Chapter Ten
Empires

We began with coordinates and we will end with empires. The image of a global political system comes last, not only because it is a suitable finish to an account of Cook's vision of the navigable world, but also because empire is located as the final term in a conceptual system. Through both epistemological and technological changes, mathematics and geography are tied to the organization of the human world. Empires, just like coordinates, are everywhere.

The British acquisition of places around the world is only hinted at in Cook's voyages. There is some talk of sending English colonists to places such as New Zealand, which are expressed in terms reminiscent of English expansion in late 16th century North America. Cook also performs the ceremonies of acquisition throughout the voyages. But in terms of the creation and production of an effective global political system, the voyages are largely silent. However, rather than offering an explicit vision of global politics, the voyages are important because they affirm, if not create, the conditions on which a fragmented global political system can be imagined. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said has discussed how Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* undercuts the clarity of 19th century empires.

> By accentuating the discrepancy between the official 'idea' of empire and the remarkably disorienting actuality of Africa, Marlow unsettles the reader's sense not only of the very idea of empire, but of something more basic, reality itself.[1]

The analysis of Cook's voyages has been concerned in part with how these empires became clear in the first place. The image of empire in the 19th century was based on a world of naturalized nation-states, connected through

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[1] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 29

movement, exchange and imperial power. In their clearest articulations, these empires did not have frontiers, they had collections. They *were* collections.

At this point in the discussion, there will be no attempt to offer a detailed account of 19th century European theories of empire. The goal, instead, is to suggest how the articulations of place in Cook's voyages could contribute to such theories and to help trace the distinctions between 19th century and earlier ideas of empire. For instance, when a writer like John Stuart Mill refers to England's "outlying possessions" in *Representative Government*, first published in 1861, he is articulating England's relationship to the world in terms that are largely consistent with the world of Cook's voyages. But it is not exactly Cook's world, and by that time Cook had become a hero for children's stories, not a primary text for the physical and social sciences.

When an empire is described in the 19th century, there are really two distinct questions that are being answered: the first concerns which territories have been collected by the imperial power, and the second concerns the relationship between the collector and the collected. Mill continues by claiming that:

> Outlying territories of some size and population, which are held as dependencies, that is, which are subject, more or less, to acts of sovereign power on the part of the paramount country, without being equally represented (if represented at all) in its legislature, may be divided into two classes. Some are composed of people of similar civilisation to the ruling country, capable of, and ripe for, representative government: such as the British possessions in America and Australia. Others, like India, are still at a great distance from that state.[2]

We can notice a resonance between Mill's categories and those that organize the articulations of the place in Cook's voyages, not only in their patronizing

[2] Mill, John Stuart, *Representative Government*, chapter 18.

attitude towards other nations, but also in the social ontology that focuses on nations as the basic social unit. England, as a nation, possesses “outlying territories,” which are all parts of a single empire. The relationship between England and its empire is, at least at first, one of ownership. The conflation of territory and nation here allows Mill to articulate the empire as both a spatial and political entity: by referring to India, he is also referring to the people of India, as if they were parts of a clear and distinct entity, much like Cook’s islands or England’s own idealized self-image. The outlying possessions are not simply areas, they are national, territorial, and (now intermediate) states which have been collected.

Some of the people that were discussed in previous chapters, such as Locke and Hobbes, had written about the islands along the east coast of the Americas in terms of possession, but with 19th century writers, the direct possession that can exist with islands has extended throughout the world, has been tied to nation-places rather than plantations, and has become an object of intense and often public study. These places, understood through the archives of the explorers, have been acquired by European powers through collecting, rather than through being “reduced to obedience,” as they were for Hobbes. In the 19th century, the globalization of political and economic domination was not only the extension of national territory by planting colonies in other areas, such as was generally the case in the 17th and 18th century colonization of the Americas. Rather, or in addition to this, the domination is based on collecting different nations and placing them in a persistent dependence. Connecting to the ideals of a global economy, the global empires of the 19th century were based on the proliferation of national difference, but difference always contained by the economic and intellectual structures of the market and the archive.

1. Cook and Empire

While Cook's personal responsibility for later political developments varies from one commentator to another, some connection between Cook's voyages and the English empire is widely accepted. The problem with many of those who reflect on this connection, however, is that they consider Cook as simply an historical agent who discovered various places that were later acquired, and who developed and who confirmed various technologies that were later to prove useful for other people to move around the world. But these writers do not spend any time considering what they mean by empire. Instead, readers are simply offered a history of English, or more generally European, activities around the world.

Consider, for instance, the use of "empire" in David Mackay's book *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science and Empire, 1780 - 1801*. The book traces various developments that occurred in the places that were significant parts of Cook's voyages, such as the penal colony in Australia, the fur trade in the North Pacific, and the shipment of breadfruit from Tahiti to the Caribbean to feed the slaves on the English plantations. Of course, these areas are connected to Cook's explorations, and are part of a broad scientific study of the world. But what is their connection to the empire? Australia is perhaps the best example of an imperial connection insofar as the development of the penal colony invokes many of the traditional colonial relationships. But the other examples are not as clear-cut. The fur trade between the northern Pacific and China was carried on outside of English political jurisdiction. Likewise, while captain Bligh's attempt to transport breadfruit from the Pacific to the Atlantic was serving the economic interests of the English in the Carribean, it is unclear at what points in the voyages he was either inside or outside the empire. Perhaps his ship was part of the empire — it was still subject to the king — but the islands of the South Pacific, such as Tahiti, were probably not.

The events associated with the *Bounty*, in fact, suggest some of the issues that arise with the appeal to empire as the dominant political category within which to understand the global relationships that followed in Cook's wake. Consider, for instance, a passage from George Mortimer's account of his voyage into the Pacific in late 1780s. In the introduction, Mortimer lists the parts of his voyage that will be entertaining to his readers. He writes:

> lastly, though not of the least importance, was our visit to OTAHEITE; whereby I have been enabled to communicate such intelligence to the Admiralty respecting the probable destination of the mutineers on board his Majesty's ship *Bounty*, as, it is hoped, will enable Captain EDWARDS of the PANDORA frigate, sent out expressly for the purpose of searching for these daring offenders, to bring them to that condign punishment they so justly merit.[3]

The sense of the world created by the mutiny on the *Bounty* builds on Cook's descriptions of the South Pacific, but the sense of political power and the applicability of a universal law is not tied to a sovereign territory. During this period, the English possess very few spaces in the Pacific, but their ships and their justice are everywhere.[4] The connection between justice and sovereignty is strong in Hobbes, and thus exile is articulated in terms of movement outside of dominion. As Hobbes writes,

> If the sovereign banish his subject; during the banishment, he is not subject. But he that is sent on a message, or hath leave to travel, is still subject; but it is, by contract between sovereigns, not by virtue of the covenant of subjection. For whosoever entereth into another's dominion, is subject to all the laws thereof; unless he have a privilege by the

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[3] Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks*, page vii.

[4] One interesting tension in the voyages is that the account of justice that Cook brings to the South Pacific is not exactly an English sense of the justice, at least insofar as there is no appeal to either common law or the intricacies of the actual laws in England. Rather, Cook is attempting to promote a minimal set of laws, justified in terms of rationalized economic and theological principles.

amity of the sovereigns, or by special licence.[5]

To be exiled, then, is to be sent outside of the control of the sovereign, and has little to do with a person's personal connection to places or groups. Bligh's project and his overthrow, on the other hand, suggest that the relationship between sovereignty and the rest of the world changes. Bligh never left the protection of his sovereign, and the mutineers never left the possibility of punishment.

2. Empire and Early Modern Thought

But to equate Cook's voyages so quickly with empire evades the fact that the concept of empire has a history. Up until the late 18th century, the concept of empire was relatively general, being more or less equivalent to political control. Derived from the Latin imperia, "empire" was used to designate any kind of political order, from the union of England, Scotland, and Wales to the "empire of Morroco."[6] Comparing the Latin and English editions of Hobbes's *Leviathan*, for instance, one finds that imperii is translated as both empire and sovereignty.[7] When Locke uses "empire" in his political writings, it is typically synonymous with "dominion" or "rule" or "sovereignty," as when he writes of the "fatherly empire" or the "right of empire"[8] that belongs to the ruler. Locke also writes of times when an

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[5] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Volume III, page 209.

[6] A term used by Salmon in his 1749 book, *A New Geographical and Historical Grammar*.

[7] Compare, for instance, the headings to the two versions of chapter 30 in *Leviathan*, where the latin "De Officio Summi Imperii" is equated with "the Office of the Sovereign Representative," and a passage in chapter 10, where "qui regebant imperii limites" (Hobbes, *Latin Works*, Volume III, page 76) is equated with the "bounds of the empire" (Hobbes, *English Works*, Volume III, page 83).

[8] Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, in *The Works of John Locke*, Volume V, pages 274, 275.

empire is changed "into a multitude of little governments," suggesting that empires are larger entities, but then he claims that these new entities are "so many new empires."[9] Finally, Locke refers to the "empire" that individuals give up when they leave the state of nature.[10] Taken together, these passages suggest that "empire" was a general term for power, and not for a specific political system which could be contrasted with other systems, such as a state or a republic.

