

CAPTAIN COOK AT NOOTKA SOUND  
AND SOME QUESTIONS OF COLONIAL DISCOURSE

by

NOEL ELIZABETH CURRIE

B.A. (Hons.), The University of British Columbia, 1987  
M.A., Carleton University, 1988

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Department of English

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada

Date 26 Sept. 1994

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the workings of various colonial discourses in the texts of Captain James Cook's third Pacific voyage. Specifically, it focusses on the month spent at Nootka Sound (on the west coast of Vancouver Island) in 1778. The textual discrepancies between the official 1784 edition by Bishop Douglas, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, and J.C. Beaglehole's scholarly edition of 1967, *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780*, reveal that Cook's *Voyages* present not an archive of European scientific and historical knowledge about the new world but the deployment of colonial discourses. Examining this relatively specific moment as discourse expands a critical sense of the importance of Cook's *Voyages* as cultural documents, for the twentieth century as well as for the eighteenth.

Chapters One and Two consider the mutually interdependent discourses of aesthetics and science: based upon assumptions of "objectivity," they distance the observing subject from the object observed, in time as well as in space. Chapter Three traces the development of the trope of cannibalism and argues that this trope works in the editions of Cook's third voyage to further distance the Nootka from Europeans by textually establishing what looked like savagery. Chapter Four examines the historical construction of Cook as imperial culture hero, for eighteenth-century England, Western Europe, and the settler cultures that followed in his wake. Taken separately and together, these colonial discourses are employed in the accounts of Cook's month at Nootka Sound to justify and rationalise England's claim to appropriation of the territory.

The purpose of these colonial discourses is to fix meaning and to present themselves as natural; the purpose of my dissertation is to disrupt such constructions. I therefore disrupt my own discourse with a series of digressions, signalled by a different typeface. They allow me to pursue lines of thought related tangentially to the main arguments and thus to investigate the wider concerns of the culture that produced Cook's voyages. They also give me the opportunity to interrogate my own critical methodology and assumptions. Ultimately I aim not to create another, more convincing construction of Cook and his month at Nootka Sound, but to illuminate a cultural process, a way of making meaning that is part of his intellectual legacy.

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## Introduction

### Nootka Sound in 1778: Terra Incognita

We no sooner drew near the inlet than we found the coast to be inhabited; and at the place where we were first becalmed, three canoes came off to the ship. In one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the two last stood up, and made a long harangue, inviting us to land, as we guessed, by his gestures. At the same time, he kept strewing handfuls of feathers toward us; and some of his companions threw handfuls of a red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator, wore the skin of some animal, and held, in each hand, something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet; and then others took it, by turns, to say something, though they acted their part neither so long, nor with such vehemence as the other. (Douglas II, 265-6)

So begins the first published edition of Captain James Cook's encounter with the people of the place he "honour'd . . . with the name of King Georges Sound [which] is called by the Natives Nook'ka" (King 1401). The *Resolution* and the *Discovery* stayed at Nootka Sound from Sunday 29 March to Sunday 26 April 1778 on Cook's third and last voyage, this one in search of, among other things, the elusive Northwest Passage. To the contemporary reading public, the encounter with Nootka Sound was largely overshadowed by the foreknowledge of Cook's death at Hawaii less than a year later. Although the northwest coast of America was exotically different from the South Pacific, it could not hope to compete with the high drama to come at Hawaii. Standard landfall activities at Nootka Sound -- where the expedition replenished its supply of much-needed water, made necessary repairs to the ships, relieved its sexual frustrations, and traded with the natives -- seemed prosaic and mundane. The consequences of this month at Nootka Sound, however, have been far-reaching: Cook's account profoundly influenced his European contemporaries, as well as the colonial and imperial cultures which followed in his wake.

Cook's month at Nootka Sound did not result in the kind of violence that caused his death in Hawaii the following January. In fact, it might seem to exemplify the cultural construction of

Cook as a benevolent -- enlightened even -- explorer whose voyages expanded the horizons of global knowledge: the "contact" model of European relations with the new world. Greg Denning's description of sixteenth-century Spanish mariners' sentiments regarding their violent encounter with Marquesas Islanders illustrates the antithetical construction: the "conquest" model whose goal was the destruction of difference instead of its archival preservation.

It did not matter that many of these Spanish colonists on their way to found the New Jerusalem had come from brothels and gaols. They had the touch of the divine within them. They might lose their souls in hell for murder, fornication and blasphemy, indeed would do so one presumes before this voyage to their new Jerusalem was over, but they had an eye to insurance in these matters and the friars could remedy the evil in them with an absolution and even -- though here the odds grew longer -- a last blessing. It was their status in God's eyes that made them different from the heathen. They might go to hell as good marksmen, but they went with the sign on their souls that they had once been saved. The heathen went willy-nilly. (Denning, *Islands and Beaches* 10)

The contrast between scientists gathering information about the physical world and marksmen counting the heads of slain natives seems clear, yet in both cases what speaks is the European historical record: present-day Nootka Sound, like the Marquesas Islands, is so known as a result of European naming. Despite the fact that one group instigated the encounter and eventually came to control it, the encounter itself happened between two groups and thus may be viewed from two perspectives at least. Since it is the winners' privilege to write the history books, such moments of contact bring indigenous peoples 'into' the discursive field of European history (a way of understanding events, people, and places in time which exists simultaneously in writing and remains independent of it). European discourses such as those of Christianity (whether Catholic or Protestant) and linear history construct a space in which even such relatively neutral terms as "contact," no less than "discourse," need careful definition. Even before Darwin and nineteenth-century evolutionary theory, Europeans defined the moment of contact -- when they actually acknowledged the humanity of those encountered -- as if it occurred between themselves in the present tense and some version

of their own past. As Dennis Porter notes,

From Captain Cook to Lévi-Strauss, the traveler reports on the sensation of coming face to face in a remote place with the apparent past of the human race in its pristineness or menace. For pre-twentieth-century Europeans, the shock of such encounters with naked or semi-naked peoples of color seems to reside in the perception of similarity within radical difference. Although the human past may have been deliberately sought out as part of their quest for origin, it often returns in a way that nothing in their culture had quite prepared them for. (*Haunted Journeys* 12-3)

In fact, Europeans were not encountering the human past but another human present, one radically different from their own -- a distinction that is difficult to grasp in the overdetermined vocabulary of European contact with the new world.

The moment of contact brings so-called *prehistoric* peoples ("of, belonging to, or existing in the period antecedent to history, or to the first historical accounts of a people" ["Prehistoric"]) into *history* ("the narrative of past events"; furthermore, "a written narrative, constituting a continuous methodical record, in order of time, of important or public events" ["History" 261]). By definition, their very existence is simultaneously confirmed and denied: the paradox of absence and presence. That is to say, European history describes the new-world territory as uninhabited, "virgin land" there for the claiming by the representative of the European crown, even as encounters with the inhabitants give psychological and physical impetus to the narrative. Such encounters -- ranging from sightings of, to bloody conflicts with, natives -- propel the narrative by means of the fear and/or excitement they generate in Europeans: fear of attack, often of cannibalism, and excitement about guidance and direction toward the goal of exploration. (For example, contrary to the trope of the discovery of an empty land which can be named and thereby possessed, Cook's first words about Nootka Sound indicate a recognition that the land is not, in fact, empty, just as they seem to indicate that its inhabitants have a culture -- though not necessarily a civilisation -- he does not understand.) The expansionist imperative may lead to the revision of history (or of the moment of encounter, when the

explorer's journal is edited for publication): a retroactive assertion that the land was empty at the moment of contact. This assertion may also be a function of perception in the present (at the moment of European encounter with the new world, either on its shores or between the pages of a book): a (European) way of seeing which consists precisely of *not* seeing that which is alien to it. In *Maps and Dreams*, Hugh Brody identifies the necessity of denying the existence of aboriginal inhabitants of new-world territories: "in the empire of the immigrant, new lands must be thought of as empty, and every human being as an equal newcomer -- equal before the absence of law. Or, where there is law, it exists in the imperious fiats of the newcomers," whose claim to imprint their law on an empty land is thereby justified (xiii). Bruce Greenfield presents "one line of American critical discourse" about nineteenth-century American responses to the land; his analysis of the rhetoric of uninhabited space or virgin territory supports Brody's point (10).

In his introduction to *Narrating Discovery*, Greenfield sketches the issues of ownership or appropriation of territory as they are played out in Cooper's *Leather-Stocking Tales*. He argues that the generic differences between Cooper's highly-controlled fictions, which present a "panoramic historical vision," and discovery and exploration narratives, whose point of view is necessarily "limited to that of an individual immediately engaged in circumstances he does not entirely understand or control," is one of content rather than of form (9, 10):

in writing accounts of exploratory journeys, European travelers needed to address the same problem of authority that structured Cooper's fictions, the authority, that is, according to which the European or Euro-American lays claim to what is by generic definition alien territory. And discovery narratives do, as a matter of course, construe European action in America as being in conflict with existing peoples, even though, over the years, they developed rhetorical strategies for mitigating and marginalizing this conflict (since the late seventeenth century, they have presented themselves as scientific discourses). It now seems commonsensical to include the discovery narrative in the realm of what Peter Hulme (among others) has defined as 'colonial discourse': 'an ensemble of linguistically-based practices unified by their common deployment in the management of colonial relationships.' Reporting on an exploratory journey, especially in published form, meant casting individual activity in terms that would be

recognized and valued in European and colonial power centers. To 'make discoveries' was to travel and observe, but it was also to participate in European expansionism. (Greenfield 10)

In nineteenth-century American literature, authority -- the legitimate right to ownership of territory -- comes not from nature or law, but from language itself, from colonial discourses which create the idea of an empty space. Such discourses, which Monique Wittig calls "*entourloupettes* [nasty tricks, circumventing tricks]," result in violence -- first in the order of language, later in the realm of practical politics ("Homo Sum" 56). The rhetoric of natural science, for example, supported the appropriative project by identifying the original inhabitants primarily as natural products of the land, rather than as human products of culture and civilisation: "after America had become 'natural,' Euro-Americans were no longer co-habitants of a continent whose peoples they had conquered; instead, they could see the primordial land itself as the explanation and justification for their presence in it" (Greenfield 2). As a genre, the discovery and exploration narrative played a crucial role in creating, supporting, and furthering colonial discourses:

it linked individual experience to corporate significance. The conditions of exotic travel dictated that individuals would be privileged as sources of knowledge; as the spokesman for, at most, a small group of Europeans who had visited an unfamiliar region, a writer's account had undeniable authority. Yet it was not only the widely shared understanding that Europeans and Euro-Americans were fundamentally concerned with, even defined by, their global expansion that enabled the traveler to undertake his mission and to gain a public hearing when he returned. Through the well-established conditions of the discovery narrative, individual adventurers, often dimly if not selfishly motivated, allied themselves with the power of European and Euro-American institutions. To validate individual suffering and expense in the face of imminent physical danger and/or social oblivion, travelers sought to transform adventures into history. (Greenfield 11)

History, like natural science, provided a rhetoric by which the new world could be known and understood in European languages.

Instead of legal or moral authority, narratives of the so-called discovery or exploration of what is, by definition, unknown and unclaimed space create a *discursive* authority, which in turn legitimates

the territorial claim of the writer. The original inhabitants, "objectified" and identified with the land, become property, and consequently part of the claim. Such discursive strategies validate the presence and expansion of settler cultures in the colonies, but that is not their only role. Greenfield argues that "the narrative of exploration that developed in conjunction with the new political authority [in his analysis, the newly-constituted American state] was more than the expression of the new government's pretensions: it was part of the new state's creation of itself" (12). The culture producing the exploration narratives and other forms of colonial discourse reveals in them its own values and aspirations: territorial expansion at the expense of the original inhabitants. In turn, this culture is produced by them. Colonial culture and colonial discourse thus become a kind of Möbius strip, where finding the beginning or end of the relationship is less important than remarking the interdependence of, or the interrelationship between, the two elements.

The popularity of the literature of discovery or exploration is inextricably linked to the success of this appropriating rhetoric and discourse: "spatial freedom became [such] a common assumption of American culture . . . that awareness of how it was gained receded" dramatically (Greenfield 11). Narratives of travel had been popular reading material in Europe for centuries; however, their popularity peaked in eighteenth-century England with the journals of long ocean voyages and circumnavigations, such as those of Cook:

The highest levels of British government and scientific community participated in the planning and support of Cook's expeditions, making them the most prestigious of their kind in English history. This support, together with Cook's own remarkable talents as a navigator and observer, the high quality of the scientific personnel who accompanied him, and the care and expense lavished on the reports, set Cook up as the standard for all who followed him. His reports, particularly that of the second voyage, which he wrote himself, became models for anyone who undertook to publish a report of exploratory travels. (Greenfield 17)

Here the focus moves from the experience of reading such accounts to the writing, to the rhetoric or discourse shaped by the written text -- produced, as Percy Adams notes, with "careful editing" (*Travel*

*Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* 42). Although these narratives took several forms,<sup>1</sup> the ideological and generic supports were generally the same: as Greenfield notes, the "established tradition" of exploration narratives "enabled obscure fur traders and junior army officers to assert the importance of their actions; the public understanding of discovery as a central theme of European history offered these men, and others like them, the means by which they could claim the attention of the reading public" (18).<sup>2</sup>

A sense of destiny, of the inevitability of European expansion and the progression of European civilisation, provided ideological supports essential to the creation of an exploration narrative. This ideological apparatus also transformed the record of exploration (which usually took the form of a log or journal) into a narrative. A journal's chronology does not -- often cannot -- form a narrative in and of itself. In the case of Cook's voyages, long periods at sea provided few observations to record beyond comments about shipboard life, weather conditions, and navigational details. Even seemingly momentous events are not necessarily related. Cook's 'discovery' of Australia bears no intrinsic relationship to his 'discovery' of Nootka Sound, beyond that which can be constructed in writing or, more properly, in discourse: "the extent to which [an explorer's] record can be cast as narrative is fundamentally related to the writer's ability to connect daily experience to conscious intentions and goals" (Greenfield 18). The explorer's "conscious intentions and goals" -- of discovering or of making known to Europeans the strange new place -- give meaning not only to the narrative itself, but also to the very process of exploration, which is often marked by a singular lack of discoveries. In Cook's *Voyages* as published texts, the expectation of discoveries to come makes reading about months at sea worthwhile and significant; the fact of publication suggests that the voyages actually discovered something worth writing a book about.

The explorer/writer modified the order of events recorded in his journal in light of the actual outcomes of the journey and his understanding of its meaning, making the

record of his observations into the story of his discoveries. Things randomly occurring and promiscuously noted are recognized as leading toward, or stemming from, a revelation. (Greenfield 19)

However clearly motivated at the time, an exploration narrative's teleology becomes most apparent in retrospect, as the writer or editor shapes random events into significant patterns. The story of discovery comes to stand for the discovery itself.

Greenfield defines "*discovery* with reference to the economic and political contexts in which journeys were planned and accounts written. The verb *to discover* thus implies anticipation, and later knowledge, of an object that has already been defined or allowed for in the contemporary discourse about where the traveler has been" (19-20). Exploration literature is a profoundly public discourse: "eighteenth-century explorers thought of themselves as 'making discoveries,' and it is with this sense of official purpose that they undertook to mount expeditions and write narrative accounts," with the appropriate acknowledgement of official bodies (Greenfield 20). Explorers -- and the reading public who purchased the published accounts of their adventures -- emphasised their role as representatives of corporation, crown, or civilisation itself over any individual goals or aspirations. Paradoxically, doing so allowed them to assert their personal importance, since, Greenfield argues, "eighteenth-century imperial theory allowed the individual in the fur trade to see his efforts as contributing to the commonwealth of the company and the nation, and in his retrospective the traveler usually sought to express his motives in terms of service to these larger entities" (21).

### **Travel and Exploration Literature**

A construction of Cook as imperial culture hero personifies the public discourse of eighteenth-century English exploration. However, the eighteenth century also saw the growth of another form of English travel narrative ideologically related to the popularity and profusion of scientific travel

books: the self-conscious, often parodic, travel narrative. Works such as Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr Yorick* (1768) present the individual consciousness rather than the external world as the object of discovery; the narrator's revelations are personal. The process of English cultural self-fashioning at work in the grand enterprise of Cook's encounters with exotic Pacific cultures is played out at the level of the individual traveler, who derives personal benefit (in the form of a new knowledge and consciousness of himself) from his travels. The journey to a foreign part of the world thus becomes a metaphor for a journey into the unknown part of the self; the resulting discoveries enter public circulation in the published text, which (like the fur-traders' journals discussed by Greenfield) finds an audience thanks to the demand for travel books created by Cook's *Voyages* (among others). Thus the self-conscious travel narrative owes a debt to the public discourse of exploration narratives for a form and an audience; in its parodic guise, it also owes a debt for comic or satiric material to previously published narratives. As an example, Sterne's character "Smelfungus" in *A Sentimental Journey* parodies the splenetic, irascible narrator of Tobias Smollett's *Travels through France and Italy* (1766); indeed, the humour of this character in Sterne's account largely depends on the reader's familiarity with Smollett's book.

Small wonder, perhaps, that the author of *Tristram Shandy* should write a travel narrative where self-consciousness is the hero, or even that the emergent genre of fiction (in the eighteenth century, often preoccupied with the "history" of an individual character) should affect other forms of writing. In twentieth-century examples of the genre, the spatial journey has largely become a metaphor for an inward passage: as Conrad's phrenologist doctor in *Heart of Darkness* (1899) tells Marlow, "'the changes take place inside, you know'" (502-3). This is particularly true for Europeans traveling into the world of the so-called "savages" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Conrad's image from the beginning of the century -- of the corruption at the centre of European

civilisation -- stands as the emblem for journeys which, paradoxically, carry travelers deeper into themselves the further they go from the known or familiar world: the only possible epiphany is to be found in the process of the journey itself. However, not only is it impossible to reach the centre of one's own consciousness, but also, apparently, to return from it: the experience of the journey causes shifts in the starting-point as well as in the traveler. For example, the first sentences of Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes Tropiques* suggest its function as an anti-travel book:

Travel and travellers are two things I loathe -- and yet here I am, all set to tell the story of my expeditions. But at least I've taken a long while to make up my mind to it: fifteen years have passed since I left Brazil for the last time and often, during those years, I've planned to write this book, but I've always been held back by a sort of shame and disgust. So much would have to be said that has no possible interest: insipid details, incidents of no significance. (17)

After overcoming his repugnance enough to put this book together, he cannot even claim that it forms the repository of the ephemeral and extra bits that were edited out of, or found no place in, his scholarly anthropological works:

It may be that we shall have spent six months of travel, privation, and sickening physical weariness merely in order to record -- in a few days, it may be, or even a few hours -- an unpublished myth, a new marriage-rule, or a complete list of names of clans. But that does not justify my taking up my pen in order to rake over memory's trash-cans: 'At 5.30 a.m. we dropped anchor off Recife while the seagulls skirled around us and a flotilla of small boats put out from the shore with exotic fruits for sale....' (17)

Instead, what he offers is an anthropology or ethnography of himself, a scientific study of the author in his natural habitat: the densely textured, stream-of-consciousness dream-logic of his own mind, his patterns of thought, memory, and desire. Although he sets up travel books as rhetorical straw figures, Lévi-Strauss' own text does differ from the sort he repeatedly derides -- particularly in his understanding of the deployment of power, of ways of talking about and knowing the other which create and maintain power imbalances. Through strategies of falsification and manipulation, Lévi-Strauss argues, the narrator achieves self-aggrandizement: he may 'go Indian' for a month or so, but

his photographs ('the author with his pygmy friends') confirm not the authenticity of his experiences with natives, but the fact that he is taller than they are.

Lévi-Strauss also demonstrates how the Europe he left for Brazilian fieldwork no longer exists. The contrast between his earliest trips to South America -- dinners of *suprême de poularde* and *filet de turbot* relieving the monotony of his stateroom -- and his attempts to escape France before the Nazis arrived in 1941 -- "I saw myself as marked down for a concentration camp" (25) -- reveals that "the atmosphere thickens, everywhere" (37). There is no going back, no golden age anywhere to return to -- except through memory, which organises and offers new perspectives on both that time and this one.

Some of the concerns of Lévi-Strauss' "autoethnography," first published in 1955, are picked up in a similar work by another anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski's *Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (1967). Dennis Porter calls this the "shadow-text" of Malinowski's classic work of ethnography, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). In his Foreword to *Argonauts*, Malinowski claims that "one of the first conditions of acceptable Ethnographic work certainly is that it should deal with the totality of all social, cultural and psychological aspects of the community, for they are so interwoven that not one can be understood without taking into consideration all the others" (xvi). He analyses the whole of Melanesian society through the Kula, a trading system of both economic and symbolic significance: "it looms paramount in the tribal life of these natives who live within its circuit, and its importance is fully realised by the tribesmen themselves, whose ideas, ambitions, desires and vanities are very much bound up with the Kula" (*Argonauts* 2). Malinowski begins an account of his ethnographic methodology by discussing some of the early difficulties in communicating with the natives and his initial feelings of discouragement and hopelessness. Fortunately, these difficulties are resolved after a few pages, culminating for him in the knowledge

that the ethnographer ought "to live without other white men, right among the natives" (*Argonauts* 6). He immediately moves on to the detailed description, exposition, and analysis of Melanesian life according to "real scientific aims, and . . . the values and criteria of modern ethnography" (*Argonauts* 6).

In contrast to *Argonauts'* rational scientific sensibility, the *Diary* recounts the innumerable difficulties -- situational and emotional -- which seemingly conspire to depress the anthropologist. Indeed, this later text presents him as a melancholy, sensual man, whose thoughts are focussed on his friends, family, and particularly his lovers in Europe and Australia. In comparison to their weight in the *Diary*, Malinowski's fieldwork among the Mailu and Trobriand islanders seems almost incidental. For example:

During the night Ineykoya died. Got up at 3:30 and went there. Deep impression. *I lose my nerve*. All my despair, after all those killed in the war, hangs over this miserable Melanesian hut. I thought of E.R. M. [his fiancée], Jim, and Charles. Then went back under my mosquito net and couldn't fall asleep and thought a great deal of E.R.M. My *misgivings à propos* Dostoevskian feelings. Doubts about whether she is still the 'complete woman' for me -- I decide to keep them to myself. (*Diary* 196)

This quotation reveals some of the most striking features of the *Diary*: the intensely personal, introspective tone, often expressing intense sexual longing (women's initials often stand for sexual fantasies or memories), the desire to fix meanings as well as his feelings, and the steady stream-of-consciousness dialogue with himself that flows seemingly independently of the location. Indeed, the location frequently seems incidental in the *Diary*: gathering ethnographic information seems to occupy less of Malinowski's time that reading (European novels and magazines), eating, and talking with other Europeans -- even those he dislikes.

In addition to presenting the difficulties of fieldwork conditions, and Malinowski's self-pity, the *Diary* suggests how his own attitudes and emotional states shape the theoretically "objective"

ethnographic context. For example, on 6 November, 1914, Malinowski wrote:

Tried to get old men together speaking Motu. Out came an old man with a pleasant expression and clear gaze full of calm and wisdom. In the morning, collecting of information proceeded well. I went back, ate on ship, and read. Around 5, went ashore and sat by the sea in the shade. Collecting information went less well. The old man began to lie about burials. I became enraged, got up and went for a walk. (*Diary* 35)

A month and a half earlier -- on 27 September -- Malinowski noted the difficulties of information-gathering, given that, he writes, "I do not speak their language . . . although I am trying to learn Motu" (*Diary* 13). Arguably, his opinion that the old man is "lying" has more to do with his own perceptions and frustrations than with his expertise in the Motu language. The *Diary* reveals again and again how Malinowski's expressed opinions about natives depend upon his own emotional state: when he is content, secure, they are helpful and communicative; when he is frustrated with himself (over his nearly-constant sexual fantasies or the progression of his fieldwork) or feeling ill, they are liars.

Porter describes Malinowski's text and shadow text using the concept of repression to explain the narrative voice created by the requirements of anthropology as an academic discipline (as a *science*, defined by a certain authorial disinterest and/or objectivity). However, the discrepancy between the two, and the nature of the "repressed" material, bears scrutiny. James Clifford notes that "one of the discipline's founders was seen to have felt considerable anger toward his native informants. A field experience that had set the standard for scientific cultural description was fraught with ambivalence" (*Predicament of Culture* 97). In fact, the "father of ethnography," constructed as an "authoritative participant-observer, a locus of sympathetic understanding of the other" in the text of *Argonauts*, is revealed not as "coolly objective" but as subjectively racist in the private text of the *Diary* (Clifford, *PC* 110). The fact that this private diary was "clearly not intended for publication" (Clifford, *PC* 97) suggests Malinowski's own process of self-fashioning (and possibly cultural self-

fashioning as well), in which private feelings of desire and violence are edited out of the objective social scientist persona.

The *Diary* reveals that Malinowski frequently read novels instead of ethnographic works during his Melanesian fieldwork. The effect of this reading material on the form and structure of *Argonauts* is unclear; however, at one moment, Malinowski's frustration with getting the information he wants from Mailu islanders finds voice through another travel experience shaped in English by an expatriate Pole, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899):

I handed out half-sticks of tobacco, then watched a few dances; then took pictures -- but results very poor. Not enough light for snapshots; and they would not pose long enough for time exposures. -- At moments I was furious with them, particularly because after I gave them their portions of tobacco they all went away. On the whole my feelings toward the natives are decidedly tending to '*Exterminate the brutes.*' (Diary 69)

Clifford's description of this extraordinary statement as "an ironic invocation [which] provides [Malinowski] with a fictional grasp of the stresses of fieldwork and the violence of his feelings," part of "the inseparability of discourse and power" forcing the anthropologist to "struggle for control in the ethnographic encounter" fails to account for the significance of such a violent desire in the colonial context (PC 105). That the representative of colonial power can express such a desire demonstrates the military, economic, and personal extent of that colonial power: that such a wish is sayable, even thinkable, reveals the balance of power for which the writer theoretically struggles.

Porter's account of Malinowski's racism seems more satisfactory to me: "the various references to 'niggers' in connection with Mailu and Trobrianders shock all the more because they come from the author of *Argonauts*. Even if the word did not in his time have all the pejorative connotations it has today, the context makes clear the racist hostility involved" (HJ 261), especially since it always appears in italics with a lower-case "n." Almost always, it carries a sense of sneering:

"Somewhat resentful feelings about E.R.M. -- In the afternoon read her diary. Posed before the *niggers*" (*Diary* 197). Again, it is the discrepancy between a reader's expectations of so-called scientific objectivity -- largely constructed for anthropological discourse by Malinowski's *Argonauts* -- and the violence of the *Diary*'s racism that shocks, not inviting but forcing the reader "to read the canonical text against the grain" (Porter, *HJ* 251). At the same time, both Porter and Clifford argue that the two texts taken together do not constitute the "whole truth" of Malinowski's Trobriand fieldwork experience any more than either text does so singly:

the two texts are partial refractions, specific experiments with writing . . . . [The *Diary*] is a crucial document for the history of anthropology, not because it reveals the reality of ethnographic experience, but because it forces us to grapple with the complexities of such encounters and to treat all textual accounts based on fieldwork as partial constructions. (Clifford, *PC* 97)

#### *A Digression, concerning Digressions*

*My own discourse is disrupted throughout the dissertation by means of digressions. Signalled by a heading which identifies them as such and a different typeface, they foreground the eighteenth-century focus of this study, and the place of Cook's voyages as texts in eighteenth-century philosophical, cultural, and literary contexts as well as twentieth-century post-colonial ones. The ultimate example of digressive writing, for the eighteenth or possibly any other century, is of course Sterne's Tristram Shandy (1759-67). From the very first chapter, when Mrs. Shandy's degression from the care and thought properly attendant upon the moment of conception affects his future and his nature, Tristram (and his life and opinions as expressed in the novel) is marked by digressions: his own hobby-horses, those of his father, and of course Uncle Toby's fortifications. Paradoxically, these hobby horses both signal a formal digression and also function as markers, touchstones for the reader in a narrative which constantly circles around on and turns in on itself. The bees in Walter Shandy's bonnet about*

midwifery reveal as much about Tristram as his own fear of death and meditations upon mortality: all the digressions in Tristram Shandy, formal and informal, provide crucial information for the reader. Tristram Shandy may be the most extreme example, but not the only one in eighteenth-century literature. The novelty of the novel form, and the attempts of eighteenth-century writers to capture an individual character's consciousness and thought-processes (Defoe's Moll Flanders [1722], Richardson's Pamela [1740-2]) and experience (works in the picaresque mode such as Fielding's Tom Jones [1749] or Smollett's Humphrey Clinker [1771]) often results in a narrative which reads like one long digression.

My digressions, like the less formal ones of the eighteenth-century novel, provide additional information, supplementing the main argument and allowing me to follow an interest or another train of thought concurrently. In these cases the juxtaposition of the main text and the digressions fleshes out some aspect of a chapter's line of enquiry -- for example, the connection between English landscape gardens or European engraving conventions and explorers' aesthetic responses to the new world. Occasionally i have found myself more interested in (or, perhaps, obsessed by) the material of the digressions than that of the main text; occasionally i have wondered if the whole dissertation is not one long digression, a Shandean exercise in self-consciousness. Ultimately, the division between main text and digression has been relatively arbitrary; a shift in emphasis could easily move the material of the formal digressions from the intermediary position they occupy between the central argument(s) of the main text and the marginalia of notes to either place. The centrality or marginality of ideas reveals more about my priorities, values, and assumptions than any intrinsic relative importance.

In addition to using an eighteenth-century form for a twentieth-century function, i also want these digressions to parallel the use of a double, a mirror or twinning, text in much travel literature. In Days and Nights in Calcutta (1977/1986), for example, both Clark Blaise

and Bharati Mukherjee record their year-long sojourn in India. Their separate accounts rarely refer to each other; instead, they inform each other mostly through the physical fact of being united in one book and the reader's desire to view the events of one year through two pairs of eyes. (The cover of the Penguin edition promises "Two people, two cultures, one marriage.") In Bruce Chatwin's *Songlines* (1987), a narrative of travels in and through central Australia (ostensibly to learn about Aboriginal Songlines) frames the intellectual, emotional, and formal centre of the text: brief quotations, anecdotes, and Nietzschean *penseés* culled from "twenty-odd years of travel" (160). For example:

Useless to ask a wandering man  
Advice on the construction of a house.  
The work will never come to completion.

After reading this text, from the Chinese *Book of Odes*, I realised the absurdity of trying to write a book about nomads. (178)

Paradoxically, Chatwin can only "set down on paper a résumé of the ideas, quotations and encounters which had amused and obsessed me; and which I hoped would shed light on what is, for me, the question of questions: the nature of human restlessness" (161) at a time when his own traveling has come, temporarily, to a halt. However, the whole momentum of the narrative has been leading to this moment, which comes as no surprise after numerous references to Chatwin's theories about nomads. His use of shadow-text (here, the narrative of travel) provides a warning about the dangers of too much self-consciousness, i think; too much "I" in the work means that its title might more accurately be *Bruce*. While Chatwin has obviously chosen this strategy to avoid stealing or appropriating Aboriginal knowledge, cultural sensitivity moves into the exercise of Mary Louise Pratt's imperial eye: even a book supposedly about Aboriginal Songlines can do no more than reveal the inner workings of the Englishman abroad.

My digressions function as shadow-text, sometimes commenting on and expanding the issues discussed in the main text in a purely digressive fashion, but also (and perhaps

more importantly) attempting to dismantle the voice of absolute authority by calling "attention to its human source" (Porter HJ 250) -- me, the lower-case i of the digressions. They are meant to suggest my self-fashioning as a scholar and critic "trying a new pen," attempting to approach the question of constructions in a new way, neither fixing meaning absolutely nor setting it entirely adrift. I cannot claim that these digressions reveal my own areas of repression, since they have been consciously chosen and as carefully researched as the main text; however, i can hope that their juxtaposition reveals something about my "involvement (conscious or unconscious) with a class, a set of beliefs, a social position, or from the mere activity of being a member of society," to borrow Edward Said's formulation (Orientalism 10). Often, they do so by providing a space of meditation or rumination on some of the ideological and methodological problems raised by my discussion. Perhaps the most crucial of these is the notion that the scholarly apparatus of the text -- in the case of Cook's voyages, of the edition -- inscribes a way of knowing and its own authority, which effects a kind of textual domination. Thus the digressions provide a means to inject an ongoing debate with myself (and hopefully the reader) about the ways in which my scholarly project is implicated in the process of domination, the proliferation of European words and discourses about new-world territories and peoples.

### **A Particular History of Language**

The exploration narrative is self-consciously presented as a document claiming authority on the basis of eye-witness testimony and the speaker's position of personal responsibility -- as the leader of an expedition and representative of company or crown. Cook's voyages were sponsored by the Lords of the Admiralty, proclaiming their sanction by government and monarch in the very names of "His Majesty's Ships," just as the King was the patron of the published texts. Cook's audience

received and accepted the authority created in the narrative of the *Voyages* largely because the discourse of the text was created and supported by an eighteenth-century intellectual climate. That Cook's voyages were promoted and attended by the leading scientific figures of the day (Royal Society member and later President Joseph Banks on the first voyage, the Forsters on the second) confirmed their contemporary reputation as sailing laboratories. A twentieth-century assessment reveals that they also benefitted from a split in language and understanding differentiating "science" from "art," especially literature. As Clifford notes in his "Introduction: Partial Truths" to *Writing Culture*,

Since the seventeenth century . . . Western science has excluded certain expressive modes from its legitimate repertoire: rhetoric (in the name of 'plain,' transparent language), fiction (in the name of fact), and subjectivity (in the name of objectivity). The qualities eliminated from science were located in the category of 'literature.' (5)

Such a distinction between science and literature means that writing of or about science and history will be by definition mimetic<sup>3</sup> or transparent, factual, objective, and unambiguous, in contrast to literature, which must contain, as the corresponding category, writing which is metaphoric, fictional (in the sense of 'not true'), subjective, and ambiguous, or open to interpretation. Although the idea of a purely transparent and unadorned style may be fantasy, an understanding of writing which defines so-called figurative and plain styles in opposition theoretically precludes the one style from exhibiting any features of the other.

The texts of Cook's *Voyages* have long been treated as unproblematic depositories of facts: scientific writing par excellence, the proof of this being that virtually no scholarly study of the texts' rhetorical effects, or discursive strategies, exists.<sup>4</sup> Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston's "Introduction" to *From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver* suggests a popular understanding of or vocabulary about Cook's voyages: "Vancouver was a more prosaic explorer than Cook. He was not the first European to 'discover' any major piece of land" (11). The contrast set

up between the two explorers indicates that, unlike his successor, Cook was in fact "the first European to 'discover' a major piece of land." The different treatments of the two explorers' bicentennials suggests a changing public awareness of 'exploration' and 'discovery': "The bicentennial of [Vancouver's] coming to the northwest coast did not receive the same recognition as the Cook bicentennial had fourteen years earlier. One reason was an increased consciousness among civic politicians and the public of Native issues and Native perspectives. A Vancouver event no longer seemed appropriate" (Fisher, *FMM* 13). The result was a celebration of "commemorative events which determinedly avoided recognizing Vancouver himself" in the city that bears his name (Fisher, *FMM* 7). This discrepancy indicates a change in public opinion, a different perspective perhaps; but the editors' phrasing -- "the first European to 'discover' a major piece of land" -- also indicates that what has come to be called a Eurocentric worldview remains relatively unshaken, fundamentally unaltered by quotation marks or alternate terminologies. Although the term "encounter," for example, depends upon the notion of at least two participants meeting in time and space and thus offers the opportunity of disrupting the sense of uninhabited territory traditionally associated with the term "discover," this process is still something seen and understood through European eyes, on European terms. Words and usage may shift, fumbling towards a new understanding, but the thought-processes of colonialism are harder to change. A Judeo-Christian model of textual creation -- "in the beginning was the Word and the Word was God" -- has seemingly been more effective in achieving domination than in dismantling it, perhaps because such models have been used for centuries to rationalise European territorial expansion at the expense of indigenous peoples.

### A Note on the Texts

There are two main editions of the texts of Cook's voyages, including the third voyage, on

which I have focussed. The official first edition of the third voyage was published in 1784 (six years after the ships arrived at Nootka Sound), sponsored by the Lords of the Admiralty and edited by Dr. John Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury. In 1967, the Hakluyt Society published a scholarly edition of the journal of the third voyage, edited by the New Zealand historian J.C. Beaglehole (who also produced scholarly editions of the first and second voyages, an edition of Joseph Banks' *Endeavour* journal, and a *Life of Cook*). Beaglehole's scholarly edition of the third voyage often differs significantly from Douglas' -- so significantly that the question "who speaks?" in the first edition becomes crucial. Are the words describing the first contact between English and Nootka Cook's, or those of his editor, Dr. Douglas? Beaglehole's scholarly text presents a rather different scenario:

We no sooner drew near the inlet than we found the coast to be inhabited and the people came off to the Ships in Canoes without shewing the least mark of fear or distrust. We had at one time thirty two Canoes filled with people about us, and a groupe of ten or a dozen remained along side the Resolution [*sic*] most part of the night. They seemed to be a mild inoffensive people, shewed great readiness to part with any thing they had and took whatever was offered them in exchange, but were more desirous of iron than any thing else, the use of which they very well knew and had several tools and instruments that were made of it. (Beaglehole III:1, 295-6)

The two editions present dramatically different first impressions of Nootka Sound and its inhabitants: in contrast to Douglas' ethnographic descriptions of a moment which evidently has some cultural or ceremonial significance for the Nootka (as if they already realise the importance of this encounter to the history of their coast), Beaglehole's edition offers a more prosaic and limited description of behaviour meaningful to and understood by Europeans -- the desire to trade. A footnote at the word "distrust" in Beaglehole, a reference to the log of Edward Riou, midshipman on the *Discovery* and later on the *Resolution*, provides a possible source for Douglas' text:

'When we first Entered this Sound at about 5 PM several Canoes came of [*sic*] to the Ships and In them a set of the dirtiest beings ever beheld -- their faces and Hair being a lump of red and black Earth and Grease -- Their Bodys [*sic*] covered with the Skins of Animals or a kind of garment made Exactly like the *Hahoo* (or Cloth) of New Zealand but of a Quality very inferior and differently shaped. In the Canoe that first

came Along side was a Man that stood up and held forth a long while -- at the same time pointing to the Sound as if the ship should go further Up -- his oratory did not seem to be the best in the world and he appeared to Utter with much difficulty; on his head he wore a kind of hat made of Cane and in shape resembling a buck's head; after having finished his harangue he presented it to Sale as well as several other things, which at once convinced us they were no novices at that business, in return for his hat he had a large Axe and left us quite Content.' -- Riou, 30 March. (Beaglehole III:1, 295-6)

Comparing the two editions reveals Douglas' role as editor in shaping for publication the official account of a national hero "aimed at a reading public avid to hear the details of Cook's death" (Obeyesekere 68). Indeed, Douglas had been specially chosen as the editor for the second voyage "to ensure that the style and contents 'might be unexceptionable to the nicest readers.' 'In short,' [Cook] told Douglas, 'my desire is that nothing indecent may appear in the whole book, and you cannot oblige me more than by pointing out whatever may appear to you as such'" (Obeyesekere 24). Douglas' task was perhaps somewhat easier than that of the editor of the first voyage, John Hawkesworth, since "unlike the narrative of the first voyage, which was easily outshone by Banks's, Cook wrote the shipboard narrative of his second voyage with an eye to an increasingly eager reading public" (Obeyesekere 24). Douglas approached his role as editor with care and forethought, as I.S. MacLaren has argued:

Bishop Douglas knew well that, in replacing the deceased Hawkesworth, there was something to be avoided -- *any* hint of moral relativism, for example -- but much to be retained from the literary invention of his deceased predecessor. Not only the first person, but also the characterization of the dutiful, magnanimous patriot, and -- another Hawkesworthian innovation for Western European publishing -- the securing of the monarch as patron of the publication, comprised the chief qualities of the pattern that Douglas retained and polished in his editions of Cook's second and third voyages. Needless (and gratuitous) to say, Cook's convenient death made the literary ennoblement of the explorer a much more straightforward task, not only because the reading public was disposed to take such a rendering of the third narrative, but also because Cook was not around to take umbrage had he been inclined to. ("Inscribing the Empire" 2)

Ganath Obeyesekere claims that Cook "was no litterateur, but his journals had a down-to-earth

quality, and the description of places, practices, and events are superbly detailed, if not evocative of the forms of life of Pacific Islanders" (24); Douglas' editorial task -- the "literary ennoblement of the explorer," in accordance with mid-eighteenth-century notions of decorum and appropriate behaviour -- was to shape the text of the journals so as to present and confirm Cook's status as a hero and a gentleman.

This raises the question, however, of whether Douglas' editing for elegance and rhetorical flourish extends beyond the language of description to alter that which is described: does the official edition of 1784 present *Douglas'* beliefs about what Cook saw and/or what his audience expected to see? MacLaren raises these questions in "Creating Travel Literature: The Case of Paul Kane":

one must not underestimate the changes that could occur when a travel journal metamorphosed into a publishable commodity. Just as the perceptual baggage packed by the explorer or traveller influenced significantly the narrative expression of his journal, so the revisions made to the journal, either by him or for him upon his return home, significantly assisted the creation of the publishable commodity. (81)

MacLaren argues that the potential profits to be realised from volumes of travel and exploration encouraged publishers to standardise "formats and sentence structures" ("CTL" 81), thus simultaneously shaping and meeting the expectations of their readership. While these revisions reveal a discourse of *class* at work in addition to one of empire (MacLaren, "CTL" 93), the fact remains that "it is the published narrative produced with the travel-reading market in mind that influences subsequent travel writers" (Greenfield 19). Even when journal accounts are available, and the published text differs markedly from them, the published text reveals what entered the public discourse, what was sayable by an individual and acceptable to a culture. Accordingly, I am interested in reading the journals of Cook's third voyage, particularly the 1784 edition but also Beaglehole's, not as objective descriptions of reality but as a variety of discursive strategies which achieved certain effects.

*A Digression, concerning Methodology*

*I am left wondering how my own work participates in this process of textual domination. Although i attempt to dismantle the voice of authority with my lower-case "i's" and my digressions, which often function as meditations or ruminations, the urge to FOOTNOTE, to document my own intellectual lineage, and to corroborate my claims with the evidence of (other?) experts, remains strong. (Of course, the institutional context demands that i demonstrate the authority, the solidity of my research, but it is partly this sense of documentation for the sake of documentation that i want to dismantle, also.) What differentiates my text from Beaglehole's edition of the third voyage? Nothing, perhaps, but intent and a certain degree of self-consciousness, a willingness to ask myself these questions. Is it enough to say "but mine is personal, situated" when i am obviously not offering another truth? No, but ultimately silence is not an option either.*

*Charles Bazerman's discussion of the difference between the writer and the postmodern critic might offer a way out of the ideological double-bind i find myself in, between construction (other people's, of Cook) and de/re/anti-construction (my own, of those constructions):*

Both the writer and the postmodernist critic consider language as a human activity shaping human consciousness with no necessary connection with objects beyond consciousness. But for the writer that is the opening situation and challenge rather than the final critique. Similarly, where both see language as socially conditioned, to a writer that is again a starting fact for a dialectical relationship between social givens and individual experiences, motives and inventiveness. While both see institutionalized social relations in received forms, the writer sees those institutions as prior achievements forming opportunities for new achievements. While both see reading and textual interpretation as having as much to do with the readers as with the text, the writer sees responsibilities for both writers and readers to find in the text as much meeting ground as they can, rather than cutting each free to make of the text what they will. While the writer is impressed with the world of human consciousness created from nothing and thus feels responsible to participate in that creation of the human world, the postmodernist critic finds the human world made of no more than phantasms of nothing. In short, the writer is always looking with delight and surprise at what can

be done with this fallen state. (12-3)

*Or, as Michael Taussig points out in his "Report to the Academy," although it is commonly accepted that what we have taken for the real (race, sex, etc.) is in fact a set of social constructions, this revelation has functioned as a closure of the very topic it should open up to a re-examination of the world, which is no longer so clearly seen or known.*

The brilliance of the pronouncement was blinding. Nobody was asking what's the next step? What do we do with this old insight? If life is constructed, how come it appears so immutable? How come culture appears so natural? If things coarse and subtle are constructed, then surely they can be reconstructed as well? To adopt Hegel, the beginnings of knowledge were made to pass for actual knowing. (*Mimesis and Alterity* xvi)

*In both Bazerman and Taussig's articulations of the problem, what is at stake is an engagement -- creative and critical -- with the world, a willingness to be provisional, tentative, to write oneself into knowing. With the notion of the "beginnings of knowledge," the invitation to "begin the critical project of analysis and cultural reconstruction" (Taussig xvi), i am offered the possibility of a direction without a destination, a choice beyond the non-options of closure and the endless deferral of meaning.*

*It is always easier to destroy than to create -- easier to destroy Beaglehole's scholarship without acknowledging that it is clearly a labour of love and reflects a deep commitment to the subject and to scholarship itself than to create an alternative. Ultimately, however, i don't want to offer an alternative construction of Cook: i want to create something else, a labour of love and a commitment to the power of language, words, texts, examining cultural constructions and epistemologies. My account is partial, rhetorical, and tries to resist the impulse to hide the inevitable sleights-of-hand. But my words will not change the world in the way that Cook's, or Douglas,' have, nor will they support a widespread cultural self-image, as Beaglehole's have. Instead, by calling attention to their form, to their scholarly, textual, and intellectual supports, and sometimes to their texture, i hope to avoid some of the*

*pitfalls i have identified in Douglas and Beaglehole's editions of the journals. It is not, as some critics might say, that nothing matters: cultural constructions, and their origins hidden in the mists of 'nature,' do matter.*

### **Where I'm Calling From**

A distinction between an unself-conscious "exploration" literature in the eighteenth century and a self-conscious, self-reflexive twentieth-century travel literature that foregrounds its own process of creation as text is to some extent oversimplified or perhaps even false. However, such a distinction is played out in various ways throughout this dissertation, notably in the contrast between different understandings of language and its relation to the world in the two time periods, and the considerable differences between Douglas' eighteenth- and Beaglehole's twentieth-century edition of the text of Cook's third voyage. These differences do not, however, extend to the understanding of the world and its knowability in language; Beaglehole's edition still maintains "some of the conventions of narrative history, [in which] the 'realistic' nineteenth-century novel [serves] as a paradigm for the historian's art" (Rosenstone xii). Cook's *Voyages* reflect an assumption of the referentiality of language: it was his job to describe as best he could the new territories and peoples he encountered, the job of the ships' artists to provide supporting pictorial material (charts, sketches of flora and fauna, landscapes, drawings of people), and the job of the editor to unite the whole into a package which communicates not only a sense of the strangeness of the new world, but also a form of encounter and engagement with it. The book, meant to allow readers to discover the strange new world for themselves without ever leaving home, mediates between old and new worlds. If the navigator cannot accurately chart a coastline, if the draughtsmen cannot reproduce its distinctive features, if the landing parties cannot communicate in some way with indigenous peoples, then the

scientific mission of the voyage has failed; if these discoveries cannot be conveyed to a European audience, the cultural mission of the voyage has failed. Both missions depend on an assumption that the world is knowable and that by its descriptions it is recognisable. In this regard, Cook's *Voyages* participate in one of the oldest traditions of travel literature as a genre:

From the beginning, writers of travel have more or less unconsciously made it their purpose to take a fix on and thereby fix the world in which they found themselves; they are engaged in a kind of cultural cartography that is impelled by an anxiety to map the globe, center it on a certain point, produce explanatory narratives, and assign fixed identities to regions and the races that inhabit them. Such representations are always concerned with the question of place and placing, of situating oneself once and for all vis-à-vis an Other or others. They are also an integral part of the ideological practice of every social formation that becomes aware of more or less remote lands and neighbouring peoples. (Porter, *HJ* 21)

That a speech-act can appropriate a territory according to European imperial culture demonstrates and enacts the desire for a transparent language characterised by the fixity of words and things.

Much twentieth-century critical theory in literary studies and social science has destabilised such monolithic (hegemonic?) structures of thought and language. In his introduction to *Haunted Journeys*, Porter outlines other models which emerged to contest the assumption of a world unproblematically known through scientific observation and described in transparent language governing scientific expeditions like Cook's as they apply to travel literature. One, positing a world equally fixed, but by a perennial unknowability, comes from Said's discursive theory in *Orientalism*: "if articulate language is a collective enterprize of the kind Said describes, then the individual is not free to write against the discursive grain, but is bound by an already constituted system of utterances. In short, in all our representations of things foreign, a knowledge -- as opposed to an ideology -- of the Other is impossible" (Porter, *HJ* 4). Said's understanding of discourse comes from <sup>that of</sup> Foucault, whose early works define discourse as "a form of violence done to the world and its inhabitants" by means of a complicitous, not oppositional, relationship between power and knowledge -- a complicity

"maintained through material as well as discursive practices, and their institutional supports" (Porter, *HJ* 4). A discursive model which views all statements about the world as interested, politics passing themselves off as truth (some with greater success than others), replaces the eighteenth-century scientific model of disinterested truths about a world carefully observed by a detached, authoritative voice, unaffected by local politics. The marketplace of ideas is no longer governed by *laissez-faire* economics (if indeed it ever was): just as some nations are wealthier than others, and act to increase that wealth, so some discourses carry more weight than others at culturally and historically specific moments.

Porter identifies a way out of this closed system in travel writers' process of exploring themselves in addition to the unknown world; as they come to know themselves differently, they may possibly remake themselves and thus break free of the oppositional categories of self and other, truth and politics. He finds a hopeful model in the defamiliarisation project of Russian Formalism, wherein an image "creates a 'vision' of the object instead of serving as a means of knowing it," and in a Barthesian semiology which concludes "that 'literature' is precisely a sphere of language use that resists the exercise of power encoded within it. 'Literature' is a form of 'trickery' with and against language" (Porter, *HJ* 6). The very fact of a text's shaping in language -- the absence of a fixed relation between words and things -- frees it to mean that which, theoretically, it cannot mean in a world which has heretofore assumed the fixity of words and things. This critical understanding goes beyond individual examples to the general forms: previously unproblematic identities (such as race, sex, the individual) can no longer be taken for granted. The critical value of such a deconstructive or post-structuralist project for travel and exploration literature is immediately obvious "because it rejects the correspondence theory of truth: namely, that it is possible to produce verbal statements which are held in some sense to be in correspondence with a pre-given reality" (Porter, *HJ* 7). Of

course, it is upon precisely that "correspondence theory of truth" that the authority of texts such as Cook's *Voyages* rests.

The self-consciousness of twentieth-century travel narratives (such as *Tristes Tropiques*, *The Songlines*) depends on precisely this rejection of correspondence.

Nowhere perhaps as much as in the field of travel writing, in fact, is the fundamental ambiguity of 'representation' more apparent. To represent the world is a political as well as an aesthetic-cognitive activity. It is an effort to put something alien into the words of a shared language for someone at home and to put oneself in the Other's place abroad in order to speak on its behalf. One is at the same time *representor* and *representative*, reporter and legislator. And in all that one writes, one also inevitably (re)presents, however imperfectly, oneself. (Porter, *HJ* 15-6)

The danger of this model, however, lies in writing that can never refer to anything but itself, its own creation and construction -- a writing about the Other that reveals, relentlessly, a unitary, univocal, Western identity. Bruce Chatwin still looks like "the man from Western Civ" in a world where travel for its own sake is largely available only to a leisure class -- as is writing, possibly.<sup>5</sup> Porter uses concepts like "transgression" and "desire" in a "broadly psychoanalytic sense" to examine travelers' motivations and often ambivalent reactions to a foreign country (transference and projection of negative and positive desires) (*HJ* 8).

This psychoanalytic model, Porter argues, suggests a critical methodology of "attentive listening," which can reveal the kinds of fantasies that travelers "display often in spite of themselves" (*HJ* 9, 13). The difference between Cook's voyages in the late eighteenth century and Chatwin's travels two hundred years later lies in the two views of language and the self that these texts create. Chatwin, a young man from a family of "horizon-struck wanderers who had scattered their bones in every corner of the earth" (6), who chucked "a job as an 'expert' on modern painting with a well-known firm of art auctioneers" in London to investigate nomads (16), writes a travel account fashioned from an apogee of individualism. His baggage takes the form of ideas, theories about

nomads; his relative lack of material possessions leaves him free for introspection. He defines by negation the English culture that produced him; it forms the silent backdrop to the self, anxious to understand and eager to please, created in the text. In contrast, any unconscious fantasies in the texts of Cook's *Voyages* reveal not an individual but a cultural self-fashioning through the scholarly apparatus of the edition.

