

Chapter Four

Texts

Cook and all the authors and authorities who were directly connected to the voyages are dead. What remains is a library and an archive, composed primarily of printed books, manuscripts, illustrations, and artifacts. Cook's voice and voyages have thus persisted through their publication and republication. But the book is not simply an object that connects the reader to the writer, it has a material and institutional status somewhat independent of either of them, which may itself affect how the voyages exist and how they are understood. The books have, as it were, a life of their own. Cook's status as an author thus connects to the shift from his manuscript journals to the printed page. If the manuscripts are to escape the archive and move into the light of the reading public, they depended on books, and the obscure institutional powers that condition the creation of authors and texts. It will therefore be valuable to consider the specific history of printed accounts of Cook's voyages and to reflect on the relationship between knowledge, power and the printing press in late 18th century England.

We must never forget that Cook and his voyages exist for the most part *in print*, that they came into being within a book culture and that they were, as a result, subject to the conditions and opportunities created by the printed word and the printing press. Elizabeth Eisenstein has argued that the Renaissance succeeded where earlier "renascences" failed primarily because the printed book, unlike the manuscripts produced in a scribal culture, could be quickly and cheaply duplicated and distributed. The Renaissance persisted because the printing press allowed for the "continuous systematic development" of learning.¹ The printing press is likewise important for

¹ Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, Volume I*, page 182.

understanding the status of Cook, both during that time and ever since. He succeeded beyond everyone before him in part because his voyages both depended on a world of books and contributed to that world.

As a result, an analysis of the articulation of places in Cook's voyages must consider both how the printed pages are produced (by whom, when, and so on) and how the pages themselves are organized. Cook's voyages were mediated in part by the printed page, and it was primarily through books, the right kinds of books with the right kinds of authors, that the English found their world.

1. The Institutions of Book Production

There was a wide range of social and political institutions, often highly intertwined, which supported Cook's voyages in various ways. Not only do the processes organized by these institutions help explain the existence of Cook's voyages, they also can help explain why the voyages were so publicized, and why the accounts of the voyages were organized in some ways rather than others. These institutions were deeply tied to the printed book, on which a considerable portion of their activities depended. The analysis here must therefore move beyond considering what Cook and his associates wrote in their journals. Not every journal was published. The voyages that Cook had participated in prior to the voyages to the Pacific were unremarkable so far as the reading public was concerned, and there was no expectation that his journals would be seen by anyone except his superiors and auditors. But the voyages into the South Pacific were different. As Beaglehole notes,

Publication could hardly be far from the mind of Government, more especially as the *Endeavour's* arrival home had just been preceded by the appearance in Paris of the book in which Bougainville recounted his circumnavigation and his discovery of Tahiti.²

² Beaglehole, "Cook the Writer", page 9.

However, the expectation that voyages of either adventure or exploration would be published had not always been the case. Williams notes that the early voyages of exploration were often subject to secrecy. The Spanish rarely published their own accounts.

Knowledge of Spanish overseas activities seeped back to other European countries both through the printed word and through personal contacts. Until the work of the collector and editor, Richard Hakluyt, late in the [sixteenth] century the English lagged behind their continental neighbours in the printing of Spanish accounts.³

This was equally the case for British adventures, at least in the early 17th century. Drake's voyage, for instance, was not widely publicized at the time.

The voyage, despite the treasure, despite the knighting ceremony on the deck of the *Golden Hind*, did not make quite as much stir in Elizabethan England as might have been expected. A mixture of state caution and state embarrassment kept most of the details of the voyage from the public.⁴

In England, this attitude towards publication changed somewhat in the late seventeenth century, primarily with the popularity of the works of William Dampier and other buccaneers. Apart from charting and describing previously undocumented coasts, Dampier's later voyages set a further precedent in that they were Admiralty-sponsored ventures of Pacific exploration which had instructions to make careful observations, collect specimens and bring back "some of the Natives, provided they shall be willing to come along."⁵

In contrast to Drake, the publications connected to Dampier's voyages were considerable. Concerning these writings, Williams notes that,

In all, five journals were published about the buccaneers' exploits of 1680-1 in the South Sea, making them among the most fully recorded of all piratical activities.⁶

³ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 14.

⁴ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 35.

⁵ Dampier, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 331.

To emphasize the importance of this publication activity, Williams later contrasts the publishing practices of France and England.

Although only four English expeditions reached the South Sea in the first twenty years of the eighteenth century (Dampier twice, Rogers and Shelvocke), they resulted in six books and several pamphlets and smaller pieces. By contrast, a mere three books appeared about the much more numerous French voyages in the same period...⁷

By the early 18th century, in other words, the institutions in England connected to the printed book, such as the Royal Society and the Admiralty, were attempting to publish journals of exploration, if only because there was a demand for them in the reading public. But the market was not the only determining factor in the production of these books. The publication of travel journals had also become a part of English national identity, which depended on the contrast between the secretive explorations of the Spanish.

Another significant predecessor to Cook is George Anson, who published an account of his voyage, entitled *A Voyage Round the World*. According to Williams, in comparison to the account of the voyage by Pascoe Thomas, the “Teacher of the Mathematicks on board the *Centurion*,” this account

was an altogether weightier, more official affair. Its first edition attracted more than 1800 advance subscribers, including some of the leading figures in the land, and it had gone through four further editions by the end of the year. Translations into French, Dutch and German were published in 1749, while in London extracts from the book appeared in serial form in newspapers and periodicals. The book was in its fifteenth edition by 1776, and abridged versions were included in most of the collections of voyages and travels published in the second half of the century.⁸

⁶ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 86.

⁷ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 136. The publications that immediately followed Cook’s three voyages included over 18 books and a wide array of pamphlets and articles.

⁸ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 255.

Following in this lineage, Cook also became an institutional explorer who was supported by government and who reported back to them. His written words are taken over by the Admiralty, which used its power to form the voyages, to turn them into public texts, and to use the information for further projects. It was the Admiralty, and Lord Sandwich in particular, who arranged to have Hawkesworth produce the account of Cook's first voyage, and who decided that Cook and Douglas would produce the account of the second. It was also the Admiralty who ultimately decided which astronomers, painters, botanists, and other gentlemen were allowed to go on the voyage. In this way, the Admiralty played an important role in determining who could produce the information about the world that the voyages made possible.

The importance of the British Admiralty in the production of Cook's voyages extends well beyond the simple permission to publish. Unlike the writings of Dampier and even Anson, the central books describing Cook's voyages also had substantial institutional support, from beginning to end. Not only did Cook's version of the second voyage carry the authority of the Admiralty and the King, it also included over sixty engravings which had been produced at the expense of the Admiralty. High quality engravings were not cheap, but they were both important to, and expected in, any published accounts of significant voyages. The physical characteristics of the books, therefore, were important, not only because they made the books desirable, but also because they increased their status. These are important, weighty books that ought to be taken seriously. With the second voyage in particular, the Admiralty helped create the most complete, well-designed printed account of a voyage that had been produced anywhere in the world up to that time.

The connections between the Admiralty and the printers continued well after Cook's voyages had ended. The publication of subsequent books

concerning the South Pacific arose from people connected to the Admiralty. Rennie notes, for instance, that Bligh's

log of occurrences on the *Bounty* prior to the mutiny (promised to follow his *Narrative of the Mutiny* 'as soon as it can be got ready') was being edited by James Burney, with the assistance of Banks, for publication as *A Voyage to the South Sea*.⁹

Even though Banks was not part of the Admiralty, his mention here should not be surprising. While he failed to publish anything substantial under his own name, Banks was highly connected to many of the publishing projects that resulted from all three of Cook's voyages, and for many voyages and explorations that occurred afterwards. Having possession of Parkinson's journals, he was a central figure in the legal maneuvering around their publication. He was consulted by Douglas while Douglas was editing the official versions of the second and third voyages. He was also the president of the African Association, founded in 1788, which helped organize explorations into the interior of Africa, which resulted in the publication of many more travel journals.¹⁰ If we step away from counting the number and distribution of printed texts as the central criteria for determining the importance of people connected to Cook's voyages, Banks is almost certainly the most important single person for creating, developing, and disseminating the voyages.

In 1778, Banks also became the president of the Royal Society, which was another important institution that helped produce Cook's voyages. Members of the Royal Society, acting in an official capacity, were the first people to propose to send a ship to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus (which became Cook's first voyage). It was also members of the Royal Society,

⁹ Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, page 154.

¹⁰ It would be interesting to see a list of the books published in the late 18th and early 19th century which were dedicated to Banks. Certainly he was connected in way or another to a great deal of the scientific and exploration publishing activity during that period.

such as Alexander Dalrymple, who collected, organized, and often published the results of a wide range of travels and experiments from around the world. By Cook's time, the importance of the Royal Society as an institutional center for scientific texts had been firmly established. The Society not only encouraged various authors through its financial resources, it also played a significant role in creating a disciplined scientific society that helped constitute authors as authorities in various fields. Cook would publish several papers in the *Philosophical Transactions*, including "An Observation of An Eclipse of the Sun at the Island of New-found-land. Aug. 5 — 1766" and the much better known "The Method taken for preserving the Health of the Crew of His Majesty's Ship the *Resolution*..."¹¹ These publications, and more generally his association with this body, are an important part of Cook's claim to scientific authority.

In addition to the Admiralty and the Royal Society, another institution that was closely tied to Cook's voyages was the Board of Longitude. Established in 1714 by an act of Parliament, the Board of Longitude nominated astronomers, paid for instruments, and published specialized information, from Maskelyne's *Natural Almanac and Astronomical Ephemeris*, along with *Requisite Tables*, which were used on the voyages to determine longitude, to the tables of places and descriptions that were produced from the voyages, such as William Wales's *The Original Astronomical Observations Made in the Course of a Voyage Towards the South Pole, and Round the World...*, published in 1777. As part of the exchange between Forster and Wales that followed the second voyage, Wales appeals to his relationship to the Board of Longitude as one of the reasons why he did not give Forster any of his astronomical observations. Wales writes:

¹¹ Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook*, pages 89 and 728.

