life principle, was inserted between two *kai*, or food gift exchanges.³⁰ All this Stevenson may reasonably be assumed to have known by the time he wrote 'The Isle of Voices'. It was his ambition to write '*the* big book on the South Seas',³¹ and he had gathered prodigious anthropological information, through an intuitive use of the gift/counter-gift system:

When I desired any detail of savage custom, or of superstitious belief, I cast back in the story of my fathers, and fished for what I wanted with some trait of equal barbarism: Michael Scott, Lord Derwentwater's head, the second-sight, the Water Kelpie, – each of these I have found a killing bait; the black bull's head of Stirling procured me the legend of Rahero; and what I knew of the Cluny Macphersons, or the Appin Stewarts, enabled me to learn, and helped me to understand, about the Tevas of Tahiti. The native was no longer ashamed, his sense of kinship grew warmer, and his lips opened. It is this sense of kinship that the traveller must rouse and share.³²

This gift-exchange of Scottish and Pacific stories contrasts with the late-nineteenth-century 'Isle of Voices', where the gift/counter-gift system has been discarded for a monetary system: the atoll turns out to be 'a cried fair', a 'business' place where 'millions and millions of dollars' circulate (p. 119). Accordingly cannibalism has not only turned into a Western, profane taboo, but it is no longer associated with any kind of heroism: the Paumotu now secretly pamper their prospective victim so that he may be plump to a turn, and plan to have their treat behind the white men's backs.

Native Paradise regained

The hero of 'The Isle of Voices', Keola, learns the hard way how to dispense with the Western society of consumption altogether. Keola initially appears as a thoroughly Westernised Hawaiian, used to a modern urban setting and a high standard of living. But once marooned on a deserted Tuamotu atoll, he finds that he has to learn how to survive. Unlike Crusoe, he doesn't have a wreck at his disposal, so survival has to be carried out the local way: 'he made a fire drill, and a shell hook, and fished and cooked his fish, and climbed after green cocoanuts, the juice of which he drank, for in all the island there was no water' (p. 114). In these primordial actions, Keola may be said to reproduce the founding deeds of the Pacific. His stay on the Tuamotu atoll can be seen as a catabasis similar to Herrick's in *The Ebb-Tide*: both Western and native heroes revisit the foundations of their own cultures, the grounds of their mythological forefathers. Tahiti and the Tuamotu atolls were indeed viewed by Hawaiians as their lands of origin, both historically – many of the first Hawaiians sailed from there – and mythologically: Tahiti and the neighbouring atolls were 'Kahiki, the invisible place out of which come the gods, ancestors, regalia, edible plants and ritual institutions'.³³ When Keola carves a shell hook, and when he goes fishing on this island of origins, he follows in the footsteps of the giant hero Tāfa'i (for Tahitians) or Kaha'i (for Hawaiians). According to Polynesian myths, Tāfa'i/Kaha'i fished Tahiti and its surrounding islands, then the Tuamotu archipelago, before he fished the Hawaiian islands. He attempted to haul the latter South, but he was let down by his brothers and the rope snapped.³⁴ In some variants, these high deeds are attributed to Hawai'i-loa, in others to Kapuhe'euanui; in other Hawaiian variants, it is Maui, a highly celebrated semi-god and a major Polynesian founding figure, whose deeds Keola may be seen to repeat here.³⁵ What matters more than the specific names is the mythical exploit per se,³⁶ which is explicitly referred to in Stevenson's narrative: 'since first the islands were fished out of the sea' (p. 111). Keola tentatively repeats the fishing exploits of these mythical heroes: as in the most celebrated Hawaiian Creation chant, the *Kumulipo*, he 'draws together the lands of the old ocean'.³⁷ After fishing up the North Island of Aotearoa, Maui returned to challenge his father/elder brother figures. Keola also recapitulates this action: he challenges his Westernised father-figures, which can be seen as an attempt to recapture a truly indigenous identity – for himself and, symbolically, for the whole Polynesian people whose native culture seems to be falling into oblivion.

In some variants of the Pacific myths of Creation, Maui is also credited with giving light to the world, while in others it is the work of Tane, the most daring son of Mother Earth and Father Sky. Keola re-enacts this founding deed, too: he makes 'a fire drill' (p. 114) and learns 'the art of fire-making, a well-known sex-symbol'.³⁸ In doing so, he revisits the times when the primal couple was one eternally-copulating body in primal darkness: Maui/Tane decided to wrench their bodies apart so that there should be light. In the wake of Maui/Tane, Keola sparks off a light by rubbing two sticks together – one supine and tender like Mother Earth, the other erect and hard like Father Sky. He does so in awe, for starting a fire in this ritualistic way could only be performed by consecrated priests. This explains why, although 'he made a lamp of cocoa-shell,

and drew the oil of the ripe nuts, and made a wick of fibre; and [...] lit his lamp', every night he 'lay and trembled till morning' (p. 114). Keola's concern is not only, like Crusoe's, to engineer a way to make light; it is also to try and learn how to live with the terror of transgressing one of his own culture's fundamental and most fatal *tabu*. Yet at the same time he is reviving Polynesian awareness of this culture; he resuscitates the sacred rituals that have been left dormant by failing forefathers and wayward priests. Hence his name, *ke ola*, 'life' in Hawaiian: he resuscitates and carves out an identity for his own people. In a way, Keola is reaching for Paradise regained on the atoll – but this time, the Paradise is indigenous.

The Fertile Impact Counterargument

The same may be said about the Hawaiian heroes of 'The Bottle Imp': in Tahiti, they too experience a catabasis and revisit the land of origins, Kahiki. Keawe is another highly Westernised hero, as symbolised by his possession of the Bottle Imp, previously owned by Napoleon, Captain Cook, and Prester John (p. 75). The bottle has enabled him to become the owner in Hawaii of the 'Bright House', a magnificent Western-style palace that – from a Hawaiian perspective – is also a glaring sign of his demented pride. Indeed, under the spell of the Western Imp, Keawe has wished his house to be 'all about like the King's palace' (p. 78). But the Hawaiian king is not to be equalled: he sits at the top of the Hawaiian hierarchy, next to the gods. The names of Keawe's house also illuminate his sacrilegious tendencies. One, the 'House of Keawe', literally duplicates the *Hale o Keawe*, a sacred mausoleum built to the glory of Keawe the Great, an ancient divinised king whose remains must be worshipped by his descendants – that is, none other than Keawe. But Keawe puts his faith in the spirit of the bottle, and completely neglects the spirit of his ancestor. The other name, the 'Bright House', literally means *Hale Kula* – bright or 'Sacred House' – i.e. the house of supreme god Tangaroa-rangi, or Tagaloa-lagi, set in mythical Hawaiiki. This means that Keawe claims to equal even a supreme god. To make matters worse, in sharp contrast with the gift/counter-gift system, which adds value to a gift every time it is transferred, the magic bottle loses value every time it is transferred: it may only be sold for a decreasing amount of money. When it can no longer be sold, its last owner shall be damned. Such is the situation the hero faces as he reaches Tahiti, or Kahiki.

