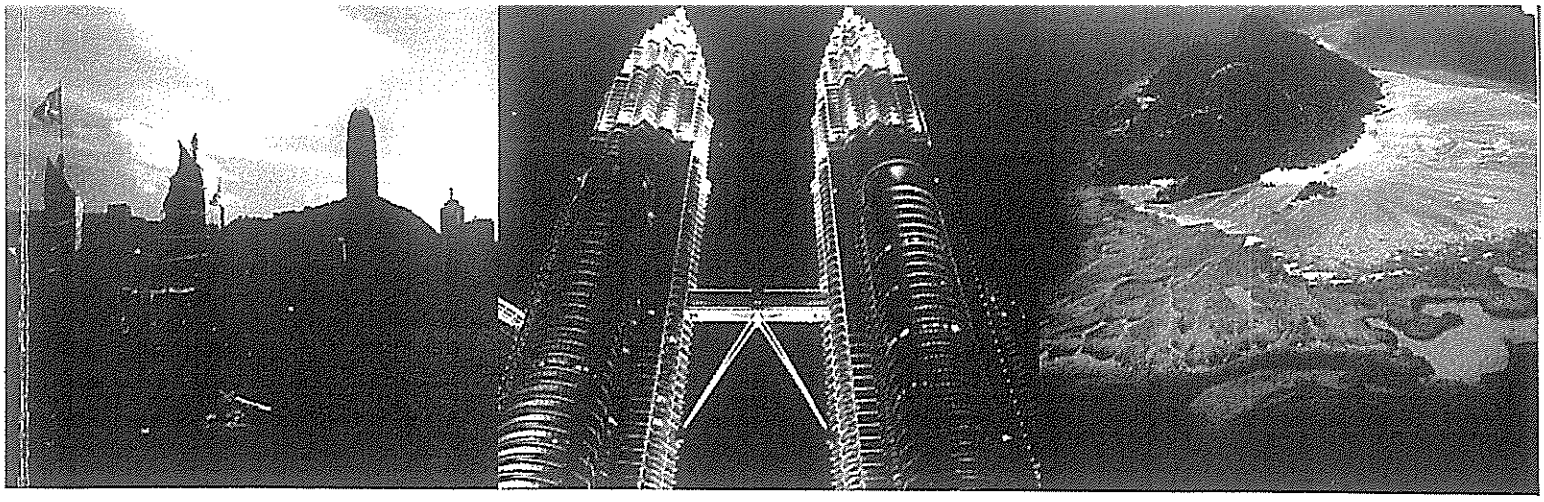

IMAGINED COMMUNITIES REVISITED

Critical Essays on Asia-Pacific Literatures and Cultures

With a Foreword by
Benedict Anderson

Edited by

Nor Faridah Abdul Manaf
Mohammad A. Quayum

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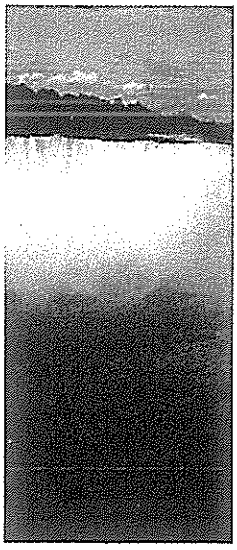

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Contents

In and Out of Time: Staggered Duration and Colonial Policy in Fiji[1]

Sudesh Mishra
Deakin University, Australia and the University of the South Pacific, Fiji

