Chapter Seven
Nations

The readers of Cook's voyages are presented with a series of printed books, whether representing the Captain's voice, his authority, or his voyages, in which articulations of places from around the world are based on a privileged combination of coordinates and shapes. The abstracted progress of the narrative moves from determining location to tracing the outlines of a container that can be placed alongside other containers on a tabulated globe. This is Cook at his most triumphant, and as readers we are encouraged to follow him.

The geographical articulation of places, idealized as an ocean filled with islands, is the ground of a global accounting of space. But this is only the beginning. What remains is to fill this table of containers, to populate the places with minerals, trees, birds, fish, quadrupeds, peoples and artifacts. The entire discourse at this point is thoroughly mediated by the map and the table of coordinates. The existence of the nation is not in question. The goal now is to characterize the entity, not to find it. As a result, the movement from one place to another, in both the world and the table, creates the demarcation of social, biological, and physical divisions of the world. Always tying the narrative back to the evermore accurate coordinates and maps, Cook also offers an account of people, not as individuals, but as groups, typically labelled as "nations" or "tribes." The geographical places are central to the narrative insofar as they frame all articulations and discussions of human identity. But more text in the narrative is taken up with descriptions of people, and most of the interesting events in the narrative arise from human interactions rather than from observations of physical characteristics.

1. The Orient, the savage, and Europe

Of course, articulating human groups in terms of space is not original with Cook's voyages. One persistent theme in European thought has been the appeal to various sharp spatial and human dichotomies, such as between Greeks and barbarians, between Christians and heathens, or between Europe and the Orient. In his discussion of orientalism, Edward Said has focused on a particular, but pervasive, motif in European accounts of the world. For Said, orientalism is an epistemological, metaphysical, and political category, a basic intellectual theme. Orientalism is not simply an idiosyncratic opinion, it is also part of a large social process in which Europeans come to understand and dominate other parts of the world. In the words of Joseph Conrad,

> The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea — something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to.[1]

The creation of world-wide systems of domination thus depends not only on having enough information about the world, but also about having appropriate ideas about that world. One of the key examples discussed by Said is the research that was carried out during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, which closely connected European political and academic projects, and thus exemplified exploitive relations around the world. As Said writes,

> Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient — dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style of dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.[2]

In his *Orientalism*, Said traces the continuity of Western political thought,

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[1] Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, quoted in Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page vii.

[2] Said, *Orientalism*, page 3.

suggesting, for instance, that Aristotle's attitudes towards the barbarians parallels contemporary attitudes towards Arabs in the Middle East. Given Said's goal, it is not surprising that significant changes in the ways that Europe and the orient have been studied are not discussed in any detail. He is emphasizing the continuities. But there are also significant changes. By the late 18th century, and throughout the 19th century, the dichotomy between Europe and the orient existed alongside another articulation of the world, where both Europe and its Other were sifted into a much more detailed articulation of places and nations. The orient became a list of well-known place names: Egypt, India, China, Japan, Palestine and so on. How were Europe and the orient reworked into such a global system of clear and distinct nations? While Said recognizes that the shift occurred, he does not explain the shift beyond a general appeal to the scientific attitudes current in Europe in the 18th and 19th century. The explanation that will be given in this chapter is that this re-articulation of the world was first idealized from Europe's studied analysis of the South Pacific. Not only were places such as New Zealand and Tahiti for a time the best mapped places of the world, they were also the epitome of a new way of giving an account of people and places.

In the 18th century discussions of the South Pacific, orientalism is replaced by primitivism, its general equivalent, while images of Asiatic despotism are replaced with images of savage monarchy. The basic dichotomy persists. Boswell's *Life of Johnson* suggests some of the attitudes that were prevalent in England at the end of the 18th century, especially with those who thought through the world in orientalist-like terms. In a passage from 1784, the year of Johnson's death, Johnson complains that

> A book may be good for nothing; or there may be only one thing in it worth knowing; are we to read it all through? These *Voyages*, (pointing to the three large volumes of *Voyages to the South Sea* [Cook's third voyage], which were just come out) who will

> read them through? A man had better work his way before the mast than read them though; they will be eaten by rats and mice, before they are read through. There can be little entertainment in such books; one set of savages is like another.[3]

The other, and more valuable, places in Johnson's world are the key sources of European history and quality. In 1776, for instance, Boswell reports him saying that:

> The grand object of travelling is to see the shores of the Mediterranean. On those shores were the four great empires of the world; the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman. All our religion, almost all our law, almost all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages, has come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean.[4]

There are echoes of classical, and in particular Stoic, attitudes in Johnson's remarks. The key relationship is between the individual and the universally valid civilizations which were created in the Mediterranean. Spatial and national divisions fade into the background, and the key concern is the connection between individual characters and universal sources of evaluation (culture, civilization, wisdom, virtue, and so on). Thus, it is not surprising that Johnson praises the manners of Omai, as an individual, even as he roundly rejects "the savages." Boswell reports that in 1776 Johnson

> had been in company with Omai, a native of one of the South Sea Islands, after he had been some time in this country. He was struck with the elegance of his behaviour, and accounted for it thus: "Sir, he had passed his time, while in England, only in the best company; so that all that he had acquired of our manners was genteel. As a proof of this, Sir, Lord Mulgrave and he dined one day at Streatham; they sat with their backs to the light fronting me, so that I could not see distinctly; and there was so little of the savage in Omai, that I was afraid to speak to either, lest I should mistake one for the other."[5]

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[3] Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Volume VIII, page 312. The three volumes referred to here are the authorized edition of Cook's third voyage, which were first published in 1784.

[4] Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Volume VI, page 154.

All civilized people are also alike. In Johnson's world, a sharp distinction between civilization and savagery is coupled with the ability of individuals to move from one side to the other. Some groups of people, like the English, may be more advanced than other groups, but the focus on individuals means that there could be as much variation in character within groups as between them. As a result, the key issue for Johnson is the extent to which people have been influenced by the best aspects of the Mediterranean. And savages can be found as much in the South Pacific as in Scotland.

The Mediterranean is not simply a moral ideal, it exists as a space to be contrasted or connected with other spaces. The dispersion of savagery and civilization in a morality that is largely indifferent to space existed alongside another, which reenforced the large spatial divisions between Europe and the outside. And for some English writers, it becomes very important whether the English look towards the north or the south. Milton writes to the English parliament, for instance:

> I might defend myself with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, than the barbaric pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian stateliness. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we owe that we are not yet Goths and Jutlanders, I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the parliament of Athens, that persuades them to change the form of democracy which was then established.[6]

On the other hand, whereas primitivism in Milton and Johnson is a pejorative, for some people in the 18th century primitivism was an ideal, which remained sharply contrasted to the ideals of the classical world, but which acquired a higher value. Whereas writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau used examples connected to islands in the Caribbean and other

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[5] Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Volume VI, page 124.

[6] Milton, *Areopagitica*, in *The Prose Works of John Milton*, Volume I, page 288.

regions in the Americas, from Wallis's voyage on a dominant image of primitivism for Europe was Tahiti. Here was an entire society where life was soft and people lived according to nature, in contrast to the frivolity and violence of Europe. In the words of Beaglehole,

> So almost suddenly, so overwhelmingly, was the idea of the Pacific at last to enter into the consciousness, not of seamen alone but of literate Europe, in the form of this remarkable, this — as it were — symbolic island.... Wallis had not merely come to a convenient port of call. He had stumbled on a foundation stone of the Romantic Movement.[7]

Along the same lines, Gavin Daws writes that

> In Europe Tahiti came to stand for the South Seas, and the South Seas came to stand for release from the constraints of civilized life, for the life of nature, for freedom and delight.[8]

Throughout the published accounts of Cook's voyages, there are images that echo this characterization of Tahiti and the South Pacific. During the second voyage, for instance, Cook reflects on one his crew who attempted to escape from the *Resolution* and remain on Otaheite.

> Where then could such a man be more happy than at one of these isles? Where, in one of the finest climates in the world, he could enjoy not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, in ease and plenty.[9]

In a letter to John Walker, dated September 13th, 1771, Cook discusses the natives of the "East Coast of new Holland" in a similar way.

> These people may truly be said to be in the pure state of Nature, and may appear to some to be the most wretched upon Earth: but in reality they are far more happier than that [sic] we Europeans, being wholy unacquinted not only with the superfluous but [?also] of the necessary Conveniencies so much sought after in Europe they are happy in not knowing the use of them.[10]

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[7] Beaglehole, *Cook's Journals*, Volume I, page xciv.

[8] Daws, *A Dream of Islands*, page 4.

[9] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 343.

Here, Cook is not claiming that people in the state of nature are virtuous, pious, or civilized, but they are happy, at least in a utilitarian sort of way. As in Rousseau's writings, the happy life is the one that lacks complicated and degrading economic and social relations, such as those in Cook's England. In John Marra's account of the second voyage, Tahiti is idealized with Biblical motifs. He writes that

> it is indeed a paradise where the curse pronounced in Eden has not yet taken place. No man here is under the necessity of getting his bread by the sweet of his brow.[11]

While Cook's voyages tend to focus on commodities and technology, other books from the voyage invoke more exuberant images, which connect the natives of the South Pacific more to European Romanticism than to the utilitarian satisfaction of simple economic desires. In either case, however, the primitive life offers a challenge to the moral superiority of Europe.

