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**Empiricism, Enlightenment and
Aesthetics:
Engravings from the *Endeavour*
Voyage, 1768-1771**

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**A thesis submitted in the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, The University of Auckland, 2011.**

Abstract

The original paintings and drawings from the *Endeavour* voyage have been subjected to semiological analysis in wide-ranging scholarly studies. Yet, as the earliest depiction of South Pacific peoples in British voyage publications, the engraved illustrations that were made from them have received little attention.

This thesis examines the engraved ethnographic plates in two significant *Endeavour* publications, the official Admiralty publication edited by John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere...*(1773), and the posthumous publication of Sydney Parkinson's *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas...*(1773), and compares their depiction of non-European subjects with that in the original paintings and drawings from which the plates were taken. It shows how ethnographic information, informed by the Eurocentric attitudes and perceptions of contemporary British and European society that were voiced in the daily journals of James Cook, Joseph Banks and the *Endeavour* artist, Sydney Parkinson, was modified in engraved reproduction.

In tracing the history of these two publications, this thesis is able to show how the ethnographic information in the plates in the official Admiralty publication was determined by those who were most closely associated with it the publication, namely First Lord of the Admiralty, John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, and Joseph Banks, leader of the natural history party on the *Endeavour* voyage. Together with its editor, John Hawkesworth, they allowed professional and personal considerations to override concerns of authenticity. Texts were altered and plates were specifically commissioned to satisfy those considerations while, at the same time, appealing to the tastes and interests of their elite readers.

This thesis is also able to show how, in the absence of a satisfactory empirical methodology, the engravers of the plates in the published *Journal* adapted original images deploying inappropriate and obsolete styles.

This thesis concludes that the engraved illustrations in the two publications therefore failed to respond to either the empirical demands of the *Endeavour* voyage or the scientific aspirations of the artists who created the original ethnographic documentation.

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EMPIRICISM, ENLIGHTENMENT AND AESTHETICS: ENGRAVINGS FROM THE *ENDEAVOUR* VOYAGE, 1768 - 1771.

Introduction

The *Endeavour* voyage under the command of Lieutenant James Cook was the first, large-scale, scientific voyage ever undertaken by the British navy. Its purpose was to validate the use of Newton's Laws of Motion in calculating the distance of the sun from the earth.

This thesis examines the engraved ethnographic illustrations in two significant publications that represent the findings of the *Endeavour* voyage and the events that occurred during Cook's exploration of the Pacific. This thesis seeks to show that the engraved ethnographic illustrations in these publications do not accurately reflect the empirical nature of the voyage and the observations recorded in the voyage journal texts.

It finds that, unlike the original artwork from the voyage, many of the engraved illustrations were not designed to impart newly-acquired, empirical information. Instead, they were created to satisfy the tastes of the clientele for whom the publications were intended. Some show modifications that were made to serve the individual needs of those who were associated with the publication itself. Others, where illustrators have attempted to reproduce empirical ethnographic information they have deployed inappropriate formats and obsolete methodologies.

This thesis concludes that, while the illustrations in the Hawkesworth edition were appropriate for a contemporary best seller they did not serve the needs of an official scientific publication. Those in Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* did not meet the scientific aspirations of its author.

The first publication in which the engraved illustrations under examination appear is the official Admiralty publication which was under the direction of the First Lord, John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, and edited by the literary critic, John Hawkesworth. Its title

is *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; Drawn up From the Journals which were kept by the Several Commanders And from the papers of Joseph Banks esq; by John Hawkesworth, LLD. In Three Volumes. Illustrated with Cutts, and a great Variety of Charts and Maps relative to Countries now first discovered or hitherto but imperfectly Known.* This publication is more generally referred to as the ‘Hawkesworth edition’, the name by which it will be known in this thesis. As its title suggests, the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ is a voyage compilation. Accounts of the voyages of Commander Byron and Captains Wallis and Carteret, all of whom preceded Cook to the Pacific, appear in Volume I. The account of the *Endeavour* voyage, compiled from details in the journals of James Cook, its commander, and Joseph Banks, the leader of the natural history party who travelled with Cook, appear in Volumes II and III. It is these two volumes and their engraved ethnographic illustrations that are examined in this thesis.

The second collection of engraved ethnographic illustrations is in the posthumous publication of the journal of Banks’s natural history draughtsman, Sydney Parkinson, *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in his Majesty’s Ship The Endeavour: Faithfully Transcribed From the papers of the late Sydney Parkinson, Draughtsman to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. In His Expedition with Dr. Solander round the World; And Embellished With Twenty-nine Views and Designs, delineated by the author, and engraved by Capital Artists.* It is referred to here as the *Journal*.

Both works were published in 1773. The ‘Hawkesworth edition’ appeared first, its publishers having delayed the publication of Sydney Parkinson’s *Journal* by attempting to prove its illegality. When their case against the *Journal*’s publisher, Sydney Parkinson’s brother, Stanfield Parkinson, was overruled and the publication was allowed to proceed, they claimed that its editor, an outspoken Irish literary renegade named William Kenrick, had abused his editorial position. They accused Kenrick of using the Preface to the *Journal* to ‘blackguard’ Joseph Banks by suggesting that he had misappropriated the original manuscripts and dealt unfairly with Stanfield Parkinson. Stanfield Parkinson died shortly after the publication appeared, leaving the ultimate fate

of the original manuscript from which the *Journal* was taken unresolved. In its absence, questions as to whether the publication is as complete as the *Journal*'s title suggests or as faithfully transcribed as the title claims remain unanswered.

While lack of corroborative material has prevented further assessment of the integrity of the Parkinson publication, the veracity of the accounts in the Hawkesworth edition has undergone extensive scrutiny. When the publication first appeared, Byron, Wallis and Carteret, the commanders whose journals were used for Volume I, disputed its accuracy and publically criticised the editorial practices of John Hawkesworth. The account of Cook's *Endeavour* voyage in Volumes II and III, however, continued to be accepted as a faithful rendition of Cook's own, with interpolated comments from the journal of Joseph Banks who led the *Endeavour*'s natural history expedition. All this changed in 1955 when J.C. Beaglehole published the first of his edited transcripts of Cook's original journals¹ and showed that this was not the case. Comparisons between the text in the Hawkesworth edition and Beaglehole's transcriptions revealed that original texts had been subjected to emendations and alterations by the editor, John Hawkesworth.

In the article, 'Publication of Cook's Journals: Some new Sources and Assessments' (1978), Helen Wallis notes that until 1955, when the first volume of Beaglehole's edition, *The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771*, first appeared in print, the Hawkesworth edition remained the chief authority for Cook's first voyage.² She emphasizes that, 'For a hundred and twenty years, as Beaglehole observed, so far as the first voyage was concerned, Hawkesworth was Cook.'³ Further examination has revealed that many of the alterations to Cook's journal not only changed fact but also meaning and intent. More recently, Carol Percy, writing 'In the Margins: Dr Hawkesworth's Editorial Emendations to the language of Captain Cook's Voyages' (1996), demonstrates how Hawkesworth rewrote texts as well as making editorial and grammatical and grammatical corrections.⁴

While the text in the Hawkesworth edition has continued to receive academic scrutiny, the engraved illustrations that accompanied it and are the subject of this thesis have been largely ignored. However, there have been a number of significant studies of the original artwork from which the engravings were made. Like the original voyage

journal written by Cook, the original paintings and drawings by the *Endeavour* artists were neglected by scholars for more than a hundred and twenty years. Then, in the early 1950s, at the same time that Beaglehole began editing Cook's *Endeavour* journal, the *Endeavour* collection of paintings and drawings in the British Museum in London attracted the attention of art historians, Averill Lysaght and Bernard Smith, who sought independently to identify the artists responsible.

They found many of the paintings and drawings unfinished or unsigned. None of the artists survived the voyage. Alexander Buchan, Banks's figure and landscape draughtsman, had died on the *Endeavour*'s arrival in Tahiti in 1769. The natural history draughtsman, Sydney Parkinson, Banks's amanuensis, Hermann Spöring, and the Tahitian priest and navigator who was travelling with Banks to England, Tupaia, all died suddenly from diseases caught in Batavia (modern-day Jakarta) leaving works uncompleted or unsigned.

Lysaght and Smith also found confusion due to earlier false attribution. On the *Endeavour*'s return to England in 1771 all the works in the collection were acquired by Joseph Banks. He retained them until his death in 1820 when they passed to his librarian, Robert Brown, in whose possession they remained for Brown's lifetime. On Brown's death, they became part of the collection of the British Museum where, in 1827, Brown was made Keeper of the Banksian Botanical Collections.⁵ Banks, Brown and Frederick Madden, the Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts from 1828-37, all attempted identification, but unable to distinguish between the various artistic styles, they made many errors in the process.⁶

Through their own investigations, however, Lysaght and Smith were able to identify works by both the official voyage artists, Buchan and Parkinson. They were also able to demonstrate that others were by Spöring and several unknown hands.⁷ Lysaght published her findings, together with details of the lives and careers of the artists, in the *British Museum Yearbook* (1979).⁸ Because of her untimely death, much of Lysaght's work remains unfinished, but the information she had already acquired has since appeared in subsequent publications of Cook related material. Principal among these publications is a series of essays edited by D.J. Carr, *Sydney Parkinson: Artist of Cook's 'Endeavour' Voyage* (1983).⁹ In an essay entitled "Sydney Parkinson and his Fellow

Artistsø art historian William Blunt acknowledges his own use of Lysaghtø material and pays tribute to her 'indefatigable research'ø¹⁰

As well as establishing the identities of the various artists, Bernard Smith also sought to demonstrate the way in which the art from Cookø voyages has impacted upon and informed nineteenth-century European art. His findings on these subjects were published in *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850* (1960). In the Introduction Smith posits:

The opening of the Pacific is therefore to be numbered among those factors contributing to the triumph of romanticism and science in the nineteenth-century world of values. Whilst it will be shown how the discovery of the Pacific contributed to the challenge to neo-classicism in several fields, more particular attention will be given to the impact of Pacific exploration upon the theory and the practice of landscape painting and upon biological thought. For these two fields provide convenient and yet distinct grounds in which to observe how the world of the Pacific stimulated European thought concerning the world of nature as a whole; in the case of the former as the object of imitation and expression, in the case of the latter as the object of philosophical speculation.¹¹

Further analysis of the impact of Pacific voyaging on European art followed. In 1979, the year that Lysaghtø essay was published, Smith published a lecture that he had given to the Australian Academy of Humanities the previous year entitled *Art as Information: reflections on the art from Captain Cook's Voyages*. Here he extends his earlier hypothesis to suggest that:

The history of the visual arts in Europe between 1750 and 1890, give and take a few years either way, can best be understood, I would argue, as the steady relentless and continuing triumph of empirical naturalism over classical naturalism. And at the starting point of that triumph there is no more single significant factor to be found than the visual arts programme which was developed in the course of Captain Cookø three voyages and the discussion which attended their publication.¹²

Smithø argument that the 'triumph of empirical naturalism over classical naturalism'ø in eighteenth-century European art was largely due to the impact of Pacific voyaging on European culture and epistemology has now been extended to suggest that it began with Cookø voyages.

In that same publication, Smith also shows that he is becoming more interested in cognitive function and its role in the generation of the original images. In particular, he seeks to identify the perceptions and attitudes that inform the art from Cookø voyages.

He begins the lecture by cautioning his listeners to keep in mind some of the characteristics of visual perception and its graphic representation. He defines these characteristics as inventive, illustrative and documentary.³ He suggests that these all require a stock of visual memories from their [the artists'] own worlds.⁴ With reference to empirical illustration, he suggests that a documentary draughtsman will endeavor to suppress the inventive and illustrative components of his perception, and do his best to draw what he sees.⁵

Smith's findings were repeated and expanded upon in the ambitious, four-volume, fully-illustrated *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages* (1985-88). Written by Smith in collaboration with fellow art historian, Rüdiger Joppien, the work was published to coincide with the bi-centenary of the European settlement of Australia.¹⁶ In the first volume, *The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1786-1771*, the authors investigate the manner in which the observations and experiences of Cook, Banks and Parkinson were communicated as information.¹⁷ Here, although they detail changes that were made in some of the designs from which the engravings in both the Hawkesworth edition and Parkinson's posthumously published *Journal* were created, Joppien and Smith's principal concern is to analyze the original artwork and the journal texts. These, they consider Cook's voyages provide:

í a significant theatre of action in which to observe Europeans in the initial process of discovering, interpreting and mastering for themselves what for them was a new world in the Pacific.¹⁸

They explain that:

If we are to follow the processes of interaction by which the image of Tahiti and the South Seas was formed and sustained in the European mind, at least four factors must be kept in mind: first, the attitudes, moral and intellectual by which Europeans sought to interpret their experiences of and in the Pacific; second, the processes by which these experiences were encoded into verbal and visual records for transmission as information.¹⁹

Smith's own paradigm, the identification of the Eurocentric attitudes and preconceptions that influenced the early explorers, the manner in which they coloured perceptions and the means by which these perceptions were communicated in the voyage material, has given rise to a received reading that has informed the understanding of early

European perceptions of Pacific peoples. Smith's authority was recognized as early as 1955, when J.C. Beaglehole published his first edition of Cook's three voyage journals. There, Beaglehole claims his own comments about the artwork from the *Endeavour* voyage were based on Smith's article, "European vision and the South Pacific" in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* (1950).²⁰

Smith's research has also led to the introduction of information derived from the art from Cook's voyages for use in studies in Polynesian anthropology and the cross fertilization of European and non-European cultures. Amongst the first of the Pacific anthropologists to incorporate this information in her own work is Anne Salmond who, in 1991, published the highly-acclaimed *Two Worlds: first meetings between Maori and European, 1642-1772*.²¹ Like Smith, Salmond, also found that "the *Endeavour* records were shaped by the standards and expectations of the eighteenth century societies to which the explorers belonged."²² "The observers' unconscious reflections of their own lives shaped their reflections upon others" – so that again the emphasis is on the subjective views of the observer. By examining the original *Endeavour* voyage texts and drawings, Salmond believes that she has gained a better understanding of the social and cultural environment in which the encounters were recorded. "Despite their limitations" she claims to have found the *Endeavour* records "invaluable" because "the technology and social practices described had not been sufficiently changed by European technology and practices."²³ As well as this, "the accuracy and the range of media in which they were expressed are unsurpassed in the records of any other early expedition to New Zealand. This was the only scientific expedition of its time, and the quality of its records pays an impressive tribute to the qualities of eighteenth-century European science."²⁴ By comparing the events that are described in the original texts and drawings with Maori oral histories, she considers she has been able to determine bias and distortion and thereby develop a more reliable record of historical events. By deploying the same methodology, she has since been able to document events that occurred during all three of Cook's voyages to the Pacific in *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas* (2003) and European perceptions of Tahiti and its inhabitants in *Aphrodite's Island: The European discovery of Tahiti* (2010).