Kahiki may be said to be an alternative for the original *Hale Kula* in Polynesian lore, as a mythical land of origins. Keawe is led to Tahiti by his wife, Kokua, in what turns out to be an expiatory voyage where, like Keola, he is taught the hard way how to reconnect with his own past and how to ask for the forgiveness of the gods. Kokua demonstrates to him that the value of money can vary, according to currencies, and that Western powers are random and uncertain: the couple have come to Tahiti to try and sell the bottle for a few French *centimes*, of lesser value than an American cent. But they fail to sell the alien spirit to the Tahitian people: on the sacred land of gods, nobody will approach the bottle. Kokua then demonstrates that Tahitian, or Polynesian, values can exceed Western ones in the Pacific, for she ultimately decides to make her husband a

supreme gift, Polynesian style: she contrives to buy the bottle herself, so as to save Keawe from damnation. Keawe discovers it by chance, and in his turn, decides to secretly repurchase the bottle, which has reached, by then, the lowest price possible. This is his counter-gift. Keawe has finally learnt that the gift/counter-gift system is the only way to salvation in Tahiti. This allows the tale to end well: the bottle is ultimately bought by a vicious Westerner, which renders unto Caesar the thing that is Caesar's. The narrator concludes: 'great, since then, has been the peace of all their days in the Bright House' (p. 102). Paradise is regained for Keawe and Kokua. And this paradise is strikingly cross-cultural: both Western, as the couple live happily ever after in the 'Bright House', acquired through the spirit of the bottle – and Polynesian, since they are now reconnected with the *Hale Kula*, and the spirits of their ancestors.³⁹

It must also be noted that in both tales, the myth of the *vahine* is debunked by Stevenson: his Polynesian female characters are now the powerful vindicators of Pacific traditions, and the level-headed members of a Western-style society of consumption. They prove to be the saviours of their husbands – a far cry from South Sea conventional exotic adornments, and another of Stevenson's bold inversions of the racial and gender hierarchies of his time. For their survival, the male heroes are now completely dependent on Kokua, Lehua, and even Keola's unnamed Paumotu wife. It is most striking that Stevenson, who was notoriously reluctant to create full-fledged female characters while writing from Europe, should now create female Pacific characters in a way no one had dared attempt before him. In their mastery of genealogy – which is of fundamental importance in the Pacific, as it secures the oral transmission of one's identity – these women root their husbands back in the islands where they belong, and help them to restore their damaged identities. These Pacific female characters may be compared to another pre-eminent female character of Stevenson's, equally created in Samoa – but Scottish, *Weir of Hermiston's* Kirstie:

[She] knows the legend of her own family, and may count kinship with some illustrious dead. For it is the mark of the Scot of all classes: that he [...] remembers and cherishes the memory of his forefathers, good or bad; and there burns alive in him a sense of identity with the dead even to the twentieth generation. [...] They were all, and Kirstie the first of all, ready and eager to pour forth the particulars of their genealogy, embellished with every detail that memory had handed down or fancy fabricated.⁴⁰

Both 'The Isle of Voices' and 'The Bottle Imp' end on the perspectives of a revived Pacific society that is striving to achieve a balanced union between modern Western and traditional Pacific cultures. The fatal impact argument is thus turned into a demonstration of cross-cultural 'fertile impact'.

At the end of 'The Isle of Voices', however, this hopeful perspective looks uncertain. Instead of closing on the traditional image of the happy-ever-after couple – Keola and Lehua, Western and Pacific cultures reconciled – the focus is on *three* characters. The third figure, Lehua's father, Kalamake, is a completely westernised Hawaiian.⁴¹ He looms so large in the last lines that he is the character on whom the whole narrative concludes: 'from that day to this, Kalamake has never more been heard of. But whether he was slain in the battle by the trees, or whether he is still kicking his heels upon the Isle of Voices, who shall say?' (p. 122). Like *The Ebb-Tide*, 'The Isle of Voices' is strikingly inconclusive, ending on an unanswered question. The narrator's voice in 'The Isle of Voices' suddenly chooses to be voiceless. Paradoxically enough, such inconclusiveness may actually express Stevenson's most sanguine support for a revival of indigenous Pacific identity. Through these inconclusive endings, Stevenson relinquishes his identity as narrator, his supreme authority as teller of tales. Indeed, Stevenson deliberately avoids the glottophagy of Attwater, refusing to rob the indigenous islanders of their own words. Stevenson was renamed *Tusitala*, 'the one-who-writes-stories', by appreciative Samoans; but he knew it was not for him, a Scotsman, to deliver any authoritative message to Pacific islanders. It was not for him to answer the late-nineteenth-century islanders' quest for an identity in the modern Pacific. In Samoa, *Tusitala* was aware of his own shifting identity: he enjoyed international fame (which left Samoans indifferent, except for its material benefits) and he incarnated a vigorous Scottish tradition of story-telling. But when dealing with the identity of the indigenous people in the Pacific islands – a region where story-telling is a sacred ritual, a consecrated way to reconnect with man's divine origins, back to the times of Creation – he was but an apprentice teller of tales.

In the same manner as 'The Isle of Voices', 'The Bottle Imp' may be compared to the *Kumulipo*, Hawaii's most celebrated Creation chant.⁴² In a way not dissimilar to the *Kumulipo*, Stevenson's tale recites Keawe's genealogical chant, extolling the sacred link between the past and the present, the gods and their human descendants. But here again, Stevenson's ambition is not to usurp the indigenous people's voices: 'The work of weaving genealogies into a hymnlike chant commemorating the family antecedents was the work of a *Haku-mele* or "Master-of-song", attached to the court of a chief, one who occupied also the special post of a Ku'auhau or genealogist. He held an honored place in the household'.⁴³ Stevenson does not claim to be a *Haku-mele*: he is but *Tusitala*, a Western teller of profane tales on the Pacific. His other difference with a *Haku-mele*, however, is that he has a wider audience, or readership. Such may be the import of Stevenson's prefatory note to the reader of 'The Bottle Imp': 'the fact that the tale has been designed and written for a Polynesian audience may lend it some extraneous interest nearer home' (p. 72). Stevenson delivers to the world what Lewis Carroll calls 'the love-gift of a fairy-tale',⁴⁴ or *mea-alofa* (literally 'thing of love') in pan-Polynesian.

A few weeks before he died, the Samoan chiefs made Stevenson a sumptuous 'love-gift', or *mea-alofa*, by building 'the Road of the Loving Hearts' from Apia to his place of residence, Vaili-

ma. In return, he offered the counter-gift of a tale. He told them about the Highlands of Scotland where 'other people's sheep' now grazed:

You Samoans may fight, you may conquer twenty times, and thirty times, and all will be in vain. There is but one way to defend Samoa [...] it is to make roads, and gardens, and care for your trees, and sell their produce wisely, and, in one word, to occupy and use your country. If you do not, others will. (*Selected Letters*, p. 602)

To all, Westerners and Pacific islanders alike, Stevenson made gifts that may allow each one to find out more about each other, and about their respective identities. Such was his all-encompassing counter-gift to the Pacific islanders' *alofa* to him, which helped him try and redefine his own identity as an author.