Not only does a discussion of empire in the 18th century face the problem that "empire" did not identify a specific political order, it also faces the problem that some of the basic assumptions that permeated 18th century thought made it difficult to articulate large-scale political systems that were either legitimate or possible. One of the most obvious thinkers is Rousseau, who challenges the legitimacy of 16th and 17th century empires. In *The Social Contract*, for instance, Rousseau asks:

> How can a man of a people seize a vast amount of territory and deprive the entire human race of it except by a punishable usurpation, since this seizure deprives all other men of the shelter and sustenance that nature gives them in common? When Nuñez Balboa stood on the shoreline and took possession of the South Sea and all of South America in the name of the crown of Castille, was this enough to dispossess all the inhabitants and to exclude all the princes of the world? On that basis, those ceremonies would be multiplied quite in vain. All the Catholic King had to do was to take possession of the universe all at once from his private room, excepting afterwards from his empire only what already belonged to other princes.[11]

Behind the criticism of the Spanish empire-builders, Rousseau's ideal world is composed of naturally occurring territorial nations that are connected to

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[9] Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, in *The Works of John Locke*, Volume V, pages 324, 325.

[10] Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, in *The Works of John Locke*, Volume V, page 411.

[11] Rousseau, *On the Social Contract*, in *Political Writings*, page 152.

specific areas of the world. By its very nature, an empire cannot exist as a legitimate political order because at the very least it disrupts the connection between a nation and a state. But Rousseau's challenge to the creation of extensive dominions was far from unique, and, in fact, similar challenges can be inferred from the works of Hobbes and Locke.

In Hobbes's account, commonwealths may be large, but the image of the contractual body politic suggests an appropriate size which works against the acquisition of foreign territories and diverse people. In principle, sovereignty exists wherever there is political power. In practice, however, the organization of sovereignty faces natural limits. These limits can be seen from the way that Hobbes articulated colonies. In *Leviathan*, colonies are created through procreation.

> The procreation or children of a commonwealth, are those we call plantations, or colonies; which are numbers of men sent out from the commonwealth, under a conductor, or governor, to inhabit a foreign country, either formerly void of inhabitants, or made void then by war. And when a colony is settled, they are either a commonwealth of themselves, discharged of their subjection to their sovereign that sent them, as hath been done by many commonwealths, of ancient time, in which case the commonwealth from which they went, was called their metropolis or mother, and requires no more of them, than fathers require of the children, whom they emancipate and make free from their domestic government, which is honour, and friendship; or else they remain united to their metropolis, as were the colonies of the people of Rome; and then they are no commonwealths themselves, but provinces, and parts of the commonwealth that sent them. So that the right of colonies, saving honour and league with their metropolis, dependeth wholly on their licence or letters, by which their sovereign authorized them to plant.[12]

A colony is a spatially distinct political entity, which has been created in an area that was either already empty, or made empty through war, resulting in

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[12] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Volume III, page 240.

either expulsion or genocide. For Hobbes, colonies, apparently, cannot co-exist with former inhabitants, and while Hobbes's discussion treats the process as a logical possibility, more or less equal (logically and practically) to finding land that is unoccupied, he does not dwell on the brutality of the process. Historically, of course, the belief that there was unoccupied land in the Americas was to become an important assumption in justifying 18th century colonialism. Hobbes, much less apologetic than Locke, for instance, is willing to admit that areas have to be emptied by force. Locke, on the other hand, will assume that the lands are already empty, not of people, granted, but of property owners. The results, of course, are more or less the same: control of the land, and often the people, were acquired by European colonies across the Atlantic.

Yet by articulating colonies as smaller, newer body politics, it is difficult to see how Hobbes would articulate the control of the mother country lasting for an extended time. While the image underscores the relationship between the parts (and specifically the powers of government), it suggests that control over colonies will last only as long as the spatially distinct body politic is in its infancy. The colonies may not be automatically independent from their "Metropolis, or Mother", but they are at the beginning of a narrative where they will become so. It is simply a matter of maturation.

Another political arrangement that extends dominion which is discussed by Hobbes are provinces, which often include a variety of nations, that "remain united to their Metropolis." Here the primary examples are from classical Rome, which created a single administrative system in which their colonies became provinces and remained connected to the greater body.

> The Romans who had the sovereignty of many provinces; yet governed them always by presidents, and praetors; and not by assemblies, as they governed the city of Rome, and territories adjacent. In like manner, when there were colonies sent from England, to plant Virginia, and Sommer-islands; though the governments of them here, were

committed to assemblies in London, yet did those assemblies never commit the government under them to any assembly there, but did to each plantation send one governor.[13]

The idea of the province, however, is dangerous for Hobbes, if only because it raises the possibility that the papal power is legitimate — after all, if the Catholic church has been built upon the remains of the Roman empire, then the Pope can claim to be the legitimate sovereign of the former Roman provinces. The issue, for Hobbes, resolves to the question of protection. If the province is effectively controlled by the ruling nation or city, then the relationship is legitimate.

> This word province signifies a charge, or care of business, which he whose business it is, committeth to another man, to be administered for, and under him; and therefore when in one commonwealth there be divers countries, that have their laws distinct one from another, or are far distant in place, the administration of the government being committed to divers persons, those countries where the sovereign is not resident, but governs by commission, are called provinces.[14]

This extension is not only exceptional, it is also difficult to articulate when the territories are disconnected, especially when the separated territories can defend themselves. Why should the American colonies remain part of Britain when they no longer need, or even expect, British protection?

If the commonwealth establishes provinces, the coherence of the entire body politic can be imagined only if the colonies are either contiguous or remain strongly tied in some other way. Otherwise, the contractual and power relations would no longer be in force, and the people would not stand in awe of the centralized sovereign power. As Hobbes writes in an earlier part of *Leviathan*,

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[13] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Volume III, page 216.

[14] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Volume III, page 216.

> The multitude sufficient to confide in for our security, is not determined by any certain number, but by comparison with the enemy we fear; and is then sufficient, when the odds of the enemy is not of so visible and conspicuous moment, to determine the event of war, as to move him to attempt.[15]

These passages suggest that Hobbes's political categories are awkward as a way to envision a dispersed global empire. Of course, it is possible to *imagine* the creation of the political arrangements — anyone can submit to anyone else — the problem is in imagining how the dominion could be effective in practice, given that the basis of sovereignty is the protection that arises from a geographically and politically unified system.

A similar, although more explicit, attack on large-scale political dominions can be teased out of Locke's work. Locke focuses on the creation of colonies, but they are not articulated in terms of the military expansion of an already existing sovereign power. England is not invading lands in North America. Rather, people from England are moving to an area that no one owns, to begin again a process that has already occurred in Europe. Servants are hired, the land is cleared, families are consolidated, and the creation of responsible government can begin. For Locke, there is an inexorable tendency towards political independence, that is, towards the creation of small-scale, territorially limited, representative states. On Locke's principles, one group of people cannot legitimately invade the territory of another group, provided that the territory has been acquired legitimately. The native Americans who were living in the areas were driven off or killed, not because they were the legitimate owners, but because they were hindering the creation of legitimate ownership — that is, ownership based on cleared land, agriculture, and the Christian family. For Locke, in other words, the natives were not connected to the land, and had to be removed in order to allow a proper — that is,

[15] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes*, Volume III, page 155.

propertied — connection to the land to be created.

There are two relevant assumptions shared by Hobbes and Locke which made them ill-prepared to conceptualize, let alone justify, the kinds of political structures that would become commonplace in the 19th century. The first is that the political community in some way results from conscious individual human activity. The political and social orders are neither natural nor inherently collective. As a result, territory is created, although perhaps never completely settled, by the economic, contractual, and military activities of the commonwealth and its members. The second assumption is that the articulation of political space is built upon the fundamental need for contiguity. Distant colonies were like children in the state of nature — they will rely on the metropolis for some time, but these bonds are eventually broken and the children wander off on their own. What was unthinkable was a discontiguous and global empire where the territory is a patchwork of clear and distinct jurisdictions, often intermingled with territories controlled by other powers. Yet it was this image of empire that was so central to 19th century thought. The intellectual problem thus faced by 19th century European imperialists was to articulate a global political system that does not depend on claiming, as an imperial fiat, large areas of the world. How can an empire be legitimate? Cook's voyages help solve this problem by considering first the question of acquisition and second the ways that the parts of the world are related.

3. Empire as Collection

While it may be implausible to stand on the coast of a continent and claim the whole thing, the connection between the claimant and the island is more intimate. Why? In part because claiming depends on some kind of direct knowledge of what is being claimed. Thus, in the first voyage, Cook

performs a ritual that he and others performed throughout the Pacific.

> The party then fired three volleys of small arms, which were answered by the same number from the ship. When the gentlemen had performed this ceremony upon the island, which they called Possession Island, they reembarked in their boat.[16]

The ceremony, which is built on a geographically proximate relationship between the ship and the island, allows George III to acquire places in their particularity, even while the Spanish claim the Pacific as their own ocean. Cook does not claim continents or oceans, he claims islands.

> I then gave something to every one present; and to the old man I gave a silver three-pence, dated 1736, and some spike-nails, with the king's broad arrow cut deep upon them; things which I thought most likely to remain long among them: I then took the post to the highest part of the island, and, after fixing it firmly in the ground, I hoisted upon it the Union-flag, and honoured this inlet with the name of QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND; at the same time taking formal possession of this and the adjacent country, in the name and for the use of his Majesty King George the Third.[17]

And when those islands are large, the rituals only need to be multiplied. Thus near the end of the first voyage, Cook narrates his acquisition of the east coast of New Holland.

> As I was now about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I had coasted from latitude 38° to this place, and which I am confident no European had ever seen before, I once more hoisted English colours, and though I had already taken possession of several particular parts, I now took possession of the whole eastern coast.[18]

This is how the empires of the 19th century are formed — places are explored and collected in detail, first by the explorer and then by the government. Along these lines, Besant notes how Cook

> had given to his country Australia and New Zealand — nothing less; he had given to

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[16] Kippis, *A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World Performed by Captain James Cook*, page 131.