Neither would Doctor Forster have had reason to complain of me, on this head, to the end of the voyage, if he had not (very imprudently for himself) given me to understand, that he would publish what he could collect, in this manner, at his return, in case that government should refuse to employ him to write the account of the voyage, and furnish him with the necessary means. I was not a little surprised at this declaration, and must confess, that the value of the materials which I had afforded him for such a purpose, and the constructions which my motives for doing it were liable to, especially when it was considered that those materials were the property of the Board of Longitude, who were paying me liberally for collecting them, gave me much concern.¹²

As with the Admiralty and the Royal Society, the Board of Longitude played an important role not only in constituting who could give an account, but also in promoting those accounts with its financial and institutional resources. The Board paid for men such as Wales to go on the voyage. Also, not only did the Board provide the necessary astronomical equipment, it also encouraged the creation of the chronometers that Cook used on his second and third voyages. Finally, the Board controlled the information that its instruments created. Thus even if the information was eventually made public, its publicity depended on the institutional and legal status of the Board.

The final institution which helped create Cook's voyages that will be noted here is the British Museum. Not so much a creator of texts, the British Museum was an important repository of artifacts and other information to which subsequent authors could appeal. Formally opened in 1757, the British Museum was initially composed of the donated collections of several important English book collectors. The collection grew slowly until after the Napoleonic wars, and by the 1850s, especially under the control of Sir Antonio Panizzi, it had become a substantial collection of print and manuscript documents, as well as of geological and botanical specimens.¹³ In

¹² Wales, *Remarks on Mr. Forster's Account*, page 91.

1817, the British Museum purchased the collection of Charles Burney, which included over 13,000 volumes. Burney was the brother of Fanny Burney, the novelist, and of James Burney, who had been an officer on all three of Cook's voyages and would later publish several collections of travel journals. In 1822, after his death, Banks's library and specimen collection were also acquired.¹⁴ More than any other, the British Museum also became the institution that would house the archive of Cook's voyages, and later of the British empire. Within these buildings, and through the intellectual and political practices that the institutions supported, the collection of the world's nations could be carried out. In other words, it became the place where books, manuscripts, and specimens — all the minute monuments of the British nation — were collected together, thus helping to tie the entire collection into a single coherent whole, however poorly catalogued in practice.

The creation of the voyages as a series of printed texts also depend on a wide range of other institutions and practices that give books status, make them accessible, and condition how they are understood. Publishers are clearly central to the process. Printed books existed well before Cook was born. Caxton had brought the first printing press to England in 1476, and by Cook's time an uncountable number of different titles had been printed. Of these books, some of the most successful had been travel stories. More, Swift, and Defoe had already published and perished. Thus, when Cook returned from the South Pacific, there was an already-waiting set of people, institutions and technologies ready to take his texts, prepare them and reproduce them as books for a public, with both the capacity and the desire to read them. The presence of Cook's voyages thus depended on the interaction between the reader, the text, and the social structures of reading that help produce both

¹³ See Harris, *History of Libraries in the Western World, Fourth Edition*, pages 134 and 135.

¹⁴ See Harold Carter's, *Sir Joseph Banks*, page 542.

readers and texts.

The readers also had the ability to connect the voyages to other social activities. Immediately after the return of the *Endeavour*, and moreso after the publication of the official journals, the voyage and Otaheite in particular were “all the rage” in London society. As Kippis notes,

The large price given by the booksellers for this work, and the avidity with which it was read, displayed, in the strongest light, the anxiety of the nation to be fully informed in everything that belonged to the late navigation and discoveries.¹⁵

People could purchase wall-paper depicting landscapes of Otaheite. At a well-known brothel in London, people could watch re-enactments of sexual encounters that occurred during Cook’s stay Otaheite. James Boswell notes how he and Doctor Johnson travelled to the [northern] Hebrides in 1773, in part because they were inspired by the accounts of Cook’s voyages. And so, beyond the published books, but in part because of them, Cook’s voyages became an expansive textual terrain with which the European reading public became enamoured.

Even before the books were published, the newspapers had already published summaries, taken either from the official accounts or from other people on board. This was one place where other voices could appear in print. Williams considers, for instance, the time immediately following the return of Anson to England.

In the newspaper reports of these weeks Anson’s men emerge from the anonymity in which they had remained on the long voyage, where no chronicler had recorded the lowerdeck point of view. For the first time they begin to appear as individuals.¹⁶

The newspaper articles that were written about Cook’s three voyages also included information culled from the regular sailors. The people of the

¹⁵ Kippis, *A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World Performed by Captain James Cook*, page 153.

¹⁶ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 249.

lowerdeck were not writers, but they became sources on which writers could draw. Newspapers would also publish information that trickled back before the ships had returned. Thus many people in Europe knew of Cook's death months before the *Discovery* and the *Adventure* reached England.

In recent years, a considerable number of books and articles have been written on the historical relationship between the printed word and the creation of the reading public.¹⁷ In *On Longing*, Susan Stewart notes how

print's formation by a process of mechanical reproduction gives the book both material existence through time and an abstract existence across a community of readers.¹⁸

It is through printed books that the voyages have acquired a presence in communities of readers.¹⁹ Likewise, in *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson has argued that there is a close connection between newspapers and the rise of nationalism in the 18th and 19th century. He writes:

Why this transformation should be so important for the birth of the imagined community of the nation can best be seen if we consider the basic structure of two forms of imagining which first flowered in Europe in the eighteenth century: the novel and the newspaper. For these forms provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that is the nation.²⁰

There are two complementary processes that Anderson identifies. The first is that a group of people were all reading roughly the same books at roughly the same time. Here the focus is not so much on the content of the book, but

¹⁷ See Eisenstein, Anderson, et. al.

¹⁸ Stewart, *On Longing*, page 21.

¹⁹ One way to identify this community is through the subscription lists for new publications that were included in the book. An example is Mortimer's *Observations and Remarks*, published in 1791, which included members of the Admiralty, ministers from many European monarchs, Alexander Dalrymple, and Joseph Banks. See Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks*, page ix.

²⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, page 25.

rather on the fact that the books are shared among a particular reading community. Some sense of a community, or at least a shared space based on printed texts, was created by Cook's voyages. Of course, as has been suggested, publishers produced different versions for specific economic and social markets. However, while different versions circulated among different people, there was also an overlap in which these different groups could engage each other.

The other process that Anderson identifies is the way that the content of the printed texts help imagine the community. It is not only that, for instance, the community all reads the same newspapers, but also that what the newspapers report can help readers to imagine the community. Connecting back to Said's concerns in *Culture and Imperialism*, the newspaper and the book are primary media for the understanding of the space of the community. Anderson spends less time on this theme, but his general point is also developed by other writers. Moretti, for instance, has suggested that Austen's novels create a sense of the English nation, centered around London, by the journeys that the key characters undertake: between the periphery and the center, and from one region to another. The result, as Anderson writes, is

a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogeneous, empty time [which] is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history.²¹

The voyages of captain Cook can be usefully approached with a similar concern for how nations are imagined. However, there are aspects of Cook's voyages that distinguish it from the national newspapers and novels that Anderson and Moretti focus on. For example, instead of narrating the internal structures of a single nation, a sense of the world emerges from the

²¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, page 26.

voyages in which England is more often seen from the outside, as the people on the voyage turn their attention from places around the world where they are exploring back to their English homeland. One thing that will become clear as we work through the articulations of place in Cook's voyages, then, is the relationship between national identity and global collections.

Also, while novels and newspapers are tied to national linguistic communities, the voyages were quickly translated into other European languages. This is important because, while Latin was no longer a pan-European language, it did not follow that books remained within a single nation. Cook's voyages come to exist in a system of exchange which is both national and international, which helps create not only a sense of nationality, but also a sense of shared international identities, whether based on science, civilization, or humanity. While Anderson focuses attention on the simultaneity of a national identity, Cook's voyages are also concerned with the articulation of a global system of simultaneous geographical and national identities.

Another important institution that conditioned the circulation and reception of Cook's voyages was the lending library. The production of books was not the only way that Cook's voyages were distributed throughout the reading public. The books were relatively expensive and sometime difficult to find. Not only was the high quality production costly, even if subsidized, the print technology had not yet mechanized, which would allow larger scale and less expensive print runs. In the 18th century, as the reading public expanded in size and reading itself became a common entertainment, lending libraries became more numerous and accessible. One example is the Bristol Library, which was a lending library founded in the early 17th century and expanded considerably in the late 18th.²² According to Paul Kaufman's calculations, in

²² Kaufmann, *Borrowings of the Bristol Library, 1773-1784*, page 113.

The Borrowings of the Bristol Library, 1773 - 1784, the following were the ten most popular books during this period.

1. Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, borrowed 201 times.
2. Brydone's *Tour Through Sicily*, borrowed 192 times.
3. Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son*, borrowed 185 times.
4. Hume's *History of England*, borrowed 180 times.
5. Goldsmith's *History of the Earth*, borrowed 150 times.
6. Raynall's *Emma Settlements*, borrowed 137 times.
7. Robertson's *Charles V*, borrowed 131 times.
8. Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, borrowed 127 times.
9. Lyttleton's *Henry II*, borrowed 121 times.
10. Fielding's *Works*, borrowed 120 times.

Not only were Hawkesworth's *Voyages* the most popular books in the collection, but the library also had a considerable number of other books that were associated with Cook's voyages.²³ The admiralty edition of Cook's second voyage was borrowed 113 times in this period. The account of the third voyage had just been published in 1784, and it does not occur in the library's holdings list. George Forster's account of the second voyage was borrowed 65 times. Parkinson's account of the first voyage was borrowed 17 times, as was John Reinhold Forster's *Observations Made During a Voyage...* By comparison, Anson's *A Voyage Round the World* was borrowed 10 times and Bougainville's *Voyage Round the World* (translated by John Reinhold Forster) was borrowed 48 times. *Robinson Crusoe* was not part of the library's holdings, but this likely indicates the novel's widespread existence in personal libraries rather than its lack of popularity. With Cook's voyage, on the other hand, it is possible to determine how pervasive the texts were in this city, and likely in cities around England. Popularity, of course, is not the

²³ See Kaufmann, *Borrowings of the Bristol Library, 1773-1784*, passim.

same as significance. However, when the text's popularity is connected to so many powerful institutions, and when the text is related to profound changes in the way that many European's viewed the world, then the popularity becomes a way to consider the social and intellectual impact of the institutions which produced it.

From the catalog of the Bristol Library, we can also get a general sense of what people were reading during that period. The most popular genres, even excluding the accounts of Cook's voyages, were the "travel journals to" and the "accounts of" various places around the world, including Genoa, Iceland, Russia, Japan, Greece and America.²⁴

Another popular genre of books in the library, which approaches the articulation of places in terms of time rather than space, are the histories, from the antiquarian collections of detail (of Scottish scenery, of the county of Dorset, and so on) to the multi-volume history books (of Britain, of Rome, and of other places).