Conclusion

If Stevenson's *The Ebb-Tide*, 'The Isle of Voices' and 'The Bottle Imp' revisit many South Sea stereotypes, they most often do so the better to discard them. Classical references to antiquity offer a pretext to search for new literary, political, social, religious and economic representations. When Paradise is regained in the Pacific, it may be Biblical no longer, but it may reflect indigenous cosmogony instead. The conventional representations of Noble and Ignoble Savages are boldly inverted, together with the Western gender, social and racial hierarchies that prevailed in the nineteenth century. The proposition of an inexorably moribund Pacific people is belied by indigenous male protagonists – a first in Pacific literature – who heroically revive the high deeds of their own ancestors, mythical and divine, and strive to combine modern and traditional cultures in the Pacific. *Vahine* are valiant heroines, the repositories of traditional values, and the harbingers of a brighter, cross-cultural future. Finally, Stevenson may be said to try and redefine his own identity as a story-teller in Samoa, by questioning the authoritative narrative voice of South Sea representations. In a remarkably postcolonial stance, true to the Oceanic ritual of the gift/counter-gift, Stevenson/*Tusitala* hands his narratives over for Other storytellers to speak and delineate their own shifting identities for themselves.⁴⁵

NOTES

- 1 *Selected Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. by Ernest Mehew (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 541. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.
- 2 Robert Louis Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, ed. by Neil Rennie (Penguin: London, 1998), p. 12.
- 3 Frank McLynn, *Robert Louis Stevenson: A Biography* (London: Pimlico, 1993), pp. 399-400.
- 4 Ilaria Sborgi, "'Home" in Samoa: R. L. Stevenson and the South Pacific', in *The House of Fiction as the House of Life: Representations of the House from Richardson to Woolf*, ed. by Francesca Saggini and Anna Enrichetta Succi (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2012), pp. 150-155.

5 Sborgi, “‘Home’ in Samoa’, p. 153.

6 For Stevenson as ‘postcolonial’, see Roslyn Jolly, ‘*The Ebb-Tide* and *The Coral Island*’, *Scottish Studies Review*, 7.2 (2006), 79-91.

7 Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

8 Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Ebb-Tide: A Trio and Quartette*, in *South Sea Tales*, ed. by Roslyn Jolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 123-252 (p. 187). Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

9 Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du Monde par la Frégate du Roi La Boudeuse et la Flûte l’Etoile* (Paris: La Découverte Poche, 1997), p. 138. The analogy between Tahiti and the Tuamotu is allegorical – like *The Ebb-Tide* as a whole – and cannot be taken literally, for an atoll is a low island, whereas Tahiti is a high, mountainous island.

10 Bougainville, p. 6.

11 ‘We tenant the shady groves, and dwell pillowed on the velvet banks, or in the meadows fresh with running brooks’. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. by John Jackson (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 1995), p. 104.

12 Bougainville, p. 138.

13 Bougainville, p. 138.

14 In addition to ‘a Latin dictionary, which is good for naught’. Mehew, *Selected Letters*, p. 384.

15 For a fuller comparative study of *The Ebb-Tide* and *The Aeneid*, see Sylvie Largeaud-Ortégua, ‘Stevenson’s *The Ebb-Tide*, or Virgil’s *Aeneid* Revisited: How Literature May Make or Mar Empires’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, in press.

16 Both Mediterranean and Pacific islands ‘arise, tree-crowned, in the middle of the sea’. Virgil, *Aeneid*, p. 43 (my translation).

17 Jolly, ‘*The Ebb-Tide* and *The Coral Island*’, pp. 37-39.

18 For a full presentation of the fatal impact argument see Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*.

19 Jolly, ‘Piracy, Slavery, and the Imagination of Empire in Stevenson’s Pacific fiction’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 35.1 (2007), 157-173 (p. 167).

20 Jolly, ‘Piracy, Slavery, and the Imagination of Empire’, p. 157.

21 Louis-Jean Calvet, *Linguistique et Colonialisme: Petit Traité de Glottophagie* (Paris: Payot et Rivages, 2002), p. 23.

22 Ann Colley, *Robert Louis Stevenson and the Colonial Imagination* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), p. 39.

23 For a comparative study of Stoddard’s and Stevenson’s South Sea fictions, see Sylvie Largeaud-Ortégua, ‘Îles Mythiques: Les Archipels de la Société et des Tuamotu dans la Littérature Anglophone de la Fin du XIXe Siècle, d’après une Étude Comparative des Œuvres de Stoddard et de Stevenson’, in *5000 Ans de Culture Ultramarine Pacifique*, ed. by Serge Dunis (Tahiti: Haere Po, 2010), pp. 121-42.

24 Oliver S. Buckton, *Cruising with Robert Louis Stevenson: Travel, Narrative, and the Colonial Body* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), pp. 181-212.

25 Buckton, p. 188.

26 Robert Louis Stevenson, *A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996), p. 151.

27 G rard Genette, *Palimpsestes: La Litt rature au Second Degr * (Paris: Seuil, 1982), p. 424 (my translation).

28 Robert Louis Stevenson, 'The Isle of Voices', in *South Sea Tales*, pp. 103-122 (p. 112). Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

29 Robert Louis Stevenson, 'The Bottle Imp', in *South Sea Tales*, pp. 73-102 (p. 87). Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

30 Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et Anthropologie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), p. 160n1.

31 Buckton, p. 152. The book was never completed, and the notes were posthumously published (in part) in *In the South Seas*.

32 Stevenson, *In the South Seas*, p. 14.

33 Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*, trans. by Paula Wissing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 8.

34 Teuira Henry, *Tahiti aux Temps Anciens*, trans. by Bertrand Jaunez (Paris: Mus e de l'Homme, 1993), pp. 454-6.

35 Henry, p. 578.

36 Henry, p. 580.

37 Henry, p. 578.

38 *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant*, trans. and ed. by Martha Beckwith (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1951; repr. 1972), p. 108.

39 For a fuller cultural study of 'The Bottle Imp', see Sylvie Largeaud-Ort ga, *Ainsi Soit- le: Litt rature et Anthropologie dans Contes des Mers du Sud de R. L. Stevenson* (Paris: Honor  Champion, 2012), pp. 211-12.

40 Robert Louis Stevenson, *Weir of Hermiston*, in *Weir of Hermiston and Other Stories*, ed. by Paul Binding (Penguin: London, 1996), p. 53. In the Pacific, Stevenson created another full-fledged Scottish female character, Catriona, in *Catriona* (1893).

41 For a more detailed approach to Kalamake, see Sylvie Largeaud-Ort ga, 'Who is Who in "The Isle of Voices": How Victorian Robert Louis Stevenson Viewed Pacific Islanders' Perceptions of Victorians and of Themselves', in *Oceania and the Victorian Imagination*, ed. by Richard D. Fulton and Peter Hoffenberg (London: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 93-106.

42 For a fuller comparative study of 'The Bottle Imp' and the *Kumulipo*, see Largeaud-Ort ga, *Ainsi Soit- le*, pp. 519-26.

43 *Kumulipo*, ed. Beckwith, pp. 9, 35.

44 Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass* (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 10.