A similar methodology has been deployed by fellow anthropologist, Nicholas

Thomas, who recognizes the original *Endeavour* voyage records as valuable primary sources of cross cultural information. Like Smith and Salmond, he uses them to determine prevailing eighteenth-century preconceptions and attitudes. In *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (2003) he writes:

In much of this book, I am concerned to tease out the ambiguities and confusions of these encounters by making the most of the rich voyage journals and visual records that are our primary sources from Cook's three expeditions.²⁵

The *Endeavour* manuscripts and Smith's reading of them have also lent themselves to the studies of hermeneutics and signification by students of colonial history. As a result, both texts and images have been closely examined for evidence of Eurocentric attitudes and racialist discrimination. In the *Introduction to Pacific Encounters* (1999), the editors, Alex Calder, Jonathon Lamb and Bridget Orr recognize that:

It is no longer possible to write about early colonial contact between Europe and the Pacific without negotiating a complex set of positions on the nature of the surviving documentary evidence. We have been taught to be suspicious of imperial designs, to beware not to replicate the assumptions of Eurocentrism, and therefore not to take these documents at face value.²⁶

The understanding that subliminal perceptions and attitudes of European voyagers and colonizers have colored representation is now firmly established in multidisciplinary scholarship. The publication, *Pacific Encounters*, is described as being written from and between a variety of disciplines (history, anthropology, Maori studies, literary criticism, law, cultural studies, art history and Pacific studies).²⁷ Calder, Lamb and Orr, the editors of the publication, also recognize Smith's contribution to this understanding and acknowledge it as follows:

The fashion for Gothicizing or Helenizing the adjuncts of Polynesian life, comparing their practice of warfare with ancient models of patriotic valor was reinforced by the efforts of Cook's artists, especially William Hodges on the second voyage and John Webber on the third, whose predetermined ways of seeing the primitive as the past present, have been well chronicled by Bernard Smith in *European Vision and the South Pacific* (1960) and *Imagining the Pacific* (1992).²⁸

Pacific Encounters itself, however, suggests that interest in original such as that from Cook's voyages is waning. The documentary evidence the essays investigate is largely

confined to written texts and journal accounts. A single essay by Leonard Bell, "Augustus Earle's *The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief, Hongi, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1827* and His Depictions of Other New Zealand Encounters" considers the artistic perspective.

Bell describes at some length how the meeting depicted in the work of the nineteenth-century painter, Augustus Earle, "could be read in various ways and that such a multivalence could say something about the nature and complexities of cross-cultural interactions in the period on the cusp of the precolonial and the colonial."²⁹ He concludes with the suggestion that "Engraved and lithographed versions of Earle's paintings by other hands could operate in different ways again"³⁰ and gives examples of changes that were made by engravers to create different interpretations of the paintings' subjects. He describes how figures were modified in a reproduction of the painting, *Te Rangituke, Chief of Kawakawa, Bay of Islands, with his Wife and Son* (c.1835) for the frontispiece of a missionary publication "to illustrate a negative evaluation of non-Christian Maori as 'wild' savages" noted for their ferocity while the "smiling and artless countenances of the chief's children [sic] showed they were likely to remain savage and ferocious unless converted to Christianity."³¹ He considers this reproduction:

"a particularly striking example of how images can be manipulated to take on new and very different meanings, depending on the contexts in which they are used and seen and the other texts to which they are related."³²

Bell's essay raises questions about the way that "images can be manipulated to take on new and different meanings" through the process of engraving. But while the subject has been widely investigated in relation to other graphic material, it has not received more than passing academic scrutiny in the context of early Pacific voyage representation.

It must be acknowledged before proceeding further, however, that, in the first volume of *The Art from Captain Cook's Voyages*, Smith and Joppien have drawn attention to differences that exist between some of the original artwork and the plates engraved after them. They also identify the artists who reworked the original material for the engraver to use. They give a brief analysis of Plate I in the "Hawkesworth edition" *A View of the Indians of Terra del Fuego in their Hut*, describing how it was modified by

the neo-classical history painter, Giambattista Cipriani, to transform Alexander Buchan's rather squalid hut-dwellers into comely youths and maidens and wise old men enjoying the delights of nature's simple plan.³³ Joppien and Smith note that Cipriani also introduced four additional figures from his neo-classical repertoire to provide additional grace to the happy scene.³⁴ They suggest that, as a result of Cipriani's modifications:

The classical language of history painting was thus able to provide a vocabulary of visual forms appropriate both for the table of a great London banker [for whom Cipriani had earlier created a design using similar figures] and for the celebration of the food rites of 'savages' of the South Seas.³⁵

They further suggest that the changes made to Buchan's original painting for Plate I were not primarily for aesthetic reasons. Instead, the literary taste of the publication's editor, John Hawkesworth, was the principal factor effecting the change.³⁶ Joppien and Smith even consider that that it was at Hawkesworth's own instigation that Cipriani reworked Buchan's gouache original in the neo-classical style to evoke the philosophizing sentiment that was present in Hawkesworth's text while, at the same time, conveying the basic ethnographic information.³⁷

Joppien and Smith confess, however, that they are less confident about attributing reasons for the alterations to drawings used for illustrations in Parkinson's *Journal* and remain undecided as to whether or not there was an inherent classicism in the originals that was further developed by the unknown draughtsman who reworked them for the engraving process.³⁸ They suggest that, as in the case of Cipriani's reworking of Buchan's 'Fuegians' the images may have been reinterpreted by the designers (or engravers) in the contemporarily accepted neo-classical style to complement the style of the text.³⁹ However, they also suggest that they find engravings in the *Journal* show less alteration to original drawings than those in the official publication. They consider that those by the engraver, Thomas Chambers, remain faithful to Parkinson's text and to his known drawings.⁴⁰

Although their analysis of the engraved plates is limited, it is still far more comprehensive than that of other historians who have undertaken scholarly investigations of the art from Cook's voyages. In *Captain Cook in the Pacific* (2002) the authors, Nigel

Rigby and Peter van der Merwe, simply note that ‘four full-length figures’ engraved in his [Parkinson’s] *Journal* were redrawn in classically derived poses to conform with contemporary tastes.⁴¹

The lack of greater in-depth investigation of the *Endeavour* engravings by art historians is something of an anomaly, especially given the eighteenth-century significance of the subjects of the engravings. The engraved plates in the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ and Parkinson’s *Journal* are the earliest and amongst the most widely-viewed examples of Pacific ethnography of the eighteenth century. As such, they were fundamental to the formation of British perceptions of Pacific cultures. They were also extremely popular. Engraved images of Tahitians, in particular, were of great interest to readers who were familiar with Bougainville’s account of his experiences in their country. For many of these readers, it was because of titillating accounts of Tahitian immorality and sexual freedom. For others, Tahitians were seen as confirming Enlightenment social theories about the behaviour of ‘savage’ or uncivilized human subjects and supporting Enlightenment constructs of a ‘noble savage’.

Interest in the engraved ethnographical illustrations in both publications was therefore quite exceptional. The speed with which advanced sales of the expensive ‘Hawkesworth edition’ occurred and the need for a second edition so soon after the first were largely the result of public interest in the Pacific region and the nature of its inhabitants. Joppin’s essay, ‘Philippe Jacques de Louterbourg’s Pantomime, *Omai, or a Trip round the World*, and the artists of Captain Cook’s Voyages’ (1979), reveals the extent of the London taste for images of Tahitians in dramatic depiction.

But the extent of public interest in South Sea Island ethnography and the extent to which graphic ethnographic depiction influenced public perceptions are not the only reasons why the engraved plates from the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ and the *Journal* deserve more scholarly attention. The engravers who engraved the plates in the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ themselves also warrant it. Amongst them is William Woollett whose graphic reproduction of scenes of the British countryside was to play an important part in the development of a school of British painting. Reproductive engravings by artists like Woollett were also highly valued by British art buyers who had developed a taste for quality British prints by British engravers. Woollett’s popularity with European as well

as British collectors was such that his prints were earning him large sums, making him one of the most commercially successful British artists of the period.⁴² Engraved reproductions were also being commissioned in ever-increasing numbers by British painters who sought to establish their reputations through the dissemination of reproduced images of their own work, and to foster the development of an independent British school.

There are several factors which may explain why the engraved plates in the *Endeavour* voyage publications have yet to receive the attention they deserve. The first is engraved reproduction does not fit within the parameters of original interpretation so that it has been of little interest to students of voyage art. Another is the denigration of reproductive engraving by modernist artists and the enduring legacy of the modernist legacy. Gaudio notes that the bias in favour of the original artist, long held by art historians, is articulated very clearly in Bartsch's *Le Peintre-graveur* (1802-21). It is also implicit in Hind's *A History of Engraving & Etching from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day* (1963).

But even as the *Endeavour* sailed across the Atlantic on her way to the Pacific, reproductive engravers were already being marginalized by British academicians. The reason was that the artistic Fellows of the Royal Academy believed that engravers who reproduced the works of others lacked the *ingenium* (or original creative inspiration) that was integral to the criteria of neo-classical art. When the Royal Academy opened in London in 1768, engravers were refused membership for that reason.⁴³ Yet, as Gaudio has noted, the Academy's decision was taken at a time when the critical public was expressing artistic confidence in reproductive prints.⁴⁴ Unlike English painting, the demand for engraved reproductions by English artists had made the English print industry not only flourishing but also highly profitable. The exports of British prints, aided in part by legislation that was passed taxing the importation of foreign prints, soared.⁴⁵ Bonehill describes the British print trade at that time as being in a buoyant state. With improvements in technology and the conditions for expansion in place, an increasingly dynamic, sophisticated market saw printmakers and sellers catering for a diverse, international range of consumers.⁴⁶ By 1771, when Woollett and the other engravers were commissioned to engrave plates for the Hawkesworth edition, engravers were

enjoying a status that was unprecedented in British history. They were also much more highly paid than other professional artists.

But eighteenth-century public interest in the appearance and behavior of the inhabitants of the South Pacific nations, their significance for Enlightenment social theory or the contemporary status of quality British prints by engravers like Wollett, are not the most compelling reason for a far more detailed analysis of the engraved illustrations in the two voyage publications. It is because their uniqueness and extensive documentation calls for nothing less.

To begin with, amongst the resources available to the student are the extant original drawings from which the engravings were made. The survival of original artwork is almost unknown in voyage illustration.⁴⁷ In most cases, it was destroyed once it had been used by the designer or the engraver. Then, as well as the original field drawings and compositions made from them, thanks to the work undertaken by Lysaght and Smith, the artists have been identified and information obtained about their lives and careers made available to the student. Usually, there is no way of knowing whether designers were employed or whether the engravers reworked the originals themselves but here, thanks to further studies by Smith, the designers who reworked the original artwork have been identified and a number of their designs located.

Added to these resources, are Beaglehole's edited transcripts of the voyage journals kept by Cook and Banks. Also readily available is much of the correspondence relating to the publication of the Hawkesworth edition and Stanfield Parkinson's account of problems that beset the publication of the *Journal*. Last, but not least, are the scholarly studies of Hawkesworth's text by Wallis and Percy, quoted at the beginning of this Introduction.

This thesis takes advantage of this extensive resource to study, analyse and find explanations for the ethnographic depiction in the plates in the Hawkesworth edition of the *Endeavour* journals and the posthumous publication of Sydney Parkinson's *Journal*. It also attempts to identify the motives and personalities behind the plates' creation.

However, it is not only the material relating to the subjects under consideration that is extensive. So too are the parameters of the subjects themselves. They encompass two publications, three voyage journals, fifty separate plates, six named engravers, three

named designers, four originating artists and more than one hundred original drawings. When Bernard Smith delivered the *Harkness Lecture* to the School of Fine Arts at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand, on September 21, 1988, "Style, Information and Image in the Art of Cook's Voyages, he asked of the images created during the "small time span of Cook's voyages" to "what extent was the imagery that emerged " truthful, to what extent false and whether true or false to what extent was it accessible to serve the purposes of European domination?"⁴⁸ He also asked "to what extent" was the pre-Cook imagery of the Pacific, the imagery that issued from the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch voyages, modeled on oriental prototypes? To what extent was the Pacific, as it became known to Europeans, a fringe-dweller beside the great orientalist stereotype?"⁴⁹ Smith also suggested that there should be further investigation to determine whether the visual images from Cook's voyages had been appropriated by political forces for their own ends. He explained to his audience, however, that he was not promising to provide a conclusive answer since to undertake such an investigation would require an analysis as exacting as that of Edward Said in his research for *Orientalism* (1978) and a field that was comparable.⁵⁰

While the field of this thesis is extensive, it is far less so than that of Said. It also requires far less analysis than the investigation that Smith envisages. However, the complexities of its subject cannot be overlooked. Neither can its expectations be downplayed. This thesis is called upon to respond to questions not unlike those asked by Smith. It must show, for example, the extent to which the engravings are faithful to the original material. It must reveal the extent to which original material has been altered. Where material has been altered, questions must be asked as to the purposes this was designed to serve. It is also required to examine the appropriation of visual imagery for personal ends and to seek evidence of the "countervailing power" of traditional stereotypes.

In order to accommodate the complex nature of the research, analysis and comprehension envisaged for this thesis, considerable attention has been paid to the manner in which it should proceed. It was concluded that it might be appropriate that, instead of analyzing all the ethnographic plates one by one in each of the publications, this thesis should take the form of a series of case studies, each of which would examine

and analyse specific plates from both publications. In some instances, discussion should be limited to a single plate. In others, where a number of different plates shared a common theme or style of image, there should be more. Sometimes different aspects of individual plates should be discussed in a number of different studies. The subject or subjects of each case study should be determined by a specific characteristic of the text-image relationship, modification of original art or the purpose for which the plate or plates were engraved. Each should be chosen to illuminate an aspect of the illustrations that was considered pertinent to holistic interpretation. Where modification was considered to have been inspired by traditional precedents, those precedents should be identified and examples of them given.

