

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research

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**A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master in English**

Option: Literature & Civilisation

Title

**Orientalist Discourse in William Pickering's *Pioneering in Formosa:
Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-Hunting
Savages (1898)***

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Academic Year: 2019-2020

To my family and friends

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisor **Doctor Mouloud SIBER** for having provided me with the topic. It is thanks to my supervisor's invaluable assistance, incessant guidance, as well as professional devotion that I was able to complete this dissertation in due date. I am also grateful to the examiners, **Doctor Samir FERHI** and **Doctor Rafik LACEB**, for having accepted to correct my research paper and giving me the opportunity to defend my thesis this June despite the uneasiness of the current sanitary situation (Corona Virus). However, I would be ungrateful if I do not acknowledge the moral support and strength that I have received from my family all along the course of my studies. So, many thanks go to my dear family that has always believed in me. Last but not least, I owe my thanks to my friends, **Sara LARBI and Thinehinane**, for their moral support.

Abstract

The present dissertation is entitled Orientalist Discourse in William Pickering's *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-Hunting Savages* (1898). It involves a postcolonial analysis of the manifestation of the Orientalist discourse in Pickering's travelogue. To approach my topic and reach my objectives, I opted for the theoretical guidelines set up by Edward Said in *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1979) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) which corroborate my analysis as their assumptions concur with the dissertation's hypotheses. My dissertation focuses on three major ideas that centre on the idea of the consolidation of the European imperial enterprise in Formosa. The first concerns the binary opposition of the "self" and the "other" corresponding to the English and the Formosan aborigines, respectively. The second relates to the Orientalist representation of Formosa as a space that shall be conquered and saved from the hands of the Chinese. The last involves an analysis of the earlier civilising missions and the European imperial projects in Formosa. It also explores the extent to which the moralising ideologies such as the "civilising mission" and the "evangelic mission" serve to fortify English/European presence in Formosa. After analysing the travelogue, I reached the conclusion that Pickering is a promoter of British imperialism and the occupation of Formosa.

Key words: Binary Opposition, Civilising Missions, Imperialism, Orientalist discourse, Other, Postcolonialism, Self

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I. Introduction

Since the sixteenth century, a considerable number of Western explorers, missionaries, mariners, scholars, and imperial agents rushed to the Far East. Some of them landed in the “mysterious” and “exotic” island off the coast of mainland China which is Formosa. Once there, they recorded their experiences and adventures in the form of diaries, memoirs, letters..., etc. This resulted in a large bulk of literature offering more insights into the newly discovered and penetrated island. Chief among these figures is the British officer William Alexander Pickering.

William Pickering (1840-1907) remains in the history of the British colonial administration and in that of the Chinese Protectorate in Singapore as the “first Protector of Chinese” in Singapore.¹ This position is the outcome of his rich career on the Pagoda Island and Formosa with the Chinese Imperial Maritime Custom Service. While in Formosa, his overwhelming curiosity did not confine him in the Custom House during his spare times. His intense desire to scout the island and make acquaintance with its inhabitants extended his role to that of an adventurer, explorer, and travel writer. He recorded the account of his journeys within the island in a narrative under the title *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-Hunting Savages* (1898).

Pickering’s account of his experiences in Formosa displays the features of a travelogue. Thus, it may be categorised under the label of travel literature or travel writing. These notions are controversial and scholars approach them from different perspectives. Carl Thompson claims: “*It is most obviously [...] a report on the wider world, and an account of the unfamiliar people or place [...]. And, by extension, it also reveals something of the culture from which that writer emerged, and/or the culture for which their text is intended.*”² Thompson highlights one important aspect which is the culture of the traveller. The traveller’s cultural traditions and backgrounds are pertinent with regard to the production of his/her

travelogues. It is in this context that Pickering's narrative may be approached. Pickering as a traveller makes the unknown, foreign, and distant island of Formosa and its inhabitants more familiar to the audience at home -Britain- with an injection of his imperial backgrounds. Therefore, I may say that he introduces us to the "other" which is, indeed, a prime constituent of the Orientalist discourse.

Like any literary genre, travel literature and travelogues tend to vehicle certain ideologies and discourses. The Orientalist discourse is a relevant case in point. It is usually used interchangeably with the notion of colonial ideology and colonial discourse. Bill Ashcroft et al. define the latter as a "*system of statements that can be made about colonies and colonial peoples, about colonizing powers and about the relationship between these two.*"³ As its name implies, it is concerned with the generation of meanings that consolidate imperialism and colonialism. It is the Eurocentric essence of such discourses that gave birth to the hierarchical binary oppositions such as that of the coloniser/colonised or that of the ruler/ruled. Being produced by members of what Williams Raymond labels as the "dominant culture", the circulation of these discourses achieves great success both in the "metropolitan centre" and in the "colonial peripheries". Thus, by dint of their position, each statement generating meaning about the familiar or the unfamiliar becomes a natural fact.

It follows that travel writing, especially the travelogue under study, cannot be separated from postcolonial criticism and theory. The latter emerged in the second half of the twentieth century. It offers literary critics new approaches to the study of different literatures including that of the commonwealth and the metropolitan. Analysis of the cultural, social, economic, and political legacies of colonialism is one major concern of the postcolonial critics. It is, therefore, an analysis of the West-East relations. Indeed, its concern is not limited to the study of colonialist ideologies, but it also addresses the anti-colonialist ones. In this vein, the scholar Lois Tyson identifies a set of topics that may be explored in a postcolonial

study as follows: the coloniser/colonised encounter, othering, mimicry and hybridity, post-independence disillusionment,...etc.⁴ All in all, I may say that the common approach consists of determining whether a text reinforces or undermines colonialism and/or imperialism.

Several figures from the peripheries have contributed to the formation of the theoretical frameworks of this approach. Among them the Martiniquean Frantz Fanon and those to whom Robert Young refers to as “the Holy Trinity” of colonial discourse analysis.⁵ The trinity encompasses the Palestinian critic Edward Said, the Indian critical theorist Homi Bhabha, and the Indian scholar Gayatri Spivak. These figures address the multifaceted outcomes of the West’s encounter with its counterpart from diverse perspectives. For instance, Frantz Fanon’s seminal work *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) is an analysis of the psychological influences and outcomes of colonisation and racism. As for Spivak, she is noted in postcolonial theory as a contributor to the ‘Subaltern Studies’ with her influential essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?”(1983) Apart from these theories, Edward Said’s pioneering work *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978) is the gist of postcolonial theory and Orientalist discourse.

Issues and Working Hypotheses

From the above theoretical review, it is evident that the analysis of Pickering’s travel narrative cannot be separated from the postcolonial approach. It is the appropriate perspective that offers more insights into the travelogue and enables me to explore its underlying ideological assumptions. To my best knowledge, very little is known about Pickering’s travelogue and no research of any kind or from any perspective has been conducted on it. Unlike other works of literature, it has not received the attention it deserves though it makes a crucial contribution to the knowledge about the island of Formosa given its different and wide scopes. It is rather set at the periphery and overlooked by critics despite Pickering’s authority on the issue of the British imperial politics in the Far East.

Therefore, my purpose in the present dissertation is to analyse the travelogue from a postcolonial perspective in the light of Said's theories. I aim to study the relation between the text as a "cultural form" and British imperialism. More precisely, I intend to examine how Pickering's travelogue contributes to the justification of Britain's presence and future positions in the island of Formosa, and how it consolidates the empire's durability. This is possible through the analysis of the different ways the Orientalist discourse operates in Pickering's travelogue under examination. Thus, this analysis explores the Orientalist system of representations of the island as a space and of its inhabitants. It also throws light on the imperial enterprise in Formosa and the distinct moralising ideologies that are connected to it.

Approaching Pickering's travelogue from this perspective, I may assume that given his imperial backgrounds, he perpetuates imperial/Orientalist ideas. Through the misrepresentation of the Formosan inhabitants as well as the representation of the island, he succeeds in fulfilling his role as an Orientalist providing his society "*with representations*" that "*respond to certain cultural, professional, national, political, and economic requirements of the epoch.*"⁶ Hence, as a text written by superior English, it reflects his internalised Orientalist views of that era, its scholars, and above all contributes to "the formation of imperial attitudes" towards Formosa.

The achievement of my aims depends highly on relying on Said's ground breaking works of *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1979) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). My choice of such theoretical frameworks is motivated by the fact that the assumptions underlying Said's theories are the ones which best fit with the context of Pickering's travelogue in general and the perspective from which the different sections of this memoir are viewed in particular. To some degree, the appropriateness of the aforementioned theoretical guidelines is explained by the fact that it addresses the issue of representations of the "other" along with the idea of imperialism and its consolidation in literature. Hence, they

would sustain the arguments that I advance in the discussion of my topic. It is also important to mention that travel writing is one among the corpuses of Said's theory, and this makes it more suitable with the purposes of this dissertation.

Thus, apart from what has already been said in the introduction and what will be written in the methods and materials section, my dissertation includes two other sections which are results and discussion. In the results section, I intend to provide an epitome of the major results that I reached after my analysis of the topic. As for the discussion section, it is made up of three chapters. Bearing in mind Said's assertion: "*The things to look at are style, figures of speech, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances, not the correctness of the representation nor its fidelity to some great original,*"⁷ the first chapter is an attempt to examine meticulously the way the aborigines are represented by highlighting their cultural and social otherness. It also aims to highlight how the image of the aborigines as the "other" helps to define that of the Europeans as "*its contrasting image.*"⁸ In the second chapter, I intend to study the representation of Formosa as an "exotic" and "colonial" space. As for the third chapter, it sheds light on the imperial projects launched under the guise of the "civilising mission", justified by the inappropriateness of the Chinese rule, and moralised by the appropriateness of the European ones.

Endnotes

¹. "William A. Pickering," *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, accessed March 25, 2020, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_A._Pickering

². Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 10.

³. Bill Ashcroft, *Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 37.

⁴. Lois Tyson, *Critical Theory Today: A User-Friendly Guide* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 427.

⁵. Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 154.

⁶. Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 273.

⁷. *Ibid*, 21.

⁸. *Ibid*, 2.

II. Methods and Materials

1. Methods

a. Edward Said's *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1979)

As a constituent of the “Holy Trinity” and founder of colonial discourse theory, Said’s germinal work *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1979) paved a new way for the examination of literary texts. He is a cornerstone in postcolonial studies given *Orientalism*’s great contribution to the field. In a general sense, Orientalism, to use Foucault’s notion, is a discourse about the East by the West. This discourse tends to maintain these geographical entities in an unequal relationship. It is usually a relation manifested in hierarchical binary oppositions. When the West is the “self” that is associated with all that is positive including rationality, civilisation, maturity...etc., the East is attributed the notion of the “other” that is “irrational”, “savage”, “childlike”...etc. In a word, the relation celebrates the superiority of the Westerners and the inferiority of their subjects or “others”.

Given the tendency of the centrality of the system of representations in the Western culture and in particular the European one, Said devotes his book - *Orientalism* - to elaborate on this system. He argues: “*Representations have purposes, they are effective much of the time, they accomplish one or many tasks.*”⁹ This statement invokes his definition of Orientalism as “*a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient [...] [it produces] the Orient politically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically and imaginatively.*”¹⁰ As Said’s words show, the notions of knowledge and power are the backbone of the Orientalist discourse. The success of the West in dominating the East resides in its detailed knowledge of it. Such knowledge makes the “*management*” of the Oriental subject races “*easy*” and “*profitable.*”¹¹ Hence, it is a stark reality that the Orient is represented by the West culturally, politically,...etc. not only for the sake of knowing it but

also for the sake of dominating it. It is in this way that representations accomplish their tasks and achieve their ideological purposes which are bound mainly to the legitimization of imperial and colonial enterprises in geographical entities such as the East. In a word, I may say that what is spread and established as being the “truth” is in fact just an external representation which nurtures the West’s will for dominating the Orient and exercising power over it.¹²

In an attempt to situate the Westerners and Easterners in the hierarchical binaristic structures, Orientalists follow a conclusive procedure. As an example, Said formulates it as follows-relying on Balfour’s and Cromer’s terminology- : “*The Oriental is irrational [...], thus the European is rational [...]*.”¹³ This statement demonstrates how the Orientalist jumps to conclusions whenever s/he endeavours to define the “self” and its subject races. It defines the West as a “*contrasting image*” of the Orient.¹⁴ The West is rational because it is totally the opposite of the Orient- that is irrational. The result of this perception is the rational/irrational binary. Another point to mention here is the role of the West’s knowledge in the formation of the Orientals’ identity. The Orient is denied both the potential and the efforts of defining itself. It is rather “*the whole complex series of knowledgeable manipulation*” of the West which identify the Orient.¹⁵ Hence, the creation of the Orient as “other” is inevitable because it allows the Occident to define itself and strengthen its own identity.¹⁶

The Orientalist system of representations is not limited to the depiction of the Orientals, but it extends its scope to include the Orient as a space. It is another weighty aspect that the Orientalists do not overlook since it is the basis of the imperial enterprises. Commonly, they are fascinated by the Orient’s landscape. Therefore, E. Said does not miss the opportunity of shedding light on their views. He argues that the Orient is viewed “*since antiquity as a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes.*”¹⁷ Adding to this, the image of the Orient as “*insinuating danger*” is a persistent one in the Orientalists’ works.¹⁸ The image of the Orient as a dangerous space is highlighted in order to glorify the

Westerners' noble character and mission in the perilous Orient. This image is accompanied by that of a "*colonial*" space.¹⁹ It embodies their greed for economic benefits and exploitation including cheap labour, natural resources, markets...etc. Hence, it is a space that shall be conquered as such opportunities cannot be missed.

