THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC
LIBRARY
Author Statement of Accessibility

Name of Candidate : Rebecca Jane Pratt

Degree : Masters of Arts

Department/School : School of Social Sciences, FALE

Institution/University : University of the South Pacific

Thesis Title : Nineteenth Century Women Travel Writers in Fiji

Date of completion of requirements for award : March 2017

1. This thesis may be consulted in the Library without the author's permission — Yes/No
2. This thesis may be cited without the author's permission providing it is suitably acknowledged. — Yes/No
3. This thesis may be photocopied in whole without the author's written permission — Yes/No
4. This thesis may be photocopied in proportion without the author's written permission — Yes/No
   Part that may be copied:

   Under 10% ---------- 40-60% ----------

   10-20% ---------- 60-80% ----------

   20-40% ---------- Over 80% ----------
5. I authorise the University to produce a microfilm or microfiche copy for retention and use in the Library according to rules 1-4 above (for security and preservation purposes mainly) — Yes/No
6. I authorise the Library to retain a copy of this thesis in e-format for archival and preservation purposes. — Yes/No
7. After a period of 5 years from the date of publication, the USP Library may issue the thesis in whole or in part, in photostat or microfilm or e-format or other copying medium, without first seeking the author's written permission. — Yes/No
8. I authorise the University to make this thesis available on the Internet for access by authorised users. — Yes/No

Signed: RJPratt

Date: 22/11/2016

Contact Address
11b Good Results Building, 176 Nathan Rd
Tsim Sha Tsui, Hong Kong

Permanent Address

c/-
rebeccapratt@hotmail.co.uk

NINETEENTH CENTURY WOMEN TRAVEL WRITERS IN FIJI

by

Rebecca Jane Pratt

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

School of Social Sciences

Faculty of Arts, Law and Education

The University of the South Pacific

2016

Declaration:

Statement by Author

I, Rebecca Jane Pratt, declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published, or substantially overlapping with material submitted for the award of any other degree at any institution, except where due acknowledgment is made in the text.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name: _____

Student ID No: _____

Statement by Supervisor

The research in this thesis was performed under my supervision and to my knowledge is the sole work of Rebecca Jane Pratt.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name: _____

Designation: _____

Acknowledgements

Without the support of the inestimable Dr Max Quanchi this thesis might never have been finished. Through Facebook posts, Skype calls, mail packages, visits in three countries and many reference suggestions and book loans Max has been a great help, supervisor and friend. Thanks Max!

I would also like to thank Dr Ryota Nishino and Dr Christine Weir for their parts in supervising different stages of the thesis process. Thank you, Christine, for sharing a welcome knowledge of the Pacific and particularly early missionary experience in the early stages of research. And Ryota, thank you for the travel writing expertise and knowledge you shared with me. I really appreciated having three excellent scholars helping me.

Actually, four excellent scholars, as I must include Dr Stephen Pratt. Thank you for your academic advice, husbandly support and patience as the time frame for my writing stretched. Without you, I would not have even started. Thanks also to my great kids, Micah, Zoe and Zedekiah who have coped with my sporadic study over two international moves, never (much) begrudging sharing my computer. I love you three.

Abstract

Travel narratives up until the end of the 18th century were tales of adventure and conquest in foreign lands, or of scientific expeditions. In the 19th century, some women (often accompanying their husbands) began to write their own travel narratives. This research explores three women who visited and wrote about Fiji. Mary Wallis published *Life in Feejee, or, Five Years Among the Cannibals by A Lady* in 1853, Sarah Maria Smythe wrote *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands* in 1864 and Constance Gordon-Cummings wrote *At Home in Fiji* in 1881. These books straddle the signing of the Deed of Cession in Fiji (1874) and show the changes occurring in these Islands in the mid 19th century. The women all supported the Christianising and civilising efforts of missionary and later colonists, but their stories are distinct annalistic narratives as they travelled at different times and during different stages of Western contact within the Fiji Islands.

The reading of these texts follows theorists such as Edward Said in *Orientalism,* and Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* The women discussed in this thesis are measured against Pratt's theories, as well as Sara Mills' *Discourses of Difference* which further narrows theory as it applies to women's writing in the colonial period. This thesis presents each author contextualised by her time in Fiji and her negotiation of femininity within the text. It discusses the interactions with physical landscape and indigenous population, and the point in time and how these impacted on what was included and what was omitted in the published texts.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Study

This thesis is concerned with travel literature, or travel writing, of the mid nineteenth century. Travel writing is a relatively new term, still currently being defined and clarified, but in general it refers to a first person, firsthand account of a journey which is written and subsequently published by the author-narrator.[1] This indicates it is non-fiction work, and reflects the personal experiences of the author. Women's travel writing is simply travel writing written by a woman. Within the nineteenth century context, women who published anything were rare. Women who travelled were also rare, and so travel writing by women was not common. However, women did write personal papers such as letters and journals, and in some cases, as covered in this thesis, these were published. A book which is made up of letters is known as epistolary. Fictional works of literature could also be classified as epistolary, but would not be considered travel writing.

This thesis presents authors who travelled through Fiji in the mid-to-late nineteenth century who shared three common characteristics; they were female, they travelled in Fiji and wrote and published a book about this area of the Pacific as its primary destination. Additionally, they travelled and published in mid-to-late nineteenth century. Only three authors met the requirements of this scope: Mary Wallis who wrote in the 1840s, Sarah Maria Smythe who wrote in the 1860s and Constance Gordon-Cumming[2] who wrote in the mid-1870s.

At the time Wallis wrote, missionary efforts were fledgling but trade had touched the Fijian Islands for about thirty years. Wallis and her husband travelled because of his *beche-de-mer* interests in Fiji. Her journals cover two journeys: July 1844 – May 1848 and October 1848 until July 1850. She subsequently published *Life in Feejee* in

[1]Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (New York, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3.
[2] Gordon-Cumming's name is use both with and without a hyphen in various sources. For consistency, a hyphen has been used as it seems the hyphen was dropped in later references.

1851.[3] Wallis and her husband made another trip to Fiji, but the journal from this journey was not included here as it covered travel in New Caledonia, and was not published until 1994[4], leaving it outside of the scope of the thesis. The second and third authors, Smythe and Gordon-Cumming both travelled and published about Fiji in the second half of the nineteenth century. Smythe travelled in 1860, with her husband Colonel Smythe, who was on an assignment from the British Government to look into the possible cession of Fiji to Britain. She published her book of letters, *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands*[5], in 1864. Gordon-Cumming travelled with the first Governor of Fiji, Sir Arthur Gordon, arriving soon after cession in 1875. She published *At Home in Fiji*[6] in 1881. Each of these books focuses solely on a journey to Fiji. Emma Raymond Pitman, who published *Central Africa, Japan and Fiji: a story of missionary enterprise, trials and triumphs*[7] in 1882 could have been included along with Wallis, Smythe and Gordon-Cumming, however, Fiji is only incidental in her accounts. Similarly, though Gordon-Cumming was a well published travel writer, this is the only one of her books to fall into the requirement of travel in Fiji. All three women spent a small amount of time writing about the journey to and from Fiji, and comment on Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines, but these sections are incidental to the main story on Fiji. One of the women, Wallis, published her journal entries from her time travelling while the other two published excerpts of letters written to family and friends while travelling. These are personal papers which became public, and meet the definition of published travel writing.

Fiji is comprised of a series of islands in the South Pacific Ocean. Although people groups have populated the islands, for many thousands of years, European contact did not begin until the eighteenth century. Early contact with the Fijian people came in the form of traders of sandalwood and then *beche-de-mer*.[8] Missionaries and copra and sugar planters followed. The first traders began simple lists of words for business use, but before the nineteenth century, the histories of Fiji were oral and there was no

[3]Mary Wallis, *Life in Feejee: Five Years among the Cannibals by a Lady*, Reprint of 1851 original ed. (Suva: Fiji Museum, 1983).
[4]David Routledge, ed. *The Fiji and New Caledonia Journals of Mary Wallis, 1851 - 1853* (Suva and Salem: Institute of Pacific Studies and Peabody Essex Museum, 1994).
[5] Sarah Maria Smythe, *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands* (Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker, 1864).
[6] Constance Frederica Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 2nd Edition, complete in one volume ed. (New York: A.C. Armstrong & Son, 1883).
[7] Emma Raymond Pitman, *Central Africa, Japan and Fiji: A Story of Missionary Enterprise, Trials and Triumphs* (London: Hodder & Stauton, 1882).
[8] Deryck Scarr, *Fiji: A Short History* (North Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, 1984), 3.

written language.[9] First impressions of the fierce warrior Fijians caused the islands to be called "The Cannibal Isles" in early notes from European explorers who had come into contact with them. Tonga, called "The Friendly Isles" may have led Europeans to believe that the Fijian trait of eating human flesh was more prevalent that it actually was, thus feeding the European fascination.[10] There were very few European residents in Fiji during the 1840s. An estimate of between fifteen and thirty men and their usually indigenous wives and families made up the community of Levuka, the first European settlement on the island of Ovalau.[11] A small community had developed around the sandalwood trade, and missionaries had arrived in the eastern Fijian Islands, on the island of Lakeba in 1835 via Tonga.[12] By the 1850s and 1860s, Pacific Islands like Fiji had had contact with European traders and some Europeans had been residents for a number of years. The numbers of foreigners had slowly risen as mission and trade consolidated their places in the Fiji Islands and there was increasing European intervention in the political landscape.

By the time Fiji became a British colony in 1874 there were 150,000 Fijians and 1,500 Europeans living in Fiji,[13] but later this same year a measles epidemic had wiped out about one third of the population.[14] Britain, France, America and Germany were seeking colonies in the Pacific in the late nineteenth century, the 1870s and 1880s saw many Pacific Island formally colonised.[15] After refusing an offer of cession in 1862, Britain was again offered the islands and accepted them in 1874. This was an offer negotiated by both chiefs and Europeans who had settled there. There were several highly ranking chiefs who were seeking additional power. One, Cakobau, in the 1860s, had proclaimed himself *Tui Viti* or "King of Fiji". Possibly his greatest rival during this time was a Tongan prince, Ma'afu, who had been bestowed the title of *Tui* or 'chief' of Lau, the eastern most islands in Fiji.[16] Both

[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 10.
[11] R. A. Derrick, *A History of Fiji*, 2008 reprint ed. (Suva, Fiji: Government Press, 1946), 93.
[12]Routledge, xxi.
[13]Gordon-Cumming, 6.
[14]Ibid., 32.
[15] I.C. Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1989), 167.
[16] John Spurway, *Ma'afu, Prince of Tonga, Chief of Fiji: The Life and Times of Fiji's First Tui Lau*, Pacific Series (Canberra, Australia: ANU Press, 2015)

these chiefs, along with others, signed the agreement in October 1874 creating the British colony of Fiji.[17]

There had been little written about Fiji. Charles Wilkes' wrote a multi-volume report called *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*[18] after his long journey sponsored by the United States of America, and one volume documents his time in Fiji. This was in 1845, just before the women discussed in this thesis travelled.

This thesis seeks to discover how each author portrayed her time in Fiji, the interactions with physical landscape, indigenous population, and the point in time, what was included and what was omitted and the context in terms of time and space. The following questions were formulated to create consistent analysis of each book. The questions were derived from an interest in seeking to understand how these women analysed and recorded their experiences. Each question was formulated in conjunction with a small focus group of Pacific historians and they focus on how the three women were similar or different to each other in representing their unique position as nineteenth century women travel writers who also travelled and wrote about Fiji. The questions look at representation and its relationship with historical context.

The following questions formed the basis of my reading of the texts:

1. Who was this author, and when and why was she writing?
2. Who was she writing for?
3. Where did she go? Where did she not go? Did she write about other locations in the Pacific?
4. What was life in Fiji like at the time this woman wrote?
5. How did this author represent life in Fiji?
6. Did Fijian, or other, agency affect what she was able to write about?

[17] Scarr, 75.
[18] Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (G. P. Putnam, 1856).

7. Did gender affect the writing?

8. Is the account a story of contact or encounter?

Each question was framed with the help of earlier various travel writing theorists. Edward Said gave us the idea of Orientalism, a theory which allowed travel writers, and other writers, administrators and researchers, to be analysed within a theoretical framework. It is a theory that will be looked at further in each analytical chapter as each author can be identified as adding to Said's idea of the body of knowledge being accumulated about the periphery, that is, about the newly researched Pacific islands of Fiji and reported back to the Centre, to English or American readers. Mary Louise Pratt continued with the ideas of Said and, in the early 1990s, expanded them to think critically about how Orientalism is found in travel writing especially during the highly imperialist era of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Pratt discussed the imperial frontier changing to the concept of "contact zone" [19], again a concept discussed more in the analysis of each book in subsequent chapters. The thesis seeks to identify whether the women were writing with an imperial mindset. Pratt also outlines a genre of travel writing that is scientific and informational. She describes this genre as being interspersed with "portrait of manner and custom"[20], of being focused on an unpopulated landscape and seeking to add to the imperialist body of knowledge with an authoritative voice, and as a precursor to the more formal ethnography that followed. This thesis seeks to gauge whether the women who travelled in the Pacific wrote according to this genre, or perhaps had moved to a second genre of travel writing suggested by Pratt, that of the sentimental or experiential writer who acknowledges and engages with the indigenous population as they travelled and became the protagonist, and the narrator.

Developing Pratt's ideas further, Sara Mills argues that women writers in the Victorian era were navigating their way between two discourses; imperialism and femininity[21], and Wallis, Smythe and Gordon-Cumming each navigate this slightly differently. Victorian women were not conventionally seen as vanguards of the

[19] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 4, 7.
[20] "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," *Critical Inquiry*, no. Autumn (1985): 121.
[21] Sara Mills, *Discourse of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991).

colonial or imperial expansion, but they were within the machinery of it and commented on it throughout their writing. They also sought to write within the confines of what it meant to be a woman of their time, within the confines of what was considered proper for a lady. Mills identifies a "double bind"[22] to be negotiated by women writers. The writing needs to find a place that is not too feminine, and thus too trivial and irrelevant, but also not writing as the hero and creating doubt in the mind of the potential reader. These three authors each find a different pathway through this negotiation. These theories are identified and interspersed in seeking answers for the eight research questions.

The body of the thesis begins with Chapter 2, Literature and Methodology. This chapter seeks to summarise the academic work in the areas of travel literature, narrowing it into literature about the Pacific, and specifically women who wrote about the Pacific. The theories of Pratt, Mills and, briefly, Claudia Knapman's work on Fiji are summarised. These theories are then used as a basis for discussion of the books *Life in Feejee* by Wallis, *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands* by Smyth and *At Home in Fiji* by Gordon-Cumming from both theoretical and textual readings in Chapters 3 to 5. The focus of the thesis is the representations of these women. A textual analysis is used, looking at each woman's words on the page. Though each book sits in a certain point in time, the events of the world take second place in this thesis to the representation of the world by each woman. Detailed itineraries of each of the women are found in the Appendices. Chapter 6 combines all three books and seeks to summarise and conclude the findings to see if there is a similar representation of travel writing in Fiji by late nineteenth century women, or if each woman's representation stands isolated.

[22] Ibid., 118.

Chapter 2
Literature Review and Methodology

Travel writing is often a "hybrid form"[23] of writing which can include or be considered social science or anthropological writing. This is especially relevant in the time period considered in this thesis. Travel writing can be seen as a reflection and supporting tool of colonisation and imperialism as well as literature and entertainment. While there is still much discussion as to whether travel writing is a genre or a collection of genres, a more definitive definition has recently (2013) been put down by Tim Youngs.

> Travel writing consists of predominantly factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator. It includes discussions of works that some may regard as genres in their own right... but it distinguishes these from other types of narrative in which travel is narrated by a third party or is imagined.[24]

Many theorists in the genre of travel writing have been influenced by the writing of Edward Said in his seminal work *Orientalism.* His work forms a basis for subsequent theorists in various disciplines including that of travel writing. His well-known thesis argues that Orientalism is the combined idea given to the Orient by those in a position to create it. "Orientalism [is] a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient".[25] This, Said argued, happened through the accumulation of writings by Europeans that developed the idea of people, places and events outside of Europe, the Orient, thus giving Europe great power over the Orient or Other. Theorists of travel writing have used Said's theory to show that travel writing sometimes reinforces this power and sometimes undermines it. Contemporary travel writing theorist Debbie Lisle has a useful list to illustrate just how many travel writers have used Said's ideas and sprung forward from them.[26] Lisle includes Mary Louise Pratt and Sara Mills, theorists on whom this thesis will

[23]Nina Allen, "Women Travelers, Twentieth Century," in *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jennifer Speake (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), 1292; Leila Koivunen, *Visualizing Africa in 19th Century British Travel Accounts* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 109.
[24]Youngs, 3.
[25]Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 1995 Reprint with a new Afterword ed. (London: Penguin, 1978), 3; ibid.
[26]Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1.

reflect in detail. There are others with a more specifically Pacific interest such Claudia Knapman, Selina Tuisitala Marsh and Gina Wisker. Brenda Clay notes that Said's ideas about the creation by the West of the Orient or Other are particularly pertinent to the colonial era of the late nineteenth century, "where political and economic power had the potential to support representations with imposed or introduced practices."[27]

In 1985, Pratt published an essay called "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen"[28] which began to develop the ideas that are continued and expanded in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* published in 1992.[29] Pratt states that she was part of a group that was seeking to "decolonise knowledge".[30] This approach has resulted in texts which contest the "academy" and analysis which originates with the colonised. Her book's self proclaimed dominant theme is:

> travel books by Europeans about non-European parts of the world went (and go) about creating the "domestic subject" of Euroimperialism; how they have engaged metropolitan reading publics with (or to) expansionist enterprises whose material benefits accrued mainly to the very few.[31]

That is, people of European background have written with self-authority on cultures and societies not of a European background and imperial expansion and capitalist endeavour are part of this representation. John Barrow's writing, published in 1801[32], is the source of the title of Pratt's 1985 essay "Scratches in the Face of the Country". By looking critically at Barrow, Pratt uses his writing as the basis of explaining her theories. She begins by saying that his writing is typical of "othering", that is, there is a grouping of the indigenous population into one homogeneous "they", and that the "they" is male.[33] To challenge this approach, Pratt coined the term "contact zone" then used by many subsequent theorists. She defines it as the space in which colonial

---

[27]Brenda Johnson Clay, *Unstable Images: Colonial Discourse on New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, 1875 - 1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 1.
[28]Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen."; ibid.
[29]*Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*.
[30]Ibid., 2.
[31]Ibid., 4.
[32] John Barrow, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798*, 2 vols. (New York1968).
[33]Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 120.

encounters took place and attempts to eliminate the commonly used phrase "colonial frontier" as she argues that the frontier assumes the encounter is only by the travelling Eurocentric writer. Contact emphasises two parties interacting.[34] Greg Dening also investigated the idea of contact, with "the beach" as his metaphor for the liminal space between two cultures or people groups. His idea was that "islands and beaches is a metaphor for the different ways in which human beings construct their worlds and for the boundaries that they construct between them."[35] In this thesis, the idea of contact is explored by each author, and the liminal space this contact occupies is different for each. For Wallis, interactions with the indigenous population occurred on her boat and this could be considered the liminal space occupied.

Pratt outlines the concept of "portrait of manner-and-customs" which was used before descriptive ethnography began.[36] The portrait is simply a list of characteristics that are compiled and presented as if definite and authoritative, not taking into account that they may not have been characteristic at all. They may have been the result of observing an anomaly and therefore unique image. There is also no sign of the observer. The portrait comes as though it fell from the sky. The person who interacted with or at least watched the indigenous population is invisible. Pratt summarises that the written description "... textually produces the Other without an explicit anchoring either in an observing self or in a particular encounter in which contact with the Other takes place."[37] This has been labelled "denial of coevalness" by Johannes Fabian in his *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object.* [38] The writer and the person being written about may well have shared a geographic place and time, but the resulting words do not recognise this. Pratt says that this style of writing became the conventional format, or trope, in eighteenth century writing and stretching well into the nineteenth century. This type of travel writing was usually landscape focussed narrative with the portraits interjected into it. The landscape and people are separated and the writer, the person who is experiencing the journey is effaced (wiped out). The aim of such writing is scientific or fact giving. The people who wrote at this time, "explorer-writers", were aiming to give

[34]*Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 4, 7.
[35] Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches. Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas,1774-1880* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1980), 3.
[36]Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 121.
[37]Ibid.
[38]Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York1983).

information.[39] In the nineteenth century, both the expansion of the search of knowledge and expansion of the European capitalist economy are both highly represented as concerns of those endeavouring to undertake travel writing. Clay also explores this idea saying "In the West, the nineteenth century was a period witnessing multiple technological inventions that, together with corresponding social and ideological changes, supported European economic –political expansion and colonisation of people perceived as being culturally underdeveloped."[40]

The information-producing, pro-capitalist writing of explorers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the dominant type of writing from the fringes of the empire but Pratt argues that it is a hegemony that is contested, mainly because it is so boring.[41] This format was a much discussed genre of writing even at the time of publication. A sentimental writing style began to challenge the dominance from the 1780s, which Pratt calls "experiential".[42] Writing changed to a more sentimental genre towards the end of the nineteenth century.[43] This type of travel writing was very different from the information based writing in that the author often becomes the protagonist and hero. The author is participating and is not simply objectifying the indigenous population or landscape, but is a subject included in the story. Pratt notes, "It narrates the journey as an epic-style series of trials and challenges, of various kinds of encounters – often erotic ones – where indigenous inhabitants occupy the stage alongside the European."[44]

The texts labelled experiential or sentimental often contain dialogue attributed to both the narrator and to the indigenous population they encounter. This differs from the former information based writing. There is an assumption of equality and mutual benefit seen in the dialogue and interactions between the writer and those encountered, and the narrator often included a visit to the indigenous seat of power or court and reflects on the encounter. Pratt suggests there is "parody and self-parody" especially in the scenes where the narrator is interacting with the chiefs or prominent figures of the indigenous population. Both sides of the exchange are seen with a degree of amusement and are described as such for the benefit of the reader. This

[39]Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 124.
[40]Clay, 5.
[41]Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 130.
[42]Ibid., 131.
[43]*Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*.
[44]"Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 131.

created authenticity of the experience by the author due to these interactions. While there is some evidence of the "manners-and-customs" descriptions, these descriptions are part of the general discourse and not separated into a formal extra space.[45]

The last part of the eighteenth century was a difficult time for British Imperialism. Tropical disease, indigenous resistance (particularly after the death of James Cook in Hawaii, and increasing independence (USA), slave revolts and associated abolition movement became apparent by-products of imperialism.[46] Travel writing from this era, for example Mungo Park's *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (1799), gave the British public a needed boost albeit an increasing racist and negative view of Africa. Pratt notes "contradictions between egalitarian, democratic ideologies at home and ruthless structures of domination and extermination abroad became more acute".[47] Pratt uses Park's work to outline an example of sentimental or experiential with the author as the "unhero" differing from the information collection and descriptions of landscape that had come before him.[48] This type of narrative is full of interactions with people. "Sentimental writing explicitly anchors what is being expressed in the sensory experience, judgement, agency, or desires of the human subjects."[49]

Pratt also argues that the writer of information is associated with the public or state, while the experiential writer could be associated with the private sphere. She argues that the European writer of experience is passive and does not intervene and so capitalist expansion is largely ignored or naively not included in their writings. The simple and naive nature of this type of writing was seen by some writers of the time as having been surpassed by the information gathering genre. We see the space available for women writers begins to be apparent. The private sphere, not imperialist or capitalist in nature, provided a possible place for women to write and this is explored much further in the work of Mills.[50]

By the 19th century Europeans were travelling to, and writing about, the Pacific. The analysis of European ideas about and imagining of the Pacific is extensive, including

[45]Ibid., 133.
[46]*Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 72.
[47]Ibid., 74.
[48]Ibid., 75.
[49]Ibid., 76.
[50]Mills.

Brenda Clay, Richard Lansdown, Kerry Howe, Graeme Lay, Michael Sturma, Patty O'Brien, Gavan Daws and others. Clay, in her book *Unstable Images – Colonial discourse on New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, 1875-1935* is looking at how discursive images are created and recreated and gather together to create a cultural otherness.[51] In looking particularly at New Ireland in people group has crossed "an assumed border"[52] and is looking at people who are different from the seeing self. Clay explores the idea of "transcendental subjects" which is like an all knowing, all seeing, from every perspective type of encounter. But in reality, the encounters are partial, and not able to be transcendental.[53] Within the encounters she is exploring Clay also notes that "while cultural understandings frame expectations and chosen responses,"[54] each encounter changes this perspective from both sides. This is an evolving process and prompts change, and while whole cultures do not meet, small representatives of cultures do meet proving that each encounter cannot be homogenized to a whole. Clay argues that Pratt's term "contact zone"[55] is understood as being within an atmosphere of "coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict"[56] and Clay argues this does not always fit the situation and in fact ignores some of the more subtle and changing relationships between people. She prefers the term "improvised sociality" to describe the encounters "between people who do not share the perspectives, expectations, and practices of more enduring, established socialities."[57]

Richard Lansdown edited an anthology on the Pacific which he has entitled *Strangers in the South Seas, The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought*. [58] His introduction explores two big ideas – the "Island Imagined" and the process of contact. Lansdown looks at what Europeans were looking for when they came to the Pacific. From very early on Western imaginations had thought that the island setting was a place of fulfilment. Early explorers and travellers were hoping to find this place of fulfilment, and so, Lansdown argues, they did.

---

[51]Clay.
[52]Ibid., 2.
[53]Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 3.
[55]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 6-7.
[56]Ibid.
[57]Clay, 10.
[58]Richard Lansdown, *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

> Again and again the island has figured in the European mind as a place where human potential would emerge unhampered by the conventional life, where a passage over the sea would involve leaving behind items of cultural, moral, social, psychological, or historical baggage and allow a new experiment in living.[59]

An imaginary island setting was often explored in the 18th century writings both fictional and non-fiction, but the idea had been propagated much earlier.[60] It is entrenched in Western thought from as far back as the 1500s or even earlier. The islands are portrayed as either utopian (perfect) or dystopian (damaged) with the utopia of the Tahitian ideal being the focus of early Pacific exploration records. A utopia and a physical island are separate and isolated, thus the linking of the two with many utopian (and dystopian) writings being set on islands both metaphorically and physically away from the real world. Lansdown lists such texts as *The Tempest* (1611), *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), *The Swiss Family Robinson* (1812) right through to *Lord of the Flies* (1954) as examples of the breadth of works following this pattern. Another common thread in some of these writings is the transformation which occurs within the characters as they live through a disaster – often a shipwreck.[61] Travel writings of the same era reflect this as writers are expecting or anticipating a personal change or transformation as a result of their experiences.

Many scholars have discussed first contact or contact culture in the Pacific.[62] Ron Adams wrote, in 1992, of the importance of considering both sides of the contact,

---

[59]Ibid., 11.
[60]K.R. Howe, *Nature, Culture and History: The "Knowing" of Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 14.
[61]Lansdown, 13.
[62] Others who write about culture contact generally, but not discussed here include:
D.A. Washbrook, "Orients and Occidents: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire," in *Historiography; the Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. R.W. Winks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
S. Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions; the Wonder of the New World* (Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1991).
J Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," in *Routes; Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).
And those who talk about the topic in the Pacific are:
Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772* (Auckland: Viking/Penguin, 1992).
Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1772-1815* (Auckland: Viking/Penguin, 1997).
Greg Dening, "Possessing Tahiti," *Archeology in Oceania* 21 (1986).

both of European and indigenous people.[63] His illustrations of three instances of first contact make the point that what had been recorded by the European had created the record of what had transpired. However, the indigenous story, in one case retold to a missionary sixty years later, showed a different point of view, even to the point of the power being seen as being held by the indigenous people group.[64] Adams points out that the retelling of the incident, and the emphasis given to certain parts of the story are evidence that "the Tannese attached meaning to their encounter according to a cultural framework fundamentally different from the European."[65]

Both Gavan Daws in *A Dream of Islands*[66]and Graeme Lay in *In Search of Paradise*[67] discuss artists and writers who travelled to the South Pacific. Daws outlines five individuals, while Lay outlines over twenty who were expecting a new and different life in the Pacific, and to varying degrees were changed by it. The voyage of self discovery, or of running from a culture, was not always successful. Lansdown suggests that the antipodes were seen as utopian or dystopian in an even more exaggerated way than other unknown places, as they had long been thought of but not yet seen by more than a few.[68] The idea of The South Seas and the expected Great South Land had both been imagined and given expected qualities long before they were actually seen by Europeans. Amerigo Vespucci (1503) saw a land like the Garden of Eden, while William Dampier (1697) saw a terribly barren place[69] indicating that both the utopian and dystopian ideals were applied to this area of the world. Lansdown calls this "bipolar vision".[70] There is a relationship between the West and the Pacific (or other "explored" areas of the world) that is complicated and not linear but 'bipolar'.

I.C. Campbell, *Gone Native in Polynesia: Captivity Narratives and Experiences from the South Pacific* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).
"Race Relations in the Pre-Colonial Pacific Islands: A Case of Prejudice and Pragmatism," *Pacific Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985).
J Linnikin, "Ignoble Savages and Other Visitors," *Journal of Pacific History* 26, no. 1 (1991).
[63] Ron Adams, "European Discovery or Multiple Discoveries," in *Culture Contact in the Pacific*, ed. Max Quanchi and Ron Adams (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
[64] Ibid., 37.
[65] Wilkes.
[66] Gavan Daws, *A Dream of Islands, Voyages of Self-Discovery in the South Seas* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Co, 1980).
[67] Graeme Lay, *In Search of Paradise: Artists and Writers in the Colonial South Pacific* (New Zealand: Godwit, 2008).
[68] Lansdown, 14.
[69]William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (England1697).
[70]Lansdown, 16.

Howe had previously identified this phenomenon. “Pacific History is fundamentally about the idea of Western civilization, its perceived rise and fall, its fears, triumphs, and its creation of a Pacific Other onto which are projected and tested its various priorities and expectations.”[71] Both positive and negative attributes of Pacific Islanders have been given and are enhanced by writings of early encounters and sometimes can be changed as the encounter becomes more distant. This idea goes some way towards explaining the difference between William Dampier’s published observations of Aboriginal people compared to his private journal. In his published work, written from home, he is much more critical in his physical description of the people, than in his original journal entry written while confronting, suggesting that he is influenced by the expectation of what he should have seen, and what people around him will have expected that he saw.[72] Bipolar vision seems to be more obvious when away from the initial encounter or experience.

