

Mapping Middle-Class Manliness:
Exploring the Construction of Identity in James Cook's
Second Voyage Journals

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 1998


A Thesis Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS


in the Department of History

We accept this thesis as conforming
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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers Captain James Cook's construction of himself as an ideal manly, middle-class, and English figure in the published versions of the journals from his second Pacific voyage, 1772-1775. Focusing in particular on Cook's writings about food, both in the context of health maintenance on the ships and of native "custom" on shore, the thesis explores the ways in which discourses about gender, class, nation, and race shaped Cook's observations. The journal passages which deal with the maintenance of shipboard health, comprised of dietary (often antiscorbutic) measures and hygienic practices, illustrate Cook's attempts to assert himself as a commander. Cook took a modified form of this investment in his own authority to shore, constructing himself as the bearer of a particularly imperial, middle-class, English standard of civilization to Pacific peoples. His accounts of native "custom," especially those pertaining to diet and agriculture, contain implicit and explicit messages about appropriate gender behaviour and societal organization. Furthermore, an examination of Cook's second voyage journals with an eye to the workings of manliness and class on discourses about civilization reveals some departures from previous understandings of Cook's approach to race. Cook's conceptions of appropriate manly behaviour led him to favour some Pacific peoples, such as the Maori and the New Caledonians; he presented these peoples with "useful" domesticated animals, usually pigs, in an effort to help them ascend the ladder of civilization.

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Acknowledgments

Many people have assisted me through the preparation of this thesis. I wish to thank the staff in Special Collections at the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, for their assistance with the published editions of Cook's journals. Thanks also to the faculty and staff of the Department of History, especially Peter Baskerville, Perry Biddiscombe, Lynne Marks, Karen McIvor, Judy Nixon, Eric Sager, and Phyllis Senese, all of whom have helped me learn, teach, write and eat better. John Lutz at the University of Victoria, Paul Nelles at St. Andrews University, and Jane Samson at the University of Alberta generously provided directions into previously unknown source material. Thanks also to Misao Dean and Gordon Fulton from the Department of English, who served as outside committee member and external examiner respectively; their insightful comments and enthusiasm for this project were immensely helpful and appreciated. Greg Blue has shared his broad knowledge, encouraged and challenged me throughout my years in the History Department. His comments on this and earlier work have improved them more than I can say. This thesis owes even more to Elizabeth Vibert's wise suggestions and careful criticism. She gave it energy and attention well beyond a supervisor's duty, and I am enormously grateful for her support and her firm belief in this project and in me. My friends and extended family offered encouragement and distraction in equal parts while enduring endless tales of Cook and his pigs, and I am grateful for their patience and support. Special thanks to my parents, John Grazley and Linda Grazley, and my sister, Jana Grazley, for believing in me and for always, always making me think. Last (but certainly not least), I thank my partner, Torben Schau, respected colleague and true friend, for his keen criticism, creative problem-solving, and most of all, his unwavering love and support.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Captain James Cook's first stop on his second voyage to the Pacific Ocean was at Dusky Bay, on the west coast of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Cook's ship, the *Resolution*, arrived in Dusky Sound late in March 1773, after a difficult cruise through Antarctic waters; the *Resolution* had been separated from its companion ship, the *Adventure*, and a number of its crew showed symptoms of scurvy. Cook was grateful to be back in New Zealand, which he had visited on his previous voyage in the *Endeavour*. In his journal, he enthusiastically described the area, noting that once the sloop had set anchor in the bay, "Wood for fuel was ... so convenient that our yards were locked in the branches of the trees, about one hundred yards from our stern was a fine stream of fresh Water and every place abounded with excellent fish and the shores and Woods we found not destitute of wild fowl ... what in our situation might be call'd the luxuries of life."¹ The local Maori people were friendly, the men were able to hunt seals, whose meat they found "not a bit inferior to the finest Beef Stakes," and the climate, though cool and rainy,

¹ J.C. Beaglehole, ed., The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery, Vol. II: the Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure, Vol.35 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1969) [hereafter Journals II], p.112. Note that all quotations from Cook's and other journals are reproduced exactly as they appear in the published editions, without the use of [sic], which would be so frequent as to be distracting. See my discussion below under "Travel Writing and Authorship," p.46.

Cook found invigorating.² He concluded: “no Port in New Zealand I have been in ... affords the necessary refreshment in such plenty as Dusky Bay ... altho’ it lies far remote from the tradeing parts of the World.” Nevertheless, he wrote, “a short account of the adjacent Country and a discription of the Bay may not only be acceptable to the curious reader but may be of use to some future Navigators for we can by no means till what use future ages may make of the discoveries made in the present.”³

In keeping a journal of his “discoveries,” James Cook was clearly conscious that he was creating a record to which not only his contemporaries, readers and navigators, might refer; he was equally inscribing his observations for the “use” of “future ages.” Cook’s journals have had a long life. The published accounts of his voyages became required reading for Europeans, especially English men; Cook produced knowledge about the Pacific for those in the metropole and provided a model for those who explored and colonized the non-European world for Britain in the nineteenth century.⁴ Cook’s initial observations, reshaped and restructured by his editor, John Douglas, provided the foundation for Western approaches, both popular and academic, to the study and understanding of Pacific island cultures, especially in the pre-contact and contact periods. Cook’s journals, in particular his ethnographic reports, helped establish and contributed to the later anthropological classification of Pacific peoples into two “races,” Polynesian

² Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.112-138. The quoted passage is on p.135.

³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.131.

⁴ See Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p.5; Rod Edmond, Representing the South Pacific: Colonial discourse from Cook to Gauquin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 41.

and Melanesian.⁵ Cook himself was venerated as an imperial hero and an embodiment of Enlightenment ideals in Britain and its settler colonies, particularly Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, which he “discovered”; alternatively, he has been condemned as a ruthless oppressor of non-European peoples throughout the Pacific region by the descendants of the indigenous peoples he contacted, particularly in Hawaii, and by other critics of colonialism.

The Cook voyages have generated a great deal of scholarship. In recent years, historians and others have concentrated on revisiting and reevaluating the images of Pacific islanders presented in the Cook journals.⁶ Curiously, however, the Cook historiography is largely silent on the question of Cook’s own identity. As anthropologist Kathryn Rountree has observed,

Despite their conviction that they were writing “objective” scientific reports on the native peoples they “discovered”, the vision of the all-male observers on Cook’s ships was heavily and unavoidably influenced by their gender as well as their culture, class and place in history. ... [T]hey look with the male gaze. Their interests and judgments are male interests and judgments, and their accounts of Pacific peoples are white, male 18th century European accounts.⁷

Cook may well have believed that he was recording only “the facts” about his travels and

⁵ Ben Finney, “James Cook and the European Discovery of Polynesia,” in Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston, eds., From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1993), p. 31.

⁶ See Kathryn Rountree, “Maori Bodies in European Eyes: Representations of the Maori Body on Cook’s Voyages,” Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol. 107 No.1 (1998), pp.35-59; Margaret Jolly, “Ill-Natured Comparisons’: Racism and Relativism in European Representations of ni-Vanuatu from Cook’s Second Voyage,” History and Anthropology, Vol.5 No.3-4 (1992), 331-364; Anne Salmond, Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans. 1773-1815 (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997), and Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans. 1642-1772 (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1991).

⁷ Rountree, “Maori Bodies in European Eyes,” p.43.

the peoples he met during their course; however, any empirical observations he may have made were filtered through and shaped by the discourses of his own culture. Cook's attitudes toward "exotic" lands and peoples were informed by centuries of contact between Europeans and those they characterized as "others." Furthermore, as Mary Louise Pratt, Louis Montrose, and Joan Pong Linton, among others, have shown, discourses of exploration and empire are inherently gendered.⁸ Moreover, Cook was consciously writing for an audience. However truthful he may have wished to be, the desires of his readership were never far from his mind, which would certainly have led him to shape his narrative in specific ways. Even a person writing a completely private journal brings mental filters to bear on what she or he records. That Cook and his companions observed Pacific peoples through "imperial eyes," to use Pratt's phrase, is generally accepted. What is surprising, though, is how infrequently Cook's subject position, his whiteness, maleness, and middle-classness, his very Englishness, are considered in studies of his journals. Cook's journals contain inherent assumptions about class, gender, and ethnicity which are obscured by the ways in which he constructs himself as first-person narrator. Recent writings about Cook, with a few significant exceptions, tend to acknowledge some or all of these factors as influential in the production of Cook's observations; however, the effects of this ideological baggage have yet to be truly explored and their impact fully considered.

In this study, I consider the contents of Cook's cultural baggage and the ways in which discourses about gender, class, and ethnicity shaped the observations he made in his second voyage journals. As Bernard Smith notes, scholars tend to emphasize the

⁸ See Pratt, Imperial Eyes; Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender in the Discourse of Discovery," Representations, No. 33 (Winter 1991), pp.1-43; Joan Pong Linton, The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

botanical in Cook's first voyage journals, the meteorological in the second, and the ethnographic in the third.⁹ Certainly, studies which consider the Cook journals overwhelmingly concentrate on the third voyage, a result of its dramatic events and the detailed records it produced.¹⁰ A number of scholars have also worked with the first voyage journals.¹¹ The second voyage, perhaps due to its median position, is frequently passed over, with a few significant exceptions.¹² I have chosen to concentrate on the second voyage precisely for its intermediary position. The second voyage journals mark a shift in Cook's consciousness of himself as author; they also convey a strengthening of his confidence in his role as commander and explorer. During this voyage, Cook clearly felt that he had come to "know" Pacific "natives," but was not yet as disillusioned with cross-cultural contact and the imperial project as he was in his final voyage.¹³ Focusing in particular on his writings about food, both in the context of health maintenance on the ship and of native "custom" on shore, I explore Cook's construction of himself as an ideal

⁹ Bernard Smith, Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p.193.

¹⁰ See, for example, Daniel W. Clayton, Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press, 2000); John Lutz, "The Erotics of Exploration," presented to the Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association at the Memorial University of Newfoundland (1997); Robert J. Morris, "Aikane: Accounts of Hawaiian Same-Sex Relationships in the Journals of Captain Cook's Third Voyage (1776-80)," Journal of Homosexuality, Vol.19 No.4 (1990), pp.21-54; and Lee Wallace, "Too Darn Hot: Sexual Contact in the Sandwich Islands on Cook's Third Voyage," Eighteenth-Century Life, Vol.18 No.3 (November 1994), pp. 232-242.

¹¹ See, for example, Jonathan Lamb, "Circumstances Surrounding the Death of John Hawkesworth," Eighteenth-Century Life, Vol. 18 No. 3 (November 1994), pp.97-113; Bridget Orr, "Southern passions mix with northern art': Miscegenation and the *Endeavour* Voyage," Eighteenth-Century Life, Vol.18 No.3 (November 1994), pp. 212-231; Carol E. Percy, "To Study Nature Rather than Books': Captain James Cook as Naturalist Observer and Literary Author," Pacific Studies, Vol.19 No. 3 (September 1996), pp.1-30.

¹² See Jolly, "Ill-Natured Comparisons," and Rountree, "Maori Bodies in European Eyes."

¹³ For a discussion of Cook's disillusionment, see Smith, Imagining the Pacific, pp.207-209.

manly, middle-class, and English figure.

Cook's self-construction is often clearest in the passages which deal with others. I approach Cook's journals with what Pratt has called a "'contact' perspective," which emphasizes how subjects, especially those engaged in inscribing a cross-cultural encounter, are "constituted in and by their relations to each other."¹⁴ As Margaret Hunt has pointed out, eighteenth-century English travel narratives, particularly those written by the "middling" classes, frequently established and reaffirmed their normative "Englishness" through contrasting representations of the "exotic."¹⁵ This holds equally true of gender. As Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper note in their introduction to Tensions of Empire, "Europe was made by its imperial projects, as much as colonial encounters were shaped by conflicts within Europe itself."¹⁶ However, this is not a history of Pacific islanders' contact with Cook's ships, nor is it a study of Cook's images of aboriginal peoples. Such studies do exist, and I have drawn on them when appropriate; nevertheless, a consideration of "both sides" of the cross-cultural encounter is not my project, and I feel that venturing into that territory would raise serious questions about

¹⁴ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, p.7.

¹⁵ Margaret Hunt, "Racism, Imperialism, and the Traveler's Gaze in Eighteenth-Century England," Journal of British Studies Vol. 32 (October 1993), p.337. See also G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, "Introduction: approaching enlightenment exoticism," in G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, eds., Exoticism in the Enlightenment (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press/St. Martin's Press, 1990), pp.1-22.

¹⁶ Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p.1. This argument is also made by Catherine Hall in her essay collection White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History (New York: Routledge, 1992).

voice and representation.¹⁷ When representatives of different cultures make contact with one another, they bring all of their assorted baggage to the meeting. The peoples who became known as “natives” as Europeans began to map the globe epistemologically and physically have long been seen through “imperial eyes.” However, only recently have scholars attempted to understand the composition of the lens through which the “seeing man” made sense of the non-European world.¹⁸ It is no longer sufficient to simply present Europeans’ images of indigenous peoples, and counterbalance them with a more authentic view of indigenous peoples gained either from historical hindsight or from indigenous peoples’ own histories, which are themselves contested as well as influenced by those European images. As Catherine Hall asserts, “to decolonize representation means to decolonize the cultures through which those systems of representation were produced.”¹⁹ We must understand these images in the context through which they were constructed.

As the foregoing discussion indicates, my approach is informed by

¹⁷ Salmond explicitly considers the meeting of European and Maori cultures in Two Worlds and Between Worlds. Her training allows her to do this responsibly, whereas I believe mine does not.

¹⁸ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, especially pp. 6-7. See also Hall, White, Male and Middle Class; Ann Laura Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1995), and “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia,” in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), pp.198-237; Mrinalini Sinha, Colonial Masculinity: the "manly Englishman" and the "effeminate Bengali" in the late nineteenth century (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1995); Elizabeth Vibert, Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846 (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

¹⁹ Catherine Hall, “Introduction: thinking the postcolonial, thinking the empire,” in Catherine Hall, ed., Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader (New York: Routledge, 2000), p.10; Stuart Hall, “Introduction” to Stuart Hall, ed., Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices (London and Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications in association with the Open University, 1997), pp.1-7.

poststructuralist theory; like many scholars, I reject the notion that texts are objective and their meanings singular and transparent, preferring instead to see them as culturally produced and defined. Drawing on the work of Stuart Hall and Catherine Hall, I use the term “culture” to denote a process or a set of practices through which people make sense of the world and one another:

Meanings are constructed in languages, and languages work through representation. They use signs and symbols to stand for or represent ideas and feelings in ways that allow others to decode and interpret them. Meaning is constructed through language, and language is therefore crucial to culture.²⁰

The Cook texts provide ample evidence of the importance of language to culture. As Stoler and Cooper note, “the otherness of colonized persons was neither inherent nor stable,” and thus had to be continually defined, redefined, and maintained.²¹ In her study of the Cook journalists’ representations of Maori bodies, Rountree notes a link between the journalists’ characterization of land and of the people who lived there. She argues,

The natural environment and the natives’ bodies are conflated. Moreover, the natives’ bodies and their dispositions are conflated. Beautiful climates and physical environments, and beautiful bodies and pleasant dispositions are perceived as going together. Likewise, an undesirable climate goes with undesirable bodies and an unwelcoming, aloof or dour disposition.²²

This interconnection of land and people is borne out by my readings of the Cook journals. The character of the land, especially its perceived “usefulness,” was intimately bound up with perceptions of the local people’s character. In places where the people were uninterested in or hostile toward the European interlopers, the land itself was frequently

²⁰ Hall, “Thinking the postcolonial,” p.11.

²¹ Stoler and Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony,” p.7.

²² Rountree, “Maori Bodies in European Eyes,” p.45.

assigned a low value. Furthermore, the assignment of racial status was affected by this land-character continuum. Rountree's emphasis on "beauty" and climate, however, is slightly misleading. Her argument ultimately suffers from her tendency to conflate both the separate records of the three voyages, and the opinions of the European journalists. New Zealand provides one of the most striking examples of contrasting opinions between Cook and some of the ship's "experimental gentlemen" (naturalists and scientists), especially J.R. Forster. Although she contends that European images of Maori "reflect their makers more tellingly than they represent their subjects,"²³ Rountree fails to consider the significant differences among the backgrounds of the observers and among the observations themselves. Certainly many of the Cook voyage journalists preferred the tropical climate of Tahiti to rainy, temperate New Zealand; while the *Resolution's* naturalists, Johann Reinhold Forster and George Forster, shared Cook's affinity for the Friendly Islands, as they called Tonga, they preferred the warmer Society Islands and the Marquesas to New Zealand.²⁴ Cook himself, however, associated the cooler climate with improvements to his men's health. More importantly, he found it reminiscent of his English home.²⁵ As this discrepancy indicates, writings from the Cook voyages are not of a piece. They vary according to time, place, and the individual position of each author.

Cook was much more infatuated on the second voyage with the island nations

²³ Rountree, "Maori Bodies in European Eyes," p.36.

²⁴ See Johann Reinhold Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, and Michael Dettelbach, eds., with a linguistic appendix by Karl Rensch (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), and George Forster, A Voyage Round the World, 2 vols., Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Berghof, eds., assisted by Jennifer Newell (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

²⁵ See Beaglehole, Journals II, p.137, and Journals I, pp.175-176, 179, 188. George Forster considered the climate unhealthy, but allowed that it was "less noxious to Englishmen than to any other nation, because it is analogous to their own." See Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.109.

which he saw as well-mannered and civilized, such as Tonga, and/or those whom he considered manly and improvable, like the Maori or the people of New Caledonia. Many scholars have tended to assume Cook's preference for Tahiti and the Society Islands, and this tendency has become self-perpetuating. A close reading of the journals, however, suggests that Cook was more comfortable with and displayed a greater affinity for peoples whom he found "Manly and Mild" rather than soft and sensual. These peoples generally practised recognizable and "orderly" agriculture, but did not raise domesticated animals. I argue that these peoples appealed to Cook because aspects of their behaviour and societal organization, reinforced by the "usefulness" of their lands, struck him as familiar. As Roy Porter has noted, Cook generally "attempted to deflate sensationalism by redefining the unfamiliar in terms of the normal, assimilating the exotic within the commonplace."²⁶ Like his contemporaries, Cook constructed an English normality in his journals through describing the sometimes strange customs of others; however, he tended to focus on aspects which seemed to him familiar and discussed them approvingly. The Maori, Tongans, and New Caledonians appealed to him because their behaviour resonated with his conceptions of ideal masculinity.

Cook's Voyages and the Historiography

Captain James Cook made three "voyages of discovery" to the Pacific during the 1760s and 1770s. These voyages captured the European imagination; the published versions of Cook's journals were immensely popular in England, selling out completely

²⁶ Roy Porter, "The exotic as erotic: Captain Cook at Tahiti," in G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter, eds., Exoticism in the Enlightenment (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press and St. Martin's Press, 1990), p.130.

within days of their publication.²⁷ As Daniel Clayton has noted, Cook's voyages "heralded a shift in Europe's engagement with the Pacific."²⁸ Prior to 1750, as Glyndwr Williams has argued, European interest in the "South Seas" was limited to "fantastic imaginings" of *Terra Australis Incognita*, the great unknown continent which was believed to exist in the far reaches of the southern Pacific, and more practically to buccaneers' international competition for "plunder and trade."²⁹ Interest in the Pacific increased sharply following the Seven Years War, as England and France sought to curtail one another's overseas power by establishing a foothold in the Pacific. During the 1760s, England sponsored two "voyages round the world" in the *Dolphin*, captained in 1764 by John Byron and in 1766 by Samuel Wallis. The reports from the *Dolphin*'s voyages further stimulated interest in the Pacific, especially Tahiti, claimed by Wallis as "King George's Island"; returning sailors described it as a tropical paradise lush with hogs, fruit, and beautiful, sexually available women. Cook's first voyage in 1768 was predicated on the *Dolphin*'s experiences, but with a significant difference: it had a scientific purpose.³⁰

The first voyage was undertaken in 1768 in the bark *Endeavour*. Cook, fresh from a naval stint in North America during the Seven Years' War, was commissioned to

²⁷ Alan Frost, "New Geographical Perspectives and the Emergence of the Romantic Imagination," Cook and His Times conference proceedings, Simon Fraser University, 1978, BCARS MS-0804, File 6, p.4.

²⁸ Clayton, Islands of Truth, p.7.

²⁹ Glyndwr Williams, "Buccaneers, Castaways, and Satirists: The South Seas in the English Consciousness Before 1750," Eighteenth-Century Life, Vol.18 (November 1994), p.114. It should be noted that *Terra Australis* and the modern Australia, which Cook and his contemporaries called "New Holland," are two separate entities.

³⁰ See Lynne Withey, Voyages of Discovery: Captain Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific (New York: William Morrow, 1987), chapters 2 and 3; Clayton, Islands of Truth, p. 7; and Randolph Cock, "Precursors of Cook: The Voyages of the *Dolphin*, 1764-8," Mariner's Mirror, Vol.85 No.1 (February 1999), pp.30-52.

captain the *Endeavour* to Tahiti, where a team of scientists and artists would observe and measure the transit of the planet Venus across the sun. Venus transits the sun twice in one decade approximately every one hundred years; mapping the transit helped astronomers to develop accurate measurements of the solar system. The 1769 transit was of critical importance because international attempts to measure the 1761 transit had been largely unsuccessful. As a result, the Royal Society of London intended to ensure successful measurement and its own reputation as a leader in the astronomical field by dispatching observers to various points around the world, including a site in the Pacific Ocean.³¹ This voyage was promoted enthusiastically by Alexander Dalrymple, a fellow of the Royal Society, who was as interested in locating *Terra Australis Incognita* as he was in astronomy. Dalrymple had hoped to be senior observer, but withdrew when the Navy refused to allow him to command the ship as well.³² Instead, at the suggestion of Philip Stephens and Captain Sir Hugh Palliser, the Admiralty appointed Cook. Cook had served under Palliser in the Seven Years War, where he quickly gained a reputation as a “reserved and studious young man” with excellent navigational and mapmaking skills.³³ The Royal Society and the Admiralty intended Cook to put these skills to good use once more in the service of his country’s imperial ambition.

Cook was not a typical Royal Navy captain. According to naval historian Michael Lewis, the “great majority of officers were ‘gentlemen born’, or at least ‘near-gentlemen-born’, while the great majority of the men were not -- not nearly gentlemen-

³¹ Withey, Voyages of Discovery, pp.15-18.

³² Withey, Voyages of Discovery, pp. 19-20; Richard Hough, Captain James Cook: A Biography (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1994), pp.44-45.

³³ Withey, Voyages of Discovery, p.16; Hough, Captain James Cook, p.46.

born.”³⁴ Officers, especially those with commissions, typically “came from one walk of life, ‘Men’ from another: and, as it was not easy in Society to pass from a lower stratum to a higher, so, in the Navy, it was not easy for a ‘Man’ to become an officer. But it was possible.”³⁵ Cook is often cited as an example of such upward mobility. He was born in 1728 to a Yorkshire woman, Grace Cook, and her husband, James Cook, Sr., a Scottish farm labourer. James Jr. received a limited education. His parents apprenticed him to a grocer’s and haberdasher’s shop in the small port of Staithes at the age of seventeen, hoping to secure for him a better, middle-class future in trade. Within a year, however, Cook left the shop to begin his second apprenticeship, this time in colliery shipping. He studied mathematics, navigation, and astronomy independently while working for John and Henry Walker of Whitby; in June of 1755, at the age of twenty-seven, he joined the Royal Navy as an able seaman. Cook was assigned to the *Eagle* shortly thereafter, and within a month had been promoted to master’s mate under Palliser. He was quickly promoted through the ranks of the non-commissioned officers, but because of his class, did not qualify for a commission until shortly before he was appointed to command the *Endeavour*.³⁶

The *Endeavour* left Plymouth Sound, England, in August 1768, with a crew of ninety-four men. The ship proceeded to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus, then explored the ocean in search of *Terra Australis*, visiting New Zealand and the coast of

³⁴ Michael Lewis, *A Social History of the Navy, 1793-1815* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960), p.23.

³⁵ Lewis, *A Social History of the Navy*, p.23. See also Robert E. Glass, “The Image of the Sea Officer in English Literature, 1660-1710,” *Albion*, Vol.26 No.4 (Winter 1994), pp.583-599.

³⁶ See the initial chapters of J.C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974); Hough, *Captain James Cook*; and Alastair MacLean, *Captain Cook* (London: Collins, 1972).

Australia before returning to England by way of Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope in July 1771. Among the ship's "supernumeraries" were the Royal Society's astronomer, Charles Green, and a wealthy young naturalist, Joseph Banks, who brought with him an entourage of eight: two artists, Sydney Parkinson and Alexander Buchan; two naturalists, Daniel Carl Solander and Herman Spöring; and four servants.³⁷ Banks and his party had a substantial influence on the records of the *Endeavour* voyage. Banks, Solander, and Spöring catalogued and collected numerous botanical specimens, and recorded their zoological and ethnographic observations as well. Along with Cook's maps and charts, these observations contributed to the success of the voyage; they also directed a significant portion of the British public's attention toward Banks himself. On their return to England, the celebrated journey was touted by many as "Mr. Banks's voyage," not least because of Banks's upper-class status and prominent role in London society.³⁸

On the second voyage, which left Plymouth Sound the following year, Cook's primary object was to search for *Terra Australis*. The *Endeavour* voyage had been such a success that the Admiralty was eager to repeat it, and although Banks received much of the public's adulation, Cook's status within the Royal Navy had also risen.³⁹ In the final entries of his *Endeavour* journal, Cook had proposed a return voyage with two ships in which he would troll the waters of the Antarctic for the unknown continent. He noted with trepidation the presence of Spanish and French ships around Tahiti and expressed concern to the Admiralty that Louis Antoine de Bougainville would lay claim to New Zealand for France: "as they cannot know any thing of the Endeavours Voyage they will

³⁷ Withey, Voyages of Discovery, pp.84-90.

³⁸ Beaglehole, The Life of Captain James Cook, p. 273. See also Withey, Voyages of Discovery, chapter 9.

³⁹ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.xxv-xxvi.

not hesitate a moment to declare themselves the first discoverer. Indeed I cannot think how they can think other wise unless the natives inform them to the contrary which they may not choose to understand.”⁴⁰ As we shall see in more detail in Chapter 3, Cook had plans for an English New Zealand. He suggested that a more concentrated search for *Terra Australis* could be conducted using New Zealand as a base, allowing him to augment his Pacific charts to the point that “the discoveries in the South Sea would be compleat.”⁴¹

The Admiralty accepted Cook’s proposal in modified form, and in July 1772 Cook departed Plymouth Sound with two ships, the *Resolution*, which he captained, and the *Adventure*, captained by Tobias Furneaux. He was instructed to proceed to Cape Circumcision via Madeira and the Cape of Good Hope, and to investigate the presence of a southern continent. If it was there, he was to observe it carefully as with other port stops, noting its soil, produce, animals, fowls, fish and minerals, and to return with samples if possible.⁴² To this end, the *Resolution*, like the *Endeavour*, had on board a number of “experimental gentlemen.” Despite Cook’s concerns about French and Spanish interference with British plans in the Pacific, the second voyage, even more than the first, was very much an international scientific expedition, and like others of its kind attracted the attention and assistance of intellectual elites throughout Europe.⁴³ The *Resolution*’s team included English astronomers William Bayly and William Wales, artist William Hodges, and German father and son naturalists Johann Reinhold and George Forster; they

⁴⁰ Beaglehole, Journals I, p.478.

⁴¹ Beaglehole, Journals I, p.479. See also Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. xix-xxi.

⁴² Admiralty Instructions, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.clxviii.

⁴³ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, p.23.

took on another naturalist, Anders Sparrman of Sweden, at the Cape of Good Hope. Joseph Banks had intended to participate, but abandoned the project shortly before departure because he felt the *Resolution* was not large enough to accommodate him and his party.⁴⁴ The Forsters joined the expedition in his place. J.R. Forster was well-educated and had been involved with the Royal Society since his arrival in London; despite his persistent financial difficulties, he considered himself a gentleman.⁴⁵ He and Cook had their share of personal conflicts during the course of the second voyage, many of which had roots, I argue, in their different class backgrounds and views of appropriate manly behaviour.⁴⁶

The voyage of the *Resolution* and *Adventure* led Cook to rule out the existence of *Terra Australis*. During its course, Cook spent more time in Tahiti, the Society Islands, and New Zealand, visited a number of islands which were known to Europeans but new to him, such as Tonga, the New Hebrides, and New Caledonia, and “discovered” a few more, including Niue, which he called “Savage Island.” The *Adventure* lost company with the *Resolution* late in 1773, returning to England by way of New Zealand and the Cape of Good Hope in July of 1774. The *Resolution* returned to England in 1775, again rich with

⁴⁴ See Beaglehole, The Life of Captain James Cook, pp. 291-293, and Journals II, pp. xxvii-xxix.

⁴⁵ Nicholas Thomas, “Johann Reinhold Forster and His *Observations*,” in Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, pp.xvi-xvii.

⁴⁶ Forster clearly considered Cook his inferior in education and class, as comments he made to James King, who became captain of the *Resolution* after Cook’s death, indicate. According to Forster, King had expressed his regret to Cook that no scientists would be present on the third voyage, and received a rude reply in exchange. King, shocked, reported this to Forster, who rather smugly attempted to restore King’s “respect” for Cook by explaining that the captain was “a cross-grained fellow who sometimes showed a mean disposition and was carried away by a hasty temper.” Moreover, Forster stated, through his daily companionship on the first and second voyages with “representatives of science and art” such as Banks, Solander, and Forster himself, Cook had developed an inflated “respect and reverence for his own character and good name.” The ultimate effect was to portray Cook as an uncouth, ill-mannered social climber. See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.xlvi-xlvi.

biological and ethnographic information. The Admiralty had instructed Cook to document not only flora and fauna, but

likewise to observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives or Inhabitants, if there be any, & endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship and Alliance with them, making them Presents of such Trinquets as they may value, inviting them to Trafick, & shewing them every kind of Civility & Regard; but taking care nevertheless not to suffer yourself to be surprized by them, but to always be on your guard against any Accident.⁴⁷

These instructions were in force throughout all three voyages. As Smith points out, the ethnographic writings became a progressively more important component of Cook's journals with each voyage,⁴⁸ a development which largely resulted from Cook's response to the desire of the English reading public for accounts of Pacific societies.

Cook's third and final voyage departed Plymouth in June of 1776. Having ruled out the existence of *Terra Australis*, the Admiralty dispatched Cook to seek the mythical "Northwest Passage" which was thought to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans through or above North America. Cook again commanded the *Resolution*, which was accompanied this time by the *Discovery* under Charles Clerke, who had been Cook's lieutenant on the first and second voyages.⁴⁹ Cook again visited many of his habitual stops in the South Pacific before charting the northwest coast of North America and wintering in the Hawaiian Islands. On February 4, 1779, after he returned to Kealakekua Bay to fix a broken mast, Cook was killed by the local people. The circumstances surrounding his death are unclear, and have been the subject of much scholarly debate in

⁴⁷ Admiralty Instructions, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.clxviii.

⁴⁸ Smith, Imagining the Pacific, p.193.

⁴⁹ Withey, Voyages of Discovery, pp.314-319.

the last decade.⁵⁰ Cook's death was initially read as an example of native savagery, leading him to be represented by Europeans as an Enlightenment martyr in the years immediately following the event.⁵¹ Some have suggested that Cook's death was the outcome of a dispute over Hawaiians' "thievery"; others point to Hawaiian anger at the outbreak of sexually transmitted diseases which resulted from the ships' initial visit.⁵² The most famous explanation of Cook's death, however, was advanced by the American structuralist anthropologist Marshall Sahlins. Sahlins argued that Cook's initial arrival coincided with the *makahiki* religious festival, which led the Hawaiians to venerate him as a manifestation of the god Lono. According to Sahlins, Cook allowed himself to be "ritually adored" during the course of the festival, left the island, and when he returned a few days later, was ritually killed as Lono.⁵³ Sahlins's argument was accepted by many until 1992, when Sri Lankan anthropologist Gananath Obeyesekere vigorously disputed Sahlins's interpretation. Obeyesekere argued that Sahlins's structuralism led him to seriously misread some of the documentary evidence. More to the point, Obeyesekere

⁵⁰ See Marshall Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981), and How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, For Example (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Gananath Obeyesekere, The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). On Cook's death and the Sahlins-Obeyesekere debate, see Edmond, Representing the South Pacific, chapter 2, Ian Hacking, "Aloha, aloha," London Review of Books (7 September 1995), pp.6-9, and K.R. Howe, "The Making of Cook's Death," Journal of Pacific History, Vol.31 No.1 (June 1996), pp. 108-118.

⁵¹ For an excellent overview of these literary and artistic representations, see Edmond, Representing the South Pacific, pp. 26-41. See also Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, second edition, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁵² See Howe, "The Making of Cook's Death"; Lutz, "The Erotics of Exploration," p.14.

⁵³ Sahlins, Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities, pp.7-28, 54, and How "Natives" Think. Withey also advances Sahlins's argument in her treatment of Cook's death. See Voyages of Discovery, pp.390-393.

was offended by the notion that Hawaiians would have deified Cook; in his view, this was a European fantasy which patronized Hawaiians by suggesting that they were unable to differentiate between a cantankerous English sea captain and one of their own gods.⁵⁴ Obeyesekere instead viewed Cook's death as a result of his increasingly erratic behaviour and frequent outbursts of anger, which Obeyesekere suggests were caused by both physical illness and mental disturbance.

Although Cook's death has no direct bearing on this study, the debate which surrounds it neatly encapsulates the pertinent issues in the historiography of the Cook voyages. The sheer magnitude of literature which deals with the Cook voyages -- "a veritable publishing industry," as Jane Samson has termed it⁵⁵ -- makes a full bibliographic consideration almost impossible. As a result, most scholars begin at the last full-scale reinterpretation of Cook and his voyages, which occurred between 1955, when New Zealand scholar John Cawte Beaglehole published his first edition of Cook's journals, and 1979, which marked the bicentennial of Cook's death. Any study of European exploration in the Pacific since the 1960s must engage with Beaglehole. As Lee Wallace has noted, "wherever you venture in Pacific research, sooner or later, in frustration or wonder, you realize that J.C. Beaglehole has passed your way before."⁵⁶ Beaglehole's work is generally acknowledged to have ushered in "a new era in the study of the European exploration of the Pacific Ocean during the second half of the eighteenth

⁵⁴ Obeyesekere, The Apotheosis of Captain Cook, p.8 and passim.

⁵⁵ See Jane Samson, Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), p.7, and Jane Samson and Alan Frost, "Introduction," in Alan Frost and Jane Samson, eds., Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), p.5.