In his representation of the Orient, the Orientalist relies on two approaches: "vision" and "narrative". Though "narrative" is defeated by "vision",²⁰ it is still traceable and a milestone in the discourse of Orientalism. The relation between the two is that of opposition. When vision is "static", narrative is not. Instead, it claims the ability of the Orient to "*be born, develop, and die*"²¹ i.e. narrative does not deny the possibility of change whereas vision associates the Orient with "*stability and unchanging eternity*."²² The use of these strategies differs from one scholar to another. However, the majority relies on vision as it is the best one which fits with the texts' ideological assumptions.

To sum up Said's theory, as far as the scope of my dissertation is concerned, I may say that the Orient is "*a European invention*"²³ and construction that served and perpetuated not only imperialism but also colonialism in Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East. Orientalism is, therefore, a Eurocentric discourse that aims to represent the Orientals as they cannot represent themselves.

b. *Culture and Imperialism* (1993)

Another seminal work of Said is *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). It is not only a sequel to *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1979), as its author claims, but it is another perspective to literary analysis. Its main aim is to examine the relationship between culture, imperialism, and empire. Said approaches the issue of imperialism in relation both to the "centre" and the "periphery". He analyses the extent to which the European (and American culture to a certain extent) culture contribute to the annexation, legitimation, and maintainability of their overseas territories i.e. he addresses the issue of culture's participation

in the imperial expansion. He also focuses on the peripheries' resistance and opposition to imperialism and its assimilative ideologies. As in his prequel, Said relies on a set of texts being fiction and non-fiction to elaborate on the process of imperialism that characterised the relationship between the Europeans and the non-Europeans especially in the late nineteenth century.

Said's point of departure is Mathew Arnolds' elitist view of culture. The latter as "*each society's reservoir of the best that has been known and thought*" plays a crucial role in the process of imperial politics of the nineteenth century (and even before).²⁴ He stresses the importance of aesthetic objects such as the novel in "*the formation of imperial attitudes*."²⁵ However, as Said argues, this does not mean that culture "*caused*" imperialism but they are rather "*unthinkable without each other*."²⁶ It is through an analysis of what Raymond Williams refers to as the literatures' 'structures of feelings' that it is possible to figure out the way literature refer to its participation in the expansion of empires; these structures "*support, and consolidate the practice of empire*."²⁷

Relying on Raymond Williams' notion of '*structures of feelings*', Said introduces the notion of "structure of attitudes and reference". According to Said, the outcome of geographical references - implies reference to empire - is the formation of "*attitudes about ruling and controlling certain territories*."²⁸ Of course, within these attitudes, the centre's interests in the possession of overseas "colonies" especially the social and economic ones, can be inferred. As the manifestation of such attitudes is rather implicit and indirect, or in Said's words is allusive and carefully plotted, he introduces a new type of reading. This mode of reading is labelled as "contrapuntal reading" which deals with the canon "as polyphonic accompaniment to the expansion of Europe"²⁹ i.e. it reveals the manifestation of both the process of imperialism and resistance to it.

To conclude, I may say that Said's main concern in his theory is the manifestation of the process of imperialism and resistance to it in the bourgeois cultural forms. His concern reflects Michel Foucault's view of power as a productive one i.e. "where there is power there is resistance."³⁰

2. Material

a. Summary of the Travelogue

Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-Hunting Savages (1898) is a travel narrative of Pickering's adventures in Formosa and its vicinities. Besides his official duties, Pickering's exciting moments during his residence in the island are his journeys from the dominion of men to the mountains of the "barbarians". Once there, he familiarises himself with the life of the "cooked savages" and "raw savages" and highlights their excitement at the sight of a "red-haired barbarian".

In his first visits to the interior, Pickering spent his time among the Lau-lung Pepos, Pai-chiens, and Bilangas. His account of these days centres on their hospitality, hearty welcomes, and disgusting intoxication. He also refers to Dr. Maxwell's success in his medical cures and his fame among the old chiefs. However, it is his second visit to the interior which is more exciting. During his stay with the Bangas, he noted their traditions, taboos, customs of entertainment, and their delight in killing the enemy. In La-ku-li, he had the opportunity to scrutinise the superstitions and the strange religious ceremonies of the Pepos. He witnessed how their life depends on omens. It is in the Ban- tau-lang tribe that he noticed the unequal gender roles, experienced the oppressive hospitality of the "raw savages", and fell victim to dysentery. On the whole, backwardness and discomforts of the savage life remain the shared aspects among the majority of the tribes.

As an official in the Custom House and in business affairs, Pickering is more in contact with the Chinese. He got more acquainted with their corrupt official(s), treacherous

comprador(s), and pitiless wrecker(s). Unfortunately, his adventures end as a victim of tropical disease which required his immediate return to “civilisation” (home/Britain).

Endnotes

⁹. Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 273.

¹⁰. *Ibid*, 3.

¹¹. *Ibid*, 36.

¹². *Ibid*, 21.

¹³. *Ibid*, 40.

¹⁴. *Ibid*, 2

¹⁵. *Ibid*, 40.

¹⁶. Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, *Edward Said* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 64.

¹⁷. Said, *Orientalism*, 1.

¹⁸. *Ibid*, 57.

¹⁹. *Ibid*, 211.

²⁰. *Ibid*, 239.

²¹. *Ibid*, 240.

²². *Ibid*.

²³. *Ibid*, 1.

²⁴. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), xii.

²⁵. *Ibid*, xii.

²⁶. *Ibid*, 71/2.

²⁷. *Ibid*, 14.

²⁸. *Ibid*, 52.

²⁹. Ashcroft, *Edward Said*, 93.

³⁰. Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 40.

III. Results

Throughout this dissertation, I attempted to study Pickering's *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-Hunting Savages* (1898) in the light of postcolonial criticism. To this end, I put emphasis on some ideas of Said as put forward in *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1979) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). After applying these theoretical frameworks and exploring the manifestation of the Orientalist discourse, I figured out that Pickering's narrative contributes to the justification and perpetuation of the European, and in particular the English, Imperial enterprise in Formosa.

To analyse this discourse, I called into question the image of the English as the "self" along with that of the aborigines as the "other". This binary is constructed with the "self" as being "superior", "civilised", "moral"; the "other" as being "savage", "backward", "ignorant", and "cannibalistic" to a certain extent. He, indeed, attributes to the Formosan inhabitants a set of images that are shaped on the basis of Orientalist assumptions and confines them within the realm of the "other". Despite this vision of the aborigines, Pickering does not totally deny their very limited possibility of change and growth. This marks his shift from "vision" to "narrative" in the process of representing them. Still, it is "vision" which predominates in the narrative.

In addition to the exploration of the image of the "self" and the "other", I focused on the representation of the island. I figured out that it is ascribed the image of an "exotic", "dangerous", and "colonial" space. Pickering makes reference to the innumerable and variable exotica of the island including species of the fauna and flora. Then, he contrasts the exotic scenery to the image of the island as a dangerous locale but also as a local for the satisfaction of the imperial/colonial desire. Therefore, Formosa is viewed as a "blank space" that requires the intervention of the supposedly superior white race.

It is also revealed that Pickering supports European interventions in Formosa, but opposes the Chinese presence. The Spaniards and the Dutch, as the first settlers in Formosa, left behind them signs of what is perceived in the Western thought as “the civilising mission”. But, when approached critically, it is shown that they bore the spirit of colonialism. Still, Pickering does not oppose their past presence as he does with the actual presence of the Chinese. By attributing neglect to the island under the Chinese rule and highlighting the inappropriate behaviours as well as traits of the Chinese officials, he succeeds in vouching his opposition. As for the British presence in Formosa, it is rather an imperial one. It is manifested at different levels including the “civilising mission”, religion, and commerce. The religious imperialism operates at the hands of missionaries. The commercial imperialism is bound mainly to trade and exploitation of the natural sources. Still, these interventions and practices are carried out in the name of civilisation which is also sustained by the system of representations of the aborigines.

IV. Discussion

Chapter One: The “Self” Versus the “Other”

Digging up the heart of Pickering’s travelogue, instances of the system of representations can be traced. Relying on this system, Pickering as an Orientalist of the late nineteenth century produces statements about the Orient and Orientals. In this context, Said argues that one of the responsibilities of an Orientalist is to provide “*his own society with representations of the Orient [...] (e) that provide the Orientalist discourse with what, at that moment, it seems most in need of.*”³¹ In fact, the same role is performed by Pickering. His travelogue matches the requirements of his epoch which is known in the British history as the high era of imperialism or the “Age of Empire”. His colonial backgrounds are manifested through his system of representations which reinforces the Orientalist ideology.

Consciously or unconsciously, Pickering, throughout his narrative, establishes the inherent superiority of the Europeans and their race. By means of an implicit comparison, he attempts to contrast the reality of Formosa’s inhabitants to that of the English. Doubtlessly, this is the process of *othering* in which the author engages himself. By definition, *othering* consists not only of depicting the inhabitants as being different and alien, but also of injecting a dose of inferiority to their race and culture as a whole. It is rather the process by which the imperial/colonial discourse constructs its “subjects” or “other”.³²

The discourse of otherness has been a cornerstone in the majority of the late nineteenth century travel writings, and Pickering’s travelogue is not an exception. This discourse is pertinent to the imperial process. It enables the imperial powers to rationalise the ideology of Imperialism through the process of *othering* which highlights the wide gap between the West and the East. Pickering constructs the image of the “other” in a way which requires appeal to the necessity of Britain’s intervention and control of Formosa. To that end, he associates the aborigines and the Chinese with a set of stereotypes and clichés whose function is “to

perpetuate an artificial sense of difference between ‘self’ and ‘other’.”³³ This difference fixes the aborigines with the image of inferior “others” and maintains that of the superior “self” for the English. This approach aims to propagate and above all to consolidate the idea of European domination of Formosa and its inhabitants. To elaborate on this point, this chapter is devoted to sift the system of representations and evaluate the extent to which it supports the national, political and economic circumstances and prerequisite of the late nineteenth century in Britain.

1. The English as the “Self”

As a first attempt to trace the image of the “self” in the narrative, I suggest to approach it in relation to the author, Pickering. His image as that of the “self” is highlighted through his patterns of behaviour and qualities. From the beginning, the author describes himself in a positive tone. He says: *“Now, at twenty-one one is confident and sanguine as to one’s ability to succeed in any and every line of life.”*³⁴ Undoubtedly, Pickering attributes to himself the trait of a self-confident English man whose success in every aspect of life is doubtless. The citation foreshadows his rich and successful career in Formosa not only as an officer in the Custom House but also as an explorer and Orientalist who would enrich the available literature about Formosa. Several times, he shows such confidence, and one striking example is when he seized the opportunity of meeting the aborigines of the interior, who have never been visited by any white man before. Such an image stands in opposition to that of the Chinese officials who are preoccupied with the exploitation of the island’s wealth and resources.

There is no escaping the several occasions when Pickering displays his courage and determination. During his settlement in Formosa, he has never missed the opportunity of getting knowledge about the island and its inhabitants, especially the “aborigines of the mountains”. Though none dared to penetrate the “impregnable forest”, be they other natives

or foreigners, Pickering did so despite the discouragement he received from the native guides. This is because the natives are not able to understand Pickering's motives behind insisting on completing this journey. By accomplishing the journey, he aspires to get more knowledge about the space and "the subject races"; such knowledge as Said argues "*is what makes their management easy and profitable*."³⁵ This knowledge and its role allude to his colonial desire. The latter is perfectly illustrated by the use of the expression: "the impregnable forest." His attitudes and desires, indeed, reflect Young's approach of colonisation as being founded on a sexualised discourse of rape, penetration, and impregnation.³⁶ Pickering's desire is, therefore, a sexualised colonial one.

Like Russians in the beginning of the twentieth century, Pickering has realised the importance of appealing to men through their mind by using their own language.³⁷ As soon as he settled in the island, his enthusiasm urged him to get a good command of the Chinese language and become "*conversant with the vernacular as spoken in Formosa*."³⁸ In fact, his enthusiasm exhibits certain rationality. His knowledge of the vernacular and other dialects allows him to survive different hardships and overcome the numerous obstacles that circumvent his progress in Formosa. It also endows him with power shaping his status as a Western agent in Formosa and its vicinities. The most relevant instance occurs in his first visit to the tribes of the interior. He writes:

All went well until we were stopped by a band of Hak-kas, who viewed the incursion of two white men with frowning suspicion, and our Chinese Christian guide was terror-stricken. I addressed them in the Hok-lo tongue, and afterwards added a few words in their own Hak-ka dialect, assuming a friendly and unconcerned manner. This propitiated them somewhat, and we parted amicably.³⁹

Through this passage, Pickering highlights the significant role of his knowledge of the local dialects in avoiding the ill-treatment of the band. It stresses the relation between Knowledge and power which shapes, as historical records and documents reveal, Pickering's successful career as an authority on the British imperial and colonial issues in the Far East. Concisely, Pickering's knowledge of the Hak-kas' dialect enables him to have power over the band and

force them to an appeasement; this exemplifies the Foucauldian conception of knowledge and power. Pickering's case reflects the assumption: "*knowledge gives power and more power requires more knowledge.*"⁴⁰ This role proves that military force is not the only means of power as Napoleon Bonaparte perceived it in his occupation of Egypt. Knowledge of the "other" in general and its languages in particular constitute another means of power. It is also important to mention that his mastery of the local dialects proved to be a turning point in his career in the Far East. Thanks to these abilities, he becomes the "first Protector of the Chinese" in Singapore.