Bipolar vision integrates with another of Lansdown’s ideas, of travel writers believing that to “travel in space is to also travel in time.”[73] That is, travel writers, whether they are tending towards the utopian or dystopian viewpoint, agreed they were travelling back to a former time period. The people groups they encountered represented a past, less developed or civilised society and culture. Some writers recognised that there was good and bad in these cultures, just as there was in the West, and wondered if the West had “fallen away...or risen up”[74]. When Europeans first arrived, they did so with a whole cultural background of expectation. Europeans, at first contact with the Pacific, did not only see what was in front of them but also what their cultural inheritance had taught them to see.[75]

The idea of the “noble savage” was joined by the “ignoble savage”. Ian Campbell argued that the influence of the ideal of “noble savage” on early explorers and writers has been overemphasised, and that “ignoble” characteristics of native people were also depicted. He states; “Among the many items of ‘invisible baggage’, however, the idea of the Noble Savage is much less conspicuous than has frequently

[71]Howe, 85.
[72]Lansdown, 21.
[73]Ibid., 16.
[74]Ibid.
[75]Ibid., 17.

been assumed."[76] His discussion focuses on refuting a previous article by Howe[77] and looks at Bougainville, Banks and Forster, all early European voyagers.[78] While Howe assumed that these men embraced the Romantic idea of the "noble savage" and this ideal was embedded into their observations and writing about indigenous Pacific people, Campbell concludes the "idea of the Noble Savage was real enough, but it played no part that can be identified in shaping the political, social, or economic history of the Pacific, at least before the age of official colonization."[79] Instead, Campbell cites many instances of the men's writings being simply observations which included both positive and negative characteristics of the indigenous people. As well as the creation of a noble or ignoble savage man, much has been written about the idea of a seductive idyllic woman. Michael Sturma's book South *Sea Maidens*[80] and Patty O'Brien's *The Pacific Muse*[81] both discuss the creation of the narrated female figure from the first glimpse of Tahitian women in the eighteenth century. Sturma focussed on the changing sexual politics from early contact in Tahiti to twentieth century film and writing, and how this affected the woman portrayed.

Two schools of thought are explored in Lansdown's book on what would happen when Europeans inflict or introduce their society on traditional island societies. The first, coined by Alan Moorehead in 1966, is "Fatal Impact"[82]. The indigenous people will be wiped out even if not on purpose or that there is at least a large negative impact on the indigenous person as a result of contact because the indigenous population is not able to cope with the rate of change.[83] Another more, recent school of thought does not agree with Moorehead. There is an element of islander initiative and that Pacific Islanders had a history before "contact" and are human beings who rose to the challenge of white man contact. Contact was accepted on terms that were negotiated. This approach recognises indigenous agency. However, care should be

[76] I.C. Campbell, "Savages Noble and Ignoble: The Preconceptions of Early European Voyagers in Polynesia," *Pacific Studies* 4, no. 1 (1980): 47.
[77] K.R. Howe, "The Fate of the 'Savage' in Pacific Historiography," *The New Zealand Journal of History* 2 (1977).
[78] Campbell, "Savages Noble and Ignoble: The Preconceptions of Early European Voyagers in Polynesia," 48.
[79] Ibid., 56.
[80] Michael Sturma, *South Sea Maidens: Western Fantasy and Sexual Politics in the South Pacific* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002).
[81] Patty O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific*. (McLellan Endowed Series. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).
[82] Alan Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840* (Harper & Row, 1966).
[83] Lansdown, 19.

taken not to make this an extreme criticism which allows Europeans no responsibility for the result of the contact which occurred.[84]

During the eighteenth century, the domestic sphere was for women and the public sphere for men, leaving little opportunity for women to travel. [85]Those who did travel were based in Europe and the same inconveniences of travel applied to men and women. Travel was expensive especially for those less affluent. Roads were badly maintained across Europe and there were few inns, many highwaymen and robbery.[86] Women were looked down upon if they did travel, especially by churches, men and husbands who felt they were neglecting home duties. In this period of early travel, the writing by women was epistolary as this was not seen as public writings. It was only acceptable for women to correspond via letters as a public mode of literature.[87]

As the nineteenth century arrived, there was more opportunity for travel. The vast imperial adventure of European powers had brought about the development of colonial outposts in many areas of the "New World" and new technologies of transport, steam in ships and railroads, had facilitated travel to these areas[88]. Women travelled abroad sometimes to join their husbands on the frontier, or to marry while other women travelled more independently or as part of a family unit during this time and they wrote more about their travels. According to Haywood, women wrote differently about new lands just as they saw things differently than their male counterparts and women writers began to recognise that racial superiority was "complicated by gender or class position".[89] English travellers were very influenced by the English literary canon, in particular Romanticism, while American women travel writers were not so influenced.[90]

Destination played a part in how women wrote, with those travelling to "exotic" locations positioning themselves as adventurers, exploring new territory at considerable risk to themselves, while women travelling to Europe were positioned

[84]Ibid.
[85]Maryanne Cole, "Women Travelers, 1500 – 1800," in *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jennifer Speake (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), 1289-90.
[86]Ibid., 1284.
[87]Ibid., 1286.
[88]Jennifer Haywood, "Women Travelers, Nineteeth Century," ibid.
[89]Ibid., 1288.
[90]Ibid., 1289.

as tourists, "cultural or aesthetic inspiration" seekers.[91] This distinction was one made of general travellers, while women were not always at liberty to decide how their travel was to be characterized or reported upon. Pratt discusses how male and female travel writing developed different ways of structuring the narrative and also ways of looking or gaze. Men write from the "objective viewer" point, while some women may be writing as more "aggressive, interactive seeker[s] of knowledge".[92] In a summary of women travellers into the twentieth century, Allen noted that women travelled to explore their inner selves as well as the world, and so their writing can be deeply personal and thus many interpretations are possible. She continues that women could be affected by the freedom a place outside their own gives them. When they step out of their usual place in their usual society, they are learning as much about themselves as they are about the world, and this is reflected in their writing. There is debate about how this "separatist writing" holds up in the genre in general.[93] Pratt also comments on women travel writers specifically.

One case study is Mme. Godin – a woman who against all odds crossed the Andes and down the Amazon and was reunited with her husband. The story was written by her husband (a member of the La Condamine expedition) and it became an appendage to his narration not one of her own.[94] Pratt is indicating here the difficulty of women being able to publish their own story. Anna Maria Falconbridge is another of Pratt's case studies in women writers. Pratt discusses her writings (which were in Falconbridge's own name and not that of her husband) as being a contrast to the "rhetorics of anti-conquest...the sights she sees are neither welcome nor innocent."[95] In fact, she records the sights with some guilt, as though it is not appropriate for a woman to see such things as slaves in chains, even if that is the sight she sees.[96] Pratt suggests that "seeing violates norms of conduct for her gender".[97] It is suggested that this is because of the period of time and the expectations of what was acceptable for a woman in the time that she lived. Pratt concludes that in the 1800s, "While women writers were "authorised" to produce novels, their access to travel writing seems to

[91]Ibid., 1287.
[92]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 163.
[93]NinaAllen, 1292.
[94]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 20 - 21; ibid.
[95]Ibid., 103.
[96]Ibid.
[97]Ibid.

have remained even more limited than their access to travel itself, at least when it came to leaving Europe."[98]

Mills, in *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, broadly outlines the discourses of colonialism and the discourses of femininity in the nineteenth century. She endeavours to show that there is a clash between these two things which made it difficult for women travel writers to negotiate these discourses in their writing. Her key question asks "The period of 1850-1930 is the one where British colonial interests in other nations were made most apparent; but how was this colonial strength negotiated in texts by women who were conventionally not seen to be part of the colonial expansion?"[99]

Increased interest in women's travel writing resurfaced in the 1990s. This was possibly prompted by feminist publishing houses reprinting texts that had long been out of print and so were less accessible.[100] The renewed interest in reading of this genre was accompanied by "critical study of the genre within colonial discourse, that is, the analysis of texts written by westerners about colonised countries"[101] Mills states that Said (1978) and then others (including Pratt) began looking at travel writing critically.[102] "For them, along with more clearly "literary" texts, travel writing is essentially an instrument within colonial expansion and served to reinforce colonial rule once in place."[103]

According to Mills, women and men travel writers differ because of women's "problematic stance, caught between the conflicting demands of the discourse between femininity and that of imperialism. The discourses of colonialism demand action and intrepid fearless behaviour from the narrator, and yet the discourses of femininity demand passivity from the narrator and a concern with relationships."[104]

---

[98]Ibid., 106.
[99]Mills, 1.
[100]Youngs, 131.
[101]Mills, 2.
[102] Other women theorists of the mid 1990s were:
Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716 – 1818* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
Karen R Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).
Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996).
[103]Mills, 2.
[104]Ibid., 22.

This creates a text that shows colonialism, while being slightly outside of it and able to critique it.

Mills begins by pointing out that generally male critics do not include female travel writers in their criticism. She surmises that, gender cannot be tacked onto another theory but a reformulation is needed. Her discussion of "colonial discourse" begins with the idea borrowed from Peter Hulme that colonial discourse is "an ensemble of linguistically based practices unified by their common deployment in the management of colonial relationships...during the colonial period large parts of the non-European world were *produced* for Europe through a discourse."[105] Hulme's definition fits with Said's broader Orientalism, but argues that travel writing has a specific role in the hegemonic production of the Other, because within the discourse of imperialism (or colonialism) there lies a further discourse of the civilised Other and discourse of savagery.[106] "Each colonial relation develops narrative and descriptive techniques particular to its setting and history, which draws on a range of discursive practices".[107] This became known as either 'a civilised Other', or in other instances as 'places of savagery'.

Mills then outlines several ways that the discourse of colonialism can "consign the other nation to a time which is distant from their own, [firstly] through the use of words with temporal aspects such as 'primitive', 'backward' or 'developing'".[108] They are from another time even though they are met in the present. Another way of distancing the nation "is through describing the inhabitants of a country as children; in this way the people are considered distant from the time of adult Europeans."[109] Another constraint suggested by Mills is that "portraying the other nation in terms of abhorrent smells and filthiness"[110], or disparaging their religious activities as uninformed and naive "which positions the other nation negatively in relation to a British, and in this case Christian, norm".[111]

With the discussion then turning to the discourses of femininity, Mills outlines that the position of women in the middles classes (as these were the ones who were

[105]Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 2.
[106]Ibid., 21.
[107]Mills, 87.
[108]Ibid., 89.
[109]Ibid.
[110]Ibid., 90.
[111]Ibid., 91.

travelling): were restricted in their movements, chaperoned, not able to work outside the home (as this activity was demeaning), frail and often suffering with illnesses, in need of male protection and defined by the male who protected them (husband or father), not represented in church, politics or law and invisible.[112] While paid work was frowned upon, philanthropy was not, particularly in the mid 1800s. Women were able to "gain a sense of worthwhile work, affirm themselves in their feminine and religious role and gain a sense of power through dispensing help to others lower down in the social scale."[113] Women, who were travelling (particularly alone) and writing, were contradicting this expectation and discourse. Today, women writers were seen "as part of women's history – a history which is often characterised as being that of exceptional women."[114] The women who managed to get past the barriers of these expectations and travel were assumed to be rare and not ordinary but exceptional, "odd and freakish...indomitable, eccentric and mostly rather crazy".[115] There was an assumption that the women would be spinsters and they would have a "sense of something rather improper in (their) women's behaviour".[116] Although these women travelled outside of their homes, they may "display all of the conventional characteristics of women within the home"[117], for example, by taking on a caring role for the indigenous people. In this way, the assumption was that women would still, in part, be satisfying the role of a 'proper' woman.

The production of published works, and the genre of that work was restricted for women, and Mills discusses this in relation to the difficulties of both production and reception of women's writing. "Many women were discouraged from writing since it was considered not only to be of high status but because it was seen to be sexually improper for a woman to enter into the realm of this public high language."[118] Many women therefore wrote under a pseudonym or anonymously. Women were criticised for travel and their lifestyle choice, and then also for their writing. So, they were content to write in the lower class genres or letters or diaries rather than "centre-stage" high level literature.[119] Today research positions women as part of colonial

[112]Ibid., 95.
[113]Ibid., 97.
[114]Ibid., 31.
[115]Ibid., 32.
[116]Ibid.
[117]Ibid., 34.
[118]Ibid., 41.
[119]Ibid.

discourse, but also that of feminine discourse, or the restrictions and requirements put upon Victorian women. Mills concludes "They [women travel writers] cannot be said to speak from outside colonial discourse, but their relation to the dominant discourse is problematic because of its conflict with the discourses of 'femininity', which were operating on them in equal, and sometimes stronger, measure."[120]

Mills outlines two types of women typically found in colonial discourse: "the British memsahib, in need of protection from potential sexual threat; and in direct contrast, the sexually available colonised woman."[121] The "*memsahib*" (or European woman if extrapolated outside of colonial India) is generally depicted as snobbish, frivolous, benevolent but aloof, protective of her menfolk, firmly in the private sphere. Sometimes they were perceived to arrive and spoil the relationship with the early colonial society that men had created.[122] Mills notes that "Set against this depiction of the memsahib as sexually chaste, much is made in the accounts of colonial writing of the eroticism of the description of 'native' women."[123]

Mills looks at constraints on production and reception of women's travel writing during the colonial period. Women's writing has the tension of the expectations of society on one hand "cultural expectations" and their entrance into the dangerous and difficult world of travel. This tension would be greater if the woman seems to be actually deliberately seeking this world of travel and escaping the private sphere of home, as some of the women who published during this time seemed to be doing though were saddled with the restrictions, expectations and behaviours that went along with the label of "lady". "The feminine discourses stress concern with the presentation of a well behaved self: there are frequent remarks in the travel texts of the importance of the feminine discourse of clothes...also of correct behaviour, of obeying the norms of British society"[124] and sometimes this discourse is seen to be worked against by a woman who dared to travel alone, or with barely a chaperone. When the common plot of travel writing in this era was adventure = imperialism = male sphere = terrible descriptions (such as of cannibalism) these would be unladylike to write about, or to even know about. There are some subjects which

[120]Ibid., 63.
[121]Ibid., 59.
[122]Claudia Knapman, *White Women in Fiji 1835 - 1930: The Ruin of Empire?* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986).
[123]Mills, 60.
[124]Ibid., 72.

"women are not supposed to know or write about – sex is the most obvious one."[125] They are not supposed to be experts on topics such as business, fish and plants, and are negatively critiqued when they dare to give opinions on such things. Mills notes that none of the women writers described the country "in the same terms as some of the male writers, as a female sexualised body. Nor do they mention 'indelicate' subjects in the main; surprisingly, few of them refer to any fear of sexual harassment, one of the discursive constraints that is the strongest in the context of women and travel, especially in accounts of women travelling alone."[126] If they do speak of things deemed unfeminine, a technique is employed to distance the women from what she is writing, such as letters[127], an interlude by a male, or a third person story.

Once women had written, they also faced problems with reception of their works. They were not trusted in the legal field, with Mills description of women witnesses being treated differently in the nineteenth century than their male counterparts, and so the truth of their travel writing was also questioned. "Women's travel writing is often described as if it were trivial because it contains descriptions of relationships and domestic details, as well as the more conventional descriptions of colonial relations...women writers are caught in a double bind situation: if they tend towards the discourses of femininity in their work they are regarded as trivial, and if they draw on the more adventure hero type narratives their work is questioned."[128] Because of this, some writers drew on several strategies to combat this either by playing down the adventurous parts of their texts, or authenticating the text including maps or sketches or photographs.[129]

Adding an extra discourse to Mills' work, domestic space, or home is something to be considered for women writing in the colonial period. Alison Blunt argues, in "*The Flight from Lucknow*: British Women Travelling and Writing Home"[130], that instead of being outside the domestic requirements of British middle class women, women in the imperial world were instead having to negotiate domestic life in a foreign place. She states "I want to argue that British women played often ambivalent roles as both

[125]Ibid., 81.
[126]Ibid., 82.
[127]Ibid.
[128]Ibid., 118.
[129]Ibid., 121.
[130]Alison Blunt, "*The Flight from Lucknow*: British Women Travelling and Writing Home, 1857-8," in *Writes of Passage, Reading Travel Writing*, ed. James Duncan and Derek Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999).

domestic and imperial subjects travelling and living in imperial places."[131] This highlights the point that women travelling in the nineteenth century were often travelling as part of the imperial governments, and tried to set up homes for themselves and their families in foreign places. The ambivalence comes from the fact that they were both inside and outside the imperial cause, and both inside and outside a typical domestic situation. There is not a simple dichotomy, but a blurred edge of experience. Each woman in these situations experienced it in a personal negotiated way, and subsequently wrote about it as a highly personal reflection. This negotiation of the dual domestic and imperial situation is particularly true of the women Blunt focused on in the town of Lucknow in India. They still wrote back to the Centre, or home, mostly in the forms of journals. Several women published their journals after the siege of Lucknow that "reached an audience beyond the family and friends for whom they had been initially intended."[132] In publishing these journals, Blunt argues that the women were writing about an imperial crisis (the siege and evacuation of the colonial interests in Lucknow), but they did so with an emphasis on the domestic dilemma it posed. "British women represented the imperial crisis in domestic terms, focusing on everyday life and the desertion of their servants during the siege...The letters and diaries of Lucknow reveal the reconstruction rather than transgression of their domestic subjectivity at a time of imperial crisis."[133] Unlike those women who were able to get outside of domestic confines and travel, some women found themselves renegotiating the domestic confines as part of the imperial cause, with their husbands but outside the Centre.

The first author to specifically examine women travel writers in Fiji was Knapman in her paper "Western Women's Travel Writing About the Pacific Islands".[134] Knapman has also written about the role of European women in Fiji in her book *White Women in Fiji*[135] defending the place of white women in early European settlements in Fiji. Her book was written in response to a thesis by John Young in 1968 which explored the early European society in Fiji and espoused the view that white women destroyed any possibility of good relations between the Western and

[131]Ibid., 94.
[132]Ibid., 97.
[133]Ibid., 108.
[134]Claudia Knapman, "Western Women's Travel Writing About the Pacific Islands," *Pacific Studies* 20, no. 2 (1997).
[135] *White Women in Fiji 1835 - 1930: The Ruin of Empire?*

indigenous populations of Fiji.[136] Knapman's work mentions Wallis, Smythe and Gordon-Cumming, but in the context of women who were within European society in Fiji, and not specifically as travel writers. In her paper about travel writers, Knapman suggests there are three ways that texts can be read – from a Realist, Protofeminist or Orientalist reading which is based on Mills' work in *Discourses of Difference*.[137] Knapman states that she wants to see travel books written about the Pacific, by women authors, being brought under academic scrutiny. She focuses on the Orientalist reading, but concludes that there is not a "coherent, uniform statement about 'the other' in women's travel writing" .[138] Knapman suggests that perhaps because their place within the machinery of colonialism is not so obvious, women have the leeway to show the complicated encounters as they are without loading them with overtones of imperialism. Her conclusion is that "most [women] used their marginal positions to ponder their own understanding of other peoples and cultures, of themselves, and of their home societies".[139] It is Knapman's paper which prompts the central question of this thesis: to look with academic scrutiny at three women's travel writing, and specifically to look at their representation of what they experienced in their travels. Is there a uniform representation in what each woman author recorded?

Other contemporary Pacific scholars have begun to look at writing in general, and not specifically travel writing, by women about the Pacific, and increasingly the focus is on the voice of the indigenous women who previously had none. In "Paradise Revisited: Women's Writing from Fiji"[140] Gina Wisker, explores the idea that Pacific women authors have begun to write, initially in the 1970s but increasingly in recent times. Wisker claims they oppose the colonial representation that they have been allocated, and increasingly are exploring their place in the islands. Wisker summarises the origins of the racial stereotypes that have been perpetuated throughout the times of European contact as being similar to many other places in the world. Explorers in the 16th century were followed by beachcombers, traders and other economic imperialists as well as missionaries. She quotes Zohl de

[136]Ibid., 4.
[137]Mills.
[138]Knapman, "Western Women's Travel Writing About the Pacific Islands," 46.
[139]Ibid.
[140]Gina Wisker, "Paradise Revisited: Women's Writing from Fiji," *Fijian Studies: A Journal of Contemporary Fiji* 3, no. 2 (2005).

Ishtar, "Once again, economic political and cultural exploitation was the basis of European contact with the indigenous world". [141] Wisker emphasises the idea that European explorers, in interpreting the landscapes they were seeing actually erased the indigenous people groups thus creating an empty place they could move into.[142] This is the same idea Pratt talks about in her discussion of capitalist expansion. Wisker also comments on the "nineteenth century's export of male desire and power and colonialism's need to define landscapes as if they were women, to own them".[143] Because of this appropriation, the stereotypical beautiful, available, compliant and uncomplicated Pacific woman was strengthened in each account or story. The Centre is fulfilling a need with a fictional Other. This is being stripped back by contemporary women writers, who are finding ways to rewrite their story against the denigrating stereotypes they had been attributed with. Pacific women, have created a strategy of exposing these stereotypes as fantasy by writing their own story.

Pacific women writers, and I would argue women writers in general, go beyond the political and often are concerned with the everyday experience of life, personal relationships (particularly romantic or nurturing ones) and emotions.[144] This marries with the sentimental way of writing described by Pratt with emphasis on contact or experience of the author. Wisker goes on to add that this emphasis in writing on the ordinary lives of women itself negates the stereotype of the perpetually waiting, seductive island maiden.[145] In her section subtitled "Reaction? Or moving on?" Wisker point out that the risk in creating a responsive writing by indigenous people which, in its anti-colonial fervour, idealises the concept of the traditional past. Cultures change, and this needs to be recognised and reflected in the voice of the writing that comes after colonisation. Albert Wendt notes: "Contrary to the utterance of our elite groups, our pre-*papalangi* cultures were not perfect or beyond reproach."[146] (*Paplangi* is a Samoan word which means foreigner.) A combination of past and present (touched by what has occurred) is needed. This is an extension of Lansdown's idea of travel to less developed places being a travelling back in time. The utopia of the imagined island is exposed as flawed.

[141]Ibid., 427.
[142]Ibid., 429.
[143]Ibid.
[144]Ibid., 432, 36.
[145]Ibid., 434.
[146]Albert Wendt, "Towards a New Oceania," *Mana Review* 1, no. 1 (1976): 55.

In “Here Our Words” Selina Tusitala Marsh explores the outpouring of writing that occurred in three waves in the early post-independence days of the Pacific from the early 1970s. She states that these waves were reactionary writing, followed by integration of foreign and indigenous styles, leading finally into an exploration of multiculturalism and Pan-Pacific people.[147] While Marsh is also speaking about more contemporary writing than this thesis will discuss, she notes that early explorer writing gives the landscape human characteristics and use the descriptive language of a female body. “Land is commonly described as virgin territory waiting to be controlled, penetrated and subdued.”[148] This gives the idea that the explorer’s presence is not only conquering, but is violent and sexual. Marsh also discussed the indigenous idea of the taking away of land. Western thought is that land can be owned or won, but Marsh suggests that the meaning of land to Pacific Island people is more a stewardship relationship, and one where the people belong to the land at a more emotional level. This fundamental difference in definition is indicative of the actions that are played out in colonialism. Westerners conquer land but, as a by-product of that, indigenous people lose more than just the physical space. This means that when post-colonial writings from the Pacific Islanders explore the reclaiming of land, “more than just a physical entity is being revived and used in the struggle for independence and decolonisation.”[149] Pratt’s capitalist expansion ideas are also reflected in this belief.

Language and writing can be used as a tool of imperialism.[150] Marsh talks about the banning of indigenous language in public places such as schools or government, and the use of stories which “assimilate minds into Western ways of thinking and being.”[151] In the academic writing from the 1970s Pacific Islanders were “contained, categorised, and, to a certain extent, controlled through various stereotypes”[152] much as Said had explored in *Orientalism.*[153]Marsh mentions explorers, travellers, artists and editors who perpetuate “racist and stereotypical constructions of islanders

[147]Selina Tuisitala Marsh, "Here Our Words," in *The Pacific Islands: Environment & Society*, ed. Moshe Rapaport (Honolulu: The Bess Press, 1999), 175.
[148]Ibid., 168.
[149]Ibid.
[150]Ibid., 170.
[151]Ibid.
[152]Ibid.
[153]Marsh also discussed modern day Pacific theorists in her discussion which are not explored here. She quotes Wendt (1976, 1980, 1995), Subramani (1975, 1978, 1985, 1989), Grace and Ihimaera (1978) as well as “non-indigenous” authors such as Sharrad (1993), Pearson (1968, 1984), Sinclair (1992), Krauth (1978).

[which] tended to reflect changing trends in European thought rather than actual Pacific realities."[154] As Wendt says in his seminal article exploring newly independent Pacific Island cultures; "Oceania has been written by *papalangi* and other outsiders. Much of this literature ranges from the hilariously romantic through the pseudo-scholarly to the infuriatingly racist".[155] Pacific people have increasingly resisted this largely academic work by non-indigenous scholars. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, in her book *Decolonising Methodologies* states "This book acknowledges the significance of indigenous perspectives on research and attempts to account for how, and why, such perspectives may have developed."[156] Tuhiwai Smith goes on to argue that the abundance of research which purports to represent indigenous people has little to actually do with them. This means that indigenous people may decide to stay well away from anything called "research". However, many indigenous people still find themselves in marginalised places where any research is academic and not related to the life they are living. Tuiwai Smith and fellow indigenous academics "have begun to address social issues within the wider framework of self-determination, decolonization and social justice... talking more widely about indigenous research, indigenous research protocols and indigenous methodologies."[157] She also discusses the place that travel writing had, confirming the Other by being accessible writing, not by qualified academics, but by everyday people who were able to report back to other everyday people. "The significance of travellers' tales and adventurers' adventures is that they represented the Other to a general audience back in Europe which became fixed in the milieu of cultural ideas."[158]

The literature on travel writing is covered by a large number of theorists who overlap. Post-colonial theorists such as Said are important precursors but travel writing can also be expanded by looking at women travel writers as more than protagonists in Imperialism. Women writers, as Clay and others note, were more personal, self-conscious and aware of gender and class. The time period of those women covered in by this thesis requires consideration of the colonial or imperial

[154]Marsh, 170.
[155]Ibid.
[156] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London, New York and Dunedin: Zed Books and University of Otago Press, 1999), 3.
[157] Ibid., 4.
[158] Ibid., 8.

worlds they find themselves in. The literature discussed above provides several frameworks within which to discuss the three authors' works. Travel writing is a "literature" of many overlapping theories and genres which lends well to reading the case studies from multiple angles. It is through the eight questions posed that the multi-faceted reading and analysis takes place, each raising a question from a different angle or perspective providing a more holistic analysis of these women's writing.

Chapter 3
Mary Wallis
Life in Feejee: Five Years Among the Cannibals by A Lady

Mary Wallis wrote about her travels from 1844 through to 1850 and published her book, *Life in Feejee,* in 1851. This chapter endeavours the research questions with an overriding reading from a theoretical perspective and application of it to the text. The book makes a remarkable contribution as it was just the second book to be published about Fiji. It gives us insight into an early encounter not influenced by what others had written previously. The book was initially written as a journal, and subsequently published to raise support for missionary efforts.

Wallis was the earliest woman to publish a book about Fiji. She travelled to Fiji and wrote in journals covering two trips to the Islands, one written from July 1844 to July 1848 and the other from October 1848 to July 1850. The first edition of *Life in Feejee,* which included both journals, was published under the author name "A Lady". The book was "Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by Benjamin Wallis, Jr" who was Wallis' husband.[159] It was an unusual occurrence for a woman to publish her journals, though common for them to be written. "While women writers were 'authorised' to produce novels, their access to travel writing seems to have remained even more limited than their access to travel itself, at least when it came to leaving Europe."[160] When a woman's writing was published it was often published anonymously as women were seen to belong in the private sphere and a published work would bring them into the public sphere.[161]

Mary and Benjamin Wallis came from Salem, Massachusetts, a busy trading centre and international shipping port from which came many of the early traders to Fiji.[162] Captain Wallis was a *beche-de-mer* (sea cucumber) trader of considerable experience in the Pacific having made trips to the islands of Fiji over several years. The first was in 1835.[163] He had previously travelled to Fiji as part of a ship's crew but during the time of writing was captain of his own barque, the *Zoloft*. Usually captains had stations at various points in Fiji and travelled between them to collect the *beche-de-*

[159]Routledge, xi.
[160]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 106.
[161]Mills, 41.
[162] R.D. Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem, Massachusetts* (Heritage Books, 1924), 374.
[163]Wallis, 117.

mer after local teams had prepared it for shipping. One journey covered by the journals was a lucrative one for Captain Wallis who "got a cargo worth nearly 6,000 pounds in about nine months."[164] The couple travelled to Fiji together in 1848, and then Captain Wallis continued travelling around Fiji visiting his *beche-de-mer* interests, leaving Mrs Wallis on the island of Viwa which was a mission station started by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1835.

We can only surmise that Wallis, while writing her journal, expected that it might have a wider audience, as she noted that after ten years the mission effort on could use more support. Missionaries had been in the Fiji Islands since 1835, with little outcome for their efforts, when Wallis ventured to Fiji. After her return to Salem, Wallis approached James Calvert, a missionary she had met during her time in Fiji, to gain his support of publication of the journals. He in turn, wrote to a supporter suggesting the journals may be "capable of persuading the sympathetic to open their pockets... This long neglected and deeply degraded people have excited much Christian sympathy, expense and effort."[165] Wallis noted that some parts of her American society may have felt it cruel to inflict a foreign religion upon these people, but she refuted this by stating "Is it *cruel*, I would ask, to come and tell this people that it is not good to eat each other, and that it is good to love the Lord Jesus Christ, of whom they cannot hear without a preacher, and he cannot preach unless he is sent?"[166]

The chiefs of the island of Viwa, where the mission effort was centred, had converted to seek protection. Viwa is adjacent to the powerful small island of Bau, off the Tailevu coast, and the home of the powerful chief Cakobau, son of Tanoa. The French were angry with Viwa, due to a murder of a French Captain. The Fijian priest, had seen some ships coming and told the chiefs (Namosimalua and Verani), that they were harmless animals. Consequently, the French burnt down the villages of Viwa. Rev Cross, one of the first missionaries in the Fiji Islands, told a chief that "if he became a Christian, he [Cross] thought that neither French nor English would give him farther trouble...Namosimalua, and a few of his people, immediately

[164]Jane Resture, "Fiji Islands Exploration, Shipping, and Trade: 1800 - 1840," http://www.janesoceania.com/fiji_discovery1/index.htm.
[165]Routledge, xii.
[166]Wallis, 85.

renounced heathenism and a teacher was sent [to Viwa]"[167] However, the mission effort had not borne much fruit in the decade that had been in Fiji. Even by the end of Wallis' travels in 1850, the mission still only had modest success in the Lau Islands in Eastern Fiji. "A total of 2322 people in windward Fiji had so far testified to feeling [God's] presence that they had by 1851 been admitted to full church membership."[168]

Wallis was also writing for herself, in journals capturing what she saw and experienced. When Wallis stayed at the mission on Viwa, while her husband made a trip in late 1844, she began to sound like a gossip columnist as she outlined an offense of one chiefly family over another, over the affections of a young wife to someone other than her husband.[169] Wallis became embroiled in the intrigue, perhaps out of boredom, though she did seem to have a genuine desire to understand Fijian society.