⁵⁶ Wallace, "Too Darn Hot," p.234.

century.”⁵⁷ As well as a posthumously-published biographical study of the captain, he produced a comprehensive edition of Cook's journals for the Hakluyt Society of London, compiling Cook's multiplicity of log-book and journal writings into four copiously annotated and cross-referenced volumes.⁵⁸ Prior to the Beaglehole editions, Cook's first voyage journals were available as part of John Hawkesworth's An account of the voyages ... in the southern hemisphere, which also included the accounts of Captains John Byron, Samuel Wallis, and Philip Carteret.⁵⁹ Hawkesworth had been commissioned by the Earl of Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, to compile and edit the captains' journals for consumption by a polite audience; he took considerable “literary” liberties with the material, however, and in 1773 his Voyages were released to scandalous acclaim and the captains' dismay.⁶⁰

Hawkesworth's influence on the first voyage accounts was well known to readers of the Cook materials. The real significance of the Beaglehole editions, however, was their graphic demonstration of the contributions of John Douglas to the subsequent published accounts. Douglas, Canon of Windsor, served as Cook's collaborator and editor on the

⁵⁷ Samson and Frost, “Introduction,” p.1.

⁵⁸ J.C. Beaglehole, ed., Journals of Captain Cook on his voyage of discovery, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1955-1974), Vol.34-37, and Beaglehole, The Life of Captain James Cook.

⁵⁹ John Hawkesworth, An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty for making discoveries in the Southern hemisphere : and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook, in the *Dolphin*, the *Swallow*, and the *Endeavour*, 3 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773).

⁶⁰ See J.C. Beaglehole, Cook the Writer: The Sixth Annual George Arnold Wood Memorial Lecture (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1970), pp.9-12; Lamb, “Circumstances Surrounding the Death of Hawkesworth”; Percy, “To Study Nature Rather than Books,” pp. 20-22.

second and third voyages.⁶¹ The journals from these voyages were available in a multitude of editions based on the accounts published in 1777 and 1780; however, Douglas's name did not appear on the second voyage volume, A voyage towards the south pole, and the extent of his editorial involvement was not known until a comparison was available. For two hundred years, the Douglas editions were accepted unquestioningly as the voice of Cook and the official record of his voyages. The publication of the Beaglehole editions changed the standard. As Clayton has noted, most scholars now work with the Beaglehole editions "in the belief that they are reading a more authentic Cook."⁶² Beaglehole's work, in company with the global trend toward decolonization, stimulated a renewed interest in both Cook and the history of Pacific exploration.

It is important to note that Beaglehole himself did not claim that Douglas made a significant original contribution to Cook's journals, but merely cleaned and polished material which was already present. However, Beaglehole's own introduction to the second voyage journals rather belies this view. He reproduced some of Douglas's correspondence with Cook, which illustrates the collaboration between the two, as well as the canon's attitude toward Cook's writing style and content. Through his exhaustive compilation of the variant fragments of Cook's journals, Beaglehole was able to reveal previously unknown vignettes from Cook's travels, primarily incidents which had been

⁶¹ James Cook, with Tobias Furneaux and William Hodges, A voyage towards the south pole, and round the world, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777); James Cook and James King, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, 3 vols. (London: G. Nichol and T. Cadell, 1784).

⁶² Clayton, Islands of Truth, p.19; this idea is also expressed less stridently in Clayton's "Captain Cook and the Spaces of Contact at 'Nootka Sound'," in Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, eds., Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1996), p.103.

excised or altered in 1777 and 1784 in order that the official accounts might be, as Cook put it to Douglas, “unexceptionable to the nicest readers.”⁶³ Beaglehole undoubtedly allows us to perceive a more comprehensive if not a more authentic Cook than the Douglas edition presents. Given current historical understandings, the voice of the sea-captain in Beaglehole’s books sounds much more authentic than the polished, measured, well-spoken narrator of the official account. In addition, the Cook narrator in Beaglehole’s edition is also more appealing to a modern scholar. This narrator’s very inconsistencies, his propensity to contradict himself and at times -- though very guarded about anything personal -- to portray himself in a less than flattering light, carry with them the ring of authenticity in a psychologically-focused age. The cultural context of the twentieth century made Beaglehole’s Cook a far more convincing protagonist than his eighteenth-century antecedent. Of course, that antecedent was shaped with similar concerns within his own cultural milieu.

Nevertheless, concerns about the wholesale acceptance of Beaglehole’s image of Cook are certainly well-founded. Beaglehole did little to alter the accepted Western portrayal of Cook, depicting him as a man of modest beginnings and humble nature who rose against the adversity of the British class system to become a brilliant, innovative navigator and a wise, prudent, and benevolent commander who cared for the health of his seamen and served as a generous but firm ambassador of progress to the non-European world. This idealized image is generally termed the “Cook myth.”⁶⁴ Cook is a familiar figure, particularly in areas which he claimed for Britain on his travels; in Australia, New

⁶³ James Cook to John Douglas, 10 January 1776, reproduced in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.cxlvi.

⁶⁴ A typical “Cook myth” characterization of the captain appears in Alan Moorehead, The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840 (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 10-11.

Zealand, and Canada, seafaring explorers remain the founders of national history in the minds of many. Cook's own name marks streets, mountains, islands; the names he bestowed on other geographical features are in some cases still in use.⁶⁵ In European Australia and New Zealand, Cook has been regarded during the intervening two centuries as a founding father, a "national super-hero," although this veneration has also been characterized as misguided and "completely false" in the Australian case, considering Cook's actual lack of interest in "New Holland."⁶⁶ Beaglehole continued to present Cook in the "great man" paradigm, interpreting his middle-class background as further proof and confirmation of his accomplishments. Cook's middle-class origins must have resonated profoundly for Beaglehole as a New Zealander, as New Zealand's own discourses about Britishness and the class system are certainly visible in his analysis.⁶⁷

The image of Cook as Enlightenment hero has fallen out of favour with most recent scholars, although it still appears in biographies.⁶⁸ Certainly, it is no longer widely acceptable to view Cook's observations as "objective," although this language still

⁶⁵ See Paul Carter, The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1987), and Clayton, Islands of Truth.

⁶⁶ Jillian Robertson, The Captain Cook Myth (London: Angus and Robertson, 1981). The quoted phrases are from p.1.

⁶⁷ On New Zealand's middle-class myth, see Miles Fairburn, The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900 (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989), pp.51, 77.

⁶⁸ Most recently, see Hough, Captain James Cook, and David Mackay's discussion of it in his review essay, "Exploring the Pacific, Exploring James Cook," in Alan Frost and Jane Samson, eds., Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), p.255. See also MacLean, Captain Cook.

creeps into some studies removed from an explicit concern with cross-cultural contact.⁶⁹ Recent studies of the Cook voyages have focused on developing new understandings of the voyage texts premised on a rejection of the colonial values which informed them. Unfortunately, many such scholars have tended to unstring their geographical area of interest from the continuum of Cook's voyages and examine happenings there as though they occurred in isolation, or with very limited emphasis on the influence of Cook's experiences elsewhere.⁷⁰ In reading the complete journals, however, it becomes clear that peoples were ranked according to an unspoken hierarchy of "Indians," and always in relation to European civilization. Cook judged peoples by their "customs," assessing their performance relative to other "natives" in terms of hygiene, societal organization, and gendered behaviour. Cook's own subject position, then, is critical in determining the means by which these criteria are established and why he preferred some "Indians" to others. Investigations of Cook as subject, however, have been eclipsed by attempts to debunk the Cook myth.⁷¹ As Rod Edmond has argued, Cook functions as a "floating signifier," trapped since his death in a series of categorical multiple identities. Edmond suggests that "[i]n a sense, Cook himself was colonized" by his transformation from living man to dismembered relic and contested mythic hero.⁷² Accordingly, David Mackay notes that an anti-Cook myth developed and gathered strength in the 1970s as

⁶⁹ Percy tends to place an uncomfortable level of confidence in Cook's "accuracy" as an empirical scientific observer, attributing inconsistencies in his accounts to his shift toward a more "literary" mode of observation. See "To Study Nature Rather than Books," p. 23 and passim.

⁷⁰ This is true of Jolly's "Ill-Natured Comparisons," Rountree's "Maori Bodies in European Eyes," and, to a lesser extent, Clayton's Islands of Truth.

⁷¹ See, for example, Obeyesekere, The Apotheosis of Captain Cook.

⁷² Edmond, Representing the South Pacific, pp.49-51.

indigenous peoples sought to reclaim and decolonize their histories.⁷³

All scholars of Cook must to some extent grapple with the Cook myth. As Edmond notes,

Modern scholarship is inevitably caught up in the proliferation of myths around Cook even as it claims to be ‘written against these mythic imaginings.’ There is no place to stand outside of this process. New Cooks keep appearing over the horizon.⁷⁴

All of these representations have their roots in Cook’s writings. Cook’s role in constructing them, however, has only been considered in a limited fashion. Beaglehole did not construct his version of Cook entirely unassisted. Cook, writing alone or with the help of others on his ships, deliberately constructed himself in a particular way. In his journals, he framed himself as explorer-hero within the discourses of his own culture about what it meant to be white, male, and middle class; in taking these discourses to the “South Seas,” as he could not help but do, he also helped to produce new discourses around the meanings of being white, male, middle class, and English in an imperial setting, against a wide world of difference. Cook wrote multiple versions of the “Remarkable Occurrences” aboard ship, using his own filters to deliberately create impressions. In addition, both his conscious decisions about which observations to record and the less conscious decisions which govern what his eyes saw were shaped by his own subjectivity.

This study builds on recent works by historians and literary scholars which analyze the effects of gender, class, ethnic, and sexual identities, as well as numerous

⁷³ Mackay, “Exploring the Pacific, Exploring James Cook,” p.254.

⁷⁴ Edmond, Representing the South Pacific, p.51.

other diversifications of “whiteness,” on exploration and colonial texts.⁷⁵ The majority of the studies which influence my approach consider the workings of these discourses in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although Linton and Pratt examine the Elizabethan and Enlightenment periods respectively. The observations of scholars like Sinha, Stoler, and Vibert provide helpful models for a reconsideration of the Cook texts with an eye to the workings of masculinity, class, and race. As Catherine Hall notes, “Cultural identity is always complexly constituted within a field of power and never depends upon any single dimension. To understand the construction of identity we need an analysis of the interrelations between class, gender and ethnicity as axes of power.”⁷⁶ While some attention has been paid to these interconnections for colonized peoples, they have been less rigorously considered when colouring with white. As Stoler and Cooper have asserted, “If we can no longer explain how racial boundaries and class distinctions are secured without understanding how they are constituted in gender terms, then we can certainly not understand the construction of whiteness without exploring its class dimensions.”⁷⁷ It cannot be argued strongly enough that in their writings about native custom, Cook and his companions were exploring and constructing the meanings of

⁷⁵ See, among others, Gail Bederman, Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Nandini Bhattacharya, Reading the Splendid Body: Gender and Consumerism in Eighteenth-Century British Writing on India (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998); Linton, The Romance of the New World; Pratt, Imperial Eyes; Sinha, Colonial Masculinity; Stoler, Race and the Education of Desire and “Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers”; Vibert, Traders’ Tales. Catherine Hall deals with the formations of English middle-class manliness in her collection White, Male and Middle Class, and in her collaboration with Leonore Davidoff, Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850 (London: Hutchinson, 1987). These latter studies begin at approximately the same time as Cook’s life ends.

⁷⁶ Catherine Hall, “Missionary Stories: gender and ethnicity in England in the 1830s and 1840s,” in White, Male and Middle Class, p.207.

⁷⁷ Stoler and Cooper, “Between Metropole and Colony,” p.27.

whiteness. This whiteness was necessarily gendered and classed, but in very specific ways which were related to the environment in which some of these meanings were produced.

The Captain's Cultural Baggage: Constructing Identity in the Cook Journals

Cook assumed a much stronger control of the authorial voice in the second voyage journals than he did in those of the first. A more concerted effort was made to acquaint the general reader with aspects of the journey which might be unfamiliar, both aboard ship and on shore. Cook included information in his writings which was directly addressed to "the reader." Interestingly, Douglas removed this stylistic convention from the published edition, although the information in most cases remains. Cook included more descriptive passages, providing the reader with a much clearer view of the ship itself and, perhaps more importantly, the view from it. Ethnographic descriptions of the "natives" of the South Pacific were expanded, both in number and in detail; peoples who had already been met and presented in the *Endeavour* journals were reintroduced to the reader and their modes of living more fully established through Cook's authoritative voice. He had been instructed by the Admiralty since his first voyage to "observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition, and Number of the Natives and Inhabitants, if there be any," and to make notes for his superiors. These observations were a required component of his journal. However, during the second voyage, Cook began to see himself as coming to know "natives" more fully; he attempted to impart this knowledge to the reader through detailed accounts of his experience with them. This appears most strikingly in his comprehensive efforts to correct "misconceptions" about Tahitian sexual behaviour and

subsistence methods which his readers might have picked up from reading Bougainville.⁷⁸ Descriptions were given of islanders' lands and "customs." Native custom, to Cook, was comprised of a people's subsistence methods, food and foodways, shelter, appearance (clothing and adornment, hygiene, and health), gender roles, and sexual behaviour. Cook's emphasis on these societal attributes and their interpretation reveals something, certainly, of the people themselves at this particular time, but tells even more about the English observer.

My exploration of the discourses of class, ethnicity, and masculinity at work in Cook's journals focuses on food. Food as a subject has been late to capture the interest of Cook scholars. Some literature deals with nutrition, mostly concerning scurvy prevention, and a 1978 cookbook compiled some of the journal passages pertaining to food, along with twentieth-century recipes for shipboard fare.⁷⁹ This relative lack of interest can be seen as part of a larger historiographical trend. Food has only recently become an issue of real scholarly interest. Its significance has been considered by some anthropologists and ethnologists in relation to "other" societies, but in a western milieu was often dismissed as unimportant; some sociologists have speculated that this general lack of curiosity about food results from its being perceived as "obvious," and therefore unworthy of academic study.⁸⁰ In recent years, however, scholars have exhibited an

⁷⁸ See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.233-237.

⁷⁹ Barbara Burkhardt, Barrie Angus McLean, and Doris Kochanek, Sailors and Sauerkraut: Excerpts from the Journals of Captain Cook's Expeditions All Pertaining to Food with Recipes to Match (Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing, 1978).

⁸⁰ Stephen Mennell, Anne Murcott, and Anneke H. van Otterloo, The Sociology of Food: Eating, Diet and Culture (London: SAGE Publications, 1992), p.1.

increasing interest in studies of food and eating as part of the investigation of culture.⁸¹ Food is an area rich with symbolic valences. First of all, food is one of the few cultural “universals”; everyone eats, and makes meaning, with varying degrees of consciousness, of what they eat. Food can reveal much about one’s social status, gender, and ethnicity, making it a particularly fascinating subject for the study of cross-cultural encounters and responses. Food preparation and preferences are far from being a simple matter of taste, although a study of writings about such practices can reveal multiple aspects of debates about taste.⁸² In her “Foreword” to *Eighteenth-Century Life*’s special edition, “The Cultural Topography of Food,” Beatrice Fink notes that

the “long” eighteenth century is of particular interest and significance as concerns food and its concomitants. It is, in fact, both a turning point and a watershed period in this area. A turning point because of changing attitudes toward cooking and eating (their acceptance in the space of high culture); a watershed due to the many-faceted impact of Enlightenment thought, discoveries, and experimentations.⁸³

⁸¹ Italian scholars, most notably Piero Camporesi, are the leaders in the historiography of food; a growing number of recent English-language works, however, consider its significance, either as the main focus or as part of larger cultural investigations. See, among others, Nick Fiddes, *Meat: A Natural Symbol* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991); Anita Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression in the Enlightenment: The Life and Times of George Cheyne* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000); Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985); Vibert, *Traders’ Tales*, especially chapter 5; and Margaret Visser, *Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary History and Mythology, Allure and Obsessions, Perils and Taboos, of an Ordinary Meal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986). See also *Eighteenth-Century Life*’s special issue in May 1999 (Vol.23, n.s.,2) on “The Cultural Topography of Food.”

⁸² See Mennell, *All Manners of Food*; Gilly Lehmann, “Politics in the Kitchen,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol.23 n.s. 2 (May 1999), pp.71-83; Robert James Merrett, “Eating *à l’Anglaise* in Provincial France, 1750-1789,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol.23 n.s. 2 (May 1999), pp.84-96. On “taste” in a more aesthetic sense in eighteenth-century England, see Robert W. Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁸³ Beatrice Fink, “Foreword,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol.23, n.s.,2 (May 1999), pp.1-2.

For these reasons, food was a subject of great interest in eighteenth-century England, and was rich with national, class, and gender associations in the domestic context. Cook took English concerns abroad with him, as he necessarily had to; he was a product of that culture. He presented to his English audience easily understandable attitudes and issues which would resonate with that public, while also feeding the appetite for the “exotic,” foreign, and unfamiliar. He drew the reader’s attention to food almost immediately, outlining the kinds of provisions in the ships’ stores and the whole allowance given to each mess.⁸⁴ Cook’s writings about food thus served as a means of identification for the reader with the everyday patterns of shipboard life, a point of familiarisation and comparison which simultaneously asserts Cook’s authority. On the whole, much of the emphasis on food resulted from Cook’s concerns with his crews’ health. As we shall see in Chapter 2, food and health were intimately interconnected in Georgian England: the stomach was considered the seat of health.⁸⁵ Cook’s efforts to maintain good health among his men, which concentrated on the prevention of scurvy, were mainly dietary. As Smith has noted, the high priority Cook accorded to providing the men with fresh food and water made it “essential” that he establish amicable trading relationships with Pacific islanders.⁸⁶ Food trade was the focal point of Cook’s contact with many Pacific peoples. Therefore, it is not surprising that significant portions of his accounts of native custom discuss food. In this context, food functioned as a key signifier to the reader, conveying information about the people’s way of life and the position Cook

⁸⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.13.

⁸⁵ See Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter, In Sickness and In Health: The British Experience 1650-1850 (London: Fourth Estate, 1988), p.47, and Guerrini, Obesity and Depression.

⁸⁶ Smith, Imagining the Pacific, p.41.

assigned them on the hierarchy of civilization.

This positioning was not uncomplicated. Two overall systems were at work in Cook's evaluations of Pacific peoples, informing his understandings of "race." Most scholars acknowledge that race was a relatively fluid concept in the Enlightenment, lacking the strong biological character it developed in the nineteenth century.⁸⁷ The division between "cultural" and "biological" conceptions of race is somewhat spurious, since biology is itself a human invention whose findings are culturally constructed and discursively understood. I view race as a "floating signifier," as Stuart Hall has conceived it; race is a socially constructed category through which variable meanings are assigned to difference.⁸⁸ Nevertheless, conceptions of race did take on a specific character in eighteenth-century Europe. As Pratt notes, eighteenth-century Europeans had a mania for scientific classification. The first discourse informing Cook's views of Pacific islanders was natural history, a discipline which emerged from attempts by several scientists and philosophers, most notably Swedish naturalist Carl Linné (Linnaeus), to create "totalizing classificatory schemas" which would enable "every being, from humans down to flora and fauna," to be assigned its rightful place in the "Great Chain of Being."⁸⁹ This "Chain" was hierarchically organized; as Michael Dettelbach points out, the "chief

⁸⁷ See Jolly, "Ill-Natured Comparisons," p.333.

⁸⁸ Stuart Hall, Race: The Floating Signifier, Sut Jhally, dir., Media Education Foundation, 1996; see also Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," reprinted in Joan Wallach Scott, ed., Feminism and History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp.183-208.

⁸⁹ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, pp.24-29; Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, "Introduction" to Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, ed., Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp.4-5. See also Donald Worster's discussion of natural history in chapter 1 of Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas (second edition) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp.31-55 in particular.

aim of natural history was ... to direct the 'lordship' of Man over Nature."⁹⁰ The true "lordship," however, was to be practised by a specific kind of man. Linné and his contemporaries considered Europeans, as representatives of civilized reason, above all other earthly species, and ranked other peoples in varying positions below. Linné recognized six different varieties of the human species, including "wild men" and "monsters." The remaining groups, Americans ("Indians"), Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans, were identified by their appearance and characteristics, including the principles which "governed" them. Only Europeans were governed by "laws"; American "Indians" were ruled by "customs," while "indolent, negligent" Africans were ruled by "caprice."⁹¹ Although this schema did not appear explicitly in Cook's journals, two of his naturalists, Daniel Solander on the first voyage and Anders Sparman on the second, were students of Linné, and Cook at times referred to Pacific islanders as "Indians." Linnaean ideas were not just circulating in public discourse; they were aboard Cook's ships.

Certainly, Linnaean mechanisms for classifying humans were at work in the Cook journalists' representations of Pacific peoples. Both Cook and the Forsters' writings, however, also show evidence of the four-stage model of civilization promoted in the 1750s and 1760s by writers such as Adam Smith. In this schema, a society's character was determined by its subsistence base. Societies progressed from hunting and gathering, the lowest level, through pastoral horticulture to settled agriculture; Europe's cities, with their mercantile economies, were the pinnacle of evolution.⁹² Europeans were particularly

⁹⁰ Michael Dettelbach, "'A Kind of Linnaean Being': Forster and Eighteenth-Century Natural History," in Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, p.lxiii.

⁹¹ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, p. 32.

⁹² Nicholas Thomas, "'On the Varieties of the Human Species': Forster's Comparative Ethnology," in Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, p.xxv.

interested in observing “primitive” societies, especially those in the first two stages, because they felt that through them Europeans were able to witness, to a certain extent, their own origins. As with the Linnaean classifications of *homo sapiens*, though, European superiority was written into the four-stage theory. These two discourses worked in concert in the Cook journalists’ discussions of Pacific peoples’ custom, although the four-stage model is considered more explicitly in Cook’s writings. Linné’s schema functions below the surface, becoming visible at certain points. As Chapter 4 indicates, for example, Cook regarded blackness as the nadir of humanity, which reflects the Linnaean (and overall European) placement of Africans and those who resembled them at the bottom of the human hierarchy. While Cook did consider Pacific islanders to be “Indians,” and he was very interested in tracking the “origin” of each “nation,” speculating on island groups’ relationships with one another and their point of emigration to the outer islands, he viewed race on a sliding scale which allowed him to interpret a group’s characteristics through the lens of his experience.

Although these two systems grounded Cook’s perceptions of Pacific peoples, they did not determine them entirely. As Margaret Jolly has noted in her study of George Forster’s writings about race, for European writers in the Pacific, “physical distinctions were closely linked to social characteristics, and these were hierarchically deployed in contrasts between those of the east (the Hawaiians, Tahitians, and Tongans) and those of the west (the New Caledonians and ni-Vanuatu [the New Hebrides]).”⁹³ Unlike Jolly and Rountree, both of whom suggest that Cook, like his contemporaries, was seduced by a vision of the warmer Polynesian islands as tropical paradises inhabited by

⁹³ Jolly, “Ill-Natured Comparisons,” p.333.

beautiful women and noble savages,⁹⁴ I argue that Cook's interpretation of race diverges from the mainstream at significant points, largely due to the play of class and gender. In other words, his understandings of race and Pacific peoples were shaped by his own identity as a middle-class English man. Through my readings of Cook's journals, I explore the ways in which these discourses affected his presentation of himself and his representations of Pacific islanders.

Cook's "iron reticence" regarding his personal life has frustrated many readers of his journals. As one biographer, Alastair MacLean, stated, "No famous figure of modern times has ever documented his life so thoroughly and painstakingly. But this massive documentation is detached, impersonal; Cook does not appear: it was about what he did, not what he was."⁹⁵ It is easy to see how MacLean developed this impression of Cook. The captain did indeed write voluminously, and in multiple versions, but he focused on the aspects of the daily running of the ship, and any "remarkable occurrences" on ship or on shore. His personal feelings do not figure prominently in the journal, especially in comparison with journals from fifty to 100 years later, in which emotion is often foregrounded. However, Cook's silences do not necessarily have to be read as absences of information. They are themselves revealing of Cook's personality, of the things he valued, and of appropriate "manly" behaviour in his era. The "detachment" of Cook's writing is part and parcel of his self-construction as a manly man. In examining his journals, we begin to see what shape this manliness may have taken in the latter half of the eighteenth century. MacLean regrets that Cook's journal "was about what he did, not what he was." I would argue that what Cook did *was* what he was, or at least a large part

⁹⁴ Jolly, "Ill-Natured Comparisons," p.336 and passim; Rountree, "Maori Bodies in European Eyes," p. 37 and passim.

⁹⁵ MacLean, Captain Cook, p.9.

of it.

The Cook journals are a rich and surprisingly little-explored source on late eighteenth-century English masculinity. Very few scholars have directly addressed masculinity as it relates to Cook. Those who have generally bring it up in the context of sexuality and cross-cultural sexual relations.⁹⁶ However, for the most part these scholars tend to use “gender” to indicate relations between men and women, exploring the behaviour of Cook’s men toward native women or Cook’s perceptions of male-female relations in native societies, rather than approaching gender as a constructed and contested identity. Jolly and Rountree, the scholars who most explicitly approach gender as a complex and socially constructed identity, have turned their gaze toward European men’s perceptions of native women’s bodies; curiously, their work deals only implicitly with the role of masculinity in these constructions.⁹⁷ Generally speaking, as Bridget Orr has noted in her study of miscegenation on the *Endeavour* voyage, “commentators have virtually ignored the ways in which the voyage materials shed light on the tensions informing the constitution of metropolitan gender identities in the 1770s.”⁹⁸ The failure to consider gender’s role in the Cook journals often results from a blindness or outright

⁹⁶ For discussion of sexual relations on Cook’s voyages with an eye to masculinity, see Clayton, *Islands of Truth*, pp. 45-47; Orr, “Southern passions mix with northern art”; Lutz, “The Erotics of Exploration”; Morris, “*Aikane*”; Porter, “The exotic as erotic”; and Wallace, “Too Darn Hot,” pp.232-242.

⁹⁷ See Jolly, “Ill-Natured Comparisons,” and Rountree, “Maori Bodies in European Eyes.” Wallace further notes in “Too Darn Hot” (p.233) that in work on sexuality and gender in Pacific exploration, “the male body tends to be eclipsed by the female, the gay by the straight.”

⁹⁸ Orr, “Southern passions mix with northern art,” p.218.

resistance to the critical interrogation of masculinity.⁹⁹ The history of masculinities constitutes a relatively new scholarly field which is made more complex by its breadth and the uneasy relationship of critical inquiry with masculine power, as historian John Tosh has pointed out in a recent review essay.¹⁰⁰

As a number of scholars have pointed out, national identity and masculinity in eighteenth-century England are inextricably linked. Michèle Cohen points to the emergence of a homosocial English manliness in the 1760s which constructed itself as a counterpoint to the strong cultural influences of the French earlier in the century.¹⁰¹ This new ideal cast politeness, refined manners, and the art of conversation, which were esteemed by the upper class through the middle of the century, as feminine attributes which were pleasing when practised by women, but were gravely threatening to masculinity. Plain speech, honesty, and “sincerity, especially blunt sincerity,” were celebrated as the defining characteristics of an English man.¹⁰² According to this model, men needed to spend some time in the company of women, where politeness was compulsory, to ensure that they did not become unacceptably rough and uncivilized; too much time in mixed company, however, would almost certainly lead to effeminacy. As

⁹⁹ See, for example, Clayton, Islands of Truth. Clayton pays lip service to the importance of masculinity in Cook’s mapping of the “spaces of contact” at “Nootka Sound” on the third voyage, but in practice interprets gender as the relationships, particularly sexual, between men and women. See Islands of Truth, pp.45-47.

¹⁰⁰ John Tosh, “The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities, 1750-1850,” in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, eds., English Masculinities 1660-1800 (London and New York: Longman, 1999), pp.217-218.

¹⁰¹ Michèle Cohen, “Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England,” in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, eds., English Masculinities 1660-1800 (London and New York: Longman, 1999), pp.44-61.

¹⁰² Cohen, “Manliness, Effeminacy and the French,” pp.54-57.

Cohen asserts, “[h]omosociality alone could secure manliness.”¹⁰³ This argument found expression in the creation of social spaces which were distinct from domestic spaces, and gendered masculine and feminine respectively; as Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall demonstrate, this shift in gender ideals was very much connected to middle-class ascendancy in this period.¹⁰⁴ Cohen is less explicit on this point than she might be. The emphasis on manly sincerity which she describes is very much a part of the self-conscious assertion of a middle-class identity distinct from both upper and working classes. As Catherine Hall points out, discourses of manliness, class, and nation intersected in late eighteenth-century England to produce a historically specific, though surprisingly resilient, articulation of Englishness by middle-class men. Englishness, like masculinity, has deployed and amassed power by constructing itself as normative; like gender, “ethnicities have been constructed as belonging to ‘others’, not to the norm which is English.”¹⁰⁵ This linkage affects the Cook myth, both domestically and in the former dominions. As Mackay has noted, Cook’s popularity in New Zealand arose not only from the “dearth of plausible *Pakeha* (white) alternatives to Cook” as a great historical figure, but also from his being identified with a set of idealized “pioneer virtues,” such as resourcefulness, endurance, pragmatism, and independence.¹⁰⁶ These characteristics were

¹⁰³ Cohen, “Manliness, Effeminacy and the French,” p.60.

¹⁰⁴ See Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes. As a number of scholars have pointed out, Davidoff and Hall’s analysis of the workings of class and gender from the 1780s through 1850, particularly their emphasis on separate spheres and the “new man,” has its weaknesses. See Amanda Vickery, “Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women’s History,” Historical Journal, Vol.36 No.2 (1993), pp.383-414, and Tosh, “The Old Adam and the New Man,” pp.219-230.

¹⁰⁵ Hall, “Missionary Stories,” pp.205-207.

¹⁰⁶ Mackay, “Exploring the Pacific, Exploring James Cook,” p.257.

equally embraced as a part of middle-class manly identity in the metropole.¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, Mackay manages to lay out the reasoning behind Cook's elevation as New Zealand national hero without any real consideration of its gendered ramifications. The self-made "Jack-of-all-trades" which Cook evoked is an unequivocally male ideal. Cook has certainly been used to signify and exemplify such an idealized manliness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; this angle is often elided by Cook scholars, or is at best conveyed implicitly, as by Mackay or Beaglehole. Comparatively less attention, though, has been paid by modern scholars to Cook's manliness in his own time. This ideal manly figure is constituted in a number of ways, but most strikingly through descriptions of food in shipboard health and hygiene, and in native custom.

Travel Writing and Authorship

Cook's journals sit at the juncture of naval duty and literary aspiration. Royal Navy captains and commanders were required by the Admiralty's "Regulations and Instructions Relating to His Majesty's Service at Sea" (1731) to keep a journal during the course of the voyage. These journals had their own conventions; captains were directed "to be careful to note therein all occurrences, viz: place where the ship is at noon; changes of wind and weather; salutes, with the reasons thereof; remarks on unknown places; and in general every circumstance that concerns the ship, her stores and provisions."¹⁰⁸ On "voyages of discovery" such as Cook's, "remarks on unknown places" were extended to

¹⁰⁷ Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, pp. 108-118.

¹⁰⁸ "Regulations and Instructions Relating to His Majesty's Service at Sea" (1731), Part II, Article XL, reprinted in Brian Lavery, ed., Shipboard Life and Organisation, 1731-1815, Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. 138 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 14.

include descriptions of an area's animal, vegetable, and mineral resources which Britain might find "useful either to Navigation or Commerce," as well as descriptions of any peoples who lived there and the captain's relationships with them.¹⁰⁹ A copy of the journal was to be submitted to the Secretary of the Admiralty every six months; "at the expiration of the voyage," the captain was to provide "a general copy of his journal, signed by himself," to the Admiralty and Navy Offices.¹¹⁰

Cook was writing his journal for an Admiralty audience. However, the second voyage journals indicate that he had a broader readership in mind as well. He makes several direct references to "the reader," the first coming within pages of the beginning: "Some readers who are unacquainted with the manner of Victualing the Navy may wish to know what is meant by whole allowance ..." ¹¹¹ Clearly the Admiralty would not require such explanation. A broader lay audience was being addressed. Cook's earlier *Endeavour* journals, in contrast, are a collection of technical observations about navigation and the actual sailing of the ship, supplemented with some ethnographic descriptions and "Remarkable Occurrences." His more active control of the narration in the second voyage suggests that he wished to assume a more active role in interpreting his experiences for a reading public. Cook also wrote several versions of his journals from the second voyage, many passages of which survive and are reprinted in Beaglehole's volume. The majority of these rewritten passages have to do with cross-cultural encounters or "Remarkable Occurrences," incidents in which it would be to Cook's advantage to present the best possible image of himself. Scholars have debated the level to which Cook understood his

¹⁰⁹ Instructions from the Admiralty, reproduced in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.clxviii.

¹¹⁰ "Regulations and Instructions," Part II, Article XL, p.14.

¹¹¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.13.

role as author. Most have accepted Beaglehole's argument that Cook "had no desire to figure as an author," but invested such energy in his writing of the second voyage journals because he was angered by the "mortifying" liberties Hawkesworth took with the *Endeavour* voyage, and became determined that no one should misrepresent his words again.¹¹² Although this causal link may initially seem clear, Cook did not see Hawkesworth's Voyages until he reached St. Helena in May 1775, and, as Beaglehole demonstrates, the process of revision in the second voyage journals was underway long before this time. Furthermore, Cook also substantially reworked passages in the *Endeavour* journals, at least a few of which have survived.¹¹³ The commonalities of the types of changes made indicate strongly that revisions were intended to create a certain effect, as do the character of the incidents Cook simply omitted, but which were recorded by other members of the ship's company.

Cook undoubtedly did construct himself in his journals in a particular way. However, it is important to note that his narratives may not always have been deliberately shaped in accordance with contemporary discourses about gender, class, and ethnicity. Cook was, after all, a product of his culture as well as a producer of its knowledge, a point which bears some repetition. Nevertheless, Cook was clearly conscious that his second voyage journals would be published in some form. Travel narratives were immensely popular in eighteenth-century England, reflecting a rise in both

¹¹² Beaglehole, Cook the Writer, pp. 12-13. This argument is also advanced by Percy in "To Study Nature Rather than Books," pp.4, 20-24, especially p.23, and by Thomas and Berghof in their introduction to George Forster's A Voyage Round the World, p.xxvi. Cook was particularly embarrassed when the inhabitants of the island of St. Helena confronted him with the negative portrayal of their lifestyle Hawkesworth had written in Cook's name. He took pains to correct Hawkesworth's "mistakes" in the second voyage journals. See Beaglehole, Journals II, p. 661, and A Voyage towards the south pole, p.270.

