

## **Chapter Two**

### **Introductions**

The three voyages into the Pacific commanded by James Cook, between 1768 and 1780, were carried out in the relatively peaceful period in European history between the Seven Years War, which ended in 1763, and the troubles in the American colonies, which broke out while Cook was on his third voyage. Unlike the voyages of his predecessors, the peace in Europe allowed Cook's voyages into the Pacific to be carried out with little concern for direct military challenges from European powers. Rather, the challenges that were faced in the voyages arose from the dangers of open ocean navigation and from the interactions with native populations. While the voyages were not part of any recognized military campaign, they were nonetheless full of conflicts, and the successes and failures of Cook's voyages were nonetheless connected to many important political and scientific institutions in England.

As the official accounts of the voyage would have it, Cook was sent into the Pacific ocean in response to three key problems. In the first voyage, he was part of a global astronomical experiment to measure the time it took the planet Venus to cross the face of the sun, which would help astronomers determine the distance between the earth and the sun. In the second voyage, Cook was sent to determine with finality the existence or non-existence of a large southern continent. And then, in the third voyage, Cook's goal was to finally determine the existence or non-existence of a Northwest passage connecting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans.

Yet the three voyages are much more than responses to these specific problems. Building on the ability to reliably measure longitude and to produce accurate maps, Cook's voyages mark a significant shift in the

epistemological conditions in which the Europeans could know the world. Throughout his voyages, Cook demonstrates the existence or non-existence of places, he locates every place in a single, fixed grid of coordinates, he moves away from the continental coastlines into the fragmented plane of the Pacific ocean, and travels along tracks that prior European navigators could only dream of.

And just as the representations of the world in Cook's voyages affirm a mathematical and empiricist account of how places from around the world can be described, the engagements with prior navigators also affirm the status of his voyages as the culmination of all the information that is available. As a result, the printed accounts of his voyages also became the ideal representation of scientific exploration literature. More than any other, Cook's voyages represented how an explorer *ought* to give an account of the world. In other words, while the voyages are overtly descriptions of distant places, they are also discussions about the practical and epistemological conditions under which certain kinds of descriptions are considered to be accurate and complete.

The engagement is totalizing. Cook spends most of his time in places that had already been visited by other Europeans, but he incorporates and reworks these discoveries into a single description, articulated according to set patterns. He settles controversies of position. He describes the inhabitants of places and notes where his descriptions agree or disagree with those already available. And he does the same thing for places around the Pacific and all along the routes that the ships take, from Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope, to Teneriffe, and Brazil. In the end, Cook's voyages create a mathematical, scientific and textual vision of the world's places that claims to transcend the opinions and guesses offered by his predecessors. As a result, Cook's voyages mark an important change in how the world is imagined. Not only do the

voyages summarize what has gone on before and answer many of the problems that were posed by 18th century Europe, they also create the conditions for exploration that will dominate the 19th century. Cook is concerned with the health of his crew, the relationship between Europeans and natives, the reliability of the newly-developed chronometers, the maintenance of a ship and its crew in long voyages, and the nature of a wide range of meteorological, geological, and biological phenomena. In the words of Joseph Conrad, Cook's voyages offer responses to "the problems of our earth's shape, its size, its character, its products, its inhabitants."<sup>1</sup> The engagement is cosmological, encompassing the world and placing Cook and his English supporters at the center.

But the engagement is also moral and political. Cook's voyages mark significant reworkings of European discussions concerning humanity and power, which affirm an image of political legitimacy, an ethics of engagement, and an account of universal justice. In time, the voyages also became one of the high points in the story of the English nation, and Cook became a key character in the epistemological, practical and political productions of the British empire.

In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said points out the obvious, but crucial, fact that one of the things that the creation and maintenance of an empire depends upon is the idea of *having an empire*.<sup>2</sup> The idea of having an empire, which for Said means the control over distant places and peoples, in turn depends on the intersection of geography and culture, in which distant places and peoples come to exist in the spaces created by writing. As Said claims,

when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future — these issues were

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<sup>1</sup> Conrad, "Geography and Some Explorers," in *Last Essays*, page 2.