While Porter's discussion of contemporary critical and cultural theory opens up the genre of travel literature, his use of psychoanalysis depends on the choice of "travel" (as opposed to "exploration") as the operative term. Since it is "both ahistorical and apolitical" (Porter, *HJ* 14), psychoanalytic theory alone is inadequate to theorise exploration; a political theory, capable of examining power and its deployments, is required. Chris Weedon explores the oppositional possibilities of poststructuralism in *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*, beginning with an analysis of Foucault's concept of the discursive field:

Discursive fields consist of competing ways of giving meaning to the world and of organising social institutions and processes. They offer the individual a range of modes of subjectivity. Within a discursive field, for instance, that of the law or the family, not all discourses will carry equal weight or power. Some will account for and justify the appropriateness of the status quo. Others will give rise to challenges to existing practices from within or will contest the very basis of current organisation and the selective interests which it represents. Such discourses are likely to be marginal to existing practice and dismissed by the hegemonic system of meanings and practices as irrelevant or bad. (35)

Weedon's approach moves beyond the moral relativism of a notion of difference that is often reduced to 'the endless deferral of meaning,' a false radicalism that ultimately -- like the post-modernist criticism outlined by Bazerman -- maintains and upholds a status quo.<sup>6</sup> Instead, she opens up the possibility of a critical and oppositional discourse analysis which can interrogate and engage with texts in historically-specific ways, and whose goal and purpose is:

to explain the working of power on behalf of specific interests and to analyse the opportunities for resistance to it. It is a theory which decentres the rational, self-

present subject of humanism, seeing subjectivity and consciousness, as socially produced in language, as a site of struggle and potential change. Language is not transparent as in humanist discourse, it is not expressive and does not label a 'real' world. Meanings do not exist prior to their articulation in language and language is not an abstract system, but is always socially and historically located in discourses. Discourses represent political interests and in consequence are always vying for status and power. The site of this battle for power is the subjectivity of the individual and it is a battle in which the individual is an active but not sovereign protagonist. (Weedon 41)

Such an understanding of discourse and its material effects is politically useful, suggesting what Wittig offers as a social contract for the twentieth century: "to a writer language offers a very concrete matter to grasp hold of. It seems to me that the first, the permanent and the final social contract is language. The basic agreement between human beings, indeed what makes them human and makes them social, is language" ("On the Social Contract" 34). Cook's voyages have constructed a certain kind of social contract (defined by Rousseau as "the sum of fundamental conventions which 'even though they might never have been formally enunciated are nevertheless implied by living in society'" [Wittig, "OSC" 38]) for the settler cultures in the territories he "discovered." They, in turn, have constructed and reified Cook in their own image. Although this culture has been made to look "natural" and thus unchangeable, as Wittig reminds me, the situation is not immutable: "Society was not made once and for all. The social contract will yield to our action, to our words" ("OSC" 38). The site of struggle is not the individual but the culture created by the discourses at work (and sometimes at play) in Cook's *Voyages*. That is to say, the foundation of these discourses lies in certain meanings culturally and historically specific to eighteenth-century England; but these discourses also created and perpetuated their own support.

Post-colonial criticism offers another obvious political approach to the texts of Cook's voyages. In *The Empire Writes Back* (1989), the authors use the term "post-colonial" to "cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day. This

is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression" (2). The term serves double-duty as an adjective indicating a criticism that treats not only the literary culture of former colonies, but also examines the ideological underpinnings and material results of imperial expansion.

In pushing the colonial world to the margins of experience the 'centre' pushed consciousness beyond the point at which monocentrism in all spheres of thought could be accepted without question. In other words the alienating process which initially served to relegate the post-colonial world to the 'margin' turned upon itself and acted to push that world through a kind of mental barrier into a position from which all experience could be viewed as uncentred, pluralistic, and multifarious. Marginality thus became an unprecedented source of creative energy. (Ashcroft 12)

Unlike some other critical theories celebrating plurality, post-structuralism for example, the term "post-colonial" insists on the historical realities of European appropriation of new-world territories and the oppression of new-world peoples. However, the oppositional metaphor of centre and margins still privileges the imperial centre, even when the terms of difference are inverted: "deconstructing imperialism keeps us within imperialism's orbit" (Brydon 89).

Perhaps, as Wittig argues in "The Straight Mind" (1980), this is true of any politics of difference, beginning with Marxism: "when thought by the straight mind, homosexuality is nothing but heterosexuality" (28). Because of the totalising effect of discourses which affect *material* oppression, difference (however radical) is subsumed, appropriated, or invisibilised by hegemony. In a later essay ("Homo Sum" 1990), Wittig's position has changed somewhat: "in the order of reasoning, in the order of possibility and potentiality, in philosophy the Other cannot essentially *be* different from the One, it *is* the same . . . . for 'nothing human is alien' to the One or to the Other" (56). Perhaps the changed emphasis in Wittig's essays, written a decade apart, comes from a changed intellectual climate in which the terms of privilege have theoretically been inverted, in which "good is no more to be found in the parameter of the One, of Male, of Light, but in the parameter of the

Other, of Female, of Darkness" ("HS" 56). To some extent such a shift in critical emphasis makes post-colonial criticism possible, as the field of literary study opens up to include so-called non-canonical projects (like this one). However, merely inverting the terms cannot transform the system: "I do not know who is going to profit from this abandonment of the oppressed to a trend that will make them more and more powerless, having lost the faculty of being subjects even before having gained it" ("HS" 57). Wittig's theory therefore abandons inversion in favour of a radical problematising beyond "'a right to Difference' . . . which by reversing everything corresponds to the Tweedledum and Tweedledee of Lewis Carroll" ("HS" 57). Instead, she moves back to the question of the One and who constitutes it:

There is no need when coming under the parameters of the oppressed to follow the Marxian design and to wait until the 'final victory' to declare that the oppressed are human as well as the dominators, that women are human as well as men. Where is the obligation for us to go on bearing with a series of ontological, etymological, and linguistic *entourloupettes* under the pretext that we do not have the power. It is part of our fight to unmask them, to say that one out of two men is a woman, that the universal belongs to us although we have been robbed and despoiled at this level as well as at the political and economic ones. ("HS" 55-6)

The social contract we have constructed (and been constructed by) is not incapable of transformation, although it is imaged as if it were static and unchanging. For Wittig, this state introduces the crucial question of dialectics (from Marx and Engels via Hegel): "the step forward for Marx was to show that dialectical categories such as the One and the Other, Master and Slave, were not there to stay and had nothing metaphysical about them, but had to be understood in historical terms" ("HS" 52). These are dynamic, not immutable, categories and conditions functioning in the realm of the political, not the metaphysical: constructions, constructed in and by language.

**"But what if it were a war machine?"<sup>7</sup>**

. . . what we call Colonial discourse is neither a monolithic system nor a finite set of

texts; it may more accurately be described as the name for a series of colonial discourses, each adapted to a specific historical situation, yet having in common certain elements with the others. This series is marked by internal repetition, but not by an all-encompassing totality . . . . (Spurr 1-2)

Although I have used the singular, "Colonial Discourse," in my title, the plural form might be more accurate. This dissertation undertakes to interrogate the varied and sometimes seemingly contradictory discourses of colonialism whose cumulative effect is monolithic in the texts of Cook's month at Nootka Sound and in the scholarly and critical accounts of Cook's voyages. I have isolated a few discourses -- those of aesthetics, science, cannibalism, and history -- having particular importance for this month in the context of Cook's voyages, illuminating certain ideas and clusters of ideas relevant to a number of scholarly interests and intellectual questions. The textual corpus of Cook's *Voyages* is vast: I have chosen to look at one moment which expands in other directions, raising issues not universally true to all travel and exploration literature, offering this discussion as a beginning in a growing field -- with relevance for studies of other travel and exploration narratives, eighteenth-century English culture, post-colonial criticism. This study, crossing temporal, geographic, and disciplinary lines, brings together a cultural history of the eighteenth-century English-speaking world, an intellectual history of European discourses supporting the growth of racism and the birth of English colonies in an expanding empire, and a close reading of a textual encounter with social, political, and economic implications. For the discourses I trace here have currency still, a currency which is sometimes legitimated by their origins as discourses in an imperial past, complete with nostalgic yearnings.

For most Europeans reading the journal of Cook's third voyage, this first encounter with the Pacific Northwest is textual (occurring in the act of reading); however, it is clearly a *colonial* encounter also, given that the first fur-trading vessel arrived at Nootka Sound one year after "the publication of the official account of Cook's third voyage in 1784 and Captain James King's

revelation that some of the best skins had sold for \$120," confirming "rumours of the profits to be made by selling sea-otter furs in China" (Fisher, *Contact and Conflict* 2). This colonial encounter gave England both material and spiritual advantages: the wealth of (European) nations who profited from this trade, and a sense of identity for English people through the very idea of empire. (As Kathleen Wilson argued in her paper at the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies conference in 1992, the popular appeal of empire in eighteenth-century England constructed a gendered nationalism of aggressive masculinity as definitively English.<sup>8</sup>) This dissertation, then, explores the use of European discourses to establish textually Cook's authority and (by extension) England's claim to possession of the Pacific Northwest. These discourses, governing the context of Cook's voyages and played out in the texts, contribute to a single overriding imperial purpose, justifying European claims to possession in the new world and its appropriation from the inhabitants already present at the moment of contact.

## Chapter One

### Approaching the Northwest Coast: Art, Exploration, and Cook's Third Voyage

In the spring of 1778, the party of Captain James Cook's third voyage spent a month at a place now -- as a result of that first English contact -- called Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Cook, and the officers and crewmen under him, read the northwest coast through a double filter, using not only the perceptual tools of Europe, but also those formed over the course of their experiences in the South Pacific. The North Pacific required a reorientation that was also double, by Cook as the recording subject and by the audience of the published account as readers. Over the course of the voyage, Cook and his audience had gained some familiarity with the South Pacific, which created an impression, however mistaken, of cumulative knowledge. The sailors' need to trade for fur clothing at Nootka Sound demonstrates the transition from the inviting environment of the South Pacific (symbolised for European readers by the Islanders' near-nudity, a fact which became a trope) to the more forbidding North Pacific. As one journal writer, George Gilbert, put it, "indeed we had need for we experienc[e]d very little [Comfort] from our own provisions, which were only just Sufficient to keep us alive" (Gilbert 66). Nootka Sound represents a different geography, a different climate, a different culture: in short, everything is different from the South Pacific.

A sense of the newer newness of the North Pacific, and the way in which it represents for Cook another unfamiliarity which must be accommodated and incorporated, is provided by J.C. Beaglehole, the New Zealand historian who (probably more than any one else) has followed both physically and textually in Cook's wake. In Alan Frost's phrase, Beaglehole's "comment about Vancouver Island . . . helps us to understand Cook's first response to it" (Frost 97). As if to rebuke or counter those surprised that Cook missed Juan de Fuca Strait and thus failed to realise he was not

on the mainland, Beaglehole writes:

Vancouver Island is built on vast proportions: no one approaching it from the sea, or even flying down its coast, would take it for an island--the scale of hills behind hills is too great, the snowy mountains inland recede too far, the line of breakers is too long; the very clouds are almost too immense. The spruce and hemlock and cedar of the forest cover it, to within a few feet of the sea; the flat points reaching a short way into the ocean are covered; the islets off-shore are crowned with trees, like grave barbaric princesses pacing up the coast to some remote festival; trees spring, it seems, from each individual solid rock. The sides of the sound and of the minor islets that run off it, north, east, and south, fall precipitous to the water, with only here and there a narrow strip of land marching with it, or a larger ledge. (Beaglehole, *Life of Captain James Cook* 583-4)

The phrase "vast proportions" in Beaglehole's first sentence immediately signals the vocabulary of the Sublime, redefined with emotional weight by Edmund Burke in his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1756). Burke "reasoned that man's two most powerful feelings were love and hate, expressed as attraction and repulsion. While a sense of beauty was aroused by those objects that seemed attractive, a sense of sublimity was induced by those objects whose properties seemed repellent, such as excessive size, darkness, or infinite extension" (Vaughan 33). The use of the aesthetic vocabulary of the Sublime (in 1974) by the man whose life work has been the production of scholarly editions of Cook's voyages (voyages synonymous with science for the eighteenth century) initially seems a little odd. The absence of a contrast or distinction between the two discourses -- popularly considered to be virtually antithetical in the late twentieth century -- suggests an eighteenth-century understanding of aesthetic and scientific discourses as interdependent rather than mutually exclusive.

### Issues and Contexts

Post-colonial literary theory and criticism commonly assume that Europeans writing about the new world attempted to mediate the difference between their familiar European homelands and the

strange new territories, exploring the "profound disjunction" between "the various systems of meaning and knowing developed over the millenia of their association with Old World landscapes, and inscribed in their language" and the new territories where such systems seemed inadequate at best (Seaton 3). Such a discursive gap is underlined by the fact that the expectations Europeans brought from the old world necessarily coloured the impressions they could form of the new. In addition, their old-world ways of seeing and knowing made it virtually impossible for Europeans to understand the new world in any terms other than its similarities to, or differences from, the old, usually rendering difference as inferiority. Accordingly, post-colonial readings of exploration narratives have focussed on the way the latter represent new-world landscapes using such European aesthetic conventions as the Picturesque or the Sublime.

The work of I.S. MacLaren on various overland travel accounts of British North America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries analyses and theorises the ways in which the responses of these British explorers to new world territories derive, but also depart, from prevailing conventions of landscape appreciation.<sup>1</sup> In recording their responses in this fashion, British explorers were not merely evil imperialists so thoroughly dominating that they could not even visually acknowledge new world sovereignty, without positing difference as inferiority; rather, they saw what their educations, experiences and cultures had taught them to see. Nor was this process necessarily conscious: "Pope's dictum, recorded by Spence in his *Anecdotes*, that 'all gardening is landscape-painting', applied throughout the eighteenth century" (Hunt 13). The reverse was also true: John Barrell has stated, in his *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place*, that by "the later eighteenth century, it became impossible for anyone with an aesthetic interest in landscape to look at the countryside without applying [principles of landscape composition], whether he knew it or not" (6).

MacLaren's studies of various overland expeditions demonstrate that British explorers not only

described, but also viewed the landscapes of discovery as if through a Claude glass or *camera obscura*, devices which transformed nature into landscape pictures: "their reports indicate that the pervasive schemata of the Sublime and the Picturesque, which had governed earlier landscape responses to the West by Britons, extended even to 'scientific' descriptions of land. As with British mariners in the Arctic, these eighteenth-century schemata had remained fundamental to the early- and mid-nineteenth-century British perceptions of Britain and the rest of the British empire" (MacLaren, "Aesthetic Mappings of the West" 24). In his analysis of Palliser's survey expedition (1857-60), MacLaren argues that "the British preference for the picturesque landscape -- undulating, well-watered parkland of delimited scope and scale, and exhibiting only moderately-sized geographical features -- over sublime vertical or horizontal vastness" goes beyond a sense of cozy familiarity to psychological orientation. English explorers *felt* lost in Sublime environments: "frequently without a prospect point from which to compose an orderly view of the landscape, Palliser felt that nature controlled his destiny. Time and space overwhelmed him, just as, Coleridge had argued at the beginning of the [nineteenth] century, vastness overwhelmed man's capacity to imagine it" (MacLaren, "AMW" 26-7). The result is a linguistic failure in response to Sublime landscapes; in contrast to the "ecstatic responses to the aspen groves of the North Saskatchewan River valley and more northern parklands" (a landscape which could be perceived as picturesque) stands the "nearly complete silence towards the vast, open grasslands in the vicinity of the South Saskatchewan River" (MacLaren, "AMW" 26).

In similar fashion, Sir George Back's description of the area surrounding Great Slave Lake (from his expedition in the eastern Arctic in the 1830s) explicitly uses the vocabulary of the Sublime.

Neither the sublimity of the Alps, nor the picturesqueness of England could furnish the appropriate taxonomy for delineating the barren scene. First, employing the noun 'nothing' in a superlative sense ('I had seen nothing in the Old World...'), Back employs it twice again to connote the scene's emptiness; together with an emphasis on the 'endless' scene, this achieves the idea that, if degrees of absence are possible, then the nothingness confronting him is more barren than anything seen by any of his

readers on the Grand Tour. Not surprisingly, his only literary recourse is to call forth the one landscape, real or fanciful, which can assist in conveying the visual chaos confronting him: he directly quotes Milton's *Paradise Lost* (I, 46) . . . . (MacLaren, "The Grandest Tour" 441)

MacLaren's own title here echoes the language of degrees: he describes Back's expedition as "The Grandest Tour." Although both the Palliser and Back survey expeditions come some decades after Cook's time at Nootka Sound, the aesthetic responses to the Canadian West they recorded are articulated according to notions developed well before Cook's time (Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry* was published in 1756) or contemporaneous with the publication of his journals (notably William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye* [1783]).<sup>2</sup> Seeing new-world landscapes through European aesthetic frameworks such as the Picturesque and the Sublime made them intelligible to European explorers; describing them in these terms made meaningful communication with European readers possible. MacLaren describes the function of this visual orientation:

This process of the identification of nature bears an affinity with the purpose of astronomical measurement: just as the determination of longitude and latitude told the traveller/explorer where he was in relation to Greenwich, so the habitual description of terrain by means of the Sublime and the Picturesque told him where he was relative to the landscapes roundabout Greenwich and the rest of England and Scotland. ("Samuel Hearne and the Landscape of Discovery" 28)

Visual appropriation, or the exercise of what Mary Louise Pratt has called the "imperial eye," is an issue for a post-colonial reading of the use of this aesthetic vocabulary, but not the only issue here: "discovery" may function as scientific travel by the late eighteenth century, but it is not disinterested. As Harriet Guest has noted in a discussion of Reynolds' portrait of Omai,

The British repeatedly articulated their interest in the South Pacific in terms of the underdetermined and ambiguously transactive notion of curiosity -- what Boswell identified as 'the enthusiasm of curiosity and adventure', experienced when 'one is carried away with the general grand and indistinct notion of A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD'. The sense that this project is somehow set apart from the ambitious views of conquest, trade, and settlement by the whimsicality, licentiousness, or enlightened and scientific purity of curiosity seems to point to an internal and domestic ambivalence about the demarcation of vice from virtue -- to an equivocation

within the culture of civilised life that may be projected and exoticized in Reynolds' image. (105)

Bank's comment to Mrs Cook -- "His name will lie forever in the remembrance of a people grateful for the services his labours have afforded to mankind in general" -- suggests that "Cook's scientific non-partisan achievement should stand on its own merits even at a time when the strategic importance of colonial exploration could not fail to be recognised" (Bann 216), as if Cook stands for this disinterested pursuit of knowledge, Europe's best representative. Aesthetic and scientific discourses both claim "objectivity" and "disinterestedness" as basic assumptions; this allows seemingly mutually exclusive projects -- the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and the very interested pursuit of economic and political power -- to occupy the same space. For European powers, rapidly becoming imperial powers, discovery equalled a claim to possession of new world territories. At the same time, explorers necessarily read the landscapes they discovered according to the tropes and conventions of their time and place, being no more exempt than I am from the consequences of history.

Observers of nature, in the new world and the old, see and describe what they have been taught to look for. The Admiralty instructed Cook to represent, in the text of his journal and in the maps, charts, and drawings of his draughtsmen and artists, "what may be useful to [European] Navigation or Commerce." His instructions went on to state:

You are also, with the consent of the Natives to take possession, in the Name of the King of Great Britain, of convenient Situations in such Countries as you may discover that have not already been discovered or visited by any European Power, and to distribute among the Inhabitants such Things as will remain as Traces and Testimonies of your having been there . . . . (Beaglehole III:1, ccxxiii)

Notwithstanding the specious logic of taking possession of new world territories with the *consent* of their inhabitants, this passage illustrates another representative function of the visual and verbal accounts of new-world territories in the published texts of the voyage. They function as proof of Cook's having been there, evidence supporting England's claim to possession. (In this sense the

published text is documentary, or can be, *was*, taken as such.) In addition to its practical imperative, the custom of trading trinkets has the same imperial purpose: the presence of trade goods substantiates, from the other side of the world, the claim to possession represented by the text.

Bernard Smith has argued that "European experience of the Pacific . . . challenged the supremacy of neo-classical values in cosmological theory as it had helped to challenge those values in the theory and practice of landscape-painting" (*European Vision and the South Pacific* 5). However, European representation of the new world has political, social and economic consequences in addition to intellectual and aesthetic ones, as is particularly apparent in the visual representation of the inhabitants of the new world according to the conventions of European portraiture.

*A Digression, concerning engraving*

*In her "reverse ethnography" of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Englishmen in North America, Karen Ordahl Kupperman argues that Early Modern Englishmen were interested in those aspects of Indian society that confirmed its similarity to, as well as its difference from, their own. At a time when position and place in society were such a crucial question for English government -- as was, indeed, the nature of government itself -- Englishmen in America were particularly interested in the social hierarchies of Indian society. Accordingly, they took care in their visual representations of "Indian chiefs" to convey that these societies did in fact have governments which resembled European ones in such aspects as the recognition of hereditary leadership and stratification along class lines.*

*Englishmen writing about America, and Americans, assumed appearance to be a "key communicator of the truth about one's character and status," and therefore devoted many words to descriptions of:*

Indian clothes and hair styles, tattooing and jewelery, posture and skin color. In short the descriptions concentrate almost exclusively on aspects

of appearance which were within the control of the person described. Early modern Englishmen believed that people can create their own identity, and that therefore one communicates to the world through signals such as dress and other forms of decoration who one is, what group or category one belongs to. (Kupperman 35)

*Engravers reproducing drawings of Indians, particularly Indian chiefs, for publication took great care to represent the marks of leadership; other elements of the image, like posture, were considered unimportant and therefore rendered in the customary way, giving these natives (somewhat bizarrely) the postures of classical statues. Kupperman compares the engravings in De Bry's America (1590) with the original watercolours by John White of Indians at Raleigh's Roanake colony. De Bry*

*retained White's meticulous attention to detail in dress, hairstyle, and body decoration, but changed the faces, postures, and bodies of the Indians in dramatic ways. Their faces were sweetened, softened, and Europeanized. With their high foreheads, puckered mouths and ringleted hair they resemble the classical figures in the German engraving tradition. (Kupperman 33)*

*Kupperman offers two possible explanations for rendering images of Indians as "prettier" and more appealing to Europeans: first, that such a depiction is part of the ideological apparatus of the colonising appeal, functioning in the same way as descriptions of nakedness, meant to suggest America's temperate climate.<sup>3</sup> She also suggests "that while dress and other external kinds of decoration were seen as extremely important, faces and postures were not important enough to preserve. The engravers, then, simply rendered these as they were accustomed to do" (34). In support of this negative evidence, Kupperman notes that faces and postures are generally not mentioned in early accounts.*

*The ideological purpose is as clear here as it in the post-colonial argument: such postures -- whether by accident or design -- confirm the nobility of their subjects as a class, recognisable as such to a European audience, and the common humanity they share with Europeans. Smith describes the production of such engravings in the context of a particular economic, aesthetic, and intellectual climate. As "fewer walls and more books became available*

*for history painters to decorate," some artists (like Bartolozzi and Cipriani, who produced many of the engravings for Cook's Voyages) applied the codes of history painting to the engravings for such books; others (like Sir Joshua Reynolds) applied these codes to portraiture (Imagining the Pacific 60). Accordingly, "the nobility either of aristocrats or of 'savages' is not to be understood as a false kind of perception, but as an aesthetic grace which the sovereign artist bestows upon those whom he favours as the situation justifies" (Smith, IP 61).*

*The question is one of representation in general:*

this application of the grand style [the noble and dignified portrayal of a notable event] to the portrayal of the events of Cook's voyages was largely a contingent matter that arose from the Italianate domination of English taste during the early years of the Royal Academy, not a general predisposition characteristic of late eighteenth-century depictions of Pacific people as a whole. (Smith, IP 178)

*This "art as information" (Smith, IP 51) goes beyond Reynolds' portrait of Omai dressed in the flowing robes of the Middle East, thus investing him with the vestiges of Orientalism as well as with the dignity of history painting [figure 1.1]. Even less obviously mediated representations of natives emphasise characteristics important to a discussion Europeans are having amongst themselves. Peter Mason's point about the place of proper names such as "America" in a system of European signs applies to this image of Omai: "the representations of 'America' can easily acquire their Oriental colouring or flavour because they refer to other representations and not to the truth of the represented" (33).<sup>4</sup> Smith describes the contrast between Hodges' portrait of Tu in red chalk [figure 1.2] and the engraving by J. Hall published in the official account of the second voyage [figure 1.3]. "Something of [Tu's] intelligence, his nervous, apprehensive vitality, and perhaps even his cunning may be gleaned from this portrait, perhaps the finest Hodges ever drew." In contrast, the engraving reveals*

a loss in quality; we have moved back from the individual to the type. The presentation has become insensitive, the mouth thicker; the hair matted to a mop, the once-puzzled expression now vacuous: we feel that an individual has been reduced to the impersonality of an icon. What we are observing here, however, is probably nothing more than the



FIGURE 1.1 *Omai*, portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Reproduced from Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), plate 63, p. 80.



FIGURE 1.3 *Otao King of O-Taheite Drawn from Nature* by W. Hodges, engraving by J. Hall. Reproduced from Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, plate 60, p. 74.



FIGURE 1.2 *Tu*, red chalk drawing by William Hodges. Reproduced from Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, plate 63, p. 74.

deficiency of line engraving as a medium for the conveyance of subtle information, not necessarily the imposition by the engraver of personal preconceptions upon the character of a man of the Pacific. (Smith, IP 67-9)

*However, the process is not so neutral as a mere description of the means of reproducing images suggests. Different techniques existed -- soft-ground etchings and stipple engravings -- which reproduced drawings more accurately, and although Smith suggests that Hodges chose red chalk so that his drawings would be produced using these new processes, they were not (IP 66-7). Whether transformed by history painting into Orientalist splendour or reduced to savagery by line engraving, Pacific peoples suffer the consequences of representation. Berger's point about nudes in Western painting is relevant here:*

You painted a naked woman because you enjoyed looking at her, you put a mirror in her hand and you called the painting *Vanity*, thus morally condemning the woman whose nakedness you had depicted for your own pleasure.

The real function of the mirror was otherwise. It was to make the woman connive in treating herself as, first and foremost, a sight. (51)

*In the Western art tradition -- still overwhelmingly dominated by white men, as the Guerrilla Girls ("conscience of the art world") remind me -- images of Europe's "others," women and non-European peoples, must be examined as constructions, ideological documents, which demonstrate and maintain the cultural self-image of Europe, and not only as representations or "scenes."*

*The obvious literary equivalent to the process of engraving which "Europeanises" new-world people is Aphra Behn's Oroonoko: Or, the Royal Slave (1688), in which the narrator's description of her hero's physical appearance develops the subtitle's oxymoron.*

He was pretty tall, but of a shape the most exact that can be fancy'd: the most famous Statuary cou'd not form the Figure of a Man more admirably turn'd from head to foot . . . His Nose was rising and *Roman*, instead of *African* and flat. His mouth the finest shaped that could be seen; far from those great turn'd Lips, which are so natural to the rest of the Negroes. The whole Proportion and Air of his Face was so nobly and exactly form'd, that bating his Colour there could be nothing in Nature more beautiful, agreable and Handsome. (Behn 8)

*Oroonoko's spotless and admirable character is consistent with his physical near-perfection, as the narrator hastens to assure the reader: "Nor did the Perfections of his Mind come short of those of his Person" (Behn 8). Oroonoko's prettiness, of person and disposition, simultaneously causes and results from the novel's generic and ideological structure where anti-slavery sentiments, Royalist ideology, heroic romance, and travel narrative recounting the exotic wonders of the world coalesce. As Laura Brown argues in "The Romance of Empire,"*

Oroonoko is thus not only a natural European and aristocrat, but a natural neoclassicist and Royalist as well, an absurdity generated by the desire for a intimate identification with the 'royal slave.' . . . Behn's narrator seems to have only two choices: to imagine the 'other' either as absolutely different and hence inferior, or as identical and hence equal. (48)

*The narrative, of course, does both. As the hero of a heroic romance who could have walked right off the Restoration stage, Oroonoko is identical and hence equal. However, the ironies suggested by the subtitle continually displace this identification. At the moment when he is most the hero of a romance, most equal, Oroonoko's difference and inferiority as a slave are all too apparent. He and his lover, Imoinda, swear their undying love (as the code of heroic romance requires) in a context which renders this declaration utterly ridiculous:*

they mutually protested, that even Fetters and Slavery were soft and easy, and would be supported with Joy and Pleasure, while they cou'd be so happy to possess each other, and to be able to make good their vows. *Caesar* swore he disdained the Empire of the World, while he could behold his *Imoinda*. (Behn 44)

*"Caesar" is the name given Oroonoko by his English master, Mr Trefry, and signals in this passage the genre of travel narrative, particularly that describing new-world colonies. This genre is foregrounded as the novel begins with a catalogue of the exotic wonders of the West Indies, including a "feathered habit which the narrator acquires, and which, she claims, became upon her return to England the dress of the Indian Queen in Dryden's heroic play of that name (1664), an artifact of imperialism displayed in the most spectacular method possible*

-- adorning the female figure of a contemporary actress on the real stage of the Theatre Royal in Bridges Street" (Brown 52). In similar fashion, the whole novel becomes a symbol of imperial power: the narrator could not have heard this story "from the Mouth of the chief Actor in this History, the Hero himself" (Behn 1), and represented it, and him, to English readers if not for the fact of English colonies in the West Indies and the African slave trade in support of those colonies.

These portraits -- like Reynolds' of Omai -- function as ideological and moral statements that savages are ennobled when cast in the mold of classical oratory, or that the nobility of noble savages is most clearly revealed when they are so represented. However, as Olive Dickason has demonstrated, European discourses about new-world peoples always made European points and served European ends: when the nature of the assumptions governing those discourses changed, so did the representation of the native. In France during the colonial period, for example, "as the negative and positive views on Amerindians polarized and crystallized, the one upholding their superior virtue became chiefly a literary and theoretical position, while the one downgrading them became the guide for practical politics" (Dickason, *Myth of the Savage* 2). Dickason's point illustrates Said's concept of "flexible *positional* superiority" (*Orientalism* 7); Aboriginal peoples could be invested with nobility -- as in the portraits of "chiefs" like Omai and Tu [figures 1.4 and 1.5] -- but the Europeans who granted it could just as easily take it away when their priorities changed. For example, Smith has argued, convincingly I think, that Webber's training in drawing human figures from the models of Greek sculpture as the ideal form of a "common human stereotype" did not prevent him from making "clear ethnic distinctions" both among Pacific peoples and between Pacific peoples and Europeans (*IP* 184).

It is quite misleading to say, as it so often is, that because [Webber] was European



FIGURE 1.4 *Omai*, panel by William Hodges. Reproduced from Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, plate 12, p. 96.

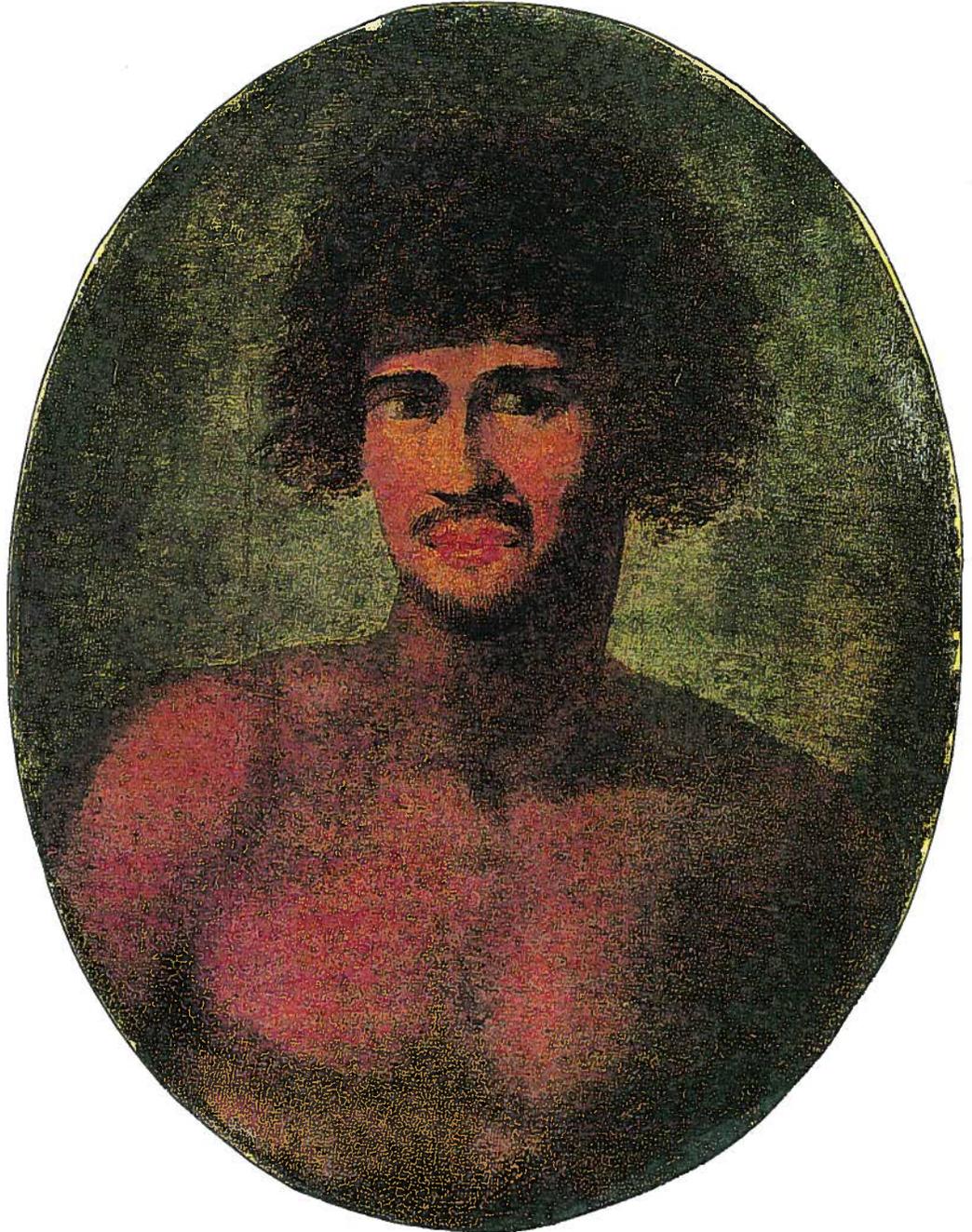


FIGURE 1.5 *Portrait of Tu*, by John Webber. Reproduced from Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1771-1780* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1987), plate 69, p. 61.

he painted the native peoples of the Pacific to look like Europeans . . . ethnic variety was depicted within the overriding Enlightenment conviction that all nations were members of one great human family, though some may have degenerated, as a result of dispersion and the effects of climate, from that perfection which had been attained by the European. So far as Cook's artists were concerned, the concept of race, which was to have such devastating effects on non-European peoples, had not yet emerged. (Smith, *IP* 47)

However, the change in eighteenth-century English Christian thought from deism and neo-classicalism to Calvinistic validations of austerity and fortitude "did much to spread the belief that the native peoples of the Pacific in their natural state were depraved and ignoble" (Smith, *EVSP* 5). In the same way, as European intellectual notions and priorities changed as a cause and result of imperialism, people who "had been portrayed like gods came to be portrayed like monkeys" [as in figure 1.6, from an edition of Cook's journals published in 1906] (Smith, *IP* 62).

These representations -- or presentations, perhaps, since as Mason notes of anthropology, "this discourse does not recreate, but it creates" (14) -- are more complex than the binary oppositions between civilisation and savage, or between noble and bloodthirsty savages, suggests. In her analysis of Reynolds' full-length portrait of Omai, Harriet Guest moves beyond a discussion of the seeming appropriation of the strange culture of the Pacific by presenting a "souvenir" (Guest 104) of Cook's voyage according to the already-established European discourse of Orientalism; instead, she explores the exoticism of the image.

The figure may be marked by a specifically colonialist curiosity that perceives the islander in terms that resist generalization, or maybe even representation. It may construct -- through what is concealed as well as what is discovered to the spectator's gaze -- a focus or standard for judgement that privileges the exoticism rather than the Orientalism of the image. (Guest 102)

Like Orientalism, exoticism is a discourse which has particular uses for European culture: it "inscribes its object with an acultural illegibility, isolated from any coherence of origin. Exoticized subjects are characterized as sports, marked as singular tokens lacking any significance beyond that of fragmentary



FIGURE 1.6 *A few of the natives brandished spears*, by Will Robinson. Reproduced from Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1992), plate 55, p. 62.

and unrepresentative (perhaps unrepresentable) insularity" (Guest 102).

This exoticism, Guest argues, is suggested by the tattoos marking Omai's hands in Reynolds' portrait; they are "incompatible with any patrician authority his posture [and classical draperies] might seem to imply. It is as though they indelibly blacken and stain the transparent legibility of that classical stance" (106). Instead of situating Omai within the overdetermined discourse of Orientalism, "a wealth of inscrutable detail that it is the perquisite of the knowing European to articulate," exoticism marks a difference from European mores which is not yet assimilated into European knowledge. Omai, feminised as a spectacle and a curiosity, functions as a blank slate upon which a "redefinition of European masculinity . . . as marked, distinguished, identified in its cultural or physical, and national or ethnic differences" can be written (Guest 107). While it may portray Omai as a "sport" or "singular token," this exoticism also refers to the larger world of his Pacific culture: Omai is simultaneously interesting to a European audience as a representative of that unknown, alien world, as McCormick's title -- *Omai: Pacific Envoy* -- declares.

If these kinds of post-colonial analysis assume the application of old-world standards to the new, a contrasting view is offered by Barbara Maria Stafford in *Voyage into Substance*. She argues that the very difference of the new world necessitated new verbal and visual conventions, free of centuries-old associations with classical knowledge and traditions -- in essence, free of over-signification. Much of her argument rests on, or begins with, the competing truth- and value-claims of Classical and scientific knowledge perhaps best exemplified for the early eighteenth century in Swift's portrayal of the Antients (*sic*) and Moderns in his *Battle of the Books* (1704). A willingness to privilege the learning and taste of the Ancients was manifested in the desire to imitate the content and forms of classical literature (as in Pope's *Imitations of Horace* [1733 and 1734]), as well as in the desire to collect seventeenth-century landscape paintings by Claude and Poussin.

*A Digression, concerning Gardens*

*The landscape paintings of Claude and Poussin presented "idealized versions of the countryside around Rome [and] established an intricate relationship of water, distant hills, buildings (especially the effect of ruins or the formal contrasts of square and round temples), bridges and trees." Like the "more turbulent vision of the Neapolitan artist, Salvator Rosa" (whose importance can be seen as late as 1794 in the frequent references made to him by Mrs Radcliffe in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*), Claude and Poussin were "taken as reliable illustrators of Virgil" (Hunt 12). The wealthy landowners who collected such paintings for their country-houses worked to transform their grounds to resemble the landscapes of the paintings. While it is impossible to posit a causal relationship, these paintings "influenced men's thinking about natural scenery; [they] shaped [men's] responses and gave them a vocabulary with which to articulate their experience of the new gardening" (Hunt 15). Learning to read the English landscape by means of representations of Italian landscapes also mediated the experience of English travellers to continental Europe and Italy, as Walpole's comment on the Alps in 1739 reveals: "'Precipices, mountains, torrents, wolves, rumblings, Salvator Rosa'" (quoted in Hunt 17).*

*Nature, improved upon and embellished by the designs of Art, was manipulated to provoke certain moods, meanings, and responses in the observer. The Elysian Fields at Stowe exemplify the complexities of the Picturesque and Associative garden:*

*they require a visitor to compare ancient virtue with its modern counterpart (a ruined and gothic temple of Modern Virtue was established nearby), to register the political significance of the British Worthies, which in turn involved noticing that a line was missing from a Virgilian quotation, and to appreciate that the Temple of Ancient Virtue called to mind the Roman Temple of Vesta (the so-called Sybil's Temple) at Tivoli, and the Temple of British Worthies some other modern Italian examples. And in these matters of English Augustanism, the assimilation of Classical ideals was not merely a question of 'imitation' but of 'translation', of making Homer (in Pope's phrase) 'speak good English', and of registering the difficulties as well as the opportunities for cultural obligations. (Hunt 33-4)*

*A garden designed to "promote a series of reflections" and to express emotional states and moods, influenced by the design and "verbal constructions of associated ideas and meanings" of poetry as well as painting, could be 'read' by those with the requisite knowledge and shared tastes shaped by the same education (Hunt 34, 35). The "identification of landscape and events that take place in them" in the Associative garden was given impetus by theories such as Locke's on the workings of the human mind, particularly the notion that ideas are derived from experience of the world as perceived by the senses; the mind transforms images into simple ideas, which are in turn transformed into more complex patterns (Essay Concerning Human Understanding 1690) (Hunt 36).*

Against the tendency to privilege the form and content of the knowledge of the Ancients, Stafford links Locke's notion of the *tabula rasa* with the project of exploration and discovery:

The entire age was dominated by travelers. Hence the aptness of Michel Foucault's comment that the two fundamental perceptual structures of the eighteenth century were a child's being born blind and later receiving sight and a foreign observer's shock at being thrust into an unknown country. These perceptual experiences alter the processes of vision in a way that is possible only when a fundamental discovery is made. (Stafford 20)

Stafford's concern is this sense of discovery, or newness, and the means of conveying it: in the representation of a new world, free of the associations of the Associative garden, she identifies "the struggle to find a way to 're-present' reality without the intervention of habit [which] was part of the larger preoccupation with the nature of truth that engaged seventeenth-century thinkers" (Stafford 31). This lengthy quotation reveals the importance Stafford accords this sense of the new, the unfamiliar, and the unknown in her theorising of exploration and discovery:

Whether on land, in the air, or upon the seas, from 1760 until the 1830s, we are unavoidably enmeshed in an epoch in which spatial discoveries loom large. And what is appealing about these innumerable and dangerous adventures is the intensity of pleasure they convey. The enjoyment and evident relish mirrored in these narratives

is based on the idea that the scientific traveler is usefully, not trivially, engaged. No one could speak more to the point of *utile et dulce* than Cook: 'Was it not for the pleasure which naturly [*sic*] results to a Man from being the first discoverer even was it nothing more than sands and shoals, this service would be insuportable [*sic*] especially in far distant parts, like this [Australia], short of Provisions and almost every other necessary. The world will hardly admit of an excuse for a man leaving a Coast unexplored he had once discover'd . . . . ' (Stafford 25)

The importance of Cook's voyages to this zeitgeist (not to mention the "intensity of pleasure" that resulted from reading, as well as leading, such "dangerous adventures") cannot be overestimated. However, these are not fantastic voyages: Stafford argues that plain-language accounts of a world explored using the methods of empirical science took on aesthetic status, privileging content over form, against established representational conventions, in which new matter was endlessly injected into old forms, resulting in something like too much 'art,' or artifice, and not quite enough substance.

Notwithstanding the explanatory power of all these positions, the post-colonial context (both historical realities and theoretical formulations) means that the mode of representation of the new world and its inhabitants, whatever its motivation or analysis, cannot be divorced from its effects. In a paper entitled "Janet Schaw and the Aesthetics of Colonialism," Elizabeth Bohls reads one woman traveller's account of the British West Indies through the critical lens of an eighteenth-century aesthetic of disinterestedness, which posited that the true perception of beauty occurs only independently of any attachment between observer and observed. In effect, Bohls argued, this aesthetic vocabulary of detached isolation (well-established, for her purposes, by 1774 and therefore equally well for mine in 1778) normalised and legitimised a man-made and imperial social order, based on slavery, as *natural* by presenting it as a tableau. The beauty of various exotic species is described while their utility is glossed over, true in the case of the slaves and their labour as much as in the case of the flora and fauna. The racial discourse inserted into alluring scenic descriptions is simultaneously acknowledged and naturalised by the distancing power of the aesthetic. The same

holds true for the first published account of Cook's third voyage to the Pacific, including the month spent at Nootka Sound.

### **Approaching the Text: the Visual Record**

Cook's first and second voyages, although their purposes were primarily scientific (observing the transit of Venus in 1769, establishing the existence and location of the Great Southern continent), also included artists whose designated role was to represent the new world in pictures. According to Bernard Smith, "under [Cook's] command the value of visual records was for the first time fully recognized and adequately provided for": in contrast to the "unbelievably small" visual records of European contact with and conquest of the new world before him, Cook's three voyages produced approximately "three thousand original drawings . . . of things, mostly from the Pacific, not seen before by Europeans: plants, fish, molluscs, birds, coastlines, landscapes, unknown peoples, their arts and crafts, religious practices and styles of life" (Smith, *IP* 54).

On the third voyage -- the principal purpose of which was to discover whether the elusive northern passage, non-navigable from the Atlantic, could be approached from the Pacific -- the representative function is paramount in the secret instructions given Cook by the Admiralty:

you are . . . to survey, make Charts, and take views of such Bays, Harbours, and different parts of the Coast, and to make such Notations thereon, as may be useful to Navigation or Commerce. You are also carefully to observe the nature of the Soil and the produce thereof; the Animals & Fowls that inhabit or frequent it; the Fishes that are to be found in the Rivers or upon the Coast, and in what plenty; and, in case there are any peculiar to such places, to describe them as minutely, and to make as accurate drawings of them, as you can . . . . (Beaglehole III:1, ccxxiii)

The North Pacific environment, radically different from the relatively familiar South Pacific, necessitated an even closer attention to detail than usual. One of the artists employed to produce this visual record was John Webber, a professional artist trained in Berne and Paris as a landscape and

figure draughtsman (Smith, *IP* 73) whose 1776 Royal Academy exhibition "caught the attention of the organizers of Cook's voyage" (Tippett 18). Recommended by Daniel Solander (Smith, *IP* 73), Webber was, in Cook's words, "pitched upon . . . for the express purpose of supplying the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts, by enabling us to preserve, and bring home, such drawings of the most memorable of our transactions, as could be expressed by a skilled and professional artist" (Douglas I, 5). The other artist was the surgeon's second mate, William Ellis, who was "employed . . . largely with drawing plants and animals" (Tippett 18).

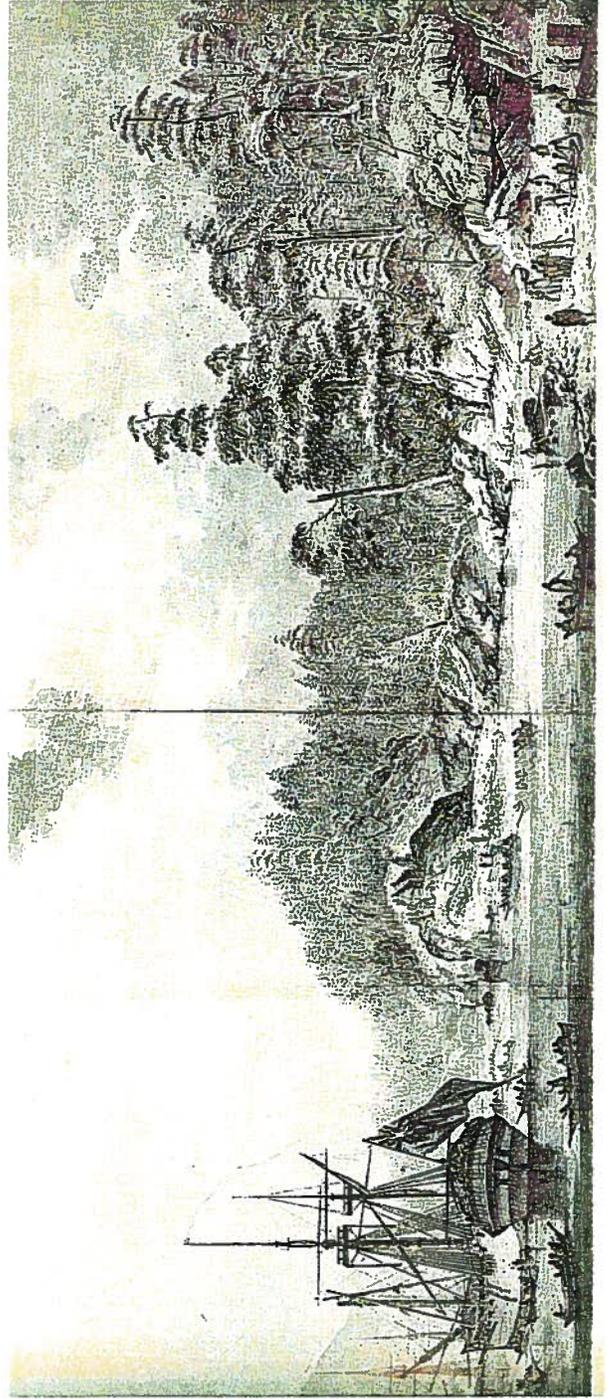
Much more than the artists of the previous voyages, Webber documents life in what Mary Louise Pratt has called the contact zone, "the space of colonial encounters . . . in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (*Imperial Eyes* 6). Trained primarily in history painting rather than botanical drawing, Webber produced not a miscellany of exotica, but a series of 'set pieces' for most major landfalls: "encounter" [figures 1.7 and 1.8] and "entertainment" [figure 1.9] paintings, head and shoulder studies of at least one man and woman and often full-length portraits, as well as ethnographic drawings to provide visual support for Cook's written descriptions (Smith, *IP* 73-4). Smith states that Webber's "encounter" and "entertainment" paintings "constitute a new kind of history painting . . . a new visual source for the study of history, and not as in academic history paintings, the retrospective illustration of a traditional text" (*IP* 74). Smith and Rüdiger Joppien support this claim in their analysis of Webber's *The Harbour of Annamooka* [figure 1.7]:

There is a complexity of action and movement which only unfolds itself after a close examination. Many studies were necessary to build up a comprehensive scene like this . . . . Not only at Tonga, but at all major ports of call, in Nootka Sound as much as in Kealakekua Bay, Webber observed similar scenes, vignettes of daily life. Though he may not have drawn these regularly at all stations, the fact that occasionally they are encapsulated in his pictures shows he was aware of them. By them, Webber

FIGURE 1.7 *The Harbour of Annamooka*, by John Webber. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 25, p. 28.



FIGURE 1.8 *The Resolution and Discovery in Ship Cove*, by John Webber. Reproduced from Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole, *From Desolation to Splendour: Changing Perceptions of the British Columbia Landscape* (Toronto and Vancouver: Clarke, Irwin, & Co., 1977), p. 19.



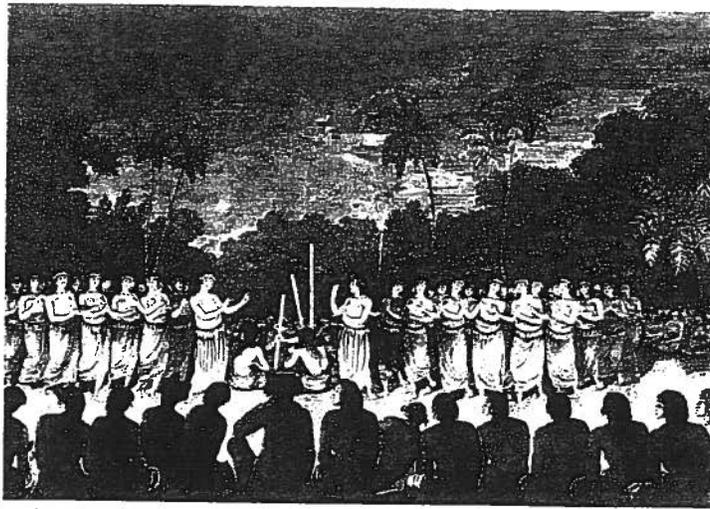
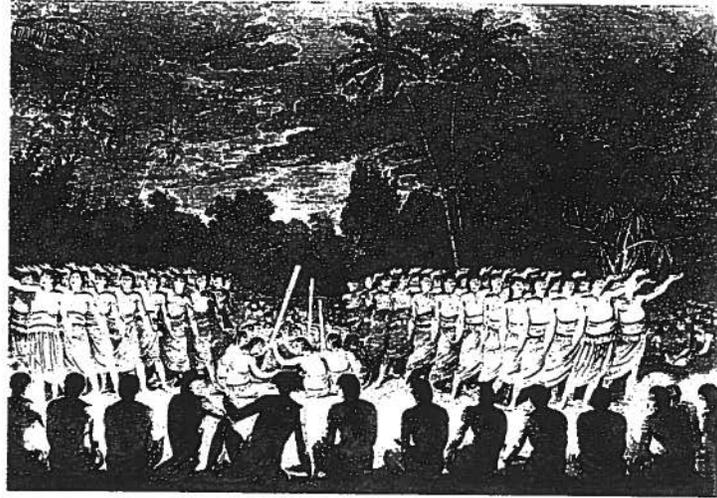


FIGURE 1.9 *A Night Dance by Men, in Happae* and *A Night Dance by Women, in Happae*, engraving after Webber by W. Sharp. Reproduced from Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, plates 16 and 17, p. 128.

reflected the expedition as a history-making event in itself. To have noticed and understood this is a new element among the body of visual representations from Cook's voyages . . . . Furthermore each incident depicted is given much the same weight in Webber's drawings, indeed his presentation is so impartial we cannot be sure which of the two British officers in the foreground is Cook. Webber's tendency to demonstrate the complexity of action is historical in an eventful and documentary sense but it is also anti-heroic. (Joppien 28)

Much of this commentary is applicable to the other encounter painting reproduced in figure 1.8, which also narrates events typical of landing: an Englishman, presumably but not explicitly Cook, extends his hand toward a group of natives, while the crew is occupied with such activities as wooding, watering, and trading.

Webber's use of the codes of history painting has profound consequences for the encounter scenes in particular, constituting an ideological claim more potentially transformative of both European and Pacific societies than either portraits or engravings. Simply stated, history painting occupied the top of the hierarchy of art forms established by the Royal Academy.