¹¹³ See Beaglehole, Journals I, pp.535-539.

middle-class literacy and interest in the non-European world. As Alan Frost has noted, “The British public were greatly interested in the Pacific explorations. ... The great volume of travel literature which publishers offered both reflected this interest, and helped to swell it.”¹¹⁴ These narratives sold extremely well and were also popular with library patrons. Hawkesworth’s volume was the most frequently borrowed book in the Bristol Library between 1773 and 1784. Cook’s second voyage journal, published as A Voyage towards the South Pole, was borrowed almost as frequently as Laurence Sterne’s influential experimental novel Tristram Shandy.¹¹⁵ The journalists aboard Cook’s voyages, including Cook himself, were aware of this trend, and the hope (or expectation) of publication would almost certainly have influenced the way in which they recorded their findings.

Travel narratives also have their own generic conventions. Pratt notes that both science and sentimentality began to assert themselves in travel literature from the 1760s forward, often in competition with one another. Sentimental literature, with its themes of “sex and slavery,” drew on earlier traditions of survival literature. The reader was expected to empathize with the sensibilities of the “individual victim-heroes and heroines,” whose experiences were at times sensationalized in order to assert their moral authority as men and women of feeling.¹¹⁶ Although Pratt argues that sentimentality did not achieve dominance in representing colonial relations until the 1780s and 1790s, she nevertheless cites Hawkesworth’s Voyages as an example, albeit a controversial one, of

¹¹⁴ Frost, “New Geographical Perspectives,” pp.4-5.

¹¹⁵ Frost, “New Geographical Perspectives,” pp.4-5; Hunt, “Racism, Imperialism, and the Traveler’s Gaze,” p.336.

¹¹⁶ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, pp.86-87.

such literature.¹¹⁷ Travel literature in the scientific mode deliberately constructed itself in contrast with the “anecdotal literature of survival and the sensationalist discourse of monstrosities and marvels” which prefigured sentimental writings.¹¹⁸ Scientific writers stressed the empirical nature of their observations, deploying the masculine language of natural history to catalogue and classify the landscape, plants, and animals, including human beings, of the places they visited. The authority of the European categorizing vision appears uncontested, and the naturalist himself is inscribed as a benign observer; Pratt terms this narrative process, through which “European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony,” the “anti-conquest.”¹¹⁹

Scientific writers may have considered themselves and their works intellectually superior, but sentimental and sensational travel literature sold very well, often due to the public’s hunger for tales of “exotic” peoples and their customs. As a result, many editors and ghostwriters, as well as authors themselves, attempted to add sensational elements to more scientific travel narratives.¹²⁰ As Cook’s astronomer William Wales noted in his journal, travel writers were often caught between sensationalism and science, placed in a “singularly hard” position by the simultaneous demands of their audience for thrills and truth: “If he tells nothing which is uncommon, he must be a stupid fellow to have gone so far, and brought home so little; and if he does, why -- it is hum, -- aye -- a toss up of the

¹¹⁷ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, chapter 5, in particular pp.86-88.

¹¹⁸ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, p.51. See also chapters 2, 3, and 4, as well as pp.86-87.

¹¹⁹ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, pp.7, 33, and 49-57.

¹²⁰ Pratt, Imperial Eyes, p.88.

Chin; and -- 'He's a Traveller'!"¹²¹ Cook's own writings, perhaps not surprisingly considering his reactions to Hawkesworth, display more characteristics of the scientific genre. His forays into sentiment concerned his friendships with Polynesian men rather than "sex and slavery"; he avoided sensationalized discussions of such topics as sexuality and cannibalism, presenting them instead in prosaic, relativistic terms.¹²² Douglas, however, revised some passages to create a more sensational effect which allowed for less cultural relativism, ultimately presenting Cook as a more decisive agent of empire.

Scholars dealing with the second and third Cook journals must consider the interrelated issues of authorship and editorship. A detailed examination of the issues surrounding authenticity and editorial mediation and their effects on all of these journals is not really necessary here.¹²³ It is sufficient to note that not only should the assumptions embedded in the content of explorers' texts be unpicked, but their authorship should also be approached critically. Many travellers, especially those whose works were published, relied on the writings of their companions, perhaps in addition to an outside editor, in the preparation of volumes which were ultimately published. The contributions of other authors have certainly been spotted in Cook's journals. Cook, as the captain, would have had access to all journals written during the course of the voyage. Indeed, it has been suggested that many of the observations in Cook's *Endeavour* journals were originally written by Banks. Cook and Banks had liberal access to one another's journals, and, as Carol Percy has shown, the *Endeavour* journals provide ample evidence of Cook's

¹²¹ William Wales journal, reproduced in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.839.

¹²² See, for example, Beaglehole, Journals II, p.228.

¹²³ For a useful discussion of these issues, see I.S. MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author," International Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol.5 (Spring 1992), pp.39-67. An examination of Cook's third voyage journals forms the basis of MacLaren's study.

simplified transcription of Banks's observations.¹²⁴ Beaglehole has pointed to similar kinds of borrowing from William Wales's journals on the second voyage.¹²⁵ Cook may have incorporated many other writers' work into his second voyage journals. However, whether James Cook himself wrote the entirety of the journals is not necessarily that significant for my purposes. Both Wales and Richard Pickersgill, versions of whose journals I use to supplement my examination of Cook's, were, like the captain, Yorkshiremen of middling origins,¹²⁶ giving their observations a similar grounding to Cook's. Furthermore, since this study focuses on the construction of Cook as a manly middle-class hero, in a sense it does not matter who wrote the words which bore his name. The words themselves, which reached the public with Cook's name attached, are the issue. In any case, I generally use "Cook" to denote the narrator of the Beaglehole edition, while "the Cook narrator" refers to the Douglas edition. This distinction is not meant to indicate that one is more authentic than another, although certainly a good argument could be made in favour of Beaglehole.

It is equally important to consider the production of the texts. In this study, I deal exclusively with published journals from the Cook voyages.¹²⁷ In addition to Cook's journals, which I will discuss further below, I have drawn on writings by three of

¹²⁴ Percy, "To Study Nature Rather than Books," pp. 6-17.

¹²⁵ Beaglehole, Cook the Writer, pp. 16-17; see also Percy, "To Study Nature Rather than Books," p.24.

¹²⁶ See Christine Holmes's "Introduction" to Captain Cook's Second Voyage: The Journals of Lieutenants Elliott and Pickersgill (London: Caliban Books, 1984) and Smith, Imagining the Pacific, p.135.

¹²⁷ This limitation was originally intended to make the project feasible as a Master's thesis; it also allows for a sharper concentration on the narrative of Cook's journals, and the ways in which he constructed his identity for the reader, which may not have been so readily apparent with scattered archival materials.

Cook's officers, Charles Clerke, Richard Pickersgill, and John Elliott, and three "experimental gentlemen," William Wales, J.R. Forster, and George Forster.¹²⁸ All six of these supplementary journals, as well as Cook's own, have been revised to varying degrees by outside editors at different times. As Vibert has pointed out, "[t]he evolution of a text from its original to its published form is an aspect of the process of representation all too often neglected in textual studies, critical though it may be to situating a text in its proper historical context."¹²⁹ I.S. MacLaren has devised a four-stage model which traces the evolution of travel texts from their initial form, the logbook or field note, through the journal, the author's revisions and the preparation of a draft manuscript -- often with the help of an editor -- and publication.¹³⁰ All of the journals examined herein are technically fourth-stage texts. Although I concentrate more on the editorial effects created by Douglas, it is important to acknowledge the role played by Beaglehole as well, since, as noted above, he presented and interpreted the Cook texts in specific ways. Beaglehole included a comprehensive textual introduction to the second voyage volume which lays out the history of the journals and the myriad complexities of the archival material.¹³¹ For the purposes of this study, it is sufficient to note that there is no complete manuscript of Cook's second voyage journal. Cook wrote three

¹²⁸ Parts of Clerke's and Wales's journals are reproduced as footnotes or appendices to Beaglehole, Journals II, as is some of the Pickersgill material. A partial journal by Pickersgill has been published with John Elliott's Memoirs in a volume edited by Christine Holmes; she notes that both documents were revised by the men years after the voyage took place. See Holmes, ed., The Journals of Lieutenants Elliott and Pickersgill. The Forsters' writings have recently been republished by University of Hawai'i Press. See J.R. Forster, Observations Made During a Voyage round the World, and George Forster, A Voyage Round the World.

¹²⁹ Vibert, Traders' Tales, p.32.

¹³⁰ MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature," pp.41-43.

¹³¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.cxv-cxxx. A summary appears in Cook the Writer, pp.12-17.

continuous journals during the course of the voyage, two holograph manuscript journals and a third version which has since disappeared.¹³² Portions of these documents are identical, while other segments show Cook revising and recasting material; in addition, numerous fragments in his handwriting have been located. Furthermore, Cook began to rewrite the journal yet again once he arrived in England in the summer of 1775, in preparation for its publication. Beaglehole's volume is thus a composite of the available material, with variant versions provided in the footnotes. In this sense it cannot be said to be "the original journal."¹³³ Where more than one version of a passage exists, Beaglehole tended to place the one which did not appear in the Douglas edition in the main body of the narrative. The significance of some of these editorial rearrangements will be mentioned throughout the thesis. Neither did Beaglehole "correct" Cook's spelling and grammar as Douglas did. Cook and his officers were by no means consistent in spelling, nor were they always grammatically correct. I have chosen to let their "errors" (as reproduced in the published editions) stand because the flavour of the journals is often changed by correction of spelling or grammar. Furthermore, variations in spelling are so great that the use of "*sic*" would distract the reader and detract from the flow of the quotation. Every effort has been made to ensure that my reproductions match exactly those in the published texts. Square brackets within quoted material were placed there by the editors of the published texts. My own editorial comments are given outside the quoted text to avoid confusion.

It has been well documented that Hawkesworth substantially rewrote the *Endeavour* journals with little regard for the content or style of Cook's raw journal, much

¹³² The term "holograph" refers to a manuscript or journal written entirely in the author's hand.

¹³³ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. cxvii-cxix, and Cook the Writer, pp. 14-16.

to the captain's chagrin.¹³⁴ Cook was determined to avoid another such occurrence; although he collaborated with Douglas, the canon's name notably did not appear on the published version of A Voyage towards the south pole. Some of Cook's contemporaries found this elision reprehensible. In the preface to his own account of the second voyage, George Forster deliberately called attention to Cook's collaboration with Douglas:

Another narrative of this circumnavigation, is *said* to have been written by captain James Cook of His Majesty's Royal Navy ... The active life of captain Cook, and indefatigable pursuits after discoveries, have made it impossible for him to superintend the printing of his own Journals; and the public, I am much afraid, must again converse with him by means of an interpreter.¹³⁵

Forster here attempted to discredit Cook's official account by undermining its veracity; he felt Cook had slighted his father, and may have feared that the captain's volume would outsell his version. However, the reading public had little difficulty accepting Cook's volume as authentic. Nor have some modern scholars, who have agreed with Beaglehole that Douglas's revisions were limited to the stylistic polishing of Cook's texts.¹³⁶ In contrast with Hawkesworth's changes to the first voyage materials, Douglas's editorial changes to the second voyage account indeed seem minor. However, that does not mean that they are insignificant. As both MacLaren and Clayton have shown, Douglas substantially altered portions of the third voyage journals to create an effect he considered

¹³⁴ On Hawkesworth, see Jonathan Lamb, "Circumstances Surrounding the Death of John Hawkesworth," Eighteenth-Century Life, Vol.18 No.3 (November 1994), pp.97-113.

¹³⁵ Forster, A Voyage Round the World vol.1, pp.7-8. Emphasis mine.

¹³⁶ See Beaglehole, "Introduction," Journals II, p.cxlvi; Thomas and Berghof, note 11 to the "Preface" in Forster, A Voyage Round the World vol.1, p.431.

more acceptable to the cause of English imperial superiority.¹³⁷ A comparative reading of the official account and the rougher journals compiled by Beaglehole shows that the same holds true for the second voyage journals. As I will demonstrate, Douglas's intervention often puts a different spin on events, delivering knowledge to the reader in significantly altered ways. Furthermore, to suggest that grammatical and stylistic polishing, or "correction," as it was more often termed, is an innocuous contribution to such a volume is rather naïve. The smoothing of Cook's prose, the standardization of his spelling and the correction of his grammar all serve to create a rather different impression of the humble captain than that conveyed by his own words. The Cook whom Douglas presented to the public wrote more like a gentleman than a seaman. This representation of Cook, a middle-class seaman of limited formal education, bears further investigation.

Like the society which created it, the English ship of the eighteenth-century was a strictly, elaborately classed environment. Cook, as a middle-class naval commander, was in a somewhat unusual and potentially unstable class position. While it was not impossible for a middle-class man to attain a position of command in the Royal Navy, class barriers to naval advancement were always present.¹³⁸ Cook began his naval career as a "man"; he would certainly have been conscious, and perhaps was also reminded, that many of the officers were gentlemen by birth, while he had to earn his gentility with moral currency and sterling behaviour. Furthermore, more "young gentlemen" than "midshipmen-in-training" sailed on the *Resolution* and *Adventure* than had been present

¹³⁷ MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature," pp.43-56, especially p.46; Clayton, "Captain Cook and the Spaces of Contact at 'Nootka Sound'," p.103, and Islands of Truth, pp. 17-22.

¹³⁸ See Lewis, A Social History of the Navy, p.23, and England's Sea Officers: The Story of the Naval Profession (Second Impression) (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1948), pp.35-37 and *passim*.

on the *Endeavour*.¹³⁹ This circumstance may have made Cook even more conscious of his own class background, especially since he had already been supplanted by a gentleman, Banks, in the public adulation which followed the voyage of the *Endeavour*.¹⁴⁰ Cook's approach to the act of journal-keeping on the second voyage indicates his unwillingness to allow credit for his actions to go to another again. Not only was his journal clearly, in its multiple drafts, being written and continually revised with a genteel British audience in mind, but his instructions to Douglas and the preface in the published edition also suggest that Cook was making a play for reader sympathy through humility. Cook invoked what Jonathan Lamb has termed "the rhetoric of anti-rhetoric" in the preface to the Douglas edition.¹⁴¹ He entreated the reader

to excuse any inaccuracies of style, which doubtless he will frequently meet with in the following narrative; and that, when such occur, he will recollect that it is the production of a man, who has not had the advantage of much school education, but has been constantly at sea from his youth; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he has passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade, to a Post Captain in the Royal Navy, he has had no opportunity of cultivating letters. After this account of myself, the Public must not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer, or the plausibility of a professed book-maker; but will, I hope, consider me as a plain man, zealously exerting himself in the service of his Country, and determined to give the best account he is able of his proceedings.¹⁴²

The Cook narrator, however, neglected to mention that the volume had been heavily

¹³⁹ Beaglehole, "Introduction," *Journals II*, p. xxxii; Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p. 40.

¹⁴⁰ For further discussion, see Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook*, pp. 174, 273-274, 289-293. See also Beaglehole, "Introduction," *Journals II*. Cook discusses Banks's withdrawal from the second voyage in *Journals II*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁴¹ Jonathan Lamb, "Minute Particulars and the Representation of South Pacific Discovery," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 28 No. 3 (1995), p. 287.

¹⁴² *A Voyage towards the south pole*, Vol. 4, p. xxxvi.

edited by Douglas. Douglas here presents Cook as genteel and mannerly, yet honest, plain-spoken, and distinctively middle class, a tactic which was no doubt intended to appeal to the heavily middle-class buying public. The published edition of Cook's journals was meticulously edited for both language and content. At Cook's request, Douglas restructured the journals in such a way as the book "might be unexceptional to the nicest readers. In short 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."¹⁴³ Douglas was more than happy to oblige. In his recollection,

I undertook this Task at y^e earnest Intreaty of Lord Sandwich, and on Condition of Secrecy ... I did a great deal to y^e Capt's Journal to correct its Stile; to new point it; to divide it into Sentences, and Paragraphs and Chapters and Books. Tho little appears to have been done by me, the Journal if printed as the Captain put it into my Hands, would have been thought too incorrect, and have disgusted the Reader.¹⁴⁴

As his use of the word "disgust" indicates, Douglas found a number of Cook's observations, especially those which concerned sexual behaviour and the persistent rumours of cannibalism among the Maori, extremely troubling; as he was entirely committed to promoting British imperial superiority, Douglas was "careful to leave no questions open about cultural relativity."¹⁴⁵ MacLaren suggests that particularly on the third voyage, Douglas rhetorically heightened Cook's social status in an "effort to distinguish, on the level of class, the visitors and the hosts at the point of contact."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Cook to Douglas, 10 January 1776, in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.cxlvi.

¹⁴⁴ John Douglas, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.cxliv.

¹⁴⁵ Neil Rennie, Far-Fetched Facts: The Literature of Travel and the Idea of the South Seas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p.135; MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature," pp.48-49.

¹⁴⁶ MacLaren, "Exploration/Travel Literature," p.48.

Douglas's comments also point to the ultimate effect of this type of ghostwriting. Although Beaglehole claims that Douglas's revisions were largely stylistic, Cook's unedited observations were clearly not considered good enough by Sandwich to be published, nor were they on the first voyage, as the use of Hawkesworth indicates.¹⁴⁷ This points to an interesting irony. Edward Said has noted the importance to imperialism of the "power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and engaging."¹⁴⁸ Many have condemned Cook for silencing native peoples' voices and replacing them with his own as he inscribed the cultural parameters of their societies for European readers. In this regard, it may seem curious, or perhaps fitting, that Cook's own voice was co-opted by men who considered him their inferior. Douglas, placed in the role of editor by virtue of his class and education, translated his superiority over Cook into power to reshape his narration.

Cook's writings about health, diet, and methods of subsistence in his second voyage texts, both in the compiled form presented by Beaglehole and the unified narrative produced by Douglas, are a rich source for the exploration of eighteenth-century English discourses on gender, class, nation, and race. In Chapter 2, I examine Cook's approaches to health maintenance aboard the ships, focusing on diet and hygiene, and introduce the ways in which he took these shipboard concerns into encounters with Pacific islanders on shore. Chapter 3 considers Cook's ambivalent affection for the Maori and his self-construction as a bearer of the gifts of civilization, which took the form of vegetable gardens and domesticated animals. In Chapter 4, I discuss the significance of these animal gifts in a broader geographical context, exploring the cultural meanings of meat and

¹⁴⁷ Beaglehole, The Life of Captain James Cook, p.289.

¹⁴⁸ Edward W. Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), p.xiii.

the contingent nature of Cook's racialization of Pacific islanders. To reiterate, I approach Cook's representations of native custom throughout as more revealing of his attempts to construct his identity as a manly, middle-class, English man than of Pacific islanders themselves at that time in their history. This study aims to explore the composition of the cultural lens through which Cook saw "natives," rather than the images themselves.

Chapter 2: “The example and Authority of a Commander”:

Cook’s Approaches to Diet, Health, and Hygiene

Health was a subject of much importance in Cook’s journals. This is reflective of both his home context and the particularities of a voyage of discovery. Cook’s approach to health and wellness on his voyages can provide a fascinating insight into the formation and deployment of discourses surrounding health and productivity. Cook was famed for his contributions to scurvy prevention on long sea voyages; these efforts were hardly original, but his publicization of them enabled Europeans to make longer sea voyages with fewer casualties to scurvy and other diseases, thus promoting the cause of empire along with Cook’s image as a benevolent and forceful commander. Since the 1772 voyage was made in search of Terra Australis Incognita, Cook planned to be gone for at least eighteen months. While some of the Pacific, most notably Tahiti, was charted at the time of the *Endeavour’s* voyage, much of the region was still unknown to Europeans, and a health crisis aboard ship could have been disastrous. Thus, it was imperative that the crew remain healthy.

However, more than simple self-preservation was at stake. Health is a cultural construct as well as a physical state of being; even if it were just a physical state, it still had to be intellectually and emotionally understood, and was thus constructed by the

discourses of the day. The ways in which Cook presented matters to do with health, understood good health, and forced it into practice expose some of the underlying and surrounding discourses on health in later eighteenth-century England. What constituted good health emerged in a context defined by gender, class, and race, and is far from “obvious,” although so far most investigations of this subject on Cook’s voyages have tended to take a progressivist approach to medical history, exploring past understandings of health and evaluating them against contemporary ones.¹ This approach lacks a certain amount of respect and, I would argue, depth; one only has to consider the changes in understandings of good nutrition in the last few decades to realize how frequently discursive shifts in scientific and medical knowledge take place. Cook and his contemporaries believed, much as we do now, that their actions could improve the health of their bodies and the quality of their lives. In order to understand the rationale behind some of their actions, it is necessary to keep a more open mind.

In this chapter, I examine Cook’s assertion of his role as commander in his discussions of health and hygiene aboard ship. Cook’s identity as commander was constructed along particular class and gender lines, and shows the interplay of manliness and authority in discourses on health. Toward the end of the chapter, I consider his representations of Pacific islanders’ hygienic practices and the ways in which they were informed by discourses on class, gender, and race. Cook’s writings can help illuminate the nature of health in Georgian England; indeed, his removal from the domestic context throws some of these discourses into sharper relief. The peculiar environmental context

¹ For the Cook voyages, see Francis E. Cuppage, “Scurvy’s Conquest and Sailors’ Health,” *Historian*, Vol.57 No.4 (Summer 1995), pp. 695-702; Sir James Watt, “Medical Aspects and Consequences of Captain Cook’s Voyages,” *Cook and His Times* conference proceedings, Simon Fraser University, 1978, BCARS MS-0804, File 21, pp.1-33. For the larger context, see Vincent J. Knapp, “The Democratization of Meat and Protein in Late Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Europe,” *Historian*, Vol.59 No.3 (Spring 1997), pp.541-551.

causes some warp, but also clarifies the contents of Cook's cultural baggage. Furthermore, an understanding of what constituted good health will also serve as background for the following chapters on vegetables and animals, as Cook's interventionary actions and the sense he made of native custom (as well as what constituted that custom) were grounded in his understanding of good health.

Sickness and Health in the Metropolitan Context

Good health in Georgian England was largely a matter of good luck and self-discipline. The latter was perceived as especially important; it intersected with discourses of class, race, and gender to create a moral aspect to good health and clean living. Eighteenth-century medical knowledge, incomplete or mistaken by today's standards, was itself in a state of flux during this time. As Roy Porter and Dorothy Porter have noted, the language used to describe the workings of the body was imprecise, polysemic, often allusive and metaphorical; although it frustrated many contemporary medical scientists and practitioners, "Georgian body language cared less for soberly 'naming the parts' than for creating a system of inner and organic referents for feelings." People responded to feelings of "ease and dis-ease," describing themselves as generally up or down, highly strung or flat, rather than attaching their symptoms to a particular bodily site.² During this period, the two-sex model gained acceptance; women were no longer seen as imperfect renditions of male bodies, but as a separate sex with distinct

² Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp.46-47.

characteristics.³ The humoural system was falling out of favour, but remained strong in the medical as well as the popular imagination.⁴ Much of health, though, depended on the strength of one's "constitution." The constitution, "the very foundation of well-being ... was the inner stock of vitality and strength, the vigour that flowed when all one's organs worked effectively together."⁵ The body itself

was regarded as a single integrated system, in which pain and dysfunction in one area or organ had ramifications for the entire organism. Hence, sufferers often interpreted quite localized manifestations in terms of general 'constitutional' health. Thus, piles would be seen not just as swollen veins, but as a warning sign of plethora, a superabundance of blood; various treatments might be required to reduce or dilute the blood. Headaches likewise signalled problems extending well beyond the head ... Hence, it often seemed best to treat symptoms indirectly, e.g., by bleeding and purging, to expel toxins and clear the system, or by the application of topical blisters to other regions of the body, to serve as counter-irritants, decaying the disorder to a safer place.⁶

Diseases were not only mobile, but also declaratory: "To succumb to sickness was widely seen as the mark of a vitiated constitution ... Disease was a barometer of the body as a whole."⁷ The constitution governed a person's spiritual as well as physical well-being; indeed, the two were inextricably linked. Disease indicated a problem with the soul as well as the body.

³ See Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990). See also Michael McKeon, "Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760," Eighteenth-Century Studies, Vol.28 No.3 (1995), pp.295-322.

⁴ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.52.

⁵ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.28.

⁶ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.143.

⁷ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.142.

Medical practice itself was seen by many as a trial to be avoided. Medicines tasted foul, and the accepted remedies frequently caused the patient extreme discomfort, as with purges, or horrific side-effects, as in the use of mercury to treat syphilis. Those which did not hurt the patient, bucking the common wisdom (in theory, at least) that “desperate afflictions required desperate remedies,” were often tainted by associations with quackery and patent medicine.⁸ If “physick” tended to be excruciating, surgery in the pre-anaesthetic age could be torturous. Surgical procedures ranged from “routine treatments such as bloodletting, the making of ‘issues’ (deliberately inflicted minor wounds, artificially kept open, to encourage pus to suppurate), seatons (the insertion of threads under the skin, for the same purpose), and blisters, produced by hot irons and caustics,” to more serious operations like “[a]mputating limbs, removing bladder stones, excising tumours,” and radical mastectomies.⁹ As Porter and Porter have noted, the pain caused by such surgeries was largely unmediated: “the only palliatives were alcohol and heavy pressure applied by attendants, creating diversionary pain.”¹⁰ In sum, “[d]iseases were agonizing, medicine disgusting and commonly useless anyway.”¹¹ As a result, much of the responsibility for health maintenance fell to the layperson. Accordingly, popular home-medicine texts were present in many households. One such manual is Domestic

⁸ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp. 105-106.

⁹ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp. 106-107.

¹⁰ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p. 107.

¹¹ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p. 26.

Medicine, written by the Scottish physician William Buchan.¹² Domestic Medicine was immensely popular; first published in 1769, it was continually reprinted until 1913.¹³ Such lay health manuals provide valuable insight into Georgian philosophy and practice. As Porter and Porter assert, “[t]he historian must take notice of such formulations precisely because they were widely read and sometimes followed.”¹⁴

Although Domestic Medicine was not one of the books Cook had on board,¹⁵ Buchan’s ideas about moderation and balance provide some background to Cook’s approach to health maintenance. Lay responsibility for health maintenance is certainly visible in the Cook journals. The Royal Navy did have its own medical infrastructure; each of Cook’s ships had its own medical unit, consisting of a surgeon and two mates. The *Resolution*’s surgeon, Patten, was very well regarded by the men who left journals. Midshipman John Elliott called him “A steady clever Man,”¹⁶ and George Forster praised his “care and assiduity” in treating Cook’s gastrointestinal illness, which resulted in Patten developing a life-threatening bilious disorder of his own.¹⁷ Cook felt he owed his life to Patten, whom he called “not only a skilfull Physician but a tender Nurse and I

¹² William Buchan, Domestic Medicine: or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines with An Appendix, containing a Dispensatory for the Use of Private Practitioners, third edition (London and Edinburgh: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, and J. Balfour and W. Creech, 1774).

¹³ Guerrini, Obesity and Depression, p. 184.

¹⁴ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p. 38.

¹⁵ Cook travelled with a personal library, which included accounts of previous European voyages as well as books on natural history. See Percy, “To Study Nature Rather than Books,” pp. 8-9.

¹⁶ The Memoirs of John Elliott, p. xxx.

¹⁷ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, pp. 296-297.

should ill deserve the care he bestowed on me if I did not make this public acknowledgement.”¹⁸ In contrast, the *Adventure’s* surgeon, Thomas Andrews, gained a reputation with at least one historian as “a boisterous, hard-drinking type” whose misdiagnoses caused the deaths of two midshipmen.¹⁹ Despite the presence and the importance of naval surgeons, however, much of the concern for health and the credit for measures implemented to safeguard it was in the hands of a layperson, the captain. This has certainly been the view among historians of the voyage. James Watt, for example, derides the quality of the *Adventure’s* medical personnel while praising those of the *Resolution*, but ultimately attributes most of the credit for the *Resolution’s* superior health record to Cook’s superior commandership. Certainly Cook’s journals reflect his concern with health, among the men aboard ship and among the peoples he met on shore.

The emphasis on the layperson’s role in safeguarding his or her own health in this era can be seen as a manifestation of Enlightenment ideals. Porter and Porter suggest that good health challenged Christian faith as the path to earthly happiness in eighteenth-century England,²⁰ although discourses of good health generally had a strong Christian component, suggesting that faith and health more often worked in concert than at cross-purposes. Health was certainly a necessary condition of ideologies of progress; for society to improve, its citizens must be healthy.²¹ Unsurprisingly, the link between Enlightenment ideals and good health had much to do with class. A major component of

¹⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.333.

¹⁹ Watt, “Medical Aspects and Consequences,” p.9.

²⁰ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.21.

²¹ See Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990).

discourses on self-improvement was the middle- and upper-class idealization of their social inferiors' struggles as beneficial to health. In the European context, many upper-class observers, including medics, blamed ill health on fragile constitutions further weakened by overindulgence in food and drink, bad or indoor air, and a lack of exercise. As a result, the Lockean doctrine of "constitutional 'hardening'," which declared that exposing children to harsh environments would build a healthy constitution, "enjoyed an enduring vogue as the best way of 'immunizing' the body against disease" among adults as well.²² As Porter and Porter have observed,

This 'hardening' regime had powerful emotional and ideological resonances, not least with fashionable primitivism and the romantic myth that the lower orders, forced to live hard, must be healthier and more resilient than the rich. It agreed with models of manliness that prized nonchalance toward pain. ... Its faith in fresh air and cold water squared with a new accent upon cleanliness ... and personal hygiene.²³

Such regimes, accompanied by images of the hardy worker, peasant, or primitive, displayed a particular concentration on diet.

The dietary angle is particularly significant for several reasons. First of all, the conception of the body as a "through-put system" dominated eighteenth-century English conceptions of health. As a result, "health consciousness fixed upon the stomach."²⁴ Porter and Porter have argued that the "rational-utilitarian mind" of the English Enlightenment

endorsed a work ethic that treated man as a producer. To produce he first had to consume. The vision of man as an active consumer, whose vitality constantly needed replenishing, chimed with the emergent "consumer

²² Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp.28-29.

²³ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.29.

²⁴ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.47.

society.”²⁵

Therefore, the nature of one’s diet ruled the quality of one’s health. The stomach had to be kept “energetic and in good tone, to digest food in substantial quantities, and process it into blood and spirits.”²⁶ Efforts to improve health were thus overwhelmingly concerned with dietary changes. Secondly, these idealized images of the lower classes comprise only one part of an ambivalent whole. Eighteenth-century European philosophers may have idealized the “lower orders” in some respects, but they condemned them in others. Above all, they wished to maintain the separation between themselves and their social inferiors. A change in diet could be effected without transgressing class lines; it also provided a certain amount of access to the manliness and animality which was displaced onto them. This resulted in a set of counter-discourses which idealized “peasant diets” in an effort to access those powers and at the same time achieve redemption for the corrupt. In contemporary discussions of cookery and nutrition, Fink marks

the omnipresence of a moral component, be it to bolster vegetarianism, to praise or condemn politically correct or incorrect eating models, or to herald Britannia while bad-mouthing the French. Equating virtue with purity and naturalness, and vice with decadence-inducing opulence and ostentation, is a stance that can be traced back to antiquity, but one that gains considerable momentum in the Enlightenment.²⁷

Historian Anita Guerrini echoes this argument in her study of eighteenth-century vegetarian movements. She notes that it was a “common belief” in the seventeenth century “that Adam had been a vegetarian, and that meat-eating was a consequence of the

²⁵ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.47.

²⁶ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.48.

²⁷ Fink, “Foreword,” p.4.

fall.”²⁸ This idea added another layer to arguments connecting meat with unhealthy passions which unhealthily fired the blood, as well as worldly luxury. Many eighteenth-century vegetarian advocates rejected meat on these grounds, and promoted instead simpler yeoman diets of bread, dairy products, vegetables and fruit, and, around the turn of the nineteenth century, potatoes and other roots.²⁹

Mid-century medic George Cheyne (1671-1743), the author of a number of influential treatises on health and wellness, argued that a diet rich in “blood and spirits” could destroy a “sensitive soul.” Cheyne drew on his own, often difficult experience in formulating his advice. The 450-pound physician struggled with his weight throughout his life; in 1705 he suffered a collapse, precipitated by years of hard drinking and heavy coffee-house food as he attempted to establish a medical practice.³⁰ Cheyne, like many of his contemporaries, sought a dietary answer to his own and his clients’ health problems. Interestingly, as Guerrini notes, Cheyne’s recommendations bear a striking resemblance to the conventional nutritional wisdom of the 1990s. He advocated “moderation, a light diet of white meats and vegetables, and drinking water (especially Bath water) rather than alcoholic beverages.”³¹ In the early 1990s, this kind of diet was promoted as more environmentally responsible, since one was using fewer resources by “eating lower on the food chain.” Although Cheyne, like other Georgian vegetarians, was less concerned with animal rights and environmental pollution than with “poisoning the

²⁸ Anita Guerrini, “A Diet for a Sensitive Soul: Vegetarianism in Eighteenth-Century Britain,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol.23 n.s. 2 (May 1999), p.34.

²⁹ Guerrini, “A Diet for a Sensitive Soul.” See also Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, and Porter and Porter, *In Sickness and In Health*, pp.48-49.

³⁰ Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression*, pp. 4-5.

³¹ Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression*, p.120.

gut with rotting flesh,” his argument for a diet of vegetables and milk was based on an eighteenth-century version of the food chain rationale.³² He believed in mixing seeds, bread, and mealy roots with milk, since all were

pretty near of the same Nature and Class of Foods: *Milk* being *Vegetables* immediately cook'd by *Animal Heat* and *Organs*, and directly (without going to the circulation) drawn From their *Chyle*, or from an *Emulsion* of *Vegetables* in the *Stomach*.³³

He opposed consumption of foods heavy in “solar or *Animal Fire*,” such as ripe vegetables and fruits or red meat, and “indigestible dishes (those that were rich, salted, pickled, smoked, or highly-seasoned).”³⁴ Cheyne condemned these foods and “elaborate modes of cookery,” associated with decadent foreigners like the French, as “the Inventions of *Luxury*, to force an unnatural *Appetite*.”³⁵ He sought to counteract “the vapours” and other nervous diseases of the upper classes with a good, plain English peasant diet. Notably, though, their diet was the only thing about peasants he idealized. Cheyne’s philosophy of health provided a mechanism through which members of the upper class, or the upwardly mobile middle class, could differentiate themselves from the lower orders by virtue of their sensitivity and intelligence.³⁶

Buchan advocated a similar kind of moderation. As Guerrini points out, “Buchan borrowed freely from Cheyne,” as well as other popular authors: “Like Cheyne, Buchan

³² Worster makes the connection between the “Great Chain of Being” and the notion of the food chain in Nature’s Economy, p.296.

³³ George Cheyne, The English Malady, quoted in Guerrini, “A Diet for a Sensitive Soul,” p.37.

³⁴ Guerrini, “A Diet for a Sensitive Soul,” p.37, and Obesity and Depression, p.120; Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.35.