Wallis travelled with her husband to various *beche-de-mer* stations on the north coast of Viti Levu, and Vanua Levu, as well as the smaller islands to the east of Viti Levu – Bau, Ovalau and Viwa. (See Appendix for her itinerary.) Wallis' journal includes details of two trips to Manila, one after each of the journeys to the Fiji Islands (Chapters XI and XXI) as it was the principal market for *beche-de-mer* and the ships "took on tea, sugar, and silks, for the homeward voyage".[170]

Fijian society was one where the chiefs had power over their people. The political landscape was charged with warring tribes from different areas as they negotiated after years of rivalry and alliances, but was affected by the intrusion of the European into this mix. Whereas the Wesleyan mission in Fiji was uncompromisingly pacifist, unconverted Fijian warrior-chiefs, according to historian Ian Campbell, were "devoted more to war than they were to life itself".[171]

There were very few European residents in Fiji during the 1840s. By 1844, there was a mission based on the small island of Viwa near to ambitious and powerful chief, Cakobau, who lived nearby on the island of Bau, and it was on Viwa that Wallis

[167]Ibid., 29.
[168]Scarr, 14.
[169]Wallis, 33.
[170]Resture.
[171]Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 106.

made her home while her husband continued his business.[172] Wallis says that much of what she was recording, particularly about the indigenous population, was a result of dinner table discussions with Mr Hunt, one of the missionaries in Viwa. She says of dinner time "This is the time when I inquire about Feejee and Feejeeans and Mr Hunt (who always delights to impart information,) never seems weary of answering my inquiries...appears interested to have me fully understand the subject of my inquiries."[173] There had been little written about Fiji previously, only Charles Wilkes' *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*,[174] the third volume, which was published in 1845, only a few years before Wallis travelled.[175]

Wallis, though the wife of a *beche-de-mer* trader, was a supporter of the newly arrived mission efforts in Fiji. There were very few Europeans in Fiji during the late 1840s, and even fewer European women[176], so it was with missionary families that Wallis found her company and her home while her husband went about trading. She saw the missionaries as a positive influence on the Fijian people and society, though was still racist in the language she chose to describe Fijians. On being woken on Christmas Day 1844, with singing, Wallis wrote "The missionaries have taught the little tawnies this beautiful custom, which is extant in many parts of England."[177] This would indicate that the attitudes of Western society as a whole was that these "natives" needed to be civilised, and though Wallis showed an affection towards the Fijian people, it was still from the Eurocentric position of a civilised woman. Her words include descriptions of a primitive and childlike race, an indication according to the suggestions of Sara Mills that the discourse of imperialism is strong.[178] She did not write in a condescending or superior tone in general. Rather, "the pages are pervaded by a genuine interest in, and seeking after knowledge of, the way of life of the people among whom their author spent...years".[179] She was however a woman from the imperial age and, while not part of the colonial machinery which was yet to come, Wallis drew from the double discourse that Sara Mills discusses, that of imperialism and femininity.[180] As a helper to her husband's business, she expanded

[172]Wallis, 27.
[173]Ibid., 44.
[174] Wilkes.
[175]Routledge, xiii.
[176]Knapman, *White Women in Fiji 1835 - 1930: The Ruin of Empire?*, 1.
[177]Wallis, 29.
[178]Mills, 89.
[179]Routledge, xiii.
[180]Mills.

the imperial reach of the West through engaging and relating to the indigenous population for financial gain. However, as a Victorian wife, she also looked after her "home" both on board the barque while travelling with her husband, or on Viwa when her husband left her to continue his travelling. Wallis lived with missionaries in Viwa before she had her own small house built, but she continued to eat with the missionary families.[181] When she returned to Viwa in March 1849, she was distraught by what the passage of time has brought to the mission families she had lived with in 1844. Mr Hunt had died six months earlier, and Mr Jaggar having "committed a most grievous sin, has been deposed from the ministry and has gone to New Zealand with his family."[182] Only the Lyth family was still on Viwa. For missionary children who lived in Fiji, she thought it "is next to an impossibility to keep children free from the deleterious influences of heathenism; and the sooner they are sent away the better it is for them, though hard is the parting. This is not one of the least of the trials of the missionary."[183] Fijian people were described as having "no romance, no poetry but heathenism in its lowest state of degradation"[184] Hulme suggested that authors of this time either portrayed the indigenous people as "civilized Other or savage".[185] While his analysis is based on the Caribbean, it applies to Fiji and other Pacific islands as early travel writers begin to classify and organise their "findings" of newly encountered people groups. Wallis described the Fijian people as savages, but the focus of the missionary effort was the dual act of converting or Christianising, and then civilising the people. The two outcomes of conversion and education could hardly be separated. She noted "All who renounce heathenism are required to attend the day schools to be instructed in reading...Two hours are devoted, on Monday afternoons, to the examination of the natives upon what they have heard on the Sabbath".[186] She considered the Fijian people savages, but considered the possibility of redemption and transformation into a civilised Other.

The cannibal nature of Tanoa, the old king and figurehead of Bau, and society in general, was established by Wallis as she chose to include in her narrative several

[181]Knapman, *White Women in Fiji 1835 - 1930: The Ruin of Empire?*, 50.
[182]Wallis, 319.
[183]Ibid., 377.
[184]Ibid., 76.
[185]Hulme, 21.
[186]Wallis, 75.

gory examples. In her first chapter, she outlined the return of Tanoa to Bau some years earlier, helped by his son Cakobau, after he had been exiled to Rewa. "An indiscriminating slaughter ensued; very few escaped the vigilance of Tanoa and his son. The bodies of the slaughtered were cooked and eaten."[187] This story must have come to Wallis second hand, but she added an authoritative assertion suggesting firsthand knowledge that "The Rev. Mr. Cross visited Bau at this time, and found the king feasting upon a dead body, and two more were being cooked for the next meal."[188] She related the story that the retribution necessary for a shaming of the chief Verani was that the person who shamed him be put to death. The mission had intervened and attempted to protect the man. When he was actually killed, the missionaries took the body to prevent him from being eaten.[189] Wallis mused, that Verani the chief had admitted he was a "Christian a little, and by and by he intended to be a great and good one." When the Wallis' were eating with Verani, he asked, "Why do you not ask a blessing? You are like the pigs to eat, and not ask God to bless your food".[190] An anecdote about a cannibal chief claiming that the Wallis' were pigs for not blessing their food is an indication of the mixed impact of Christianity and Western contact. According to Wallis, the old ways of the Fijians had not yet been civilised, but that even after a decade in Fiji the missions were having an effect. This juxtapositioning of uncivilised and civilised (or even uncivilised displaying civilised behaviour) is one that Wallis employed at several points in her book. Her writing indicates that she really wants to

> show the Feejeeans as I found them, and to record truly their several traits of character as they came under my own observation. Little has been known of this people except they are cannibals. It is said that there is not one of the natives of Vewa [Viwa], over five years of age that has not eaten human flesh.[191]

She was revolted and intrigued simultaneously, with the Fijians who seemed both inscrutable but also mysteriously unknown. The juxtapositioning of the words within these quotes show how genuinely puzzling the contact with Fijians was to Wallis.

[187]Ibid., 31.
[188]Ibid.
[189]Ibid., 38.
[190]Ibid.
[191]Ibid., 81.

Verani is portrayed throughout the journals to be a chief who is wicked and epitomises the old way of life, beliefs and cannibalism. But Wallis wrote "I feel a deep interest in this very wicked man",[192] just after she described gifts that Verani had sent her – bunches of bananas and breadfruit. Her interest is piqued, and the juxtapositioning of gift giver and wickedness tells us that the interest is complicated. The Fijians were a people who she could not clearly and morally categorise. They were outside of her cultural understanding.

Occasionally Wallis writes in the late 18th century style of a "portrait of manner and customs" noted by Mary Louise Pratt which includes depopulation of the landscape, or describing the people as part of the landscape and thus not really human. In Wallis' journal in 1845 she wrote:

> Feb 12, 1845. The weather is very hot. Natives, musquitoes and flies are swarming my house. I take a stick and drive the children away, lock the door to keep out the grown people, shut my mouth to keep the flies from going down my throat, bear the stings of the musquitos as well as possible, and try to look amiable, but do not feel so.[193]

In this passage we see Wallis unable to distinguish between pests both of the insect and human variety. This could be a comic, or racist expression perhaps intended for her reading audience. In the context of her writing, this appears uncharacteristically grumpy but perhaps is reflective of the kind of day she was having which resulted in her brutal honesty. Wallis literally shuts out both indigenous people and insects from her life. The humans are not human, but pests, to be avoided. However, this is uncharacteristic and the very next day Wallis received a pleasant visit from the highest ranked woman of the area, the wife of Tanoa.

Wallis was factual, though somewhat sceptical when she described the old beliefs of the indigenous people. An example occurred on 22nd May 1845 when Wallis and her husband had landed in Vesoga ("Vesonga"). Wallis was travelling with her husband after some months in Viwa. She juxtaposed an account she had heard, with her observation that the old beliefs were nonsense (to her). A priest visited and was asked by her husband why the fishing for the *beche-de-mer* had not happened as

[192]Ibid., 48.
[193]Ibid., 61.

planned. The priest replied that the people went fishing but there was a storm making it impossible to collect the fish. He continued, "now he [Wallis] has come, and the god had promised fine weather".[194] The very next entry of the journal, begins "The wind last night blew almost a hurricane."[195] The juxtaposition of the promise of the gods against the reality of the weather speaks negatively of the old religion while highlighting the need for Christianity, and is, characteristically for Wallis, laced with irony.

Another instance of this type of juxtaposition is seen in the entry for 1st April 1845 when Wallis was visited by a "heathen" who goes on to charm her with words. The old chief mentioned is probably Cakobau's father, Tanoa, the figurehead chief of the Bau people.

> April 1. Received a visit from Narnosi and the old chief who killed one of his women the other day, and sent her to Bau to be eaten. He is a great cannibal himself. He told Mr. Hunt the other day that he had killed and eaten a great many people, and that he expected to be killed himself, when his body would be eaten by Feejeeans, and his soul would go to the "*bukuwaqa,* [Fire]" and burn forever. "Ah, *Marama*, [Madam]" he exclaimed, as they came into the house, "you are a god! — Truly, you are a god!"[196]

The next entry begins with the words "Sabbath. Several of the heathen have renounced their gods today and several couples have been married."[197] Wallis' journal slips easily from condemnation, to praise, and humour to ethnography.

There are few references to the European population outside of the mission in the early chapters of Wallis' book. The first was an account of white men who bought rum from a departing captain (Captain Stratton) and persuaded Verani, one of the chiefs of Viwa, that it was wine. "Verani thought it no harm to drink wine, and soon they all became drunk together."[198] This example of the negative influence of white society precedes a description of the conversion of the same chief. The next morning

[194]Ibid., 98.
[195]Ibid.
[196]Ibid., 78.
[197]Ibid.
[198]Ibid., 65.

he arrived at the mission to announce his *lotu* [conversion to Christianity] as it was Good Friday.[199] Wallis made a clear distinction between missionaries and other white settlers and travellers to Fiji. She witnessed a deserter thanking the Viwa missionaries for helping him through a sickness and notes that as he spoke, "a flock of little hot crocodiles jumped from his eyes, and tumbled over his thin, pale face, to the floor."[200] The missionary, Mr Hunt, was not moved, and Wallis reported that a few days later the deserter disappeared with a flock of ducks belonging to the mission. Wallis reported that he sold the ducks and gained a job with the same captain. Her sarcastic tone in the phrase "flock of little hot crocodiles" emphasizes the contempt in which she held the small non-mission white population. Wallis was supportive of the missionaries, in their work civilising and Christianising the indigenous population, in contrast to the traders and others who were an influence in the less salubrious aspects of Western civilization such as alcohol consumption. Early in her writing she came to understand that the Fijian people were using the word "missionary" to mean anyone who was white, "who is not a heathen".[201] Wallis is quick to correct her reader on this point that there were others in the European population who were not missionaries, and who in her view undermined the mission effort. When commenting on other travelogues she had read, she indicated that some authors had taken the anti- mission point of view, arguing that the indigenous population had been "degraded by their intercourse with Christians"[202] She adds, "There is such an artful mingling in these narratives, of the two classes, - the missionary and the white residents, - that the general and unreflecting reader sees no difference; and feels almost insulted when he is asked to contribute something for the support of a mission."[203] This quote indicates that she feels the indigenous population were "degraded by their intercourse" with some of the non-mission European population.

A tale runs through the pages of Wallis' work, illustrating her feelings and attitudes towards the small white settler community, as well as how they have slotted into and had influence over indigenous interactions and business. It is the story of "Harry". When Harry was first mentioned, he was the pilot of the *Zotoff* barque captained by

[199]Ibid.
[200]Ibid., 115.
[201]Ibid., 98.
[202]Ibid., 107.
[203]Ibid.

her husband. Harry had previously travelled with Wallis' husband. Mr Wallis had sent Harry, another European and four Fijians to barter for some tortoise shell. They went to Cikobia ("Jekombea"), an island north west of Vanua Levu, and while sleeping were all killed by local men apart from Harry who was wrapped in a mat. The chief, when Harry was discovered, said he might live but he surmised he might like to eat him. Ritova ("Retova"), the chief with whom the Wallis' were dealing in the *beche-de-mer* trade during this trip, was the *Turaga-levu* (big chief) of Cikobia and much of the northern area of Vanua Levu, and so received a share of the trading plunder from the boat, including some tortoise shell. Ritova tried to sell the shell to Captain Wallis – who refused as it was his stolen property. Subsequently, Harry escaped, and had come to work for Captain Wallis.[204] Harry's adventures are used by Wallis to demonstrate the negative impact caused by an itinerant, rough European population. His final demise is reported by Wallis in a confirmation of the savagery, to her eyes, of Fijians but also the negative influence of Western men. The Wallis' were made aware that Ritova planned to kill Harry.[205] In a graphic description of the politics and mechanics of cannibalism, Wallis described Harry's death. After an altercation with some native people,[206] Harry and three companions left in a boat where Harry was on first watch but went to sleep. The local men dragged the boat to the shore, woke everyone up and fought them. All but Harry died. Harry was wounded in the leg. He was forced to watch a feast of his friends, and then his leg was cut off and eaten in front of him. Finally he was killed and eaten as well. Rumour had it that the chief Ritova ordered the murders.

Ritova is often described with some ambiguity by Wallis. His noble savagery has been tainted by his old cannibalistic ways. Ritova had visited the Wallis' and eaten with them. But, the Wallis' learned that Ritova arrived in time to eat Harry's heart, and that the heart had been set aside, indicating that he was expected and was going to eat the heart of his enemy.[207] The inclusion of the story of Harry into Wallis' narrative indicates that she was adding to the canon of the Other. Her description of Fijian politics highlights the violent nature of Fijian restitution and cannibalism, and therefore makes violence representative of all Fijian people.

[204]Ibid., 93.
[205]Ibid., 128.
[206]Ibid., 126.
[207] Ibid., 139.

The "Harry" story also indicates that Wallis was as much a protagonist in the narrative as her husband. As an author she talked with the indigenous population and her opinions had firsthand authority. This confidence was developed in her early relationships with Fijian chiefly wives particularly those who had been converted and so were available for civilised interaction. While in Viwa without her husband, Wallis was visited by various Fijian chiefly wives. Samonunu (Cakobau's wife)[208],Vatai (Namosimalua's wife)[209], "*Marama-levu*"(Tanoa's wife)[210], and "a Bau lady" with a gift of a mat because her dead husband loved Mr Wallis.[211] When Captain Wallis returned four months later, she had established friendships with some of the women, including Samonunu and her little daughter (by Cakobau) called Kagua. She is reciprocally renamed "Mary Wallis, and me, Kagua, which I am told is a great compliment."[212] This may have been the first naming of a child in honour of Mary Wallis. There are still many women given the name Merewalesi which is a direct translation of "Mary Wallis" to "Mere Walesi" to "Merewalesi" indicating that her impact on Fijian women has been longstanding. When Wallis left Viwa to travel on the next trip with her husband, she was farewelled by a large contingent of indigenous women. She wrote "They would, probably, have manifested the same affection and interest in any white female who had resided among them the same length of time."[213]

Mills suggests that European women in the imperial age were very limited in what they were able to do, but being involved in philanthropy was an acceptable form of diverting from their normally domestic sphere of influence, by taking care of indigenous people.[214] Some European women in Fiji later became very involved with education and medical issues of Fijian communities and some became outspoken about the misogynist beliefs of the Fijian culture.[215] Wallis and Sarah Jaggar, the wife of a missionary, helped to save the chief Nalela's wife from dying with her husband as was tradition. He had been killed by Navidi ("Navinde"), another chief, after a long feud that Wallis noted with some detail in her second and third chapters.

[208]Ibid., 26.
[209]Ibid., 29.
[210]Ibid., 61.
[211]Ibid., 62.
[212]Ibid., 82.
[213]Ibid., 81.
[214]Mills, 34.
[215]Knapman, *White Women in Fiji 1835 - 1930: The Ruin of Empire?*, 64.

Although Nalela's wife had asked to be strangled so she might look after her husband in the afterlife Namosimalua, another chief, had refused to allow this to happen. Wallis states "Namosi is Christian enough to refuse her request".[216] The widow went on a hunger strike of nine days, only broken when Wallis and Mrs Jagger persuaded her of God's love for her, and her inability to help her husband in the afterlife.[217] Nalela's widow who is also referred to as the Lasakau widow, also took the name Mary Wallis when she was baptised in 1845.[218] Another example of Wallis intervening in local women's affairs, was within the story of Harry. Harry was sent to talk to the *Marama* (chief's wife) of Vesoga where the Wallis' were moored for some months. The *Marama* had threatened to kill a young woman who was not from the village, but was brought there by a man. She was in the *Marama's* care, but when threatened with a punishment, she tried to run away. She was caught and the *Marama* tried to undress her, a form of sentence meaning she will be killed. Wallis wanted to buy the woman, to save her and Harry was sent to shore with a musket to trade for the girl. When Harry returned from shore he said he had calmed the situation. However, Wallis finds out that he had told the *Marama* on shore that the *Marama-lavu* (main wife) on the *waqa lavu* (big boat) was very ashamed to hear that the *Marama* had planned to club a woman. Harry then told the girl that Captain Wallis wanted to buy her for one of his people, and showed her the musket. The woman refused, as Fijian women were not allowed on the boats of white men. She seemed very frightened, and Harry told her not to go near the boat. Wallis, in her writing, wondered at Harry's motive, thinking he may have wanted to return the woman to her home. Harry himself had a Fijian companion, only allowed onboard because he promised that they were married. They lived on shore while in Vesoga.[219] Wallis, in these two examples, was being a woman with imperial influences around her but renegotiating her femininity in an unusual situation. Away from usual domestic responsibilities, she was carving out a new identity within her circumstances.

Trade was the main means of contact between the Fijian and European population, and while Wallis was a mission supporter, the reality of her experience is that it was

[216]Wallis, 67.
[217]Ibid., 73.
[218]Ibid., 124.
[219]Ibid., 100-01.

through the trade. The *beche-de-mer* trade relied on indigenous labour, and so many of Wallis' interactions with Fijians were with those who worked for her husband. Her opinions and views are affected by the nature of a trade interaction. The men were not paid with cash, but with goods held in stock on the barque. "The articles of trade were similar to those used for the purchase of sandalwood, but reflected the changed conditions among the native people; muskets and ammunition were most desired, but whales' teeth, iron tools, beads and ornaments had their place." [220]Wallis described pay day:

> I always dread to see a canoe filled with natives coming to be paid from the bark [sic]. One will want cloth, and when it is measured off, he will alter his mind and take beads; the cloth is returned and beads are given, an after a while these are not wanted but something else, and so on. If anyone wishes to increase in patience, let them come to Feejee for 'beech de mer'.[221]

She described a trade interaction (in Chapter VI) in which her husband seemed to apply the Fijian way of retaliation to his own business affairs. A *beche-de-mer* house at Vesoga ("Vesonga") was burned down "done by the orders of a jealous chief at Tavea".[222] In a punitive response Captain Wallis ordered two other houses to be burned. Natemba, a chief of the area, pleaded with Captain Wallis to reconsider, and one *beche-de-mer* trading station was saved.

Wallis' descriptions of ceremonies, traditions and stories were often preceded by identifying her source. For instance, when she was first in Viwa an adolescent boy called David Whippy was her companion and translator.[223] The boy was likely a relation to Mr David Whippy who had been in Fiji since 1825, and had become involved in Fijian life and politics, and was helpful to the Wallis'.[224] He was referred to a number of times by Wallis and specifically as the only white man who had a Fijian title.[225]

[220]Resture.
[221]Wallis, 135.
[222]Ibid., 108.
[223]Ibid., 49.
[224]Routledge, xix.
[225]Wallis, 229.

The boy, David, showed Wallis a cliff where "so many of the Namena people were dashed during the massacre".[226] She described other landmarks she was shown, and outlined the stories of what had occurred. Wallis seems aware in her writing that she was only being shown what her guide wanted to show. She added phrases such as "it was said" and often included a backstory of a place which she herself had only been told second hand. In this way, the book claims authority and authenticity of information, but this authority is only possible because of the agency of a second or third hand account. "Indeed, there seemed scarcely a place which had not its tale."[227] Both Wallis' close relationship with the missionaries, and her husband's familiarity with Fiji also gave her account a certain authority, but few of the historical details outlined in her journal were witnessed by Wallis herself. She acts as an interlocutor of the history of Fiji without claiming that she has experienced it firsthand.

Her accounts often directly quoted the speech of someone she had heard, and so Wallis either had a good translator, or had quickly picked up a fluency in the Bauan language spoken in that area of Fiji. Her husband probably already spoke a Fijian dialect as she mentioned in the first chapter, "Mr. W is an old and particular friend of His Highness".[228] One section of her diary outlines a short sermon that Vatai, the chief who had been converted, delivered to a group of visitors including the recently bereaved Queen of Rewa. His speech was eloquent and theologically apt making the reader wonder about the agency of the exact words. Vatai is quoted directly:

> "You have," said the man (addressing the *Marama*) "had the gospel preached to you, but your hearts were proud. You believed it to be true, yet you rejected it. God is very angry with you about it, and He has allowed your town to be destroyed. There is now no King of Rewa. There is now no Rewa."[229]

Wallis may have assumed that this is what was said, or may have been told what was said, but she presents it as though the chief addressed the Queen of Rewa in English and all witnesses were able to understand the interaction. Wallis gained her information from various sources and mealtimes. First at the dinner table of the Hunts on Viwa, and then, as she travelled to *beche-de-mer* trading stations on various

[226]Ibid., 49.
[227]Ibid.
[228]Ibid., 27.
[229]Ibid., 161.

Islands, she heard the stories told on board: “I listened, last evening, to the following tale, showing...”[230] and “Nearly every island and reef we pass has its incident.”[231]

Wallis was in the supporting role she was travelling with her husband and so continues to have domestic responsibility, though in a renegotiated situation.[232] The following interaction reveals the difficulties of a travelling woman, but Wallis records her interactions with a healthy sense of humour. The self-parody of the experiential writer[233] discussed by Mary Louise Pratt is evident in Wallis’ writing as this example illustrates:

> While we were bartering with the natives, I asked if there were any *kalavus* on the land (meaning *balawas*, or pine-apples). “Yes,” they replied, “there are a great many there.” “Ah, it is very good. I wish you would bring me some,” I said. “Bring you *kalavus, marama*! What for?” “To eat," I replied. “To eat! How many?” “Oh, a hundred,” I said. “A hundred! well, we did not know that white people ate *kalavus*.” “Yes we do, and we love them very much. I love them, Mr. W. loves them, and the sailors, and all love them.” “*Na kalavu marama, vaka ogo*?” “A rat, *marama*?” and he set his fingers crawling along on the table. “Oh, no, no, no!” I exclaimed, for I found that I had been engaging them to bring me a hundred rats.[234]

Wallis has an amused voice in many of her journal entries. Her tone is teasing and self depreciating. “I am somewhat lonely, however, as I cannot go to the mission house [because of a storm], and am obligated to take my meals alone, or rather with company I do not fancy. The flies and Musquitoes are very social, and in the evening the mice are not at all bashful.”[235]

On her first encounter with Fijian chiefs, she was present while her husband met Cakobau. She seems to have been overlooked by Cakobau which offended Wallis. Afterwards Cakobau turned his attention to her, and she noted “When the conversation was ended, His Majesty condescended to notice my humble self. He took a seat on the sofa, gazed at me, then took my hand and held it up, that his people

[230]Ibid., 93.
[231]Ibid., 94.
[232]Blunt, 94.
[233] Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 133.
[234]Wallis, 157.
[235]Ibid., 47.

might see how white it was (by contrast, I presume)."[236] Her experience in travelling with her husband gave her access to chiefs and cultural experiences that she would not have otherwise gained, but she is there as supporting role and not as an independent woman traveller. As Mills pointed out, independent women travellers were exceedingly rare in the imperialist era and women were not able to able to write with the same candour as their male counterparts. Women's writing was generally not as strong, more tentative and less black and white. This tentative nature was because of the fringe nature of women to colonial matters, and the social place they occupied, based in the private and not the public sphere. Thus, typically women's travel writing was seen by readers and critics as weaker than men's.[237]

Wallis noted that Western women and Fijian women, not unexpectedly, were treated differently with access to different experiences and different expectations of behaviour. She says:

> I was desirous of entering their sacred edifice, and seeing Elijah [the name taken by Verani once he converted] look as though he liked not to take the responsibility of such an act, I said to an old man, "Is it *tambu* [not permitted] for a white woman to go in here?" "No," he replied. "You may go in. It is *tambu-lavu* [literally taboo-big] for a Feejeean woman to go. If she should enter our god's house we should kill her." Thank heaven! I exclaimed, as I ascended the steps, that I was not born in Feejee. I think one may be allowed to indulge a little of the Pharasaical [sic] spirit here, where there is so marked a distinction between God's creatures. Elijah and the old man followed me, leaving the women astonished at so unheard of a thing, as for a woman to enter the house of a god. [238]

In first contact encounters, this flexibility is typical. Europeans were allowed to break typical indigenous rules, with the hosts forgiving the breach of protocol, perhaps laughing them off as silly, stupid or ignorant, or perhaps cunningly allowing it as a means of attracting later favours and material advantage. Wallis' cultural lens motivated her to question traditional customs. The Fijian culture she described had a definite hierarchy between chief and commoner and between men and women. As

[236]Ibid., 25.
[237] Mills, 3.
[238]Wallis, 359.

she is outside of the restraints of the culture she is viewing, she can neatly sidestep the requirements such hierarchies insisted upon. From the first chapter Wallis was not afraid of describing the political, stepping outside of the bounds of acceptable topics for a woman as outlined by Mills. Her writing pushed the bounds of feminine discourse.[239] She did this by directly addressing and confronting the chiefs about their beliefs and practices. An interaction with Rataga ("Ratanga"), a chief, is outlined in her journals where she made a moral judgement and assumes that, at least deep down, the Fijian chief will also come to the same moral conclusion. The discussion is about cannibalism, and Wallis tells Rataga that Fijian people are worse than pigs, as pigs "do not eat great pigs that live with them; only their little ones, and seldom these. They know no better."[240] Wallis assumes that because she has noticed Fijian chiefs becoming ashamed by their cannibalistic habits, they are becoming more moral people. She states "there must be a little monitor within which tells them that it is wrong to eat each other."[241]

Towards the end of her journals, Wallis was asked by a chief to take a child with her to America. This could be seen as acceptable philanthropy, a European woman looking after an indigenous child, and also as another example of her experience as a woman being different to men travelling.

> To-day a chief came into the cabin, bringing with him a girl about ten years old. He said that he wished her to go to America, where she might learn to cook, read, and make dresses, and when we returned, we could bring her back. I told him I did not expect to return to Feejee again. "No matter," he replied. I have put a dress on to the child and concluded to take her unless she takes it into her head to jump overboard to-night and return to her home. Her dialect is so different from any language we have before heard, that we can neither understand nor be understood.[242]

The following day Wallis mused that perhaps "she is some captive girl. She appears rather sad."[243] However, the girl was taken by Wallis. In the next entry, Wallis

[239]Mills, 55.
[240]Wallis, 155.
[241]Ibid.
[242]Ibid., 288.
[243]Ibid.

mentioned a lapdog[244], the juxtaposition suggesting that both are pets or playthings. The girl was named Phebe and was taught to sew on the long journey home.[245] She reappeared in Wallis' third journal (not published until 1994 and not covered by the scope of this thesis). When Phebe is mentioned she had been trained as a type of maid and Wallis talks to her in quite a disparaging way:

> And there is our Phebe, too. She dares to think for me.
> "Phebe, I wish you to sift some flour, that some bread may be made by and bye."
> "Yes, mam."
> An hour afterwards, "Phebe, did you sift the flour?"
> "No mam, me sift meal."
> "Did I not say flour?"
> "Yes, mam, but me think you *mean* meal."[246]

It is unclear eventually happened to Phebe, though it seems she did not return to America with the Wallis' in 1853.[247]

Wallis was one of the first to publish a book about Fiji, and the first woman. She arrived at a unique time in the history of the Islands, and, for many Fijians, she was the first Western woman they had encountered. She had a small house built for her when she stayed at Viwa, and mentioned what a novelty she was.