When Sir Arthur Gordon arrived in Fiji in 1875, he put in place policies that greatly influenced the direction of the new colony and laid the groundwork for the volatile politics of the multicultural island-state in the century that followed. Governor Gordon had previously held appointments in Mauritius, Trinidad and New Brunswick and appears to have come to Fiji with the aim of carrying out an "experiment." Three key ingredients in the experiment were taxation, social preservation and labour recruitment. Early in his tenure, Sir Arthur introduced a taxation scheme on the native population with the object of shielding it from the designs of unscrupulous planters. To achieve this goal, he sanctioned and reinforced the authority of the *bulis* (district officers) and *rokos* (provincial chiefs) within the indigenous polity, thus fabricating a political class of intermediaries between his administration and the people. He also standardised and formalised provincial variations in native practices (pertaining to such matters as hereditary rank, nomenclature and land ownership) and set up an economic transaction between the masses and their government that bypassed the white trader and industrial agriculturalist. Inspired by a selective anthropology, he spurned repeated petitions for access to indigenous labour and encouraged the recruitment of Indian coolies. Governor Gordon embodies a curious anomaly in late nineteenth century modernity. On the one hand, he comes across as a champion of material progress: he supports capital investment, the accumulation of surplus, the employment of indentured labour, the founding of cities and adherence to the rule of law. On the other, having cut his teeth in an era dominated by anti-slave agitators, radical philanthropists and keen anthropologists, he shelters his native subjects from the social relations of bourgeois capital and sets himself audaciously against its economic foundations. Espousing the ideals of the Enlightenment, he seriously alienates the foot soldiers of modernity – Fiji's traders and planters. Characterised by an anomalous modernity, Sir Arthur's policies hastened the coolies' admission into the material and imaginary structures of bourgeois capital, but at the expense of *taukeis* (owners of the soil) who comprised the proper subjects of a paternalistic anthropology. Whereas coolies experienced a shattering upheaval in their social structures and life-worlds, and traumatically recognised themselves in the mirror of modernity, taukeis obtained a false sense of continuity between their life-worlds and the colonial dispensation. Their epiphany of recognition was, consequently, delayed. It would be wrong to read history in rigid consequentialist terms, but it may be possible to argue that the policy traces left behind by its first Governor continue to feature in the turbulent politics of contemporary Fiji.

It is not my intention to impute political agency to a solitary figure, no matter how far-sighted or wrongheaded they might have been in retrospect. Rather, I want to show how the Governor's position represents a general structural crisis in colonial policy at a late stage of capital expansion. What we notice in the second half of the nineteenth century is a philanthropic "turn," among White Hall liberals in particular, with regard to the welfare of subject populations. Interestingly, the turn coincides with the belated psychological aspiration of British administrators to leave for posterity a sense of an empire distinguished by its altruism. The turn, in any case, draws on an evolutionary schema to argue for the gradual exposure of backward and savage peoples to "civilisation" – a sly euphemism, needless to say, for the various values and effects (organisational, material, moral and legal) of capitalist progress.[2] Together, these values and effects constitute the standard for calibrating states as well as shades of savagery and civilisation, giving rise to the notion of staggered duration: i.e. the belief that different societies inhabit different temporalities in a sliding scale of social evolution. Social Darwinists directly incorporate the logic of evolutionary science into historical opinion to rank civilisations around the key standard of progress. The outcome, as noted by E.H. Carr, is an analogical fallacy whereby social acquirements calculated in

generational terms are held to be interchangeable with biological inheritance measured in millennia (113). The philanthropic turn occurs at a time when industrial activity is at its most intense and demand for labour clearly at a premium. It also coincides with an era known for its interest in experimental utopian communities. The crisis shows itself – and this is my principal point – in the tension underlying the idea of paternalistic care for less evolved peoples and the economic imperatives of capitalism as manifested in the colonial project.[3] Gordon's "great experiment," so designated by his friend Lord Selbourne, was nothing less than the practical implementation of an ideological crisis in Britain's colonial policy (54). It is my proposal that the institution of a *crisis* in policy as *legislated policy* lays the groundwork for an eventual crisis. Gordon's experiences in Trinidad and Mauritius (where he set up a Royal Commission to inquire into the abuse of Indian workers) most likely played a part in the plans he drew up for Fiji. Even so, his personal philosophy and sense of justice cannot be decoupled from an emergent anthropological concern among policy-makers. Indeed, it is possible to argue that Gordon was already "spoken for" as the subject of an experimental colonial policy some time before its realisation in practice.[4] Prior to his departure for the South Seas, he was a guest of the influential Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society. The Committee, in its address, extolled Sir Arthur for his "principle of recognizing no distinction of colour or race before the law" (*The Fiji Times*, 26 May 1875) and his "just treatment of dependent races" and noted that "the immediate future of an interesting aboriginal race could not be entrusted in better hands" (*The Fiji Times*, 28 July 1875). It intimated that the annexation of the colony, in 1874, was a direct outcome of its own advocacy as Fiji had become "the centre of a nefarious system of slave-trading" (*The Fiji Times*, 28 July 1875) known as blackbirding. Accordingly, the granting to his Excellency of consular jurisdiction over Western Polynesia was "calculated to extinguish the iniquitous traffic" (*The Fiji Times*, 28 July 1875). The Committee then proceeded to make several important resolutions (which, incidentally, were forwarded to the Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary of the State for Colonies) (*The Fiji Times*, 24 March 1875), including (1) the introduction of "a legitimate and well-ordered system of immigration" (*The Fiji Times*, 28 July 1875); (2) labour contracts for set periods of service (*The Fiji Times*, 26 May 1875); (3) the repatriation of time-expired Polynesians[5] currently stranded in Fiji (*The Fiji Times*, 26 May 1875); (4) the simplification of land laws and a speedy resolution to the vexed issue of land titles (*The Fiji Times*, 26 May 1875); and (5) the employment of "native chiefs and native machinery of administration in the government of the country" (*The Fiji Times*, 28 July 1875). In summing up, the Committee reminded Gordon that the last two recommendations had already passed muster in British Parliament. In his brief response, Sir Arthur pledged "to check, if not wholly suppress, those acts of piratical violence which have excited such just and general reprobation throughout the civilized world" and thanked the Committee for not being "insensible to the advantages of a well-regulated system of immigration," without which, he added, "it would be impossible to anticipate a speedy or extensive development of [the] natural resources" of the colony (*The Fiji Times*, 26 May 1875).