³⁵ Guerrini, Obesity and Depression, p.120.

³⁶ Guerrini, “A Diet for a Sensitive Soul,” p.38.

castigated luxury as the origin of many ills and advocated the lifestyle of the yeoman as the best guarantor of health.”³⁷ Buchan argued that “the whole constitution of body may be changed by diet,”³⁸ and accordingly recommended a diet rich in vegetables, homemade bread, and milk, neither too moist nor too dry, and accompanied by good water and home-brewed liquors to assist with digestion.³⁹ He likewise condemned “the arts of cookery,” which he felt would “render many things unwholesome, which are not so in their own nature. ... Plain roasting or boiling is all that the stomach requires. These alone are sufficient for people in health, and the sick have still less need of a cook.”⁴⁰ Buchan also emphasised the importance of appropriate food selection, adjusting diet to suit each stage of the human life-cycle:

In the first period of life, our food ought to be light, but nourishing and frequently used. Food that is solid, with a sufficient degree of tenacity, is most proper for the state of manhood. The diet suited to the last period of life, when nature is upon the decline, approaches nearly to that of the first. It should be lighter, and more diluting than that of vigorous age, and likewise more frequently taken.⁴¹

There were, however, some significant differences between Buchan’s and Cheyne’s approaches to diet. It is important to note that Buchan wrote not only for a different generation, but also for a different class than Cheyne. His book was intended for those who “occupied the social stratum between Wesley’s literate workers and Cheyne’s fashionable elite, comprising those upwardly mobile members of the ‘middling ranks’ who

³⁷ Guerrini, Obesity and Depression, p.185.

³⁸ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.66.

³⁹ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, pp.70-75.

⁴⁰ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.71.

⁴¹ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.77.

aspired to Bath if they did not attain it.”⁴² Buchan’s intended audience were members of this emerging middle class, which would have included James Cook and his family. They were subject to a different set of discourses about class than Cheyne’s audience. These differences were cross-hatched with and hinged upon gender, a point which emerges most clearly in the contrast between Buchan’s and Cheyne’s advice on meat. While both advocated moderation over all, Cheyne leaned toward excising meat completely on the grounds that it fuelled destructive passions:

Red meat in particular had long been viewed as distinctively masculine and ... was associated with passion and violence; and humans, Cheyne said, do not naturally have “those voracious and *brutish* Appetites” for red meat, nor bodies suitable to digest it. He replaced red meat with milk, a food associated with women and motherhood.⁴³

Again, Cheyne’s audience was the man or woman of feeling, a “*tender and valetudinary*” creature more refined than his or her roast beef-devouring upper- and middle-class inferiors.⁴⁴ Buchan, however, was writing for a subset of those inferiors at a time when the genteel, polite man of feeling was being supplanted by a taciturn middle-class gentleman whose relatively “rough manners and lack of polish” were “integral” to his distinctively “English manliness.”⁴⁵ The class connotations of meat are overlain with those of gender and ethnicity. Meat, especially red meat, was considered to be a man’s food, associated with strength, heat, and blood. Meat’s association with masculine strength and power made it an important component of the resistance to effeminacy.

⁴² Guerrini, *Obesity and Depression*, pp. 184-185. The reference here is to John Wesley, father of Methodism and himself the author of a 1747 medical handbook based on Cheyne’s ideas.

⁴³ Guerrini, “A Diet for a Sensitive Soul,” p.38.

⁴⁴ Guerrini, “A Diet for a Sensitive Soul,” p.38.

⁴⁵ Cohen, “Manliness, Effeminacy and the French,” p.55.

Therefore, male desire for meat was imbued with a significance far beyond the body's biological requirement for protein. Furthermore, meat had a significant association with wealth. The late eighteenth century was a period of rapid change in terms of food and eating. Early industrialization caused a number of changes in English subsistence patterns. Rural people moved to the cities in search of work; those who remained on the land dealt with the effects of the enclosures on agriculture. This led to restrictions in local subsistence patterns, disrupting the grain and dairy-based peasant diet; it also increased the production of and demand for meat. Vincent J. Knapp has termed this a "nutritional revolution," arguing that industrialization and contact with the "New World" created a diversification of diet for Europeans of all classes. According to Knapp, more Europeans had access to dairy products, vegetables, fruits, and meat; this meant the "end of protein deprivation as larger quantities of amino acids were added to the general diet" and a general population increase due to improved nutrition.⁴⁶ Most scholars of food tend to agree with Knapp's assertion that, around the turn of the nineteenth century, meat became both more readily available and more frequently consumed outside the upper classes. Meat was thus an indicator of privilege: "The relative scarcity of meat and its association with wealth made it all the more coveted: the social value of meat underlay,

⁴⁶ Knapp, "The Democratization of Meat," p.541. Knapp's emphasis on the importance of protein and its "democratization" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is indicative of the power of nutritional discourses to disappear behind a view of scientific rationality. His view stands in direct conflict to the rise of environmental/vegetarian ideology in the late twentieth century, in which North Americans and Western Europeans were indicted for their overconsumption of animal protein. For examples of this perspective, see responses of some subjects in Fiddes, Meat, as well as influential cookery and lifestyle books like Diet for a Small Planet. Interestingly, this discourse is again being superseded by the renewed popularity of high-protein diets and an accompanying counter-discourse which blames heavy consumption of carbohydrates for obesity and health problems such as diabetes. As Anita Guerrini's work on vegetarianism in eighteenth-century Britain illustrates, discourses on proper nutrition change frequently, and are configured in response to predominant sociocultural concerns. See Guerrini, Obesity and Depression, especially p.120, and "A Diet for a Sensitive Soul."

and reinforced, its economic value.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, as E.P. Thompson noted, “meat should be a sensitive indicator of material standards, since it was one of the first items upon which any increase in real wages will have been spent.”⁴⁸ Cutting meat from one’s diet could equally be seen as an indicator of economic privilege, since people who already had “a comfortable level of income had more freedom to choose what to eat.”⁴⁹ However, it is more likely that people for whom meat scarcity was in recent memory would choose to show their affluence by increasing their consumption, partly to compensate for any lingering feeling of deprivation and partly to ensure that “freedom to choose” was not mistaken for poverty.

For all of these reasons, Buchan’s view of a balanced diet therefore included substantially more meat than Cheyne’s. To his mind, food “most proper for the state of manhood” was “solid, with a sufficient degree of tenacity”; to this end, he wrote:

Animal food was surely designed for man, and, with a proper mixture of vegetables, it will be found the most wholesome; but to gorge beef, mutton, pork, fish, and fowl, twice or thrice a day, is certainly too much. All who value health ought to be contented with making one meal of flesh-meat in the twenty-four hours, and this ought to consist of one kind only.⁵⁰

Moderation was achieved not only through quantity, but through selection. Buchan further noted that “Animals which feed grossly, as tame ducks, swine, &c. are neither easily digested, nor afford wholesome nourishment.”⁵¹ He criticized the contemporary

⁴⁷ Vibert, Traders’ Tales, p.174.

⁴⁸ E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963), p. 316.

⁴⁹ Guerrini, “A Diet for a Sensitive Soul,” p.38.

⁵⁰ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.70.

⁵¹ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.68.

meat industry, reprimanding farmers and butchers for allowing the profit motive to render animals “unwholesome”:

No animal can be wholesome which does not take sufficient exercise. Most of our stalled cattle, hogs, &c. are crammed with gross food, but not allowed exercise nor free air; by which means they indeed grow fat, but their humours, not being properly prepared or assimilated, remain crude, and occasion indigestions, gross humours, and oppression of the spirits, in those who feed upon them.⁵²

Overall, though, Buchan cautioned his readers about overindulging in meat. He wrote, “No people in the world eat such quantities of animal food as the English, which is one reason why they are so generally tainted with the scurvy and its numerous train of consequences, as indigestion, low spirits, hypochondriacism, &c.”⁵³

Buchan’s reference to scurvy here is highly significant for a discussion of nutrition and health on Cook’s second voyage. Scurvy was a serious concern for seafarers in the early age of European expansion. Interest in scurvy prevention reached its zenith between 1740 and 1790, as European states sought to remove the obstacle of “the explorers’ sickness” from the path of their colonial expansion. Scurvy results from a dietary deficiency of vitamin C. When the deficiency grows acute, a scorbutic patient begins to experience general bodily pain and a swelling in the extremities, limbs, and gums. His or her skin develops purple lesions; the joints stiffen to the point of immobilization, and the gums rot, allowing the teeth to fall out. These effects on the joints and mouth prevent an advanced sufferer from eating or drinking. Death results from the rotting and weakening of the body.

The susceptibility of ships’ men to scurvy was a pressing concern in the

⁵² Buchan, Domestic Medicine, pp.68-69.

⁵³ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.70.

eighteenth century. “Rampant scurvy” could kill or disable up to seventy-five per cent of a ship’s crew.⁵⁴ Although some remedies were popularly considered to cure scurvy, including citrus or other “exotic” fruits, spruce beer, and “elixir of vitriol,” a sulfuric acid solution, no one had yet established the cause of scurvy or a means of preventing it altogether.⁵⁵ Scurvy was known to be related to the prevalence of a “salt diet” among sailors, but preserved food was not considered to be the sole culprit. Georgian medics recognized two separate strains of scurvy, one on land, one at sea. Buchan felt that the land-based variant frequently struck “[s]edentary people of a dull melancholy disposition.” Sea-scurvy more often proved “fatal to sailors on long voyages, particularly in ships that are not properly ventilated, have many people on board, or where cleanliness is neglected.”⁵⁶ Throughout Domestic Medicine, Buchan gives special instructions for the care and feeding of sailors, whom he considered of such “great importance to both the trade and safety of this kingdom, that too great pains can never be bestowed in pointing out the means of preserving their lives.”⁵⁷ Much of his advice was implicitly directed toward captains, whom he felt undermined sailors’ physical potential by ignoring their needs: “We have reason to believe, if due attention were paid to the diet, air, clothing, &c. of sea-faring people, that they would be the most healthy set of men in the world; but when these are neglected, the very reverse will happen.”⁵⁸ Buchan’s

⁵⁴ Kenneth J. Carpenter, The History of Scurvy and Vitamin C (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Cuppage, “Scurvy’s Conquest,” p.696.

⁵⁵ See Carpenter, History of Scurvy, chapter 3.

⁵⁶ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.427.

⁵⁷ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.48.

⁵⁸ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.50.

criticism clearly indicates the perceived importance of the commander's role in ensuring that scurvy was prevented. Cook was determined that his ship be a model of scurvy prevention. For Cook, good command was a necessary condition for good shipboard health; a strong captain had the power to prevent scurvy by taking action.

Food, nutrition, and wellness are understood through a complex of cultural understandings; scurvy, by its nature as a disease of nutritional deficiency, serves as a nexus for a multiplicity of discourses about difference. Cook's discussions of health, commandship and scurvy prevention in the journals are redolent with implications for class, gender, and ethnicity. Food itself is inherently classed and gendered; its form and presentation bespeak a range of concerns about identity in class and gender terms. Thus, Cook's approach to the maintenance of good health aboard ship provides rich grounds to explore the meanings of wellness and their class and gender implications.

"The example and Authority of a Commander": Sickness and Health aboard the Sloops

As the ship's captain, Cook accepted a large share of the responsibility for keeping the crew healthy. Accordingly, he took what he saw as the most effective steps to prevent disease among his men. Above all else, this meant asserting his control over their behaviour. He established a series of supplementary rules which were intended to regulate the terms of the men's contact with local people during port stops. Many of these rules were designed to minimize the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Cook was not only concerned for his men's health, but also wished to avoid unleashing "the pox" on native populations for reasons which fell between fear of repercussions and guilt

about destroying natives' "innocence."⁵⁹ Other rules governed trade in food items, which suggests that the majority of the ailments which threatened a ship's crew were associated with the stomach.

Cook himself experienced several bouts of illness during the second voyage; some of these were to recur throughout the rest of his life, fueling Obeyesekere's contention that Cook's ill health drove his outbursts of anger and violence on the third voyage.⁶⁰ Most of his ailments were gastrointestinal in nature. James Watt has diagnosed the most serious, which occurred in February 1774, as an "acute intestinal obstruction": although Cook's gall bladder may have been afflicted, Watt concludes that Cook developed an intestinal roundworm infection as a result of eating unclean "native foods."⁶¹ Cook and his contemporaries, however, knew his illness as "the Billious colick."⁶² In any case, Cook was in grave condition for several days, and the officers and crew feared that he might not survive.⁶³ Rather surprisingly, though, Cook left little evidence of an illness which so incapacitated him. In a folio note appended to the journals, he stated:

I was now taken ill of the Billious colick and so Violent as to confine me to my bed, so that the Management of the Ship was left to Mr Cooper my

⁵⁹ See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.231-232. A detailed discussion of sexual health, however, is better suited to a study which undertakes a fuller consideration of sexuality. For examples, see David A. Chappell, "Shipboard Relations between Pacific Island Women and Euroamerican Men, 1767-1887," Journal of Pacific History, Vol.27 No.2 (December 1992), pp.131-149; Lutz, "The Erotics of Exploration"; Morris, "*Aikane*"; Orr, "Southern passions mix with northern art"; Rountree, "Maori Bodies in European Eyes"; Porter, "The exotic as erotic"; Wallace, "Too Darn Hot."

⁶⁰ Obeyesekere makes this argument throughout The Apotheosis of Captain Cook.

⁶¹ Watt, "Medical Aspects and Consequences," pp. 5-6.

⁶² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.333; Forster, A Voyage Round the World, pp.295-297; The Memoirs of John Elliott, p.27.

⁶³ See Forster, A Voyage Round the World, pp. 296-297, 325-326.

first Officer who conducted her very much to my satisfaction.⁶⁴

Although Cook admitted here that “[i]t was several days before the most dangerous symptoms of my disorder were removed,”⁶⁵ he neglected to mention that his “bilious complaint” had been troubling him for months. He suffered an earlier attack in late December 1773. George Forster recalled that at this time many on board, including his father and himself, were ill with either “rheumatic pains” or “slight symptoms” of scurvy, and “Cook himself was likewise pale and lean, entirely lost his appetite, and laboured under a perpetual costiveness,” or constipation.⁶⁶ Cook’s own journals, though, contain only notes on latitude, wind, and weather.⁶⁷ His own poor health is ignored, as is that of the men; he even supported his decision to abandon the search for *Terra Australis Incognita* with the contention that “as I had a good Ship, a healthy crew and no want of Stores or Provisions I thought I could not do better than to spend the insuing Winter within the Tropicks.”⁶⁸ Beaglehole notes that Cook’s first reference to his bilious complaint within the body of the journals comes nearly three months later, during the stop at Easter Island, when he allowed that “I was not sufficiently recovered from a fit of illness to make one of the party” exploring the area.⁶⁹ Although Cook did spend more time at Easter Island resting than exploring, he nevertheless experienced another bilious

⁶⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.333.

⁶⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.333.

⁶⁶ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.291, and note 2, p.460.

⁶⁷ See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.310-311.

⁶⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.325.

⁶⁹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.339. Beaglehole states in note 6: “The reader will note that this is Cook’s first mention of his illness in this MS.”

attack shortly after the *Resolution*'s departure, which he believed was "owing to my exposing and fatiguing myself too much" during the stay.⁷⁰

Cook's reluctance to divulge his infirmities stands in contrast to some of *Resolution*'s experimental gentlemen, who were less shy about discussing their physical health. Both J.R. and George Forster suffered from a number of maladies during the voyage; George catalogued their symptoms, and made specific mention when their poor health prevented them from botanizing. During the time of Cook's "Billious colick," J.R. was confined below deck for a month "in exquisite torments ... afflicted with tooth-aches, swelled cheeks, sore-throat, and universal pain."⁷¹ George further recorded an outbreak of scurvy as the *Resolution* approached Easter Island:

The scurvy now appeared with very strong symptoms in the ship, and I was particularly afflicted with it. Excruciating pains, livid blotches, rotten gums, and swelled legs, brought me extremely low in a few days, almost before I was aware of the disorder; and my stomach being very weak, through abstinence from an unwholesome and loathed diet, I could not take the wort in sufficient quantity to remove my complaint. The same case existed with regard to a number of other people, who crawled about the decks with the greatest difficulty.⁷²

Beaglehole has portrayed the Forsters' attention to their health as hypochondria, pointing

⁷⁰ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol. 4, p.297.

⁷¹ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.295.

⁷² Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.297. Precisely how many people were sick at this time, and how serious their complaints were, is unclear. Midshipman John Elliott says that "all continued in good health" except Cook (The Memoirs of John Elliott, p.29), and Cook's own journals contain no evidence of widespread illness. He did, however, note in a footnote to the Easter Island summary in manuscript A that "It was afterwards found, that the few Roots &c^a we got at this isle proved of infinite service to us and made us once more relish salt Beef and Pork, for which most of the Officers and some of the Crew had quite lost all appetite, nor is this to be wonder'd at, sence we had no other flesh Meat for near four months." A flagging interest in salt meat suggests an outbreak of scurvy; notably, this comment did not appear in the published version. See Beaglehole, Journals II, p.349, note 1.

to J.R.'s concern with his health as evidence of a querulous, critical personality. In the larger context, however, the Forsters' records of their own health can be seen as part of a larger genre of personal writings. Many eighteenth-century Europeans used their personal journals to discuss health-related matters. As Porter and Porter point out with reference to Georgian England,

one of the prime reasons why people maintained diaries so religiously was precisely to keep track of physical routines, with a view, if necessary -- as it all too often was! -- to shaming themselves into mending their ways, for the sake of their health, self-esteem, and even their soul. ... Many journals thus served as logs of health, not least other people's.⁷³

Although they provide only limited records of specific illnesses, diaries were nevertheless of vital importance in maintaining a regime of health, which was thought to be the best way to prevent sickness; many surviving works of literature, such as Samuel Pepys's diaries, exemplify this type of writing.⁷⁴ George Forster's account certainly fits this within this genre. Porter and Porter observe, however, that such diaries were largely upper-class records.⁷⁵ Furthermore, while they draw examples from journals by both men and women, they note that overly detailed chronicles of one's illnesses could come across as "mawkish and unmanly."⁷⁶ In this regard, Cook's reluctance to discuss his own health was likely an expression of his self-identification as manly and English middle class. His silence about his illnesses can be read as an attempt to project the image of a stoic, manly constitution, a direct contrast with the "mawkish and unmanly" self-

⁷³ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.31.

⁷⁴ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp.12, 31, 102-104.

⁷⁵ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp.12, 31, 102-104.

⁷⁶ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.12.

examination of the upper-class and more cosmopolitan Forsters. Indeed, Cook's approaches to shipboard health were distinctly middle class; although he sought to mitigate some of the hardening techniques which were an inescapable part of shipboard life, insisting that the ships' quarters and bedding, as well as the men and their clothing, be regularly aired, washed, and dried, his journals provide far more information about others' health than his own.

There are some generic justifications for Cook's focus on others' health beyond his self-construction as manly and middle class. The *Resolution* and *Adventure*, like the *Endeavour* before them, were trial sites for a number of antiscorbutic remedies.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Cook was instructed to carry out the Admiralty's instructions only "so long as the condition of the Sloops, the health of their Crews, & the State of their Provisions will admit of it."⁷⁸ As a result, it was in his best interests not only to maintain and monitor the crews' health, but to make reports in his journals so that this information was presented as he saw fit. As Watt and others have noted, Cook's attempt to order such information sometimes may have led him to underreport occurrences of illness, especially scurvy, aboard the *Resolution*. Cook may also have chosen to downplay scurvy in particular because of the disease's negative associations. While these were primarily linked with the land-based variant, scurvy was nevertheless associated with indolence and dirty habits. Rather than recognizing it as a result of poor nutrition, medical scientists continued through the eighteenth century and beyond to search for an underlying cause, which many believed was a "scorbutic constitution", vitiated through

⁷⁷ For a description, see Carpenter, *History of Scurvy*; Cuppage, "Scurvy's Conquest"; Visser, *Much Depends on Dinner*, p.282; and Watt, "Medical Aspects and Consequences." See also Beaglehole's introduction, *Journals II*, p.xxvi, and Cook's introductory comments on victualing, pp.13-15.

⁷⁸ Admiralty instructions, reproduced in Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.clxviii.

poor life-style, bad air, bad morals, diet, or whatever.”⁷⁹ Since seamen were widely regarded as incapable of looking after their own health and were very susceptible to charges of bad morals, Cook may have felt that widespread incidence of scurvy would have reflected poorly on his command.

In the case of the *Adventure*, whose course was ultimately substantially different than that of the *Resolution*, Cook was contrastingly quite forthcoming with information about the crew’s ill health. When the two ships were reunited at Queen Charlotte Sound in May 1773, Cook discovered that the *Adventure*’s cook had died, and twenty men “were attacked with the Scurvy and Flux.”⁸⁰ Cook immediately took action: “I appointed one of my people Cook of the Adventure and wrote to Captain Furneaux proposing such methods as I thought would tend to stop the spreading of the disease among his people.”⁸¹ He advised Furneaux “to Brew Beer of the Inspissated juce of Wort, Essence of Spruce and Tea plants (all of which he had aboard) for all hands, if he could spare Water, if not, for the Sick, to inlarge their allowance of Sour Krout, to boil Cabbage in their Pease, to serve Wine in lieu of spirit and lastly to shorten their allowance of Salt Meat.”⁸² Cook meditated on the possible reasons for the increased number of sick men in Furneaux’s crew:

I know not how to account for the Scurvy raging more in the one ship than the other, unless it was owing to the Crew of the Adventure, being more Scorbutic when they arrived in New-Zealand than we were and their eating

⁷⁹ Porter and Porter, *In Sickness and In Health*, pp.142-143. See also Carpenter, *History of Scurvy*, pp.241-245. For an eighteenth-century view, see Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, pp. 427-428.

⁸⁰ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.187.

⁸¹ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.187.

⁸² Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.187.

few or no Vegetables while they lay in Queen Charlottes Sound, partly for want of knowing the right sorts and partly because it was a New diet which alone was sufficient for Seamen to reject it.⁸³

Like Buchan, Cook considered seamen to be incapable of taking adequate measures to preserve their health without the guidance -- or firm hand -- of their superiors. He continued:

To interduce any New article of food among Seamen, let it be ever so much for their good, requires both the example and Authority of a Commander, without both of which, it will be droped before the People are Sencible of the benifits resulting from it; was it necessary, I could name fifty instances in support of this remark. Many of my People, officers as well as seamen, at first, disliked Celery, Scurvy grass &c^a being boiled in the Pease and Wheat and some refused to eat it, but as this had no effect on my conduct, this obstinate kind of prejudice, by little and little, wore off and they began to like it as well as the others and now, I believe, there was hardly a man in the Ship that did not attribute our being free of the Scurvy to the Beer and Vegetables we made use of at Newzealand.⁸⁴

Cook clearly felt he had the weight of experience behind him, as well as two of his lieutenants. The journals of both Charles Clerke and Richard Pickersgill indicate that they shared this opinion and believed in his antiscorbutic remedies. Cook considered the brewing of antiscorbutic beer, "which most of the sailors detested,"⁸⁵ to be a great success. Clerke felt that "'twas more caprice than any absolute distaste to it, I've seen many whims of this kind among Seamen"; he recalled an incident aboard the *Dolphin* in which the men rejected portable soup, by this time an accepted antiscorbutic, protesting that "there was so much damn'd nasty stuff put into their Pease that they cou'd not eat

⁸³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.187.

⁸⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.187-188.

⁸⁵ Salmond, Between Worlds, p.40. See also Watt, "Medical Aspects and Consequences," p.3.

them.”⁸⁶ Likewise, Pickersgill argued that “common Seamen, seeing their commander collect and eat these things ... immediately conclude that what will do him good will do them good and as they naturally suppose, his knowledge greater than theirs, they fall into it with their own consents.”⁸⁷

One of Cook’s own “instances in support” of his opinion was likely the implementation of antiscorbutics on his first Pacific voyage. There, too, “the example and Authority of a Commander” had been necessary to encourage the men to eat sauerkraut, with which Cook credited the overall good health of the ship’s company:

The Sour Krout the Men at first would not eate untill I put in pratice a Method I never once knew to fail with seamen, and this was to have some of it dress’d every Day for the Cabbin Table, and permitted all the Officers without exception to make use of it and left it to the option of the Men either to take as much as they pleased or none atall; but the pratice was not continued above a week before I found it necessary to put every one on board to an Allowance, for such are the Tempers and dispossissions of Seamen in general that whatever you give them out of the Common way, altho it be ever so much for their good yet it will not go down with them and you will hear nothing but murmurings gainest the man that first invented it; but the Moment they see their Superiors set a Value upon it, it becomes the finest stuff in the World and the inventor an honest fellow.⁸⁸

Notably, in this passage Cook claims the support and complicity of the officers in using their class superiority to enforce healthy measures on the men. His commentary on the *Resolution* and *Adventure*, however, implicates some of the higher-up. “[O]fficers as well as seamen” balked at the inclusion of wild greens in their porridge, and Cook’s presentation of the contrast between the *Adventure*’s sick list and his own, followed by

⁸⁶ Clerke, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p. 38, note 2.

⁸⁷ The Journal of Richard Pickersgill, p. 74.

⁸⁸ Beaglehole, Journals I, p. 74.

his assertion of the necessity of good commandership, implies a failure on Furneaux's part. In an alternate version, however, Cook acknowledged that his interventions were futile, as Furneaux and his officers had already tried "every method ... they could think of" to prevent scurvy through dietary measures.⁸⁹

Because control over food is control over order, production and, at a basic level, over life itself, control of the food stores could be a massive source of tension. In this sense, resistance to class-based control was perhaps a fact of life in the navy. Brian Lavery states that the navy, unlike the army, "had a much stronger middle-class element, as represented by the comparatively large group of warrant officers as well as midshipmen and commissioned officers from quite humble backgrounds."⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the majority of the men themselves were still from a different class background than most of the officers; more importantly, the naval command structure enforced class differentiation among the men, regardless of their origins. Thompson's definition is useful here: "class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs."⁹¹ The origins of commanding officers would thus have been less significant than their actions as "superiors" of the men. Cook's approach to health maintenance illustrates his assumption of a conflictual relationship with the seamen in particular.⁹² Cook was, at

⁸⁹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.188.

⁹⁰ Lavery, "Introduction," p.xii.

⁹¹ Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, p.9.

⁹² For additional such characterizations of the relationship of captain, officers, and crew, see the documents collected in Lavery, ed., Shipboard Life and Organization, especially the extracts from books (c.1795-1807) by Admiral Philip Patton, pp.622-634.

one point, an ordinary seaman himself, although his writings show no trace of identification with his former position. This tactic was likely intended to secure the sympathies of the middle-class “general reader,” who would probably not have identified with the lower-class men, and whose knowledge of the naval milieu would have been at least partially gained from Cook’s descriptions.

Marcus Rediker, in his study of Atlantic merchant shipping, has contended that the ship was a site of class-based resistance, and that its harsh conditions produced labour radicalism. Since he is dealing with commercial shipping rather than the Royal Navy, only some of his arguments are applicable. However, since Cook was involved with merchant shipping during the period of Rediker’s study, it is important to consider the effects of this environment on Cook’s approach to proper management of the floating world. Food was part of a sailor’s living wage, whether in the Navy or the merchant shipping industry. Although some sailors felt that “naval vessels were ‘better victualled than most merchant ships,’” the quality of provisions was still not high, and in both realms, “captains, mates, stewards, pursers -- in short, anyone responsible for giving out food and drink -- were almost universally detested for their conniving and exploitative ways.”⁹³ The question of control over food on Cook’s voyages is a vexed one. The captain was also the *Resolution*’s purser, although he appointed a man called Dawson to act in his stead; this responsibility gave an added dimension to Cook’s meditations on food and proper nutrition. Historically, the purser’s “near-dictatorial control of food and drink on board the ship”⁹⁴ made him unpopular with the crew. Pursers frequently made a considerable profit from their monopoly over the ship’s stores of food, alcohol, and

⁹³ Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, p.126. The quote is from the journal of late seventeenth-century seaman Edward Barlow.

⁹⁴ Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, p.129.

clothing. The resentment this created was compounded by the fact that pursers generally tended to be of a higher social standing than the men. By the eighteenth century, more and more captains in the Royal Navy were taking control over the purser's office, either by appointing a family member or assuming it personally. While this had originally been suggested as a means to prevent abuses, in practice it concentrated even more power in the hands of the captain and his deputies.⁹⁵ This concentration of shipboard authority in the hands of a few angered many sailors. As one man put it,

Purser, Steward, Mate, all three
I wish them hang'd upon a Tree.⁹⁶

Although Cook was generally well-regarded as a captain, purser-related resentment did erupt periodically among the crew of the *Resolution*. Cook almost never recorded these incidents in his journal, but others did. One of Cook's early experiments with antiscorbutic beer, brewed of inspissated juice of malt, "occasion'd a little dispute in the Ship"⁹⁷ which was recorded by Richard Pickersgill. Pickersgill, usually a fervent supporter of Cook, was much distressed by the events of September 16, 1772. Cook had posted a notice, according to Pickersgill's copy of the public log, stating that "'The Cask of Beer on Deck ordred to be Bung'd up so that no one must drink no more to night.' -- caps hand underneath ... because the Officer of the Watch Permitted it to run about the Decks."⁹⁸ Pickersgill felt this was

an Observation as Erronious as unjust I say for myself R-P-l. This

⁹⁵ Lewis, England's Sea-Officers, pp.242-252.

⁹⁶ John Baltharpe, The Straights Voyage, or, St. Davids Poem (1671), quoted in Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, p.127.

⁹⁷ Pickersgill, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.li.

⁹⁸ Pickersgill, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.li.

occasion'd a little dispute in the Ship therefore it will not be improper to speak of it. As an Officer I never saw it run about the Deck's nor ever heard that it did till this: as a Purser the Captⁿ knew how to Prolong it which he endeavours to do till Past 12 in order to save the days allowance of wine by the Ships Company -- this was seen thro by the People who drank it out as soon or nearly as soon as it was broch'd which Baulk'd the Affair -- The Beer was Experimental beer sent out by Government to make trial of and not King's Allowance. Querry wheather they had not a right to wine and beer both; or wheather Govern' designed it was a Perquisit to the Purser.⁹⁹

As this passage indicates, officers and men were generally suspicious of a purser's motivations, and were quick to assume that he would deprive them of their rightful share of food or drink. This image did not fit with Cook's self-construction as a benevolent, paternal commander, which may be the reason he did not record it.

This dispute was not the last of its kind. Beaglehole draws the reader's attention to another such incident, which occurred around January 17, 1774, while the ship travelled in the Antarctic. Cook's entry for the day mentioned the ship's position and the weather, Clerke noted the presence of "a Whale and many Pyeball'd Porpusses" alongside the ship, and the Forsters were too sick to make any outside observations, although George noted that "A gloomy melancholy air loured on the brows of our shipmates, and a dreadful silence reigned amongst us."¹⁰⁰ He explained:

Salt meat, our constant diet, was become loathsome to all, and even to those who had been bred to a nautical life from their tender years: the hour of dinner was hateful to us, for the well known smell of the victuals had no sooner reached our nose, than we found it impossible to partake of them with a hearty appetite.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Pickersgill, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.li.

¹⁰⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.317, note 2; Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.293.

¹⁰¹ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.293.

To make matters worse, Cook had cut the people's bread allowance to two-thirds in the name of "æconomical principles."¹⁰² Unfortunately, the bread was in an advanced state of decay due to improper storage. Cook had discovered during the second stop at Queen Charlotte Sound in November that 4292 pounds of biscuit had become "Mouldy and rotten and totally unfit for men to eat," leaving "[3000] pounds more that few would eat but such as were in our circumstances."¹⁰³ The ship's diet at this time was dependent on this salvaged and rebaked bread, putrifying salt beef, and sauerkraut. Cook's reduction of the bread allowance by a third created a situation which was almost unbearable, as George Forster argued indignantly on the people's behalf: "as that portion is hardly sufficient, supposing it to be at all eatable, it was far from being so when nearly half of it was rotten."¹⁰⁴ On January 17, 1774, the first mate petitioned Cook to restore the full allowance: "Served whole allowance of bread, it being so bad (being the damp and indifferant baked at Charlottes sound) which situation it has been these three weeks past - application being at last made."¹⁰⁵ George Forster depicted the incident rather more dramatically, recording that the first mate "complained bitterly that he and the people had not wherewith to satisfy the cravings of the stomach, producing, at the same time, the rotten and stinking remains of his biscuit."¹⁰⁶ Cook immediately restored the crew to full allowance. Notably, though, he neglected to mention this "revolt," as Beaglehole

¹⁰² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.317, note 2; Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.293.

¹⁰³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.289.

¹⁰⁴ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.293.

¹⁰⁵ Mitchel, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.317, note 2.

¹⁰⁶ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.293.

characterized it, in his journals.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, Cook elected not to discuss an incident which occurred toward the end of the second voyage, in which Midshipmen Maxwell, Loggie, and Coglan, three of his “Black Sheep,” were “confin’d” by second lieutenant Charles Clerke for “going into the Galley with drawn knives and threatening to stab the Cook.”¹⁰⁸ However, it is worth noting that the captain’s own dietary frustrations had reached a peak around this time. Although he insisted that “It must ... not be understood that we were in want of Provisions, we had yet plenty of every kind,” he declared in his entry for January 17, 1775 that “for my own part, I was now, for the first time heartily tired of salt meat of every kind and prefer’d the Penguins, whose flesh eat nearly as well as bullocks liver, it was however fresh and that was sufficient to make it go down.”¹⁰⁹

Cook’s anxieties about his own class and gender identity in relation to that of his men provide one of the more interesting angles of the enforcement of health and wellness. European explorers and colonial agents are often characterized as stubbornly self-assured, armed at a minimum with the certitude of their beliefs about their own superiority. However, it is important to remember that, while discourses of European male superiority did (and do) discourage and even preclude the male subject’s questioning of his superiority, providing him instead with a conceptual framework in which this superiority was “natural,” such discourses always leave room for ambiguity and response. Nevertheless, Tosh has called attention to a phenomenon he calls “resilient masculinity.” He argues that the persistence of certain patriarchal aspects of masculine

¹⁰⁷ *Beaglehole, Journals II*, p.325, note 4.

¹⁰⁸ Clerke, quoted in *Beaglehole, Journals II*, p.652, note 1. This incident is also mentioned in Watt, “Medical Aspects and Consequences,” p.7.