Because this thesis recognizes that primacy must be given to the genre to which the plates belong, namely graphic illustrations in voyage literature, it was decided that the findings in these discussions should be linked to both the publications themselves and those who determined the specific nature of those publications. This is reflected in the subjects of the first two chapters.

Chapter 1, "The "Hawkesworth Edition", contextualizes the engraved plates in the first publication under consideration. It explains the official nature of the "Hawkesworth edition." It examines the circumstances surrounding the person who was made responsible for it, First Lord of the Admiralty, John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, and shows how he saw the publication as serving both personal and professional ends. It also examines the background of the publication's editor, John Hawkesworth, and shows how his personal, professional and social ambitions caused him to act in such a way as to undermine the publication's achievements.

Chapter I concludes that, by allowing Hawkesworth extensive editorial intervention and approving the interpolating the *Endeavour* journal written by Joseph Banks, Sandwich created a situation that compromised the publication's authority and status.

Chapter II, "Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas" describes the manner in which the publication of the second work under consideration, Sydney Parkinson's posthumous *Journal*, was threatened by the actions of Banks and Hawkesworth. It shows how this threat impacted on both the text and the illustrations. It discusses the nature of

the empirical information contained in both the text and the plates that illustrate the publication. It concludes that, although the publication responded to a call for first-hand empirical information about non-European peoples who had little if any previous contact with the European, the *Journal*'s success was limited by the illustrations. In the absence of the *Journal*'s author who had also created the original artwork and was familiar with his subjects, engravers were left to interpret subjects that were unknown to them and often deployed inappropriate methodologies in the process.

Chapter III, 'The Hand of Joseph Banks in Illustrations in the *Hawkesworth Edition*' posits that Banks had responsibility for the engraved plates in the publication. It argues that Banks used this responsibility to his own personal and entrepreneurial ends. It presents studies of Plates 2, 5 and 6 from the 'Hawkesworth edition' that show modifications to original material made at Banks's request. Two further studies, those of Plates 17 and 18, show how subjects were chosen because they were of personal interest to Joseph Banks.

Two final studies in the chapter examine Plates XX and XXIV from the *Journal* that depict the same subjects as Plates 17 and 18. Comparisons are made to show how Plates XX and XXIX fail to meet the empirical standards of Plates 17 and 18.

Chapter III concludes that although Banks commissioned ethnographic plates that were not true to originals when it suited him to do so, where they depicted subjects from the material world of natural history, he prioritized empirical authenticity.

Chapter IV is entitled 'Tahitian Religious Ritual in the *Endeavour* Publications'. This chapter provides further examination of Plates 5 and 6 in the 'Hawkesworth edition'. Where Chapter III shows how the originals from which they were taken were modified for the sake of Bank's entrepreneurial interests, Chapter IV examines the way in which Plates 5 and 6 actually depict Tahitian religious ritual. It questions whether this depiction adequately represents the attitudes towards Tahitian religion that are expressed in the journal texts. It shows that while the integrity of those expressed by Cook and Banks is retained, Hawkesworth's attitudes towards the subject not only contradict those of Cook and Banks but are also at odds with the tone in the plates.

It argues that that this discrepancy is the result of Sandwich's administration of the publishing process. By allowing Hawkesworth independent authority over the text

and Banks full responsibility for the illustrations, he created a situation where, without due consultation, text was written that did not represent the views of the original authors and plates were commissioned that failed to support it.

Chapter IV also examines the illustration of similar subjects in Plates X and XI in the *Journal*. It shows that although here there is unity of tone and attitude, it suggests that the engravers were disadvantaged by having inadequate copies of original material or unfamiliarity with their subjects.

It concludes that the success of both the *Hawkesworth edition* and the *Journal* was already compromised before publishing began when Sandwich abdicated overall control of the *Hawkesworth edition* and Stanfield Parkinson encountered difficulties in obtaining material for the *Journal*.

Chapter V, *The Authority of Theodore de Bry* demonstrates the impact of earlier voyage publications on the *Hawkesworth edition* and the *Journal*. It begins by showing how Banks and Hawkesworth were influenced by a publication by the fifteenth century publisher, Theodore de Bry. It then shows how this impacted on the *Hawkesworth edition*

It analyses the representation of the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego and shows how Hawkesworth's perception of them given in the text is contradicted by the manner in which they are depicted in the illustration that accompanies it. It argues that when Hawkesworth and Banks sought to follow practices they identified in de Bry, they did so independently and without considering the results of or the implications of their actions.

Chapter V also finds a building in Plate VI of the *Journal* ethnologically incorrect. It argues that the engraver, Newton, was influenced by illustrations in de Bry and that it is de Bry and not Sydney Parkinson who is the source of the building in the image.

The chapter concludes that, by allowing themselves to be influenced by the outmoded practices of de Bry, Banks, Hawkesworth and Newton all failed to follow the principles of empiricism that the publications demanded and thereby undermined the scientific credibility of both the *Hawkesworth edition* and the *Journal*.

Chapter VI, *Costume Studies* compares the ethnography of the sixteenth-century voyage artist, John White, with that of Sydney Parkinson. It shows how White's

ethnography is in the form of the costume study with which he was familiar while Parkinson's is in the form of a landscape with figures that attempts to depict non-European behaviour. The chapter shows that, when the same early style of White's ethnography was used in the reproduction of Parkinson's drawings for plates in his published *Journal*, it failed to impart the ethnographic information that the drawings contained. Chapter VI concludes that the early style of depiction that is identified in this chapter was inappropriate for the reproduction of Parkinson's ethnography.

Chapter VII, 'Golden Landscapes' examines the way in which Tahiti and its inhabitants are portrayed in the 'Hawkesworth edition'. It begins with an examination of the journal texts of Samuel Wallis who preceded Cook to Tahiti and follows with an examination of the texts written by Cook. It then compares these texts with those found in the journal of Joseph Banks and shows that discrepancies exist. It argues that Banks rewrote his text to conform to an account of a voyage to Tahiti by Bougainville. It is this account that is repeated in Hawkesworth's text.

The chapter then examines the manner in which Tahiti and its peoples are portrayed in Plates 3 and 4 of the 'Hawkesworth edition' and shows how they were inspired by Banks's reading of Bougainville. It argues that they were created to appeal to British readers who enjoyed images of Arcadian Tahiti and to demonstrate Banks's familiarity with contemporary Enlightenment theory.

Chapter VIII, 'Hawkesworth's Erotic Savages' shows how the perception of the Tahitian lifestyle described in Hawkesworth's text and repeated in Plates 3 and 4 of the 'Hawkesworth edition' was further developed in Plate 7 which shows an eroticized depiction of Tahitian female dancers. The chapter attempts to identify the sources of the two dancers in Plate 7 and shows that there is no textual or anthropological basis for their depiction. It shows instead, that, traditionally, eroticized depiction was deployed in the representation of non-European female subjects in European voyage illustration to appeal to male readers. It concludes that a similar case can be made for the depiction of Tahitian dancers in Plate 7 of the 'Hawkesworth edition'.

Chapter IX, 'The Noble Savage' examines the double portrait of two warriors from New Holland in Plate XXVII of the *Journal* and identifies the style of depiction deployed. It argues that this depiction follows a tradition that was established in a

sixteenth-century account of a voyage to Brazil by the French Hygrographer Royal, André Thevet, who portrayed non-European subjects in combat according to Renaissance iconography.

Chapter IX also examines the portrait of a Maori chief in Plate 13 of the *Hawkesworth edition* and two further portraits of Maori chiefs in Parkinson's *Journal*, (Plates XVII and XXI). It identifies the origin of these portraits in accounts of the *Endeavour's* circumnavigation of New Zealand given in Banks's journal and Parkinson's *Journal*.

This chapter then discusses the nature of ethnographic depiction in the portraits and finds that the portrait in Plate XXI is not that of the subject whose name is given in the plate's title. It argues that the attribution of a false identity was an attempt by the *Journal's* engraver to create an image of a 'noble savage'

This thesis finds that, unlike the analysis of the original painting and drawings by the *Endeavour* artists, the analysis of the plates in the *Hawkesworth edition* does not reveal subjective representation by the artists concerned. Instead the plates show that the choice of subject and the nature of the style of ethnographic representation were determined by Joseph Banks. However, Banks was acting within the parameters of responsibility that Sandwich allowed him. Ultimate responsibility lay with Sandwich whose determination that the *Hawkesworth edition* should fulfill public expectations, prioritized reader appeal. In so doing, he compromised textual integrity and faithful ethnographic representation.

On the death of the author of the *Journal*, Sydney Parkinson, manuscripts were dispersed, lost or misappropriated. The publication was limited to what remained available to his brother, Stanfield Parkinson. The reproduction of Sydney Parkinson's original illustrations in engraved plates was determined by engravers who were unfamiliar with their subjects and may have been asked to work on inadequate copies. They were also limited to the traditional conventions of non-empirical ethnographic depiction.

This thesis therefore concludes that it was not the originating artists or their own personal perceptions of non-European peoples that determined the ethnography found in the plates in the two publications. Instead, ethnographic depiction was subjected to forces

within the eighteenth-century British environment in which the publications were undertaken.

Chapter I

The ‘Hawkesworth Edition’

Chapter I contextualises the complex tensions behind the publication of the *Hawkesworth edition*. It details pressing issues in the political environment and shows how the men most closely associated with the publication, Lord Sandwich, John Hawkesworth and Joseph Banks, allowed personal ambition and financial need to determine priorities and dictate the manner in which original texts and drawings were reproduced. The chapter argues that the over-riding concern was the success of the publication and demonstrates the steps that Sandwich, Hawkesworth and Banks took to achieve it.

The chapter shows how the original accounts written by the commanders of the voyages were altered for the *Hawkesworth edition*. It also shows how, in spite of the account of the *Endeavour* voyage appearing under Cook’s name in the publication, it was largely taken from the more engaging journal of Joseph Banks. It shows how illustrations were commissioned that bore no resemblance to actual events.

The chapter concludes that the actions of Sandwich, Hawkesworth and Banks were misguided. In attempting to capture public imagination, the publication failed to adequately represent the quite extraordinary scientific achievements of the *Endeavour* voyage. The commanders whose accounts were altered felt betrayed. The public was affronted by Hawkesworth’s editorial comments. In attempting to please many, the *Hawkesworth edition* succeeded in satisfying none.

The publication, known here as the *Hawkesworth edition*, recounts voyages made to the southern ocean by John Byron and Philip Carteret (1764-66), Samuel Wallis (1766-68) and James Cook (1768-71). The responsibility for the *Hawkesworth edition*, which was the official publication of the three voyages, was assumed by the Admiralty. Although Cook’s *Endeavour* voyage had been undertaken under the auspices of the Royal Society and largely financed by the royal purse at its request, it was the Admiralty that was the nominated recipient of the privileged information from the voyage.⁵¹ It was therefore to the Admiralty that Cook’s account belonged.

Abbott suggests a three-fold purpose in the Admiralty's publishing the accounts. Firstly it believed that it was necessary to produce an official, government-sanctioned account of Cook's celebrated Pacific voyage and those of his predecessors, Byron, Wallis and Carteret, to confirm British claims to the territories taken in the King's name. Secondly it wanted the achievements of the British navy recognised internationally and those of the individual commanders acknowledged. Thirdly, it wanted to establish the status of the British navy as the foremost in Europe.⁵² The Admiralty's own explanation was that the official account of the voyages would illuminate a great national success, give positive proof of British dominance of the seas, and reveal in action the colonial spirit that took a people to the far points of the globe.⁵³

Beaglehole claims that the Admiralty was anxious that the publication should appear as soon as possible.⁵⁴ According to the Admiralty, it wanted the government sanctioned account to be published speedily because it was anxious about having an official account ready to replace the spurious and inaccurate texts that had already appeared.⁵⁵ In reality, it was concerned with the speed with which attention could be focussed on the British navy. It needed parliament to recognise not only the navy's recent achievements but also its financial plight. Naval funding had never been satisfactory because it was determined by manpower numbers. Since there was no regular navy during peacetime, the amounts allocated fluctuated enormously and were never sufficient to meet the necessary costs. For years naval maintenance had been neglected because positions of seniority had been in the hands of aristocrats who were too preoccupied during peacetime with overseeing their own estates to show concern for the navy. By 1773, the state of the navy had so deteriorated that Britain could no longer sustain a lengthy sea battle. She was facing a worsening international situation and war with either France or Spain seemed inevitable. Without parliament granting the necessary expenditure, chances of a British victory were almost impossible. The Admiralty was aware that even if this was not recognised at home, it had not escaped the attention of enemies abroad.

The person who was called upon to oversee the official voyage publication was John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich. At the time of the *Endeavour's* return to England, he was First Lord of the Admiralty and entrusted with the responsibility for

revitalizing the navy and putting it on a war footing. According to the Whig MP and historian Horace Walpole:

Sandwich had a passion for maritime affairs, his activity, industry and flowing complaisance endeared him to the profession... No man in the administration was so much master of business, so quick, so shrewd⁵⁶

While the First Lord appreciated that the refurbishment of the navy was essential for the protection of the country, he also recognised that a major public exercise was required if parliamentarians were to be persuaded to vote sufficient funds to allow the refurbishment to proceed. A lavish and well-received publication of the accounts of the highly successful voyages of Cook and the other commanders in the hands of wealthy and influential subscribers could not have suited his purposes better.

But Sandwich also had personal reasons for wanting the publication to appeal. He too was short of money. He had inherited the title of earl when he was still in his teens but with it few funds and a great deal of unpaid debt. This was not only financially embarrassing for Sandwich, but it also brought with it social and political repercussions that were potentially disastrous for his political career. Sandwich's recent biographer, N.A.M. Roger, explains how Sandwich's position in the House of Lords carried several implications which were uncomfortable for him because it brought with it no means of remuneration while, at the same time, incurring considerable expenditure.⁵⁷ In 1710, a bill had been proposed to establish the amount below which peers were not eligible to hold public office. It was reckoned that this amount should be four thousand pounds per year for a viscount and more for an earl.⁵⁸ Sandwich's income was only about three thousand five hundred pounds and his estate was heavily mortgaged.⁵⁹ According to Roger, Sandwich's income was so inadequate that, had the bill been passed, it would have made him in a political sense illegitimate.⁶⁰ He was also barred from creating wealth through any kind of commercial operation. In 1742, a pamphlet announced that aristocrats must be strangers to any form of commercial enterprise.⁶¹ Denied this opportunity, it was therefore essential that Sandwich found employment with the government and received the pensions and privileges that came with it.