As the previous extract shows, Pickering is usually portraying himself as a man of peace. Whenever and wherever he encounters the aborigines, band of robbers, and other people who understand only the language of violence and blood, he endeavours to make peace with them. Mostly, he is more successful than other Westerners who attempt to get over these challenges. In this context, Pickering quotes James Horn: "*I do not think that anything could have been done by General Le Gendre towards making a peaceable arrangement with the savages without Mr. Pickering. I know I would never have got the remains of Mrs. Hunt without his assistance.*"⁴¹ Through the words of Mr. James Horn, Pickering stresses his image as that of a man of order. Thanks to Pickering's wise and careful handling of the case between Mr. Hunt and the Ko-a-lut savages, both sides were satisfied without shedding blood and carrying on a feud. With situations as these, his role in Formosa is extended to restore peace and make appeasement with savage wreckers. In this way, Pickering appropriates the image of a peaceful Englishman and a man of order as opposed to that of the violent and blood-thirsty aborigines. Such a role supports his presence in the island and that of other English agents.

Pickering goes on to limn his code of conduct. Justice and truth are the major characteristics of his mode of action. For instance, as an agent in the Customs house at the

Anping port, he displays his will to justice and truth by inquiring the reasons behind the labourers' dissatisfaction with the monthly pay-day. He says: "*I am a just man. I would deal rightly with every one.*"⁴² Then, he declares that "*truth and justice*" will be his principles in solving the labourers' case.⁴³ This example demonstrates the devotedness of the English officers to the workers' problems. It also emphasises the decent behaviours and upright morals of the English agents. Pickering attributes to himself the quality of a truly concerned officer who seeks to better the conditions of his subjects and save them from the injustices of the corrupt Manchu man. With this responsibility, he alters his role to that of a saviour.

All these traits and qualities shape Pickering in the guise of a European hero. This view is reinforced by his rich career and achievements during his residence in Formosa. Indeed, he is the archetype of the civilised English man and the icon of the European people. His English descent is reflected through his noble traits and behaviours. His ability to challenge the danger of the sea as well as of the people including the wreckers, mobs, and pirates brings about the image of a bold man. He remains a memorable figure in the memory of the savages and in the history of the island. Above all, as it can be inferred from his interviews and articles to the editor of *The Times* and others, he remains an outstanding authority on the issues of the Far East and the Chinese ones in particular. For instance, in an interview, on April 27, 1895, the interviewer claims: "*There are not many men who have better opportunities of offering sound judgements on the present situation in the Far East than Mr. Pickering.*"⁴⁴ This opening sentence of the interview makes it clear enough that Pickering's career in the Far East provided him with certain credibility on its issues. In fact, his authority is not only spoken about, but is rather relied on in the imperial affairs. For instance, "*In 1883 he was asked by the Intelligence Department of the War Office to write a paper on the state of the Chinese army, and again requested to make suggestions as to the best mode of attacking China in case of war.*"⁴⁵ As this statement reveals, it is undeniable that

Pickering's experience in the Far East becomes the guidelines for knowledge about the Chinese issues. In this regard, Said argues: "*The Orientalist was to be the guide of policymakers, of businessmen, of a fresh generation of scholars,*"⁴⁶ and Pickering was the guide of the Intelligence Department. The department's request displays its intentions to make use of Pickering's knowledge about China/the Chinese in order to deal with the situation and prepare for an effective military confrontation.

Of course, Pickering is not the only English man in the narrative. There are other characters such as the missionaries Mr. Ritchie and Dr. Maxwell. The latter is described as a "self-denial" person who gives up his own interests devoting himself to enlighten and secure the aborigines from their religious obscurities. Despite the hardships he faced as a missionary, Dr. Maxwell does not give up his mission. The author depicts some of the natives as being unappreciative and violent towards the man who came to rescue them. However, this does not mark the end of his humanitarian mission; he rather served them until his death. In addition, through Maxwell's medical skills, Pickering stresses the progress that the Europeans made in the field of medicine; a progress which is great compared to the irrational curing traditions of the Formosan inhabitants. The aborigines explain sickness as the "*ill offices of certain maleficent demons.*"⁴⁷ Still, the Western medical field is far from these superstitious explanations as science prevails in the domain. The Europeans introduced new effective curing methods and medicines such as the operation of cataract, lithotomy, and the use of quinine.

2. The Aborigines as the "Other"

As "*the Orient helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience,*"⁴⁸ the image of the "self" can be further elucidated by invoking that of the "other". As I have already mentioned, through travel writings, the author introduces the unfamiliar and the unknown inhabitants of a distant space to his/her audience. It is from this

perspective that Pickering frames his narratives through which the reader gets more acquainted with Formosa's inhabitants as the "other". Their inferiority, which is manifested at diverse levels, can be explored by approaching their culture from an anthropological perspective. This approach consists of scrutinising Pickering's perception of the traditions, behaviours, beliefs, and habits that constitute the lifestyle of the inhabitants. This allows me to shed more light on the degraded social status reckoned by Pickering to the inhabitants and the way he reworks the Orientalist discourse which tend to misrepresent the "other".

As a result of the Chinese occupation of Formosa, the Formosan aborigines are divided into the "semi-civilised" aborigines and the "raw savages". The "semi-civilised" aborigines are the tribes that yielded to the Chinese rule after the dismantling of the Dutch settlers. They are referred to by the new ruler as the Pepo-hoans or "Sek-hoan" meaning the "barbarians of the plains" and "cooked barbarians", respectively. These tribes, as it is always the case of imperialised and/or colonised nations, lost their ancestral identity and heritage adopting those of the Chinese. To quote Pickering: "*The Pepo-hoans for the most part speak Chinese [...] they practically adopt the Chinese dress and tonsure but their features distinctly show that they were originally of the Malayo-Polynesian stock.*"⁴⁹ Pickering's words display manifestly the assimilative process that some of the tribes of the aborigines went through and their simulation of the Chinese. However, though they adopted the language and dress of their coloniser, they are just, to borrow Bhabha's words, "*almost the same but not quite.*"⁵⁰ Their imitation of the Chinese reinforces their image as slavish and unpatriotic. Instead of fighting for their land and culture, they accepted to live under the Chinese thumb and adopted their values. Moreover, although they received some enlightenment from the Chinese, they are still "simple-minded".⁵¹ The point to be emphasised here is the denotation of this statement. The Pepo-hoans are still simple-minded either because the Chinese teachings are not really enlightening, or it is their mental capacities that do not allow them to take advantage of the

Chinese' teachings. In both cases, the author hints to their need for the more sophisticated European teachings and civilisation. He further demeans their status by claiming that they are *"in point of civilisation [...] equal to the lower orders of Chinese, but are simpler and less cunning."*⁵²

More clear insights into the Pepo-hoans are offered during Pickering's stay in the La-ku-li village of the Pepo-hoan tribe. He comes to the conclusion that they are superstitious with reference to their system of beliefs. Their pretended ignorance made them believe in omens, especially in launching their hunting excursions. He clearly elaborates on this when he joined them in a hunting expedition. He writes: *"Upon two successive mornings we set off, encouraged by favourable omens; but when birds were observed and heard,"*⁵³ they were obliged to return. As these words imply, the accomplishment of the Pepos' plans and activities depends on some flights and cries of birds. This practice stereotypes them as absurd and preposterous people who put their life at the hands of birds' cries.

As the name "semi-civilised" suggests, I may contend that this category of aborigines were exposed to civilisation. However, their contact with the Chinese semi-civilisation is an on-going process, and they did not yet reach the zenith of civilisation. This approach belongs to what Said labels as narrative i.e. the possibility and power of the aborigines to develop and change; the prefix semi- is an evidence of this possibility. By his remarks, the author alludes to the fact that there is yet much job to be done, and according to him it is the duty of the English to bring civilisation and enlightenment to them. Therefore, to borrow E. Said's terminology, "British tutelage" is necessary since the Chinese one is proved to be less effective and a threat- a point that I aim to discuss in the following pages. Furthermore, the author seems to be critical of the Chinese civilisation. Despite their claims of an exaggerated superiority, they did not succeed in propagating their civilisation. In a way, he hints to the limitedness of the earlier Chinese spirit of civilisation, if there is any.

When the Pepo-hoans settle in the plains, the Ch'i-hoans occupy the high mountains. They are the “raw savages” who “*remained untouched by the semi-civilisation of the Chinese occupier.*”⁵⁴ The narrative’s tone establishes these aborigines as being a mystery and a fantasy as they are confined in the mountains. Queer stories and beliefs are circulated about them. As an illustration, Pickering claims:

The Chinese of the west coast seriously believed that these men had tails, that they were little better than monkeys, and that they were cannibals. I need scarcely say that the belief as to their dorsal appendages is incorrect; as to their cannibalism, it is a fact that they are enthusiastic head-hunters, esteeming it a praiseworthy feat for a warrior to bring home the head of his enemy.⁵⁵

Terms such as “tails”, “monkeys”, and “cannibals” are quintessentially dehumanising ones. The aborigines of the mountains are associated with the quality of being non-human beings. Such animalistic images deny them the status of human beings including the faculty of thinking and state of awareness. Having “tails” and being like “monkeys” are facts that the author denies after his meeting with them. Still, the idea of cannibalism is not totally denied. He notices that the head of the enemy is valorised and stands as an emblem of boldness at home (tribal belonging). He declares with certainty that they are “*enthusiastic head-hunters*” just as the aforementioned quote reveals. It is conspicuous that the author, on the one hand, denies their animal-like physical appearances; on the other hand, he puts emphasis on their cannibalistic nature which constitutes a main part of their superstitions.

Unlike the civilised Europeans, the “raw savages” are superstitious. Superstition is a characteristic feature of their daily and religious practices. Pickering states: “*They mix the brains of the dead man with some spirits, and drink the concoction to increase their strength and to make them brave in the future.*”⁵⁶ Besides the superstitious side of this practice, it embodies an aspect of cannibalism. In the author’s culture, such practices are condemned and unacceptable. One cannot even dare to think about such things which are associated with primitiveness and backwardness. On the contrary, in the customs and belief systems of the “raw savages”, they form a major part of their daily life. Pickering goes further claiming that

the satisfaction of their priestesses- women who are the priestesses- is bound to “*offering of a little of the food and spirituous liquors to the spirits before meal.*”⁵⁷ However, despite these superstitious practices, they seem to have acquired some enlightening notions. Once again, the author’s approach hovers between that of “vision” and “narrative”. He acknowledges the ability of the savages to change by acquiring knowledge and good habits from their superiors. Their glimmer of light is the legacy of the Dutch teachings and “civilising mission” in Formosa some two/three centuries earlier. They seem to have benefited from their enlightenment, and their knowledge about the first man/woman is poignant evidence.⁵⁸ The aforementioned practices are the result of their arrested development and irrationality which can be fought by the teachings of the Europeans. Consequently, the aborigines’ condition impels the intervention of the white race in order to redeem them.

Without doubt, the image of an “ignorant” savage is a recurrent one in the narrative. The author’s account presents the “raw savages” as a relevant instance of a temporal and spatial arrested development -in Renan’s words.⁵⁹ Their confinement both in space and time makes their perceptions of the present world inconsistent with its realities. This is clear in the case of referring to Pickering as a “red-haired barbarian/relation/kinsman”. This fact is best depicted in the old woman’s reverent assertions: “*Ah! For hundreds of years you have kept away from us, and now, when our sight is dim, and we are at the point to die, our old eyes are blessed with a sight of our ‘red-haired relations’.*”⁶⁰ The old woman and other aborigines of both categories cannot distinguish between an English man and a Dutch. Though the Dutch left Formosa nearly 300 hundred years earlier, the aborigines perceive the English as being the Dutch. Their case resembles that of Don Quixote of la Mancha. Both experience the *hysteresis effect* because their habitus cannot adapt to the social changes.⁶¹ In other words, they adopt out-dated practices that do not correspond to the present conditions and circumstances. While Don Quixote acts as a knight in an era when knighthood is no more a

fashion, the savages refer to Pickering as a Dutch when the Dutch settlers left Formosa nearly three centuries earlier.

More can be said about the “ignorance” of the savage aborigines and their habitus. Because of their confinement in the mountains, they remained out of contact with the semi-civilisation of the Chinese and that of the Western world. The author reaches this conclusion in his visit to the Ban-Tau-Lang tribe noticing “*how far away England, and even Chinese Civilisation, seemed!*”⁶² Pickering’s journey to this tribe is like travelling back to the earliest beginning of the world;⁶³ it is a voyage through time. Except for the grand scenery, everything in this tribe demonstrates extreme degrees of ignorance and primitivism. Any unusual aspect, no matter how it is unworthy and unimpressive, can be flabbergasting to the Ban-Tau-Langs. The tribe’s members are astonished by Pickering’s colour of skin and “*every now and then some new arrival would beg for a sight of my white skin.*”⁶⁴ Astonishment is also expressed at their sight of his rifle. Pickering writes:

The savages all gathered round me, and we spent some time in trying my rifle and revolver at a mark. They seemed thunderstruck at the great distance the rifle would carry, and the rapidity with which I could load and discharge. They averred that with one white man and such weapons they would soon put the Sibukuns to rout.⁶⁵

From the first-hand descriptive account, a link may be drawn between the savage’s ignorance, habitus, and arrested development. Because of their lack of knowledge about the existence of white species like Pickering and arms such as revolver/trifle, their reaction exhibits certain backwardness. This illustrates their arrested development as the high mountains of Morison have been since the old times their world. They did not dare to cross the borders to look for civilisation. Hence, staticity remains one principal feature of their existence and in Said’s words the Ban-Tau-Langs are “*synonymous with stability and unchanging eternity.*”⁶⁶

In his study of the Orientalist discourse, Said argues that the term “childlike” is one among the many terms that are used to describe the Orientals.⁶⁷ It is the same image that Pickering attributes to the savage aborigines. Several times, their patterns of behaviour and

attitudes are depicted as being childish. They are easy to satisfy and their needs are those of children. This is what he, in his second trip to the interior, stresses by stating: “*We had some perplexity in the distribution of our presents to please everyone. Fortunately a very small thing delights the child-nature of the savage, and a little powder or a bright button turned a discontented look into a smile.*”⁶⁸ It comes that Pickering’s perplexity is unnecessary because cheap and insignificant means can fulfil the humble expectations and wishes of the aborigines. Indeed, the author ridicules the Bangas. On the one hand, he claims that the Banga tribe is well known for its fondness with head-hunting and veneration of head-hunters. On the other hand, he degrades their acclaimed status to that of a child. The author is engaged in the process of “de-stereotyping” and “re-stereotyping” the aborigines’ traits. To be more precise, in a way he falsifies the image of the Bangas as head-hunters and imputes that of “childlike” which conjures the idea of European, and in particular English, paternalism. Their immaturity makes “British tutelage” a prerequisite. They should be under powerful and appropriate guardianship in order to cope with the requirements of the hostile outside world. In this way, the author reinforces the image of the “other” by degrading it to the lowest scale in the social ladder.