[17] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 388.

[18] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 196.

> Great Britain Greater Britain.[19]

The status of the empire as a gift, as a collection of objects that Cook offered to his nation — even though Cook had actually claimed them for his king as a matter of duty — connects back to the basic articulations of places (and nations) that have already been considered. Cook does not have to worry about maintaining frontiers. Rather, there are territorial objects that occur naturally in the world, and so building an empire is a matter of collecting them.

The collection also creates specific relationships between the collector and the collected, which suggests how power relations were understood and legitimated. Throughout *On Longing*, Susan Stewart has drawn attention to the role the collection plays in creating a sense of control, and the collections connected to Cook's voyages are no exception. The collection offered the information necessary to both justify European domination of non-European places, and the information necessary to plan appropriate economic, social, and theological projects. As Paul Carter wrote,

> To debate the ownership of land is to think of the land in question as a region, a geographical object that can be treated in isolation, as a legal or economic unit.[20]

We should also recall Said's claims that the goal of the European archives and social sciences is "to deliver the non-European world either for analysis and judgement or for satisfying the exotic tastes of European and North American audiences."[21] There is power in the creation of an imperial archive, not only because the archive depends on power, but also because power is enhanced and organized by the archive. To extend the connection between empire and the collection, however, we must notice that the kinds of control that are

[19] Besant, *Captain Cook*, page 84.

[20] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, page 136.

[21] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page xvii.

based on collecting are not necessarily the same as those that are created by traditional forms of conquest. Rather than conquest, the articulation of 19th century empires appealed to movements within and around the collection. And it is the relationship between the collector and the collected that best distinguishes the empires of the 19th century from previous European political systems. The system of identities and relations, imagined as points, containers, and tables, is infused with power: the power to move, to know, to exchange, and to control. With Cook's voyages, a scientific and exotic archival text spreads over the world.

The idea that empires are created by collecting nation-places is echoed in Said's account of modern empires in *Culture and Imperialism*.

> To think about distant places, to colonize them, to populate or depopulate them: all of this occurs on, about, or because of land. The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about.[22]

On Said's account, nations, which are identified by their places, are products of nature that enter into history as pure entities which imperialism subsequently mixes together. It is only with travel, and in particular with modern European travel, that they are changed. The problem with the current system, for Said, is that there are people (meaning nations) "suffering under the domination of an offshore power."[23] The shore is central here. What Said takes to be his primary adversary is created through geographical distance, and oceanic divisions in particular. Said's account of 19th century imperialism, in which "the idea of overseas rule — jumping beyond adjacent territories to very distant lands — has a privileged status,"[24] parallels the narration of movement in Cook's voyages from one place to another across a vast ocean. What Said fails to emphasize is how recent this idea of empire is,

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[22] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 78.

[23] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 220.

[24] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page xxiii.

or how different it was from empires up to that point.

The organization of knowledge in Cook's voyages parallels the tracks that he traces in the ocean. A table of places, which creates the primary system for organizing information, presents the world all at once, as an encyclopedia where it is possible to move from one place to another in a straight line. This image of global control is evident in a stamp issued by Canada in 1898 in which the world is mapped in outline and the British possessions are painted red (see picture 17). To print this kind of map on a stamp turns the parts of Britain's empire into something that has been collected. The ideological background of the stamp is fairly straightforward: in an era when "the sun never set on the British Empire", the English crown is set upon a tabulated map with fragments of territory throughout. As with the organization of the empire, the account of space in Cook's voyages is both thus divided into national identities and well-organized into a single table.

One thing that changed with the image of the islands of the South Pacific was the ability to articulate imperialist control that was not monolithic (that is, it was not a single power extending over a contiguous area). For the first time, perhaps, it was possible to articulate a way for competing empires to co-exist in space. The table of places became a field of engagement for the conflicts between the European colonial powers. Some of this rivalry had already occurred with the explorers in the late 18th century, who each claimed islands in the name of their respective European monarchs. But in the decades following Cook's death, almost all of the places in the Pacific were acquired by one western power or another. France established protectorates over Tahiti and the Marquesas group in 1842 and the main island of New Caledonia in 1853. Britain annexed New Zealand in 1840. By 1860, the scramble for the South Pacific was largely over and, beyond the Sandwich Islands, there were very few places that had not officially become parts of one

global empire or another. Arriving later in these contests over places, in the 1890s, as a result of the Spanish-American war, the United States acquired control over the islands of Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines, while Samoa was divided between the United States and Germany. The formal acquisition was followed by, or more often than not simply increased, the exploitation, the destruction and the social control that were being exerted over these distant areas.

The scramble for the South Pacific hints at a connection to the control over Africa which was achieved by European powers in the 1870s and the formal control over the South Pacific which was created two or three decades earlier. The division of Africa between European colonies followed a process which had already occurred in the South Pacific. One reason for supposing this connection is that, in the South Pacific, the places already had borders, they could already be imagined as territorial units, and the control over them could thus be determined in a clear and decisive way. For the imperial powers in the Pacific, the question was simply who owned what. As a result, there were no border wars, even though, or because, there was a complex pattern of imperial control. When the Europeans divided up Africa, a similar process could be carried out, but only if the territories were treated like islands, with borders but not frontiers.

But the formal acquisition of places only began in the middle of the 19th century. The world has already changed, and the formal acquisition, which has become one of the key definitions, and perhaps the key image, of empire happened later. We must remember that India was owned by the East India Company until 1858. Also, whatever its status in Cook's voyages, Tahiti never became part of the English empire. One way to articulate this issue is to distinguish direct political control from broader relations of influence. Said, for instance, has claimed that

> Empire is a relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society.[25]

On the one hand, an empire is a collection of places, centered around an imperial collector. On the other hand, empire is a description of the world as such, on which the formal empires of Europe and America are articulated. But the relationship between formal and informal empires is crucial for understanding the impact of Cook's voyages, not so much because the voyages were a distant beginning of the formal empire, but because they offered a key image of the informal empire. To clarify the distinction between formal and informal, it is useful to consider what Said means by "control" in the above quote. The problem is that the term is too simple, or, more precisely, it applies best to what the empires became in their highest formal articulations. What the definition obscures, however, is the century leading up to the great formal empires, in which European influence over the world was put in place. In other words, by the time that formal possession of the world was achieved, European influence over the world had already been well-established. Influence, but not dominion, and so sovereignty will have to wait.

4. Empire as Exchange

Cook, looking towards a future where the exchange of commodities would be more developed along the coast of the north Pacific, writes that trading with the natives of Nootka sound

> would, probably, be much otherwise, were they once habituated to a constant trade with foreigners. This intercourse would increase their wants, by introducing them to an acquaintance with new luxuries; and, in order to be enabled to purchase these, they would be more assiduous in procuring skins, which they would soon discover to be the

[25] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 9, quoting Michael Doyle.

> commodity most sought for; and a plentiful supply of which, I make no doubt, would be had in the country.[26]

Cook hopes that trade can be rationalized with the natives by creating a desire for English manufactured goods. Not only will this connect these distant places to England through economic activities, the people will become better for it. One way to characterize Cook's voyages is as an extended picture of the economic conditions of the various places of the Pacific, including information on what things can be acquired there, what the natives will take in exchange, and how to proceed in establishing suitable trading relations.

Of course, imagining the world as connected through economic relations harkens back at least as far as the 16th century, and in particular with such economic and political arrangements as the European East India companies. Whatever the relative intensity of exploitation in each of these relations, and it is possible that the 19th century relations were much more intense here, there is a significantly different articulation of the world between the 17th to the 19th century. With the East India companies, trade tended to be monopolies whose trade routes followed a single linear path and who were largely indifferent to national character. The system of economic exchange implied in Cook's voyages tends to be entrepreneurial and highly concerned both with expanding trade over large areas and with the resources and opportunities available in each nation-place. Cook's world is a tabulated world of relations where people possess a wide variety of things (productions, skills, locations) that can be traded, if only a system of exchange can be created.

As with the collection of native identities, Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope are important images of a global system of exchange. Consider, for instance, Cook's description of the ships at the Cape at the end of the second voyage, as his own ship is heading back to England.

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[26] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 369

> We found in the bay, the *Pourvoyeur*, a large French frigate, an American Sloop, and a brig belonging to the place. She had come last from the river Amazon, where she took in a cargo of provisions for the Cape Verde Islands; but, not being able to find them, she steered for this place, where she anchored about half an hour before us.[27]

Each time that Cook's ships are returning to England, the third time without Cook, they stop at the Cape. In Batavia during the first voyage, Cook had emphasized the costumes of the different nationalities. In the Cape of Good Hope, on the other hand, the account emphasizes the ships of the different European powers. Cook had returned to the European world once he had connected to the established trade routes. Thus, during the passage from the Cape of Good Hope to England, Cook's ships were accompanied by ships of the English East India Company, during which times the exploration of unknown areas turns into travel over well-worn tracks.

With the ocean comes travel, and with travel comes exchange. Once the importance of exchange in Cook's voyages is recognized, the status of the island-nation-place changes. Rather than the epitome of the autonomous, closed territorial nation-state, the island becomes the epitome of permeability and influence from the outside. What this means is that there is a split between the epistemological and political articulations of place in which the places continue to exist as discrete objects of national identity and analysis, but are at the same time placed into unequal and porous relations with other, typically European places. The island nation-state thus exists as both an autonomous entity, and as a dependent component of a larger structure. The island exists within an ocean, whose control is the plane of European competition.