¹⁰⁹ *Beaglehole, Journals II*, p.623.

identity “prompts the reflection that recent historians may have over-played the idea of masculinity as a variable discursive construction.”¹¹⁰ As Tosh notes, one of masculinity’s most resilient aspects is the drive to retain power and authority. Rediker notes that a typical sea captain “made symbolic use of the dominant institutions of the period, attempting to legitimate his authority by reference to the workshop, the family, and the nation. Merchant captains variously referred to themselves as masters (of servants or apprentices), fathers (of children), and kings (of subjects).”¹¹¹ Again, although Rediker is drawing his examples from merchant shipping, it should be reiterated that Cook joined the Navy later in life; he gained much of his training and experience in the colliery trade, where captains had a legally-supported authority over seamen “analogous to that of a parent over his child, or of a master over his apprentice or scholar.”¹¹²

Such paternalistic authority is very much present in Cook’s journals. As Orr notes, Cook “embodied a markedly paternalistic form of masculinity that seemed to inform both his public virtues and his private character.” She argues that his “stern but careful treatment of his crew and much-lauded sense of responsibility toward the natives ... dignified the rôle of the explorer, who served as civilization’s advance guard before

¹¹⁰ Tosh, “The Old Adam and the New Man,” p. 225.

¹¹¹ Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, p.207.

¹¹² Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, p.208.

conquest and settlement.”¹¹³ As Tosh’s discussion indicates, power and authority, often expressed in paternalism, have been among the most resilient aspects of masculinity. Cook, as ship’s captain and purser, was entirely in control of the unit’s economic resources. He was the ultimate authority on the ship. Cook’s role as commander, although it was complicated by his class background, was thus integral to his manly identity. Evidence also suggests that manly authority was configured paternally in the ship as a whole. John Elliott, for example, makes reference to the Master’s Mate, John Whitehouse, as the “Father of our own Mess.”¹¹⁴ He also describes, in his account of “troublesome characters on board,” one “Mess which Cook called his Black Sheep, who were at times apt to get too much grog and Quarel in their Cups.”¹¹⁵ These men, Willis, Loggie, Price, Cogland, and Maxwell, were involved in a number of disruptive incidents during the voyage.

Ultimately, Cook’s assertion of good commandership is instructive. This was, after all, a part of his job. Under Admiralty regulations, “In the first place the commanders of His Majesty’s ships are strictly required to show in themselves a good example of honour and virtue to their officers and men; and next to be very vigilant in inspecting the behaviour of all such as are under them, and to discountenance and

¹¹³ Orr, “Southern passions mix with northern art,” pp.225-226. Davidoff and Hall discuss a new image of fatherhood which emerged at this time and in the decades immediately following Cook’s death. Cook shares some characteristics with these “new fathers,” but it is unclear whether he subscribed to it in constructing his identity as commander. See Family Fortunes, pp.329-330 and passim. See also Hall, “Missionary Stories,” pp.205-254, and “Competing Masculinities: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill and the case of Governor Eyre,” pp.255-295, both in White, Male and Middle Class; and John Tosh, A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹¹⁴ The Memoirs of John Elliott, p.45.

¹¹⁵ The Memoirs of John Elliott, p.44.

suppress all dissolute, immoral and disorderly practices.”¹¹⁶ A good captain, in the men’s view, was competent and honest, firm but fair. He had a relatively even temper and gave both punishment and praise when they were due. Some have also suggested that seamen wanted a superior they could look up to: “Seamen sought someone who represented the values of a more moral world, someone fair, decent, and able.”¹¹⁷ It is also indicative of Cook’s own class position and anxieties. Cook clearly felt a need to assert, for himself and the reader, his absolute command; this trend is taken even further in the widely-read Douglas edition, in which the editor excised references to Cook’s collaboration with the officers in decision-making.¹¹⁸ Douglas’s attempt to portray Cook as the ultimate authority figure suggests that he, or the audience, may have had anxieties about Cook’s class position; in the published account, the Cook narrator thus separated himself even more carefully from the men and established unmistakably for the reader his place at the top of the hierarchy. His tone is at once warm, stern, and slightly amused; he offers to provide evidence in support of his assertions, “were it necessary,” which indicates that it should not be. His refusal to be swayed by the protests of the officers, never mind the men, is presented as a demonstration of his honesty and confident individuality and his willingness to stand up, alone if necessary, for what is “right.” Cook thus constructed himself in line with the contemporary manly ideal of his class and carefully presented that ideal to his reader.

¹¹⁶ “Regulations and Instructions,” “Rules of Discipline and Good Government to be Observed on Board His Majesty’s Ships of War,” Article I, reproduced in Lavery, ed., Shipboard Life and Organisation, p.15.

¹¹⁷ Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, pp.241-242.

¹¹⁸ See Beaglehole, Journals II, p.93, and the corresponding passage in A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol.4, p.52.

“Dirt, disease, and disorder”: Considerations of Hygiene

As we have seen, good health was a “prized commodity” in eighteenth-century England, one laypeople sought to obtain and maintain through carefully-planned regimens. Such regimens concentrated on three aspects, which Porter and Porter have termed “the trinity of positive health.”¹¹⁹ The first was attention to “the ‘six things non-natural’,” a Galenic concept enumerated by Cheyne in his Essay of Health and Long Life (1724) as:

1. The Air we breathe in.
2. Our Meat and Drink.
3. Our Sleep and Watching.
4. Our Exercise and Rest.
5. Our Evacuations and their Obstructions.
6. The Passions of our Minds.¹²⁰

These “non-naturals” were named in “implied contrast with the ‘naturals’, i.e., with the *intrinsic* constitutional health produced by [the body’s] humours”; careful management of these external factors was considered an integral part of inner wellness.¹²¹ Georgians also believed that temperance improved health, although their definition of moderate consumption was hardly minimalist.¹²² As we have seen, frequent, though not excessive, consumption of alcoholic beverages was thought to improve digestion and protect against scurvy and other diseases. The third item in this trinity was cleanliness, which Porter and Porter have argued was “increasingly perceived as propaedeutic to healthiness”:

Dirt, disease, and disorder began to be conflated in the Georgian mind, while hygiene linked the management of body appearance with the pursuit of health. Be clean and you will be healthy, was the message of health-care

¹¹⁹ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp. 38, 35.

¹²⁰ Guerrini, Obesity and Depression, p.101; Porter and Porter, In Sickness and Health, p. 30.

¹²¹ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, p.31.

¹²² Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp. 32-35.

books such as Buchan's Domestic Medicine.¹²³

Indeed, Buchan concluded Domestic Medicine's chapter "On Cleanliness" with a rousing promotion of good hygiene:

Cleanliness is certainly agreeable to our nature. We cannot help approving it in others, even though we should not practice it ourselves. It sooner attracts our regard than even finery itself, and often gains esteem where that fails. It is an ornament to the highest as well as the lowest station, and cannot be dispensed with in either. Few virtues are of more importance to society than real cleanliness. It ought to be carefully cultivated everywhere; but, in populous cities, it should be almost revered.¹²⁴

As this passage indicates, hygiene was more than soap and water, although such discourses were in a sense enabled by the increased availability of soap in this period. Cleanliness, as a facet and a corollary of health, is culture-bound; it carries with it messages about class, race, and gender, morality and civilization. The journals of Cook and his companions on the second voyage indicate concerns with hygiene which can be used to illuminate some aspects of changing discourses about the constitution and meaning of cleanliness in late eighteenth-century England.

Anne McClintock has argued that "[b]efore the late nineteenth century, clothes and bedding washing was done in most households only once or twice a year in great, communal binges, usually in public at streams or rivers." Bodies were washed even less frequently.¹²⁵ She links the "middle class Victorian fascination with clean, white bodies and clean, white clothing" to an effort

¹²³ Porter and Porter, In Sickness and In Health, pp. 35-36.

¹²⁴ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.113.

¹²⁵ Anne McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), p.210.

to preserve, through fetish ritual, the uncertain boundaries of class, gender and race identity in a social order felt to be threatened by the fetid effluvia of the slums, the belching smoke of industry, social agitation, economic upheaval, imperial competition and anticolonial resistance. Soap offered the promise of spiritual salvation and regeneration through commodity consumption, a regime of domestic hygiene that could restore the threatened potency of the imperial body politic and the race.¹²⁶

McClintock's devotion to the idea of "fetishism," coupled with her underreliance on historically or geographically comparative sources, undermines much of Imperial Leather. Nevertheless, her linkage of a fascination with cleanliness with the definition of boundaries in a turbulent time has its merits. Similar aspects can be seen in the Cook journalists' writings about hygiene. On shore, hygienic practices were documented and listed among descriptions of "custom"; the meanings drawn from them helped the Cook journalists to appropriately place Pacific peoples in their hierarchies of civilization. It is important to note here that these hierarchies were multiple. As comparative readings will indicate, although many ideas were held in common and were drawn from shared discourses, the characterizations of various "natives" by Cook, his editor Douglas, and the naturalists J.R. and George Forster differed significantly according to each man's subject position. These differences of opinion were largely grounded, I argue in later chapters, in differences of class. A fitting starting point, then, is a consideration of hygiene aboard ship, where class differences in the European context were most pronounced.

Shipboard hygiene was an important component of overall health. As has been argued above, filth and disease were linked ever more closely in the English mind as the eighteenth century wore on. Although Buchan felt that cleanliness "ought to be carefully cultivated everywhere," it assumed "the utmost importance" in "places where great

¹²⁶ McClintock, Imperial Leather, p. 211.

numbers of people are collected.”¹²⁷ Aboard a sailing ship, hundreds of men, along with animals, were crammed into a small space for months at a time.¹²⁸ To this end, Buchan proclaimed, “A proper attention to cleanliness is no where more necessary than on shipboard.”¹²⁹ Ships were no more known for their good hygiene than they were for their fine cuisine. The spoiled food, cramped quarters, and dirty linen combined to create ideal breeding conditions for disease. As a result, sailors’ health tended to suffer. The lack of clean water was also at issue. Although Buchan considered the “want of cleanliness ... a fault which admits of no excuse,” he did allow for one possibility: “Where water can be had for nothing, it is surely in the power of every person to be clean.”¹³⁰ Fresh water was a limited and tightly controlled resource on board a ship. As Hans Turley notes in his description of the “vile” sanitary conditions aboard a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century vessel, “[q]uarters were tight, and water was for drinking, not bathing, so the men were unwashed. ... The problem of unwashed bodies,” however, “was nothing compared to the unspeakable sanitary conditions on board a ship filled with sick sailors.”¹³¹ Buchan argued that “want of cleanliness” was a “common cause of putrid and malignant fevers.”¹³² Poor hygiene was thus particularly dangerous on a ship: “If epidemical distempers break out there, no one can be safe.” The remedy, however, was

¹²⁷ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, pp.113, 108.

¹²⁸ Lavery, “Introduction,” p.xii.

¹²⁹ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.111.

¹³⁰ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.107.

¹³¹ Hans Turley, Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash: Piracy, Sexuality, and Masculine Identity (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), p.18.

¹³² Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.108.

clear and accessible:

The best way to prevent them is to take care that the whole company be cleanly in their clothes, bedding, &c. When infectious diseases do break out, cleanliness is the most likely means to prevent their spreading: It is likewise necessary to prevent their returning afterwards, or being conveyed to other places. For this purpose, the clothes, bedding, &c. of the sick ought to be carefully washed, and fumigated with brimstone. Infection will lodge a long time in dirty clothes and afterwards break out in the most terrible manner.¹³³

Cook's actions on the *Resolution* indicate at least some familiarity with this contemporary conception of disease prevention. Cook took a number of steps to improve health aboard the *Resolution* and, to a lesser extent, the *Adventure*. These measures were intended to prevent scurvy in particular; although we now understand scurvy as a disease which results from nutritional deficiency, Cook and his contemporaries were less certain of its causes. Scurvy was linked to a diet too heavy in salt and/or meat, sedentary habits, or a melancholy disposition; William Buchan attributed the development of scurvy among sailors directly to "ships that are not properly ventilated, have many people on board, or where cleanliness is neglected."¹³⁴ He put much emphasis on shifting from a salt-based diet to one filled with "fresh vegetables ... milk, pot-herbs, new bread, and fresh beer or cyder," noting that "We know no method of curing this disease but by pursuing a course directly opposite to that which brings it on."¹³⁵ Still, he warned against the neglect of good hygiene:

... if proper regard were paid to cleanliness and warmth ... sailors would be the most healthy people in the world, and would seldom suffer either from the scurvy or putrid fevers, which are so fatal to that useful set of

¹³³ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, pp.111-112.

¹³⁴ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.427.

¹³⁵ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, pp.429-430.

men; but it is too much the temper of such people to despite all precaution; they will not think of any calamity till it overtakes them, when it is too late to ward off the blow.¹³⁶

As with the introduction of dietary measures to prevent scurvy, maintaining good hygiene required “the example and Authority of a Commander.” In addition to the three-watch system, which Cook instituted in order to ensure that all men got adequate sleep, he enforced strict standards for cleanliness. During the ships’ first Antarctic cruise in the winter of 1772-1773, he recorded:

We have now had five tolerable good Days succeeding one another, which have been usefull to us in more ways than one; having on board plenty of Fresh Water or Ice which is the same thing, the People have had an oppertunity to Wash and Dry their Linnen &c^a a thing that was not a little wanting.¹³⁷

This passage appears in similar form, although in smoother prose, in the Douglas edition; Douglas did, however, foreground Cook’s role as commander through the addition of the statement: “a care that can never be enough attended to in all long voyages.”¹³⁸ Douglas’s version also suggests that the people were fully in accord with the washing initiative through the use of the verb “enable”: weather and water “enabled the people to wash and dry their cloaths and linen.”¹³⁹ Although no evidence exists to the contrary, an incident which occurred shortly after suggests that bodily cleanliness, at least, was not a high priority with the men. According to first mate Mitchel, Cook ordered an inspection of “the peoples hands -- those who were dirty where punish’d by stopping their daily

¹³⁶ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.430.

¹³⁷ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. 77-78.

¹³⁸ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol. 4, p.41.

¹³⁹ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol. 4, p.41.

allowance of Grog.”¹⁴⁰ This punishment was quickly rescinded, but Cook’s assertion of control over cleanliness was made evident.

Cook’s intervention into the men’s personal hygiene evokes the interconnections of health, cleanliness, and class. Buchan explicitly connected class with cleanliness, condemning “peasants” for their “careless” approach to washing their bodies, clothes, and homes. For such people to “hold cleanliness in a sort of contempt” was “merely the effect of indolence and a dirty disposition.”¹⁴¹ This kind of “indolence” was definitely associated with ordinary seamen, who generally came from lower-class backgrounds and had a reputation for being stubborn and resistant to authority in a self-destructive fashion. George Forster, disgusted by their intemperance with alcohol and women, characterized them as loutish, more bestial than human:

Their long acquaintance with a sea-faring life had inured them to all kinds of perils, and their heavy labour, with the inclemencies of weather, and other hardships, making their muscles rigid and their nerves obtuse, had communicated insensibility to the mind. It will easily be conceived, that as they do not feel for themselves sufficiently to provide for their own safety, they must be incapable of feeling for others. Subjected to a very strict command, they also exercise a tyrannical sway over those whom fortune places in their power. Accustomed to face an enemy, they breathe nothing but war. By force of habit even killing is become so much their passion, that we have seen many instances upon our voyage, where they have expressed a horrid eagerness to fire upon the natives on the slightest pretences. Their way of life in general prevents their enjoying domestic comforts, and gross animal appetites fill the place of purer affections.¹⁴²

All in all, Forster concluded, “[t]hough they are members of a civilized society, they may in some measure be looked upon as a body of uncivilized men, rough, passionate,

¹⁴⁰ Mitchel, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.94, note 1.

¹⁴¹ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, pp.109-110.

¹⁴² Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.290.

revengeful, but likewise brave, sincere, and true to each other.”¹⁴³ Forster preferred the marines, whom he found more honourable. On the other hand, Beaglehole lauded Cook’s fairness, noting that sailors and marines “came from the same classes of society; they were punished and praised alike.” In his view, “[i]f Cook had to make constant efforts, it was to keep them clean ... They were, for that century, standard uneducated Englishmen.”¹⁴⁴ Beaglehole’s commentary shows the persistence of such associations between class and cleanliness.

Although his journals contain no explicit connections between the two, Cook’s concern with hygiene aboard his ships parallels his descriptions of hygiene among some Pacific islanders. Their perceived cleanliness was among the physical attributes of islanders on which the Cook journalists most frequently commented. Cook observed and assessed Pacific islanders’ hygienic habits against English standards, noting habits he found pleasing and those he found disgusting. Hygiene had a distinct and not always predictable impact on Cook’s and his companions’ attempts to make sense of “racial” difference, as we can see in Cook’s descriptions of his experiences at the New Hebrides and New Caledonia (see Chapter 4), as well as in the differences between J.R. Forster’s and Cook’s assessments of various peoples. Cook paid particular attention to Pacific peoples’ washing practices as they related to both personal hygiene and the preparation and consumption of food.

This interest in washing is visible in Cook’s account of the stop at Easter Island. Overall, Cook was disappointed with Easter Island. The ship’s primary purpose in stopping there was to gather fresh food and water; this was all the more necessary

¹⁴³ Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, p.290.

¹⁴⁴ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.xxxvi.

because a number of the *Resolution*'s men were ill with scurvy or gastrointestinal infections.¹⁴⁵ Cook, who was not sufficiently recovered to join the exploratory excursion, recorded instead the information brought to him by Pickersgill and Wales, "men on whose veracity I could depend."¹⁴⁶ The latter were unimpressed with the resources of the island. Pickersgill found it "very barren, hardly a house or Plantation to be seen," although they noted that the local people grew potatoes, plantains, and sugar cane, some of which the Europeans obtained through trade.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, the party "saw not an Animal of any sort and but very few Birds, or indeed any thing which can induce Ships, that are not in the utmost distress, to touch at this island."¹⁴⁸ Most of all, they complained about the island's "brackish" water, which they felt was a result of native behaviour rather than the water table. Cook wrote:

To wards the eastern end of the Island, they met with a well whose water was perfectly fresh, being considerably above the level of the Sea, but it was very dirty owing to filthiness, or cleanliness (call it what you will) of the Natives, who never go to drink without washing themselves all over as soon as they have done, and if ever so many of them are together the first leaps right into the Middle of the hole, drinks and washes himself without the least ceremony, after which another takes his place and does the same.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ As noted above, Cook was not very forthcoming with such information. For evidence, see Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, pp. 291-297, and Watt, "Medical Aspects and Consequences."

¹⁴⁶ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.347. As Percy notes, however, while Cook acknowledged Pickersgill and Wales as the sources of the Easter Island information, he nevertheless tended to appropriate their observations and present them as his own. This becomes particularly evident in his description of the Easter Island statues, which Cook could not have seen from the beach. See Percy, "To Study Nature Rather than Books," pp.3, 24.

¹⁴⁷ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, pp.341-342.

¹⁴⁸ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.347.

¹⁴⁹ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.346.

Although Cook ultimately characterized the people of Easter Island as friendly, hospitable, and “certainly of the same race of People as the New Zealanders and the other islanders,”¹⁵⁰ the combination of bad land and bad habits led him to dismiss the island completely: “No Nation will ever contend for the honour of the discovery of Easter Island as there is hardly an Island in this sea which affords less refreshments and conveniences for Shipping than it does.”¹⁵¹

Similarly, at the next port stop in the Marquesas, Cook was upset by the personal hygiene of a people he called “without exception the finest race of people in this Sea.”¹⁵² The Marquesans may have appeared physically beautiful to European eyes, but their methods of food preparation left much to be desired. Cook had admired the way meals were cooked in the Society Islands. At one point he described for the reader the entire process of preparing a hog, from butchery to consumption, remarking:

I have now only to add that during the whole process nothing could be done with more cleanliness. I have been the more particular in this account because I do not recollect that any one of us ever saw the whole process before nor can I recollect what is said on this Subject in the Journal of my former Voyage.¹⁵³

Despite some similarities Cook perceived between Society Islanders and Marquesans, though, the latter were found wanting in this area. “In the article of eating,” he wrote,

these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans, they are like wise equally dirty in their Cookery. Pork and Fowles are dress’d in an Oven of hot stones as at Otaheite but fruit and roots they roast on the fire, and after takeing off the rind or skin, put them into [a] Platter or trough

¹⁵⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.350-351.

¹⁵¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.349.

¹⁵² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.374.

¹⁵³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.423.

with Water, out of which I have seen both men and Hogs eat at the same time. I once saw them make a Batter of fruit and roots deluted with Water, in a Vessel that was loaded with dirt and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands, which were equally dirty, and when I express'd a dislike was laughed at.¹⁵⁴

Even so, Cook found enough to admire at the Marquesas, including the availability of pigs, that he withheld final judgement: "I know not if all are so, the actions of a few individuals are not sufficient to fix a Custom to a whole Nation."¹⁵⁵

Cook and his officers also generally made a connection between climate and cleanliness. Differences in climate and environment were considered significant factors in a people's development; many naturalists, the Forsters included, felt that climate and geography played a fundamental role in determining a people's character. Although Cook was less strict on such points, the climate thesis does seep into his observations.¹⁵⁶ He and his companions linked warmer weather to an increased propensity to wash.¹⁵⁷ The journalists noted approvingly that the inhabitants of the Society Islands washed their bodies frequently. J.R. Forster characterized them as "the most cleanly; and the better sort of them carry cleanliness to a great length," bathing twice daily in salt and fresh water, washing their hands after meals, and combing vermin from their hair and perfuming

¹⁵⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.375.

¹⁵⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.375.

¹⁵⁶ See Thomas, "On the Varieties of the Human Species," pp.xxiii-xi, and Dettelbach, "A Kind of Linnaean Being," pp.lv-lxxiv. For Cook's comments on climate, see Beaglehole, Journals II, p.268.

¹⁵⁷ This association is rather curious, considering that cold northern (i.e. European) climates were considered to breed the highest civility. On a purely speculative level, some kind of antipodean effect may have been at play here: the cold southern climes may have been regarded as inversions of the superior north.

it with coconut oil.¹⁵⁸ In contrast, many of the local people in New Zealand covered their bodies in seal or train oil to create warmth. Pickersgill calls attention to this custom in an incident involving *Resolution*'s artist, William Hodges, and the young woman the crew met at Dusky Bay. As noted above, Pickersgill considered the woman attractive, but observed that she and the other two women in her party "had their faces and hair all daubed over with Red-ocher mix'd with grease; which had none of the best of smells."¹⁵⁹

He continued:

the Girl had not been long on board before she fixt her affections on one of our Gentlemen who she importuned very much, this caused some good diversion in the ship as this Gentleman was remarkable for his delicacy in useing washes and perfumes and the Lady to show her prodegius regard for him took an oportunity to squeeze a quantity of stinking seal oil over him by way of the greatest compliment she could pay him.¹⁶⁰

The men's apparent amusement here was likely as much derived from the young woman's "strange" behaviour as from Hodges's probable humiliation. This reaction also has a gendered component. Cleanliness was important, but the artist's "delicacy in useing washes and perfumes" would have indicated a kind of foppish sensibility which was not appropriately manly.

Perceptions of cleanliness were directly linked with ideas about race. The inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, whom the *Resolution* contacted in late December 1774, also covered their skin with seal oil, which Cook found disgusting. Recounting the crew's Christmas feast, he expressed relief that the local people

¹⁵⁸ Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, p.248.

¹⁵⁹ The Journal of Richard Pickersgill, p.69.

¹⁶⁰ The Journal of Richard Pickersgill, pp.69-70.

all retir'd before dinner and did not wait to partake of our Christmas cheer, indeed I believe no one invited them, and for good reasons, for their dirty persons and the stench they carried about them was enough to spoil any mans appetite, and that would have been a real disappointment, as we had not experienced such fare for some time.¹⁶¹

Cook considered the Tierra del Fuegians the “most wretched” people he had ever met: “They are doomed to live in one of the most inhospitable climates in the world, without having sagacity enough to provide themselves with such necessaries as may render life convenient,” such as warm clothing.¹⁶² Tierra del Fuego occupied the lowest place on Cook’s informal hierarchy of Pacific peoples; he seemed to blame them for their wants. J.R. Forster, in contrast, developed a much more organized racial hierarchy. He recognized “two great varieties of people in the South Seas,” which roughly correspond to the modern differentiation of Polynesian and Melanesian, and ranked them in descending order of civilization in his Observations Made during a Voyage round the World.¹⁶³ The first group was headed by the Tahitians, whom Forster found most beautiful in humanity and nature. The Maori, whom he considered “men of sound understanding,” were ranked last, due to their skin colour, mistreatment of women, and their “ferocious and uncultured disposition.” He also criticized their hygiene, remarking: “The New Zealanders living in the temperate zone from 34° to 47° South latitude, are more tawny, which may in part be ascribed to their uncleanliness, abhorrence of bathing, and sitting exposed to smook and nastiness in their dirty cottages.”¹⁶⁴ Again, the colder climate is linked with racial

¹⁶¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.598.

¹⁶² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.600.

¹⁶³ Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, pp.153-165.

¹⁶⁴ Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, p.177.

inferiority. This kind of sentiment, however, is specific to Forster, although Rountree has argued that Cook and Forster generally shared negative attitudes toward Maori hygiene.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, the discrepancy in their representations of Maori is one of the most significant differences between Cook and Forster, and, I argue, one of the most telling. Forster, an educated gentleman who clearly viewed himself as superior to most of his shipboard companions, including the captain,¹⁶⁶ was much closer to the currents of continental philosophy than Cook; as a result, he expressed a more polite, refined variant of manliness than did the middle-class English captain. Cook, on the other hand, can be seen as part of a trend toward the idealization of a sincere, plain-spoken man of few words, a man more comfortable with the companionship of other men than in the presence of chattering ladies.¹⁶⁷ This style of manliness had a pervasive impact on Cook's self-construction; it also marked his construction of Pacific peoples, as I will discuss in the next two chapters.

Cleanliness served as a signifier of civilization to eighteenth-century Europeans. In asserting his authority over the hygienic practices of his seamen and assessing the practices he observed among "natives," Cook constructed and entrenched himself as a representative of a superior class. His expressions of concern, as well as disgust, with hygienic practices and dietary measures which he deemed unsatisfactory contributed to his image as a benevolent, paternal commander on ship and, as we shall see in Chapters 3 and 4, a manly representative of civilization on shore.

¹⁶⁵ Rountree, "Maori Bodies in European Eyes," pp.44-45,47.

¹⁶⁶ See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. xxlvi-xxlvii.

¹⁶⁷ See Cohen, "Manliness, Effeminacy and the French."

Chapter 3: “Stocking the Country”: Subsistence and Civilization in New Zealand

The relationship of food to evaluations of culture becomes clear in Cook's ethnographic descriptions of Pacific peoples. Peoples were, to a certain extent, what they ate. In addition, methods of subsistence production were implicated in Cook's assessment of a people's culture and their “nature.” Nowhere is this clearer than in the passages concerning Aotearoa/New Zealand. Cook stopped at New Zealand on all three voyages, visiting it on more occasions than Tahiti. The ships often made relatively long stays at New Zealand ports to rest, ward off the menace of scurvy and other diseases, and replenish food supplies. The crews thus spent more time among the Maori than any other people except the Tahitians. As a result, the journal passages which deal with New Zealand and the Maori are particularly revealing. In the second voyage journals, these passages show Cook constructing himself as the bearer of civilization to useful lands which seemed as yet “empty” to the European improving eye.¹ Cook assessed Maori lands and people against an English referent which was itself determined by his subject position; through his characterizations of Maori, Cook attempted to portray himself as the embodiment of an imperial, manly civility which was distinctively middle-class. His

¹ Here I draw on Pratt's discussion of “empty” lands as unimproved and open to capitalist production rather than rhetorically devoid of people. In this logic, the “seeing man” presents both subsistence habitat and inhabitant as “*disponible*, available for improvement.” See Imperial Eyes, p.61.

representations of Maori demonstrate his belief in progress, his hopes for the elevation of “natives” and his increasing disillusionment and anger as he gained more experience with them, and ultimately his insecurities about the imperial project itself. In addition, Cook’s ambivalent affection for the Maori and his efforts to improve them, much as he tried to improve his own seamen, reveal much about the workings of relevant discourses on benevolent, paternal masculinity, societal organization, and race.

All the portraits of indigenous peoples with whom Cook spent any time are ambivalent. This is not surprising, but it is nevertheless a factor which was often, until recently, overlooked in studies of European constructions of aboriginal peoples. As Edmond notes, “[t]he process of representing the South Pacific was never simply one of delight followed by dismay as experience corrected first impressions. Delight, unease and dismay were there together from the beginning.”² Cook’s writings convey his simultaneous attraction to and repulsion from most Pacific Islanders. In some places, such as Niue, where the *Resolution*’s attempt at landing in June 1774 was met with a hostile response, a mixture of fear, anger, and revulsion overwhelm any potential attraction. Cook’s choice of name for Niue reflects his distress: “The Conduct and aspect of these Islanders occasioned my giving it the name of *Savage Island*.”³ Cook’s reference to the Niueans’ “aspect” is highly significant. Cook found the Niueans’ appearance frightening: they “were Naked except their Natural parts, some were painted

² Edmond, Representing the South Pacific, pp.228-229.

³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.435. For further discussion of Cook’s place-naming, see Carter, The Road to Botany Bay, and Clayton, Islands of Truth.

black,” and they approached with “the ferocity of a wild Boar.”⁴ Although it does not appear in the body of Cook’s account, Beaglehole suggests that Cook assumed the Niueans were cannibals.⁵ In a corollary move, the landscape is also characterized as malevolent:

I had forgot to mention in its proper order, that we put a shore, a little before we came to this last place, where three or four of us went upon the cliffs, where we found the Country ... nothing but Coral rocks all overrun with Shrubery so that it was hardly possible to penetrate into it ...⁶

As a result, “Seeing no good was to be got of these people or at the isle we return’d on board hoisted in the Boats and made sail to WSW.”⁷

As this account of Niue illustrates, the characters of land and people were inseparable. Where Cook found the land pleasant, he often found the people pleasant as well, or at least potentially so. The notion of potential for improvement is very much evident in Cook’s dealings with the Maori of New Zealand. Although he was initially poorly disposed toward the Maori in comparison with the Tahitians, characterizing them as warlike liars, Cook’s regard for the Maori grew steadily, not least, I would argue, because of the territorial benefits of New Zealand for the European ships. By the time of the second voyage, the Maori held a position at or very near the top of Cook’s informal hierarchy of Pacific Islanders, which is remarkable considering that many Europeans

⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.437, footnote 3, and 434-435. Multiple versions of this account survive and are reproduced in Beaglehole. A variant description of the men’s painted nudity appears on p.438. In Douglas, the men “were naked, except round the waists” (A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol.5, p.6).

⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.437, footnote 3.

⁶ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.437.

⁷ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.435.

believed them to be cannibals. Even after Cook received a report that Maori in Queen Charlotte Sound, a frequent port of call for Cook's ships located at the northeastern corner of New Zealand's South Island, had killed and eaten a party from the *Adventure*, he declared:

I shall make no ref[li]ctions on this Melancholy affair untill I hear more about it. I must however observe in favour of the New Zealand[er]s that I have allways found them of a Brave, Noble, Open and benevolent disposition, but they are a people that will never put up with an insult if they have an oppertunity to resent it.⁸

However, Cook kept this opinion to himself: in his manuscript journal, this passage was marked "omit," to be replaced with a much milder "I shall only observe ... that I have found them no wickeder than other Men."⁹ Custom and landscape combined to make the Maori seem closer to English values than many other "Indians," and Cook clearly found their behaviour defensible in situations which gave Douglas pause. The contours of Cook's affinity for the Maori become most readily visible in the passages dealing with provisioning in and of New Zealand.

Tahiti in European travel literature evokes myths of a tropical paradise, an innocent yet erotic Eden where fruit falls from the trees and the living is always easy. Cook's portrayal of Tahiti is very much within this genre, although he insisted that neither subsistence nor women were quite as easy to "obtain" as Bougainville's account

⁸ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.653.

⁹ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.653, note 1. James Burney's account of the "cannibal attack," bracketed by Cook's commentary, appears in *A Voyage towards the south pole*, Vol.5, pp.255-260. Even the comparison with "other Men" was too much for Douglas. As Neil Rennie has noted, Douglas made no allowances for cultural relativity, especially concerning cannibalism. See Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, p.135. In the official account, Cook says only that he was "not inclined to think this was any premeditated plan on the part of these savages," and that the *Adventure's* men bore some responsibility for the attack because of their "incautious" behaviour. *A Voyage towards the south pole*, Vol. 5, p.260.

suggested.¹⁰ New Zealand, in contrast, was a much more workaday Arcadia. The English captain thus found it much more comfortable. On the *Endeavour's* first visit there, Cook repeatedly described the landscape in complimentary terms, even when he was less than pleased with the people. The *Endeavour* landed first on the North Island, at a place Cook named "Poverty Bay" after the local people reacted in an unfriendly manner to the ship. Although he was not favourably impressed, Cook likely expected such a reaction. Copies of Abel Tasman's account of his ship's conflict with the Maori at Golden Bay (which Tasman called "Murderers' Bay") were aboard the *Endeavour*; in these accounts, Europeans described Maori as vicious "savages" and "barbarians."¹¹ Although his first encounter with Maori was not nearly as violent as Tasman's, a series of misunderstandings between the two parties during the Poverty Bay landing "obliged" Cook to fire on a party of Maori men, killing several.¹² Nevertheless, he did find something to admire in the terrain:

The land near the shore is of a moderate height with white cliffs and sandy beaches -- inland there are several pretty high mountains and the whole face of the country appears with a very hilly surface and for the most part covered with wood and hath all the appearances of a very pleasant and fertile country.¹³

The rolling green hills, treed "but not very much incumberd with woods" and scattered

¹⁰ On this genre, see Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*; Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp.86-122; Porter, "The exotic as erotic." Cook takes pains to "correct" misconceptions the reader may have gleaned from Bougainville in *Journals II*, pp.231, 235-236, regarding agriculture and sexual behaviour in Tahiti.

¹¹ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, pp.22-24.

¹² Beaglehole, *Journals I*, pp.168-176. This encounter is discussed in Salmond, *Two Worlds*, chapter 5.

¹³ Beaglehole, *Journals I*, pp.175-176.

with Maori villages, reminded Cook of “our high Downs in England.”¹⁴ He was further pleased to note that

The soil both of the hills and Vallies is light and sandy and very proper for produceing all kinds of Roots but we saw only sweet Potatous and Yamms among them; these they plant in little round hills, and have plantations of them containing several Acres neatly laid out and kept in good order, and many of them are fence'd in with low pailing which can only serve for ornament.¹⁵

Cook clearly admired the familiar aspects of Maori agriculture. Although he felt they were not fully cultivating the land, as they grew “only sweet Potatous and Yamms,” the orderly plantations, with even a gesture toward ornament, indicated to Cook that both Maori land and Maori people had potential for progress.