He further stresses this point by claiming that an unworthy gift is a utilitarian tool for the foreigners to gain the savages’ friendship. In his visits to the interior, small presents proved to be crucial means to get closer to the aborigines. Pickering writes: “*A few attractive presents soon made us good friends.*”⁶⁹ They also in return receive gifts. However, the exchange usually is not equal. The same idea is referred to by Hui Du in his/her ‘Representing Taiwan Aborigines: Discourse Analysis on Aboriginal Objects Since the Nineteenth Century’. She/he claims:

They also needed to bring gifts to please aborigines before they started such as rug, colourful bead, red cloth, mirror, flint or needle, and then bartered for the objects they were interested with... Sometimes, the exchange was not equal between foreigners and aborigines. Swinhoe gave his silk belt to an aboriginal girl as a gift when he was in Kweiyings, and in return, this girl him a cotton one.⁷⁰

Hui Du's statement lucidly reflects the extent to which the gifts which the foreigners receive from the aborigines are noticeably different. What a foreigner perceives as useless and worthless to consider seriously, the aborigine would certainly appraise it. This is the result of the gap that exists between the two cultures or rather between the two races i.e. the white race adopted new standards of behaviour and attitude whereas the savage aborigines, as their name suggests, are still surrounded with savagery and primitiveness reflecting their static conditions. Moreover, appeasement with the savages does not cost one too much. Before starting their voyage to the interior, Pickering writes: "*Armed with revolvers [...] and a number of bright coloured beads, small mirrors, flint and steel, needles, and lengths of crimson cloth to propitiate the savages.*"⁷¹ It is clear that the revolvers are not intended to be used against the savages as they are easy to be manipulated.

The physical appearance of the savages is another detail that Pickering's eyes did not miss to consider in his observations of their lifestyle. He imposes upon them a picture of primitive hunters and prehistoric fishermen. This is reflected in the case of the Gani men who "*were fully armed with matchlocks, knives, spears, and bows and arrows; and they were gaily dressed in leopard-skin jackets, red cloth, bracelets of wild boars' tusks, with much elaborate adornment of beads and feathers.*"⁷² With this description, the author casts light upon the wide chasm between the English and the aborigines. This fact can be confirmed by taking a closer look at Pickering's photograph (p. 232). The photograph represents Pickering in an image utterly different from the one he painted for the savages. He is well-dressed - he wears a kilt, boots - and carrying a rifle (1869). The gap between the aborigines and the English is further widened by judging their appearance within their realm of primitivism and savagery. He writes: "*Three women, all beautifully attired, from a savage's point of view.*"⁷³ Said differently, these women are perceived as being beautiful just because they are viewed in relation to their social belonging. The author does not dare to compare them to

European/English women as it seems something impossible. With his approach, Pickering degrades the position of the “savage” women and reinforces the physical differences between women of the two races.

Diving deeply into the daily life and social organisation of the aborigines, aspects of their entertainment and fare cannot be ignored. Being a revered friend of several tribes, Pickering is able to observe and experience momentarily these aspects. He notices that “Pathetic chants” and “weird war dance”⁷⁴ are the ways the savages congratulate the foreigners’ singing abilities. The Bangas’ music is rather based on melancholic songs and in Pickering’s words they are “plaintive”.⁷⁵ This description classifies the songs as dirge-like and identifies their taste in music. Besides, feasts, which end usually with disgusting intoxication, are their major means to welcome the foreigner or a friend from the other tribes. In these occasions, excessive amounts of meat and Samshu are consumed. In this respect, Albert Memmi notes that the colonised consume “*disgusting quantities of meat [...] alcohol.*”⁷⁶ As these words suggest, meat and wine are central in the diet of the savages. When the former consists of pig, wild boar, and bear’s flesh, the latter includes millet’s wine and other drinks made by poisonous creeper. However, sometimes the feast ends in a debauch making the night hideous.⁷⁷ The same situation is witnessed by Pickering in his visit to the savage villages. He deduces that it is like the case of the “highly civilised folk”. Here, Pickering acknowledges the similarity between the two folks. But they are similar just in this inappropriate behaviour. It is the aborigines who are compared to the civilised people and not vice versa. The extravagant consumption of meat is not limited to feasts. They rather “*gorge themselves with flesh and with an intoxicating liquor*”⁷⁸ after each hunting excursion.

Discomfort is what characterises life in the majority of the tribes. Given their static condition, the aborigines cannot take advantage of the elementary aspects of human life. They do not enjoy the facilities that the technological advancement offered to the Western race. For

instance, their survival depends highly on traditional tools and methods. Fire is one striking example. It is used for warmth, light, and cooking because they are not yet initiated to lamps and other highly modern amenities. It is in the Ban-Tau-Lang tribe that Pickering notes: “*The savages warmed themselves by making a large fire on the ground, lying round it nearly naked. Our apologies for beds were arranged like berths in a ship, and I was forced to huddle up in a few skins.*”⁷⁹ Pickering’s statements shed more light on the discomforts of savage life which are mainly the outcomes of the aborigines’ primitivism.

The author also draws the attention of the reader to the relations between the “savage” tribes. These relations vary between hostility and friendship. By way of illustration, the Bangas and the Bantaulangs are in hostility with the Ken-chio-k’a people of the Pepohoan village, but they are in friendship with the Bilang and Gani tribes. These tribes are, in return, friends of the Ken-chio-k’a people. These examples make it sure enough that the tribes are interwoven in complex relations of foeship and friendship. This status quo reflects their constant lifestyle. The point here is that when the Europeans are responding to the requirements of the age, these savages are still engaged in futile feuds. As documents on the history of the island show, the division between the aborigines is a main contributor to the success successive conquests of the island. Furthermore, readiness for an attack is one major daily caution. To illustrate this point, Pickering writes: “*Their spears were stuck in the ground, and their firearms lay ready at their sides, as they lived in continual apprehension of an attack from their enemies.*”⁸⁰ Apart from hunting and fighting the enemy, the tribes’ members do not engage themselves in other activities. They are busy collecting heads of the enemy which they believe is a source to install the quality of boldness in the soul of an unmarried man. By hanging them in their rooms, which are perceived as being temples, they are meant to inspire them. Head-hunting is a venerated tradition and a defining characteristic

of the savages' heroism. For example, the Sibukun chief has taken 20 or 30 heads.⁸¹ This shapes the image of bloodthirsty savages.

To sustain his urgent solicitation of the British power, the author throws light on the poor health and old age of the tribes' chiefs. Actually, their conditions do not allow them to handle anymore the solemn issues of their tribes. For instance, in his visit to the Ban-Tau-Lang tribe, he records: "*Ultimately we were taken to the village, to the house of the aged chief, who, like most of heads of the Formosan tribes, was too old and decrepit to do more than give advice to his warriors.*"⁸² As it can be inferred from Pickering's words, the tribes' rulers are "knocking on heaven's door". The same applies for the Pai-chien chief and others. Pickering's attempt here is to foreshadow the future fate of the leaderless tribes. The absence of the chiefs would create a gap and disorder within the tribes. In a way, he denies the warriors the ability of self-rule and vouches the idea of European paternalism. As the term warrior suggests, they lack experience of leadership that would allow them to rule effectively. Though for the time being they receive pieces of advice from the chiefs, it cannot be eternal. Therefore, they are in need for a competent leader who would keep order and rule them effectively, someone like the English. It is also important to indicate that elderhood is not only associated with the chiefs but also with almost the inhabitants. He refers to an old woman, man, guide, skipper, and Pepo-hoan. All these emphasise Pickering's idea of a necessity for regeneration as archaism is what characterises Formosa.

In his encounter with the aborigines of the mountains and the plains, Pickering does not name the majority of them. Although he has been in contact with a considerable number of them during his residence in the island, no proper name is used to designate each member. He treats the aborigines as "homogeneous masses". Instead of revealing aspects of their individuality, he groups them under labels such as the "aborigines of the plains", the "raw savages", the "aborigines", the "barbarians of the mountains", the "chiefs", and pronouns

such as “they”. The point to be emphasised here is that some of these labels, the first two, are translations of Chinese appellations. In this way, Pickering may appear to distance himself from doing any injustice to the aborigines. However, his repeated use of such terminology indicates his involvement in the process of homogenising the aborigines. Pickering relies on what Memmi calls “the mark of the plural”. Memmi argues that this mark is a form of depersonalisation of the colonized as s/he is “*never characterised in an individual manner.*”⁸³ The author deems naming each aboriginal individual needless since they share the same qualities, behaviours, and attitudes. Only insignificant distinction is made between them in terms of the degree of their savagery by using the prefix semi-. As a result, their shared identity is that of a savage and no other identity can exist beyond the realm of savagery.

However, he makes exceptions regarding the old woman that he encounters in his way to La-Ku-Li and three/or more other men. This time, he chooses to mention her name which is Pu-li-sang. His choice is motivated by the fact that she “*was no novice to the ways of civilisation.*”⁸⁴ He considers her different from the “others” that he has already met. Her previous contact with the civilised world and experience of the Chinese semi-civilisation distinguish her from her fellow Bangas. Therefore, by the use of labels with negative connotations such as aborigines, “raw savages”, and “natives”, the author emphasises the distinction between the civilised English/Western and the uncivilised inhabitants. Indeed, the text is overloaded with the notion of “savage” and its repetitious use makes it the trope of the narrative.

The identity of the aborigines is further shaken by denying them the purity of their race. From Pickering’s remarks, they constitute a heterogeneous race. Some seem to be descendant of Japanese or Loochooan origin; others appear to be ascendent of the white man.⁸⁵ Their racial belonging is not a clear cut one, and this derives them from decent species in the branch of genetics. Instead, he sometimes offers them the identity of “noble savages”.

Following the path of the late nineteenth century European romanticists, Pickering attributes to the aborigines the quality of nobility. Their pretended “savage” quality also implies their uncorrupted nature. Some still display innocence, kindness, and modesty. This, indeed, is an “*idealised rather than a debased stereotype.*”⁸⁶

The minority that one cannot ignore when studying travel writing and Pickering’s narrative in particular is women. Oftenly, women’s status is degraded. The Ban-Tau-Lang woman is a germane case in point. As a rule and custom in this tribe, women are assigned the role of cutting wood, cooking food, and drawing water. Whereas men, apart from hunting, they keep eating and sleeping.⁸⁷ The operation of patriarchal ideology is apparent in the assignment of the traditional gender roles. Women occupy the domestic sphere assuming the roles of devoted mothers and obedient wives; while men assume the requirements of the “public sphere” which include activities outside the living environment. However, the author notes that women also participate in the fulfilment of men’s roles. For instance, in hunting expeditions, women are supposed “*to accompany the men, for the purpose of carrying back the heavy loads of meat.*”⁸⁸ Quite similar roles are to be found in all the tribes that the author has been in contact with. Despite this, women are assigned the role of the tribes’ priestesses. Therefore, even in this remote island the ‘separate sphere’ and patriarchal ideologies are at work.

On the whole, Pickering’s representations of the “other” are Orientalist *par excellence*. All the aforementioned qualities of the aborigines make them exist and “count” only “*as mere biological beings*”.⁸⁹ It is also remarkable that though *the defeat of narrative by vision* is evidently manifested in the travelogue, instances of “narrative” are traceable.⁹⁰ For example, as I have explained earlier, Pickering reckons to the Pepohoans the image of semi-civilised and recognises their boldness and skilfulness as hunters. As these examples demonstrate, the possibility of the inhabitants to be like the civilised Westerners is not totally denied. These

elementary qualities serve as an evidence for their potential to change and encourage the imperial powers to invest more efforts and interests in their attempts to civilise them. Still, a kind and semi-civilised aborigine cannot stand in the same stratum as the white race. Hence, 'British tutelage' seems to be the inevitable cure to the dire state of the inhabitants.

With the diverse and degrading images of the aborigines Pickering sets up a bunch of facts about them. The spread of these attributes and their repeated use, especially in the social and political spheres, transform them to what Roland Barthes calls "Myth" i.e. these images are transformed into signs with cultural and representational meanings assuming the role of myth. The quality of the aborigines as "primitive" becomes a defining characteristic of their identity which requires reform and civilisation from the white race. Therefore, as myth is assigned the role of "universaliser", anyone who is an aboriginal is a primitive and in need for civilisation and enlightenment.