By means of its idealizing forms, and through its depiction of heroic deeds, history painting promoted the public virtues, those associated with wise and disinterested statesmanship, or perhaps most closely with martial valour. Such an art called upon its viewers to rise above their particular, private concerns to a level of superior awareness, from where they could identify and further the common good. The theory of history painting presupposed the existence of a body of male spectators who could be capable of this act of transcendence . . . . (Solkin 2)

Such an emphatically public mode not only visually states the importance -- historical, economic, and moral -- of the events portrayed, but it also locates them in a set of power relations as a mode "tailored to the needs of a ruling elite," particularly a landed elite (Solkin 3).

This understanding of history painting is essential to locating the concerns of Webber's *Resolution and Discovery in Ship Cove* [figure 1.8].

It shows the cove from the western shore as if taken by a modern wide-angle lens. The drawing, besides depicting the two ships inside the cove, includes the usual activities of the crew, wooding, watering and trading. On the beach sailors are occupied rolling barrels to a landing stage, and a couple of blacksmiths are forging

fittings for the mast. In the central background, guarded by a sentry, the two astronomers' tents have been erected and observations are being made. The ships, which are here drawn unusually large in scale, are encircled by Nootkans in canoes, who trade and converse with the members of the crew. (Joppien 80)

Joppien and Smith's analysis of the drawing -- the largest Webber produced on the voyage -- puts it in the context of European examples of paintings uniting historical and topographic genres, in which the "geographical and commercial components of both land and sea are drawn together into a hub of human activity" (Joppien 80). The problem facing Webber was not the depiction of standard landfall activities (which, two years into the voyage, he must have witnessed many times, after all), but instead that of locating these activities in a strange landscape:

The drawing represents a time at low tide, as is revealed by other drawings which show the Astronomer's Rock surrounded and partially submerged by water . . . . The time was well chosen for it allowed Webber to depict the bay to advantage, with its rough, irregular shoreline. The east side is shown broken into sections of rock, overgrown by moss, small trees and shrubs; above the beach, a thick apparently impenetrable forest, with many trees felled by the heavy coastal gales. (Joppien 80)

This drawing, like *The Harbour of Annamooka*, is "complex and anti-heroic" in that the viewer cannot identify Cook as the hero and central figure who gives the narrative meaning -- in contrast to history paintings like Edward Penny's *The Marquis of Granby Relieving a Sick Soldier* (1764) [figure 1.10], which unites the narrative codes of history painting with the conversation-piece.

Penny composed his *Marquis of Granby* around a series of gestures and glances which link the figures together in a relational continuum. Their various connections all hinge upon Granby himself . . . . [through a composition] which separates the central actor from the surrounding figures, who are shown responding to him and not to one another. (Solkin 5-7)

Penny has transported the generally private realm of the conversation-piece into the public realm in a narrative which presents a public man doing private good and exercising private virtues -- benevolence, charity, generosity -- for the public good: the sick soldier so relieved will return to his regiment with greater respect for and loyalty to his commanding officer(s), as will the soldiers on the



FIGURE 1.10 *The Marquis of Granby Relieving a Sick Soldier*, by Edward Penny. Reproduced from Solkin, "Portraiture in Motion" (*Huntington Library Quarterly* 14.1 [Winter 1986]), fig. 1, p. 4.

far left who witness Granby's morality in action.

What might be "the most famous history painting" (Ricou 171), Benjamin West's *The Death of Wolfe* (1770) [figure 1.11], also presents a contrast to Webber's drawing. West's painting initially seems to emphasise "reportage" of an historical event rather than its presentation in the Grand Style because he has chosen "the actual uniforms of British soldiers" instead of the classical draperies Reynolds thought appropriate to heroic subject matter (Vaughan 58). In fact, Ricou argues, "the use of contemporary costume has given the painting the reputation of historical accuracy" (174-5).

Yet this actuality is only superficial. It clothes a composition which bears no relation to the circumstances of Wolfe's death. In the best tradition of the grand manner, everything enhances the central theme. The group with the dying hero -- looking for all the world like a Christian *Pietà* -- is flanked by sorrowing officers. (Most of these were nowhere near Wolfe at the time, but paid West £100 each to have their portraits included.) The gravitas of their grief culminates in the drooping pennant that is held above the protagonist. Even the elements pay tribute, for the storm clouds are being dispelled by the English victory, indicated by the messenger who bursts in, in the nick of time, from the left. In the foreground the artist lapses into pure allegory with a fictive Indian who, apart from providing some regulation nudity, also symbolizes the place and also, with his pensive stance, the mood of the occasion. (Vaughan 59)

Here the similarity of this painting to, and its relevance for, the art of Cook's voyages becomes clear. The presentation of this apotheosis -- General Wolfe's death almost at the moment of England's victory over France on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, a victory which ended the Seven Years' War -- as a history painting has the effect of making "colonial wars of expansion seem truly heroic" (Vaughan 58). As Ricou notes, this presentation has come to stand for the event: "for every person who has studied -- who even recalls dimly -- the documented facts about the battle of the Plains of Abraham, there will likely be thousands whose minds are imprinted with West's sturdily popular representation. West made mythology of history instantly" (173) -- which, whether understood as history or as mythology, is specifically imperial. (Indeed, Ricou's analysis suggests the ways West's self-promotion mirrors the economic motivations governing imperial expansion). Barry Lord's



FIGURE 1.11 *The Death of General Wolfe*, by Benjamin West. Reproduced from Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, *The Paintings of Benjamin West* (New Haven, Conn. and London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 58.

summary of the painting's imperial symbolism, which Ricou footnotes, is relevant here:

In neo-classical history paintings like West's, they [the British aristocrats] could see their dying generals as martyrs in a cause that was both British and Christian, and envisage their empire as carrying on some abstract values that they attributed to the empires of the ancient past . . . . The martyr may be dying, but Britannia has prevailed. (Quoted in Ricou 184)

This statement easily applies to any number of the paintings and engravings of the death of Captain Cook; it also applies, equally easily, to Webber's topographic paintings.

Because he fuses the topographic genre with the historic, the effect in Webber's *Resolution and Discovery in Ship Cove* is almost the opposite of Granby's and West's paintings. The drawing is dominated visually not by Cook the hero but by the ships, "drawn unusually large in scale," in the right foreground, while on the left side the puny human figures -- almost stick-men -- of the foreground are dwarfed by the irregular rocks and lofty pines of the middle ground. Landfall activities are discernible, but the figures engaging in them are not. In this drawing, the voyage itself becomes the hero, the (imperial) subject, as signalled by the enormous flag almost the size of the ship's hull, and the potential economic profits to be realised by European traders as a result of this voyage. The Nootkan canoes may not equal the size of the European ship, but there are many of them, filled with Indians presumably eager to trade.

In contrast to Webber's historical paintings, Ellis' work (like that of Parkinson in particular but to a certain extent like that of Hodges also) can be viewed in the scientific tradition of the Linnaean taxonomy. Laid out in the *Systema Natura*, first published in 1735, this "descriptive system designed to classify all the plants on the earth, known and unknown, according to the characteristics of their reproductive parts" took definite shape in the *Philosophia Botanica* (1751) and the *Species Planetarum* (1753) (Pratt, *IE* 24-5). Using the code of the twenty-six basic configurations of their reproductive parts (identified according to the letters of the alphabet) and the visual characteristics

of number, form, position, and relative size, any plant anywhere could be first of all identified, then named, and later recognised on the basis of that name. In theory at least, "it would be possible for anyone who had learned the system to place any plant in the world in its right class and order, if not in its right genus, whether the plant was previously known to science or not" (Pratt, *IE* 27). In practice, written descriptions and drawings often accompanied the Linnaean label (which remains the standard form of botanical nomenclature). Although originally designed as a system to classify plants, its methodology was extended into the animal kingdom (as exemplified by figure 1.12, Ellis' study of a butcher bird): "as a result of Linnaeus's influence, empirical forms of naturalism were developed in the visual arts to assist in the provision of a systematic account of nature and of man by means of a connected group of descriptive sciences: botany, zoology, meteorology, geography, geology, archaeology and anthropology" (Smith, *IP* 51).

So far, I have distinguished between aesthetic and scientific discourses in the art of the third voyage by associating the former with Webber and the latter with Ellis. However, the distinction between the two is not so clear. In *European Vision and the South Pacific*, Smith argues that exposure to the work and methods of the nautical draughtsmen meant that the professional artists' "mode of perception became increasingly less dominated by neo-classical theories of art and increasingly more influenced by empirical habits of vision" (3). However, what Smith has called "empirical habits of vision" needs some clarification. The issue is not merely one of drawing what one sees -- rather, what does one see, and how does one see it? A case in point is provided by the landscapes of Nootka Sound produced by the neo-classically trained Webber in contrast to those of the scientifically-trained Ellis, educated in medicine at St. Bartholemew's, Cambridge (Tippett 22). "Unlike Webber, whose Swiss background undoubtedly provided him with a schemata for coniferous foliage, Ellis drew trees in the only way he knew how" (Tippett 22), as he had learned to draw them

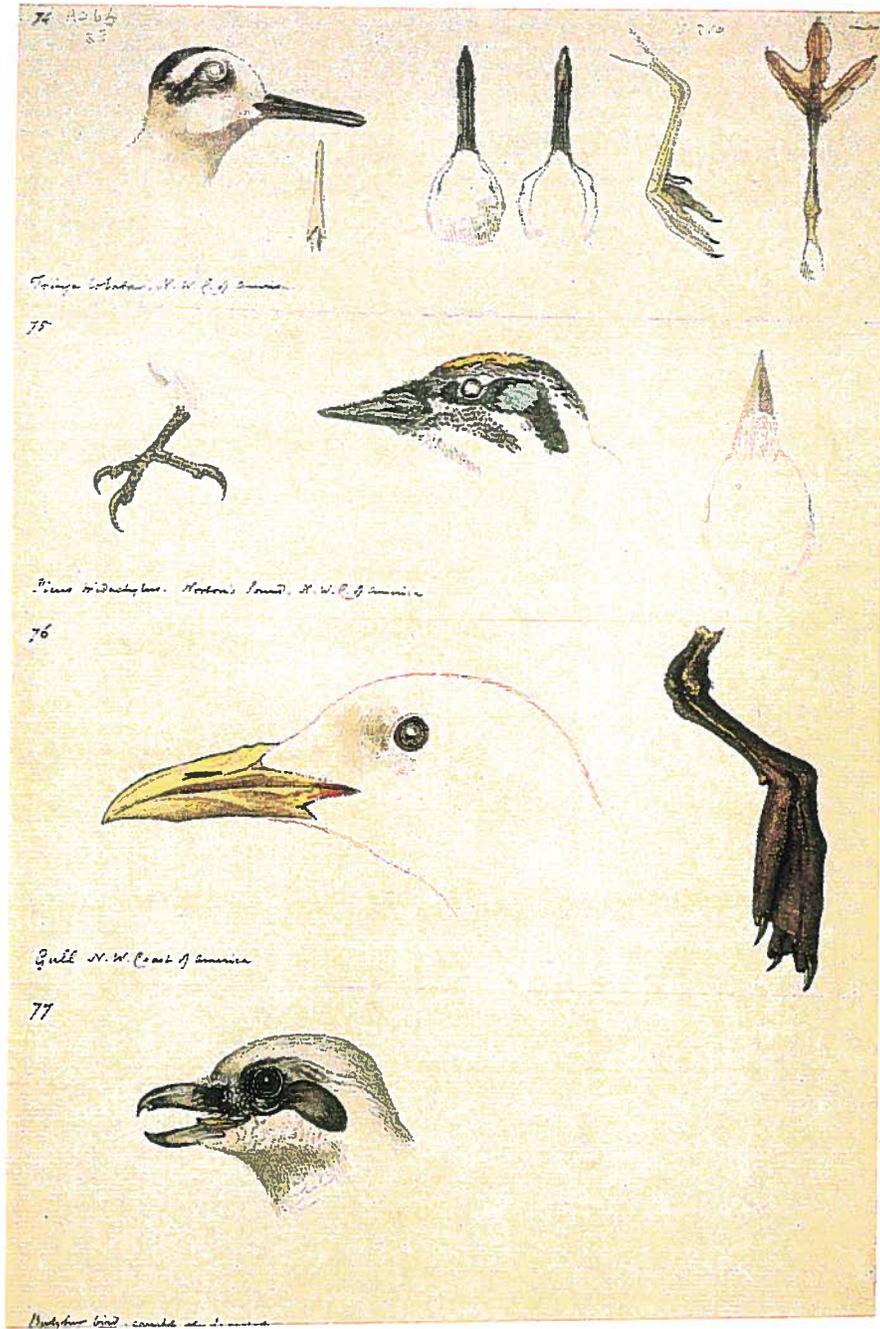


FIGURE 1.12 *Butcher Bird caught at sea, and other drawings*, by William Ellis. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 204, p. 209.



FIGURE 1.13 *The Fan Palm, in the Island of Cracatoa*, coloured aquatint by John Webber. Reproduced from Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, plate 74, p. 111.



FIGURE 1.14 *A View of Ship Cove in King George's Sound, on the N.W. Coast of America*, by William Ellis. Reproduced from Tippett, p. 19.

at home in England or over the course of the voyage in the South Pacific. Accordingly, Ellis' drawings transplant the background trees of the South Seas to Nootka Sound (as comparing figures 1.13 and 1.14 reveals). How, then, in the absence of known referents, whether those of Europe or those of the South Pacific, do European conventions perceive and represent not only the new world in general, but more particularly the newer newness of Nootka Sound?

Smith's point about something like the cross-pollination of visual genres bears closer scrutiny, in reference to figure 1.8, Webber's *The Resolution and Discovery in Ship Cove*, and to figure 1.14, Ellis' *View of Ship Cove in King George's Sound, on the N.W. Coast of America, 1778*. Although Ellis was the artist employed to produce drawings of flora and fauna, in practice the history painter Webber produced the botanical detail of coniferous trees much more accurately -- that is to say, he could do it. Smith notes that "few water-colour painters of Webber's day sought out the minutiae of vegetation with the same zeal," tending instead to treat "foregrounds and distances with considerable freedom" (EVSP 109). Ellis' background trees provide a bushy green backdrop framing the real subject of a drawing; in contrast, Webber "renders botanical detail with care and accuracy up to the limits of his frame" (EVSP 109). Ironically, the professional artist violates the codes of history painting by sacrificing the general for the particular, while the scientist produces a generic background instead of the accurate botanical detail expected of natural history drawings. In the visual record of Nootka Sound produced by the artists of the third voyage, the pictorial codes and demands of contemporary aesthetics and science cannot be easily divorced. Instead, they inform and respond to each other as the artists of Cook's third voyage struggled to represent the unfamiliar landscape of Nootka Sound.

### But Let Us Return to Our Muttons

When suggesting Cook's initial response to the west coast of present-day Vancouver Island in his *Life of Cook*, Beaglehole describes the coast using the vocabulary of the Sublime. The island is "built on vast proportions"; "the spruce and hemlock and cedar of the forest cover it, to within a few feet of the sea"; "trees spring, it seems, from each individual solid rock"; land meets sea abruptly, falling "precipitous to the water, with only here and there a narrow strip of land marching with it, or a larger ledge." While such comments may (in the late twentieth century) be read as appreciative, could Cook and his party, in 1778, have felt such admiration for the place? The Sublime in nature is comparable to a horror film: the frisson of pleasure received by a transcendental awareness of human insignificance in relation to the works of Nature is either momentary -- dependent on a return to normal consciousness, mercifully forgetful of human puniness -- or vicarious, more readily experienced by a reading public thrilling to the dangers of exploration from the safety of an armchair by a fireplace, dinner on the table nearby. The Picturesque presents a more comfortable vision of human relations with the natural world: a Picturesque landscape results from, and therefore invites, retroactively, human habitation.

Stafford's account of the importance of the Sublime for a vocabulary of exploration locates it within a psychological framework: "the emphasis placed in the factual travel accounts on descent into mines or caverns tallies with the psychological desire to plumb sublimely dangerous depths" (353). This desire is a feature of both the individual and collective psyche, an expression of a European cultural model.

Energetic spatial metaphors -- tearing, crossing, immersing, penetrating -- structure the images of the factual relations. All mirror the explorer's Promethean endeavor, to conquer space by duplicating the fluid processes of the universe revealed by eighteenth-century entropic materialism. The issue of the individual consciousness locating itself outside itself bears on the varieties of the Sublime (rhetorical, natural, religious) enumerated in antiquity and compellingly recast by Edmund Burke. In

Longinus' definition of *hypsos*, or height, the reader is 'uplifted' as though he physically undergoes what he merely hears. That is, the encounter with artistic excellence (the 'rhetorical Sublime') is structurally cognate with the lived transcendence excited in the observer during the meeting with landscape (the 'natural Sublime'). (Stafford 353)

Stafford's list of verbs in the first sentence of this quotation hints at the gendered associations of the Sublime and Picturesque. Not surprisingly, the Sublime is considered supremely masculine, particularly in the form of mountain ranges like the Alps. She cites the Comte de Guibert's comment that "a voyage to the Pyrenees may give women [like Ann Radcliffe, for example] some idea of the essence of mountains, but 'a man, a man who desires to know, a man who ought to prefer great masses to details & superb horrors to the charms of a landscape . . . must prefer to go observe and study nature in the Alps'" (360). While Stafford suggests that water and air may form the feminine equivalent to masculine geological formations, it is important to note that Sublime paintings -- like Claude Vernet's (1714-89) "pictures of natural disasters, especially shipwrecks" -- focussed on the horrifyingly destructive power of the ocean (Vaughan 36).

Tippett and Cole describe the move from the Picturesque to the Sublime landscape northwards along the western coastline of North America: "the coastline of Washington and Oregon, with its extensive prospects, gradual variation and diversity of woods and meadows, provided a close approximation to the artfully landscaped beauty of English parks," and as such its beauty was easily recognised (Tippett 15). Moving further up the coast, however,

no such artful arrangements were evident. The foreshore of today's British Columbia disappeared as the mountains rose directly from the sea, creating steep cliffs around deep inlets. No longer were there gently ascending hills chequered with varied woodlands, but only conifer-clad mountains rising precipitously above the snowline. The scene lacked all the qualities of the familiar and beautiful. No greater departure from the sensitively arranged nobleman's park could be imagined.

The British Columbia coast loomed silent and desolate, enveloped by huge and rocky mountains, filled with raging waterfalls and tempestuous weather and frequently obscured by mists and fogs [causing Cook to miss Juan de Fuca Strait]. While this shoreline appeared neither pleasing nor beautiful to the early explorers, it could

provide the refined mind of the age with a suitable setting for a study of the sublime in nature. (Tippett 15-7)

"The refined mind of the age" (with the notable exception of Banks) was less likely to be found on the quarter-deck of a voyage of exploration than to be reading the published account of the voyage from the safety of home. There, in its aristocratic guise it was creating ("by an immoderate expence in manual labour," as Vancouver put it [MacLaren, "Aesthetic Mapping of Nature" 40], sometimes to the extent of demolishing or moving entire villages to improve the view from the Palladian country house [Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* 57, 60]) and in its bourgeois or middle-class guise touring the Picturesque landscape garden, in addition to collecting or admiring the paintings of Claude, Poussin, and Salvator Rosa, or gazing in awe at the Alps.

These are the aesthetic currents and preoccupations of the time, and their influence on exploration narratives of the area after Cook is obvious. The journal of George Vancouver's voyage to the northwest coast some fifteen years later makes clear that he "deployed the narrative conventions for the appreciation of nature that adhered to the landscape aesthetics of [his] day -- the Picturesque and the Sublime," as MacLaren argues in "The Aesthetic Mapping of Nature":

Vancouver was exploring during the age when the fashionable Englishman toured his country in search of landscapes whose vegetation framed them and whose natural declination from foreground to middle ground and whose inclination from middle ground to background reminded him of a painting style then in vogue . . . . The salient feature of this style was that landforms, vegetation, atmosphere and the natural play of light and shade on terrain produced a unified, composed landscape effect which either evinced or invited leisurely habitation. (40)

Because the Puget Sound region reminded him so strongly not only of the landscape paintings of Claude but also of the landscape gardens of 'Capability' Brown, Vancouver "confidently asserted its suitability for British settlement and prophesied its evolution into a landscape mecca. It was to him what James Cook had designated the region generally -- a New Albion" (MacLaren, "AMN" 40). However, north of present-day Vancouver, B.C., Vancouver's crew moved abruptly from the

Picturesque to the Sublime, signalled by such place names as 'Desolation Sound' and 'Burke's Inlet' (for Edmund Burke): "thus, in a single season's surveying, Vancouver and his men had run the gamut of eighteenth-century British landscape aesthetics" (MacLaren, "AMN" 41).

But how real or important were these aesthetic questions to Cook, fifteen years earlier and on the other coast of Vancouver Island? Did he perceive the landscape he discovered according to such aesthetic notions as the Sublime or the Picturesque? The description of the landscape of Nootka Sound in the first published edition of Cook's journals, edited by Dr Douglas, occurs in Chapter 2 of Book Four of the second volume, a backward glance while the narrative of the journey freezes in its tracks. Cook has already exchanged parting gifts with one of the Chiefs and the ships have been escorted out of the Sound (with what Douglas, if not Cook, presents as a standing invitation to come back and trade for pelts) at the end of the previous chapter, which concludes thus:

Such particulars about the country, and its inhabitants, as came to our knowledge, during our short stay, and have not been mentioned in the course of the narrative, will furnish material for the two following chapters. (Douglas II, 287)

The forward movement of the ships is textually suspended in a bizarre cliffhanger, validating the concept of eighteenth-century travel as science. The chapter heading on the next page promises an "Account of the adjacent Country.--Weather.--Climate.--Trees.--Other vegetable Productions.--Quadrupeds . . . . --Sea Animals.-- . . . . --Birds.--Water Fowl.--Fish.--Shellfish,&c.--Reptiles.--Insects.--Stones,&c.--Persons of the Inhabitants" (Douglas II, 288), the form as much as the content of this summary calling to mind the Dictionary or Encyclopaedia of knowledge so important to Enlightenment universalism.

This list -- as chapter heading -- also calls into question the production of Cook's journal as a text, since Cook (despite Beaglehole's suggestion that Cook wrote the journals of the third voyage with an eye to editing them for publication himself ["Cook the Writer" 18]) did not divide his running

journals into Books and Chapters, and consequently provided no such chapter headings. Douglas' edition thus puts the reader at two removes from the narrative. He presents a Cook who divides his journals into Books and Chapters with appropriate headings, as if according to a Master Plan, since the title page of the edition does not mention Douglas or even an editor: Volumes I and II, it promises, are "written by Captain JAMES COOK, F.R.S." Douglas also presents an event which happens in the present tense as if it happened in the past: the first-person narrator looks back at Nootka Sound to catalogue its particulars, almost as if describing an emotion recollected in tranquillity.

The first description of Nootka Sound in Douglas' edition of Cook's journals presents it as a Sublime landscape:

The land bordering upon the sea coast is of a middling height and level; but within the Sound, it rises almost every where into steep hills, which agree in their general formation, ending in round or blunted tops, with some sharp, though not very prominent, ridges on their sides. Some of these hills may be reckoned high, while others of them are of a very moderate height; but even the highest are entirely covered to their tops with the thickest woods; as well as every flat part toward the sea. There are sometimes spots upon the sides of some of the hills which are bare; but they are few, in comparison of the whole, though they sufficiently point out the general rocky disposition of these hills. Properly speaking, they have no soil upon them, except a kind of compost, produced from rotten mosses and trees, of the depth of two feet or more. Their foundations are, therefore, to be considered as nothing more than stupendous rocks, of a whitish or grey cast, where they have been exposed to the weather; but, when broken, they appeared to be of a bluish grey colour, like that universal sort which were found at Kerguelen's Land. The rocky shore are a continued mass of this; and the little coves, in the Sound, have beaches composed of fragments of it, with a few other pebbles. All these coves are furnished with a great quantity of fallen wood lying in them, which is carried in by the tide; and the rills of fresh water, sufficient for the use of a ship, which seem to be supplied entirely from the rains and fogs that hover about the top of the hills. For few springs can be expected in so rocky a country, and the fresh water found further up the Sound, most probably arose from the melting of the snow; there being no room to suspect, that any large river falls into the Sound, either from strangers coming down it, or from any other circumstance. The water of these rills is perfectly clear, and dissolves soap easily. (Douglas II, 289-90)

In fact, Douglas' description of the Sound reads almost like a description of a painting: he begins by

noting the middle and background (the forest which overwhelms the eye as the consciousness is overwhelmed not so much by the height of the hills as by the "rocky disposition" and the wildness of the scene), then moving down through the middle ground (noticing the "bare spots" on the hills, a contrast which serves to highlight that they are indeed covered with trees), toward the foreground, where particulars regarding the soil, rocks, and trees can be distinguished. The reference to Kerguelen's Land, another landscape of barren slopes and rocks of primarily geological interest [figure 1.15], highlights the sublimity of Nootka Sound (so inhospitable to the eyes of later explorers), presented in the image of rocky mountains, bristling with trees almost down to the water. These "stupendous rocks" in turn are described as if according to aesthetic rather than scientific norms, classified by colour or hue ("whitish" or "bluish grey") instead of by mineral content or geological formation (for example, granite or slate). The repeated use of a word like "rill," which sounds like an import from a pastoral poem (the passionate shepherd and his love recline beside the gentle rill), to describe the antithesis of the torrents to be expected in such a mountainous landscape marks the transition from the aesthetic to more scientific, practical considerations and hypotheses regarding the source of fresh water.

Douglas' role as editor here is obvious if we compare his lengthy passage with the comparable moment in *Beaglehole*:

The land bordering upon the Sea coast is of a middling height and level, but about the Sound it consists of high hills and deep Vallies, for the most part cloathed with large timber, such as Spruce fir and white Cedar. The more inland Mountains were covered with Snow, in other respects they seemed to be naked. (*Beaglehole III:1, 309*)

This description seems almost to exemplify Thomas Sprat's notion of scientific writing, defined in his *History of the Royal Society* (1667) against the metaphoric style he abhors: "the only Remedy, that can be found for this Extravagance . . . [has been] a constant Resolution, to reject all the Amplifications, Digressions, and Swellings of Style; to return back to the primitive Purity and



FIGURE 1.15 *A View up the Valley . . . from Matavai-Bay*, by William Ellis. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 71, p. 62.

Shortness, when men deliver'd so many *Things*, almost in an equal number of *Words*" (Sprat 113). Of course Sprat's ideal mimetic style, as much as the metaphoric style he sought to replace, is a convention, at best easier said than done and at worst impossible to achieve. Since verbal and visual representations can never be purely mimetic, it follows that Cook, or his ghostwriter Douglas, cannot hope to portray the new world accurately: language is not transparent, nor is any representation documentary.<sup>5</sup>

The passage from Beaglehole's edition of Cook's journals gives little sense of an aesthetic response to Nootka Sound as a Sublime landscape on Cook's part. In contrast, Douglas rewrites and expands Cook's description using the vocabulary of the Sublime, probably borrowing from the journals of other officers. Beaglehole's "Textual Introduction" to the third volume of the *Voyages* discusses the extent to which Douglas does so.

Douglas makes great use of Anderson, who might almost go on the title page as a third author. He is quoted where Cook quoted or made provision for quoting him; and elsewhere, often for pages at a time, is worked skilfully into sentences and paragraphs, with or without attribution, has separate chapters allotted to him, or is given large parts of other chapters with some such introduction as 'observations . . . combined with those of Mr. Anderson, who was a very useful assistant on all such occasions.' (Beaglehole III:1, cci)

One such interpolation is found in the description of Nootka Sound (pages 288 to 340 in Douglas' edition), which begins:

In drawing up the preceding account of the people of this Sound, I have occasionally blended Mr. Anderson's observations with my own; but I owe everything to him that relates to their language; and the following remarks are in his own words. (Douglas II, 334)

Douglas -- for nothing remotely resembling this paragraph appears in Beaglehole's edition at the same juncture -- then proceeds to quote Anderson directly for the next two pages. Unfortunately, the part of Anderson's journal which would contain his account of Nootka Sound is lost, so the extent to which Douglas borrowed from Anderson, and the nature of those borrowings, remains unclear,<sup>6</sup>

although the correspondences between the existing two-thirds of Anderson's journal and Douglas' edition makes Anderson's contribution to the published *Voyage* clear:

For the passage out to the Cape, indeed until we come in sight of Kerguelen, we learn far more from Anderson than we do from Cook. Thereafter, as exploration becomes the main business, he in his turn becomes the subordinate but invaluable partner in observation and recording, with interests and emphases of his own, like Banks on the first voyage or Wales on the second. (Beaglehole III:1, cxci)

So it may be to Anderson that Douglas owes his description of Nootka Sound as Sublime. Certainly of the remaining officers' accounts, only King's hints at such an aesthetic response, using such emotionally-loaded adjectives as "melancholy" and "wild & savage" to characterise the scene as repellently Sublime.

The land round the Sound is very much broken into high precipices & deep Chasms; all parts of which are wooded, & continue so down to the water side, where the shore is steep & rocky; the few level spots one meets with, are only bogs & swamps, & the whole has a melancholy appearance; not even the noise or mark of Animals or birds are here either to be seen or heard to give some little animation to the woods of King Georges Sound. The high mountains which rise on the back & far inland are many of them bare, & serve to heighten & finish the Picture of as wild & savage a Country as can be well drawn in so temperate a climate . . . . (King 1402)

The majority of the other officers' accounts echo Cook's description of Nootka Sound as presented in Beaglehole's edition, emphasising not aesthetic but economic considerations and revealing more about the concerns of the writer in question than they reveal about the landscape. For example, the American marine corporal, John Ledyard, responds to and describes Nootka Sound by listing the products of the country. He concludes with a sentence presumably motivated by his desire to return to this coast, and his anxiety to convince possible sponsors of the profitability of such an expedition: "The light in which this country will appear most to advantage respects the variety of its animals, and the richness of their fur" (Ledyard 70). The other Captain, Charles Clerke, concentrates on the "vast abundance of excellent Timber":

indeed, the whole face of the Country is cover'd with it, both Hills & Dales. The

wood in general is Fir, there are different kinds of it, and such a variety of sizes, that in going a very inconsiderable distance, you may cut Sticks of every gradation, from a Main Mast for your Ship, to one for your Jolly Boat; and these I suppose as good as any as are to be procur'd in any part of the World. (Clerke 1323)

Clerke sees not a gloomy, silent forest, but a do-it-yourself lumberyard in the fine stands of timber, there for the cutting and certainly cheaper than masts "procur'd in [m]any part[s] of the World."

In similar fashion, notwithstanding the cult of the Sublime, Cook's description in Douglas' edition also reflects an eminent practicality. The previous chapter recounted the difficulties of replacing a rotten mizen-mast; it is therefore impossible for Cook to see the forest only as desolate and forbidding. It also must represent a useful stand of timber to be put to use profitably. The water of the rills may not be as plentiful as desired, the source might be unsure, but even so, it is "perfectly clear" (unlike rain water collected in barrels in the middle of the ocean, with an unpleasant taste from the tar of the rigging) and soft, since it "dissolves soap easily."

This passage from Douglas' edition sets up what I have called the conjunction of aesthetic and scientific discourses. The passage describing Nootka Sound is followed by an account of the products of the country and their implied use-value to Cook's party, England, or science/knowledge in general. Here the text demonstrates the conjunction of the Sublime (aesthetic) and pragmatic (scientific) readings of the landscape: descriptions of particulars which hint at or recall the general sublimity of the area in their very limitations, simultaneously provide an opportunity for the editor continually to remind his readers that they are holding a work of science in their hands. All the species and varieties, whether of plants, land and sea animals, or birds of land and water, are limited in some way. Two-thirds of the forest are composed of two sorts of trees, the Canadian pine and the white cypress, and "there is but little variety of other vegetable productions" (Douglas II, 291). "Birds, in general, are not only rare as to different species, but very scarce as to numbers" (Douglas II, 296, 297). Fish "are more plentiful in quantity than birds, though the variety is not very great"

(Douglas II, 298). Snakes and eels are the only reptiles observed, while "the insect tribe seem to be more numerous" (Douglas II, 300). The point is repeatedly made that this landscape supports little in the way of animal life, let alone human diversity. Even in the midst of this language of limitation and/or imprecision (characterised by "one or two," "a few," and "some"), however, the reader is continually reminded that this is a voyage of scientific discovery. Only those products of the country actually seen are reported, while Cook makes attempts to determine under what seasonal or weather conditions other species might be found; early spring, for example, is not the best time for determining the abundance of vegetable varieties the countryside might produce.

### **From Aesthetics to Science**

Cook's own description of Nootka Sound, as Beaglehole's edition reveals, is marked by the tropes of descriptive science, or perhaps of common-sense: looking to replace the main and mizen-masts, Cook sees an uncommonly fine stand of timber likely to produce many possible choices. Douglas, however, transforms the plain non-metaphoric language of the log books and journals with his own "amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style." In so doing, he produces the landscape of Nootka Sound for European readers using aesthetic and scientific discourses as interdependent rather than mutually exclusive, each relying on the supposedly disinterested or objective perception of beauty or truth. Douglas presents his own particular vision, imposing the distance not only between ship and shore, but also the distance between his armchair in England and this unknown coast, and he presents this vision as if it were Truth by way of documentary. With Cook's name on the title page of the published edition as the guarantor of scientific credibility, Douglas' metaphoric and rhetorical description of Nootka Sound is received by his audience as mimetic or transparent.

If the published account presents Douglas' subjective opinion as objective truth, what about the drawings meant to serve as visual correctives to the written account? Although "the landscape around Nootka Sound could well be seen as an epitome of the sublime" (Joppien 81), Webber does not portray it as such. As Tippett notes, "if awe-struck or melancholy when contemplating the landscape, he does not convey this emotion onto paper. He is too busy with Nootka types, with interiors of Yuquot houses, with the variety of exotic artifacts, even with a captured sea otter, to concern himself with an essentially forlorn and repellent landscape" (21). Perhaps the codes of history painting allow him to present the narrative details of the time spent at the Sound (a month encapsulated into one painterly moment) and to "discharge his documentary and topographical responsibilities as voyage artist" as painting a Sublime landscape would not (Joppien 81). Compare, for example, *A View of Ship Cove* [figure 1.8] to the more obviously Sublime landscape represented in *A View of Christmas Harbour, Kerguelen Island* [figure 1.16], where "for the sake of animation [Webber] added a flock of penguins and some sailors landing on the shore. The contrast between humans and animals could not more explicitly evoke an atmosphere of desolation" (Joppien 5). Webber's history painting of Nootka Sound achieves, in his "ability to present people not as heroes [as in classical naturalism] but as members of communities who take on the colour and mood of their environment," a new kind of "art as information": he represents the newness of the new world in a new way (Smith, *IP* 76). This conjunction of aesthetic and scientific discourses in Webber's art is particularly crucial at Nootka Sound, where the Sublime landscape is considered to be of less exotic interest than its inhabitants:

Webber, like other Europeans, was entranced by the exotic and curious, which at Nootka meant Indians and not, as in the South Pacific, a strange landscape and flora. The village of Yuquot . . . was of far greater pictorial interest than the monotonous forest and bare mountains. Landscape was incidental, supplementary or subordinate to the peculiarities of the natives. (Tippett 18)

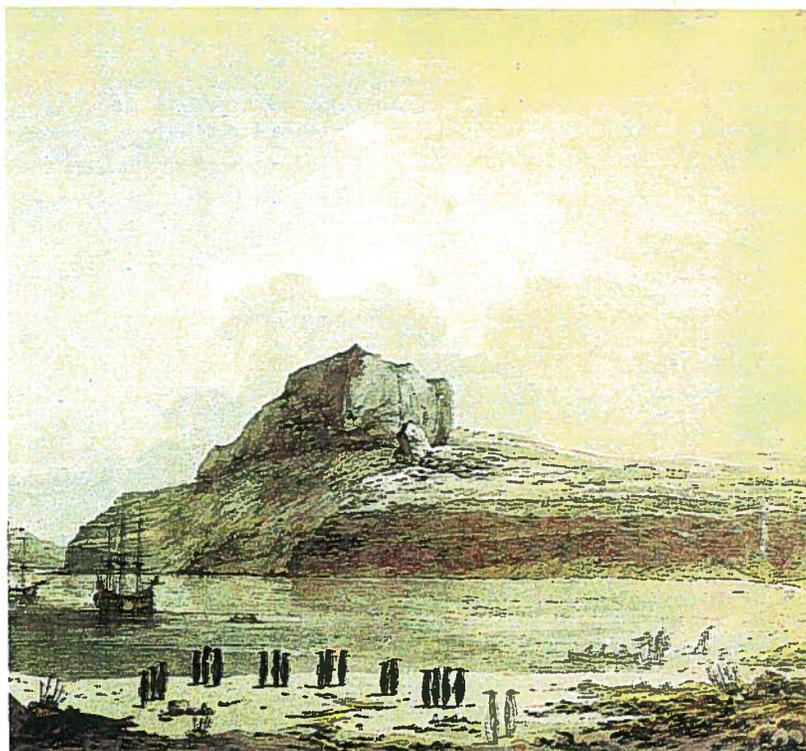


FIGURE 1.16 *A View of Christmas Harbour*, by John Webber. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 2, p. 4.

The process is not quite so innocent, however: in Douglas' edition, the inhabitants of the Sound are merged with and subordinated to the landscape in an ethnographic account following Cook's catalogue of vegetables, animals, and even minerals (Douglas II, 280). When the narrative turns from a relatively benign though slightly suspicious description of trade relations to the statement the nearly-unspoken assumptions about the nature of 'savages' everywhere apply at Nootka Sound as much as in the South Pacific, the distancing function of these discourses comes more fully into play. Norman Bryson's point about the similarities between inductive theories and methodologies in science and a painting tradition describing "artistic evolution as an accumulation of controlled observations" suggests the source of this distancing function (10).

The scientist carries out experiments which yield precise observations of the natural world; these observations he duly records, and, as the course of observations grows, recurrences within the data begin to appear, regularities which the scientist abstracts from the data and formulates as propositions of a general nature, which is to say, as laws. (Bryson 10)

What Bryson calls a "'classical' account of painting" (in Pliny's *Natural History* and Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*) treats the "evolution" of the individual artist and of painting itself in similar fashion: "from unmediated observations the painter abstracts patterns of recurrence, and these patterns he records in his work as forms. The stock of artistic forms develops as more and more visual phenomena are subjected to detailed examination" (Bryson 10). Although the medium may differ, the methodology and the worldview are the same for both science and art: "the progress of knowledge moves smoothly and inevitably towards its goal, the perfect understanding and representation of the surrounding world" (Bryson 10). In the imperial or colonial context of Cook's voyages, this knowledge (Smith's "art as information") has a purpose, always implying mastery or possession. In the journal of Cook's third voyage, aesthetic vocabularies of disinterestedness and detached isolation, whether in response to the sublime or as a result of scientific objectivity, naturalise and legitimise the

resulting record by presenting it as both tableau and impersonal fact: the English discovery -- and corresponding claim to possession -- of the northwest coast.

## Chapter Two Science and Ethnography: The Field of Vision

### Narrowing the Field

I left Cook looking back at Nootka Sound, enumerating the products of the country -- including the inhabitants of the Sound -- in Douglas' edition of the *Voyage*. Fully half of the account of the month at Nootka consists of Cook's comments (or are they Douglas'?) on the "Persons of the Inhabitants.--Their Colour.--Common Dress and ornaments.--Occasional Dresses, and monstrous decorations of wooden Masks.--Their general Dispositions.--Songs.--Musical Instruments.--Their eagerness to possess Iron and other Metals" (Douglas II, 288). Webber devoted enough time and attention to produce a head-and-shoulders portrait of one man [figures 2.6 and 2.10] and one woman [figures 2.7 and 2.9], as well as a full-length portrait of a man dressed for hunting [figure 2.8]. Like the descriptions of the products of the country preceding the descriptions of the people, these portraits come under the rubric of scientific as well as aesthetic discourse (according to both twentieth-and eighteenth-century definitions). Here I am using science in the sense of "a particular branch of knowledge or study; a recognized department of learning" ("Science" 648) which is to be "contradistinguished from *art*," ("Science" 649), hoping to be able to reunite them as ways of seeing which function interdependently, and which inform each other. More particularly, I am treating it as "a branch of study which is concerned either with a connected body of demonstrated truths or with observed facts systematically classified and more or less colligated by being brought under general laws, and which includes trustworthy methods for the discovery of new truths within its domain" ("Science" 649). This definition of science as a methodology or discourse, in use since 1725, identifies an eighteenth-century understanding of exploration as science: a "trustworthy method for the discovery of new truths within its own domain." These are more particular uses of the term than

the first meaning listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which comes from Latin: "*scientia* knowledge," "the state or fact of knowing" (648). The Latin origin of the word "science" thus functions like a microcosm of one of the processes I'm investigating: the way that exploration itself becomes an epistemological process, not only a branch of knowledge but also a way of knowing what is known, a metaphor for the arrangement as well as the advancement of knowledge. This metaphor provides a cultural self-image, a means by which an imperial or colonial culture can know itself, and a means by which it can be known.

Under Cook's command, a whole new world -- a full third of the globe -- was encountered and attempts were made . . . . "Was encountered," "were made": the passive verb construction, the voice of science, creeps into my prose.<sup>1</sup> The unconscious ease with which I fall into it is unsettling, since it reproduces the sense of ethnocentrism and inevitability (through the erasure of agency and the use of the past tense) with which exploration discourse, particularly about Cook as imperial hero, is too often constructed. Such a construction masks its own constructedness at the level of the sentence as well as at the level of ideology. The subject of the sentence, like the creator of the discourse, is hidden in a narrative style and voice which masks the origins of the story -- as if God were the author and predestination the story. Cook's *Voyages* have often been told in this fashion, as if the outcome (the progress of empire) was not one of many, but the only possible story which could be told: attempts were made . . . . No. Cook, and other late eighteenth-century explorers of the so-called new world, while noting the systems of classification of indigenous peoples, envisioned a more comprehensive approach to classification than any undertaken before by Europeans, in the new world or the old.

Perhaps the very newness of the new world aided in this project (a taxonomy of the constitutive elements -- flora, fauna, peoples -- of the new world), since it may seem easier to begin

an attempt at comprehensive classification at the beginning rather than halfway through. Unlike European plants, for example, known for centuries and by many possible names across time and space (as even a cursory glance at a work like Nicholas Culpepper's *English Physician* [1653?] shows), the flora of the South Pacific were unknown and unnamed. Naming them using the Linnaean catalogue meant that they could be recognised by anyone familiar with the system, whether or not he (*sic*) had ever seen the plants in question.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the system had a built-in method of accounting for differences and similarities, for making connections among genus, species, and family. And the purview of science was gradually expanding, almost requiring a new world to allow for its full development and expansion.

The science of natural history reached its ascendancy during the mid-eighteenth century. Contemporaries of Bartram, Jefferson, and Crèvecoeur understood natural history to mean a broad area of scientific inquiry circumscribing the present-day disciplines of meteorology, geology, botany, zoology, and ethnology. Natural historians took for their subject matter all of what they called the Creation. Any object within the natural order was a proper subject of natural history inquiry; only man-made objects lay outside its scope. (Regis xi)

According to this definition, from Pamela Regis' *Describing Early America*, much of the scope of natural history is inevitably to be found in the new world -- including the depiction not only of plants, but also of humans, particularly indigenous peoples. In America, native peoples and Africans were described

as if they were just another type of natural production. 'Men,' Crèvecoeur said, 'are like plants.' . . . Natural historical discourse did not differentiate between vegetable and human. This had serious consequences for the people most often depicted in these descriptions of the new land: native Americans and blacks. These two great victims of America's founding became, in these descriptions, Other. (Regis xii)

Culture and nature, often divided along gender lines in Western thought, are divided in natural history discourse along racial lines: "culture" (civilisation) is the province of Europeans who define "nature" as everyone else.<sup>3</sup> This objectification, even if natural objectification, as a form of othering has had

serious consequences: slavery and the appropriation of territory are erased in the moment of definition, for things (products) are there to be exploited. As Carolyn Merchant has argued in her account of the mechanisation of the scientific worldview,

The metaphor of the earth as a nurturing mother was gradually to vanish as a dominant image as the Scientific Revolution proceeded to mechanize and to rationalize the world view. The second image, nature as disorder, called forth an important modern idea, that of power over nature. Two new ideas, those of mechanism and of the domination and mastery of nature, became core concepts of the modern world. (Merchant 7)

This transformation of metaphors explaining the relationship between humans and the natural world not only "legitimated the exploitation of natural resources" -- as men exploited the labour and reproduction of women -- but also provided further legitimation for the exploitation of those humans (women, non-European peoples) associated with "wild, chaotic nature" (Merchant 189, 132).

### **Natural History, Linnaeus, and the Language of Discovery**

The growing influence of the science of natural history is particularly obvious in Cook's first voyage, notably in the participation of Royal Society member Joseph Banks. However, at least one person interested in the field of natural history travelled on each of Cook's voyages. Solander on the first voyage and Sparrman on the second were both students of Carl Linné, or Carolus Linnaeus as he was known in Latin (he "deliberately revived Latin for his nomenclature precisely because it was nobody's national language" in order to best serve the "continental and transnational aspirations" of his system [Pratt, *IE* 25]). John Webber, the artist of the third voyage, had been recommended to Cook by Solander. The influence of Linnaeus and his classificatory system on voyages of exploration and discovery was so extensive that "in the second half of the eighteenth century, whether or not an expedition was primarily scientific, or the traveler a scientist, natural history played a part in it" (Pratt, *IE* 25).

Since large portions of North America contained little except natural objects (American Indians, as a primitive indigenous population, were counted in that class), the science that focused on this subject matter was a logical guide to exploration. It provided a set of concerns that corresponded exactly with the objects in a new, 'uncivilized' country. In addition, it provided methods for investigation and a rhetoric for the verbal descriptions that resulted from that method. (Regis 6)

From the descriptive classification of plants to a "logical guide to exploring" their new world habitats: quite a leap, almost a leap of faith, dependent upon and revealing certain assumptions about the world and its knowability.

Nancy Stepan argues that the waning influence of religion distinguishes eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scientific thought, particularly in England. In the nineteenth century, "more and more scientists, especially those on the continent, were willing to embrace the religiously unorthodox, but deeply appealing view, that the human races were separated from each other by such profound mental, moral and physical differences as to constitute separate biological species of humankind" (Stepan 2). Eighteenth-century natural history was not only still monogenist, "believing that all the varieties of humankind . . . were, despite any oddities of physical appearance and social customs, members of a single human, biological 'species' and united in a single brotherhood by their common humanity" (Stepan 1), but also still compatible with a Biblical time-line. The eighteenth-century naming of new world territories and their productions using the methods of natural history thus represents a move to recreate a sense of Adam in the garden, naming the plants and animals over which he has been granted dominion (that important imperial label). In Linnaean botany, discovery amounts to an act of naming: within the closed system, the plant is the name, and all significant features -- or the predominant ones -- which serve to distinguish one plant from another are contained within the name. The implications of such a classificatory system are profound: fixing signs (names) and signifiers (plants) so irrevocably "made the conception of the Great Chain of Being completely rational. After Linnaeus, the binomial label pointed both to a species or kind unique from all others,

and to a link on the Chain. It evoked, at once, the very specific and the whole order of the universe" (Regis 12). As published in the *Species Planatarum* (1753), the system consisted of a one-page chart. Once accepted, such an identification produced its own authority by virtue not of its sanction by an expert, but of the methodology itself (Regis 12).

In a way, the Linnaean system is itself a microcosm of the Great Chain of Being, articulated by Pope in his *Essay on Man* (1733-4):

See, thro' this air, this ocean, and this earth,  
All matter quick, and bursting into birth.  
Above, how high progressive life may go!  
Around how wide! how deep extend below!  
Vast chain of being, which from God began,  
Natures aethereal, human, angel, man,  
Beast, bird, fish, insect! what no eye can see,  
No glass can reach! from Infinite to thee,  
From thee to Nothing! -- On superior pow'rs  
Were we to press, inferior might on ours:  
Or in the full creation leave a void,  
Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroy'd:  
From Nature's chain whatever link you strike,  
Tenth, or ten thousandth, break the chain alike. (Epistle 1, 233-46)

An eighteenth-century understanding of such a Chain, although based on an assumption and acceptance of a natural hierarchy, did not separate humanity from the rest of creation. Indeed, although Pope lamented "What would this Man? now upward will he soar, / And little less than Angel, would be more" (Epistle 1, 173-4), eighteenth-century scientists, including Linnaeus, accepted that humans were in fact much closer to the animal than the angelic realm (Stepan 7). Arthur Lovejoy's definition of the Chain clarifies its intellectual implications:

Every discovery of a new form could be regarded, not as the disclosure of an additional unrelated fact in nature, but as a step towards the completion of a systematic structure of which the general plan was known in advance, an additional bit of empirical evidence of the truth of the generally accepted and cherished scheme of things. Thus the theory of the Chain of Being, purely speculative and traditional though it was, had upon natural history in this period an effect somewhat similar to

that which the periodic table of the elements and their atomic weights . . . had upon chemical research. (232)

In other words, knowledge is not random but cumulative: the effect, and purpose, of identifying individual specimens, whether plant, animal, or human, from any part of the Chain, adds up to a composite picture of the world, knowable through the relationships between its constitutive elements. Following this reasoning, "the general program of the Royal Society . . . was to discover unknown facts of nature in order to range them properly in their places in the Chain of Being, and at the same time to make this knowledge useful to man " (Lovejoy 232). And the effect of this mass of detail is not chaos but clarity: "the New World of exotic mystery, of distance-shrouded indistinctness, gives way to a sharp-edged, delineated, concrete description systematically and rationally related to the Old World" (Regis 14).

And of course the form in which these accounts were written shaped the content; the form too was reduced to a system, "to a literary style and a rhetoric" (Regis 15) by which the raw materials of natural history might be presented as clearly and methodically as their names were clear and a result of the method of observation: the list.

Lists . . . were a means to argue the placement of a difficult discovery, a way to gather authorities together in an up-to-date version of the information. They were also the written representation of the Great Chain itself. How could one argue that no such chain existed when the chart or the table seemed a visual representation of it, showing clearly that there was such a thing to demonstrate, to portray? To an eighteenth-century reader, it could not be a demonstration of nothing. (Regis 18)

While the list, as a terse and to-the-point form of writing, might seem to embody Sprat's ideal mimetic style in which "so many *Things* [are expressed], almost in an equal number of *Words*," it can also function as something like a democratic style. An awareness of grammatical rules and stylistic niceties is not required to produce a list: anyone can do it. Not surprisingly, Linnaeus' system "had

a markedly democratic dimension, popularizing scientific inquiry as it had never been popularized before" (Pratt, *IE* 27):

Linnaeus' system alone launched a European knowledge-building enterprise of unprecedented scale and appeal. His pages of Latin lists might look static and abstract, but what they did, and were conceived to do, was to set in motion a project to be realized in the world in the most concrete possible terms. As his taxonomy took hold throughout Europe in the second half of the century, his 'disciples' (for so they called themselves) fanned out by the dozens across the globe, by sea and foot, executing what Daniel Boorstin has called a 'messianic strategy.' (Pratt, *IE* 25)

The project was not so very democratic, however, as a key word in the foregoing quotation -- "Latin" -- indicates: this is a knowledge-building endeavour for those already possessing certain forms of knowledge, that is to say for those who are not only literate, but also, and more particularly, educated.

Alongside the frontier figures of the seafarer, the conqueror, the captive, the diplomat, there began to appear everywhere the benign, decidedly literate figure of the 'herborizer,' armed with nothing more than a collector's bag, a notebook, and some specimen bottles, desiring nothing more than a few peaceful hours alone with the bugs and flowers. (Pratt, *IE* 27)

Natural history is thus constructed as the province of the gentleman scientist.<sup>4</sup>

Similarly, the system itself is simultaneously democratic and autocratic: while anyone who knows the rules can play the game,<sup>5</sup> the rules dictate absolutely the terms and conditions of play, no exceptions. Probably this fact accounts for the popularity of the system: with a new world, full of unfamiliar, unknown, often seemingly unknowable data, coming increasingly into the purview of the old, the unquestionable authority of the Linnaean name reassures by establishing an apparently transparent bond between word and thing.

An individual is being nominated to serve as the type or the representative of all other members of that species of thing. A name is assigned that applies to a member of that species and to none other. The thing referred to, as well as the kind of thing referred to, is fixed for all time. This process of determining the relationships between a name and a thing forces language to be more precise than it is usually thought capable of being. (Regis 19)

A general desire to classify and then fix meanings is evident in much eighteenth-century intellectual and literary work, for example Swift's *Tale of a Tub* (1704), Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755), and Diderot's *L'Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire Raisonné* (1751-65). Linnaean botany, the closed taxonomy par excellence, was an important contributor to this trend. A central concept of Linnaeus' work, *nulle species nova* (no new species) exemplifies this closure: everything is knowable and what is not knowable does not exist. This presentation of the world as fixed confirms Christian concepts of perfectibility. Significantly, the system guarantees intentionality and textual authority, and thus offers a superb vocabulary by which language can accommodate the newness of the new world.

Linnaean diction provides a way to speak to anyone anywhere about what is here. The Linnaean list shows the similarities of the American thing to any number of things from any number of places. A thing's placement on the list relates it to any number of natural history productions in any of the explored areas of the world. Thus for European readers, America seems at once strange and familiar. (Regis 20)

The advantages of such a framework to travel literature and explorers' accounts are immediately obvious. As Stafford notes, "the manifest intention behind descriptions and illustrations was not to transform the visible but to be nonstereotypical, to reproduce for the uninitiated eye the earth's novel, unknown, or undepicted realities" (40). The scientific framework offers a means to represent as well as to perceive the new world.