Because of the vagaries of royal favour and the unpredictability of politics, Sandwich's hold on his appointments had always been rather tenuous. Although King

George III recognized Sandwich's administrative ability when he appointed him to the position of First Lord in 1769, there were no guarantees of security over its tenure as Sandwich's predecessor, Hawke, who had been forced to retire before him, had discovered. Sandwich was also disadvantaged by being generally unpopular. Walpole claimed 'no man had so many public enemies who had so few private [enemies]'.⁶² In Sandwich's defence, however, it should be noted that much of the early criticism had not been caused by Sandwich's own conduct but of his association with Lord North who was unpopular as Leader of the House under whom Sandwich served. But the most recent criticism was of Sandwich himself.

In 1765, he led the prosecution of the rebellious John Wilkes whose friend and co-member of a notorious organisation known as the Hellfire Club Sandwich had formerly been. The public view was that Sandwich's prosecution of Wilkes was 'an act of treachery'. A book entitled *Jeremy Twitcher*, the name of a character in John Gay's *Beggars Opera* who betrays his friend, was subsequently published in support of it. Written by an anonymous author, it not only implied that Sandwich was a betrayer but also laid allegations against him of promiscuity which Sandwich refused to answer.

At the time the Hawkesworth edition was being published, Sandwich's reputation was being further undermined by libel and acrimony. Allegations of treachery recurred when he was given the post of First Lord of the Admiralty on the forced retirement of Lord Hawke. Both allegations were recalled when the contemporarily infamous writer who wrote under the name of Gracchus, wrote in the *Public Advertiser* for Tuesday, February 19th, 1771:

The negative merit of persevering compliance with every species of villainy has long left you without a rival as well as a friend. It to trace you through a long train of contradicting subterfuges, as frivolous as they were mean, would far exceed my abilities and the bounds of this letter. The period is at hand when the laboured impunity of a retreat more infamous than that of Tiberius will in vain solicitate the Imbecility of the age; when gratification will be but an empty sound and enjoyments converted into disgrace.⁶³

Sandwich again chose not to respond. However, the circumstances of his personal life did little to dispel the allegations of promiscuity. When his wife was committed to a mental institution, he took a sixteen-year-old singer named Miss Ray for his mistress who

subsequently accompanied him on all official occasions as his wife. Members of the British establishment and, in particular, George III who held very strict moral views, disapproved of both the liaison and the status Sandwich allowed Miss Ray to assume. Although Sandwich appeared to be unmoved by the opinions of the public, those of his parliamentary colleagues and of his monarch mattered. He therefore looked to the Admiralty publication to improve his image. His financial exposure, his dependence on royal favour and his need for the esteem and support of members of his own class made it imperative that the publication should not only enhance the prestige of the British navy but also Sandwich's own.

Sandwich had no previous publishing experience and treated the official publication of the journals as he might any other significant literary work.⁶⁴ His principal concern was for literary style. The importance that Sandwich attributed to style is revealed in a letter he wrote to Daines Barrington two years after the Hawkesworth edition appeared. It was written in relation to the bid by Johann Foster, the German naturalist on Cook's second voyage, to be named editor and part-writer of the journal from that voyage and reads:

í whether the work is according to agreement and fit for publication in point of style and composition which also is undoubtedly implied, though perhaps not particularly expressed, in the agreement and Dr Foster must allow me to say that though his reputation as a writer is materially concerned in this publication, mine, as a judge of good or bad writing is concerned if the performance is to appear before the public; I will therefore not give any sanction to it till you tell me that you think it such as ought to appear under the approbation of the admiralty...⁶⁵

When the texts written by the various commanders came into the Admiralty's possession, Sandwich decided that they fell far short of his criteria. He therefore decided to follow the example of George Anson, whose voyage journal was the most popular in Britain in the eighteenth century, and seek an editor who could rework the texts into a style that Sandwich found more acceptable. One of the ladies-in-waiting to Queen Charlotte, the diarist Fanny Burney, wrote some time around September 1771 telling how her father, Dr. Charles Burney, who was staying in Norfolk with a group of friends:

í there, among others, met with Lord Sandwich. His Lordship was speaking of the late voyage round the world and mentioned his having the papers of it in his possession; for he is First Lord of the Admiralty; and said that they were not

arranged, but were rough draughts, and said that he should be much obliged to anyone who could recommend a proper person to *write the Voyage*.⁶⁶

In the eighteenth century, literary style was considered not only an indicator of the writer's literary merit but also of his class.⁶⁷ To assist the literary ambitions of poorly-educated writers from the lower classes, a torrent of primers, pocket books, and even serial magazines pieces and number books⁶⁸ were published giving the standard spelling of words and grammatical rules for their usage, the right mode of education, and the correct subjects for study, contemplation, discussion, and emulation.⁶⁹ They also included rules for deportment and conversation, the pronunciation of words, instructions on how to write letters, and all the minutiae of polite manners.⁷⁰

Amongst the authors of such works was John Hawkesworth. Joppien and Smith note that he was also a collaborator with Dr. Johnson in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁷¹ He wrote two articles on English usage for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. For a time he was both an editor and a reviewer and was considered particularly fussy about grammatical violation in the books he reviewed.⁷² It was John Hawkesworth whom Dr. Burney recommended to Sandwich as editor for the journals. Hawkesworth was soon writing to Burney:

I am now happy in telling you that your labour of Love was not in vain. I have all the Journals of the *Dolphin* the *Swallow* and the *Endeavour* in My possession. the Government will give me the Cutts & [had assured him] that the property of the Work will be my own.

Accept my best Thanks, dear Sir, for the Advantage which this work must necessary procure me, which will be considerable.

PS I am going to spend a week at Lord Sandwich's at Hinchinbrooke next week. I will certainly see you on my return. Is it possible I should give you my hand & thanks of my heart there?⁷³

Beaglehole states that Hawkesworth had humble origins.⁷⁴ In his youth he was engaged as an attorney's clerk but a Lambeth degree of LL.D was conferred upon him in 1756. It appears that this was not for learning or eminence in ecclesiastical law, of which he knew nothing, but for his general worth as a literary man in the eyes of Archbishop Herring.⁷⁵ Described as a miscellaneous writer, Hawkesworth was familiar with the journalism of the Grubb Street writers and Beaglehole notes that his association with Dr.

Johnson led him to 'sedulously imitate Johnson's literary style.'⁷⁶ Hawkesworth's contemporary, Joshua Reynolds, for whom Joppien and Smith note Hawkesworth sat on several occasions, held a poor opinion of him, considering him 'insincere and in dress an affected coxcomb'⁷⁷ Fanny Burney, however, held him in high regard. She commented in a letter that she had found him 'remarkably well bred and attentive, considering how great an author he is' ⁷⁸ She was impressed by his manner of speech and noted that she had 'never heard a man speak in a style which so much resembled writing. He has an amazing flow of choice words and expressions' ⁷⁹ She conceded, however, that she found him 'too precise to be really agreeable.'⁸⁰ According to Percy, others have remarked that as a result of his humble origins Hawkesworth 'knew no Latin or Greek, and was always socially insecure.'⁸¹

However, Hawkesworth was a man with social ambitions who recognised that the editing of the journals was his chance to establish his literary reputation and gain entry into the elite society to which men like Sandwich belonged. He was also aware that having 'arrived' he would be faced with a lifestyle that would not be easy to maintain without substantial financial backing. He, therefore, ensured he was handsomely rewarded for his editing of the journals by negotiating with the publication's printer and publisher, the London bookseller William Strachan, a fee of six thousand pounds and an agreement that he would receive a number of copies of the publication for his own use. According to Hawkesworth's own reckoning, this would be worth a total of six thousand and seventy-five pounds.⁸² This was an extraordinary sum for an editor to be paid in the 1770s and one that would bring later criticism from not only the commanders whose journals he was so handsomely paid to edit, but also his readers.

Hawkesworth received the journals of Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook some time before the 6th of October, 1771 which was only about a month after Sandwich had announced that he was seeking an editor. There is very little extant correspondence regarding the editing of the journals of the *Dolphin* by either Byron who commanded her first, or Wallis, who followed after, or of the journal of the *Swallow* under Carteret, all of which make up the first volume of the 'Hawkesworth edition' However there are a number of letters regarding the *Endeavour* journals which make up volumes II and III. These show Hawkesworth writing around the 19th of November to tell Sandwich of his

having received the first part of Banks's journal.⁸³ Hawkesworth is enthusiastic about the project and tells Sandwich he is hoping to have it ready in time enough for the sanction of Mr Banks and Capt. Cook to what I shall relate after them before their proposed departure on the second voyage sometime later that year.⁸⁴

A further letter from Hawkesworth shows that it was due to Sandwich that he was given Banks's journal. It reads as follows:

I am happy in your Lordship's powerfull Influence with Mr Banks for the use of his Journall. I flatter myself I shall be able to prevent ill humour, and satisfy the utmost Delicacy of a Gentleman to whom I shall be so much obliged.⁸⁵

Banks was well-known for his frequent outbursts of ill humour. Hawkesworth's comments suggest he was concerned that if the account of the voyage should appear under Cook's name and not Banks's it might give him cause. But it was inconceivable that Hawkesworth should suggest the official account of the voyage was written by anyone other than its commander, let alone that the Admiralty should agree to publish the journal of a leader of a natural history party who was not a naval man. It would also have been highly unconventional.

Published accounts of British voyages in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were always written by the commander under whose name they appeared. What is more, they were derived solely from the commander's own journals. This applied to not only the most authoritative British accounts such as that of the 1671 circumnavigation of Sir John Narborough,⁸⁶ but also to the more questionable account of William Dampier, the former buccaneer, who explored large areas around the coasts of Northern Australia and New Guinea at the turn of the seventeenth century.⁸⁷ It applied even to the most harrowing such as the 1723 account of George Shelvocke who survived mutiny and abandonment in South America only to have his ship impounded to pay taxes on reaching the Dutch East Indies and thereby forcing him to complete his voyage as a passenger on a trading vessel bound for England.⁸⁸

It can be assumed that when Hawkesworth promised Dr. Burney 'I will do [my] best to make it [the Hawkesworth edition] another Anson's voyage'⁸⁹ he intended that the account in the publication would be Cook's and that it would appear in Cook's name. Although Anson's original journal account underwent a revision in the hands of its editor,

Richard Walter, it was still taken from Anson's own logs and journals. However, on Sandwich's prompting, it was agreed that the 'Hawkesworth edition' would include Banks's account appearing under Cook's name. Sandwich may have believed that there was support for this irregularity in a German work from the late sixteenth century by Theodore de Bry who published an account of the expedition sent by Sir Walter Raleigh to the eastern coast of America in 1585-86.⁹⁰ This was not Raleigh's own account but one that was written by Thomas Hariot, the cartographer and historiographer who travelled to Virginia as keeper of the official record of the voyage. De Bry also wrote the published account in the first person and made a number of significant editorial alterations. However, he acknowledged in the publication that the text came from a report written by Hariot and makes no attempt to suggest Raleigh was the author of the publication. When Hakluyt published Hariot's account in 1589 and again in 1598-1600, it was in a voyage compilation entitled *Principal Navigations and Discoveries of the English Nation, Made by Sea or Over-Land, to the Most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth* where there was no attempt to suggest it was by any other than the ship's historiographer.⁹¹

Sandwich's prioritising of the literary standard of the publication over the integrity of its texts and allowing the modification of the original journals in Hawkesworth's hands proved problematic enough. By his also agreeing to include Banks's journal in the publication and allowing it to be appear under Cook's name, he was condoning the misrepresentation of both the voyage texts and the identity of those who had written them. Hawkesworth's extended inclusion of details from Banks's text under Cook's name was therefore a serious departure from common practice. It also altered the nature of the publication.

Presented as the official account of a successful naval voyage, it is in reality one that was predicated on the natural history observations of another party. At the time this caused little comment and appears to have been largely overlooked. As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, Helen Wallis understands that at the time it appeared the account of the *Endeavour* voyage in the 'Hawkesworth edition' was generally assumed to have been written by Cook. This was probably because Cook, himself, had been required

by Lord Morton, President of the Royal Society, to record observations that were other than navigational. Morton's instructions to him were to note:

The natural Dispositions of the people; Their progress in Arts or Science, Especially their Mechanics, Tools, and manner of using them; Their notions of Astronomy &^c and principal objects of attention.

Or if they have any method of communicating their thoughts at a distance, As the Mexicans are said to have done by painting, and the Peruvians by the Quipos. Next, the Character of their Persons, Features, Complexion, Dress, Habitations, Food, Weapons.

Then may be considered, their Religion, Morals, Order, Government, Distinctions of Power, Police.