Creating a market where the ships could trade with the shore was an important part of Cook's interaction with the places of the world. In the voyages, one of the first steps to creating systems of exchange is to present

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[27] Admiralty, Voyages, Volume IV, page 258.

people, and powerful people in particular, with gifts. As he notes in the second voyage,

> Three things made them our fast friends. Their own good nature and benevolent disposition; gentle treatment on our part; and the dread of our fire-arm.[28]

The goal with all of these gifts is to create conditions suitable for a market, and specifically one where Cook can exchange trinkets for supplies. Marcel Mauss has argued in *The Gift* that while gift-giving often appears to be voluntary, in many societies the gift and the reciprocation are often obligatory.[29] Cook, however, does not expect a material gift in return; rather, he expects gratitude and, more importantly, the creation of a market. In other words, Cook does not want an object in return, he wants the people to act in particular ways.

Cook's gift-giving activities typically continued for so long as peaceful relations were maintained, although they tended to occur more at the beginning and the end of any visit, and at key points in negotiations. Gifts were also used to repair relations, such as when Cook killed a native of Otaheite during the second voyage while the man was rowing to the shore, after he purportedly stole an iron stanchion from one of the ship's gang-ways. The Admiralty account reads:

> I wanted much to have seen him, to make him a present, and by other kind treatment to convince him and the others, that it was not from any bad design against the nation, that we had killed his father.[30]

It is important to note that throughout the voyages, the gifts are articulated in terms of the nation-state. Cook is attempting to gain favour with the nation, and in particular with the nation's leaders, as a way to encourage the nation

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[28] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 336.

[29] See Mauss, *The Gift*, pages 8 and 9.

[30] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 302.

to participate in a globalized system of exchange. The world has become an market, and so after this “unhappy accident,” Cook notes how the natives of Otaheite continued to trade with the English “as if nothing had happened.” Throughout the three voyages, in fact, Otaheite is one of the most consistent and favourable markets that the English encounter, and provide an example of what can be done to improve relations between Europeans and natives of the South Pacific.

But while Otaheite is one of Cook’s successes, every place in the world is articulated with the same concerns for exchange. As far as Cook is concerned, the immediate needs of the ships are supplies such as food, water, and wood. With few exceptions, whenever the ships arrive somewhere, they attempt to create a market, always with ample fire-power ready. The published account of the voyages relate what the natives — or, more accurately, what the islands in general — have to offer, what they are willing to take in exchange, and what they value the most. One example of many is during the stay at Queen Charlotte’s Sound during the first voyage. In the Admiralty edition, Cook writes:

> neither did they set much value upon the cloth of Otaheite; but English broad cloth and red kersey were in high estimation; which showed that they had sense enough to appreciate the commodities which we offered by their use, which is more than could be said of some of their neighbours, who made a much better appearance.[31]

From these descriptions arises an image of the world as a market, where there are practical choices to consider: here are the places and what they offer. The relationships are not simply economic, there is a specific characterization of economics that permeates Cook’s voyages. The journal of Cook’s first voyage can be read as a fable of the contrast between feudal and capitalist forms of exploitation, articulated in terms of a distinction between Spanish and English colonization. Whereas the Spanish and Portuguese limited travel,

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[31] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 394.

suppressed information, and encouraged monopolies, as Cook describes Brazil, for instance, the English laid the world out for travel and exchange by publishing accounts of their explorations. Some have described Cook's impact on the world with how he "opened" the Pacific. The image of barriers, however, may be misleading. Rather, where once there were lines and blank spaces, Cook creates an expansive area in which movement can occur between any points.

The creation of a world full of safe places is tied to different, more expansive techniques of collected and disseminating information. Whereas the Spanish attempted to limit the information available concerning their colonies, the English publicized the information (at least some of it). A complicated apparatus of knowledge, growing out of the Admiralty and foreign office (and out of the East India Company), connected to museums, collections, and other institutions of Empire. Cook's journals do not simply relate a series of events and places, they help make those places available to any reader who wants to travel there or study them. The abstractions of longitude and latitude, the advice concerning the tides, the warnings about the weather, the recommendations for what to eat, and, most importantly, the division and description of the available places reads less like an adventure story and more like a travel guide.

The published accounts of Cook's voyages were one of the first, as well as one of the most unequivocal, expressions of the capacity for the English to travel around the world safely. The most important voyage here is the second, where improvements in navigational and health techniques were crucial — the chronometer and sauerkrout being the two that have acquired mythical status. As one passage in the second voyage notes:

> If I did nothing more, I was at least in hopes of being able to point out to posterity, that these seas may be navigated, and that it is practicable to go on discoveries, even in the

> very depth of winter.[32]

The theme is emphasized again later in the same voyage.

> But, whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company, for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a Southern Continent shall have ceased to engage the attention, and to divide the judgment of philosophers.[33]

In the second voyage in particular, Cook and many others take the health of the crew and the scale of the travels to be one of his main accomplishments. Regardless of what was found, Cook and his crew survived where literally every European ship before his would have suffered extreme hardship if not destruction. There were countless examples. Now, every part of the world either was or would be a partner in the preservation of the traveller. The Cyclops had been assimilated.

When Cook attempts to organize the exchanges between ship and shore, he is not simply representing the English sovereign. When Wallis was in the South Pacific, he was also representing the English sovereign, and relied primarily on the terror of the ship's guns. Cook is articulating his position in different terms. He is representing a specific image of economic exchange based on some notion of reciprocity, fairness and safety. Cook also relies on the terror of the ship's guns, but their use is justified in different terms. This aspect of Cook's voyages has been discussed in some detail by Bernard Smith, who points out that the engravings from the three voyages indicate a shift in attitude. In the second voyage, and more so in the third, the

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[32] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 142.

[33] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 267.

representations of the interactions between Cook and the natives of the Pacific stressed peaceful themes (see picture 18). As Smith writes:

> Everywhere Cook goes in the Pacific his arrival is celebrated by Webber in scenes of joyful reception, in dancing, boxing entertainments, gifting, trading. Nothing must disturb this sense of peacefulness. Even Cook's own death, the great trauma of the voyage, is not drawn, nor will it be included in the official publication.[34]

In general, the interaction at these receptions is between Cook and a group of natives who are represented more as an ethnographic group, connected to its environment than a series of individuals. Cook is the one whose name would be known: the rest of the engraving is information suitable for the collection. As a result, individuals and nations are subject to criticism when they do not meet those ideals. Of course, criticisms of the natives of the South Pacific occur throughout the voyages.

Trade was viewed as one of the key mechanisms for transforming the world. Daniel Defoe, for instance, offered an image of Britain extending throughout the world through trade, in opposition to the pirates and the monopolies that dominated foreign exchange during his time. Cook, likewise, both promoted and was used by those who promoted a sense of global improvement based on trade. Marshall Sahlins has characterized Cook in these terms:

> as "Adam Smith's global agent" he was likewise the spirit incarnate of the peaceful "penetration" of the marketplace: of a commercial expansion promising to bring civilization to the benighted and riches to the entire earth. Cook was to chart the course: determine the routes , the resources , the markets. Harbinger thus of the Pax Britanica , Cook was also a bourgeois Lono.[35]

Peace has framed the discussion of Cook's voyages, just as it has framed the presentation of Cook's life. While he participated in the Seven Years War, the

[34] Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, page 205.

[35] Sahlins, *Islands of History*, page 131.

primary image of Cook is as a peaceful, humanitarian captain who carries out his voyages during the peace in Europe that began at the end of the Seven Years War and ended at the beginning of the American Revolution. Not only was the world at peace, as it were, but the relationship between Cook and the natives of the Pacific were articulated in terms of peace, and in particular of peace articulated through political authority. As with other aspects of the text, there is a significant change in the wording of the first voyage. In the Admiralty edition of the first voyage, one encounter is related as follows:

> I invited some of them on board; and as they knew they had nothing to fear from us, while they behaved honestly and peaceably, they immediately complied: I made each of them some presents, and dismissed them much gratified.[36]

The manuscript version of the same encounter reads:

> Soon after we had got under sail three large canoes came off to the Ship and several of the People came on board upon the very first invitation; this was owing to their having heard of our being upon the Coast and the manner we had treated the Natives. I made each of those that came on board a small present and after about an hours stay they went away well satisfied.[37]

One of the key differences here is that whereas the manuscript version articulates Cook's relationship with the natives almost as equals, and relies instead on Cook's reputation, the Admiralty edition describes a legal and authoritarian relation where Cook is the focus of the exchange. Whereas the natives "went away" in the first version, they were "dismissed" in the second. Likewise, while the peaceful relations involved gifts in both accounts, the Admiralty's account also involves threats, which is apparently how Hawkesworth understood the rather vague phrase "the manner we had treated the Natives." In the later voyages, the relationship between gifts and legal arrangements backed by the threat of violence will continue.

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[36] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 341.

[37] Beaglehole, *Cook's Voyages*, Volume I, page 206.

The status of peace in Cook's voyages is different from the one suggested by those, such as Sahlins, who want to connect Cook to a simplified image of Adam Smith and a world of economic freedom. With Sahlins, Cook is an agent of peace, and therefore not of war or conquest. But in Cook's voyages, peace is a conditional situation, which depends primarily on the behaviour of the natives. If the people who are encountered do not behave appropriately, then Cook can become violent. And violence is always threatened.

> As I intended to continue in this place five or six days, in order to make an observation of the transit of Mercury, it was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent future mischief, to show these people that we were not to be treated ill with impunity.... [38]

The peaceful relations thus do not simply depend on hospitality and fairness. These relations also depend on the military threats that Cook can bring to the exchange. Only then can the market exist. But this is not the violence of either sovereignty or war. Cook never becomes the ruler of the island, and he never articulates his violent reactions in terms of warfare. Rather, he exists in between the space of sovereignty and warfare, as someone who polices the actions, but not in terms of sovereign authority.

