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Islanders, Tourists and Psychosis. Doing Time in Beatrice Grimshaw's Travel Brochures

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This paper is an exploration of the ways in which temporality influences constructions of otherness. A position in time and space, subjectivity is the fusion of past-present-future. Attempts therefore to posit a group of people as *all that I am not* invariably require a realignment of time. Frequently depicted as if rooted in a disconnected present tense, the Other has rarely ever been described as a temporally complex being. Within touristic discourses this has resulted in a variety of binary opposites: tourist/traveller, guest/host island/mainland, and also psychotic/non-psychotic. While recognising the importance of differentiation in the construction of identity, the aim of this paper is the destabilisation of these polarities. This will not be done by attempting to negate difference, but rather by trying to locate areas of sameness through an engagement with temporality. I will begin by challenging the traveller/tourist dichotomy as it is delineated in Beatrice Grimshaw's South Sea travel brochures (1910/1911). This discussion will be informed by Freud's work on the death drive. Remaining with Grimshaw's texts I will then examine representations of Pacific Islanders as temporally bounded constructs, constructs which bear more than a fleeting resemblance to western conceptions of island topographies. Following an analysis of Fredric Jameson's ruminations on psychosis, and the way in which his ideas have been associated with touristic experience. I will conclude with a consideration of host/guest relations.

Keywords: binary, brochure, death drive, Pacific, psychosis, temporality

Summary

Coming from a part of Ireland that is known to nationalists and unionists respectively as the North of Ireland and Northern Ireland; from a county that is both Derry and Londonderry; from a culture in which 'H' has two distinct and illuminating pronunciations; and from a province that has both nine and six counties,¹ I am perhaps unduly conscious of binary logics. For while I would like to join in postmodern celebrations over the putative demise of polarities, I have a nagging doubt that much of this exuberance is a touch premature. Using the signifier culture to designate a space that is inclusive of political and economic practices I would argue that binarisms, at times ferociously narrow binarisms that move far beyond the efficacy of differentiation, continue to inform much of our cultural baggage, much of our way of being in the world. It is a world that still spins out shining new racial, social and cultural dichotomies on a seemingly daily basis, while cherishing and nurturing many old ones. Among the latter category there remains, tarnished (MacCannell, 1976), but still standing, the traveller/tourist duality. For although these constructs

have been rigorously challenged within tourism departments, I would suggest that this has not been the rule among the population at large, nor indeed among other academic disciplines. This is evident in literary studies where discussion of women *travellers* of the late-19th and early-20th century tends, in the main, to depict these individuals as strangely disconnected from the touristic discourses that were gaining considerable ground throughout the period. By interrogating the traveller/tourist duality, largely through an examination of theoretical conceptions of time, this paper is in some measure an attempt to correct this omission. During the course of this work other polarities, particularly the host/guest configuration, will be similarly questioned and hopefully destabilised. Challenging what Michael Cronin (2000: 89) calls the 'violent and dogmatic synthesis of binary opposites' is not a move to negate difference; it is simply an attempt to recognise those spaces of sameness which the Other always incorporates. In order to engage in these cultural revisions, which are intended to intervene in both historical and contemporary touristic discourses, I will draw on the work of an Irish writer who was herself no stranger to the world of tourism.

Introduction

Beatrice Grimshaw was born at Cloona on the outskirts of Belfast in 1870. Extremely influential in the development of Ulster's spinning and weaving industries, the Grimshaws were prominent members of Belfast's civic and social circles throughout much of the 19th century. While fairly comfortable, life for Beatrice and her siblings was not trouble free. Cloona House, the family's country home, had to be sold when Beatrice was just seven years old. This was largely due to her father's poor business acumen and also to his lack of industry. Nevertheless, despite his shortcomings Nicholas Grimshaw managed to ensure that his daughter was the beneficiary of a solid education. After initial instruction at the hands of private governesses, Beatrice received her secondary schooling at Victoria College, Belfast. This was followed by one year at Bedford College, London, and another at The Queen's University of Belfast. Her parents had hoped that their daughter would become a lecturer in the classics at a ladies' college, but Beatrice had other plans. At the start of the 1890s she moved to Dublin, and by 1892 she was a permanent member on the staff of R.J. McCredy's sports magazine *Irish Cyclist*. A competent journalist, Grimshaw was made sub-editor in 1893. Later that year, while continuing to work for the *Irish Cyclist*, she joined the magazine's sister publication *The Social Review*; and became its editor approximately two years later. During her time in Dublin, Grimshaw wrote two novels, *A Fool Of Forty* and *Broken Away*, both of which were serialised in *The Social Review*. At the end of the 1890s she moved to London where she worked as a freelance journalist and tour promoter. In 1904, on commission from the *Daily Graphic* (London), Grimshaw left Europe for the South Seas. She travelled extensively throughout the Pacific both before and during her period of residency in Papua (1907–1934). Throughout her long life, which ended in Bathurst, New South Wales in 1953, Grimshaw continued to produce a considerable amount of journalism, writing for such publications as *The Daily Graphic* (London), *The Sydney*

Morning Herald, *The Times* (London), *The National Geographic* and *The Wide World Magazine*. Her main source of income, however, was fiction. A best-selling author who was highly skilled and proficient in popular fictional genres, Grimshaw was widely known in her day. She wrote 31 novels, four travelogues, eight volumes of short fiction, plus hundreds of stories that were published in magazines and newspapers.² Some indication of the popularity of her fiction is evidenced by the numerous editions and translations of many of her works; and also by the fact that even during the depression an American magazine was prepared to pay her 1000 dollars for a short story.