Their tokens for Commerce and if they have any currency that passes among them in lieu of money, to bring home several Specimens from the highest to the lowest denominations.⁹²

Although Cook carried out Morton's instructions to the letter, his journal entries suggest he sometimes did so with a lack of enthusiasm. An entry in his journal for July 1769 in which he gives a lengthy description of King George's Island (Tahiti) and his impressions of its inhabitants, concludes with a note saying: "Having now done with the people I must once more return to the Island before I quit it altogether".⁹³ In spite of such comments, Beaglehole recognises, "if ever man devoted attention fruitfully to countries and people, their manners, customs and productions, as well as headlands, bays and soundings, that man was Cook."⁹⁴ Beaglehole continues, however:

"we can understand Hawkesworth; Joseph Banks Esquire had written of the voyage at length, in a manner no less stimulating than high spirited, and the editor may well have been so dazzled that he ignored the solid merits of those views of mankind presented by the excellent officer and skilful navigator."⁹⁵

It could also be argued that, since, as Williams notes, the voyage itself was "a hybrid" the published account of the voyage could also be justified as being "a hybrid"⁹⁶

There is no doubt that, as the men responsible for the success of the publication, both Hawkesworth and Sandwich were eager to take advantage of Banks's detailed journal account. They were also influenced by the public's fascination with a young man who as well as social status now had scientific fame. He was, after all, as Beaglehole describes:

"a Gentleman possessed of considerable landed property in Lincolnshire, with the education of a scholar added to a liberal fortune, was a Fellow of the Royal

Society, and, after the return of the *Endeavour*, a much sought after member of the more general and elevated society of London.⁹⁷

Salmond records how, within days of the return to London of Banks and Daniel Solander, Banks's taxonomist on the *Endeavour* voyage, "The aristocracy and the scientists flocked to see their collections of plants and curiosities" ⁹⁸ "Soon after his arrival in London Banks was presented to the King; and a week later, Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society, accompanied Banks and Solander to Richmond where the King was currently residing, to discuss the voyage. King George inspected Parkinson's sketches and suggested that the living plants from their [Banks's and Solander's] collection should be transported to the Royal Gardens at Kew" ⁹⁹ Boswell, the biographer of the eminent etymologist Dr. Johnson, with whom Banks and Solander later dined, was later to record that the president of the Royal Society, Sir John Pringle "had with him Lord Lyttleton and several more Gentlemen, in particular the famous Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, whom I had a great curiosity to see." ¹⁰⁰ Banks was painted by the President of the Royal Academy, Joshua Reynolds. Both Banks and Solander were the recipients of honorary doctorates from Oxford University.¹⁰¹ Beaglehole tells how Lady Mary Coke described them "as the most talkative of all at present and how she had seen them at court and in the homes of the aristocracy."¹⁰²

The London press was full of reports of the recent successful voyage, often with surprisingly little reference to Cook.¹⁰³ The *Public Advertiser* for August 7th, 1771, for example, reported that:

It is said that Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander have made more curious Discoveries in the way of Astronomy, and Natural History, than at any one Time have been presented to the learned World for these fifty years past.¹⁰⁴

Banks's natural history achievements were also exciting scientists abroad. The French encyclopaedist, Denis d'Alembert, wrote to Banks congratulating him,¹⁰⁵ and the famous Swedish naturalist, Carl Linnaeus, not only addressed him in a letter as "Immortal Banks" ¹⁰⁶ but also closed with the Latin salutation: *Vale vir sin pare*, [Farewell O unequalled man!]¹⁰⁷ Comte de Buffon even spoke of nominating him for fellowship of the *Académie des sciences*.¹⁰⁸

But it wasn't only Banks's reputation or even the quality of his journal account that persuaded Sandwich that it should be included in the publication. There were also personal reasons. Joseph Banks and Sandwich were very close friends. They met when Banks came down from Oxford at the age of seventeen and took up residence in Chelsea where they became neighbours. Salmond records that 'despite the difference in their ages, they became close friends, going fishing and enjoying women together'¹⁰⁹ Sandwich may even have been personally responsible for persuading the Royal Society, of which he was a fellow, to accept Banks's proposal to allow him to participate in a natural history expedition on the *Endeavour* voyage. Their relationship would have therefore made it extremely difficult for Sandwich to refuse to include Banks's journal in the publication if this was what Banks wanted, and Banks most certainly did.

It should not be forgotten that, at the time it was agreed that Banks's journal would be included in the Hawkesworth edition he was still expecting to travel on Cook's second voyage.¹¹⁰ As far as Banks was concerned, it would be beneficial to have a conspicuous presence in the publication of the official account of Cook's first voyage, especially as he intended to have far greater control over the second voyage and no doubt saw this as a means of persuading the Admiralty of the advantages in allowing him to do so.

Hawkesworth devotes three of the first four paragraphs in the 'Introduction' to Volumes II and III to Banks. They begin with a biographical resumé, followed by a glowing account of Banks's journal and the editor's gratitude to the famous young naturalist for being 'so obliging as to put it into [his] hands with permission to take out of it whatever [he] thought would improve or embellish the narrative.'¹¹¹ Hawkesworth notes that although Cook's papers 'contained a very particular account of all the nautical incidents of the voyage, and a very minute description of the figures and extent of the countries he had visited:

'[in] the papers which were communicated to me by Mr. Banks, I found a great variety of incidents which had not come under the notice of Captain Cook, with descriptions of countries and people, their productions, manners, customs, religion, policy, and language, much more full and particular than were expected from a Gentleman whose station and office naturally turned his principal attention to other objects.'¹¹²

In his two-volume edited publication, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, Beaglehole agrees with Hawkesworth, claiming of Banks's journal:

í [it] is full, it contains a large amount of invaluable detail, it has unending vivacity, it is obviously the work of an exceedingly quick and lively mind. The mind is that of a young man. We may say certainly that his journal is essential to an understanding of the voyage and its results: without it we should be disastrously worse off in our knowledge.¹¹³

Thomas, however, cautions the readers in relation to Banks's account of the loss of two men from a botanising party in Tierra del Fuego, stating:

Here, we encounter another kind of problem: the possibility that the most literate intellectual on the ship, the man who wrote most extensively about the human contact that occurred over the course of the expedition, our star witness if you like, has not simply left out events, or told a story in a way that ennobled his own role, but instead actually lied.

It is vital that we are nagged by this doubt. But it is also important that we do not blow it out of proportion and dismiss a document such as Banks's *Journal* that is rich and ragged if not absolutely reliable.¹¹⁴

Hawkesworth's allusion to the possibility of causing "ill humour" if the journal were to be published in Cook's name is given above. He relates in the "Introduction" to Volume II, however, that Banks was generous and when:

í there arose an objection against writing an account of this voyage in the person of the Commander, which could have no place with respect to the others; the descriptions and observations of Mr. Banks would be absorbed without any distinction, in a general narrative given under another name: but this objection he generously over-ruled.¹¹⁵

But it wasn't only Banks who had to be appeased. Hawkesworth felt obliged to justify his use of so much of Banks's journal in an account published in the name of Cook to his readers. He explains for their benefit:

It is indeed fortunate for mankind, when wealth and science, and a strong inclination to exert the powers of both for purposes of public benefit, unite in the same person; and I cannot but congratulate my country upon the prospect of further pleasure and advantage from the same Gentleman, to whom we are indebted for so considerable a part of this narrative.¹¹⁶

As well as being under Cook's name, it appears that there was some discussion as to how the various accounts should be narrated. In the "General Introduction"

Hawkesworth recounts how "When I first undertook the work it was debated whether it should be written in the first or third person."¹⁷ However:

...it was regularly acknowledged on all hands, that a narrative in the first person would, by bringing the Adventurer and the Reader nearer together, without the intervention of a stranger, more strongly excite an interest, and consequently afford more entertainment;¹¹⁸

Hawkesworth also reminded those present:

If it was written in the name of the several Commanders, I could exhibit only a naked narrative without any opinion or sentiment of my own, however fair the occasion, and without noting the similitude or dissimilitude between the opinions, customs, or manners of the people now first discovered, and those of nations that have been long known, or remarking on any other incident or particular that might occur.¹¹⁹

He records:

In answer to this objection, however, it was said, that as the manuscript would be submitted to the Gentlemen in whose names it would be written, supposing the narrative to be in the first person, and nothing published without their approbation, it would signify little who conceived the sentiments that should be expressed, and therefore I might still be at liberty to express my own. In this opinion all parties acquiesced, and it was determined that the narrative should be written in the first person.¹²⁰

Extraordinary as it might seem for an official Admiralty publication, Hawkesworth was granted approval to "intersperse such sentiment and observation as my subject should suggest."¹²¹ Just who was present at the meeting and empowered him to influence textual interpretation in this manner has not been documented but it is unlikely to have been the various commanders. It is argued here that it was most probably Sandwich who agreed with Hawkesworth that editorial comments would inspire reader participation in the issues Hawkesworth raised.

Hawkesworth, himself, justifies their inclusion by suggesting that they focus attention on details or events the significance of which might otherwise be ignored or overlooked by the readers. He supports his justification by the claim that "an account of ten thousand men perished in battle or twice their number... swallowed up by an earthquake, or that a whole nation was swept away by a pestilence had little impact on

the reader if they failed to capture the imagination, or, as Hawkesworth describes it, “power over the mind.”¹²² Once the public has been emotionally engaged, he continues, even the most insignificant experiences, such as those of Richardson’s *Pamela*, a work that Hawkesworth describes as being “remarkable for the enumeration of particulars in themselves so trifling that we almost wonder how they could occur to the author’s mind” acquire new dimensions.¹²³

It seems that the need for a voyage compilation to capture the public imagination was not queried and Hawkesworth was given licence to add his own comments to that end. However, many of the inclusions are not actually Hawkesworth’s own. Instead, they are from works that were receiving public attention at the time of the publication. Amongst them is the recently-published *Histoire des navigations aux terres Australes*.¹²⁴ Hawkesworth cites the work itself but does not identify the author, Charles de Brosses, whose work by that name had appeared in France in 1756. The *Histoire* includes a compilation of shortened accounts of voyages to the southern part of the Americas and the Pacific, beginning with Vespucci’s voyage in 1501 and ending with Anson’s in 1741. It was therefore a convenient source of information for anyone wishing to show a comprehensive knowledge of Pacific voyaging. As such, it suited Hawkesworth admirably. He may not have even needed to read de Brosses’s publication in its original format because a more recent publication translated into in English repeated much of its content. This was *An Account of the Discoveries made in the South Pacifick Ocean Previous to 1764* by the unsuccessful contender to command the *Endeavour* voyage, Alexander Dalrymple,¹²⁵ published in 1769, while the *Endeavour* was in the Pacific commanded by Cook.¹²⁶

Amongst the various issues raised in the *Histoire*, is the size of the Patagonians. These are a people from the southern-most part of the South American mainland who had been traditionally fabled for their gigantic size. As recently as 1766, Commander Byron noted, “These people who in size come nearest to Giants I believe of any People in the World.”¹²⁷ Since then, however, during their voyage of 1766-67, Carteret and Wallis measured a number of Patagonians and found that they were not much above six feet, which made them only marginally taller than tall Britons.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, Hawkesworth’s “General Introduction” contains seven pages of claims and counter claims as to the

gigantic size of the Patagonians, ending with Wallis's and Carter's confirmation that they are not giants.

In spite of Wallis's and Carter's confirmation that the Patagonians were no taller than tall Britons, an illustration in the Hawkesworth edition, Plate 23, *Representation of the Interview between Commodore Byron and the Patagonians* (Fig. 1), shows Byron and his men confronted by a large assembly of giants. Given the evidence to the contrary quoted in the text, it can only be assumed that the illustration was justified on the grounds that it captured the public imagination. Those who are familiar with traditional voyage literature know of its attempts to capture the emotional engagement of the reader through images of monsters and accounts of the unnatural. Honour relates how, in his 'enormously popular mid-fourteenth-century geographical fantasy', Sir John Mandeville describes the inhabitants of a mythical island in the Indian Ocean that he named Nacumera as 'men [who] all go naked except a little clout' adding that '[they] are large men and warlike' and 'if they take any man in battle they eat him.'¹²⁹ Pagden notes that, in the late mediaeval period, the perceptions of many non-European peoples were influenced by what was written in the ethnographies of Herodotus,¹³⁰ the Greek historian from the fifth century BC. However, Pagden claims that by the middle ages the ethnographies were not as Herodotus had written them. In the interim, they had been distorted by Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79) leaving a legacy of 'fascination with the monstrous and the fabulous at the expense of systematic inquiry into the normal functioning of ordinary, if foreign societies.'³¹

Whatley considers such attitudes were also behind the perception of the inhabitants of the Americas some four hundred years later and notes that 'All through the sixteenth century one finds in travel books a semantic attraction between the term 'America' and the terms 'monster' and 'marvel.'³² Hawkesworth's description of a Patagonian chief 'of a gigantic stature' who 'was painted so as to make the most hideous appearance I ever beheld' and who 'seemed to realize the tales of monsters in a human shape...'³³ belongs to this tradition. It was a tradition that still had a place in the eighteenth-century as Hawkesworth and the commissioner of the plate must have recognised when it was reported by the *Public Advertiser* of 21st May, 1768, that Londoners had rushed to Greenwich to see the thirteen Patagonians who were reported to

be aboard Wallis's ship, HMS *Dolphin*, on its return to England.¹³⁴ Both text and image were therefore no doubt included in the Hawkesworth edition with readers like those Londoners in mind.