45 Part of the argument developed in this paper has been published in Sylvie Largeaud-Ort ga, *Ainsi Soit- le: Litt rature et Anthropologie dans Contes des Mers du Sud de R. L. Stevenson*, (Paris: Honor  Champion, 2012). My thanks to Robert Louis Abrahamson and Philip Steer for their help with this paper.



Dancing and Romancing:

The Obstacle of the Beach and the Threshold of the Past

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Dancing and Romancing:

The Obstacle of the Beach and the Threshold of the Past

Jonathan Lamb

I ask myself what past historians of the castaway state have done—whether
in despair they have not begun to make up lies.

J. M. Coetzee, *Foe*¹

I want to say that in history we are entertained by the meanings we put on
the past. And Strangers are entertained by Natives.

Greg Denning, *Performances*²

Keith Thomas's latest book, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (2009), ends with a couplet taken from Dryden's Horace: 'Not Heav'n itself upon the past has pow'r; | But what has been, has been, and I have had my hour'.³ In her review of his book Hilary Mantel, twice winner of the Man Booker Prize for splendid historical novels based on the life of Thomas Cromwell, had this to say about his quotation:

As a comment on a career, this is graceful; as comment on the discipline to which Thomas has devoted himself, it is not quite true. Historians can do what heaven cannot: for all practical purposes they can change the past behind them. [...] We understand the past in the light of evidence we select. [...] It is not only the voiceless workers of England who have been subject to what E. P. Thompson famously called 'the enormous condescension of posterity'; it is our ancestors as a class, made fodder for theories.⁴

When someone fresh from making a fiction out of the past comments so equivocally on the plasticity of history, it is worth wondering why. Does Mantel silently admit there was a time before theories when historical evidence was proof against selection and ancestors escaped the condescension of their posterity; an era when history was as self-evident and inevitable as Thomas suggests? Are selections made among the myriad facts now lodged in the archive subterfuges practised by those who wish to flatter the present, or acts of piety enjoined on those who would prefer not to patronise the dead? Or does she mean that the fairest way to alter a past which is going to be altered anyway is not to manipulate the facts but to imagine them? Is fictionalised history better than selected evidence because it is less dishonest; more vivid, shapely and probable, and maybe more true? In her conversation with Henry Tilney about history and historical

novels in *Northanger Abbey*, Catherine Morland certainly thought so. And so did Lord Kames, who explained in his *Elements of Criticism* that it was the engagement of the imagination alone which brought history home to the reader's bosom: 'History cannot reach the heart, while we indulge any reflection upon the facts. [...] And if such reflection is laid aside, history stands upon the same footing with fable [...] [and] fable is generally more successful than history'.⁵

I want to test some of these queries and doubts against a period when conjectural history met its first great challenge, and what it hoped would be its vindication, namely the eighteenth-century navigations of the South Seas. And then I mean to bring the discussion home, or almost home, again by examining Samuel Johnson's sole attempt at ethnographical history, his *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*. I want to consider why it is that individual stories about crossing the beach, that permeable boundary identified by Greg Denning not simply as the threshold dividing the Stranger from the Native but also the past from the present, resist a factual narrative. If the beach costs those who traverse it a change or metamorphosis not easily recorded as factual testimony, no less does the past demand, according to Denning, that the historian 'go native' if he or she is to have any chance of representing it.⁶ So we are talking about a double threshold, in space and time.

In the mid-eighteenth century European navigators found islands not known by them to have existed, places where modes of production and reproduction were so novel that even a man as literal-minded as James Cook thought he might have stumbled across the terrestrial paradise. In Tahiti men and women, he observed, went naked without shame, had sex in the open, and found their bread not in the sweat of their brows but in the branches of trees. Bougainville's report of the Paphian utopia Tahiti gave Diderot the idea for one the subtlest Enlightenment speculations on sexuality and its relation to social structures. Setting aside the question of historical veracity, he suggested that the Pacific was an 'ocean of fantasy', a place where all experiences appeared to have been imagined, either because they were so incomparably exotic, out of time and entered like a dream, or because the civilised mind stands in need of alibis for its most daring imaginings. Enthusiasts and sceptics alike compared the reports from the Pacific to the passages of romance. Peter Heylyn had already supposed that *The Faerie Queene* had been situated in the terra incognita, that mysterious cartographical entity one of whose actual fragments, Aotearoa/New Zealand, was later illustrated and explained by Sir George Grey with quotations from Spenser's romance. There were giants too, such as the Patagonians who towered over their European visitors, and cannibals almost everywhere, not to mention naked damsels who made lascivious offers of their bodies to Odyssean seamen. These extravagances earned the genial incredulity of Diderot, Walpole, and Voltaire when they invented their fictions of the strange customs of the Southern Hemisphere.

One of the strangest of these was the anonymous *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman* (1778). The story begins with an actual cannibal event which befell the crew of the *Adventure's* cutter

on Cook's second voyage, when eleven men were killed and partly eaten at Grass Cove, in New Zealand's Queen Charlotte Sound. The fictional twelfth, Bowman, makes his escape and commences a journey through time that corresponds to the aesthetic development of human senses, culminating in the modern age of Luxo-Volupto whose inhabitants experience 'Touch or Feeling in as exquisite a degree as human nature is capable of supporting without turning pleasure into pain'.⁷ *Hildebrand Bowman* is interesting not simply because it emphasises the importance of sensory information in European encounters with strange places and peoples, but more significantly because it unites an idea of history, specifically stadial history, with a narrative of encounters between the hero and societies at different stages of what stadialists would term progress. Yet it is plain the author sees no definite calibration between civility and technology since Luxo Volupto is represented as both sophisticated and corrupt. For him and for others cannibalism is not necessarily a zero degree of savagery, nor were the events at Grass Cove entirely owing to spontaneous Maori aggression. Cook himself refused to punish the perpetrator, a chief called Kahura, because he was not convinced that the blame lay entirely on his side—a decision which led (according to Anne Salmond) to the alienation of Cook from his crew and the bizarre acts that precipitated his death in Hawai'i.⁸

So this blunder on the beach propels two singular narratives: the perpetually imperfect historical account of Cook's death, bringing full circle a tale of fatal violence between Strangers and Natives; and the fictional travels of Bowman, which begin and end with questions of primitivism and taste. That Bowman's fictional history should be framed according to the stages of human progress is intriguing on two counts: first because it is obviously the fictional embroidery of a cannibal feast, something metropolitan audiences found difficult to accept. Second, it offers itself (in spite of its improbability) in proper experimental form as eyewitness testimony. All the equipment of virtual witnessing is wheeled in to emphasise the fantastic basis of a structure of historical conjecture. With regard to stadial historians Mary Poovey has pointed out, 'What they wanted to describe—the origins of modern society, and especially how "rude" societies became "civilised"—had not been recorded by witnesses.' So they had to fill up the empty spaces in the account with abstractions that were treated by them as real entities, but which were in effect no different from fictions.⁹ In order to buttress these abstractions stadialists such as John Millar, as well as sceptical historians such as Adam Ferguson, were raiding the voyage literature of the mid-century for eyewitness evidence of the truth or fiction of conjecture—in Millar's case, facts that would show human society evolving in a predictable four-part sequence. In his *Observations concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* (1771) he had traced social development from hunting and gathering to pastoral nomadism, thence to agriculture and finally to *doux commerce*, ending at exactly the same terminus as Bowman but with a very different inflection. While no single witness had access to the whole process, as Bowman claims, merely to momentary encounters such as that which went so badly wrong at Grass Cove, it was possible now to write a stadial history based on some evidence, not just conjecture. It was also possible to date true heroism from the earliest times and its extinction from the most recent, as Ferguson did. But there was a risk of

course that further empirical knowledge might shatter the symmetry of what had been conceived as a coherent history either of progress or decline, leaving shreds of fiction where a brave hypothesis used to stand.