Later, in his inaugural speech as Governor, and aware that his notoriety as a martinet and experimenter had preceded him, Sir Arthur made a concerted attempt to distance himself from those officials who, in his view, "come out crammed full of fine theories and preconceived notions, and…force facts to suit them" (*Fiji Records of Private and Public Life* 177). However, the acts and ordinances he actually passed into legislation during his tenure cannot be easily unhooked from Britain's colonial policy (as expressed by Carnarvon who handpicked him for the position), nor from the correspondences he kept with Lord Selbourne, Marquis of Salisbury and his famous mentor, William Gladstone, nor, as it turns out, from the entreaties of Wesleyans and the recommendations put to him by the Aborigines' Protection Society.[6] In short, Gordon was not so much a free agent as an interpellated subject of late nineteenth century colonial policy. Two months after he made landing in Levuka aboard the Pearl, Sir Arthur provided a general sketch of the legislation he was in the process of drawing up. He referred in particular to the need for investment and revenue, to the virtue of regulating the supply of labour, to the settlement of land titles and the introduction of a taxation scheme, and invited opinion on the most suitable site for a new capital. Elaborating on the labour question, he remarked on the waning supply of Polynesians and proposed drawing on coolie workers from India (*The Fiji Times*, 8 September 1875). Tellingly, he did not so much as broach the idea

of employing native Fijians. Despite the practical reasons he cites for the lack of Polynesian attraction to Fiji, such as higher wages in Queensland, it is clear that the Governor had no interest in encouraging the controversial traffic, or, in the aftermath of the measles epidemic that routed the native population, of supplementing it with indigenous labour.[7] Sir Arthur's speech at Nasova, which drew admiration for its pliancy and accommodation, actually foreshadowed the adoption of legislation designed to delink indigenous life-worlds from the economic interests of traders and planters, and from colonial modernity in general. It led to the institution, within the same temporal plane, of parallel economic systems which Gordon justified on the basis of staggered duration. This, indeed, was the great experiment and the logical outcome of the philanthropic turn in colony policy.

Of the impressive number of acts he passed between 1875 and 1880, including those relating to native self-government and native jurisprudence, none was more critical than the Ordinance on Native Taxation of 1876, for it comprised the lynchpin in Gordon's experiment, and made it possible for him to institute separate economic codes for natives and settlers.8 In a long paper he gave on the subject to the Royal Colonial Institute in March, 1879, Sir Arthur made it plain that his tax policy was "one in a series of measures... which have for their objects the preservation and social development of the native race" (*System of Taxation* 43). The argument for an autonomous native tax policy, which in reality led to the invention of an optional economic scheme, was seductive. Sir Arthur declared that the poll-tax which had preceded his scheme was financially ineffective and morally distasteful. It failed to bolster the coffers of the administration while its surreptitious objective was to compel natives, who found it difficult to come by hard currency, to satisfy the legal requirement by hiring out to white planters. He then made a case for staggered duration to an audience not unacquainted with the theory. As a semi-civilised race, neither as lowly as the nomadic Australian nor quite as cultivated as the Hindu or Ceylonese, the native Fijian existed in a condition of *differend* (or radical incommensurability)[9] to European laws and economic forms, and also to imported concepts of morality and justice, which were far in advance of his own. It would be imprudent, he averred, to urge the Fijian "to simulate ideas which are unintelligible to him" (*System of Taxation* 10) both for the survival of an interesting race and because of the danger posed to colonial order by a disaffected population. He also argued that using natives in the machinery of government would be financially judicious. His solution to the problem of *differend* was, in any case, top-down and idealistic. Since their cultural forms, moral values and social practices belonged to an earlier time, resembling "the Highlands of Scotland some three or four hundred years ago" (*System of Taxation* 14), Fijians were entitled to be taxed according to a mode of production best suited to the anachronistic state of their social relations. Gradually, they would adjust to the habits of their masters. It seemed to have been of little consequence to Sir Arthur that, by imposing a uniform scheme upon the indigenous population, he was willfully interfering with the variations to be found in the social and cultural relations of different villages, tribal units and provinces. A contradiction shows itself here in the tension between the sentimental project of preservation and the necessity of centralised political control.[10]