Collected together in the library, travel and history books present the world to the library's patrons, where the nations of Europe were described alongside distant places such as New Guinea, Bengal, the colonies in America, the Moluccas, Madeira, Jamaica, and Egypt. The organization of the books on the shelf was probably not, however, in terms of geography. Yet the library would nonetheless have created a sense that the reader could access places throughout the world and move from one place to another at will.

There were obviously holdings lists of one form or another, and the books had to be put somewhere on the shelves. But the most likely organization would have been by author. Thus Burke's *Observations on the State of the Nation*, published in 1769, could have been on the shelf near Boswell's *An Account of Corsica, the Journal of a Tour to that Island*,

²⁴ Kaufmann, *Borrowings of the Bristol Library, 1773-1784*, page 122.

published in the same year, or on the shelf just above Hans Sloane's *A Voyage to the Islands of Madeira, Barbados ... and Jamaica*, published in 1707.²⁵ Even if these books were published years apart and described places even farther apart, the library brought them together and, by lending them to the people of Bristol, made them all accessible to a specific reading community. The library's collection is thus a statement, not only about the world, but also about the proper organization of knowledge about the world. Some books or chapters focus on particular parts of the world, such as England, Corsica or Jamaica, while other books narrate the movement from place to place and ultimately around the world.

There is another feature of this collection that ought to be noted here. For most of these travel and history books, the journey and the narrative are focused on a specific point, which is the goal of the journey and the primary subject of the discussion. This organization was as much the case for books about Sumatra as for books about Monmouthshire or Wales. In contrast to this tendency, the books associated with Cook's voyages are somewhat exceptional. Along with George Anson's *A Voyage Round the World*, published in 1764, Louis de Bougainville's *Voyage Round the World*, published in English in 1772, and two collections of voyages (by Alexander Dalrymple, published in 1769, and by Thomas Astley, published in 1745), the books associated with Cook's voyages were the only travel books that were not focused on specific areas or places. In this way, Cook's voyages, much like Goldsmith's *History of the Earth*, published in 1774, and the library collection

²⁵ The complete title of Sloane's book, which gives a sense of how the places are described, is: *A Voyage to the Islands Madiera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica, with the natural history of the herbs and trees, four-footed beasts, fishes, birds, insects, reptiles, &c. &c. of the last of those islands; to which is prefix'd an introduction, wherein is an account of the inhabitants, air, waters, diseases, trade, &c. &c. of that place, with some relations concerning the neighbouring continent, and islands of America.*

itself, offered an account of the world that brought many different places together.

Of course, there may be a significant difference between the sales or borrowing rates of a book and the impact that the book has on people's understanding of the world. One often wonders whether people even read many of the best sellers they own. However, the sheer number of reprints and reworkings of Cook's voyages suggests that people at least read his voyages. Also, the frequent references and allusions to the voyages in subsequent European history suggest that the impact of the voyages on the European sensibilities towards the places of the world was profound. But we should be careful of simple accounts of influence. As Foucault warns,

there is the notion of influence, which provides a support – of too magical a kind to be very amenable to analysis – for the facts of transmission and communication.²⁶

Foucault's concern with the superficial account of textual influence is one reason why the current discussion of Cook's voyages has questioned the coherence of Cook as an author, and instead has focused attention on a broader set of institutions and a diversity of texts, which make the voyages much more pervasive, but also much more difficult to situate in a simple causal series.

Instead of focusing on texts as if they were billiard balls in a line, Foucault is more interested in describing where the statements exist and the discursive practices that made their existence possible. There is still a connection between texts, but the description remains with correlation and resists articulating statements in terms of their power over people or other statements.

One describes [a discursive field] rather as a unity of distribution that opens a field of possible options, and enables various mutually exclusive architectures to appear side by

²⁶ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 21.

side or in turn.²⁷

Connections still exist, but their source and status have changed. The institutions of the book trade, including the library, belong to the distribution of the printed word, and while there may be no direct (or traceable) connection between reading books and anything else, the data nonetheless suggests the pervasiveness of the books (and therefore of the statements, the descriptions, and the debates that the books contained or encouraged). What Foucault is concerned with, therefore, is not so much the influence of one author on another, but rather with the way that texts (including books) create patterns or structures in terms of which the world is described. Cook's voyages would be important, then, if they marked a significant shift in the way that places were articulated, which is to say a shift in the way that knowledge about the world was collected and organized. In this way, Cook's voyages will not be considered as the origins of any particular articulation of place, but rather as an important point where a variety of already existing articulations were brought together, clarified, and turned into a single, and eventually dominant way of talking about the world.

But it is not enough to consider the organization of a single text, as if there was no difference between a manuscript and a printed book. Another important concern is with the way that accounts of the voyages continued to be reprinted. Foucault asks, "Why did certain texts lend themselves better than others to durable and multiple reuse?"²⁸ Paul Carter offers the beginning of an answer when he notes that "Recollection is not passive imitation inspired by antiquarian zeal. It is active re-creation."²⁹ While it could be objected that antiquarian zeal is also a form of active re-creation, Carter's basic point remains convincing. The reason why Cook's voyages have

²⁷ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 66.

²⁸ Foucault, *The Order of Things*, page 16.

²⁹ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 349.

persisted is because various people and institutions, for one reason or another, have attempted to create new copies or new editions of his voyages.

Neither Cook nor Dampier nor Anson faded away in the 19th century. Not only are they reprinted, they are also rewritten, reworked, and included in large collections or series. And there were many others. What is most notable about the bibliography of Cook's voyages is how expansive the collection of books is. There were many reprints of some of the most popular works (the Admiralty's edition and Kippis's *Life* in particular), and there were also many different versions of the voyages, some of which were printed only once or twice. In Besant's *Captain Cook*, there is a description of Cook's presence in the 19th century world of books.

Every boy has read Cook's Voyages; not only every library, but almost every house with a row of bookshelves contains some account of them; there are cheap and popular editions, there are illustrated editions; they have been abridged, condensed, and castigated for the use of the young; they have served for lectures, illustrated by the magic lantern; they are known, in scraps, by everybody. That is to say, though few of us would sit down to pass an examination on the subject, we all know in general terms that Cook surveyed the coasts of New Zealand and New Holland, penetrated the southern ocean, traversed the Pacific in every direction, and was finally murdered at the island which some of us still, faithful to tradition, call Owhyhee. Again, all the anecdotes, the interesting facts, the dramatic bits, have long since been picked out, over and over again, so that they cannot be reproduced with the slightest show of freshness.³⁰

Besant's account of how people were reading Cook's voyages in the late 19th century suggests again how important the voyages were as a way to reinforce particular ways of viewing the world. However, it is important to stress that the image of the world in later editions of Cook's voyages was not necessarily the same as the one in the first edition. The printed book persists through time, but its multiplication, recreation and distribution requires a system of

³⁰ Besant, *Captain Cook*, page 67.

production and exchange. Cook's voyages are thus an important background for understanding the different ways that England is connected to the world in the 19th century. Just as Cook had voyaged throughout the world, so could the accounts of his voyages could be found throughout the world. Cook's voyages became cheaper, easier to read, and rewritten to be more acceptable to people with diverse political or theological commitments. The importance of the reprint underlines the need to focus on the economic and social aspects of the printing press. By the late 18th century, according to William Charvat, when

the Vulgar were buying a cheaply printed epic: the assumption of a necessary relation between content and format was beginning to break down ... and the era of cheaply printed "good" literature was now forecast, if not begun.³¹

For those who tied the price of books to their value, the production of cheap books was a significant threat. In this context, the high cost of the Admiralty's edition of Cook's voyages suggests the symbolic and social value attached to the books. The books were produced to promote the Admiralty as much as to offer information on the voyages, which could have been published in much less expensive editions. With the creation of cheaper versions of Cook's voyages, however, the symbolic economy that created Cook as an important historical figure changed. Rather than an expression of qualities of the aristocracy (Banks, Sandwich and so on), the physical character of the books became an expression of the qualities of the entire nation. In other words, rather than the rarity of the books, the popularity of the books established their value.

³¹ Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America: 1790 - 1850*, page 64.

2. Printing the Books of the Voyages

Having considered some of the institutions that brought the printed accounts of Cook's voyages into prominence, we will now consider some specific ways that the organization of the books themselves formed the voyages. The first edition of Cook's first voyage was initially published as the second and third volumes of a three-volume collection. The first volume contained the accounts of the voyages of Byron, Wallis and Carteret, who had also travelled to the South Pacific. The title page suggests some of the features of the voyages that are connected in this book. It reads as follows:

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
VOYAGES
UNDERTAKEN BY THE
ORDER OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY
FOR MAKING
Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere,
and Successively Performed by
COMMODORE BYRON, CAPTAIN CARTERET,
CAPTAIN WALLIS, AND CAPTAIN COOK,
in the DOLPHIN, the SWALLOW and the ENDEAVOUR:
DRAWN UP
from the JOURNALS which were kept by the several COMMANDERS,
and from the papers of JOSEPH BANKS, Esq;
by John Hawkesworth, LL.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Illustrated with CUTS, and a great Variety of CHARTS and MAPS relative to
Countries now first discovered, or hitherto but imperfectly known.

VOL. I.

LONDON,

Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL in the Strand.

M DCC LXIII.

Except for the specific words, the title page could have been from any book. By the end of the 18th century, the basic forms produced by book publishing had become standardized, with a set page design and specific publication information. The title, for instance, was more or less what it had to be, given the naming practices of the time. The title not only establishes the regions and voyages that are collected in the books, it also ties those accounts to the institutional authority of King George III. Above all else, however, the book begins by emphasizing the coherence of voyaging itself. The book contains four voyages (distinguished in terms of their respective captains), and the specific voyages are further organized as single narratives, which are tied together by their shared project: making discoveries in the southern hemisphere. At least from the title page, Cook's voyages are not given any greater status than his immediate predecessors. He may be the last one in the list, but it is only when the reader turns to the table of contents or skims through the volumes that Cook's dominance of the texts becomes evident. The accounts of the first three captains are located in the first volume. Cook's account takes up the last two volumes, which not only contain more pictures, but also more tables.

Cook's voyages are organized as a single narrative, with a beginning, a progression, and an end. The travel journal is an enactment of space, one that carries the reader along, both physically and textually. Along these lines, Paul Carter, in his introduction to *The Road to Botany Bay*, claims that his

book's subject is not a physical object, but a cultural one. It is not the geographer's space, although that comes into it. What is evoked here are the spatial forms and fantasies through which a culture declares its presence. It is spatiality as a form of non linear writing; as a form of history.³²

The history in Carter's book is the history of the voyage as such, whether it is Cook's account of his coasting around New Zealand or Flinders's account of his circumnavigation of Australia.