The characterization of South Pacific natives in romantic terms is also evident in the engravings from Cook's first voyage (see picture 8). According to Smith, in his extensive analysis of the drawings and illustrations from Cook's voyages, Cipriani, who produced engravings for the first voyage,

> made extensive alterations in redrawing Buchan's sketch, evidently to bring it into line with Hawkesworth's interpretation of the Fuegians. He had made the six squalid figures in the sketch more comely and graceful, and has added four more at the entrance of the hut; the two figures introduced at the right suggest a Tobias and Angel prototype. These additional figures transformed the state of miserable wretchedness depicted by Buchan into a state of primitive elegance imagined by Hawkesworth.[12]

As has been noted, these images were not simply Hawkesworth's; they were a wide-spread attitude towards the islands of the South Pacific, at least as they

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[10] Beaglehole, *Cook's Journals*, Volume I, page 509. Letter to John Walker. The editorial notations are Beaglehole's.

[11] Marra, *Journal of the* Resolution's *Voyage in 1771 - 1775*, page 197.

[12] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 40.

had been connected to the available accounts of Tahiti and the desires of the Europeans for an idyllic place outside of civilization.

Smith argues that European attitudes towards the primitive changed during Cook's three voyages, and the change continued through the works of Flinders, and finally to those of Wilkes and d'Urville, who both travelled through the Pacific in the middle of the 19th century. In summarizing his overall account of the history of primitivism, Smith claims that

> the whole primitivistic interpretation of Pacific peoples was being challenged from many directions at the time the *Account* [of Cook's third voyage] was published. There was, for example, the growing insistence by scientists and philosophers that particularized and factual accounts of native peoples must be assembled. There was, too, the wide publicity given to massacres and atrocities perpetrated upon navigators by hostile natives. And there was, above all, the austere religious temper of evangelical thought growing more powerful among all classes of English society year by year, a temper that was disposed to take neither a lenient view of cannibalism, infanticide, and what appeared to be the licentious dances and sexual orgies of native savages, nor of the parodies of such things which pamphleteers and popular versifiers had made capital use of during the 1770's.[13]

There are several problems with this characterization. Smith fails to consider, for instance, the evident tension between "particularized and factual accounts of native peoples" and the "austere religious temper of evangelical thought." While the first ties into the dominant scientific motifs of Cook's voyages, which will be discussed below, the second is an attempt to recreate a sharp orientalist-like dichotomy, in this case between Christians and heathens. What Smith misses, in other words, is that the reactions to a Rousseauian idealization of nature came from directions that were themselves incompatible, and that continued the debate rather than won it.

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[13] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 137.

Also, the conflicts and their corresponding strategies of representation cannot be so easily divided. The competing images occurred throughout this period. The debate over the status of the savage, for instance, is as evident in Cook's first voyage as it is in the voyages of the 1850's. Different writers adopted different beliefs, and focused on different evidence. But the differences in opinion are as much connected to different political and moral commitments. Thus, rather than one evaluation of primitivism supplanting another, as if new information demonstrated the truth of one account and refuted its opponent, the debates continued as new information was printed and already published information was re-worked. And if at some point the noble savages of the South Pacific were no longer popular, or available, in the debates, the noble savages of ancient Britain became increasingly so.

Accounts of facts and events were, of course, very important for the debates. As would be expected, events such as the death of Furneaux's away team in New Zealand during the second voyage were of particular interest. One dialog, which can be found in Sparrman's journal from the second voyage, suggests a typical European reaction.

> When he dined with Cook and his officers aboard the *Resolution* at the Cape of Good Hope in March 1775, Crozet told them of the massacre at New Zealand and of Rousseau's response: 'Is it possible that the good Children of Nature can really be so wicked?'[14]

Given the intellectual terrain of late 18th century Europe, there were several plausible answers to Rousseau's question which, when taken together, suggest some of the key ways that human nature was understood and human groups were articulated.

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[14] Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*. page 125, reference from Sparrman's journal, 1944, pages 187 to 188.

One response is to claim that the natives were provoked, such as by the brutality of the English sailors. In this case, the idealization of the natural, primitive state can continue, and the guilt can be placed on the "so-called" civilized people. Consistent with this line, a passage in the Admiralty's account of the second voyage reads:

> we found these people hospitable, civil, and good-natured, when not prompted to a contrary conduct by jealousy; a conduct I cannot tell how to blame them for, especially when I consider the light in which they must view us. It was impossible for them to know our real design; we enter their ports without their daring to oppose; we endeavour to land in their country as friends, and it is well if this succeeds; we land, nevertheless, and maintain the footing we have got, by the superiority of our fire-arms. Under such circumstances, what opinion are they to form of us? Is it not as reasonable for them to think that we come to invade their country, as to pay them a friendly visit? Time, and some acquaintance with us, can only convince them of the latter.[15]

The innocent or the virtuous are thus able to do terrible things, but only in reaction to the flawed actions or characters of others. The blame for the atrocities, in other words, rests with the Europeans who, whether from impatience, misunderstanding, or brutality, forced the "children of nature," who were not themselves wicked, to react in wicked ways.

Another available response to Rousseau's question is to distinguish individual natives from the general characterization of primitivism. For instance, Anna Seward, a contemporary of Cook's, responded to a similar challenge created by the death of Cook on the third voyage. Smith characterizes her argument thus:

> the islanders are still people endowed with natural sensibility and a freedom of emotional expression which they have derived from the simplicity of the 'natural' life. For her the death of Cook resulted from the treachery of individual natives.[16]

The general qualities of the primitive, natural life are thus maintained by

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[15] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 61.

[16] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 122.

appealing to the exceptional (and degraded) characters of individuals. As a result, Seward offers an account of the spatial and moral world that mirrors the one evident in Johnson. While the South Pacific has replaced the empires of the Mediterranean as the ideal, it is still necessary (and possible) to explain the Catalines and Caligulas by their individual characters and leave the general qualities of the ideal intact.

A third response to Rousseau's question, adopted by the missionaries, among others, is to argue that in fact the "children of nature" were not noble, and that the sharp contrast between civilization and savagery is clearly in favour of civilization. Here, the emphasis is on the negative qualities of non-Europeans. The response, of course, directly challenges the idealization of primitive life that was connected to Rousseau's writings. Nature is not the source of virtue or goodness, civilization is. Such responses also echo Johnson's attitudes. Boswell recounts Johnson's belief that

> Pity is not natural to man. Children are always cruel. Savages are always cruel. Pity is acquired and improved by the cultivation of reason.[17]

With Johnson, if natives were like children, it was because they could also "grow up" into the civilized and Christian adult world that arose out of the Mediterranean empires. At times in the Admiralty's edition of Cook's first voyage, Cook's voice also echoes this sentiment, or is at least aware of its challenge.

> Yet if we admit that they are upon the whole happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views.[18]

At other times, Cook's voice adopts the contrary position, arguing that people in the state of nature are the ideal against which the corruptions of European

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[17] Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Volume II, page 221.

[18] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 108.

society can be measured. But each of these accounts revolve around the oppositions between the civilized and the primitive, where each term not only designates a group, but also an ideal. The debates focus first on the relative value of civilized and primitive ideals and then on the possibility for individuals to move from one to the other.

2. The Primacy of Place

But as the debates over civilization and primitivism were carried on in Cook's voyages and into the 19th century, the terms of the discussion changed. Rather than wondering about the character of "the savages" as a single group, the question is shifted to wonder about what specific group of "savages" is being talked about. This shift creates a fourth response to Rousseau's question, which is to ask in turn: "which natives?" As a result, Cook's voyages mark an important shift in the way that the human condition is articulated and debated. It is possible to find passages that appeal to a sharp distinction between civilization and savagery. But there are also new ways of articulating human beings, first in relation to their environment, and then in relation to national identities.

One of the important aspects of late 18th century discussions of primitivism, as Smith and others have noted, is that the natives, just like plants and animals, are closely connected to their natural settings. The question of which natives, therefore, becomes intimately tied to the account of where the natives came from. Smith considers, for instance, a short piece written by M. Taitbout and published in 1779.

> Taitbout's pamphlet is of interest, not for the originality of its ideas, but because it reveals how notions of geographical control deriving from Montesquieu and applied by the Forsters to the islands of the Pacific, could provide a rational explanation for the soft primitivism with which Bougainville, Hawkesworth, Banks, Diderot, and others, had endowed the peoples of the Society Islands.[19]

18th century European ideas of soft primitivism thus combined an idealized image of a place (Tahiti) with a similarly idealized image of the people who lived there (Tahitians), and suggested that there was a close connection between the places and the inhabitants. As Smith notes,

> Instead of the *lex naturae*, revealed to man by virtue of his rationality, nature came increasingly to be considered as a climatic force operating upon the vegetable, animal, and human worlds alike. In the writings of the Forsters, M. Taitbout, and Hodges, nature is conceived as a concrete geographical force acting upon men from without through the agency of climate.[20]

The beginning, for Smith, is with the penguin. In Pennant's painting, which was included as an illustration of his article on the penguin for the *Philosophical Transactions*, the birds are shown

> in their natural climatic settings, there lay an incipient programme for the landscape-painting radically different from the neo-classicism predominant in British landscape-painting during the 1760's.[21]

But these associations soon became a general way to articulate the world. Smith continues:

> The relationship which existed between a species and its habitat could, however, be extended to all the species peculiar to a particular habitat. The placing of plants, animals, and primitive peoples in their appropriate environmental situation became a matter of increasing importance for the landscape-painter.[22]

Yet the close the connection between human groups and their habitats in Cook's voyages, while increasingly important, may at first have been accidental. The landscape painter in the first voyage, Mr. Green, had died at the Cape of Good Hope on the voyage out to the Pacific, and so most of the

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[19] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 87.