> My house and myself attract a great deal of notice; the last, quite a new thing to me. If you wish to be noticed, you must come to Feejee, where many pretty things will be said of you...It is truly surprising that one could reside in a civilised land for the space of forty years, among intelligent people, too, and yet such beauty and so many excellencies never be discovered.[248]

As Said noted "Orientalism [is] a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[249] Wallis added to the early literature about this newly encountered, for Europeans, area of the world. She recognised that Fiji was a

[244]Ibid., 290.
[245]Ibid., 309.
[246]Routledge, 79.
[247]Ibid., 162.
[248]Wallis, 47.
[249]Said, 3.

place distant, both ideologically and geographically from the Centre, that is, from the West. She noted behaviour she was familiar with, as would her American readers. For example, she describes a minister leaving a church building and the congregation beginning to chat and gossip. She places this very common European behaviour within the Fijian context. "The Lasakau ladies now proceeded to exchange their "*lekus*" [dress or skirt made of grass] with the Bau ladies, and began to chat and frolic as though the minister had departed".[250] Wallis encountered the unknown and made sense of it by relating it back to the known.

But the gaze, or knowledge building was happening in both directions. While travelling in Vanua Levu, she was the first white woman many had seen. "This morning, a canoe filled with natives came off to see the Lioness; a white one never having been seen by the natives of this part of Feejee. The wonder was gazed at, and every motion watched with the most intense interest."[251] The use of the phrases "gazed at" and "watched with the most intense interest" shows that the people were encountering and measuring each other. This is an example of a contact zone[252], as coined by Pratt. Contact emphasises two parties interacting, rather than just Wallis looking at the Fijian people. Dening also notes the concept of the liminal zone or the "beach" that needed to be crossed by both parties to negotiate contact.[253] Along with contact, came the negotiation and interpretation of culture. A meeting of Wallis and Samanunu ("Samonunu", Cakobau's wife) occurred within a few days of Wallis' arrival in Fiji. Several women, and then the old chief Tanoa all called on Wallis within a few days of her arrival and it seems that Fijian women were looking at Wallis with as much interest as Wallis was watching them. Vatai, the wife of Namosimalua, a chief of Viwa, also visited regularly.[254] Wallis says "She [Samanunu] expressed a strong desire that I should go to Bau and live; after begging all that they could obtain, and stealing my best scissors, they departed."[255] Her comment about scissors stealing is an example of the idea of Brenda Clay's phrase "improvised sociality."[256] As the two cultures interact, an improvised sociality is formed. Wallis did not know that in Fijian culture it is acceptable to ask for, and then

[250]Wallis, 242.
[251]Ibid., 96.
[252]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 4, 7.
[253] Dening, *Islands and Beaches. Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas,1774-1880*.
[254]Wallis, 29.
[255]Ibid., 26.
[256]Clay, 10.

expect to be given items from another person, called *kerekere*. Thus, she sees her scissors as being stolen. In another example, Cakobau is trying to understand why a European woman would wear gloves. "Samonunu (again) expressed her regret that I did not reside at Bau instead of Vewa, and Thakombau asked if I wore gloves because I was afraid of getting cold in my hands."[257]

Wallis' book added to the fledgling cannon being created of the "Other" of Fiji. As there was little else written about the Islands, her voice became authoritative in its representation. Her diary was initially written as a personal record which was subsequently published, making the voice informal and very much in the private realm. The publishing of this work moved it to the public, but the casual style remained. Through the dual system of Christianising and civilizing, a small group of chiefs and their wives on the islands of Viwa and Bau, where Wallis was based initially, had created an extended community acceptable to the missionaries. It is through both the missionaries, and the chiefs who had had interaction with the mission that Wallis gained her background information and the context for the events she experienced.

There is very little of the civilised savage to be found in Wallis' writing. With both intrigue and fear she described several stories of the atrocities committed by the Fijian people. She employed a technique of juxtaposition in several instances in the book so that civilised is countered by uncivilised. This juxtaposition reiterates the confusion in the initial contact between Wallis and the Fijian people she encountered. Civilising and colonizing, education and Christianity, trading and visiting (travel) cannot be divided. The missionaries were there with a purpose – to save the savage and uncivilised people of Fiji. The traders were there for profit. The travellers were there for adventure, the unusual and the Other. The discourse of imperialism is strong in all cases.

Wallis has a style that is ironic and humourous, with self-parody. Her journal demonstrates much of Pratt's theories. Wallis wrote with descriptive detail, sometimes bordering on the portrait of manner and customs style, but generally as an experiential writer. She described the contact zone and not the frontier of imperial interactions in Fiji. Her book is full of interactions with Fijians and Europeans,

[257]Wallis, 238.

though sometimes the Fijians became representative of the race as a whole. Her feminine discourse is also interesting, with various examples of her philanthropy towards women particularly. Early in her stay she helped a missionary intervene in the traditional practice of a chief's death which would have meant his wife would die as well. Later in the narrative, she sought to save a woman at Vesonga, who had also been threatened with death. Late in the narrative she took a young girl, Phebe, to train her in Western ways. In each case, while Wallis was outside her normal domestic sphere, she involved herself in renegotiating what it meant to be a woman of the era, outside the regular confines of her American home. Her self-parody in confusing pineapples and rats, while seeking to find provisions for those on the barque (also redefining her role as domestic and household manager) is one of the highlight's of the book. Her ability to laugh at herself gives us insight into the absurdity of European and Fijian relations. Her journal shows how she balanced the imperial with the feminine, especially as a lone female amongst the "savages".

Chapter 4
Sarah Maria Smythe
Ten Months in Fiji

Sarah Maria Smythe wrote about her experiences in Fiji in 1860 and 1861, approximately ten years after Mary Wallis left the Islands. The intervening years had seen the political situation in Fiji become more complicated with various chiefs trying to gain power of areas larger than they had traditionally held. For example, Cakobau had continued to hold power in Eastern Viti Levu by waging intermittent warfare with other areas. The area of Rewa had come under his control and Europeans were referring to him as the King of Fiji "*Tui Viti*". A growing rivalry with a Tongan chief, Ma'afu, as well as a debt being claimed by the American government and a growing white population led Cakobau to form an alliance with a newly appointed British Consul leading to a cession offer.[258] Smythe was British and travelled with her husband when he was appointed by the British government to gauge the suitability of the offer. In this book, we have a unique situation with the husband, a British officer, Colonel Smythe occasionally adding text to his wife's narrative. As a woman, Smythe's perspective is different to her husband. They were travelling together but recording the journey in different ways even though they experienced and witnessed the same events and behaviour. While Smythe wrote the text during her travels, her work was not published until later. The book is a series of letters, not a personal diary so the question of who she was writing for is examined below. Smythe's writing is presented here in conjunction with travel writing theories, creating a discussion that is both textual and theoretical, straddling historiography, history and literature.

Smythe's husband, Colonel William J Smythe, was sent from England in late 1859 to look at an offer of cession of the Fiji Islands to Britain and to consider whether the acceptance of the offer of cession was advisable as well as to "report on the prospects of cotton growing, the system of land tenure...the possibility of suppressing savage and inhumane practices and the probable cost of government in the event of annexation."[259] His preface and introduction to his wife's book, his several chapters and the inclusion of appendices from his work create the feeling that the letters were

[258] Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 108.
[259] Derrick, 144.

simply a part of the official record produced. As he says, "Mrs Smythe's Letters, written originally to friends at home, contain a personal narrative of our cruise around the islands, and of our subsequent sojourn of them."[260] His wife's letters form the bulk of the book, but he provides the context for the journey and her experiences.

The introduction, by Colonel Smythe, is a factual account of the dates, places and events encountered on their journey. It is a fairly dry introductory record of the journey with several short essays on subjects such as the production of cotton, the successful Aboriginal "reclaiming" being undertaken in Western Australia, and the war raging in New Zealand. Later in the book he again interjects with an account of a journey to the interior of Fiji to Namosi ("Namusi") and later with a short account of a day trip.

Sarah Maria Smythe's narrative comprised twenty letters. The first was written in Auckland on June 12, 1860 and the final one August 15, 1861. The first and last letters outlined the ports of departure and arrival which bookend the journey. The second and penultimate letters describe the first and last glimpses of Fiji respectively. The book was published in 1864, three years after the Smythes had returned from their ten month adventure. As a woman, her writing could have been assumed to be "expressions of personal endeavour and individualism rather than as part of a larger enterprise".[261] That is, not part of the mechanics of Orientalism, or imperialism. This seems to be confirmed by the amount of narrative taken up with her husband's interjections and notes. However, the book also has given Sarah Maria Smythe an authority to be in the public realm with her writing escaping the traditional private world of a woman. This allows the book to be considered a statement of imperialism, though from a renegotiated feminine point of view.

Smythe's literary technique is epistolary and each letter was not intended to be a stand-alone piece of work. This gives the book a different style to a journal. Each letter is self-contained and gives a full explanation of the topic. Journals, generally, as a genre, were intended to jog a memory and not fully describe to another person the situation. Although Smythe's book is a series of letters, her original audience remains quite unknown. Smythe refers to "you" but we have very little detail of to

[260]Smythe, preface xv.
[261]Mills, 34.

whom she was actually writing. There are no salutations included in the letters, and they are simply signed "S.M.S" at the end of each letter. The name of the person Smythe is writing to is only mentioned once. In that letter Smythe describes the natural beauty she observes in Fiji. She claims that her reader has enjoyed these parts of the letters and Smythe notes she had collected some unusual crabs for this person.[262] Although written to friends and family, the publishing of the book created a new wider audience. There is no mention of Smythe having prepared herself for the journey by reading. There is a possibility that she was aware of Wallis' book as it had been published 1851. If so, she does not comment on it, nor does she mention other writers. Smythe probably had an idea of what she would see when she arrived in Fiji, as there had been written accounts of the Fijian people such as the third volume of Charles Wilkes report of his expedition,[263] Wallis' book published in 1851,[264] and a two volume book by missionaries Thomas Williams and John Calvert published in 1859 called *Fiji and the Fijians.*[265]

In the introduction Colonel Smythe outlined the travel itinerary for their months travelling to and from Fiji. His political mission was obvious as he delved into the Waitangi Treaty and the subsequent war in New Zealand and in Australia the efforts of the magistrate Mr Campfield in "the only successful effort yet made to reclaim the aborigines of Australia."[266] Smythe also mentions the anthropological interest her husband had in indigenous populations. She says of one meeting with Maori in New Zealand, "W. was anxious to take advantage of so fine an opportunity of observing the native character and gladly accepted the invitation...to join his party."[267] Colonel Smythe had hired a small vessel to travel to Fiji and around the islands, and briefly stated the purpose of his trip. The ship was called "Pegasus" and after they arrived in July 1860, "Thence I made a cruise through the Group, visiting all the principle chiefs and holding public meetings in their territories."[268] In June 1860 they left supplies for a house to be built for them in Levuka which they moved into when they returned in October.[269] Levuka was the busiest port of the time. (See appendix for

[262] Smythe, 142.
[263] Wilkes.
[264] Wallis.
[265] Thomas Williams and John Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians* (D. Appleton, 1859).
[266]Smythe, viii.
[267]Ibid., 7.
[268] Ibid., xiv.
[269] Ibid.

their itinerary.) An appendix to Smythe's book contained her husband's notes and details about each of the meetings he attended.

By the 1850s and 1860s, Fiji had had regular contact with European traders, missionaries and planters and some had been residents for a number of years. The involvement and influence of foreigners had risen as mission and trade consolidated their places in the Fiji Islands and there was increasing European intervention in the political landscape. A prime example of the influence of foreigners was an American, John Williams, who had been in Fiji since 1846 and had established a trade store on the island of Nukulau, just outside of Suva Harbour. In 1849 he demanded compensation for trade goods allegedly stolen after a fire on 4th July at his property.[270] Twice more he submitted compensation claims for damages. Other Americans also lodged claims and the debt grew to $US43,000 (from an initial $US5,000) by the time Williams died in 1860.[271] The first British consul, William Thomas Pritchard, suggested that British sovereignty over Fiji would enable Cakobau, the chief of Bau who had been held to account for the debt, to pay the outstanding debt to the Americans. Pritchard had arrived in Fiji in 1858 but left after only one month to take a petition for cession to Britain. It was this petition that brought Smythe and her husband to the Fiji Islands. Another example of the intervention of Europeans was the claim of Cakobau to be "Tui Viti" or King of Fiji. While Cakobau was an influential chief who had much support he could not speak for the whole of Fiji. The petition which Pritchard took to England was from Cakobau alone yet it asked that Britain annex all Fiji. Pritchard falsely claimed Cakobau had "full and exclusive Sovereignty and Domain" despite this not being the case.[272]

Smythe was critical of Europeans in Fiji, seen in her description of "Harry the Jew", a beachcomber dressed in half naval uniform[273] and typical of white stragglers. She attributes an event in 1853 as being a turning point in the status of white men in Fiji. Before that, she proclaims, white men were just tolerated by Fijians, but in 1853 there was an attack on a ship by people from a small island off the Rakiraki coast. The small European population of traders and planters retaliated in a well armed

[270]Scarr, 27.
[271]Ibid.
[272]Ibid., 28.
[273] Smythe, 61.

punitive expedition and, Smythe asserts, "the determination shewn on this occasion placed them on a new footing, and gave them an influence which other events have since increased."[274]

With an imperialist attitude reflective of the times, the positive influence of Christianity is suggested by Smythe declaring that those who had been converted were more civilised than those who had not converted. She described two chiefs who were on either side of conversion. The chief of Bua ("Mbua") on Vanua Levu island was referred to as "Tui Mbua or George". Mr Waterhouse, the missionary, thought highly of Tui Bua; "he is quiet, intelligent, and of a peaceful disposition. He was partly dressed in European costume, and though hatless and shoeless, looked very dignified"[275]. However, further north on the Vanua Levu coast, the area of Macuata ("Mathuata") was found to be in a state of terror as Ritova ("Retova") was threatening war against Tui Macuata. Ritova was regarded as "a specimen of a Fijian chief of the very worst stamp, - a cruel, treacherous cannibal"[276] and was similarly described by Wallis.[277] The effect of converting to Christianity, and also to European style of dress gave "George" the stamp of being civilised. Ritova, in trying to gain a superior position for himself, had killed the last Tui Macuata and was plotting a war with that chief's son. Ritova was referred to several times including letter xv in which Smythe reports that the British Consul, Pritchard, was helping Ritova. Her husband, in a footnote, tells the end of the story – that the Tui Macuata was killed by Ritova's son and the British Consul Mr Pritchard was charged with improperly taking part in the affair. Colonel Smythe noted it was inappropriate for the Consul to be involved in indigenous affairs, calling it "wanton interference".[278] After the cession offer was declined, Mr Pritchard was "dismissed for having exceeded his authority".[279] Sara Mills discussed how women travel writers of the nineteenth century felt they must authenticate their writing. "Women writers knew that their accounts would be considered odd and eccentric, and would be accused of falsehood and so they adopted several strategies."[280] One of those strategies employed by

[274]Ibid., 103.
[275]Ibid., 106.
[276]Ibid., 107.
[277] Wallis, 128.
[278]Smythe, 159.
[279]Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 109.
[280] Mills, 121.

Smythe was to have her husband interject with additional facts or confirmation of events and so the Ritova affair became fact and not simply a plot line in her story.

A paragraph in her first letter indicates that Smythe was quite aware of the impact the colonising English were having on indigenous populations. She talks about the declining numbers of the New Zealand Maori seen during their stop in New Zealand. She comments authoritatively about what had happened to other colonised people, saying "Never have the rights of a native race been so scrupulously respected by the invaders as those of the natives of New Zealand, nor is there another instance of a savage people having in the same time made such real advances in civilisation."[281] Her use of the word "invaders" indicates she had sympathies towards the Maori people. However, she was naive (as most of her generation would have been) about how fast colonised people were losing their land, community cohesions and indeed populations. Smythe mused that depopulation must occur because of new Western style clothes not keeping them dry, or a general malaise brought about as the people become like "a caged bird".[282] The reality was that the cause was disease brought about by contact with European traders, and later settlers and missionaries. Initial estimates of population varied both in count and accuracy in the Pacific. "Everywhere, however, missionaries testified that the populations were in decline as a result of the numerous epidemics of foreign disease".[283] This decline gives support to the possibility of the theory of "fatal impact", coined by Alan Moorehead.[284]

Similarly to Wallis, Smythe differentiated between those indigenous populations who had been converted to Christianity, and those who had not, creating her own literary noble savage. She wrote in racist language that "Many of the natives are good-looking, and in general (at least in the Christian places we have visited) they are by no means frightful or repulsive looking."[285] Smythe later states that there was a "wonderful difference between the outward appearance of the Christian natives and that of their still heathen brethren."[286] Note the difference is in outward appearance and not in behaviour, attitude or faith confirming that Smythe believed the Christianity equals civilising formula.

---

[281]Smythe, 8.
[282]Ibid.
[283]Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 184.
[284] Moorehead.
[285] Smythe, 55.
[286]Ibid., 174.

Her experience in Auckland on the way to Fiji included spending time with Bishop Selwyn, the Anglican Bishop of New Zealand who had devised a plan for taking Christianity to Melanesia and providing those islands with Melanesian Christian leaders. Boys were taken for several months at a time to New Zealand to undergo theological training, and would then return to their islands to take home the message of Christianity.[287] In her first letter, Smythe summarised the Mission in a way that indicates she clearly understood the barriers to communication in the numerous islands covered by Selwyn's mission.[288] However, her comments indicate that she was merely reporting the success of this Mission strategy. She is documenting events back to the Centre, to an audience who had a limited experience of the Pacific. She made several assumptions about Missions in the Pacific and the training of Islanders as pastors. "The lads, being brought away to New Zealand, are removed from the evil examples which surround them at home, and they go back to tell their people what they have seen and heard, and of the loving treatment which they themselves have experienced."[289] This implies that the Island communities were filled with evil, but had potential once Christianised. The "loving" experience they have had is juxtaposed against the assumed non-loving experience of their villages. This could have also been an allusion by Smythe to blackbirding, an industry which was operating in the same region as the Melanesian Mission. The Melanesian Mission was the subject of an appendix by Colonel Smythe which focuses more on the results of the mission than on the experience of these Mission trainees.[290]

Mary Louise Pratt argues that landscapes were viewed by colonisers in terms of the financial or imperial potential they may have when colonised and in doing so authors emptied the landscape of any indigenous population.[291] While this was, according to Pratt, a masculine narrative found in early writers, Smythe also uses this technique when she described the island of Lakeba, in the eastern part of Fiji. She saw the island as physically "monotonous and uninteresting".[292] However it was the site of the first mission in Fiji, and through the missionary potential, the island redeemed itself in Smythe's eyes. She concluded "Lakemba, in spite of its unattractive features,

[287] Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 137.
[288] Smythe, 5-6.
[289] Ibid., 6.
[290] Ibid., 255-282.
[291] Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 124.
[292] Smythe, 124.

was formerly one of the most important places in Fiji, and is, even still, not without a special interest of its own."[293] The first Wesleyan Methodist Mission had created a landscape that was populated, but not by Fijians but by Tongans. Smythe portrays the Tongan people as more of a "noble savage" than the Fijians. While not initially Christian people, the Tongans were put on an almost level footing as the white colonising class through both their Christian response, and their fair complexion. The Tongans had been "discovered" by Captain Cook a century before, and missionaries had been active in Tonga since the 1830s, well before the period which Smythe was writing. She described Tongans as "a remarkably fine and handsome people, much lighter in colour than the Fijians, and are now all professedly Christians...Although greatly inferior in numbers to the Fijians, they excel them in courage and discipline."[294] Her preference for the paler skinned Tongans is indicative of the wider professed preference by many Western imaginings of the Pacific. As Lansdown wrote, there was a "bipolar vision"[295] imagined by many Western people. Part of this is the fairer Tongan "noble", preferred and sentimentalised over the darker cannibalistic "ignoble" Fijian race. This is an interpretive supposition, as the professed preference may well have been behavioural as well as physical and based on mannerisms observed or social structures of the two societies. It is unclear as to how this differentiation and preference had been arrived at.

Despite Smthye's assertions of the civilised and wonderful nature of the Tongan people, she did note that when their chief Ma'afu is not watching, there were trouble makers in this population as well.[296] This is mentioned in the same way that she has talked about some of the white population causing trouble in Levuka, the "evil example of the white men".[297] In this case, it was a section of the Tongan community. She states that "out of Maafu's sight a great deal of mischief is done by them [Tongans]. The missionaries at Lakemba [Lakeba] speak very strongly of their lawlessness, and the oppression they exercise on the Fijians."[298] The Fijians find

[293]Ibid.
[294]Ibid., 125.
[295] Lansdown, 16.
[296]Smythe, 127.
[297]Ibid., 167.
[298]Ibid., 126.

themselves at the end of the pecking order, below the "converted" Tongans. Tongans are referred to as "saucy strangers".[299]

Pratt's assertion that travel writing was "creating the domestic subject of Euroimperialism" was fulfilled in Smythe's descriptions of Fiji.[300] The first glimpse of Fiji (Levuka) is described in detail by Smythe. She described the weather and the buildings with only one short comment on the composition of the population, noting "As we neared the opening through the reef, a boat came out to us with a pilot and a half-caste crew in it."[301] The land is people-less and it not until the end of the third letter that a description of the indigenous population is offered. In her description of the marriage service of two recently converted Fijian people she smirks at local custom and tradition as silly and laughable, indicating her membership of Pratt's Euroimperialists.

> The figure of the bride raised an involuntary smile. Over a neat-coloured calico dress an immense quantity of *tapa*, or native cloth, was wound round her body until her shape resembled a silkworm's cocoon. We afterwards learnt that this tapa was the dowry she was bringing to her husband, to whom, doubtless, her ample proportions appeared in no way ridiculous.[302]

The other people who participated in the church service and small children were noted, with comment on how well they were able to mimic the saying of the Lord's Prayer and sing the hymns "very prettily"[303]. As Smythe continued to meet Fijian people and experience customary behaviour for the first time, her writing continued to be focused on depicting the periphery back to the Centre. Her descriptions of Cakobau and his wife Adi Lydia (probably "Litia" in common Fijian spelling), when first welcomed at Bau, are detailed and Smythe seems genuinely interested in the respect chiefs are offered, and their traditional dress and customs. However her descriptions are peppered with disparaging comments when faced with behaviour that does not quite come up to Western standards. Her description of Adi Lydia's clothing, on her second meeting with the chief's wife concludes with the comment "[she had put] as a finishing, though not improving, touch to her toilet, an old bonnet

[299]Ibid., 129.
[300]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 7.
[301]Smythe, 16.
[302]Ibid., 23.
[303]Ibid.

at the back of her head".[304] This vignette illustrates the relationship between European and non-European perceptions at this time. The chief's wife had become a Christian and was well versed in what she needed to wear and do as a response to her conversion. She is credited as the person who convinced Cakobau to convert, after he resisted missionary intervention on Bau for twenty years. In 1853, he allowed the missionaries to base themselves in Bau rather than the neighbouring Viwa, and in 1854 he was converted.[305] To Smythe, the evolution of Christianised Fijian society is evident in Adi Lydia's awkward adoption of Western dress, as well as various indications still obvious from the "heathen" past. The Smythes are given a tour of the settlement at Bau and are shown two different sides of this complex society, then in flux:

> On one side of the path our attention was directed to a tree covered with mark, to record the number of human bodies that had been eaten in the town. Our next sight was a more agreeable one. We found ourselves in front of the great chapel which Thakombau, after he became a Christian, had built.[306]

When she was close to the end of her stay in Fiji (letter xvii was the last of the letters to be written in Fiji), Smythe expands her thoughts on the missionary effort in Fiji, and how it has affected the indigenous Fijian population. Her writing reflects how much Western society, or the Centre, expected that a conversion to Christianity also meant a conversion to a civilised state for the indigenous populations touched by Mission Societies. Smythe defended the residing mission organisations in the Fijian Islands for their focus on religious endeavours as well as deliberately educating the people on civilised life. She told her readers back in Europe that the best approach was to combine evangelism with civilising;

> The missionaries in Fiji confine their efforts almost entirely to imparting religious instruction, making little or no attempt to teach the arts of civilised life...It is natural, too, where subscribers to Mission Societies are so expectant of highly-coloured reports, and so clamorous for a yearly tale of converts, that

[304]Ibid., 31.
[305]Ibid., 28.
[306]Ibid., 29.

the missionaries should rather direct their efforts to collect recruits than to train soldiers.[307]

Smythe concludes that she and her husband believe the Wesleyan Society was mistaken in insisting that missionaries be married before going to the Fijian Islands.[308] She suggests that "doubtless the example of a Christian household is not without a wholesome influence on the minds of the natives".[309] She goes on to argue that unmarried people would be more single minded in their mission (with echoes of the apostle Paul) and in fact that a married missionary had limited support from his wife as she was busy with family. Smythe adds that part of the mission wife's job is to educate her own children properly or run the risk of them being brought up as uncivilised "natives". She states that missionaries' children, "from the time that they begin to understand the native language (which they do before they can speak English,) durst not be left with the half reclaimed domestics without imbibing much that is extremely hurtful to their tender minds."[310] The strength of the words chosen leave little doubt that Smythe did not feel it beneficial for missionaries' children to be encouraged in Fijian language and culture study. Wallis also expressed this view, in 1851, ten years before Smythe. It indicates that both authors did not see how Fijian language or skills could be comparable to a Western education. It appears that they felt the Fijian people had not yet become civilised.

Smythe's landscape is less populated by indigenous people than Wallis' and more focussed on the microcosm of white lives within Fiji. Smythe's narrative is based on the domestic nature of expatriate and missionary lifestyles. The highlight, for Smythe, of visiting the chiefly island of Bau ("Mbau") was the afternoon tea that was presented, which she described in some detail. She reflects her observations back to the Centre, with the traditional English custom of tea being more important than a traditional Fijian custom. Smythe spends some time describing Cakobau ("Thakombau") and his wife, and the meetings that took take place on the island of Bau, but then described in much more detail the afternoon tea with great delight. Her description revealed to readers the lives of missionaries (especially their wives) in this time of flux between early contact and a fully Christianised Westernised Fiji

[307]Ibid., 173.
[308]Ibid.
[309]Ibid.
[310]Ibid., 173-74.

(which was the aim of missionaries.) The initial domestic hardships of European women in Fiji had been somewhat overcome by Smythe's time, but now were replaced by the burden of training their daily household staff.

> After doing the honours of the island, Mr. and Mrs. Martin very kindly pressed us to stay for tea. And now a word about Wesleyan teas. We have all heard of Scotch breakfasts and Russian dinners, but for tea, we can unhesitatingly affirm that nothing can surpass a Wesleyan Methodist tea. Imagine in Fiji, tea, coffee, excellent home-made cakes, preserves, honey, fruit, and delicious bread and butter! We are, I may add, pretty well disposed to these social repasts, as dinner here takes place at a very early hour. The missionaries' wives tell me that if they did not adopt these primitive hours they would have a very good chance of getting no dinner at all; for their half-domesticated native servants consider the afternoon of each day as their own, in which to bathe, gossip, go to the reef, or otherwise amuse themselves.[311]

Smythe continued her descriptions of mission living later in the book, after several months had passed, with interesting comments on the work ethic of Fijians, and the difficulty of teaching Fijians to be acceptable workers. Again we see the periphery being judged by the Centre, as it was by English standards that the Fijians were being measured. Letter xv and xvi describe domestic helpers and gardeners. Smythe was living next to the Binners, a missionary family. She observed "Mrs Binner has a good deal of trouble with her domestics, who, of course, are all natives...To convert a wild Fijian girl into a neat parlour-maid is not an easy task."[312] She comments that it was not unusual for the Fijian girls to tire or get bored of their work and so run away. The Fijian work ethic, when compared to the white Protestant work ethic, came up very short. Smythe also made comment on the men who her husband had hired to help with the gardens. "They require...constant watching for they will often move (in their own favour) the pegs placed in the ground to mark off the portion of work they have got to do, and are not in the least disconcerted when their roguery is discovered, as of course it is at the first glance."[313] Her tone is one of an amused teacher who caught her young students in a minor misdemeanour, but with a sure knowledge that

[311]Ibid., 32.
[312]Ibid., 156.
[313]Ibid., 155.

the teacher's way is best. In this regard, Smythe's book can be read as disparaging Fiji and Fijians and creating a negative image among readers back in Europe.

Letter vi givens us a snapshot of "Kandavu" (Kadavu) which is described as very beautiful, though not well charted by surveying expeditions.[314] Smythe was very positive when she records interactions with a local guide on Kadavu. She outlines the cooking of a breadfruit which nearly fell on their heads while they are walking to see some hot springs.[315] There is no fear of the guides when she is left alone with one who was to "take care of me and tend the fire."[316] This peace of mind with the indigenous population probably stems from the fact that the whole Kadavu population were Christian by this point. She records "The inhabitants, 11,000 in number, and now all professing Christians, occupy eighty-eight villages."[317] Her comfort levels in Kadavu seem to reflect whether the area has been converted to Christianity emphasizing again her mantra that that to be Christian is to be civilised. She also described a small concert given by the school children in Kadavu and her description is very complimentary. "These songs or chants [the children were performing] were composed by native poets, for even Fiji has her own poets. Indeed, the whole thing was thoroughly original. What you may see at home in a well trained infant school is very tame compared to the *mekes* [dances] of these self-taught little Fijians."[318] In the next paragraph, she comments that the servants need a large amount of training to work in the Mission houses as "they have to be taught everything from the very beginning, the missionaries' wives have no easy task, and require no small amount of patience and forbearance."[319] In the same letter (vi) *Pegasus* was moored off the coast of Navua, and Smythe had Fijian visitors who were curious about her drawing. She says "We never allow the natives to come down into the cabin, nor do they themselves attempt to do so. The people in this part of Fiji are nearly all heathen."[320]

While her husband carried out public meetings in all the major populated and European plantation areas, Smythe was travelling, observing and sketching. The

[314]Ibid., 46.
[315]Ibid., 48-49.
[316]Ibid., 48.
[317]Ibid., 46.
[318]Ibid., 56.
[319]Ibid.
[320] Ibid., 61.

inclusion of these sketches in the published work could be seen as another form of authenticating her as an expert author, a practice described in Mill's *Discourses of Difference*.[321] Mills argues that women travel writers needed evidence to establish her credibility to write with any authority, especially for Victorian women who were doubted in their ability to write truth and not stories. To counter such allegations "they thus have to adopt strategies to counter this, such as including maps, photographs, and even testimonials."[322] Smythe's sketches are proof that she experienced what she was writing about, and place her at the location. In letter xi the couple arrived in the north east of Viti Levu after a short trip to the southern coast of Vanua Levu. In this particular letter, Smythe's words became poetic and her descriptions more detailed. She described the indigenous people and their chores as "forming a very interesting Fijian scene."[323] Smythe is writing from an early nineteenth century travel writers' perspective, watching rather than participating. She is distant, on the deck of the boat, but describes what she sees; "A line of women was moving along the shallow water, merrily fishing with hand nets"[324] attributing a happiness that she may have assumed rather than witnessed from her position. The area of Tova Peak, where the description was written, seems to have made an impact on Smythe. Further geographic description is used at the end of this letter, this time by removing the indigenous population:

> We are now at anchor for the night, close under the lofty conical [Tova] Peak. The evening is sombre, the air deliciously cool. A light mist hangs on the upper part of the mountains, which look fresh and moist from a recent shower. The sky is low and grey. Masses of white clouds rest piled up over the further hills, while the deep shade of the towering Peak under which we lie gives an unusually solemn character to the scene."[325]

Yet another flowery description, of the reef and the waves crashing into it, is at the end of letter xii when the Smythes were in Lakeba ("Lakemba").[326]

[321] Mills.
[322] Ibid., 113.
[323] Smythe, 118.
[324] Ibid.
[325] Ibid., 121.
[326] Ibid., 129.