#### *A Digression, concerning Language*

In his *History of the Royal Society*, Sprat argued that the goal of the Society's language project was "to return back to the primitive Purity and Shortness, when men deliver'd so many Things, almost in an equal number of Words . . . . a close, naked, natural way of speaking . . . bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can" (113). As Lovejoy's echo of Milton ("to make this knowledge useful to man") hints, Sprat's phrases refer both "back to Adamic language theory and forward to a discourse of science and

rationality" (Reed 401). The desired purity of language -- unity of content and form, or the absence of a gap between sign and signifier -- has scientific as well as theological implications: "with this equation of things with words [Sprat] introduces elements of the emerging discourse of experimentalism . . . . The importance of these linguistic views lies in the integration of the sacred with the scientific language of measuring and quantification, and in the political importance that this combination had for Restoration England" (Reed 405). Sprat's belief that "Nature will reveal more of its secrets to the English, than to others; because it has already furnish'd them with a Genius so well proportioned, for the receiving, and retaining, its mysteries" (114-5) reveals the forward-looking use-value of this purified language for the expansion of national knowledge and commerce. However, the backward-looking post-lapsarian argument also means that, "because of Adam and Eve's fallen state, time itself will inevitably corrupt language" (Reed 401-2), which therefore simultaneously advances knowledge and regresses. The notion of failure is virtually built into the ideal; accordingly, despite "the importance he places on the delivery of 'so many things [*sic*], almost in an equal number of words [*sic*]' . . . [Sprat himself] personally found [this] impossible to accomplish" (Reed 403-4).

The history of scientific discourse -- including Stafford's analysis -- is also a history of a particular history of language: as passive, a copy of some reality which exists independently of language and which is never quite adequately grasped by it. "Language, for Sprat and for others reacting against a prevalent ornate style, is always trying to catch up to the physical world of things, trying to achieve the supposed ideal of matching that world" (Lefevre 99). The paradox of the scientific revolution's dream of a transparent language lies in the fact that writers like Sprat must resort to metaphor to convey the idea of a purely mimetic language, often imaged as a clear windowpane or glass unobstructed by the garments, veils, or curtains of rhetoric (Lefevre 99). Such a desire for an "unambiguous, universal

*concordance between words and things" (Lefevre 98) is also, however, part of a masculine enterprise, or of a knowledge-building enterprise defined as a masculine endeavour by a language which itself is becoming increasingly masculine. What Sprat calls the "digressions, amplifications, and swellings of style" (113) are relegated to the realm of the female, increasingly represented in literature by the novel of sentiment and sensibility -- in contrast to such male literary forms as the epic or mock-epic (think of the order, precision, exactness of Pope's couplets or the highly controlled structure of Fielding's novels) or the leisurely, dispassionate, and above all gentlemanly periodical essays of Steele and Addison or Samuel Johnson.*

*There is another paradox inherent in this theoretically mimetic scientific style: in addition to its dependence on metaphor, it also breaks the mimetic structure at the very moment of its construction. As Merchant notes,*

*in Latin and the romance languages of medieval and early modern Europe, nature was a feminine noun, and hence, like the virtues (temperance, wisdom, etc.) personified as female. (Latin: *natura*, -æ; German: *die Natur*; French: *la nature*; Italian: *la natura*; Spanish: *la natura*.) The Greek word *physis* was also feminine. (Merchant xix)*

*Thus the relationship between the natural world and the words used to describe it is the metaphoric one of women and men, or more specifically that of wives and husbands: submission and domination. And a similar metaphor (from the sixteenth century onwards) explains Europe's relationship to the new world by imaging the European explorer (and later settler) as the appropriate husband for the new world territory personified as a woman. The irony is that the supposedly dispassionate discourse of science sexualises not only human interaction with the world, thus personifying the world of things, but also non-human relationships between elements of the world of things.*

*Perhaps the use of such figurative language is unavoidable, yet scientific discourse -- by claiming objectivity -- presents itself as mimetic, a transparent glass without a curtain*

*of rhetoric, and thus as natural. As Bazerman notes, "scientific language is a particularly hard case for rhetoric, for sciences have the reputation for eschewing rhetoric and simply reporting natural fact that transcends symbolic trappings. Scientific writing is often treated apart from other forms of writing, as a special case privileged through its reliance on mathematics (considered a purer symbolic system than natural language" (6). It is as if scientific writing was not writing at all; that is, as if the content of scientific writing was mediated by neither form nor the human agent. In marked contrast to other kinds of written language, which highlight the agency and choices of the writer,*

to write science is commonly thought not to write at all, just simply to record the natural facts. Even widely published scientists, responsible for the production of many texts over many years, often do not see themselves as accomplished writers, nor do they recognize any self-conscious control of their texts. The popular belief of this past century that scientific language is simply a transparent transmitter of natural facts is, of course, wrong . . . . It is nonetheless fascinating that such a misconception could have thrived so well in the face of the massive linguistic work that has gone into scientific communication. This attests to the success of scientific language as an accomplished system. So much has already been done, and hides so far behind the scenes of current practices, that using the language seems hardly an effort at all. (Bazerman 14-5)

*Such a development was not essential to science. The French chemist, Antoine Lavoisier, used a rather ornate, rhetorical description of "what was eventually to be called oxygen [as] 'pure air, the best and most respirable part of the air . . . . more air than ordinary air" in his Elements of Chemistry (1789) to talk his (and science's) way closer to a more precise definition (Lefevre 103). However, the fact that he was ridiculed for his non-transparent style, and that Sprat's ideal mimetic style remains largely unquestioned as a discursive value, demonstrates Merchant and Lefevre's points about the interdependent and mutually transformative role of language and ideas in cultural transformations. As Merchant puts it,*

an array of ideas exists, available to a given age; some of these for unarticulated reasons seem plausible to individuals or social groups; others do not. Some ideas spread; others temporarily die out. But the direction and culmination of social changes begin to differentiate among

the spectrum of possibilities so that some ideas assume a more central role in the array, while others move to the periphery. Out of this differential appeal of ideas that seem most plausible under particular social conditions, cultural transformations develop. (Merchant xviii)

*The language of the scientific revolution has created particular global realities which illustrate Lefevre's thesis about invention as a social, and not only an individual, act.*

Two further points about the Linnaean system are worth making here. One is that the fixity of natural objects -- their similarity and knowability on a global scale -- is heightened by the presentation in a list. The Linnaean list uses a shorthand derived from medieval Latin, in which verbs are conspicuously absent, resulting in a deliberate stasis: "the unexpressed, unwritten verb implied in all of the descriptions is 'to be.' In the lists, things merely are. All possible predicates are gone: reproduction, nutrition, sensitivity, or movement, all unstated (and thus unimportant) before the regularizing litany of names and the descriptions" (Regis 21). In short, "confusing plenitude is resolved to the beauty and order of a list" (Regis 22). The other point is that although the predicate of reproduction is eliminated along with any others, the *Species Plantarum* sexualises plants by identifying them according to their reproductive parts in the one-page chart [figure 2.1]. More importantly, the accompanying written description uses the vocabulary of human relationships to explain the classifications. For example, the first class (A on the Chart, 1 in the "Characters of Classes"), Monandria, is described as follows:

**ONE MALE.**

One husband in marriage.

**One stamen in an hermaphrodite flower.** (Stearn, "Linnaeus's Sexual System" 29)

Further down the chart, Class X (number 22), Dioecia, is described thus:

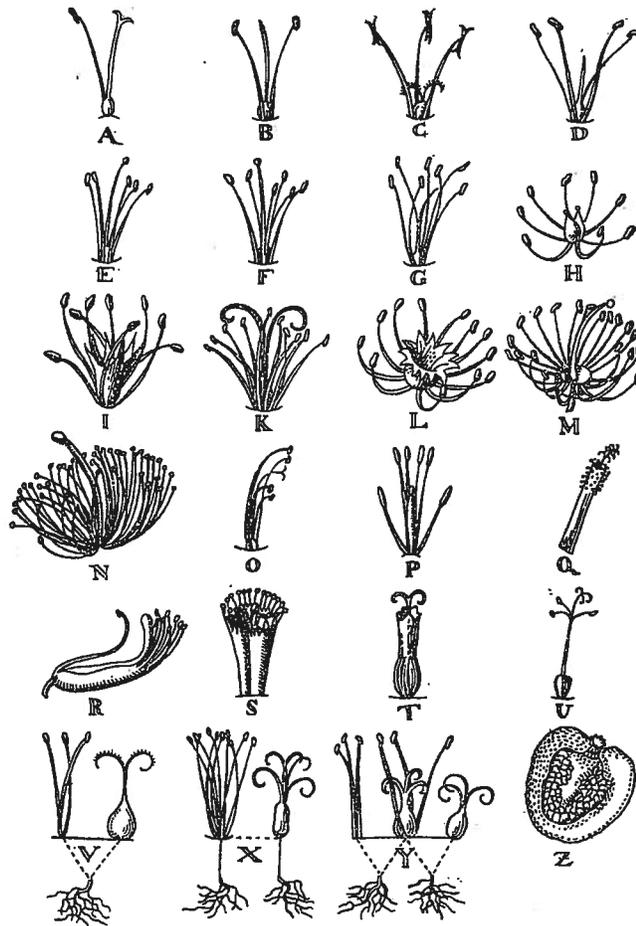
**ONE HOUSE.**

Husbands live with their wives in the same house, but have different beds.

**Male flowers and female flowers are on the same plant.** (Stearn, "LSS" 32)

## SEXUAL SYSTEM OF CLASSIFICATION

Clariss: LINNÆI. M. D.  
 METHODUS plantarum SEXUALIS  
 in SISTEMATE NATURÆ  
 descripta



G. D. EHRET. Palat. heidelb.  
 fecit & edidit

Lugd. bat. 1736

FIGURE 2.1 The classes of Linnaeus' sexual system of classification, as illustrated in Ehret's original plate, 1736 (much reduced). Reproduced from W.T. Stearn, *Species Plantarum: A Facsimile of the First Edition*, 2 vols. (London: Ray Society, 1957), vol. 1, pp. 28-9.

Once again, the language of scientific discourse bears scrutiny: in my sentences which introduce the last two quotations, the passive voice is required not only to erase any sense of agency, but also to erase the subject who might be an agent. The result is a discourse which replaces the persuasive, argumentative, rhetorical style of centuries past with a clear, unambiguous, expository style -- appropriate to description which aims for transparency and objectivity. In erasing the subject and agent of the sentence and of an experiment, however, such a conception of language transforms not only the individual writer, but the social world of that writer as well: the "I" who might be subject and agent is reduced to and conflated with the "eye" observing and recording an event as dispassionately as possible. The scientist no longer participates in the world; instead, he observes and records it. The application of such a system of classification to humans, particularly non-Europeans, heightens the process of objectification: it is not that plants move up the Chain closer to humans, but that (some) humans are moved down the Chain closer to plants.

The metaphor of marital relationships in the plant world characterising Linnaeus' sexual system of classification may have influenced scientific explorers' understanding of indigenous populations in the new world, as a comparison between figures 2.1 [1736] and 2.2 (*Tableau des Découvertes du Capne Cook, & de la Perouse* [1797]) suggests. While it may be impossible to prove that one chart influenced the other, the similarities between the two are striking: both present twenty-four different specimens with the visual schemata necessary to distinguish one kind from another by means of their identifiable characteristics. The Nootka, for example (number 1 on the chart according to the legend), are shown against the racks of drying fish noted in Cook's journal of the third voyage; the Nootka man's head is evidently a visual quotation from Webber's drawings (see figures 2.6 and 2.10), as are the hat with the bulbous top and the woven cape worn by the woman (see figures 2.7 and 2.9). The Maori man next to the Nootka couple has a distinctly tattooed face (also lifted from



Webber's drawing); the warlike nature of the Maori is indicated by his spear. Significantly, this table has no obvious arrangement by chronology, by location, by explorer, or by hierarchy: it simply presents a flow of information about human groups and their social and physical environments, suggested by the habitations and background flora. However, some specifics were apparently not important enough to render; although different nations hold different poses, evidently these are not meant in themselves to convey ethnographic information, just as the palm trees forming part of the compositional grouping of the "Hab.ts d'Ulietca" (no. 18) drift inappropriately behind the "Hab.ts d'Oonalaska." The border of Pacific exotica -- outrigger canoes, sea monsters, "America" personified as a woman, pineapples, gold, maps, and monkeys -- hints at the containing capacity of such a catalogue of classification. Such a table visually asserts that European systems of knowledge are adequate to the understanding and representation of the exotic new world; a seemingly bewildering miscellany of human data is given coherence and relevance, within the context of a Pacific world and Europe's encounter with it.

In his *Systema Naturae* (1735), Linnaeus had included humans in his list of animals, listing different human groups as different links in the Great Chain of Being. This notion incorporated four racial distinctions: American, European, Asiatic, and African. The first two categories are described in terms which move from description to evaluation in the last phrase:

American: Copper-coloured, choleric, erect. Hair black, straight, thick; nostrils wide, face harsh; beard scanty; obstinate, content free. Paints himself with fine red lines. Regulated by customs.

European: Fair, sanguine, brawny. Hair yellow, brown, flowing; eyes blue; gentle, acute, inventive. Covered with vestments. Governed by laws. (Qtd. in Popkin 248)

Asians and Africans are discussed in even more judgmental terms than Americans. The effects of such a system were far-reaching:

Whites and blacks were of the same species, but of different races. The newness of this classification of man with the animals, the linking of *Homo sapiens* with fanciful creatures for whom there was scant evidence (the supposedly cave-dwelling *homo troglodyte*) and the division of man into separate races began the speculation that would culminate, as early as 1766, in Hume's claim that non-white races were of a different species than the white race. (Regis 22)

In theory, it is not so surprising that the Linnaean method of classification on the basis of similarities and differences should emphasise racial distinctions, or that "observations would proceed along racial lines." In practice, however, and perhaps because the new world was the field for the fieldwork of natural history and the context of domination, "men of other races [i.e., non-Europeans], perhaps of other species, became the natural<sup>6</sup> objects of this scrutiny" (Regis 22). That is to say, the same methods that gentleman "herborizers" applied to the classification of strange and unfamiliar plants were applied to the non-European peoples they encountered in scientific and imperial expeditions, producing "'manners-and-customs' descriptions, after the topics on which they usually focus" (Regis 23).<sup>7</sup> The effect is inextricably linked to the stasis of the Linnaean description. In America, Regis argues, "Native Americans are subsumed under this natural historical description, becoming entries on a list, links on the Chain. The rhetoric of this description denies them any history, individual or cultural, because that rhetoric did not include a way to represent time" (25). The implications for indigenous peoples are serious, particularly because the representations produced by such a method carry the sanction of the scientific method, meant to guarantee that the "descriptions themselves are objective fact" (Regis 37).

#### *A Digression, concerning (Anthropological) Time*

*Because natural history discourse about non-European peoples "did not include a way to represent time" (generally imaged as movement or passage in Western thought, as illustrated by the discourse of history), that discourse presents time as stasis in new worlds.*

*It represents non-European peoples as paralysed or frozen at some early stage of human development according to the linear standards of the old world, marked by such tropes as 'progress.' So in addition to the oppositions between 'new' and 'old,' 'non-white' and 'white,' the distinction between 'then' and 'now' bears scrutiny. In Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object, Johannes Fabian examines "past and present uses of Time as ways of construing the object of [the] discipline" (x). He argues that it is by its use of Time that anthropology (since its emergence as a discourse in eighteenth-century travel accounts through to the present) most clearly constitutes "its own object -- the savage, the primitive, the Other" (1).*

*The role of natural history, and later of evolutionary science, is as crucial to the understanding of time as it is to the understanding of place in eighteenth-century travel literature. Evolutionary theory placed the natural world (as Western history, philosophy, and religion had placed the social world) on a time line, via the "Geological Time" of Lyell and Darwin. As part of this process, the non-European peoples who had already been associated with (locked into, perhaps) the realm of nature rather than that of culture were seen by Europeans, in a naturalised, universalised conception of Time, as "reflections of us as we once were," to borrow W. Arens' phrase (19). On such an evolutionary time-line, "given societies of all times and places [could] be plotted in terms of relative distance from the present" moment of the defining subject, that is to say from the current Western metropolis (Fabian 26).*

*Anthropology [thus] contributed above all to the intellectual justification of the colonial enterprise. It gave to politics and economics -- both concerned with human Time -- a firm belief in 'natural,' i.e., evolutionary Time. It promoted a scheme in terms of which not only past cultures, but all living societies were irrevocably placed on a temporal slope, a stream of Time -- some upstream, some downstream. Civilization, evolution, development, acculturation, modernization, (and their cousins, industrialization and urbanization) are all terms whose conceptual content derives, in ways that can be specified, from evolutionary Time. (Fabian 17)*

*Although evolutionary ideas of Time have been largely discarded by anthropology, Fabian argues, their legacy survives in the continued (popular) use of such concepts as 'civilisation' and 'primitive.' In similar fashion, the legacy of natural history is obvious in the practice of "distancing and separation" necessary to produce classifications and taxonomies. In short, "what makes the savage significant in the evolutionist's Time is that he lives in another Time" (27). What is most peculiar about this notion (which informs nearly all understanding of the so-called primitive) is that although the anthropologist and the anthropological object, the Other, meet in a shared time and space, in anthropological discourse the Other occupies the past. Fabian calls this supreme distancing in time the "denial of coevalness . . . a persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse," that is, in the past (Fabian 31). Thus it is that travelling among anthropological Others -- non-European peoples -- amounts not only to travelling in space, but also to travelling in, back through, time. A late eighteenth-century French traveller, J. M. Degerando, expressed this idea clearly in his Observation of Savage Peoples, published in 1800: "The philosophical traveller, sailing to the ends of the earth, is in fact travelling in time: he is exploring the past: every step he makes is the passage of an age'" (qtd. in Fabian 7). Such an understanding of the moment of encounter in time has profound implications for an understanding of movement through space as well.*

### **Systema Naturae to Cook at Nootka Sound**

A Linnaean specimen entry begins with the generic name, then offers the 'specific differential character,' the elements of the plant that distinguish it from others in the genus. A third part is the trivial name, which, with the generic name, makes up the two Latin names that are entered in the lists. A fourth part is the plant's habitat, and last is a brief description or annotation, or synonyms, often with references to earlier systems or illustrations of the plant in question. (Regis 20)

Linnaeus' first published work, the *Systema Naturae* (1735) carried a broadside "beginning *Caroli Linnaei, Sveci, Methodus*" [figure 2.3] as an insert in many copies of the first edition which was reprinted in later editions (Stearn, "Four" 75). This *Methodus*, Stearn argues, represents "the ideal behind the *Species Planatarum* and cognate works" as taxonomies: by noting names, theory, genus, species, attributes, uses and literature -- in short all relevant data -- this method should allow for an authoritative, fixed and above all scholarly/scientific identification of the natural object under scrutiny (Stearn, "Four" 75). The twentieth-century translator of this document, Karl P. Schmidt, noted "that 'to a surprising degree, Linnaeus's instructions for the descriptions and classification of the three kingdoms of nature represent good modern practice for the adequate description of newly discriminated species of plants, animals, or minerals'" (qtd. in Stearn, "Four" 75). In consequence, both the form and the content of travel writing were transformed, as Pratt argues in *Imperial Eyes*:

Descriptions of flora and fauna were not in themselves new to travel writing. On the contrary, they had been conventional components of travel books since at least the sixteenth century. However, they were typically structured as appendices or formal digressions from the narrative. With the founding of the global classificatory project, on the other hand, the observing and cataloguing of nature itself became narratable. It could constitute a series of events, or even produce a plot. It could form the main storyline of an entire account. (27-8)

Natural history moves from a supporting (as appendices, formal digressions) to a central role in travel and exploration narratives, signifying a shift in the focus of discovery as a knowledge-building endeavour from new territories to their constitutive elements. However, much of the material presented remains the same, as the *Methodus* reveals. The difference between sixteenth and seventeenth-century travel literature produced to encourage colonisation of the new world and Section 6 of the *Methodus*, which establishes the use-value of the object under scrutiny, is one of degree rather than quality. It is as if the central image for this project of exploration and discovery has changed from a map with blank spaces (denoting unknown, uncharted territory) to a microscope. As

## THE METHOD OF CHARLES LINNAEUS, THE SWEDE,

by which the Physiologist [we should write zoologist, botanist, or geologist] can accurately and successfully put together the history of [i.e. the data concerning] each and every natural object, which method is contained in the following paragraphs.

### I. NAMES

1. Give the selected *name*, both generic and specific, of the author, if already described, or give a name oneself [if a new description is required].
2. List the *synonyms* of all the important systematists.
3. List as far as possible the synonyms of all the older or more recent [non-technical] authors.
4. Give the vernacular name, also translated into Latin.
5. List the names given by various peoples, especially the Greek names.
6. State the *etymology* of all generic names (1-5).

### II. THEORY

7. Discuss the classification as to *classes* and *orders* according to different systems.
8. State the *genera* to which the object in question has been assigned by various systematists (7).

### III. GENUS

9. Give an account of the *natural characters*, with a list of all possible characteristic features.
10. Give the *essential characters*, pointing out the most distinguishing features.
11. Set forth also *artificial characters* in order to distinguish the genera treated as units in the system (7).
12. Explain the *erroneous* ideas ['hallucinations'] of the authors discussed under (8) in the light of (9).
13. Establish the *natural* genus (9).
14. The name of the genus (13), as selected (I),\* is to be confirmed, and it is to be stated why other names are rejected.

### IV. SPECIES

15. A detailed *description* of the object is to be given, based on all its external parts.
16. All the known *species* of the proposed genus (13) are to be listed.
17. All the *differences* between the proposed species (I) and the ones listed (16) are to be set forth (15).
18. The important *differences* shall then be retained, and the others rejected.

19. The specific *differentia* [is to be settled] with [an exposition of] the reason for what has been done until the naturalist has fully accounted for every word in it. [In the light of later editions, "The naturalist will then compose the *differentia specifica* of his object and give the reasons for what he has done."]

20. All the *variations* of the proposed species, as described by the authors quoted, are to be set forth.

21. These *variations* are to be subordinated to the species to which they naturally belong, with the reason for the action proposed under paragraph (15).

### V. ATTRIBUTES

22. Include what is known about the *season* of birth, growth, and maturity, with mode of breeding and of birth or hatching, old age, and death.
23. State the *locality*, giving the geographic region and political province.
24. Give the latitude and longitude.
25. Describe the climate and soil.
26. Give an account of the diet, habits and temperament.
27. Describe the anatomy of the body, particularly any remarkable features, together with a microscopic examination.

### VI. USES

28. List the *economic uses*, actual and possible, among various peoples.
29. State *dietary uses*, with the effects on the human body.
30. State the *physical uses*, with the mode of operation and constituent elements.
31. State the *chemical uses* according to the constituent substances from analysis.
32. State the *medical uses*, in which diseases, and with what results, according to reason and experience.
33. Give the *pharmaceutical information*, as to what parts are used, method of preparation, and composition.
34. Give directions for *medical use*, with emphasis on the best method, dosage, and necessary precautions.

### VII. LITERATURE

35. The collector, with time and place, is to be noted.
36. Amusing and pleasing *historical traditions* are to be reported.
37. Empty *superstitions* are to be rejected.
38. Selected *poetic* references are to be cited.

FIGURE 2.3 *The Method of Charles Linnaeus, the Swede* . . . . Reproduced from Stearn, *Species Plantarum*, vol. 2., pp. 75-80.

a result, science -- particularly but not exclusively natural history -- becomes its own justification, and knowledge, as much as the book containing it, becomes a project. This is obvious in the case of circumnavigation, "a double deed that consists of sailing round the world and then writing an account (the term 'circumnavigation' refers either to the voyage or the book)" (Pratt *IE* 29), as well as in the case of 'voyage,' both the activity of Cook's exploration and the title of the account of that exploration.

*A Digression, concerning (Mapping) Space*

*Contrary to previous centuries of exploration of such romantic proportions as the discovery of strange and unfamiliar lands, where any marvel or monstrosity from Amazons to dogs with human heads might be found, or the search for a trade route to the East, with such glamorous luxuries as spices, tea, and silk, exploration in the eighteenth century was somewhat more prosaic. Characterised (for England) primarily by the figure of Cook, the romance and glamour of exploring -- or better yet, of discovering -- Terra Incognita was replaced by scientific exactitude and measurement: by the time of Cook's death, the outlines of all the continents were more or less established. In addition to the somewhat reduced glory of circumnavigating (as opposed to discovering) new continents such as Australia, Cook made known to Europeans many islands in the Pacific Ocean which now appear as very small dots on maps. This is not to say that Cook, with the attention to detail that made England's victory in the Seven Years' War attributable in part to his careful charting of the St. Lawrence, was such a stickler for detail that he could not see the larger picture. On the contrary, on each of his voyages he sought the large and overwhelming discovery, only to negate it: the second and third voyages produced negative results, disproving the existence of a Southern Continent as well as that of a Northwest Passage.*

*It is easy to be seduced by the apparent geographical truth of the maps produced by Cook's voyages; the critical mind may be appeased by the negative findings and Cook's methodology, more scientific than that of his predecessors, or that of the so-called 'closet geographers' in England, who could assert with all the confidence of ignorance the certain existence of a Northwest Passage or a Southern Continent.<sup>8</sup> Cook's maps and charts may not be as accurate as those of the young George Vancouver (who commanded an expedition to the northwest coast of North America fifteen years after he had been there with Cook and charted it with such accuracy that his maps remained the standard for the next hundred years or so). However, the maps his voyages produced were more precise than the material available to Cook himself. "The history of cartography is largely that of the increase in the accuracy with which these elements of distance and direction are determined and in the comprehensiveness of the map content" (Crone xi). However, the history of cartography can also be described as one of the changing attitudes and perceptions which affect the perception or representation of geographical elements. In the world maps of classical Greece, for example,*

*a general principle which governed much Greek thinking then entered into the delineation of the map – namely, the symmetry of nature. Features north of the axis must be balanced by similar features to the South . . . . This principle was applied further afield; the Nile being thought to flow from its upper course from west to east, the unknown upper course of the Ister was made to do likewise. Emphasis on this point is necessary, for it strongly influenced later ideas on the earth's configuration. Ptolemy probably conceived his enclosed Indian Ocean as a counterpart of the Mediterranean. The frame of the world map continued to be circular, and, for the Greeks, centered at Delphi – assumptions which the philosophers often derided. (Crone 17)*

*Far from being a documentary of known facts about the world they represent graphically, maps are marked by their producers' points of view and assumptions governing intellectual as well as physical space. In his History of Cartography, Leo Bagrow asserts that "the variety of map forms is governed by the medium in which they are prepared" apparently a simple description or statement of fact (26). While this is to be taken for granted about European*

*maps, the same neutral assessment evidently does not apply to the maps of non-Europeans: on the same page, Bagrow asserts that "primitive peoples . . . know nothing of abstract maps, conventional generalisation, or data of a general level. They cannot comprehend a large area solely by applying general considerations. They cannot portray the world, or even visualise it in their minds" (26).*

*In any analysis of early maps, the role of the compilers, engravers and printers, and cosmographers (who "often interpreted or applied the results obtained by explorers to fit into preconceived opinions" [Crone xiii]) must be taken into account. However, later maps have their ideological biases as well, both depending upon and shaping their makers' and audiences' perceptions of the world. The Mercator Projection provides a case in point [figure 2.4]. Named for the sixteenth-century geographer who solved a crucial problem of practical navigation, "the representation of constant bearings (loxodromes) as straight lines on a chart," this projection of the world flattens the globe by cutting it into non-continuous land and ocean masses (Crone 111). It does so in order to allow lines of longitude, which converge at the poles, to be represented as straight lines as unproblematically as are parallel circles of latitude. The resulting distortion is both geographical and ideological: the northern orientation of a Mercator map gives precedence to land masses north of the equator, making them appear proportionately larger than those south of the equator. While any map projection -- which essentially renders a three-dimensional object, the earth, in two-dimensional form -- will inevitably be distorted, the assumptions underlining the popular Mercator Projection indicate the greater importance accorded the area north of the Equator, the so-called First World, relative to those south of it, generally the so-called Third or Developing World (thus the term "projection" also functions as a pun). These are twentieth-century issues, perhaps, and ought not to be imported backwards into the eighteenth, Cook's time. However, present-day*

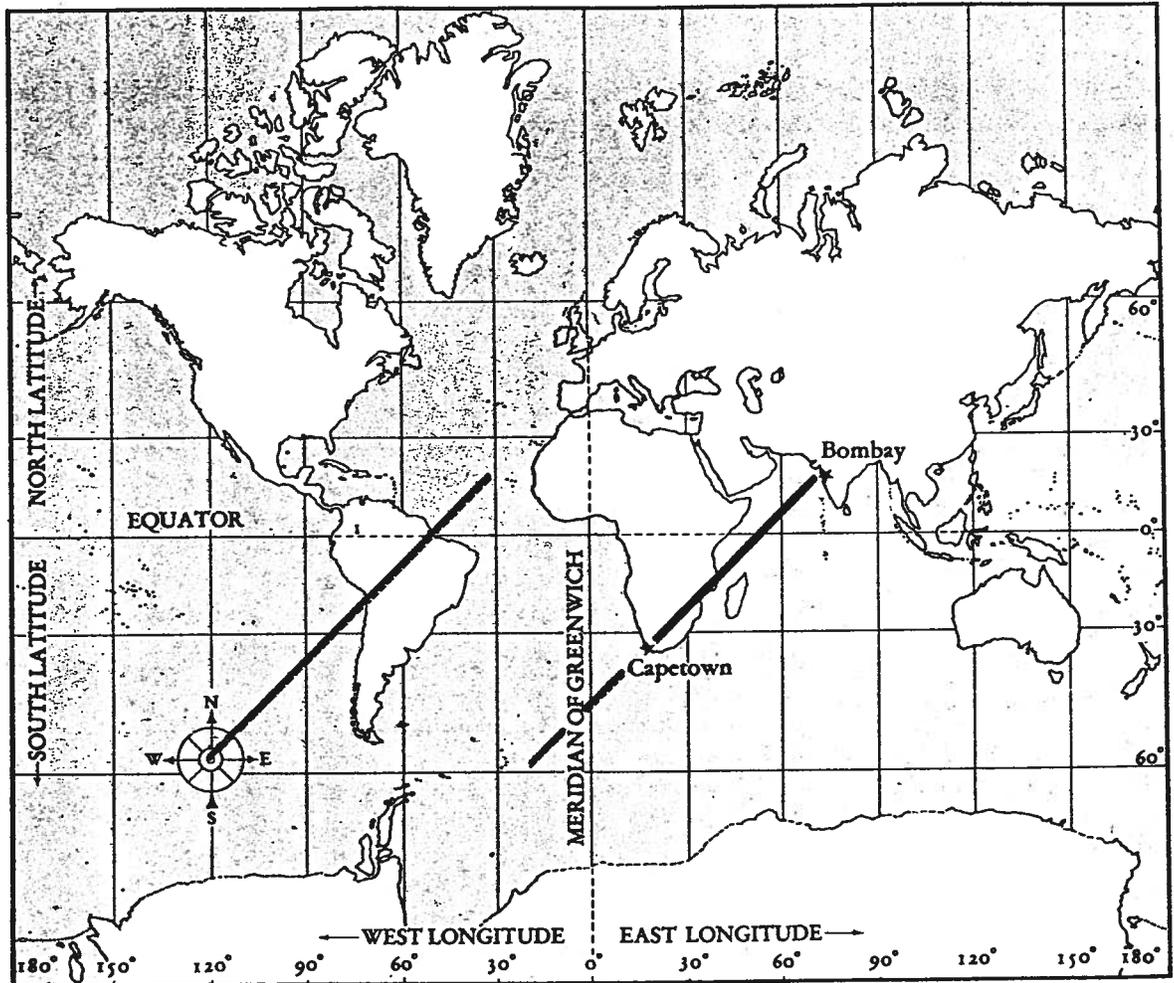


FIGURE 2.4 Mercator Projection, showing loxodromes as straight lines and the resulting distortion of areas away from the Equator. In particular, areas north of the Equator appear considerably larger, while those south of it are proportionately smaller: for example, although Greenland and Mexico are approximately the same size, Greenland appears several times larger here. Reproduced from Porter W. McDonnell, Jr., *Introduction to Map Projections*, (New York and Basel: Marcel Dekker, 1979), fig. 6-2, p. 70.

*attitudes have their roots in the past; much of the world south of the Equator was first encountered by those north of it because of Cook.*

In Douglas' edition of Cook's journal, the discourse of natural history can be seen in the occasional use of binomial labels and other Latin plant and animal names, as well as in specific reference to Linnaeus. Although Douglas does not follow the Linnaean *Methodus* in all its scientific exactitude, he does provide descriptions which compare the object under scrutiny with its known counterpart, usually European but sometimes from the South Pacific, noting differences more particularly than similarities; and he tries to locate it in the lists relative to other known types, often providing footnotes to support his claims. For example, Douglas notes of the deer-skins traded by the Nootka that they "were scarcer [than bear-skins], and they seem to belong to that sort called the fallow-deer by the historians of Carolina; though Mr. Pennant thinks it quite a different species from ours, and distinguishes it by the name of Virginian deer," providing the footnote to Pennant's text for the benefit of readers interested in pursuing the question -- or, better yet, for those learned readers already familiar with Pennant's work (Douglas II, 293).

As always in Douglas' edition, textual authority is questionable: it is necessary to compare specific passages with their counterparts in Beaglehole's edition before making any claims regarding Cook's use of Linnaean methodology.

The trees which chiefly compose the woods, are the Canadian pine, white cypress, *cypressus thyoides*, the wild pine, with two or three other sorts of pine less common. The two first make up almost two-thirds of the whole; and, at a distance, might be mistaken for the same tree; as they both run up into pointed spire-like tops; but they are easily distinguished on coming nearer, from their colour; the cypress being of a much paler green, or shade, than the other. The trees, in general, grow with great vigour, and are all of a large size. (Douglas II, 291)

In this passage, the Linnaean name halts the descriptive flow of the observing eye moving across the forest; it halts and fixes the narrative (as indeed it is meant to fix meaning).<sup>9</sup> The passage in Beaglehole's edition is considerably shorter:

The land bordering upon the Sea coast is of a middling hieght [*sic*] and level, but about the Sound it consi[s]ts of high hills and deep Vallies, for the most part cloathed with large timbers, such as Spruce fir and white Cedar.\* (Beaglehole III:1, 309)<sup>10</sup>

At that last word, "Cedar," however, Beaglehole provides a footnote bristling with Linnaean nomenclature:

'our Botanist found here the Sipherous wood in great plenty.' --Edgar, f. 152v. -- Cook's 'Spruce fir', the European 'Norway Spruce', *Picea excelsa*, is perhaps here the White Spruce, *Picea glauca*. 'White Cedar' must be the 'white cypress, *cypressus thyoides*' (*Cupressus thyoides* Linn.) of *Voyage*, II, p. 291, and is the Yellow Cypress or Cedar, *Chamaecyparis nootkatensis*. It was earlier known as *Cupressus nootkatensis*. (Beaglehole III:1, 309)

It seems that Beaglehole's footnote makes greater use of Linnaean labels than do Cook's journals, and that Douglas is again engaged in supplementing -- without attribution -- Cook's account with material from other sources, either the logs of the other officers or other works entirely.

In its account of birds of the Sound, Douglas' edition specifically mentions Linnaeus.

There are also some [birds], which, I believe, are not mentioned, or at least vary, very considerable, from the accounts given of them by any writers who have treated professedly on this part of natural history. The two first of these are *species* of wood-peckers. One less than a thrush, of a black colour above, with white spots on the wings, a crimson head, neck and breast, with a yellowish olive-colour [*sic*] belly; from which last circumstance it might, perhaps, not improperly be called the yellow-bellied wood-pecker. The other is a larger, and much more elegant bird, of a dusky brown colour, on the upper part, richly waved with black, except about the head; the belly of a reddish cast, with round black spots; a black spot on the breast; and the under-side of the wings and tail of a plain scarlet colour though blackish above; with a crimson streak running from the angle of the mouth, a little down the neck on each side. The third and fourth, are a small bird of the finch kind, about the size of a linnet, of a dark dusky colour, whitish below, with a black head and neck, and white bill; and a sand-piper, of the size of a small pigeon, of a dusky brown colour, and white below, except the throat and breast, with a broad white band across the wings. There are also humming-birds; which yet seem to difer [*sic*] from the numerous sorts of this delicate animal already known, unless they be a mere variety of the *trochilus*

*colubris* of Linnaeus. These, perhaps, inhabit more to the Southward, and spread Northward as the season advances; because we saw none at first, though, near the time of our departure, the natives brought them to the ships in great numbers. (Douglas II, 297)

Although it fulfills the *Methodus*' requirement for detailed description, this lengthy passage from Douglas is conspicuous in its failure to give Linnaean (that is to say, scientific) names and labels to these species, presumably variations on those already named. However, perhaps this failure is not so surprising when the passage is compared to the same moment in Beaglehole's edition.

Of land Birds we saw but few, nor are Water Fowl in any great plenty and all sorts except ravens and crows\* were extremely shy and fearfull, probably from being often hunted by the inhabitants. Amongst the land birds is a very beautiful humming [*sic*] bird, amongst the Water Fowl are Swans\*. . . . (Beaglehole III:1, 309-10)

Again, the footnote at "Swans" provides the Latin binomials for the birds in question. As usual, Douglas' description is several times longer than Cook's, but more curious than the difference in length is the fact that Beaglehole, more than either Douglas or Cook, feels compelled to provide the Linnaean names to identify the species found at Nootka Sound. Often, he does so in footnotes which follow the Linnaean *Methodus* more clearly than the passage they annotate -- so that the form in which this material is presented, the scholarly appendage, as well as the content (names, theory, genus, species, attributes), solidifies the impression of a scientific text of a scientific expedition. The effect is a reification of the "science" of Cook's voyage and of Beaglehole's edition, and therefore of an agreeable expansion (*dulce et utile*) of European knowledge.

### **"Inhabitants their Persons and Habits"<sup>11</sup>**

Just when it seems that natural historical discourses are not quite as crucial -- or indeed as scientific -- in the journal of Cook's scientific voyages as might be expected, whether in Beaglehole's edition or in Douglas,' the narrative turns to a variation on this theme: ethnography. The native

inhabitants of Nootka Sound are subsumed under the general narrative heading "products of the country," coming immediately after minerals, with only a paragraph break to signal the switch in Douglas' account. That more is not made of this transition is puzzling, since fully half of the account of the month at Nootka Sound is devoted to an ethnographic description of the Nootka, beginning with their "persons," in Douglas' edition. Unlike Douglas' edition, which uses paragraph breaks to signal changes in topic, Beaglehole's text develops the narrative by using the classificatory norms of science; Beaglehole highlights changes in ethnographic subject matter with headings such as "*Animals*," "*Inhabitants their Persons and Habits*," "*Manufacture*," and "*Ornaments, Songs*" in the margins of the text (Beaglehole III:1, 309, 311, 312, 314, 315).

In the ethnographic accounts of the inhabitants of Nootka Sound, the scientific discourses of natural history come most fully into play and the Linnaean *Methodus* is most fully achieved. The Nootka (of whom Cook said "Were I to affix a name to the people of Nootka, as a distinct nation, I would call them *Wakashians*; from the word *Wakash*, which was very frequently in their mouths" [Douglas II, 337]), as much as their material culture or their physical environment, are treated as "natural objects," as "just another type of natural production." (Regis states that such treatment is characteristic of natural historical discourses in the new world). In Douglas' edition, far more footnotes and scholarly or scientific additions append descriptions of the people than descriptions of the area's animals, vegetables, and minerals. A discussion of their hair, or more properly the Nootka's lack of facial and body hair, provides the editor with an opportunity to footnote what seems an extraordinarily long (most of one page) discussion of, to paraphrase Swift, "a General History of Beards among Americans."<sup>12</sup> A description of facial hair among the Nootka introduces this learned digression:

They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin; which does not arise from any natural defect of hair

on that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers, or mustachios; both on the upper lip, and running from thence toward the lower jaw obliquely downward.\* Their eye-brows are also scanty, and always narrow; but the hair of the head is in great abundance . . . . (Douglas II, 301-2)

Plainly, further inquiry is necessary to explain this state of affairs -- why should these people have an abundance of hair upon their heads, but very little upon their faces? (This discrepancy went unnoticed by Cook, according to Beaglehole's edition, as well as by the other officers whose comments on hair are footnoted at this juncture [Beaglehole III:1, 311].) Douglas's footnote provides an explanation, with reference to no less than four other sources, M. de Paw's *Recherches sur les Americains*, William Robertson's *History of America* (published in 1777 by Strahan and Cadell, the London publishers of Douglas' edition), Jonathan Carver's *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America* (1778), and Marsden's *History of Sumatra* (Douglas II, 302).<sup>13</sup> These works not only treat different areas of North America, but also refer to Mexico and Sumatra, other parts of the world entirely. By invoking them, Douglas highlights the breadth of knowledge which informs the text of Cook's *Voyage*, as if establishing the Genus and Species of the Nootka by noting their similarities to, and differences from, not only Europeans -- and that comparison is always at least implicit -- but other new world peoples, according to the Linnaean *Methodus*. Such a comparison between cultural groups as specimens of natural history, however, has an essentialising and ultimately dehumanising effect. As Stepan has argued, the result of such typologies "was to give 'a mental abstraction an independent reality', to make it real or 'reify' the idea of racial type when in fact the type was a social construct which scientists then treated as though it were in fact 'in nature'" (Stepan xviii).

The footnote on beards itself depicts some of the bizarre positions that ethnographic discourse creates in its attempt to determine, or posit, meaning in particular practices. It begins with the assertion that

one of the most curious singularities in the natural history of the human species, is the supposed defect in the habit and temperature of the bodies of the American Indians, exemplified in their having no beards, while they are furnished with a profusion of hair on their heads. (Douglas II, 302)

Then the footnote ends with a quotation from *Marsden's History of Sumatra* in which the author "must confess, that it would remove some small degree of doubt from my mind, could it be ascertained that no such custom [the plucking or tweezing of hair] prevails" (Douglas II, 302). What better proof of scientific credibility could be offered than such a lengthy, considered, and annotated discussion of a matter as apparently trivial as the presence or absence of beards? Less attention is paid to colour in Douglas' edition:

Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were incrustated with paint and dirt; though, in particular cases, when these were rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans; though rather of that pale, effete cast which distinguishes those of our Southern nations. (Douglas II, 303)

Here the connection to Swift's *Tale of a Tub* becomes clear: the satiric context of the list of the Grub Street hack's other self-important literary endeavours leaves no doubt that *A General History of Ears*, like *A Modest Defense of the Proceedings of the Rabble in all Ages*, is ridiculous. In the context of travel writing or explorers' accounts of the new world, however, no detail regarding the peculiar or exotic nature of the inhabitants is too minute to escape notice and (pseudo) scientific consideration. (In a later section, describing the "extravagant masquerade ornaments" of masks and skin costumes covering the entire person, Douglas remarks in a footnote that this "reflection in the text may furnish the admirers of Herodotus, in particular, with an excellent apology for some of his wonderful tales of this sort" [Douglas II, 307].) The new world, in short, is the appropriate field for such ethnographic fieldwork, and, once again, knowledge is cumulative: Douglas' text presents itself as participating in a scholarly tradition simultaneously progressing beyond and sanctified by its illustrious Classical precedent.

But these comments apply to Douglas' edition, and I have made much of the discrepancies between the first published edition and Beaglehole's scholarly edition of 1967, which presents, as usual, a much different perspective on Cook's perspective on the question of hair.

Their hair is black or dark brown, straight, strong and long, in general they wear it flowing, but some tie it up in a bunch on the crown and others twist it into large locks and add to it false hair, so that thier [*sic*] heads looks [*sic*] like a swab. But when they are full drissed [*sic*], they powder their [hair] with the white down of birds, which for the most part they carry about with them in thier [*sic*] Canoes, either in a box or bag.\* Some have pretty large and long beards and others very little, the difference proceeds from their plucking more or less out of it. (Beaglehole III:1, 311-2)

Aside from a general disregard for consistent spelling and syntactic agreement, this passage reveals a focus not on theories regarding immutable characteristics of 'nature,' but instead on the external, observable aspects attributable to culture. The scientific method here consists of the scholarly apparatus providing corroboration in the form of supplementary observation from another source, which serves to establish not the credibility or truth-claim of Cook's narrative, but the scholarly credibility of Beaglehole's text.

This treatment of facial hair, however different in focus, simultaneously reveals what Douglas and Beaglehole have in common: "a very familiar, widespread, and stable form of 'othering.' The people to be othered are homogenized into a collective 'they,' which is distilled even further in an iconic 'he' (the standardized adult male specimen)" (Pratt, "Scratches" 139). Presumably this account of beards applies only to the men, yet the unqualified 'they' gives no indication that the crucial question of hair and hairlessness and the methods of hair removal applies only to men -- until a new paragraph in Douglas' edition signals that this is indeed the case:

The women are nearly of the same size, colour, and form, with the men; from whom it is not easy to distinguish them, as they possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable; and hardly any one was seen, even amongst those who were in the prime of life, who had the least pretensions to be called handsome. (Douglas II, 303)

In one sentence, Douglas summarises the appearance of Nootka women (in contrast to the two long paragraphs in the footnote concerning beards). The description of the women in Beaglehole's edition provides more specific details about their appearance:

And they as also all others who visited us are, both men and Women, of a small Stature, some, Women in particular, very much so and hardly one, even of the younger sort, had the least pretensions to being call'd beauties. Their face is rather broad and flat, with highish Cheek bones and plump cheeks. (Beaglehole III:1, 311)

In this comment, the women may be seen alternatively as sandwiched between general comments about the universal male, or as referred to specifically. The difference in reading depends upon the assumed antecedent of the pronoun "their": does it refer back to the women and thus continue talking about them, or instead refer further back to the presumed universality of male experience? Beaglehole's footnotes tend to support the latter view, and suggest that the pronouns are being used as if gendered. "They" refers always to the general, or male (as in the French 'ils'), while references to the women will always be specific, referring to their difference from the men.<sup>14</sup>

As is often the case, Beaglehole's footnotes reveal more than the main text, as this example, a rather lengthy comment from Bayly on the subject of the women's appearance, demonstrates:

'The women appeared to be much less in stature than the men, not so well featured having high cheake bones & otherwise very ordinary--which together with them being smeared over with grease & dirt rendered them not very desirable but rather the reverse--so that our Seamen seemed quite easy about them. Indeed some of the officers whose stomachs were less Dillicate purchased the favours of some of them, but at a high price to what was generally given at any other place we have been at, for the men seemed rather unwilling to let them out except for something they wanted, which they could not otherwise get at, & even this was practised only among the lower class of them. The better sort would not hear anything of the kind.' With which compare Samwell, p. 1095 below. (Beaglehole III:1, 311)

The reference to Samwell puts a rather different spin on Bayly's account, since the account of the ship's surgeon (in part two of Beaglehole's third volume) describes in much greater detail the sexual traffic between the ships and the people of Nootka Sound (the men, as Bayly notes, negotiating with

the Englishmen wishing to purchase the favours of Nootka women). Indeed, Samwell's account of the "ceremony of purification," the bathing of young women aboard ship as a prelude to sexual encounter, clarifies a rather oblique statement made by Cook above, that "in particular cases, when [paint and dirt] were rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans." Thus the women of Nootka Sound are either invisible in the text (and in the context of their society to the Englishmen aboard the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*) or present, visible, only as sexual beings.

*A Digression, concerning Sexual Politics*

*Peter Hulme argues that this invisibility of women except in a sexual context is part of the process by which the whole enterprise of European encounter with the new world is sexualised: "the novelty of America was always perceived in overtly sexual terms. To speak of the 'maidenhead' of Guiana or Virginia was to condense into one potent image the absence of significant native agriculture and the joyful masculine thrust of Elizabethan expansion" [see figure 2.5] (158-9). Whether that "thrust" is made by a King or the representatives of a Virgin Queen (in the sixteenth century),*

*the cosiness of this colonial romance is inevitably distorted by the unfortunate presence of the other parties who were there beforehand and who could only be seen as, at best, recalcitrant fathers or brothers holding back the love-match, at worst already the husbandry to the 'virgin' land. This then was the classical colonial triangle . . . . (Hulme 159)*

*Hulme identifies a discursive method by which the claims of these husbands, fathers, and brothers to America, personified as a woman (and therefore, by extension, by native women and their sexual favours<sup>15</sup>), are negated via tropes marking the natives -- generalised as male -- as savage in some way. He develops his analysis using Samuel Purchas' representation of the so-called Jamestown Massacre of 1622.*



FIGURE 2.5 *America*, engraving by Jan van der Straet (Stradanus) (c. 1600). Reproduced from Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (New York: Methuen, 1986), fig. 1, p. xii.

Not only can the 'virgin' land be savagely raped by its own natives . . . , but the blood thereby spilt on to its (posterior?) cheeks is that of the English colonies themselves, which are, in the process, identified with the Virginia that has been ravished . . . . the 'massacre' has performed a miraculous reversal by which the settlers have become the natural inhabitants -- identified with the land -- and the original inhabitants have been discursively 'spewed out' by their own territories. (Hulme 160)

*Europeans deployed the trope of savagery to disestablish the territorial claim of native peoples and to establish (simultaneously and consequently) a European claim to possession on the basis of assumed moral worth: Englishmen will be better husbands to both the native women and the land personified as female and thus deserve to replace the unworthy (because savage) native men.<sup>16</sup>*

*This "colonial triangle," the sexualisation of the European encounter with new worlds in order to establish a European right to ownership (according to European values and laws), also explains a somewhat ambiguous phrase in Douglas' comment about the colour of the Nootka. He describes their colour, when washed, as white, like that of Europeans, but not like the English. More particularly, the Nootka are "of that pale, effete cast which distinguishes those of our Southern nations." Eighteenth-century English literature is replete with references to the supposed effeminacy of southern Europeans, full of images of mincing "frogs" and Italian dancing-masters who highlight, by contrast, the full-blooded, often proudly uncouth masculinity of the English. As B.R. Burg notes in his study of homosexuality among English pirates in the seventeenth century,*

*Effeminate characteristics . . . were usually ascribed to the hated Spanish, and lumped in with other unpirately qualities such as cowardice and passivity. 'But we may confidently presume that these American Spanyolds are idle, cowardly, and effeminate people, not exercised, nor brought up, in Warlike discipline,' observed one Englishman. (Burg 170)*

*Misogynist assumptions about women cross over racial and cultural lines, metaphorically extending English superiority and dominance by imaging other groups as female to the English male.*

*Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's point about shifting class and gender landscapes, in her discussion of Laurence Sterne's Sentimental Journey, bears mentioning here. Throughout that work, the English traveler Yorick's most significant and enduring relationship is with his French man-servant, LaFleur, whose dependent status enables Yorick to enjoy the pleasures of benevolence as well as those of his economic and educational privilege. Although Yorick envisions this master-servant bond as one of (his own) paternalistic care, LaFleur encourages and advises him in his pursuit of Madame de L\*\*\*, thus inverting (at least occasionally) the terms of the father-son dynamic.*

Yorick is [continually] playing the peasant man [LaFleur] and the aristocratic woman [Madame de L\*\*\*] off against one another . . . . Without releasing LaFleur from his infantilized role of 'poor' incompetent [and dependent], Yorick is nevertheless at the same time submitting to his erotic advisement, making LaFleur his mentor/father is a complicit relation to the capture of the desired woman. By involving LaFleur in the plot, not bracketing his lower-class associations but emphasizing and insisting on them, Yorick is also implicitly reducing -- even insulting -- Madame de L\*\*\*, of whom he has till now been rather frightened. (Sedgwick 71)

*Madame de L\*\*\*'s status as an aristocratic woman reminds Yorick of the need to confirm both his position of superiority to LaFleur, his man-servant, and their common bond, as men, against women. Yorick's "paternalistic care" of the child/servant LaFleur, like his perception of the pastoral life of aged patriarchs as idyllic, picturesque, and above all distant, demonstrates a caring bond between men -- unlike the "consanguinity" he feels with nameless servant-class women, which inevitably leads to bed (Sedgwick 72).*

*Although Sedgwick argues that "each group [that is, peasants and women] is viewed in a way that makes it singularly susceptible to being read through a fantasy of the personal, a fantasy of the middle-class male person" (72), the consequences of this "imaginative expropriation" are more serious for women than they are for peasant groups (which are always presided over, for Yorick, by a man): "if not personal servants, [women of the working classes] are vendors of personal linen, or of gloves, or precisely of sexual services" (73). (Of course,*

*the most telling image of a male world united across class in dangerous pursuit of the unprotected woman -- unprotected by status or family as well as by cultural values and ideologies -- from eighteenth-century fiction is Pamela, in Samuel Richardson's novel of that name [1740-2].) The traveler -- the person -- is necessarily male: "for an Englishman (or in our century, an American) to travel for pleasure -- especially to poor areas or countries -- is to requisition whole societies in the service of fantasy needs. This is perhaps especially true of sexual fantasy" (Sedgwick 73).*

*Sedgwick's discussion of Sterne's novel presents the male traveler's narrative as a genre which necessarily functions as a sex tour, reifying homosocial male bonds through sexual relations between women and men as well as through social relations of dominance and submission between men. In scientific travel narratives such as Cook's Voyages, the traffic in women remains relatively invisible (at least in official versions); however, assumptions of European superiority (on the part of readers if not on the part of Cook, his officers, and crew) and the very notion of trade relations locate indigenous traders (presumably, men) in insubordinate positions, as servants or merchants offering goods and services to Englishmen. And the metaphor of effeminacy in the word "effete" relocates the men of Nootka Sound from the realm of manly endeavour and activity -- associated with such qualities as bravery, strength, and vitality -- to the female realm of softness, weakness, and indolence. Perhaps the focus on beardlessness in Douglas' edition gathers extra force as a result: that the faces of Nootka men (in contrast to the hairy or clean-shaven English) are as soft and smooth as those of women may confirm their effeteness. In the colonial love-triangle, this feminising of Nootka men removes them as potential threats to the English suitors no less effectively than the trope of savagery.*

*My analysis to this point, however, remains locked within heterosexual assumptions which need questioning. As Burg reminds me, homosexual acts if not identities were an accepted part of shipboard life on long oceanic voyages, which produced*

*an environment where homosexual preferences or the commission of homosexual acts were common, opportunities for heterosexual contacts were few or entirely absent, and there was little alternative to remaining [on board ship] . . . Under these circumstances, situational homosexual behavior was obviously a feature of life at sea for some just as it is a feature of any isolated and enduring male group, but it was only one facet of shipboard sexual activity. Most of the men who sailed aboard the Navy's ships were volunteers, and it is likely enough that the all-male atmosphere was the very feature of Royal Navy life that brought a portion of each ship's crew into His Majesty's service. For these men, the homosexuality they practiced was clearly a preference rather than an expedient. (53-4)*

*After all, in the eighteenth century, as the saying goes, it was "rum, sodomy, and the lash" that made the British Navy great.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the "repressive hypothesis" with which Foucault opens his *History of Sexuality* -- about the supposedly greater flexibility and fluidity of sexual possibilities before the codification of notions of sexual identity (firmly entrenched by the nineteenth century), is instructive here (11). It may be that in Cook's journals the word "effete" and the whole notion of beardlessness is meant to suggest boyishness and not just effeminacy<sup>18</sup> -- a process by which Nootka men as "other" could be constructed in terms of one kind of homoerotic attraction rather than heterosexual rivalry. This is the leap-off to a whole other sexual politic, about which, at this time, i can only speculate.*

### **On the Convergence of the Twain**

This feature of the scientific discourse of ethnography -- the erasure of women in every aspect of a society except their sexual role by the universalisation of male experience -- leads me back to the question of aesthetics. Although I began this chapter by treating science as a branch of learning distinct from, indeed in opposition to, art, the two discourses are not so easily differentiated from each

other in the text of Cook's journals. The textual treatment of the women of Nootka Sound exemplifies this interdependence. In Douglas' edition of the *Voyage*, the women merit one short paragraph comparing them to Nootka men and European women; the relation on both counts is one of inferiority. Their "persons," possessing neither "natural delicacies" nor "the least pretensions to being called handsome," fail to meet European standards of feminine beauty. Their invisibility in the text is clearly demonstrated in the relative weight Douglas accords the women in contrast to beards.