The fact that journals described the places of the journey, rather than any external 'natural' place, explains why they flourished on board ship and why perhaps the greatest bulk of primary material relating to Australia's early spatial history is probably contained in relatively obscure and unpretentious journals kept during the 'voyage out'.³³

Carter does not distinguish manuscripts from printed books, and mixes a discussion of texts that are handwritten diaries, recent printed transcriptions, and printed works from the 18th and 19th century. As members of the reading public, however, people can only follow the voyages as they exist in print, and so the distinction between the library and the archive is crucial.

The focus on the textual construction of place thus directs our attention towards the different ways that the world is articulated, that is, understood. Again, following Carter, the focus on text suggests that "travelling was not primarily a physical activity: it was an epistemological strategy, a mode of knowing."³⁴ In other words, travelling is connected much more to the

³² Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page xxii.

³³ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 141.

³⁴ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 69.

traveller than to the places travelled.

The landscape that emerges from the explorer's pen is not a physical object: it is an object of desire, a figure of speech outlining the writer's exploratory impulse.³⁵

But our interest is not in the explorer's pen so much as the publisher's printing press, the draughtsman's etching tools, and all of the material and institutional resources that take the manuscript accounts of the places of the world up into the printed page, and persistently present them to their readers. In the 19th century, the exploration, understanding, and control of the world is not primarily based on the accumulation of manuscript documents.

One example of the importance of text in travel narratives is the practice of naming places, which is also discussed in detail by Carter. As he writes,

just as the geographical feature it brings into scientific circulation has its own unique place on the map, so the name occupies a unique place in the text.³⁶

Carter suggests that the names in Cook's voyages were neither random nor mathematical. The names were meaningful as markers for specific events or places in his voyages. In other words, the meaning of the name is not simply referential.

The significance of this overdetermination of meaning does not lie in the direction of Cook's psychology, but in the revelation of the fact that Cook moved in a world of language. He proceeded within a cultural network of names, allusions, puns and coincidences, which, far from constraining him, gave him, like his Pacific Ocean, conceptual space in which to move.³⁷

Carter claims that a place can be said to be discovered when it has been named and "brought into cultural circulation."³⁸ Not only does the printing press

³⁵ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 81.

³⁶ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 12.

³⁷ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 7.

³⁸ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page xviii.

help establish precedence in discovery for particular places,³⁹ but, by bringing all the places of the three voyages into print, the books also help to create a system of names which covers the world.

Space itself was a text that had to be written before it could be interpreted. This was the significance of Cook — that he provided such a text, something that could be interpreted, something with which a dialogue could be carried on, something against which places could come into being.⁴⁰

While landscapes may emerge from the pen, epistemological strategies and publicity also depend on creating printed books out of these manuscripts. It is only when places from around the world are contained by printed texts that the dialogue could be carried on by so many people in so many ways. It is often those who first publish a description of a place who can claim to have discovered it, or at least to have added it to “the map.” Likewise, those who provide a superior description of a place can supersede the descriptions offered by those who have come before — that is, of those who have published an account before. Motion is one thing, but the practices of navigation and discovery involve much more. The motion must be documented and those documents must be placed in the textual spaces created within the print/navigation culture.

While the articulations of place in Cook’s voyages arise from finding the world in texts, they also arise from finding texts in the world. As with other explorers, Cook not only writes about the world, he also writes *upon* the world. Near the end of the second voyage, for instance, Cook writes that

In the afternoon I went on shore, and, on a large tree, which stood close to the shore, near the watering place, had an inscription cut, setting forth the ship’s name, date, &c. as a testimony of our being the first discoverers of this country, as I had done at all

³⁹ The importance of the printing press for establishing precedence in scientific research is discussed by Eisenstein in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Volume II, *passim*.

⁴⁰ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 41.

others at which we had touched, where this ceremony was necessary.⁴¹

Carvings on trees, bits of paper left in bottles, and piles of rocks are scattered around the world to mark Cook's relationship to specific places. In the third voyage, William Ellis suggests how these inscriptions become sites of conflict, specifically between Europeans. He writes that,

At some distance, in the front of the house, upon the spot where the [Spanish] commander was buried, was erected a large cross with this carved inscription upon it, *Christus vincit, Carolus tertius imperat*. Captain Cook ordered it to be taken down, and the following words to be put upon it, *Georgius tertius, annis 1767, 69, 74, 79*.⁴²

Cook not only creates markers around the world, he also keeps changing the markers left by other explorers. He adds his own dates, and ties those dates back to his own identity and the sovereign authority of the English monarch. The world of the navigator thus becomes a world of writing.

In *Songlines*, Bruce Chatwin described the way that aboriginal Australians articulate their relationship to the places between which they travel. Rather than relating to places in the world through a printed map and a published journal, the aborigines relate to the land through songs, which are sung as they travel along lines that traverse the land.

In theory, at least, the whole of Australia could be read as a musical score. There was hardly a rock or creek in the country that could not or had not been sung.⁴³

It is thus through song that the world comes into existence, and that each of the places in the world acquire their place. What the songs do, in other words, is trace the connections of places in the world, organizing the material world into a series of meaningful paths. Rather than frontiers or borders, the songlines are sections of track over which specific people or groups have control. "Music," according to Chatwin, "is a memory bank for finding one's

⁴¹ Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 108.

⁴² Ellis, *Authentic Narrative*, Volume I, page 126.

⁴³ Chatwin, *The Songlines*, page 13

way about the world.”⁴⁴

And so it is with the printed book in Cook’s world. The places and tracks on the page do not arise from songs. The regularized beats of the timepieces may help determine coordinates, but the ways of knowing the world are very different. Space comes into meaningful existence through writing, drawing, and ultimately printing. The voyages of Captain Cook, in all the varieties of presentation, thus carry the reader along both physically and textually. And just as it is necessary to travel through the song to determine some thing’s place, so too is it necessary to somehow travel through the text. As Roland Barthes has claimed, “meaning is not ‘at the end’ of the narrative, it runs across it.”⁴⁵ A travel narrative composed of lines of printed text, such as Cook’s voyages, presents the world to the reader as an unfolding of places through time.

However, the books connected to Cook’s voyages are not simply continuous narratives. The books include tables of content, which allow readers to skip from one chapter to another. The books also contain a wide assortment of lists and tables, which offer a specific kind of information all at once. Finally, the books contain landscapes, portraits, and maps, all of which may connect to the narrative, but which organize the information in a discontinuous way. A map provides a picture of a place all at once, which may represent the progress of the narrative (as Cook’s map of New Zealand does, according to Carter), but in terms of space rather than time. Landscape and portraits freeze the places and peoples, although they also provide additional information that the narrative can refer the reader to. So the analysis must also concern what kinds of text and pages are printed, how they are organized, and how they are related to each other. This is the world that

⁴⁴ Chatwin, *The Songlines*, page 108.

⁴⁵ Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, 87.

Cook's voyages built, and it was built on the printed book.

At many points in his writings, Michel Foucault has urged that we should not assume that the book is a coherent or self-evident entity, and that we must instead challenge such presumed unities.

The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network.⁴⁶

The book is not a unity, for Foucault, because it is connected in various ways to a wide range of other books. Its autonomy is thus dissolved by pointing to its position in a network of shared statements, structures, references, and allusions.

What we must do, in fact, is to tear away from [the notions of the book and the oeuvre] their virtual self-evidence, and to free the problems that they pose; to recognize that they are not the tranquil locus on the basis of which other questions (concerning their structure, coherence, systematicity, transformations) may be posed, but that they themselves pose a whole cluster of questions....⁴⁷

While Foucault urges his readers to question the unity of the book, it is also possible to approach the problem from the other direction, and consider how it is that a sense of unity is created by the book. The printed book can be approached as a constructed unity which conditions the meaning of travel, the sense of place, and the nature of truth. There are many books which bring voyages into existence, which locate the events, the facts, and the people into specific structures, which specify identities, differences, shared beliefs, and controversies. Thus, insofar as Cook's voyages have come to exist in a printed form, the form itself becomes central for understanding how Cook's voyages, as a unity, articulate space. We must therefore step back from the physical and

⁴⁶ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 23.

⁴⁷ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 26.

symbolic unities of books to consider how they have been brought into existence and the ways in which their production is associated with the production of knowledge, of meaning, and of power.

One way to approach the publications of Cook's voyages is to focus on the texts as a series of statements and determine how these statements are organized. But this organization is not necessarily in terms of their location in the pages or the narratives. Rather, there is a logical structure to the statements, which determines what kinds of statements are acceptable as statements, and how statements connect together. That is, in Foucault's words, "to describe the organization of the field of statements where they appeared and circulated."⁴⁸ Foucault focuses on statements, rather than sentences or other aspects of language, in part because sentences are not the only way to state the truth.

A classificatory table of the botanical species is made up of statements, not sentences (Linnaeus's *Genera Plantarum* is a whole book of statements, in which one can recognize only a small number of sentences); a genealogical tree, an accounts book, the calculations of a trade balance are statements....⁴⁹

And so an analysis of how knowledge about things in the world becomes organized cannot focus simply on sentences. The printed accounts of Cook's voyage are likewise not simply sentences. Tables, illustrations and labels, such as date, time and coordinates, occur throughout the books, and are mingled with the sentences that form the primary narrative. Also, many other statements arise from the voyages which are included, without citation, in various documents produced by the Admiralty and publishers. In other words, the voyages, insofar as they are tied to the creation of anonymous facts about the world, are connected to statements which are not themselves connected to Cook's voyages. They have been entered into a table and located

⁴⁸ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 56.

⁴⁹ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 82

on a map.

For Foucault, statements exist within specific discourses. The tables of longitudes and latitudes, for instance, only make sense in a discourse where mathematics is used to determine geographical location in the world. To understand how the voyages of Cook could offer truthful, scientific accounts of the places and peoples of the world, it is essential to consider not only which statements are used, but also how those statements fit into larger epistemological structures. As Foucault claims,

there is no knowledge without a particular discursive practice; and any discursive practice may be defined by the knowledge that it forms.⁵⁰

The general goal of this approach is not to work through the texts once again to try to determine which statements are true and which are false. Rather,

in analysing discourses themselves, one sees the loosening of the embrace, apparently so tight, of words and things, and the emergence of a group of rules proper to discursive practice.⁵¹

The goal, in other words, is to determine the rules in terms of which statements come to exist as statements of truth. Any direct or obvious connection between words and things (names and places) is undermined by a concern for how the rules governing the creation and circulation of statements condition how things become meaningful.