Stadial history was built on the rivalry between two theories concerning the origins of humans. There were those who believed in polygenesis, namely that inhabitants of different regions were originally quite distinct, growing from a unique stock, and always bearing the same distinguishing features of their race or nation. Thus Lord Kames, a powerful advocate of this position, argued that chance has nothing to do with differences in what he called national character, and that national history was defined by this character, not by the development of techniques of production:

Where the greatest part of a nation is of one character, education and example may extend it over the whole; but the character of that greater part can have no foundation but nature. What resource then have we for explaining the opposite manners of the islanders [of the South Seas], but that they are of different races?¹⁰

The stadial position was founded on monogenesis, where a single human species acquired wide variations as the factors of soil, climate and geology operated on it; but with the advance of time these transformations were compounded by supplemental causes, such as property, gender, mobility and exchange.

One of the most eminent advocates of monogenesis was the cantankerous Johann Reinhold Forster, the official natural historian on Cook's second voyage to the South Seas (1772-5), who used the laboratory of the Pacific to make the first serious attempts at comparative ethnology. Correctly assuming that the Polynesian islands, stretching from Aotearoa/New Zealand in the west to Rapanui (Easter Island) in the east, had been colonised in a general migration eastwards from Malaysia by a people of the same original culture and language, he had on the *Resolution* an unrivalled platform from which to view variations in environment and their correlations in physique, complexion and temperament: 'Nay, they often produce a material difference in the color, habits, and forms of the human species'.¹¹ In the Polynesian diaspora, the inhabitants of the Society Islands (Tahiti and its neighbouring islands) came out on top, in Forster's opinion, with a climate so pleasant, vegetation so lush, and seas so bountiful that there emerged not only a distinctive colouring, muscle tone, and stature, but also an opulent chiefly system of government, together with priestcraft, property, and sea-borne traffic. Near to the bottom came the inhabitants of Dusky Bay, in the south of New Zealand's South Island, who were poor, violent and ill-conditioned; but not so utterly wretched as the non-Polynesians of Tierra del Fuego, a benighted people who stood at the bottom of Forster's scale.

Forster's study of Polynesian cultures was very different from Pierre Lafitau's of the Iroquois or Peter Kolb's of the Hottentots, where the focus on a single national object precluded compar-

ative judgments.¹² When Burke said that navigators such as Cook had unrolled the great map of mankind, he was using a cartographical metaphor to make sense of the kind of anthropological history Forster was writing. Here spread out was a history of human society, from its most primitive beginnings to complex institutions of production, belief and government that had grown up quite detached from European influence. For the first time the early sequences of conjectural history were available for comparative experimental study.¹³ Eras were accessible by ship, and the curious observer could travel back and forth between them, discriminating as minutely as he pleased.

However, it soon became clear to Forster that it was not quite so simple. The map of humanity in the Pacific did not reveal an advancing set of coordinates between lines of latitude and stages of development, which is what he first hypothesised. Clearly some nations had done well, and others poorly; and even within one nation, such as Otaheite, a privileged class (the *ariori*) had thrived while those beneath (whom Forster suspected were the remains of a vanquished population) appeared less wealthy and physically smaller and darker. The regular four-part pattern was contradicted not only by examples of primitivism that were clearly derived, not original, but also by degeneration occurring in places of great natural amenity, often alongside manifest proof of its opposite. What is more, Forster was often indebted to brief meetings amidst inauspicious circumstances, hampered sometimes by his own irascible temper, for observations which he had to generalise if they were to make any sense. For example, his visit to Dusky Bay in New Zealand's South Island was made after a hideously uncomfortable voyage that coloured his view of the four quarrelsome people he met there, one of whom had a large wen on her cheek, surrounded by a landscape he found chaotic.¹⁴ From our point of view it is one of Forster's strengths that whatever was problematic in his witnessing, as Nicholas Thomas has pointed out, 'tended to be paraded rather than disavowed.'¹⁵

This tendency didn't do much for the authentication of stadial history, and kept bringing Forster back to the perplexities of the encounter itself, and the scantiness of what it could be made to yield in terms of worthwhile information. He and his son had approached the land with high expectations. Of Dusky Bay George Forster wrote: 'The view [...] of antediluvian forests which cloathed the rock, and of numerous rills of water, which everywhere rolled down the steep declivity, altogether conspired to complete our joy'.¹⁶ But very soon natural splendour turns into a scientific obstacle, just as the inhabitants have very quickly been transformed from Rousseauvian primitives into squabbling children: 'The fallen putrid Trees, the thick Moss, & the climbing Shrubs contribute to obstruct all passage through the woods [...] it is very disagreeable to penetrate even a little way into these eternal Thickets'.¹⁷ The confusing turn of events in what ought to have been paradise has a curious effect on their language, as if it had grown incapable of affirming anything without implying its contrary. The elder Forster says that one of the Maori women 'looked not disagreeable', and the younger observes, 'Their black eyes [were] [...] not without expression; the whole upper part of their figure was not disproportionate, and their

assemblage of features not absolutely forbidding'.¹⁸ It was a trick of speech not limited to the natural historians. William Wales reported, 'Their features [were] not disagreeable and not in the least masculine; but one of them was rendered barely not frightful by a large Wen which grew on her left Cheek'.¹⁹ The double negative, or litotes, is a symptom of an uneasy relationship to space and time: the harvest of new specimens lies hidden in an impenetrable temperate rainforest; these primitive people are neither noble nor altogether ignoble, stuck in some siding of Whig history.