At the aesthetic or visual level, this female insignificance is represented in Webber's portraits of a Nootka man and a Nootka woman [figures 2.6 and 2.7], reproduced in Lionel Kearns' *Convergences* accompanied by the following meditation:

The manipulation of words and images on the page is the manipulation of audience, and you know who that is. Yet this is never done without a purpose. John Webber, in turning his sketches into engravings for publication with the authorized version of the voyage, removed the conical shaped cedar hat with the little bulb on top from the head of the Nootka man and put it on the head of the Nootka woman, though he had never seen a Nootka woman wearing a hat like that. Notice the woven images of the whales and the harpooners' canoes. It is a nobleman's hat. Webber has made the change for us, so that we may be able to view both the hat and the tattooed design on the man's forehead. Such textual liberties, even when taken by me, are entirely for your edification, I assure you. (n.p.)

The difference between 'to see' and 'to view' is crucial here: the verb "view" recalls the distancing effect of landscape appreciation. Perceived as tableau, landscape is something to look at rather than a place to be in. Similarly, viewing the particulars of the individuals in Webber's portraits establishes a distance between viewer and viewed, a relationship not of interaction but of observation. (Scientific naming sets up a similar distance: unlike Doctor Doolittle, who "talks with the animals," the scientist talks about them.) Presumably this woman is not tattooed, or if she is -- and I have no way of knowing -- her tattoos are considered to be of less consequence than those of the man whose hat she wears, since she has already been accounted for by the generalised male specimen.



FIGURE 2.6 *A Man of Nootka Sound*, by John Webber, c. 1781-3. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 114, p. 96.



FIGURE 2.7 *A Woman of Nootka Sound*, by John Webber, c. 1781-3. Reproduced from Joppin, plate 112, p. 94.

Webber in fact imported the nobleman's hat on the woman's head from his full-length portrait, *A Native prepared for Hunting* [figure 2.8]. The visual quotation of, or borrowing from, his own work reveals some of the problems of ethnographic discourse:

The title [*A Native prepared for Hunting*] seems to have been invented by the artist, and already spelt out in his Catalogue (no. 65), disagreeing with the fact that little or no hunting occurred during the ships' stay. The arrows and quiver carried by the Indian, however, may have given that impression. Of special interest is the basketry hat with a bulbous top decorated with a whaling scene. Hats of this kind were worn by chieftains when whaling. (Joppien 90)

The expectation of mimesis in ethnography as a scientific discourse breaks down: the totality of the drawing, image and title, presents Webber's assumptions as if they were documentary.

The original sketch of the woman wearing the nobleman's hat "had shown her wearing a hat with a flattened top [figure 2.9], Webber not knowing 'that only chiefs wore these hats'. This is the more ironic, since it was the ethnographic element that constituted the *raison d'être* for the engraved portraits" (Joppien 91-2). Joppien and Smith make the point that Webber added red water-colour to the face in *A Man of Nootka Sound* [figure 2.6] "to give the portrait more 'truth,'" that is, to corroborate the verbal descriptions; in the sketch of a different man [figure 2.10], "whose forehead was painted with wavy lines, Webber used black and red chalk effectively" (Joppien 92). Joppien and Smith apparently feel that the portraits of men convey ethnographic information more accurately, maybe as the result of the sexual politics affecting the contexts in which the portraits were developed. They suggest that the woman's "clean and bright" face, absent of any of the ochre markings described in the text, might be a result of the "ceremony of purification," or washing, that the sailors gave the Nootka women who came on board ship (Joppien 92). Perhaps that context -- prostitution and the corresponding demotion of the women so engaged from woman to object in European values -- affected Webber's decision to give the woman the hat with the bulbous instead of the flattened top. Perhaps, as Joppien and Smith suggest, the exchange was made because "the hat was not only a



FIGURE 2.8 *A Native prepared for Hunting*, by John Webber, April 1778. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 111, p. 93.

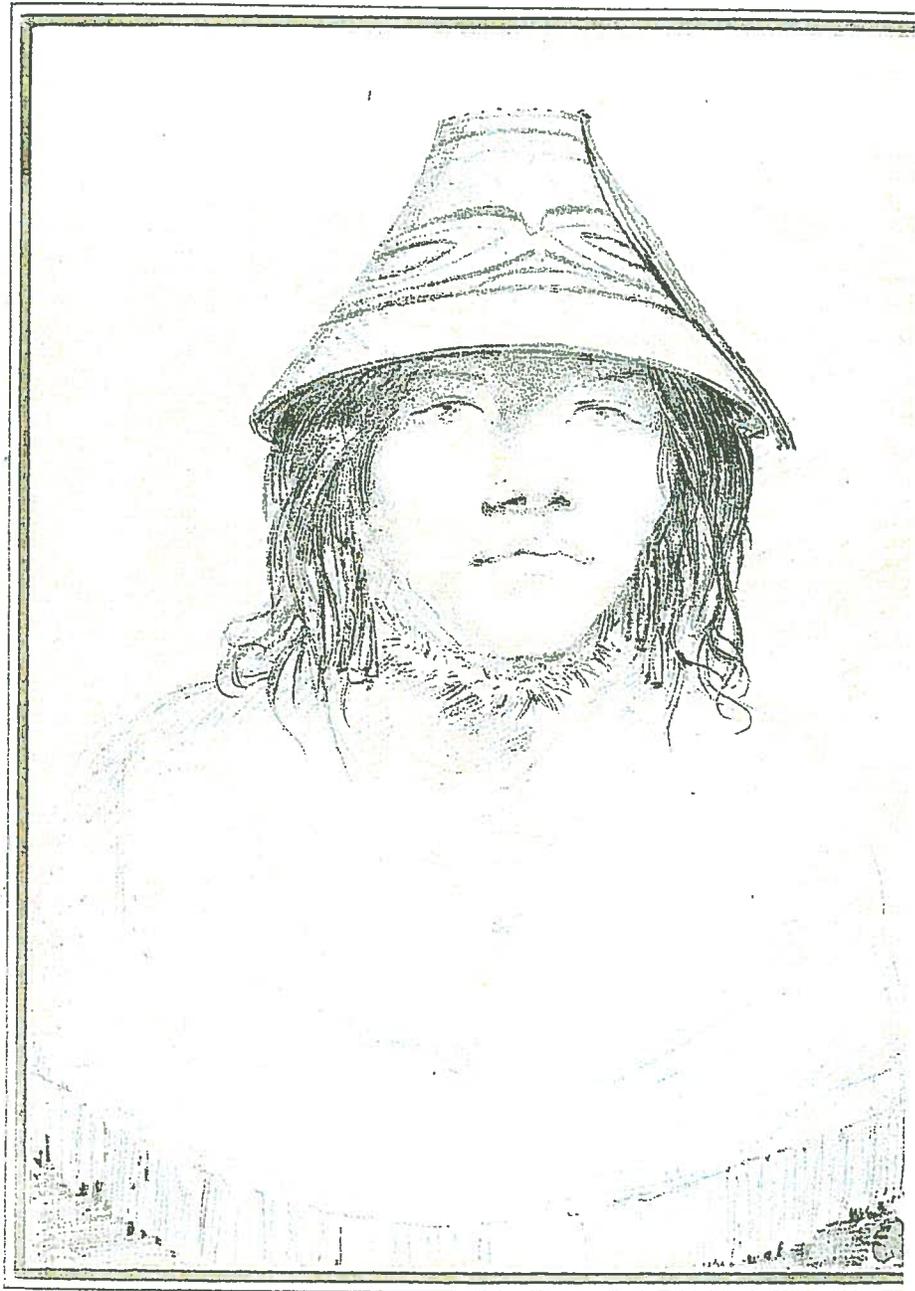


FIGURE 2.9 *A Woman of Nootka Sound*, by John Webber, April 1778. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 113, p. 95.



FIGURE 2.10 *A Man of Nootka Sound*, by John Webber, April 1778. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 115, p. 97.

spectacular object, it was also an excellent example of Indian craft. In order to do justice to [Nootkan] skill, it was included, as was the circular cedarbark rain cape, adorned with a fur collar" (Joppien 92). Whatever the reason, the readers who are promised, and expect, a transparent account of the people of Nootka Sound instead receive one which is coloured by the artist's (and editors') other considerations and designs.

The visual, like the verbal, representation of the empirical observation of land and people is knowledge with a purpose: as Pratt notes, it is "a normalizing discourse, whose work is to codify difference, to fix the Other in a timeless present where all 'his' actions and reactions are repetitions of 'his' normal habits" (Pratt, "S" 139). The language and conventions of scientific objectivity remove the subjects (or objects) of discussion from any context which might make their observable qualities meaningful, as well as from any interaction which would bring them out from under the watchful gaze of the recording subject. "[H]omogenized into a collective 'they,'" the observed Others are "the subject[s] of verbs in a timeless present tense" (Pratt, "S" 139); anything 'they' do is therefore presented as standardised, unmediated by circumstance or particularity, and a pure and simple representation of innate and immutable characteristics.

For example, the absence of European-style table manners is proof to Douglas' Cook of the Indians' savagery:

Their manner of eating is exactly consonant to the nastiness of their houses and persons; for the troughs and platters, in which they put their food, appear never to have been washed from the time they were first made, and the dirty remains of a former meal are only swept away by the succeeding one. They also tear everything solid, or tough, to peices, with their hands and teeth; for though they make use of their knives to cut off the larger portions, they have not, as yet, thought of reducing these to smaller peices and mouthfuls, by the same method, though obviously more convenient and cleanly. But they seem to have no idea of cleanliness; for they eat the roots which they dig from the ground, without so much as shaking off the soil that adheres to them. (Douglas II, 323-4)

The charge of animalism or brutishness hinted at by the word "trough" is confirmed by the tone and diction of the rest of the passage. However, as Lawrence Stone notes in his social history of England, anxieties about cleanliness and privacy, determining the use of individual knives and forks, did not commonly replace the practice of sharing food from central portions until the late seventeenth century (Stone 256-7). Such a code of manners would therefore be only one or two generations old by Cook's time. While one or two generations may be an eternity from the perspective of enculturation, the two centuries between then and now allow me -- especially remembering the conditions aboard ship and European hygienic standards of the day -- to question or problematise just how 'advanced' the Europeans actually were, or thought they were, relative to the native peoples they encountered.

Such a "hegemonic othering" (Fromm 396) creates the notion of the primitive in the colonial context: ethnographic discourse often describes indigenous peoples as somehow still living in a mythic past. Gould discusses this characterisation of different races representing the different stages of human development in the work of nineteenth-century French anatomist Etienne Serres, who believed that "the perfectibility of lower races distinguished humans as the only species subject to improvement by its own efforts," yet "worked to document the signs of inferiority among lower races . . . . Adult blacks, he argued, should be like white children, adult Mongolians like white adolescents" (Gould 40). A notion of time which equates Western European history with such culturally-specific values as 'progress' problematises much writing about contact between Europeans and non-European peoples. In *Ecological Imperialism*, for example, Crosby notes

[t]he *geographical* avant-garde of humanity, the pioneers isolated in Australia and the Americas, had different histories [from the *technological* avant-garde of humanity, the peoples of the crossroads of the Old World, the Middle East]. The Australian Aborigines kept to their Paleolithic ways; they did not smelt metals or build cities. When Captain Cook and the Australians of Botany Bay looked at each other in the eighteenth century, they did so from opposite sides of the Neolithic Revolution. (18)

Although I have taken this statement out of the context of Crosby's larger argument, it suggests the ways in which the moment of contact, in which describer and described occupy the same time and place, is erased. And when European realities are taken as the norm, the result is often the implication that the natives are inferior to Europeans, given their failure to move in the same directions, ways, and speeds as European civilisation.

Kupperman's study presents another picture, documenting European dependence on Indian technology for survival: early colonists in America (1580 to 1640) were utterly reliant on "Indian help in coping with the environment, particularly for food" (100).

A more or less constant theme in their writings was the belief that the Indians were better adapted to life in America than the English were. Though the writers believed in the general superiority of English technology, they were clearly aware of the fact that they would have to learn from the Indians in order to survive. (106)

In fact, Kupperman states, only the armchair expert who had never been to America or seen Indians assigned them "to a place outside the ranks of full humanity" (106).

Be that as it may until 1640, the intervening century and a half of voyages of discovery, colonisation, imperialism, and slavery reinforced the worldview of European superiority, given that the comments attributed to Cook in the first published edition on the inferiority of the natives' technology stress European superiority which his descriptions do not necessarily support:

The woollen garments . . . have the strongest resemblance to woven cloth. But the various figures which are very artificially inserted in them, destroys the supposition of their being wrought in a loom; it being extremely unlikely, that these people should be so dextrous as to be able to finish such a complex work, unless immediately by their hands. They are of different degrees of fineness; some resembling our coarsest rags or blankets; and others almost equal to our finest sorts, or even softer, and certainly warmer. (Douglas II, 325)

Even this compliment is backhanded at best: the people who produce such beautiful work are simultaneously considered too stupid to design a tool to achieve it; they must of necessity use their hands, technology being a mark of civilisation or 'progress.' At the same time, the concerns or

assumptions of an English reading audience are prioritised: if Nootkan blankets are "softer, and certainly warmer" than "our finest sorts," under what conditions could they be said to be only "almost equal"? From a warm armchair by the fire, perhaps; certainly not in a context where the tightness of a blanket's weave (and presumably the degree to which it repels rain) and its softness are crucial to bodily comfort. Even this praise, however tentative or qualified, reveals an assumption of native intellectual and technological inferiority: Cook, or Douglas, continually comments on a variety of things so finely wrought he thinks no Indian could be capable of making them. (These are evidently Douglas' opinions, however, for Beaglehole's Cook makes no such evaluation.)

Douglas' edition of Cook's *Voyage* reveals a good deal more about the preoccupations of English culture in the eighteenth century than it does about the peoples and customs observed and recorded. What seems to me most crucial, however, is the way that aesthetic and scientific representations of the inhabitants of Nootka Sound -- although far from internally consistent -- are mutually supportive. Individually, each presents an account of Nootka Sound and its inhabitants that its discursive or disciplinary truth-claims (disinterestedness, objectivity, mimesis) establish as fact -- in nature -- by hiding their own creation. Webber's portraits, offered as ethnographic truths, consciously alter, edit, or distort what he actually perceived in order to convey ethnographic information. Natural history as a discourse offers a metaphoric version of reality as transparent and mimetic. Taken together, their effect is staggering: the information or knowledge about Nootka Sound that they offer is implicated in an imperial history of power and consciousness, possibly of power as European consciousness. What they also offer, however, is a history of their own reification, the hyper-accumulation of meaning in the text -- particularly its scholarly apparatus. So what I am tracing becomes the history of an idea through Douglas and Beaglehole's invocations,

omissions, and editorial choices. Particularly, the scholarly apparatus itself becomes the product, what can be known: ideas with traceable lineages have value.

As Cook's -- or Douglas' -- comments on Nootkan table manners and technology suggest, differences between Englishmen and Nootka are cited -- by the English -- as evidence of European superiority: in appearance, in manners, in living arrangements, in religion, in economy, in technology, in short in everything important to a European sense of identity. Demonstrating, again and again, English superiority to the native inhabitants of the Sound serves to establish and then disestablish rights of ownership, which are in opposition even in this first encounter, as one incident in particular exemplifies: Captains Cook and Clerke are surprised by the reaction of the Nootka when they go to the village to cut some grass as food for the animals on board ship:

No people had higher Ideas of exclusive property; they made the Captain pay for the grass which he cut at the Village, although useless to themselves, & made a merit, after being refusd payment for the wood & water we got in the Cove, of giving it to us, & often told us that they had done it out of Friendship. (King 1407)

In Douglas' edition, Cook's account of this incident is much longer, and concludes:

Here I must observe, that I have no where, in my several voyages, met with any uncivilized nation, or tribe, who had such strict notions of their having a right to the exclusive property of every thing that the country produces, as the inhabitants of this sound. (Douglas II, 284)

For a change, the opinion expressed by Cook in Beaglehole's edition does not differ significantly from that in Douglas,' with the exception of one crucial word: Beaglehole's Cook does not write "uncivilized."

Here I must observe that I have no were [sic] met with Indians who had such high notions of every thing the Country produced being their exclusive property as these. (Beaglehole III:1, 306)

Having established a particular kind of trading relationship -- based on the exchange of goods and services, no questions asked about the potential use or need for the items exchanged -- the Cook of

Douglas' edition seems surprised that the Nootka expect to continue the established pattern, or even that they fail to read his mind and know the basis of trade on his terms. Accordingly, he assumes that trading occurs on his terms, failing to recognise that the Nootka might have their own agenda or rules governing trade relations. Ledyard's description also makes the importance of this incident in determining ownership of the land and its resources obvious: "They intimated to us that the country all round further than we could see was theirs" (Ledyard 72).

It is here that the narrative turns: the natives at King George's Sound, unlike those of the South Seas, "betray . . . awkward bashfulness & Timidity" (Samwell 1090) and refuse to make Cook into a god (although one wonders . . . ). Suddenly their "industrious . . . thefts" (Clerke 1328) and "legerdemain Tricks" (Samwell 1091) begin to make sense: the natives here, for whom stealing is industry, are perhaps ignoble rather than noble savages after all. This suspicion is confirmed with even the mention of the possibility of cannibalism -- the narrative and ideological means by which the Nootka can be displaced and the land claimed as the possession of Europe.

## Chapter Three

### Cook and the Cannibals: Nootka Sound, 1778

The official 1784 edition of Cook's journals gives the impression that the party encountered one group of cannibals after another. European readers of the time eagerly consumed such reports of cannibalism and assumed they were true. However, critical analysis of the evidence in Cook's text and its predecessors suggests that the origins of cannibal practices are *textual* rather than cultural or even behavioural. A preoccupation with cannibalism characterises exploration and discovery literature as a genre; writers familiar with this trope in the works of Herodotus, Mandeville, Columbus, and Hakluyt reinscribed it. Cook's journals participate in this tradition, both revealing the influence of the cannibal trope and (seemingly) confirming its basis in reality for subsequent writers.

Cook's *Voyages* have elicited scandal and sensation for one reason or another ever since Hawkesworth's edition of the first voyage published in 1773. The furor over this first edition rose out of "those salacious passages and possible theological heresy" concerning the "'public amours'" of Tahitian maidens (Abbott 155). In Douglas' editorial hands, cannibalism assumed greater importance than moral relativism as the mark of the exotic Other in the second and third voyages, particularly in the representation of Maori. Nigel Rigby's "Sober Cannibals and Drunken Christians" demonstrates the continuing importance of this whole question in post-colonial criticism.

Cook's first reports of the cannibalism of the Maoris were doubted in England, and led him to conduct a macabre experiment on his second voyage with the inhabitants of New Zealand. A piece of human flesh was broiled 'for one of these cannibals [to] eat it with a seeming good relish before the whole ships Company.' The doubts shown about the existence of cannibalism demonstrate that the eighteenth century's views about the original state of humankind had altered from Hobbes's view that savage 'man' lived in a brutish manner. The influence of the *philosophes* had created an altogether more favourable concept of savagery. The 'discovery' of the Pacific helped to bring about a further reassessment. A year after Cook's experiment, a boat's crew from Captain Furneaux's ship, which had become separated from Cook, was killed and eaten by the Maoris; presumably with an equally good relish. (173)

This passage demands the question: where did Cook get a "piece of human flesh" to broil? And by what bizarre manner of projection does the conductor of such a "macabre experiment" accuse his experimental subjects (objects?) of savagery? Rigby's point both describes and enacts an exercise in Western logic: initial European doubts regarding the charge of Maori cannibalism are satisfactorily resolved (the doubt *disproved* and the underlying belief proved) thanks to the man of science. As a result, the assumption that Maori ate Furneaux's men went, and remained, unquestioned. This thought-process (about Pacific cultures) finds a parallel in European philosophy: from Hobbesian assumptions of brutishness, to Enlightenment ideals about 'noble savages,' to calm acceptance of depravity thanks to "the 'discovery' of the Pacific." This mirroring reminds me of what I might call an imperialism of grammar: Rigby's negative rhetorical strategy, which *disproves* initial European *disbelief*, ultimately confirms Hobbes' notion of savagery instead of Enlightenment views regarding common humanity. Compositional standards of logical progression and parallelism have made a point that Rigby simultaneously and consciously challenges. The fact that such a mirroring occurs in a critical post-colonial analysis of cannibalism reveals the difficulties and problematics inherent in the whole field of study. It is as if the linguistic and intellectual tools Rigby has to work with compel him by their very structure to say what he wants to *unsay*. The struggle of writing against the grain, of wresting words and ideas from their well-developed context of domination (without merely inverting or otherwise reinscribing that domination) is one I face too.

The idea of Maori cannibalism -- of which the disappearance of Furneaux's men is commonly cited as proof -- is still current; I've heard several references to this incident, yet I remain unconvinced.<sup>1</sup> Instead, I want to argue that cannibalism is a discourse, a way of talking about but also a way of *reading* the new world. The following quotation, a reading of a visual account from the third voyage, illustrates my point:

Let us return to Webber's second major set-piece of the voyage, *Captain Cook in Ship's Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound* [figure 3.1]. Cook is presented shaking a Maori chief by the hand, a European mode of greeting it is unlikely he would have proferred since he knew well enough that nose rubbing was the traditional Maori greeting. Nor does the scene confirm the written evidence of any of the journals. For, on entering Ship's Cove on this occasion, Cook found the Maori afraid to come aboard, though many of them knew him well from his previous visits. *They were afraid he had come to avenge the massacre of Furneaux's men, eight of whom had been killed and eaten at Grass Cove nearby, on the previous voyage.* With Omai as interpreter, however, friendly relations were quickly established with the parties visiting the ships.

Yet there is no evidence that the obvious reading of this composition records an actual event. That is to say, Cook did not on this occasion come off his landing boat and go up and shake a Maori chief by the hand. By all accounts the portion of the beach they landed on was unoccupied--a natural precaution in any case--and it was not until a little later that a party of the Maori came and set up some temporary habitations nearby. It is indeed true that friendly relations were established on this occasion quickly enough, and this may be credited to Cook's practical good sense; true, too, that all we should expect from a record of an historical event rendered in the mode of a history painting is the general spirit of the occasion, not evidence as to what actually occurred. *But my point is that in staging the event in this way, Webber is addressing a British, indeed a European audience.* (Smith, *IP* 202-4, my emphasis)

The disappearance of Furneaux's men leads inevitably to the conclusion -- by the search party and by history -- that they have not only been murdered ("massacred," in Smith's account), but also, and more significantly, cannibalised: the absence of Furneaux's men equals the presence of cannibalism to Smith in 1992 as well as to Cook's party in 1777, his editor Douglas in 1784, and the contemporary European public. And yet: "there is no evidence that the obvious reading of this composition records an actual event." The history painting preserves "the general spirit of the occasion, not evidence as to what actually occurred," Smith notes, to qualify the discrepancy between what did occur, or may have occurred, and a representation of what did *not* occur as if it did. And yet, while there is no visual representation of the disappearance/massacre/cannibal feast of Furneaux's men, the written accounts endlessly read cannibalism into disappearance, forcing their audiences in turn to read cannibalism and about cannibalism.

Not all of Cook's cannibals were to be found in the South Pacific. Although Cook's party

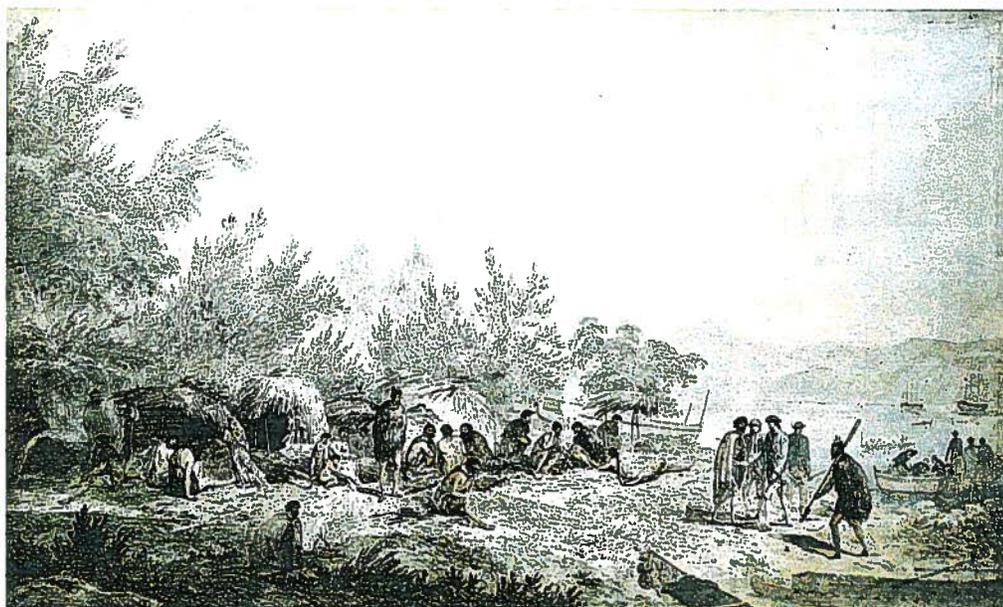


FIGURE 3.1 *Captain Cook in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound*, by John Webber February 1777-.  
Reproduced from Joppien, plate 17, p. 17.

met another cultural group across the beach at Nootka Sound in 1778,<sup>2</sup> history has presented us with only one perspective on this encounter: that of Cook, whose 1784 journal defines the Natives of Nootka Sound by using the trope of cannibalism. Like the officers and crewmen under him, Cook read the northwest coast of North America through a double filter, using the perceptual tools of Europe and those formed over the course of his naval experience in the South Pacific. Here I need to differentiate between Cook and his journals, or between the tropes produced *by* Cook and the tropes *of* Cook produced by editors and historians, since Beaglehole's 1967 scholarly edition of the journals indicates that Cook *himself* did not ascribe cannibalism to the Nootka. The account of the month at Nootka Sound, then, reveals how the already well-established European discourse of cannibalism in so-called savage lands lent itself to the appropriation of those lands from peoples identified as cannibals.

### Tracing the Holy Grail

David Spurr's mapping and genealogy of colonial discourses first identifies and then traces the operations of twelve basic rhetorical modes; "taken together," he claims, "these constitute a kind of repertoire for colonial discourse, a range of tropes, conceptual categories, and logical operations available for purposes of representation" (3). Many of the tropes are familiar to readers of travel and exploration literature, and to readers of this dissertation, which examines the European appropriation, aestheticisation, classification, and eroticisation of the new-world Other. Cannibalism, though frequently mentioned in narratives and scholarly accounts of travel and exploration, rarely merits treatment as a discourse or trope on its own; it tends to be subsumed under the general category of savagery. Unlike nakedness or hunter-gatherer economies, however, cannibalism has retained its status as an ultimate emblem of the savage for some twenty-five centuries of European writing about

foreign cultures. It might be considered too sensational for the kind of academic institutionalisation enjoyed by aesthetic, scientific, and historical discourses, but it retains a hold on the European and North American imagination nonetheless.<sup>3</sup> Cannibalism has played a supporting role in other colonial discourses for centuries; at the same time, by its very presence it demands attention as a separate discourse constructed by influential texts of travel and exploration writing. Cook, his crew, his editor, and his audience were familiar with this discourse, indeed considered it essential to narratives about savage peoples; accordingly, to some extent Cook's *Voyages* not only wrote the discourse of cannibalism, but were also written by it, and so gained a readership. Cannibalism as a European discourse creates an Other by which the self can be fashioned and known and by which social priorities and an existing hierarchy can be reconfirmed.

"Herodotus, who is often thought of as the first recorder of other cultures, felt compelled to inform his readers in the fifth century B.C. that some unknown people, far beyond the pale of civilization, resorted to this custom," in the first standard European text of cannibalism (Arens 10). In a work obsessed with the question of national boundaries, written during the decline of the Persian Empire and the corresponding rise of the Greek, cannibalism functions as a cultural marker which defines the insider against the outsider, the self against the other. Michel de Certeau discusses this function in Book Four of Herodotus' *History*, on the Scythians:

It combines a *representation of the other* (which places in opposition the Scythian nomad and the Athenian city-dweller, or the barbarian no-place and the Greek *oikoumenè*) and the fabrication and accreditation of the *text as witness of the other*. It is in describing the Scythians that Herodotus' text constructs a place of its own. By specifying the operations which produce a 'barbarian' space as distinct from Greek space, he multiplies the utterative markings ('I saw,' 'I heard,' etc.) and modalities (it is obvious, doubtful, inadmissible, etc.) which, with regard to the 'marvels' recounted (*the thōma*), organize the place at which he would like to make himself heard and believed. An image of the other and the place of the text are simultaneously produced. (68)

Simultaneously produced, but also causally produced: it is in the representation of the other that the

place of the text is produced, so that "discourse about the other is a means of constructing a discourse authorized by the other" (de Certeau 68).

In *The History*, there are two types of cannibalism, which set up the question of insider and outsider in different ways. The first sort of cannibalism is a socially-sanctioned custom amongst the Massagetae and a tribe of Indians Herodotus calls Padaei. In a passage immediately preceded by a description of the sexual customs (his comment that "each of them marries a wife, but the wives they have in common" makes it clear that he examines other cultures from the vantage point of patriarchy), Herodotus describes the cannibalism of the Massagetae:

There is no definite limit to life other than this: when a man grows very old, all his relatives come together and kill him, and sheep and goats along with him, and stew all the meat together and have a banquet of it. That is regarded as the happiest lot; any man who dies of disease they do not eat, but bury him in the ground, lamenting that he did not come to being eaten. (I, 216, 130)

The Padaei kill and eat not only the elderly, but also those who fall sick, before their bodies waste away to spoil the banquet. Here my language is much more value-laden than that of Herodotus in Grene's translation, which simply concludes: "when a man comes to old age, they kill him and make a banquet of him; but not many of the people come to be of this kind because, before that, they fall sick and are, everyone, killed" (III, 99, 255).

The observing recorder and the reader of his account are outside of the social system engaging in this practice. However, the question of sexual customs is also crucial: the Massagetae not only eat their fellows and hold wives in common, but they are also ruled by a woman: "the King of the Massagetae was dead, and his wife had taken over the sovereignty; her name was Tomyris. To her Cyrus sent and would have wooed her -- in word -- to be his wife. But Tomyris, who understood that it was not herself that he was wooing but the kingship of the Massagetae, said no to his approaches" (I, 205, 126). Herodotus' description of the Massagetae custom of feasting on each other

concludes an account of the desire of Cyrus (the king of Persia) to conquer the Queen and possess the territory, embarking on a territorial war (which he lost). Sexual and territorial conquests are merged in his wooing; however, failing marital possession, the means Cyrus tries to achieve the territorial conquest is culinary. He leaves the lesser part of his army within easy reach of the Massagetae (as "sitting ducks"), along with a feast of baked meats and drugged wine. After defeating the Persians, the Massagetae devour the feast but fall into a drugged slumber, only to be attacked by the rest of the Persian army. Perhaps this Persian strategy inspired its reversal in the Greeks' Trojan Horse ploy: instead of the Greek army emerging from the belly of the horse, the Persian food in the bellies of the Massagetae is the means of defeat. And as the Massagetae bodies incorporate Persian food, so their country is incorporated or swallowed by the Persian empire.

The other form of cannibalism in Herodotus' *History* marks a societal distinction between inside and outside. Cyrus' son, Cambyses, continues his father's wars of territorial expansion: after conquering and establishing a base in Egypt, he starts an expedition to conquer Ethiopia. However, it is unwise, unplanned, and ultimately ill-fated:

Before the army had got through one-fifth of their journey, all that they had in the way of provisions entirely failed them; after that they ate the baggage animals, and then this supply also failed. If, even then, Cambyses had realized and given over the fight and led his army back, he might have been a wise man, even on top of the blunder he made at the beginning; but no, he made no account of all this and marched ever forward. While his soldiers could get anything from the land, they ate grass and managed to keep alive. But when they came to the desert, some of them did something dreadful. They cast lots and chose one out of every ten men around them and ate him. When Cambyses heard of this, he was afraid -- of the cannibalism -- and abandoned the expedition against the Ethiopians and moved back to Thebes. By the time he got there, he had lost many of his army. (III, 25, 222)

Cambyses' horror and fear at this behaviour in his own army causes him to re-think his position on this campaign to Ethiopia. The passage quoted contains its share of qualifiers ("if, even then," "if only") and the larger context from which it is taken contains many more. The text does not condemn

or 'other' the members of the army who engage in cannibalism so much as it encapsulates the fear that hunger may drive the most resolute into dire consequences: Cambyses' hunger for Ethiopia and the resulting disastrous expedition is the macrocosm of the soldiers' hunger for food and the resulting consumption of their fellows. Cambyses' foolish and ill-considered decision to march with inadequate information and provisions has, in effect, caused the cannibalism.

In Herodotus' intellectual and methodological descendant, Tacitus' *Germania* (C.E. 98), the marvels to be found in far-off lands become increasingly savage and monstrous the further they are from the centre of the writer's known world. Tacitus ends his account of Germania -- already a wild and savage place on the fringes of Rome -- with a portrait of the wildest, most savage tribes on the fringes of Germania: "what comes after [the Fenni] is the stuff of fables -- Hellusii and Oxiones with the faces and features of men, but the bodies and limbs of animals. Of such unverifiable stories I will express no opinion," he concludes, having already made his point (140). Although Tacitus does not mention cannibalism, his *Germania* -- as an ethnographic essay -- has an important place in the development of the cannibal trope. Later writers (and readers) not only assumed the existence of such marvels and monstrosities, but also came to connect them to the practice of cannibalism, just as the word "barbarian," originally used to describe someone who was not a Greek, or later someone living "outside the pale of the Roman Empire," or later of "Christian civilization," came to be synonymous with "savage" ("Barbarian").

*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* illustrates the marvels-monstrosities-cannibal continuum. It presents a compendium account, a salmagundi of marvels bound together only -- and loosely -- by the structure of the journey, which encompasses the known world (providing a useful guide to the city of Jerusalem) as well as the absolutely strange and unfamiliar, for example the "land of Amazoun, which we call the Maiden Land or the Land of Women" (116-7). The contrast between

Jerusalem as the centre of Christ's body and therefore as the centre of the known world and the absolute unknowability of a land where women live free of male domination (indeed, free of men) indicates that the social system now known as patriarchy is a feature of the known world. It follows that the farther one travels from the Holy Land into the unknown, the greater the barbarity and bloodiness of customs to be found: past an island which Mandeville calls Caffilos is a land

where the people are of evil customs. They train great dogs to worry men. And when their friends are getting near death and they believe they can live no longer, they make these dogs worry them; for they will not let them die naturally in their beds lest they suffer too much pain in dying. When they are dead, they eat their flesh instead of venison. (134)

Perhaps familiar with accounts of cannibalism among the Mongols from the works of Franciscans William of Rubrick and John of Plano Carpini,<sup>4</sup> the author of *The Travels* notes the funeral customs in a land subject to the Great Khan: "then the son boils his father's head, and the flesh from it he distributes among his special friends, giving each one a little bit, as a dainty. And from the cranium of the head he has a cup made, and he drinks from it all his lifetime in remembrance of his father" (187). At the isle of Lamory, where (unlike European countries) the land is held in common but women are not property, the inhabitants eat plump babies as a delicacy (*Travels* 127).

### *A Digression, concerning Sex*

*It strikes me as significant that what the observer regards as cannibalism in another culture is frequently accompanied by what the observer regards as perverse and excessive sexual appetites. Particularly, the idea that women might have sexual agency independent of male ownership or possession and, even worse, the idea that women might have sexual appetites, locates them in a specific place on the European grid explaining female sexuality: as whores. Such a label, and such an understanding of women, cannot be divorced from the power relations of class and race as well as those of sex. In her study of eighteenth-century*

*sexual ideology and the English theatre, Kristina Straub makes the point that "the paradigm of the lower-class woman as commodity for the upper-class male contains the troublingly public sexuality of many actresses," generally considered to be little better than if not actually prostitutes (91). Accompanying the expectation of the sexual availability to upper-class men of lower-class women was the supporting ideology of their greater sexual appetites in contrast to the more refined and delicate sensibilities of their middle- and upper-class counterparts.*

*In the Pacific of Cook's voyages, such tropes are played out in the frequent comments about the wanton and lascivious gestures of Polynesian women and the brief references to the sexual trade between ship and shore. Whether presented as passive or active participants in this traffic, the women are somehow responsible; whether their sexual favours are sold by the men of their community (and therefore, to European eyes, by their rightful 'owners') or by the women themselves, on the morals of its women depend the morals of a nation. If the women are sexual, unchaste, unclean, so is, by extension, the society they represent.*

*The position of the men is somewhat more ambiguous, because the European ownership model of heterosexuality cannot quite fit. (Without the cultural notion of sexual shame, could prostitution exist?) The native men who brought "their" women to the ships were held in contempt by the ships' crews and officers anxious to buy the favours of other men's sisters, daughters, wives. The notion of the traffic in women conducted between the men on the shore and the men in the ships (as anthropology and Lévi-Strauss remind me, the traffic in women remains the basis of culture<sup>5</sup>), on the face of it, defines the men as pimps (according to European standards) as surely as the women's sexuality defines them as whores. But in the colonial context (the soon-to-be-colonial context in Cook's Pacific), European metaphors of husbandry and the imaging of America as a woman whose arms open to welcome the European explorer require the erasure of the native men who might reasonably expect to become husbands to native women. As Peter Hulme argues in Colonial Encounters, the*

discourse of some 'atrocities' perpetrated by native men is used, in effect, to dispossess them of their territorial right to both land and women -- simultaneously, since the land is imaged female.<sup>6</sup>

But native men are not only erased (or demonised) in colonialist texts; they are also frequently feminised, as the power and sexual hierarchies of the ships come into play. In *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition*, Burg argues that homosexual encounters and relationships were neither unthinkable nor uncommon in the all-male environment of the ship. In fact, he suggests that in the less rigidly analysed sexual consciousness of the eighteenth century, some crew members chose long ocean voyages, instead of similar employment closer to home such as the merchant marine, precisely because of the possibility (even necessity, depending on one's shipboard status: for cabin boys, there was very little choice in the matter) of homosexual relations during long periods at sea.<sup>7</sup>

While I have yet to read an account of a sexual encounter between one of Cook's crew and a native man (or between two men of Cook's crew, for that matter), Beaglehole's edition of the third voyage records evidence of homosexual relationships in Hawaii -- not as unusual or remarkable sexual encounters, but as socially accepted and important relationships signalled by the word aikane. Cook himself did not mention it; however, references to aikane by King, Clerke, Samwell, and Ledyard indicate their social, sexual, and political functions. Robert J. Morris argues that although the journal writers tended to emphasise the sexual role of aikane, the social acceptance and political importance of these young men are clearly indicated as well. For example, on 29 January 1779, David Samwell wrote of Kalani'opu'u's state visit aboard the Discovery that

[a]nother Sett of Servants of whom he has a great many are called Ikany [aikane] and are of superior rank to Erawe-rawe. Of this Class are Parea [Palea] and Cani-Coah [Kanekoa] and their business is to commit the Sin of Onan upon the old King. This, however strange it may appear, is fact, as we learnt from frequent Enquiries about this curious Custom, and it is an office that is esteemed honourable among them & they have

frequently asked us on seeing a handsome young fellow if he was not an Ikany to some of us. (Samwell 1171-72)

*On February 10th, when Kamehameha came aboard the Discovery for an overnight visit, Samwell wrote that among his attendants was "a Young Man of whom he seems very fond, which does not in the least surprize us as we have had opportunities before of being acquainted with a detestable part of his Character which he is not in the least anxious to conceal" (1190). Kalani'opu'u was the highest-ranking chief (ali'i) Cook and his officers met at Hawaii; Palea (like Kamehameha, an aikane of Kalani'opu'u) himself indicated the nature of his aikane relationship to Clerke: "he call'd himself T'akane to Terreeoboo [Kalani'opu'u], & mentiond the name of others being the same" (Beaglehole III:1, 596). (Beaglehole's note at the word "T'akane" defines it as "sodomite.") Palea's interactions with the officers indicate the social and political roles of aikane: "he treats with King as official representative and spokesperson of Kalani'opu'u in the latter's absence at war. He is often seen as organizer and policeman, mediating between Hawaiian crowds and the sailors" (Morris 33). Indeed, one of Cook's first comments about Hawaii at this time notes that "a well looking young man nam'd Pareo [Palea], was soon observ'd to have the most consequence" (Beaglehole III:1, 502).*

*However, Palea is also a figure around whom an understanding of the social place of aikane and the events of Cook's voyage revolve. When Cook's ships first arrive at Hawaii, Palea as aikane is Kalani'opu'u's representative; when they return to repair the mast, Kamehameha has become the ali'i's favourite. As a result, "Palea's personality has changed; he is now a rogue and provocateur. It is he, the journalists agree, who sets up the incident of theft and the chain of events that lead ultimately to Cook's death. Thus, it may be that two or three of the leading aikane as aikane were crucial in one of the greatest dramas of history" (Morris 33-4). Whether this change in Palea is caused by his loss of political power when Kamehameha replaced him as the chief's favourite or from sexual jealousy matters less than*

*the fact that his comments, status, and behaviour confirm and exemplify the various writers' presentation of aikane as a relationship simultaneously personal (affectionate and sexual: the ali'i's lover) and official (social and political: the ali'i's counsellor and confidante), that this relationship was shared by several young men at once, and that it was an accepted part of Hawaiian society -- at the chiefly rank at least.*

*Although King condemns the practice as depriving Hawaiian women "of the natural affections of their Husbands, & seeing this divided by the other sex" (Beaglehole III:1, 624), the journal accounts give no indication that Hawaiians were disturbed in any way. Clerke noted that "they talk of this infernal practice with all the indifference in the world, nor do I suppose they imagine any degree of infamy in it (Beaglehole III:1, 596). Indeed, Samwell records that when the ships were finally preparing to sail north again after Cook's death, an ali'i came on board the Resolution, "and seeing a handsome young fellow whose appearance he liked much, offered six large hogs to the Captain [now Clerke] if he would let him stand his Ikany for a little while" (1226). Ledyard, the only writer who actually used the word "sodomy," waxed philosophical about aikane relationships:*

*it is a disagreeable circumstance to the historian that truth obliges him to inform the world of a custom among [the Hawaiians] contrary to nature, and odious to a delicate mind . . . it would be to omit the most material and useful part of historical narration to omit it; the custom alluded to is that of sodomy, which is very prevalent if not universal among the chiefs, and we believe peculiar to them, as we never saw any appearance of it among the commonalty. As this was the first instance we had ever seen of it in our travels, we were cautious how we credited the first indications, and waited untill opportunity gave full proof of the circumstance. The cohabitation is between the chiefs and the most beautiful males they can procure about 17 years old, these they call Kikuana, which in their language signifies a relation. These youths follow them wherever they go, and are as narrowly looked after as the women in those countries where jealousy is so predominant a passion; they are extremely fond of them, and by a shocking inversion of the laws of nature, they bestow all those affections on them that were intended for the other sex. We did not fully discover this circumstance until near our departure, and indeed lamented we ever had, for though we had no right to attack or ever to disapprove of customs in general that differed from our own, yet this one so apparently infringed and insulted the first and*

strongest dictate of nature, and we had from education and a diffusive observation of the world, so strong a prejudice against it, that the first instance we saw of it we condemned a man fully reprobated. Our officers indeed did not insult the chiefs by any means, but our soldiers and tars to vindicate their own wonderful modesty, and at the same time oblige the insulted women, and recommend themselves to their favours became severe arbitrators, and the most valourous defenders and supporters of their own tenets. (132-3)

*Ledyard sets up his discussion with the disclaimer that it is the historian's duty to tell the truth, however unpleasant or unsavoury; he also manages to rationalise the crew's sexual behaviour as both proof of their manliness and their manly duty to comfort the women -- though Clerk noted sourly that "they are profligate to a most shameful degree in the indulgence of their lusts and passions, the Women are much more Common than at any place we ever saw before" (Beaglehole III:1 596). However, the most important function of Ledyard's account is to differentiate between Hawaiian men -- particularly the ali'i -- and Englishmen on the basis of what is currently called sexual orientation. Morris notes that*

on several occasions when the ships were in the vicinity of Hawaii, the crews had the *Articles of War* read to them, ostensibly regarding, among other things, their sexual and commercial intercourse with the Hawaiian women . . . . The *Articles of War* clearly condemned all homosexual behavior in the Royal Navy and imposed severe criminal penalties on any sailor who was caught engaged in such behavior. (27)

*Arguably, the connection between these two constructs a moral and sexual difference: the crew may engage in sexual relations with Hawaiian women, but any sexual activity with Hawaiian men is criminal. The constant reminder that what is a prominent feature of the highest levels of Hawaiian society is criminal to Englishmen distinguishes the two groups.*

*Such comments regarding aikane or homosexuality did not make their way into the official edition of the Voyages (although Ledyard's account was independently published in the United States in 1783). Clerke's opinions regarding the "profligacy" and "commonness" of the Hawaiians did, bringing these sexual dynamics into play in the published account of the voyages and thus into cultural circulation in England. The eighteenth-century*

*assumption that women on the English stage were prostitutes was mirrored by an assumption of their male counterparts' homosexuality (Straub 47-8). A growing discourse of homophobia marked by tropes of "deviance" -- in which "men with male lovers were increasingly being identified -- not simply as behaving in a 'deviate' manner -- but as being 'deviate' in their preference for male sexual partners"<sup>8</sup> -- is easily exported to distant shores.<sup>9</sup> There, desire for close encounters of the heterosexual kind, assumptions about the sexual mores and morals of peoples considered at best exotic and at worst savage, and culture clash and power struggles coalesce around the conflation of excessive gustatory and sexual appetites, and their representation in published accounts for the titillation of European readers.*

Though not all were as careful as he about noting the difference between hearsay and what he had seen with his own eyes, later travellers borrowed extensively from Mandeville: first appearing in French between 1356 and 1366, the *Travels* was translated into every major European language by 1400. It was widely circulated,<sup>10</sup> widely anthologized (in Hakluyt, for example<sup>11</sup>), and widely read: Columbus prepared for his trip to China by investigating Mandeville's account and Frobisher carried a copy to Baffin Bay in 1576 (*Travels* 9). As a text, *The Travels* exemplifies European travel literature's obsessive association of cannibalism (in the guise of its morphological ancestor, anthropophagy<sup>12</sup>) with such marvels as humans with the heads of dogs (*Travels* 134), reported so frequently that the traveller eventually expects to find them. This whole discourse, however, changes radically with Columbus.

### **Anthropophagite to cannibal: the master narrative**

Probably the best-known reference to this custom in English literature comes not from the genre of travel writing, but instead from *Othello*, whose hero entralls Desdemona with his tales "of

the Cannibals, that each other eat, / The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads / Do grow beneath their shoulders" (I,ii). This speech clearly marks Othello with the dangerous exoticism of his experience and person (whether played as Moor or African). It also establishes that the connection between the practice of eating human flesh signified by the two terms and other human monstrosities can be accepted as given by the theatre of Renaissance England. The rupture in language which produced two terms for the same practice occurred some hundred years earlier, when "in fourteen hundred and ninety-two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue."

The 1989 *Oxford English Dictionary* provides this definition of the term "cannibal" (first used in English in 1533):

originally one of the forms of the ethnic name Carib or Caribes, a fierce nation of the West Indies, who are recorded to have been anthropophagi, and from whom the name was subsequently extended as a descriptive term . . . . A man (esp. a savage) that eats human flesh; a man-eater, an anthropophagite. Originally the proper name of the man-eating Caribs of the Antilles. ("Cannibal")

The term, and the practice it defines, slips -- just as unquestioningly as it does from the South Seas to the Pacific coast in Cook's account, or is it Douglas'? -- from "who are recorded to have been" to "proper name of the man-eating Caribs." The humanity of the cannibal is questioned not only at the level of ideology, but also at that of diction. Members of the "fierce nation . . . *who* are recorded to have been" are accorded the relative pronoun used to refer to humans, "who," as long as their cannibalism remains in the realm of suspicion. Less suspicion and greater certainty is accorded by a relative pronoun which can refer both to people and things in "the man (esp. a savage) *that* eats human flesh": the man-eater is simultaneously relegated to the status of an object and the dangerous fringes of humanity. The borderline (hinterland?) between the dangerous fringes and the place beyond the pale of humanity is of crucial importance in maintaining the savagery of cannibal practice: cannibals cannot be regarded as inhuman because "if they were animals their behaviour would be

natural and could not cause the outrage and fear that 'cannibalism' has always provoked" (Hulme 14).

In *Colonial Encounters*, Peter Hulme traces the process by which the term entering European languages and consciousness as "cannibalism" instead of "anthropophagy" was transferred from the realm of supposition to that of fact in colonialist discourse and outlines the textual problems of its inscription in Columbus' *Journal* recording the voyage of 1492. He traces this trope in order to demonstrate how "the topic of land is dissimulated by the topic of savagery, this move being characteristic of all narratives of the colonial encounter" (3). The text of Columbus' original journal, now lost, survives only in the form of a hand-written abstract made by Bartolomé de las Casas in approximately 1552, "probably from the copy of Columbus' original then held in the monastery of San Pablo in Seville," from which several transcripts have been made (Hulme 17). If the text was not problematic enough, the process is further complicated by the fact that Columbus' own authority is an Arawak Indian, a member of the group assumed to have been the traditional enemy of the Caribs (the people reported to have been cannibals), and whose language he has "at best, six weeks' practice in trying to understand" (Hulme 17).

Hulme also records the "gradual displacement of the metonyms of oriental gold with those of savage gold" in Columbus' account (33). Ostensibly looking for a northwest passage to Cathay (whose government refused to trade for any European products, accepting only gold), Columbus carried a cargo not of gold but of trinkets. What (or where), then, was he really looking for? Although Columbus initially seemed to think of "cannibals" as "soldiers of the Khan" (as in Genghis Khan<sup>13</sup>), during the course of the voyage he gradually comes to promise "the destruction of the 'people of Caniba' without it now appearing worthy of mention that they might be the soldiers of a civilized potentate" (Hulme 33-4). Note that this decision is made on the basis of hearsay only: Columbus judges one group to be "man-eaters" on the basis of their physical appearance, especially

its cultural aspects (such as clothing, or lack thereof, and manner of hair-dressing<sup>14</sup>), but provides no evidence "that these people are 'caribes' or 'canibales' other than [his own] unsupported supposition; there is no evidence at all that they eat men" (Hulme 41). The morphology of the word "cannibal," then, has everything to do with the motivations governing Columbus' journey through the Caribbean, the assumptions colouring his (and his readers') interpretations of the peoples encountered, and "nothing at all to do with simple observation or record" (Hulme 34).