<sup>2</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 11.

reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative.<sup>3</sup>

As with other modern political orders, the empire is intimately tied to writing. One implication is that the analysis of empire, or more generically the organization of the world as a single political space, leads to a concern for literature, narrative, discourses and other social and textual processes in which the ideas of the world are created, presented and related.

Cook is not simply writing a narrative. He is also organizing the narrative so that other people who follow him into the Pacific can find the same things. Cook's voyages are representations of the world; and as such, while they conform to various conventions of representation, and while they are organized in terms of basic narrative forms, they are also placed in an intimate interaction with the world, with alternate sources, and with the "future navigators" who are encouraged to find the same world or to correct the account. The voyages thus arise from a complex relationship between Cook's intentions, the interests of various people and institutions in Europe, the narrative form of the voyage, and the desire to create a reliable account of the world that can not only be shared with others, but also be useful to them for their own projects.

These representations of the world in Cook's voyages have political implications. The representations of the places in the South Pacific were used in debates over the limits and character of human nature, the relationship between science and politics and the legitimate use of power. And beyond the representation of specific places, the voyages were also narratives of movement in which Cook, as the voice of the narrative, describes a world in which Europeans can travel.

Considerable attention has been paid recently to the importance of the early modern novel in forming the attitudes and ideas of modern

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<sup>3</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page xiii.

imperialism. Both the organization of time and space are crucial for the idea of having an empire: time, insofar as it connects to various economic, social, and political projects; and space, insofar as it creates a sense of the terrain in which those projects occur. The importance of space in narrative has been discussed in detail by Said. Noting the theories of the novel offered by Lukacs and Proust, which focus on analyzing a work by the temporal organization of its plot, Said suggests that novels also include an important spatial organization. Not only does it matter when the events in a novel occur, it also matters *where*, and how those places are connected to the rest of the world. In other words, the creation of an empire depends in part on an already existing understanding of the spatial arrangements necessary for having an empire. As a result, Said claims that the importance of 18th and early 19th century novels has led him to believe that the periodization of modern imperialism ought to be altered. While

most historians of empire speak of the 'age of empire' as formally beginning around 1878, with 'the scramble for Africa,' ... [Said argues that ] a coherent, fully mobilized system of ideas [can be found] near the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

One example that he considers is Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*. First published in 1814, Austen's novel mentions the English plantations in the West Indies, and in the island of Antigua in particular, to which Sir Thomas Bertram must travel during a crucial period in her narrative. Austin's references to Antigua are scarce. But for Said, the existence of Antigua in the novel indicates an understanding of space which conditions how both characters and readers understand their place in the world. Even the most parochial villages in England have some relationship to "the colonies." The novel, in other words, contains a sense of empire, even if the empire is seldom named and never described in any detail.

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<sup>4</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 58.

In *The Atlas of the European Novel*, Franco Moretti challenges Said's account of the status that the Caribbean colonies had in *Mansfield Park*. Citing economic histories of early 19th century Britain and internal evidence in the novel that indicates how unimportant the colonies would have been for the fortune of people like Bertram, Moretti argues that the economic (colonial) explanation for Bertram's absence is wrong. Instead, in Moretti's account Bertram goes to Antigua,

not because he needs the money, but because Austen needs him out of the way. Too strong a figure of authority, he intimidates the rest of the cast, stifling narrative energy, and leaving Austen without a story to tell: for the sake of the plot, he must go.<sup>5</sup>

For Moretti, the explanation for Bertram's journey to the colonies is simply the requirements of the plot, and what the other characters could do only when Bertram was gone. The choice of Antigua, in other words, was purely accidental. He continues:

The way in which colonial fortunes are introduced — a few hasty commonplaces, period — is itself a good clue to the real state of affairs; and as for the colonies themselves, not one of the thirteen novels [Moretti is considering at this point] represents them directly; at most, we get a retrospective (and dubious) tale like Rochester's in *Jane Eyre*. This is the mythic geography — *pecunia ex machina* — of a wealth that is not really produced (nothing is ever said of work in the colonies), but magically 'found' overseas whenever a novel needs it.<sup>6</sup>

However, it is at least significant that a place like Antigua could be included as a "commonplace" in a novel about England. Moretti's characterization underestimates the importance of Antigua as part of the structures of meaning and exchange that Austen could take for granted. Bertram's destination could not have been *any* place. The place had to be one of the English plantation colonies (or at least a distant colony where he would have

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<sup>5</sup> Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, page 26.