The ship then moved up the coast to Tolaga Bay, in the Bay of Plenty area. The crew had a pleasant stay at Tolaga Bay and all the way north to the Bay of Islands; Cook noted that the Maori they met from here on were generous in trading food (mostly “stinking fish”¹⁶) and were, for the most part, “meek as lambs.”¹⁷ Cook further observed as they headed north from Tolaga Bay “a great deal of cultivated land laid out in regular inclosures a sure sign that the Country is both fertile and well inhabited.”¹⁸ When he reached the Hauraki Plains, Cook felt it appropriate to name the river which flowed into the Hauraki Gulf “the *Thames* on account of its bearing some resemblance to that

¹⁴ Beaglehole, Journals I, pp. 176, 179.

¹⁵ Beaglehole, Journals I, pp. 186-187.

¹⁶ Beaglehole, Journals I, p. 174.

¹⁷ Beaglehole, Journals I, pp. 215-216.

¹⁸ Beaglehole, Journals I, p. 188.

river in England.”¹⁹ Cook’s positive descriptions of the landscape of New Zealand are all characterized by comparisons, implicit or explicit, with England. The terrain was configured in a familiar format, the people, if “Indian,” at least practised recognizable, orderly agriculture, and Cook saw potential of a kind that he had as yet been unable to glimpse in any other Pacific island. Ultimately,

it was the opinion of every body on board that all sorts of European grain fruits plants &c^a would thrive here. In short was this Country settled by an Industrious people they would very soon be supply’d not only with the necessaries but many of the luxuries of life. ... Should it ever become an object of settling this Country the best place for the first fixing of a Colony would be either in the River Thames or the Bay of Islands, for at either of these place they would have the advantage of a good harbour ... So far as I have been able to judge of the genius of these people it doth not appear to me to be at all difficult for Strangers to form a settleme[n]t in this Country. They seem too much divided among themselves to unite in opposing, by which means and kind and gentle usage the Colonists would be able to form strong parties among them.²⁰

Both habitat and inhabitant, then, were presented as possessing abundant potential for improvement by English colonization.

Despite their characterization by Cook as insufficiently “Industrious,” Maori were perhaps his favourite Pacific islanders. European explorers did not expect to encounter nations equivalent to their own in the Indies. Rather, they assumed a certain level of superiority, and allowed their observation of each community of “Indians” and their customs to complete the portrait. Anne Salmond has argued that Cook’s descriptions of the Maori show “that some Europeans, who had at first thought of Maori as savages, began on closer acquaintance to realise that these were people, and fellow human beings.

¹⁹ Beaglehole, Journals I, p.207.

²⁰ Beaglehole, Journals I, pp.276, 278.

Yet they were not considered to be Europeans' equals -- a significant qualification -- for, in the last resort, the voyagers believed that their superiority was guaranteed by their guns."²¹ In this light, Cook's seemingly critical commentary on the Maori was in fact quite complimentary. However, grounding European perceptions of superiority in gunpower alone is an oversimplification.²² Guns may have "guaranteed" European dominance, but their perceived superiority was more ideological than physical and had as much to do with agriculture as warfare, as the events of the second voyage will demonstrate.

The *Resolution* and *Adventure* left England's Plymouth Sound in July 1772 carrying a goodly allowance of provisions, a modicum of first-hand knowledge about the South Seas, and what one crew member described as "a veritable Noah's ark." The Admiralty had considered a proposal from Alexander Dalrymple and Benjamin Franklin to make Cook's second voyage to the South Seas a philanthropic as well as a scientific one, sponsored by the Royal Society. Dalrymple and Franklin suggested that the ships carry "the conveniencies of Life, as Fowls, Hogs, Goats, Cattle, Corn, Iron &c. to those remote regions." This proposal, which Franklin characterized as an opportunity for Britain to share its naval and agricultural knowledge with the world's less fortunate, was ultimately rejected.²³ Nevertheless, in preparation for their visits to various Pacific

²¹ Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p.27.

²² It should be noted that Salmond has based her argument on a number of Cook's comments. One such example occurred during a brief landing at the island of Takaroa in April 1774; in his account, Cook stated that he "ordered two or three Guns to be fired over the little isle the Natives were upon in order to shew them that it was not their own Superior strength and Numbers which obliged us to leave their isle." Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.377. However, Cook's representations of Pacific islanders make it clear that firepower was not the only way he believed Europeans superior.

²³ The quoted passage is from Franklin's pamphlet, cited in Salmond, *Between Worlds*, pp. 36-38.

Islands, as well as their long voyage, the ships were equipped with livestock, including sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry, as well as dogs and cats, and the seeds of vegetables common in Europe. Some of these items were brought from England; others were gathered during port stops at Porto Praya, in the Cape Verde Islands, and at the Cape of Good Hope.²⁴

Undoubtedly, many of these items, animals in particular, were meant for the crew's use. In order to combat scurvy among sailors and "preserve the health of that brave and useful set of men," Dr. Buchan recommended that "Such animals as can be kept alive, ought ... to be carried on board, as hens, ducks, pigs, &c."²⁵ The *Endeavour*, for example, carried a much-loved milch goat who had spent three years in the West Indies and had also sailed with the *Dolphin*, "and never went dry the whole time."²⁶ When *Endeavour* returned home in 1771, the goat was retired to an "English pasture," actually the garden at Cook's London home, where she died a few weeks later.²⁷ The importance of meat to the preservation of manly good health has been touched on in the previous chapter, and is explored in greater detail in the next. Many of these biological trade items, though, passed into the hands of indigenous peoples. The disbursement of this cargo was fraught with meaning. In one sense, it can be viewed as a method of exchange. *Endeavour*, *Resolution*, and *Adventure* all had botanists aboard; Banks and Solander, Sparrman, and the Forsters, with their assistants, all observed and catalogued the plant

²⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.28-30, 51.

²⁵ Buchan, Domestic Medicine, p.50.

²⁶ Alfred W. Crosby, Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.26.

²⁷ Hough, Captain James Cook, pp.234-235.

life they encountered, and collected samples to bring back with them to Europe if possible. The distribution of European plants in the South Pacific, then, could be viewed as a kind of reciprocity on the part of the scientific explorers.²⁸ The Dalrymple and Franklin proposal, although not explicit on this point, suggested as much in its emphasis on making a voyage in which Europeans for once would not plunder other peoples, “but merely ... do them good.”²⁹ I suggest, however, that Cook thought of this cargo not as an exchange, but as a gift given to the worthy, or to those whom he thought would put it to the best use. Seeds and animals were left only in places where Cook’s journals record an affinity for the local people and/or the landscape. He made gifts of European seeds to a number of peoples, and animals to select others. He left goats and “a Stock of Catts” in Tahiti, Huahine, and Raiatea, dogs in parts of Tonga and Vanuatu, dogs and pigs in New Caledonia, and released goats, poultry and pigs in New Zealand. I will return to the subject of animal releases later in this chapter and in Chapter 4. First, however, I wish to discuss the case of New Zealand, which was the only place in which Cook engaged in efforts to actively alter the landscape by planting gardens.

New Zealand appeared to be an ideal “empty” land in which to establish a European waystation. Maori themselves were also seen as improvable, likely because, from Cook’s viewpoint, they welcomed the English without either embarrassing subservience or protracted hostility. Cook felt the Maori were

certainly in a state of civilization, their behaviour to us has been Manly and Mild, shewing allways a readiness to oblige us; they have some arts a

²⁸ See Pratt’s valuable discussion of the “mystique of reciprocity” and reciprocal vision in Mungo Park’s *Travels in the Interior of Africa* in *Imperial Eyes*, pp.78-85, especially pp. 80-81.

²⁹ Franklin, quoted in Salmond, *Between Worlds*, p.38. George Forster also envisioned this kind of biological trade as a philanthropic activity. See Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, p.12.

mong them which they execute with great judgement and unwearied patience; they are far less addicted to thieving than the other Islanders and are I believe strictly honest among themselves.³⁰

Maori were “Manly” by virtue of their obliging manner to visitors, their work ethic (“unwearied patience”), and their honesty. Although Cook was disturbed by persistent allegations, and his men’s “proof,” that Maori were cannibals, he felt that they were no more “savage” than any other people “void of all religious principles ... and without any settled form of government; as they become more united,” he argued, “they will of consequence have fewer Enemies and become more civilized and then and not till then this custom may be forgot.”³¹ Clearly, “manly” behaviour indicated to Cook that progress into a higher stage of civilization was imminent.

Maori men appeared to Cook both more aggressive and less sensuous than Tahitian men, and Maori women more “modest.” In his *Endeavour* journal, Cook offers proof of this feminine modesty, describing an incident at Tolaga Bay in which some naked women, surprised by the sailors while gathering shellfish, either hid themselves among the rocks or hastily constructed clothing from seaweed, all the while showing “manifest signs of Shame.”³² Cook considered Maori women “more chaste than the generality of Indian women, whatever favours a few of them might have granted to the crew of the *Endeavour*.” Even so, he expressed regret on the second voyage that contact with his

³⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.294.

³¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.294.

³² Beaglehole, Journals I, p.280.

ships “hath not mended the morals of the Natives of either Sex.”³³ Cook was particularly disturbed by the involvement of men in what he saw as prostitution:

... now we find the men are the chief promoters of this Vice, and for a spike nail or any other thing they value will oblige their Wives and Daughters to prostitute themselves whether they will or no and that not with the privacy decency seems to require, such are the consequences of a commerce with Europeans and what is still more to our Shame civilized Christians, we debauch their Morals already too prone to vice and we interduce among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew and which serves only to disturb that happy tranquillity they and their fore Fathers had enjoy’d. If any one denies the truth of this assertion let him tell me what the Natives of the whole extent of America have gained by the commerce they have had with Europeans.³⁴

Notably, though, Cook was more distressed by Maori men’s behaviour than by the women’s experiences. This provides an interesting contrast with the observations of some of Cook’s contemporaries, J.R. Forster in particular. As Rountree has noted, the “tendency to judge a society according to the treatment and position of its women and the

³³ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.174-175. For some discussion of sexual relations between Cook’s crews and Pacific islanders, see Chappell, “Shipboard Relations”; Lutz, “The Erotics of Exploration”; Anne Maxwell, “Fallen Queens and Phantom Diadems: Cook’s Voyages and England’s Social Order,” Eighteenth-Century Theory and Interpretation, Vol.38 No.3 (Fall 1997), pp.247-258; Morris, “*Aikane*”; Orr, “Southern passions mix with northern art”; Porter, “The exotic as erotic”; Wallace, “Too Darn Hot.”

³⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.175. According to Anna Clark, during the late eighteenth century, England’s “nascent middle class ... regarded as prostitutes all women who had sexual experience outside marriage.” This being considered, it is not surprising that Cook saw sexual relations between European men and Pacific islander women as examples of “prostitution.” It may, however, cast doubt on whether some of the men saw it that way. The examples gleaned from other journals suggest that the officers felt that they and their subalterns were purchasing sex from indigenous women with, as the stereotype had it, a spike nail. If Clark’s assertion that plebeian morality in England and Scotland allowed for premarital sex regulated by community gossip is correct, then the men perhaps would have seen their relationships with indigenous women as hardly distinct in character from those they had with women at home. See Clark, The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), pp.42-62. Furthermore, it is far from clear that islander women saw themselves as “selling” their “sexual favours.” See Chappell, “Shipboard Relations,” and Lutz, “The Erotics of Exploration.”

amount and type of work they do was a characteristic of enlightenment social theory.”³⁵ Forster firmly adhered to the dictum that “the position of women is the index to the degree of civilisation achieved in any society.”³⁶ As a result, he placed Maori, ni-Vanuatu, and New Caledonians, societies in which he felt women were unattractive and downtrodden, firmly at the bottom of the civilizational hierarchy.³⁷ Interestingly, Cook’s journals indicate that he regarded these very societies as the manliest. Overall, Cook had little contact with Pacific island women, and displayed little interest in them beyond curiosity. Cook did make notes on women’s position and behaviour, and occasionally deplored their “misuse” by men of their societies,³⁸ but he was concerned almost exclusively with men. This focus evokes Cook’s connection to the homosocial model of ideal masculinity associated with the rise of the middle class during this period. Middle-class men in particular eschewed the foppish, Frenchified politeness which had characterized the upper class in the mid-century; this shift was intended overall to mitigate English anxieties about effeminacy and ethnicity, but was more practically employed to effect a distinct identity among the middle class.³⁹ Therefore, it is

³⁵ Rountree, “Maori Bodies in European Eyes,” p.49.

³⁶ Harriet Guest, “The great distinction: Figures of the exotic in the work of William Hodges,” The Oxford Art Journal, Vol. 12 No. 2 (1989), p.40. See also Jones, Gender and the Formation of Taste. Along these lines, Lutz argues that on the third voyage, Cook’s officers hoped to encounter “the least civilized of races,” so defined by the women’s sexual availability, to increase their chances of sexual relationships. See Lutz, “The Erotics of Exploration,” pp.9-11.

³⁷ Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, pp. 258-261. See also Rountree, “Maori Bodies in European Eyes,” pp. 45-51 and passim, and Jolly, “‘Ill-Natured Comparisons.’”

³⁸ See Beaglehole, Journals II, p.505.

³⁹ Cohen, “Manliness, Effeminacy and the French,” pp. 59-60 and passim; Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, especially pp.108-118; Tosh, “The Old Adam and the New Man,” pp. 219-230.

unsurprising that Cook, as a middle class man, was more comfortable in the company of other men than in that of women, even native women. Cook's preference for homosocial interaction not only reinforced his manly image in the metropole, but also discouraged any suggestions that he had engaged in sexual contact with island women, an association of impropriety which both he and Douglas laboured to avoid.⁴⁰

Criticism notwithstanding, Cook admired the Maori, and found them worthy of his consideration and attention. He made notes on their lifestyle, amending slightly on the second voyage his opinion of their political organization. Where before he had merely seen an opportunity which Europeans could exploit, on the second voyage he began to wonder why Maori families did not "form themselves into some society a thing not only natural to Man," but even some animal species.⁴¹ Cook's curiosity about Maori society is symptomatic of his attempt to bring together the two streams of his knowledge about "natives." One stream was gained from European discourses about "Indians"; the second, filtered and understood through that prior "knowledge," grew out of his firsthand

⁴⁰ Douglas was adamant that any references to sexual relationships between Cook's crews and islander women be excised from the published account. Cook agreed, but asked for exception regarding "the Amours of my People at Otaheite," where he felt that some mention was necessary to cast a "light on the Characters, or Customs of the People we are then among." Cook to Douglas, 10 January 1776, reproduced in Beaglehole, Journals II, p. cxlvi. Cook was equally careful to make clear in the unpublished accounts that he abstained by choice from sexual activity with island women. See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. 443-444, and A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol.5, pp.13-14, for virtually identical descriptions of an incident at Nomuka, in the Tongan archipelago, in which an "old Lady" ("worthy matron," in Douglas) offered Cook the "service" of a beautiful young woman. Cook refused, implying a distaste for "prostitution" and citing his unwillingness to break the rule against women on the ship by which his men were bound. In both accounts, he recalled that the older woman "abused" him, "Sneering in my face and saying, what sort of man are you thus to refuse the embraces of so fine a young Woman" (Journals II, 444). I read Cook's portrayal of this incident, supported by Douglas, as an early manifestation of the discourse of middle-class manly morality which Davidoff and Hall describe in Family Fortunes, pp. 126, 152. Orr links this discourse directly to chastity in "'Southern passions mix with northern art,'" pp.225-226.

⁴¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.134.

experience with them. Again, the representations of Maori societies which resulted are inherently ambivalent. Cook's writings about Maori people also reveal his growing discomfort with the imperial project, which was expressed both in his consideration of cross-cultural sexual encounters and in more blatant form in his meditations on his "voyages of discovery."⁴² As Smith has argued, over the course of the three voyages, Cook's journals indicate his "sense of disillusionment" and "loss of hope" as Pacific islanders failed to live up to his fantasies and cross-cultural relations became increasingly violent.⁴³

Cook's opinion of the Maori and his affection for the familiar landscape are both significant in the overall interpretation of place. Cook saw a land which he considered to be potentially "useful": it could sustain a seafaring European population, possibly eventually house a settler colony, and, in the meantime, life could be improved for the native population through the application of a little European knowledge. As a result, Cook decided to undertake some "improvements" during the *Resolution* and *Adventure*'s stays in New Zealand. The two ships were separated by fog close to the Antarctic circle on February 8, 1773; in the case of such an occurrence, Cook and Furneaux had established a rendezvous point at Queen Charlotte Sound.⁴⁴ The *Adventure* thus sailed on to Queen Charlotte Sound. The ships were reunited in May after the *Resolution* made its way north from Dusky Bay, where it had stopped to replenish provisions and allow the men to recover from scurvy. By the time *Resolution* reached Queen Charlotte Sound, *Adventure*'s men had begun to plant gardens with the seeds they had on board. On May

⁴² For an example, see Beaglehole, *Journals II*, pp.174-175, 201-202, 493.

⁴³ Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*, pp.207-209.

⁴⁴ Withey, *Voyages of Discovery*, p.207.

20, shortly after his arrival in the Sound, Cook “visited the different Gardens Captain Furnea[u]x and his officers had planted ... all of which were in flourishing condition and if improved or taken care of by the natives might prove of great use to them.”⁴⁵ This was necessary, to Cook’s mind, because the local people subsisted on a diet which signified to European eyes the depths of poverty. The people were “disperse’d along the Shores in search of their daly bread which is fish and firm roots for they cultivate no part of the lands.”⁴⁶ Nor did they have a stable source of red meat. As Pickersgill tartly put it, “they live chiefly on fish except when they get the chance of an Enemy.”⁴⁷ On May 29, Cook showed this garden to a local man:

This Morning several of the Natives cam along side and brought with them some fish which they exchanged for nails &c^a. After Breakfast I took one of them over to Motuara and shew’d him the Potatoes planted there by M^r Fannen the Master of the Adventure which he had brought from the Cape of Good Hope, there seems to be no doubt of their succeeding as they were in a very thriving state, the man was so pleased with them that he immidiately began to hough the earth about the plants, I call’d them Coumalla a root common in many parts of *Eahei nomauwe* and is as I could find from this man not unknown to the Inhabitants of *Tavai-poenammoo*. I next carried him to the other of Captain Furneaux’s gardens (this gentleman being with me) I explained to him as well as I could the nature of the Turnips, Carrots & Parsnips roots together with Potatoes that will be of more use to them than all the other vegetables. I gave him a tolerable Idea of the Carrots and Parsnips by calling them Tara a root to which they bear some likeness and is known to the

⁴⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.166-167.

⁴⁶ Beaglehole, Journals I, p.247.

⁴⁷ The Journal of Richard Pickersgill, p.75. As Pickersgill’s statement indicates, most Europeans firmly believed that Maori were cannibals, and Cook’s officers, Pickersgill in particular, tirelessly attempted to obtain “proof” by offering them human flesh. See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. 292-295, and The Memoirs of John Elliott, p.22.

Natives.⁴⁸

This passage is fascinating for a variety of reasons. Firstly, Cook's introduction of the Maori man to the vegetables is curiously portrayed. Even though Cook and his ships had been fed by the products of Maori agriculture several times over the previous four years, his description of the man's response to the garden gives the impression of a child being introduced to new wonders of the world. The man's pleasure, expressed by his eagerness to hoe the ground, demonstrates his seemingly instinctual understanding of agriculture. Yet the man's own practical knowledge is neatly erased by Cook the narrator, who ignores Maori ability in his desire to convey the superiority of European vegetable cultivation. The passage also suggests that the man, since he was "so pleased" with the Europeans' gift, wished to please them by demonstrating his understanding of "proper" care. This impression is strengthened in the version which reached the British public. Douglas restructured the passage thus: "and the man was so well pleased with them, that he, *of his own accord*, began to hoe the earth up about the plants."⁴⁹ In stressing the man's initiative and desire to please the English officers, Douglas placed "natives" in a subservient position. Again, the "savage" man's closeness to nature, rather than any horticultural expertise he might possess, allowed for his instinctively correct response to the potatoes. Through the inclusion of the phrase "of his own accord," Douglas also suggested to the British reader that, with proper encouragement, some "savages" could be taught ways to improve their lot. Douglas thus strengthened the image of Cook as the Maori's benevolent and manly guide to civilized cultivation, demonstrating correct agricultural methods much as he exemplified healthy eating for his men aboard ship.

⁴⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.168.

⁴⁹ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol.4, p.123. Emphasis mine.

Also interesting is Cook's explanation of the vegetables to the man. In the Douglas edition, "It was easy to give them an idea of these roots, by comparing them with such as they knew."⁵⁰ This portrayal stands in contrast with the description in Cook's unpublished journals, in which he conveys the nature of the plants by telling the man that they *are* kumara and taro. This is much different than making a comparison between the two. This conflation, paired with Cook's admonition that the introduced vegetables "will be of more real use to them than all the other articles we had planted," should have made it clear to the contemporary reader that this was an act of philanthropy on the part of the English captain, and that inferior native vegetables, kumara and taro, were being supplanted by their superior European cousins.⁵¹ That the seeds for these vegetables were carried from the Cape of Good Hope is even more significant; the Cape was, in a sense, the last outpost of (European) civilization on the way to the South Seas. Although Cook emphasized the philanthropic aspects of these gardens in his accounts, portraying them as his gift to the Maori, it should be noted that these gardens began their life as a project of the *Adventure's* men, who expected to winter in Queen Charlotte Sound. Before departing for Tahiti, Cook added to the contents of this garden "Wheat, Pease and other Pulse" as well as carrots and strawberries, plants which he likely hoped would help provision his and other European ships on later visits.⁵² Cook's recasting of these gardens as a manifestation of his own and his country's benevolence toward the less civilized suggests Pratt's argument that European travellers often cloaked a commercial or

⁵⁰ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol.4, p.123.

⁵¹ This attitude is echoed by Crosby in his Ecological Imperialism. He claims that by introducing the white potato, Cook gave Maori "the means by which to enmesh themselves in ... the world market that the Europeans were, willy-nilly, creating" (p.230).

⁵² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.169.

imperial agenda in the rhetoric of reciprocity.⁵³ Cook's "gifts" to Pacific peoples always came with expectations attached; after all, he had been instructed by the Admiralty to cultivate friendly trading relations with islanders by "making them Presents of such Trinquets as they may value."⁵⁴ When Cook made gifts of items which he himself valued, however, the cloak of reciprocity slipped to reveal some of Cook's anxieties about cross-cultural contact and progress, as well as the workings of discourses of civilization, class, and masculinity on his understandings of race. Nowhere is this more evident than in the passages which discuss the presentation of animals to select Pacific peoples. I turn to these animal releases now and in Chapter 4.

During the ships' stay at Queen Charlotte Sound in May and June of 1773, Cook also released a ewe and ram into the area. They soon died, likely "by eating of some poisonous plant." Cook was distraught: "thus all my fine hopes of stocking this Country with a breed of Sheep were blasted in a moment."⁵⁵ The description of the ship as "a veritable Noah's Ark" here is particularly apt. Cook fully intended to stock the 'empty' country with animals which would allow an 'industrious' people, Maori or European, to make proper use of the land. This biblical parallel surfaced again during the ships' call at New Caledonia in September 1774. Cook made a present to the islanders of a dog and bitch whose colour and conformation he described in his journal, noting that "I mention this because they may prove the Adam and Eve of their species in this Country."⁵⁶ The unfortunate mishap with the sheep at Queen Charlotte Sound, however, did not

⁵³ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p.81.

⁵⁴ Admiralty instructions, quoted in Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.clxviii.

⁵⁵ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.167.

⁵⁶ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.535.

completely discourage him. Shortly before the ships left the Sound, Cook, along with Furneaux and Forster, “went over to the East side of the Sound ... there I put a Shore two Goats male and female.” As well as the goats, Cook recorded, “Captain Furneaux hath put a shore in Canibals Cove a Boar and a Breeding Sow so that we have reason to hope that in process of time this Country will be stocked with Goats and Hoggs.” In contrast with the publicity he gave his gardens, though, Cook chose to release the animals surreptitiously, without informing any local people of his actions:

there is no great danger that the Natives will destroy them as they are exceedingly afraid of both, besides as they have not the least knowledge of them being left, they will grow so wild before they are discovered as not to suffer any one to come near them. The Goats will undoubtedly take to the Mountains and the Hoggs to the Woods where there is plenty of food for both.⁵⁷

Here again, the account Cook created for his journal was reinterpreted by Douglas before it could reach the British public. In Douglas’s version, Furneaux released two sows, and the Cook narrator states that “we have reason to hope this country will, in time, be stocked with these animals, if they are not destroyed by the natives before they become wild; for, afterwards, they will be in no danger. But as the natives knew nothing of their being left behind, it may be some time before they are discovered.”⁵⁸ This gives quite a different impression of the Maori. Rather than quaking with fear of strange animals, as they are in Cook’s rough journal, in the official version they are potentially violent and inclined to destroy what they do not understand. A number of possible rationales exist for this change. The Douglas portrayal may have been more acceptable to the reader because it was more in line with what he or she “knew” about “natives,” particularly

⁵⁷ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.169.

⁵⁸ *A Voyage towards the south pole*, Vol. 4, pp.123-124.

Maori, who had since Tasman's account been regarded as especially savage. It may also have gained more currency with readers because it promoted a more sensational vision of natives, and appealed directly to their sense of superiority by suggesting that the Maori lacked sufficient common sense to allow pigs to breed. Animal husbandry and agriculture were understood to be both necessary and progressive by the majority of Britons. In eighteenth-century England, the prevailing view was that animals, vegetables, and minerals had been provided by God solely "to enhance human life."⁵⁹ "Man" had been divinely mandated to organize and oversee cultivation. As Keith Thomas has noted, "In the eighteenth century it was widely urged that domestication was *good* for animals; it civilized them and increased their numbers ... Cows and sheep were better off in man's care than left to the mercy of wild predators." Indeed, it was considered "best for the beasts that they should be under man."⁶⁰ Organized cultivation of plants and animals was an indicator of the separation of "man" from "beast." Therefore, accentuating Maori ignorance of correct food-cultivating procedures reinforced the distance between "civilized" and "savage." This textual shift may have been a personal initiative of Douglas; it may also have resulted from Douglas's communications with Cook upon the captain's return to England.

The creation of gardens in New Zealand thus had an ideological as well as a practical purpose. As noted in Chapter 1, certain eighteenth-century European theorists of civilization divided societies into four stages according to their subsistence base. Societies progressed from hunting and gathering through pastoral horticulture to settled

⁵⁹ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, p.20.

⁶⁰ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, pp.20-21. The last phrase is quoted from William Wollaston.

agriculture, culminating in commercial urban centres.⁶¹ Cook likely saw his efforts to encourage agricultural development in Queen Charlotte Sound as a way to assist Maori in making the transition to the next level of civilization. Furthermore, this venture, if it was successful, would support Cook's contention that Maori were indeed civilized. As I have already noted, the notion of a hierarchy of civilization was overlain with ideas about race. Since European assessments of race in this period generally depended on matching evaluations of custom and climate to physical characteristics, racialization was an inconsistent and often contentious process, as the acrimony between Cook and J.R. Forster over New Zealand attests. As a result, travellers' representation of custom was a critical component of their contribution to European knowledge about the "rest of the world." The Cook journalists were collectively very much impressed with cultivated Pacific lands, as their accounts of their initial visit to the Tongan archipelago indicate. *Resolution* and *Adventure* stopped first at Eua, or "Middleburg," on October 2-3, 1773. The ships experienced difficulties in their approach to Eua, and Cook intended to anchor at "Amsterdam" (Tongatapu) instead, but "before we had time to trim our sails the Shore of Middleburg assumed another aspect and promised fair to afford Anchorage."⁶² As at Niue, the importance of "aspect" was paramount. The shift in Eua's "aspect" was confirmed for Cook by the approach of "two Canoes, each conducted by two or 3 men ... some of these people came aboard without the least hesitation, this mark of confidence gave me a good opinion of these Islanders and determined me to anchor if I found a convenient place."⁶³ Among these islanders who gathered on shore at the landing, Cook

⁶¹ Thomas, "On the Varieties of the Human Species," p.xxv.

⁶² Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.243-245.

⁶³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.245.

“discovered” and befriended through gift exchange a “chief, whose name is Tioonee.” This man conducted Cook and his party to his home, where the groups enjoyed one another’s music.⁶⁴ Cook asked to see the surrounding area, and “Tioonee” accordingly “accompanied us into the Country through several Plantations Planted with fruit trees, roots &c^a in great tast and ellegancy and inclose by neat fences made of reeds.”⁶⁵ The ordered cultivation and fences, along with the gentlemanly courtesy of the chief, made a most favourable impression on the Englishmen. Astronomer William Bayly called them “the neatest fences I ever beheld,”⁶⁶ and Clerke waxed eloquent about both the landscape and the “civilized” practices of the inhabitants:

The regularity of their plantations, and excellency of their Fences here I think is truly admirable -- Every Mans or Families private property is divided from his Neighbours by good and strong Fences -- in the midst of the Plantation, stands the Houses of the Family, which are of an Oval or Circular form; round about which, is planted a little shrubbery of various flowers, pick’d from the great abundance Nature has given them for their superior scent, and which from the situation of the Climate must be ever green and in blossom -- so that when within these houses any Breeze that disturbs the Air, be it from whatever point of the Compass it may, wafts to you the most odouriferous and pleasing Perfumes our olfactory senses can possibly be regal’d with.⁶⁷

Clerk’s description of Eua contains a cluster of potent symbols of civilization. The local people practised orderly agriculture in family units, recognizing the principle of private property. Furthermore, they made practical as well as aesthetic use of “the great abundance Nature has given them” to ensure a pleasant atmosphere in their homes,

⁶⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.246.

⁶⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, p. 246.

⁶⁶ Bayly, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.246, note 4.

⁶⁷ Clerke, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.757.

showing an attention to hygiene which, as we have seen in Chapter 2, middle and upper class men found lacking among the English lower classes.

However, all was not perfect at Eua. The European ships were welcomed as visitors, but the understanding of private property indicated by the celebrated fences had its downside for Cook. He noted that

In the lanes and about their house[s] were runing about Hogs and large fowls which were the only domestick Animals we saw and these they did not seem desirous to part with, nor did they during this day offer to exchange any fruit or roots worth mentioning, this determined me to leave the Island in the morning and go down to that of Amsterdam where Tasman in 1643 found refreshments in plenty.⁶⁸

Cook was equally impressed with Tongatapu, perhaps more so due to the availability of pigs. On arrival, he recorded, "I thought I was transported into one of the most fertile plains in Europe, here was not an inch of waste ground, the roads occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary and each fence did not take up above 4 inches ... Nature, assisted by a little art, no were appears in a more flourishing state than at this isle."⁶⁹ He did not appear to have held the lack of trade on Eua against its people, however, remarking that "In the evening we all returned aboard every one highly dilighted with his little excursion and the friendly behavior of the Natives who seem'd to [vie] with each other in doing what they thought would give us pleasure."⁷⁰ This again speaks to the differential evaluation of Pacific islanders by Cook. The people of Eua displayed manners which, while certainly not equivalent, were readily understandable to the English.

⁶⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.248.

⁶⁹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.252.

⁷⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.248. This is interesting in light of Cook's displeasure at discovering the notion of private property among the Nuu-chah-nulth people of Vancouver Island. See Beaglehole, Journals III, p.306.

They appeared pleasant, hospitable, rational, and self-sufficient; they had well-cultivated lands, laid out in a fashion Europeans found eminently sensible as well as aesthetically pleasing, and “domistick Animals” which, though unavailable for trade, again were perceived as useful and well-kept. Of course, Cook’s good humour at Eua and his failure to criticize its people for not offering to trade likely resulted as much from the promise of Tasman’s descriptions of Tongatapu as from local conditions. Nevertheless, Cook could as easily have complained in his journal about the refusal to trade and attempted to use strong-arm tactics, such as firing a rifle, to induce a willingness to part with a hog or two. All in all, Cook’s good nature at Eua was a result of the people’s perceived manners and habits, and thus their elevation on the scale of civilisation.

The visit to Tonga may have inspired Cook to renew his efforts to stock New Zealand with plants and animals; it is possible that he felt these items would be more accessible to Europeans due to the decentralization of Maori society. For whatever reasons, Cook’s attempt to stock the country was not nearly as successful as he had hoped, and formed a cause of his increasing disillusionment with “natives” as the voyage progressed. When the ships returned to New Zealand later in 1773, Cook “was desirous of having some communication with the Inhabitants of this Country as far north as possible in order to give them some Hogs, Fowls, Seeds, roots &c^a I had provided for the purpose.” He was especially interested in making a delivery in the area of “Tolaga Bay where I look upon them to be more civilized than at Queen Charlottes Sound.”⁷¹ He presented a “chief” and his companion near Cape Kidnappers with “two Boars, two Sows, two Cocks and four Hens,” as well as seeds and roots which he considered “such

⁷¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.278. The latter quote is from footnote 3; it appears in the text of A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol.4, p.226.

as were most usefull (viz) Wheat, French and Kidney Beans, Pease, Cabages, Turnips, Onions, Carrots, Parsnips, Yams &c^a &c^a.” He was disappointed by the man’s response: “the Piggs and Fowls he at first took but little notice of till he was given to understand that [they] were for himself, nor then was he in such raptures as when I gave him a spike nail half the length of his arm.” Still, he noted, the man kept a shrewd eye on the number of animals he was given “least any should be taken away; he made me a promise not to kill any, if he keeps his word good and proper care is taken of them there were enough to stock the whole Island in due time ... with these Articles I dismissed my two chiefs and made sail again...”⁷² Similar procedures were repeated at various stops along the North Island’s coast, with Cook reporting his displeasure at the “indifference” with which he perceived Maori men to have received his gifts.⁷³ The failure of these men to embrace this central symbol of civilization began to undermine Cook’s largely favourable representations of Maori.

The ships returned to Queen Charlotte Sound in early November amidst a number of inconveniences; some of the *Resolution*’s bread had spoiled and had to be replaced, and sailors’ clothes were stolen by some local people during the ships’ visit. Cook traveled to the nearby village to demand the return of the clothing. While he was there, Cook saw one of the sows they had left behind in June, “lame in one of its hind legs otherwise in good case.”⁷⁴ He asked after the other animals, and was told that the boar and the other sow had been separated and taken away, and the goats had since been killed and eaten. Cook was furious: “thus all our endeavours for stocking this Country with usefull

⁷² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.279.

⁷³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.285.

⁷⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.287.