Like Kipling, whom she admired, Grimshaw was an exponent of British imperialism, something that is evident in both her fiction and non-fiction. A close friend of the colonial administrator of Papua, J.H.P. Murray, and a regular correspondent of the Australian Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, she actively promoted colonial settlement in the Pacific. Grimshaw wrote numerous officially sponsored pamphlets advertising colonial prospects in the region; in fact her third travelogue, *The New New Guinea* (1910), was commissioned by Murray. In regular contact with various shipping lines, Grimshaw also promoted tourism in the Pacific. She published two travel brochures entitled *The Islands Of The Blest* and *Three Wonderful Nations* (date of publication is uncertain); I would suggest that both were published around 1910/1911.³ In this paper, which focuses on these texts, I examine Grimshaw's engagement with temporality, paying particular attention to her attempts to constitute Pacific Islanders as temporally univocal beings. I argue that Grimshaw's representation of Pacific Islanders' position in time reveals various similarities with Fredric Jameson's (1985 and 1991) speculations on time in psychosis. Grimshaw and Jameson attempt to contain two groups of people within a state of absolute 'presentism' (Maffesoli, 1998). Oceanic people and individuals who experience psychotic episodes, portrayed as if they were cut-off from past and future existence, are positioned by Grimshaw and Jameson respectively in an inexorably present tense. This is a temporal construct that Tom Selwyn (1993) identifies as being prevalent in contemporary tourist brochures. According to Selwyn (1993: 128) 'Jameson's notion of the "schizophrenic" nature of post-modern life' is replicated in ubiquitous brochure descriptions which posit touristic experience as characterised by a type of disconnected intensity. In this paper I argue that tourists, like Pacific Islanders and those who encounter schizophrenia in all its myriad forms and manifestations, can not be enclosed within the rapacious here and now of Jameson's conception of psychosis.

To begin, however, I would like to look at a temporal construction that, unlike the aforementioned ones, is most strenuously suffused with durability and tenacity, the memory traces of classic psychoanalytic discourse. Throughout her travel writing Grimshaw expresses contempt for those whom she deems inferior travellers, package tourists. In her first travelogue *From Fiji To The Cannibal Islands* (1907) she repeatedly describes herself as a 'wanderer', 'a gypsy wanderer' and on one occasion as an 'English Lady Traveller' (1907: 28). As such she performs various roles which are for the most part decisively contrasted with the stereotypical subject position which she attributes to tourists. In contrast to the 'English Lady Traveller' who is intent upon exploration,

knowledge, adventure, in short a muscular type of mental and physical mobility, Grimshaw's tourists, resembling their counterparts in Daniel J. Boorstin's (1963) influential work *The Image*, are depicted as lethargic, hedonistic and superficial. And yet, by producing two travel brochures Grimshaw demonstrates a willingness to undermine the traveller/tourist dichotomy when such a move is demanded by the needs of capital. Facilitating the promotion of that which she has ridiculed and dreaded, Grimshaw's own journeys, which formed the basis of her descriptions in the two brochures, helped to establish a touristic infrastructure in the Pacific Islands. This can even be said of her trip through the centre of Fiji, of which she wrote 'I was absolutely inflated with pride, and felt that Stanley, Burton and Speke were not to be named with myself' (*From Fiji To The Cannibal Islands*, 1907: 33). In her travel brochures Grimshaw acknowledges that there is diversity among tourists and touristic experience: 'But to another class of tourist – the hardier traveller, who feels the attraction of little-travelled countries, and can do with simple food and plain lodging – the smaller ports offer pleasures that are strangely fresh, new, and fascinating' (*Three Wonderful Nations*, 2). In the opening section of this paper I attempt to destabilise the traveller/tourist polarity a little further by postulating the death drive as a motivating factor behind both Grimshaw's lifelong journeying and the travels of her addressees, potential tourists to the South Seas.

Tourism and the Death Drive

Beatrice Grimshaw wrote two travel brochures, both published around 1910/1911 by the Dunedin Steam Ship Company of New Zealand. Concentrating on different areas of the Pacific the tourist product on offer differs in each. In *Islands Of The Blest* which focuses on the eastern Pacific, principally the Cook and Society Island groups, Grimshaw is selling a type of beachcombing relaxation, while in *Three Wonderful Nations*, containing descriptions of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji, she is creating a tourist space/place in which the body and the culture of the Other appear to be the main attraction. With descriptions of indigenous people, their dress, hair, villages, homes, ceremonies, such as kava making, and difficult off-road travel, Grimshaw is constructing a product very similar to that which has become known as ethnic tourism. Commenting on the latter, Smith states that it involves 'visits to native homes and villages, observations of dances and ceremonies, and shopping for primitive wares or curios'; he goes on to add that 'frequently these tourist targets are far removed from the "beaten-path"' (1989: 4). In each of the brochures Grimshaw posits the notion of travel as escape; in *Three Wonderful Nations* it is escape from 'The sordid details of each day's work [which] suddenly became unbearable; singly, collectively, and altogether life itself became almost unbearable too' (1). Rest, real rest, can only be found on a South Sea Island, where, after a brief sojourn the anxiety-ridden urbanite undergoes a process of transformation: 'The friend who came to meet him on his return had some difficulty recognising him. He looked like his own youngest son' (1). In the opening page of this brochure travel is posited as escape from the stress of a temporocentric, unthinking, work-dominated culture. This escape results in psychological and physical transformation. Not

only the mind, but also the body is depicted as being in need of restoration. Grimshaw was writing during the age of high modernism, a period when the body was thought to be deteriorating, if not fragmenting. According to Nochlin (1994: 7) it was a time that was pervaded by a sense 'of irrevocable loss, poignant regret for lost totality, a vanished wholeness'. Frequently in the culture of the period this sense of fragmentation became manifest at the site of the body. Positing T.S. Eliot's *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* as a classic modernist example of this preoccupation with disintegration, Rod Edmond (1997: 221) states 'In Eliot's poem the world is also in pieces, and these oddly isolated or amputated images of the body express the cultural disintegration which high modernism diagnosed and mourned.' Grimshaw postulates travel as a means of thwarting modernity's physiological course. The tourist will return home looking like his youngest son; travel has turned the clock back. This process of rejuvenation is also evident in *The Islands Of The Blest*. Here another overworked city-dweller experiences spiritual and imaginative awakening as the poet who apparently dies young in every man, 'starved in adolescence on the diet of the work-a-day world's common exigencies, and buried at last with a counting-house stool for headstone – comes to life again, for a little while under the splendours of a tropic moon' (4).