<sup>6</sup> Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel*, page 27.

had enough interest to travel to).

In addition, Antigua does not simply exist as “found wealth.”<sup>7</sup> We can grant Moretti’s point that the importance of the colony in the novel is not the same as the material or economic importance of colonies in the England of Austen’s time. But in Said’s defense, references to the colonies in literature are important, not because they reflect the material economic conditions of the characters being described, but because they hint at the ideological terrain in which the places are being articulated. Of course Bertram’s journey to Antigua is crucial for the plot, but the existence of Antigua as a plausible space for an Englishman to travel in the novel requires an explanation that must take into account the sense of the world shared by Austen and her readers. Moretti ignores the way in which Antigua, as a place of plantations, is situated in an economic system where it is plausible (however inaccurately in terms of the historical data) for someone in rural England to be concerned enough to travel there. Some people must have, or the novel would not work.

In *Mansfield Park*, Austen does not create the idea of having colonies so much as she takes that idea for granted, and encourages her readers to accept colonies as unproblematic aspects of England’s relationship to the world. Moretti is correct in claiming that the novel offers almost no information about Antigua. But the passing references, rather than suggesting how unimportant Antigua was, may rather suggest how widespread a basic (that is, working) understanding of the colonies were to the reading public of Austen’s time. To consider why she could include references to Antigua, therefore, it is necessary to step back from the novel and consider the overall terrain of books and other writings that were available to her readers. For

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<sup>7</sup> The claim that Antigua is “found wealth” that does not fit with Moretti’s earlier claim that the island is economically irrelevant to the family’s fortune.

instance, there were a large number of books published throughout the 18th century that, like Guillaume Raynal's five volume *A History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies* (1774), offered detailed accounts of these places and Britain's relationship to them. There were also innumerable references to the colonies in the West Indies in newspapers and other periodicals throughout this time. Thus, Antigua could exist as a colony in Austen's novel because it was already located as a British colony in the world of print, a world into which *Mansfield Park* came to exist.

Focusing on the broader textual world of the 18th century thus leads to more than the accumulation of incidental remarks to colonies. For instance, throughout the 18th century one of the most popular genres for printed narratives was the travel journal. From Dampier's *New Voyage round the World*, first published in 1697, to Anson's *A Voyage Round the World*, first published in 1748, stories of buccaneers, military squadrons, and explorers, whether on the high seas or in distant lands, dominated the textual landscape of the English reading public. Many of these works were as popular as any novels of the time, and were organized as narratives that read much like novels. However, these narratives were not novels, and are, unfortunately, all but ignored by recent writers who consider the relationships between literature and empire.

And no travel journal was more pervasive than the voyages of Captain Cook. For several decades after the first publications of the first voyage, in the early 1770s, Cook's voyages were the most popular and best known travel journals in the world. They were quickly reprinted, translated, and reworked, forming an important, almost unavoidable, part of the world of books. Every member of the European reading public could probably give a summary of Cook's voyages and trace, in some detail, the tracks of the voyages around the

world. In fact, the maps that were printed as part of the voyages already suggest the spatial organization of the narrative, which provides its own maps that help to fix a specific sense of space.

The development of the idea of empire in the 19th century is intimately tied to Cook's voyages. Cook's maps are not the maps of an empire, but they are the maps of what an empire can become. It is important to note, however, that the idea of having *colonies* is not the same as the idea of having an *empire*. Back in the late 16th century, when Europeans were first establishing plantations in the Americas, the English would have understood that "having a colony" meant having plantations somewhere along the western coast of the Atlantic. But having an empire is quite different. An empire involves controlling a large number of other nations and an expansive terrain. As Said writes,

The great imperial experience of the past two hundred years is global and universal; it has implicated every corner of the globe, the colonizer and the colonized together.<sup>8</sup> As a result, the 19th century empires were not just about "having colonies;" they were also concerned with expanding knowledge and power over places and peoples around the entire globe. Of course, empires establish some of the same relations as colonies, but the relations are much more spatially expansive, varied, and intense than earlier forms of colonial possession.