When Cook finally reaches a European port as the ships are returning to England, however, his hopes are raised. Here, a European market already exists, and Cook no longer must support the market with his guns. In fact, he cannot appeal to his guns.

> While he was gone, we saw from the ship two men on horseback, who seemed to be riding upon the hills for their amusement, and often stopped to look at the ship. By this we knew that the place had been settled by Europeans, and hoped, that the many disagreeable circumstances which always attend the first establishment of commerce with savages, would be avoided.[39]

[38] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 322.

[39] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 247.

Nonetheless, the Dutch in Batavia and other European ports around the world are also criticized, either for being closed to foreigners (such as the Portuguese in Brazil) or for charging too much for supplies and repairs.

> In the article of naval stores, the Dutch here, as well as at Batavia, take a shameful advantage of the distress of foreigners.[40]

And even the English are subject to criticisms, not only for their own thieving, but also for their hypocrisy.

> Good water, scurvy grass, and plenty of cocoa-nuts were however found here, of which the honest Englishmen made no scruple to load their boats, though they had before shot a number of the natives for carrying away a jacket.[41]

By setting up the articulation of punishment in terms of a shared legal code, by forming the interactions between the ship and the shore in terms of law, Cook creates the possibility that he and his crew will transgress as well. Marra, for instance, suggests the tension between a global legal system and the actions of Cook's crew.

> Is it not very natural, when a people see a company of strangers come among them, and without ceremony cut down their trees, gather their fruits, seize their animals, and, in short, take whatever they want, that such a people should use as little ceremony with the strangers, as the strangers do with them; if so, against whom is the criminality to be charged, the christian or the savage? He that sets the example, or he that follows it.[42]

Others throughout the voyages, and Forster in particular, will echo this sentiment, primarily as a way to criticize the crew. In the first voyage, Cook's voice will offer a similar judgement.

> In the mean time some of our people, who, when the Indians were to be punished for a fraud, assumed the inexorable justice of a Lycurgus, thought fit to break into one of their

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[40] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 242.

[41] Marra, *Journal of the* Resolution's *Voyage in 1771 - 1775*, page 173.

[42] Marra, *Journal of the* Resolution's *Voyage in 1771 - 1775*, page 45.

> plantations, and dig up some potatoes: for this offence I ordered each of them to be punished with twelve lashes, after which two of them were discharged; but the third, insisting that it was no crime in an Englishman to plunder an Indian plantation, though it was a crime in an Indian to defraud an Englishman of a nail, I ordered him back into his confinement, from which I would not release him till he had received six lashes more.[43]

The historical references are Hawkesworth's, but the relationship between law and sovereignty permeates all three of the voyages. Cook's voyages not only represent the kind of government that is connected to the nation-state, but also characterize a global ethos that ought to constrain the actions of even the most powerful sovereigns. During the second voyage, one of the ship's cooks, having been discovered to be counterfeiting Dutch coins at the Cape of Good Hope,

> was instantly delivered up to the Dutch Governor, to be tried by the laws of the country where the offence was committed; but it not being clear, whether the crime of coining was committed on shore, or on board his Britannic Majesty's ship, the Magistracy very politely returned him, to be dealt with as the Commander in Chief should think proper.[44]

Cook may have been severe, but he was consistent. As Rickman reflects during the third voyage.

> There are, who have blamed Captain Cook for his severity to the Indians; but it was not to the Indians alone that he was severe in his discipline. He never suffered any fault in his own people, tho' ever so trivial, to escape unpunished: If they were charged with insulting an Indian, or injuring him in his property, if the fact was proved, the offender was surely punished in sight of the Indians. By this impartial distribution of equal justice, the Indians themselves conceived so high an idea of his wisdom, and his power too, that they paid him the honours as they did their Et-hu-a, or good spirit.[45]

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[43] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume I, page 355.

[44] Rickman, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, page 23.

[45] Rickman, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, page 301.

During the second voyage, Cook also reflects on his relationship to law, not as a subject of George III, but as a representative of a global law whose character is never challenged and whose origin is never accounted for.

> It was ever a maxim with me to punish the least crimes any of my people committed against these uncivilized nations. Their robbing us with impunity, is by no means a sufficient reason why we should treat them in the same manner, a conduct we see they themselves cannot justify. They found themselves injured, and sought for redress in a legal way.[46]

It may have been hypocritical for a sailor to assume "the inexorable justice of a Lycurgus," it is only because they are being hypocritical, not because the position of Lycurgus is unavailable. Often, it is precisely this sort of opinion that Cook adopts, as he passes judgement on both sailors and natives alike.

While the justice and economics were universalized, however, it is still the English who create the larger-scale relations. They trade between islands (just as they will trade between ports in India). They collect and analyse the data, and they understand the world. The national voyages, books, and archives are signs of the nation's ability to incorporate the outside, to classify it and put it up for display as anthropology or history. The voyages and the collection thus creates, to use Cynthia Enloe's phrase, "a sense of world influence," which helps to further justify a global economic and military presence.[47]

With few exceptions, which are often expressed in print as confessionals that enhance the credibility of everything else that Cook does, the voyages are organized as a triumphal procession of enlightened power. Paralleling Said's discussion of Verdi's *Aida*, first performed in the late 19th

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[46] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 247. The resonance with Kant's categories should be noted here.

[47] Phrase is from Cynthia Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, page 67. Enloe offers a similar analysis of the global presence of the United States in the late 20th century.

century, Cook's journals likewise

> confirm the Orient [or the South Seas] as an essentially exotic, distant, and antique place in which Europeans can mount certain shows of force.[48]

In terms of the geo-political struggles between European nations, the immediate impact of Cook's "shows of force" were likely minimal. However, the capacity of the English to move freely around the world and to force their will upon natives is an ideal example of what Said describes as the

> 'structure of attitude and reference' that entitles the European authorial subject to hold on to an overseas territory, derive benefits from it, depend on it, but ultimately refuse it autonomy and independence.[49]

As a characterization of Cook's relationship to the places in the Pacific, Said's description is perfect, with the exception that Cook, unlike travellers within the empire, had to create and recreate these relations as he moved from place to place. In the late 18th century, these relations could still be contested, even if the imperial attitude towards the world was more or less established.

5. Cultivating the World

The images of global identities, exchanges, and regulations are all aspects of general transformative projects that work their way throughout Cook's world. In the voyages, these projects are often articulated in terms of cultivation, either literally or figuratively. As a result, the table of fixed places that emerges from Cook's voyages is almost immediately dissolved through the implications of time and human activity. The clear and distinct accounts of the various places around the world become tied to narratives of change, whether emerging immediately from Cook's voyages, or from the global projects that Cook's voyages encourage. The voyages are not only about

[48] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 112.

[49] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, page 193.

identifying or collecting, they also imagine a better world, a world more like England, or at least a world more like the idealized England hinted at in the voyages.

One image that emerges through the voyages is a sense of the world as a global garden. We have already discussed this ideal in the chapter on nations. Now, however, it will be considered not only as a way to evaluate how industrious different nations are, but also as a way to articulate how those nations can be improved.

> In the course of our walk, we saw several plants and vegetables, produced from seeds sown by the different visitors of this Island; some of them growing in a luxuriant manner, but choaked-up with weeds, and, totally neglected by the natives, who set no kind of value upon them.[50]

Cook's voyages affirm an ideal of agricultural organization. Cultivation is one of the most important concepts that Cook uses to articulate changes in space. As he writes of St. Helena during the second voyage,

> Whoever views St. Helena, in its present state, and can but conceive what it must have been originally, will not hastily charge the inhabitants with want of industry. Though, perhaps, they might apply it to more advantage, were more land appropriated to planting of corn, vegetables, roots, &c. instead of being laid out in pasture, which is the present mode. But this is not likely to happen, so long as the greatest part of it remains in the hands of the Company and their servants. Without industrious planters this island can never flourish, and be in a condition to supply the shipping with the necessary refreshments.[51]

Recognizing the improvements that have already been made to areas of St. Helena, Cook nonetheless envisions further improvements. Cultivation thus has a temporal dimension, tied not only to the seasons of the year but also to the extension of the land as productive space from one year to the next *through* time. Similar improvements are sometimes noticed in the islands

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[50] Mortimer, *Observations and Remarks*, page 26.

[51] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 246.

of the Pacific.

> We found at these two places, built and building a great number of large canoes, and houses of every kind; people living in spacious habitations, who had not a place to shelter themselves in eight months before; several large hogs about every house; and every other sign of a rising state.[52]

However, the common assessment of the Pacific is its lack of improvement. Cook notes some cultivation, in the sense that some work has been done to preserve various plants and animals. But the cultivation is, in Cook's articulation, inadequate because so much more food could be grown. Cook's ideal here is a situation where people are extracting as much from the land as possible.

But while Cook's voyages articulate the differences between nations in terms of relative cultivation, the differences have also been articulated in terms of different ways of life and different senses of place. For Cook, cultivation is not only a practical goal, it is also a theological one, connecting in particular to specific Christian, and largely Protestant, principles. Locke can be heard whispering in Cook's ear: "God gave the world ... to the use of the industrious and rational."[53] For Locke, this was an important way to justify the extermination of native Americans, whether immediately by war, or gradually through disease, poverty, and conversion. For Cook, however, the organization of European control is justified in a different way. Whereas there was no connection between natives and the land in Locke, in Cook the connection is quite close, not only in terms of Cook's epistemological changes, but also even in terms of Locke's criteria — even if the natives are not very good at it, they are nonetheless cultivating their islands. As a result, beyond some "empty areas" in New Zealand, Locke's narrative of colonialism would

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[52] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume III, page 318.