The Governor proceeded to inform his rapt audience that the system formalised by his policy was "purely native and of spontaneous growth" (*System of Taxation* 14). Facts and Fijians, however, begged to differ. Peter France, in a marvellous book entitled *The Charter of the Land*, argues that honorific descriptors such as buli and roko tui (provincial chief), derived respectively from the districts of Bua and Tailevu, were not universally understood and led to bewilderment in other localities. In the district of Nadi, for instance, one worthy informant was thrown into a muddle when the roko turned out to be a man and not some noteworthy metal object. The Governor's experiment, in short, amounted to nothing less than the codification of a new social order bound up with an organisation initiated specifically for the purpose of revenue collection.[11] The system featured a chain of authority passing from the *taukei* (commoner) to the buli (district officer) through to the roko tui all the way to Sir Arthur, and was probably closer in its conception to Europe's imagined feudal past, and an aristocrat's nostalgia of it, than any actual state of affairs. Sir Arthur chose to replace Cakobau's poll-tax with a tributary system or a version of *lala* (or gratuitous service to the chief) where payment was made in kind not coin, and responsibility shared by the *mataqali* or village unit. Allowing

for discrepancies in size and population, a part of the communal produce, whether copra or cotton, tobacco or maize, kava or candlenut, was set aside as tithe which the government sold to a third party by calling for tenders. Many mataqalis, either individually or in association with others, created special gardens to service their tax.[12] The net effect of the scheme was fourfold: (1) it altered social relations in villages as economic activity revolved around the government gardens; (2) it succeeded in shutting out unscrupulous traders who had formerly purchased directly from the natives; (3) it denied white planters, made desperate by the shortfall in Polynesian recruitment, access to an abundant supply of ready-to-hand labour; and (4) it gave birth to what was described as "two codes, one for Europeans and the other for natives, as between themselves" (*The Fiji Times*, 8 December 1877). Having been formally initiated into the chiefly hierarchy by no less than Cakobau Rex, Sir Arthur oversaw the institution, even the partial fabrication, of an order founded on feudal principles and largely sequestered from the incursions of colonial modernity.[13]