From this analysis, which I hope is exhaustive as far as the scope of this chapter is concerned, it is clear that the hierarchical binary of the "self" versus the "other" results in maintaining the Formosan inhabitants as subject race and the English as the superior Anglo-Saxon race. Hence, any attempt to subjugate, dominate, and colonise them would appear natural, inevitable, and rational. In this respect, Memmi argues: "*These images* [image of the proletariat and the colonized] *become excuses without which the presence and conduct of a colonizer, and that of a bourgeois, would seem shocking.*"⁹¹ The myth of the aborigines as subject race consolidates the ideology of imperialism, in particular European imperial attitudes towards Formosa, and the premise that "*certain territories and people require and beseech domination.*"⁹² It is with this view in their mind that the Westerners embarked for the Far East. They dreamt of imperial free trade and political domination. Their imperial ambitions triggered several historical events such as the Opium Wars that were the turning points in the British-Chinese imperial relations.

Endnotes

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- ³⁶. Ashcroft et al., *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, 36.
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- ⁴⁷. Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, 73.
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- ⁵⁶. *Ibid*.
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- ⁶³. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (Béjaia: Talantikit), 54.
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- ⁶⁸. Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, 149.
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- ⁷⁰. Hui Du, *Representing Taiwan Aborigines: Discourse Analysis on Aboriginal Objects Since the Nineteenth Century*, 5.
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- ^{73.} Ibid, 126.
- ^{74.} Ibid, 73.
- ^{75.} Ibid,
- ^{76.} Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (UK: Earthscan, 1957), 127.
- ^{77.} Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, 123.
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Chapter Two: Formosa: from an Alien into a Colonial Space

When the Portuguese first visited this great island, in the sixteenth century, they were so enraptured with its tropical beauty that they bestowed upon it the name 'Ilha Formosa' or the Beautiful Island. Few names have been more correctly chosen. Formosa is indeed majestic in its beauty.⁹³

In travellers' accounts, reference to the "exotic" space is indispensable. The landscape and environment are usually the elements which strike the eye of the visitor. The latter tends to paint a mighty portrait of the space underscoring its exotic aspects. Pickering follows the same procedure as his narrative is loaded with vivid descriptions of Formosa's landscape. His impressive perceptions render the island's beauty an ideal one. However, these perceptions are not devoid of the dangers that haunt the island. Hence, my concern in this chapter is to study these images and focus on the way Formosa as an "exotic" space stimulates the "imperial eyes".

Prior to the arrival of the Europeans and the neighbouring inhabitants, the Chinese and the Japanese, the island was unknown. It is believed that the Portuguese are the pioneers in Formosa. Inspired and fascinated by its beauty, they named it Ilha Formosa which means the Beautiful Island. Indeed, as it can be understood from the above quote, the first Portuguese visitors or by-passers who ventured to Formosa perceived it as a mysterious space. The same perception is expressed by Pickering in his portrayal of the natural scenery. This view denotes not only Formosa's uncorrupted and undistorted natural scenery by echoes of civilisation but also the primitiveness into which it is plunged.

As an island of the Far East, Pickering depicts Formosa as an "exotic" space and "*a place of romance*".⁹⁴ Beautiful and splendid sceneries spread in the plains and the mountains. He depicts them in a romantic tone using expressions such as "the scenery...is very charming"⁹⁵, "the situation was most romantic"⁹⁶, "the scenery was grand"⁹⁷, and "it was a wild and romantic scene".⁹⁸ His fascination with the island's beauty is communicated to his audience through imagery. The latter as a literary device appeals to the readers' senses. With

this effect, mental images are constructed and kept up producing a “colonial desire”. Certainly, this scenery is the product of the climate which is “*exceedingly fine, dry, clear and bracing.*”⁹⁹ To be clearer, he incorporates photographs which though blurry shed more light on the exotic space.

This scenery is also the product of the exotic fauna and flora. Pickering’s next step in the narrative is making an exhaustive list of the species of animals and insects. Animals such as black climbing bear, armadillo, the wild boar, antlers, coyote, gibbons...,etc occupy the high mountains conducing to its image as a luxuriant jungle. The availability of numerous and diverse insects makes the island “*the paradise of the entomologist, on account of the magnificent butterflies and moths to be obtained.*”¹⁰⁰ Here, the author invites and incites the entomologist to broaden his field of research by incorporating the rich species of insects available in the Formosan space. In fact, it is the island’s rich reservoir of fauna which insinuates the entomologist to conquer the diverse and full space of the fauna.

In addition to the fauna, the flora is also among the elements which shape the mysteriousness of the space and its magnificent sceneries. The flora is associated with innumerability, rareness, and beauty. The narrative is abounding with instances describing the tropical vegetation and fruit in wonderful sceneries. As an example, “*Domes, spirals, and wall-like precipices succeed each other in imposing variety. A luxuriant vegetation clothes their sides, down which [sic] dash cascades that shine like molten silver in the tropical sunlight.*”¹⁰¹ It is sceneries like these that shape the glamour of Formosa and the Orient. This glamour allures the Westerners and this is the case of Pickering. He further stresses the river scenery describing it as follows: “*There is a mass of rich tropical vegetation bordering the river, with all the varied beauty of colour and form of pandanus or screw pines, palms mimosas, and similar trees.*”¹⁰² From these citations, it is quite remarkable that the author makes an insinuating portrayal of the island’s landscape. His target audience here are mainly

the British botanists. He cites Mr. Veicht as a botanist who has already taken some of the “*beautiful orchids and ornamental plants*” to Britain as the exotica of Formosa.¹⁰³ Veicht’s act falls within what the critics Ella Shohat and Robert Stam label as “*the museological fetishizing of cultures*”.¹⁰⁴ The same applies to Rev. W. Campbell. Pickering writes:

The Rev. Campbell some years ago made, in the centre of the island, a collection which was, however, unluckily much injured by accidental immersion in a flooded stream while it was being taken coast-ward. This collection is now embodied, so far as it was available, in the herbarium of the British Museum.¹⁰⁵

Like other Europeans, Veicht’s and Campbell’s act display the belief that taking the exotica and other cultural objects from the native countries is a way to rescue them from disappearance. Being placed in the sophisticated Western museums such as the British museum and its herbarium, these objects play the role of representatives of the other unknown cultures.

From the author’s account, it is evident that Formosa is a paradise which calls for the Europeans. In his surveillance of the landscape, Pickering relies on the process of exclusion and inclusion. As the afore-cited descriptions reveal, the aborigines are erased from the landscape scenery. However, in the place of the local inhabitants, he includes within the portrait the English botanists such as Mr. Veicht. Such a perspective reflects the colonial desire of the Europeans who seek to take the island from the local people. It also seems as if Pickering is transmitting the idea that the Europeans are the ones that best fit to possess the island. The Europeans would certainly take care of the island and its sources given their extensive knowledge in natural science. Mr. Veicht is the perfect example that assumes such a role. Given his knowledge in biology, he would recognise and appreciate the worthiness of the flora.

The wild and romantic beauty of the island, on the other hand, may be contrasted to the dangers that the Europeans, and the English in particular, may face in this distant and supposed “savage” island. In this regard, Said argues that the Orient insinuates danger and

Formosa is no exception.¹⁰⁶ In Formosa, danger is typically three-fold. It involves danger of the sea, people, as well as diseases. However, the point to focus on here is the author's intention behind making reference to these dangers. His intention is not to discourage his countrymen from visiting Formosa but rather to elevate his status to that of a hero i.e. despite these dangers, Pickering succeeded not only in performing his formal duties, but also in fulfilling that of an Orientalist observer. It can also be related to his quest for authenticity and objectivity in the narrative as far as this chapter is concerned.

It is true that any made voyage involves danger, but in the case of Formosa this danger is egregious. It is particularly related to weather phenomenon during the south-west monsoon. *"The velocity and violence of the winds during the height of these storms is beyond belief; the rain falls in torrents, [...], in steam-like masses."*¹⁰⁷ The Eastern typhoon proves to be a mickle enemy to travellers. The great storms endanger the lives of the inflow and outflow of travellers including merchants, mariners...etc. Even short internal voyages in the sea within Formosa are dangerous. To sustain this point, the author refers to a great storm that he witnessed in his journey to Taiwanfoo on business. He describes the gloomy atmosphere in the following expressions: "the gale [is] furious", "the waves seethed with cruel white teeth", the wind is "deafening", and its howling is "wild".¹⁰⁸ Through his account of the nightmarish voyage, their survival may be qualified as a miraculous one.

Safe anchoring is always doubtful. Even if one reaches the shore his/her life remains in great danger, and this is what Pickering refers to when he says: *"If one were so fortunate as to escape death from the sea, it would only be to fall a victim at the hands of pitiless pirates and wreckers who plied their ghastly business along the coast."*¹⁰⁹ Indeed, as Pickering's words demonstrate, one has also to be able to overcome and defeat the merciless pirates and wreckers whose hostility towards shipwrecks' crew is astounding. Pickering qualifies their wrongdoings as a business that is fulfilled diligently.

Struggle for survival in Formosa and in its vicinities does not end here. In the main, those who succeed in escaping death and torture at the hands of the wreckers also have to surmount the mobs and the robbers triumphantly or at least unharmed. To illustrate this point, I need only to refer to the case of the ten shipwrecked Europeans that are unclothed by the wreckers and spent the night wrapped with the sand. As luck would have it, they were offered rice bags to cover their nude body. Unfortunately, in their way to the dwellings of their countrymen, they were attacked by robbers who took from them the rice bags.¹¹⁰ At first glance, this may sound funny, but it bears the idea of the people's primitiveness and arrested development. When the Europeans are experiencing the highest degrees of civilisation and expanding over the world, rice bags are of great worth for the Formosan inhabitants. It seems that robbery is a profession like piracy, and it is wide spread in the island. No coast or corner is secured from the mob's activities. To emphasise the widespread of robbery in the island and its vicinities, he compares them to a pest which infests the environment. He writes: "*At that time the highways were infested by robbers.*"¹¹¹ This makes the surveillance and the exploration of the island quite difficult. However, despite this, Pickering did not give up his quest of reaching the high mountains that have not yet been penetrated by white man.

Above all these dangers, one may also suffer from the "tropical diseases". Pickering suffered from fever and dysentery. Unlike Kurtz and Gulliver in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1902) and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), respectively, whose sanity was disturbed after their voyages to Africa and the fictional land, Pickering was subject to a physical disease. This required a quick relinquishment of his duties and immediate return to "civilisation". In a word, life in Formosa is like a maze where one has to find his/her way within a complex and in interwoven network of dangers.

With this image of Formosa as a perilous space, Pickering stresses the noble nature of the English and Europeans who venture to Formosa for the interests of the inhabitants. Here,

special recognition is for the missionaries' efforts and philanthropy. Though their well-being and survival are threatened at the hands of Chinese pirates, mobs, and other hostile inhabitants, they carry out their evangelic missions candidly. They even care for their physical solace and health. The merits of other people such as the consuls, merchants, and officials such as Pickering cannot be ignored. Thanks to these individuals' efforts, Formosa is witnessing some progress and reform at different levels. For instance, they engage in trade with the island and organise it. In this way, the inhabitants are taking advantage of the resources instead of being spoilt and neglected or drained by the Chinese.

Pickering's earnest ambition to explore the island transforms his role to that of an explorer and sometimes to that of an anthropologist, historian, and geographer. Through his exhaustive reports, he offers clear insights into the remote island. Of course, from his account, implicit political and ideological motives which serve the British Empire may be inferred, especially when taking into account the knowledge/ power dichotomy. His procedures appear to be like those of Arthur James Balfour in his involvement in imperial affairs. He advocates knowledge as a trait of their supremacy. Knowledge to Balfour means surveying civilisation from its origins to its prime to its decline.¹¹² It is quite the same approach which is adopted by Pickering as he attempted to trace the civilisation of the island. The ultimate result is to secure domination and authority over one's target. Indeed, Pickering's will to truth cannot be separated from the will to domination; such a perspective reflects his colonial attitudes towards Formosa.

In terms of historical knowledge, Pickering traces the history of Formosa since the sixteenth century. He surveys the wave of settlers who ventured to penetrate the impregnable island. Some succeeded in making settlements such as the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the neighbouring powers as the Chinese and the Japanese. However, some such as the Portuguese did not settle there. Nonetheless, they contributed in filling the "blank space," which is

Formosa, by identifying and giving it the name of Formosa: the Beautiful Island. The French also marked their presence in Formosa during the French Chinese War of 1883/4. Relying on Pickering's word choice, I may say that the various settlers come to Formosa with imperial and colonial motives. For example, he says: "*The Chinese annals also assert that in 1620 the Japanese attempted to form a colony in Formosa.*"¹¹³ In this citation, the key notion is "colony" which after its establishment results in unequal colonial relation(s). It includes the coloniser as its maker who is endowed with civilisation, power, tyranny, and obsessed with will to domination; it includes also the colonised that is subjugated to the coloniser.

Because of their intentions, the settlers do not welcome the presence of settlers from other countries. Pickering portrays Formosa as a public property which goes from one hand to another. During his residence in it, it assumes the status of a political dependency of mainland of China. From the above historical epitome, it is apparent that Formosa has always been under the imperial/colonial gaze. However, none of the former settlers was powerful enough to hold Formosa as a sempiternal colony. Although the Chinese Empire held it nearly for three centuries, they gave it up to the Japanese in 1895 by the Shimonoseki Treaty. The author's point is that Formosa in the current situation needs a powerful and appropriate tutelage since the Chinese seem to be spoiling this paradise. At the same time, Pickering is in favour of the Japanese occupation of Formosa. He declares this position in an interview with the representative of *The Westminster Gazette* on April 27, 1895. He says: "*Well, we have had lots of chances to take Formosa [...] and it could not be in better hands than those of Japan, or in worse than those of China.*"¹¹⁴ Pickering's answer as regards the fate of Formosa highlights his judgement of the Chinese rule as being a threat. It also stresses the suitability of the Japanese rule and Britain's engagement in an imperial race over Formosa.