It is an attempt to reveal discursive practices in their complexity and density; to show that to speak is to do something – something other than to express what one thinks; to translate what one knows, and something other than to play with the structures of a language (*langue*); to show that to add a statement to a pre-existing series of statements is to perform a complicated and costly gesture.⁵²

One important aspect of Foucault's approach is that the rules that make

⁵⁰ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 183.

⁵¹ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 49.

⁵² Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 209

statements possible are closely connected to the institutions and people who support the creation and persistence of those statements. He writes, for instance, about the social status of the doctor as being someone capable of speaking about medical objects, whose words have an “existence as medical statements.”⁵³ The author is thus someone who is capable of making statements that belong to a specific discourse. Cook, in these terms, has a status similar to that of the doctor. As the captain of the ship, as the navigator, as the one who controls the astronomical instruments and the ship’s log, Cook is the person on the voyages who has all the necessary instruments and power to collect information and produce statements.

However, unlike the specialized disciplines that Foucault tends to focus on, where the statements are highly policed and generally homogenous, Cook’s voyages tend to include statements from very different fields of enquiry, connected to geography, navigation, and the ways of describing peoples and artifacts. The interactions between fields, both complementary and conflicting, are also an important aspect of the voyages.

What happens when statements are printed in a book? The way that Foucault dissolves the unity of the book and the oeuvre into statements is not helpful for understanding the possible relationships between statements and the printed page. In fact, Foucault argues against connecting statements to their materiality.

The statement cannot be identified with a fragment of matter; but its identity varies with a complex set of material institutions.⁵⁴

While Foucault challenges the assumptions that often ground the articulation of author and oeuvre, he continues to claim that there are authors and books. Statements do not just happen.

⁵³ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 51.

⁵⁴ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 103.

As we know, there can be no signs without someone, or at least something, to emit them. For a series of signs to exist, there must – in accordance with the system of causality – be an ‘author’ or a transmitting authority.⁵⁵

But the idea of the author, as it is used to organize and interpret text, is based on specific, although various, accounts of the relationship between the author and the text. As Foucault notes in his article on the concept of the author,

A reversal occurred in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Scientific discourses began to be received for themselves, in the anonymity of an established or always demonstrable truth; their membership in a systematic ensemble, and not the reference to the individual who produced them, stood as their guarantee.⁵⁶

But this characterization ignores the broad institutional codes which supported the scientific texts. Cook (and more importantly Wales) suggests how this change is to be understood. Wales can be trusted, but only because the Board of Longitude has chosen him to be the astronomer. The Board, in turn, can be trusted for a variety of other reasons, including its relationship to other institutions and the practical success and popular appeal of its publications (Maskelyne’s tables, for instance). The scientific discourses, in other words, were far from anonymous, although they were not necessarily tied to specific human authors.

Also, just as the status of the author is more complicated in the books that surround Cook’s voyages, the nature of the book itself poses an important challenge to Foucault’s account of the statement. The circulation of texts is not the same as the circulation of statements. They exist at a different scale in that the reproduction of statements allows for a wide variety of repetitions that the reproduction of books constrains. With the reproduction of books, many statements which no longer conform to the dominant discursive practices, will nonetheless be reprinted, if only to maintain the

⁵⁵ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 92.

⁵⁶ Foucault, “What is an Author?”, page 109.

coherence of the book. Errors will be reprinted along with truths. Thus the explanations for the reproduction of books will not be the same as the explanations for the repetition of statements. But they are both important.

The terms that Foucault uses to criticize the unity of the oeuvre leads him to have very little concern for the printed book. For instance, he writes of how a statement

opens up to itself a residual existence in the field of a memory, or in the materiality of manuscripts, books, or any other form of recording...⁵⁷

and

A book, however many copies or editions are made of it, however many different substances it may use, is a locus of exact equivalence for the statements.⁵⁸

The book is simply a recording of statements. As an object, the book is of little interest to Foucault, except as a way to access statements which properly exist elsewhere. It is as if the book is a container whose contents ought to be analysed but which does not itself require analysis. But when does the statement occur? when the book is published? when the book is placed on a library shelf? when the book is read? These are not simply abstract questions. What is at stake is the relative importance of printed texts as material objects, which persist over time and suggest a much more complicated relationship than the immediacy suggested by terms such as “statement” and “transmitting authority.” The book may not be autonomous, capable of protecting the meaning it contains from the outside, but the collection of statements within a book has nonetheless been organized; and the book, whatever the obscurity of its borders, acquires specific qualities which condition how the statements contained within it persist. As with the statement, the book is also something that appears.

⁵⁷ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 28.

⁵⁸ Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, page 102.

But the book does not appear the way that a spoken statement (such as a doctor's pronouncement), or a manuscript (such as a patient's record) does. At the very least it is significant that books can be the "locus of exact equivalence for the statements." This should not marginalize the book. As Eisenstein argues, in *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, the printed book and its associated institutions were crucial for standardizing and disseminating information, which changed the ways in which statements could be created and transmitted. The printed book is not an event the way that a spoken statement is. Williams notes, for instance, that

[Quiros] died in 1615 in Panama, but enough of his writings were published (and translated into several languages, including English) to keep alive memories of his supposed discovery.⁵⁹

Since the 16th century, memory has been imprinted, that is to say, it has come to exist on the printed page. Individuals may have private memories, but we relate to the memories of others through the printing press. In the same way, the voyages of Captain Cook exist primarily as books and pictures which have been reproduced and rewritten for the last two centuries, and which are connected to many other voyages, both before and after Cook's time.

From the very beginning, Cook's voyages were also formed by the interweaving of different printed journals. The *Endeavour*, the *Adventure* and the *Discovery* were not simply ships, they were also libraries. For instance, Harold Carter, in his extensive biography of Joseph Banks, claims that Banks's library on the *Endeavour* included works by the following authors:

Travel Journals

Thevenot

Narborough

Shelvocke

Tasman

Dampier

Anson

⁵⁹ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 57.

Dalrymple	Harrison [Collection]	Frezier
de Broses [Collection]	Sloane	
[anonymous] <i>A Voyage Round the World in H. M. S. Dolphin</i>		

Natural history

Linnaeus	Piso	Marcgrave
Sloane	Ray	Plukenett
Burmann	Edwards	Weinmann
Buffon	Rumphius	Brisson
Pallas	Pennant ⁶⁰	

Additional books which were taken on the voyage included *Robinson Crusoe* and other popular novels. Finally, beyond the books taken on the voyage, there would have been a much greater number of books that people on board had already read. Thus, when Paul Carter describes how Cook proceeded in a “cultural network of names, allusions, puns and coincidences, which ... gave him, like his Pacific Ocean, conceptual space in which to move,”⁶¹ it must be recognized that a significant amount of this network was based on printed books.

Given the availability of the books published by previous navigators, Cook is able to talk with previous authors, constructing a dialog within his own narrative, where opinions are compared and debates are engaged. When these works are discussed in Cook’s journals, the genre of commentary (clarifications, confirmations, corrections, additions) is dominant. If nothing else, this makes the narrative more complicated than a simple accumulation of experiences over time, whether organized in terms of a travel narrative or

⁶⁰ See Harold Carter’s, *Joseph Banks*, page 72.

⁶¹ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 41.

not. The voyages must also engage with the books from other voyages. From Dampier, for instance, both Banks and Cook read the first printed European description of Australia. As Williams's notes, Tasman's first voyage, likewise, "set the terms of reference for the geography of the region until Cook's arrival in Australian waters in 1770."⁶² With Cook's arrival, the single voice of Tasman became a dialog, as Cook reads a library of statements to which his statements will be added.

Subsequent navigators carried on Cook's process of revisiting already existing accounts — correcting, articulating and (with greater frequency) updating. Perhaps the most immediate example is George Vancouver, who was the captain of a voyage into the Pacific roughly a decade after Cook. But Vancouver is not exceptional. The Russian navigators Krusenstern and Kotzebue also refer to Cook. As do the French, English, and American navigators. But in this system of citations, Cook's are perhaps the most important books of all, if only because Cook's voyages are the summation and correction of so many previous navigators, and thus form a core collection of texts on which all subsequent navigators can build. Cook may build on claims made in Dampier's voyages, but Flinders does not, if only because Cook's voyages have subsumed Dampier's. Whereas Cook collects together a wide range of authors, whose accounts of the Pacific are partial, so that he can create a general image of the Pacific, Flinders takes this general image, finds an empty space, and fills it.

3. The Organization of the Printed Book

In addition to considering the ways that Cook's voyages circulated in the reading public, it is also important to consider the character of the printed book. The printing press affected what could be included on pages and how

⁶² Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 62.

the elements on the page could be organized and distributed. The printing press also affected the book, not only in the number of books that were produced, but also in the way that books were connected to the production of knowledge.

For instance, rather than a constant fear of introducing scribal errors, the printed book, and the practices of proofing and editing that were associated with book production, allowed texts to be improved and information added from one edition to another. As Eisenstein notes,

The very act of publishing errata demonstrated a new capacity to locate textual errors with precision and to transmit this information simultaneously to scattered readers.⁶³ The numerous editions, over several decades, of Ortelius's *The Theater of the Whole World* are one important example. And in the late 18th century, as will be discussed in the following two chapters, exploration and Cook's exploration in particular are an important example of this relationship.

In addition to correcting information over time, the printed book also allowed different elements of information to be organized together. Much like a table, the structure of the book is one way to collect together and to distinguish. One obvious example is the division of texts into chapters. The division between one book and another helps to mark a division between the different voyages. Within each voyage, however, the organization of the books and the voyages is closely connected. In the Admiralty's edition, for instance, the division between the first and second volumes of each of Cook's voyages often marks a significant division in both the narrative and the world. In the first voyage, the first volume ends with Cook's circumnavigation of the northern island of New Zealand, with the second volume beginning with the *Endeavour* again reaching Cape Turnagain. In the second voyage, the first volume ends with an account of Otaheite and

⁶³ Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Volume I, page 80.

marks the point where the ship turns again towards the southern ice-fields. In the third voyage, the first volume ends with the description of the Friendly Islands and the second volume begins with the description of Otaheite, and the Society Islands. In this voyage, the division into books is still a division based on the division of places, but a sharper contrast between places would have been between the islands of the South Pacific and the north-west coast of America. This distinction, however, would have made the length of the books very unequal, and is thus instead marked by the division between “Book III” and “Book IV”, which together comprise the second volume of the third voyage. The division between the second and third volumes of the third voyage, marking the point where King’s journal takes over after Cook’s death, is equally significant.