[20] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 86.

[21] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 12.

[22] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 4.

landscapes were produced by Sydney Parkinson, who had been trained to draw and paint biological specimens. As Smith notes, in reference to the edition of Parkinson's journal published after his death,

> Parkinson's book was praised because both in its descriptions and illustrations it did more than Hawkesworth's *Voyages* to distinguish one type of native people from another. It is significant that, for the most part, Parkinson's book does not portray natives in landscape settings. Parkinson's approach was more ethnographic, less primitivistic, than Hawkesworth's.[23]

While Parkinson's illustrations do not portray the natives in landscapes, the pictures are nonetheless organized in terms of space. The engravings are always marked by place names — "New Zealand," "Otaheite," and so on — even if the landscapes are not included.

Parkinson's physiological and ethnographical approach to the representations of human beings, with or without a concern for the habitat, is in sharp contrast to the discourses offered by both Johnson and Rousseau insofar as the general categories of primitive and European are not as important in the representations of human groups. The approach is also in contrast to discourses of "character," "class," "gender," and "race," which take the whole of human existence as their domain, and sifts individuals into categories which are scattered everywhere. Rather, the form of representation in Parkinson's journal, building on a geographical articulation of places, divides human beings into physiological and ethnic groups, as if they were species, and calls them nations.

And Parkinson is not exceptional. All three of Cook's voyages combine a sharp, detailed and geometrical articulation of places with a deep association between places and their inhabitants. As with the flora and fauna, the nation becomes an object of extensive analysis. Cook's voyages thus offer an image of social coherence largely based on geographical shapes. The island, as a natural

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[23] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 41.

entity, exists prior to the people, surrounds them, and forms them into a single unit. Consider the following chapter headings from the table of contents that covers the end of the first voyage. Notice the way that places and peoples are identified as an essential part of the narrative.

Chapter VI. Departure from New South Wales. — A particular Description of the Country, its Products and People. — A Specimen of the Language, and some Observations upon the Currents and Tides, page 202.

Chapter VII. The Passage from New South Wales to New Guinea, with an Account of what happened upon landing there, page 228.

Chapter VIII. The Passage from New Guinea to the Island of Savu, and the Transactions there, page 240.

Chapter IX. A particular Description of the Island of Savu, its Produce and Inhabitants,with a Specimen of their Language, page 258.

Chapter X. The Run from the Island of Savu to Batavia, and an Account of the Transactions there while the Ship was refitting, page 280.[24]

In this span of 80 pages, the *Endeavour* travels from New South Wales to New Guinea to Savu, where there is movement from one place to another — "departure", "passage", "run" — and then a description of "the Country, its Products and People." To better appreciate the significance of this structure, consider in contrast a similar list of chapters from one of Dampier's voyage, first published in the late 17th century. A similar organization of chapters can be found in other 18th century navigators, from Anson to Wallis.

THE Introduction, containing the Author's Departure from England, into the West Indies and the South Seas, to the time of his leaving Captain Sharp.

Chapter I. His Return out of the South Seas, to his Landing at the Isthmus of America.

Chapter II. His Return by Land over the Isthmus.

[24] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page iv.

Chapter III.	His Traverses among the West India Islands and Coasts, and Arrival in Virginia.
Chapter IV.	His departure for the South Seas again; his touching at the Islands of Cape Verd, and the African Coast, and Arrival at the Isle of John Fernando in the South Seas.
Chapter V.	His Course thence Northward, to the Isles of Lobos and Gallapagos, to Caldera Bay, Reo Leja, and Amapalla in the K of Mexico.
Chapter VI.	He goes back toward Peru, to the Isle Plata, Point Santa Hellena, Manta, Paita, Lobos, Puna, Gulaquil, and Plata again.
Chapter VII.	His Progress Northward again to the R. Saint Jago, Tomaco, the Isle Galleo, I. Gorgonia, the Pearl Isles, &c. in the Bay of Panama.
Chapter VIII.	He proceeds along the Mexican Coast to the Keys of Quibo, Rea Lejo, and the Harbour of Guatulco.
Chapter IX	He coasts along to Acapula, Petaplan, Estapa, Colima, Sallagua, Cape Corrientes; thence to the Isles of Chametly, Bay of Valderas, Isles of Pontique, other Isles of Chametly; Massaclan, Rosario, R. Saint Jago, Santa Pecaque, Isles of Santa Maria, Valderas, and Cape Corrientes again.
Chapter X.	He stands over the Southern Ocean for the East Indies, and arrives at Guam, one of the Ladrone Isles.
Chapter XI.	His arrival at Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands: and of its Natural State.

There are chapters in Dampier, such as Chapter XI, that are somewhat similar to Cook's descriptions of islands, of flora and fauna, of customs, of commodities and so on. Dampier's narrative thus suggests that Cook's voyages were not the first ones to contain detailed accounts of distant places, but there are nonetheless key differences between the conceptual foundations of the two voyages.

One difference is that Dampier's narrative is organized in terms of military adventure, while Cook's narrative is organized primarily as a description of places. There are relatively few chapters in Dampier that offer a description of "the Country, its Products and People." His narratives are not primarily of places and peoples, but of adventures. Where Dampier hunts for Spaniards, Cook hunts for islands.

Another difference is the appeal to coordinates and maps throughout Cook's voyages. Dampier offers descriptions, but Cook is engaged in a scientific articulation of places that builds on coordinates and spends considerable energy not only describing what he sees, but also describing the methods that are used to increase the reliability of his descriptions.

Finally, whereas Dampier offers detailed accounts of a few particular islands that he meets on his travels, Cook offers a detailed account of an extended, diverse area in which descriptions of peoples are closely connected to various explanations and evaluations. As a result, Cook's voyages not only offer descriptions of nations, they also offer investigations of those nations which create the possibilities of more detailed analyses, first in how nations are related to places and, second, in how those nation-places are related to each other or to general natural laws. Thus, while descriptions of places are included in Dampier's voyage, these descriptions form the core of Cook's voyages.

The changes in the relationship between places and peoples in Cook's voyages can be noticed in shifts in the words that are used. For instance, in the first voyage, whether one looks at the Admiralty's edition or Cook's manuscript journal, the people who are encountered are referred to as "Indians." There are countless examples. Near the beginning of the voyage, the Admiralty version reads:

> This day we learnt the Indian name of the island, which is OTAHEITE, and by that name I shall hereafter distinguish it: but after great pains taken we found it utterly impossible to teach the Indians to pronounce our names....[25]

At this point, the native name of the island is known, but the natives remain "Indians," an indiscriminate category referring to any and all of the non-Europeans that are encountered. At some stage in the production of the second voyage, however, the terms change. In the manuscript journals from the second and third voyages, Cook uses "Indian" throughout. In the *published* versions, however, "Indian" has almost always been changed to words such as "inhabitant" and "native." For instance, Cook's entry for January 17th, 1779 reads:

> The Ships were much Crouded with Indians and surrounded by a multitude of Canoes.[26]

The published version, on the other hand, reads:

> The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes.[27]

In the Admiralty's edition of the third voyage, the only time that "Indian" is used is when Cook is referring to the natives of North America (such as the Nootka) or when he refers to the plant called the "Indian mallo." Beyond that, beginning with the second voyage, there is a conscious decision to change the general term and to no longer use "Indian" to name the peoples of the Pacific.

The important change with the second voyage is not that Cook begins to use the word "native," but that the Admiralty's edition of his voyages stops using the word "Indian." In the first voyage "native" and "Indian" were more or less interchangeable. In the first voyage, the Admiralty version reads:

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[25] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 125.

[26] Beaglehole, *Cook's Journals*, Volume III, page 490.

[27] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 502.

> we passed a black bluff head, or point of land, upon which a great number of the natives were assembled, and which therefore I called INDIAN HEAD: it lies in latitude 25° 3'.[28]

Cook had also used "native" in the manuscript version.

> At 10 oClock in the PM we pass'd at the distance of 4 Miles having 17 f^m^ water a black bluf head or point of land on which a number of the natives were assembled which occasioned my nameing it Indian Head (Lat^de^ 25° 0')

In the published versions of second and third voyages, however, "Indian" drops out of use, and "native" becomes the dominant generic term for referring to non-European, primitive groups. However, what this means is that "native" becomes equivocal, referring both to the specific group — "the nation of...", "the inhabitants of..." — and to the general group of non-Europeans taken together. As a result, the meaning of "native" can approximate the meaning of "inhabitant" and also the meaning of "primitive."

