1. Prologue: From Local to Global, From Courtesy to Civility

This study explores the development of a discourse of global civility in selected writings by British travellers from the early seventeenth through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Broadly defined, this discursive formation comprises cultural cross-fertilisation, respect for the organisational structures and social differences of foreign polities, and the representation of mutually improving encounters in intercultural contact zones. The present study argues that global civility appears even as the Renaissance and Reformation give way to the Enlightenment, and that its historical development can best be traced by comparing works by travellers to the old and familiar lands of the Ottoman Empire with writings by those who ventured into the unknown waters and islands of the South Pacific. In examining these writings, I explore how their literary, cultural, political, and historical contexts were informed by Enlightenment philosophy and globality. In doing so, I demonstrate that cross-cultural encounters, and by implication European representations of cultural difference, in the era of expansion were much more complex and multi-layered than dichotomously structured colonial discourses and post-colonial theories often suggest.[1]

Global civility, as it emerged from differential but complementary encounters, not only restores complexity to cross-cultural interaction in the Ottoman and Pacific realms, it also emphasises the improvisational intricacies

1 Compare: Allison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). According to Games, concepts such as cosmopolitanism gained currency in international spheres of trade, exploration and exchange. Reducing them to Eurocentric contexts thus commits a disservice to the intertwined histories behind what we might call Euro-American modernity.

that governed contact zones from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment.[2] Far from being merely peripheral, extra-European territories were crucial to British policy-making and cultural production in the period 1636-1863, since the commercial traffic vital to Europe's prosperity and development was only sustainable in conditions of relative peace. Accordingly, the readiness, willingness and desire to cooperate fruitfully with radically different peoples, which resulted from successful transactions in contact zones, is an integral, but unfortunately often neglected, constituent in literary and historical scholarship.[3] By challenging the still dominant cultural layers of the age of high imperialism and their epistemological grids, this thesis addresses the as yet unwritten chapter of mutually beneficial and complex, though initially often tentative, cross-cultural interaction in English literary history.

The first case study analyses an early instance of global civility in Henry Blount's *A Voyage into the Levant* (1636). It demonstrates how the presence of a powerful Islamic empire, whose military capabilities threatened Europe at the same time as its splendour fascinated Western travellers, provided an imperial model that lent itself to emulation for Britain's emerging global reach. Blount's comparative and rational approach recognises his host culture as a highly advanced, if not superior, state, in the realms of which Europeans had to be civil. The next chapter takes us to the previously unknown world of the Palau archipelago in the South Pacific, where the shipwrecked seamen of the East India vessel *Antelope* establish friendly and even-handed relations with the Palauan natives. The literary gentleman George Keate framed his *Account of the Pelew Islands* (1788) in contemporary idioms of sentiment and sensibility, a narrative strategy that not only familiarises English readers with the unknown vastness of the Pacific but also ensures that the natives' support of Captain Wilson and his crew becomes readable as a sign of hospitality, mutuality and receptivity to outside influences. In both instances, situational exigencies –

2 Compare Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), 7: Pratt uses the term 'contact zone' to describe spaces of cross-cultural interaction. However, her explanation of it as a sphere in which 'disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination' is reductive and simplistic. I use 'contact zone' throughout this study in order to describe spaces, locations and landscapes where representatives of different cultures meet and interact with one another in a plethora of ways.

3 A notable exception is Karen Barkey's book *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

respect for the overwhelming power of a well-established empire on the one hand, and the vital necessity to gain access to local resources by cooperating with the natives, on the other – compel the travelling Englishmen to be civil. Despite their pronounced historical and cultural differences, these productive encounters show that neither mutual misunderstandings nor intractable conflicts were necessary outcomes of contact situations. Instead the tentative beginnings are extended and intensified from both sides of the contact zone, suggesting how the complexities of interactional situations across the globe call for regionally specific and historically nuanced analyses. Such a reading is also at the heart of the next chapter on Henry Abbott's *A Trip…Across the Grand Desart of Arabia* (1789), in which a multi-lingual and seemingly well-educated Englishman repeatedly praises the hospitality of the desert Arabs. Abbott emphatically describes himself practicing global civility and, as we shall see, openly challenges both preconceived ideas and 'erroneous conclusions' drawn 'from the perusal of *erroneous* narratives'[4] about those who inhabit the desert sands of Arabia.