The volumes are also divided into parts and chapters, which further emphasize the spatial and epistemological organization of the voyages. The result of this textual organization is that the articulation of places is clarified in specific ways, which not only emphasizes the divisions between places, but also increases the apparent clarity and objectivity of the descriptions. The nature of reading changes.

Increasing familiarity with regularly numbered pages, punctuation marks, section breaks, running heads, indices, and so forth, helped to reorder the thought of all readers, whatever their profession or craft.⁶⁴

The division of the voyages into different parts focuses attention on the hinges of the narrative, where the ships change their direction or location in some significant way. The division into chapters, is sometimes a division of time, but it is also a division between different ways of accounting for the voyage. It is often the case that a place is described twice, first in terms of the narrative of discovery and interactions, and second in terms of summations

⁶⁴ Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Volume I, page 106.

and static descriptions. Departures, arrivals, and general advances of the voyages are followed by accounts, observations and descriptions. As a result, the chapters also help mark the different forms of writing, and the different kinds of information that are included in the accounts of the voyages.

Articulating the voyages in terms of all these divisions can be usefully compared to different ways of organizing travel narratives. Rickman's account of the third voyage, for instance, is continuous. There are no chapter divisions or headings. On the other hand, Rickman provides very little detailed information regarding the different places and peoples of the voyage. Unlike the Admiralty version, Rickman's account would not be an effective source of information about anything but the day to day progress of the voyage itself. The Admiralty's version, on the other hand, is best characterized as several genres connected together into a single book, sometimes separated by chapters, sometimes by the distinction between illustrations, tables and text. It was left to subsequent editors, publishers and compilers to divide and reformulate the texts again for specific functions and readers.

In addition to the organization of a single book, the printed book also creates the possibilities of further reproduction and repetition. Publication places the voyages into play as one of many in the reading communities of Britain, Europe and the world. The voyages can then be quoted, reprinted, summarized, cited, emulated, and, above all, read. With the standardization of editions and the inclusion of page numbers, practices such as indexing, cross-referencing and quoting became much more effective.⁶⁵ Thus, while the number of books expanded throughout the 18th century, it also became easier to keep track of them. As Eisenstein notes, both the complex

⁶⁵ Eisenstein points out, however, that textual aids such as indexing and cross-referencing, also existing in the manuscript culture of the middle ages. What changed from the 15th century onward was the efficiency and regularity with which books were organized in these ways.

interconnection between books and the proliferation of different books, depended on standardization.

As Cook's voyages were reprinted, they were also re-edited and re-written in many different ways. The official Admiralty edition of the voyages is likely the best known and most reprinted. But there were also popular versions of the voyages edited by Andrew Kippis, John Barrow, and several others that were discussed in the previous chapter. In addition to different versions of the narratives, however, Cook's voyages were reprinted in many different forms. Not only were sections expurgated or expanded, but different genres were excised from the journals. As Chartier notes,

The vast labour of adaptation — shortening texts, simplifying them, cutting them up, providing illustrations — was commanded by how the bookseller-publishers who specialized in that market envisioned their customers' ability and expectations.⁶⁶

This is also true for later editions of the voyages of Captain Cook, which shortened the standard account, changed it to reflect different political or social commitments, or rewrote it for different audiences, such as younger readers. As Castle notes, in the 19th century

The 'crossover' between these two worlds, of school texts and leisure pursuits, was a common occurrence and helped to blur and merge the function of 'instruction' and 'entertainment'.⁶⁷

Books were part of specific social and pedagogical projects. Likewise, certain publishers specialized in works of specific genres. In her analysis of late 19th century English children's literature, Castle discusses, among others,

the publisher John Murray, whose Colonial and Home Library specialized in the experiences of white men in exotic places.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Chartier, *The Order of Books*, page 13.

⁶⁷ Castle, *Britannia's Children*, page 6.

⁶⁸ Daws, *A Dream of Islands*, page 82. John Murray was the first publisher of Herman Melville's *Typee*, published in 1844.

A few years after the initial publication of Cook's voyages, missionary organizations also began to reproduce accounts of Cook's voyages. In 1871 the Religious Tract Society published William Kingston's *Captain Cook, His Life, Voyages and Discoveries*. The missionary societies also published reprints of earlier editions, such as the 1842 edition published by W. Smith. In this edition, the Admiralty's version of Cook's voyages was printed with an "appendix giving an account of the present conditions of the South Sea Islands," drawn primarily from missionary accounts of the places, such as Ellis's *Polynesian Researches* and detailed information contained in the periodicals published by the various religious societies.

In addition to reprints, publishers also reissued accounts of Cook's voyages as part of much larger collections of travel writings. Two examples at the time are the one compiled by John Pinkerton (published in 1808) and the one compiled by Robert Kerr (published in 1811). This practice was not new. Hakluyt had published his *Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* in 1589. All that changed was that Cook's voyages were added to the series, sometimes as the navigator who completed the exploration of the Pacific, sometimes as the culmination of exploration as such. In later collections, of course, the polar explorers were often included as the final volumes.⁶⁹ It is important to note that these collections were not politically neutral. Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* were intended to show

⁶⁹ In this context it would be interesting to trace the history of Columbus in literature. While authors in the 17th century, such as Locke, make some reference to Columbus, the scope of his popularity is increased considerably in the 19th century, and especially after Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, published in 1828. According to Charvat (page 76), the book earned Irving over \$25,000. Perhaps in the United States more than elsewhere, Columbus was reworked in the early 19th century, not only as an important part of American history, but also as a rival to Cook.

the English nation in highly positive ways, and the collections that were created in the late 18th and early 19th century were likewise concerned with promoting English greatness. Cook's voyages thus became one of many pieces in the political and textual struggles between groups in Europe and around the world.

And just as the voyages were included in larger collections, Cook's voyages were also reworked in various compendiums that offered readers a summary of the world. While the voyages were organized in terms of time, the compendiums were primarily organized in terms of space. One example is a book by George Henry Millar, published in 1784, entitled:

The New and Universal System of Geography: Being a Complete Modern History and Description of the Whole World. Containing a particular, full, accurate, circumstantial, and entertaining Account, including the ancient and present State, of all the Various Countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, as divided into Empires, Kingdoms, States, Republics, and Colonies, and as subdivided into Continents, Islands, Provinces, Peninsulas, Isthmuses, Sease, Oceans, Gulphs, Straits, Rivers, Harbours, Deserts, Lakes, Promontories, Capes, Bays, Districts, Governments, Principalities, &c., &c.

The beginning of the title has been given at some length because it suggests the scale and organization of the information that was included. The title goes on to say that the account of these places includes information collected from the works of

Captain Cook, Lord Mulgrave, Wallis, Carteret, Falconer, Byron, Anson, Forrest, Wraxall, Hanway, Clerke, Furneaux, Bouganville, Ives, Banks, Coxe, Dillon, Barretti, Sharp, Thickness, Algorotti, Drummond, Bruce, Carver, Suckling, Chandler, Johnson, Twiss, Osbeck, Thompson, Solander, Dr. Cooke, Forster, Parkinson, Burnaby, Irwin, &c. &c....

This compendium, created by extracting descriptions of places from around the world, from many different sources, claims to present a complete picture

of the world as a systematic field of places (geographical and political), which are contained, in an orderly fashion, in a single book. Of course, the idea of collecting information together into a single coherent system was far from original in Cook's time. In European history, examples can be found from the Classical and Medieval periods. By the 19th century, however, the material and institutional conditions were significantly different. The printing press not only allowed for the collection of many books, it also created skills and resources throughout the society that encouraged the collection and organization of information, whether printed or not.⁷⁰ The 19th century saw the rise not only of the British empire, but also of the librarian, the bureaucrat, the scientific collector, and the statistician. And as an early ideal for this account of printed knowledge, Cook's voyages were pervasive.

Finally, Cook's voyages, in one form or another, also become part of a much broader system of interconnected books. For instance, one thing that was often included in printed accounts of Cook's voyages were advertisements for other titles that were available. Here is one of the ways that Cook's voyages became a node in a network of globalized meaning. The Blackie & Son edition of *The Life and Voyages of Captain James Cook*, for instance, contains ten pages of advertisements. The first two pages, at the front of the book, list the publisher's classics. The eight pages at the end of the book advertise the books by G. A. Henty that Blackie & Son have published. These are boy's stories set in the farthest reaches of the empire, including Peking, Soudan, Russia, Italy, Natal, Australia, and Canada. The stories also encompass a wide span of time, from recent events in the 19th century back to the Roman invasion of Britain. If the simultaneity of the newspaper helped to create national identities, then the simultaneity of these stories expands that sense of nationality into a sense of empire, with the voyages of Cook as

⁷⁰ At this point in history, of course, manuscripts had become most common as paperwork.

an important component in how that expansion is imagined. The voyages, in other words, not only offer descriptions of specific places around the world, they also offer a way of tying together all the places of the world, even those that were not directly part of Cook's voyages. The South Pacific, in other words, was the first part of a global archive which established the pattern into which other parts of the world would be assimilated.

4. The Organization of the Printed Page

In addition to features of the printed book, another important aspect of the voyages that must be considered here is the way that specific printed pages are organized. Not only did the printing press help people to create many identical copies of Cook's narratives, it also made other kinds of information possible. As Eisenstein notes,

When it came to distributing hundreds of copies of a work containing long lists of numbers, or diagrams, maps and charts, or even precise detailed verbal reports, hand-copying was vastly inferior to print.⁷¹

The knowledge that was circulated within the reading public of the 18th and 19th century depended on the standardization and dissemination of the printed word. Just as there are epistemological (or rhetorical) strategies involved in the creation of narrative, there are also strategies involved in the printed word. As Eisenstein writes,

The fact that identical images, maps and diagrams could be viewed simultaneously by scattered readers constituted a kind of communications revolution in itself.⁷²

Of course, in tables could be found in manuscripts from the Middle Ages. But the printing press changed how tables were used and the status that they were given, specifically in the collection and organization of data. Information in tables can be improved, additional information can be included, and the

⁷¹ Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Volume II, page 461.

⁷² Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Volume I, page 53.

entire system can be verified and corrected by anyone who understands how the tables organize information.