Behind the change from "indian" to "native" there is an evident shift in how human beings are articulated in terms of their worlds. The change is from a generalized grouping (of Indians or savages) to a particularized description of the specific people divided from those in other places. The "natives" and the "inhabitants" are connected to their places, which are then used as the basis for the spatial organization of race, custom, language and so on. If "native" is used in its geographical sense, it fosters an account of human beings that are connected to (and perhaps therefore explained by) the land in which they live. The native or inhabitant is connected to the place, existing as a group in relation to a place which is itself a natural entity. Phrases such as "this island and its people" thus pervade the voyages. And it is here, in opposition to the dichotomy based on "savages", "Indians," and the

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[28] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 100.

Mediterranean, that the nation acquires a natural character and an epistemological edge, which cuts at the orientalist, primitivistic generalizations of the European self and the non-European other.

The basic terms of Cook's narrative thus return to *Robinson Crusoe* and the language of isolation. But it is now the native *nation* that is isolated. The island is no longer imagined as the absence of society and politics; it is a container for them. As a container, the island collects together a group of people who can be described both in general terms and with specific exemplars (such as Tupia and Omai). The island thus naturalizes the borders of a native people and attempts to determine their attributes (habits, customs, physical characteristics, and beliefs) by first connecting them to a bounded and distinct physical space which has already been coordinated and mapped.

Cook's naming practices also a way to emphasize the connection between peoples and their places. In the first voyage Cook changes the name of St. George's Island to Otaheiti. According to Paul Carter's analysis,

> when, on the *Endeavour* voyage, Cook restored St. George's Island to its native name of Tahiti, he was not so much exhibiting his interest in Tahitian sovereignty as his self-interest in establishing his precedence there over the island's earlier English visitor, Samuel Wallis.[29]

Even if Cook is establishing his precedence over Wallis, it is important to note the way that the new name also underlines the connection between people and places, which also marks one of the most significant differences between Cook and his predecessors. If the natives are connected to their places, then the use of native names becomes one more way to trace the connections, however sovereignty is understood. As a result, Cook is not simply establishing his status over Wallis as a navigator, he is also promoting a different way of articulating and explaining human groups in relationship

[29] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 67. "St. George"should be "King George" — Wallis named the island after George III.

to space. The change in name, therefore, is a way to establish Cook's claims as someone who can provide reliable accounts of particular native nations.

A similar naming strategy in Cook's voyages connects the place to one of its attributes. In the second voyage, for instance, Cook writes that

> The skirts of this island were covered with the elevations more than once mentioned. They had much the appearance of tall pines, which occasioned my giving that name to the island. [30]

Later in the same voyage, Cook writes that

> The other isle, which obtained the name of Bird Isle, on account of the vast number that were upon it, is not so high, but of greater extent.[31]

The connection between names and attributes is extended to the attributes of the human inhabitants. Keeping with examples from the second voyage, Cook writes that

> The conduct and aspect of these islanders occasioned my naming it Savage Island.[32]

and also that

> The promontory, or peninsula, which disjoins these two bays, I named Traitor's Head, from the treacherous behaviour of its inhabitants.[33]

These names, which are created throughout the three voyages, persistently emphasize the connection between places and the things that can be found there. But at the same time, the variety of names that follow this pattern constantly suggests the connection between people, animals, plants and specific geographical formations.

However, an important feature of this articulation of geographical and national space is that the world must be mapped into areas that can support clear and distinct national identities. One problem that Cook faces, as a result,

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[30] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 124.

[31] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 194.

[32] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 5.

[33] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 45.

is the existence of “adjoining parts.” This problem does not arise with Cook’s articulation of islands, but it does when the ideal of the island is applied to other areas, such as coasts or larger islands that have evidently distinct groups. In the third voyage, for instance, as the ships are coasting along the north east shore of the Pacific, Cook writes that:

> On the 18th a party of strangers, in six or eight canoes, came into the cove, where they remained, looking at us, for some time; and then retired, without coming alongside either ship. We supposed that our old friends, who were more numerous at this time about us than these new visitors, would not permit them to have an intercourse with us. It was evident, upon this and several other occasions, that the inhabitants of the adjoining parts of the Sound engrossed us entirely to themselves; or if, at any time, they did not hinder strangers from trading with us, they contrived to manage the trade for them in such a manner that the price of their commodities was always kept up, while the value of ours was lessening every day.[34]

Along the coast of America, which always threatens to become a continuity, the articulation of islands has turned into the articulation of sounds and villages. But the place remains a container, into which people are located by the descriptions. Phrases such as “the inhabitants of the Sound” occur throughout the voyages, in more or less the same places as phrases such as “the inhabitants of the island.”[35] Cook’s voice says, during the third voyage, for instance, that,

> Were I to affix a name to the people of Nootka, as a distinct nation, I would call them Wakashians, from the word wakash, which was very frequently in their mouths. It seemed to express applause, approbation, and friendship; for when they appeared to be satisfied, or well pleased with any thing they saw, or any incident that happened, they would, with one voice, call out, Wakash! wakash![36]

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[34] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 255.

[35] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 252.

[36] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 309.

The phrase “the people of Nootka” suggests that the land possesses the people. In later voyages and with the creation of English imperial control over the area, but not with Cook, “the people of Nootka” simply become “the Nootka.” But what these people share, at least at first, is neither a physical characteristic nor a disposition. They may not even share a language. The primary groups are articulated spatially, and then the narrative turns to consider what “they” are like and what, if anything, they name their places and themselves. Characteristics, dispositions, beliefs, and lifestyles are all tied to the national groups that are contained in the first instance by their place.

But if the problem of adjoining parts is resolved by appeal to the image and grammar of the island, the articulation of place in Cook’s voyages also faces the problem of ocean communication *between* islands. Why are islands so obviously separated from each other? The answer, implied throughout Cook’s narrative, is because the distance between them is also a barrier that helps preserve their identities by preserving their isolation. What the articulations of place in Cook’s voyages must do, in other words, is ensure that the islands correspond to specific metaphysical and epistemological ideals which existed well-before Cook ever saw an island in the South Pacific. To push this issue one more step, for the South Pacific to work as an epistemological ideal, Cook must forget how he got there, or at least resist the claim that any one else (and specifically natives from other islands) could move in the same field. Islands cannot communicate, or the system of national descriptions does not work.

3. Articulating Nations

Having been separated from the inhabitants of other places, they (it, the nation) became an object of study. Once “Indian” was no longer used as the primary category, more information became interesting, if not required. As a

result, Cook's voyages have often been placed at the beginning of modern European anthropological discourse, as one of the first and one of the best of the early accounts of the South Pacific. It is from his voyages that knowledge of the South Pacific begins. But the voyages discuss *how* places and people should be known. They are epistemological as well as navigational narratives. As Besant writes in his late 19th century biography of Cook:

> In many respects the methods recommended by modern students of anthropology might have been based upon those followed by Cook and his sagacious assistant [Anderson].[37]

Along with the move from Indian to savage to native or inhabitant, the voyages include an extended, although fragmented, discussion of how it is possible to know other people. The geographical table leads to the reification of nation, turning people into a fixed entity, surrounded by accounts, remarks, and analyses. Vague generalizations become definite descriptions because the clarity of geographical units in turn help clarify anthropological units.

Having fixed the places of the world through geometry, navigational instruments, place names, and portraits, the nations (the people, the inhabitants, the natives) become important objects of study. Dampier may have offered a narrative of his time spent in various nations in the South Pacific, but Cook also offers an analysis following the scientific principles then promulgated by core intellectual institutions in Europe. How should these nations be approached? It is not enough to collect whatever information comes to hand. It is at the very least important to pay attention to where and from whom the information is collected. Otherwise, the articulation of specific native nations will fade once again into a general account of primitive Indians. The enquiry involves a variety of different relations

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[37] Besant, *Captain Cook*, page 136. See also page 179. George Forster was also closely connected to the late 18th and 19th century anthropology, specifically in Germany.

towards the island, from viewing behaviour, to collecting artifacts, to testing reactions, to asking questions. From time to time, Cook describes these geographical, biological, and social forays with words such as "soundings"[38] and "examinations."[39] The goal of the voyages, then, was not only to create a complete description of the place and the people, but also to show how such descriptions should be produced.

Cook must somehow secure access to the artifacts of the nation, just as he must somehow secure access to the resources of the place. Most of the time, collecting data depended on creating some level of interaction — there is some information that can be collected at a distance or by force, but very little. In the introduction to the second voyage, for instance, Cook represents the will to knowledge that animates much of the voyage.

> I was also directed to observe the genius, temper, disposition, and number, of the inhabitants, if there were any, and endeavour, by all proper means, to cultivate a friendship and alliance with them.[40]

One incident, from the first voyage, at a place Cook named Poverty Bay, suggests Cook's overriding commitments. Not being able to gain access to the beach due to high surf, Cook attempts to "get some of the people into my possession without mischief." The people in the canoe attempt to escape to the shore, but Cook

> ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, as the least exceptionable expedient to accomplish my design, hoping it would either make them surrender, or leap into the water.[41]

The people in the canoes, however, decided to fight. They were throwing

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[38] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 157.