While capturing the public imagination was important, so too was the publication's literary style. Noted for his fussiness about grammatical violations, Hawkesworth made corrections and emendations to the original texts of the journals he edited.¹³⁵ In an analysis of alterations to Cook's journal, Percy notes that Hawkesworth made numerous grammatical changes so that the text would conform to contemporary usage. She gives as examples, Hawkesworth's changing the word *will* to *shall* and *would* to *should* because in each case the latter was considered more grammatically correct.¹³⁶ However, she also found changes that she described as downright idiosyncratic.¹³⁷ These are changes which she finds "seem to be stylistically motivated, with the effect of removing any hint of will or whimsy from prospective English actions."¹³⁸ The example she gives is the change made to Cook's entry for April 15 1769. Where the original reads "we endeavour'd by every means in our power to convince them that the man was kill'd for taking away the Musquet and that we still would be friends with them" in the Hawkesworth edition becomes "we endeavoured to justify our people as well as we could, and to convince the Indians that if they did no wrong to us, we should do no wrong to them"¹³⁹ In Hawkesworth's hands, Cook's pragmatic statement becomes something of a social contract which he certainly did not intend it to be. Percy concludes that "It is thus very difficult to regard all of Hawkesworth's emendations as corrections."¹⁴⁰

There are also wide discrepancies between the original texts and Hawkesworth's rendition of them. Hawkesworth's description of the natives of Tierra del Fuego reads:

Upon the whole these people appeared to be the most destitute and forlorn as well as the most stupid of all human beings; the outcasts of Nature, who spent their lives in wandering about the dreary wastes, where two of our people perished with cold in the midst of summer; with no dwelling but a wretched hovel of sticks and grass, which would not only admit the wind, but the snow and the rain; almost naked, and destitute of every convenience that is furnished by the rudest art, having no implement even to dress their food; yet they were content. They seemed to have no wish for anything more than they possessed, nor did anything that we offered them appear acceptable but beads, as an ornamental superfluity of life. What bodily pain they might suffer from the severities of their winter we

could not know; but it is certain that they suffered nothing from the want of the innumerable articles which we consider, not as the luxuries and conveniences only, but the necessities of life: as their desires are few, they probably enjoy them all; and how much they may be gainers by an exemption from the care, labour and solicitude, which arise from a perpetual and unsuccessful effort to gratify that infinite variety of desires, which the refinements of artificial life have produced among us, is not very easy to determine: possibly this may counterbalance all the real disadvantages of their situation in comparison with ours, and make the scales by which good and evil are distributed to man, hang even between us.¹⁴¹

By comparison, Cook's comments about the Fuegians lack any form of moralising. Nor do they attribute qualities such as good and evil to either European or indigenous societies. He simply records that the Fuegians appeared to have no chief or form of government nor any useful or necessary Utensils and suggests an empathy with them in the statement, 'In a Word they are perhaps as miserable a set of people as are this day upon Earth.'⁴² Banks, whose text Joppien and Smith believe inspired the illustration, describes their hut and their lack of furniture and suggests that:

In these few hutts and with this small share or rather none at all of what we call the necessities of life livd about 50 men women and children, to all appearance contented with what they had nor wishing for anything we could give them except beads.¹⁴³

But while Banks claims they appeared contented with what they had and that they were not interested in anything he or the other members of the *Endeavour's* company offered them except beads, he does not suggest that they were not 'wishing for anything other than they possessed'. Quite the contrary, as Banks speaks of the objects the Fuegians appear to have acquired from earlier visits by European ships. These include 'European Commodities of which we saw sailcloth, Brown woollen Cloth, Beads, nails Glass &c, and of them a considerable quantity.'⁴⁴

The reason why Hawkesworth's text differs from those of Cook and Banks is because it is derived from the description of New Hollanders or Australian Aboriginals in Dampier's published journal and Cook's response to it. Dampier's journal reads:

The inhabitants of this Country are the miserablest People in the world. They have no sort of Cloathes but a piece of the rind of a tree tied like a girdle about their waist and a handful of long grass or three or four small green boughs or leaves thrust under their girdle to cover their nakedness. They have no Houses,

but lie in the open Air without any covering, the earth being their bed and the heaven their canopy í they differ but little from Brutes.¹⁴⁵

Cook refers to Dampier's description of New Hollanders in his own journal and challenges its evaluation of them saying, "their features were far from being disagreeable" ¹⁴⁶ He continues:

From what I have said of the Natives of New-Holland they may appear to be some of the most wretched people upon Earth, but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans; being wholly unacquainted not only with the superfluous but the necessary conveniencies so much sought after in Europe, they are happy in not knowing the use of them. They live in a Tranquillity which is not disturb'd by the Inequality of Condition: The Earth and Sea of their own accord furnishes them with all the necessary things for life; they covert not Magnificent Houses, Houshold-stuff & C^a. they live in a warm and fine Climate and enjoy very wholesome Air, so that they have little need of Clothing and this they seem to be fully sensible of, for many to whome we gave Cloth & C^a. to, left it carlessly upon the Sea Beach and in the woods as a thing they had no manner of use for. In short they seem'd to set no Value upon anything we gave them nor would they ever part with anything of their owní this, in my opinion argues that they think themselves provided with all the necessarys of Life and that they have no Superfluities -¹⁴⁷

While Hawkesworth repeats words and phrases from Cook in his own description of the Fuegians, the original context is not a moral debate about the advantages or disadvantages of a primitive lifestyle, regardless of the conditions under which it occurs. Instead, Cook recognises the New Hollanders as living in an environment in which material inequality or excess has no place. However, this did not deter Hawkesworth from attributing Dampier's comments about an entirely different ethnic group, to Cook or transposing Cook's more positive comments incorrectly.

The licence granted to Hawkesworth to make the kind of "emendations" and "hypotheses" that misrepresented original texts, or introduced subjects that had no basis in them, was also assumed in the commissioning of the engraved illustrations. As a result, in the creation of some plates, original artwork was altered so that it no longer represented the artists' empirical observations. In others, events were portrayed in such a way as to have little relevance to historic reality or the textual accounts. One example is Plate 23, *The Interview between Captain Byron and the Patagonians* (Fig. I), where, as the title suggests, Byron is shown standing before a group of Patagonian giants. Another is Plate

22, *A Representation of the Surrender of the Island of Otaheite to Captain Wallis by its supposed Queen*, Oberea (Fig. 2).

Plate 22 (Fig. 2) shows Wallis, accompanied by his men, being greeted by Oberea (Purea), the person whom Wallis took to be the Queen of Tahiti.¹⁴⁸ She stands at the head of a procession in which her subjects have their heads and shoulders bowed in submission. They are also bare-breasted as was the tradition in the presence of a chief. Oberea holds out a palm frond as a symbol of peaceful intention and Wallis responds by holding out his hand, his firing piece resting on his shoulder. It is an attractive image, set in the bountiful Tahitian landscape. However, the event the plate celebrates was very different from that portrayed.

At the time that the surrender is alleged to have taken place, Friday June 26 1767, Wallis was ill and confined to his cabin so that it was his lieutenant who took the island for Britain. The journal entry reads as follows:

Fine pleasant weather, with Sea and Land breezes & refreshing Showers, at 2 PM the Boats Landed without any Opposition. The Lieutenant Stuck up a Staff and On it hoisted a Pendant turned a Turf and took possession of this Land in his Majestys Name, and called it in Honour of his Most Sacred Majesty, King George the thirds Island, then went to the river and tasted the Water which he found to be exceeding Good, of which he made some Grogg, and gave every Man a Drink, to drink his Majestys health ...¹⁴⁹

Hawkesworth repeats Wallis's account accurately enough, doing nothing more than correct the grammar.

However, the taking of Tahiti for the British crown occurred only after Wallis's ship had survived an attack by a large number of native inhabitants in their war canoes by firing on them. Wallis's unpublished journal entry for June 23 1767 tells how, on arrival in Tahiti, his ship was bombarded with showers of stones from every side. When a great many canoes began to approach the ship, Wallis ordered two quarter deck guns to be loaded with small shot and fired:

...this put them into some Confusion, however after a Minutes pause they began again, ...I gave Orders for the Great Guns to be fired, some to fire constantly at a place on the Shore where there was a great Number of Canoes who were taking in Men and pushing of toward the Ship as fast as Possible ó I believe there were not less than Three Hundred Boats about the Ship and on an Average Two Thousand Men beside some Thousands on the shoar and Boats coming from every Quarter; however, on hearing our Guns and seeing their Boats pulling off from the Ship

they lay Quiet. and we left of firing ó í a Great Number of Canoes came together again and lay sometime looking at the ship about a Quarter of Mile off, and then on a sudden hoisted up White Streamers pulled to ward the Ship's Stern and began again to throw Stones which they threw dexterously and at a great Distance with Slings, the Stones many weighing Two Pounds; having run out two Guns at aft and pointing them well as we did some forward at a Number of Canoes that were coming toward the Bow of the Ship from whence I believe they had taken notice no Shot had been fired, I ordered them to be fired on, and One of the Shott hit the Canoe that had called the others to him and Cut it in sunder, on seeing which they immediately dispersed that in half an hour there was not a Canoe to be seen, the Inhabitants that had been looking on from the Shore all retreated over the Hills up into the Country.¹⁵⁰

This battle is depicted in Plate 21 of the Hawkesworth edition of *A representation of the attack of Captain Wallis in the Dolphin by the natives of Otahete* (Fig. 3). British acquisition of Tahiti was not therefore as cordial as Plate 22 (Fig. 2) would have the reader believe.

What is more, Wallis did not go on shore to meet Oberea until July 13, a fortnight after the *Dolphin's* arrival in Tahiti when neither she, nor Wallis's first meeting with her, bore any resemblance to the image in Plate 22. Wallis recalls:

In the Morning I went onshoar for the first time where the Queen... soon came, and made some of her people to take me and all went with me that were ailing up in their Arms and Carry me a Cross the River, and so on to her house & ordering a Guard to follow, where there was a Multitude of People, She only conversing with her hand or Speaking a Word they immediately withdrew-and left us a free Passage. When we came near her house a Great Number of Men and Woemen came out to meet her, and she brought them to me and after shewing me by Signs they were her Relations she took hold of my hand and made them Kiss it ó after this we went into the Large House ... she made us all sit down then she called four Young Girls who took down my Stockings and shoes and pulled of my coat and they Smoothed down the Skin Gently Chafing it, ... after a certain time I believe near half an hour they left of and dressed me again at which they were very awkward, however I found that it had done me much Service ... She then ordered some Bundles to be brought, and took from thence some Country Cloth, which is like Paper, and clothed me and all that were with me after their Manner ... at my going away she Ordered a very large Sow Big with Young to be taken down to the Boat, she accompanied us and I choosing to walk she took me by the Arm and lifted me over every rough with as much care as I could (when in health) a Child.¹⁵¹

Although the battle between the two cultures is recorded accurately in both the publication's text and in Plate 21, the surrender of the country to Britain in Plate 22 is a

fabrication designed to hide an embarrassing reality. Standing alone, the texts could have led to criticism of Britain's treatment of non-European nations. Wallis's instructions from the Admiralty are not known. Cook's own, so-called "Secret Instructions" were to "take possession of convenient situations in the Country in the name of the King of Great Britain...with the consent of the natives [italics the writer's]."¹⁵² Salmond, who believes that Lord Morton, the President of the Royal Society was familiar with the *Dolphin's* journals and knew of Wallis's experience in Tahiti, had also given Cook a series of "Hints" on how to deal with the native populations,¹⁵³ one of which states:

They are the natural, and in the strictest sense of the word, the legal possessors of the several Regions they inhabit. No European Nation has a right to occupy any part of their country, or settle among them without their voluntary consent. Conquest over such people can never give just title; because they could never be the Aggressors.¹⁵⁴

This runs counter to Wallis's lieutenant having taken Tahiti after its inhabitants' forced surrender. Since history could not be altered, the Admiralty must have decided to avoid embarrassment by having an illustration created to suggest that the event was in accordance with current policy. It must also have decided that an image of the convalescent commander carried by a single "Indian" woman would run counter to attempts to demonstrate British superiority. It is assumed in this thesis that, given the political implications of Wallis's actions it is likely that Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty under whose auspices Wallis's voyage was earlier undertaken and the person responsible for the publication, was also responsible for the commissioning of Plate 22.

However, the designer or engraver, J. Hall, was faced with a lack of material from which to create the plate. There were no artists on the *Dolphin*. Drawings were executed by Wallis during his stay in Port Royal (Matavia Bay), several of which are now in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. There are also several drawings in the British Museum of HMS *Dolphin* in Tahiti by Wallis (Add. MS 15499) and there is a naïve painting of the battle by an unknown artist in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection in the National Library of Australia. None of these, however, shows the iconography of this plate. Instead, it appears that the designer, or Hall, the engraver of the plate, was required to create it using visual records from Cook's *Endeavour* voyage.

Whether or not the discrepancy between Plate 22 and the textual account was ever considered problematic is not documented. There may have been little time to compare the results of the two different aspects of the publication because of the speed with which it was being undertaken. The Admiralty wanted it ready as soon as possible and Banks was expecting it to be ready before he and Cook set sail on the second voyage.¹⁵⁵ But the Hawkesworth edition was an extremely complex publication with no one person appearing to be responsible for overall control. To begin with, the publication involved the editing of four different voyage accounts. Beaglehole notes that Hawkesworth claims in the Preface to the second edition that he had written the text for the publication in little more than four months after he received the manuscripts.¹⁵⁶ Hawkesworth informed Sandwich he hoped to have the publication ready before Cook left on his second voyage sometime later that year. Beaglehole adds, "He was able to prepare eight hundred printed pages in that time not because he merely made a paraphrase of Cook's journal but because he had also Banks's journal at his disposal, and his dovetailing was not unskilful."¹⁵⁷ However, the total complement of illustrations, including maps and charts, required the engraving of one hundred and nine plates of which twenty-two are ethnographic figure and landscapes executed by at least four different engravers. Hawkesworth's hopes were thwarted by numerous delays, many of which were due to the slowness of the engravers to complete these latter plates. Particularly slow was Edward Rooker, who engraved three of the plates and was extremely late in their completion.¹⁵⁸ As a result the three-volume Hawkesworth edition did not appear until June 1773.