In Dampier's *Voyage*, there are several tables, primarily specifying navigational information such as location, course, and the direction of the wind. While Anson does not include a single table beyond the table of contents, in Pascoe Thomas's account of Anson's voyage there is a table, captured from the Spanish, of cities along the west coast of the Americas, with their longitude and latitude. Tables of courses, distances and coordinates are also included in the voyages collected together by Hawkesworth, and they occur throughout the later voyages of Cook. Likewise, other books connected to the voyages, such as William Wales's *Observations*, are composed almost completely of tables.

As a way of representing information, the table is very flexible along specific lines. Not only can it organize basic information concerning the ship's position and progress, it can also organize observations of the weather, the population, the planets and stars, and the languages and customs of those who are encountered. The table helps structure the information, dividing information into categories and collecting information that belongs together. The categories can refer to any group of objects, from people and artifacts to colours and shapes, to books and places. Also, while tables have a very different aesthetic quality than the songlines discussed by Chatwin and others, they serve many of the same purposes for people who are marking off the distance from place to place. In Cook's voyages, the world is tabulated into existence.

In addition to tables, another important development in print technology is the creation of mass-produced, standardized maps. Abraham Ortelius is once again an important early example. As Eisenstein writes,

When dealing with the output of successive editions of a given reference-work or set of maps, printers not only competed with rivals and improved on their predecessors. They were also able to improve on themselves.⁷³

The standardization encouraged by the printing press thus allowed mass-produced maps to be printed and distributed throughout Europe. Maps could be compared, inconsistencies could be discovered and eventually resolved, and the overall quality of the map of the world, now singular and widely distributed, could progress.

The introduction of updated maps was not, of course, always or widely accepted. Williams notes, for instance, that

In England, as elsewhere, older cartographic forms retained a tenacious grip long after the publication of maps and accounts of the Dutch discoveries. For some publishers Marco Polo remained more relevant than Tasman.⁷⁴

In his *The Whole History of Navigation*, John Locke also traces contemporary maps back to forgotten antiquity.

Our sea charts, on which latter times have so much valued themselves, are of such ancient date, that we cannot find their original.⁷⁵

But this attitude changed, specifically over the course of the 18th century. Tasman's maps were published in the middle of the 17th century. By Cook's time, the newness of the map had become much more important than its antiquity. Accuracy was connected to the future, rather than to the past. The maps in Cook's voyages were therefore part of an epistemological system, and had their own roles to play in the overall narrative of the voyage and the world. For example, in the third voyage Cook writes that:

⁷³ Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, Volume I*, page 108.

⁷⁴ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 68.

⁷⁵ Locke, *The Whole History of Navigation*, in *The Works of John Locke, Volume X*, page 375.

the annexed chart will convey a better idea of every thing necessary to be known about Adventure Bay, than any description.⁷⁶

The status of the map in relation to text, and the status of Cook's maps in relation to those of previous navigators, is a recurrent theme in Cook's voyages. Not only is the map created as an intermediate between the explorer and the world, it is also an intermediate between the reader and the text. People are not only encouraged to follow the narrative, they are also encouraged to understand the narrative in terms of the flat, geometrical and totalizing articulations of space contained on the map.

But the map was more than a statement of how the places in the world were organized. The map was also an ornamental addition to travel journals, and by the 18th century it was expected that voyages of exploration would include charts and plates. A published account of a voyage that did not have a map was not a complete account. Some of the map-makers became well-known. Herman Moll, for instance,

was responsible for the maps in many of the best-known 'voyages' of the period, including Dampier's *New Voyage* (1697), Hack's *Collection of Original Voyages* (1699), Funnell's *Voyage Round the World* (1707) and Rogers's *Cruising Voyage* (1712).⁷⁷

Moll, who was an artist rather than an explorer, was also to "produce in 1711 two editions of *A View of the Coasts, Countrys, & Islands within the Limits of the South-Sea Company*."⁷⁸ Colour was often used in these maps. As Williams notes,

The volume's charts and views were done in colour, not only for appearance's sake but to pick out coastlines, islands, buildings, soundings and other features of interest.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume V, page 184.

⁷⁷ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 165.

⁷⁸ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 165.

⁷⁹ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 88.

The Admiralty collection that contained Cook's first voyage included 31 charts and plates. In the first volume there was a large scale outline map, from 25° North (roughly Mexico) down to 60° South (just north of the Antarctic circle) that combined the tracks of Wallis, Byron, Carteret and Cook. The section on Byron's voyage contained a detailed map of the Straits of Magellan. There are also detailed maps of islands and harbours throughout the three volumes. The third volume, which was the last half of Cook's first voyage, also included a detailed full-page map of New Zealand, which was a major technological achievement of the 18th century. Beaglehole notes in a footnote in his edition of Cook's journals that Julien Crozet, an officer of Marion du Fresne's voyage into the Pacific between 1771 and 1773, wrote:

I found it [Cook's chart] of an exactitude and of a thoroughness of detail which astonished me beyond all powers of expression, and I doubt much whether the charts of our own French coasts are laid down with greater precision.⁸⁰

A version of this map was also printed in the published version of Parkinson's journal, and has become one of the most reprinted maps from any of Cook's voyages.

The Admiralty edition of the second voyage included a large scale map tracing the path of the voyage, but with the Antarctic pole at the centre. This map was reproduced in Forster's two-volume account, including an error in the path of the voyage, which William Wales later points out. As Wales writes,

Doctor Forster's general map was published before Captain Cook's, although it is manifest that the former, so far as it regards our discoveries in the last voyage, is most minutely copied from the latter, which every one will discover on comparing them together. If they wish for an extraordinary proof of what I here assert, they will find that Captain Cook has, by mistake, laid down our track on the north side of Furneaux and Adventure islands; and that Doctor Forster, knowing, I suppose, no better, has

⁸⁰ Beaglehole, *Cook's Journals*, Volume I, page 274, footnote 4.

followed him: but it is very certain that we passed on the south side of both, as all the log-books in the ship will testify.⁸¹

The printed tables and maps, therefore, become objects that are interesting to the reader, not only because they illustrate specific aspects of the voyages, but also because they become points of controversy. The maps and tables from one voyage can be compared with ones from another. And they can also enhance the sense of certainty in a particular account, creating evidence that the narrative itself is offering a complete and accurate representation.

In addition to the tables and maps, printed books also included engravings. There had been illuminated manuscripts for centuries. But with the printing press, reproductions of identical illustrations could be widely disseminated.⁸² The printed illustrations were accessible to a large number of people, and thus became part of social discourse. They were social signs as much as they were statements about the people and places of the world. As Bernard Smith writes,

Until the 1830's these engravings [from the Admiralty's edition of Cook's third voyage] held the field virtually unchallenged for the illustration of editions of Cook, and they had become the chief source for illustrations concerning the Pacific in all kinds of publications — travel books, geography texts, missionary tracts, and articles on the Pacific in journals, newspapers, encyclopaedias of costume and exotic wall-papers.

Translated into the medium of woodcut, lithograph, and steel engraving they continued

⁸¹ Wales, *Remarks on Mr. Forster's Account of Captain Cook's last Voyage round the World*, page 14.

⁸² It is not until the 1830s, roughly 50 years later, that the daguerreotype was developed. At first, engravings of daguerreotype were included in books. In 1839 Fox Talbot developed a way to produce an indefinite number of positive pictures from a single negative, which allowed photographs to be mounted in books. The halftone process, developed in the 1880s, allowed photographs to be directly printed in the books. For a discussion of the connection between photography and the British Empire, see James Ryan's, *Picturing Empire*.

to do service throughout the second half of the century.⁸³

The illustrations included in the published versions of Cook's voyages were superior to those of Cook's predecessors for several reasons. Not only were the engravings widely distributed and virtually unchallenged, there were also many more of them than had been included in any previous book. According to Cook, in a letter quoted by Beaglehole, the publication of the second voyage

will be illustrated and ornamented with about sixty copper plates, which, I am of opinion, will exceed every thing that has been done in a work of this kind⁸⁴

Cook was probably correct. Of the voyages published in Europe up to that point that had *any* illustrations, most of them were limited to maps. The voyages of Dampier, for instance, begin with a world map (two circles) showing the tracks of his voyages. There are also several regional maps, including one of the middle section of the Americas and one of the East Indies. Only three illustrations are not maps: the first is a side view of the Straits of Magellan; the second is a page of birds from New Holland; and the third is a page of plants, also from New Holland. In addition, when placed side by side, the illustrations in Dampier's work are crude in comparison to the illustrations published in the next century. The techniques of engraving were still being developed.

The published account of Anson's voyage, the most popular single voyage up until Cook's time, contained 42 copper plates, of which the majority were maps and side-views of harbours and islands. There is a large scale map, showing Anson's track from California to Japan. The map runs from the equator up to 39° North, and thus suggests the direct route across the Pacific typically taken by navigators prior to Cook's time. There are two illustrations near the end of the book, one labelled "A Flying Proa, taken at the Ladrone Islands," which is an architectural drawing, and the other

⁸³ Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 112.

⁸⁴ Beaglehole, *Cook's Journals*, Volume II, page xciii.

labelled “Chinese Vessels, ” which shows two Chinese junks at sea. There are no images of people who lived in the places that Anson stopped at and no attempt, beyond the side-views of islands, to include landscapes.

The published accounts of Cook’s voyages also included maps, but they also included artifacts, landscapes, and portraits. Following Smith’s discussion, important shifts can be noticed from Cook’s first voyage to the second. The engravings included in the Admiralty edition of the first voyage were highly literary. The people of Tahiti were typically represented as if they were ancient Greeks, who existed in a heroic period that has been lost. With the second and third voyages, on the other hand, the representations tended to downplay direct associations between Europe and the South Pacific. The representations were clearly still executed in terms of European sensibilities, but the sensibilities were different. One evident change, which connects the representations in the later voyages more closely to the representations in Parkinson’s journal from the first voyage, is the introduction of detailed illustrations of peoples, artifacts, plants, animals and geological formations which were executed as scientific engravings rather than as classical landscapes. The printed illustrations are thus connected with the claims of truth and accuracy that permeate Cook’s voyages, and they are another way in which Cook’s voyages influenced the articulation of places and peoples in the late 18th and early 19th century.