Involving 'the local culture itself as a commodity *sui generis*' (Greenwood cited in Adams, 1984: 471), ethnic tourism is according to Smith (1989: 4) 'marketed to the public in terms of the "quaint" customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples'. With regards to what Ryan (2002a: 31) describes as 'escape *from*' and 'escape *to*', it is interesting to note that in the opening paragraphs of *Three Wonderful Nations*, a text which promotes ethnic tourism in the western Pacific, the journey is primarily described as an 'escape *from*'. The opening of the brochure advertising surf, sand and relaxation in the eastern islands, on the other hand, delineates an 'escape *to*'. Taking the publications in their entirety, however, travel emerges in each as a blend of desire for *the not here* and longing for *a specific there*. Once escape *from* and *to* are achieved transformation takes place. A crucial ingredient in this salubrious process is 'stimulus avoidance', one of four components identified by Beard and Ragheb (1983: 205) as motivating tourist behaviour. Although associated with the need 'to seek rest and to unwind' (1983: 205) stimulus avoidance is not synonymous with physical inactivity; while the collapse of psychical tempests may reduce physiological tension, mental calms can also be engendered by bodily storms. But here it is a state of bodily relaxation that, with regards to transformation, appears to be of chief importance to Grimshaw's tourists, particularly those who visit the eastern islands.

In Australia or New Zealand the average prosaic middle-aged man would as soon think of sleeping all morning on his own doorstep as of loafing idly on the shore all afternoon. Transplant him to the beach of Rarotonga or Papeëte [...] then, in an hour's time, ask him to get up, and away sight-seeing to the coral reef, or Pierre Loti's Pool, so as to get some value out of his money [...] it is a hundred to one that his reply takes the form of an earnest request to be let alone at any price. He is not tired, he is not bored: he is merely happy and prefers to remain so. (*The Islands Of The Blest*, 4)

Grimshaw's beachcomber is tranquil mid-stream in what Csikszentmihalyi (1990) describes as the 'flow experience'; she advises her addressee to follow his example.

And you, if you are made of ordinary human stuff, will just drop down under the rain scented blossoms beside him, abandon your plans for the morning, and sit silently smoking and looking out to sea, for uncounted hours. (5)

Moreover, 'If you are anything of a reader, stanzas from "The Lotus-eaters" will certainly drift through your brain' (5). The stanza from Tennyson's text which Grimshaw quotes ends with the lines,

All things have rest and ripen towards the grave
In silence; ripen, fall and cease;
Give us long rest or death, dark death, or dreamful ease. (5)

In contrast to the danger, cut-short lives and endless toil which characterise maritime experience, life in the land of the Lotus-Eaters is governed by natural cycles; here all things have the opportunity to ripen before harvest. Not so on the ocean wave or the counting-house stool: while Odyssey's sailors are trying to escape premature death Grimshaw's tourist, ensconced in his office with headstone *in situ*, is dead. Providing the opportunity for a flickering, ephemeral life Grimshaw depicts tourism in the islands as a re-birth. Within sight and sound of the sea the youthful poetic revenant – 'That poet, nourished in boyish years on the romance of the "Treasure Island" school, and on secret dreams dreamed among the cliff hollows' (4) – breathes once again. Both Crompton and Cohen (cited in Ryan, 2002b: 158) describe tourism as 'a sanctioned escape route' and 'a regression into childhood'. This is certainly true of *The Islands Of The Blest* where the tourist product being advertised is imbued with a ludic quality, a sense of adventure and fun. But there is also more, as the tourist/poet rediscovers imaginative capabilities Beard and Ragheb's (1983: 205) concept of stimulus avoidance fuses with another of their motivational factors – the 'intellectual component'.⁴ Grimshaw's delineation of tourism in the eastern Pacific corresponds with aspects of Maslow's (1973: 196) process of 'self-actualisation'; in this instance a forward movement facilitated by a backward stare.⁵ Regression to childhood can only ever be a partial engagement; Grimshaw's tourist/poet does not remain in the past. But neither is he free of it, re-birth is always etched with the sign of death. As indeed is birth itself.

Writing in *Beyond The Pleasure Principle* Freud (1971: 57) identifies the death drive as 'a need to restore to an earlier state of things'; memory traces deeply inscribed in the organism at a cellular level provoke constant longing within the repressed unconscious for an anterior condition of absolute inanimation.