Far from the incidental references to single colonies, the voyages of Captain Cook contain references to, and detailed descriptions of places around the world. The accounts of Cook's voyages are thus appropriate narratives for analysing the modern ideas of empire. They mark a shift from the localized or Atlantic colonialism of the 18th century to the global order of the 19th, offering the readers a sense of adventure, of moral purpose, of scientific procedures, of the forms that knowledge ought to take, and of the importance and legitimacy of the institutions that would play a central role in 19th

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<sup>8</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 259.

century developments, such as the British Admiralty and the Royal Society. As a result, the voyages are important texts for considering how a specific account of the world connects to the creation and maintenance of European controlled systems of global domination.

In what follows, there are eight chapters loosely organized into pairs. The discussion will move, shadowing the implicit logic of Cook's accounts, from coordinates, to places, to peoples, and finally to global political, economic and theological systems. The goal is to consider how the voyages, as published accounts of the world, tie a variety of descriptions of the world into a single account, which not only collects together disparate facts and places, but also suggests, to the point of mathematical precision, how the world ought to be understood and how relations within it ought to be organized. Together, the different forms of representation mark a significant shift in the articulation of place and the possibilities of imagining the world as a single political space.

The **first** two chapters, *Authors and Texts*, will consider how accounts of the voyages have come to exist as material objects that have been distributed in many different forms throughout the world. The authorial voice and the printed word are both important aspects of the creation of the world in Cook's voyages.

*Authors* will consider how Cook is placed in relation to the texts of his voyages, both as an origin and as a voice. There are contests over who should produce the accounts of the voyages, in which institutions such as the British Admiralty and the Royal Society played important roles. Manuscripts were confiscated, alternative accounts were marginalized or suppressed, while the official version, which offered Cook's voice, came to dominate. The domination was not only in the market for books, but also in the production

of a single, true, and settled view of the world that could, and ought to, be shared by the English, the Europeans, and everyone else.

As an author, or at least as someone who had authority over the ships, Cook is also a biographical figure placed in relationship to the voyages. Even when the voyages are not told in Cook's voice, Cook remains important, not so much as the source of truth and rationality, but of morality and purpose. It is in part through Cook's character that the moral value of the voyages, and of European exploration and empire in general, are debated.

*Texts* will consider how Cook's voyages were connected to the practices of book publishing in the 18th and 19th centuries. There is a strong connection, for instance, between the printing press and the production of scientific descriptions of the world. It is through printed books that tables of coordinates can interact with maps, and that surveys of national characters can be tied to surveys of islands and coasts. It is also through printed books that accounts of places and peoples can be taken up, recomposed, and analysed in ever more comprehensive ways. Elements of the text, such as the maps, the tables, the footnotes, and the engravings, are all aspects of how the world is articulated in the published accounts of Cook's voyages, and, more to the point, of how that articulation became an important model for the institutions of power and the will to knowledge that characterizes modern empires.

The **second** pair of chapters, *Points and Shapes*, consider the way that places in the world are articulated in geometrical terms, first as points located on a grid of longitudes and latitudes, and then as areas pieced together into a single, comprehensive plane. With these articulations of place, Cook is able to demonstrate the truth of his claims, and, where possible, the truth of any of the claims that have been made by others.

*Points* will focus on the importance of longitude and latitude for organizing the articulation of places. Cook gives the coordinates of almost every place he travels to. The numbers are noted in his manuscript journal, and they become an integral part of the published narrative.

One aspect of Cook's voyages that is significantly different from previous voyages is that Cook is the first navigator who could measure longitude with any degree of accuracy. Earlier explorers would often give longitudes, but these numbers were based on dead reckoning at best. Some navigators were very good at knowing where they were, but the techniques were not reliable, and as a result navigators were often forced to stay along coasts or travel along a single line of latitude when crossing the open ocean. But with Cook, this approach to navigation changes. Because he has the ability to measure longitude, he has the ability to safely traverse the open sea in any direction. Thus, as Cook moves away from coasts to oceans, and the grid becomes a dominant image of travel, the narration of movement from one place to another in the world is changed.