[39] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 100.

[40] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 25.

[41] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 282.

stones so vigorously, according to Cook's account,

> that we were obliged to fire upon them in our own defence; four were unhappily killed, and the other three, who were boys, the eldest about nineteen, and the youngest about eleven, instantly leaped into the water; the eldest swam with great vigour, and resisted the attempts of our people to take him into the boat by every effort that he could make: he was however at last overpowered, and the other two were taken up with less difficulty.[42]

In his calmer reflections on this episode, Cook admits to his readers that these deaths were "unfortunate." However, he affirms,

> the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people.[43]

Having taken the boys on board, Cook then attempts to gain their confidence by giving them presents and convincing them that they were safe in his custody. Once they were secure as sources of knowledge and access, the three boys then became the basis for Cook's access to the people on the shore, and thus to nation as such.

Smith discusses how important it was for the artists in particular to cultivate peaceful relationships with their subjects in order to produce portraits.[44] When the explorers and the natives are on good terms, the Europeans are given extensive access to the people and the place. In the first voyage, for instance, Cook recounts how,

> In their walk, they visited several houses of the natives, and saw something of their manner of life; for they showed, without any reserve, every thing which the gentlemen desired to see.[45]

Sometimes, however, the natives did not show the gentlemen everything,

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[42] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 282.

[43] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 282.

[44] Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*, page 77.

[45] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 304.

and either resisted attempts to land or organized the interaction in specific ways and turned the attention of the visitors away from certain things. There are many examples of Cook or his fellow-travellers being guided to unexplored parts of an island, only to be brought to already-familiar places. For Cook, these attempts to rework the European intrusions are often understood in terms of native deceitfulness or jealousy. Cook, after all, by his own admission, is keen to show the natives whatever they want to see on the ship. As a result, the voyages are permeated with an ethics of exchange in which those who resist the relationship, wherever they are met, are judged harshly. Disclosure, voluntary for one nation, becomes mandatory for the other.

In Forster's account of the second voyage, Cook is periodically criticized for forcing the natives to divulge information. In the first volume of his account, for instance, Forster writes in general terms that,

> If the knowledge of a few individuals can only be acquired at such a price as the happiness of nations, it were better for the discoverers, and the discovered, that the South Sea had still remained unknown to Europe and its restless inhabitants.[46]

Others, such as Marra, praise Cook for his restraint.

> The captain finding nothing to be got here without a great deal of bloodshed, and without hazarding the lives of his people to no good purpose, thought proper to embark, and to continue his course in search of a more hospitable people to recruit his stores.[47]

But the restraint that Cook shows at these points in the voyage is a restraint that arises from the imperatives of European exploration. To leave something unknown is one of the greatest sacrifices that Cook can offer to his readers, and so not only helps to demonstrate his reasonableness, but also

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[46] Forster, *A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop,* Resolution, Volume I, page 368.

[47] Marra, *Journal of the* Resolution's *Voyage in 1771 - 1775*, page 250.

makes him worthy of the highest praise. And in any event, the places that were not thoroughly examined are marked as such for the investigation of future navigators.

Through all these samplings, observations and experiments, an account of the nation as a single, well-defined entity can be offered. We can see some of the ideals of knowledge that will animate the 19th century. As Foucault has noted in his discussion of the rise of European social statistics,

> One of the great innovations in the techniques of power in the eighteenth century was the emergence of "population" as an economic and political problem: population as wealth, population as manpower or labor capacity, population balanced between its own growth and the resources it commanded. Governments perceived that they were not dealing simply with subjects, or even with a "people," but with a "population," with its specific phenomena and its peculiar variables: birth and death rates, life expectancy, fertility, state of health, frequency of illnesses, patterns of diet and habitation.[48]

There are evident parallels between Foucault's discussion of population and Cook's articulation both of his own ships and of the national identities. Similar measurements exist in part because both governments and explorers could appeal to fixed territories in which the measurements could be taken. Thus Cook could estimate the population of the islands of the South Pacific while others, such as William Wales, the astronomer in the second and third voyages, could debate the population of England.[49] But, as Foucault points out, population is not simply about counting bodies, it is also about affirming the existence of the entity that can be measured, and eventually governed. In this way, the emergence of "population" is also connected to the emergence of "nation" as a set of data connected to a spatially and politically contained group.

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[48] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Volume I, page 25.

[49] See Wales, *An inquiry into the present state of population in England and Wales*.

But determining the number of people in an area is a single item in a much larger set of descriptions. All of the descriptions, however, are tied to the national entity that is itself tied to a geographical entity. In Cook's world, everything is from somewhere, and where it is from is marked by the intersection of places and nations. The discussion here will not be concerned with the details of Cook's descriptions. We are more concerned with the general patterns of description in the voyages, and in particular how the nation becomes a central category that organizes the articulation of human nature and the human condition. Four important themes in the descriptions of nations that will be discussed here are physiology, language, character and customs. The discussion of sovereignty will be delayed until the next chapter.

One important aspect of a nation is its physical appearance, including its height, build, and hair colour. Cook writes during the third voyage, for instance, that the inhabitants of New Caledonia

> are nearly of the same colour as the natives of Tanna, but have better features, more agreeable countenances, and are a much stouter race; a few being seen who measured six feet four inches. 50

Cook's descriptions tend to be straightforwardly biological, combining mechanical and aesthetic categories. Some nations are "well-made," others are "ugly" or ill-proportioned. In addition to the descriptions, the artists on the voyages produce portraits. In the first voyage, the fate of the portraits parallels the fate of the landscapes: details in the sketches were transformed into stereotypical classical images. In the second and third voyages, and in Parkinson's work in the first, on the other hand, there was a greater attempt to represent individual, or at least national, characteristics.

As a result, the portraits became the basis of scientific debates between people who had never travelled outside of Europe. The drawings executed by

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[50] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 109.

Hodges during the second voyage, for instance, are brought into the controversy between Wales and Forster. In his response to Forster's criticism of a specific portrait, Wales writes:

> For my part, I will not flatter Mr. Hodges so far, as to say I think his drawing either a national or particular likeness. It could not be the former, because Tinamai differed from every one else of her countrywomen in the circumstance of wearing her hair long; and, with all due deference to Doctor Forster's opinion, I cannot help thinking that he has rather flattered her.[51]

The specifics of the controversy between Wales and Forster are less important here than the fact that such a controversy can take place. There are, in fact, two controversies: the first revolving around the portrait as a representation of a specific individual, and the second revolving around the portrait as a representation of a specific nation. The portrait, in other words, can represent the individual and the national species, and thus becomes a statement about the world, which can be verified or challenged. Mortimer, for instance, writes in 1789 of how,

> in this and every other particular [the natives of Oonalaska] exactly resemble the prints of them in Captain Cook's last voyage, taken from the elegant drawings of Mr. Webber.[52]

Individual portraits can also be taken up into larger collections of portraits. In *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, first published in 1785, Herder calls for "a collection of new ethnographical illustrations, the basis of which has already been laid by Niebuhr, Parkinson, Cook, Höst, Georgi, and others."[53] The parallel between biological and human groups continues, as does the importance of the printing press as a basic condition for the overall

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[51] Wales, *Remarks on Mr. Forster's Account*, page 28.

[52] Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks*, page 60.

[53] Kant, *Political Writings*, "Review of Herder's *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*," page 214.

process. As Eisenstein notes,

> Diverse names for flora and fauna became less confusing when placed beneath identical pictures. Constellations and landmasses could be located without recourse to uncertain etymologies, once placed on uniform maps and globes. Logarithm tables and slide rules provided common measures for surveyors in different lands.[54]

One direct result of Cook's voyages was the popularity of "costume books" which included pictures representing typical, or at least idealized, clothing from places around the world (see pictures 14, 15 and 17) In these books, however, the relationship between the individual and the group is no longer problematic — as the costume has become the object of interest, and the face has once again become formulaic.

During the 18th century, language was often considered to be the central criteria for distinguishing one nation from another. It was also possible, as a result, to use language as a way to determine where nations have come from and which nations originated from the same source. As Johnson says,

> I have always difficulty to be patient when I hear authors gravely quoted, as giving accounts of savage nations, which accounts they had from the savages themselves. What can the M'Craas tell about themselves a thousand years ago? There is no tracing the connection of ancient nations, but by language; and therefore I am always sorry when any language is lost, because languages are the pedigree of nations. If you find the same language in distant countries, you may be sure that the inhabitants of each have been the same people; that is to say, if you find the languages a good deal the same; for a word here and there being the same, will not do.[55]

This assumption is carried into the Pacific, and so one thing that Cook and his companions create are lists of words and phrases from places throughout the Pacific. Cook realizes that the process is not easy, and the narratives often

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[54] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, Volume II, 697.