As for the geographical knowledge, the author examines thoroughly the physical structure of Formosa. He furnishes the audience with details concerning Formosa's length, width, and area. He writes:

The length of this important island is about 235 miles, by 70 to 90 in its widest part, and it is intersected by a range of lofty and densely wooded mountains which follow the general direction of the island from north to south...the highest peak of which, Mount Morrison, is more than 12,000 feet high. The island runs from north-east to south-west, and its shape is that of a long oval running down to a point at the south.¹¹⁵

As the excerpt indicates, Pickering in his surveillance of the island is reckless to geographical details. He is engaged in the process of mapping the island. He mentions the exact measures and numbers as if he is a Formosan citizen who spent his entire life in the island. It reflects his devotedness and seriousness in his quest for the familiarisation with the island and making it known to his target audience. An emphasis is put on studying both the eastern and western sides identifying their different features such as the fauna, flora, the land's fertility, resources...etc. This reveals Pickering's attitudes towards geography as a fundamental material in enriching his knowledge about Formosa. It is indeed a requisite step in the process of penetrating the island. This geographical knowledge assures a successful accomplishment of the prevailing and future imperial projects. In this context, it is worth citing the position of Curzon vis-à-vis the issue of geography in the discussion about Oriental studies. In his book *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1979), Said cites the words of Curzon, President of the Geographical Society in 1912, as follows:

Nowadays we regard geographical knowledge as an essential part of knowledge in general. By the aid of geography, and no other way, do we understand the action of great natural forces, the distribution of population, the growth of commerce, the expansion of frontiers, the developments of states, the splendid achievements of human energy in its various manifestations.¹¹⁶

Curzon's words to the Geographical Society can be traced in Pickering's narrative. For him, mastery of the island's geography is a milestone to the fulfilment of the imperial projects in the island. It is a means to facilitate the achievements of the imperial and colonial motives which include the economic exploitation and political domination. Here again the conception

of the geographical knowledge cannot be separated from the Foucauldian dichotomy of knowledge / power.

In order to sustain his pro-imperialist position concerning Formosa, Pickering tries to record geographical data that would vouch it. Such data prove to be essential as they determine two crucial elements which are, in Curzon words, the distribution of population and the growth of commerce. Throughout Pickering's account, it is a stark fact that the distribution of population over the island does not impede the colonial process. When the plains are occupied by the semi-civilised and ruled by the Chinese who "*could only claim dominion over the plain on the west coast,*"¹¹⁷ the mountains are occupied by the different tribes of the "raw savages". Adding to this, Pickering has made friendship with several tribes of both categories of the inhabitants, and this helps him to gain their support when it is asked for.

As a geographical space, Formosa solicits Britain and its power. A similar idea is put forward by Said in his discussion of Leroy-Beaulieu's views concerning the philosophy of "*the Orient as a geographical space to be cultivated, harvested, and guarded.*"¹¹⁸ Then, from the scholar's point of view, Said concludes that "*the space of weaker or underdeveloped regions like the Orient was viewed as something inviting French interest, penetration, insemination-in short colonisation.*"¹¹⁹ Viewed from this perspective, Formosa is part of the Far East which is powerless, misruled by the Chinese, and requesting the British protection and civilisation. This appeal is made by the island's exotic aspects such as the fauna and the flora which require more attention and due consideration from the European botanists and biologists. Indeed, most of the island is not yet penetrated and surveyed by European collectors and "*there is still, however, much scope for the collector.*"¹²⁰ Pickering's words bear his promises for the European biologists. He promises them that there are yet much to be discovered in the unpenetrated portions of the island. His tone seems to be like that of the

romantic adventurer Captain John Smith; the recorder of the first permanent English settlement at James town in Virginia in 1607. Through his writings, which bear the seeds of propaganda and promotional literature, Captain John Smith endeavours to persuade the English to embark for the new world. For example, in *A Description of New England* (1616), he makes reference to the wealth and ample natural resources of this new discovered land. In a word, he promotes the colonisation of the new world in general and Virginia in particular. The appeal is also made - as I have already explored in the preceding chapter- by the inhabitants' backwardness. Hence, the English as one among the representative of the "civilising mission" and bearers of the "White Man's Burden" has to respond to the call of Formosa and save it from its current plight.

Above all these, the diversity of natural resources are the crucial aspects which beseech the greedy European capitalists. Petroleum, Sulphur, coal, and precious metals such as gold are available in quantities which can address the deficiency in raw materials in the European factories. In return, the vacant space may serve as markets for their manufactured products. To quote Mary Pratt verbatim, Formosa is "*meaningful only in terms of a capitalist future and its potential for producing a marketable surplus.*"¹²¹ Moreover, the Western technological advancement is a prerequisite to the exploitation of the island's resources. Kilung as a great coal-mining neighbourhood requires Western industrialisation and machinery for an adequate production of minerals. Topa-kho-ham's wells of petroleum need further utilisation. The parachronistic way of getting camphor requires more effective methods and modern materials. The same applies for gold-washing near Lung Kiao, and between Takao and Taiwanfoo. These examples make it clear enough that if the exploitation of Formosa's natural sources is in such a condition, it is because, as Said puts it, Formosa "*existed as a place isolated from the mainstream of European Progress.*"¹²² Consequently, the extension of the European progress, technology, and modernisation to the island would

indubitably improve the methods and processes of production, a fact to which Pickering has already alluded to in his discussion of the mines' state. Within this context, the author does not miss the opportunity to express his pride in the Europeans and their achievements in Formosa. Thanks to the European modern methods and machinery, the mines in the Coal Harbour are working more effectively than they used to in the Chinese manner.¹²³

Furthermore, the sundry commercial products stimulate the British trader. Trade seems to be a vital source to the income of the island. Sugar, rice, camphor, and tea are in copious supply encouraging trade with Europeans. This indicates what Said refers to as the “*unlimited opportunities for commercial advancement and imperial free trade*” in the island.¹²⁴ This possibility for trade is accompanied by the availability of infrastructures. Under-buildings for facilitating the trade process are in better conditions. For instance, “*there are two railroads in this district /Northern Formosa/, which greatly facilitate the distribution of the produce of the mines.*”¹²⁵ In addition, the distribution of the four ports, Tamsui & Kilung (North) Taiwanfoo & Takao (South), over Formosa facilitates and increases the trade process. For instance, coal and tea are exported at the port of Tamsui.

Though Formosa is partly populated by its indigenous inhabitants and settlers from the neighbouring powers, the image that prevails in the narrative is that of a blank and deserted space. Taiwanfoo, which is estimated to be a vital zone during the Dutch occupation, is like a deserted city under the rule of the Chinese Empire. Only the ruins of the Dutch fortresses of the 1600s are found in Anping. He notices:

This once *impregnable* old fortress has succumbed to the gradual forces of time...Not one of the angles of the central keep remains; the walls are *split* and *broken*, and a large banyan tree, growing upon the top of the wall of the keep, waves gnarled and knotted branches, rustling a soft requiem to the long past glories of Zelandia. Its chief use now is as a landmark for ships making the port of Anping.¹²⁶ (My emphasis)

As it can be inferred from the above quote, the author attributes to Taiwanfoo an image of decay. He compares the present deteriorated state of the fortress to its impregnability in the times of the Dutch. What was once too strong to be penetrated becomes dilapidated and

fragmented. He seems to venerate and glorify the Dutch power whose great achievements are still remarkable in the island. This alludes to the fixed state of the island in time. It is as if after the leave of the Dutch, Formosa and in particular Taiwanfoo has not been occupied. He indeed dismisses the Chinese occupation of the island after more than two centuries. He also notices: *“The public markets, and, though dirty and offensive, after the manner of Chinese towns, it is here that the business of the place is done.”*¹²⁷ These words extend the stereotypes of the Chinese towns as dirty and offensive to the markets in Taiwanfoo. Pickering judges dirt and offence as the major legacies of the Chinese occupiers. With these views, Pickering supports his opposition of the Chinese presence in and rule of Formosa. More importantly, he reproduces the Orientalist assumption that Formosa is *“a local requiring Western attention, reconstruction, even redemption.”*¹²⁸

The image of Formosa as a degenerating space is one among the strategies of Pickering to highlight the threat of the Chinese rule and the urge for European intervention. As a result of neglect, Formosa falls into a state of primitiveness. Forts like Providentia, temples like that of the Goddess of Mercy, and ports like Takao are in the state of ruins because of neglect. Some of these form ‘a picturesque ruin’.¹²⁹ He writes: *“The most southerly port on the western or Chinese coast is Takao. The harbour is shallow, and the part where vessels lie is becoming daily more contracted, as the drift sand fills up the lagoon.”*¹³⁰ At first glance, this quote makes the reader understand that it is “drift sand” which made the port in such a state. However, this is not the case. Pickering hints to it through the expression “Chinese coast”. The latter being occupied by the Chinese becomes their responsibility. Hence, whatever the situation the port is in, decay or improvement, the only ones to be blamed are the Chinese. This state is not limited to monuments, even the industry of some commercial products such as sugar grows worse. This neglect according to the critic Pratt *“became the touchstone of a negative esthetic that legitimate European intervention.”*¹³¹

Therefore, from what has been seen so far, I may say that Formosa is under the European imperial gaze. It is seen with “imperial eyes” and through the exhaustive description of the island’s fauna, flora, and natural resources, Formosa is no more an “alien” space but rather a “colonial” one. In this manner, Pickering perpetuates the myth of Formosa as a space which shall be conquered and saved from the hands of the Chinese.

Endnotes

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- ^{94.} Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 1.
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- ^{104.} Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 153.
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- ^{122.} Said, *Orientalism*, 206.
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- ^{124.} Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 14.
- ^{125.} Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, 36.
- ^{126.} *Ibid*, 31.

- ^{127.} Ibid, 32.
- ^{128.} Said, *Orientalism*, 206.
- ^{129.} Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, 33.
- ^{130.} Ibid, 28.
- ^{131.} Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 146.

Chapter Three: The Earlier Civilising Missions and the Consolidation of the English/European Imperial Enterprise in Formosa

In the foregoing chapters, I attempted to examine the system of representation in relation to the English and the aborigines in terms of the notions of the “self” and the “other”. I also endeavoured to trace the image of Formosa as an “exotic” and “colonial” space. The conclusion that I drew is that the author misrepresents the aborigines and represents the island as a colonial space. This indeed serves as a rationale to the British imperial projects in Formosa. The latter is maintained by the myth of the “civilising mission” which is also perceived as being inevitable because everything in Formosa solicits and cherishes them. Thus, what follows is an endeavour to study to which extent the earlier civilising missions contribute to the rationalisation of British intervention in Formosa. Besides the Dutch and the Spanish missions, my focal point is the Chinese rule of the island and their presence there. To be more explicit, my concern is to study how Pickering uses the corrupt, oppressive, and irresponsible images of the Chinese officials - the bearers of this civilisation - to corroborate his reprobation of their presence in Formosa. Then, as a last point I intend to dissect the European imperial enterprise in terms of the notions of the “civilising mission”, Christianity, and commerce.

1. The Earlier Civilising Missions

The earlier settlers in Formosa, including the Spaniards and the Dutch, display colonial attitudes towards Formosa. Although their activities are issued under the guise of “la mission civilisatrice”, they still bear seeds of imperialism and colonialism. Their perception of the island is like that of the European imperial powers in the 1870s and 1880s. It is viewed as a space in need of their civilisation and cultivation. Thus, they proceed to implement them.

The Spaniards’ attempts to assimilate the aborigines and claim authority over the island are limited to military and cultural perspectives. The achievements of the Spaniards in

Formosa belong to the “ecological imperialism”. In this vein, Said argues: “*At the most visible level there was the physical transformation of the imperial realm [...] through what Alfred Crosby calls ‘ecological imperialis’.*”¹³² The target cities of the Spaniards, in the north, are Tamsui and Kilung where they founded two forts for defensive purposes. The restructuring of the Formosan Physical environment results in the erection of colonial zones and cities such as Tamsui and Kilung. They also imposed their language on the aborigines. However, such influence diminishes over time and the Spanish language is untraceable in Formosa.

The Dutch colonists followed the path of the Spaniards on the issue of “ecological imperialism”. They erected two military posts Zelandia and Providentia in Anping and Taiwanfoo, respectively. They indeed went further than the Spaniards did as they appear to have extended their civilising spirit to nearly all domains. Yet, despite their colonial attitudes towards Formosa, the author does not condemn their occupation of it. Instead he attributes to them the role of civilising the natives or rather he produces, in Said terms, “*what has been called ‘a duty’ to natives [...] to establish colonies for the ‘benefit’ of the natives.*”¹³³ He puts it in the following words:

They appear to have used every effort to civilise the wild inhabitants of the plain. They introduced the good laws and promoted useful industries, appointing officers to each tribe to administer the laws under the governor. Their missionaries, also, were having great success; churches and schools were multiplying, and thousands of converts were baptized.¹³⁴

This quote clearly reflects the assimilative process to which the Formosan aborigines are subject to. In other words, it shows the Dutch’s imperial activities which targeted the political, economic, and religious-evangelical- spheres. The changes brought by the Dutch are justified as part of the rhetoric of the “civilising mission” in the distant island of Formosa. It is thanks to the Dutch missionaries, whom Pickering describes as being “indefatigable” and “unselfish” in their mission,¹³⁵ that the Formosan inhabitants are introduced to the Christian faith. However, at the heart of this noble mission lies the ideology of domination and colonisation. Still, as I have already mentioned, the author does not oppose the previous presence of the

Dutch as Europeans in Formosa. Instead, he glorifies their achievements to show the decadence of the island at the hands of the Chinese. Though the Dutch did not settle for a long time as the Chinese did, they appear to have done a great job and “*so beneficent was the Dutch.*”¹³⁶ It seems that Pickering is the spokesman of the Europeans and sides with them in their noble attempts to procreate the remote island.