> Lakemba, as I have told you, has little natural beauty, but the reef which surrounds it is the finest we have yet seen...Now, on one side, a huge roll of dark blue water came boldly on, towering up as it neared the reef, when suddenly it tumbled over with a thundering sound, whilst the spray shot up like the brilliant spires of an aurora, from end to end for half a mile along the outer edge of the reef. Sometimes, as the wave fell over, the sunlight touched it, and the dark blue colour flashed into a light transparent green.[327]

The atmospheric, even aesthetic language is an indication of Smythe's artistic eye, and yet set her outside of the scene, as though she was not experiencing but watching. She maintains a privileged distance.

When their time in Fiji was drawing to an end, Smythe was watching each day for a steamer, and used a comparison of Robinson Crusoe. "We can enter now somewhat into poor Robinson Crusoe's feelings as day after day he strained his aching eyes for the sight of a sail."[328] Even after many months in Levuka, she described this as an empty, isolated, unpopulated landscape. Her last statement on leaving the Fijian islands also seems to describe an empty land, a landscape not populated by an indigenous population but by a fledgling white population. "To-morrow morning we will bid our friends adieu, and before the next evening we shall probably have looked for the last time upon what will long linger among our pleasantest recollections – the bright and beautiful scenery of the Fiji Islands."[329] In her penultimate letter, Smythe mentioned the need to replenish her wardrobe in Sydney after months with a limited wardrobe in Fiji. A tongue in cheek comment follows: "although we had not been quite so far reduced as to adopt the prevailing fashion in Fiji, still we might truly say that we had 'nothing to wear.'"[330] Even though she has left Fiji she is suggesting, with humour, the uncivilised ways of Fijians, and perhaps the European population.

Much of the content of Smythe's writing, particularly the background stories, come second-hand from missionaries and white settler hosts. This affects what Smythe was exposed to in terms of Fijian life and history. Unlike Wallis, she had few interactions with Fijians. In Bau (Letter iv) the missionary Mr Fordham is recorded inviting the

[327]Ibid.
[328]Ibid., 161.
[329]Ibid., 176.
[330]Ibid., 180.

Smythes to witness a yam planting ceremony. Smythe records the ceremony with detail and interest interspersed with phrases and judgements reflective of her Eurocentricity. She describes the groups of men as "some shouting, some laughing (if the horrid savage yells they uttered could be so called)."[331] Similarly, as they travelled to Rewa (Letter v), they visited a village "where we made our first acquaintance with Fijians in their heathen state"[332]. Smythe outlines their physical appearance with phrases such as "nearly naked savages", "wild rolling eyes", "glistening white teeth" and "ferocious appearance". They seem animalistic in her description and she ends with, "Their manners were rude and bold, and I confess I felt extremely glad when we got back to the boat again."[333] This is consistent with Mills' comments about the discourse of imperialism creating an infantile or animalistic picture of indigenous people in comparison to the imperial Centre.[334] Mills quotes Fabian saying that writers "consign the other nation to a time which is distant from their own, through the use of words with temporal aspects such as 'primitive', 'backward' or 'developing'."[335] They are from another time even though they are met in the present.

Three times in letter v, Smythe expresses doubt about the capability of the Fijian people to produce or appreciate useful or beautiful objects. The boat they are travelling on passed through a small canal they were told was dug by the people living in that area. She comments "When one considers that it [the canal] is the only thing of the kind in Fiji, and that the natives have no digging tools other than pointed sticks, one can hardly help suspecting that the river itself on some unusual flood became its own engineer."[336] Again when she witnessed a woman making decorated pottery, she expresses surprise at the ingenuity of the woman and says that her patterns "shewed [sic] a higher degree of taste than we should have given the simple artist credit for."[337] Finally, though she had just begrudgingly allowed the Fijian to possess some "taste", when showing a chief a sketch she has made of his village she comments that "he expressed much wonder at it, although probably it was not at all

[331]Ibid., 33.
[332]Ibid., 35.
[333]Ibid.
[334] Mills, 90.
[335] Ibid., 89.
[336]Smythe, 35.
[337]Ibid., 39.

intelligible to him."[338] Smythe's letters are interspersed with backhanded but positive comments. In letter ix she described the Fijian custom of telling each part of a journey with not one detail left out. She comments "the sharpness of the observation of these people and the retentiveness of their memories are surprising, if not painful."[339] The addition of "if not painful" indicates that the story telling could be tedious or drawn out and brings to mind a patient parent listening to their child. With this phrase, Smythe consigns the Fijian to the role of a child, and assuming the adult role belongs to the European. This technique, explored by Mills as part of her discussion of discourses of imperialism[340], establishes authority for the colonising nation and places Smythe firmly within the imperial discourse.

A rare example of the coloniser bowing to the expertise of the local Fijian can be seen in letter xii when the Smythes were attempting to exit a reef around Lakeba. The reef was particularly perilous, and they had already been waiting a day for favourable conditions. The European pilot of their boat was watching the reef when a large Tongan canoe passed through the reef with a skill that was practised and assured. "They appeared to go out with so much ease that our pilot was tempted to follow their example."[341] The experiment did not conclude well, with the boat being damaged and the departure was lengthened by another couple of days. In this case we see that indigenous knowledge was underestimated by the European pilot, and a seemingly easy manoeuvre was in fact a long practised and familiar task. Replicating indigenous practice was not a common event amongst the European population. For example, Smythe records that in Cakaudrove ("Thakaundrove") the chiefly village was moved from the village of Cakaudrove (also called "Fawn Harbour") to Somosomo on Taveuni. The mission station however did the opposite and moved from Somosomo to Fawn Harbour on Vanua Levu, "as a healthier locality for the Mission families."[342]

The Fijians who show the greatest agency seem to have been those who were converted, again confirming the correlation between Christianised and civilised. In Colonel Smythe's Namosi chapter there is a section where a Fijian guide, who had

[338]Ibid.
[339]Ibid., 102.
[340] Mills, 89.
[341]Smythe, 130.
[342]Ibid., 134.

converted, showed them a sacred area where a god was said to reside. Without the guide's knowledge, Colonel Smythe and his party would not have known to look at the tree, which contained smooth oval rocks said to represent the god and his children. "We then began to question them about the god, on which they looked very grave, and pressed us to move on. Manoah [the guide] wanted to throw the stones away, but as the act would have only irritated the natives without doing any good, we desired him to restore them as he had found them."[343] We see sympathy for the converts who are so eager to please their new God, and the Western men who had introduced Christianity. Smythe asks Fijian people, or interpreters, questions about several aspects of local religious, political and social customs. Letter ix outlines a neat summary of the Fijian beliefs of "Ndengei, the supreme god of Fiji, and the only one whose worship is general throughout the Group."[344] Her observations of what she understood to be the religious beliefs led her to note that the area on the "Ragi-Ragi" (Rakiraki) coast near the town of Navatu "seem to point to this neighbourhood as the cradle of the Fijian race."[345]

"George" or Tui Bua is the converted Christian chief who tells the Smythes of a local story which Smythe recounts. The story is about Charley Savage, a European involved with the rise of Bau in the early 1800s. He died in Vanua Levu (Bua) after leading a party of men from Bau in an attack on Bua. After the Bau party destroyed an empty village, the Bua men caught up with them and Savage, along with several other white men were eventually captured. The men from Bau ran away. Savage was eaten by Bua men. However some of Savage's party (including a man called Dillon) fought their way down from a protected rock to gain their boat and escape.[346] The Smythes later stayed at "Dillon's Rock". In a footnote to this letter, Smythe mentions that "This account, which Tui-Bua had received from his father, agrees closely with that published by Dillon – the same who afterwards discovered the traces of the expedition of the unfortunate La Perouse."[347] The fact that the chief's account matched a published Western work of a distinguished traveller gives extra credence to indigenous oral history evidence.

[343]Ibid., 78.
[344]Ibid., 98.
[345]Ibid.
[346] Ibid., 106-7.
[347]Ibid., 107.

A difficulty with oral history that Smythe identified was the custom of Fijians not correcting errors made by the Europeans, or giving answers that would please the European enquirer. While this seemed to be a traditional Fijian form of dialogue, to the Smythes it seemed that the Fijian was deliberately misinforming the person enquiring. "This falsely polite habit of giving an answer which it is thought will please without the slightest regard to truth makes it very difficult to obtain correct information from a Fijian, and adds much to the trouble experienced by strangers in acquiring the language. If you make a mistake, a Fijian, sooner than set you right, will repeat your error."[348]

While the Smythes were in Kevula (a town on the northern coast of Viti Levu under the influence of the chief of Viwa), they saw a display of the ceremony of going out to war. This ceremony which may well have been exaggerated or dramatised as part of the agency of the Fijians wanting to provide a show. Smythe was a spectator saying "W. seized the idea, and said that under the circumstances he should like to see the display; but we were hardly prepared for the scene which followed."[349] The use of words like "display" and "scene" and, further on, "review" and "picture to yourself" indicate the viewing of a ceremony which may or may not have been consistent with actual going to war, but Smythe documents it as truth, a real ceremony, because it was clearly set out for her. The ambiguity of truth and drama was blurred by both the actor and the spectator. Smythe saw this army through her Western lens. "I cannot say much for the *uniform* of these warriors, for no two were either armed or dressed alike...The dress of these troops *was* uniform in one respect, namely its scantiness; all wore something, but in general the greater part of the clothing consisted of a fantastic head-dress".[350] She was expecting to see a well oiled, well dressed army, but what she saw was wild warriors playing their parts with great abandon: "raising their weapons they gave the shout of victory, yelling, whooping, laughing – a most horrible noise."[351]

In Smythe's writing we see the juxtapositioning of a male and female voice. Colonel Smythe is factual and dry in his introduction with brief diversionary commentary into politics or anthropological questions, but Sarah Smythe described her physical

[348]Ibid., 128.
[349]Ibid., 119.
[350]Ibid., 120.
[351]Ibid.

surroundings and added colour and personality to her writings. In the first letter of her collection she describes a volcanic mountain in New Zealand – Mount Eden. She added a sentence to help the reader imagine the bucolic scene. "A few sheep were quietly nibbling the grass growing on its sides."[352] This is in the style as "portrait of manner and custom"[353] coined by Pratt. The Smythes are recording and organizing, not really participating, and are definitely landscape based rather than seeking interaction with the indigenous people. But, there is an element of femininity in Smythe's writing seen in a softer and more descriptive language consistent with the ladylike pursuits of drawing and painting, and journal and letter writing which were acceptable for a woman of the era, that is, the writing "mainly concerned with the emotional sphere (autobiography, letters, the novel.)"[354]. In letter xvi Smythe described the view from her house in Levuka. Smythe is a painter, and in this description we see her using her painter's eye to describe what she is seeing. The passage neatly frames an outlook of the landscape she saw within the frame of her Western window. Her view makes no mention of the people she may have encountered through the window. Her landscape is unpopulated and idyllic, but is described beautifully, in the way she might paint the picture.[355] She says "I will attempt this view in watercolours, but I fear that I shall never be able to do justice to the reef."[356]

While spending a couple of days exploring Suva harbour, Colonel Smythe "provided himself with a ship's compass and a sounding-line, and we had the pilot to steer"[357] and began a scientific examination of the harbour. While her husband was busy, Sarah Smythe provides us with a very different examination of the harbour, a poetic and descriptive passage of the water and the surrounding vegetation. She uses words such as melancholy, silence and solitude, floating gently, and luxuriant vegetation, depicting the harbour a very different way to the scientific measurements of her husband. Her description was chiefly of the landscape with a small interjection describing the small towns they passed which "give a little wild life to the scene".[358] Her picture is one of animals interrupted, not people. She says they "collect to gaze

[352]Ibid., 5.
[353] Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 121.
[354] Mills, 96.
[355]Smythe, 144.
[356]Ibid., 145.
[357]Ibid., 141.
[358]Ibid.

on our passing boat, or to express their astonishment in some more demonstrative manner, perhaps shouting and following us some distance along the banks of the river."[359]

As Smythe travelled to outer islands with her husband she was aware that she was a novelty, but who was watching who was ambiguous. "Half-a-dozen times I found their dark heads looking over the hatch [of the boat] when I happened to look up from my work: few of them have seen a white lady before, which may account for their curiosity. They are, however, very well behaved."[360]

Colonel Smythe gave a full account of a trip to Namosi and this gave readers some insight into the relationship between Fijian and Western people. His report was very detailed, with over 20 pages being spent on describing this week long journey. (Most of the letters in this book are 10-15 pages long and cover a wider span of time.) Colonel Smythe included paragraphs on the mechanics of canoes, the physical landscape around him, and comments on the people and ceremonies they were exposed to. The Fijian hosts seem to have given the travelling party full access to traditional ceremonies in this inland village. Col Smythe and Mr Waterhouse, a missionary, travel with "Kurunduandua", a chief who is portrayed as eager to facilitate the trip of the white men, including appointing specific canoes for each of the party to travel in. Col Smythe described him as "A heathen, and probably still a cannibal, Kurunduandua on repeated occasions during our excursion surprised and charmed us by his high-bred courtesy."[361] The correlation between cannibalism and unrepentant heathen is highlighted many times in this collection of letters, as was typical of Europeans writing about the periphery. Mr Waterhouse talked to a young man who was navigating them up the river, hopeful that the Fijian man would be disapproving about cannibalism, but instead was told "Kurunduandua is a cannibal; we are all cannibals: cannibalism is a good thing."[362] Smythe reinforced the missionary ideology by recording that "Mr Waterhouse gravely remarked, "It is a very bad thing.""[363]

[359]Ibid.
[360] Ibid., 55.
[361]Ibid., 63.
[362]Ibid., 64.
[363] Ibid.

When the men arrived in a village to rest after the first day of the journey, they witnessed the presentation of food and *yagona* (the mildly narcotic root also known as kava) to the chief Kurunduandua, though they declined to participate in drinking the *yagona* after seeing the traditional preparation by chewing and spitting of the root. After they had witnessed this ceremony, they hinted to their hosts that they would like to sleep, and finished their evening in prayer. Col Smythe reflects that "The natives watched our proceedings with silent attention."[364] This neat sentence gives a glimpse of the intruder being watched by the incumbent people group as well as the other way around.

Smythe's book *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands* is another example in the travel genre of a woman travelling in distant colonies in the mid nineteenth century. The addition of her husband's words validated and authenticated her travel writing experience and allowed her to bring her experience to the public eye and not leave them as private letters. Smythe more than Wallis, had to negotiate the dual requirements of being an imperial and feminine writer. As a British woman, she was writing directly back to the Centre. As she was travelling with her husband, who in turn was travelling on behalf of the British government, the imperial prospects being espoused needed to be negotiated by Smythe. She was in a specific support role to her husband's imperialist role in assessing future colonisation. However, the dominance of her husband's voice leaves Sarah Smythe's account with less impact than the other two writers considered. It is unclear whether her letters were in fact initially considered to be the appendix of her husband's report rather than the opposite. In his introduction to the book Colonel Smythe seems to give permission for her part of the story to be told and certainly the addition of her husband's sections allows it to be brought into the public domain. She is given additional credence and authority via his imperial task. As their visit is motivated by official British business, this has a great affect on the narrative and content. Any travel outside of Levuka is for the purpose of Colonel Smythe gathering information and Sarah Smythe's style mirrors this as she also writes back to the Centre with references and ideas reflected within the context of her female experience. Her narrative has many accounts of how domestic life was negotiated by European women, with little about how Fijian women may have negotiated their own feminine discourse.

[364]Ibid., 66.

Pritchard's offer of cession was declined, and three years later the book was published. Though unknown at the time of writing, both the Fijian and European populations would continue to battle politically. In 1871 both parties sought to establish a government but its failure lead to the eventual cession of Fiji in 1874. The colonial government is the setting for the third book considered in the next chapter.

Smythe is mostly disparaging of the Fijian population she encountered. She makes comment on the Tongan population of Lakeba as a type of "noble savage" and she also allows the Christian majority on the island of Kadavu to assume a more civilised status. Her assumption that those who had become Christian were more civilised is clearly outlined, as is her support for the missionary community.

Smythe's writing is firmly within the portrait of manner and customs style. Fiji is, to Smythe, an unpopulated or sparsely populated landscape. Her artistic and poetic tendencies have lent a feminine slant to her scientific and imperialist style of writing, organising and classifying the things she saw. The inclusion of drawings and sketches supports this feminine style and authorised her to write about things she had seen first-hand or heard second-hand. Unlike Wallis, there is little interaction recorded between Smythe and the indigenous population. It is unclear where the provenance of her stories lay but they mostly seem to have come second-hand from the mission communities in which she had been hosted. There is some Fijian agency mentioned, but only from Fijians who had become Christian, and not from the still heathen majority population. Smythe strongly adopts the format of speaking as though she is the audience. Her writing is in more of a report style than Wallis, which keeps her voice as authoritative and in control of the situation, although distanced or removed from it.

The shortest of the three journeys covered by this thesis, Smythe gives an account covering a host of imperialist motives as her husband evaluated the usefulness of the Fijian Islands to Britain. Understandably this means the discourse of imperialism and colonisation is very strong, especially when her husband's interjections are considered. Smythe negotiated the feminine travel voice in the mid-nineteenth century in a most ladylike fashion. She does not push the boundaries of what is acceptable, but instead goes to great lengths to authenticate her writing, perhaps to an extreme. The frequent intervention of her husband's voice and her inclusion of

sketches and other evidence that she was there, may give a reader the impression that the author needed to lay claim to her own authority, as well as, claiming it for her audience.

Chapter 5
Constance Gordon-Cumming
At Home in Fiji

The setting for the Constance Gordon-Cumming's account of Fiji began in 1874, a pivotal year in the history of Fiji as it became a British colony. Much had happened with the intervening ten years since the visit of Sarah Maria Smythe. The white population was growing. By the end of the 1860s, the settler population was approximately 2,500 and grew by 1,035 in 1870 alone and was on the rise.[365] The population, mostly British fell under no government, and so both the European population and the Fijian population were beginning to look for a way to control the increasingly lawless society. "The *Fiji Times* of 15th January 1870 compared the creditable manner in which the natives governed themselves with the lack of control among the Europeans."[366] After attempts at colonial government by both the Fijian chiefs, lead by several key chiefs, and the European population, the Deed of Cession was signed on 10th October 1874 making Fiji a British colony. Gordon-Cumming gives a glimpse of what the new government encountered. Again, we look at who, why and when Gordon-Cumming, a single woman, was writing. We look at where she travelled, and how this unaccompanied female status may have impacted the way she represented life in Fiji. As contact and encounters between the West and the Fijian had continued for over 30 years, how was agency affected? What was Gordon-Cumming able to see and experience, and how did she write about it?

At Home in Fiji[367] is a series of 28 chapters written by Gordon-Cumming as she accompanied Sir Arthur Gordon, the first governor, and his family to Fiji. Sir Arthur had been appointed Governor of the newly ceded state of Fiji in 1874, and had written to invite Gordon-Cumming to accompany his wife on the journey to Fiji.[368] She does not give more detail on the arrangement, but the book is dedicated to "To dear little Nevil and George Hamilton Gordon: These notes of one of the many sunny homes of their happy childhood are lovingly dedicated".[369]These were the children of Sir Arthur and Lady Gordon, indicating a close relationship with the family.

[365] Derrick, 195.
[366] Ibid., 196.
[367]Gordon-Cumming, 56.
[368] Ibid., 10.
[369] Ibid., dedication page.

However, the arrangement was not wholly one of companionship with Lady Gordon, as Gordon-Cumming took every possible chance to travel. "Arthur Gordon seems to have found her trying at times...she complained that he refused to take her on a trip to Kadavu... His wife, in contrast, was quite complaisant, even though Gordon-Cumming took little interest in their children and showed scant inclination to stay put."[370] Although they shared a name, Gordon-Cumming was not related to the Gordon family.[371] Of the three authors discussed, in this thesis, Gordon-Cumming is most easily classified as a woman travel writer. She had travelled widely before her trip to Fiji, and had arrived back in England after "eighteen months of the most delightful wanderings in every corner of beautiful Ceylon".[372] Her Fiji book was the result of her travelling again "in spite of the remonstrances of my sisters, who consider it quite unnatural of me to leave home again so soon."[373] Gordon-Cumming had a close friendship with Isabella Bird, another woman at the forefront of women's travel in the nineteenth century. The two met in 1870 and "maintained a warm and admiring friendship in after years."[374] Gordon-Cumming's first book "which Isabella [Bird] was still correcting and revising as their author was in the Fijian Islands during the processes of publication"[375] came out while she was still travelling.[376] Their friendship was also a professional one.

Women were expected to stay at home and support the men in their endeavours and not to be independently travelling the world and publishing and Gordon-Cumming commented on this attitude when describing a side trip to the Blue Mountains, Australia on her way to Fiji. She mentioned that Mrs Gordon had not travelled with her on this excursion but had stayed with her new companion, Mrs Havelock, who was the wife of Captain Havelock, the new treasurer of the British Colony in Fiji. "Mrs Havelock shares Lady Gordon's taste for remaining quietly at home with the children, so they stay together at Sydney, while I do the sight-seeing."[377] Gordon-Cumming fits into the mould that Sara Mills outlines, of women who were able to

[370] Hugh Laracy, Watriama and Co: Further Pacific Island Portraits, (Canberra, Australia: ANU E Press, 2013), http://epress.anu.edu.au. Ch 4.
[371] Rod Ewins, "Http://Www.Justpacific.Com/Fiji/Engravings/Gordon-Cumming/Index.Html."
[372] Gordon-Cumming, 10.
[373] Ibid.
[374] Anna Stoddart, *The Life of Isabella Bird*, Digital edition ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 71.
[375] Ibid., 89.
[376] Constance Frederica Gordon-Cumming, *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas: A Sketch of Eighteen Months' Wanderings in Western Isles and Eastern Highlands* (Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1876).
[377] *At Home in Fiji*, 21.

get outside this expectation by being "exceptional"[378] – that is single, a woman of financial means, but also slightly odd or eccentric. Her family were wealthy, which gave her extra independence as she was not financially reliant on the Gordon family.[379] She was also eccentric and fell outside the usual bounds of a Victorian woman in terms of domestic situation as she was unmarried and had no domestic responsibility either to a husband or children or to older relatives, so was free to travel. She still, however, held many of the ideals and prejudices expected of a woman from the Victorian era.

Gordon-Cumming's chapters are epistolary but labelled as chapters and not letters. Sometimes there is more than one letter included in a chapter and the final chapter includes notes on Fijian folklore and mythology and is not a letter. Gordon-Cumming had published one other travel book[380], so it is likely that she thought she had a career as a writer and would publish in the future. The first chapter is dated April 17, 1875 and the penultimate is dated September 4, 1877, so her experience spanned two and a half years. The book however, was not published until 1881 and the 2nd edition, in one volume, in 1883. While the chapters have a dated letter structure, it is common for her to digress and write in detail about one particular aspect of life or nature she had experienced in the Islands. Chapter VII has two such digressions: one about a festival celebrated around a worm (probably the balolo, a sea worm still harvested and celebrated in Fiji) and the other recalling the change that missionaries have encountered over the past ten years of contact with the Fijian people. Chapter IX is very detailed in the description of local houses where she stayed. It also contains a comment about her purchasing bowls, clubs and spears for a collection.[381] She comments that "I bought several very tall walking-sticks, used by the old men, which I think some of you will like to adopt as alpenstocks, though you can never hope to look as picturesque as the fine old men who brought them to me."[382] Gordon-Cumming's letters include lengthy commentaries on aspects of Fijian life including churches, plants, *meke*, houses, sports, labour, brewing "*yangona*" (*yagona* or kava) and language. These mini-essays show a careful consideration and observation of life

[378]Mills, 31.
[379] Laracy. Ch 4.
[380] Gordon-Cumming, *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas: A Sketch of Eighteen Months' Wanderings in Western Isles and Eastern Highlands*.
[381]*At Home in Fiji*, 81.
[382]Ibid.

in Fiji, and go past the typical travelogue or letter. These digressions indicate that Gordon-Cumming was "writing back" but also keeping in contact with friends and family, by recording, observing and classifying the Fijian lifestyle and people she saw around her. *At Home in Fiji* added to the small number of written accounts of Fiji and to the development of the periphery sent back as literature to the Centre.

Gordon-Cumming probably had in mind that her letters could be combined later into a travel book. The recipients of the letters seem to be people close to her, and long-time recipients of Gordon-Cumming's correspondence.[383] Early in the book, Gordon-Cumming gives a description of where she is going by referring to the latitude and longitude of Fiji, indicating that the reader at least of this letter, was knowledgeable about travel and geographic terms. One recipient, Nell, seems to be the scientific minded, and in Chapter V is treated to not only geographic indications, but scientific discoveries and the makeup of the reef. Chapter XX to "George", the only male recipient of her letters, included a full description of the war with the highland tribes in the west of Viti Levu, indicating that war was of interest more to males than female recipients. Some chapters do not contain details of the recipient and thus read like a research report which would later fill in the gaps of her travelogue to create a whole book length work.

Gordon-Cumming's writing covers her trip from England to Fiji with a stop in Sydney. Once in Fiji, she was based at Nasova in Levuka as this was the compound and location of the new government. Her travel was often facilitated by Mr and Mrs Langham, Wesleyan missionaries, who had been in Fiji since 1858 and had been based in Lakeba, Bau and Viwa.[384] She took several trips with the Langhams, including a month long trip up the Rewa River and a trip to the Lomaiviti group. She also spent some time in New Zealand.

As well as being in Sir Arthur Gordon's group, she was an unusual traveller within Fiji. She notes (in April 1876) that most of the women "have not had one day's absence from Levuka since they landed here in July...it is not every lady who could

[383] The recipients of letters are as follows: My Fellow-Arab (Chapter 1), Nell (Chapters 2,5,7,11-13, 15, 16, 21, 22, 26), Eisa (Chapters 2,3,5,8,17,20,22), Jean (Chapters 5,9,26), George (Chapters 6, 20), Bessie (Chapter 7), Alexa (Chapters 10,24), Aunt Emma (Chapter 14), and one to Lady Gordon (Chapter 17)
[384] Niel Gunson, "Langham, Frederick (1833–1903)," National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/langham-frederick-3987.

enjoy the sort of prolonged gipsy or picnic life as much as I do."[385] She may not have always been the most pleasant of travelling companions as she voiced her opinions forcefully on paper, and one can assume she was not hesitant to do the same with her companions. One day, finding her next day's travel plans had merely been brought forward to catch the evening tide, she states that the news is "to my unspeakable disgust".[386] On the same trip, in a boat that she felt was dangerous she admits "a malicious feeling of delight when the men owned they did not like it, and said they would rather wait for daylight."[387]

At the time Gordon-Cumming wrote, settlers had been in Fiji for 40 years. The historian, Deryck Scarr, calls the years from 1865 to 1875 "A Search for Stability"[388] as there was a period of unrest in the Islands during this decade while Fijian chiefs and the European population vied for the best way to govern Fiji. In her introduction Gordon-Cumming outlined the reason she understood that Fiji had been annexed in 1874.

> To this course they were impelled chiefly by the conviction of their own utter inability to cope with certain unscrupulous white men, who had here established a footing beyond reach of English law...to foster the jealousies of the chiefs, and so to keep up the bloody intertribal wars by which the lands were laid waste, and the population decimated.[389]

In 1877 the British government tried to reign in some of this section of white settlers by creating a British High Commission for Western Pacific. Sir Arthur Gordon was the first High Commissioner alongside his Governor's position in Fiji.[390] This organisation, outlined in detail in Scarr's *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission 1878 – 1914,*[391] made it possible for crimes committed in the Pacific Islands to be tried and punished under British law. If the High Commission had been established 20 or 30 years before, the Fijian chiefs would not have had such a problem with rogue white settlers and perhaps would not

[385]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 156.
[386]Ibid., 175.
[387]Ibid., 177.
[388] Scarr, 35.
[389]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 1.
[390]Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 175.
[391] Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914* (Australian National University Press, 1967).

have ceded. When Sir Arthur Gordon and his staff and family began travelling to Fiji an epidemic of measles raged through Fiji, brought by a ship returning Cakobau and his sons from a trip to Sydney.[392] Gordon-Cumming reports that at the time of cession there were 150,000 Fijians and 1,500 Europeans living in Fiji,[393] but later notes an epidemic had wiped out about one third of the population.[394] The epidemic had come very soon after the Deed of Cession was signed, and some of the indigenous population therefore assumed that it was a punishment for their ceding and also their conversion to Christianity. "Of course it was only natural that they should attribute this to poison or witchcraft, and that the tribes who had so recently accepted Christianity, or were on the eve of doing so, should conclude that this was a Heaven-sent punishment for forsaking the gods of their fathers and giving up their lands to the white men."[395] While the new government and missionaries were looking to make a civilised colony out of what they alleged was a heathen place, the European settlers were hoping for a quick transition to a supportive government. Gordon-Cumming expressed surprise over the ferocity of the disease in a naive fashion which would have been typical of the Victorian era. She talks about the disease being a childhood affliction, unaware of the damage that each new introduced disease could cause, noting that the innocuous measles has assumed "a character more like the plague when first introduced in one of the South Seas isles".[396] She goes on to comment that it would be terrible if another disease, considered a serious disease by the Victorians, should be inflicted on the Fiji Islands. "Just imagine how appalling would be the results of small-pox, for instance!"[397] She later describes the "sink of low fever – one case after another" that has caused many of the Gordon government party to be severely ill. Noting that the European population were also succumbing to the local environment and conditions, this was more a racist than a humanitarian attitude.[398]

At the time of Gordon-Cumming writings, the rivalry between the Tongan Ma'afu and Cakobau ("Thakombau") Chief of Bau had come to a head and cession seemed

[392]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 32.
[393]Ibid., 6.
[394]Ibid., 32.
[395]Ibid.
[396]Ibid., 35.
[397]Ibid.
[398]Ibid., 183.

the only way to unite a fragmented Fiji.[399] As discussed in Chapter 4, Cakobau had already proclaimed himself *Tui Viti,* and Ma'afu gave his support to the offer of cession in 1858 in the hope that it would benefit him, and weaken Cakobau in the absence of the British consul who would go to England to negotiate the details.[400] However, this rivalry had been resolved and Ma'afu retired to Lau Islands as *Tui Lau*. According to Gordon-Cumming, Cakobau spoke to Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of New South Wales about his feelings of cession in 1874:

> Any Fijian Chief who Refuses to cede cannot have much wisdom. If matters remain as they are, Fiji will become like a piece of driftwood on the sea, and be picked up by the first passer-by. Of one thing I am assured, that if we do not cede Fiji, The white stalkers on the beach, the cormorants, will open their maws and swallow us.[401]

With the Deed of Cession signed on 10 October 1874, a new era in Fiji's history began. Gordon-Cumming seems to be of the opinion that this act alone is the act of colonisation, rather than one act among the many that had occurred over the time of contact with the West. "Thus did Fiji pass from the domination of misrule to the orderly position of a British colony."[402] Even the chiefs are quoted as feeling that this step would lead to a better state of affairs. Gordon-Cumming quotes Ma'afu, "Another and a better and more permanent state of things has been brought into existence. I believe that I speak the mind of all present when I say that we are really and truely [sic] united in heart and will."[403]

Informal colonisation had begun with traders, beachcombers and missionary efforts, as mentioned by Sir Hercules Robinson at the end of the cession discussions. Robinson claimed that becoming a Colony would dovetail into the "Civilising" work already begun.