If we take as a truth that knows no exception that everything living dies for *internal* reasons – becomes inorganic once again – then we shall be compelled to say that '*the aim of all life is death*' and, looking backwards, that '*inanimate things existed before living ones*'. (Freud, 1920: 38)

What then of the organism's monumental tendency toward self-preservation and self-assertion:

They are component instincts whose function it is to assure that the organism shall follow its own path to death, and to ward off any possible ways of returning to inorganic existence other than those which are immanent to the organism itself. [...] What we are left with is the fact that the organism wishes to die only in its own fashion [...] Hence arises the paradoxical situation that the living organism struggles most energetically against events (dangers, in fact) which might help it to attain its life's aim rapidly – by a kind of short-circuit. (Freud, 1920: 39)

How does this desire for *a before* and the consequent anxiety that it engenders relate to Grimshaw's literary representation of death, the counting-house headstone? Commenting on death and the aesthetic, Elisabeth Bronfen (1996: x) has stated that 'representations of death both articulate an anxiety about and a desire for death, they function like a symptom, which psychoanalytic discourse defines as a repression that fails'. Bearing in mind Lacan's (cited in Bronfen, 1996: 27) injunction that the 'symbol manifests itself first as the murder of the thing', Grimshaw's symptomatic headstone, releasing, as it does, a flood of anxieties about death simultaneously attempts to negate it. Not only does she depict death as symbolic and occurring at the life of the Other, but it is a condition that can be left. The psychical disequilibrium implied by that archetypal marker of death – the headstone – is seemingly ameliorated by travel. But the tourist's rebirth into life is just 'for a little while'; the return home reawakens the deathlike state. The transformative changes, however, that Grimshaw posits as part of the tourist experience are occulted, not annihilated. They remain like a gnawing residue urging the individual toward a single course of action – further travel. On leaving the Islands Grimshaw's tourist states 'I shall always be wanting to go back again' (*Three Wonderful Nations*, 1).

Only movement, repeated movement away from a designated point of origin, can hold at bay the desire for and dread of stasis. Freud associates attempts to gain mastery over anxiety provoking situations and events with the compulsion to repeat. This is something that he discusses at length in relation to the now famous game of disappearance and return that he observed Ernest, his grandson, play with his toys. But Ernest also played another game, which Bronfen (1996: 15) calls attention to, it involved making himself disappear: 'He had discovered his reflection in a full-length mirror which did not quite reach the ground, so that by crouching down he could make his mirror-image "gone", then by standing make it return'. Enacting an evolving chain of *fort-da*, departures–arrivals/deaths–resurrections Grimshaw's own tourism, her need to journey and journey again, the vague amorphous urge to be in motion which coloured her life, suggests an attempt to master that most serious threat to the psyche – the inanimate state – through the literal *bodying forth* of travel.⁶

Island Temporality: A Bounded Time, an Islanded No Time

Resuscitating the life force, travel for the tourist is presented as a process of psychological and, as it erases the bodily signs of death, physical transformation. In contrast to this state of marked alteration Grimshaw describes the indigenous population, despite a sudden influx in foreign sightseers, as remarkably unchanged: 'The South Sea Islands have not become over-civilised, even in such busy colonies as Samoa and Fiji; and in the less visited, though not less charming, Cook and Society Groups, native life runs on much as it did fifty years ago' (*The Islands Of The Blest*: 3). What Fabian (2002) refers to as 'denial of coevalness' – a common characteristic, according to Bruner (1991) of contemporary travel brochures – is to use Pratt's (1992: 64) term an attempt to 'fix the Other in a timeless present'. Grimshaw depicts these people as acting, thinking and moving in the space of an omnipotent present tense. The only instances in her travel brochures where she recognises the past of individual lives are concerned with royalty and cannibalism. Queen Makea and Queen Tinomana both acquire a past tense in descriptions which separate them off very decisively from the rest of the population: 'The ruling classes were always much taller, and usually more intelligent than their subjects' (*The Islands Of The Blest*: 11).⁷ 'The gentle, old white-haired men' of Fiji are likewise recognised as having a past; they 'were once all fierce cannibals' (*Three Wonderful Nations*: 30). This injection of previous life is informed by the type of ethnic tourism that Grimshaw is marketing in Fiji rather than a desire to individualise Fijians. The past tense enters the life of individual islanders infrequently and for imperialistic/touristic purposes only, something that is also true of Grimshaw's depiction of the past at a national level.

In her descriptions of specific islands a shared past does at times emerge, but invariably it does so in an anaesthetised, neutered, strangely passive form.

The opening up of two great waterways from America westward to Japan and China, and southward to Australia, has driven the furrow of the steam liner, in these latter days, across many a virgin solitude of the seas, and carried the trail of the tourist into more than one primitive Garden of Eden. Yet even now the influence of those long centuries of utter loneliness holds good to an astonishing degree. (*The Islands Of The Blest*: 3)

Providing a beautifully vivid contrast to colonial representations of the Pacific, 20th-century Tongan writer Epeli Hau'ofa' (cited in Edmond & Smith, 2003: 9) conceptualises the Pacific as 'a sea of islands and their inhabitants', a place thus embodying sea/land contiguity. Grimshaw, on the other hand, depicts the Oceanic world as a collection of bounded spaces, disconnected islands stranded in conditions of abject isolation, knowing nothing of each other's existence. As for the Pacific, it simply lies like a blue virgin, silently waiting to be inscribed with the steam liner's mark. This is a past but it is a history-less one.

On the uncommon occasions when 'history' does enter the frame it conforms to two main types: imperialist genesis narratives which frequently contain descriptions of a pre-colonial cannibal past; and a construction of antiquity

characterised by reference to a lost super race. This race of intellectual and physical giants is credited as being the brains and brawn behind the many examples of engineering and architectural brilliance found in the Pacific. One rare exception to the latter is Grimshaw's account of her visit to the island of Mangaia; on describing the raised coral wall that surrounds the island, she states: 'There is no natural exit; but the natives of the Island have, with incredible labour, made two immense staircases, one at each side of the "Makatea"' (*The Islands Of The Blest*: 3). But Grimshaw's recognition of the Mangaian's work ethic is a double bind; she lauds their industry while simultaneously positing its origins in a single source, geographical determinism.