Unlike the Spaniards and the Dutch, the Chinese waves of settlers settled with a spirit of destruction and violence. As soon as the Chinese set their feet in Formosa, they started to appropriate it and impose themselves. They displayed what the Western world labels as “*Oriental despotism*” that exalts cruelty and oppression.¹³⁷ They forced the savages to move to the mountains, they demolished their villages, and they re-occupied the plains taking advantage of their natural resources. The Christian converts are the category of the savages who witnessed injustices from the Chinese. They slaughtered “*the tribes who refused to renounce Christianity.*”¹³⁸ Pickering stresses the inhumanity of the Chinese towards the native converts and the Dutch missionaries by referring to the Chinese pirate, Koxinga/ Koshing to whom he attributes the image of a crucifier and exterminator. Moreover, the English crews of shipwrecks did not escape the atrocities of the mandarins. In 1842, 187 survivors of the shipwreck were executed by the mandarins.¹³⁹ Indubitably, these images imply the destructive essence of the Chinese settlers and their xenophobia. All this goes against the dictates of the “civilising mission”. Hence, it is not surprising that the Dutch are venerated by the aborigines.

Pickering builds his opposition to the Chinese occupation of Formosa on a cluster of solid arguments and concrete pieces of evidence. For instance, apart from the former arguments, as a result of the irresponsibility of the Chinese officials, neglect remains the major outcome of the Chinese rule of Formosa. Unlike the Spaniards and the Dutch who fulfilled their duties diligently, the Chinese are negligent of their responsibilities. As I have already shown, in the second chapter, neglect characterises every aspect of Formosa, and it is

according to Pratt a main evidence for the consolidation of European intervention. The fleet at Taiwanfoo is one striking example. In Pickering's words, "*The fleet [...] consisted chiefly of old junks [...] these ancient vessels were [...] dry; their masts, sails, and gear rotted away [...] the paint had peeled from their sides.*"¹⁴⁰ Adjectives such as "old", "ancient", and "rooted away" point out the ruinous state of the vessels which is the outcome of the Chinese carelessness. They paint the image of a deserted fleet and capture the degradation of the whole naval force of Formosa. Pickering appears to blame not only the officials but also the viceroys. The two, being the descendants of the Celestial Empire, represent the whole empire as corrupt administratively from the lower to the higher official. This extends the idea of reform to the Empire of China.

Pickering reinforces further his opposition to the Chinese presence in Formosa by depicting the Chinese officials as being corrupt and oppressive. In a chapter entitled 'Corruption and Rapacity of Chinese Officials', he elaborates on their corrupted ethics. As officials, the Chinese are misgoverning "with impunity".¹⁴¹ They bribe the military mandarins to register their name on the rolls of the militia.¹⁴² In this way, the monthly benefits are sent home - China - to their sick or aged relatives. The same view is expressed by Pickering in an interview in February 1895 when he was asked about the Chinese civil service. The question and the answer are the following:

What as to the civil service, Mr. Pickering?-No doubt there are good officials, loyal and faithful, just and benevolent, in the Chinese civil service; but the majority are corrupt, rapacious, and cruel, who only fill office with a view to enriching and repaying themselves and their relations for the capital spent in gaining office and promotion, although these are supposed to be gained by competitive examination and merit.¹⁴³

Having said this, Pickering highlights that the officials' conduct is a threat not only to China, but also to Formosa and other officials such as the first Chinese governor of Formosa, Ming-Chuan. He considers the Chinese officials' depraved behaviours as the cause of the current situation of Formosa. He binds the underdevelopment of the island to the unwise use of the

available resources and the drain by the officials. On the whole, his attempt is to prove that Formosa is in the inappropriate hands. Pickering hints to this point in the interview of April 27, 1895 with the representative of *The Westminster Gazette*. He claims: “It [Formosa] *could not be in better hands than those of Japan, or in worse than those of China.*”¹⁴⁴ With this answer, Pickering declares publicly his standpoint as far as the Chinese rule of Formosa is concerned.

Equally pertinent to the narrative is the Chinese wreckers that constitute another category of Formosa’s occupiers. They are hostile and merciless towards the European crew of shipwrecks. Generally, the crews are ill-treated and tortured at their hands. They are represented as being inhuman in their treatment of the victims. Occasions of shipwrecking are considered as feasts for the “*jubilant wreckers*”.¹⁴⁵ Pickering writes:

The unfortunate crews were stripped naked, and sent on shore; whilst, in one or two instances, as the wedding rings of the German captains did not come off their fingers easily, the Chinese just cut off the fingers as a direct method of saving themselves trouble.¹⁴⁶

As the above passage implies, the cruel wreckers satisfy their needs in a selfish way. They pay no regard to the sufferings of the victims. Anything from the European shipwrecks is valued including the clothes. He records: “Once *twenty or thirty Europeans were to our house in Taiwanfoo, in a state of almost perfect nudity.*”¹⁴⁷ What one has to consider here carefully is the reading against the authorial intentions. By the depiction of the wreckers’ brutalities, he does not just intend to show their vicious nature and the Europeans as their victims, but more importantly to oppose the Chinese presence in Formosa. Unlike the English and other European people in the island, these pitiless Chinese are a threat to the future of the island. In no part in his narrative, Pickering depicts his countrymen in such a manner. He rather ascribes to them honourable roles.

To illustrate the immorality of the Chinese, Pickering uses a Chinese agent who is responsible for procuring specimens of the tea as an example. Lo-liat is a “*reckless,*

unscrupulous, a confirmed opium smoker.”¹⁴⁸ Though with this statement Pickering fixes the Chinese with the stereotype of immorality, it does not hinder him from denying it to others. He writes: “*Ma-beh’s father is a thriving man; he neither smokes opium, gambles, nor drinks.*”¹⁴⁹ The case of Ma-beh’s father suggests the possibility of the Chinese to be moral. It evokes the potential of the Chinese to change. This approach belongs to the premises of the notion of “narrative” that characterises the discourse of Orientalism.

Additionally, Pickering criticises the practices of the Chinese as a highly civilised race. The Formosan Chinese are not exempt from the quality of being cannibals. Despite their rhetoric about themselves as a civilised race, they still revere cannibalising their victim’s liver. Pickering describes the feast as follows: “*Upon the execution of a notorious rebel or hardened malefactor, for the executioner to abstract the liver of his victim, fry it, cut it up into pieces, eat a portion himself, and sell the rest [...]*”¹⁵⁰ This descriptive extract reflects the discrepancy between the dictates of the semi-civilisation and the customs of the Chinese occupiers. It appears that the Chinese are more or less like the Pepo-hoans and the ‘raw savages’ of the high mountains. They share the quality of being “cannibals” to a certain degree. In this case, it is not possible that the Chinese would benefit the aborigines. Instead, they would rather spoil the aborigines’ quality as “noble savages”.

In the light of what has been written about the Chinese and their presence in Formosa, there is no doubt that they are a threat to the island, its sources, the Europeans, the Christian converts, as well as to the British interests in Formosa. The Chinese wreckers proved to be more dangerous than the “raw savages” of the mountains. The Chinese officials also have their share in the island’s decay. This maintains the myth of the Chinese’ inability to redeem both the island and its inhabitants though they perceive themselves as the only superior race. In fact, what can be inherited from the Chinese is limited to corruption, bad manners, immorality..., etc. No other noble qualities such as bringing civilisation, fighting

ignorance..., etc. are expected from them. These facts make Formosa, in Said's words, "*a local requiring Western attention, reconstruction, even redemption.*"¹⁵¹ Hence, in order to contain the Chinese and restrain their wrong doings in Formosa, the British Empire has to extend their intervention as soon as possible and save the island from more decadence. In this way, Pickering on the one hand offers evidence for his condemnation of the Chinese rule of and presence in Formosa assuring his readers that he does not make overgeneralisations or injustices to them. On the other hand, he moralises European presence in the island.

2. The English /European Imperial Enterprise in Formosa

With the premises of Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinism, the Europeans pose as the fittest race for survival and bearers of the "civilising mission". Social Darwinism promotes the superiority of the Western society and its legitimacy in conquering the unfit societies such as the Formosan one. As a result, the world witnesses the expansion of empires and a rapid growth of imperial activities in the colonies. Usually their imperial gaze is interwoven and intertwined with the three C's: civilisation, Christianity, and commerce.¹⁵² Hence, what follows is an attempt to elucidate the manifestation of these notions that meant to justify the European presence in the island.

Written against the backdrop of the Age of Empire, the travel narrative is not devoid of allusions to the Western move to the Far East. This marked the emergence of another imperial race between the European powers. It is indeed another rivalry for the annexation of the Far East's islands. It is a scramble for Formosa and the Celestial Empire which coincides with the "Scramble for Africa". In fact, the late 1890s were critical in the history of the Celestial Empire just as 1884 (Berlin Conference) was for Africa. Both were under the imperial gaze as the imperial European powers were gathered around them waiting to take their share of the cake. In this regard, Pickering depicts the imperial atmosphere that prevailed in the late nineteenth century as follows: "*At this moment, when the unwieldy empire of China*

is tottering to its base, when there is evidently a gathering of eagles around this very sick man, each eager to be the first to secure a large portion of spoil".¹⁵³ Pickering compares the imperial powers to a group of eagles who are in constant surveillance of the weak and 'sick man', the empire of China. Once again, the imperial powers endeavour to seize the opportunity of the empire's weakness to extend their empires and influence in the Far East.

Civilisation or the "civilising mission" has always been a pretext for Europe's annexation of colonies and expansion of empire. Said claims: "*what was to become known as 'la mission civilisatrice' began in the nineteenth century as a political second-best to Britain's presence in the Orient.*"¹⁵⁴ However, as soon as they settle in a new established colony, they violate the rights of the indigenous people, they take their land, and exploit them as well as the natural resources in the name of civilisation. Pickering's narrative offers instances of such practices. One best example is the Chinese rule of Formosa - though is not included within the orbit of the European "civilising mission", it implies the idea of the Chinese superiority - which Pickering condemns because they proved to be threateners instead of protectors.

Usually the act of conveying civilisation is associated with matured, strong, and superior races. Britain ventures into the distant and unknown islands /countries to sow the seeds of civilisation. Viewed from this perspective, Formosa requires political, social, as well as cultural reforms. It is seen as a weak territory which is in need for British leadership. Given their superiority and maturity, they are able to handle the different problems and make best use of the island's resources. Citing the scholar Leroy-Beaulieu here is inevitable. As quoted by Said in his book *Orientalism*, he argues: "*A society colonizes, when itself having reached a high degree of maturity and of strength, it procreates, it protects, it places in good conditions of development, and it brings to virility a new society to which it has given birth.*"¹⁵⁵ The point here is that colonisation is perceived as an act of protecting the weak, civilising the

backward, and giving existence and identity to nations. It is a colonisation in a humanitarian mask which seeks to better the wretched conditions of the inhabitants.

Pickering's position vis-à-vis the British urgent and necessary presence in Formosa, in his narrative, seems to be like that of the British imperial poet Rudyard Kipling towards the American intervention in the Philippines in 1899. His poem 'The White Man's Burden' becomes a catchphrase for Europe's civilising mission which has been a justification for its annexation of overseas colonies. Pickering attempts to argue on a British presence in Formosa and future extension of its intervention in it as the white man's burden just as Kipling perceives the American interference in the Philippines a duty and a burden of the Americans as a white superior nation.

It follows that some internal issues such as the barbarism that roams over the high mountains of Formosa, the cannibalistic nature of some tribes, the corrupt administrative system...etc. are the responsibilities of the English as a superior race. Their duty consists of taming the cannibals by introducing them to the world of human beings and its laws just as their Dutch and Spanish fellows did in the 1600s. As a beginning, Pickering sets himself the duty of visiting the savages of the interior that have been confined in the high mountains. His noble spirit does not allow him to perceive such an act as a duty. It is rather an earnest ambition to delve into the high mountains of the savages and familiarise them. He writes: "*I confided to the Dominican fathers my great desire to explore those parts of the interior where as yet the foot of white man had not trodden.*"¹⁵⁶ It is a kind of socialisation since they are viewed as a confined social category.

What emphasises the holiness of Pickering's visits to the 'raw savages' is his perception of it as a pilgrimage. He states: "*I forthwith obtained a short leave of absence, and prepared to start upon my pilgrimage.*"¹⁵⁷ Two interpretations are possible here. Either he believes that his spiritual solace lies in completing this journey, or he satirizes the situation. In

the first suggestion, it is mainly related to the burden of civilisation. By his visits, he introduces the aborigines, who remained for years in the obscurity, to the world of civilisation and his audience at home. My point is that these visits serve as an elementary acquired knowledge about them which would allow him/his imperial country to address the issue of their civilisation and above all dominating them. However, in the second suggestion, it is rather an irony about the hazardous journey .i.e. how it is expected that in such a perilous environment one speaks of pilgrimage. This again serves the idea of the England's devotedness to the inhabitants' interests.