[53] Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, in *The Works of John Locke*, Volume V, page 357.

be difficult to deploy on the Pacific. Instead, the close connection between the nation and the place is used to justify a wide range of interventions, not only to improve cultivation, but also to civilize, that is to say, to make the nations more productive and more European.

When the ships enter into the Pacific, they are carrying seeds and animals that were either brought from England or acquired at the Cape of Good Hope, and were intended to be distributed around the islands of the Pacific. During the third voyage, while the ships were at Tongataboo, Cook imagines the future of the Pacific.

> While I was surveying this delightful prospect, I could not help flattering myself with the pleasing idea that some future navigator may, from the same station, behold these meadows stocked with cattle, brought to these islands by the ships of England; and that the completion of this single benevolent purpose, independently of all other considerations, would sufficiently mark to posterity that our voyages had not been useless to the general interests of humanity.[54]

Husbandry becomes globalized, although the value that is placed on the improvements remains tied to European navigators and not to the people living on the islands. The English are raising animals throughout the world, through their intermediaries. And just as Cook spreads various plants and animals to the Pacific, the voyages also offer information on botanical and environmental conditions which connect to later global projects. The Admiralty's edition of the first voyage notes that,

> in the opinion of Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, as well as of every other gentleman on board, all kinds of European grain, plants, and fruit, would flourish here in the utmost luxuriance[55]

And while the voyages arrange and rearrange the biological world, the reorganization of nations is also imagined. In the Admiralty's account of the

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[54] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume V, page 413.

[55] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 26.

first voyage, which contains more explicit expressions of colonialism than the accounts of Cook's last two voyages, Cook remarks that,

> if this country [New Zealand] should be settled by people from Europe, they would, with a little industry, be very soon supplied not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries of life in great abundance. [56]

Colonialism is not a central topic in Cook's voyages, and it is talked about primarily with places that are similar to England. But all the places of the world are open to economic relations, and improvements in cultivation.

The transformation is not simply material. Exchange was a condition for the voyages, but the broader question of why voyage at all is answered in a number of different ways throughout the voyage. Ellis writes of an interesting encounter between Cook and Powlahow, who Ellis describes as the king of Anamooka.

> Powlahow, during his stay on board, paid great attention to the different parts of the ship, and, amongst other questions, asked us what we came to these islands for ? He said, we appeared to be in want of nothing, and that we all looked well and in health. A question of this kind came so unsuspected, that at first the Captain was at a loss what reply to make, but recollecting himself, he told him he came there by the order of his King, who was a great and mighty prince, and was desirous of entering into a league of friendship with him; that there was a large stock of hatchets, knives, beads, red cloth, &c. on board, which he would barter with him for hogs, and such articles as the island produced.[57]

To Cook's readers, however, the justifications for the voyages are much more varied, and more sincere. First, the voyages are justified in terms of knowledge for its own sake. But this is only a short-term justification — there is no need to return to the area once enough information has been collected.

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[56] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume II, page 27.

[57] Ellis, *Authentic Narrative*, Volume I, page 68.

Cook is not only interested in collecting information for its own sake, the voyages are also suggest transformative projects in which exchange is connected to the creation of more permanent, rationalized relationships. Rather than maintaining a balance of terror or domination of one over another, the discourse of safety attempts to create a normalized, rationalized, civilized identity that spans human groups (or, rather, extends a particular ideal in a particular group everywhere). To put that differently, the discourses of civilizing the natives were also turned towards the outsiders at home. The problems faced by those trying to improve the natives were the same problems faced by those trying to improve the poor, the degenerate and so on.

As with Dr. Johnson, there is a belief in many of those connected to Cook's voyages that exposure to English or European culture can improve nations. But there is nonetheless an important difference between Johnson and Cook insofar as Johnson focuses on changes to individuals whereas Cook and his companions are focused on changing nations. Rickman, who in other passages idealizes the simplicity of the natives, locates a dance that he saw performed at Anomocoa in the following terms:

> Though this farcical exhibition was otherwise insipid to us, it was not wholly without its use, in marking a similarity of manners among mankind, at the distance of half the globe, and at a period, when the arts of civil life were in their infancy. Who knows, but that the seeds of the liberal arts, that have now been sown by European navigators in these happy climes, may, a thousand years hence, be ripened into maturity....[58]

The appeal to time as a way to classify nations is evident here. Sometimes, these attitudes are quite condescending towards those who do not conform to the European ideal, as when Kippis writes:

> From the long-continued intercourse with the natives of the Friendly, Society, and Sandwich Islands, some rays of light must have darted on their infant minds.[59]

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[58] Rickman, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, page 102.

[59] Kippis, *A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World Performed by Captain James Cook*,

The articulation of world history in terms of maturation was also invoked by Kant, who wrote at the beginning of *What is Enlightenment?*, first published in 1784, of how

> Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's own understanding without guidance of another.[60]

While guidance will ultimately be overcome, at present it is both pervasive and necessary when someone does not use their "own understanding," that is to say, when they are not the autonomous rational agents that they can be. For both Kant and Cook, the transformation of the world is based primarily on transforming nation-states. Individuals can be changed, but the primary goal is to change nations, because these are the primary sources of individual identity. Kant argues later in the same article that while

> only a few, by cultivating their own minds, have succeeded in freeing themselves from immaturity ... there is more chance of an entire public enlightening itself.[61]

Kant's argument in *What is Enlightenment?* tends towards leaving people alone. As he claims,

> Men will of their own accord gradually work their way out of barbarism so long as artificial measures are not deliberately adopted to keep them in it.[62]

There is still space for Kant to argue that some nations either can or ought to intervene to speed other nations along the path.

There is no mention of the South Pacific in *What is Enlightenment?* In fact, Germany (or Prussia) is the only nation that is being discussed. Likewise, throughout the argument Kant assumes the existence of a modern society, with printing presses, universities, and bureaucracies. Nonetheless, throughout Kant, the nations of the South Pacific are important, if sporadic,

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page 412.

[60] Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" in *Political Writings*, page 54.

[61] Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" in *Political Writings*, page 55.

[62] Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" in *Political Writings*, page 59.

examples. If people are looking for incidental references to empire, such as Austen's reference to Antigua, they can also be found in Kant's writings, where they play an important role in his image of the world. Kant periodically refers to "the inhabitants of New Holland" as one of the least civilized nations in the world. They are the ones who need to improve the most, and it is left to the Europeans to encourage the process.

The accumulation of information about nations from around the world is closely tied to Kant's cosmopolitanism, where he argues for the confederacy of peoples that would span Europe and the world. In his *Idea for a Universal History*, Kant describes this confederacy as a system, in which

> every state, even the smallest, could expect to derive its security and rights not from its own power or its own legal judgement, but solely from this great federation, from a united power and the law-governed decisions of a united will.[63]

This cosmopolitan system is a confederacy of groups. And just as individuals renounce their "brutish freedom", so will states. The goal, finally, is a "great political body", a "universal cosmopolitan existence, will at last be realised as the matrix within which all the original capacities of the human race may develop." The peoples and places of the world thus become a *matrix*, which forms the basis of their interactions and the formation of a global legal order.

The question arises for Kant whether it is acceptable to either subject or colonize "a people that holds out no prospect of civil union" and "bring these human beings (savages) into a rightful condition (as with the American Indians, the Hottentots, and the inhabitants of New Holland)."[64] His answer is that they cannot be, although he recognizes the end as a good one. One thing that is important for Kant, is that the peoples, even though they exist at the opposite extreme to civilization, are nonetheless owners of the land *as a*

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[63] Kant, *Idea for a Universal History*, in *Political Writings*, page 47.

[64] Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals*, page 122.

group, and while they are currently excluded from the "prospects of civil union" they nonetheless are closely united to their places.

While Kant's answer is interesting, and very much in keeping with the paternalistic attitudes that pervade Cook's voyages, it is also important to step back from Kant's answer and reflect on how the question itself was even possible for him. Living his entire life in Königsberg, Kant nonetheless could discuss global relations in some detail and with many current examples. How? One important feature of Kant's question is the transcendent perspective on which he could view the world as single entity that has been created from the collection of national identities and global relations. He could then not only reflect on the process of *human* history, but also the proper relations between the different nations, and in particular the unequal relations between nations that are civilized and those that are savage.

While Kant thus offers an account of world politics that emphasizes the connection between nations and places, the savage nations are not free, and they should not be left alone. The point is expanded in his *Idea for a Universal History,* where Kant argues that in history

> we shall discover a regular process of improvement in the political constitutions of our continent (which will probably legislate eventually for all other continents).[65]

The image of the world that emerges from Kant's discussion suggests that the world is a single system of national identities, a family of nations, where different nations exist in their own places, but where the more mature nations are obligated to improve not only themselves, but also the rest of the world. The goal, in other words, is not to maintain the table of national identities as they are, as if every national species was a fixed entity, but rather to transform them towards a specific ideal.

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[65] Kant, *Idea for a Universal History*, in *Political Writings*, page 52.