Gordon was, however, by no means anti-progressive – a point critical to my thesis regarding an ideological peculiarity in late colonial policy. He well understood that the Empire was sustained by capital expansion, which system comprised a vital standard in his own evolutionary diagram of less or more evolved peoples, and that the colonial project as a whole was predicated on a steady supply of "free" workers.[14] Still, Sir Arthur's altruistic tendencies were not quite in synch with the economic imperatives of modernity, of which he was a willing advocate, and this gave rise to an anomaly. His feelings of paternalistic concern, inseparable from the views of his peers and the philanthropic turn in colonial policy, certainly embraced the Empire's "youngest children"[15] – while flying in the face of changes in social relations brought about by modernity – but they did not extend, not in the same way at any rate, to India's "cultivated" peasantry. To ensure that modernity was not hindered in its onward march – which included the building of roads, founding of a capital, setting up of an inter-insular ferry service, and the promotion of industrial agriculture – he turned to the potentially "boundless supply" of coolie labour. (I should note in parenthesis that the first batch of Indian recruits arrived in Levuka on 14 May 1879, although small groups had served, under the Master and Servant Act, with G. Clarence in Ulicalia in 1875 and with Harper and Wilson in Taveuni in January, 1879.) The speech at Nasova in 1875 makes it plain that Gordon had entertained this course of action prior to his inauguration. Once he had finished legislating on native policy which, for most part, adhered to the recommendations put forward by the Aborigines' Protection Society, he set about addressing the vexed issue of labour supply. The sequence of events drew suspicion from the planters' champion, *The Fiji Times*, which accused the Governor of concocting a native tax policy so as to justify his pet scheme of recruiting Indians. The opposite, in fact, was more likely the case. The viability of the tributary social relations, which was no fortuitous invention but an experiment some time in gestation, depended very much on the importation of coolie labour to service the parallel economy.[16] Without it – and this the Governor grasped like no other – there could be no long-term accumulation of surplus, or, for that matter, the transformation of Fiji into a modern nation-state. That peasant Indians might also be unused to regulated forms of industrial work, and therefore in need of a different mode of operation, seemed not to have been a consideration. Moreover, Sir Arthur failed to explain how the concept of staggered duration, and the notion of parallel economic modes for different social temporalities, was intended to work in practice if the goal was gradual adjustment. On this point it merits noting that feudal polities do not cease because serfs, under the care of a benign patriarch, slowly instruct themselves to adjust to new conditions of production; rather, changes in productive capacities result in the rise of a revolutionary class that usurps power, shattering existing hierarchies, and engendering new forms of association. Be that as it may, Sir Arthur did not elaborate on the aporia at the heart of his theory of staggered duration: viz. when and how irreconcilable temporalities link up if, at any given period, one is discontinuously in advance of the other. To be fair, Governor Gordon was in no position to note the theodicy at the heart of the teleological concept of a final convergence in the homogenous empty time of the (over)developed.[17] His adversaries were decidedly more derisive in their verdict. They applauded him for attempting "a miracle never accomplished" in getting the natives "to attain... civilization by civilizing themselves" (*The Fiji Times*, 19 May 1877). What we detect in Gordon's notion of staggered duration is the operation of the archaic as a function of the new.

Adorno once remarked that the archaic is

> produced historically... and to that extent it is dialectical in character and not 'pre-historical,' but rather the exact opposite. For it is precisely nothing but the site of everything whose voice has fallen silent because of history: something which can only be measured in terms of that historical rhythm which alone 'produces' it as a kind of primal history. (Adorno and Benjamin 38)

Extant ideas, categories and cultures are generated in the present as archaisms so that the present, as a category of the modern, may deem itself to have surmounted the past it is doomed to make present.

Fiji's planters, for all their self-interest, hypocrisy and mercenary motives, rightly saw the native tax policy as anti-progressive, paradoxical and a grave challenge to their status as the revolutionary class of colonial modernity. Hemmed on all sides by legislation, they decided to go on the offensive and turned to their most potent weapon to incite an attack on the Governor's policies. *The Fiji Times* obliged, igniting a fierce debate on the nature of political economy. In a series of letters and editorial notices, it decried the chain of servitude sanctioned by the tributary scheme and cited the natural law of supply and demand. Contrary to official mumbo jumbo, it maintained that Fijians would benefit enormously if admitted into the social relations of plantation capital. The paper railed against the folly, and foretold the eventual failure, of a policy that instituted feudal relations in the name of progress, civilisation and development. It found incomprehensible the attempt to substitute local labour with imported recruits, pointing to the cost of charter and slandering the physique of the coolie. In particular, it accused the government of condoning the abuse of power by legalising lala. One correspondent, writing under the nom de plume, Omega, declared that "authority, as abused by Rokos and Bulis under the protection of the Government, can be made, and is made to cover any and all kinds of extortion, both of the native's time and property and only requires greedy and unprincipled Rokos and Bulis to be absolute despotism" (*The Fiji Times*, 27 October 1877). Another, substituting hyperbole for proof, complained that the masses were being "ground to the dust" by chiefs who satisfy their wants and whims by demanding everything from cutter, yacht or schooner to money contributions (*The Fiji Times*, 17 February 1977). A third, Alpha, observed that the naked truth beneath the "thin web of philanthropy with which the Governor seeks to shroud the system of 'Garden taxation'" is that "the Fijian is a serf of the lowest order and ground down by both governments and chiefs" (*The Fiji Times*, 14 August 1878). Throwing his lot into the fray, James McConnell of Vuna Point wondered "how a system of feudalism or servitude can be reconciled with 'The grand law of continuity or development of human progress'" (*The Fiji Times*, 20 March 1878). The various positions coalesced in the general opinion that a cessation of lala and the taxation scheme, followed by the encouragement of natives to sign up as wage-labourers, would assist in the project of civilisation, nation-building and modernity. This argument was made with exemplary force in an editorial opinion which implored the government to let Fijians "assume their natural place in the social scale, and become the hired servants to those who are in a position to employ them:"