But the coordinates are not only a part of how the voyages unfold over time. They also locate the voyages, at any given time, in a single geometrical space. With coordinates, the time of the narrative is connected to the space of the grid. Taken together, the coordinates form a table which makes it possible to articulate the whole world on a single plane of possible places. The coordinate system is thus connected to the world map, and with coordinates it is possible to fill in of the map, to consolidate the results of many voyages, and to provide a practically finite list of possible points in which to determine the accuracy of each account of the world.

The geometric discourse is also important because it allows Cook to draw every other account of the places of the world into a single debate. Everyone is, or at least ought to be, describing the world in terms of

coordinates. What counts as an accurate description of the world is thus clearly articulated, and in fact acquires the status of mathematical demonstrations. Even if his particular claims are wrong, Cook has established what it would mean for them to be right. And by describing the world with superior methods and instruments, Cook is able to present himself as superior to all prior navigators. Finally, by implication, those who do not or cannot debate on his terms are not exactly wrong; rather, they are not thought to be capable of being right.

Cook not only provides longitude, but longitude helps him to provide everything else. The most obvious example is when Cook constructs his maps; but, as will be seen, there is a continuity in Cook's claims to objectivity between coordinates, maps, and human social and political groups.

*Shapes*, the next chapter, will consider another geometrical formation that complements the articulation of the world in terms of points. While useful for providing the location, and thus the relation of one place with another, the coordinate system tells us very little about the place. The coordinate reduces to a point. And so instead, the articulation of the place as a shape is described alongside the articulation of coordinates.

In Cook's voyages, the world map is organized in terms of several important divisions. The lines of longitude and latitude are often used to divide the world into areas. But the voyages also establish other divisions on the globe, such as the division between continents and oceans or between hemispheres. Another important large-scale division of the world is articulated during the time that Cook's ships spends in the high southern and northern latitudes. The fields of ice, which marked the edge of possible navigation, provided a geographical frame into which the accessible areas of the world could be located. Once the ice fields are placed beside the continents, the Pacific ocean — the "new world" of the 18th century — becomes an

enclosed plane on which Cook's voyages could organize a clear and distinct table of places. The world thus becomes an objective, verifiable, mathematically pure system of sharply differentiated areas.

Just as the Pacific ocean becomes a primary image of a table of places, the island becomes a primary image of the place. As a unit in the table of places, the island emphasizes the sharp spatial distinctions between one place and another. In addition, the island becomes both a container and an identifier for everything else: objects, plants, animals, and peoples. The island thus acquires an epistemological status — not simply an incidental feature of Cook's voyages, the island becomes a model for how a place and its inhabitants should be known.

The **third** pair of chapters, *Nations and States*, will contain a discussion of the way that the geometrical and geographical articulations of places are tied to the account of national and human identities. Based on coordinates and maps, the representations of the places expand over the whole world, offering a frame in which additional information can be added. The account of places is not only in terms of mathematics and geography. Cook is not only a surveyor of rocks and waves, he is also a surveyor of peoples. But human identities are nonetheless connected to the places that contain them. The island is no longer the place of the castaway, it is the place of a coherent, singular people, who are closely connected to the place they inhabit. The natural borders of the island, surrounded by the emptiness of the ocean, are thus tied to the self-evidence and isolation of the national and political space.

In *Nations*, the discussion will focus on how Cook's voyages articulate human groups. After identifying and mapping the island, Cook typically proceeds to describe the peoples or the nations that are encountered. The idea of nationality is not new — nations, as Walter Bagehot claimed in the late

19th century, are “as old as history”<sup>9</sup> and an idea of nationality can be found as far back as written documents exist. But how the accounts of nation are used to understand human societies, and how they are related to other ideas, such as language, culture, territory and the state, have not remained the same. In Cook’s voyages, the nation is a natural object that is sharply distinguished from other nations and intimately tied to specific places.