[55] Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, Volume III, page 242.

reflect on the best ways to construct such lists. In the first voyage he says:

> This method, though it was the best we could contrive, might certainly lead us into many mistakes; for if an Indian was to take up a stone, and ask us the name of it, we might answer a pebble or a flint;... however, as much as possible to avoid mistakes of this kind, several of us contrived, at different times, to get from them as many words as we could, and having noted them down, compared our lists.[56]

The primary goal was to create a reliable, ideally standardized, written list of words and their English equivalent. Language is also a crucial first step in further examinations, especially of the customs and beliefs of the natives. Ellis writes, in his account of the third voyage, that,

> as the only road to obtain this, is by a knowledge of the language of the country, every account that can be given must of course fall far short of the truth, till that knowledge is acquired.[57]

The lists of words is one way that writing and the printing press change the way that Europeans could interact with the world. When Cook first arrived at Point Jackson, he recounts an encounter.

> Having a catalogue of words in their language, we called several things by name, which surprised them greatly.[58]

It is possible for people like Cook to arrive at a distant place and speak the language, if only in a rudimentary way. And it is also possible to use the lists from many different places to compare which people use which words. In the third voyage, Cook writes about a list of words that Anderson collected from Adventure Bay, in New Zealand. Cook notes that

> his specimen of their language, however short, will be thought worth attending to, by those who wish to collect materials for tracing the origin of nations.[59]

But lists of words collected from places around the world are not, as with

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[56] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 224.

[57] Ellis, *Authentic Narrative*, Volume I, page 86.

[58] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 132.

[59] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume V, page 185.

Johnson, the primary criteria for distinguishing one nation from another. People on different islands, hundreds or thousands of miles away, often speak very similar languages. The implication is that Cook inverts the order of precedence. It is not so much that people who share the same language are members of the same nation, but that different nations can share the same (or a similar) language, and so be traced back to a shared origin.

In addition to the linguistic and physical aspects of the nation, Cook's voyages also provide an account of the nation's character. Here, for instance, Cook is describing the Tahitians:

> In their motions there is at once vigour and ease; their walk is graceful, their deportment liberal, and their behaviour to strangers and to each other affable and courteous. In their dispositions, also, they seemed to be brave, open, and candid, without either suspicion or treachery, cruelty or revenge....[60]

The people of New Caledonia are likewise described in terms of national characteristics. Cook writes that they are "not in the least addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be said of any other nation in this sea."[61] Some nations are peaceful, others are vicious; some are curious about the English and others are indifferent or fearful. Throughout this theme, what arises is the re-affirmation of typical humanistic concerns for character (virtues and vices), but as with most aspects of Cook's articulations of human beings, these attributes are connected directly to nations only indirectly to individuals. It is the *nation* that has the character.

The importance of portraits connects to the importance of bringing back a live specimen. Dampier had done so at the end of the 17th century, but in Europe "Prince Joely" became much more of an exotic novelty than an object of scientific study. According to Rennie, upon returning to England

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[60] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 188.

[61] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 109.

Dampier

> soon sold his painted Prince, who was advertised by his new owners as 'exposed to publick view every day' and privately by appointment to 'Persons of Quality'.[62]

In his first voyage, Cook also sought to bring back a native of an island in the South Pacific, although as part of a collective scientific enterprise rather than as a personal possession. Both Tupia and Tayeto, however, died in Batavia on the way back to England, and so Cook returned to England without living specimens. In the second voyage, captain Furneaux brought back Omai, "a native of Ulietea." Cook notes in the Admiralty edition:

> I at first rather wondered that Captain Furneaux would encumber himself with this man, who, in my opinion, was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of these happy islands, not having any advantage of birth, or acquired rank, nor being eminent in shape, figure, or complexion. For their people of the first rank are much fairer, and usually better behaved, and more intelligent, than the middling class of people, among whom Omai is to be ranked.[63]

According to Cook, there are two primary reasons why Omai was not an appropriate example of the natives of Ulietea. The first, which may be surprising to modern readers, is that Omai was too average, too unremarkable, and from too inferior of a class to be appropriate. The goal, it would seem, was to bring the *best* example, not a typical example. Cook's second criticism of the choice of Omai is that he was not a valuable source of information. Kippis also discusses Oedidee, another person that could have been taken back to England.

> Oedidee was a youth of good parts, and of a docile, gentle, and humane disposition; but as he was almost wholly ignorant of the religion, government, manners, customs, and traditions of his countrymen, and neighbouring islands, no material knowledge could have been collected from him, had our commander brought him away. He would,

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[62] Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, page 64.

[63] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 179.

however, in every respect, have been a better specimen of the nation than Omai.[64]

The class biases of the collecting process are obvious: the upper classes of Europe are looking for specimens of the upper classes of other nations. What would European aristocrats want with lower class savages?

But even before questioning the political assumptions that conditioned the choice of who counts as the best specimen, there is a prior question concerning the identities created by sampling. Allowing one person or one portrait to stand for a group of people assumes that the group of people share attributes that are not shared by any other group. There are times when individual natives are taken to be samples of a larger collection (genera). Often, this kind of generalization occurs when Cook is attempting to determine the character or customs of a nation. Can this nation be trusted? Are these people violent? And the assumption is that every member of the nation is more or less the same. On the other hand, in the second voyage Cook writes that:

> I once saw them make a batter of fruit and roots diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands, which were equally dirty; and when I expressed a dislike, was laughed at. I know not if all are so. The actions of a few individuals are not sufficient to fix a custom on a whole nation.[65]

At least in this passage, Cook allows that there will be exceptions. Some individuals from a dishonest nation may be honest, just as some individuals from a peaceful nation may be violent. Nonetheless, the accounts of nations in Cook's voyages constantly affirm the ability to derive a national character from observations of individuals.

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[64] Kippis, *A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World Performed by Captain James Cook*, page 224.

[65] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 310.

As with the articulation of language, physical appearance and character, the articulation of social practices, habits, technologies are also important attributes of nations, and so ought to be studied systematically. When Cook and his companions are collecting specimens from the different nation-places, they are working within a system of scientific expectations. They do not simply collect objects that appeal to their fancy, they collect objects that expand and eventually complete the acquisition of the nation's objects. They need to acquire certain kinds of things — handicrafts, tools, weapons, clothing — because whatever other appeal the objects may have, they are needed to create a full account of the place, just as samples of all the rocks, plants and animals are needed. Rickman gives a sense of the scope of this process.

> Besides the natural productions of the country, we purchased in these islands many tons of salt; much of their cordage and cloth; and a great variety of artificial curiosities, such as their weapons of war, their instruments for fishing; their cloaks and coverlids; their caps, masks, nets, instruments of music; their needles, thread, working-tools, bracelets, ear-jewels, and, in short, almost every thing that was new to us, or which was peculiar to them.[66]

Likewise, Cook and his crew look for the best examples of the objects to sketch.

> After having made a general view of their habitations, I sought for an inside, which might furnish me with sufficient matter to convey a perfect idea of the mode in which these people live.[67]

The goal, in other words, is to collect one of everything, and to determine what is typical and what is unique. However, while the unique objects may be more valuable to some collectors, the typical objects are important for creating the general account of the nation.

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[66] Rickman, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, page 332.

[67] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 291.

One of the key experiments that Cook and his companions pursued throughout the Pacific was to determine which nations were cannibals. Although they seldom claim to have directly seen natives eating human flesh, Cook and his crew discover what they take to be indirect evidence of the practice. In the Admiralty edition of the first voyage, for instance, the reader finds Cook claiming that:

> This day, some of our people found in the skirts of the wood, near a hole or oven, three human hipbones, which they brought on board; a farther proof that these people eat human flesh.[68]

The voyages also include accounts of interviews with natives, which sometimes suggests that the evidence and confessions cannot always be trusted. On the third voyage, for instance, Ellis writes that

> Some of our seamen made signs of eating the flesh, which signs they readily made too, probably because they saw us do it; and from this circumstance they were pronounced to be cannibals, though it is not unlikely but that we were too hasty in forming our conjectures.[69]

In the first voyage Cook notes that,

> to convince us that the flesh had been eaten, he took hold of his own arm with his teeth, and made show of eating: he also bit and gnawed the bone which Mr. Banks had taken, drawing it through his mouth, and showing, by signs, that it had afforded a delicious repast; the bone was then returned to Mr. Banks, and he brought it away with him.[70]

Banks takes the bone away as a memento of cannibalism, as a sign of the national character. The desire to collect evidence is coupled with the desire to collect curiosities. While the English did not eat human meat, they are obviously quite happy collecting body parts. Soon after finding the human

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[68] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 381.

[69] Ellis, *Authentic Narrative*, Volume I, page 192.

[70] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 379.

hipbones, Cook says that:

> The people here brought us out several human bones, the flesh of which they had eaten, and offered them to sale; for the curiosity of those among us who had purchased them as memorials of the horrid practice which many, notwithstanding the reports of travellers, have professed not to believe, had rendered them a kind of article of trade.[71]

And collecting evidence and body parts did not end with the first voyage or with the question of cannibalism. Cook writes during one examination from the second voyage that:

> The sight of the head, and the relation of the above circumstances, struck me with horror, and filled my mind with indignation against these cannibals. Curiosity, however, got the better of my indignation, especially when I considered that it would avail but little, and being desirous of becoming an eye-witness of a fact which many doubted, I ordered a piece of the flesh to be broiled and brought to the quarter-deck, where one of these cannibals ate it with surprising avidity.[72]

Of course, the discussion of cannibalism in Cook's voyages may recreate the sharp dichotomy between Europe and its other. But that is not all that it does. And it is not as if the dichotomies suddenly evaporate once national distinctions are articulated. Rather, the analysis of nations is carried out in ways that tend to re-emphasize the dichotomy, but with a considerable amount of detail. If Cook offers an account of savagery, he does so by first offering detailed accounts of a diverse array of savage nations. By unfolding a world of diversity, in other words, the voyages end up challenging the terms of Rousseau's question just as they challenge the terms of Johnson's dismissal.