The natives of Mangaia are the hardest workers in the whole Cook Group. Their island though fertile has never been easy to cultivate, so that they have been obliged to do a good deal of field labour [...] In consequence, they have developed habits of industry quite unknown to the other Cook Islanders [...]. (17–18)

When describing the Mangaian's gigantic staircase in more detail in her travelogue *In The Strange South Seas* (1907) Grimshaw iterates:

If one were to find such a work in any other of the Cook Islands one might regard it as proof positive of the existence of an older and more industrious race, in the days before the new Zealand Maori took possession of these lands, and grew effeminate and idle in the occupying. (*In The Strange South Seas*: 141–142)

This is exactly the conclusion that Grimshaw reaches when visiting ancient burial sites on Tonga: 'The *langis*, or burial-places, are very remarkable, in that they suggest the command of mechanical appliances which the Tongans, as known to modern history, certainly never possessed' (*Three Wonderful Nations*: 9). Then at another Tongan site, the Haamunga, the trope of the lost super race makes a more definite appearance: 'Concerning the origin of this extraordinary monument our building history has nothing to say, except that the existing race of Tongans certainly never had anything to do with it' (10). Grimshaw's brief engagement with Tongan history is chiefly an attempt to negate it. But even these fleeting and paradoxical glances at indigenous history are rare in the travel brochures.

In these texts history tends to materialise in brief, truncated, imperial snatches in which scenes of 'beneficence' or 'beginnings' are enacted; and in which cannibalism, invariably presented as the ultimate transgression, is shown to have been eradicated by colonial contact. This is true of the following example where history takes the form of a colonial nativity narrative: 'The actual discovery of the Cook Islands, and of many others, dates only from the Georgian era; and the Pacific Ocean itself was not known to exist before the days of Henry VIII' (*The Islands Of The Blest*: 2). The Islands' pasts begin with imperial arrival, all that appears to precede this event with any regularity or certainty is 'that cannibalism was practiced [and] strangers frequently murdered...' (*Three Wonderful Nations*: 5). With the exception of Fiji these descriptions of cannibalism are positively bland compared to the much more sensational accounts that occur in the travelogues. In those publications

Grimshaw is, at times, keen to flag up the personal danger that she believes herself to be in; here it is vital to let the tourists know that danger is controlled, if not entirely absent. The genre of tourism that Grimshaw is marketing in Fiji is frequently enhanced by an element of risk, bridled risk, visible at the body of an exoticised Other. The saleability of ethnic tourism was (and still is) enhanced by allusions to cannibalism, but these references have to be of a particular type. Ultimately tourism is tension, tension between the here/not here, the familiar/unfamiliar. Grimshaw places cannibalism within the present of her tourist brochure while assuring customers on the Union Steam Ship Company's liners that it is indeed a thing of the past, a thing of another time. It is both the here and the not here. Even as she is trying to write the Islands as a touristic time-free zone Grimshaw is exploiting time as a social resource, one used exclusively in the service of capital.

Time is not a universal phenomenon. Planetary, geological and biological time exists, but these disparate temporalities can only be conceptualised within a social frame. Different peoples therefore have different conceptions of time. Failing to recognise that time is socially, culturally and historically informed Grimshaw interprets a lack of what Adams (cited in Ryan, 2002c: 203) calls 'artefactual time' as an absence of time per se among Oceanic people. Thus she can state with quiet certitude that 'there is no time in the South Seas' (*The Islands Of The Blest*: 5). Her depiction of the past, from which, as we have seen, indigenous people are abstracted, is certainly used to shore up her touristic construction of the islands as timeless, but perhaps it is her representation of the islanders' interaction with the future, for the most part non-existent in the travel brochures, that is her most rigorous attempt to straitjacket these peoples within a monolithic present tense. Commenting on demographic trends in Fiji in her first travel book Grimshaw states 'the time cannot be many generations removed when the Indian population will have replaced altogether the dying-out Fijian race' (21). Grimshaw goes on to add 'The Fijians themselves are, unfortunately, quite indifferent about the matter' (*From Fiji To The Cannibal Islands*: 21). This portrayal of indigenous people as oblivious to a seemingly austere future was not uncommon in travel books of the period. Frederick O'Brien (1919), for example, contemplating what he believes is the soon to be gone Marquesan, opines 'It is a history of evil wrought by civilization, of curses heaped on a strange, simple people by men who sought to exploit them [...] and left them to die, apathetic, wretched, hardly knowing their own miserable plight' (*White Shadows In The South Seas*, 1919: 26). In both these accounts the Fijians and the Marquesan are depicted as not only unconcerned but, more devastatingly, as unable to form a tangible conception of the future. In contrast the nationals of independent Tonga show a keen interest in what is to come, they are ambitious and have definite aspirations for their country. But their exertions, Grimshaw asserts, are of no avail; she suggests that they too will remain locked in a bounded island present: 'Their efforts in the direction of becoming a powerful and civilised nation will probably fail of success, for they do not temper ambition with prudence, and their numbers are but 20,000 all told' (*Three Wonderful Nations*: 5). Demographically the Tongans, like the Fijians and the Marquesan, are represented as a race guttering on the brink of extinction, and like their

Oceanic neighbours they are also portrayed as childish. The Fijians and the Marquesan are childishly incapable of contemplating the future, while the Tongans are childishly lacking in the *savoir faire* necessary to compete in a world 'far harder and more pitiless than they' (5). All three are described as races constituted by what are essentially non-subjects.