> The great social advances which have already been made within the last forty years from savage heathenism, are due to the self-denying and ostentatious

[399]Ibid., 1.
[400] Spurway, *Ma'afu, Prince of Tonga, Chief of Fiji: The Life and Times of Fiji's First Tui Lau*, Pacific Series, 167.
[401]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 2.
[402]Ibid., 3.
[403]Ibid., 5.

> labours of the Wesleyan Church; and I can therefore heartily wish to your missionary enterprise in this country continued vitality and success.[404]

While the European community had high hopes for an improvement under Gordon's administration Gordon-Cumming repeated the voices of the disgruntled section of the planter community. They reiterated the complaint that "they are actually worse off than they were before annexation – a sad discovery for men who had looked on that event as a magic spell which would at once disentangle this unordered skein."[405] Gordon-Cumming also noted later in her book, "annexation has failed to act as a magic wand".[406] Sir Arthur Gordon introduced a strong central administration of land and indigenous affairs policies, but the former took a long time to take effect. A Land Commission was established in 1880 to verify the ownership of every part of land in the islands[407] and this proved to be a difficult task. Gordon-Cumming described a conflict in Chapter XIV between a white settler and a Fijian who both claimed to own the same piece of land. She recognises that "it may be a couple of years before the Lands Commission can decide on the ownership of the innumerable estates claimed by hundreds of people".[408] For many settlers this issue meant they were in limbo until the Commission was completed. It was a problem that made the white settler community keen to support the new government, Gordon-Cumming declared, on a daily basis, "plantation life in Fiji was hard enough in anycase [sic]; but when you come to loggerheads with the natives, it must be odious indeed."[409] She cited the case of Mr Leefe in Nananu who had purchased a small island causing all Fijians to be displaced from the island. His farming efforts thus relied on foreign labourers; his tenure was constantly challenged by the original Fijian landowners.[410]

Another issue which Gordon-Cumming identified as a problem for both the planters and the wider European communities was that of labour supply. European planters had been using imported labour from other island groups. Scarr, in 1967[411] and

---

[404]Ibid.
[405]Ibid., 56.
[406]Ibid., 75.
[407] Scarr, *Fiji: A Short History*, 104.
[408]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 145.
[409]Ibid.
[410]Ibid., 238.
[411] Deryck Scarr, "Recruits and Recruiters: A Portrait of the Pacific Islands Labour Trade," *Journal of Pacific History* 2, no. 1 (1967).

Munro in 1990[412] have identified how the Labour Trade had become less plentiful and profitable due to stronger restrictions and requirements imposed. According to Gordon-Cumming, "the hideous stories of kidnapping and brutal ill-treatment...are now happily tales of the past."[413] Gordon-Cumming also refers to Governor Gordon's domestic native policy on labour in Chapter VI and expands on why it is necessary to import foreign labour from India. She states that the measles epidemic which had swept through the Islands meant that, even more than usual, "it is the more desirable that those that survive should not be encouraged to leave their homes."[414] It was because of this epidemic, as well as Governor Gordon's philosophy of keeping Fijians in the village setting, that she notes the possibility of a "large supply of Hindoo [sic] coolies from Calcutta"[415] was being looked at as a viable labour option. Gordon had already experienced the success of introduced indentured labour from India, in his prior roles as Governor in Trinidad and Mauritius.[416] Gordon-Cumming mentioned the possibility of hiring other foreign labour in Fiji on three year contracts from other groups of islands, the precursor to the Indian labour being suggested soon after Sir Arthur Gordon arrived. Indeed, by November of 1875, it seems that some Indian labour had already been employed as Gordon-Cumming writes: "My own room is quite ready; and I was busy yesterday with the help of an acute darkie (Hindoo) [sic], in making it all cozy."[417] Gordon-Cumming seemed to have had a high regard for both the Fijian people, and the people of her beloved Ceylon, and this racist language seems out of place. It can be inferred that even those who were sympathetic with the colonised, or Others' viewpoint, nevertheless still used words such as this with no embarrassment. It is also possible that Gordon-Cumming would use such words about the Indian population as they were part of the already colonised and conquered world, whereas the Fijian "native" was, under Sir Arthur Gordon's native policy, to be protected in the colonial endeavour.[418]

The humanitarian administration of Fijians, called "Native Policy" was something that historically Sir Arthur Gordon became well known for. His protection of the

[412] Doug Munro, "The Origins of Labourers in the South Pacific: Commentary and Statistics," in *Labour in the South Pacific*, ed. Jaqueline Leckie and Doug Munro Clive Moore (Townsville: James Cook University of Northern Queensland, 1990).
[413] Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 58.
[414] Ibid.
[415] Ibid.
[416] Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 202.
[417] Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 69.
[418] Campbell, *A History of the Pacific Islands*, 201.

Fijian people and their culture had long lasting effects, apart from the introduction of foreign labour. He was also concerned with the impact that a European governing force might have and Gordon-Cumming outlines some of this in Chapter XX in a letter titled "War Letter".[419] The war she refers to is the Colo War which took place in the middle months of 1876. She claims that the "mountain tribes" were not quick to accept the rule of cession, and saw the accompanying scourge of measles as a judgement on their land and people for allowing cession to occur. In response to the measles epidemic they "'threw off the cloth"...expressing that, by returning to full nakedness, they utterly defy the *matanitu* or Government, and the *lotu* [religion]".[420] They attacked Christianised villages and allegedly ate their women. Sir Arthur's response, so soon after cession, was to allow the local police to deal with this problem as he "was from the beginning anxious to avoid anything like a collision between white men and brown".[421] Thus, a large proportion of the indigenous police force was deployed to the mountain area under Captain Knolly, along with a handful of other European administrators and government officials.[422] It was not until October 1876 that a "proclamation of free pardon to all the mountain-tribes"[423] was pronounced, and these people were able to begin rebuilding the area. This came after they had "adopted the kilt of native cloth, cut their hair to a reasonable length – sure proofs of general respectability."[424] Gordon-Cumming notes that a year later, in 1877, Sir Arthur revisited these areas and found "satisfactory progress everywhere."[425]

In the late 1870s, Fiji was still an imagined place in the Victorian minds of the era. Gordon-Cumming stated she would laugh at the option of going to Fiji if anyone asked where she was travelling to next, as if it was "the most absurd answer that suggested itself to so foolish a question – a place known to me only as being somehow associated with a schoolboy song about the King of the Cannibal Islands."[426]It is a place that is so far from the Centre that it is nearly mythical. Even in Sydney she says "Anything Fijian is really as great a curiosity here as it would be

[419]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 222.
[420]Ibid., 223.
[421]Ibid.
[422]Ibid., 225.
[423]Ibid., 233.
[424]Ibid.
[425]Ibid.
[426]Ibid., 10.

in London."[427] This indicates that New South Wales was considered a part of the Centre and not of the periphery. In Sydney, a major port and hub of the British Empire, the identification of values and expectations aligned with London and not with the Pacific Islands although they were much closer in physical proximity.

Imperialism was an unchallenged idea at this turning point of time in Fiji. After Sir Arthur Gordon had been in the Islands for a few months, Gordon-Cumming describes for her readers a measure of Englishness that has been imposed on the Fijian household staff at the Governor's house. The Other has been tamed to suit colonial requirement of coffee in rooms at 7am, breakfast at 9am, luncheon at 1pm, tea at 5pm and dinner at 7pm. Gordon-Cumming says "We adhere to regular English hours".[428] Sir Arthur Gordon had adapted the traditions to suit the climate and economy, but still sought to create an English microcosm of life. "I must tell you of one triumph of common-sense in the adoption...namely dispensing with the misery of a coat, and substituting a bright-coloured silken waist-sash for braces; now all the gentlemen look fresh and cool."[429] Later in the book when Gordon-Cumming had been in Fiji for nearly two years she wrote of bringing English customs to Levuka in the celebration of the Queen's birthday. She wrote that Governor Gordon had brought two ponies with him, bringing the horse population to four, but with additional horses being brought in, "straightaway the Anglo-Saxon colony demanded a race-course...it was difficult to find a bit of level ground, large enough even for cricket."[430] Two British pastimes, horse racing and cricket were deemed essential in this newest English colony. The first race meeting was held to honour the Queen's birthday, and then, again to celebrate the 3rd anniversary of cession. Along with a lunch and tennis game at the Governor's house, these celebrations were the backdrop for the last letter. Levuka had developed into a standard colonial town in the two years that Gordon-Cumming had lived there.

Gordon-Cumming seems to have expected Fiji settler society to be like other established colonial outposts she had travelled to in Ceylon and India, as though the idea of a colony had strict parameters to this point, and Fiji was breaking them. Her expectations of the Other, she would find, was stretched by her experience in Fiji,

[427]Ibid., 17.
[428]Ibid., 148.
[429]Ibid.
[430]Ibid., 320.

which did not meet the expectation she had. She often refers to Ceylon or India, and compared them with Fiji and seemed to expect a similar experience in Fiji. While exploring the Rewa area, Gordon-Cumming lamented;

> Oh what I would do to have my dear Himalayan *dandie* here, with a team of strong Paharis (hill-men) to carry me! The highlanders here (the Kai Colos, men of the mountains) are just as strong, but the idea of carrying a lady has not yet occurred to them.[431]

Her first descriptions of Fiji were direct comparisons to other colonised places that she had visited. This indicates that the colonies of the Empire were beginning to have a certain similarity of culture, at least for the more established colonies. Gordon-Cumming described Fiji as different; not to the same standard as Ceylon or India. She compared the houses: "no wide verandahs, over which veils of luxuriant creepers weave garlands...the houses are all alike hideous...roofed with corrugated iron or zinc, on which the mad tropical rains pour with a deafening noise."[432] Even when describing plant life, her reference point was Ceylon. "As regards the general foliage, it is almost identical with that of Ceylon, though perhaps scarcely so rich...I miss the beautiful *kittool* and several other palms which I love in Ceylon. But I recognise various old friends..."[433]

She rues that there are so few flowers compared to Australia (where she has just been), and even those flowers that are found were really "other shrubs, scarcely be dignified with the name in England".[434] In describing animals in Fiji, Gordon-Cumming again refers to other places she has travelled saying, "Really I do miss the troops of monkeys so familiar in India and Ceylon."[435] Gordon-Cumming often referred to things or places that would have been familiar to the (English) reader as a reference point. For example she compares the colours of the reef fish to "peacocks' feathers"[436] which would have been as unknown in the Pacific as the reef fish would have been to London readers.

[431]Ibid., 86.
[432]Ibid., 28.
[433]Ibid., 47.
[434]Ibid., 44.
[435]Ibid., 46.
[436]Ibid., 38.

Gordon-Cumming was struck with the hardship faced by the European population in Fiji. “We have not come to a land flowing with milk and honey in any sense. Daily food is both difficult to obtain and expensive.”[437] Her descriptions of food prices were from the perspective of the European settlers emphasising the lady in the tropics theme, quickly followed with the difficulty and expense of having ones petticoats, cuffs and collars laundered. European colonisers had established a way of life in the colonies, but Fiji is found lacking in civilised services. When the Fijians were mentioned, it was within the mechanics of colonisation and trying to establish a European standard on lifestyle.

> But oh, above all, the miseries every housekeeper must daily endure in wrestling with a household of utter savages, even supposing her to be fortunate enough to get a well-meaning set! Hitherto my ideas of native servants have been derived from the faultless cooks and excellent attendants of India, quick, wide-awake, and neat-handed; whereas here you probably begin by having one or two Fijians, who look very intelligent, but prove hopelessly stupid, or rather utterly careless about learning our new strange ways.[438]

The town of Levuka made a good impression on Gordon-Cumming. “I must say the little town greatly exceeds our expectations. We had imagined it was still the haunt of uproarious planters and white men of the lowest type, described by visitors a few years ago, instead of which we find a most orderly and respectable community, of about 600 whites, inhabiting 180 wooden houses.”[439] But after a few months in Levuka, in Chapter VI, Gordon-Cumming wrote, on several occasions, about how poor the European population were. “I had no conception till I came here that any whole community could be so poor.”[440] Later in her visit she continues this theme declaring, “And poor it is with a vengeance. You cannot imagine anything more so. The whole white community are only just above starvation-point, and yet everything is very expensive.”[441]

These descriptions extended to the plantation owners outside of Levuka as Gordon-Cumming travelled further afield saying, “Certainly, life on a Fijian plantation does

[437]Ibid., 28.
[438]Ibid., 29.
[439]Ibid., 41.
[440]Ibid., 55.
[441]Ibid., 135.

not mean luxury, or rather it means such hardships as you, I am certain, cannot realise."[442] Her concern for maintaining European standards is also an indication of her cultural lens as she compared the European planters to the Fijian way of life, saying they were "helpless, and wellnigh hopeless, - living just like the natives...and unable from sheer poverty to obtain the commonest comforts of civilised life".[443] However, the two communities, indigenous Fijian and European settler, are measured with different lenses. For the Fijian, life was sustained by life – yams and wild pig. But when a European settler lived in this way, they were judged to be unable to sustain a proper civilised life.

Gordon-Cumming demonstrated, throughout her letters, the genre of sentimental travel writing discussed by Pratt in *Imperial Eyes.*[444] Her "authority lies in the authenticity of someone's [her] felt experience"[445] but she does not always manage to shake the shackles of Pratt's other considered genre of a portrait of manner and customs in which "the authority of...[the] discourse resides in the detachment of what is said from the subjectivity of both the speaker and the experience."[446] She fluctuated, during a trip up the Rewa River (Chapter XI), between effusively complimenting the Fijian people, but also standing back and providing a reflection and observation. "Though the people are so very friendly, and in many respects very nice, still this is undoubtedly life among savages; and after a while there is considerable sameness in halting and one village after another."[447] Perhaps she was feeling homesick during the celebration of Christmas in such a strange setting. As a traveller, she is implicated by her own heritage, experience and status. On the same day Gordon-Cumming recounts a conversation with a young chief who misunderstood her question. She describes him proclaiming ""Oh! There's no comparison between them – human flesh is so much the best!""[448] This proclamation was in the midst of a Christmas Day meal, emphasising the conflict found in the cultures – a Christian Fijian chief celebrating Christ's birth cannot help but exclaim, according to Gordon-Cumming, on the delicacy of human flesh. "Nothing is to me more difficult than to reconcile this mixture of utter heartlessness and indifference to

[442]Ibid., 159.
[443]Ibid., 56.
[444]Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 74.
[445]Ibid.
[446]Ibid.
[447]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 95.
[448]Ibid., 103.

the anguish of others, with the high-bred refined courtesy which seems so perfectly natural, not only to the chiefs, but to all these people."[449]

Gordon-Cumming recognised that colonisation and mission work are having effects on the indigenous culture in both positive and negative ways. Sometimes there is a clash of the two cultures. An example is seen when an offering was being made to the chief near a mission Gordon-Cumming visited. She lists the offerings with deference to the Fijian culture "1000 women advanced single file, each bringing a mat, or a bunch of live crabs...one brought a ludicrous roast parrot...Then followed all the usual graceful dances..."[450] But she also mentioned the "ungraceful traces of British trade appear. Here one man was dressed in a large union-jack pocket-handkerchief! And a woman wore the foot and the stalk of a broken wine-glass as an earring!"[451] Her tone indicates surprise, and seems slightly disdainful of these people, but also, by the inclusion of the phrase "ungraceful traces" she clearly disapproved of the British influence on this otherwise traditional ceremony. Sometimes her actions and her words were not consistent and show a pull away from traditional ideas of the time, and a questioning of the impact of colonising, though she was implicitly involved. As a collector of artefacts, Gordon-Cumming often mentioned the purchases she had made. But in Chapter X, there is a paragraph which is very disparaging of the effect this is having on indigenous tradition and practice. "Already, the majority of the islanders have sold their own admirable ornaments, and wear instead trashy English necklaces...almost all the fine old clubs and beautifully carved spears have been bought up, and miserable old sticks and non descript articles...take their place."[452] Gordon-Cumming and several others from her travel party purchased or took artifacts and objects for the sake of collecting.

> We are each trying who can make the very best collection – Sir Arthur, Mr Gordon, Captain Knollys, Mr Maudslay, Baron von Hugel, and myself. Our daily delight is to ransack the stores in Levuka, where the natives may have bartered old things for new...All our rooms are like museums, adorned with

[449]Ibid., 104.
[450]Ibid., 209.
[451]Ibid.
[452]Ibid., 91.

> savage implements, and draped with native cloth of beautifully rich patterns, all handpainted.[453]

Gordon-Cumming also made drawings many of these pieces as she recognised the fragility of both the pieces themselves (she worries that they will not make it back to England) and the culture in which they were created. She says, "each old woman works just according to her own fancy, the best pieces, many of which are really most artistic, are never made in duplicate."[454] Gordon-Cumming marvelled at the handiwork of the Fijians who she points out were "people whom the civilised world are wont to regard as utter savages, [but] I think that when you see my collection you will be greatly impressed by the artistic beauty and immense variety of form thus produced."[455] She was also collecting ferns and plant specimens for her friend, and fellow women-traveller of this time, Isabella Bird, though she rues that it is a very difficult task, and one that she is not doing very well at. "So you must tell Miss Bird, that though for love of her I will stick to the attempt, all I have done so far is utterly worthless."[456] In both her drawings and collections, and the reporting of them, Gordon-Cumming showed herself to be, in the words of Linda Tuhiwai Smith an "inquisitive and acquisitive stranger"[457] in Fiji. Gordon-Cumming sometimes subverted the categorising of the Other, by implicating the Centre in the negative aspects of colonisation. However, while she laments the negative foreign influence on the traditional offering outlined above, she neglects to recognise that the indigenous people have been given a commercial opportunity they have taken up. She then disparages the "trashy English necklaces" without reconciling that she and her party had bought many such collectables themselves. Her critique does not seem to apply to her; rather she has allowed herself to be distanced again from the colonising process.

As the book progressed, Gordon-Cumming showed a greater admiration for the Fijian people's expertise in their domain. Though her underlying feelings seem largely in line with the imperialist sentiments of the era, she gave examples of positive attributes of Fijians, though sometimes this admiration seemed begrudging

[453]Ibid., 133.
[454]Ibid., 149.
[455]Ibid., 246.
[456]Ibid., 184.
[457] Smith, 3.

or astonished. Nevertheless, it is a subversive factor in the imperialist writing when she compliments the Other compared to the Centre. After an enjoyable afternoon on the reef with local people, she says "you generally have to get natives to dive for anything particularly good...and not troubled by over-much rainment, they dive in and out like fishes (though as a general rule they dislike wetting their hair)"[458]. Another example of her admiration for indigenous life rather than importing an ill-fitting western tradition is found the following description of the housing of white settlers, which she called the "very picture of a poverty-stricken home".[459]

> An English cottager would refuse to live in such a house, with its broken earthen floor. Such a contrast to the comfortable, thick, clean mats in the native houses we have been in. Yet white men in general seem to consider that they are bringing their families low indeed when they adopt a purely native house as a home, and mats in lieu of chairs. Perhaps they are right, though for my own part I think I must confess to having rather a weakness for Fijian mat life.[460]

By Chapter XVII, Gordon-Cumming professed a liking for traditional architecture of Fijian houses more than the new coral lime built houses some Fijians are building in a more Western style.[461] While travelling, a Fijian lady offered her own sleeping corner to Gordon-Cumming and she accepts. Although she had the "so-called mosquito-curtain of native cloth: I took the precaution of hanging up my own"[462] indicating that although the Fijian curtain may be good enough, to ensure a mosquito free night requires English intervention. The subversion of the traditional imperialist discourse did not stretch to mosquito bite prevention. While she has gone "native" it is only to a degree, and for a limited time.

Gordon-Cumming seemed to seek out adventurous and remote locations and experiences. After one such journey she said she was leaving a "most hospitable district, and sufficiently uncivilised even for me."[463] She seemed to relish the shocking interface between improvements in civility and the evidence of the still uncivilised and enjoys the Fijian tradition of mimicry and self-deprecating humour:

---

[458]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 39.
[459]Ibid., 77.
[460]Ibid.
[461]Ibid., 203.
[462]Ibid., 199.
[463]Ibid., 210.

> This morning a horrible old ex-cannibal crept close to Mr Langham, and then, as if he could not refrain, he put out his hand and stroked him down the thigh, licking his lips, and exclaiming with delight, "Oh but you are nice and fat".[464]

Gordon-Cumming recognised that there was still a strong retention of Fijian culture even while the Fijian people are confronted with Western ideas and influence. One reflection indicates that cultural respect within the Fijian culture was still important, and observed, especially outside the more colonised town of Levuka. She notes the respect for a chief who owned a canoe that she and her companions were using. There were repairs done to the canoe before they arrived at their destination as it would have been disrespectful to arrive with something not in order. She also comments that "even we dipped the flag as we drew near...All other canoes must lower their sail while at a considerable distance, and row to shore, as a mark of deep respect."[465] A boatman on a trip up the Rewa River was recognised as chief, but Gordon-Cumming notes this with amusement and not respect. He was put in charge of distribution of food during the feasts. "We are amusingly reminded of his nobility by hearing the clapping of hands, with which an admiring circle invariably proclaim the close of his meals."[466] The system of "*lala*" is described in Chapter XIX, when Gordon-Cumming and the Langhams were visiting Tui Bua (chief of "Mbua").[467] The system was one where chiefs were able to ask anything, material or service, of their people that might benefit the people as a whole. It was based on the tradition that "a Fijian thinks it is shameful to refuse to give anything for which he is asked."[468] Gordon-Cumming saw the benefit of this system, "apparently the only way to get a semi-civilised race to work well together,"[469] although she also described how a chief or chief's son might take advantage of the system with negative consequences.

Gordon-Cumming supported the mission effort and the effect it had had on the Fijian population with many references to the savage past Fijians have now turned their backs on. "I often wish that some of the cavillers who are forever sneering at Christian missions could see something of the results in these isles. But first they

[464]Ibid.
[465]Ibid., 208.
[466]Ibid., 98.
[467]Ibid., 212.
[468]Ibid.
[469]Ibid., 213.

would have to recall the Fiji of ten years ago...”[470] She outlined wars, killing of prisoners and cannibalism even in peaceful times, sacrificial live burial and general disregard for life. She then compared this to what she was experiencing in 1875. “Now you may pass from isle to isle, certain everywhere to find the same cordial reception by kindly men and women. Every village...has built for itself a tidy church, and a good house for its teacher or native minister...”[471] She mentions that the missionaries had “wisely made use of native customs when practicable”,[472] noting that the missionary meetings were “simply great days of native merry-making, when the missionaries very wisely encourage the people to keep up the most popular and innocent of their national games and dances.”[473] A fellow traveller, Maudsley, commented that Gordon-Cumming was strongly influenced by missionary ideals, and would rise to the defence of the mission effort if it was questioned. “Missionaries are a fine bait. She travels about the country a good deal with the Missionaries, and is given to looking at things not only from their point of view, but from the ideas they have crammed her with.”[474]

Gordon-Cumming lamented the impact of European contact in general, “Alas for the vulgarising influence of contact with white men!”[475], and the risks of continued contact with a poor and disillusioned European population. She commended the civilising work the missionaries were doing, abolishing polygamy and human sacrifice, but retaining *mekes*, songs and games. One of the results of becoming Christian was that polygamy was replaced by monogamy, and so there were many weddings, some where men were formally marrying their main wife or, because of the measles epidemic which had left many without a spouse, remarrying.[476] Gordon-Cumming recorded various weddings, though was disappointed in a group of weddings she witnessed as part of her trip up the Rewa River with the mission couple, the Langhams. She wrote “I am sorry to observe that some of the brides are both ugly and old!...They do not wear such quantities of pretty white and brown cloth as the brides on the coast; in fact they wear exceedingly little of anything...Anyhow,

[470]Ibid., 66.
[471]Ibid.
[472]Ibid., 86.
[473]Ibid., 88.
[474]Alfred P. Maudsley, *Life in the Pacific Fifty Years Ago* (London: Routledge, 1930), 84-85.
[475]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 91.
[476]Ibid., 98.

this is rather a dingy lot of weddings."[477] As a single woman, Gordon-Cumming seemed to think that a wedding should be a romantic and bright occasion based on love alone. The reality, for these "dingy" Fijians, was that the unions were probably more a political and practical occasion than a romantic one due to the measles epidemic which had killed so many of the population in 1874.[478]

Gordon-Cumming's writing is often very flowery and descriptive but she said she struggled to show her reader the picture she held in front of her noting, "all the thousand details of beauty, which give such light and gladness to the life I find so fascinating, though sound so dry and dead when I try to put it into words."[479] But her eye for detail, trained as an artist, enabled her to replicate this in her writing. After her first *meke* (dance) she commented "It was a very interesting scene"[480] and the use of the word "scene" indicates that, as Mary Louise Pratt suggested, she is outside of the action and event. Her interpretation of such activities is thus subjective. This continues throughout the book, with the Fijian police and soldiers being described as "always on guard here – a picturesque people – who keep the place alive, and are to us a source of endless interest and amusement."[481] Sometimes she placed herself physically outside her surroundings describing a favourite place outdoors near the house in Nasova. "So there are few days that I do not scramble up to some pleasant perch among the grey boulders, whence I can look down through the fringe and frame of green leaves to the lovely blue sea, with the band of rainbow light that marks the coral-reef."[482] Early in her stay in Levuka, Gordon-Cumming wrote a description, to Nell, of her view from the tiny garden where she was staying. She seemed, in just a few weeks, to have found beauty in the Fiji Islands juxtaposed with her descriptions of civilisation earlier which she found wanting. Although her focus was still on the physical aspects of the places she populates this view, with "brown men, who often sing quaint *mekes* as they approach the town."[483] The vista was still very much being viewed and not joined. She used words and phrases such as "look down", "How striking a scene", "picturesque", "scene" and her last sentence "Indeed

[477]Ibid., 95.
[478] Scarr, *Fiji: A Short History*, 76.
[479]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 203.
[480]Ibid., 31.
[481]Ibid., 69.
[482]Ibid., 135.
[483]Ibid., 36.

the eye that loves exquisite colour can never weary here."[484] Her artist's eye was pleased, but she was definitely viewing and not participating. It is evident that her adventurous spirit was not far away and on the very next page we see Gordon-Cumming excited about an afternoon spent on the reef. She has entered her scene. A summary of the corals on the reef ends with the phrase, "So the corals we know in England are mere skeletons and very poor substitutes for the lovely objects we see and covet in their native condition."[485] An apt symbol for any of the body of knowledge which was being sent about Fiji reefs back to London parlours and from Fiji villages to English museums.

She continued to enter the scene more often later in her trip, as she began to feel more comfortable, perhaps more physically safe. In Chapter VIII she finished a letter saying she would go for a walk and commented, "It makes me laugh now to remember how, the first day I was walking alone on the hills of Ovalau, I hid myself among the bushes from a solitary Fijian, the savage of my imagination. Now, in far wilder country, I walk alone in perfect security wherever fancy leads me."[486] Her confidence continued to grow, and on a trip with the Langhams she describes creeping, watching, being bored with what she saw and being discovered watching as she had left her bed to see the festivities.[487] Her detailed descriptions give authenticicty to her writing, as Mills suggested[488] in much the same way as adding her physical sketches and paintings to the book. Both are evidence that she travelled in Fiji, thus adding authority to her opinions and views as they were gained first hand. Her skills in painting and representation of this type were admired by a fellow traveller, though with a disparaging comment added:

> Her talent for water-colour drawing is a curious one. She has had very little instruction, yet no subject is too big for her; the larger and more imposing it is the better she likes it. She sketches in her outline with the most wonderful rapidity and accuracy, and when her pictures are about three parts done they are often most admirable but she persists in taking them home to finish them, and that takes away much of their merit. She had the other day two sketches taken

[484]Ibid.
[485]Ibid., 38.
[486]Ibid., 80.
[487]Ibid., 181.
[488] Mills, 121.

> on the Upper Rewa that I would have given her anything for, as they were when she left off sketching on the spot, but she must need finish them at home and now they have lost their charm. I am afraid we all tease the poor woman a good deal, but then she does rise so beautifully, and besides is quite capable of taking care of herself.[489]

Towards the end of her stay Gordon-Cumming reflected on the physical beauty of Fiji, and commented that this beauty compensates for the difficulties associated with travelling in this remote area of her world. Her words indicate that she had grown fond of the Fiji Islands, though again it is for the physical beauty and not due to the people who live there. They are mentioned only as a possible subject matter for portraiture, and as living statutes (again viewing and staging a view). In describing a difficult journey, including five nights sleeping on-board a boat, she exclaims:

> Such are the pleasures of travelling in Fiji! And yet its beauty atones for many discomforts; and the lovely days, when they do come, make up for all the rainy ones. And I do feel so glad once more to see canoes with quaint sails, and graceful living bronzes with artistic drapery. What a country this would be for an artist studying figure painting! The people love to see themselves on paper, and will sit as still as a rock for hours to be sketched. It is lamentable that such good models should be wasted.[490]

She did form relationships with some Fijian people, particularly those of a certain social standing and preferably converted to Christianity. She describes a visit to "Andi [Adi] Clara, who is the nicest Fijian lady we know."[491] The potential as artistic inspiration continued as she described, in a short paragraph, a man she is looking at:

> As a study of colour, I specially noted one stalwart fellow wearing a garland of these golden leaves thrown over his madder-brown shoulders, and a gauzy film of sienna-coloured smoked *tappa* round the waist. He stood in relief against a clear blue sky – a study for an artist.[492]

[489] Maudsley, 84.
[490] Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 308.
[491] Ibid., 309.
[492] Ibid., 313.