One of the common goals throughout the voyages is to encourage natives to imitate Europeans, often through either encouragement or competition. Thus "native curiosity" becomes a useful tool for changing national characters, which are times when Cook can demonstrate his superiority. As Cook notes during the third voyage during the first stay at the Sandwich islands,

> it does their sensibility no little credit, without flattering ourselves, that when they saw the various articles of our European manufacture, they could not help expressing their surprise, by a mixture of joy and concern, that seemed to apply the case, as a lesson of humility, to themselves; and, on all occasions, they appeared deeply impressed with a consciousness of their own inferiority; a behaviour which equally exempts their national character from the preposterous pride of the more polished Japanese, and of the ruder Greenlander. [66]

As with the comparisons that were carried on in terms of the collection, Cook's transformative engagement acquires a global perspective. Cook encourages natives to compare themselves to Europeans, to encourage their participation in European projects, to become Europeans, but also to become like a specific European ideal of itself.

Along these lines, one of the ways that Omai is situated in Cook's voyages and the world is as a connection between European civilization and the people of Huaheine, the island where Omai is finally settled during the first half of Cook's third voyage. In comparing Omai with two natives of Otaheite who had been "carried by the Spaniards to Lima," Cook argues that,

> In short, these two adventurers seemed to be held in no esteem. They had not, indeed, been so fortunate as to return home with such valuable acquisitions of property as we had bestowed upon Omai; and with the advantages he reaped from his voyage to England, it must be his own fault if he should sink into the same state of insignificance.[67]

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[66] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 212.

[67] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume VI, page 73.

One of the morals of this paragraph is that, properly done, travel benefits everyone. As Cook notes during the third voyage,

> every method had been employed, both during his abode in England, and at his departure, to make him [Omai] the instrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, the most exalted opinion of the greatness and generosity of the British nation.[68]

The sense of purpose thus connects English nationalism with a desire to demonstrate the superiority of the nation by encouraging other nations to become just like the English. The goal, in other words, is to change the table of diversity into a single field of homogeneity. Diversity has itself become the Other, and the primary challenge, of Europe.

In *The Order of Things*, Foucault has noted how the fixed Linnean world of species, which was based on comparative anatomy, gave way to a different sense of life, in which species were connected to their often changing material conditions and thus to a history.[69] The taxonomic table had been replaced by biology. However, while Foucault marks this change with the works of Cuvier, a French biologist of the late 18th and early 19th century, as was discussed in the Nations chapter, a similar change has been connected to Cook's voyages. With the voyages, however, the creation of the table and the introduction of time co-exist. Before the voyages, humanity was organized by a simple binary division. By the material conditions central to the articulation of national distinctions, Cook's voyages thus introduce a division similar to the tabular division of species as well as a causal system similar to biology.

Rather than a fixed table of national identities, the relationship that is created evokes the arrangement of rooms and information that are imagined by Jeremy Bentham in his essay on the panopticon, first written in 1787. If the

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[68] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume V, page 99.

[69] See Foucault, *The Order of Things*, page 268.

fixed world of Linnaeus crumbles with the introduction of life (that is, of environment and change), then Bentham's panopticon can be expanded to all the nations of the world and connected to the imperial collection. The panoptic collection thus becomes a way of tracking human life, and therefore a way of disciplining the world. What emerges is a new sense of empire, or, at least a new sense of global power, which is based on the collection and the articulation of the world in terms of nation-places that can be collected. In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault summarizes the organization of the building as follows:

> at the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy. By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery. They are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible. The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately.[70]

There are several significant parallels between the organization of Cook's voyages and Bentham's panoptic building. For instance, in both systems each object of analysis is clearly distinguished in space from every other object. In the world of Cook's voyages, however, the prison cell has become the island, and the prisoner has become the nation. In other words, maps and coordinates help create tight containers which support fixed identities, and these identities can be studied, either independently or alongside those in

[70] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, page 200.

other containers. The world arising from Cook's voyages thus becomes a system of nation-places that creates the possibility for global comparisons and contrasts, for identifying variables, for tracing connections, and for creating a space in the middle for an archival supervisor. Foucault has noted the connection between the Panopticon and Le Vaux's menagerie at Versailles. According to Foucault, Le Vaux's was the

> first menagerie in which the different elements are not, as they traditionally were, distributed in a park. At the centre was an octagonal pavilion which, on the first floor, consisted of only a single room, the king's salon; on every side large windows looked out onto seven cages (the eighth side was reserved for the entrance), containing different species of animals.[71]

The potential inspirations of Bentham's architectural ideal are, of course, much more varied than Foucault suggests here. It seems significant, for instance, that the forms of knowledge in the panopticon are connected to biological classifications: the criminals become another set of species. The ideal of the Panopticon could also be connected to the organization of national identities in Cook's collection.

One important aspect of the panopticon is the need for constant observation. Bentham argued against the decision to ship prisoners to Australia in the 1780s, claiming that the panopticon was not only more economical, but also that in the panopticon the prisoners would be sources of useful information, which would be impossible if they were shipped out. On the second point, Bentham was wrong. Shipping prisoners to Australia was probably quite expensive, but they were not sent outside of the panopticon. Whether the prisoners were sent to Australia or not, the information could still be collected and consolidated in London or anywhere else in the world. The key difference was that the information was no longer collected from the prisons of England, it was collected from the colonies of Australia and then

[71] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, page 203.

transmitted to England in the form of updates and reports. But Australia was nonetheless an important source of data for the discussions of criminality throughout the 19th century.

The system of exploration and publication connected to Cook's voyages shared another important feature with the panopticon: that there is an almost absolute split between seeing and being seen. In the panopticon, this split was created through the organization of gazes in the tower and the peripheral cells. In Cook's voyages the split is created through the organization of the sailing ship, the archive and the printing press. The people from distant places that are woven into the voyages have some experience of Cook and his companions, but once the information is collected, once the portraits are drawn, they are taken up into an almost wholly European system of communication and exchange that produces learned discussions of native life, artifacts and the character of primitive humanity in climates throughout the world. After the voyages come to an end, in other words, the nations could still be seen through the artifacts and images in the collection, and therefore could be analysed by people who never travelled to the South Pacific, or even left the town in which they were born.

The split that is created by exploration and the book connects to another aspect of Bentham's panopticon, which is the way that the power is exercised over the occupants of the rooms whether someone is watching them or not. Because the inhabitants can be seen but never see, they never know whether they are being watched or not. As a result, they always act as if they were being watched. Power thus functions automatically, as a result of the systems of information that are in place. With the systems of information that are imaged in Cook's voyages, similar relationships can be noted, specifically once the nations of the South Pacific recognize the way that Europeans share a conversation that extends over time and space in which

new information from the places of the South Pacific can always be added.

It is important, however, not to carry the connection between Cook and Bentham too far. There is a generalization of humanity that pervades Cook's voyages which the individualized observations in Bentham's panopticon resists. What Cook is fixing in the space of the map/table is a collective group (the inhabitants, the natives, the nation) and not individuals. Bentham's panopticon, on the other hand, takes the individuated body of the human being as the ontological ground for the production and organization of information. Cook only locates individuals in the table when they are exemplars of national identities.

However, while Bentham focuses on individuals and Cook focuses on nations, understood to be individuals, both writers are appealing to a similar arrangement of space. Bentham creates a closed system of observation that separates the subjects from the outside society as much as from each other. Cook's appeal to national identity, on the other hand, allows for the extension of documentation throughout the world. There is still a division between inside and outside, but the outside is now marked by the time Cook spent in the extreme places of the high southern latitudes. Inside this wall of ice are the nations of the world, and beyond there are only penguins. The world thus becomes a single system, as if it were a single city, or a single building.

Given that the world changes, or is changed, and that some of the information becomes outdated, it becomes essential to collect the world, not in terms of a single table, but as an ongoing process of surveillance. Cook's voyages not only create the collection, therefore, they also point to the need to update and maintain the collection through time. Only then can the control over the nation-places be maintained. The existence of these scientific institutions and practices, and the ideal of a complete and singular view of the world, thus also encourages, if not demands, that the collection is

extended through time. Cook's voyages do not simply offer accounts of places, they also offer slices of time that can then be taken up by collecting institutions and placed into much more extensive temporal sequences. As Besant notes in 1890,

> A hundred years more and Cook's descriptions of the Polynesians and Australians will be invaluable as a record of things long since passed away; even the people of the islands will have disappeared; there will not be a single survivor of the Friendly Islanders, or of the gentle natives of Tahiti, or of the fierce warriors of New Zealand.[72]

Besant, looking reflecting on the impact of European power on the 19th century, and projecting that impact into the 20th, creates a sense of the world, complete in both time and space, in which Europe's control of the world is complete. Cook's voyages then become an account of how the world once was, preserving representations of national identities long after those identities no longer exist, long after they have been destroyed by European civilization.

The printed accounts of space in the voyages thus form the basis on which to describe changes. As those things which are contained by places change, the information in the table can be updated. The place itself does not change — it remains the basic point of reference for the descriptions. What changes are the things that the places contain. One example of the role that Cook's voyages play in offering a temporal baseline for further descriptions of nation-places, can be noted in the descriptions of the Sandwich Islands that occurred after Cook's voyages. Vancouver describes the Sandwich Islands in much greater detail than Cook had done. The published version of Cook's journals contain roughly 75 pages of text, much of which is taken up by descriptions of coordinates and weather conditions. In contrast, the

[72] Besant, *Captain Cook*, page 120.

description of the Sandwich Islands in Vancouver's printed account runs for over 200 pages and contains both extended descriptions and detailed charts of the islands. In addition to offering a fuller account, however, Vancouver also discusses the Sandwich Islands in terms of the information that has already been published. He could thus focus more attention on recounting the changes that have occurred in the islands since the last (Cook's) visit. The Sandwich Islands, as a fixed series of places that had already been located, had now become a place undergoing change, and later navigators would add to the account; they were in fact *expected* to add to the account. The Sandwich Islands had become an obligatory topic for all European voyagers in the area. Thus, as Otto von Kotzebue's ship approaches the Sandwich Islands on his second voyage, in 1826, he begins his account of the islands by invoking what was becoming a well-worn trope.