A position in time and space, subjectivity is the fusion of past-present-future. Severed from an active past-future the subject ceases. This negation of subjectivity may work to assuage imperialistic/touristic guilt. For while the islanders are described as oblivious to the future and thus the possibility of change, wholesale change – not only with regards to demographic decline – is frequently depicted as menacingly close: 'Those who wish to see the Tahiti of old days should not put off their visit too long, for the Panama canal will change many things when it opens' (*The Islands Of The Blest*: 23). Identifying the inevitability of imminent and radical change as a pervasive discourse within contemporary tourists brochures Edward Bruner states

[...] for generations of tourists, and for generations of ethnographers as well, including Boas, primitive peoples have always been seen as on the edge of change, to be experienced or described before they disappear. This is the trope of the vanishing primitive. (Bruner, 1991: 243)

Travel can be an excellent means of enhancing status. And the 'trope of the vanishing primitive' certainly contributes to this, imbuing, as it does, the tourist experience with a sense of uniqueness. The tourist is witness to a soon to be gone world, a world that others will never be able to access. It is a future, according to Grimshaw, which the islanders cannot conceptualise. Devoid of a meaningful dynamic past or any awareness of or sensitivity to the future, Grimshaw tries to snare Pacific people within an overwhelmingly present tense, a temporal construction corresponding with western conceptions of island topography. It is disconnected time, an islanded no time.

Schizophrenia and an Impossibly Present Tense

Grimshaw's delineation of Pacific people as temporally univocal beings bears more than a fleeting resemblance to that figure posited by Jameson as the post-modern subject/non-subject par excellence, 'the schizophrenic'. Following Lacan, Jameson describes schizophrenia primarily as a 'linguistic malfunction', a disruption in the signifying chain.

When that relationship breaks down, when the links of the signifying chain snap, then we have schizophrenia in the form of a rubble of distinct and unrelated signifiers [...]. If we are unable to unify the past, present, and future of the sentence, then we are similarly unable to unify the past, present, and future of our own biographical experience or psychic life. (Jameson, 1991: 26–27)

The individual who experiences psychosis is, according to Jameson (1991: 27), 'reduced to an experience of pure material signifiers, or, in other words, a series of pure and unrelated presents in time'. Commenting on Jameson's conception of schizophrenia, namely this sense of crystallised present, Selwyn (1993: 120)

states that the 'tourist appears not only as consumer but also as "schizophrenic"' in the rather particular sense Jameson uses the term in relation to experiences which are at once 'intense' and 'disconnected'.⁸ I would argue that this conception of disconnected time is no more germane to tourism than it is to descriptions of that range of mental states which come under the broad heading of schizophrenia. For what Jameson interprets as a swarm of 'unrelated signifiers' may well, within the context of the psychotic episode, exhibit temporal congruence, may, in short, be a perfect act of signification. Jameson refuses to speculate that the delusional web, possibly of longstanding duration, enveloping a particular psychosis may have its own temporal logic, a logic built upon a past, present and future that incorporates a depth wholly incompatible with his notion of post-modern 'depthlessness'. After blithely stating that 'I'm not even sure that the view of schizophrenia I'm about to outline [...] is clinically accurate' Jameson goes on to make some extraordinary pronouncements on the nature of psychosis:

The schizophrenic, however, is not only 'no one' in the sense of having no personal identity; he or she also does nothing, since to have a project means to be able to commit oneself to a certain continuity over time. The schizophrenic is thus given over to an undifferentiated vision of the world in the present [...]. (Jameson, 1985: 118)

This is Jameson's lead into a quotation from Renee Sechehaye's *Autobiography of a Schizophrenic Girl*; clearly Sechehaye (cited in Jameson, 1985: 120) the author, *did* something, a something that required a past. For while Jameson describes her existence as being immersed in an undifferentiated present the extract from her text begins with the words 'I remember'. Othered and homogenised under the shade of that most othering signifier 'the', Jameson, in his effort to delineate what he sees as history's usurpation of the spatial, depicts people who experience schizophrenia as divorced from temporal complexity and thus from complex ways of being that incorporate both psychotic and non-psychotic contexts. Neuro-physiologically informed, schizophrenia is also historically constituted. For example, in Belfast's main psychiatric hospital in the 1980s delusional networks relating to Ireland, Britain, paramilitary organisations and religion were commonplace, lycanthropy, however, a common manifestation of psychoses in earlier times, was far from prevalent.⁹ Schizophrenia is produced in and by specific time periods; it is informed by the individual's socio-cultural background, it is part of their past, their present, and their future. Rather than disconnected these psychical and physical spaces are capable of embodying two, psychotic/non-psychotic temporalities, one not necessarily cancelling the other. It is possible for an individual to be cognisant and responsive on a temporal plain induced by their psychosis, while fully orientated for time, place and person in a non-psychotic past-present-future.

Tourist Time, Transformation and Hosts and Guests

Likewise tourism, despite what can be an invigorated engagement with the *hic et nunc*, is far from being engulfed by a voracious 'presentism'. The past is ineluctable in the present/future which merge within it as they emerge from it.