The travelling with the Langhams gave Gordon-Cumming access to places and experiences that she would not have encountered had she stayed with Mrs Gordon in Levuka. From 1871 the Langhams had lived at Bau where Mr Langham had gained the reputation among Methodists as being King Cakobau's adviser. Although Langham's policies had not pleased all the missionaries, they accepted him as their spokesman. Believing he had the Fijians' best interest in mind, he encouraged annexation by Britain, but often annoyed the European community with his paternalism and lack of imagination.[493]

Gordon-Cumming gave a tongue-in-cheek description of the research she had done before she went to Fiji saying "I managed to get up some information by reading a cleverly compiled book on Fiji, by a man who has never been there."[494] Her descriptions therefore have come from her time in Fiji and not from reading on the place before she travelled. She seemed aware of the limitations of both her experience and others who have gone before her , noting they wrote authoritatively about Fiji without being Fijian, speaking Fijian or even going to Fiji. She was aware that the ceremonies and events she witnessed as a traveller were not necessarily being translated and understood as they may have been intended. She recounted seeing a *meke* (dance) when she first arrived in Fiji and mentioned that the *meke* was becoming a ritual not understood even by the participants, as the language has evolved so much, perhaps into the Bauan dialect, that the words used were not in the language of the participants. The original dialect used for composing the dance and chant was not the dialect of those participating.[495]

Two pages of detail were included about the preparation and ceremony of "*yangona*" (*yagona),* the root, ground and consumed as a mild narcotic. Gordon-Cumming commented that "This was the first time we had witnessed the scene, so of course we were exceedingly interested."[496] The ceremony was part of an acknowledgment that Sir Arthur Gordon was now Fiji's "highest chief". She noted Sir Gordon "considers that a punctilious observance of the principal points in native etiquette is a means to secure respect and gain influence with the people".[497] However, the Gordon party

[493] Gunson.
[494]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 11. I have not been able to identify which book she referred to.
[495]Ibid., 31.
[496]Ibid., 51.
[497]Ibid.

were observing and not participating in the ceremony. They were outsiders watching and recording and analysing. Gordon-Cumming adds comments later which expand the ceremony, for example, "Though no one pretends to like the taste of *yangona*, its' after effects are said to be so pleasantly stimulating that a considerable number of white men drink it habitually."[498] This comment indicates that Gordon-Cumming was not only witnessing the actual ceremony as an onlooker, but had absorbed or borrowed the interpretation of another European at the event.

In some places, Gordon-Cumming quotes missionaries and settlers, even though she recognised that this is not true Fijian agency, but second-hand. One such example describes the Fijian religious practices before missionary contact. This was not described by a Fijian, but from the notes of Mr Williams, an early missionary, in his 1859 book *Fiji and the Fijians*.[499] Williams stated that he had collected a large number of the legends of the Kai Colo (highlander) people, but admitted that his list of over 50 such stories and names might be incomplete.[500] Gordon-Cumming mentions that some people were offering money for Fijian recollection and stories. "Possibly the reward of £100...for a collection of such lore, may induce someone to find time to make one before it all dies out, as it invariably does when the people become civilised or Christianised and ashamed of old superstitions."[501] There is a sense of fatalism found in Gordon-Cumming's writing about the inevitability of the Fijian culture disappearing particularly with the influence of Christianity. In the very last chapter of the book, Gordon-Cumming wrote that she wished more had been written down about the past religion and customs of the Fijian people. She wrote

> Perhaps it is already too late, for the *lotu* [Christianity] has brought in such a flood of newer stories, that doubtless the old fables have fallen into disrepute, and probably (just as in Scotland) the dread of a sneer or a rebuke from their teachers will cause those who know them best to shrink from uttering them.[502]

Gender affected the writing of Gordon-Cumming who, most closely of the three women discussed by this thesis, matched the typical idea of a Victorian woman travel writer. As Mills suggested, such a woman would have been unusual, probably

[498]Ibid.
[499] Williams and Calvert.
[500]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 143.
[501]Ibid.
[502]Ibid., 349.

a spinster, not a wife but "exceptional, odd and freakish...indomitable, eccentric and mostly rather crazy"[503] and perhaps as they stepped out of their usual role there would have been a "sense of something rather improper in these women's behaviour".[504]

Mr Alfred Maudsley joined Sir Arthur Gordon's staff. He had been based in Brisbane, but joined the Fiji bound group as Sir Arthur's extra secretary in August of 1875.[505] He accompanied Gordon-Cumming on a trip to the Blue Mountains, but she did not elaborate much on his character or person. However, in a book published in 1930, Mr Maudsley mentioned Gordon-Cumming a few times and was quite ambivalent towards her:

> Miss Gordon-Cumming (usually called by outsiders Miss Cummins, which annoys her) is a very tall, plain woman, a regular globe-trotter, wonderfully good-tempered, no tact, very pushing when she wants anything done, and yet one of the best natured creatures in the world, and when anyone is ill or wants help I believe would go any distance out of her way to help them. She is sufficiently clothed in suits of brown holland or blue serge and wears an enormous pith hat. Her '*tavi*', as we say here, is to wander about the world and 'see things and paint them'. She has written a book of travels in two large volumes which have been on the table for a long time, but I have not read them. She can write fluently and well, and describes the things that she actually sees very clearly, but when she goes beyond that, and flies much higher, she fails...I believe she has written some articles for Good Words on Fiji, but they have not yet been printed. I think she is absolutely frightened to write a book on Fiji, which is a great relief.[506]

Of course, she did write a book about Fiji, *At Home in Fiji.* Maudslay's comments about the teasing of Gordon-Cumming, it has been suggested, showed "a level of license and familiarity that would not normally be presumed by men of that era toward women who were not members of their own family, particularly those of the

[503] Mills, 32.
[504] Ibid.
[505] Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 21.
[506] Maudsley, 84-85.

undeniable social status that she had".[507] The reality was that she was a travelling woman and male travelling companions would not have been sure of what to make of her. She had no hesitation in accompanying the men of the party on a walk or adventure if she was interested, as she did not allow her femininity to be an obstacle. Her writing shows that she not only travelled, but pushes on while other women in her travelling party had not saying "I have just come in from such a scramble."[508] In Chapter XXII, she was travelling in the northern parts of Vanua Levu and commented that only three years before she was there, in the early 1870s, there had been tribal fighting in the area. She comments "Now the last possibility of disturbance is over, we believe, forever; and a lady may wander over these hills alone, in perfect security."[509] However a footnote to Chapter XXIII explains that while finalising her transcript, Gordon-Cumming came upon a newspaper article about a woman who was murdered in New Zealand, while she was travelling alone. The woman, Mary Beatrice Dobie, had visited Fiji with a sister after Gordon-Cumming had left the Islands. This seems to have shocked Gordon-Cumming at the thought of this possibility. "During ten years of travel among brown and yellow races of every hue, continually spending long days alone...I have always done so fearlessly, being convinced that among these people a white woman leads a charmed life...I have received aweful [sic] proof to the contrary."[510]

Gordon-Cumming could be considered a "proto-feminist" [511], a term coined by Claudia Knapman, in a comment on the status of women in Fijian society. Gordon-Cumming noted, "Not that wives or women-folk are looked upon in Fiji as inferior animals: quite the contrary; their position is very good, and their influence acknowledged."[512] In Chapter V and again in VIII she described meeting Adi ("Andi") Kuilla who was "Thakombau's favourite daughter".[513] Gordon-Cumming was impressed, describing her as "a huge, good-natured-looking woman; very clever, I am told."[514] Later Gordon-Cumming witnessed Adi Kuilla fishing with other "maidens of noble birth...fun and frolic in the warm bright sea."[515] In her own village

[507]Ewins.
[508]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 41.
[509]Ibid., 257.
[510]Ibid., 268.
[511] Knapman, "Western Women's Travel Writing About the Pacific Islands," 37.
[512]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 50.
[513]Ibid., 75.
[514]Ibid., 53.
[515]Ibid., 75.

Adi Kuilla "is the dignified widow of a very high chief of this district, which she rules with masculine vigour and wisdom".[516] Gordon-Cumming had noted the strong Fijian matriarchy but associated the power of a matriarchy as having a masculine quality. Gordon-Cumming noted "Nowhere is all etiquette of rank and birth so rigidly cared for. All rank comes through the mother".[517]

The early contact days had passed, and Gordon-Cumming, as a first priority, commented on the difficulty for settlers, indicating this book is more about colonial settlement than early contact despite the latter being a more popular theme for the colonial travel writing genre. She wrote of shops in Levuka which were "fully stocked with all things needful, which a European can buy at about one-third more than he would pay in England."[518] She expressed surprise however that "by a singular phase of commercial morality, a native wishing to purchase the same article is invariably made to pay a very much higher price, and this is done quite openly, as a generally accepted condition of trade!"[519] However, on a trip up the Rewa River, she mentioned that they had visited and stayed "at various villages, in which no white woman had previously set foot; nor indeed any white teacher, for it is only a year since these people were cannibal and heathen."[520] There was an element of contact in her travel writing in certain areas. On the small island of Kia, off the coast of Vanua Levu, she accompanied Mr and Mrs Fraser and their family, the new superintendant of the district gardens. This provided more examples of both the poetic painting of words, and the experience of watching and being watched within the contact zone noted by Pratt.[521] Outside of the colonial town of Levuka, Gordon-Cumming found people who she assumes had not ever seen a white woman before. As Gordon-Cumming and Mrs Fraser watched the women of the small village weaving she observed that "of course, we were objects of mutual interest, and the astonishment of the people at our sudden appearance knew no bounds".[522] This was sightseeing with a two way process, with both parties being watched and watching. The documentation is not clinical and categorical.

---

[516]Ibid.
[517]Ibid., 139.
[518]Ibid., 42.
[519]Ibid.
[520]Ibid., 81.
[521] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 6-7.
[522]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 206.

Of the three women discussed in this thesis, Gordon-Cumming was the most typically a Victorian travel writer. She had travelled extensively before, and after her trip to Fiji, and had published travel books previously. She was single, eccentric and outspoken and successfully broke away from the feminine discourse which would have been expected of her. She wrote in a letter format, but interspersed with commentary on many subjects written with authoritative tone. Gordon-Cummings was a woman who held ideologies and values typical of her era and we can now say she wrote within the imperialist canon. She was a coloniser, who was convinced that with colonising came Christianising and civilising. Fiji was the newest of the English colonies and she seemed surprised at the barbarity still obviously apparent. She wrote from an educated standpoint and had an intellectual and global view of Fiji and occasionally wrote with a subversive undertone of the negative impacts she had seen resulting from colonization. She knew some Fijian people well, socialising with the chiefly women, who had become Christians and were living a European lifestyle. She generally seemed very content with her accommodations, professing a preference for Fijian mat lifestyle over some of the poorer settler's homes who were trying unsuccessfully to maintain a European lifestyle. She praised Sir Arthur Gordon for his amending both home and etiquette standards to make them appropriate for a hot tropical lifestyle. These adaptations to Fiji are superficial though. Gordon-Cumming did not see herself as an agent of imperialism, but she still used the opportunity the colonial infrastructure afforded her, to develop opinions and make comment. She also used the machinery of imperialism and colonialism to travel, both through Sir Arthur Gordon's family and travelling party, and also through the missionary couple, the Langhams. She was able to exploit her marginality, her single women traveller persona, and in doing so take the opportunity to create a subversive text.

Gordon-Cumming was a sentimental writer who did not take herself too seriously when interacting with Fijian people. She included Fijians in the narrative, though definitely from a watching or observing, categorising and classifying point of view. Her painter's eye meant she gave her descriptive passages a rich textured detail. She lapses into the unpopulated viewer standpoint that the sentimental writer had displaced, but this is not because she does not see Fijians, rather that Fijians are included as part of the artistic frame. These scenes are not the only descriptions of

people as might have been for an earlier "portrait of manner and customs" writer. The book has many sections which detail the interactions between the author and the people of Fiji, although there are also sections which are more of a commentary in line with a portrait of manner and customs type of writer. Her book offers an important insight into the racial, political and power conflict apparent in the recently annexed Fiji. The conflicts that lie within the book's pages are discourses of femininity and imperialism, both of which are supported, but are also subverted. Gordon-Cumming demonstrates that the voice of a woman writer was becoming louder and more able to converse within the canon of writing about the Other. European audiences would have read the book with interest, as it was written by a woman, in an era where women authors were rare. Women unable to escape the restrictions of their domestic responsibilities may particularly have sought out the writings of women such as Gordon-Cumming.

Chapter 6
Nineteenth century women travel writers in Fiji

The three women travel writers from the nineteenth century, writing within thirty years of each other, could be considered, as Sara Mills wrote, "proto-feminists [women] who live up to the titles 'indomitable' and 'eccentric'".[523] She calls for women travel writers to be taken more seriously than the ramblings of spinsters who have escaped their Victorian lives. Claudia Knapman echoed this call specifically referring to women who wrote about the Pacific. This thesis contributes to this dialogue by looking at three of these women and their textual representations of their experiences in travelling in Fiji. Mary Wallis, Sarah Maria Smythe and Constance Gordon-Cumming, although different in period, content and style, each added to the literature of encounter at this particular axis of imperialism in Fiji and in the wider feminist literature of travel.

These three women all came from a middle class stratum in Anglo-American society, as it was this class that afforded the opportunity of travel. As the nineteenth century progressed, there was more opportunity for travel in general and increasing infrastructure for travel and the beginnings of trade and imperial interest in the Pacific facilitated travel to Fiji. Two of the authors, Wallis and Smythe, travelled with their husbands, and were part of their business and journey. Wallis was part of her husband's business, *beche-de-mer* trade, and participated in it, and interacted with the indigenous population. Smythe participated less in her husband's official role but her the narrative is broken by his male voice. As her husband's job was to record, evaluate and consider the potential, both economically and imperially of Fiji to Britain, Sarah Smythe's book stands out as a more traditional Orientalist text, creating a body of knowledge which creates the Other for the Centre. Her book also has the strongest discourse of imperialism. Gordon-Cumming did not have responsibilities within a family group, nor was she part of the mechanics of government so she was the most flexible in her travel and had fewer obligations. She is the most typical of the Victorian female travel writer of the three. Her book also has a strong discourse of imperialism as she is part of the formal colonial machinery via her travelling situation. The two English women therefore, appear to have a

[523]Mills, 4.

stronger identification with imperialism than their American counterpart Wallis. Wallis' journey was focussed on trade and the other two on colonial prospects and interests. Wallis' writing was not tied up with colonisation, but rather with business, so it could be said that while Wallis still negotiated the discourse of imperialism, the other two were its' mechanics.

Wallis and Smythe had some difficulty publishing their work as independent writers, both relying on their husbands to get the book out of the private sphere of letter and diary keeping, and into the public sphere. In Wallis' case, her book was published by her husband under the pseudonym of "A Lady", and Smythe added an introduction, footnotes and appendices by her husband. Both women were thus reliant on a male figure (or anonymity) to allow them to come from the private to the public domain. This "diminishes the distance between the critic and writer, but also sets the writer in an inferior position, almost like that of a child."[524] Smythe's book is the most heavily reliant on the borrowed authenticity of her husband. Constance Gordon-Cumming had already published as a travel writer indicating that she planned to use the letters she had written to publish a second. Her letters go into great detail about artefacts and ceremonies, as well as locations and customs giving the reader more ethnographical detail than the original recipient of the letter may have needed. This gives the book authority as travel writing.

All three women firmly supported the Missions in their role as unofficial imperialist institutions seeking to colonise, Christianise and civilise all as one effort. In this way all three authors were united in the imperialist cause manifesting itself first through trade, secondly through mission, and thirdly via formal colonisation of Fiji. Wallis in particular made her support for mission clear as she was persuaded to publish her work to gain extra support in America for the newly founded Fiji missionaries. The three authors' representations of life in Fiji all have a dominant role by their missionary hosts and friends. There is very little criticism of the missionary role but considerable criticism of the other European settlers and planters. This is a consistent representation across the three authors.

Geography was important in their writing, as it limited the breadth of contact, and increased their reliance on second-hand information from the Mission, port or

[524]Ibid., 203.

plantation. Each of the three writers spent a portion of time staying in one place. Wallis was based on the island of Viwa, Smythe in Levuka and Gordon-Cumming in the newly established Governor's home in Levuka. However, the three also travelled around the Fiji Islands and also to and from Fiji. It was during the more peripatetic travelling that much of the descriptions of people and custom were described by Wallis, as she was watching and being watched from her home on the boat. Similarly, Smythe was travelling almost for her whole ten months, though always in the company of her husband or left in the care of others in his party, usually onboard the boat. Gordon-Cumming spent a month travelling up the Rewa River, a trip that would seem out of the ordinary for a single woman traveller, though she was accompanied by missionary couple, the Langhams. Her second longer period away from the Gordon family was for two months when she was invited to travel to small islands (Koro, Nairai, Gau, Batiki – all in the Lomaviti group east of Ovalau) again with the Langhams on the mission ship *Jubilee*. She also travelled about Fiji for a month in August 1877 and returned to somewhat quickly end the journals as she had been offered further travel in Tahiti, Tonga and Samoa.

> Sir Arthur has consented to my going, and tomorrow we sail for Tonga, and then Samoa...Thence I am to return here. Such at least is my intention. But my kind new friends scout the idea of my turning back before we reach Tahiti, of which they speak as of a dream of indescribable loveliness. Whether I may be tempted to proceed there, I cannot possibly tell.[525]

And tempted she must have been, because this forms the ending of her Fiji journals, apart from some material on Fijian culture. In each case, the women wrote in the genre of "portrait of manner and customs" as they were more peripatetic, watching and recording, looking and being looked at. They were negotiating the experience by using a more formal mode of writing.

The time in which these women wrote covers a crucial part of Fiji history. Wallis wrote her journals beginning in 1844 and witnessed the first of many contact zones in Fiji, with whalers, pearl-shell and *beche-de-mer* traders dealing with Fijian chiefs and workforces. She often mentioned that the people she encountered had not interacted with European women before. Fifteen years later Smythe witnessed the

[525]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 344-5.

cusp of formalised colonisation. In these fifteen years European settlement had grown to a few thousand, with a greatly increased trade and mission presence. The self-proclaimed *Tui Viti,* Cakobau, and Tongan chief Ma'afu were vying for more influence across Fiji both physically and politically with input from various of the white population. In the Seeman and Smythe inquiry, the "vision of Fiji as a source of cotton had been outweighed by a negative, perhaps not very clever report by Colonel Smythe, and especially by British disinclination to take on responsibility wherever she could freely trade."[526] Deryck Scarr notes that "Fiji was left to stand alone again."[527] When Gordon-Cumming began writing in 1875, Fiji had become a British colony and had just dealt with several major consequences of continued European contact including the measles epidemic of 1874. Her book gives us a front row seat to the early days of colonial government.

The details of what life was like for Fijians, and for Europeans, in Fiji are gleaned directly from the text of the three women. Their writing supplies detail that was not available as there had still been few written publications on Fiji. The feminine eye for detail and description is apparent in all three women and supplements the more formal reports available to reader in the West by seamen such as Wilkes[528], or early ethnographical writing by missionaries such as Williams and Calvert.[529] For many readers in this era, Fiji was still largely an imagined place and so these firsthand accounts became the authority simply because the women had travelled there.

Orientalism, further clarified by subsequent theorists, argues that the discourse of imperialism (or colonialism) contains a further discourse on the civilised other and discourse of savagery.[530] Some places became known as a civilised and some as places of savagery; some with "noble savages" inhabiting them and some with "ignoble". This is seen in the opinions expressed by each of the three authors about Fijian, Tongan, Australian Aboriginal, or Maori people as the Other, all falling on a spectrum between "ignoble" and "noble". Gordon-Cumming's representation of the Tongan community in the 1870s indicated they were civilised savages, while her description of Australian Aboriginals was a portrayal predicted by her racist and Eurocentric background. However, Gordon-Cumming gives an indication that she

[526] Scarr, *Fiji: A Short History*, 33.
[527] Ibid.
[528] Wilkes.
[529] Williams and Calvert.
[530] Hulme, 21.

can also write with some resistance to the discourse of imperialism, adding to her decsription:

> Perhaps, however, if all tales be true concerning the ruthless policy of extermination practised by too many of the settlers on the frontier, and the manner in which tribes have been shot down wholesale for daring to trespass on the lands taken from them without any sort of right, the extinction of the Australian black may be found to be less a law of nature than an illustration of the might that makes right. But certainly the few specimens we have come across have been unspeakably wretched, living in gipsy camps far more miserable than those of any British tinker, altogether dirty and debased.[531]

Gordon-Cumming seems to support the theory of fatal impact and social Darwinism popular in the late nineteenth century when she encountered the Australian Aboriginal people. She followed the dominant paradigm and seemed unable to express her own opinion, which we see later, in Fiji, gradually become more empathetic and humanitarian. "Hideous indeed they are, far beyond any race I have yet met with; and of so low a type that it is impossible, in their case, to regret that strange law of nature which seems to ordain the dying out of dark-skinned races before the advance of civilisation."[532] Her authority is cemented further by her use of words such as "law" and "ordain". In each case, the representation of the Other lies within the text of the travel writing, and is read by the reader back in the Centre. The stereotype is confirmed by the authority of the first-hand accounts.

Wallis' first description of Fijian people was to describe them as having "no romance, no poetry but heathenism in its lowest state of degradation".[533] Similarly, Smythe had noted, "we made our first acquaintance with Fijians in their heathen state".[534] Smythe outlined physical appearance with phrases such as "nearly naked savages", "wild rolling eyes", "glistening white teeth" and "ferocious appearance" thus lowering the status Fijian people to only physical attributes and thus, as suggested by Mills, perpetuating colonial discourse by describing in social Darwinist

[531] Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 18.
[532] Ibid., 17.
[533] Wallis, 76.
[534] Smythe, 35.

terms, one people as lower than others.[535] Smythe seems dubious about the capabilities of the indigenous population as she gives positive descriptions and interactions with them quite sparingly. By comparison, even before she got to Fiji, Gordon-Cumming suggested that "our Fijians are a very superior race, many of them really handsome, fine, stalwart men".[536] This suggests there had been an evolution in the way that the Fijian race was described, from savage to noble savage, while the Australian Aboriginals remained hopelessly savage.

All three women perpetuate the central idea that the missionary effort focussed on converting or Christianising, and then civilising the Fijians. The two outcomes of conversion and education could hardly be separated by the three authors indicating that the attitudes of Victorian society as a whole were that "natives" needed to be civilised. The three books represent the mission population very favourably even though the authors were not formally associated with the mission effort. Each one became part of the mission society. Wallis lived with the missionaries on Viwa. Fifteen years later, when Smythe wrote, the missionaries had become one of five European factions in Fiji – administrators, Consuls, traders, planters and missionaries. All three writers' stories came from missionaries in large part.

Smythe's landscape is less populated by indigenous people than Wallis', as Smythe focussed on the microcosm of white lives within Fiji, although converted and chiefly Fijians are also within the realm of her and Gordon-Cumming's discussion. A further fifteen years on, European colonisers had established a way of life in the other colonies seen by Gordon-Cumming so she judged Fiji as well behind. Although Gordon-Cumming met with converted Fijian chiefs and their wives she regarded the indigenous population as still lacking civilisation. Gordon-Cummings also wrote back to the Centre, and referenced things, places and customs according to the benchmark of England as her home and Centre. She was British and saw everything through the cultural lens of British-ness. However, Gordon-Cumming also showed a reversal of the narrative, with subversiveness to the Centre. She described parts of her journeys, the homes that she saw and stayed in, her reactions to those homes, and her positive feelings of being at home in them in a way that admired the Other. On an overnight journey totally alone, in a remote mountain village she wrote to her sister

[535] Mills, 90.
[536] Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 17.

Nell that she is feeling at home. “I am here quite by myself, very much at home in a Fijian hut, and surrounded by natives.”[537] This was not typical writing towards the Centre, and was reversing the hegemony. She even goes so far, in this reversal of the hegemony, to support the indigenous Fijian way, and even professed a preference for it: “for my own part I think I must confess to having rather a weakness for Fijian mat life.”[538] If a trader had professed this preference he would have been demarcated as “going troppo” or “going native”, but a female author, and visitor, could freely, perhaps humorously express the same sentiment to her readers.

The writing style which Mary Louise Pratt called “experiential”[539] is evident in Gordon-Cumming’s work when she forgoes the information based writing and becomes the protagonist and hero. While Wallis and Gordon-Cumming fall into the experiential writer mode, Smythe writes more in the portrait of manner and customs style as an information gathering imperial writer. The travel literature labelled experiential or sentimental often contain dialogue attributed to both the narrator and to the indigenous population encountered. A good example of this type of writing is found in Gordon-Cumming’s description of a scene that is both self-depreciating and recognises the gap between visitor (European) and host (Fijian) in terms of customs, manner and social interactions. The naive European tricked or misunderstanding the “native” was a common plot effect in travelogues. Gordon-Cumming describes this formulaic scenario in a short passage early in her journal;

> “I nearly lost my rings last Monday. We had been lunching up the inner harbour;...when a native woman came and crouched beside us...[She] pointed admiringly to our rings, wishing to try them on; so I put mine on her hand, little dreaming that Fiji custom sanctions asking for anything you happen to fancy, and that it is an unheard of breach of manners not to give it. So a moment later I looked up from my drawing just in time to see the proud woman disappearing in the bush with her prize! Of course I rescued my treasures, but fear she will think we were very ill bred!”[540]

[537]Ibid., 107-08.
[538]Ibid., 77.
[539]Pratt, "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen," 131.
[540]Gordon-Cumming, *At Home in Fiji*, 72.

It is not clear if this was an attempt at humour, a conventional plot, or serious attempt to describe a liminal moment in European-Fijian interactions.

The range of people from whom the three women were able to gather their information and stories evolved over time. At the time of Wallis' travels, there had been little written about Fiji or the Fijian people. She, more than the other two authors, relied on Fijian agency. Her translators and companions were the source of her information and her husband may have had some knowledge of a Fijian dialect as he had travelled to Fiji before her. Her style is one of an eyewitness who has the background of stories filled in for her. Later, Smythe relied both on the missionaries that they stayed with and translators associated with her husband's work. Gordon-Cumming had a wealth of information available to her, both from the Governor's household, and her missionary travel companions, the Langhams. Her stories are told with authority of a firsthand experience, though she had not been present when the events had taken place. The borrowing of stories from other sources gives each woman an additional authority as they are writing beyond their experience but including it as part of their own representation.

Gender certainly affected the writing, as these women would have been considered by their readers as exceptional, eccentric, oddities among Victorian women. That they were travelling made them unusual, and thus, their subject matter was also unusual, for a woman. Although all three women were travelling outside of their own society and domestic sphere, Mills suggests women travel writers "display all of the conventional characteristics of women within the home".[541] In the cases of Smythe and Wallis, this is true. We are given many examples of how they had to renegotiate the traditional tasks of keeping house and providing for their husbands far away from "home" in the tropics. Gender also plays a role in the style and genre of the books. Two are epistolary, while the other is published journals. Both the writing of letters and private journals or diaries would have been deemed appropriate for Victorian women, leaving the more public writing or reports, authoritative informational books and even novels to the men of the era. Wallis' journal lends an extra "sentimental" style as it is in the first person, and cannot avoid having the narrator participate in what is being written. The epistolary approach adds a layer of distance as the

[541]Mills, 34.

meaning needed to be clearer to a reader than a journal would have had to be when originally written for the author only to understand. Smythe's informational style is emphasised by her letter writing as opposed to a journal. The books sit well within the evolving genre of travelogue, or travel writing, rather than an ethnography or technical report merely relating facts and events happening far away. The travel writing genre which was still developing, encompassed some ethnographic reporting, but the feminine representation of this reporting via letters or journals leaves no doubt that the women were writing from a personal, and not official viewpoint.

The three accounts show a path between first contact and continued encounter. Wallis writes from the point of view of a first contact zone. Wallis recognised several times in the journals that she was interacting with people who she thought were as strange and new as she was to them. She was describing a first contact or novelty encounter with many people she met. Wallis' journals also contain many dialogues that she has had with Fijian people, a literary technique used to put herself into the scene. She acknowledges the participation of both parties. As Smythe travelled to outer islands with her husband, she also was aware that she was a novelty, and repeatedly reported that it was difficult to know who was watching who. Her reflections had less interaction with indigenous people and tend to describe from a viewer standpoint. Gordon-Cumming also engages and describes interactions with indigenous people, usually in a first person dialogue but in a more established form of contact than Wallis. Through the conversion of several Fijian chiefs, Gordon-Cumming entered more of an improvised social situation than the first contact writers. Inequality is certainly described by the three authors, though there was little to no conflict or coercion in their interaction. Each of these accounts is a representation of contact and encounter with the three books taken as a group showing a progression between the novelty of first contact cross-cultural encounters up to the later more formalised and established social, spiritual and commercial encounters with the Fijian people.

The main question this research asked was how women travel writers in the nineteenth century represented their journey and experiences. The answer was framed around the textual genre they chose. The three female authors travelled in Fiji and published about Fiji in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. As the

events covered thirty years between them, their representations have historical value as they were writing on the brink of Fijian initial contact and formal colonisation. The way they have each represented what they experienced meant they were describing Fiji to a largely untravelled population at the Centre. The readers of these books would have gleaned much information about the place and people of Fiji. What remains unresolved is the reaction of the readers. Did they treat the three books as authoritative sources? Did they trust the authors because the text was supported by illustrations, by anecdotes from people living in Fiji, by their association with formal colonialism (through an Inquiry and a Governor), by the use of their first-hand witnessing of events? Or did they question the familiar opinions expressed by the authors on matters of race, female roles, mundane household matters and already stereotyped descriptions of the wider role of Europeans on the frontier? All we know is the books were popular, going to second editions, and being reproduced a century later. Surprisingly, later authors did not refer back to their predecessors. This may have been an editorial preference, rather than a sign of the lack of visibility and readership, or the discounting of women travel writers authoritative position.