It was well promoted and eagerly awaited, with Horace Walpole commenting:

At present our ears and our eyes are expecting East Indian affairs, and Mr. Banks's voyage, for which Mr. Hawkesworth has received *d'avance* one thousand pounds from the voyager, and six thousand pounds from the booksellers, Strachan & Co., who will take due care that we shall read nothing else till they meet with such another pennyworth.¹⁵⁹

The first edition of two thousand sets sold out quickly requiring a completely re-set edition of two thousand five hundred copies to be published two months later. However, criticism was quick to follow the first edition. By July, Walpole was commenting on the publication again, only this time it was to complain of its lack of entertainment. He wrote to a friend:

I have almost waded through Dr. Hawkesworth's three volumes of the *Voyages to the South Sea*. The entertaining matter would not fill half a volume; and at its best is but an account of the fishermen on the coasts of forty islands.¹⁶⁰

At a dinner party in London, Boswell told his fellow guests that although he was assured that it would be a commercial success, Dr. Johnson found it lacking in new information, remarking, "if as a book that is to increase human knowledge, I believe that there will not be much of that. Hawkesworth can only tell what the voyagers have told him; and they have found very little, only one new animal, I think."¹⁶¹ Boswell claimed that when he informed Johnson that they had found many insects Johnson replied "Why, Sir, as to insects, Ray reckons of British insects twenty thousand species. They might have staid at home and discovered enough in that way."¹⁶²

But complaints were not confined to the publication's failure to live up to expectations that it would inform or entertain. Dalrymple, who had originally been chosen to sail in Cook's place, wrote a stinging attack on discrepancies he found in relation to charts and the narrative in the "Hawkesworth edition." He wrote how it "galled him to see the captain's journals converted into a profitable best seller by a mere man of letters."¹⁶³ As if in anticipation of this criticism, Hawkesworth had claimed in the "General Introduction" to have read his account to "the respective Commanders of the Admiralty" so that "no doubt might remain of the fidelity with which I have related the events recorded in my materials."¹⁶⁴ This was done:

"by the appointment of Lord Sandwich, who was himself present during much the greatest part of the time. The account of the voyage of the *Endeavour* was also read to Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in whose hands, as well as those of Captain Cook, the manuscript was left for a considerable time after the reading. Commodore Byron, also Captain Wallis and Captain Carteret, had the manuscripts of their respective voyages to peruse, after they had been read at the Admiralty in their presence, and such emendations as they suggested were made."¹⁶⁵

However, Cook, who was already on his second voyage by the time the publication appeared, wrote from St Helena in May 1775:

I never had the perusal of the Manuscript nor did I ever hear the whole of it read in the mode it was written, notwithstanding what Dr Hawkesworth has said to the Contrary in the Interduction. How those things came to be thus represented I can not say as they came not from me! ¹⁶⁶

When Carteret read the first volume he was so incensed that he threatened to publish his own independent account and wrote:

When a *Manø Voyage* is printed not only in his Lifetime but also to his Face & in the place where he is resident, it must certainly be imagined that there is nothing either omitted or added by the publisher that is contrary to the will or desire of the writer, and that the whole is strictly true & well warranted by the original manuscript given into his Hands; But í this is unfortunately not the Case with respect to an account of a voyage I made round the globe in his Majestyø Ship the *Swallow* which has been lately given to the publick by the late Dr. H.¹⁶⁷

It was widely rumoured:

í not only the respective Commanders, Messrs. Byron, Wallis, Carteret &c had publicly protested against Dr. Hø account of their voyages, as containing misrepresented facts, but also that especially Messrs. Banks and Solander, had publicly declared that they had never delivered any papers into that Editors hands, and that the Public was to wait for their own Narrative, which was to be published within 3 or 4 years.¹⁶⁸

Further criticism followed of Hawkesworthø acceptance of so large a fee. One reviewer wrote describing, as he saw them, the labours for which Hawkesworth had pocketed six thousand pounds:

í the easy Business of a few Months, transacted by a Manø own Fireside, whereas the commanders who had made the voyages at the risk of their own lives and had written the original manuscripts obtained not one penny of profit frm all the transaction.¹⁶⁹

A note that accompanied a sixty-five page review of the publication in the *Annual Register* suggested that "The respectable light in which this gentleman [Hawkesworth] stood in the literary world, and the manner in which this work was patronised [had] naturally raised the public expectation to a greater height, than can perhaps be for the advantage of any literary performance."¹⁷⁰ While it noted that it was common for all such works as the widely anticipated "Hawkesworth edition" to "undergo the test of somewhat stronger than unprejudiced criticism" í ø it condemned the manner in which Hawkesworth had offended contemporary morals and orthodox religious belief.¹⁷¹ One lady reader wrote:

It gives one pleasure to find that this nation has still virtue enough left to be shocked and disgusted by an attack upon religion, and an outrage against decency

such as Dr. Hawkesworth's last performance, which I find is most universally disliked.¹⁷²

The first of these condemnations was in relation to Hawkesworth's description of a public display of sexual intercourse between a young and unwilling Tahitian girl and one of her countrymen while Oberea and her women looked on. Cook describes Oberea and the women observers "so far from shewing the least disapprobation that they instructed the girl how she should act her part."¹⁷³ However, he alludes to the occasion only briefly, assuming "correctly" according to Beaglehole, that it was "done more from custom than from lewdness" and was therefore ceremonial.¹⁷⁴ Hawkesworth, on the other hand exaggerates Cook's description, referring to the act as "the rites of Venus" for the benefit of his readers.¹⁷⁵

The second condemnation was of the questioning of the existence of divine providence in the "General Introduction" It was written by Hawkesworth in reference to the *Endeavour* being saved from destruction on the rocks off the coast of New Holland in March, 1770. It states:

It will perhaps be said, that in particular instances evil necessary results from that constitution of things which is best upon the whole, and that Providence occasionally interferes, and supplies the defects of the constitution in these particulars; but this notion will appear not to be supported by those facts which are said to be providential; it will always be found that Providence interposes too late, and only moderates the mischief which it might have prevented. But who can suppose an extraordinary interposition of Providence to supply particular defects in the constitution of nature, who sees those defects supplied but in part? It is true that when the *Endeavour* was upon a rock off the coast of New Holland, the wind ceased, and that otherwise she must have been beaten to pieces; but either the subsiding of the wind was a mere natural event or not. If it was a natural event, Providence is out of the question...If it was not a mere natural event, but produced by an extraordinary interposition, correcting a defect in the constitution of nature...it will lie upon those who maintain the position to shew, why an extraordinary interposition did not take place rather to prevent the ship's striking, than to prevent her being beaten to pieces after she had struck...¹⁷⁶

Although Cook named the place where the event occurred "Providential Channel" neither he nor Banks wrote in their journals that divine providence was an issue to be discussed in relation to the event itself. Instead, Hawkesworth's comments appear to have been inspired by a letter written by Sidney Parkinson to Dr. Fothergill that Chapter II will show was not received by the doctor until after Parkinson's death. It reads:

í we shall be obligèd to heave down to repair an Injury we receivèd by running ashore upon a Rock on the Coast of New Holland on which coast we were several times in the most imminent danger of being dashèd to pieces, had not the kind Providence of Almighty God interposèd in our favour, in so remarkable a manner that I hope I shall never forget it,í ¹⁷⁷

Its source was therefore neither Cook nor Banks but the natural history draughtsman who, as the following chapter shows, was refused any acknowledgement in the publication.

Hawkesworth had offended the tastes and sensitivities of his readers. Abbott notes how he was ñhounded and defamed almost daily in the papers by legions of anonymous correspondents who searched his volumes for assorted violations, particularly of taste, morality, and religion.ø¹⁷⁸ When the first criticism came, he dealt with it with humour, but those that followed were so vitriolic that he was left without an answer. One anonymous writer wrote lamenting, ñthat a Work which should have nobly employed the sublime Genius of a Montesquieu should have been committed to the trim, limited Talents of a Moral Essayistø¹⁷⁹ Another questioned Hawkesworthø morality in accepting so high a fee.¹⁸⁰

The on-going criticism came as a terrible blow to both Hawkesworthø pride and to his professional and social ambitions. He had seen his involvement in the publication as a means to gain status in the literary world and entry into high society. Instead, he was accused of professional incompetence and greed. He was dead within the year. Although his wife blamed failing health due to the demands of ñhis important workø¹⁸¹ there were suggestions that his death was actually suicide.¹⁸²

Hawkesworthø hopes of repeating the success of Ansonø journal publication had failed. In spite of his attempts, the journals he had been given the responsibility of editing were never a match for Ansonø voyage account. George Ansonø is an adventure story with shipwrecks, attacks on Spanish ships, flight from Spanish reprisals and buccaneering activities that culminate in the capture of the fabled *Manila Galleon* that regularly sailed across the Pacific filled with American gold. When he returned to England, Anson was received as a second Drake and made a ñLordø The voyage journals of Cook and the other commanders, on the other hand, are sober accounts of navigational, territorial and scientific discoveries in the South Seas, and the contacts they made with hitherto little or unknown races. Even Banksø comments could not save the publication from perceived

tedium. Although images of an immoral Tahitian Queen and her libidinous female subjects continued to fascinate the British public, the events of daily life in the South Seas were no match for the intrigues of contemporary London society. If this were not enough, at the time the Hawkesworth edition appeared, Britain was in the throes of losing America which had proved to be an expensive and ungrateful colony. British subjects therefore had little interest in other colonising projects at that time.

Like Hawkesworth, Sandwich's fortunes were not improved by his involvement in the publication either and he lost his post as First Lord. Although he was reinstated by the time Cook's third voyage occurred, he was so disillusioned by his previous experience in publishing that he at first refused to have any involvement with a third voyage account and wrote advising Banks:

‘ I had so much trouble about the publication of the last two voyages that I am cautious or rather unwilling to take upon me to decide in what manner & for whose emolument the work shall be undertaken’ ¹⁸³

In spite of the reactions of contemporary readers to Hawkesworth's edition of the *Endeavour* voyage, comments by later voyagers to the South Pacific suggest that the published accounts of Cook's three voyages were widely appreciated. Manuscripts of logs and journals of voyages that followed Cook's routes around the Pacific give numerous detailed comparisons between current findings and Cook's. The men who voyaged to Tahiti in 1792 with Captain Bligh readily refer to Cook's detailed comments in reverential tones. Lieutenant Francis Bond on the *Providence* recorded some twenty years after Cook:

So much has already been said of the island of Otaheite by Captain Cook, that very little remains for the cursory Voyager. Indeed that celebrated navigator display'd the greatest sagacity in all the observations he made on this wonderful country; for every acute observer must allow his account of the manners and customs of the natives of the South Seas to be unequal'd for truth and precision. In examining minutely into the ceremony of their religious sacrifices and publick festivals, we found the strictest veracity in every thing he had advanced and it was with admiration we reflected on that wonderful penetration which so conspicuously marked this great man. ¹⁸⁴

Today the Hawkesworth edition is regarded as a curiosity that is more valuable for the light it sheds on contemporary British institutions and the personal ambitions of those

who were influential in them than on the lives of the indigenous people it purports to describe. Its engraved illustrations invite a similar response. However, the second publication, now examined in Chapter II, although an unlikely competitor and one that faced far greater publishing problems than the Hawkesworth edition, was better received at the time of publication. Parkinson's *Journal* continues to be regarded as a genuine attempt to communicate unique information that contributes to the understanding of the customs, habits and society of its South Pacific subjects and to explain differences in human understanding.

Chapter II

‘Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas’.

The subject of Chapter II, *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas*, is a posthumous publication of a journal written by the late Sydney Parkinson, natural history draughtsman on the *Endeavour* voyage to Joseph Banks. Like Chapter I, Chapter II explains the motivation behind the publication and the social and political forces that determined its nature. Chapter II discusses the implications of the death of its author for the publication and shows how, in his absence, decisions were taken that affected not only the publication itself but also the manner in which the plates that illustrate it were engraved.

The single most significant determining feature of the publication was the absence of the *Journal*'s author, Sydney Parkinson. He died in February, 1771, along with the Royal Astronomer, Charles Greene and ten of the ship's crew after leaving Batavia (modern-day Jakarta) from illnesses contracted while the *Endeavour* was stationed in there, making preparations for the voyage home. Sydney Parkinson's journal was finally published in 1773, some months after the 'Hawkesworth edition' by his brother, Stanfield Parkinson. Publication was delayed by Hawkesworth with the support of Sandwich and Banks who voiced concerns that if the *Journal* preceded the 'Hawkesworth edition' it might detract from the official publication with which they were involved. Hawkesworth attempted to have the *Journal* found illegal on the grounds that the material it contained was not Stanfield Parkinson's to publish. It was alleged that Stanfield had received money for Sydney Parkinson's manuscripts from Joseph Banks who then sold them to Hawkesworth for use in the 'Hawkesworth edition'. However, the court found in favour of Stanfield Parkinson because it concluded that, at the time the sale to Hawkesworth was alleged to have occurred, Sydney Parkinson's manuscripts still belonged to Stanfield Parkinson and his sister, Britannia. The whole affair was, however, far more complex than either the allegations or the ruling suggested.

A lengthy 'Preface' to the *Journal*, allegedly written by Stanfield Parkinson, gives his version of the affair.¹⁸⁵ According to the Preface, on the death of Stanfield Parkinson's brother, Sydney Parkinson, Joseph Banks took possession of his drawings and other

personal effects.¹⁸⁶ Banks and Solander then had an inventory made to give an account to his [Sydney's] executors. On Banks's return to London, Stanfield Parkinson was informed by letter of his brother's death and that while Banks was at that time, much confused with a multiplicity of concerns, as soon as his hurry of business was over, he would give [Stanfield] an account of [his] brother's effects.¹⁸⁷ Stanfield Parkinson claims that he was soon after informed that Joseph Banks had told his brother's former employer, James Lee, that the artist had bequeathed a journal of the voyage and some papers, which were unfortunately lost.¹⁸⁸ When Stanfield Parkinson inquired of this circumstance, Banks told him that he had made a search among the ship's company for the said journal, but could not find it.¹⁸⁹ However, Stanfield Parkinson should expect to receive the things bequeathed to him when Banks had got his own goods up from the ship.¹⁹⁰

After several weeks elapsed, Stanfield Parkinson called on Banks, enquiring why he had received no further communication. Banks grew extremely angry with him and told him that he was busy with his own affairs and that, until these were settled, he was in no position to settle those of Stanfield Parkinson.¹⁹¹ Stanfield Parkinson responded by telling Banks that he did not expect a final adjustment immediately but that he was concerned about perishable commodities being left so long in the package.¹⁹² He relates how Banks then flew, in a rage, to a bureau, that stood in a room adjoining, and began to uncord it with great violence, and in much apparent confusion.¹⁹³ On Stanfield Parkinson's remonstrating with him and telling him that what he was doing at present was needless, Banks desisted, and calling his servant, gave him [Stanfield] a written inventory of the contents of the bureau and told his servant to deliver to Stanfield Parkinson the things therein mentioned; contained in a bureau, a large Chinese chest, a trunk with two locks, a Dutch box, and some other smaller chests, jars and boxes.¹⁹⁴ When they arrived the following day, however, Stanfield Parkinson found that they were unlocked and without keys, although the inventory implied that all the locks had keys to them excepting that of a tea-chest.¹⁹⁵ He also found that the number of items he received did not agree with the inventory. The large chest was not full of the curiosities that were listed. Those that were in it were mostly damaged or perished. The upper part of the bureau contained only a stuffed bird, a few manuscripts and sketches of no great

moment, and a parcel of music that Stanfield Parkinson assumed belonged to Banks and that Banks had put them there in place of the original items.¹⁹⁶ There were also items belonging to the artist but not listed in the inventory that Stanfield Parkinson expected to find.¹⁹⁷

Stanfield Parkinson subsequently discovered from a conversation with one of the ship's company, that the accuracy of the inventory was also in doubt. He was told that his brother had possessed a number of things that were not listed on it, including a journal.¹⁹⁸ On inquiring further, Stanfield Parkinson was informed that his brother had been extremely assiduous in collecting accounts of the languages, customs, and manners of the people where ever the ship touched at and that he had a very fair journal which was looked upon by the ship's company to be the best that was kept;¹⁹⁹ That:

he had made at his leisure hours, a great many drawings of the people at Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, as also of the New-Zealanders, particularly of some who were curiously marked in the face; and that he frequently sat up all night, drawing for himself or writing his journal;²⁰⁰

As to the suggestion that the journal had been lost this was a farce as Banks had almost certainly taken particular care of everything belonging to Sydney Parkinson, and had all his effects under his own eye something that was corroborated by another of the *Endeavour's* company.²⁰¹ Stanfield Parkinson claims in the Preface that these reports left him doubting Banks's integrity.