Two obvious examples which illustrate the fusion of touristic time relate to the choice of destination, and the construction of holiday memories as psychical fuel for what may be a mundane future. One's past will determine the type of holiday embarked upon, while the present of holiday time frequently engenders a cache of memories that are stored for future consumption. Grimshaw tells her tourist that even half day calls at certain of the Cook Islands 'are enough to build up a wonderful and delightful experience that will never be forgotten during the rest of the traveller's life' (*The Islands Of the Blest*: 2). Prior to departure the brochure is projecting the tourist into a post-holiday future. The opportunity to collect sun-dried memories would appear to be an important part of the trip, part of it in fact which may produce further journeys for, as Ryan claims (2002c), there is more than an element of truth in the observation that a holiday begins with the last one. Our 'expectations of the future are based upon constructs of the past' (Ryan, 2002c: 203), while 'the time of the past is a manipulated, social time [...] interpreted by the present' (Ryan, 2002c: 203). Grimshaw's tourists, like those whom Jameson positions under a savagely reductive 'the' ('the schizophrenic'), can not be corralled within a disconnected present. This is also true of those indigenous people depicted in the brochures for despite the translation of their past into a shadowy insubstantiality they refuse to be mired within an *omnipresent*. The very fact of their continuing existence both then and now underscores that involvement with the future upon which subjectivity is grounded, and upon which the subject as survivor is dependent. The 'ethnographic present tense' (Fabian, 2002: 80) is fractured in Grimshaw's travel brochures in more ways than one; indigenous people are not only surviving subjects, but also subjects who have clearly been in contact with commodity culture. As Grimshaw tries to freeze Oceanic Peoples into a tableau of 'traditional' life the products of imperial capitalism – bicycles, sewing machines and store bought trousers – disrupt the scene by shattering any notion of pre-contact stasis, or of a bounded island time, or a bounded island space. These island people have changed and are changing, and may retain spaces largely unchanged beyond the ken of the West.

In his paper 'Transformation of the Self in Tourism' Edward Bruner (1991) argues that it is indigenous people not holiday-makers who are transformed by the tourist experience. Bruner (1991: 242) claims that 'in the touristic encounter, the tourist self is modified very little while the native self experiences profound change'. While it is indisputable that tourism can and does have an enormous impact on indigenous peoples, Bruner, as he recognises himself, tends to over state the case. Drawing on the work of Stuart Hall, Bruner (1991: 242) states 'The hegemonic is always striving, always in process.' And yet, rather than actively engaging with this notion of hegemonic dispersal he locates power exclusively in tourist hands. Altering others, tourists, according to Bruner, remain basically unaltered. Bruner's explication of what he considers touristic stasis seems to equate length of stay with the possibility of transformative happenings.

The position that tourists change very little on the tour is based in part on arguments already well-known in the literature, that the tourists spend

only a few days or weeks in any one locality and even then move so rapidly that there is little opportunity for sustained interaction with local people [...]. (Bruner, 1991: 242)

The duration of the stay, Bruner suggests, determines the likelihood of transformation. Yet, as we know, one's universe can alter in a single exhalation; one's life can change ineradicably in the close of an eye. In the following quotation from her travelogue *From Fiji To The Cannibal Islands*, Grimshaw does not posit a long stay as crucial to meaningful interaction with a foreign landscape; it is the beautifully disarming strangeness of the sudden encounter which moves her:

The first day in a foreign port, with its strange brilliancy of light and colour, and music of Southern tongues – never so bright, never so musical again – the first night in the tropics under the silvered palms and the purple, warm-breasted sky – above all, the first day in the real wilds [...] and the certainty of new experiences, adventures, perhaps even dangers, making strange music upon chords that have lain untouched through all a lifetime – such first times possess a freshness and a keen delight of their own, as perfect as first love. (34)

Evoking the erotic, Grimshaw depicts the arrival as a moment in time that is perfectly distilled, a distillation dependent upon a compelling sense of the ephemeral. For Grimshaw, it is a polysensual embrace that is revealing in its immediacy, radical in its *newness* and utterly unrepeatable. Most of Grimshaw's undertakings and journeys in Fiji are carried out in clear opposition to the views of 'the oldest [colonial] inhabitant' (34) whose long residency in the country does not result in understanding of the land where he lives. Planting injunctions in any ear that will listen, his life has become a repetitive function. He has become institutionalised in a way that Grimshaw suggests is less likely to happen to the body in motion, a body that does not even need to land at a specific site in order for the place in question to have a profound impact: 'Huaheine and Raiatea, in the Society group, were called at on the way, but Bora-Bora was left out, as it is not a regular port of call. I am glad that I did not land on Bora-Bora, and I never shall, if I can help it' (48). Seen only in passing, the island has spun a creative and imaginative web in Grimshaw's mind which she knows will crumble if ever she decides to visit there: '[I]t is best for all of us to see our *Tir-na'n-Oge* only in the far away' (49). Despite denigrating tourists at various junctures in her travel writing precisely because their time is circumscribed, Grimshaw also clearly demonstrates that unfenced time is no guarantee of a memorable tourist encounter. The 'brilliancy of light and colour' (34) is dependent upon the first sight which is always fleeting.

By postulating a synonymy between length of stay and the possibility of a meaningful experience Bruner goes some way to resurrecting the elitist traveller/tourist polarity, whilst also placing ethnographic endeavours on a pretty sure footing. But of course the most marked dichotomy in Bruner's text is that between host and guest. Suffused with a sense of stasis Bruner's description of these subject positions suggests that they are essentially immutable. But

host/guest relationships are capable of embodying numerous subject positions which enact relentless turns, shifts and complexities. Grimshaw conceptualises the white settlers in Fiji who provide her with accommodation as hosts. But how are these people viewed by Grimshaw's Fijian guides? Are they hosts, guests or imperialists? When Grimshaw visits an indigenous village in Malekula is she a guest, or an intruder who, in the wake of a punitive attack, must be endured? Guests can be welcome or unwelcome. In certain of the Oceanic Islands in the early part of the 20th century locally owned guest houses were catering for people who were both colonials and imperialists, guests who may well have been simultaneously welcome and unwelcome. Hosts (like guests) can be ambivalent, put-upon, pragmatic and, in control. They can offer the hospitality of a Cistercian or a Macbeth. Alternatively, locals holidaying at home may perform the roles of host and tourist concurrently. All these subject positions manifest mobility. All are capable of change, perhaps even transformation.