Animals are likely to be frustrated by the very people whom we meant to serve.”⁷⁵ The gardens, however, “had faired some thing better, every thing in them excepting the Potatoes, they had left intirely to nature who had acted her part so well that we found most articles in a flourishing state, the Potatoes they had dug up, some few, however remained and were growing.”⁷⁶

Cook’s comments on the “frustrations” of attempting to stock New Zealand with animals display a certain ambivalence. On one hand, he stated that the animals and gardens were meant to “serve” the Maori, and to be of use to them. On the other, he clearly disapproved of the use which they had made of the pigs and goats. It is unclear whether Cook intended to give these animals into the custody of the Maori at Queen Charlotte Sound for their own use, or for safekeeping until the return of the ships. The issue is further complicated by the contradictory statements in Cook’s journals. He initially made much of the need for secrecy, suggesting that the animals’ lives depended on their escaping Maori notice, but on his subsequent returns to the area explicitly asked after the animals’ welfare. The answers he received made him increasingly critical of “the Natives” and their “wandering way of life.”⁷⁷ Not to be deterred, he left another pair of pigs and some chickens with the group who had the sow, since they “seemed as if they would take proper care of them.”⁷⁸ He left another group of pigs and chickens, with “as much food as would serve them a week or ten days,” in the woods near the place he called West Bay: “This I did in order to keep them in the woods, least they should come down

⁷⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.287.

⁷⁶ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.287.

⁷⁷ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.291.

⁷⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.291.

to the shore in search of food and be discovered by the natives.”⁷⁹ Curiously, in the Douglas edition, this incident is downplayed. Cook in this version states only that the original three pigs were still living, and that it would be “unfortunate, indeed, if every method I have taken, to provide this country with useful animals, should be frustrated.”⁸⁰

Cook returned again to Queen Charlotte Sound late in October of 1774; his journals record much interest in the results of his second effort to stock the country with food animals. An officer “found in the Woods not far from our tents a fresh hens egg,” which Cook considered “a proof that the Poultry we left here are living, [though] the Natives tell us that they lost those I gave them in the Woods.”⁸¹ The next day, he recorded that the botanists, on a visit to Long Island, had glimpsed “a Hog, a boar as they judged, so wild that it took to the woods as soon as it saw them.” In contrast to his previous anguish at the hogs’ running wild after the Europeans’ departure, Cook this time interpreted this as a positive sign: “Sence the Natives did not distroy these Hogs when in their posession, we cannot suppose they will attempt it now, so that there is little fear but that this Country will soon be stocked with these Animals, both in a wild and domistick state.” Furthermore, he added, “I am in doubt that the goats I put ashore are killed, for if they killed the goats why should they not the hogs also.”⁸² This passage indicates an element of admission on Cook’s part of his ignorance of Maori approaches to food cultivation. Whereas before he felt certain that if the Queen Charlotte Sound Maori were simply provided with the items they lacked, they would adopt the correct

⁷⁹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.291.

⁸⁰ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol.4, p.240.

⁸¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.573.

⁸² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.573.

techniques and begin to raise animals for their own and the Europeans' benefit, here he indicates his lack of understanding and his frustration with trying to comprehend "Indian" ways. Cook reacted by attempting to take an even more assertive role in "stocking the Country." Later that week, he "Went over to Long Island to look for the Hog which had been seen there," and was disappointed to find it was "one of the Sows Captain Furneaux left behind the same as was in the possession of the Natives when we were last here. From a Supposition of its being a boar I had carri'd over a Sow to leave with him but brought her back when I found the Contrary ... as the leaving her there would have answered no end."⁸³ Undaunted, Cook tried again two days later to instigate the propagation of pigs:

After breakfast I took a number of hands over to long island in order to catch the Sow, to put her to the boar and remove her to some other place, but we returned without seeing her; some of the Natives had been there not long before us, as their fires were yet burning; they undoubtedly had taken her a way.⁸⁴

To Cook's ultimate satisfaction, one would suppose, his effort to stock New Zealand with pigs was eventually successful, and New Zealand's wild pigs are colloquially known as "[Captain] Cookers."⁸⁵

Cook's discussions of provisioning in New Zealand reveal a great deal about what led him to favour a people, as well as the limits of that favouritism. Cook's preference for the Maori was based on his perception of them as "Manly and Mild" and his affinity

⁸³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.575. The last portion of the text appears in note 2.

⁸⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.577.

⁸⁵ Burkhardt, McLean, and Kochanek, Sailors and Sauerkraut, p.99; Crosby, Ecological Imperialism, p.230. Interestingly, Sahlins, in his protracted argument that Cook was received at Hawai'i as the Makahiki god Lono and was killed as a result of his return out of sync with the ritual calendar, points out that Lono sometimes manifested as a sweet potato or a pig. See Sahlins, How "Natives" Think, pp.123,172.

for the physical geography of their land, which resembled his own England but was, better yet, “empty.” In response, he decided to give them the gift of European knowledge, expecting that they should know what to do with it. Cook constructed himself as an agent of progress in his accounts of his efforts to bring European-style agriculture and animal husbandry to the Maori. He presented himself as knowledgeable and civilized in comparison with Maori, much as he did with his own seamen; his benevolent, paternal approach to their “improvement” similarly conveys his assertion of his manly identity through an assumption of authority over his “inferiors.” Cook’s ultimate disappointment resulted from the inconsistencies in his attempts to change Maori ways. Maori methods of cultivation were based in equally complex understandings about the best way to grow food; although they may not have seemed as effective to the English sailors, Maori food technology certainly provided adequately for local populations, with enough surplus to allow for trade to the foreign visitors. That the visiting Englishmen chose to make “gardens,” cultivating vegetables and grains in a systematic and organized plot, is further indicative of their desire to impose order on the wilderness, which, in this case, was not necessarily that wild. As George Seddon has stated, “Gardens are statements -- or ‘signs’ in semiotic terminology -- and in any case, the carriers of meaning.”⁸⁶ Gardens here symbolize a European attempt to realize the potential glimpsed in a “discovered” land; the failure of this attempt is symbolized by the gardens’ return to “nature” after the plots are left uncultivated in the European style by the Maori. This in turn expresses and reinforces the closeness of the Maori, “civilized Indians,” to nature, and to the need for European stewardship. As the garden could be improved by tending, so could the people.

⁸⁶ George Seddon, “Making: creating gardens and the evolution of styles,” Landprints: Reflections on Place and Landscape (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.145.

Chapter 4: “The meat of meaning” on the Second Voyage¹

As I argued in the previous chapter, Cook’s vision of New Zealand’s potential value, and of himself as an agent of civilization, led him to attempt to “Stock the Country” with English vegetables and domesticated food animals. His admiration of the landscape, which reminded him of England, and his esteem for the “Manly and Mild” Maori, whose “relative” honesty, bravery, and chastity he praised, prompted him to take actions intended to “improve” the “empty” terrain of Queen Charlotte Sound and the “wandering” lives of the local people, actions which were also intended to improve the diet of visiting European sailors. New Zealand was the only place Cook visited on his second voyage at which he engaged in an effort to create vegetable gardens. Learning from his experiences with the Maori, though, he did attempt to release domesticated animals on other Pacific islands. A close reading of the Cook journals shows a definite pattern to these animal releases. They were not merely related to the length of stay, the future of British colonization in the area, or the health of the sailors at the time, although these were undeniably contributing factors. The populations which received pigs and other animals from Cook during the second voyage were generally those with whom he had established some kind of rapport and for whom he held some kind of respect or

¹ This phrase is borrowed from the Australian geologist and literary scholar George Seddon. See “Words and weeds: some notes on language and landscape,” Landprints, p.15.

admiration. They also almost always lacked domestic animals of their own. Animals and their meat carried a set of significances for Cook and his men that shed light on the interconnections they perceived between subsistence methods, race, appropriate masculinity, and the complex relations of class. By examining the passages in Cook's journals which deal with meat, both on ship and on shore, much becomes clear about social relations in late eighteenth-century England, and about racial categorization in Cook's South Pacific.

For a variety of reasons, some of which have been discussed in Chapter 2, meat is a food source particularly rich in cultural and moral meanings. First of all, meat was a food assigned high priority in Europe. Meat's high price made it a luxury item, more frequently consumed by the upper classes. Therefore, the majority of the officers had likely become accustomed from a young age to seeing it at table, while the men had not. Although Cook did not himself make such connections between meat-eating and the gentry in his journals, his lieutenant, Charles Clerke, did. Clerke's account of Dusky Bay includes a description of his participation in a hunting party "that in a days shooting kill'd 41 Ducks and Curlews and did not deem it an extraordinary days sport."² Clerke went on to describe the availability of seals in Dusky Bay as well, noting that "some part [sic] of the Body properly manag'd make Steaks very little inferior (some of our Gentry sware, far superior) to Beefsteaks."³ This explicit connection between high social standing and familiarity with meat seems to prove the point that many of the ships' men -- "the people" -- may have been unaccustomed to the regular consumption of fresh meat. This domestic distinction was certainly perpetuated aboard the ships. The men of

² Clerke, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.755-756.

³ Clerke, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.756.

Cook's ships, "[a]t sea or on shore," lived in "a tightly ordered, hierarchical society, where the quality of access to food, grog, clothes, accommodation and leisure depended on social class and rank."⁴ George Forster notes that the officers and supernumeraries had a "little store of provisions which had supplied their table with variety in preference to that of the common sailor," and suggests that they had more access to fresh meat gained from the livestock on board the ships.⁵ During the second Antarctic cruise, however, these stores became depleted, bringing the gentlemen's diet "nearly upon a level" with that of the people; Forster claimed this insufficient diet, particularly the "noxious effects of salted meat," put "the officers and passengers ... under several difficulties which did not exist before." He considered the people, on the other hand, to be exempt from the hardships of such deprivation, as they "were inured to that way of life from constant habit almost from their infancy."⁶ This was a fairly common view among the upper classes, as Mennell notes: "differences in the digestive powers of various social classes were generally taken for granted, and it was accepted that the lower orders were capable in times of dearth of surviving on coarse foods which their superiors could not eat."⁷ Perhaps because of his more complicated class position and responsibilities, Cook himself was fairly quiet about the classed connotations of meat. However, there is no reason to assume that he had a different perspective.

Nutritionally, meat was associated with health, wealth, and masculinity; foods rich in "blood and spirits" were thought to fuel the (male) body most effectively. To

⁴ Salmond, Two Worlds, p.107.

⁵ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.284.

⁶ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.284.

⁷ Mennell, All Manners of Food, p.26.

some scholars' minds, however, the importance of meat in European cookery of this period has been overplayed. According to Fink, "One of the most persistent myths in culinary history is that prior to the Enlightenment, vegetables and greens, except for an occasional root here and there, enjoyed no favor and elicited little interest." She claims instead that "from the early seventeenth century on, use of nonanimal foodstuffs was on the increase, and kitchen gardens (many of them experimental) blossomed."⁸ This view gains contemporary support from the dietary recommendations of Cheyne and Buchan, among others, as well as from some modern scholars' observation that dietary changes resulting from colonialism included long-term grain transfer. Thus "the standard diet in Europe became increasingly vegetarian with the advent of many cereal crops brought from the New World."⁹ However, the effects of an increased variety of available cereals would likely have been felt in the two centuries before Cook's time; furthermore, as Mennell notes in All Manners of Food, Europeans' meat consumption decreased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and was on the rise in the eighteenth.¹⁰

Significantly, though, Fink's comments are supported by evidence drawn from France. By the late eighteenth century, "England had more domestic beasts per acre and per person than any country in Europe except the Netherlands and a longstanding reputation for meat consumption."¹¹ English cookery of this period, often depicted in deliberate contrast to French cookery by both English and French patriots, concentrated

⁸ Fink, "Foreword," pp.2-3.

⁹ Mennell, Murcott, and van Otterloo, The Sociology of Food, p.76.

¹⁰ Mennell, All Manners of Food, p.25. A similar argument is made in Knapp, "The Democratization of Meat."

¹¹ Patrick K. O'Brian, "Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution," Economic History Review, No.30 (1977), p.169.

on plain foods, prepared in a manner which would make recognizable their prior form even as they reached the table: roasts or joints of meat, boiled vegetables, bread.¹² Food consumption in England had a distinctive class component; perhaps confirming Fink's observation, despite the overall increase in its consumption during the century, meat was less available to the lower classes during the eighteenth century than before. This resulted from changes in land use which restricted peasants' access to land in favour of farmed animals, especially sheep.¹³ It should be noted, though, that the period of Cook's voyages is the very one in which such change began to manifest itself noticeably. In addition, as Mennell has argued, "the social forces which shape the taste of one generation are themselves the product of long-term processes of social development running back many generations."¹⁴ Regardless of the fluctuations in meat consumption in this period, young working-class sailors would likely have been accustomed to a grain-based diet augmented with dairy products and preserved meats, usually bacon, when available. Twentieth-century observers have tended to characterize this type of diet as "lacking" in protein, constituting "deprivation" for those who practised it.¹⁵ Certainly this was a

¹² See Mennell, All Manners of Food, chapter 5; Lehmann, "Politics in the Kitchen," p.75 and passim.

¹³ See Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, chapter 7. See also Mennell, All Manners of Food, p.219, and Worster, Nature's Economy, pp.13-14.

¹⁴ Mennell, All Manners of Food, p.15.

¹⁵ For examples of this tendency, see Knapp, "The Democratization of Meat," p.541 and passim. I am not suggesting that it was impossible that "many artisans, factory workers, and peasants in Europe" (550) suffered as a result of protein deprivation; if Knapp is correct in asserting that a "nutritional revolution" did occur in Europe during this period, then a period of malnutrition among the poor as eating patterns changed is likely. However, Knapp accords the greatest nutritional importance to meat and seems to forget that, according to current understanding, the amino acids which are essential for human nourishment are fairly easy to obtain from vegetable sources in combination, a fact of which "traditional peasant" cuisines have always been conscious. Knapp's decision to place the emphasis on meat should be regarded as just that, and indicates both his American origins and his particular choices of food.

view held by some eighteenth-century observers as well.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is important to reiterate that scientific “fact” is both a cultural product and one which is understood through a society’s discursive matrix. What constitutes a healthy diet was as contested in the 1770s as it is in the first decade of the twenty-first century, or at any point in between. Although Cook remained quiet about meat’s classed connotations, as the man responsible for the care and feeding of two ships, he nevertheless took a clear position in his contemporaries’ debates over appropriate levels of meat-eating; he attempted to enforce those standards, not only on the men in his care but also on the “natives” he met. It is imperative that we remain conscious of meat’s cultural meanings in order that meat’s adventures on the Cook voyages are not simply subsumed into the category of “correct” nutrition.

In addition to its scarcity, meat carries other symbolic valences. To some, meat-eating signifies human mastery over the animal world. According to Fiddes, meat’s ultimate value is derived from its “symbolic importance as a tangible representation of human control of, and superiority over, nature.”¹⁷ As was shown in Chapter 3, the ordering or mastering of “nature” was an important component in the psyches of Cook and his men and would have come with them from Europe; due to the character of sea-based exploration, though, Europeans’ mastery over nature took on a slightly different form than it may have done for other, land-based explorers, who frequently saw

¹⁶ In 1787, Anglican cleric David Davies studied the eating habits of six Berkshire families and was alarmed by their minimal meat consumption. See Knapp, “The Democratization of Meat,” pp.543-544.

¹⁷ Fiddes, Meat, p.6, ch.2, and passim.

themselves “mastering” the land by hunting local animals.¹⁸ Cook’s contact with Pacific islands was mainly restricted to their coasts, unless he was accompanied by their inhabitants. His crews thus hunted less frequently than did land-based exploration teams, or even other seafarers.¹⁹ This is not to suggest that “meat” and “hunting” are synonymous; it is, however, important to note that in the late eighteenth century, even urban humans were much closer to the living source of their protein than they are now. As such, it is difficult to separate conceptions of meat from their animal sources. Furthermore, as Fiddes points out, it is difficult to do so even now. Cook’s approach to meat acquisition was a very domestic one, involving animals familiar to Europeans which were cultivated by humans rather than wild ones which had to be stalked and captured. The ability to raise animals was a significant factor in his assessment of native peoples and their worth, and he was willing to take interventionary steps to direct “good” natives in the raising of pigs, goats, and fowls. Places which were “wild,” either in human or animal form, were of limited interest, if not repellent, to Cook, who highly valued the known, the domesticated, and the organized.

¹⁸ For some discussion of the cultural meanings of hunting, see William Beinart, “Empire, Hunting, and Ecological Change,” Past & Present 128 (1990), pp. 165-167; Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996); and Elizabeth Vibert, “Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders’ Narratives,” Gender and History, Vol.8 No.1 (April 1996), pp.4-21, and Traders’ Tales, chapters 6 and 7 in particular.

¹⁹ See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.120-121, 596, and 623. See also Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, p.128.

Forms of Meat

As I noted in Chapter 2, the circumstances under which a voyage of exploration was conducted severely limited access to fresh food. For this reason, as well as the high value European cultures placed on it, Cook eagerly sought fresh meat for the men of his ships. Bullocks were purchased at both stops in the Cape Verde Islands and slaughtered immediately so that “the Sloops were supply’d with fresh Beef and Onions.”²⁰ Although early in the *Endeavour*’s voyage, two sailors were flogged for “mutiny” for refusing their portion of fresh beef,²¹ the journals give the overall impression that the majority of the men desired fresh meat far more often than it was served. This may, however, be a result of the overwhelming class bias of the journals; all the journals considered in this study were written by officers and supernumeraries. In any case, the lack of fresh food combined with their distance from Europe led many of the men, including Cook himself, to relax some cultural restrictions and sample a wide variety of animal meats. Over the course of the three voyages, the men, officers in particular, tried meat from a number of different sources. Some were “wild” meats, gained from animals which the men hunted. Hunting was a common way for sailors to diversify their diets. Although Rediker ties this practice explicitly to the class issue, regarding it as a way for seamen “to supplement ... the living wage with extra food procured by fishing and hunting,”²² on Cook’s voyage such activities were generally considered “sport,” and were thus controlled and directed by officers. Cook assigned groups of men to fish when

²⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.21.

²¹ See Beaglehole, Journals I. This incident is also discussed in Hough, Captain James Cook, p.76.

²² Rediker, Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea, p.128.

it was not possible or practical to obtain fish through trade with local people, and hunting parties were the near-exclusive preserve of the gentlemen.²³ One novel meat consumed on the voyages was seal, which, as noted earlier, Clerke opined was “very little inferior to Beefsteaks.”²⁴ They also ate penguins, “whose flesh eat nearly as well as bullocks liver,” according to Cook.²⁵ Fish was the source of a few unpleasant experiences for the men. Cook seemed frequently to dislike the method of preservation which Pacific islanders used to store fish, and described the fish he obtained by trade in both New Zealand and New Caledonia as “stinking.”²⁶ Off the coast of Malekula, the ships caught “two Red fish about the size of large Bream,” which made a meal for “Most of the officers and Some of the Petty officers.”²⁷ By evening, everyone who had eaten the fish, including “Dogs and Hogs,” was violently ill; a hog and a young dog died the next day from the effects of the poison.²⁸ Cook and the Forsters poisoned themselves again about six weeks later eating toadfish at New Caledonia. Nevertheless, fish occupies very little of the considerable space devoted to food in the Cook journals. Far more attention was given to the procuring of meat. As the previous section suggests, much of this emphasis was on domesticated animals, usually pigs; the significance of pigs for Cook and his men will be further discussed below. Fowls were also available at Tahiti and some of the other

²³ See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.120-121.

²⁴ Clerke, in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.756.

²⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.623.

²⁶ Beaglehole, Journals I, p.174, and Journals II, p.529.

²⁷ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.469.

²⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.469-470.

islands, and during the second voyage were carried aboard the *Resolution* and *Adventure*. However, fowls, like fish, seem to have been considered less important than “bloodier” animals. Since they were carried aboard ship, poultry may have been easier for the men to obtain; also, fowls were less efficient to keep, as they consume large amounts of feed and produce a relatively low yield of meat per bird. In any case, fowls, though present, were mentioned less frequently and with less enthusiasm than animals which bore “red” meat.

At times, the desire for meat led Cook and the men to cross key social boundaries. One of the most important restrictions in European meat-eating culture is the prohibition against eating animals that have died of natural causes, rather than having been killed by humans. This prohibition extends to the flesh of animals who scavenge and eat carrion.²⁹ As the ships headed southeast from the Cape of Good Hope, they began to meet storms. On December 8, 1772, Cook recorded that “the Sea runs very high, this together with the Weather which we think very cold, makes great destruction among our Hogs, Sheep and Poultry, not a night passes without some dying.” He goes on to say that “with us, however, they are not wholly lost for we eat them notwithstanding.”³⁰ Notably, the latter comment is omitted from the Douglas edition. Douglas presented the situation thus: “But the greatest misfortune that attended us, was the loss of great part of our livestock; which we had brought from the Cape, and which consisted of sheep, hogs, and geese.”³¹ By removing the reference to Cook’s instructing the men to eat the corpses of

²⁹ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, p.54; Julia Twigg, “Vegetarianism and the Meanings of Meat,” in Anne Murcott, ed., The Sociology of Food and Eating: Essays on the sociological significance of food (Aldershot, Hants, England: Gower, 1983), pp.20-21.

³⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.56.

³¹ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol.4, p.20.

the livestock, Douglas conveys some of the boundaries of respectability and acceptable behaviour for Europeans, at home and abroad. Moreover, this information may have been excised on class grounds. According to Thompson, the “town meat” available to working-class people was often thought to be “diseased” or dead of something other than the butcher’s knife.³² Dr. Buchan instructed his readers that “Diseased animals, and such as die of themselves, ought never to be eaten. It is a common practice, however, in some grasing countries, for servants and poor people to eat such animals that die of any disease, or are killed by accident.”³³ No doubt this was an association that Douglas would not have liked his readers to make.

Some boundaries could respectably be crossed, though, as the men’s experiments with dog meat illustrate. Although in Britain dogs were generally regarded as inedible by humans,³⁴ they were habitually eaten in some Pacific islands, including Tahiti. Some of *Endeavour*’s men, including Cook, tried dog meat on their first visit. In late June 1769, Purea, a politically powerful woman the Europeans called “Queen Oberea,” made the officers a gift of “a Hog a Dog Some Bread fruit & Plantains.” Cook and his men at first refused the dog “as being an animal we had no use for, at which she seem’d a little surprised and told us it was very good eating.”³⁵ Joseph Banks had been given a basket which contained a roasted dog’s thigh, which the Englishmen then sampled “and found

³² Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, pp.316-317.

³³ Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, p.68.

³⁴ See Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*; Twigg, “Vegetarianism and the Meanings of Meat.” Vibert discusses the objection to eating dog flesh among nineteenth-century Columbia Plateau fur traders in *Traders’ Tales*, p.117.

³⁵ Beaglehole, *Journals I*, p.102.

that it was meat not to be despise'd."³⁶ The officers decided to have the gift dog cooked for them by some local people. Although a number of the men were a bit squeamish, Cook recorded that most who tried it, himself included, liked it: "it was the opinion of every one who taisted of it that they Never eat sweeter meat, we therefore resolved for the future not to despise Dogs flesh."³⁷ Contrary to Cook's statement, though, not everyone was so pleased. According to Sydney Parkinson, one of the ship's artists, few men even tried the meat, and only Cook, Banks, and Solander enjoyed it. Parkinson himself felt "it had the taste of coarse beef, and a strong disagreeable smell," and concluded that "the rest of our people could not be prevailed upon to ate any of it."³⁸

The consumption of dog meat points to an interesting issue in animal-human relations and the consumption of meat. William Beinart has argued that

All societies have complex and changing classificatory maps of the animals among which they exist: what is wild, what domestic and what a pet; what to be slaughtered for protection and what to be preserved; what to be eaten and what taboo; how different animals are to be anthropomorphized.³⁹

The contours of these maps may change according to the context in which their bearers find themselves.⁴⁰ As Cook's initial rejection of Purea's gift suggests, the dog, to European eyes, was a working animal or a pet. Dogs, along with cats and other carnivorous animals, were not considered appropriate food for humans: not only was

³⁶ Beaglehole, Journals I, p.103.

³⁷ Beaglehole, Journals I, p.103.

³⁸ Sydney Parkinson, A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas (London: Caliban Books, 1984), p.20.

³⁹ Beinart, "Empire, Hunting, and Ecological Change," p.175.

⁴⁰ Beinart, "Empire, Hunting, and Ecological Change." See also Thomas, Man and the Natural World, Vibert, Traders' Tales, and Worster, Nature's Economy.

carnivores' flesh presumed to be unhealthy, since they fed on other animals which might carry disease or poison, but it was also symbolically dangerous, too close to the boundary which separated "human" from "animal" qualities.⁴¹ As such, it was not to be eaten: "It was not because of their taste, but because of their close relationship to human society that such animals were not consumed."⁴² This trespass, however, is somewhat mitigated by the fact that these are anonymous "native" dogs rather than dogs of a designated breed recognizable to Europeans. As Thomas notes, "Dogs differed in status because their owners did."⁴³ When the dogs' lack of status is combined with the distance of the men from Europe, the decision to eat dogflesh becomes exotic in Rousseau and Porter's sense of the term;⁴⁴ it was titillating rather than shocking, made innocuous by the other "savage" customs of the Tahitians and the persistent rumours of cannibalism among Polynesians. Still, it is worth noting that throughout the voyage of the *Resolution* and *Adventure*, the crews did not generally choose dog over other available meats, even those which were less than fresh.

When the crew members did eat dogflesh, it was often out of a sense of adventure rather than acceptance. John Elliott, Midshipman on the *Resolution*, recorded in his *Memoirs* (1813) that he and some of his messmates ate dog at Raiatea in September 1773, "tho there was actually plenty of Fresh Pork on the table ... merely from curiosity, and

⁴¹ See Thomas, Man and the Natural World, p.115; Twigg, "Vegetarianism and the Meanings of Meat," pp.21-22; Guerrini, "A Diet for a Sensitive Soul."

⁴² Thomas, Man and the Natural World, p.115.

⁴³ Thomas, Man and the Natural World, p. 105.

⁴⁴ Rousseau and Porter, "Approaching Enlightenment exoticism," p.4.

to say that we had eat dog.”⁴⁵ As a kind of justification, he added that “upon the same principle I have heard Capt. Cook declare that he would taste anything which the Natives might present to him for that purpose, for by such means he gained their confidence and friendship.”⁴⁶ If a more general taste for dogflesh developed on the second voyage, though, particularly one which carried over to meat consumption on the ships themselves, then Cook did not record it. Nor did any of the officers. This does not reflect a general absence of dogs from the journals; dogs in fact feature rather prominently, as they were frequently presented to peoples with whom Cook had formed some connection. Instead, dogs were eaten when meat was deemed necessary, but was unavailable in forms more acceptable to Europeans. This argument is corroborated by the circumstances surrounding Cook’s illness and recovery in February 1774, as the *Resolution* made its course toward Easter Island.

As I discussed in Chapter 2, Cook experienced a few episodes of illness during the second voyage. This was the most serious. Cook was bedridden for several days with “the Billious colick,”⁴⁷ which James Watt argues was actually “a heavy round-worm infestation of the intestine” resulting from Cook’s being “anything but fastidious about eating native foods.”⁴⁸ Watt’s decision to blame “native foods” for Cook’s illness is rather curious, not least because Watt explicitly notes elsewhere in his article the potential

⁴⁵ The Memoirs of John Elliott, p.20.

⁴⁶ The Memoirs of John Elliott, p.20. This again evokes Pratt’s discussion of reciprocity, Imperial Eyes, pp.78-85.

⁴⁷ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.333.

⁴⁸ Watt, “Medical Aspects and Consequences,” pp. 5-6.

for food-borne illness within the ships' own stores.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Cook's own description of his recovery suggests that to his mind, far from being the cause of his sickness, "eating native" actually facilitated the cure:

When I began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to M^r Forster fell a Sacrifice to my tender Stomack; we had no other fresh meat whatever on board and I could eat of this flesh as well as broth made of it, when I could taste nothing else, thus I received nourishment and strength from food which would have made most people in Europe sick, so true is it that necessity is govern'd by no law.⁵⁰

This incident illustrates perhaps one of the most important points about Cook's treatment of animals in the journals. These journals, read against one another, those of the officers, and secondary material, display the complexity and shifting nature of Cook's "classificatory map." All animals, including human beings, held specific places on the map depending on their behaviour and Cook's perception of his relationship to them at a given time. The dog belonged to J.R. Forster. Although Cook describes it as J.R.'s "favourite," according to George's account its owner sacrificed it willingly to the captain's "tender Stomack":

My father ordered his Tahitian dog, the only one which still remained alive after our departure from the Friendly Islands, to be killed; it was cut into quarters, which were served up to captain Cook during several days, and gave him some nourishment, as he could not venture to taste the ship's provisions. By such small helps we succeeded in preserving a life upon which the success of the voyage in a great measure depended.⁵¹

The veracity of this account, as with all journals, is indeterminate. J.R. Forster's troubled

⁴⁹ See Watt, "Medical Aspects and Consequences," pp.3-4, 7, 19-23. Watt also calls attention to the heavy alcohol consumption aboard the ship, which he claims contributed to the deaths of several of *Endeavour's* men. See pp.16-18.

⁵⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.333-334.

⁵¹ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, pp.325-326.

relationship with Cook has been well-documented, and George's preface to A Voyage Round the World indicates that he had his own differences with the captain, at least some of which were rooted in perceived slights to George's father.⁵² It is also unclear whether J.R. Forster considered this dog a pet or a biological specimen. Cook's comments suggest that the animal was a pet, which should have raised its status to match that of its gentleman owner; however, six months earlier Forster gave his "spaniel, a fine dog, but in very bad order at that time" to the Tahitian "king" Tu, who had taken a liking to the animal.⁵³ Furthermore, even if Forster had formed an emotional attachment to this dog, comments in the officers' journals indicate that its Polynesian origins would have diminished its overall status. Animals were effectively racialized to match the humans who raised them. Clerke, for example, makes mention of a "New Zealand dog" which ate the remains of some other dogs, cheerfully noting that the animal had learned its cannibal behaviour from its former masters.

Nevertheless, Cook's willingness to eat a dog, and one whose master was European and of high status, indicates the perceived importance of meat to man's health. Cook is careful to explain his consumption of Forster's dog as the product of "necessity." Still, unlike the consumption of the sick hogs, this transgression of European dietary codes was not grave enough for Cook's editor to obscure. Since this passage appears verbatim in Douglas, it clearly could be shared with the public without detriment to Cook's status.

⁵² Forster, A Voyage Round the World, pp.5-12. See also Thomas and Berghof, "Introduction," pp. xxii-xxix.

⁵³ Forster, A Voyage Round the World, p.183.

Great Expectations: The Price of Pork

As we have seen, ships carried large amounts of preserved food on voyages of exploration. Although Carpenter claims that Cook's ships were "victualed on a lavish scale for the period,⁵⁴ naval provisions nevertheless tended to spoil quickly or became otherwise unappetizing. Combined with limited space and the threat of nutritional-deficiency diseases like scurvy, the poor quality of shipboard fare made it imperative that the vessels trade for fruit, vegetables, and if possible fresh meat on arrival. Swine thus received special attention in the Cook journals, on ship and on shore. The emphasis on pigs as opposed to other meat animals may have been purely instrumental. Pigs, no doubt, were the easiest source of red meat while aboard ship. Although Cook did purchase cows when they were available, usually en route from or to Europe, they were usually slaughtered and fed to the men soon after purchase.⁵⁵ Pigs were easier to feed and care for than cows, and yielded more meat than a fowl. They had a number of advantages for Europeans outside Europe, which William Cronon has enumerated for New England:

Hogs had the great virtues of reproducing themselves in large numbers and -- like goats -- of being willing to eat virtually anything. Moreover, in contrast to most other English animals, they were generally able to hold their own against wolves and bears, so that they could be turned out into the woods for months at a time to fend for themselves almost as wild animals. They required almost no attention until the fall slaughter, when ... they could be recaptured, butchered, and used for winter meat

⁵⁴ Carpenter, History of Scurvy, p.77.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Beaglehole, Journals II, p.21.

supplies.⁵⁶

The *Resolution* and *Adventure*'s supplies of pigs, goats, and chickens must have been similarly useful. These animals could be fed a variety of foods, provide desirable meals for the men, and bring European-style agriculture to the Pacific Islands. The latter concern may have been especially powerful. Alfred Crosby has noted that "Pigs were the favorite choice of explorers, pirates, whalers, and sealers for 'seeding' remote islands to assure a supply of meat on the hoof for the next set of transient Europeans or Neo-Europeans to come along."⁵⁷ As we have seen, since Maori in the Queen Charlotte Sound area did not practice animal husbandry in the same manner that Europeans did, the pigs which Cook released had to be able to survive on their own in the woods. Cook was not only aware of this, but his comments indicate that he counted on it. However, Cook traded to obtain pigs far more frequently than he gave them away.

Cook's methods of dealing with food trade indicate which items he gave priority as well as his attitude toward Pacific islanders and their economies. The passages which approach food trade convey a sense of entitlement on Cook's part. He seemed to expect that food could be obtained cheaply from "natives," and that other items, such as fresh water, firewood, and grass, could simply be absorbed by the ship. He appeared to have little or no concern for the stress on native supplies and economies caused by the arrival of European ships and their expectation that native populations would support them. Indeed, once British claim had been laid to a place such as Tahiti and an habitual stop,

⁵⁶ William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), p.129. Cronon discusses the ecological difficulties which accompanied the cultivation of hogs and other domesticated European livestock in colonial New England on pp.129-143.

⁵⁷ Crosby, Ecological Imperialism, p.175.

such as Matavai Bay, established, Cook had high expectations of the “quality” of provisions to be offered for trade throughout the island. His journals reveal his irritation when Tahitian traders fell short of his expectations:

The Natives crowded about us as yesterday with fruits &c³ but in no great quantity. I also had a party tradeing on shore under the Protection of a Guard, nothing however but fruit and roots were offered to us tho many Hogs were seen (as I was told) about the Habitations of the natives, the cry was they all belonged to *Oheatooa* the Arree dehi or King and him we could not see nor any other chief of note ...⁵⁸

Cook seemed to believe that he and his crew were entitled to food of the best quality, as he defined it, from “Indians” everywhere. This belief was shared by many of his officers, as we shall soon see. The “fruit and roots” Cook disparages in this passage probably did more than the designated antiscorbutic remedies to preserve the crew's health. Although Cook was almost certainly unaware that sauerkraut and malt wort were less effective than the greens and fruits the men gathered on shore and received in trade, frequent port stops for fresh food were still an integral part of his scurvy prevention program.⁵⁹ Cook even acknowledged this in his journal, noting that “the fruits we got here [in Tahiti] contributed greatly toward the recovery of the Adventures Sick many of whom were so weak when we put in as to not be able to get on deck without assistance.”⁶⁰ Cook’s enthusiasm for vegetable antiscorbutics was well known, and he made no secret of his opinion that flour

⁵⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.201.

⁵⁹ See Carpenter, History of Scurvy; Cuppage, “Scurvy's Conquest”; Watt, “Medical Aspects and Consequences.”

⁶⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.205.

and fruit were “more wholesom and nourishing” for seamen than salt beef.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the journals indicate that a great deal more energy went into trading for fresh meat, which generally took the form of a pig, than fruit and vegetables. Why this was so is an interesting area for exploration.