It is true that the "civilising mission", during the residence of Pickering in Formosa, is not totally put into practice as far as the cultural, social, and political aspects are concerned. Still, the author graiths the ground for it. He impels the British to "*take up the White Man's burden and send forth the best ye breed.*"¹⁵⁸ The urgent need for civilisation in Formosa is highlighted by the representation of the aborigines and the Chinese as being "*nil or next to nil*" at the cultural and political levels.¹⁵⁹ Culturally, superstition constitutes one major feature of the aborigines' beliefs and traditions. Their primitiveness requires immediate attention from the British. Politically, the Chinese are corrupt and oppressive. They are, as I have already mentioned, a threat to Formosa.

In addition to the "civilising mission", aspects of evangelism can be traced in the narrative. It may also be qualified as religious imperialism. On the one hand, it is regarded as a major part of the 'civilising mission'. On the other hand, spreading Christianity is among the main ways of achieving *hegemony* over Formosa as it implies the assimilation of the inhabitants. History proves that religion goes hand in hand with colonialism. It has been an effective arm in the process of imperialism and colonialism, and such a role can be traced in the travelogue under examination. The missionaries' role is to convert as many aborigines as possible. Their missions are carried out as "the white man's religious burden". The

missionaries are portrayed as self-sacrificing. In Pickering's words, they leave "*their native country, their dear ones, and all the comforts of civilisation to become the pioneers of Gospel in savage lands like Formosa.*"¹⁶⁰ This statement reinforces the image of religious men as altruistic. Despite the perils and challenges that the missionaries may face, they do not hesitate to venture to Formosa and save hundreds of thousands souls. From an ethical perspective, these missionaries are attempting to achieve the utilitarian maxim of the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

One among these Philanthropic missionaries is Dr. Maxwell. As a British medical missionary, his success in the conversion of the people is a great one. Dr. Maxwell is like the Canadian missionary George Leslie Mackay - the latter is not included in the travelogue - remained as eminent figures in the history of Formosa and China. They share some similarities at the professional and missionary level. They belong both to the field of medicine; "*Dr. Maxwell, a medical missionary, who had left his post as house-surgeon to the Birmingham Infirmary.*"¹⁶¹ They came to Formosa in order to preach the gospel. To draw the attention of a large number of people and gain many converts, they rely on their medical skills. Mackay's target class, as Magdaléna Maslakova claims, is people with lower status. In this case, these medical skills are indispensable. They are means to install the Christian faith given their status. Maslakova argues:

Moreover, considering that missionaries often focused their efforts on people with lower status, it is possible, that they would not even such complex abstract thinking. He was bringing people to faith by showing them that Christian missionary (representing the Christian faith) can heal their body. Later, people would be taught Christ can heal their eternal soul as well.¹⁶²

Maslakova's words stress the role of medical skills in the spread of Christianity at the hand of Mackay. The same strategy is followed by Dr. Maxwell in his process of preaching. His targets are the aborigines and the tribes' chiefs. His success in his mission can be inferred from Pickering's servant. In the great storm at the sea, the servant begs Pickering saying:

Master, can you not aid us in our distress? Surely our gods are deaf that they do not hear us. Dr. Maxwell and your foreign missionaries are continually talking and preaching about Ya-so (Jesus). They say that he could work miracles, and do wonderful things. Perhaps he would listen and help us, if you would but say a prayer to Him for us.¹⁶³

These words are those of Pickering's servant beseeching him to pray for their survival. From this quote, it is quite observable that Maxwell's religious lessons and teaching start to have weight on the servant's belief. It is a hint that the aborigines start to lose faith in their religious beliefs and look for the Christian faith. It is also important to mention that Dr. Maxwell's success in the process of conversion is not limited to what the above quote refers to. Pickering claims that Maxwell and Mr. Ritchie gained many converts and marked their presence in the island. He puts it as follows:

Dr. Maxwell and Mr. Ritchie accepted their invitation, and the result has been that Christianity has spread amongst the civilised aborigines throughout the whole island, even to the villages upon the east coast. Men, women, children have learnt to read the scriptures in Chinese through the medium of Roman characters; and hundreds of converts have been gained, who have built their own chapels, have contributed largely to the support of native catechists, and who lead a consistent Christian life.¹⁶⁴

The above quote illustrates the success of the evangelic mission. It covered nearly all the parts of the island, and all the categories of people including women, men, as well as children. Such an achievement highlights the outcomes of the religious mission in the island.

Dr. Maxwell is not only caring for the savages' souls but also for their sick bodies. By the use of Western medicines such as quinine and surgical methods such as lithotomy, Dr. Maxwell has restored to health the sick people. Ague, fever, cataract, and ophthalmia are the cases that he has cured during his visits to the interior as Pickering's companion. He is particularly famous among the tribes' chiefs, who suffer from rheumatism, given the efficiency of his medicines. As the inhabitants are not yet initiated to such medicines, they viewed the cures as being "miraculous". His reliance on compassion in the conversion process proves to be very successful. Each time Pickering speaks about Maxwell's teachings, he associates it with his medical skills. The aborigines are first shown how the missionary can

heal their sick body and then their soul just as Maslakova has argued. In this way, the preaching of the Gospel is facilitated as Maxwell relies on compassion.

The role of missionaries and religion in Formosa can be effective and serve the empire if approached from Pickering's views. With the missionaries' teachings, the aborigines and other inhabitants may get a certain social and political awareness. A point to which Pickering alludes to in his article, 'The Missionary Question in China', to the editor of *The Times*. He writes:

This access to the interior by missionaries and traders must be ruinous to the tyrannical and corrupt official system by which China is closed to civilisation and progress [...].The missionaries *introduce ideas* which, if accepted by the common people, must render them more accustomed to liberty of spirit, and *make them dissatisfied with the present state of things political*.¹⁶⁵ (My emphasis)

These are the predictions of Pickering concerning the spread of missionaries in the Celestial Empire. The same may be expected from the evangelic missions in Formosa. The aborigines and Chinese may recognise the oppression and corruption of the Chinese rule which may lead to its dismantlement. In this way, one obstacle for the entire command of Formosa is removed. It is also possible that the Chinese would question the teachings of their religions, especially the philosophy of Confucianism. The latter extends filial obedience to the field of politics. Confucius teaches and commands - the Chinese - "*obedience to the emperor as the father of the State, and to the officials as delegates of the emperor*."¹⁶⁶ This principle prohibits them from rebelling against the emperor and imposes on them to live under his mercy whatever his conduct is. However, in case they receive some enlightenment from the European missionaries, their faith in these principles would be shaken. The ultimate result is twofold. On the one hand, there would be the ruin of the Celestial Empire as Pickering refers to it. On the other hand, China would be opened to the civilisations of the world and this marks the extension of the European imperial enterprise in the Chinese empire.

In the process of expansion, "*profit and hope of further profit were obviously tremendously important*."¹⁶⁷ Said's assertion alludes to the gains that European expansionists

receive from their formal and informal colonies. Certainly, this is the hidden motive of the imperial powers which is believed to have increased the demand for overseas colonies in the late nineteenth century and one among the central causes of colonialism. As I have already discussed in the second chapter, Formosa as a local of the Far East is a great site for such profits, and Pickering's narrative is replete with references to possibilities of commerce and opportunities for "imperial free trade" in Formosa.

Resources of territories and countries as well as trade are stimulant to the imperial eyes. To supply the needs of the imperialisers at home, their agents in the colonies and imperial areas take the responsibility of discovering and providing them. Such a role is assumed by Pickering in his mission in Formosa. He makes it clear that he was encouraged to "*travel into the interior*" for the purpose of finding out "*the sources of the country and to ascertain the facilities for trade.*"¹⁶⁸ In this case, economic profit would serve as a rational for holding Formosa as a future British colony and other positions in the island.

When the "metropolitan centre" is endowed with civilisation and technological advancements, the "colonial peripheries" possess raw materials which they seem not to need. Hence, under the guise of trade, the colonies' resources are put at the disposition of the Europeans. Since the encounter of Britain with Formosa, trade has been the bound that kept up the relation. The English started trade with Formosa since the second half of the seventeenth century, and later on other European powers joined them-especially after the end of the treaty that kept Formosa away from foreign trade.¹⁶⁹ As a result, the European powers take influential positions in the trade affairs. They exhibit certain authority and control over the trade issues. To cite some instances, the consul of the island is a British, the Maritime Customs' Service is at the Europeans' hands, and Pickering is in charge of the Custom House at Anping. As for the terms of trade with Formosa, they seem to be advantageous, and this is not surprising since the imperial powers interfere in the economic institutions. For instance,

tariffs are imposed on the exported and imported goods but they are exempt from taxes. These terms establish what Said labels as the “imperial free trade” that has been one among Europe’s motives behind its rush either to Africa or to the East.

Trade in Formosa is improved at the hands of a considerable number of European/English agents. The tea industry is improved and marked its presence in the markets thanks to the efforts of Mr. John Dodd.¹⁷⁰ In addition, Pickering plays a significant role at the organisation of the camphor trade. He is appointed to serve in the Taiwanfoo branch of Messers Elle & Co.’s business. To extend this trade, a contract is made with a camphor supplier and warehouses are built.¹⁷¹ Unfortunately, the English failed not only in monopolising the camphor trade but also in maintaining this trade. However, the presence of the Europeans and in particular the English in Formosa is vital to the appropriate exploitation and improvements of trade.

All in all, the above analysis leads me to the conclusion that the earlier European civilising missions, including the Spanish and the Dutch ones, proved to be beneficial compared to the Chinese rule of Formosa. The same seems to be for the European imperial enterprise. Such a view is, indeed, Pickering’s main argument for his support and celebration of the Western move towards the Far East. As for his opposition to the Chinese rule, it is reinforced by the set of images that he attributes to the Chinese making them unsuitable rulers and protectors.

Endnotes

¹³². Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 109.

¹³³. *Ibid*, 108.

¹³⁴. William Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-Hunting Savages* (London: Hurst & Blackett, Limited, 1898), 41.

¹³⁵. *Ibid*, 64.

¹³⁶. *Ibid*, 41.

¹³⁷. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993),

¹³⁸. Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, 64.

¹³⁹. *Ibid*, 46.

140. Ibid, 91.
141. Ibid, 92.
142. Ibid.
143. Ibid, 256.
144. Ibid, 258.
145. Ibid, 178.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid.
148. Ibid, 143.
149. Ibid, 60.
150. Ibid, 68.
151. Said, Orientalism, 206.
152. Carl Thompson, Travel Writing (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 145.
153. Pickering, Pioneering in Formosa, 89.
154. Said, Orientalism, 169.
155. Ibid, 219.
156. Pickering, Pioneering in Formosa, 98.
157. Ibid.
158. Kipling, "The White Man's Burden", 1899, line 1.
<https://ux1.eiu.edu/nekey/syllabi/british/kipling>
159. Said, Orientalism, 312.
160. Pickering, Pioneering in Formosa, 77.
161. Ibid, 78.
162. Magdaléna Maslakova, 'Thirty Years in Taiwan: The Case of the Presbyterian Missionary George Leslie Mackay' (Bachelor's Thesis, Masaryk University, China, 2017), 20. Available at https://is.muni.cz/th/x4mt/Maslakova_bakalarska_praca.pdf
163. Pickering, Pioneering in Formosa, 86.
164. Ibid, 79.
165. Pickering, Pioneering in Formosa, 258.
166. Ibid, 51.
167. Said, Culture and Imperialism, 10.
168. Pickering, Pioneering in Formosa, 7.
169. Ibid, 47.
170. Ibid, 35.
171. Ibid, 203.

V. Conclusion

This dissertation has been an attempt to examine Pickering's *Pioneering in Formosa: Recollections of Adventures Among Mandarins, Wreckers, & Head-Hunting Savages* (1898) from a postcolonial lens. The analysis allows me to draw the conclusion that Pickering reinforces the Orientalist discourse which maintained the status quo of Europe as the "centre" and Formosa as a "periphery".

In the light of the previous chapters, it is indubitable that the system of representations cannot be separated from the notions of knowledge and power. Pickering's representations construct and convey meanings resulting in a set of discourses such as the ones of backwardness and savageness. Through them, Pickering stresses the *otherness* of the Formosan inhabitants and their cultural backgrounds. He distinguishes between "us" and "them" by reconstructing the image of the "other" as an antithesis to the "self". The aborigines are assigned features which qualify them as being "inferior" compared to the superior English. In addition, Pickering's description of Formosa as an 'exotic' and 'colonial' space is intertwined with the desire of imperial expansion. Its natural resources, pretended "backward" inhabitants, the traits of the Chinese as officials, as well as the outcomes of the Chinese occupation of Formosa beseech and urge the European intervention. All these images contribute to the consolidation of the British presence in Formosa and the implementation of their imperial projects.

On the whole, Pickering's travelogue as a literary product of the late nineteenth century contributes highly to the requirements of the era. His representations nurture the spread of certain ideologies such as imperialism since his narrative is produced within historical and cultural contexts. Then, given his authority as an Orientalist in the Far East and the circulation of his Orientalist discourse as it is manifested in his travelogue would contribute to the formation what Said refers to as "the formation of the imperial attitudes"

towards Formosa. As a result, the overseas territories' status quo is maintained and more humanitarian actions are encouraged in islands like Formosa which beseeches the imperial powers to penetrate its space. The analysis of Pickering's travel narrative cannot be limited to what has been dealt with in this dissertation. Further studies can be carried on the travelogue from other perspectives. The comparative approach is one possible way. It would be worthy and interesting if Pickering's narrative would be compared to other works of the same genre about Formosa such as George Mackay's *From Far Formosa: the Island, its People and Missions* (1895).

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