W. Arens' analysis complements the picture painted by Hulme. Arens points out that the clumsy "anthropophagist" was replaced by "cannibal" via Spanish mispronunciation of "Carib" (45).

Hulme contends that this new descriptive term

was adopted into the bosom of the European family of languages with a speed and readiness which suggests that there had always been an empty place kept warm for it. Poor 'anthropophagy', if not exactly orphaned, was sent out into the cold until finding belated lodging in the nineteenth century within new disciplines seeking authority from the deployment of classical terminology. (19)

As a representative or practitioner of one of those new nineteenth-century disciplines seeking scientific authority, anthropology, Arens documents various "case studies" of cannibalism to question why anthropology has been less scientific and rigorous about cannibalism than it has been about other less sensational aspects of human culture, and to reposition the field of inquiry: "the question of whether or not people eat each other is taken as interesting but moot. But if the idea that they do is commonly accepted without adequate documentation, then the reason for this state of affairs is an even more intriguing problem" (6). Accordingly, Arens questions "not why people eat human flesh, but why one group invariably assumes that others do" (139). He treats cannibalism as a *discursive* rather than as a gustatory practice, particularly given the fact that many famous cannibals, the Caribs and Arawaks of Columbus' Caribbean for example, "who were supposed to make others disappear into their cooking pots, have instead themselves vanished . . . . Although there may be some

legitimate reservations about who ate whom, there can be no question of who exterminated whom" in the contact between Europeans and so-called cannibal peoples (Arens 31).

In the first account of his voyage to reach Spain, the *Letter* dated 15 February 1493 and addressed to the nobleman Lord Raphael Sanchez, Columbus initially notes "[i]n these islands I have found no human monstrosities, as many expected, but on the contrary the whole population is very well formed . . . ." However, he goes on to say,

[a]s I have found no monsters, so I have had no report of any *except* in an island 'Quaris', the second at the coming into the Indies, which is inhabited by a people *who are regarded in all the islands as very fierce and who eat human flesh*. They have many canoes with which they range through all the islands of India and pillage and take as much as they can. They are no more malformed than the others . . . . (14-6, my emphasis)

It is as if, in the absence of actual monsters, the practice or even the idea of cannibalism signifies a definitive monstrosity which clearly and irrevocably marks the distinction between the European self and the native other who, the European has decided, has effectively removed himself from the realm and considerations of humanity by engaging in it. The practice may be textual or discursive, but it has effects in the real world: Columbus does not have to go through the motions of signing treaties transferring possession of the land with the natives, these "Caribes" or "Canibales" (as he would have to do with the Grand Khan), because of their unnatural savagery, which deserves to be destroyed. By the end of the *Letter*, Columbus lists the profits and products to be gained by Isabella and Ferdinand as a result of this voyage, including "slaves, as many as they shall order to be shipped and who will be from the idolators," or cannibals (Columbus 16).

While he never acknowledged that he did not in fact reach China, "his failure to return with the spices and gold he had promised may have had something to do with Columbus' veiled hints about the potential benefits to be had from slavery" (Arens 45). The inhumanity of Spanish colonisation led to Arawak revolts, which in turn led both to violent responses and their justification:

"[r]esistance and cannibalism became synonymous and also legitimized the brutal Spanish reaction" (Arens 49). In addition, royal policy prohibited the enslavement of the inhabitants of Spanish colonies (colonisation was, after all, officially intended for the islanders' *spiritual* rather than Spain's *economic* benefit), "except in the case of 'a certain people called Cannibals'" (Arens 49-50). This situational definition had devastating consequences for the peoples so defined:

Islands once thought to be inhabited by Arawak [the enemies of the Caribs or Cannibals] upon closer inspection turned out in reality to be overrun by hostile cannibals. Slowly but surely greater areas were recognized as Carib and their enslavement legalized . . . . Thus the operational definition of cannibalism in the sixteenth century was resistance to foreign invasion followed by being sold into slavery, which was held to be a higher status than freedom under aboriginal conditions. (Arens 51)

Both ethnic groups, the supposedly peaceful Arawaks as well as the supposedly ferocious cannibalistic Caribs, were victims of genocide as a result of being labelled cannibals on the basis of European supposition.

As Olive Dickason argues, in such situations eyewitness documentation of any practice deemed savage by Europeans plays a less important role than European perceptions about both the practice and its supposed practitioners. In France during the colonial period, for example,

two themes of innocence and bestiality developed side by side, opposite aspects of the same reality . . . . As the negative and positive views of Amerindians polarized and crystallized, the one upholding their superior virtue became chiefly a literary and theoretical position, while the one downgrading them became the guide for practical politics. (Dickason 51-2)

The noble, gentle savage is so defined according to European norms and needs; when those needs, particularly territorial desires, change, so does the operational definition of the savage. At the same time, in seventeenth-century France, the very term "sauvage" did not -- *could* not -- carry the relatively neutral connotation of

simply living in the woods. In that intensely religious age, the medieval habit of viewing man in moral terms was still far too deeply implanted for such a neutral use

to have been anything but desultory, and highly individual. While shades of emphasis could and did vary from writer to writer, the general implication was always clear: to be savage meant to be living according to nature, in a manner 'closer to that of wild animals than to that of man.' The beast far outweighed the innocent. (Dickason 63-4)

The foundation of such perceptions, Dickason argues, is the basic assumption that "it was not so much lack of reason or even retrogression that made [Amerindians] savages, but rather the fact that they were not like Europeans" (66).

The definition of non-European peoples as cannibals, from the first contact between old world and new recorded by Columbus, rests entirely on the basis of European perception of, or belief in, such gustatory practices. "As the Jesuits said of the Huron, beliefs, no matter how apparently ridiculous, are hard to eradicate" (Dickason 84), even though none of the famous texts of cannibalism includes actual eyewitness testimony. In fact, the absence of eyewitness evidence in many of the commonly-cited anthropological cases is itself used as proof, in an astounding tautology: since the civilising and colonising ventures of Europeans eradicate the inhuman practice, naturally it is never actually witnessed.

Such a ridiculous claim would be laughable were its consequences not so serious.

In examining the pervasiveness of the notion of others as cannibals, the implication that this charge denies the accused of their humanity is immediately recognizable. Defining them in this way sweeps them outside the pale of culture and places them in a category with animals. 'Those' people, whether they inhabit the next valley or another continent, lack culture because human beings do not eat each other. Eating human flesh succinctly signals an individual or group as non-human in a basic way. (Arens 140)

Almost any behaviour which would annihilate this inhuman practice -- or its practitioners -- is excusable, "while more sophisticated forms of dominance, such as enslavement and colonization, become an actual responsibility of the culture bearers" (Arens 141) (the proverbial "white man's burden"). Cannibalism becomes a mark of the savage, whose humanity is debatable; the question of time is relevant here, since cannibalism may also be identified in the prehistory, or pre-Christian

history, of European peoples. Thus present-day cannibals may be representatives, as Arens puts it, "of us as we once were" (19).

Even though accusations of cannibalism in Western European history (for example, Roman accusations that early Christians "used blood in mysterious secret rites" [Arens 19]) are summarily dismissed, similar statements made about non-European groups are treated quite seriously. Arens' attempt to debunk the myth of cannibalism as a prevalent cultural feature has been challenged by anthropologist Peggy Reeves Sanday, who treats cannibalism as a physical act which has cultural and symbolic meanings. However, Sanday does not discuss the Christian Mass -- in which the bread and wine of the Eucharist are transformed for the faithful into the body and blood of Christ, and consumed as such -- as an example of a cannibal ritual, even metaphorically. Instead she develops her analysis of cannibalism through examples from non-European cultures only, arguably proving Arens' point by default.

As in contemporary politics, however, so-called substance or reality is less important than image or representation. Tzvetan Todorov argues this point in *The Conquest of America*:

an event may not have occurred, despite the allegations of one of the chroniclers. But the fact that the latter could have stated such an event, that he could have counted on its acceptance by the contemporary public, is at least as revealing as the simple occurrence of an event which proceeds, after all, from chance. In a way, the reception of the statements is more revealing for the history of ideologies than their production: and when an author is mistaken, or lying, his text is no less significant than when he is speaking the truth; the important thing is that the text be 'receivable' by contemporaries, or that it has been regarded as such by its producer. From this point of view, the notion of 'false' is irrelevant . . . . (54)

At the "boundary where ideological justification for inhumanity [by Europeans, via conquest, colonisation, slavery, and genocide] becomes more important than fact," cannibalism functions as a discursive practice with textual rather than cultural or behavioural origins (Arens 54). The discrepancy between European claims of cannibalism in indigenous peoples and the historical

consequences of contact, *especially* when history is written by the conquerors, allows me to treat cannibalism as a discourse which serves to justify colonial or imperial appropriation. So it is within this context, this understanding of cannibalism, that I turn to the various texts of Cook's journals.

*A Digression, concerning Taboos*

*Although Sanday does not appear to recognise the hole in her argument regarding the Eucharist, the question of the nature of consumption of the Host involved in Communion is significant in relation to cannibalism. What makes the two different? Anthropological discourse tends to treat cannibalism as a practice shrouded in mystery and governed by taboo, a particularly important concept in relation to the South Pacific cultures encountered by Cook. However, the Christian Mass is arguably governed by as many taboos or mystical regulations as any so-called primitive rite. For example, until the last decade or so there was a taboo against eating before taking Communion, and then one against chewing the wafer, based on the fears of the early fathers that communicants' taking such an active role in the process of incorporation might arouse undesirable associations to less savoury religious practices. The emphasis remains firmly on spiritual as opposed to physical nourishment. This taboo is linked to another forbidding Roman Catholic communicants to use their hands to move the wafer to their mouths. Instead, the priest, as a representative of God, neutralises the act by serving as the agent by which the Host is incorporated into the communicant's body. In the Church of England, by contrast, communicants themselves place the host in their mouths (using the fingers or raising cupped hands to mouth) -- perhaps as a form of rebellion against Roman Catholic strictures. Possibly these cultural variations on a shared ritual suggest some point about England's imperial cannibalism relative to that of Catholic powers like France, Spain, and Portugal, although Cook (by all accounts not a particularly pious man, whose ships carried no chaplain or priest) might not be the best example of English devotion abroad; the*

*social taboos determined by religion were more important to his voyages than formal Church strictures.*

*The notion of taboo has long functioned as an organising principle in anthropological and historical accounts of Pacific cultures. Denning discusses its significance for Cook's last voyage:*

*In Hawaii, as elsewhere in Polynesia, the structural opposition of Native and Stranger was played out in an annual cycle of rituals. Eight months of the year belonged to the Stranger Chiefs, and were the time of human sacrifice and war, the time of *kapu* (taboo), and of those protocols of the dominance of chiefly power. It was the time in which the chiefs walked on the land like sharks and the people of the land, the commoners, obeyed all the *kapu*, bowed their heads to the ground, removed themselves from the way of the chiefs; they obeyed all the *kapu* or suffered death as *kapu* breakers. ("Sharks" 238-9)*

*In November 1778, Cook's ships arrived at Hawaii during the other season, "a reversed world in which the chiefs ritually lost their power to the people, when kapu and protocols were put aside, in which there were no sacrifices or wars, in which the god of the land, Lono, returned to the islands" (Denning, "Sharks" 429). Pleasantly surprised by the uncommonly welcoming reception, and the "extraordinarily generous" offerings of the Hawaiians who insisted on calling Cook Lono instead of the "usual versions" of his name (Tuti, Kuki), the English stayed at Hawaii for almost the whole of the makahiki season (four months beginning in October/November), leaving on 4 February, which was, "as far as computers can calculate, the last day of makahiki in that year" (Denning, "Sharks" 430, 433). However, the Resolution's sprung foremast forced the ships to return within ten days instead of the promised year. Denning argues that Cook's death resulted from this disruption of the Hawaiian calendar: "All Cook's gestures and threats, done in his eyes for the sake of propriety and discipline, were gestures out of season."<sup>15</sup> Returning during the time of war, human sacrifice, and kapu, Cook suffered the fate of kapu breaker: death.*

*In Western society, human sacrifice is frequently linked to assumptions of*

*cannibalism, and beyond that as well to the breaking of other taboos. The anthropological notion of taboo has become a metaphor for behaviour considered unacceptable by a society as a whole, with official condemnation of those deviant few who engage in it. The notion of guarding a particular sacredness in Pacific cultures is transformed into a notion of prohibition, ostracism, and boycott in European and North American metaphoric uses of the term. As such it becomes a kind of shorthand to describe any practice deemed grossly unacceptable (with the corresponding intimation that it verges on the primitive or savage): incest, situational cannibalism, or "that Unnatural Crime which ought never to be mentioned" (Samwell 1184).*

### **Cook the Herbivore**

Cook's nutritional discoveries were as significant for naval history as his territorial ones: not one man died of scurvy on any of his three voyages. James Watt suggests that the nutritional discoveries attributed to Cook properly belong to Dr. James Lind, and that "disaster was avoided [on Cook's voyages primarily] because they gathered fresh greens whenever they touched land" (40). Before the mid-eighteenth century, scurvy customarily took such a toll on naval crews that "it was common practice to doubly overstaff in preparation for the toll of this nutritional deficiency disease" (Burkhardt 13). In addition to provisioning the ships with a variety of antiscorbutics, Cook encouraged the crew to consume whatever greens they could gather on landing:

it is astonishing How we have Come to so little Damage in this way during so Long a time for it was the Custom of our Crews to Eat almost Every Herb plant Root and kinds of Fruit they Could Possibly Light [upon] with[out] the Least Inquirey or Hesitation or any Degree of skill & knowledge of their Qualitys, and as they have been so far Lucky as to Light upon Nothing Hurtfull I thing [*sic*] it is highly probable this disposition has been the principle Means of preserving Our Healths for such a Number of years Almost Constantly on the water. Captain Cook raised this spirit Amoungst us by his Example for scarc[e]ly any thing Came wrong to him that was Green and he was as Carefull in providing Vegetables for the Messess of the Crew as

for his own Table and I do Believe that in this Means Consisted his ground Art of preserving his people in Health During so Many of the Longest and Hardest Voyages that was Ever Made.

It was his practise to Cause great Quantities of Green Stuff to be Boiled Amoungst the pease Soup and wheat and Care'd Not Much wether they were Bitter or Sweet so as he was but Certain they had no Pernicious Quality and Frequently to one who Considered only the pleasing of their Taste without having Respect to health the Messess were somewhat spoiled But as there was Nothing Else to be got they were Obligated to Eat them and it was No Uncommon Thing when Swallowing Over these Mess[es] to Curse him heartyly and wish for gods Sake that he Might be Obligated to Eat such Damned Stuff Mixed with his Broth so Long as he Lived. Yet for all that there were None so Ignorant as Not to know how Right a Thing it was. But the Generality of them for all that will please their Palate and run the Risque of their health if it is Not to be procured or preserved but by Eating Things that are Bitter & disagreeable.

He would Frequently Order them on shore in partys to walk about the Country and smell the Fresh Earth and Herbage and from His Example and Disposition they were in a Manner Let to know that it was Expected they Woud ----- their Stomach with any green stuff that Could [be go]t if it was even at the Risque of geting the grip[es] ----- [w]alking About himself he was shure to be ----- and as he was Not Nice he Commonly Succeeded and in time the Men adopted the same Humour and Disposition as by Infectsin and perhaps in Many it Might be with a Veiw of making their Court to him, for they knew it was A great Recommendation to be seen Coming on board from A pleasure jaunt with A Hankerchif full of greens. (Home 1455-6)

Although flesh from ship's stores was consumed on all but the traditional Naval "banyen" (meatless) days (Monday, Wednesday, and Friday), both officers and crew supplemented their day's allowance with whatever fish or fowl they could catch, while Cook emphasised the consumption of vegetables in his dietary experiments: sauerkraut and salted cabbage were served on Beef days (Tuesday and Saturday). In addition, the ships carried carrot marmalade and "Saloupe and Rob of Lemons and Oranges" for the prevention and treatment of scurvy (Burkhardt 26). So-called "portable soup," made from cakes of beef broth, was served on banyen days with wheat or oatmeal for breakfast, with dried pease for dinner, and with whatever fresh vegetables could be obtained at landing-places. As Cook noted in the paper he presented to the Royal Society in 1776, portable soup "enabled us to make several nourishing and wholesome messes, and was the means of making the people eat a greater

quantity of greens than they would have done otherwise" (Cook, "Method" 405).

These dietary experiments were part of the scientific discovery of the voyages: in 1776, the Royal Society of London awarded Cook the Copley Gold Medal for his paper on these measures (Burkhardt 39). More interesting to me, however, is the high irony in the contrast between Cook's desire that the crew should eat as many vegetables as possible and the assumption of cannibalism in non-European peoples. (Indeed, there is a further ironic connection in that the party of Furneaux's men assumed to have been cannibalised at Grass Cove on the second voyage went there to gather not only grass for the ship's animals but also vegetables for the crew, particularly "Cellery" [Burney 751]). This contrast is also crucial in relation to European conceptions of the sexuality of foods, particularly leafy green and root vegetables, and assumptions regarding the sexuality of native peoples in the Pacific.

The lengthy quotation about Cook's endorsement of vegetables, and his Royal Society paper, indicates that although the captain encouraged the men to eat "almost every Herb plant Root and kinds of Fruit they could possibly light" upon, *greens* are mentioned more frequently than other kinds of vegetables. Indeed, the one vegetable carried in the ships' stores was a green one, at least in its original state: cabbage, both salted and pickled as sauerkraut. While root vegetables may seem more obviously sexual because of phallic shapes or supposed aphrodisiac qualities (as with the mandrake of Donne's "Song," 1633), there is a long-standing European tradition regarding the effects of leafy green vegetables on human sexuality. "'Lettuse,' as Andrew Boorde put it in 1542, 'doth extyncte veneryous [i.e., sexual] actes'" (qtd. in Visser 231). In addition to this assumption of the soporific qualities of lettuce, the system of humoral medicine classified it as an anaphrodisiac, largely because lettuce is ninety to ninety-five percent water and therefore "cold" (Visser 243). As such, lettuce is suitable fare for those who have sicknesses resulting from excessive heat and/or dryness, as well as

for those who wish to dampen sexual desire. Margaret Visser notes that by the end of the seventeenth century, lettuce was well-established as a salad vegetable in England: in his *A Discourse of Sallets*, John Evelyn wrote, "by reason of its soporiferous quality, lettuce ever was, and still continues the principal foundation of the universal tribe of sallets, which is to cool and refresh, besides its other properties'" contributing to morality, temperance, and chastity (243).

So in addition to nutritional reasons (the prevention of scurvy), moral and ideological ones (claiming that lettuce-like leafy greens cooled the passions) encouraged the consumption of green vegetables whenever possible on Cook's Pacific voyages. By the second and third voyages, lamenting the changes in Pacific cultures -- particularly what he considered the worsening and degraded morals of Polynesian women -- Cook has an extra incentive to encourage his crew and officers to supplement their standard fare with greens. A crewman consuming his "Hankerchif full of greens" at dinner might be less tempted to further erode the sexual mores of Pacific cultures after dinner, not to mention that shore leave could be spent more profitably in collecting those leaves advantageous to health (and possibly science, given the botanical interests of the voyages) than in engaging in sexual relations which might adversely affect it, by catching and/or spreading venereal diseases.

The contrast between Cook the herbivore and the supposed cannibal cultures of the Pacific constructs a simple division between "us" and "them." "We" Europeans -- including the readers of the published text of the journals, encouraged to identify with the whole grand adventure -- are moderate in *our* appetites, *our* diets governed by considerations of health and nutrition; the idea of consuming human flesh is repugnant to *us*. No mention is made of *our* unnatural or depraved sexual appetites; indeed, the Captain's tone in discussing the sexual conduct of his crew on shore leave is that of a father sorrowful and somewhat dismayed at the need of his sons to sow their wild oats,

while he takes what means he can to encourage continence. "They" -- the peoples of the Pacific -- on the other hand are governed by insatiable appetites in all matters of the flesh. *Their* sexual appetites shock *us* in their lack of cleanliness and chastity, and much of *their* diet is unpleasant if not actually disgusting.<sup>16</sup> Nothing, in fact, could more clearly highlight the contrast between "us" and "them" than the contrast between the cooling, healthful greens gathered on a shore jaunt to supplement the diet planned by a scientist lauded for his nutritional advances, eaten by "our men" in the Pacific, and the image of the steaming, bloody carcass of the victim of a cannibal feast.

#### *A Digression, concerning Animal Protein*

In *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist Vegetarian Critical Theory*, Carol J. Adams examines the interconnections between patriarchy and meat-eating -- both socially-sanctioned systems in which one life-form benefits materially and objectively from the oppression and domination of others. She questions the generally accepted split between humans and animals, and the shift -- in language -- which neutralises the death of an animal to produce the animal protein humans consume as "meat." Although she does not discuss cannibalism at length, Adams does draw attention to the somewhat bizarre distinctions meat-eating cultures make: cannibals are humans who eat the flesh of other humans, which is an unthinkable atrocity, while humans who eat the flesh of other animals merely follow (quite sensibly and properly) the dictates of nature, reason, and their bodily need for protein.

The politics of meat, Adams argues, are sexual: she cites anthropological studies which demonstrate that "women's status is inversely related to the importance of meat in non-technological societies" (35).<sup>17</sup> When meat is scarce it is women and children, particularly girl children, who go without -- even in situations such as pregnancy or lactation, when a woman's nutritional needs are in fact greater than those of a man. In meat-eating cultures,

*meat and masculinity are equated, and sometimes even conflated: meat is a necessary indicator, guarantor, and privilege of masculinity.*

It has traditionally been felt that the working man needs meat for strength. A superstitious analogy to homeopathic principles operates in this belief: in eating the muscle of strong animals we will become strong. According to the mythology of patriarchal culture, meat promotes strength . . . . The literal evocation of male power is found in the concept of meat. (Adams, SPM 30)

*Television ads aired in 1993-4 by Canadian beef producers depend upon this association between meat and power: they feature Canadian Olympic medallists (for example, swimmer Mark Tewkesbury and figure skaters Isabelle Brasseur and Lloyd Eisler) satisfying their post-workout hunger with a meal including beef. The traditional equation of meat-eating and physical strength has been extended to include women in these ads, as shots of Brasseur flying through the air and landing confidently indicate. Such an inclusion may strengthen the meat-eating message by simultaneously playing on the traditional female role of meal-planner and producer, suggesting that including beef in the diet is a wise choice, both economically and nutritionally. Significantly, when these Olympians are asked if vegetables alone will suffice after a workout, the answer is a definite negative; but the meal suggestion (for example, beef fajitas) includes only a few thin strips of beef supplementing a plate of mostly vegetables. Evidently, a little bit of beef transforms a meal from the mundane to the exciting, and into one which replaces those essential nutrients burned off during strenuous physical exertion.*

*The word "meat," like the word "man," is both generic -- referring to all foodstuffs and all humans -- and specific; the word "vegetables," like the word "woman," is always only specific. Vegetables are associated with femininity and weakness. Perhaps this association caused the reluctance of Cook's crew to eat the greens he encouraged; they preferred the traditional, masculine fare of suet (if there was no meat), feeling so deprived of this necessity that they licked the grease from the ships' riggings. The sexual politics of the voyage become more and more problematic. While native men are feminised, the association of their cannibal*

*feasts with a kind of ultimate masculinity (understood by tropes of animal strength and primitive virility as much as by those of disembodied reason and cool logic) enacts a nutritional one-upmanship: "where's the beef?"*

### **Cook at Nootka Sound**

The official edition of Cook's third voyage was edited by Dr. Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, commissioned by the Lords of the Admiralty, and published in 1784. Comparing specific passages from Douglas' edition with comparable moments in Beaglehole's scholarly edition reveals the difference between what I have called the tropes produced *by* Cook and the tropes *of* Cook produced by others. The first suggestion of Nootkan cannibalism in Douglas' edition reads as follows:

The articles which they offered to sale were skins . . . , weapons . . . ; fish-hooks, and instruments of various kinds; wooden vizors of many different monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff, or blanketing; bags filled with red ochre; peices of carved work; beads; and several other little ornaments of thin brass and iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which they hang at their noses; and several chissels, or peices [*sic*] of iron, fixed to handles. From their possessing which metals, we could infer that they had either been visited before by some civilized nation, or had connections with other tribes on their continent, who had communication with them. But the most extraordinary of all the articles which they brought to the ships for sale, were human skulls, and hands not quite stripped of the flesh, *which they made our people plainly understand they had eaten*; and, indeed, some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire. *We had but too much reason to suspect*, from this circumstance, that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies is as prevalent here, as we had found it to be at New Zealand and other South Sea islands. For various articles which they brought, they took in exchange knives, chissels, peices of iron and tin nails, looking glasses, buttons, or any kind of metal. Glass beads they were not fond of and cloth of every sort they rejected. (Douglas II, 270-1, my emphasis)

Beaglehole's scholarly edition of 1967, however, records this moment in Cook's journal in a rather less sensational way:

Their articles [for trade] were the Skins of various animals . . . , Weapons . . . , pieces of carved work and even human skulls and hands, and a variety of little articles too tedious to mention. For these they took in exchange, Knives, chissels, pieces of iron & Tin, Nails, Buttons, or any kind of metal. Beads they were not fond of and cloth

of all kinds they rejected. (Beaglehole III:1, 296-7)

There are a number of interesting discrepancies between these two passages. One is that Beaglehole's version -- based on Cook's logs and journals only -- is much shorter, primarily because Douglas lists what Beaglehole records as "a variety of little articles too tedious to mention." Another glaring discrepancy between the two texts is that although *Cook* does not ascribe cannibalism to the Nootka, *Douglas* (a ghostwriter whose name does not appear on the title page) does, using Cook's authority to record Nootkan practices as evidence of cannibalism among them.

Of course, first-person narration is another trope of the exploration and discovery genre which Douglas exploits to establish the truth-claim of eyewitness testimony when in fact he alters -- or edits -- the text quite radically. Douglas' use of such rhetorical devices as *litotes*, a form of understatement in which something is said by denying its opposite, gives the hardworking (and working-class) navigator (son of a day-labourer) the air of a gentleman on the Grand Tour.<sup>18</sup> For example, Cook's description of the manner of preserving fish at Nootka Sound, and the result, appears in Beaglehole thus:

They hang them on small rods at first about a foot from the fire, afterwards they remove them higher and higher to make room for others till they get to the roof of the house; when dryed they are made up into bales and covered with Mats; thus they are kept till wanting and *eat very well, but there is but little meat upon them*. In the same manner they cure Cod and other large fish, and some are cured in the air without fire. (Beaglehole, III:1, 303-4, my emphasis)

In Douglas' edition the same passage is virtually identical, except for one phrase:

They hang them on small rods, at first about a foot from the fire; afterward they remove them higher and higher, to make room for others, till the rods, on which the fish hang, reach the top of the house. When they are completely dried, they are taken down and packed close in bales, which they cover with mats. Thus they are kept till wanted; and *they are not a disagreeable article of food*. Cod, and other large fish, are also cured in the same manner by them; though they sometimes dry those in the open air, without fire. (Douglas II, 280, my emphasis)

Fish which for Cook "eat very well, but there is but little meat upon them" are transformed by

Douglas into "not a disagreeable article of food." A Captain's prosaic concern with provisioning his crew as efficiently (and in Cook's case as healthfully) as possible is recast as a mini-meditation on the pleasures of the table. In Douglas' edition of the journal, *litotes* establishes the qualities of gentility and discernment deemed essential in a Cook who was carefully being constructed, in James A. Williamson's phrase, as "the representative not only of England but of civilization" (qtd in Abbott 139). The plain-speaking Cook of the logbooks and journals is elevated by the rhetoric into an imperial hero.

Western humanism's traditional assumption that a written language is the external marker of civilisation is worth mentioning in the context of the journal's use of rhetoric. The rhetorical figures that Douglas puts in Cook's mouth highlight the hierarchical nature of Cook's relationship with these (or any other) Natives. The contrast between the monuments of western civilisation, personified by Cook, and the dumbshow of primitive culture -- unintelligible and (or perhaps because) illegible -- demonstrates European superiority to a European audience. Douglas' editing ensures and establishes the distance between a Native "them" and a European "us."

Douglas' edition of the journal -- a composite text which borrowed liberally from the accounts of the other officers without necessarily acknowledging them -- presents a Cook who ascribes cannibalism to the Nootka. Beaglehole's scholarly edition -- which adds pertinent information from the other officers' journals in the form of footnotes -- presents a Cook who does not. This discrepancy indicates at least the possibility that cannibalism operates as a discourse rather than as an observed behaviour within the encounter. The discourse of cannibalism is also at work in Beaglehole's edition, however, when he discusses the issue in a footnote, despite the fact that *Cook* mentions neither the word nor the practice. Significantly, this footnote takes up more space on the page than the passage it ostensibly annotates. Beaglehole splices one comment by Cook (not on

cannibalism) together with some comments on cannibalism from the other officers' journals; the words of the other officers occupy a great deal more space in the footnote than do Cook's. As if this were not enough, the footnote ends with commentary from twentieth-century historians and anthropologists on the issue of Nootkan cannibalism. My point here is that Beaglehole's scholarly edition, by giving the footnoted discussion more space than Cook's text, which does not even mention the practice, reinscribes cannibalism as a matter worthy of scholarly consideration.

*A Digression, concerning Complicity*

*Of course, my own treatment bears scrutiny here: how is my project different from Beaglehole's if merely mentioning or discussing the issue of cannibalism reinscribes it? What i have outlined in Beaglehole's textual footnote reaffirms what i have called (in the previous chapter) "the information or knowledge about Nootka Sound [offered as] an imperial history of consciousness . . . , a history of . . . reification" through the scholarly apparatus of the text. And i conclude that my project -- which interrogates, critiques, argues -- is different from Beaglehole's; i do not attempt (or desire) to achieve the sense of scholarly "objectivity" which pervades his work ("just the facts, ma'am"). True, the weight of the editor's considered opinion is frequently obvious, but the overwhelming impression is that Beaglehole presents the information, leaving Cook's tremendous accomplishments to speak for themselves. The editor constructed by the text is neither a proud parent nor an adoring acolyte anxious to show off on his prodigy's behalf, but a reasonable, dispassionate assessor of evidence.*

*More than our methodologies and presentations are different; Beaglehole and i reach rather different conclusions, i think. My analysis of supposed Nootkan cannibalism focusses not on its cultural significance for the Nootka, but instead on its cultural significance for the English crew and a European audience all too ready to believe in it. I treat cannibalism as*

*a discourse instead of a cultural practice to be proved or disproved (although i think my opinion that cannibals are like UFOs -- many reported sightings, i remain unconvinced -- has been clearly presented). Beaglehole's text, i regret to say, somehow still gives the impression (a taste or flavour perhaps) of the likelihood of Nootkan cannibalism, as if the scholarly apparatus of the footnote provides the information actually missing from Cook's account. Again, the real issues at stake are critical assumptions, scholarly methodology, and ultimately cultural constructions. Douglas as editor gives the impression that Cook claimed the Nootka were cannibals; Beaglehole as editor reveals that Cook did not in fact make this claim, but Beaglehole's edition, through the footnote, still somehow seems to make it for him. As critic, my project is to point to the construction of this mythology and to trace its creation, dissemination, and reification, offering -- instead of yet another construction of Cook -- a construction of constructions, about constructions. Am i different from Beaglehole? Yes and no. I am, no less than he is, a product of my environment and education. Do i want to destroy his life-work, trashing him in the process? No, but i do want to show this work the same respect he accords the records of Cook's voyages by trying to make sense of the whole in what is admittedly a radically different social and intellectual milieu.*

Beaglehole's footnote represents in miniature the development of the 'story' of Nootkan cannibalism. Although this story has been attributed to Cook, Beaglehole's edition of the *text* of the journal reveals that Cook was *not* in fact the source. In effect, Douglas has put words from the accounts of the other officers into Cook's mouth, as the footnote reveals by citing sources:

'One man offered to barter a child of about five or six years of age for a spike-nail; I am satisfied we did not mistake his intention.' --Log, 1 April. 'We bought 3 or 4 Human hands which they brought to sell, they appeared to have been lately cut off as the flesh was not reduced to an horny substance but raw--they made signs that they were good eating, & seemed to sell them to us for that purpose or at least all of us understood them in that light. They likewise brought on board two or three Human

Skuls & offered them to sale--our Surgeon bought one of them.' --Bayly JT, 30 March. Edgar was more careful in examining these suspected cannibals. At first there was 'all the reason in the World to think they were so. But it was evident we did not understand them or that they did not understand us, for I had this morning a most Convincing Proff of the falsity of our notions.' He bought a hand from one man 'and then desir'd him to Eat it, which he would not do, I then offered him more Iron & Brass than wou'd have purchas'd one of their most Elegant dresses, if he would eat part of it, all which offers he treated with Great Contempt & departed in Great anger. Yet there are several Gentlemen in the two Ships, who still continue prepossessed of their former opinion.' --Edgar, 25 April. (Beaglehole III:1, 297)

Bayly's description demonstrates how a partial account -- based on assumption, expectation, and (wilful?) misinterpretation -- may become the whole truth; even his admission of the possibility of misunderstanding ("or at least all of us understood them in that light") strengthens his claim to credibility, since he has apparently considered that he might be mistaken in his reading of the evidence. By contrast, Edgar's experiment disproving Nootkan cannibalism is ignored by "several Gentlemen in the two Ships, who still continue prepossessed of their former opinion," and by Douglas also. The idea, the expectation, and the assumption of cannibalism among the savages is so deeply entrenched that physical evidence to the contrary (both the absence of eyewitnessed cannibal feasts and Edgar's experiment revealing Nootkan disgust at the idea to equal European horror) challenging that assumption is invisible, edited out. And indeed, the one comment by Cook suggesting a similarity between the Nootka and Europeans -- participation in a slave economy -- is glossed over or buried under a discussion about a supposed cultural difference, the literal cannibalism of the Nootka in contrast to the metaphoric cannibalism of English colonialism (suggested by Swift's *Modest Proposal* earlier in the century).

The process which Hulme calls "historical alibi, in which a story of origins is told," true only in the sense that it is not false, is clearly evident in the accounts of the month at Nootka Sound (Hulme 15). For example, the account of the American marine corporal John Ledyard, independently published in the United States in 1783, makes the most explicit claim for cannibalism -- not only

among the Nootka. Ledyard devotes almost half his description of Nootka Sound to an attempted explication of the origins of the practice of cannibalism, complete with Biblical precedent.

The circumstance of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac to which he was enjoined by the Deity, though he absolutely did not do it, yet was sufficient to introduce the idea that such a sacrifice was the most pleasing to God, *and* as it was an event very remarkable it probably became an historical subject, *and* went about among other tribes, *and* was handed down among them by tradition, *and* liable to all the changes incident thereto, *and* in time the story might have been that Abraham not only offered but really did sacrifice his own son. (74)

Not only is his account riddled with probability and might-have-beens, it also accepts unquestioningly that Judeo-Christian myths of origin can explain the "savage" practices of people who have been described as probably having never seen Christians before, and establishes -- once again -- the superiority of Europeans who *know* "absolutely" that Abraham did not in fact kill Isaac, but was able to make a sacrifice more pleasing to Jehovah at the last minute. The paratactic structure of Ledyard's explanation -- one very long sentence of ninety-six words -- betrays a kind of hysteria in the hyper-accumulation of phrases beginning with "and" as well as its own tentativeness in the inability of such structures to demonstrate or enact causality. However, Ledyard alone records that many of the crew partook of a cannibal feast, "a human arm roasted": "I have heard it remarked," he writes, "that human flesh is the most delicious, and therefore tasted a bit, and so did many others without swallowing the meat or the juices, but either my conscience or my taste rendered it very odious to me" (73). Apparently, not finding the meat "delicious" is enough to disqualify the Europeans from the ranks of the cannibal savages.

Ledyard takes what he reads as the appearance of cannibal practices as proof positive -- although, as Archer puts it, his account "proved absolutely nothing about the Nootka and identified only one known cannibal -- Ledyard himself!" (463). Other officers, a little more critically minded or perhaps not counting on revenues from book sales, refused to judge on the scanty evidence

presented. King writes, "as we cannot be said to converse with the people, we can only judge from outward actions, & not knowing all the Causes that give rise to them, we must be constantly led into error" (1406). Similarly, Samwell records "we were led to think that these People are Cannibals, however of this we had no certain proof" (1092). But most of the journals of Cook's subordinates were not published until recently, many of them in Beaglehole's 2-volume scholarly edition of the third voyage. (Cook's death in Hawaii made establishing an authoritative text more difficult; Beaglehole presents extracts from the other officers' accounts to give readers and scholars as complete a text as possible, as well as a more multi-dimensional sense of the voyage.)

In the same year that the official edition of Cook's journal was published, another appeared, claiming to be "a copious, comprehensive, and satisfactory Abridgement" published by John Stockdale, Scatcherd and Whitaker, John Fielding, and John Hardy. If Douglas implied that the Nootka were cannibals, this later 1784 edition presents Nootkan cannibalism as a fact. At a point in his edition which corresponds (roughly) to parallel observations from Cook's journal in Douglas and Beaglehole's editions, Stockdale's Cook states:

Among all the articles, however, which they exposed to sale, the most extraordinary were human skulls, and hands, with some of the flesh remaining on them, *which they acknowledged they had been feeding on*; and some of them, indeed, bore evident marks of having been upon the fire. From this circumstance, *it was but too apparent*, that the horrid practice of *devouring* their enemies, is practised here, as much as at New-Zealand, and other South-sea islands. (Stockdale II, 211, my emphasis)

No longer is cannibalism merely suspected, as in Douglas' edition: Stockdale's edition declares that the Nootka are so depraved as to acknowledge readily that they *devour* their enemies (in contrast to Douglas' relatively neutral "feeding on"). In this later 1784 edition, even Douglas' innocent-sounding chapter heading, "Articles brought to barter" (Douglas II, 269) is made much more sinister and incriminating: "Variety of Articles brought to Barter, particularly human skulls" (Stockdale II, 209). By the end of 1784, the savages of the Pacific are served up for European consumption as cannibals

one and all.

Douglas' phrase "we had but too much reason to suspect that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies, is as prevalent here, as we had found it to be at New Zealand" acquired the status of historical truth in less than one year. Beaglehole's footnoted discussion of cannibalism makes clear, by its inclusion of twentieth-century scholarly comment on the subject, that Nootkan cannibalism is not a dead issue (as does my treatment of it here). However, it was not inevitable that Europeans identify cannibalism as a Nootkan practice. Archer notes that the Spaniards who first made contact with coastal societies in 1774, and who "traditionally employed ethnological research and data collection for the end of eventual religious conversion," make no mention of cannibalism until *after* reading Cook's published journal, which "became the authoritative handbook for all who would navigate in the North Pacific and contact the Northwest Coast inhabitants" (Archer 461, 462). Whether or not the Nootka actually were cannibals is immaterial (to scholars, if not to the people whose realities have been shaped by the charge<sup>19</sup>). Douglas recorded the suspicion of Nootkan cannibalism in his edition of Cook's *Journal* in such a manner as to inscribe *both* doubt and certainty, invoking all the authority of expertise gained by Cook in two previous voyages around the world among people for whom, Douglas says, the "horrid practice . . . is prevalent." Douglas gave the label to the peoples of the northwest coast, and it stuck.

### **So What? Reading and Cannibalism**

Cannibalism as a discourse is *read* (by Europeans) as if between the lines of everyday behaviour manifested in trade relations or religious practice; it provides a key which unlocks the mysteries of the new world sign system. In a new collection of essays, *Literature and the Body*, which presents several critical attempts to "learn how to read 'the body,'" Stephen Slemon asks "why

is it that the cannibal figure is almost never fully present in colonialist representations?" (164). Although the cannibal encounter is the defining feature of colonial discourse, it is an encounter "both paradigmatic and deferred" -- that is, to repeat Arens' point, never actually witnessed but almost always assumed, on the basis of conspicuously doctored if not exceedingly suspect evidence. If cannibalism is a textual and discursive rather than a gustatory practice (all image, no substance, or the representation of a non-event), perhaps the cannibal moment really is textual in the most basic sense, occurring in the act of *reading*. In other words, (European) readers are the true man-eaters, consuming the representation of non-Europeans as cannibals in colonialist texts and imagining that the true substance of the lives of savage peoples in far-off lands is being incorporated into European knowledge.

Bill Livant's examination of "The Imperial Cannibal" begins with exactly this premise, that cannibals are to be found at the imperial centre rather than at its margins: "the empire is a consumer of lives and much else besides. It is only when we listen to those *being eaten*, eaten alive, that the essence of the empire is revealed: *consumption*. The empire is something that eats. It does not feed us, it feeds *on* us, feeds *off* us" (27). He develops his argument by examining Swift's *Modest Proposal* (1729), a text in which an Irish poverty class -- a drain on the Commonwealth -- will be transformed from consumers to consumed by means of the modest proposal. Just as their parents have been devoured by the English conquest and the corresponding appropriation of lands and "material conditions necessary for them to produce their existence," Irish babies should be acceptable as commodities and foodstuffs for English landlords (Livant 29). Irony moves into social and political commentary in the narrator's description of the landlords as those who, "as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children" (Swift, *Modest Proposal* 441). The ironic brilliance of the proposal lies in the fact that the landlords' appetite for consuming

is as renewable, as endless, a resource as are babies<sup>20</sup>: "the appetite for devouring...accumulating...the conditions of existence...is *insatiable*. For it is an appetite of this same group of people constituted as an imperial class. It is a *class appetite* -- an appetite not for *personal consumption* but for *class consumption*" (Livant 30). The proposal depicting the imperial relationship as one of cannibalism means that this appetite is for national, imperial, as well as personal and class, consumption. The metaphor extends beyond England and Ireland (England's only remaining colony) to characterise the empire as a voracious appetite; the object of consumption is ultimately not an object but the process of consumption itself, the process of eating, of incorporation, where (not meaning but) satisfaction is endlessly deferred.

This process of imperial cannibalism begins with representation, with reading. As Maggie Kilgour argues in *From Communion to Cannibalism*,

From Plato's *Symposium* on, feasting and speaking have gone together, and there is a long tradition of seeing literature as food . . . .

Reading is therefore eating, an act of consumption. But in part this is simply because it belongs to a tradition which, as Genesis most dramatically represents, sees knowledge as the food with which we feed our egos. Not only do we, like Saint John, devour books, but we also swallow food for thought, then ruminate or chew it over until it is well digested. For homo sapiens, to think is to taste, as in the act of knowledge we imagine that we draw the outer world into our minds and possess it. All our senses make contact with the world outside of ourselves. We 'take things in' with our eyes and absorb sounds through our ears; both seeing and hearing are therefore considered to be more refined versions of taste. However, as a model for knowing, taste is not only the most basic and bodily way of making contact with the world outside of the individual but also the most intimate and intense way, resulting in a strict identity between eater and eaten. (8-9)

Just as the products from the reaches of empire converge upon and enrich the imperial centre,

the discourse of cannibalism assists in the taxonomic regulation of cultural difference through a politics of control, splitting the field of human relations through space and by time, enabling the self/other tropics of European modernity to inhabit the comforting binary opposition of civilization versus savagery. Neither of these two spheres needs to be monolithic. If Europe can articulate a managed *difference* in the field of 'nature', it can also countenance a potentially disruptive 'savagery' at home and thus explain away its most egregious violations. (Slemon 165)

Cannibalism, at the centre of the European travelogue according to Michel de Certeau in his reading of Montaigne's "Of the Cannibals," "functions primarily for Europe in the material production of *words*: 'the discourse that sets off in search of the other with the impossible task of saying the truth returns from afar with the authority to speak in the name of the other and command belief'" (Slemon 166). As a discourse, it "enables mobility for the imperial subject and permits the political production of *meaning*. De Certeau thus calls cannibalism 'an *economy of speech*, in which the body is the price'" (Slemon 166). It establishes the authority of colonialist texts which purport to give voice to the hitherto silent bodies of people soon to become colonialist subjects -- and whose territories, products, crafts, and cultures are soon to be devoured by European empires and readers.

Cannibalism certainly seems to be at the ideological centre of the colonialist text. As a practice it is frequently mentioned, then endlessly analysed and theorised. For example, William Wales treats an incident of supposed cannibalism (of Furneaux's men) in New Zealand on the second voyage (23 November 1773) as an exercise in logic, deducing a number of corollaries which follow, and concluding:

their practice of this horrid Action is from Choice, and the liking which they have for this kind of Food; and this was but too visibly shewn in their eagerness for, and the satisfaction which they testified in eating, those inconsiderable scraps of the worst part on board the Ship . . . . (Wales 819)

Typically, Wales devotes more space to his theory of Maori cannibalism developed in response to the incident than he does to its description. Perhaps this is not surprising, if, as Slemon suggests, cannibalism amounts to the "darkness's ultimate deferral" (163). The paradox remains: Wales' brief description of "the satisfaction which they testified in eating" is less representative of colonialist depictions of cannibalism than Burney's account of the scene of the presumed massacre and cannibalism at Grass Cove a few days later.

. . . on the beach were 2 bundles of Cellery which had been gather'd for loading the

Cutter -- a plain proof that the attack was made here -- a broken piece of an Oar was stuck upright in the Ground to which they had tied their Canoes -- I then searchd all along at the back of the beach to see if the Cutter was there -- we found no boat -- but instead of her -- *Such a shocking scene of Carnage & Barbarity as can never be mentioned or thought of, but with horror* -- whilst we remained almost stupefied on this spot Mr Fannin call'd to us . . . . (Burney 751, my emphasis)

"Such a shocking scene of Carnage & Barbarity as can never be mentioned or thought of" -- or, apparently, conveyed in words -- "but with horror": Burney is "stupefied" and his narrative is momentarily frozen in its tracks as he tries to take in the unimaginable scene before him. Did I say unimaginable? For surely European readers were (and are) only too ready to supply the imagination to furnish the scene, aided by any number of artists' renditions and engravings. (See figures 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 for popular European representations of the matter-of-factness of new-world cannibalism that the title of the Huxley engraving -- *The Human Butcher Shop* -- reveals; by contrast, figure 3.6 depicts both what Europeans thought of as new world peoples' savagery and native impressions of the nature and extent of European greed.)

Here the sexual subtheme running through this chapter again becomes explicit, another way of distinguishing between 'noble' and 'bloodthirsty' savages, played out in the vexing philosophical arenas of nakedness and diet. Does the nakedness of aboriginal peoples signify the absence of shame, an Edenic purity, or lascivious immodesty? Is the new world a Paradise where fruits fall off the tree and vegetables await cultivation, or a wilderness peopled by the descendants of Shem and Ham, characterised by the consumption of foodstuffs, such as insects, forbidden by the Old Testament as unclean? I've reduced these extremely complex issues to binary oppositions to suggest the polarisation of European perspectives on them as revealed in colonialist texts, including Cook's *Journal*. However, they do manage to co-exist, or more correctly they *necessarily* co-exist, and are played off against each other for reasons advancing the interests and power of Europeans.

The first English fur-trading vessel arrived at Nootka Sound one year after Cook's official



FIGURE 3.2 *America*, engraving by Cornelius Visscher. Reproduced from Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, plate 81, p. 80.

FIGURE 3.3 Columbus' fleet attacked by Cannibals. Reproduced from Hulme, fig. 7, p. 44.



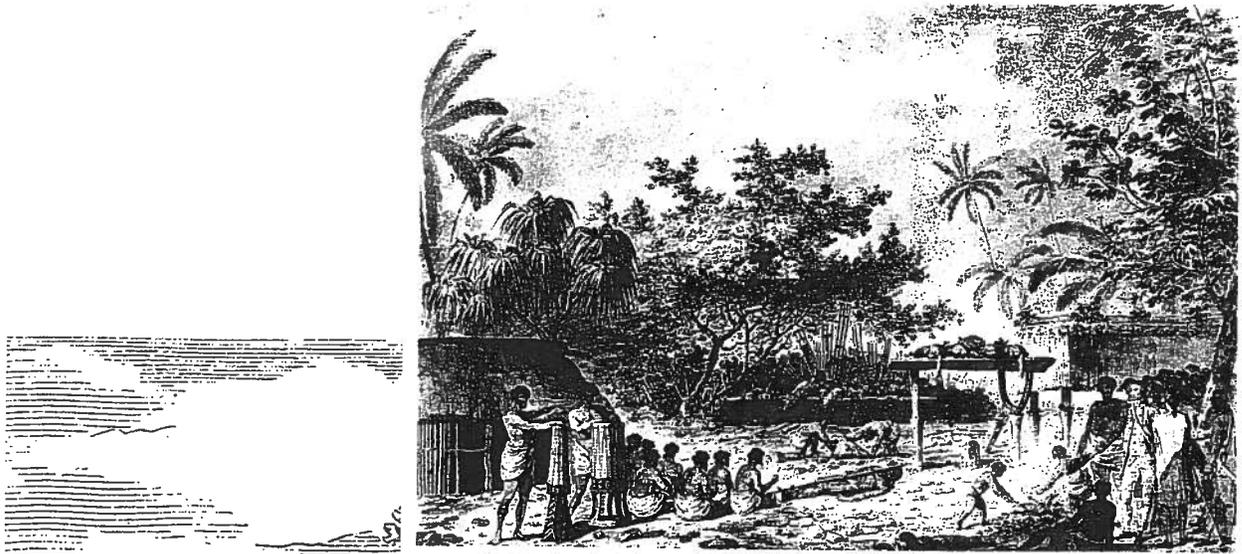


FIGURE 3.4 *A Human Sacrifice at Otaheite*, pen, wash, and watercolour by John Webber, c. 1777. Reproduced from Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, plate 174, p. 191.



FIGURE 3.5 *The human butcher shop*. Reproduced from Patrick Brantlinger, "Victorians and Africans," *'Race,' Writing, and Difference*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986), fig. 7, p. 204.



FIGURE 3.6 Amerindians pouring gold into the mouths of Spaniards to satisfy the visitors' greed. Reproduced from Olive Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginning of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), p. 136.

journal was published, lured by reports of the huge profits to be made selling Nootka Sound furs in China. The motives of later writers and publishers, particularly of traders' accounts, and the ways their interests could be served by perpetuating the idea of Nootkan cannibalism, must also be considered. As in the Stockdale edition of 1784, cannibalism served as a sensational hook, a marketing technique to increase book sales (in an age when public executions were a form of entertainment<sup>21</sup>). As well, Archer argues, fur-traders' tales of unimaginable ferocity and savagery among native trading partners functioned "either to deter the more fainthearted competitors from entering their prime sea-otter preserves or to keep their bored and sometimes mutinous crews from deserting to live with the Indians. Indeed, fear of being eaten on Northwest Coast duty was a preoccupation of many seamen" (465).

Racism, as a discourse which maintains social and economic institutions (such as slavery in the eighteenth century), is at work in the texts of Cook's time at Nootka Sound in 1778: cannibalism as a racial, and racist, discourse was motivated by the desire for economic profit and social control (in Europe and in the European environment of the ship). Two facts about Nootka Sound and its inhabitants emerge from Douglas' edition of the third voyage: the people of Nootka Sound are cannibals and the furs traded there sell for astronomical prices in China. The first statement, attributed to Cook by Douglas, was maintained and perpetuated by later writers (upon whom Cook's influence cannot be overestimated), passing into and *constituting* European knowledge of the Pacific coast. European desire for profit from the furs was evidently greater than the fear of being eaten, however. Spanish, Russian, and American ships met those of English traders as soon as they could be outfitted; twenty years after Cook, part of George Vancouver's duty at Nootka Sound was to establish England's claim to it (over that of Spain) by mapping, therefore knowing and (implicitly) possessing it. In the international dispute known as the Nootka Sound Controversy (over the

competing claims of England and Spain to the coast), the potential claim to ownership by the Nootka was not considered. Such dispossession is the rule of imperial and colonial expansion. But I want to suggest that the discourse of cannibalism, by creating an image of ultimate savagery at Nootka Sound, offered an ideological justification (in support of economic goals) for claiming European possession of the land and -- in the name of civilisation -- for dispossessing its original inhabitants.