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[71] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 384.

[72] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 248.

4. Classifying nations

Cook's emphasis on the nation-place connects to his ability to categorize places. He is a geographical Linnaeus in which places acquire the status of species: here is a place, here are its characteristics, and here is how their parts function as a whole. Thus customs, people, weather, geology, flora and fauna are all parts of a single entity. Because the nation is articulated as a social and political body, it has a specific arrangement of parts (groups and individuals). Not only are the members of the same nation different, they *have* to be different. One implication of this approach is that the concept of the nation establishes a way of distinguishing two kinds of difference, one between and the other within nations. The differences between nations are like the differences between species, which can be collected together into various genera. The differences within nations, on the other hand, are like the differences between parts of a body or a machine. Individuals thus do not represent the nation, but they can represent the part of the nation where they exist.

The territorial nation-state is, of course, not the only identity that is included in the voyages. There are also systems of identity that do not arise from space, such as gender, race and class. However, in Cook's voyages, these systems remained connected to space, their specific organizations are articulated as aspects of a place as much as "tools" and "climate" are. Cook thus combines a general account of such identity systems as gender with a totalizing summary of how women and men are instantiated in different nations. But the experience of diversity is nonetheless ceaselessly tied back to a sense of the normal territorial nation-state. Thus when Cook notes in the first voyage that:

> The women, contrary to the custom of the sex in general, seemed to affect dress rather less than the men,[73]

[73] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 43.

this characteristic is not taken to extend the possibilities of human existence so much as to mark an exception to the rule. The women of this place are noteworthy, but unimportant in the general account of what women are like. The way that Cook handles exceptions is important, if only because the account of the world in voyages could have proceeded in very different ways. With Cook, diversity exists between nations, and there is a sense that he wants to make nations as different as possible. But the articulation of any particular nation turns to a functional account in which the parts, such as women, are articulated in terms of an idealized coherent national identity. As a result, not only does the account minimize the importance of idiosyncrasies within a nation, it also minimizes any significantly different national organization. There are functions that are generally performed by women, just as there are functions performed by other groups within the nation.

Not only is one group of women subsumed by the general character of women, individual women also become less important. Ruth Dawson has discussed this characteristic of Cook's voyages through a comparison of the manuscript and print versions of the second voyage, and in particular an encounter in Dusky Bay, New Zealand, in April, 1773. In the manuscript version, Cook writes that he and his men presented a group of natives

> with fish and Wild fowl which we had in our boat, which the young Woman afterwards took up one by one and threw them into the Boat again giving us to understand that such things they wanted not.[74]

In the Admiralty's version, on the other hand, the woman does not appear as an active agent in the exchange. Rather, the passage reads:

> We presented them with fish and fowl which we had in our boat; but these they threw into the boat again, giving us to understand that such things they wanted not.[75]

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[74] Beaglehole, *Cook's Journals*, Volume II, page 116.

[75] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 90.

Forster's published account creates a similar generalization. He writes that:

> We offered them some fishes and wild fowl, but they threw them back to us, intimating that they did not want provisions.[76]

For Dawson, the result is that the woman is changed from an active agent to an almost absent part of a collective entity, which helps to confirm and naturalize a "male monopoly on leadership."[77] The patriarchal assumptions that permeate Cook's voyages, however, do not completely explain why the actions of a woman become the collective actions of a group. The man is also subsumed by the group, as, it should be noted, are Forster and Cook — Forster, after all, refers to what "we" did during the exchange. Human beings exist in groups, and individuals, when they exist at all, exist because they have a specific and persistent relationship to the national body. In general, then, the natives who retain their names in the published narrative, as with Cook's ship and England itself, are those who have either power or prestige. This pattern cuts in two directions. First, it means that many people lose their individuality, including women, natives, and regular sailors. On the other hand, when women have prestige, such as Oberea, who was ruler in Tahiti during Cook's first voyage, they retain their names from one voyage (and one edition) to the next. Nonetheless, even if there are some women who retain their individuality, the nation is nonetheless normally controlled by men. Oberea is an exception to a generalized and naturalized patriarchy, which is closely tied to national identities.

The functional relationship between parts of a nation suggests an important aspect of the debate over which natives should have been brought back to Europe. The belief that the nobles are the best part of the nation would be equivalent to the belief that the flower is the best part of the tree. The

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[76] Forster, *A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution*, Volume I, page 139.

[77] Dawson, "Mythologizing Pacific Women: Cook's Second Voyage," page 11.

nobles are important, not because they are quantitatively common, but because they are qualitatively the most important, the most honorable, and thus the most representative.

For Cook to describe a specific nation well, therefore, he had to follow a series of steps. It was necessary to collect enough information to reliably describe their language, their physical characteristics, their character, and their customs. Sometimes, this information involved a general survey of the inhabitants. Other times, however, the method was attached to a functional account of nationality, where certain people became interesting because of where they were thought to be in the social order. Cook is always trying to locate people of "consequence" and spends little time with the lower classes. There is, as a result, an evident assumption in Cook's voyages that the nations of the South Pacific are more or less organized like the nations of Europe: there are divisions in terms of class and gender, there are specific groups that serve specific, universal functions (such as priests, monarchs, and warriors) and there are problems that are faced by every nation, such as the problems of social order, resource management, and the afterlife. In other words, Cook's voyages do not simply contain descriptions of nations in the South Pacific, but also the ideal of the nation as such.

It may be objected that Cook's voyages do not approach biological classification in the same way that Linnaeus did, insofar as the voyages are concerned with the position of things rather than with their physiological organization. Where a specimen was discovered is not an immediate concern for Linnaeus, and plays no role in its location in the classification system. As Paul Carter writes,

> unlike the various branches of eighteenth century natural history, whose classificatory system derived from Linnaeus and wholly ignored the circumstance of discovery, exploration was a spatial discourse. It was attentive to the where and how of objects,

> and its strategic deployment of names was integral to its transformation of the natural world into an object of knowledge.[78]

For Carter, the epistemological difference is best personified in the relationship between Cook and Joseph Banks.

> Where Banks was preoccupied with the typical, Cook was concerned with the singular; where Banks tended to generalize, Cook tended to specify. And this, indeed, was the difference between botany and geography as they were practiced in the eighteenth century.[79]

The singular, in Carter's account, is the geographical place that arises through the travel narrative, and perhaps through the system of coordinates. Whereas Banks is concerned with the genera and the species of what he collects, Cook is interested in individuals. Carter continues:

> once specimens of all that came immediately to hand had been collected, the botany of the place held no further interest. As Banks wrote, 'The Plants were now intirely compleated and nothing new to be found, so that sailing is all we wish for if the wind would but allow us.'[80]

While this characterization is true to a point, Carter's discussion of Cook's voyages misses an important feature of the narrative, which occurs after Cook has located, named and mapped the singular place. Cook then describes the place in genera-creating terms: its climate, character, produce, and so on. Here, the nation-place has become the boundary of a species.

On the other hand, nations are not exactly the same as biological species. They are related to the world differently because they are neither dispersed nor mobile. Instead, nations are like singular plants who relate to each other in the system of classifications. Thus, rather than a new place offering the possibility of finding new species, the place guarantees that there

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[78] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 8.

[79] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 18.

[80] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 20. Quote from Banks's journal.

is one and only one to be found.

5. Explaining nations

At the same time that nations are divided in terms of their respective places, and classified in terms of their attributes, they are also connected back to the physical and biological character of their places. Places become not only objects of analysis, but also sources of explanations. The system of identification and classification of places parallels the system of identification and classification of nations. During the second voyage, for instance, Cook notes that,

> In short, of all the nations I have seen, the Pecheras are the most wretched. They are doomed to live in one of the most inhospitable climates in the world, without having sagacity enough to provide themselves with such conveniences as may render life in some measure more comfortable.[81]

The effects of climate, whether they have been determined or not, are pervasive, and so climate becomes one of the key variables for explaining the differences between one nation and another. Cook's voyages thus not only contain classifications of plants and animals, they also contain classifications of places and nations.

Significant metaphysical claims are at stake in the increased emphasis on the connection between nations and places. As Goetzmann claims, painting "produced a documentary art that not only complemented Cook's written descriptions but suggested the idea of "natural habitat" and ecological relations."[82] In the third voyage, Cook writes that

> I am persuaded that distance of place, entire separation, diversity of climate, and length of time, all concurring to operate, will account for greater differences, both as to their persons and as to their customs.[83]

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[81] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 172.

[82] Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men*, page 51.