Cook’s voyages articulate national and political identities around the world by starting with an account of geographical identities, which create a clear and distinct group of people that exist as a natural collection. Thus Cook seldom meets either “savages,” “indians,” or “individuals”. He meets “inhabitants,” “nations,” or “natives,” who are identified by the shared spaces in which they live — “the people of Nootka” and “the inhabitants of Otaheite.” The central change that is evident with the accounts of Cook’s voyages is thus from a generalized grouping (of Indians or savages) to a particularized description of the specific people initially divided from each other by space. The geometrical island dominates, clarifies and organizes the description. The “native” and the “inhabitant” are thus connected to place, which is then used as the basis for a spatialized analysis of society, language, and race. The table of islands thus corresponds to the table of nations.

In *States* the discussion will turn to consider how political organizations are articulated in the voyages. As with the articulation of the nation, the political order is a byproduct, however necessary, of the geographical spaces whose fixed and objective existence is established through an appeal to a mathematical account of the world and the instruments that allow that world to be measured. As a result, with Cook’s voyages the logical and temporal priority of the nation or the state over the territory is inverted. The territory comes first, and forms a fixed, pre-national and pre-political

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<sup>9</sup> Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, in *The Works of Bagehot*, Volume IV, page 487.

container in which both the nation and the state come to exist and in terms of which their borders can be objectively mapped.

As they appear in the voyages, the islands/nations/states of the South Pacific become an ideal for how to describe the world, grounded on reliable instruments, mathematically demonstrable methods and verifiable observations. The South Pacific was the first section of the world to be included in the imperial archive, and thus helped to establish the conditions under which the rest of the world would be added. The Pacific also became a mirror for European political ideals, in which territorial and national identity came to play an increasingly important role. In other words, if the pure nation is imagined as a spatial entity, it is because the island had already been discovered, located, and described. What Cook finds on the islands of the South Pacific, in other words, becomes an ideal of the natural political order that nationalists will spend the next two centuries trying to create.

But Cook's voyages are political treatises by other means. As with the emerging fields of criminology, demography and psychology, the specific representations of the geographical and natural world represented in Cook's voyages became important ways to rework problems posed in political philosophy. The voyages were many things to people in many disciplines. Associated with the scientific studies of humanity sponsored by the Royal Society, and with the laissez-faire economics of Adam Smith, the voyages were intentionally created as exemplars of an enlightened description and relationship to the world. Cook's voyages contributed to "the science of man," not only in the data, but in the form that such a science should take. As with the physical and biological world, the voyages represent how human beings ought to be known. Cook's voyages are important, in other words, because they articulate the world in ways that make it easier to grasp, in both senses of the word.

Approached separately, these four articulations of place — points, shapes, nations and states — focus on particular levels or layers of description. Each of them will span the globe, although they focus on different aspects of the world. But each of these different ways of dividing up the world are important aspects of how the world as a whole is pictured in Cook's voyages. To clarify how the different articulations of a place are connected into a single account, it will be useful to consider a chapter organized in terms of Cook's ideals. Of course, not all of the chapters in the three voyages contain all of these ways of articulating places, and some places are described in more than one chapter. But the logic of the general progression of the description is maintained throughout.

Consider Easter Island, which was sighted on March 11th, 1774, during Cook's second voyage into the Pacific. Even though Cook had never been to the island before, the encounter was far from accidental. Cook's arrival at Easter Island depended, among other things, on his authority over the ship, on the instruments and maps that allowed him to locate both the ship and the island, and on the printed accounts of previous navigators that Cook carried with him on the *Resolution*.

The narrative of Easter island, which is chapter VII of the first volume of the second voyage, begins with the land being sighted and continues with a description of the interaction between the people on the ship and both the place and its inhabitants. The narrative continues for 5 days and 10 pages, and the chapter ends with the ship leaving the island and sailing to the northwest.

In the next chapter, Cook offers a "farther account of this island," in which the narrative gives way to a description. Chapter VIII begins with the island's coordinates — "latitude of 27° 5' 30" S., longitude 109° 46' 20" W." — and the island's shape —

It is about ten or twelve leagues in circuit, hath a hilly and stony surface, and an iron-bound shore. The hills are of such an height as to be seen fifteen or sixteen leagues. Off the south end, are two rocky islots lying near the shore. The north and east points of the island rise directly from the sea to a considerable height; between them, on the south-east side, the shore forms an open bay, in which I believe the Dutch anchored.<sup>10</sup>

A map is included at this point of the narrative, which provides an image of the island from above (see picture 12). The chapter then offers an account of the inhabitants, including their number, their colour, their features, their language, their customs, their clothing, their houses, their tools, and a wide assortment of other attributes and artifacts. Two pictures, one of a man and one of a woman, are also included (see pictures 14 and 15). The people are closely tied to the island and their identity as a group depends primarily on their shared material space.