However, when we return to the South Pacific to visit the newly-founded penal settlements in Australia, global civility starts to crack under the pressures of trafficking in human lives. George Barrington's *An Impartial and Circumstantial Narrative* (*c*. 1793-4) and Mary Ann Parker's *A Voyage round the World* (1795) take us to New South Wales where the Pitt government dumped British convicts after the Botany Bay decision of 1786. The distressing conditions of transportation aboard the convict ships, as well as the continual shortages suffered by the colonists after their arrival in the Antipodes, render the representation of social, cultural and racial differences increasingly ambivalent. The fifth chapter examines these ambivalences, situating them in contemporary political, aesthetic and reformist discourses in order to explore the extent to which the problem of excess convicts presents a new turn on previous practices of global civility. The subsequent case study traces comparable developments in the Ottoman Empire by examining Charles Coville Frankland's *Travels to and from Constantinople* (1829). Whilst Barrington and Parker were confronted with both the horrors of transportation and the trials of a colony in its infancy, the naval officer Frankland witnesses first-hand the crumbling vigour of a once powerful empire caught up between gridlocked reforms, the Greek uprising and a renegade governor in Egypt. But most importantly, his

4 Henry Abbott, *A Trip…Across the Grand Desart of Arabia* (Calcutta: Joseph Cooper, 1789), 3 [emphasis in original].

extensive account allows us carefully to historicise the emergence of the fully articulated Orientalist discourse, famously described by Edward W. Said in 1978. Frankland's adventures represent a transitional stage between incipient penetrations of European powers into Oriental territories, such as Napoleon's mission in Egypt, and the unvarnished domination – symbolic as well as material – of the East by Western powers that gained momentum in the course of the nineteenth century.[5] The final chapter in this study takes us back to the Pacific realm and New Zealand's transformation from a liminal space with little regulation to a settled colony under gubernatorial rule. F. E. Maning's *Old New Zealand* (1863) is a Shandean account of a man's life between cultures, an 'autobiographical-cum-fictive text'[6] that maps discursive transformations from cross-cultural curiosity over representational ambivalence to colonialism. In so doing, it tells us a story about the changing fortunes of the Maori and their country under Europe's tightening imperial grip and at the same time bears witness to global civility's evaporation in what Eric Hobsbawm has called 'the age of empire.'[7]

By stretching the limits of the 'long *and* wide eighteenth century'[8] to include large parts of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, the case studies making up *Representations of Global Civility* hope to challenge both implicit and explicit assumptions about Europe's, and especially Britain's, relationships with extra-European peoples and their cultures in the imperial era. The civilizing mission and military power at the heart of the British Empire in its heyday have too often been uncritically accepted as historical constants by literary and cultural critics. A dire consequence of such de-historicised scholarship is that 'European mechanisms of mastery over alien civilizations' have become 'the ruling theme of cross-cultural studies.'[9] For example, to 'project [Said's] findings backward, to read precolonial ethnography as if its rhetoric

5 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (1978; rpt. London: Penguin, 1995), 3, 7, 31-49 & 87.

6 Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 233.

7 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1987). I stretch Hobsbawm's periodization to include the period beginning with Queen Victoria's accession to the throne in 1837.

8 Felicity Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 10 [my emphasis].

9 Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576 – 1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2.

bespoke European dominance of the world, or its defensive tropes necessarily foretold aggressive expansion, is anachronistic.'[10] Richmond Barbour's *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576 – 1626* (2003), from which these words are taken, is among a growing number of thought-provoking studies aimed at presenting a more nuanced picture of cultural and commercial traffic in the early modern or Renaissance periods. From the late 1990s onwards, a number of scholars have started to re-examine what has often been contextualised as an exclusively European phenomenon so that the Renaissance can now be characterised as embedded in, and inextricably intertwined with, international commerce, discoveries and cultural cross-fertilisation. Lisa Jardine's *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (1996), as well as Jardine and Brotton's *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (2000), challenge received ideas about Europe's rich cultural production in the centuries following Francesco Petrarca's revival of ancient intellectuals, such as Cicero and Seneca.[11] Petrarch's letters – among which we find some addressed to his contemporaries, and others written to those he believed to be his Roman predecessors – helped to reinvigorate interest in classical philosophy, aesthetics and art across Europe.[12] Coupled with scientific innovations, discoveries and goods imported from rising empires in the east, such innovations resulted in a rich cultural texture containing a plethora of ideas, influences and skills, which were retrospectively reinterpreted by Western intellectuals in order to cement Europe's centrality at a time when the Ottomans had ceased to be a military threat. But Jardine and Brotton's studies not only question reductive notions about 'the regeneration of European civilisation nourished entirely by taproots in classical Greece and imperial Rome,'[13] they also depart from more traditional cross-cultural research in a number of ways: Fernand

10 Ibid., 3.

11 Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: MacMillan, 1996); Lisa Jardine & Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London: Reaktion, 2000).