> We need not point out the several relations of capital and labor, nor how impossible it is that the one shall exist without the other. The destinies of the colony are now being shaped, and upon steps taken in the present will its immediate future depend. Next to the question of land is that of labor; in fact, it may be said to be almost inseparable from it; for without labor land is valueless, and without value to land a country is nothing. (*The Fiji Times*, 14 February 1877)

The column concluded with a sanguine vision of the serf, freed from the thralldom of the tribal economy, ascending the ladder of bourgeois social relations to the position of landed proprietor.

A central feature of colonial policy was the disinclination among legislators, in London as well as Levuka, to turn Fijians into roaming bands of itinerant workers by uprooting them from their customary life-worlds.[18] Gordon's native tax policy was the logical culmination of

this generally-held principle in the late colonial period. Even if we were to take into account their profiteering intention and spurious rhetoric (relating to social progress, civilisation, nation-building, etc.), it has to be admitted that the planters were right in their assessment of the aporia contained in a policy that sought to philanthropically incorporate incompatible times and life-worlds into the project of modernity. The crisis in colonial policy may be described as that peculiar condition, in body as well as body politic, where the left hand attempts to repair what the right destroys. An indispensible element in bourgeois social relations is the creation, by push or pull, coercion or consent, of a class of wage-labourers who "having no means of production of their own are reduced to selling their labour-power in order to live" (Marx and Engles 473). The legacy of the native tax policy was to sequester indigenous life-worlds from modes and forms of production, aye from an entire history, that not only made colonialism possible but was its overriding objective. Crisis and contradiction are, of course, fundamental to all imaginary conditions of our commerce with material life. What set apart the Fiji experience was Sir Arthur's institution of an ideological contradiction as legislated policy and this, in my opinion, sowed the seeds of a future crisis in the Fijian polity.

I want to conclude with a few general observations. Gordon's native tax policy, it is evident, prepared the ground for Indian coolies to be admitted into colonial modernity. According to Vijay Mishra, the voyage across the kala pani (black waters) turned a motley crew of peasants into proper historical subjects as they entered "for the first time the regulative history of Empire" (429). Uprooted from their village economies, India's peasants were quickly transformed into wage labourers and entered, at the lower end of the scale, the dynamic social relations of bourgeois capital. By late 1930s, and within two generations, a small petit bourgeois class had emerged among them in the aftermath of indenture (1879-1916), and by 1987, an overwhelming proportion of merchants, free farmers, civil servants and skilled professionals were ethnically Indian. Indigenous Fijians, on the other hand, were mostly consigned, as a consequence of the formalisation of a partly-fabricated and antiquated polity, to that curious temporal domain that Dipesh Chakrabarty once described as the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous (87). Gordon's native legacy was kept intact by several of his understudies who went on to become Governors in their own right: William Des Voeux, J.B. Thurston and Charles Mitchell. Although by 1909 Fijians were no longer required to pay tax in kind, the impact of the amendment on the code of natives "as between themselves" was minimal for the following reasons. Coolies, by now the preferred workers, were coming to the colony in abundant numbers and satisfied the needs of the industry. Moreover, with the entry into the market of the big sugar concerns, such as CSR, the annual land rent paid to landowners had exceeded £20,000. Consequently, in the view of one historian, the Fijian "'hailed with satisfaction the discovery' – that it was unnecessary for him to work" (Cumpston 384). A third, more persuasive reason, was that in spite of changes to legislation "the basis of assessment remained communal" ("A Colonial 'Social Experiment'" 272). Indeed, in response to the expanding political and economic clout of settler Indians, an Ordinance in 1944 gave Fijian chiefs additional powers and reinforced the communal system fathered by Gordon. In collaboration with Ratu Sukuna, Governor Philip Mitchell revived a version of the indirect system of village administration. Still, Mitchell and Sukuna differed in one important respect. Whereas the former, like Gordon, saw staggered duration as a necessary "transitional phase" to be gradually surmounted, the latter felt that it formed the fixed and permanent state of indigenous life-worlds ("The Historical Trajectory of Fijian Power" 5). Sukuna's viewpoint led to the promulgation of a constitution in 1970 that recognised chiefs as the rightful custodians of indigenous life-worlds.