Commenting on travel brochures where tourism is rapturously heralded as a universally transformative experience Bruner – describing tourists as almost unchangeable – simply replaces one dogma with another. Predictably, Grimshaw, whilst attempting to construct a tourist product, represents (or tries to represent) indigenous people as unchanged and unchanging in contrast to her tourists who undergo a process of substantial alteration. But, as we have seen, both representations embody marked instabilities. Grimshaw's portrayal of indigenous people slips beyond the bounds of the disconnected present, while the physical and psychological changes that she attributes to tourists prove to be less than robust; once removed from the holiday destination these characteristics soon become tranquillised by the routine of urban *dailiness*. Like the ubiquitous suntan, transformation requires regular top-ups. Within the context of Grimshaw's brochures, carefully collected memories are not enough to keep the death-like state at bay, but they can inspire the tourist to further journeys, further attempts to evade a deadening stasis.

Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to undermine certain polarities: traveller/tourist, islander/tourist, psychotic/non-psychotic and host/guest. An intervention in culture which disrupts categories, shifts parameters and challenges contexts, the interrogation of binary opposites is not a bid to negate difference by creating some fantastical space of essentialist universality; it is simply an attempt to reveal areas of similarity. For while they embody a multitude of undeniable and valuable differences all the groups mentioned in this paper also incorporate a plane of irreducible sameness. All are temporally complex constructions, produced in and by the tapestry of past, present and future. And all – whether an individual experiencing a psychotic episode, a tourist feeling shaken by the strangeness of space, or a host engaging with those who are not at home – are frequently required to make a communicative effort that is above and beyond that necessitated by life outside these subject positions. These, often sophisticated, cultural practices, commonly involve a network of complex, and at times, remarkably subtle, negotiations. And

clearly life is not confined to these roles. Tourists can be hosts and hosts tourists, who, as we have seen, may dramatically disrupt the cultural expectations of their place in the world. The disruption of cultural expectations has been the aim of this work; the outcome has of course been limited by my own position as a temporal construct, my own position within the interplay of past-present-future. Perhaps this is most obvious in the opening paragraph where four polarities associated with Ireland are listed, with the exception of one, which rendered hierarchy impossible, the nationalist viewpoint is placed first. This recognition of the pervasiveness of history is not an attempt to present time as a monolithic entity. The temporal is not static; it can be re-read and re-scripted. A process of loss and gain, this journey into time is not an easy undertaking. Fraught with untold dangers and potential wounds it is, however, a crucial journey; especially when narrow, indeed violent, binarisms continue to inform much of our cultural baggage, much of our way of being in the world.

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Notes

1. Prior to the establishment of the Northern Irish state Ulster was a nine county province containing what are now known as the six counties plus Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan. Many nationalists still conceptualise it as such.
2. The fullest bibliography of Grimshaw's work is that compiled by Peter Ruber and Victor A. Berch. On WWW at <http://pulprack.com/arch/000168.html>. Accessed 10.05.2004.
3. Re: *Three Wonderful Nations*: There is no date of publication on this brochure, and it is extremely difficult to get any definite information regarding same. An on-line check of the National Library of Australia and all Australian university libraries revealed three copies, one at the University of Newcastle, one at the University of Adelaide, and the third at the National Library. Two give the date of publication as 1914, Adelaide dates it as 1913. I am not convinced by either; the brochure provides a list of shipping services which supplies the following information: 'Steamers call at Auckland instead of Brisbane after July, 1911.' This is a strange fact to include in a brochure published in either 1913 or 1914. Re: *The Islands Of The Blessed*: Once again it is very difficult to get any information regarding the date of publication. The University of Auckland dates it as 1910, while the University of Otago, which has a copy, leaves the date unknown. An on-line check of book buyers revealed two copies in the USA, these also state that the date of publication is unknown. On my own copies of these brochures the date is absent. I would suggest that both texts were probably published around 1910/1911.
4. The intellectual component of the Beard and Ragheb Leisure Motivation Scale 'assesses the extent to which individuals are motivated to engage in leisure activities which involve . . . mental activities such as learning, exploring, discovering, thought or imagining'. See Ryan, 2002: 35.
5. Maslow identifies creativity as one characteristic of self-actualised people: 'The creativeness of the self-actualized man seems rather to be akin to the naive and universal creativeness of unspoiled children. It seems to be more a fundamental characteristic of common human nature – a potentiality given to all human beings at birth. Most human beings lose this as they become acculturated, but some few individuals

- seem either to retain this fresh and naïve direct way of looking at life or, else, if they have lost it, as most people do, to recover it later in life.' These remarks seem particularly germane to Grimshaw's construction of the tourist/poet. A.H. Maslow, 1973: 196.
6. I feel that Freud's discussion of the death drive is extremely relevant to Beatrice Grimshaw's representation of tourism in both her brochures and her travelogues. This does not mean that I unreservedly accept Freud's categories – animate/inanimate. I would argue that the boundaries between these two worlds are much more blurred than Freud suggests. Perhaps, rather than simply betraying a desire-horror of insentience, compulsive travel may speak a melancholic awareness, deeply inscribed, of its impossibility. As the biological is subsumed into geological immensity can absolute stasis ever be truly achieved?
 7. It could be argued here that Grimshaw is acknowledging distinctions among Oceanic people that they themselves recognised.
 8. I am not suggesting that Selwyn is arguing that tourism is a temporally disconnected state; he is describing the representation of touristic experiences in travel brochures.
 9. These observations are based on the three and a half year period that I spent in Purdysburn Hospital as a student psychiatric nurse and subsequent periods of time spent working as a registered nurse in adult psychiatry.

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