Many personal histories of the South Seas are indeterminate in the same way, often following the pattern of one of the most successful fictions ever invented: A man is driven ashore under inauspicious circumstances, contrives to preserve a miserable existence, grows happy, witnesses horrid feasts on human flesh, is terrified, forms a close association with a native, and not knowing when he is well off, decides to leave his island and return to Europe. Give or take a few details, this is the story of Herman Melville in the Marquesas, William Mariner and George Vason in Tonga, William Lockerby in Fiji, and John Young in Hawai'i.²⁰ Ian Campbell has identified four broad categories of beach crossing, which may be summarised as the reluctant, the hybrid, the acculturated, and the transculturised.²¹ Horace Holden's life on Tobi Island was pure hell; he was forced to survive on leaves and insects until he was so skeletal his bones broke through his skin. William Pascoe Crook was not quite so miserable on the Marquesas, but he didn't understand or like what was happening to him there, and was extremely keen to get away. On the other hand, Melville's sojourn in the Marquesas was much more pleasant, though seasoned with fear, and for a while he lived like one of the Taipi; but when an opportunity of joining a ship presented itself, he was in no doubt about taking it. This equivocal engagement with native life was perhaps the typical pattern of beach-crossing, where limited but inevitable concessions were made to cultural difference, while basic affiliations remained intact. William Mariner is one of the most interesting examples of this kind of hybridity, a European who was fully adopted by his Tongan tribe but himself not entirely absorbed by their culture. Then there were men such as Edward Robarts in the Marquesas and David Whippy in Fiji who acquired a detailed knowledge of local culture and a perfect command of the language in order to make a living by crossing back and forth over the beach, trading information and goods. As entrepreneurs they facilitated traffic between islanders and visiting ships, sometimes giving crucial aid to missionaries; and in effect they were settlers. One of the best narratives of early New Zealand is written by this kind of acculturated settler, Frederick Maning's *Old New Zealand*.²² But men such as George Vason, Jean Cabri, John Young, and Isaac Davis were transformed by life on the beach's other side, and those who were forced to leave it (Vason and Cabri) mourned what they had lost. The transformation was expressed socially – Vason, Davis and Young became landowners and chiefs, janissaries of the South Seas – and physically: Cabri's body was covered with intricate Marquesan tattoos. One of the best of this kind was John Jackson, 'Cannibal Jack', who concludes his memoir by trying to explain what his purpose was in writing it: 'Well, the answer is, I did not know any more than I do now, excepting perhaps, that I might have been running around the world for sport, or, better still, that I was trying to run away from myself, or chasing shadows. [...] If I enjoyed myself as I

went along, I don't know whose business it is, excepting my own'.²³

The same fantastic incoherence haunts all these tales, either because the transit of the beach is never made and experience remains inchoate, or because the crossing *is* achieved and the result is incommunicable to those who have no inkling of it. Maning's digressions are Shandean extravagances, all made at the expense of historical time and the European reader, and he calls the narrative effect *dancing*:

[B]ut I must confess I don't know any more about the right way to tell a story, than a native minister knows how to 'come' a war dance. I declare the mention of a war dance calls up a host of reminiscences [...] in such a way that no one but a few, a very few, pakeha Maori, can understand. Thunder!—but no; let me get ashore; how can I dance on the water, or before I ever knew how?²⁴

Maning's dancing seems to belong to the first moment of encounter, his first landing in the Hokianga Harbour in the far north of New Zealand. James O'Connell danced for his life after he came ashore on the island of Ponape and faced a terrifying audience of armed men: 'I struck into Garry Owen,' he recalled, 'and figured away in that famous jig to the best of my ability and agility, and my new acquaintance were amazingly delighted thereat'. And when O'Connell got home, he made a living re-performing a once-familiar dance made exotic.²⁵ Trevor Howard, as Captain Bligh in the 1962 Brando version of *Mutiny on the Bounty* dances very uncomfortably to the Tahitians; and in Kate Grenville's *The Secret River*, her settler hero Thornhill tries to identify himself to his Aboriginal neighbours, who cheerfully echo what he says: 'Yes, he shouted, *only it ain't you, mate, it's me that's Thornhill!* He was almost dancing, poking himself in the chest'.²⁶ There is evidently a difference between petitionary dancing and impatient dancing. Inga Clendinnen makes a case for something in between, a sort of sympathetic dancing, when she tells the story of a British officer, William Bradley, whose men were danced at by Aborigines at Sydney Cove and who, being destitute of other means of communication, danced back at them, with everyone finally mingling in an extempore ball.²⁷ She represents this dancing as a demonstration of speechless goodwill, a provisional state of affairs dominated by hope for the best: not yet an achievement or a fact, more of an expectation. Perhaps the most perfect example of this dancing was organised by Edward Robarts on the beach at Tahauka, where the warriors of two tribes, the Huka and Pepani, were massed for war: 'Our drum beat for a dance. A great chieftain's daughter came down first. [...] I led her to my Party [...] I calld on two young men, sons of chieftains, to come down to dance before her. In return, two was sent from her side to dance to our ladies'.²⁸ This sort of dancing fits well into the category of beach exchange Greg Denning calls performance, which he distinguishes as a kind of instant ritual that works because it is suffused with sufficient energy to impart necessity and precision, or what J. L. Austin would call 'happiness' and Marshall Sahlins *mana*, to the spectacle. From the start, performance ruled the beach, whether it was the crude exhibition of power evident in the firing of guns or whether it was the arrival of an *arioi* performing troupe ready to give a pantomime, their drums beating and their flags streaming from

canoes sitting just beyond the surf.²⁹ Anne Salmond has told us that Polynesians were brilliant improvisers, and at a moment's notice could re-enact some notable event, such as the clever theft of British equipment, to huge applause. On Tahiti these displays included mimicries of hornpipes and English country dances, danced back as it were to the first dancers of them.³⁰

But how this back and forth of drama and dancing contributed to knowledge, apart from the instinctive knowledge of how to survive in unpredictable circumstances, it is hard to say. Denning finds an analogue for the beach in the no-man's land of the First World War, as described by Edmund Blunden, where he remembers, 'In this vicinity a peculiar difficulty would exist for the artist to select the sight, faces, words, incidents, which characterised the time. The art is rather to collect them, in their original form of incoherence'.³¹ This advice resembles the preface of Herbert Guthrie-Smith's autobiography when, to summarise the history of the changes, both rapid and long-term, which overtook the land on which he was farming sheep in the Hawke's Bay region of New Zealand, he says: 'If the following pages [...] has a value it is because of insistence on the cumulative effect of trivialities. [...] Only to a small number [of observers] opportunity is offered of marking and tracing them; only a trifling minority continue in long enough occupation of any one area, fully to be cognisant of their marshalled immensity.'³² And how does he marshal that immensity? Why, as miracles such as those wrought by the earthquake of 1931 which neatly severed every cigar in a closed box in his study without harming the box or breaking any of the windows in the house, and which then caused the whole chimney stack to fall in a curve off the roof, to come in at the verandah, then out again on to the path, without breaking the roof or the railings. With these momentous enigmas he can fix the attention of his reader and give the immensity of his particulars a chance.³³ They are agreeable to one of the first imagined sightings of things on a beach, facts without a context, so incoherent they might be taken equally for history or fiction: 'three [...] hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows', or the more sinister cargo of fragments carried away from Grass Cove by James Burney, '2 Hands [...] & the head of the Capt^{ns} Servant [...] part of a pair of Trowsers, a Frock & 6 shoes – no 2 of them being fellows –'.³⁴

A fascinating but mordant debate was started in Australia after the publication of Kate Grenville's *The Secret River* (2005). In this historical tale of the settlement of the Hawkesbury River in New South Wales, Grenville made no attempt to include the Aboriginal side of the events, other than descriptively. The closest she got to dancing was the scene noted above where Thornhill proclaims his identity to the Aborigines, and hops in exasperation as they fail to comprehend what he is telling them. She confessed, 'I don't pretend to understand or be able to empathise particularly with a tribal Aboriginal person from 200 years ago'.³⁵ But evidently she could manage this feat with a white convict, actually her ancestor, and one to whom she was determined not to condescend. Inga Clendinnen thought the result of this re-enactment was a dubiously partial and 'untutored' empathy with white settlers. To the question Grenville posed herself in writing the story, 'What would I have done in that situation, and what sort of a person would that make me?', Clendinnen answered shortly, 'Grenville would not have been Grenville in "that situation"'.³⁶