As social anthropologist Nick Fiddes has noted, “any study of food habits must recognise that food selection is imbued with social rules and meaning, and it is clear from the extent of its association with cultural rituals, both religious and secular, that meat is a medium particularly rich in social meaning.”⁶² Meat was a preferred item on the voyage. That Cook went out of his way to make remarks when sailors refused meat, or ate less of it than the Navy Victualing Board expected, only serves to illustrate the perceived importance of meat in a sailor’s diet.⁶³ As has been previously mentioned, however, the quality of provisions carried aboard ships was often dubious, and meat was no less susceptible to deterioration than biscuits or vegetables. The *Resolution* and *Adventure* together were stocked with about ninety-six tons of meat, mostly salt beef and pork; the only food carried in larger quantity was biscuit, of which the ships carried approximately ninety-nine tons.⁶⁴ After months at sea, salt meat turned greenish and slimy and sometimes had to be towed behind the ship for a day or two to be freshened up.⁶⁵ Both

⁶¹ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, pp.649-650. Cook petitioned the Admiralty to substitute a portion of ships’ salt beef allowance for more than three months’ worth of flour and dried fruit rations. According to Beaglehole, this passage was excised from the published edition lest it encourage “any public criticism, even implied, of naval practice.” See p.650, note 1.

⁶² Fiddes, *Meat*, p.5.

⁶³ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, pp.649-650.

⁶⁴ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.13.

⁶⁵ Burkhardt, McLean, and Kochanek, *Sailors and Sauerkraut*, pp.99, 103.

officers and men frequently lamented the lack of fresh meat. William Wales, senior astronomer on the *Resolution*, described his meat-hunger during a stop at the Marquesas rather vividly:

After this several [Marquesans] came near and began to barter for bread fruit which they sold us for small nails &c. when it was almost dark one of them brought us a small Pig which was bought for a broken knif -- How much I wished to see another in its Throat! may be guessed by those who have not tasted fresh meat for four or 5 Months.⁶⁶

Cook's comments on the ships' arrival at Huahine a month later echo this sentiment, although in a more understated fashion: "every thing promised us a plentiful supply of fresh pork and Fowls which to people who had been living Ten months on salt meat was no unwelcome thing."⁶⁷ Cook was willing to go to some lengths to obtain pigs for his crew, as the ships' attempts to trade for pigs in Tahiti in August 1773 indicate. Cook acknowledged in his own journal that he had difficulty obtaining pigs from the local people, but did not discuss these problems in detail. A fuller picture can be derived from the journals of some of the crew members, especially Pickersgill, who was dispatched to do much of the actual trading.

The ships arrived at Vaitepiha Bay, "in the SE end of Otaheite," in mid-August. Cook put in at Vaitepiha "in order to get what refreshment we could from that part of the Island before we went down to Matavai Bay,"⁶⁸ their habitual stop; since Vehiatua, whom they called "the King of this part of the island," had recently been victorious in a conflict with the men of Tahiti-Nui, it was thought that the ships' chances of hogs would

⁶⁶ Wales, reproduced in Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.828-829.

⁶⁷ Beaglehole, Journals II, p. 216.

⁶⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.197.

be better there.⁶⁹ During the week they stayed, fruit and root vegetables were readily available, but the local people were reluctant to sell pigs to the Europeans, saying that they all belonged to Vehiatua, although Cook rather petulantly claimed that he was “promised” hogs and fowls by “several who call’d themselves *arree’s*,”⁷⁰ or “chiefs.” Cook’s crews, even those who had not been to Tahiti before, had high expectations for the island’s meat, gained from the reports of previous travelers. Wales’s account corroborates Cook’s assertion that fruit was plentiful, but he noted that “notwithstanding all that has been said of Hogs and Poultry by former Voyagers, I have not yet seen one of either sort which they would part from.”⁷¹ On the 21st, fruit was again available, as was “another very agreeable Root which they call *Tarra*.” Still, he noted, “we have not got one Hog yet.”⁷² Both Wales and Pickersgill made daily reports in their journals on the lack of progress in the hog trade. According to Pickersgill :

We waited very impatiently for two Days without seeing either King or Hogs, but on the third he came down, the Captain waited on him with a Present, in return for which he gave two small Piggs, nor would he give leave for any more to be sold to us unless the Captain would let him have our best Boat, for which he offerd Ten Hogs; This was a mortifying Circumstance to us, and more so as we did not expect it, for its not above Seven years since, there was not a single chief on this Island that would not have walked miles to have given a Hog for an old Nail; this made us quit a place where we could not succeed by fair means to try another so accordingly we sail’d from Ohitepeah the 25th where I was left with a Boat armed to see if they would trade after the ships were gone, and to

⁶⁹ The Journal of Richard Pickersgill, pp.79-80.

⁷⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.197.

⁷¹ Wales, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.792. On the crews’ high expectations for Tahitian meat, see Cock, “Precursors of Cook,” and Hough, Captain James Cook, p.109.

⁷² Wales, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.792.

follow them to Matavie Bay.⁷³

After a demonstration firing of his musket, Pickersgill managed to negotiate a deal which better suited his concept of “fairness,” trading “8 Hogs for some axes.”⁷⁴ The Europeans fared little better at Matavai Bay, where Pickersgill on Cook’s behalf entered into two or three days of negotiations with Pohuetea, or “Po-ta-tou,” with little better results.⁷⁵

This passage gives a reasonably clear indication that the basis of this dispute was European dissatisfaction with the rising price of pork. Cook and his crew felt entitled to the fruits of “Indian” labour, which was sometimes, due to the overlay of ideas about Tahiti as a new Eden, not even regarded as “labour”⁷⁶: they expected to receive what they considered the best possible provisions for the lowest price, if not as an outright gift. Pickersgill’s characterization of this attitude as “fair” confirms that Tahitian participation in a market economy offended the Europeans. This was compounded by the fact that, since the *Endeavour*’s first stop at Matavai Bay, Cook had at times used fresh pork to reward the crew for hard labour.⁷⁷ In portraying Tahitian reluctance to trade pigs as unfair, both Cook and Pickersgill present themselves as innocent victims of Tahitian greed. The English commercial agenda is here disguised and recast as a “drama of

⁷³ The Journal of Richard Pickersgill, p.80.

⁷⁴ The Journal of Richard Pickersgill, p.80.

⁷⁵ The Journal of Richard Pickersgill, pp.80-82.

⁷⁶ See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.231, 235-236.

⁷⁷ Beaglehole, Journals I, p.82.

reciprocity.”⁷⁸

Some evidence exists to suggest that Tahiti was experiencing a domestic shortage of pigs at this time, and thus did not have any available for trade to Cook. Conversely, other scholars have argued that pigs were raised specifically for sale to European ships, although Colin Newbury has argued that this was unlikely.⁷⁹ In any case, Cook had much less difficulty purchasing pigs when he next visited Tahiti in April 1774, which suggests that restrictions on trade may indeed have resulted from local conditions.⁸⁰ However, the Tahitians could not have failed to notice the Englishmen’s preference for hogs above all other trade items. The withholding of the hogs may nevertheless have been an astute bargaining tactic on their part.

“I and my pigs”: Strange Gifts

Cook released animals into parts of New Zealand throughout the second voyage. After his first set of surreptitious gifts to Queen Charlotte Sound, he began to distribute animals, usually pigs, goats, and dogs, to other Pacific islands. Cook collected animals as the ships went along, both for the crew’s use and for distribution to other islands. Though not an Admiralty-sponsored aim of the second voyage, animal distribution was considered by many an excellent practice. George Forster remarked in the preface to his account of the Voyage Round the World:

⁷⁸ See Pratt, Imperial Eyes, p.81.

⁷⁹ Colin Newbury, Tahiti Nui: Change and Survival in French Polynesia, 1767-1945 (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), p.8.

⁸⁰ See Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.382-423.

... here I cannot but observe, that considering the small expence at which voyages of discovery were carried on, the nation which favours these enterprizes is amply repaid by the benefit derived to our fellow-creatures. I cannot help thinking that our late voyage would reflect immortal honour on our employers, if it had no other merit than stocking Taheitee with goats, the Friendly Isles and New Hebrides with dogs, and New Zealand and New Caledonia with hogs.⁸¹

Animal distribution, as Forster indicates, was regarded as a benevolent act which simultaneously served the English and helped civilize more “primitive” nations. As I have argued above, the populations which received pigs and other animals from Cook during the second voyage were generally those with whom he had established some kind of rapport and for whom he had some kind of respect or admiration. They also almost always lacked domestic animals of their own. For example, although Cook left goats and “a Stock of Catts” at Tahiti and some of the Society Islands, he did not leave hogs.⁸² Cook saw Tahiti as a place to obtain hogs rather than distribute them; he did not make a gift of hogs at Tahiti until 1777, when, perhaps motivated by competition with the Spanish, who had left some of their hogs to interbreed with Tahitian ones, “Omai was given a boar and two sows.”⁸³ The case of New Zealand has already been discussed; although Cook did distribute seeds elsewhere, no parallels exist on other islands with the attempt to create permanent gardens in New Zealand. The New Zealand situation is likely unique as a result of a combination of factors: the landscape’s resemblance to England, Cook’s affection for the Maori, the absence of indigenous animals (except birds, and rats and dogs, which Maori had brought with them), and the differences between

⁸¹ Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, p.12.

⁸² Beaglehole, *Journals II*, pp.411-412.

⁸³ Newbury, *Tahiti Nui*, p.8.

Maori and European methods of cultivation. Again, the Cook journalists also admired Tonga, citing the friendliness of its people and the comparative closeness of Tongans' customs to European ones.⁸⁴ Furthermore, Tongans clearly did not need any help in terms of agricultural cultivation, as Cook noted with delight.⁸⁵ As I have argued above, a complete reading of Cook's journals reveals his preference for the Maori and the Tongans, peoples who seemed honest and friendly, yet assertive, and capable of progress, qualities which resonated with Cook's middle-class manly ideal.

Cook's journals also reveal an affinity for New Caledonia. This is rather curious, since New Caledonians diverge physically from the type generally preferred by Europeans. Beaglehole informs the reader that the "New Caledonians are Melanesian, their closest relatives racially being the people of the northern New Hebrides, though they themselves were in some respects more primitive."⁸⁶ Beaglehole's commentary is rather dated and reveals the prejudices of an earlier generation. Nevertheless, these "racial" connections between the people of the New Hebrides and those of New Caledonia provide an interesting context to Cook's observations, illustrating the fluid nature of racial characterization in the late eighteenth century.

As Margaret Jolly has shown in her study of George Forster's writings about race, for Europeans observing Pacific peoples, "physical distinctions were closely linked to social characteristics, and these were hierarchically deployed in contrasts between those of the east (the Hawaiians, Tahitians, and Tongans) and those of the west (the New

⁸⁴ See Chapter 2, and Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. 246-247.

⁸⁵ See Chapter 3, and Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. 245-255.

⁸⁶ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.539, note 3.

Caledonians and ni-Vanuatu [the New Hebrides]).”⁸⁷ Cook held a particularly low opinion of the New Hebrides, especially the island of Malekula. He described its people as an

Apish nation, for take them in gener[a]l they are the most ugly and ill proportioned people I ever saw and in every respect different from any we had yet seen in this sea. They are rather a Diminutive Race and almost as dark as Negros, which they in some degree resemble in thier countenances, but they have not such fine features.⁸⁸

Only his descriptions of Niue and Tierra del Fuego reveal greater disapproval. The people of Malekula appear neither manly nor civilized in this passage. One reason for the harshness of Cook’s censure may have been the fact that the crews entered into a skirmish with the natives immediately following the ships’ arrival. Similar confrontations occurred at the New Hebridean islands of Eromanga and Tanna.⁸⁹ The Malekulans did not act at all as “good” natives were expected to act; instead, their behaviour was “savage.” Despite a volley of “Poisoned Arrows” and “Small Shott” flying between the Malekulan canoes and the *Resolution*, Cook prepared for a landing “in order to try to get some refreshments, for nothing of this kind had been seen in any of thier boats, and to Cut some Wood which we were in want of.”⁹⁰ This insistence on landing for supplies if at all possible, and despite the reaction of the local people, echoes Cook’s actions at Niue, which backfired on him and led him to name the island “Savage.” It also illustrates Cook’s assumption that natives were required to provide for European ships and should

⁸⁷ Jolly, “Ill-Natured Comparisons,” p.333.

⁸⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.466.

⁸⁹ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.478-479, 482-483.

⁹⁰ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.461.

be forced to do so with firepower, if other means met with resistance. The party “landed in the face of about 4 or 500 Men who were assembled on the shore, arm’d with Bows and Arrows, Clubs and Spears,” but to Cook’s relief, “they made not the least opposition,” with one man instead making a show of peace.⁹¹ Still, the Malekulans displayed behaviour which to Cook and his company indicated savagery. They presented Cook with a “small Pigg,” for which he “gave the bearer a Piece of Cloth,” but this opened neither a trade in “refreshments” nor in European goods:

... this Pig came on some other account probable as a peace offering, for all that we could say or do did not prevail upon them to bring us above half a Dozen small Cooanuttts and a small quantity of fresh water. They set no sort of Value upon Nails nor did they seem much to esteem any thing we had, they would now and then give an arrow for a Piece of Cloth but constantly refused to part with their bows...⁹²

Furthermore, “they were unwilling we should go into the Country and were very desirous for us to go on board, we understood not a word they said, they are quite different to all we have yet seen and speak a different language, they are almost black or rather a dark Chocolate Colour, slenderly made, not tall, have Monkey faces and Woolly hair.”⁹³ The structure of this passage is highly indicative of some of the ways in which European moral judgements of native peoples were constructed. By first describing the Malekulans’ refusal to cooperate with the Europeans, their distrust and unwelcoming behaviour, and following it with a clause describing their ‘unintelligible’ (to Englishmen) language and “Monkey faces,” Cook draws a clear parallel between actions and appearances. He does not have to directly state that blackness and badness are correlated;

⁹¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.462.

⁹² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.462.

⁹³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.462.

the way he structures this passage gives the message without his having to state it explicitly. Cook's attitude, conveyed in these passages, seems to be almost one of a retaliatory criticism. Hurt or angered by the Malekulans' response, Cook struck back with the power of his pen, creating a logical (to his mind) argument for his readers as to why the Malekulans' recalcitrance did not result from his actions.

As for the landscape, Cook observed that "it must be Fertile, but I beleive their fruits are not so good as at the Society and Friendly Isles, their Coccoanuttts I am certain are not and their Bread fruit and Plantains did not look to be much better. But their Yams seemed to be very good."⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Cook did discern some potential in the New Hebrideans, illustrating the ambiguity inherent in his racialization. On Malekula, Cook observed "some small Plantations which were fenced round with reeds ... as at the Friendly Isles"; however, although they had "a good many fine yams lying piled up," he described the breadfruit, coconut, and plantain trees as bearing "little or no fruit."⁹⁵ As he had greatly admired the plantations at Tonga, this may indicate a slight increase in his esteem for the New Hebrideans. He noted that "they have not so much a name for a Dog, consequently can have none ... we left them a Dog and a Bitch; there is no doubt but they will be taken care of and they are very fond of them."⁹⁶ The decision to leave a pair of dogs behind perhaps indicates an element of forgiveness for the actions unacceptable to Europeans and a perception of some kind of potential among the people, as well as a certain level of trust. Cook may have left dogs, rather than pigs, because pigs already lived on Malekula; his decision may also have been an indication of overall displeasure

⁹⁴ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.467.

⁹⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.463. The reference to Tonga appears in note 3.

⁹⁶ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp.467-468.

with the ships' experience there. Since pigs were a precious resource aboard the ships, the decision to distribute pigs on shore could not be taken lightly. Furthermore, it is likely that pigs were intended to provision European ships as well as improve the lot of local populations; since the Malekulans were not exactly welcoming to Cook's ships, future stops there to obtain pigs probably seemed like a poor idea.

Notably, Tanna fares better than the rest of the New Hebrides. There, "The bread fruit Cocoa nutts and Plantains are neither so plenty nor so good as at Otaheite, on the other hand Sugar Canes and yams are not only in greater plenty but superior in qualitey and vastly larger ... Hogs did not seem to be scarce but Fowles we saw but few."⁹⁷ The confrontation at Tanna consisted mostly of firing rounds to stop "theft"; this differs from the approach to Eromanga, where the Cook party quickly abandoned the landing, or at Malekula, where the local people made it clear that they should leave as soon as possible. At Tanna, Cook made a friend, "Paowang"; he left behind a pair of dogs with a young man, Whaagou, with whom he also shared a meal. "When I return'd on board to dinner," Cook recorded, "I prevailed upon a young man whose name was Wha-agou to accompany me, as we had nothing to eat but salt beef and pork he did but just taste the latter, but eat pretty heartily of yam and drank a glass of wine."⁹⁸ Cook's reference to there being "nothing to eat" here is curious, since it is followed so closely by the evidence that there was enough yam for Whaagou to eat "heartily." This passage evokes the centrality of meat to the meal, even aboard ship, where foods were limited in variety and quantity and meatless "banyan days" frequent.⁹⁹ To this end, meat was not only a preferred food,

⁹⁷ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.502.

⁹⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.488.

⁹⁹ See Twigg, "Vegetarianism and the Meanings of Meat," pp.21-22.

but was “regularly synonymous with food.”¹⁰⁰

After dinner, Cook showed Whaagou through the ship, noting, “I did not observe that any thing fixed his attention a moment or caused him in the least surprise, he had not the least knowledge of a Goat, Dog, or Catt, he called them all Hogs (Booga or Boogas) he shewed a great desire for a Dog and I accordingly gave him both a Dog and a Bitch, a hatchet and a piece of cloth and then conducted him a Shore, while he was on board some of his friends brought me off a little Sugar Cane, a few Cocoa-nutts and a Cock.”¹⁰¹ Contrasts between the descriptions of Tanna and Malekula show how arbitrary racial categorization can be, although New Caledonia provides the best illustration by far. In Tanna, as in New Caledonia, excuses were made for colour: “Both sex are of a Very dark Colour but not black, nor have they the least character[istic] of the Negro about them; they make themselves blacker than they really are by painting their faces with a Pigment of the Colour of black lead, they also use a nother sort which is red and a third sort brown, or a Colour between red and black, but especially the first they lay on with a liberal hand, not only on the face but on the neck shoulders and breast.”¹⁰² Blackness here is explained away as a consequence of acceptable cultural practice rather than a marker of “apish” savagery, as in Malekula.

Cook’s opinion of the people of New Caledonia makes for a further interesting contrast. He observed physical similarities between New Caledonians and New Hebrideans, but his attitude illustrates yet another level of interpretation:

They are of nearly the same colour as the people of Tanna, but these have

¹⁰⁰ Fiddes, Meat, p.14.

¹⁰¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.488.

¹⁰² Beaglehole, Journals II, p.505.

better features, more agreeable countenances and are a much stouter race, some were seen who measured Six feet four inches. I have seen some who had thick lips, flat noses and full cheeks and in some degree the features and countenance of a Negro. Two things contributed to the forming of such an Idea, first their ruff mop heads and secondly their besmearing their faces with black pigment. Their hair and Beards in general black, the former is very much frizzled so that at first sight it looks like that of a negro, but it is nevertheless very different and is both Coarser and stronger than ours ...¹⁰³

Cook here clearly intends to minimize parallels between the New Caledonians and the “Negroes” whom, “at first sight,” they resemble. The New Caledonians, he stresses, are possessed of “better features” and are better built than the people of Malekula and Tanna; their hair may look “negroid,” but “is nevertheless very different,” and actually has its merits in comparison with European hair. Jolly argues that George Forster’s relativism concerning race is unique among writers of his time, and is absent in Cook’s journals. Since she is considering only the case of the New Hebrides, it is understandable that Jolly would perceive Cook as having made “more settled adjudications” in the evaluation of race.¹⁰⁴ With more points of comparison, however, Cook’s judgements appear less automatic and less confident. His assurance that the dogs he left at Malekula would be “no doubt ... taken care of” indicates that he had some confidence in the people. Furthermore, as we have seen in the context of Niue, “besmearing” oneself with “black pigment” could as easily be interpreted as a threatening or debasing action as it might a mitigation of an unacceptably dark countenance. There must have been a reason, then, for Cook’s better opinion of the people he met at Balade, New Caledonia.

The New Caledonians likely met with Cook’s approval because, as in New

¹⁰³ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.539.

¹⁰⁴ Jolly, “Ill-Natured Comparisons,” pp. 331, 335, and *passim*.

Zealand, the men were manly and the women modest. Cook felt they were “a strong robust active well made people, Courteous and friendly and not in the least addicted to pelfering, which is more than can be said of any other station in this Sea.”¹⁰⁵ Here, manliness is revealed in physical strength and activity, and in the pleasant countenance shown to the English. Neither were they overly bold, a quality which the colour of their skins would have ensured was interpreted negatively, unlike the “tawny” Maori. Cook described an encounter with the local people that is startlingly reminiscent of his descriptions of early encounters with Maori, down to the reappearance of “stinking fish”:

... at first they were a little shy, but it was not long before we prevail'd upon the people in one Canoe to come near enough to receive some presents we lowered down to them by a line to which they tyed in return two fish which stunk intollerable as did those they gave us in the Morning, these mutual exchanges soon brought on a kind of Confidence so that two ventured aboard and presently after the ship was full of them and we had the Company of several at dinner in the Cabbin. Our dinner was Pease Soup, Salt Beef and Pork which they had no curiosity to taste, but they all eat some yam which they call *Oobee*, which is not much unlike Oofee the name they are called by at all the isles we have been at except Mallicollo.¹⁰⁶

Cook's general characterization of the people confirms this affinity for the New Caledonians, and also sheds a bit of light on his system of racial categorization. In his ethnographic summary, he declares: “Was I to judge of the Origin of this Nation, I should take them to be a race between the people of Tanna and the Friendly isles or between Tanna and the New Zealanders or all three.”¹⁰⁷ Their language, he states, “in some

¹⁰⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.539.

¹⁰⁶ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.529. The dissimilarity of language in the New Hebrides was one of the items listed to prove its inferiority.

¹⁰⁷ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.541.

respects is a mixture of all” the languages of the three places; “In their desposition,” though, “they are like the Natives of the friendly isles,” which was one of the most complimentary comparisons Cook could make. Indeed, he felt, “in affability and honesty they [the New Caledonians] rather exceed them [the Tongans].”¹⁰⁸

The New Caledonians were also pleasing to Cook because they lacked, in his opinion, some of the necessities of life. Cook presented the New Caledonians with two dogs, since they, like the Malekulans, seemed unfamiliar with the goats, dogs, cats, and pigs aboard the ship.¹⁰⁹ Clerke’s journal confirms this:

... all we know of them [the people of New Caledonia] is by experience, and they soon convinc’d us by it, that they were a charming benevolent, good People. They were total strangers to Quadrupeds; we gave them a Male and a Female of Hogs and Dogs, which I hope will increase and prove a blessing to them; that they may remember us, with that gratitude and affection, which the knowledge of their Goodness, has implanted in every feeling Heart among’st us, for them.¹¹⁰

J.R. Forster concurred with Cook and Clerke on the decency of the New Caledonians, noting their “mild and good natured temper,” but took a more churlish view of the Europeans’ gift of animals:

the ungrateful soil affording them only a sparing subsistence, and that too, not to be procured without much labour, they could not supply us with any roots or vegetables; and we were obliged to provide them with the first dog and bitch, and the first boar and sow, which in time to come may

¹⁰⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.541. Cook also left a pair of dogs at Nomuka with a “Man and Woman ... which I took to be man and Wife” who, although “they had no great authority,” had been of assistance to him: “Amongst other things which I gave them as a reward for their service, was a young Dog and Bitch, animals which they have not but are very fond of and know very well by name.” Beaglehole, Journals II, p.451.

¹⁰⁹ Beaglehole, Journals II, pp. 530, 535.

¹¹⁰ Clerke, quoted in Beaglehole, Journals II, p.764.

supply them with a new and acceptable change of food.¹¹¹

Clearly, the Europeans were in agreement that it was their duty to spread “acceptable” sources of food throughout the Pacific.

Cook also may have been motivated by the New Caledonians’ reluctance to try the meat dishes when dining with the ship’s officers. As in New Zealand, the local diet was light on meat: “Their chief subsistence must be in roots and fish and the bark of a tree (which I am told grows in the West Indias) which they roast and are almost continually chewing, it has a sweetish and insipid tas[t]e and was liked by some of our people.”¹¹² Cook attributed this dietary composition to poverty resulting from what he considered to be the limited fertility of the New Caledonian landscape. He compared the landscape to that of New South Wales, noting: “Nature has been less bountifull to it than any other Tropical island we know in this sea.”¹¹³ Significantly, this statement echoes his judgement on the Maori of Queen Charlotte Sound in the *Endeavour* journals: “The people were poor compared to many we have seen and their Canoes are mean and without ornament, the little traffick we had with them was wholly for fish for we saw very little else they had to dispose of.”¹¹⁴ Therefore, he concluded magnanimously, “The sterility of the Country will apologize for the Natives not contributing to the wants of the Navigator.”¹¹⁵ This comment cements the fact that, despite his occasional

¹¹¹ Forster, Observations Made during a Voyage round the World, p. 162.

¹¹² Beaglehole, Journals II, p. 542.

¹¹³ Beaglehole, Journals II, p. 543.

¹¹⁴ Beaglehole, Journals I, p. 274.

¹¹⁵ Beaglehole, Journals II, p. 543.

outbursts of sympathy for Pacific islanders whose lands he invaded, Cook expected them to provision the ships to his standards if at all possible.

For all of these reasons, Cook decided to release animals in New Caledonia. Cook had befriended a local man, whose name he does not give in the journal, and on September 12, 1774, he recorded, "I took a young Boar and a Sow with me in the boat and went up the Mangrove creek to look for my friend." When he was unable to find his friend, Cook "resolved to give them to any man I could find of some note."¹¹⁶ This displays a marked difference from the first release of pigs in Queen Charlotte Sound; since that attempt had proven unsuccessful, Cook had passed animals on later stops in New Zealand directly to the "chiefs" he met. He seems to have found this a more useful procedure. To his surprise, though, in New Caledonia he met with some resistance:

our guide we had to the hills happened to be here, I made him understand I wanted to leave the two pigs a Shore, which I had now ordered out of the boat; several people present made signs to me to take them away one of which was a grave elderly man, him I made understand that it was my intention they should remain there, at which he shook his head and repeated his signs to take them away; but when they saw I did not do it they seemed to consult what was to be done, and at last our guide told me to carry them to the *Alekee* (Chief), accordingly I ordered them to be taken up by our people, for none of the others would come near them.¹¹⁷

Rather puzzled by the people's reluctance to accept the pigs, Cook attempted to make their value clear to the New Caledonians. He continued:

our guide conducted us to a house wherein were seated in a circle eight or ten middle aged men to whom I and my Pigs were interduced and with great courtesy I was desired to sit down, when I began to expatiate on the merits of the two Pigs, shewing them the distinction of their sex, telling them how many young ones the female would have at a time, in short I

¹¹⁶ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, p.537.

¹¹⁷ Beaglehole, *Journals II*, pp.537-538.

multiplied them to some hundreds in a trice, my only view was to enhance the Value of the present that they might take the more care of them, and I had reason to think I in some measure succeeded.¹¹⁸

What this “reason” might have been, though, Cook neglected to say. In any case, the fate of these pigs is unknown; Cook did not return to New Caledonia before his death in 1779.

I find this incident curious for a number of reasons. Cook’s insistence on leaving the pigs behind, despite the reluctance of the local people to accept his “gift,” seems rather forceful. In addition, it is unclear why the people of Balade wanted no part of Cook’s pigs.¹¹⁹ Cook’s rough journal suggests that the people feared the pigs. Douglas’s revision offers little more explanation for the people’s behaviour. There, Cook the narrator states that he “wanted to lay a foundation for stocking the country with hogs also,” and decided to take “a young boar and sow” ashore, since “Teabooma the chief had not been seen since he got the dogs.”¹²⁰ Again, Douglas’s editorial work makes Cook’s voice much more authoritative and decisive. As in the rough journal, Cook then “went up the mangrove creek to look for my friend.” Unable to find his friend, he offered the pigs

to a grave old man, thinking he was a proper person to entrust them with; but he shook his head, and he, and all present, made signs to take them back into the boat again. When they saw I did not comply, they seemed to consult with one another what was to be done; and then our guide told me to carry them to the *Alekee* (chief).¹²¹

Here, the community presents a far more united front against the pigs than in

¹¹⁸ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.538.

¹¹⁹ In a 1970 article, Bronwen Douglas discussed early contact experiences at Balad(e), but unfortunately was not able to shed any light on the issue of the pigs. See Douglas, “A Contact History of the Balad People of New Caledonia 1774-1845,” Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol.79 No.2 (June 1970), pp.180-200.

¹²⁰ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol. 5, p.115.

¹²¹ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol. 5, pp.115-116.

Beaglehole's edition. Once they are conducted to the "eight or ten middle-aged persons" ("men" in Beaglehole) at the meeting house, Cook, as in the previous version, "began to expatiate on the merits of the two pigs."¹²² In the Douglas edition, however, he did not display for the men "the distinction of their sex," presumably leaving the mechanics of mating to their imagination. Instead, he more delicately explained to them "how many young ones the female would have at one time, and how soon these would multiply to some hundreds."¹²³ The main difference between the compiled journals and the refined account is the expurgation of the reference to the pigs' sexual characteristics, excised presumably in order not to offend the decency of even "the nicest reader."

The Douglas edition offers no further clues to understanding this incident, presenting the events in much the same form as in the rough journal. Only Cook's authority and his delicacy are played up. Cook's insistence on leaving his pigs at New Caledonia evokes Crosby's argument that "The European advantage over the indigenes of their overseas colonies was not so much a matter of crop plants as of domesticated animals."¹²⁴ To Crosby's mind,

If the Europeans had arrived in the New World and Australasia with twentieth-century technology in hand, but no animals, they would not have made as great a change as they did by arriving with horses, cattle, pigs, goats, sheep, asses, chickens, cats, and so forth. Because these animals are self-replicators, the efficiency and speed with which they can alter environments, even continental environments, are superior to those for any machine we have thus far devised.¹²⁵

¹²² A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol. 5, p.116; Beaglehole, Journals II, p.538.

¹²³ A Voyage towards the south pole, Vol. 5, p.116.

¹²⁴ Crosby, Ecological Imperialism, p.173.

¹²⁵ Crosby, Ecological Imperialism, p.173. Cronon discusses a similar impact on Native Americans in New England in Changes in the Land.

Europeans did not settle New Caledonia. Nevertheless, Cook's pigs and dogs were part of the first wave of European activity in the Pacific which often deliberately altered local ecosystems for what Europeans imagined would be a greater good, both islanders' and their own.

Animals and meat were powerful cultural symbols for Cook. They evoked prosperity, masculine strength and health, and the power of civilization, expressed in manly dominance over the natural world. Cook's gifts of pigs to select Pacific peoples, then, serve as indicators of a particular affinity for those peoples which was based on his perceptions of them as manly and improvable. As we have seen, Cook's vision of civilizational progress was defined by his middle-class, English imagination; the discourses which shaped his notion of himself led him to interpret race through a different set of characteristics than did many of his contemporaries, including the *Resolution's* naturalists.

Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, I have explored the contents of James Cook's cultural baggage and the effects of gender, class, ethnicity, and race on his second voyage journals, perhaps confirming Cook's observation that "we can by no means tell what use future ages may make of the discoveries made in the present."¹ My arguments throughout have been premised on the idea that the writings produced by European explorers reveal more about the observer than they do about the observed. While most scholars dealing with colonial texts readily acknowledge this point, studies of Cook have tended to shy away from a critical investigation of his subject position. Cook is still an immensely influential figure; the records of his voyages, particularly his representations of Pacific islanders, served as a kind of primer for further colonial expansion in the nineteenth century and to this day underlie popular and scholarly "knowledge" about Pacific cultures in the West. It is thus imperative that readers of Cook's journals develop an understanding of the cultural lens through which he viewed those around him. With this premise in mind, I have examined Cook's writings about food on ship and on shore, considering the ways in which he constructed himself as a manly, English, and distinctively middle-class figure in his observations of others. I have also discussed the similarities and differences between the persona Cook presented in his rough journals, as compiled and published by

¹ Beaglehole, Journals II, p.131.

Beaglehole, and that presented with the assistance of his editor, John Douglas, in the 1777 official account, A Voyage towards the south pole.

Cook's discussions of food, an area rich with cultural meaning, provide fascinating insight into his construction of his identity as a middle-class English man. The journal passages which deal with the maintenance of shipboard health, comprised of dietary (often antiscorbutic) measures and hygienic practices, illustrate Cook's attempts to assert himself as a commander, a role redolent with class and gender implications. He presented himself as wise and stern, yet benevolent and paternal in his approaches to his men's health, using his narrative to effect a clear separation between himself and "the people" among whom he had once served; he was largely silent on the topic of his own health, thus creating the image of a stoic manly strength which was equally distinct from the perhaps "mawkish" and self-indulgent accounts of illness produced by the upper-class Forsters.

Cook took a modified form of this investment in his own authority to shore, constructing himself as the bearer of a particularly imperial, middle-class, English standard of civilization to Pacific peoples. His accounts of native "custom," especially those pertaining to diet and agriculture, contain implicit and explicit messages about appropriate gender behaviour and societal organization. Furthermore, an examination of Cook's second voyage journals with an eye to the workings of manliness and class on discourses about civilization reveals some departures from previous understandings of Cook's approach to race. Cook's evaluations of diet and subsistence methods, influenced by English discourses on class and nutrition, helped him place peoples in a hierarchy of civilization which differed significantly in pattern from those of his contemporaries and companions, most notably J.R. and George Forster. Cook responded positively to peoples who

appeared to him “Manly and Mild” as well as improvable, like the Maori and the New Caledonians. He attempted to “reward” them with the gifts of European civilization, seeds and domesticated animals. When these gifts were not met with the appreciation he expected, he became disappointed and sometimes critical of the peoples in question, a factor which likely contributed to his overall feelings of disillusionment and guilt about the cross-cultural encounters which resulted from European imperial exploration.

In his journals, Cook presented himself as possessing the traits which his culture considered appropriate -- indeed, ideal -- for a man of his class. He also inscribed these traits as normative, effectively obscuring them from critical notice by explicitly articulating the “exotic” characteristics of “others,” be they seamen or natives. The power of this normalizing judgement to shield discourses about manliness and Englishness from critical inquiry accounts for some of the resilience of the Cook myth. As some of these defenses are dismantled, a fuller understanding of the persistent effects of colonialism can begin to take shape. This study aims to contribute to that understanding.

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Title of Thesis/Dissertation:

Mapping Middle-Class Manliness: Exploring the Construction of Identity in James Cook's Second Voyage Journals

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July 4, 2001