Near the end of the chapter, the discussion moves from the description of the inhabitants to the account of their political organization. The Admiralty's edition reads:

I have no doubt that all these plantations are private property, and that there are here, as at Otaheite, chiefs (which they call Areekes) to whom these plantations belong. But of the power or authority of these chiefs, or of the government of these people, I confess myself quite ignorant.<sup>11</sup>

After giving a preliminary and admittedly tentative account of the political order on the island, the final part of the description focuses on connecting the island to the rest of the world. Often, this occurs in the context of either trade or acquisition, where Cook suggests what commodities are most desirable, or claims the place in the name of George III, as he does at Otaheite. The description is complete.

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<sup>10</sup> Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 289.

<sup>11</sup> Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 294.

However, the organization of a single chapter containing a full account of the place and people is not the end of Cook's account. The identification and description of a particular place is located alongside the descriptions of other places. The inhabitants of Easter Island, for instance, are compared to people from around the South Pacific. The island thus becomes one of many places in the South Pacific where people stop, for any number of reasons.

Cook writes:

Their cloth is made of the same materials as at Otaheite, viz. of the bark of the cloth-plant; but as they have but little of it, our Otaheitean cloth, or indeed any sort of it, came here to a good market.

Their hair, in general, is black; the women wear it long, and sometimes tied up on the crown of the head; but the men wear it and their beards cropped short. Their head-dress is a round fillet adorned with feathers, and a straw bonnet something like a Scotch one; the former, I believe, being chiefly worn by the men, and the latter by the women.<sup>12</sup>

Also, Cook notes,

They dress their victuals in the same manner as at Otaheite; that is, with hot stones in an oven or hole in the ground. The straw or tops of sugar-cane, plantain heads, &c. serve them for fuel to heat the stones.<sup>13</sup>

Easter Island is also located alongside chapters describing Otaheite, the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, and all of the other places, first in Cook's voyages, and then in more comprehensive compendiums and collections, where all the places of the world are offered in a single view of the whole. Moving from one place to another, the printed accounts of the voyages move from one chapter to another, dividing up the narrative of the voyage in a way that emphasizes the physical distances between places as much as it emphasizes their relations. Easter Island, as one object of knowledge, thus

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<sup>12</sup> Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 291.

<sup>13</sup> Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 293.

enters into relations with the rest of the world. The island is compared most closely with Otaheite, if only because that is the Pacific island that Cook knows the best. But the inhabitants are also compared to the Scotch, just as natives on other islands will be compared with the Spaniards, the ancient Celts, the Mexicans, the Arabians, the Greenlanders, and a wide assortment of other national/geographical identities.

The **fourth** and final pair of chapters, *Collections* and *Empires*, will focus on the way that all of the clearly identified and geometrically encircled national and political places that emerge in the course of Cook's voyages are consolidated into a single, global system. The voyages help create an abstracted field of interactions, where places and nations from around the world are located in a single table.

*Collections* will consider how the accumulation of detailed accounts of nations and states creates a field of analysis that shifts from direct observation to the collection (the archive, the museum, the compendium). In contrast to earlier practices of collecting, which paid very little attention to where an artifact came from, the cataloguing techniques associated with Cook's voyages were fundamentally concerned with the places where objects and information were gathered. The mathematical and geographical collection of the world, idealized in Cook's voyages, creates the possibility of integrating a wide range of additional forms of knowledge. It becomes possible to compare one nation with another, and to correlate variations between nations in terms of variables, including climate, race, language, customs, and extent of European interaction. Places or nations can become the best or the worst of one thing or another. As a result, the possibilities of human existence become visible; and once again Europeans can engage in the debate over human nature and their own place in the world.

The final chapter, *Empires*, will consider how the articulations of place in Cook's voyages, beginning with longitude, are connected to the idea of empire. Cook's voyages create, through the description of the South Pacific, a space where both travel and territorial acquisition are given a clarity and purpose that will be replayed throughout the world over the next century. Imperialism is based on both the division of the world into discrete places and the interconnection of those places into a single global system.