We cannot post ourselves back in time'.³⁶ Two grievous errors are made here by Grenville, Clendinnen persuasively argues. The first is to cheapen the passion that ought to inspire history — the horror, the moral rage, the compassion — in favour of the illusion that we can share the feelings of people in the past who seem to be the same as we are now, Europeans on our side of the beach. The second is to set aside not only the cultural difference of Aborigines but also the difference of history. Two hundred years presents the same obstacle to the historian as tribal culture does to the settler; but both need to be tackled if justice is to be done. The question is, how? By dancing at the threshold? She suggests that dancing of Bradley's kind is a way of marshalling the immensity of what is witnessed but not known, a representation of things in their incoherence: a method of according facts a kind of miraculous singularity without being overwhelmed by them. What one might then go on to ask is whether this has anything in common with history at all, and whether it is not a private romance, an accumulation of accidents arranged in no credible sequence, facts not necessarily connected and therefore not really facts at all—just like Hildebrand Bowman's.

Of the information brought home from the South Seas Samuel Johnson was generally contemptuous. He thought the younger Forster's *Voyage round the World* (1777) was tedious³⁷ and Hawkesworth's redaction of Cook's not much better: 'Hawkesworth can tell only what the voyagers have told him; and they have found very little, only one new animal, I think' (p. 537). That new nations with unique sexual customs had been discovered in places hitherto not known to exist appears to have impressed him not at all. A summary of his views of the anthropological importance of the South Seas is to be found in an exchange with Boswell, who was filled with a romantic desire to live on the beach in Tahiti or New Zealand and subsist in a state of nature. Johnson demanded of him,

What could you learn, Sir? What can savages tell, but what they themselves have seen? Of the past, or the invisible, they can tell nothing. The inhabitants of Otaheite and New-Zealand are not in a state of pure nature; for it is plain they broke off from some other people. Had they grown out of the ground, you might have judged of a state of pure nature. Fanciful people may talk of a mythology being amongst them; but it must be invention. They have once had religion, which has been gradually debased. And what account of their religion can you suppose to be learnt from savages? Only consider, Sir, our own state: our religion is in a book; we have an order of men whose duty it is to teach it [...] yet ask the first ten gross men you meet, and hear what they can tell of their religion. (p. 751)

As well as providing a précis of the non-knowledge to be garnered on this side of the beach, Johnson establishes a perfect equality between the ignorance of the enquirer and that of the native informant. A savage life is only the sum of what can be collected from an imperfect memory; mythology is a fiction either invented by the savages themselves or by those who wish to render them interesting; and whatever the visitor is told it has scant connection with the actual state of

affairs, which is emphatically not a state of nature. There is no truly primitive state of savagery to be observed, and what scoundrels such as Rousseau, or Scottish conjectural historians for that matter, dignify with the name of a state of nature is really always corrupt, for nobody grows out of the ground – and even if they did, their lack of pity, curiosity and letters would mean that what we mistook for innocence would really be imbecility. At the same time Johnson's repudiation of fieldwork reveals a canny but largely submerged estimate of what is at stake in the discussions generated by the elder Forster and Kames. For example, everyone agreed that savagery is always a relative estimate of progress or degeneration; for when Forster discovered what he took to be the degree zero of prehistoric life in the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, he was at length inclined to believe that humans so poor, so dull and so unlovely somehow must have been reduced to this condition. Clearly Johnson had read enough of the voyages to know that no one believed in an autochthonous origin of any Polynesian nation in the South Seas, that these were migratory cultures that had risen or fallen according to the amenity of the landfall or, in the case of the Rapanuians, their alleged profuseness, or for some other reason altogether. What Johnson wishes to impress upon the naïve and ardent Boswell is that the history of that rising and falling is purely conjectural, and that conjecture is worth nothing. Lord Monboddo's conjectures concerning the ape-like origins of humans he found not offensive but stupid: 'What strange narrowness of mind now is that, to think things we have not known, are better than the things which we have known' (p. 460).

Johnson set off with Boswell for the Highlands in 1773, the year Hawkesworth published his *Account of the Voyages* and a year after Cook set sail on his second voyage through the Pacific accompanied by the two Forsters. This was the closest Johnson came to doing fieldwork on his own account, and what he meant to collect was information of facts, things which were known. If he might be said to be testing any kind of theory, it was one that he embodied: his own version of stadial development where civil society reaches its apex in the rich material and intellectual culture of metropolitan London (Bowman's Luxo-Volupto in fact), a triumph of physical and mental exertion that was unequalled in the contemporary world. It caused Johnson great pleasure to catch sight of the silhouettes of Lord Mulgrave and Omai as they stood talking by a window, and to find he was not to be able to tell one from the other.³⁸ In his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) he aimed to measure the distance separating the primitive stage of development of the region (hovering somewhere between pastoralism and subsistence farming) from the standards of politeness that he himself and his companion represented. His alpha and omega are old traditions and antiquated manners on the one side, and a modern, civil nation on the other. Of his host at Anoch he reported that his life was 'merely pastoral', his wealth consisting entirely of 'one hundred sheep, as many goats, twelve milk-cows, and twenty-eight beeves ready for the drover'.³⁹ He explains how such a mountainous fastness defends 'the original, at least the oldest race of inhabitants' (p. 43); and so it is with a sort of comical vainglory he takes his first step towards Loch Ness and across the threshold of history: 'We were now to bid farewell to the luxury of travelling, and to enter a country upon which no wheel has ever rolled' (p. 29). Nevertheless he

detects many signs of progress in the circulation of money and the reach of the law, concluding with apparent approval, 'There was perhaps never any change of national manners so quick, so great, and so general, as that which has operated in the Highlands, by the last conquest, and the subsequent laws' (p. 57). There is only one way for the Highlands to go, and that is rapidly into the present.

Such certainty about the virtue of momentum is undercut however by melancholy reflections: 'We came thither too late to see what we expected, a people of peculiar appearance, and a system of antiquated life' (p. 57). If Forster was troubled by evidence of time going forwards and backwards in the same place, no less is Johnson. When he beholds antiquated manners he is for the most part impatient with them, especially if they require him to go to bed on straw, to travel without wheels, or to listen to a pack of lies from people who will tell the curious traveller anything they think he wants to know. It is then that he catches a strong flavour of clan life and its 'muddy mixture of pride and ignorance' (p. 89). At the same time he reports the general discontent among Highlanders of all classes owing to the rise of rents, the plague of emigration, and the laws against wearing the plaid and the carrying of arms. He recurs to the same theme that Cook was to rehearse when on his return he saw Tahiti blasted by venereal disease, and accurately predicted in the South Seas the same miseries of disease and depopulation for the indigenous people that had been endured for so many centuries in the Americas. In a solemn moment Johnson assesses the damage to what was once a cultural focus with a lot of heat in it: 'The clans retain little now of their original character, their ferocity of temper is softened, their military ardor is extinguished, their dignity of independence is depressed, their contempt of government subdued, and their reverence for their chiefs abated' (p. 57). What is he describing but the degeneration incident to modernisation, the retrogradation of moral virtue that accompanies progress? If he came too late to witness antiquated life, he came also too early to see the progress he wished to welcome. Like Forster he finds himself adrift in an eddy of time.