## Chapter Four and Conclusion

### The Aftermath

For the purposes of this chronicle, British Columbia's history began in 1778 when Captain Cook and his crew became the first white men to set foot upon her territory. (Akrigg 4)

. . . there is still a special drama about the moment of first contact, the day when a Haida or a Nootka chief danced before a Spanish or English captain, scattering the eagle down of welcome over the water and taking his place -- the first of his kind -- in the actual historical record. (Woodcock 15)

The official account of Cook's third voyage, published in 1784, marks the entrance of Nootka Sound as a territory into English history, a history of later imperial appropriation and colonial settlement. This statement itself reveals some of the assumptions governing European history and -- until fairly recently -- a European understanding of new-world history: that it is written, and that it records momentous arrivals and encounters rather than "the trivial round, the common task" of daily life. For the crew of the third voyage, as for readers of the published account, this month at Nootka Sound was only one in a series of more exciting encounters (for example, the death of Cook at Hawaii a year later); Nootka Sound was largely interesting for the opportunity it offered Captain and crew to practise a little comparative anthropology. However, its consequences have been far-reaching: the official account of this "unknown coast" (Ledyard 69) and its inhabitants in words and pictures was "widely read in all the main languages of Europe" (Smith, *EVSP* 112). Since the text itself became a manual or primer, "the authoritative handbook for all who would navigate in the North Pacific and contact the Northwest Coast inhabitants" (Archer 462), the information it presented -- for example, the presumed cannibalism of the Nootka, the abundance of good timber, and the trade value of fur pelts in China -- became part of European knowledge as a means of exploitation. Here I must make the distinction between the historical reality -- actual events and their consequences -- and the

written record of those events. This record, the discourse of history, is governed by assumptions and ideals of scientific objectivity and linguistic transparency, although analysis reveals how social values, historical assumptions, and conventional paradigms -- encoded in the very language used to record, as well as in the recording individual -- actually inform and colour historical discourse in general (and specific examples of it, such as Cook's month at Nootka Sound).

Dening's description and analysis of Europeans encountering the Marquesas Islands (Te Enata, or The Land) and their inhabitants (The Men) articulates the gap between assumptions of objectivity in historical records and the embodied, subjective imperatives of the recorders:

Because [the Europeans] came in ships, each one of them came divorced from the ordinary circumstances of their lives. That was their common mark. They brought their ordinary world in their heads, in their values and perceptions, in their language and judgements; but they lived extraordinary lives on their ships, on their beaches . . . . The quality of this extraordinary life, its systems, its relationships, its rituals, its boundaries, was what was transported to The Land, was seen by The Men, determined their actions among the [Europeans]. The quality of the life they held in their heads, its categories, its norms, its values, its perceptions of role and environment, was the backdrop against which they lived their lives in The Land. Their construction in new places was a remaking of this more natural, more familiar world. They would remake their islands in their own image. (*IB* 6)

Cook's month at Nootka Sound functions both as an historical event -- a set of relations (social, economic, political, cultural, sexual) between two groups of people in 1778 -- and a story told about that event, part of a larger, more popular story. Images from Cook's voyages, in his journals and in the visual records of Banks and Webber, transformed the European imagination and art practice. European philosophical debates regarding 'the nature of man' were also deeply influenced by Cook's voyages: "the cult of the noble savage gained ground, especially when South Sea voyagers such as Captain Cook returned with such handsome prize specimens as Omai the Tahitian and reports of an Edenic Polynesia" (Porter, *ESEC* 268). Published texts of explorers' journals were devoured by eighteenth-century English readers; so popular were these *Voyages* that "the British Admiralty

followed the practice of confiscating all journals written on government-sponsored sailing expeditions so that an official version could be produced with careful editing" (Adams, *TLEN* 42). Presumably this practice was motivated by financial and economic concerns (the possibility of recouping some of the costs of outfitting these voyages through book sales) as well as by the more political ones of avoiding embarrassment, whether at home or internationally, and controlling exactly what information passed into the public realm, and so on. However, the actual event cannot be separated from the story; what "actually happened" -- or what we can know of it -- is no more or less than the narrative itself, the textual and editorial choices (made by Cook, by King [whose journal completes the official account of the third voyage after Cook's death], and by the editor who prepared the text for publication) that transform the story into discourse.

Earlier travel writers -- Mandeville and Columbus for example -- wrote matter-of-factly about the monsters to be found in strange lands. As Hulme has argued, Columbus, accustomed to the idea of 'anthropophagy' from the Classical tradition, accepted quite readily that his informants' enemies were 'cannibals' in the same way that he initially assumed, or chose to assume, that the people of 'caniba' were 'soldiers of the Khan': believing is seeing, not the other way around. For Columbus,

the people of 'Carib' are unproblematically the 'monsters' -- due to their anthropophagy -- that many people, he says, expected that he would find. They correspond to Herodotean expectations and are firmly locked into that grid by the confirmatory evidence of the island of women ('Matinino'), the Amazons of classical ideology. (Hulme 43)

Dickason makes a similar point in her analysis of seventeenth-century French conceptions of Amerindians as savage, whether noble or bloodthirsty. (Indeed, as Brian Moore notes in the "Author's Note" to his novel *Black Robe*, "Les Sauvages" was the generic French term for Amerindians.<sup>1</sup>) Such a discourse is so self-supporting that even assertions *against* Amerindian savagery support the very notion that they try to undercut; historically, statements that Amerindians

were savage in name only "were regarded as a defense of le bon sauvage" (Dickason 82). The very idea of le bon sauvage, in turn, called to mind his opposite, 'l'homme sauvage': the degree or outward manifestation varied, but the expectation of savagery remained constant.

. . . the process of identifying Amerindians with savages operated on the level of ideology as well as on that of popular mythology. To Europeans, reports that Amerindians lived 'by eating roots, both men and women totally naked' implied not only that they were living without rules at all, although that was how it was usually stated, but according to the rules of the non-human world around them. (Dickason 83)

Moore's novel (published in 1985) illustrates the very issues Dickason discusses: the assumption of savagery, including cannibalism, among native peoples, and its role in the history of their contact with Europeans.

Two of the [Iroquois] warriors at once seized and held Laforgue. Kiotsaeton took from his belt a razor-sharp clam shell. Taking Laforgue's left hand he pulled on the index finger; then, using the clam shell like a saw, cut to the bone. He sawed through the bone and pulled the skin and gristle free. He held up the finger joint. The crowd roared and cheered. He threw the piece of finger into the cooking kettle. In excruciating pain, Laforgue fell to his knees and then, in a scene so terrible that it surpassed horror or pity or forgiveness or rage, he saw three older women take from the cooking kettle the limbs of the dead child and pass them, parboiled, to the warriors who had captured Chomina's party. The warriors paraded up and down before Chomina and his daughter, eating the flesh as though it were succulent meat. Chomina stood, singing loudly, his eyes on the rafters. The girl vomited on the ground. (Moore 161)

This grisly scene of torture and cannibalism, by savages beyond the realm of human emotion and, by extension, of humanity, does not lie lost in such dusty historical records as the *Jesuit Relations*; presented as a way of understanding the Canadian past, it still has a place in contemporary stereotypes. As a discourse, then, savagery (like cannibalism) creates a mythology which influences the so-called real world of practical politics, where perception is all and seeming takes priority over being. In the same way, the accuracy of Cook's descriptions of and opinions about the people of Nootka Sound (or anywhere else in the Pacific, for that matter) is not the issue. Rather, his ability

to represent them, and the authority granted him to do so by the Lords of the Admiralty and the reading public, who took his account (or his editor's) as gospel, takes centre stage as the focus of analysis.

### **Contact, Conflict, Conquest: Settler History**

Paul Carter opens *The Road to Botany Bay* by presenting a contrast: Botany Bay then and now. "Before the name: what was the place like before it was named? How did Cook see it? . . . What we see is what the firstcomers did not see: a place, not a historical space" (xiii-xiv). A moment that has meaning only in hindsight, a moment that is a "moment" significant and distinct from those preceding and following it only in retrospect. Here I have fallen into the trap, jumping from space to place in time as the marker of history, treating Cook's seeing that space as the moment announcing its entry into history as a place with a record. This is also a "moment" created and given meaning by my expectation that history is serious business, matter to be enacted on an appropriately imposing stage. And yet the place that Cook named and Carter discusses, Botany Bay, presumably had a name and a meaning -- a place in marked and known human space -- before Cook arrived. P.K. Page's poem "Cook's Mountains" makes this point:

By naming them he made them.  
 They were there  
 before he came  
 but they were not the same.  
 It was his gaze  
 that glazed each one.  
 He saw  
 the Glass House Mountains in his glass.  
 They shone. (Page)

Like his gaze through the glass, which reflects and transforms the mountains, Cook's "tongue / silvered with paradox and metaphor" speaks both the mountains and the speaker himself into

existence: he sees, they shine, and both "become / the sum of shape and name. / Two strangenesses united into one . . ." (Page). The newly-named mountains affirm Cook's power to name them, and so automatically "[reflect] Cook upon a deck" -- the deck of H.M.S. *Endeavour*, sign and signifier of imperial power (Page). In addition, the appropriation (or bestowing) of aboriginal words as place names further demonstrates the exercise of power implicit in naming. The use of aboriginal names legitimates not aboriginal claims to territory, but European claims to possession, or the claim of a particular European to discovery (as Cook, at St George's Island, restores its "native name of Tahiti" in order to establish "his precedence there over the island's earlier English visitor, Samuel Wallis" [Carter 67]). Aboriginal spatial histories<sup>2</sup> can be and were dislodged, signifiers divorced from their signs, by the exercise of European power and languages.<sup>3</sup>

So these different spatial histories -- or an aboriginal spatial history and a European history of place -- as reproduced by Europeans, at least, record a European understanding of two separate moments in time. Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* reformulates the notion of the colonial frontier as a "'contact zone' . . . , the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (6). Instead of referring only back to Europe, and European values and aspirations, the notion of a contact zone suggests living, interactive processes and actors (with their own respective understandings, histories, and agendas), as well as "spatial and temporal copresence" (Pratt *IE* 7). New-world peoples, as much as Europeans, are historical agents occupying not a shadowy past but the very moment of contact, participants in the "interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination" (Pratt *IE* 7). Europeans own historical discourse, own History; the peoples they encountered enter (European) history at the

moment of contact. Their existence up to that moment in time comes under the vague heading "pre-history," which really means, in Eric Wolfe's phrase, "'without history,' supposedly isolated from the external world and from one another" (4). This distinction is crucial: they exist, not before, or prior to European history as the prefix "pre" suggests, but *without*. So-called prehistoric peoples thus represent, for Europeans, a blank in the map of human consciousness, just as their territories are imaged as uninhabited blank spaces on (European) maps rapidly being filled in during the eighteenth century.

Europeans present or conceptualise the history outside of which these pre-historic peoples exist in different ways. Wolfe argues that the genealogy is crucial: European history begins with Greece, which rose, flourished, and declined, passing the torch as it were to Rome, and then on (in turn) to Christian Europe, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, political revolutions resulting in political democracy, and industrial revolution (the union of the last two producing the United States: the culmination of history). Nations and peoples have their moment in the spotlight, then fade into oblivion. As Wolfe notes, such a developmental scheme misleadingly suggests that the fall of empires is final and conclusive.

It is misleading, first, because it turns history into a moral success story, a race in time in which each runner of the race passes on the torch of liberty to the next relay. History is thus converted into a tale about the furtherance of virtue, about how the virtuous win out over the bad guys. Frequently, this turns into a story of how the winners prove they are virtuous and good by winning. If history is the working out of a moral purpose in time, then those who lay claim to that purpose are by that fact the predilect agents of history.

The scheme is misleading in a second sense as well. If history is but a tale of unfolding moral purpose, then each link in the genealogy, each runner in the race, is only a precursor of the final apotheosis and not a manifold of social and cultural processes at work in their own time and place. (5)

Wolfe describes one model of the process by which historical discourse distorts by describing what happened after the fact -- i.e., in hindsight, looking back -- as inevitable. This example is of

"schoolbook histories of the United States," informed by a *teleological understanding* that thirteen colonies clinging to the eastern rim of the continent would, in less than a century, plant the American flag on the shores of the Pacific" (6). Wolfe's point is instructive: the myriad of other possibilities for political and social organisation can be unthinkable or meaningless "only if we assume a God-given drive toward geopolitical unity on the North American continent" (6). Perhaps his method can be applied to the blindspot revealed here: Canadians, although schoolbook versions of *our* history tend also to be formulated with the "teleological understanding" of the birth of the nation, a colonial history, know that "geopolitical unity" is not yet a fact on the North American continent. The greatest flaw in such a teleological understanding of history lies in its inherent inability, "in material terms for what happened at each juncture, to account for how some relationships gained ascendancy over others" (Wolfe 6).

Carter uses a different metaphor from Wolfe's genealogy or post-Darwinian notions of progress, but approaches the same problem as Wolfe: what to do with the presumption that nothing else but what actually happened could have happened, the ironing out of all other possibilities. He theorises the replacement of a "spatial event" with an "historical stage":

According to our historians, it was always so. Australia was always simply a stage where history occurred, history a theatrical performance. It is not the historian who stages events, weaving them together to form a plot, but History itself. History is the playwright, coordinating facts into a coherent sequence: the historian narrating what happened is merely a copyist or amanuensis. He is a spectator like anybody else and, whatever he may think of the performance, he does not question the stage directions. (Carter xiv)

In this understanding or conceptualisation of history, the stage conventions function like Wolfe's teleological understanding, providing Author (gendered by virtue of authority if not of biology) and audience alike with shared assumptions governing the production of meaning. But the analogy, the presentation, is false: the imagined audience, spectator of the unfolding drama, does not exist. The

only audience is the reader, following not a multitude of activities carried out and ongoing simultaneously, with various intents, purposes, and results, but a cause-and-effect series of events "unfolding in time alone" (Carter xvi). Carter calls this "imperial history," of which "the primary object is not to understand or to interpret: it is to legitimate . . . . Hence, imperial history's *defensive* appeal to the logic of cause and effect: by its nature, such a logic demonstrates the emergence of order from chaos" (xvi). And hence the need to appeal to a beginning, a founding moment, which marks -- however tenuously or inadequately -- the passing of the torch in the race of history.

The defensive need to legitimate imperial history requires that one version be presented and treated as Truth. Hulme critiques this method (and indeed this sense of history) by reframing such discourse as ideology, which "stands, in Michel Foucault's words, 'in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as Truth'" (Hulme 6). As demonstrated in the work of Derrida, truth is a concept "fatally undermined" by its reliance on "unspoken and ungrounded assumptions, on some master signifier, whether God or Experience or History, that must keep itself out of range of deconstructive analysis in order to guarantee the veracity of statements made under its aegis" (Hulme 6). Ideology, hiding behind the argument to nature, presents itself as Truth; critics of a particular ideology, by revealing its assumptions, underpinnings, and creation, often present another, competing ideology as truth, frequently hiding or remaining oblivious to the constructedness of our own assumptions and blind spots. Therefore, Foucault suggests, "what counts as truth will depend on strategies of power rather than on epistemological criteria" (Hulme 6). So the question becomes not what happened, but who has the power to make a particular version count as Truth, by what strategies and deployment of that power, and to what end?

In addition to ideology, Hulme continues,

truth has another conventional opposite: fiction. Indeed the post-structuralist argument must conclude that all statements are in a certain sense fictions inasmuch as no

particular form of words can, on epistemological grounds alone, claim access to reality superior to any other form of words. This is useful as long as it is taken as a starting point rather than as the last word. (7)

The political imperative in the post-colonial context requires what Hulme calls a "politics of discourse," based on "a careful examination of the claims and assumptions implicit within different statements," especially when those statements claim a transparent access to unproblematised notions of "truth" and "reality" (Hulme 7). "These somewhat abstract issues take on considerable importance in the colonial context since certain of the particular discourses involved -- narrative history, historical linguistics, ethnography -- stand or fall by their truth-claims" (Hulme 8). A 'polymorphous plurality,' and endless multiplication or deferral of meaning in fiction as a discourse, cannot in itself adequately account for discursive forms which have worked, historically and materially, to fix particular meanings according to specific interests and deployments of power.

But what of methodology? Hulme discusses the difficulty of developing "the kind of critical vocabulary necessary for textual interrogation" (Hulme 11), since historical documents will always deliver the same message, word for word. The documents themselves say only what they say: changed or alternative meanings lie in the manner of reading, when historical documents are used as texts rather than transcripts (transparent accounts) of what happened. This is precisely my interest in exploring the texts of Cook's history -- or the textual history of Cook's history -- at Nootka Sound. Perhaps the two are inseparable.

#### *A Digression, concerning History*

History is not what happened, but that small part of what has happened that has been used by historians to talk about [something else]. History is not the past: it is a consciousness of the past used for present purposes. (Denig, "Sharks" 435)

*What happened? James Cook, F.R.S., Captain of H.M.S. Resolution, and commander of a*

*voyage of exploration and discovery in the Pacific, spent a month at Nootka Sound on the West Coast of Vancouver Island. He recorded that month in his journal -- his impressions and observations of the place and its inhabitants. I am not a historian, but i am using this happening to talk about something else, my own agenda. And what am i offering here? A newer, improved Truth to counter the Boys' Own version of Cook as imperial culture-hero? Am i simply claiming (and demonstrating) that the texts of Cook's voyages, long granted the truth-status their presentation requests or even demands, were produced under sufficiently problematic circumstances that they are open to question, interrogation, criticism?*

*Not a very radical undertaking -- yet another possibility, another approach, is offered by Hulme.*

A radical history presenting a new version of the past will usually draw on new sources, even though those sources might well be 'new' only in the sense that the dominant version has repressed them by never even considering them as sources. Within this model of radical history there are then two interdependent but separable moments: first, a critique of existing versions, partly dependent upon, second, the presentation of alternative and contradictory evidence. This model has its anti-colonial equivalent in the rediscovery of native sources that offer a different and revealing light on colonial events and issues. (Hulme 8)

*My sources, as far as i know, are 'new' only in the sense that their juxtaposition -- Beaglehole's Cook versus Douglas' Cook -- reveals a gap, a discrepancy, which in turn reveals another possibility. I have provided both the critique and the new text -- or 'anti-text,' perhaps -- of the contradictory evidence revealed by this juxtaposition. Of the native sources . . . not yet. Ultimately i am questioning not only this accepted version of reality (Cook "discovered" Nootka Sound and the empire smoothly followed) but the premises of that accepted version, of that reality, and its ideological and intellectual underpinnings. Discourse, narrative, and language itself have the power to construct and perpetuate certain versions of reality, accepted or not. The reality that has been constructed here is not the only possibility.*

*And yet: putting new questions to the old texts reveals new answers. Douglas'*

*edition of Cook's journal was a composite text, and a broader variety of opinions, impressions, and beliefs are actually reflected in those pages from 1784 than Douglas gives the reader to understand. The voice of the cabin-boy, or any other crewman, is still missing in an official and officer-ly text, yet more stories than Cook's are presented, even if all are blended into one by the seamless ghostwriting. Perhaps the two texts taken together -- Beaglehole's and Douglas' -- create a kind of meta-text, since in Beaglehole the footnotes provide the attributions, revealing when Douglas has borrowed from or plagiarised Bayly, Samwell, Clerke, or Anderson. There is more than one version of reality coming from the ship: Europe, England, is not homogenous in its views. That's before even taking into account that Cook and his men met an entirely different, strange, and (to them) unfamiliar culture across the beach at Nootka Sound. Denning's metaphor of islands and beaches (something like Pratt's "contact zone" or Webber's landing paintings) suggests the complexities of such moments of contact:*

[Islands and beaches] is a natural metaphor for the oceanic world of the Pacific where islands are everywhere and beaches must be crossed to enter or leave them, to make them or change them. But the islands and beaches I speak of are less physical than cultural. They are the islands men and women make by the reality they attribute to their categories, their roles, their institutions, and the beaches they put around them with their definitions of 'we' and 'they.' As we shall see, the remaking of those sorts of islands and the crossing of those sorts of beaches can be cruelly painful. (Denning, *IB* 3)

### **Narrating Empire**

"The remaking of those sorts of islands and the crossing of those sorts of beaches can be cruelly painful": can be, was to be, has been, as Cook's death at Hawaii less than a year after the sojourn at Nootka Sound proves. The text, seemingly, is upset as a result: the Captain's hand stops moving across the page of his logbook or journal. But in fact it had stopped moving some time

earlier. Cook's own logbook ended on 17 January 1779 (the day the ships arrived at Kealekekua Bay on the south coast of Hawaii); he died on 14 February, so the editor's task of splicing together the crucial moments leading up to Cook's death necessarily includes reconstructing the month or so beforehand. The same process of creating history through the scholarly apparatus of the text that is discussed in the chapter on cannibalism is at work in the official account of Cook's death. Once again, Beaglehole's edition participates in this construction, as O.H.K. Spate notes in "Splicing the Log at Kealakekua Bay":

There is no doubt at all that Lieutenant James King, author of what became the official account of Cook's last voyage, was a young man of considerable talent and charm. Beaglehole is almost lyrical -- 'a certain refinement of mind and body, a humanity, a generosity and sensitivity of spirit without [a] touch of the effeminate', and his only hint of other than literary criticism is so slight that the casual reader might not see it as such. This is the remark, in a footnote, that 'King rewrote his own account [of Cook's death] very carefully for publication'. No crime in that? But as this note refers to King's suppression of the explicit statement by the only commissioned officer ashore with Cook, Lieutenant Molesworth Phillips, that Cook himself ordered the Marines to open fire, it seems more than a little euphemistic. (117)

Spate goes on to note that King's account

'is clearly coloured to give the most favourable possible light to his own connection'. . . . Subtle changes in wording and a discreet use of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* produce not only the portrait of Cook as the hero with a<sup>flaw</sup>, but the flattering self-image of King as the man about whom everything revolved, the man who 'kept his head when all about him Were losing theirs'. ("Splicing" 117)

The narrative, though so much of it is invested in Cook, ultimately outweighs him: men, even heroes, come and go, but an empire is forever (theoretically speaking). Cook may be the representative of England, even of civilisation, carrying powers invested in him by the King, but he is not Britannia. Cook's own part in the story comes to an end, but the story itself must move on. His part continues in the legacy he leaves, in his imprint on those who claim his importance for the new world (needing the stamp of authority for their histories), and in the rather bizarre mechanism which allows him to

play God in a new way: the apotheosis, which makes of Cook a god for native peoples and Europeans in the new world alike.

*A Digression, concerning Divinity*

*The subtitle of Obeyesekere's Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific makes plain the author's critical stance on the European texts of Cook's death in Hawaii and his reception (before and after death) as a god by the Hawaiians. Obeyesekere's analysis of European historical and ethnographic texts on Cook's supposed deification begins by questioning the validity of this assumption and goes on by demonstrating that it*

*was created in the European imagination of the eighteenth century and after and was based on antecedent 'myth models' pertaining to the redoubtable explorer cum civilizer who is a god to the 'natives.' To put it bluntly, I doubt that the natives created their European god; the Europeans created him for them. This 'European god' is a myth of conquest, imperialism, and civilization – a triad that cannot be easily separated. (Obeyesekere 3)*

*The way that Obeyesekere interrogates his sources -- generally, by quotation and discussion -- succeeds, from the outset of his study, in repositioning the field. For example, he quotes R.A. Skelton on Cook as an ethnographer, concluding with the telling phrase that "'Cook was able to bring back a priceless record of a way of life that the other Europeans were to destroy'" (4). Set in an obviously critical context, the political naiveté of such a statement demands attention: Obeyesekere's reader has no choice but to protest that Cook may very well have "'brought back a priceless record,'" but that he also represented the beginnings of European intrusion causing the destruction lamented by Skelton. Realising that he will very likely be charged with the one-sidedness and bias for which he rejects other writers' accounts, Obeyesekere justifies his treatment:*

*it is the violent and irrational aspect of Cook's character that I think is necessary to make sense of the crucial events in Hawai'i [sic] that culminated in this death. Furthermore, this aspect of Cook's character*

was so prominent as to overwhelm the more balanced persona of his earlier voyages. It cannot be put into footnotes; for the most part it is the face of Cook. (Obeyesekere 8)

*"It cannot be put into footnotes; for the most part it is the face of Cook," or another face of Cook, as much as that of the "great navigator, a decent human being, the man who described Polynesia and its people, a man with 'a real feeling for human rights and decencies'" as described by Beaglehole and others (Obeyesekere 3).*

*Obeyesekere's meticulously constructed argument dismantles the portrayal -- largely created by Marshall Sahlins -- of Cook as a personification of the god Lono to the Hawaiians. Obeyesekere suggests that Cook was invested with the power and title of a chief, and hence was called Lono for reasons having nothing to do with European assumptions of cultural superiority and everything to do with the islands' political situation and the desire of Kalani'opu'u, "the 'king' of Hawai'i at the time of Cook's arrival," to exploit Cook's power for his own political ends (78). The return of Cook's ships, by the same token, was not perceived as an event out of season by the Hawaiians, but as an economic and nutritional threat: "to feed the British for an extended period of time meant starving themselves" (Obeyesekere 88). When Cook behaved as usual over the loss of a cutter -- that is, by attempting to kidnap Kalani'opu'u and, as Spate reminds me, by giving the order to open fire on the Hawaiians in the following mêlée -- "what happened was that Cook's rage and the fears of the Hawaiians for their chief escalated into violence resulting in Cook's being stabbed to death" (Obeyesekere 89). It was after, not before, the death, Obeyesekere argues, that Cook was deified, on the grounds that the post-mortem deification of a high chief was an Hawaiian custom. "Because deification at the death of a chief was nothing unusual, one can perhaps assume that Cook was deified in the Hawaiian manner, so that his mana could be enlisted for the welfare and strength of Kalani'opu'u's kingdom " (Obeyesekere 91). This is a deification relevant according to Hawaiian cultural mores and political needs, which are radically*

*different from European assumptions of superiority. Accordingly, Obeyesekere uses "the term deification for the Hawaiian custom of converting dead chiefs into gods and apotheosis for the European myth of the redoubtable white man as a god to natives" from this point on (91).*

*Obeyesekere accounts for the "European belief that Hawaiians thought that Cook was their god Lono, arrived in person" by analysing the language of the 1784 edition of the third voyage, in which King's word for the attitude of Hawaiians for Cook (and his remains) is "adoration" (120). He sees in this language of adoration and religious veneration a projection onto the Hawaiians of the officers' own feelings towards Cook, since several crew members write of Cook as of a father simultaneously kind and stern. The ordinary seamen, however, commonly assumed that Europeans in general and Cook in particular were thought of as gods or immortals (Obeyesekere 122-3). This belief conformed to popular shipboard traditions, as well as to what Obeyesekere calls "a structure of the long run in European culture and consciousness," beginning with Cortes, so that "the very beginnings of the voyages of discovery carried with them the tradition of the redoubtable European navigators who were also the harbingers of civilisation" (123, 124). So ultimately, the notion of the European god appearing unto the natives is a feature of the European and not the so-called savage mind, or perhaps a (well-documented) figment of the European imagination. At the same time, a European hagiography of Cook proceeded according to European mores and values, with little or no mention of Hawaiian customs. For example, after reading Douglas' edition of the voyage, the poet William Cowper wrote to an Evangelical friend:*

*The reading of these volumes afforded me much amusement, and I hope some instruction. No observation however force [sic] itself upon me with more violence than one, that I could not help making on the death of Captain Cook. God is a jealous god and at Owhyhee [Hawai'i] the poor man was content to be worshipped. From that moment, the remarkable interposition of Providence in his favour was converted into an opposition that thwarted his purposes. (Qtd. in Obeyesekere 126)*

*Douglas' edition demonstrated to Cowper, at least, that Cook was -- or allowed himself to be*

-- worshipped by the Hawaiians as a god.

Another form of apotheosis, and one perhaps more important to the descendants of European settlers who followed in Cook's wake, is "the intellectual mythologization of Cook as the humane embodiment of the Enlightenment" (Obeyesekere 127). Obeyesekere calls this "the humanist myth," arguing that it creates a version of Cook which is "extremely important in Australia and New Zealand, where he was perceived as a kind of founding ancestor of the white colonizers" (131). In effect, Cook was mythologised as a hero for the new world order (as Bernard Smith argues) because of this notion of his humanity, in contrast to other explorers who might also be called, in Smith's phrase, Adam "Smith's global agent[s], [developing] markets and [spreading] the notion of enlightened self-interest, bringing to prehistoric cultures the disguised checks and balances of a market economy" (IP 236). Against the evidence of Cook's frequent and irrational violence on the third voyage -- more severe and frequent disciplining of his own crew<sup>4</sup> as well as increasingly violent behaviour towards native peoples, such as the confrontation with the chief over the loss of a cutter which led to his own death -- stands the myth of the humane explorer, or one so constructed in contrast to the supposedly violent Spaniards. In Beaglehole's phrase,

The humanity that is kindness, understanding, tolerance, wisdom in the treatment of men, a quality that is practised naturally as well as planned for what is what gave Cook's voyages their success, as much as the soundness of his seamanship and the brilliance of his navigation. (qtd in Obeyesekere 133)

Whose hero is Cook? And whose interests, whose cultural self-image, are served by this image of Cook as the benevolent thin wedge of empire? I am reminded of Rousseau's point about the illogic of slavery:

from every vantage point, the right of slavery is null, not only because it is illegitimate, but because it is absurd and meaningless. The words *slavery* and *right* are contradictory; they are mutually exclusive. Whether it is said by one man to another or by a man to a people, the following speech will always be equally senseless: I make a convention that is entirely at your expense and entirely for my benefit; that I shall observe

for as long as I want, and that you shall observe for as long as I want.  
(Rousseau I,v)

*Even sheathed with a velvet glove, the iron fist of colonialism remains an iron fist, benevolent only to the extent that any benevolence is compatible with its economic, political, and ideological aims.*

Approached from the other direction, Cook is the story and imperialism the author; his death means that the story changes direction but is still written under the aegis of an imperial ideology claiming authorship by Nature itself. The moment of origin is hidden, erased, in the argument to nature: that which is most sacred cannot be revealed directly. Such an erasure creates the inevitability of historical discourse, Cook proceeding in 1778 no less inexorably to the first English contact with the Nootka (who appear fully-formed on the page, like Athena sprung full-grown from Zeus' head) than to his death at Hawaii the following year. The author, imperialism, has abrogated the power of creation, as if Cook's playing at Adam naming the animals in some new-world Eden actually brought them into existence.

My metaphors depend too much on the Old Testament, possibly, yet the tropes of knowing and seeing as acts of creation in the world -- indeed the whole Biblical frame of reference -- underpin the stories Europeans told themselves about the process of discovery, as well as the actual discoveries. For example, the geopolitical entity known as Canada begins discursively in English in 1580 with John Florio's translation of Jacques Cartier's *Navigations to Newe Fraunce*. Not an auspicious beginning: Cartier's initial evaluation, "to be shorte, I believe that this was the lande that God alloted to Caine" (Cartier, *NNF* 7), reveals his disappointment at failing to discover the fabulous and desirable Northwest Passage to the Indies, thought -- since John Cabot's voyage of 1497 -- to provide quicker and easier access to the lucrative spice trade.

Cartier not only names the land, or specific parts of it, but also -- and in so doing -- claims it for the King of France, so that the act of naming is, simultaneously, an act of possessing; giving it a name makes the "new found land" both knowable and ownable. Cartier's famous comment inserts the new and unknown into the semantic field of the old and familiar: European concepts of history, both linear and hierarchical. Establishing -- or imposing -- the framework of the ancient world, the Mediterranean of Biblical and Classical antiquity<sup>5</sup> translates the new and unfamiliar world into the old and familiar ways of knowing; old-world ways of knowing will construct old-world meanings in the new. Thus Cartier's visit to the new world, in search of the Northwest Passage, continues the Classical tradition of the voyage of heroic endeavour (especially considering the ideological, mythological, and cultural importance of other voyages in search of the Northwest Passage), and his definition of the new world makes it part of the known and fallen world over which Adam's sons have the God-given right -- duty, even -- of domination.

However, while the new world is written into the old as another arena for the expression or pursuit of cultural values, the fact remains that Cartier was not looking for a new-found-land, but for a way around it, past whatever nebulous potential it might represent to the firm market value of a trade route to the Indies. In this sense, Cartier represents a whole tradition: as Germaine Warkentin notes in *Canadian Exploration Literature*,

if Europeans were deeply committed to finding out what the vast and apparently empty space west and north of the St Lawrence held, they also tended to imagine that it contained what they wanted it to contain. The French court officials with whom La Vérendrye dealt twenty-five years earlier had been sure there was a great river trending westward, or possibly a 'Western Sea'; English merchants and naval officers were just as certain that there must be a North West passage through the Arctic ice.  
(xii)

The "lure of trade with China . . . governed [European] imaginings; the intervening landmass was chiefly an obstacle" (Warkentin xii). This beginning therefore inscribes a history of discovery as

disappointment, of discovery not of what the heroic explorer wanted to find, but of what was in fact there. A new edition of Cartier's *Voyages* (based on H.P. Biggar's 1924 translation) documents Cartier's attempts to locate the Northwest Passage by investigating what ultimately proved to be bays, such as Baye de Chaleur:

we fitted up our longboats to go and explore this [Chaleur] bay; we ran up it that day some twenty-five leagues. The next day [Friday 10 July], at daybreak, we had fine weather and sailed on until about ten o'clock in the morning, at which hour we caught sight of the head of the bay, whereat we were grieved and displeased. (Cartier, *Cartier's First Voyage* 21-2)

As in Columbus' *Journal*, this moment of navigational disappointment is turned to ethnographic account. Although previously Cartier's party had glimpsed native peoples on several occasions -- and seemingly been invited by them to trade (Cartier, *CFV* 20, 17) -- Cartier decides at this point for the first time to approach them and to begin trade relations.

While making our way along the [north] shore, we caught sight of the savages on the side of a lagoon and low beach, who were making many fires that smoked. We rowed over to the spot, and finding there was an entrance from the sea into the lagoon, we placed our longboats on one side of the entrance. The savages came over in one of their canoes and brought us some strips of cooked seal, which they placed on bits of wood and then withdrew, making signs to us that they were making us a present of them. We sent two men on shore with hatchets, knives, beads, and other wares, at which they showed great pleasure. (Cartier, *CFV* 22)

From that point on, the focus of the detail in the text of the voyage changes from navigational questions to descriptions of "scenes of savage life": the section headings formally reflect Cartier's changed concerns (for example, "Of the Island Named Wedge Island and of Cape St Peter" versus "Of Another Nation of Savages and of Their Customs, Manner of Life, and Ways of Clothing Themselves" [Cartier, *CFV* 15, 23]) and the sections themselves become much longer, as if to compensate for the failure to locate the Northwest Passage. (Ramsay Cook's comment: Cartier's "career as a navigator apparently ended after his unsuccessful third trip to North America" [xii].)

Paul Carter discusses exploration as a process rather than a product, a process in which actual

discoveries are not nearly as important as potential ones:

the charm of exploring lies not in discovery, but in the act of exploring. It lies in a state of mind where potential mountains vastly outweigh the charm of any actually found. What invests the view with significance is the explorer's desire to make it signify: it is not that the explorer comes to the landscape with rigid preconceptions, European standards he is determined to impose. Rather, it is the fact of his 'advancing', the motive that moves him, that clothes all about him in a veil of mystery. The mystery is of his own making, a resistance dialectically constructed in order to give his own passage historical meaning. (81)

Grammatically, this means that while the verb 'to discover' is transitive, requiring an object, the verb 'to explore' may be intransitive: its meaning or significance is not necessarily dependent on a direct object, nor is the explorer-as-subject's relation to the verb. The idea and act of exploring, of making meaning, places him in a heroic or even God-like position; he accepts his unique brand of superiority and reads the native's politeness ahistorically, as an inscription of his own divinity. In any case, since actual discoveries (ethnographic information and trade relations with Amerindians in Cartier's case) are a by-product of the desired one (the discovery of the Northwest Passage), a history of exploration is inevitably a history of disappointment. The questionable success of exploration may explain why the goals of exploration and particularly colonisation were often stated in missionary terms. The noble goal of converting the heathen (whose place in God's world was open to discussion) was often mentioned as a likelier prospect than the more venal one of hoped-for economic profit or exploitation, given Cartier's "belief that the inhabitants of the St Lawrence region could be converted to Christianity" (R. Cook, "Donnaconna" xxiii).

The notion of history as the movement through space in time comes into play in the language used to record: English narrative, following the formula of **subject + verb + object** (indirect and/or direct) depends upon and creates a sense of time or a time-frame which is linear. This sentence structure, and the linear narrative it enacts (beginning at one point and moving towards another) creates a sense of movement, a progression through time, and a sense of causality which often mirrors

the content of the text, the movement of the ship and the progression of exploration if not discovery.

For example, Cook recorded his first impressions of Nootka Sound as a series of navigational details:

At length at 9 o'clock in the Morning of the 29th as we were standing to the NE we again saw the land, which at Noon when our Latitude was 49°29'30" N, longit. 232°29' East, extended from NBNW to ESE the nearest part about 6 leagues distt.

As we drew nearer the Coast we perceived the appearance of two inlets one in NW and the other in the NE corner of the bay. As I could not fetch the first I bore up for the latter and pass'd some breakers, or sunken rocks, that lay a league or more from the shore. We had 19 and 20 fm water without them, a rocky bottom; as soon as past them 30, 40 and 50 fm a sandy bottom and then no ground with the last length of line. We had got pretty near the inlet before we were sure there was one; but as we were in a bay I had resolved to anchor to get some Water, of which we were in great want. At length the inlet was no longer doubtfull, at 5 o'clock we reached the west point . . . . (Beaglehole III:1, 294-5)

In these passages, the sense of time is always implicit in the navigational measurements, whether taken in latitude and longitude (measuring the distance from Greenwich and the equator) or from astronomical readings. At the same time, the very idea of exploration, depending upon assumptions of movement and progress, explicitly foregrounds movement in time as well as in space. The linear sentence structure (subject + verb + object) propels the narrative even when the inclusion of precise navigational information threatens to slow it down. At such moments, European knowledge about this coast progresses even when a narrative of events does not. Perhaps my impatience with this stop-start narrative is a twentieth-century assessment; presumably the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century readers who bought Cook's *Voyages* in myriad editions did not find the navigational detail boring, but a necessary part of the reading and educational experience, on the basis of expectations that reading about Cook's voyages would be *dulce et utile*.

So much for the sentence structures of exploration. What happens when the narrative turns to description? Cook's comments on the land and its inhabitants come after the narrative of the events of the month at Nootka Sound: the events of exploration continue as the ships move up the

coast, but the narrative itself freezes in its tracks long enough to record "[s]uch particulars of this place and its inhabitants, as could be learnt during our short stay and have not been mentioned in the Course of the Narrative" (Beaglehole III:1, 308). The contrast between Webber's drawing of the interior of a Nootka house [figure 4.1] and Cook's description of it reveals the one-dimensional nature of the linear narrative:

Every range of buildings is generally divided into a number of rooms, each seldom containing more than two lengths of apartments, so that each apartment which is about twelve feet broad and sixteen or eighteen long and seem to be the property of one family, has two close or b[o]arded sides, that is one side and one end, where they place their wooden boxes containing their skins and other effects; here also they place their bales of dried fish and whatever else they have to stow out the way as being the driest part of the house. The fire place is in the middle of the apartment, and round it, but more especially on the two inclosed sides, the floor is raised about six inches or more and covered with mats; in some apartments their [*sic*] is a double rising one behind the other. These risings, or benches serves for both seats and bed places. Some places have pretty large round holes in front that serve both as windows to looks out at, but in general the light is intromitted from above, that is through the roof, and here the smoke finds vent . . . Their household furniture consi[s]ts [*sic*] in a few wooden boxes of different sizes, some wooden vessels for their Victuals and a few Mats, bags, &ca. (Beaglehole III:1, 317-8)

The effect of the subject + verb + object formula on this description is both curiously static (frozen almost) and directive: the eye follows the words along the page and around the interior of the house simultaneously. Meaning becomes both isolated (as the eye focusses on a particular spot or item, for example the benches) and relational (as the narrator tries to convey a sense of the whole space which is effortlessly achieved by Webber's image). The reader follows the verbal struggle to approximate the visual as the parts build up to and converge to become a meaningful whole. This descriptive narrative, like the narrative of the ships' activities, carries a sense of its own momentum and therefore of its own progress. All the details about the "apartments," their size, shape, division, structure, furnishings, etc., will culminate in a composite which can be known.

The sense of causality this linear narrative constructs does more than suggest that no other

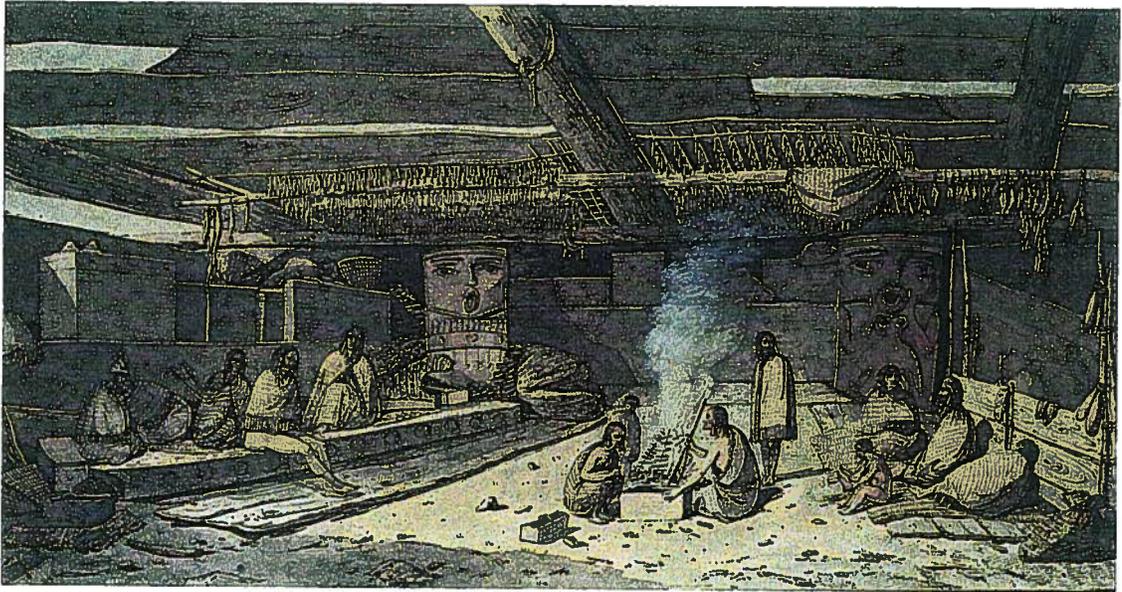


FIGURE 4.1 *An Inside View of the Natives' Habitations*, by John Webber. Reproduced from Joppien, plate 103, p. 86.

outcome was possible, that what actually happened was in fact meant to happen, destined, fore- or preordained. It also erases or invisibilises any other possibilities, and therefore does not so much suggest that no other outcome was possible as it presents its own outcome as inevitable. Such a linear narrative enacts history as an inexorable march, flattening all other stories out of existence, or into one. My project is not historical, but literary; my project is analysis, critique, of this specific moment -- Cook's month at Nootka Sound -- as discourse, and of history itself as a discourse. I am not treating this episode as Truth (as virtually any episode concerning Cook is treated in Commonwealth schoolbooks, whether Cook's place includes Nootka Sound or is limited to the South Pacific<sup>6</sup>). Nor am I specifically treating history, as many feminist historians do, as a specific, i.e. male-centered (his story) version of the past, although questions regarding the gender of authority underpin my analysis. Instead, I treat it as story. Story. Not Fiction -- Truth's long-standing, dare I say historical, rival or opposite -- but Story.

And in Story -- unlike History -- meaning lies not in the events themselves, but in the manner in which they are told and put together, performed for an audience. As Todorov has noted, events proceed from chance: their significance lies in how they have been made to seem inevitable. My analysis asks, who profits from this representation? What are its effects? Or, conversely, what might the effects visible today reveal about the motivations and assumptions governing their construction? (As the previous chapter on cannibalism asked, by what means, by what editorial choices does Douglas in 1784 create the impression that the Nootka are cannibals?) Cook, it is clear, understood the importance of the editor's influence, asking Douglas to be particularly careful to eliminate any scandalous, titillating, or sexually controversial material after the scandal caused by Hawkesworth's (in?)accuracies presented in the first *Voyage*. And yet, in story, it's my contention that the events are also important in that they are chosen to make particular points. The problem -- and there is a

problem here -- arises out of the power dynamics. There are many possible stories, many possible interpretations for this month at Nootka Sound. But. History (and aesthetics and science), as a discourse, makes particular kinds of truth-claims, substantiated by its methodology, and an imperial history reflects the power of the winners to determine the stories that will, or will not, be told, not to mention listened to.

### *A Digression, concerning Conclusions*

*The purpose of these digressions has been to enact a form of subjectivity. They reveal me indirectly, by providing a space in which i can include material which does not directly support a main argument; they suggest my train of thought, fill in some blanks, and disrupt the presumed linearity of the dissertation format. They also work to dismantle the voice of AUTHORITY, of edification and expertise which is to some extent created by the expectations and demands of the dissertation form, not least of all by the objective, generalising language. For example: i have cited Denning's statistic indicating that Cook used flogging nearly twice as much during the third voyage as on the first (37% and 20%, respectively). My endnote exemplifies some of the ways that the digressions attempt to disrupt the voice of authority created in the main argument of the text: 1. Although this endnote is used to make a point, not all readers will turn to the end of the dissertation-as-text to consult the endnotes, so this information might be missed entirely. 2. The language in which the point is written -- both Denning's and my own -- like its role within the structure of the dissertation, distorts or falsifies that which it seeks to represent. That Cook used flogging almost twice as much on the third as on the first voyage can be determined only in hindsight. Such a statistic has relevance only in a detached, almost disembodied fashion: it has meaning relative and relevant to other voyages, other numbers. Such a statistic is meaningless to the men being flogged,*

*except perhaps insofar as this awareness might have allowed them to predict or avoid the Captain's ire. As a description, Denning's statement ("Cook flogged 20, 26 and 37 percent [presumably, of the men] respectively on his three voyages") cannot begin to convey the lived experience of being flogged: the endless moment before the whip descends, its hot bite into the flesh, the blood and sweat, fear and relief . . . . The digressions remind me, again and again, that the issues under scrutiny are not (only) "academic."*

*My attempt to dismantle the voice of authority does not, however, signify an attempt to evade responsibility in this work. Nor does it embrace the kind of relativism which frustrates me in much postmodernist writing and criticism: 'if the empire is a construction as much as the nation-state, i am absolved of my agency and thus of my responsibility (both "obligation" and "ability to respond").' Powerlessness offers, at best, a negative freedom; if nothing matters, i can criticise everything from a vantage point of eternal and ironic superiority, knowing the game but refusing to play it. Ultimately, Cook's work -- the charting of new territories -- has been put to others' uses, appropriated like those new-world territories for a self-serving imperial rhetoric. The thought that my work, my painstaking research, could come to represent something other than what it is -- my engagement with a set of texts within a particular historical moment -- makes me shudder. It is not personal responsibility as a social being in a social contract that i want to evade, but a self-construction as self-satisfied expert through the scholarly apparatus of the text. As Wittig writes,*

*if there is something real in the ideas of Rousseau, it is that we can form 'voluntary associations' here and now, and here and now reformulate the social contract as a new one, although we are not princes or legislators. Is this mere utopia? Then I will stay with Socrates's view and with Glaucon's: If ultimately we are denied a new social order, which therefore can exist only in words, I will find it in myself. ("OSC" 45)*

*By calling attention to my choices, i hope to situate myself and enact a form of engagement with the texts. Not detachment, but engagement, for ultimately it seems to me that the world i inhabit as an English-speaking Canadian in Vancouver, 1994, is the legacy of Cook's*

*voyages (both expeditions and books) and the culture that produced them.*

*Said's Culture and Imperialism works to establish these kinds of connections in nineteenth-century Western culture:*

To lose sight of or ignore the national and international context of, say, Dickens's representations of Victorian businessmen, and to focus only on the internal coherence of their roles in his works is to miss an essential connection between his fiction and its historical world. And understanding that connection does not reduce or diminish the novels' values as works of art: on the contrary, because of their *worldliness*, because of their complex affiliations with their real setting, they are *more* interesting and *more* valuable as works of art. (13)

*Cook's Voyages, of course, have long been treated not as works of art but as supreme non-fictions, an assemblage of facts. Although they look like the opposite of Said's project, his point, i think, holds true: examining them as fictions, as rhetorical texts, reveals more about eighteenth-century England, about the cultural values that transformed imperial holdings into settler colonies, and my inheritance as an inhabitant of part of the world 'discovered' by Cook.*

*But inevitably i must arrive at the moment i've been waiting for: the conclusion. For a project of this kind, the conclusion requires not a reiteration of the argument so much as a summation, a gathering together of the strands of the argument. What have i learned in the process of writing this dissertation? Something about the constructedness of "what we have taken for the real," to borrow Taussig's phrase again. In this examination of a relatively specific historical moment -- Cook's month at Nootka Sound as represented in published texts -- i see the workings of something bigger: the editorial choices that make "reality" a text, and the textual choices that form a cultural construction of "reality" in their turn, a mutually supportive process. This process reveals the cultural values at work in eighteenth-century England: Cook's Voyages participated in and were used in an imperial culture's self-fashioning, by introducing exotic and savage Others to English readers, but also by introducing the representative of England as a worthy hero. Readers identified with Cook and against Others. Virtually every writer on Cook i have read for this dissertation attests to the*

*significance of the explorer and his voyages for eighteenth-century English culture. My treatment of Cook's Voyages as literary documents and cultural artifacts ('art') rather than as an archive of facts ('science') reveals the connection between the world and the text: just how important they were and continue to be.*

### **Reconstructing Cook**

European fictions of Cook have their own history: two major elements of the ruling fiction are condensed in the subheading from a very popular book published during the bicentennial: 'Captain Cook discovers Australia and claims possession.' (Healy 521)

The construction of Cook as imperial culture-hero is textually best represented by Beaglehole's biography, in preparation for which Beaglehole produced scholarly editions of the texts of the three voyages, as well as one of Banks' *Endeavour* journal. The meticulous research and dedication to the subject demonstrated by *The Life of Captain James Cook* formally mirrors the man presented within the text: a man more attentive to detail than imaginative, who rose from obscurity to prominence largely through industry and merit with the benefit of luck, described by Cook scholars like Bernard Smith, Beaglehole, Alan Frost, and David Mackay through the lens of what Obeyesekere calls the humanist myth. Smith writes:

'There is little reason to doubt that Cook on any reading was a man of great virtue; my point is rather that we should recognize the sociality, the timelessness of his array of virtues, his inborn capacity to exercise an ethics of situation . . . When he was most himself, he was most in harmony with the new, secular, industrial order that was emerging as the new world order in his lifetime.' (Qtd. in Obeyesekere 132-3)

This is the Cook to whom memorials, or more accurately shrines, are constructed. For example, Obeyesekere describes attending a one-day seminar at the Royal Society, "organized by the New Zealand Universities' Graduate Student Association, to commemorate the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, by which the Maoris effectively gave up all sovereign claims to New Zealand. During the

lunch break, all of us left the crowded hall and walked to the Pall Mall to lay a wreath at Captain Cook's statue. The event celebrated the humanist myth of Cook" (Obeyesekere 133). Although Obeyesekere describes a ritual of ancestor worship taking place in London, Mackay's address at that celebration made Cook's role as the spiritual founder of New Zealand obvious:

'That strong sculptured face . . . is better known than that of any past politicians, governors general, military leaders, or even rugby players. Cook's name graces more streets, suburbs, parks, motels, hotels, schools, and other public institutions than that of the present or any previous sovereigns. His ship, the *Endeavour*, is on the reverse of our 50 cent piece, and even more significantly, when we hold our paper money up to the light we see in the water mark that stern face [from Nathaniel Dance's 1776 portrait (figure 4.2)] again, as the guarantor of the integrity of our currency.' (qtd in Obeyesekere 134)

Although I know of no such specific memorials at Nootka Sound, I am not so far removed from this version of Cook as culture-hero as two intervening centuries and two different hemispheres might suggest. For example, Canadian history textbooks of the past century demonstrate that Cook has a place as a Canadian cultural icon.