As women in the Victorian era, the three authors negotiated the dual discourses of imperialism and feminism in various ways. They were representing, evaluating and organising what they were experiencing and seeing with differing gaze. They also negotiated the idea of contact zone in this fledgling relationship between Fiji and the Centre. Their work crosses over both genres of informational and experiential travel writing. We learn more about the authors and Euro-American values and attributes they carried, than about Fiji and Fijians who, in general, were reduced to stereotypes, caricatures and conventional plot characterisations.

A large question remains: How do these books fit into the wider history of historical travel writing in the Pacific in the nineteenth century? Travel writing continues to be a difficult genre to fit into a theory or style of reading. The reading of Wallis, Smythe and Gordon-Cumming in this thesis has answered the call to look with academic scrutiny upon a group of women travel writers who had not been discussed in this way before. A natural extension of this study, would be to look further at women travel writers from a similar juncture of time, or at other Pacific Islands in the same imperial crossroads between contact and colonisation with the West. The issues of

the Centre being educated about the Other, and the way that women represent colonialism is one that could be extended to the Caribbean or other Pacific nations or other British colonial interests in other parts of the world. My conclusion is that travel writing, like other genres of text, is a complicated genre that leads itself to academic scrutiny from various viewpoints. We learn, from these women, that Fiji was negotiating the relationship between itself and the colonial influences of the West. We learn that colonialism, or the bigger imperialism, pervades each member of the Victorian society, even if they were not part of the formal machinery of government. We can also see each women looking at her role as a woman, and the roles of indigenous women they encountered. In a pre-feminist world, the women each push the boundaries of acceptable behaviours and attitudes in a quiet way. Thus, the books fit into historical travel writing by negotiating a balance of imperialism and femininity which is personalised and unites them with a small, exclusive and united voice of women travel writers in the nineteenth century.

Bibliography

Adams, Ron. "European Discovery or Multiple Discoveries." Chap. 3 In *Culture Contact in the Pacific*, edited by Max Quanchi and Ron Adams. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Allen, Nina. "Women Travelers, Twentieth Century." In *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Jennifer Speake, p1290-94. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003.

Barrow, John. *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798*. 2 vols. New York1968.

Blunt, Alison. "*The Flight from Lucknow*: British Women Travelling and Writing Home, 1857-8." Chap. 5 In *Writes of Passage, Reading Travel Writing*, edited by James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 92-113. London: Routledge, 1999.

Bohls, Elizabeth A. *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716 – 1818*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

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

———. *A History of the Pacific Islands*. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1989.

———. "Race Relations in the Pre-Colonial Pacific Islands: A Case of Prejudice and Pragmatism." *Pacific Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985): 64-80.

———. "Savages Noble and Ignoble: The Preconceptions of Early European Voyagers in Polynesia." *Pacific Studies* 4, no. 1 (1980): 45-59.

Clay, Brenda Johnson. *Unstable Images: Colonial Discourse on New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, 1875 - 1935*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.

Clifford, J. "Traveling Cultures." In *Routes; Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, 17-46. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Cole, Maryanne. "Women Travelers, 1500 – 1800." In *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Jennifer Speake, 1284-86. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003.

Dampier, William. *A New Voyage Round the World*. England1697.

Daws, Gavan. *A Dream of Islands, Voyages of Self-Discovery in the South Seas*. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Co, 1980.

Dening, Greg. *Islands and Beaches. Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas,1774-1880*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1980.

———. "Possessing Tahiti." *Archeology in Oceania* 21 (1986): 103 - 18.

Derrick, R. A. *A History of Fiji*. 2008 reprint ed. Suva, Fiji: Government Press, 1946

Ewins, Rod. "Http://Www.Justpacific.Com/Fiji/Engravings/Gordon-Cumming/Index.Html."

Fabian, Johannes. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York1983.

Gordon-Cumming, Constance Frederica. *At Home in Fiji*. 2nd Edition, complete in one volume ed. New York: A.C. Armstrong & Son, 1883.

———. *From the Hebrides to the Himalayas: A Sketch of Eighteen Months' Wanderings in Western Isles and Eastern Highlands*. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1876.

Greenblatt, S. *Marvellous Possessions; the Wonder of the New World*. Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Gunson, Niel. "Langham, Frederick (1833–1903)." National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/langham-frederick-3987.

Haywood, Jennifer. "Women Travelers, Nineteeth Century." In *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Jennifer Speake, 1286-90. New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003.

Howe, K.R. "The Fate of the 'Savage' in Pacific Historiography." *The New Zealand Journal of History* 2 (1977): 138-59.

———. *Nature, Culture and History: The "Knowing" of Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000.

Hulme, Peter. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797*. London: Methuen, 1986.

Knapman, Claudia. "Western Women's Travel Writing About the Pacific Islands." *Pacific Studies* 20, no. 2 (June 1997): 31 - 51.

———. *White Women in Fiji 1835 - 1930: The Ruin of Empire?* North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986.

Knox-Mawer, June. *A Gift of Islands.* Gloucester. Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1965.

Koivunen, Leila. *Visualizing Africa in 19th Century British Travel Accounts*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Lansdown, Richard. *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

Laracy, Hugh. *Watriama and Co: Further Pacific Island Portraits*. Canberra, Australia: ANU E Press, 2013. http://epress.anu.edu.au.

Lawrence, Karen R. *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Lay, Graeme. *In Search of Paradise: Artists and Writers in the Colonial South Pacific*. New Zealand: Godwit, 2008.

Linnikin, J. "Ignoble Savages and Other Visitors." *Journal of Pacific History* 26, no. 1 (1991): 3-26.

Lisle, Debbie. *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Marsh, Selina Tuisitala. "Here Our Words." In *The Pacific Islands: Environment & Society*, edited by Moshe Rapaport, 166 - 79. Honolulu: The Bess Press, 1999.

Maudsley, Alfred P. *Life in the Pacific Fifty Years Ago*. London: Routledge, 1930.

Mills, Sara. *Discourse of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.

Moorehead, Alan. *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840*. Harper & Row, 1966.

Morgan, Susan. *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.

Munro, Doug. "The Origins of Labourers in the South Pacific: Commentary and Statistics." In *Labour in the South Pacific*, edited by Jaqueline Leckie and Doug Munro Clive Moore. Townsville: James Cook University of Northern Queensland, 1990.

Munro, Doug and Brij V. Lal. *Texts and Contexts: Reflections in Pacific Islands Historiography.* Honolulu. University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

O'Brien, Patty. *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific*. Mclellan Endowed Series. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015.

Paine, R.D. *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem, Massachusetts*. Heritage Books, 1924.

Pitman, Emma Raymond. *Central Africa, Japan and Fiji: A Story of Missionary Enterprise, Trials and Triumphs* London: Hodder & Stauton, 1882.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes - Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

———. "Scratches on the Face of the Country; or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen." *Critical Inquiry*, no. Autumn (1985): 119-43.

Resture, Jane. "Fiji Islands Exploration, Shipping, and Trade: 1800 - 1840." http://www.janesoceania.com/fiji_discovery1/index.htm.

Routledge, David, ed. *The Fiji and New Caledonia Journals of Mary Wallis, 1851 - 1853*. Suva and Salem: Institute of Pacific Studies and Peabody Essex Museum, 1994.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. 1995 Reprint with a new Afterword ed. London: Penguin, 1978.

Salmond, Anne. *Between Worlds: Early Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1772-1815*. Auckland: Viking/Penguin, 1997.

———. *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. Auckland: Viking/Penguin, 1992.

Scarr, Deryck. *Fiji: A Short History*. North Sydney: George Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, 1984.

———. *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914*. Australian National University Press, 1967.

———. "Recruits and Recruiters: A Portrait of the Pacific Islands Labour Trade." *Journal of Pacific History* 2, no. 1 (1967): 5-24.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London, New York and Dunedin: Zed Books and University of Otago Press, 1999.

Smythe, Sarah Maria. *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands*. Oxford and London: John Henry and James Parker, 1864.

Spurway, John. *Ma'afu, Prince of Tonga, Chief of Fiji: The Life and Times of Fiji's First Tui Lau*. Pacific Series. Canberra, Australia: ANU Press, 2015.

Stoddart, Anna. *The Life of Isabella Bird*. Digital edition ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906.

Sturma, Michael. *South Sea Maidens: Western Fantasy and Sexual Politics in the South Pacific*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Teaiwa, Teresia K. "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans" *The Contemporary Pacific,* 6, no 1 (Spring 1994): 87 – 109

Wallis, Mary. *Life in Feejee: Five Years among the Cannibals by a Lady*. Reprint of 1851 original ed. Suva: Fiji Museum, 1983.

Washbrook, D.A. "Orients and Occidents: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire." In *Historiography; the Oxford History of the British Empire*, edited by R.W. Winks, 596-611. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Wendt, Albert. "Towards a New Oceania." *Mana Review* 1, no. 1 (January, 1976 1976): 49-60.

Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*. G. P. Putnam, 1856.

Williams, Thomas, and John Calvert. *Fiji and the Fijians*. D. Appleton, 1859.

Wisker, Gina. "Paradise Revisited: Women's Writing from Fiji." *Fijian Studies: A Journal of Contemporary Fiji* 3, no. 2 (2005): 425 - 50.

Youngs, Tim. *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Appendix 1: Glossary

This glossary contains words mostly Vosa vakaviti (Fijian) used within the thesis. Place names and people names have not been included, but within the text, as much as possible, both the nineteenth century spelling, and the present day spelling of names have both been included. This is particularly with names with the "mb" sound now written as "b", and the "nd" sound which is written as "d". There are some occasions where the modern day equivalent of a person or place could not be identified. In these cases, the nineteenth century spelling stands on its own.

Adi ("Andi")	Title of a high ranking woman
Balawa	Pineapple
beche-de-mer (French)	sea cucumber
Bukuwaqa	fire, burning wood. Used to signify hell
Kalavu	Rat
Kerekere	Tradition of asking for, and expecting to then receive something from another person.
Lala	Tradition where chiefs were able to ask anything, material or service, of their people that might benefit the people as a whole
levu ("lavu")	Big
liku ("leku")	dress or skirt made of grasses
Lotu	Conversion, religion
Marama	Woman
Marama levu	High ranked woman, literally "woman big"
Matanitu	Government
Meke	Dance
papalagi (Samoan)	Foreigners
tabu ("tambu")	taboo, not allowed
tabu levu ("tambu lavu")	not allowed with emphasise.
tani ("tavi")	away, wander (unsure of context)
tapa ("tappa")	bark cloth
Tui Viti	King of Fiji, title appropriated by Cakobau in the 1860s

Tui	Chief
Turaga levu	high chief
yagona (“yangona”)	the mildly narcotic root also known as kava
Waqa	Boat

Appendix 2: Itinerary of Mary Wallis

22 July, 1844	Chapter I – Embarking on Bark *Zotoff*
18 November	Ashore in the town of Kororarika, Bay of Isles, New Zealand
6 December 1844	Arrived at Motoriki ("Motureke") passing Ovalau
7 December	Bau, Viwa ("Vewa") but living onboard
18 December	Captain Wallis leave for Macuata ("Mathuata") coast and Wallis stays at Viwa with the Hunts (mission family there)
5 January 1845	Chapter II
9 January 1845	Aside – a summary of the Fijian Islands geography as written by Wallis p 42-43
23 January 1845	Chapter III
28 March	Chapter IV
14 April 1845	The Zotoff (ship) has arrived back at Viwa
21 April	Sail for Ovalau with Ritova ("Retova"), chief of Macuata onboard. Stopped overnight for supplies
24 April	Bua, to collect the "beech de mer" on board, and break up the house p 85
26 April	Chapter V Heading for Raviravi ("Raverave") (but weather stops them landing)
29 April	"Town" of Kadavu (2 miles awayfrom Raviravi), Vanua Levu where a *beche-de-mer* is located.
6 May	"Ndury", Vanua Levu where a house is established
8 May	Heading to other Vanua Levu houses – Vesonga, Kutu and Yanganga all near to Mathuata.
12 May – 10 June	"Vesonga" where a house is being sought.
7 August 1845	Chapter VI Apparently still at Vesonga or Vanua Levu – exact location not disclosed.
8 August	See a burning house at "Kutu"
7 September	Anchored off Yanganga, another *beche-de-mer* house off the coast of Vanua Levu

8 September 1845	Chapter VII – still anchored at Yanganga
19 September	Nivaka (another *beche-de-mer* house)
28 September	Kadavu (“Kandavu”)
21 October	Moved to deserted Macuata (“Mathuata”) where they planned to build *beche-de-mer* houses
5 November	Chapter VIII – still moored at Macuata
8 December	Chapter IX – still at Macuata
18 December	Sailed for “Raverave” but had to shelter at “Kandavu”. Arrived 20 December
22 December	Anchored at “Nivaka”
23 December	Arrived in Bua
2 Jan 1846	Back to Bau
6 January	Back to Viwa
11 January	Chapter X A visit to Bau
13 January	Left Viwa
16 January	Anchored at Ovalau
20 January	Anchored at Raverave (Vanua Levu)
22 January	Sailed for Ba
23 January	Anchored at “Bunda”
27 January	Left Fiji
1 Feb – 10 March 1846	Sailed to Philippines, via Solomon Islands “Manicola, Charlotte’s Archipelago”(probably Vanikoro, Santa Cruz Islands) among others
10 March	Chapter XI – Manila
1 April	Left Manila sailed around Pacific
9 August	“Pleasant Island” – probably Nauru
15 August	Chapter XII – still sailing
23 August	“Manicola”
19 September	Arrived back at Moturiki “Motureke”, sw of Ovalau
21 September	Back at Bau and Vewa. Living on the “bark” as a mission widow who had been in Tonga, Mrs Wilson, is using MW’s house
4 October	Chapter XIII – still moored near Bau/Viwa

24 December	Chapter XIV – still moored near Bau/Viwa
1 January, 1847	Captain Wallis sailing again, and Wallis back to her little house in Viwa
27 March	Chapter XV – ready to sail to Ba
1 – 10 May	Sailing to "Namula" along the coast of "Vetelavu"
10 May	Ba
14 May	Anchored off Bua "the dominions of Vakambua"
22 May	Anchored now in the dominion of "Touaga"
2 August	Says they have spent time between "Undu and Natimba". Probably NW tip of Vanua Levu which was called Cape Undu
15 August	Chapter XVI - Left Ba coast
28 August	Viwa again – this time in a room of the Hunt's new home
10 October	Chapter XVII – Still in Viwa
11 October	Leaving Viwa for Manila.
15 October	Vendoga for more fishing
30 Ocober	Leaving for Nadi ("Nandy")
4 November	Takes delivery of a "girl about 10 years old" from "a chief" to take to America.
5 November	Leaving Fiji
18 November	Arrived in Nauru ("Pleasant Island")
12 December	Manila
30 January 1848	Left Manila for America through Malaysia, Indonesia, Cape of Good Hope, St Helena
23 May 1848	Arrived in Salem, USA
12 October 1848	Chapter XVIII – departs USA again bound for NZ and Fiji
19 February 1849	Arrived NZ
6 March	Arrived Moturiki
7 March	Arrived Viwa to a much changed mission station (Hunt dead, Jaggar disgraced and moved to NZ)
4 April 1849	Chapter XIX – ready to leave for Ba
26 April	Crossing over to Vanua Levu (Dillon's Rock) and onto Tavea and Naloa for fishing
30 May	Raverave at the request of Ritova

7 June 1849	Chapter XX – Still at Raverave
19 July – 2 August	Back to Tavea, where Wallis leaves her husband to visit Bua accompanied by Elijah (Verani) where she stays with Mr and Mrs Williams in the town of Televa
2 August	Captain Wallis brings boat to Bua Bay to collect Wallis
4 August	Crossed back to Viti Levu to "Tabua" area near Ba.
12 August	Lautoka ("Lautoke")
29 Aug	Chapter XXI – still at Lautoka
5 September	Namula (where Phebe is from)
12 September	"Veudongo"
18 September	Ba
19 September	Yanganga
20 September	Raverave
23 September	Nduri
26 September	Nakuka "Far off region where all communication with the world is ended for present"
19 November	Going to Bua, moored at "Nai Thombo-thombo"
25 November	Moturiki and Viwa
12 December	Taking their leave of Bau and Viwa friends.
18 December	Passing "Nady" where Phebe is from. She is farewelled by her mother.
Christmas 1849	At sea, in a gale
7 February 1850	Manila
20 March	Left Manila
14 June	St Helena
18 July 1850	Salem – home.

Appendix 3: Itinerary of Sarah Maria Smythe

Sept 1858	W.T. Pritchard appointed first British Consul
Nov 1858	Pritchard to England – cession and cotton issues
June 1859	Change in Ministry in England. Commissioner (Smythe) to be sent to conduct an enquiry
16 Jan 1860	Left London to Marseilles onboard *Vectis*
22 Jan 1860	Malta
26 Jan 1860	Alexandria to Cairo via railway
27 Jan 1860	To Suez via railway. Boarded *Emeu*
2 Feb 1860	Passed between Perim and Arabia and landed late a night in Aden.
15 Feb 1860	Mauritius
4 March	Saw land – south western corner of Australia – King George's Sound. Then travelled across Great Australian Bight to Kangaroo Island.
8 March 1860	Kangaroo Island (point to send passengers and mail to Adelaide).
11 March	Melbourne
14 March	Sydney. *Emeu* was happily left behind. Not at all up to Smythe's expectations for a passenger ship.
Delayed	Sydney – due to hurricane season in Fiji and war in NZ. Goods procured for trade and gifts.
	Left instructions for Dr Seemann (botanist) to travel directly to Fiji on a Wesleyan vessel *John Wesley*.
7 day journey	Auckland
14 June	Left Auckland in a chartered boat, "named most inappropriately the "Pegasus"(pg xv). 22 day journey, exceeding the expectation of between 8 days and three weeks (p17)
5 July 1860	Levuka
July – October	Cruise through the Fiji Island group. Then "Pegasus" discharged
12 June	Letter i
3 july 1860	Sailed between Matuku and Totoya towards Ovalau (p15)

25 June – 5 July	Letter ii
5 july	Levuka (stay with Mr and Mrs Binner – US Consul
12 July	Letter iii
19 July	Left Levuka, to Port Kinnaird (British Consul house, 6 miles from Levuka, on south side of Ovalau. Travelled north and over the top and west of Ovalau.
Several days later	To Bau ("Mbau") and stay with Mr Fordham – missionary, also visit with Mr and Mrs Collis – training master
27 July	Public meeting held in Bau
One week spent	In Bau and day trip to Viwa (visit with Mr and Mrs Martin)
1 August	Letter iv
2 August	Left Bau to Rewa. Stopped in the small village of "Mburetu" – a place Smythe says was "our first acquaintance with Fijians in their heathen state." (pg 35) Based in Matai Suva – the mission station of Rewa, an hour away from the town of Rewa. Stay with missionary Mr Waterhouse (and Mr Moore). Day trip to Vutia (fishing village, pottery making witnessed)
3 August	Public meeting held in Rewa
9 August	Letter v
9 August	Leave Rewa aboard *Pegasus*
10 August	Kadavu ("Kandavu"), Tavuki ("Tavugi") village, to stay with missionaries Mr and Mrs Royce
14 August	Colonel Smythe held a public meeting in Kadavu
20 August	*Pegasus* moored between Viti Levu and Bega "Mbengga" and day trip to Navua. Chief of Navua is Kurunduandua.
20 August	Colonel Smythe sets out for Navua and inland to interior village of Namosi ("Namusi"). Mrs Smythe stays behind on the *Pegasus*.
20 - 27 August	Letter vi
25 August	Smythe receives a letter from her husband saying that they have arrived safely in Namosi. Public meeting is held in Namosi.
27 August	Colonal Smythe returns from Namosi
28 August	Sail to Nadroga ("Nandronga").

31 August	Public meeting held in Nadroga
1 September	Letter vii
5 September	Letter viii
	Section of letter vii and viii missing with only 3 pages of letter viii available, but according to the contents pages: Leave Nadroga to travel through Vuda ("Vunda") onto Yasawas and Ba ("Mba") district where they meet with the chief of the Ba district ("Vakambua") in the village of Vatia.
7 September	Sailing along Rakiraki ("Ragi-ragi") coast to town of Navatu.
8 September	Public meeting held in town of Navatu, Rakiraki
8 September	Letter ix
9 September	Depart Navatu to sail across to Vanua Levu
10 September	Landed at Bua ("Mbua"), an old mission post, then left for north coast – Macuata ("Mathuata"). Anchored overnight at Dillion's Rock (place of Charley Savage story).
11 September	Reach "Nanduri" the principal town of the Macuata chiefs.
15 September	Letter x
15 September	Public meeting at "Nanduri" took place with Tui Macuata and cousin "Bonaveindongo" were present
15 September	Travelled back to Bua
17 September	Arrive in Bua and public meeting takes place
18 September	Start on return journey to Viti Levu
20 September	Arrive in Viwa area, four miles to the west of a conical peak called Tova. Meet Mr Fordham, the area's missionary.
21 September	Public meeting in Viwa area. Display of ceremony of going to war.
21 September	Letter xi (ends on the poetic landscape descriptive passage)
22 September	Left Tova Peak anchorage and headed back to Levuka to rest.
1 October	Left Levuka for Lakeba ("Lakemba")
6 October	Lakeba
9 October	Public meeting in Lakeba
11 October	Failed attempt to leave Lakeba and *Pegasus* damaged in the process.

13 October	Leaving Lakeba going to Fawn Harbour on the south coast of Vanua Levu)
13 October	Letter xii
14 October	Arrive at Fawn Harbour, town of Cakaudrove ("Thakaundrove") on Vanua Levu
18- 19 October	Side trip by Colonel Smythe to an indigenous island crossing between Fawn Harbour and Natewa Bay.
22 October	Public meeting in Fawn Harbour attended by Tui Cakau ("Tui-Thekau"), "Bonaveindongo" and Ritova ("Retova").
22 October	Letter xiii
22 October	Left Fawn Harbour for Suva
23 October	Suva Harbour then left for Levuka
25 October	Levuka – moved into their house
5 November	*Pegasus* sailed for Auckland and Smythes settled in Levuka
7 November 1860	Letter xiv
25 December	Letter xv
26 April 1861	Letter xvi
20 May 1861	Letter xvii
27 May 1861	Left Levuka aboard a trading vessel, *Agnes*, to Sydney
23 June 1861	Letter xviii – A telegraphic message announcing their arrival in Sydney: "We are just arrived from Fiji – all well – too late for the mail."
10 July 1861	Letter xix
11 July 1861	Left Sydney aboard a fine ship *Electra*
15 August 1861	Letter xx
15 Sept 1861	After 67 day journey, arrived in San Francisco
21 Sept 1861	Left San Francisco aboard steamer *Sonora*
5 October 1861	Panama then transit Pacific to Atlantic via railway. (Canal 1914). Boarded English style steamer *Champion* at Aspinwall. Accompanied by a war steamer as far as Barbados because of

	Confederate steamer *Sumter* "at the time causing great apprehension".[542]
13 Oct 1861	New York
20 Oct 1861	Embarked for England
1 Nov 1861	Liverpool

[542]Smythe, xviii. The Southern American stares had succeeded from the North in March 1861 so the Smythe's were travelling though an area of water which was at war.

Appendix 4: Itinerary of Constance Gordon-Cumming

22nd March, 1875	Left London aboard The Messageries Maritimes *S.S. Anadyr*
17 April	Chapter I – onboard boat leaving England – to "My dear Fellow-Arab"
Late May	Arrive Sydney after stopping in Rockhampton and Brisbane
2, 10, 20 June, 15 July	Chapter II – Sydney – to Nell, Eisa
14 June	Sir Arthur Gordon leaves his family in Sydney and goes to Fiji
Mid August	Blue Mountains trip with Mr Maudsley
19,29 August, 2 Sept	Chapter III – Blue Mountains – unnamed recipient and Eisa
9 Sept	Leave Sydney for Fiji aboard the *Egmont*
18 Sept	Passed Kadavu ("Khandavu")
19 September	Arrived Levuka
26, 29 September	Chapter IV – Levuka – to unnamed recipient
2, 4, 31 October	Chapter V – Levuka – to Nell, Jean, Eisa,
October	Day trips described to Moturiki, "Levoni" valley on Ovalau and other picnic spots on the Ovalau coast.
1 November	Chapter VI – Levuka – to George
16, 22,30 November	Chapter VII – Levuka – to Nell, Bessie
22 November	Moved into the new Governor's House in Nasova, Ovalau
2 December	Travel to Suva with the Gordon family
10, 13 December	Chapter VII – Suva, Rewa – to Eisa,
11 December	Travelled from Suva to Rewa with Gordon family, then continued with Mr and Mrs Langham into the interior up the Rewa river to Navosi ("Navousi")
13 – 30 December	Trip further up Rewa River
19 December	Chapter IX –Rewa River – to Jean
23 December	Chapter X –Rewa River – to Alexa
24 December	Day trip on Rewa River
25 December	Chapter XI –Rewa River – to Nell

27,28, 31 December	Chapter XII – Nakamerosi ("Nakamerousi") – to Nell
27 December	Rewa River. An overnight excursion to a village alone.
30 December	Arrive in Bau
January 1876	Day trips from Bau to Viwa and other small islands such as Toberua ("Tomberrua")
9 January	Big storm in Bau delaying departure to Levuka
11 January	Travel to Levuka ("Nasova" – the house of the Governor)
14 January	Chapter XIII – Nasova – to Nell
1,7,10, 16, 17,18 March	Chapter XIV – Nasova – to Aunt Emma
8-10 March	Trip to Bau to see festivities.
28, 29 March, 2, 6 April	Chapter XV – Nasova – to Nell
29 March – 1 April	In Levuka nursing Mrs de Ricci, 22 year old wife of the Attorney General. Met on the way from Sydney and remained friends. Mrs de Ricci died from a high fever (p154-5). Her husband leaves the islands too, as they have a three year old child left in England.
8 April – 20 May	Invited to travel to small islands (Koro, Nairai, Gau ("Ngau"), Batiki ("Batique") – all in Lomaviti group east of Ovalau) with the Langhams on the mission ship *Jubilee.* "Of course I have accepted gladly!" (p156) as her options to travel in Fiji had been limited until now.
8 – 17 April	Left Nasova and travelled to island of Koro.
14 (Good Friday), 21 April	Chapter XVI –Koro – to Nell
19 – 21 April	Island of Nairai.
21 April – 4 May	Island of Gau
26, 27, 29 April, 3, 20 May, 3, 9 June, 22, 25, 28 July	Chapter XVII – Gau island, then Nasova from 20 May – unnamed recipient, but probably Nell, as flows narrative of last letter, then Eisa

28 July – 2 August	Frustrating journey from Bau to Taveuni, landing at Vuna Point Taveuni (south west tip) at a mission house
2 August	Chapter XVII – last section of chapter to Lady Gordon
3 August	"Wairiki" near Somosomo, Taveuni
4, 7, 11, 13 August	Chapter XVIII Somosomo – unaddressed, then "Nanduri" – to Nell then to Jean
4 August	Left Somosomo, anchored off Rabi ("Rambi") Island but spent the night on the island
5 August	Crossed to Vanua Levu and slept in a cave onshore
6 August	Reached Nanduri, district of Mathuate (northern coast of Vanua Levu)
7- 12 August	Nanduri with Mr and Mrs Fraser (district garden superintendent), including an overnight trip to the small island of Kia. A district meeting including *meke*, offerings of cloth etc was observed
13 – 16 August	Left Nanduri for Neivaka Point and onto Ni SoniSoni in Bua district via a very poor village
16, 22 August	Chapter XIX – Ni Soni Soni – unaddressed, then Savusavu to "a sister"
17 August	Left Bua to head for Taveuni, but unfavourable conditions prevented it. Ended in Savusavu
24 August, 13, 16,22 September and 12 September	Chapter XX – Navosa – To Eisa And War Letter – to George
24 August	Arrive back at Nasova to find Arthur Gordon (Sir A's aide) has typhoid fever
22 Sept	Plans to visit Mrs Leefe in Nananu (seems an old family connection?)
26 Sept – 2 Oct	Nananu (north of Rakiraki)
30 Sept	Chapter XXI – Nananu – to Nell
2- 13 October	RakiRaki (Ratu Philimone's house) with day trip to Na Sava to see the finest pottery, and Bali Bali
10, 12, 13, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29 October, 1,13 November,22	Chapter XXII – RakiRaki, Bali Bali, Nananu, Nvuindawa, Na Sau, Viti Levu Bay, Nananu – unnamed recipient then Nell December in Nasova - to Eisa

December	
14 – 24 October	Nananu
24 – 28 October	Trip to Va Via and Na Sau on Viti Levu and down to the east of the coast (Viti Levu Bay)
29 October – 4 November	Nananu
4 November	To Nasova
24 - 30 December	Left Navosa to travel to Auckland as Nevil (Sir Arthur's son) is too poorly to stay another hot summer. Via Kadavu
30 December 1876 – late April 1877	New Zealand
31 December 1876, 1, 8, 9, 12, 28, January, 13 February, 4 March	Chapter XXIII – Auckland and other places in New Zealand – unnamed recipient
23, 29 March, 1 April	Chapter XXIV – various parts of NZ – to Alexa then unnamed
3,5, 8 April	Chapter XXV – various parts of NZ – unnamed recipient
11 April	Left Auckland
26, 29 April, 6, 7, 9, 25, 30 May, 1, 23, 25 June, 1, 9, 14, 20, July 1877	Chapter XXVI – Suva, Bau, Nasova – to Nell, then unnamed, then Jean
Approx 17-27 April	In Suva staying with the Jotskes ("Jotskis"). Day trips along the rivers of Suva
27 April – 6 May	To Bau – death of Joeli Mbulu – Tongan missionary, then on to Viwa for his funeral
8 May 1877	Day trip from Nasova to Moturiki
End June 1877	Three day trip to Wakaya
26 July, 3, 12, 18, 21, 24, 30, 31 August, 1, 4	Chapter XXVII – various windward islands mostly Mago also Vanua Mbalavu

September	
26 July – 31 August	Trip to Windward Islands – Koro, Taveuni, Cicia, Mago, Vanua Mbalavu (Maafu made this island famous)
1 September 1877	Anniversary of annexation, celebrated by a race day
5 September	Sails to Tonga, Samoa and possibly Tahiti
Undated	Chapter XXVIII – a series of mythology and witchcraft stories