Taken together, the illustrations, the maps, the tables, and the text were all part of a single printed book. To the reader, the voyage and the book co-exist, and so the nature of the voyage as a whole is intimately connected to the concern for what is included. Most of the pages contain either the continuous narrative of the voyage or descriptions of the people and places. But a significant number of pages contain information organized in different ways, whether it is tables of observations and languages, or illustrations of

peoples and places. In other words, the published accounts of the voyages were often not just stories, they also included additional information and supporting documents that offered a true and complete account of the world.

5. Ideals of Exploration

Having considered the creation of Cook's voyages as a reliable articulation of the world, it becomes evident that Cook's voyages became important as an example of how exploration should be carried out. Cook was far from the first voyager who enjoyed such a status. In his discussion of earlier voyages into the South Seas, for instance, Williams points out that

For a long time [the circumnavigations of Drake and Cavendish] served as role models, with links stretching to Anson's voyage of the mid-eighteenth century.⁸⁵

In the middle of the eighteenth century the published account of the voyage of Commodore Anson superseded the voyages of Drake and Cavendish as the primary model. The voyages of Drake and Cavendish offered an heroic account of English privateering against the Spanish. Anson's account included this, but also suggested different ways of articulating the time spent travelling around the world.

Compared with the slipshod literary efforts of most of Anson's privateering predecessors in the South Sea, the book was a detailed, unsensational work ; and although the expedition was bent on war, not exploration, the number of charts and views (forty-two in all) showed Anson's concern to provide a guide to future voyagers in a region that was still largely unknown to British navigators.⁸⁶

The published account of Anson's voyage did not have all of the same goals as Cook's. However, Anson's voyage

anticipated the narratives of Cook and his contemporaries later in the century, for the *Voyage* was above all a work of information, whose intent was summed up in the

⁸⁵ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 46.

⁸⁶ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 256.

Introduction as the encouragement of 'the more important purposes of navigation, commerce, and national interest'.⁸⁷

The success of Cook's voyages in the world of books resulted in their being taken as an exemplar whose status throughout the 19th and 20th century was unrivalled. Not only did everyone read Cook's voyages in one form or another, people who wrote travel narratives were often inspired, or at least influenced, by the voyages.

People emulated Cook's character, however understood, as the ideal of the explorer. The character may include a moral aspect, which suggests how Europeans should relate to the people in distant places. One example is Matthew Flinders, who, according to Paul Carter, was the first person to circumnavigate Australia,

had a highly developed historical consciousness. In this last respect, his profound admiration for Captain Cook means that, in some way perhaps, to write about Flinders is also, albeit indirectly, to begin to retrace our own steps to Cook.⁸⁸

Flinders is thus positioned, and positions himself, as someone exploring in the wake of Cook. One of the most important ways that Flinders follows in Cook's wake is by publishing an account of his own voyage, which was finally printed in 1814. Flinders could then be read alongside Cook, as part of Cook's project, and as another authorial voice, offering a detailed description of one part of the world, whose general contours had been worked out long before.

The ideal of the explorer may also include an epistemological aspect, which suggests the best way of collecting a true and complete account of the places and peoples discovered. We can hear this aspect of the ideal at work in Mortimer's invocation of Cook's voyage in 1785.

⁸⁷ Williams, *The Great South Sea*, page 256.

⁸⁸ Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 175.

As the Island of Otaheite, with most of the Islands visited by us in the South Seas, have already been described in an ample and able manner by Captain Cook, and the gentlemen who accompanied him in his different expeditions, who were properly qualified, and purposely sent to observe the manners and customs of the inhabitants of these remote parts of the world, together with the produce, climate, &c. of the different places they touched at, any other account would be superfluous: I shall therefore content myself with relating the different occurrences that happened during our stay at such places; with any other matter that may appear new and interesting.⁸⁹

Several assumptions make this statement possible, including the standardization of information, the objectivity of Cook's observation, and the relative but not complete fixity of peoples and places. Once a place has been identified, it becomes an entity, an account of which can be found in the accurate representations provided by trustworthy authors, artists, and publishers. If nothing else, the Admiralty's edition of Cook's voyages have been organized to support each of these assumptions, providing readers with a wide assortment of assurances concerning the accuracy of the description and the trustworthiness of the book and the author.

The second form of emulation is where Cook's voyages become a model of how to present both the narrative of the voyage and the information collected. Perhaps none of the forms of information are new, but they are done so well in Cook's voyages, that it is these books which become the ideal. It may be no surprise that the voyage of George Vancouver emulated Cook's voyages. As Beaglehole notes, among Cook's companions,

it was only Vancouver who, as a commander of exploration, reached eminence. His voyage of 1791-5, a voyage for the renewed survey of the American Pacific coast northwards from New Albion, in detail impossible for Cook, was one worthy of Cook, in accuracy, completeness, and conservation of life.⁹⁰

Vancouver had been a member of Cook's crew for the third voyage, and the

⁸⁹ Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks*, page 23.

⁹⁰ Beaglehole, *Cook's Journals*, I, page cxxii.

primary goal of his own voyage into the Pacific in the 1790s was to finish exploring and documenting the north-west coast of North America and the Hawaiian Islands. For this reason, Vancouver's voyages are largely complementary to Cook's. Where there are disagreements, such as over the coordinates of specific places along the west coast of North America, the disagreements support rather than challenge the basic terms in which Cook described the world.

A similar relationship can be noted between Cook and Otto von Kotzebue, who commanded a Russian ship in the early 19th century. While he is writing his account of the Hawaiian islands, Kotzebue writes that

scarcely fifty years have elapsed since these islands were first introduced by Captain Cook to the knowledge of the European public....⁹¹

Kotzebue's voyages are also directed towards the Pacific, and he is also travelling with Cook at his side. Cook is not only a guide; Kotzebue also offers commentary on the information published in Cook's voyages. As with Vancouver, Kotzebue notes that there are spaces in the Pacific which Cook had not explored. For instance, Kotzebue writes that,

With regard to the attempt to find a passage from the sea of Kamtschatka to the Atlantic Ocean, or from west to east, the endeavours of Captains Cook and Clerke in Beering's Straits, left but little hope of penetrating farther to the north than they had done, but there were parts of the coast of America, both to the north and south of Beering's Straits, which those celebrated navigators could not explore; a circumstance which, at least, left a spark of hope that some inlet might be found in those parts....⁹²

One of the most significant differences between Kotzebue's voyages and the voyages of either Cook or Vancouver, is the way in which specific places have

⁹¹ Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World*, Volume II, page 159.

⁹² Kotzebue, *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits, Undertaken in the Years 1815-1818*, Volume I, page 9.

developed after their encounters with Europeans. Kotzebue is travelling in the 1820s, and although the islands of the Pacific remained tied to Cook's voyages, the texts surrounding those places had developed in many different ways. When Kotzebue arrives at Tahiti, for instance, the missionaries had been on the islands for decades. Kotzebue writes:

I had assisted at a great religious assembly of the devoted, so called Christian Tahitians; and the comparison naturally arising in my mind, between what I had seen and the descriptions of the early travellers, had introduced reflections which became less and less agreeable, in proportion as I acquired a greater insight into the recent history of the island.⁹³

Kotzebue's "recent history" begins in 1797, almost twenty years after Cook leaves the islands for the last time. Although Kotzebue had offered a generally positive account of the impact of the missionaries on the Tahitians, his history of the island moves in the opposite direction, at least insofar as the political machinations of the missionaries suggest that they were driven by more mundane desires.

True, genuine Christianity, and a liberal government, might have soon given to this people, endowed by nature with the seeds of every social virtue, a rank among civilized nations. Under such a blessed influence, the arts and sciences would soon have taken root, the intellect of the people would have expanded, and a just estimation of all that is good, beautiful, and eternally true, would have refined their manners and ennobled their hearts. Europe would soon have admired, perhaps have envied Tahiti: but the religion taught by the Missionaries is not true Christianity, though it may possibly comprehend some of its doctrines, but half understood even by the teachers themselves. That it was established by force, is of itself an evidence against its Christian principle.⁹⁴

The islands have already been discovered. In a short time, the islands had also become part of Europe's history, and part of its plans for the future. That

⁹³ Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World, Volume I*, page 158.

⁹⁴ Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World, Volume I*, page 168.

is to say, the islands have become places in Europe's world, and the place of the islands in Kotzebue's voyages, while affirming Cook's world, have extended that world in time.

Beyond the explorations that were supported either directly by the British Admiralty or indirectly by various exploration groups, Cook's voyages were also a source of inspiration for some of the most important missionaries of the 19th century. Rennie notes that:

It was 'reading the voyages to the South Seas, and especially to Otaheite', that inspired the preacher and scholar, Dr. Haweis, 'to make some effort to send some [missionaries] to Otaheite and the Southern Isles.'⁹⁵

The London Missionary Society was formed in 1795. The English Baptist Missionary Society was founded in 1792. According to Gavin Daws, this society's founder,

The Englishman William Carey, a driving force in the setting up of overseas missions in his day, had read the published voyages of James Cook.⁹⁶

Reading, publishing and missions. The books of the missionaries invoke Cook's voyages as much as the reproductions undertaken by the missionary societies themselves, thus expanding through repetition the world that Cook's voyages offer to the reader. The repetitions may not be exact, and different readers likely understood the text differently. But the pervasiveness of Cook's voyages suggest, nonetheless, the extent to which Cook's voyages, whether accurate or not in the details, formed the key text around which places in the world were understood.

In *Islands of History*, Marshall Sahlins writes of "the place Cook has assumed in Western folklore as a constituting being, responsible for the shape

⁹⁵ Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, page 159, reference to Lovett's *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*, i, page 177.

⁹⁶ Daws, *A Dream of Islands*, page 20.

of the world as we know it.”⁹⁷ For many people, Cook has become more than an explorer of the Pacific, he also has become the last great navigator and the epitome of what exploration should be. He is the epitome of an ideal author, who relates to an ideal printed book. It is not simply that the remnants of Cook’s voyages have acquired, as if by accident, a textual form. The pages and books were the intentional *products* of a book culture. Both the shape and the content of the world is inescapably textual — composed of printed words, tables, maps, illustrations, and numbers. And so the character of the book and the page become important aspects to how the world is articulated in the voyages.

Building on a recognition of the importance of authors and texts in framing articulations of the world, in the following chapters, the discussion will turn to consider the various ways that the world is articulated in the printed accounts of Cook’s voyages. In the next two chapters we will focus on the world of coordinates and shapes, in which Cook offers the world as geographical plane, first of dots and then of areas. After these articulations, it will be possible to consider how human beings are located in the voyages, as nations, states, and parts of larger systems of identity and power.

⁹⁷ Sahlins, *Islands of History*, page 109.