Spanish explorers were the first to tell of a visit to British Columbia, but its history really begins with the coming, in 1778, of James Cook to Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. This great navigator came to discover, if possible, a north-west passage between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Not succeeding in his first attempt, he went to spend the winter in the Sandwich Islands, and there he was murdered by the natives. His ships, however, returned to England and brought glowing accounts of the rich furs to be found on the north-west coast of America. Soon many fur-trading ships, chiefly British and American, sought the coast, and named some of its islands and many of its bays and straits. (1906) (Lawson, 227-8)

In 1776 an expedition left England under the command of Captain James Cook, one of the most illustrious of British seamen, for the discovery of a passage from the northern Pacific to the Atlantic. Cook reached Nootka Sound in March, 1778, and opened a very valuable trade in furs and skins with the natives. He then continued northward past Prince of Wales Island to the strait separating the two continents, which he named Bering Strait, but, because of the ice, he was unable to make his way through the Arctic. Cook's expedition gave Britain a claim to the north-west coast of America by right of discovery and likewise revealed the possibility of developing a very lucrative fur trade. (1927) (McArthur 283-4)

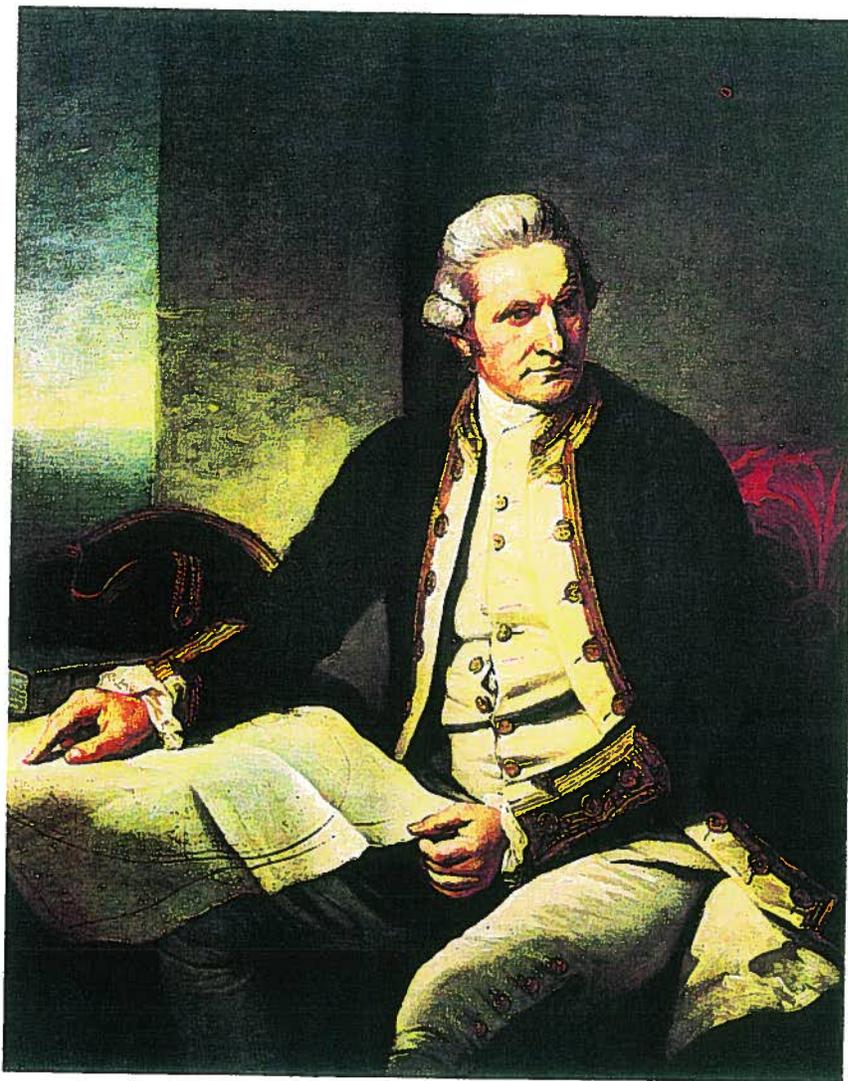


FIGURE 4.2 *Captain James Cook*, portrait by Nathaniel Dance, 1776. Reproduced from J.C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (London: Hakluyt, 1974), frontspiece.

On the return journey, the English ships stopped at Canton, China. Here the overjoyed sailors found that the sea-otter skins purchased from the Indians at Nootka brought a very high price from the Chinese . . . . The news spread, and a rich fur trade began which lasted for about forty years. Sailors visited every Indian village they could find, looking for furs. As a result, the northwest coast was thoroughly explored. Once more the fur trade has led the way! (1949) (Brown 198-9)

Although Captain Cook failed to discover the North-West Passage, he made it possible for England to keep the Canadian West from falling into the hands of other countries. Not long after Cook's visit to our shores, some of his sailors returned to start a rich trade in furs. By coming to British Columbia to live and trade, these men helped to hold this part of Canada for England. (1954) (Cameron 307)

. . . the man who is given credit for being the first European to visit these waters is not Juan de Fuca but Captain James Cook. . . . He was the first European that the natives of the Northwest Coast saw. He was also the first European known to have landed on the west coast of what is now Canada. (1980) (Garrod 184)

These quotations generally indicate the importance of the adjective "British" in the province named "British Columbia": the early ones in particular indicate the significance of Cook's voyages to British imperialism<sup>7</sup> and a sense of pride in Canada's place in the empire or Commonwealth, including the shared history of "discovery" by Cook. These passages also hint at a larger theme in Canadian history, of which this episode at Nootka Sound is but a brief moment: the fur trade, imaged as the organising principle of Canadian history,<sup>8</sup> and its record, in textbooks produced for use in public schools. In hindsight, it seems that nothing could more clearly represent a colonial legacy -- a legacy of economic, political, cultural, and ultimately intellectual domination -- than these accounts stating that the sole importance of land and people lay in producing resources for the imperial centre. Such an understanding of Canadian history also makes sense only in hindsight; the importance of the lives of sailors on Cook's ships, if not of Cook himself, amounts only to their having "helped to hold this part of Canada [before there was a Canada] for England." The language of the most recent of these accounts (1980) seems to have changed; Cook is described as "the man who is given credit for being *the first European to visit these waters*" rather than the man who *discovered* them, but this shift in

terminology does not really change the nature of the presentation. Whether Cook discovered or was credited with the discovery of Nootka Sound, his importance to the Growth of the Nation is duly noted.

These examples -- from Canadian history textbooks chosen more or less at random -- demonstrate, and obviously have perpetuated, Cook as a cultural icon officially sanctioned by Canadian Boards of Education and therefore instilled into young Canadian minds. However, his influence extends beyond "official" Canon into popular culture. Even in Vancouver, the city bearing the name of a man who first came to this part of the world as a young officer under Cook and who later returned as Captain of the *Discovery* and a voyage of exploration in his own right, there are signs and traces of the hero of British imperialism. The telephone book advertisement for Captain Cook Travel -- a Vancouver travel agency -- includes a head-and-shoulders silhouette image of a man wearing an eighteenth-century wig and naval hat, presumably indicating Captain Cook himself [figure 4.3]. It strikes me as somewhat odd that the agency's ad announces that it specialises in Eastern European destinations, although a telephone call confirmed for me that the agency does specialise in South Pacific destinations as well (as I expected from the name). Perhaps the name carrying such expectations saves words and thus advertising costs, as if the name "Captain Cook" has become a metaphor for travel, not only in the South Pacific. Only a few blocks from my apartment is a restaurant that used to be called the Captain Cook. The theme was carried out in the neon sign displaying the *Endeavour* in full sail, and in numerous portraits and tableaux of events from Cook's voyages (almost exclusively in the South Pacific): once I drank coffee under the bulging eyes of a bad reproduction of the same Dance portrait. The restaurant, then open 24 hours with patrol cars in the parking lot, has changed hands and become a sushi bar, yet the neon sign remains outside, unlit. Perhaps the global movement of capital, products, and culture implied in this change can be identified

FIGURE 4.3 *Captain Cook Travel*, advertisement, BC Tel Yellow Pages.

FIGURE 4.4 *Lets Have a Drink and Celebrate*, poster by Stephen Nothling. *Black Banana Posters*, Brisbane, Australia, est. 1986; *Right here right now* portfolio, 1987. Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, Australia.



[Unavailable for reproduction.]

as part of, or even emblematic of, Cook's legacy no less than the more obvious referent in the street.

Such worshipful approaches to Cook are no longer the only possibilities when discussing the man and his influence on European and new-world histories. Cultural epistemologies are actively constructed as choices, not passively received as inevitable, as Chris Healy argues in an article on Aboriginal history: "which of our traditions we want to carry on and which we do not is decided in the public process of transmitting a culture" (Healy 512). Of course the process works the other way too: public culture is decided, determined, by the traditions which are carried on and which are eliminated. Healy's article questions "what happens to the European history of Captain Cook if we read Aboriginal histories of Captain Cook" (Healy 512). The point here is not to compare different versions to assess their accuracy or consistency, but to change and expand the notion of history. In one Aboriginal version, "Cook is an archetype, he is the embodiment of structural principles that provide the Yarralin with a means of elaborating the long-term relations of force and constituting this historical process as the problem" (Healy 518). The "immoral" ordering of history which needs changing, not the historical person or an historical event, is represented by the phrase "Captain Cook's Law" (Healy 518). With similar intent, Stephen Nothling's *Lets Have a Drink and Celebrate* (1986) [figure 4.4] transforms the Cook who is presented in European texts as a bringer not only of civilisation to the South Pacific, but also of gifts (in the form of pigs, cattle, sheep, and goats) [figure 4.5] into a Cook who is a taker, a man who says mostly, imperiously, "I want," and whose dubious gifts are represented in the ambiguous, plastic-coated New World Chicken.

Nothling's highly ironic image works at several levels to set up and deflate the heroic stereotype of Cook. The visual background framing the explorer's face features supermarket labels advertising price specials; the phrase "New World" informs the viewer of the geographic and ideological context reiterated by the phrase at the bottom of the image, "Lets have a drink and

celebrate." Celebrate what, and with what? These questions are unavoidable given the phrase in extra-large lettering above Cook's face: "I want your food." Here my end punctuation is misleading, for the Cook constructed in this image continues "and your trees and your soil." The list goes on: food is evidently the first item, of an all-inclusive list, that this Cook wants. Perhaps naturally ("What's wrong with that") he longs for the erasure of cultural difference, but his agenda is constructed in sinister and menacing tones: "Of course I know we're equal. But I'm better." The "drink" of celebration thus carries the taint of genocide -- the destruction of aboriginal cultures through trade with Europeans, particularly of trade goods (like alcohol) which undermined cultural underpinnings -- and a threat about the potential use of European military power. "Lets have a drink and celebrate" is ultimately not an invitation, but an imperative. *Captain Cook and His Domestic Animals* (1930) [figure 4.5], from a nineteenth-century American edition of Cook's voyages, presents the same general content: the European, whose largesse actually depends on the subservience of native populations to his desires, throwing his weight around in the new world. Nothing less like this unquestioning, absolutely unself-conscious portrayal than the self-reflexive irony of Nothling's piece can be imagined.

In Canada, Cook as Commonwealth culture-hero has been reconstructed, most notably through fiction, as a discursive mode, in George Bowering's *Burning Water*. Although Bowering's novel primarily presents a meditation on questions of discovery, knowledge, and perfection in George Vancouver, it simultaneously presents a somewhat less heroic version of Cook than has been customary. After all, Vancouver -- whose charts of the Pacific coastline were so accurate that they were used for well over a century after he made them (Fisher, *FMM* 12) -- must continually grapple with a somewhat embarrassing mistake made by his predecessor and former Captain: "Here is the lad become captain himself, and one of the things he will do is to resume Cook's voyage and rename



FIGURE 4.5 *Captain Cook and His Domestic Animals*. Reproduced from Ganath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), figs. 9 and 10, p. 128.

Cook's River. He will have the people in the boats measure the entire thing carefully, and then will dub it Cook's Inlet" (Bowering 21-2). Like the continued nuisance of the question of Juan de Fuca Strait (which Cook missed, passing it by in a fog) separating the southern tip of Vancouver Island from what is now the mainland of Washington state, much of Vancouver's work as a navigator, by virtue of his diligence and attention to detail, necessarily calls into question Cook's attentiveness to the Pacific coastline. "How much more galling that would make it when the British made Cook a living saint and let Vancouver know that they could have done without his return" (Bowering 22).

Vancouver learned the practice and methodology of exploration and command from Cook: painstaking attention to detail, treatment of native peoples, the importance of diet (hence Vancouver's neverending bowls of sauerkraut in the novel): "since the age of fifteen he had looked to Captain Cook as his chief and best teacher" (Bowering 44). Cook provides for this fictional Vancouver a father-figure far more significant than his biological father: "with Cook assuming the responsibility, he had dared to try his edge, to see if he could *ne plus ultra*" (Bowering 136). However, *Burning Water* creates something like a Freudian drama in which the son Vancouver must not only 'kill' or surpass his father, but also -- perhaps because there is no mother to marry, thus supplanting the father, in the all-male environment of the ship -- desires in some way to incorporate the father's power by eating or consuming him.

When he had collected as much as he could of his father's body and caused it to be retired with proper respect and a requisite expenditure of gunpowder, he had fought down an urging to touch his tongue to the insulted flesh, to taste his continuance. For the next week he had vomited all his meals into the ocean. (Bowering 126)

In part this homoerotic drama is played out between Vancouver and "Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra" (Bowering 58), a man closer to Cook than to Vancouver in age, experience, and whose role in Vancouver's life as both father-figure and lover problematizes the image of Cook.

As they left Nootka [Vancouver] thought about the last time he had looked at these

straight cedars and round rocks with Captain Cook. In his imagination he saw again the reassembled body of his old teacher, and then that corpse mended fully and rose to life again, but this time with the face of Bodega y Quadra. From the decks below rose the satisfying odour of vinegar. The Indian houses at Friendly Cove settled back into obscurity as part of the low land mass. In his imagination Quadra and Cook, both in full naval regalia, leaned over him where he lay breathing shallowly, in a four-poster bed. It began to rain. (Bowering 189)

The Cook traditionally commended for his sexual abstinence amongst scantily-clad Pacific women is transformed in Bowering's account -- at least by the somewhat fevered imagination of the fictional character named Vancouver -- as abstinent possibly not for reasons of morality but of sexual identity.

However, Bowering's postmodernist history in this novel (described by MacLaren as a "droll, if superficial entertainment [fashioned] out of this particular explorer and his modest literary remains" ["IE" 4]) cannot be taken at face value so easily. Marcia Crosby's discussion of *Burning Water* interrogates its dependence on the stereotype of the "drunken, dirty, promiscuous, yet 'natural' Indian" in the portrayal of Indian women and therefore the extent to which the novel's claim to fictive-historical, parodic status can be supported ("The Construction of the Imaginary Indian" 271). Like parody, the notion of a constructed, questioning, "fictive history is based on the participation of both writer and reader," as well as on a certain shared understanding (Crosby, "CII" 271). However, given "the relative scarcity of primary references of First Nations history made available in the education system" (Crosby, "CII" 271), the only shared understanding about "Indians" that non-natives can safely be presumed to have is largely based on stereotypes that have been used for centuries to justify dispossession. Bowering's portrayal of First Nations women only as sexual beings ultimately undermines the novel's parodic claims; at best, the parody works for readers familiar with the codes of parody and thus recognise it; at worst, the novel "entrench[es] the fictional stereotypical Indian" (Crosby, "CII" 271). The history presented in *Burning Water* may be fictive, examined as a construct in a self-conscious, self-critical fashion, but it still uses the Indian as a symbol; "the West's assumed

right to use native figures, myths, and visual arts" for its own purposes remains unchanged (Crosby, "CII" 271). Crosby's point might suggest that the novel's homoerotic component functions as a shortcut to critical self-examination, homosexuality standing not for Vancouver's desire for Cook or Quadra but instead signifying some other aspect of a conversation amongst Europeans.

### **Language, Discourse, Knowledge, Power**

The white invasion [of Australia] can be written as the story of Aboriginal people being made subjects by twin forces of domination and documentation. Domination is primarily driven by the imposition of the apparatus of a European state and acted out in the physical control of bodies and social life. The other force, documentation, possessing the indigenous people by 'knowing' them, has been the means by which European knowledge was reproduced, depositing its residue in museums, archives, libraries and the mentality of racism. (Healy 22)

In this thesis I have examined several European discourses -- aesthetics, science, the panoply of myths, stereotypes, and assumptions clustered around and governing cannibalism, and now history -- at work in the various texts documenting, describing, or commenting on Cook's month at Nootka Sound. I have attempted, in the individual chapters, to demonstrate how these different constructions of reality shaped Cook's responses to, and the textual creation and presentation of, the place and its inhabitants. I have also attempted to demonstrate how this presentation of a particular new-world site, although informed by European biases and assumptions, in turn affected these discourses in Europe. The political effect of the accumulation of these discourses into "domination," even if only at the supposedly theoretical level of ideology (Cook's journal of the third voyage introduced what became known as Nootka Sound to Europe) sounds abstract, but it is not. As Wittig writes,

When we use the overgeneralizing term 'ideology' to designate all the discourses of the dominating group, we relegate these discourses to the domain of Irreal Ideas; we forget the material (physical) violence that they directly do to the oppressed people, a violence produced by 'abstract' and scientific discourses as well as by the discourses of the mass media. ("SM" 25)

The presentation of Nootka Sound by means of European discourses such as aesthetics and science legitimates Cook's claim to having been there. They function as proof, the verbal equivalent of the maps and charts demonstrating quantitative knowledge of latitude, longitude, depth of water, and the physical appearance of the shoreline. Ultimately these discourses document his claim, as the King's proxy, to possession of what Cook named (after all) "King Georges Sound." Indeed, the consequences of such discourses was explicitly material: economic exploitation and appropriation. Of greater interest than the land as real estate were the sea-otter pelts which commanded such astronomical prices in China. For such profits European nations (England, Spain, Russia) and "Yankee traders" were willing to go to considerable effort to claim exclusive trading rights to the territory which produced them. As other resources (timber, fish) became important, less transient and more permanent mechanisms of social and political control effected "the imposition of the apparatus of the European state." Trading posts whose fragile and tenuous support from Europe demonstrated less certain power relations between whites and native peoples are imaged as outposts of empire in hostile (almost feudal) territory.<sup>9</sup>

If Greenfield's argument that the central conflict of American history has been not slavery but the appropriation of territory from native peoples (3) can be applied to Canadian history, the centrality of fear and hostility between Europeans and their Canadian descendants and First Nations lies in European knowledge of wrongdoing and guilt, the understanding that we live in stolen territories. The continuing history of British Columbia illustrates this kind of hostility. Jean Barman has identified racial conflict as one of the forces shaping and creating a British Columbia identity:

The importance of class in shaping British Columbia identity has been paralleled or surpassed by that of race and ethnicity. British Columbia was long the most overtly racist province in Canada by virtue of possessing the overwhelming majority of individuals against whom all Canadians of the dominant society would just as easily have discriminated. Any individuals, not just Asians, who did not conform to a stereotype formed in Canadians' own image were unacceptable. But the force of race

in shaping the British Columbia identity went beyond the particular groups doing the discriminating or being discriminated against. To a significant extent it was race that helped create and maintain the province as a place apart. British Columbians of the dominant society were long convinced that they possessed a unique problem not understood by the federal government or by other Canadians. The most racist of actions taken in the west coast province -- the head tax on Chinese arrivals, rejection of the *Komagata Maru*, Japanese evacuation -- each contributed to a sense of autonomy. (352)

Such attitudes and ideas find their most succinct expression in the title of Patricia Roy's history of British Columbia, *A White Man's Province*. The name of the province where people of colour could not vote until nearly the 1950s (South Asians in 1947, First Nations, Chinese, and Japanese in 1949) "still suggests more aptly than any other name could do, the sentiments and the outlook of the Canadian people who live in the further west," Margaret Ormsby concludes (495). Although some attitudes have changed since the revised edition of her *British Columbia: A History* was published in 1971, the controversy in Vancouver since Remembrance Day 1993, over the Sikh veteran of the British Army who was barred from a Royal Canadian Legion hall because of his turban, suggests that to some politically and culturally dominant groups "British" still means "white."

While I have tried to demonstrate the connection between the political and material conditions -- "reality" -- and certain European discourses in the texts of Cook's voyage, these discourses are of course most significant at the level of what Healy calls "documentation," methods of "possessing the indigenous people by 'knowing' them." The function of this process is not only domination or possession of aboriginal knowledge, but also, as Healy points out, the reproduction of European knowledge, what Said has called "Orientalism" in another geographical context. It "expresses and represents [an integral part of European *material* civilization] culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles" (Said, *Orientalism* 2). As Smith has noted, the art of Cook's Pacific voyages -- primarily Hodges' *plein air* paintings and explorations in the use of light

("by virtually eliminating half-tone, a radical move which though quickly stated was one that painters struggled with for half a century" [*IP* 70]) and Webber's mannerism -- influenced the general trends and direction of European art. This is particularly true of primitivism, but also, more generally, of "the end of classical naturalism as the norm of European art, as it had been constructed by Greek artists of the fifth and sixth centuries BC" (Smith, *IP* 222). Documentation by such discourses -- regardless of how Pacific peoples were portrayed, or according to which stereotypes -- "was a component of the decision-making of those Europeans who would enter the Pacific in their thousands and eventually dominate it" (Smith, *IP* 191).

So documentation produces domination, or as Wittig puts it,

The ensemble of these discourses produces a confusing static for the oppressed, which makes them lose sight of the material cause of their oppression and plunges them into a kind of ahistoric vacuum. ("SM" 22)

In such a situation -- where control of names and discourse about the oppressed gives the oppressors the authority to speak about them and where privilege provides the opportunity to do so --

there is nothing abstract about the power that science and theories have to act materially and actually upon our bodies and minds, even if the discourse that produces it is abstract. It is one of the forms of domination, its very expression. I would say, rather, one of its exercises. (Wittig, "SM" 26)

Although this discourse I have produced could be examined for how it reproduces this process of domination by textual authority, the point I want to make is that, as there are no pure essences, so there are no pure constructions. At the same time, it is crucial to remember that documentation is an issue in a context of domination and it is this context which primarily problematises documentation as a process.

Cook's became the "official" or "accepted" version of Nootka Sound and its inhabitants: his journal, although it often explicitly records his inability to understand what he sees in the North Pacific ("I saw nothing that could give us the least insight into their Religion" [*Beaglehole* III:1, 322]),

carries all the authority of expertise in England. His account is not documentary: it reveals not what was "actually" there at Nootka Sound, or what Cook "really" saw, but rather the cultural values, norms, and assumptions determining his choices and "ways of seeing" as a paradigm or pattern of relations in the narrative. If knowledge, and ownership, are a function of language, so that knowing in language is equal to knowing in "reality," then language is appropriation -- naming in language amounts to claiming in reality. Cook's construction or definition of power, and its eventual imposition, brought the west coast into a particular place in European history. At the same time, the process is also much more complex than such vulgar reductionisms indicate. For though Cook's texts present constructions of the man himself, according to the editors,' publishers,' or readers' agendas, they also present the joy of exploration and discovery which delights in the unpindownable, the unknowable, and which attempts to grapple with the new, as a necessary part of the joy of fixing a meaning. And Cook's texts, Cook's voyages, did not fix those meanings, as the many changes in place names (of which Nootka Sound is only one example) demonstrates. What I have is a site, a case study in cultural self-construction which cannot be finally "concluded" since, as a way of knowing, it is still undergoing change.

### A Postscript, concerning Textual History

The discrepancy between Beaglehole's and Douglas' editions of Cook's third voyage suggests that the historical figure known as "Captain Cook" has been largely a textual construction. Comparing the two editions reveals just how much Douglas (an armchair expert who had never travelled further west than Cornwall) altered Cook's description of the month at Nootka Sound by adding, if not his own opinions and edification, then the opinions of the other officers as if they were Cook's (for example, Bayly's supposition that the Nootka were cannibals). Indeed, the act of reading Beaglehole's scholarly edition of the third voyage makes the extent to which Douglas borrowed from the journals of the other officers visually explicit: Beaglehole's footnotes outlining Douglas' sources often take up almost as much space on the page as Cook's own description of the place and its people.

### A Digression, on Cook for his Contemporaries

*It is significant, i think, that the versions of Cook created by his subordinates present largely the same image. For example, both Rickman's Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean (1781) and David Samwell's Narrative of the Death of Captain Cook (1786) construct Cook as an imperial culture-hero, even though Samwell, writing five or six years after the fact, can acknowledge his work publicly. Readers opening Rickman's (anonymous) edition are faced with an engraved "Representation of the Murder of Capt Cook at O-Why-Ee" as frontspiece to the title page, which promises that the text is "Faithfully Narrated from the Original MS." (although the Advertisement immediately following, which claims that "[t]he Editor of this Journal does not make himself answerable for all the facts that are related in it," might suggest to the suspicious that the truth-claim is a little suspect).*

Indeed, the text, shifting between an unspecified "we" and "they," reads more like a novel than like a scientific voyage. The episodic plot (reminiscent, perhaps, of Defoe's Moll Flanders (1722) or Robinson Crusoe (1719) in its description of distant shores) prepares the reader for the apostrophe on the event of Cook's death:

Reader, if thou hast any feeling for thy country in the loss of so great, so illustrious a navigator, or any tenderness for those whom he has left to lament his fate, thou wilt drop with me a tear at this melancholy relation; especially when thou reflectst, that he, who had braved dangers, and had looked death in the face in a thousand forms, should at last be cut off by the hands of a cowardly savage, who, dreading the impetuosity of his rage, came behind him, and, ruffian-like, stabbed him in the back. (320)

Such fulsome prose supports Beaglehole's claim that Rickman's Voyage "is a fanciful and ridiculously exaggerated production, done exclusively for the market" (III:1, ccv). Only two years after Cook's death -- and before Cook's own journal was published -- the reading public was only too ready to see Cook as an imperial hero whose gifts to knowledge and civilisation were brutally and tragically cut short.

Samwell's Narrative of the Death of Captain Cook may be less obsequious, but the sentiments it portrays are not much different from Rickman's. Samwell characterises Cook as an exemplar of "kindness and humanity" (4), citing as evidence the natives who "shewed the customary marks of respect, by prostrating themselves before him" (13). Samwell's stated purpose is to correct public opinion, which wrongly believes that Cook's rash behaviour at Hawaii caused his death:

He is sanguine enough to believe, that it will serve to remove a supposition, in this single instance, injurious to the memory of Captain Cook, who was no less distinguished for his caution and prudence, than for his eminent abilities and undaunted resolution. (2)

Cook's behaviour in the chain of events leading up to his death exhibits his uncommon leadership abilities in Samwell's account. Far from acting impetuously, out of blind emotion, Cook demonstrates yet again his cool-headedness, his respect and concern for the people under his care. Samwell presents a Cook who evidently thinks of the Hawaiians, as well as his own

*crew, as children who look up to him as to a father. When the Hawaiians begin throwing rocks, he is unwilling to shoot. Instead, he "expostulate[s] strongly with the most forward of the crowd, upon their turbulent behaviour . . . his care was then only to act on the defensive, and to secure a safe embarkation for his small party " (17-8). Finally, he is forced to shoot, "in his own defense" (18); the reader must conclude that the savagery of the Hawaiians drove a moderate man past the limits of his tolerance, then took his life. Samwell ends this somewhat sanitised account of Cook's death by arguing that the third voyage did not bring venereal disease to Hawaii: "on the contrary," he concludes, "there is every reason to believe, that they were afflicted with it before we discovered those islands" (40-1). Perhaps he intends at this point to answer another public misconception regarding the time and circumstances of Cook's death, merely clearing the record; perhaps he intends to imply a connection between disease, degeneracy, and savagery in Hawaii and Cook's death.*

So the Cook presented in the first edition of the third voyage is clearly a construction: behind him stand the other officers and the editor. A text which was presented as -- and which has, accordingly, long been assumed to be -- univocal is in fact a pastiche, a multivocal account of Nootka Sound in 1778. In such a situation, the question of texts and textual history moves out of the realm of the methodological or bibliographical into the ideological and historical. In his "Textual Introduction" to his edition of the third voyage, Beaglehole quotes a letter from Douglas to an anonymous correspondent, in which Douglas seemingly complains about his lack of recognition as ghostwriter:

The Public never know, how much they owe to me in this work. The Capt's M.S.S. was indeed attended to accurately, but I took more liberties than with his Acct of the second Voyage; and while I faithfully represented the facts, I was less scrupulous in cloathing them with better Stile than fell to the usual Share of the Capt -- Anderson's M.S. was also a fruitful Source of important Additions, & by being perpetually before me, enabled me to draw up a much more interesting Narrative than could have been

extracted from Capt. Cook's M.S. alone. My Introduction to the Voyage, & my Notes, still added more to ye value of the publication. (Qtd. in Beaglehole III:1, cxcix)

Evidently, Douglas took seriously his role as editor, shaping the raw material of Cook's journal into an acceptable public discourse.

Beaglehole's textual history of materials relating to the third voyage is useful, but the most complete bibliography of Cook's voyages is still M.K. Beddie's *Bibliography of Captain James Cook, R.N., F.R.S., Circumnavigator* (1970). It lists the locations of the journals and logs produced by Cook and the officers who served under him on all three voyages, all published versions of the voyages, and other documents relating to them (letters, drawings, and so on). Tracking these editions is crucial to any argument about Cook's constructedness in Douglas' edition of the third voyage: to determine the construction the subordinate officers placed on in him their own journals, to determine the nature and extent of Douglas' borrowings, and to trace later constructions of Cook deriving from these sources.

The five-year delay in publishing the first edition (from 1779, when the ships returned from the Pacific, to 1784) was due to the length of time it took to produce the 87 engraved charts and plates from the visual materials of the voyage. This edition was published in London by Nicol and Cadell; priced at four and a half guineas, it sold out in 3 days (Beaglehole, *Life of Cook* 692). In 1785, eager to capitalise on the *Voyage's* popularity, Nicol and Cadell followed it up with the second and third editions. (These official editions, like many of the later ones which follow them, are available on microfilm through the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions, or CIHM.) In all, thirty-five versions --including French, Austrian, German, Dutch, Swedish, Russian, and Italian publications -- appeared in the ten years following the first edition, attesting to the immense

popularity of exploration narratives in general and Cook's in particular.

In addition to the official texts published by Nicol and Cadell, Beddie lists a 1783 London edition published by Fielding and a 1784 edition (later abridged) by Kearsley; another 1784 edition (discussed in the chapter on cannibalism) was published by Stockdale, Scatcherd & Whitaker, John Fielding, and John Hardy (CIHM 17639-17642). A Dublin edition also appeared in 1784 (CIHM 42436). By 1790, editions containing two, or even all all three, voyages began appearing: the Newcastle edition (CIHM 17753) was supplemented with a section by Phillips on Botany Bay, while a 1790 "omnibus" (CIHM 17752) was supplemented with the journal of Tobias Furneaux (the other captain on the second voyage). Dutch, French, Italian, and American versions continued to appear until the end of the eighteenth, and throughout the nineteenth, century. During that time and into the early twentieth century, Cook's *Voyages* began to appear in what I would call "imperial libraries": "Routledge's Excelsior Series" (1880; CIHM 14801), "Routledge's World Library" (1886; CIHM 29559), Everyman's Library (1906). However, these editions essentially derive from the first official edition (abridging or editing it to serve their purposes, as the Stockdale edition asserts Nootkan cannibalism), or from derivations of that edition. No authoritative edition appears until 1967, when Beaglehole's scholarly edition for the Hakluyt Society was published.

Establishing a base text for the third voyage is entirely unproblematic until Cook's death in January 1779; Cook's own journal, some of which is in his hand and the rest in that of a clerk, is housed in the British Museum. Egerton MS 2177A covers the voyage from 10 February 1776 (the initial planning stage) to 6 January 1779; 2177B is a log fragment dated 7 to 17 January 1779. These manuscripts correspond exactly to the three volumes in the Public Records Office (Adm 55/111, 112, and 113). A significant feature of this correspondence is that the third volume overlaps the second in both documents: Adm 113 begins in the middle of a sentence which is part of the description of

Nootka Sound -- "the Sea, but has little else to recommend it."

After Cook's death, Charles Clerke, captain of the *Discovery*, assumed command of the voyage, and with it the task of recording the official log. However, Clerke himself succumbed to tuberculosis in a matter of months, as did John Gore, his successor. It was left to James King to complete the official version of the third voyage and accordingly his name is listed, with Cook's, on the title-page of the first edition, as author. Cook often relied on William Anderson to supply ethnographic information (for example, the material on the Nootkan language at Nootka Sound), sometimes leaving blanks in his own journal which he evidently meant to fill in later with Anderson's contribution. In his scholarly edition, Beaglehole's footnotes make clear the source (and sometimes the extent) of Douglas' borrowings from the journals of Anderson, William Bayly, James Burney, Clerke, Thomas Edgar, George Gilbert, David Samwell, and others. Beaglehole also provides a companion volume of excerpts from the other officers' journals to form a kind of composite account.

Many of these officers' journals were published in various forms before Beaglehole included them in his scholarly edition: for example, Thomas Edgar's *Portion of an Incomplete Journal* (Dublin 1784; CIHM 18145), William Ellis' *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook . . . .*, often attributed to Rickman (London 1782; CIHM 37249), the American marine corporal John Ledyard's *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (Hartford, Conn., 1783), John Rickman's *The Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (published anonymously in London, Berlin, in a translation by J.R. Forster, and Dublin in 1781), and the German carpenter Heinrich Zimmerman's *Reise um die Welt, mit Captain Cook* (Mannheim 1781). These were illicit publications which violated the Admiralty's rule that all journals and logs be handed over immediately after landing. Rickman and Ellis, it seems clear, were desperate for money; Ellis received £50 for his account, but it ruined his career with the Royal Navy, as did Rickman's

anonymous version when, after publication, it was attributed to him.

The Admiralty strictures did not apply to the American, Ledyard, and the German, Zimmerman, who published their versions in their own countries; the influence of their texts in the imperial discourse about Cook in England is unclear, although Beaglehole claims that much of Cook's bad image at Hawaii is attributable to Ledyard's portrayal of the captain. (Munford's edition of Ledyard's journal makes much of the material in American archives.) Beaglehole describes Zimmerman's text as being of interest primarily because it provides a sense of how Cook was viewed below decks. However, "it is not much more than a pamphlet--one hundred [and ten] pages only--of what Zimmerman knew or recollected of the Voyage; and he neither knew much nor recollected accurately" (Beaglehole III:1, ccvi). In any case, Zimmerman's edition was not available in English until the 1920s, and even then only by way of a French translation, so its influence on the construction of Cook for the British empire was probably negligible.

*A Digression, on Cook for Later Generations*

*Although i have discussed constructions of Cook at length elsewhere in the dissertation, i want to look at two biographies which aim to summarise the man and his life succinctly: the entry in the Dictionary of National Biography (1917) and the entry by Glyndwr Williams in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography (1979). Taken together, they reveal some of the constructions that have been made of Cook for purposes having little or nothing to do with the man himself. These two portrayals agree about the details of his early life, but when Cook arrives in North America they diverge markedly: the DNB sketches this time in his life, moving on fairly quickly to the first South Pacific voyage for which his early career prepared him, while the DCB devotes rather more attention to these years. Unlike the DNB, Williams does not portray Cook's years charting Gaspé bay and harbour, the St*

*Lawrence, and the coast of Newfoundland merely as preliminary training for his more significant South Pacific ventures. Instead, they mark crucial episodes in maritime and imperial history and indicate Cook's character: "the sight of unknown shores, crudely represented on existing maps and yet playing vital parts in the strategy and diplomacy of the war, seem to have stimulated Cook in a way which service in home waters might not have"* (163). *Williams presents a savvy Cook, painstaking and methodical in his survey work, who nonetheless is mindful of "the political direction behind his work"* (164).

*The difference in prose style reveals different constructions of Cook in the two accounts: Williams tends to use an active voice, while much of the DNB entry is couched in the passive: for example, "six months were spent on the coast of New Zealand, which was for the first time sailed round, examined, and charted with some approach to accuracy"* (992). *The sentence structures beg the question, by whom? Cook's absence as the agent in his own life history in the DNB culminates in the representation of his death at Hawaii:*

*As his back was turned a native stunned him by a blow on the head; he sank on his knees, and another stabbed him with a dagger. He fell into the water, where he was held down by the seething crowd; but having struggled to land, was again beaten over the head with clubs and stabbed repeatedly, the islanders 'snatching the daggers out of each other's hands to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the fallen victim of their barbarous rage.'* (994)

*Like Julius Caesar, Cook as victim -- whose "truest and best memorial is the map of the Pacific" (994) -- symbolises "man's inhumanity to man," with this twist: Cook stands for man and the Hawaiians stand for inhumanity. The imperial mission to civilise the savages (the white man's burden) is thus constructed by this strangely ahistoric version of Cook not as the exercise of self-interest, but as self-sacrifice.*

*The DCB presents a Cook who is a little less high-minded, a little more implicated in the world around him. It suggests that he "was tempted to undertake [the third voyage] because of recent discoveries, which had renewed optimism that a navigable [northwest]*

*passage might be found and the £20,000 award offered by an act of parliament in 1775" (165). During his time at Nootka Sound (which the DNB does not mention), he speculates about previous contact between Europeans and Nootka and the practicability of a fur trade between England and Nootka Sound. Essentially, this construction of Cook is shaped by different national and cultural considerations from the construction in the DNB, and accordingly locates him in a local and specific historical framework which explores his role as an active agent "in the shaping of modern Canada" (167).*

Ultimately, I think, the unauthorised published editions have about the same influence on the public construction of Cook and the third voyage as the log and journal material available in various archives and libraries around the world: those of Anderson, Clerke, Edgar, George Gilbert, Gore, King, and Rickman in the Public Records Office; William Bayly's in the Alexander Turnbull Library; James Burney's in the Mitchell Library; and David Samwell's in the British Museum. To all practical extents and purposes, Beaglehole makes this material available and apparent for the first time in his edition of the third voyage.

Furthermore, even those writers whose unauthorised versions appeared before the official text of 1784 base their own truth-claims on Cook, who is inevitably mentioned in each title: Ellis' *Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by Captain Cook*, Ledyard and Rickman's *Journals of Captain Cook's Last Voyage*, Zimmerman's *Reise um die Welt, mit Captain Cook* (my emphasis). It is the invocation of Cook's name which guarantees these books and authors a reading public; Cook's name is the sign, the talisman establishing the credibility and importance of the text's content. Would English readers be interested in *An Authentic Narrative of a Voyage Performed by William Ellis, The Journal of John Ledyard's (or Lieutenant Rickman's) Pacific Voyage*, or *Reise um die Welt, von Heinrich Zimmerman*? Would any of these books find a contemporary market -- or be of

scholarly interest -- were it not for their connection with Cook? (That the name "Captain Cook" in the title functions like a trademark of authority is somewhat paradoxical, given that Cook is not presented as author and instead is treated as a character in the narrative.) Finally, however, I think the official edition of 1784 matters most: as Bruce Greenfield argues in another context, it is this officially-sanctioned text that entered public circulation and thus shaped public discourse. Or, as Todorov puts it, "the reception of the statements is more revealing for the history of ideologies than their production: and when an author is mistaken, or lying, his text is no less significant than when he is speaking the truth" (54).

This dissertation examines several different constructions of Cook. The first is the construction created by Douglas' composite text, in which the editor's or other officers' words and opinions are attributed to Cook. Then there is the construction of Cook created by contemporary versions of the third voyage in particular, available in libraries and archives in England, Australia, and the United States, on microfilm through CIHM, and in Beaglehole's edition of the third voyage (III:2). A mythic construction of Cook as imperial culture-hero appears in later editions and readings of his *Voyages*; critical re-examinations of this myth, such as I have offered in this thesis, shake the underpinnings of this construction.

Behind the univocal text presented as the official edition of Cook's third voyage (which I read two hundred and ten years after its publication) stand the voices of other officers. To outline the constructedness of Douglas' edition, and therefore the constructedness of Cook as an inaugural figure for imperial and colonial culture, may be (as Taussig puts it) merely "the beginnings of knowledge" which should not function as closure (xvi); identifying the words of other officers attributed to Cook disrupts that construction. At the same time, it doesn't matter: memorials to that construction of Cook

have been erected, at Nootka Sound and elsewhere.

It is important, politically important, to disrupt the long-unchallenged construction of Cook by differentiating between what he wrote and what was written for him. Simultaneously, it is no less important to acknowledge that this construction appeared so natural for so long. That the foundation of this construction is in discourse rather than in "reality" does not change the power it has wielded. As a figure around whom numerous colonial discourses coalesce, Cook allows all these meanings, and more, to expand; they do not necessarily cancel each other out. (As Maxine Hong Kingston has written, "I made my mind large as the universe is large, so there would be room for paradox.") In the post-colonial context, this apparent contradiction may work instead as paradox to elucidate: a both/and rather than an either/or world.

## NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. See Percy Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, chapter 2, for an overview.
2. Two further points about the basis for claiming a readership in travel literature are worth mentioning here: one comes from Adams' analysis of the similarity between the novel form and travel narrative, both of which often presented themselves as "history" to justify their claim to the public's attention. The other is that Greenfield's point hints at the appeal of such a form to women writers (such as Mary Kingsley), who might justify their forwardness in speaking publicly by offering discoveries worthy of a readership.
3. Throughout this dissertation, I use this term in Auerbach's sense, as a shorthand for verbal strategies which attempt to approximate as closely as possible the "real."
4. I know of two exceptions to this statement: Beaglehole's monograph *Cook the Writer* and MacLaren's discussion of *litotes* in "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author."
5. See Dean MacCannell, whose *Tourist* "holds the empirical and ideological expansion of modern society to be intimately linked in diverse ways to modern mass leisure, especially to international tourism and sightseeing" (3). Although he is working towards an ethnography of modernity, the culture he analyses owes many of its mores and values to the influence of Cook's voyages.
6. As in the title of Somer Brodribb's criticism of these new "theories of man" (structuralism, post-structuralism, deconstruction, and post-modernism): *Nothing Matters*.
7. "Any important literary work is like the Trojan Horse at the time it is produced. Any work with a new form operates as a war machine, because its design and its goal is to pulverize the old forms and formal conventions. It is always produced in hostile territory. And the stranger it appears, nonconforming, unassimilable, the longer it will take for the Trojan Horse to be accepted. Eventually it is adopted, and, even if slowly, it will eventually work like a mine. It will sap and blast out the ground where it was planted. The old literary forms, which everybody was used to, will eventually appear to be outdated, inefficient, incapable of transformation." (Wittig, "The Trojan Horse" 68-9)
8. Kathleen Wilson, "The Good, the Bad, and the Impotent: Imperialism and the Politics of Identity in Eighteenth-Century England"; as an example of what she's talking about, see almost any episode of *Boswell's London Journal*.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. See, for example, "The Aesthetic Mapping of Nature in the Second Franklin Expedition," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 20.1 (1985): 39-57; "Aesthetic Mapping of the West by the Palliser and Hind Survey Expeditions, 1857-1859," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 10.1-2 (1985): 24-52; "The Grandest Tour: the Aesthetics of Landscape in Sir George Back's Exploration of the Eastern Arctic 1833-1837," *English Studies in Canada* 10.4 (1984): 436-56; and "Samuel Hearne and the Landscape of Discovery," *Canadian Literature* 103 (1984): 27-41.

2. As Hunt and Willis note, by mid-century "those who sought wilder scenery than the English country estate usually provided were following Gilpin's picturesque tours into Scotland and the Lake District" in the 1760s and 80s (33). As a national pastime, such picturesque tours were still popular, or at least culturally relevant, by 1813, as Elizabeth Bennet's tour of Darcy's picturesque estate in *Pride and Prejudice* suggests.

3. For a discussion of the complex range of meanings of Indian nakedness, see Kupperman 39-42.

4. See also Norman Bryson's point that a painting is always about (another) painting (xix).

5. See, for example, Taussig's *Mimesis and Alterity* for a discussion of how apparently mimetic representations do not eliminate but instead construct alterity, otherness.

6. Beaglehole's note: "We cannot but regret the loss of [Anderson's] third volume, however much of it Douglas has transplanted into the printed text; for although Douglas stuck very close to Anderson's wording, he was still selective, and we should like our Anderson entire" ("Textual Introduction, III:1, cxci).

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Thanks to Anne Rayner for this point.
2. For a considerably different approach to these questions, see Alfred W. Crosby's *Ecological Imperialism*. Crosby argues that old-world weeds, animals, and bacteria accompanying and sometimes preceding Europeans themselves achieved the conquest of what he calls the "Neo-Europes," those countries whose inhabitants now consist primarily of the descendants of Europeans instead of those of the original inhabitants. On the unknowability of the new world to Europeans, he notes that "Joseph Banks, the naturalist who came to New Zealand with Captain Cook in 1769, recognized only fourteen of the first four hundred plants he examined" (220). However, by 1773 canary grass, "a Mediterranean plant whose seeds have tiny wings for riding the wind, made its way ashore" to be observed by Georg Forster on Cook's second voyage (228). Such unintentional imports, Crosby contends, were ultimately as vital to European conquest -- remaking the new world in the image of the old, to whatever extent -- as more obvious ones such as Bibles or smallpox blankets.
3. See Nancy Stepan's *Idea of Race in Science* for an analysis of the role of English scientific discourses in the development of modern racism.
4. As in Charles Smithson, the gentleman naturalist in John Fowles' *French Lieutenant's Woman*.
5. According to composition theory, the placement of an item on a list reveals its importance; meaning builds in hierarchical progression from least to most important.
6. "Nature," already a complex and possibly overdetermined concept in the eighteenth century, is starting to take on a life of its own in these pages; here I think it carries a sense of inevitability, as well as a sense of 'found in nature' or 'naturally occurring.'
7. As an example of this kind of work, see Gilbert Malcolm Sproat's *The Nootka: Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* -- although the fact that Sproat needed "the aid of two armed vessels to take possession" of land he had purchased in the Alberni district is an important contextualising factor. "With loaded cannons aimed at their village, the Nuu'chah'nulth agreed to surrender their village site to Sproat, but they made clear to him that his title to the land was illegitimate in their eyes." (Conrad, *History of the Canadian Peoples* 471)
8. See, for example, Glyndwr Williams, "Myth and Reality: The Theoretical Geography of Northwest America from Cook to Vancouver."
9. Thanks to Anne Rayner for this observation.
10. The asterisk in this quotation, as in those following, indicates a footnote in the original text.
11. Beaglehole III:1, 311.

12. See the prefatory material to *A Tale of a Tub*.
13. Although I could not track down all these texts, it strikes me as interesting that Douglas has cited one at least which it was impossible for Cook to know -- Carver's *Travels*, which was published the year that Cook visited Nootka Sound.
14. As in the sharply ironic joke in French that if there are 300 women (elles) and a truck (il) in the street, the male plural (ils) will be used to discuss them as a group.
15. Crosby calls this phenomena "sexual hospitality with strangers -- 'A woman is not food -- she does not decrease " (38).
16. Paula Gunn Allen makes a point along these lines in *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions*: European depictions of tribal gender relations attempt to prove that savages, who mistreat 'their' women, deserve extermination.
17. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (151), the source of this phrase is Sir Peter Gretton's *Former Naval Person: Winston Churchill and the Royal Navy*. Apparently, one of Churchill's proposals -- made in his first flush of enthusiasm on becoming First Lord of the Admiralty -- drew criticism from a senior officer, on the grounds that it went against accepted naval tradition. Churchill's response: "Don't talk to me about naval tradition. It's nothing but rum, sodomy, and the lash" (*FNP* 2). I've heard of at least one contemporary version of this saying, a toast to "Cheers, queers, and merchant seamen."
18. Effete: "of persons in an intellectual sense, of systems, etc.: that has exhausted its vigour; incapable of efficient action. Also, of persons: weak, ineffectual; degenerate. More recently, effeminate" ("Effete" 83).

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. See Beaglehole III:2, particularly Beaglehole's "Introduction," lxxvi-lxxx; *The Journal*, 244-5; "Furieux's Narrative," 743-4; "Burney's Log," 749-52; and "The Journal of William Wales," 818-9.

2. See Denning, *Islands and Beaches*, on islands and beaches as metaphors for the boundaries between (and boundaries crossed by) European and Pacific cultures.

3. For example, in May 1994 I was asked by a B.C. publisher to review for publication a manuscript on cannibalism among First Nations on the Northwest Coast.

4. See *The Mongol Mission*.

5. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (Boston: Beacon, 1969); quoted in Sedgwick, *Between Men*.

6. In this chapter, of course, I'm arguing that cannibalism serves this purpose; I'm sure it is significant that there is no specific mention of cannibalism among women, although this may be hidden behind the generic 'he.'

7. "Men and boys with homosexual orientations obviously found the sexual aspect of maritime employment cordial and others adopted homosexual practices if not homosexuality as they found themselves deprived of female partners in a milieu where sodomy was accepted practice" (Burg 63).

8. Straub 47; see also Trumbach, "Birth of the Queen" and "Sodomitical Assaults."

9. For example, in his discussion of the genocide of the Aztecs and its rationalisation by Spain, Arens notes that "sometime shortly after the Conquest, it became apparent that in addition to being idolators the Aztecs were both sodomizers and cannibals" (58).

10. The popularity of this text for its age is similar to that of Cook's journals: in comparison to the 70-odd manuscript copies of Marco Polo's *Travels* now extant, there are approximately 300 surviving manuscript copies of Mandeville (*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* 10).

11. Mandeville's account was excerpted for the first edition of the *Principall Navigations* (1589), although by 1598, when the second edition was published, its authority had been discredited and it was thus no longer included. See Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London 1589), xxvii.

12. I have consulted recent translations of the texts in question, which use "cannibalism," not "anthropophagy," as the current term -- but Hulme footnotes his discussion of Herodotus as follows: "(Anthropophagi IV,128; Cynocephali, IV,191: Amazons, IV,110-17)." However, his failure to include Herodotus in his Bibliography has prevented me from checking his edition (CE 27).

13. "'Khan' is the accepted spelling in English but it is important to remember that in Marco Polo and Mandeville it is always written 'Can' or 'Caan'" (Hulme 269).

14. By the third voyage, Columbus considered himself "able to identify man-eaters by their looks. Thus he wrote of the natives off the coast of Honduras: 'I found another people who eat humans, as their hideous appearance shows'" (Arens 48).

15. Denning, "Sharks" 436; in contrast, Burkhardt et al suggest, somewhat facetiously I think, that "since Cook's deification, it was no longer important whether he was alive or dead: as a god he was equally powerful in either state. In practical terms the natives may have reasoned that dead gods eat less" (189).

16. "They are as dirty in their Victuals and Cookery as in their persons; their house[s] are are filthy as hog sties, every thing in and about them stinks of fish train oil and smoke," wrote Cook at Nootka Sound (Beaglehole III:1, 319).

17. Included in Adams' argument is an analysis of the racial politics of meat (29-32).

18. Such a "version of events played out an ideology if it did not quite represent matters as accurately as was thought by credulous readers of travel literature, who nearly always find the putative testimony of the eyewitness irresistible" (MacLaren, "IE" 4). I am indebted to MacLaren's discussion of *litotes* in the version of the paper he presented at the *Vancouver Conference on Exploration and Discovery* (later published as "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author"): his use of the term supported the reading I had already developed independently.

19. For example, Peggy Reeves Sanday discusses the meaning of cannibalism in the culture of another Northwest Coast society, the Kwakiutl; her book was published in 1986. And the Spring 1994 issue of *Equinox* features a cover story asking "Was Frobisher's party cannibalised?" (See Ranford, "Bones of Contentment")

20. This whole notion of transforming the Irish from a nation of consumers to a nation consumed depends for some of its irony on a traditional (English) representation of the Irish as a wild, savage, cannibal people, beginning in the sixteenth century with *The Chronicles of Froissart* (1522-5), translated in 1903 by Sir John Bourchier; this edition was reduced to a one-volume text by G.C. Macauley in 1913. Again, the use of cannibalism as a political red-herring seems crucial here: within 10 years, two editions of a medieval French text seemingly documenting Irish cannibalism are published in London, at the very time that the question of Irish sovereignty is a matter of heated public debate, in England as well as in Ireland.

21. Think, for example, of the episode in James Boswell's *London Journal*; see also Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Moore viii; "Sauvage" 606.
2. For a discussion, see Chatwin's *The Songlines*.
3. For an extended treatment of conflicting sign systems in the new world, see Todorov's *Conquest of America*, in which Todorov argues that the Aztecs were defeated by the Spaniards primarily because of a greater control of sign systems by the latter.
4. Obeyesekere quotes Dening's statistics from *The Bounty: An Ethnographic History*: "Cook flogged 20, 26 and 37 percent respectively on his three voyages" (22). By the third voyage, Cook used flogging almost twice as much as he had on his first voyage. (Quoted in Obeyesekere, 203)
5. I am borrowing from Hulme's reading of Columbus, 19-39.
6. For example, the *Encyclopédie Larousse Méthodique*, although it mentions Cook exploring "la côte américaine de l'ouest jusqu'au delà au détroit de Bering" (I,5), discusses him in the <<Histoires>> *only* as the discoverer of Australia and New Zealand. In contrast, Norah Story's entry on Cook in her *Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature* mentions only those portions of his career spent exploring what is now Canada, leaving out his South Pacific explorations entirely (188).
7. The general context of imperialism is signified here by the feminised version of Columbus' name, the counterpart of "America" as the feminised name of Amerigo Vespucci given to the continent. It may also mark England's claim to possession of the territory over that of the United States: *British* Columbia against the *American* District of Columbia in Washington, D.C.
8. This is the "staples theory" first articulated by Harold Innis.
9. See G.P.V. Akrigg and Helen B. Akrigg, *British Columbia Chronicle 1778-1846* for their chronicle of seasonal trading between English and Nootka, particularly at Nootka Sound, after Cook; for a historical perspective with less adulatory overtones, see George Woodcock, *British Columbia: A History of the Province*.

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In this dissertation I have used two sets of Cook's journals primarily. The first of these is the official edition published in three volumes in 1784, cited throughout as Douglas I, II, or III. The second set of Cook's journals used extensively is Beaglehole's set of scholarly editions for the Hakluyt Society, one volume per voyage. They are similarly cited as Beaglehole I, II, or III. The text of the latter comes in two parts: Beaglehole III:1 refers to Part 1, which consists of the official journal written by Cook, then Clerke, and finally King; Beaglehole III:2 refers to Part 2, which consists of the journals of William Anderson and David Samwell and extracts from the other officers' journals, to supplement the official account. In Chapter Three's discussion of the textual construction of cannibalism, I cite one other edition of Cook's journals, an abridgement of the third voyage published by John Stockdale et al in 1784, cited as Stockdale. The complete listings for all these editions are to be found under the editors' names in the following list of Works Cited, although partial references to these editions are also made under James Cook.

The Postscript, on the textual history of the third voyage, lists a number of other editions of the text. I have listed only those editions which I mentioned specifically, deeming it unnecessary to duplicate Beddie's excellent *Bibliography* (included below): readers who want the complete textual history of Cook's *Voyages* should consult.

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