The 1987 coup, it is possible to argue, had its seeds in a colonial policy that sought to diminish the divide among irreconcilable temporalities by means of a doctrine of gradualism ("A Colonial 'Social Experiment'" 264). It is a matter of some irony that the same policy gave birth to the very condition it sought to negate – staggered duration.

NOTES

1. Research for the paper was conducted in the winter of 2009. I wish to express my gratitude to the staff of the National Archives of Fiji for their patience, good humour and assistance.

2. Marx and Engels make the same point when they contend that the bourgeoisie compel all nations "to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e. to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image" (477).

3. The philanthropic agenda, as shown by Shanta Davie, does not discount coercive acts of power and authority ("A Colonial 'Social Experiment'" 258).

4. K.L. Gillion makes a similar point when he remarks that Gordon might have contemplated the introduction of coolie labour prior to his arrival in the colony as part of his general policy of selective philanthropy (3-7).

5. The noun was used generally to describe diverse peoples drawn from New Hebrides, the Line and Solomon Islands, Banks and Santa Cruz groups, etc.

6. Peter France observes that Gordon's "career was under the active and benign surveillance of Mr Gladstone and the Earls of Selbourne and Carnarvon" (102).

7. In 1877, Charles Mitchell, the Agent-General of Immigration, found it difficult to charter suitable vessels with a view to returning stranded workers and recruiting new ones. The few ships that were contracted by the colony for the purpose came back with very few recruits. The Prospector, capable of carrying 460 passengers, came back with 20 recruits and The Dauntless, with a capacity of 160, returned with 90. The problem was attributed to the Ordinance XXIV of 1876 which set out strict provisions for the recruitment of Polynesians. A commissioner, Lieutenant R. Beckwith Leefe, was appointed to inquire into the affair, and his report largely found fault with the conditions in Fiji and the unregulated nature of the traffic. Ever the enthusiast for planting interests, *The Fiji Times* felt that Leefe was under "mysterious instructions" to produce a negative report and adduced a bulletin on Fiji from *The Daily News* which called for a discontinuation of the Polynesian labour traffic (*The Fiji Times*, 10 April, 1878).

8. It featured in Ordinance No. IV and was approved by the Legislative Council on 17 February, 1876.

9. See Jean-Francois Lyotard, "The *Differend*, the Referent, and the Proper Name." *Diacritics*, 14. 3: 4-14.

10. Marx and Engels contend that political centralisation is critical to the bourgeois mode of production (477).

11. Peter France notes that bulis and rokos were not terms familiar to all Fijians and that no consideration was given to variations, or contradictions, in practice: "The Fijian administration very soon established itself as the new mode of social control which supplemented and, in some respects, incorporated, that of the chiefs. To the European official it had the semblance, with its unfamiliar language, titles and observances, of an indigenous institution. But to the Fijians it was an imported system of authority whose demands, and whose sanctions, reflected the way of life of the white man rather than their own" (110).

12. It was also suggested that the Governor, insofar as he viewed the state as the landlord and the accumulation of wealth by individuals as the cause of planetary misery, espoused socialist principles (*The Fiji Times*, 23 October 1878).

13. In this regard he put in place a type of feudal socialism which was "half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future... but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of history" (Marx and Engels 491).

14. Freedom, for the dominated class, may be defined in relation to different categories as well as degrees of bondage: in this sense, the bondage of the proletariat is different from that of the serf.

15. The epithet was used by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his response to Gordon's address (*System of Taxation* 53).

16. The revenue collected from the Fijians between 1876 and1885 was on average around £16,000, and so not unsubstantial, but clearly the long view was to service the real economy of the industrial plantation.

17. The insight belongs to E.H. Carr. The teleological view of history, he remarks, "has the effect of negating its secular character in that [t]he attainment of the goal of history would automatically mean the end of history: history itself [becomes] a theodicy" (110).

18. This position, in its anthropological desire to capture a vanishing race in all its inert otherness, failed to take stock of actual instances and practices of travel and mobility, as nicely represented in the indigenous term for pointless itinerancy – *yasa.*

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