But connections between peoples and places can be found throughout the three voyages. In the first voyage, the Admiralty edition reads:

> It is remarkable that the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego produce fire from a spark by collision, and that the happier natives of this country, New Zealand, and Otaheite, produce it by the attrition of one combustible substance against another: is there not, then, some reason to suppose that these different operations correspond with the manner in which chance produced fire in the neighbourhood of the torrid and frigid zones?[84]

This reflection does not occur in the manuscripts of either Banks or Cook, and was likely written afterwards by Hawkesworth. But similar concerns for the role of place in the modification of national identities occurs throughout the voyages. The accounts of the voyages also emphasize the importance of the fertility of the land. As a result, population will vary in "proportion to the extent of their ground capable of cultivation."[85]

> The muscular appearance, so common amongst the Friendly Islanders, and which seems a consequence of their being accustomed to much action, is lost here, where the superior fertility of their country enables the inhabitants to lead a more indolent life; and its place is supplied by a plumpness and smoothness of the skin; which, though perhaps more consonant with our ideas of beauty, is no real advantage; as it seems attended with a kind of languor in all their motions, not observable in the others. [86]

There is also a close connection between food and character. Animal foods produce costive characters.

> Their common diet is made up of at least nine-tenths of vegetable food; and, I believe, more particularly, the mahee, or fermented bread-fruit, which enters almost every meal, has a remarkable effect upon them, preventing a costive habit, and producing a very sensible coolness about them, which could not be perceived in us who fed on animal

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[83] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume V, page 193.

[84] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 219.

[85] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 227.

[86] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 136.

> food. And it is, perhaps, owing to this temperate course of life that they have so few diseases among them.[87]

The appeal to the physical character of a place is also use to help explain the physiological attributes of the inhabitants. The following quote, taken from Hawkesworth's account of the first voyage, suggests not only the tentativeness of the explanations that are being offered, but also their comprehensiveness. The voyages attempt to explain everything in these terms.

> If it be said that the mother's mind being impressed with different external objects, impresses corresponding features and complexion upon the child during her pregnancy, it will be as difficult to refer the effect into this cause, upon mere physical principles, as into the other; for it can no more be shown how a mere idea, conceived in the mother's imagination, can change the corporeal form of her infant, than how its form can be changed by mere local situation. We know that people within the small circle of Great Britain and Ireland, who are born at the distance of two or three hundred miles from each other, will be distinguished by the Scotch face, the Welsh face, and the Irish face; may we not then reasonably suppose, that there are in nature qualities which act powerfully as efficient causes, and yet are not cognizable by any of the five modes of perception which we call senses?[88]

But there is not always a simple correlation between the place and its inhabitants. There is a general correspondence which admits of some variation. The variation, however, is always tied back to the idealized identity in terms of which its variation is understood.

Cook's voyages thus also turn on the question of the relevance of human will or activity in relation to the inexorable influence of climate. The impact of nature is not the only factor in determining national identity. If nothing else, human actions also change national character, at least within

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[87] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 137.

[88] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 350.

limits created by the material conditions. During the second voyage, for instance, Cook writes:

> What the natives brought them here was real salt water; but they observed that some of them drank pretty plentifully of it; so far will necessity and custom get the better of nature![89]

Of course, this example connects to typical debates of the late 18th century, such as Hume's account of custom. In Cook's voyage, there is a constant interaction between human nature and customs, where customs tend to arise from the opportunities and imperatives of the nation-place. For the late 18th century, in other words, Cook's voyages offered a wide range of examples that spoke to this debate, but in a way that affirmed the basic interaction between nature and climate. Natural imperatives may be more important in some places than others, but the basic causal pattern remains intact. In other words, a large amount of variation, if properly understood, need not challenge a general account of human nature, so long as human nature is tied to the varieties of climate and situation.

Bernard Smith adopts the term "typical landscape", which he defines as "a form of landscape the component parts of which were carefully selected in order to express the essential qualities of a particular kind of geographical environment."[90] Typical landscapes are geographical species, which create a classification system for places. Smith considers some of the writings of Hodges, who was the artist on Cook's second voyage. In Hodges's

> discussion of the qualities desired in the travelling artist he has given the theory a geographical twist. The 'particular character' which travelling artists should seek out is not the particular kind of handling demanded by the aesthetic qualities of the subject, as whether, for instance, it partakes of the beautiful, the sublime, or the picturesque; it is the particular character determined by race, climate, and

[89] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 285.

[90] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 4.

> vegetation.[91]

In the quote that Smith gives from Hodges's *Travels in India*, which was first published in 1793, Hodges refers to "nation" rather than "race." This shift is significant insofar as race becomes increasingly important in 19th century accounts of human beings, often at the expense of nation. Nation (language, customs, dress, etc.) can vary from place to place (by climate, vegetation, or human activity). Race, on the other hand, is articulated as a physiological and fixed attribute. These debates will engage with the possibilities of change and the justification of control.

There are two distinct issues here: the patterns of identity and the possibility of change. Even if Cook's voyages are undecided on the possibility of change, Cook's voyages alter how the patterns of identity are articulated. Smith notes that

> two quite contradictory attitudes to nature run through much of eighteenth-century thought. On the one hand it was claimed that all our misfortunes are due to our departure from nature's laws, while on the other it was claimed that man could only raise himself above the brute creation by improving upon nature.

Smith continues,

> Whereas the discovery of the Society Islands ministered... to the first attitude, the discovery of Australia (and New Zealand) ministered to the second.[92]

But the variations of places suggest that these arguments are consistent, at least until they are generalized throughout the world. Perhaps some places need to change, some places do not. Perhaps the key question is who should be changed and who should do the changing. For the missionaries, Europeans should change the natives. For the Romantics, the natives should help Europeans change themselves. But in any case, Cook does not prove either Hobbes or Rousseau so much as he shows why they both can be true,

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[91] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 79.

[92] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, page 177.

depending on the nature of the material container in which the group exists, or at least on the shared nature of the group that is being contained.

6. Dichotomies and Differences

By focusing on how Cook's voyages move away from a basic division between civilization and savagery, a more complicated system of identities emerges, which connects many nations to many places throughout the South Pacific. One result of this move is to challenge a contemporary tendency to reduce all articulations of difference to a binary opposition between the self and the other.

In *Islands and Beaches*, Greg Dening uses the idea of the beach as a way to narrate the space of interaction between Europeans and natives. He writes that at first Europeans "could not control the islanders except by violence because there was no one to help them 'understand one another.'"[93] Over time, the beach becomes the place where Europeans acquire influence and finally domination over the natives. Dening's discussion is framed by the contrast (in Marquesian terms) between the *Enata* (the Men, the natives) and the *Aoe* (the strangers). It is a dichotomy which structures his entire argument. Dening groups all the outsiders into a single entity, even as his narrative divides the English from the Spanish, the French from the Americans, the Missionaries from the Whalers, and the Explorers from the Merchants.

On the other hand, Dening notes that "There is a chapter about the Marquesas in hundreds of books,"[94] but he never considers why accounts of the Marquesas are organized as chapters or what the broader image of the world becomes when that kind of organization is used. There may be a sharp

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[93] Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, page 11.

[94] Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, page 277.

division between the Marquesans and the outside, but there are similar divisions for many of the places around the Pacific, and when all of these dichotomies are combined into a single system, the dichotomy no longer remains the focus. The dispersion of distinctions becomes the primary concern. But Dening does not consider what the other chapters are about, or how the books connect the chapters on the Marquesas with the rest of the text. While Dening focuses on beaches (actually, only one beach), Cook focuses on islands. Cook is not simply offering Tahiti to the Europeans, he is offering places throughout the Pacific and the world. As a result, the places multiply.

The shift to islands and national identities is central to understanding why Cook's voyages mark a significant shift in the way that the world is articulated. A contrast between civilized and uncivilized remains in the voyages, but the contrast exists within a much more complicated system of identities and locations. Consider again the description of Tahiti that was offered by Beaglehole in his account of the impact of Wallis's discovery on European ideas.

> So almost suddenly, so overwhelmingly, was the idea of the Pacific at last to enter into the consciousness, not of seamen alone but of literate Europe, in the form of this remarkable, this — as it were — symbolic island.... Wallis had not merely come to a convenient port of call. He had stumbled on a foundation stone of the Romantic Movement.[95]

There is a troublesome shift in this passage from the Pacific to Tahiti, or, abstractly, from the ocean to the island. But difference between islands and oceans is crucial for understanding the difference between Cook and earlier explorers such as Wallis. Wallis did not present "the idea of the Pacific." Wallis was responsible for presenting Tahiti to Europe. But it was *Cook* who

[95] Beaglehole, *Cook's Journals*, Volume I, page xciv.

presented the idea of the Pacific, who collected together a world of containers, set them in relation to each other, and articulated the oceanic areas between them. The dichotomy between civilization and savagery still existed, but in a different articulation of space in which a table of different nations came to exist within a field of possible nationalities.

In the next chapter, the discussion will move from a general concern for the articulation of national identities to a more specific concern for the articulation of sovereignty. The relationship between the nation and the state in Cook's voyages combines two distinct themes. The first, covering the last three chapters, involves connecting Cook's geometrical and geographical articulations of space with the close physical and epistemological relationship between the places and the nations that are accounted for. The second theme, which begins in the next chapter, is to consider the relationship between territory, nationality, and sovereignty in European political philosophy.