With regard to landscape of the Highlands Johnson is disquieted equally by the lack of trees and by the sullen power of useless vegetation that remains. The evils of its dereliction keep rushing upon him with sinister energy. He is fenced in by whatever he traverses and whatever he sees. It is Wolmar's boast in Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Heloise* that the woody theatre of Julie's Elysium garden needs no prospect, and St Preux agrees, having trained his eye on the islands of Juan Fernandez and Tinian when he sailed with Anson.⁴⁰ But Johnson is oppressed by these obstructions; until, that is, he sits down to write his book and comes to terms with them:

I sat down on a bank, such as a writer of romance might have delighted to feign. I had, indeed, no trees to whisper over my head; but a clear rivulet streamed at my feet. The day was calm, the air soft, and all was rudeness, silence, and solitude. Before me, and on either side, were high hills, which, by hindering the eye from ranging, forced the mind to find entertainment for itself. Whether I spent the hour well, I know not; for here I first conceived the thought of this narration. (p. 40)

His pleasure and impatience are alike expressed as litotes, as if (like the Forsters and William Wales) he has trouble positively affirming that things are either pleasant or inconvenient, caught as they are between an equivocal antiquity and an awkward modernity, and between an extensive wilderness and a prospectless coign. A house of entertainment is 'not ill-stocked with provisions', a young woman is 'not inelegant either in mien or dress', and he consumes barleycakes 'without unwillingness' (pp. 33-7). Alternatively, when he is shown a tree of insignificant size, but informed that there is a much larger one a few miles away, he recalls, 'I was still less delighted to hear that another tree was not to be seen nearer' (p. 10). What objectively he identifies as the intellectual poverty of a nation that has no historians (p. 50), or the informational vacuity of the Highland traveller who 'knows less as he hears more' (p. 51), is finally thoroughly internalised as his own inability to process facts that seem to belong to different eras, confounding his ability to distinguish between true knowledge and fiction. That is why he associates his narrative with romance.

Opulence, for example, is alive and well in the Highlands and all the more surprising for its sudden appearance amidst scenes of natural barrenness. The house of McLeod at Raasay was 'such a seat of hospitality, amidst the winds and waters, [as filled] the imagination with a delightful contrariety of images [...] without is the rough ocean and the rocky land, the beating billows and the howling storm: within is plenty and elegance, beauty and gaiety, the song and the dance' (p. 66). A rocky shore that divides a howling storm from a charming dance, it is an interesting pairing. The same coalition of positive and negative impulses that drives Johnson's prose into litotes here stimulates fantasy of Keatsian extravagance, 'The same that oft-times hath | Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam | Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn'.⁴¹ This was the minstrelsy to which Johnson was prepared as it were to spread his kirtle. He compared the effect on the mind to the fictions of Gothic romance: 'Whatever is imaged in the wildest tale, if giants, dragons, and enchantments be expected, would be felt by him, who, wandering in the mountains without a guide, or upon the sea without a pilot, should be carried amidst his terror and uncertainty, to the hospitality and elegance of Raasay or Dunvegan' (p. 77). Despite his perpetual reminders to the reader of the ignorance of bards and genealogists in the Highlands, it is in these Gothic havens, watching the dancing to the accompaniment of the billows, that Johnson learned the tales of the McLeods and the traditions of the Macleans and had no difficulty in believing them as family history. Although he warns us not to fill the vacuum of information with the pseudo-primitivism of *Ossian*, he spends pages discussing evidence of second sight. Of this faculty, which might have been suspected of being the most romantic of all, and well adapted to the curious collision of the past and the future he was experiencing, Johnson says, 'The local frequency of a power, which is nowhere totally unknown [...] where we are unable to decide by antecedent reason, we must be content to yield to the force of testimony' (p. 107). No conjectural historian could be more ready to admit that things we have not known are more interesting than those we have; no ethnographer could more willingly accept the testimony of native informants; no witness could be more partial in admitting evidence whose grounds of authenticity (partly known

almost everywhere) is asserted solely as a denial of its opposite, 'nowhere totally unknown'. Like many another inhabitant of the beach perched on the threshold of what is and what isn't clear to the mind, Johnson has started to dance and romance.⁴²

NOTES

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- 2 Greg Dening, *Performances* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 1996) p. 47.
- 3 Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 267.
- 4 Hilary Mantel, 'Dreams & Duels of England', *New York Review of Books*, 22 October 2009, pp. 8-12.
<<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/oct/22/dreams-duels-of-england/>> [accessed 1 July 2013].
- 5 Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, ed. by Peter Jones, 6th edn, 2 vols (Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 2005), I, 71.
- 6 Greg Dening, *Performances* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), p. 124.
- 7 Anonymous, *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman, Esquire, into Carnovirria, Taupiniera, Olfactaria, and Auditante, in New-Zealand; in the Island of Bonhomnica, and in the Powerful Kingdom of Luxo-Volupto, on the Great Southern Continent* (London: Strahan and Cadell, 1778), p. 267.
- 8 Anne Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas* (London: Penguin, 2004), pp. 2-9 and passim.
- 9 Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1998), pp. 215, 228.
- 10 Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man*, 4 vols (London: Strahan and Cadell, 1778), I, 39-40.
- 11 Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, ed. by Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, and Michael Dettelbach (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), p. 152.
- 12 Nicholas Thomas, "'On the Varieties of the Human Species": Forster's Comparative Ethnology', in *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, pp. (xxiii-xl) p. xxv.
- 13 Poovey, pp. 215-228.
- 14 George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, ed. by Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp. 81, 86.
- 15 Nicholas Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1997), p. 80.
- 16 Forster, *Voyage Round the World*, p. 79.
- 17 Johann Reinhold Forster, *The Resolution Journal 1772-75*, ed. by Michael Hoare, 4 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1982), II, 278.
- 18 J. R. Forster, *Resolution Journal*, II, 248; G. Forster, *Voyage Round the World*, I, 211.
- 19 William Wales, *Journal of William Wales*, in *The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure 1772-75*, ed. by J. C. Beaglehole (London: Hakluyt Society and Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 779-80.
- 20 See H. E. Maude, *Of Islands and Men: Studies in Pacific History* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1968),

pp. 170-77.

21 I. C. Campbell, *'Gone Native' in Polynesia: Captivity Narratives and Experiences from the South Pacific* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998).

22 See John Nicholson, *White Chief: The Colourful Life and Times of Judge F. E. Maning of the Hokianga* (Auckland: Penguin, 2006); and F. E. Maning, *Old New Zealand and Other Writings*, ed. by Alex Calder (London: Leicester University Press, 2001).

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24 Maning, *Old New Zealand*, p. 96.

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30 Anne Salmond, pp. 208-9; Ellis, II, 319.

31 Dening, *Performances*, p. 203.

32 Herbert Guthrie-Smith, *Tutira: The Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station*, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1953), p. 320.

33 Guthrie-Smith, *Tutira*, p. 195.

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