12 Compare: Francesco Petrarca, *Petrarch: The First Modern Scholar and Man of Letters.* A Selection from his Correspondence with Boccaccio and other Friends, Designed to Illustrate the Beginnings of the Renaissance. Translated from the Original Latin; together with Historical Introductions and Notes, ed. by James Harvey Robinson & henry Winchester Rolfe (1898; rpt. New York: Haskell House, 1970)

13 Gerald MacLean, 'Introduction: Re-Orienting the Renaissance,' in MacLean, ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance: Cultural Exchanges with the East* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), 1.

Braudel's work on the multi-cultural Mediterranean, for instance, focuses primarily on commerce and commodity exchanges, but 'had little impact on the more cultural and philosophical understanding of the development of the Renaissance.'[14] In this regard, then, scholarship of this era has shifted quite substantially in recent years and paved the way to more specialised studies on selected aspects of early modern literature and culture.

In line with Richmond Barbour's concerns, Europe's relations with the Islamic world in the pre-Orientalist moment have received much critical attention. Especially Nabil Matar and Gerald MacLean have broken new ground and thoroughly redefined English imperial ambitions and identities by showing how they took shape in the dynamic field of tension between East and West. Whilst Matar's work examines the tremendous influences of Islam on cultural life in the British Isles more generally, Maclean's work concentrates on the specifics of Anglo-Ottoman interaction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[15] Their studies carefully trace Anglo-Islamic contacts in 'the North African, the Ottoman and the Persian-Indian regions'[16] and demonstrate their lasting literary and cultural impacts.

In addition to the predominantly Anglo-American scholarship on the cross-cultural texture of the Renaissance, Turkish scholars, too, have been interested in English representations of the rich and diverse traditions of Islam. Early examples are some works by the University of Ankara Professor Orhan Burian: in 1951 he published a short piece on 'Shakespeare in Turkey'

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14 Jerry Brotton, 'St George between East and West,' in MacLean, ed., *Re-Orienting the Renaissance*, 50-65, here 51.

15 The story of Joseph Pitts, a captive of Algerian pirates from Exeter, Devon, captured in 1678, shows that Eurocentric notions of power are historically relative. For some Muslims in North Africa, he was the first Christian they had ever seen. He thus attracted considerable attention and could testify to 'the Muslim sense of superiority at the first encounter with the fair-skinned northern peoples, the antipathy toward the infidel and finally the acceptance of the Christian as a fellow human.' Compare: Nabil Matar, Islam in Britain, 1558-1685 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1. Islam in Britain is an early result in this emerging field and was followed by Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery (1999) and Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689 (2005). MacLean's books The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720 (2004) and Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800 (2007) form the centrepiece of the following analyses of Anglo-Ottoman interaction.

16 Gerald MacLean & Nabil Matar, Britain and the Islamic world, 1558-1713 (Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press, 2011), 12.

and in the following year appeared his article 'Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance' as well as an edited version of *The Report of Lello, Third English Ambassador to the Sublime Porte*.[17] Most importantly, however, in his 'Interest of the English' he mentions the only two studies on Anglo-Islamic interaction that had been written up until the 1950s. One is the unpublished dissertation of Warner G. Rice, entitled *Turks, Moors, and Persians in Elizabethan Drama* (Harvard University, 1925); the other is Samuel C. Chew's monumental *The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance* (1937), which not only covers a wide range of topics, but also visits Ottoman, Persian and Spanish lands under Islamic rule. Despite the limitations of its 'single archive analysis,'[18] Chew's comprehensive study remains an invaluable source for all attempts to explore English representations of, and interaction with, the Islamic world.

The present study is based on these influences and builds on them at the same time as it widens their geographical outlook in order to write a global history of English travels in the long eighteenth century. For this purpose, it treats the Ottoman Empire as already familiar – but often misunderstood – territory for the English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and contrasts representations of it with reports of those who returned from the South Pacific. This vast ocean became a key area of English exploration in the second half of the eighteenth century and was criss-crossed by James Cook, the most famous maritime traveller of his age. The voluminous journals of his three extensive voyages (1768-71, 1772-75 and 1776-80) have been edited and published by J. C. Beaglehole between 1955 and 1967. Subsequently, they spawned both an enormous body of scholarship and veritable controversies over Western representations of Pacific Islanders, culminating in the debate between Marshall Sahlins and Gananath Obeyesekere. Whilst Sahlins has interpreted Cook's arrival on Hawai'i as coinciding with an important local festival in which the Captain took on the role of the fertility god Lono, Obeyesekere has responded in the early 1990s by blowing 'a post-colonial whistle,'

17 Orhan Burian, 'Shakespeare in Turkey,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 2: 2 (1951), 127-128; 'Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance,' *Oriens* 5 (1952), 209-29. Unfortunately, I had no access to the *Report* whilst doing doctoral research in Turkey. However, Yaprak Eran kindly introduced me to his work and discussed the two shorter pieces with me.