The world of naturally existing nations and states is far from antithetical to the idea of empire. In fact, these geographical spaces form the ground on which both empires and nations can be articulated. The national identity results from the way that peoples are tied to places, and places are fixed, both in the explored space and the table of identities. The nation, in other words, arises from the process of classification, as if nations were biological entities. Cook's voyages are thus Janus-faced. They do not simply offer an account of nations and states as separate entities. They also offer an account of empires as consolidating systems that are created out of these nation-states. The clear and distinct specification of geographical space is thus a condition for the possibility of empire, as much as it is of the autonomous nation-state. In other words, the world created by Cook's voyages is not only a map of navigation, it is the outline of a large political and economic machine, with the functions of each part described in more or less detail.

Having identified and explained (at least in part) the character of the peoples and the places, Cook's voyages set up or recommend various transformative projects. The most persistent project in his own voyages is the attempt to create natives disciplined enough to engage in European forms of economic exchange. Whether through trade, violence or the cultivation of friendship, Cook attempts to create safe and useful places for his ships and for future navigators. The voyages also encourage the expansion of economic

activity into the places of the South Pacific and around the world. Cook's journals are constantly referring to the raw materials and commodities available at the places he travelled to, often with an eye to future economic production. The place, therefore, acquires an economic potential which not only can be exploited, but also tracked and compared to what is available elsewhere. Finally, the voyages also encourage, although in less direct ways, attempts to transform the natives into Christians. Much like the economic developments, the goals, the projects and the measurements of success of the Christian missionaries are organized through the articulation of discrete places.

The voyages of Captain Cook thus combine many different discourses, beginning with the mathematical articulation of coordinates and shapes, then move to the classification of nations into a complete system of identities, and finally end with the consolidation of both places and nations into a single system of knowledge and power, where information systems that cover the world are tied to social, economic, and political activities that do the same.

However, while the voyages tie the nations of the world to specific places, Cook is an exception. As an explorer, he transcends the local identities of space. The rules governing those who exist in subject positions do not apply to those who cannot be held to a position. Contrasting the English with the German understanding of space, and in particular the connection between the ideas of space and philosophy, Deleuze and Guattari write that:

the English are precisely those nomads who treat the plane of immanence as a movable and moving ground, a field of radical experience, an archipelagian world where they are happy to pitch their tents from island to island and over the sea. The English nomadize over the old Greek earth [organized in terms of the polis].<sup>14</sup>

The published accounts of Cook's voyages help create the idea of empire, not only because they include detailed information about distant places and

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<sup>14</sup> Deleuze and Guattari, *What is Philosophy?*, page 105.

people, but because they create, through the identity of the explorer himself, the possibility of transcending specific places through movement. In other words, knowledge about specific places in the world allows certain people, those at the center of the collection, to move as an empire moves.

It has been said that with Cook, the European Enlightenment begins to explore. Along with Cook and his crew go the enlightenment attitudes towards geographical and human diversity, attitudes in which the anthropologist, the missionary, and the capitalist share overlapping visions, and are often the same people. Cook's voyages acquire a cosmological status, offering readers a sense of the world and of their place in it. As contributions to the human sciences, the articulations of places and peoples in Cook's voyages become models in terms of which subsequent accounts of the world are judged. As part of the European imagination of political organization, Cook's account of the island nations hints at the ideals of nationalism. But the articulations of space are also connected to the reorganization of the world, as the European empires develop through the 19th century. As Joseph Conrad writes,

The earth is a stage, and though it may be an advantage, even to the right comprehension of the play, to know its exact configuration, it is the drama of human endeavour that will be the thing, with a ruling passion expressed by outward action marching perhaps blindly to success or failure.<sup>15</sup>

Cook's voyages change the articulations of the world stage, and so by studying the voyages, we can better understand the ways of world-making in which the outsider comes to belong everywhere, and in which the places and nations of the world are located in global systems of knowledge and of power.

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<sup>15</sup> Conrad, "Geography and Some Explorers," *Last Essays*, page 1.