> My readers, I think, will take some interest in a short account of this people, whose rapid progress in civilization would perhaps by this time have placed them on a level with Europeans, if unfavourable circumstances had not thrown obstacles in the way of their improvement....[73]

As Kotzebue travels through the islands and the collections, he notes how much the islands have been transformed.

> Scarcely fifty years have elapsed since these islands were first introduced by Captain Cook to the knowledge of the European public.[74]

In this time, the monarchy was organized in western terms and the missionaries had considerable influence over the islands. Kotzebue, like Cook and Vancouver before him, includes a map of the Sandwich Islands. But the maps have become much more iconic. They are useless to navigators (or, at least, much better ones would be readily available in a different kind of book). But the map remains an important trope in navigation writing by telling the

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[73] Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World*, Volume I, page 162.

[74] Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Round the World*, Volume I, page 159.

readers what place, and therefore what people, are being described. Kotzebue does not need to present the map as a way to create the native territorial nation-state, but the map nonetheless affirms that connection, and helps authorize or situate the update that he is giving.

Another place where subsequent publications could describe changes to distant nation-states are in later editions of Cook's voyages, in which the current situation could be included, whether in the introduction, in footnotes, or in appendixes. For instance, an edition of Cook's voyages published in the 1820s included an appendix that promised to offer:

> in detail, as we propose, a brief sketch of the remarkable changes in the condition of the several countries which were either in the first instance discovered by Cook, as the Sandwich Islands — or, respecting which we are chiefly indebted to his researches for our most authentic early information, as New Zealand....[75]

After a "rapid survey of the progress of maritime discovery", the appendix moves from place to place, offering a detailed, structured and often comparative account of each place. Information is garnered from several sources, including Cook's *Voyages*, Ellis's *Polynesian Researches*, and Mitchell's *Three Expeditions* (for some of the information on New Holland). The Sandwich Islands are discussed in the last entry. The description begins with the physical character of the islands (the number of islands and their location) and then quickly moves from Cook's discovery to the history of the kings of the Sandwich Islands, from king Tamehama onward. Focusing on the history of kings and warfare reenforces the maturation of the Sandwich Islands as a member of the community of sovereign nations, even while the presence of missionaries is emphasized. The detail of these accounts is much greater than what can be found in Cook's voyages, but these accounts, without exception, refer back to the proper names first established in Cook's account.

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[75] Appendix to 1842 edition of Cook's *Voyages*, page 557.

For the Sandwich Islands, Cook's account is the first one to be published in Europe. For other places, such as Tahiti, Cook's account is either superior or consolidates what had been said before.

In the appendix to this edition of Cook's voyages, particular attention is also paid to the status of missionaries in the islands and "accounts of the condition of the natives."[76] The population is discussed, as is the number of "church members in good standing." The appendix ends with a table, with columns for name, number of islands, supposed population, state (that is, "Christian", "Mostly Christian", "Partially Christian" or "Heathen") and the number of missionaries, with a note on which missionary society they are attached to. In some respects, this simple table is the core of Cook's articulation of space. Demarcating one place from another and describing each place in terms of fixed categories, the table creates a field of places, each with their specific location and attributes. For Cook, this table is the Pacific, and for Cook's readers, the first sense of the Pacific as an analytical space emerges through the narratives and the collections that Cook provides. These appendices add to the information.

But these statistics summarize a process, offering an accounting of the successes and failures of the missionary process. Similar tables were also produced which focused on other aspects of the place. But each of these tables were all ways of measuring the progress of civilization in the places of the Pacific. In the end, humanity will become a single nation, with a single set of customs, beliefs, and rulers. People may reply that Cook's voyages do not offer that ideal. How could a text that traces in such immense detail the variety of human existence promote at its core a single homogeneous ideal? Part of the answer harkens back to the Cook's implied response to relativism that was discussed in the chapter on Collections. The printed accounts of the voyages

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[76] Appendix to 1842 edition of Cook's *Voyages*, page 614.

do not only trace out differences, they also rank different nations according to universal ideals of taste, health, cultivation, justice, theology and so on. The stark dichotomy between a single ideal and the rest of the world reemerges, not as a single dichotomy between the self and the other, but between the self and the others. And so it is through the collection that those who followed in Cook's wake, who had the power to follow in Cook's wake, could offer detailed justifications for changing national diversity into a single ideal.

In accounts of Cook's voyages such as the one offered by Kippis, the role of violence in the process of civilization is generally downplayed. Often, the violence of the natives is the only violence that is described. Nonetheless, the role of violence in the civilizing process has been discussed by many writers. Alan Moorehead's *The Fatal Impact*, for instance, focuses on the fate of Tahiti after Europeans discovered the islands, while Greg Dening's *Islands and Beaches* offers a similar story for the Marquesas. Violence, of course, is evident throughout Cook's voyages, not only as an immediate practical requirement, but also as an important tool to encourage people to internalize specific legal and moral ideals.

The fire-arms are not always used to drive natives away or to exact revenge, although they are also used for both of these. The fire-arms are also used to intimidate people, and to ensure that they relate to the people on Cook's ships in particular ways. Consider, for instance, Cook's response when Clerke's gun was "snatched from him." As Cook writes,

> I sent all the boats off but one, with which I stayed, having a good many of the natives about me, who behaved with their usual courtesy. I made them so sensible of my intention, that long before the marines came, Mr. Clerke's musquet was brought, but they used many excuses to divert me from insisting on the other. At length Mr. Edgecumbe arriving with the marines, this alarmed them so much, that some of them fled. The first step I took was to seize on two large double-sailing canoes, which were in the cove. One fellow making resistance, I fired some small shot at him, and sent him

limping off. The natives being now convinced that I was in earnest, all fled; but on my calling to them, many returned; and, presently after, the other musquet was brought, and laid at my feet. That moment I ordered the canoes to be restored, to show them on what account they were detained.[77]

The goal is not simply to get the gun back. The goal is to form in the mind of the natives a sense of justice, which involves shooting anyone who resists. After reading accounts of these events, one is reminded of a passage in Nietzsche's *The Genealogy of Morals*, where he is discussing how people internalize a sense of legal obligations.

It was in this sphere then, the sphere of legal obligations, that the moral conceptual world of "guilt," "conscience," "duty," "sacredness of duty" had its origin: its beginnings were, like the beginnings of everything great on earth, soaked in blood thoroughly and for a long time. And might one not add that, fundamentally, this world has never since lost a certain odor of blood and torture? (Not even in good old Kant: the categorical imperative smells of cruelty.)[78]

The creation of an internal moral sentiment is not the only field where violence has its uses. Blood can promote fairness. Blood can encourage a sense of time and place that are appropriate to a global political and economic system. Blood can help outsiders articulate nations, and blood can be used to dissolve those nations, whether they really existed or not, into the oceanic flows of empire. Blood can paint the ground where direct conquests are carried out. And throughout, the articulations of place in Cook's voyages help make the blood look necessary, if not desirable. But this blood is rarely extracted in the name of the English king, it is extracted in the name of civilization, and so even where formal sovereign control is not even mentioned, the control is still in place.

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[77] Admiralty, *Voyages*, Volume IV, page 12.

[78] Nietzsche, *The Genealogy of Morals*, page 65.

Creating a sense of the world as a single entity is tied to various features of Cook's voyages, and its sense of world influence more or less corresponds to the various ways that places are articulated. The world becomes a single thing by first being divided into nation-places and then being combined again into a single collection. What emerges is a sense of global control, based on the collection and the political power that supports it, which parallels the relationship between the nation and the state. Now, however, the nation has become humanity, and the state has become, or will become, the empire. But this empire is not the English or the French or the German empire, but empire as such. Cook, in other words, does not simply give Great Britain Greater Britain, he ties the entire world together into a single system of relations, as comprehensive as the coordinate system, as clear and distinct as the map.

The sense of empire that emerges from Cook's voyages, which will eventually become the national collections of global spaces, is thus most clearly imagined through Cook's own relationship to the world. Not only is he a collector who transcends his collection, he is also a person who transcends his national identity. As Kippis notes, Cook's voyages were undertaken from "the enlarged and benevolent design of promoting the happiness of the human species."[79] Thus, rather than being the captain of a (nation's) king's ship, Cook is the captain of an enlightenment ship who can claim honour from the world. Kippis continues his, awkwardly nationalistic, account of Cook's status by noting how

> His title to this honour [of naming the New Hebrides] will not be disputed in any part of Europe, and certainly not by so enlightened and liberal a people as the French nation.[80]

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[79] Kippis, *A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World Performed by Captain James Cook*, page 18.

[80] Kippis, *A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World Performed by Captain James Cook*,

The articulations of place in Cook's voyages, therefore, are tied to Cook's own transcendence, not only from his collection, but also from any particular national or political attachment. By being the authority behind the voyages, therefore, Cook becomes a citizen of the world, and is one of the few who could dare to claim all of its rights and privileges.

It is only later that the English acquire their empire, not as a dispersed system of influence, but as a formal collection of places. Cook, then, becomes an important point of origin, who has articulated the world, and given the world, as gift, to his nation. Thus, the two images of empire come to co-exist: the one focusing on sovereignty, the other on influence. And it is through these two senses of empire that the 19th century Europe organized the world, first in articulating territorial units that are formally subject to the imperial nation, and second in articulating movements throughout the world that may originate in a sovereign nation, but that travel in the oceanic spaces that connect all the places of the world together.

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page 238.