18 Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), 6.

contending that such an interpretation 'was just a further stage in the western mytho-biography of Cook and part of a long European tradition that native populations saw white men as gods.'[19] The dichotomously structured logic underlying such debates reproduces the rhetorical inventory of colonialism and its sharp distinctions,[20] which is why *Representations of Global Civility* seeks to challenge them by foregrounding the improvisational dimensions of cross-cultural encounters in the pre-imperial period.

This study thus concentrates on some lesser known works in order to shift attention away from canonical figures such as Cook to seemingly marginal perspectives, thereby illuminating, as well as complementing, what was often thought about those well-known travellers and the places they visited. Its analyses of the accounts by Keate, Barrington, Parker and Maning frequently resort to two studies published by Rod Edmond and Jonathan Lamb, respectively. Edmond's *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (1997) examines a plethora of texts, topics and lives connected to Western conceptions and experiences of Oceania's multi-faceted world of islands and archipelagos. It, too, insists on historically grounded readings of specific colonial and post-colonial constellations by emphasising that 'Pacific societies were colonized slowly and unevenly, and never entirely succumbed to western goods and practices which inevitably were modified when they crossed the beach.'[21] Of course, the beach figures crucially in representations of encounters at or by the sea. Following Greg Dening's description of it as an in-between space,[22] Jonathan Lamb characterises its landward and seaward sides as 'physically proximate' but finds them 'utterly different in their historical profiles and cultural valences.'[23] Whilst his book *Preserving the Self in the South Pacific, 1680-1840* (2001) reads travel accounts in the contexts of both instinctual self-preservation and political theories of the self, its focus is on texts in the tradition of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, in which a single castaway finds himself vis-à-vis the intricacies of a world whose symbolic and

19 Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 52.

20 Ibid., 21

21 Ibid., 14.

22 Compare: Greg Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992),189-213.

23 Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 133.

material orders he cannot comprehend. By contrast, the challenge of collective self-preservation is an important aspect of extreme maritime travel unexamined in Lamb's study. But Keate's *Account of the Pelew Islands* allows us to explore the multi-layered complexities involved in encounters of representatives of two radically different cultures in the Pacific context. The present study thus adapts the framework of *Preserving the Self* to the shipwreck of the *Antelope* and the ensuing exchanges on the Palauan beach. But what about Barrington, Parker and Maning? The protagonists of the two remaining case studies in the Pacific arena also start their adventures on the beach. On the one hand, they arrive as haggard convict or well-travelled English housewife; on the other, they model themselves on Sterne's idiosyncratic protagonist of *Tristram Shandy* (1759-1767) and need two whole chapters of grandiloquent self-presentation to disembark. But in either case, they have to cross the beach before they can start their adventures in the largely unknown Antipodean worlds of New Zealand and Australia.

When Britons set out to these archipelagos and continents, they hardly ever knew what their journeys had in store for them because months at sea were disorientating. The South Pacific thus promised the discovery of exotic island communities, alien customs and unknown rituals; however, maritime long distance travel to this part of the globe was as much about the exploration of new worlds as it challenged the perseverance of explorers. Unlike Oriental travel, which was caught up in 'perpetual re-enactment' by virtue of countless precedents since ancient times, Pacific exploration was 'from the start unaccountable and ungovernable.'[24] Their seemingly fundamental differences notwithstanding, both kinds of travel are 'extreme' in that they subject travellers to various hardships and rare pleasures whilst tying together the old world of the Ottoman Empire and the novelties of the South Pacific. This perspective opens up gateways not only into the dynamics of contact zones in both regions, but also to the changes, transformations and developments within European discursive formations. More importantly, however, it enables us to shift the centre of gravity away from what is deeply ingrained, institutionally normalised and culturally inoculated. A cursory glance at literary scholarship on cross-cultural encounters reveals how urgent such analyses are: though historically acute, Peter Sloterdijk's philosophical analysis of

24 Donna Landry, 'Saddle Time,' *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* 46: 3 (2004), 441-58, here 447.

globalisation, for instance, remains steeped in traditional approaches to contact phenomena. He characterises the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods as 'the time of unilateral action,' a chapter of world history dominated by 'asymmetrical appropriation originating in the harbours, courts and ambitions of Europe.'[25] The present study sets out to complicate such one-sided histories by insisting on agency and subjectivity on both sides of the cultural divide. Such an approach makes possible a long eighteenth century that is not merely global, but also governed by a bond of enlightened civility rather than narrowly defined notions of aristocratic European courtesy.[26]

25 Peter Sloterdijk, *Im Weltinnenraum des Kapitals: Fuer eine philosophische Theorie der Globalisierung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2005), 23.

26 Compare; Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).