When he was called to visit Banks at the naturalist's London home five weeks later, Stanfield Parkinson found an attorney present. The meeting began badly with Banks accusing Stanfield Parkinson of having abused him by making his enquiries. Banks then inquired if Stanfield Parkinson had taken out the letters of administration that were required before the final accounts could be settled. Banks told Stanfield Parkinson that there would also be some adjustment to these accounts since he would like to keep some of Sydney Parkinson's effects. He informed Stanfield Parkinson that his brother's drawings were not included in these effects because, as Sydney Parkinson's employer they were already Banks's by right. He assured Stanfield Parkinson that, although originally engaged as natural history draughtsman, Sydney Parkinson was subsequently required to supply...the loss of [Banks's] other draughtsman [Alexander Buchan] who died at the beginning of the voyage.²⁰² As far as Banks was concerned, on Buchan's

death, Sydney Parkinson was employed to perform not only his own duties but also those that had been originally allocated to Buchan. However, he admitted that there were in his hands a few manuscripts, which were bequeathed to James Leeí which he then fetched from out of a bureau and threw down on the table.²⁰³ Stanfield Parkinson recognised them as being in his brother's hand.²⁰⁴

Stanfield Parkinson informed Banks that Solander had told him that when his brother feared he might die, he asked Solander if Lee might have the *perusal* of his manuscripts but did not mention ownership of them.²⁰⁵ Banks refuted this suggestion and when his attorney asked him if there was any documentary evidence to show this was in fact the case, answered in the negative.²⁰⁶ However, Banks added that if Solander would corroborate Stanfield Parkinson's claim, he would give up the point.²⁰⁷ Stanfield Parkinson records that when Solander entered the room and was asked for verification he confirmed without hesitation what I [Stanfield] had asserted.²⁰⁸ Banks responded by snatching up the manuscripts and locking them up in the bureau, telling Stanfield Parkinson to go and administer to your brothers will and informing him that he would acquaint [Stanfield Parkinson] when it would be convenient to him for [Stanfield Parkinson] to wait on him and make an end of the affair.²⁰⁹ Stanfield Parkinson took out the letters of administration as Banks had advised.

After waiting some considerable time and hearing nothing further from Banks, Stanfield Parkinson called upon an eminent London physician named Dr. John Fothergill to mediate between the parties. Fothergill was a friend of the Parkinson family and a fellow Quaker²¹⁰ and had previously acted for Stanfield Parkinson in 1771 in an earlier mediation.²¹¹ Fothergill attempted to resolve the dispute between Banks and Stanfield Parkinson but failed. Banks continued to refuse to produce the missing items and Stanfield continued to insist on receiving what he claimed was rightfully his. Stanfield Parkinson notes in the Preface that he considered legal action in the form of a bill in chancery to compel Joseph Banks to come to a just account.²¹² It appears that this had been advised by his cousin, Jane Gomeldon, who later chided him for not having accepted her advice. She wrote:

Had my cousin at first insisted by the proper method of the Law for his brother's last will and Effects, as I advised, he would not only have had a great deal more of the Effects, but have saved both Expence and preserved the friendship of the Dr.

and Mr. Lee.²¹³

However, Fothergill advised him not to take legal action against Banks because it would be very expensive and Stanfield Parkinson himself decided that having a man of character and fortune to deal with, [he ó Stanfield Parkinson] was loth to take violent measures, in hopes he [Banks] might be induced by fair means to do me justice²¹⁴ Instead, Fothergill initiated a series of further interviewsø

During the course of the negotiations, Fothergill told Stanfield Parkinson that Joseph Banks desired to have the inspection of the shells and other curiositiesøthat had earlier been delivered to him.²¹⁵ As well as ensuring their return to Banks, Fothergill prevailed upon Stanfield Parkinson to let Banks have such specimens from amongst them as he might desire.²¹⁶ They included a collection of shells that Fothergill valued at two hundred pounds.²¹⁷ However, once Banks had the items back in his possession, he held on to them all. When Stanfield Parkinson complained to Fothergill, he was assured that in great good humour and apparent generosityí he [Banks] had much reason to be satisfied with the services of Sydney Parkinsonø and that although the artist had yet to receive the remaining remunerationøfor his work on the voyage, it had been his [Banksø] constant intention to make Sydney Parkinson a very handsome present, had he lived to return to England.ø²¹⁸ Furthermore, the artistø family should also receive an extra sum in consideration of such extra-serviceøor, as Banks himself expressed it, a *douceur* to the family for the loss they sustained in the death of so valuable a relation.ø²¹⁹

At a subsequent meeting, Banks told Stanfield Parkinson that he calculated that a sum of upwards of a hundred and fifty pounds salary,øwas due in wages to the deceased and that this would become the sole property of ...[Sydneyø] sister, Britanniaøwhom Sydney Parkinson had entrusted with his will before leaving on the *Endeavour* voyage.²²⁰ At the same time, Banks informed Stanfield Parkinson that he had chosen to keep some of the effects Sydney Parkinson had bequeathed to his brother.²²¹ It was then agreed that Banks should make the total sum of five hundred pounds, payable to Sydney Parkinsonø sister, Britannia.²²²

A further meeting of all the parties was arranged for the 31st of January, 1772 when the settlement would proceed. Stanfield Parkinson attended the meeting with his

sister, Britannia, on the due date, but proceedings were disrupted when Banks produced a receipt naming himself as executor of Sydney Parkinson's will for them both to sign. Because this would have meant Stanfield Parkinson and his sister renouncing their rights to Sydney Parkinson's effects in Banks's favour, Stanfield Parkinson refused to oblige and Fothergill was called upon to intervene. Fothergill persuaded Banks to agree to pay the five hundred pounds on receiving a common receipt and deferring the execution of a general release to another opportunity.²²³ Stanfield Parkinson claims that to the best of [his] remembrance, the receipt was dictated by Fothergill and signed by himself and his sister Britannia.²²⁴ Before signing however, Stanfield requested Banks to give him the bundle of manuscripts he had been shown earlier. Fothergill assured Banks that if he did, they would be returned to him and no improper use made of them while they were in Stanfield Parkinson's hands.²²⁵

While Banks was gone to fetch them, Stanfield Parkinson told Fothergill that he would be unwilling to sign the receipt unless the shells and curiosities he had earlier given Banks were returned according to promise.²²⁶ However:

í Dr. Fothergill hastily replied, "No, no; thou seeist he is now in a passion, and it will be improper to speak of them;" adding, that he placed so much confidence in Joseph Banks's integrity, that he would answer for the return of at least the greatest part of them.²²⁷

When Banks returned, he handed the manuscripts to Stanfield Parkinson who discovered that they contained part of the missing journal.

On the 26th of March 1772, when the drawers and boxes that had belonged to Sydney Parkinson were returned, Stanfield Parkinson found they were empty.²²⁸ He wrote to Banks telling him that if he did not immediately return the curiosities he would inform the world of the transaction between them and endeavour to indemnify himself by publishing the manuscripts of his brother's journal.²²⁹ Banks refused to cooperate. So Stanfield Parkinson decided to wait until Banks went on a voyage to Iceland when he would advertise in the London newspapers for the missing parts of the journal and any of Sydney Parkinson's drawings that were held by members of the ship's crew. It succeeded in bringing forward several manuscripts and a number of drawings which Stanfield Parkinson gave to engravers in preparation for the illustrations that

would appear in the *Journal*. Once Stanfield Parkinson's intentions to publish were made known, Banks's friends tried to persuade Stanfield Parkinson to abandon the idea and Fothergill offered him money if he would cease all attempts to do so. Stanfield Parkinson also received a letter from Sydney Parkinson's former employer, James Lee, who wrote accusing him of scurrilous behaviour towards Banks and urging him to refrain from publishing.²³⁰ But Stanfield Parkinson defended his actions and refused to comply with Lee's request. He also expressed his regret that his relationship with Fothergill had suffered as a result of the affair.²³¹ Unfortunately, as he was later to recognize, in turning a deaf ear to Dr Fothergill's remonstrances he forfeited his good-will and Fothergill became his declared enemy. He traduced Stanfield Parkinson's reputation before others, complained of [his] ingratitude to him, and [his] injustice to Joseph Banks; appearing to join with Dr. John Hawkesworth, the compiler of the south sea voyages now published, in representing my book as an unfair and surreptitious publication.²³²

In a further attempt to stop the publication of the *Journal*, Hawkesworth placed an advertisement in the London newspapers, stating his objections to it proceeding. Stanfield Parkinson replied, asserting both his right to his brother's papers and his resolve to publish them.²³³ Hawkesworth responded by filing a bill in Chancery, claiming that Stanfield Parkinson had invaded his property, by printing manuscripts and engraving designs which he had earlier sold to Joseph Banks and which Banks had subsequently sold to him. Banks substantiated Hawkesworth's claim by alleging that the extra money he had given the Parkinson family was for Sydney Parkinson's effects which included all the manuscripts that he had sold on to Hawkesworth. Stanfield Parkinson replied that even Dr Fothergill supported the misrepresentation by affirming that I had made no such sale to Mr Banks of which he was a witness.²³⁴ An injunction was granted by the Court of Chancery to stop both the printing and publishing of Parkinson's journal and Stanfield Parkinson was requested to hand Hawkesworth any copies that were ready for publication. Stanfield Parkinson stated his case against the injunction and it was withdrawn on the grounds that the alleged date of Banks's sale of Sydney Parkinson's property to Hawkesworth was prior to that of the receipt that Banks claimed he had given Stanfield Parkinson on January 31st for the objects he wished to keep.

Although Stanfield Parkinson was exonerated in law, Hawkesworth succeeded in delaying the publication of Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* until after his own edition of the *Endeavour* journals had been published. Stanfield Parkinson died in a mental institution shortly after the *Journal* appeared. With both their parents dead and the family's belongings sold to pay debts incurred in the publication of the *Journal*, Stanfield Parkinson's children were left unable to continue the legal challenge on their father's behalf. Sometime later, Fothergill bought up all remaining copies of the *Journal* from the authorities in whose hands they had been left, estimating that they mounted to about four hundred.²³⁵ He then had a further edition of the *Journal* printed at his own expense under its original title but omitting the words "delineated by the author" in reference to the illustrations. He included not only Stanfield Parkinson's "Preface" but also his own eighteen-page reply under the title, "Explanatory Remarks." In a postscript to a letter to Banks dated 1773, Fothergill informs him that he has:

I committed our Apology to the Printer and this is a revise. I have been much [indecipherable] about a proper title and have rather chosen the present than any other for the following reasons. To call it a justification or vindication would imply a charge or accusation of but the Preface is a malevolent narrative. Not a formal accusation. Any other title must have by right our names together with Parkinson's. This I thought an indignity. I think the title I have chosen tho not the best perhaps the best yet not very unacceptable.²³⁶

He defends his own involvement in the affair and also the actions of Joseph Banks but without disputing Stanfield Parkinson's account of them. Instead, he claims that Stanfield Parkinson was motivated by avarice and malevolence and that Stanfield's actions dishonoured his brother.

All unsold copies of Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* remained in Fothergill's possession until his death in 1780. Fothergill's own edition of the *Journal* finally appeared four years later, in 1784, published by his friend and fellow Quaker, Dr. J.C. Lettsom. Questions as to the fate of Sydney Parkinson's original journal manuscripts, however, remain unresolved. In spite of the pages from Sydney Parkinson's journal being among the manuscripts that Banks lent to Stanfield Parkinson, and Banks stating in court that Sydney Parkinson's manuscripts had been sold to Hawkesworth, Banks continued to deny any knowledge of the journal. However, there is evidence to show that use was made of it in Hawkesworth's text. As will be discussed further in Chapter III, the title to

Plate 6 in the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ refers to the use of the leaves of the owhorra tree in the construction of houses. The only reference to this use that the writer of this thesis has been able to find is in Parkinson’s *Journal*. As will also be discussed further in the following chapter, Joppien and Smith have noted that ‘...when Hawkesworth enquired of Banks whether he should acknowledge his use of Parkinson’s materials in the preparation of his own work, Banks’s reply was, to say the least, unequivocal.’²³⁷ Since Hawkesworth was responsible for the text in the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ and not its illustrations, it must be assumed that the materials referred to here are the manuscripts of Sydney Parkinson’s *Journal*. It must also have been these that Banks claimed he sold to Hawkesworth. Without copies of the original manuscript, however, the extent to which they were used in the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ is impossible to determine.

Without copies of Sydney Parkinson’s original manuscripts, there is also no means of ascertaining whether they were faithfully copied or whether there was editorial intervention. In his ‘Remarks’ Fothergill does not question the nature of the editing of the *Journal*. His concern is with the editor’s integrity in writing the *Journal*’s ‘Preface’. Fothergill claims in his ‘Remarks’ that the ‘Preface’ was not written by Stanfield Parkinson, the ‘unlettered man’ referred to in the ‘Preface’, arguing that Stanfield Parkinson was ‘incapable of answering for himself’²³⁸ and that it was instead written by its alleged editor, William Kenrick LLD whom Fothergill claims was ‘a person, whose talents and disposition were exactly suited to making the ‘scurrilous’ comments about Banks in the ‘Preface’, adding that Kenrick was someone who had little regard ‘to either truth or character’ and that he had a ‘venal pen.’²³⁹ Kenrick had previously criticised Hawkesworth in an article in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*. He had also viciously attacked Dr. Johnson for his editing of Shakespeare²⁴⁰ and ridiculed Hawkesworth’s friend, the actor David Garrick, whose sexual orientation he also questioned.²⁴¹ Beaglehole suggests that Kenrick, ‘the gross libeller of Goldsmith and Garrick would have thought nothing of blackguarding Banks’²⁴² He may also have been a man without scruples since, as Beaglehole also notes, Fothergill’s friend and publisher, Henry Lettsom, claimed that the reason why Kenrick agreed to writing the ‘Preface’ was for money, saying ‘Kenrick’s sole apology was the pecuniary emolument of his labour’²⁴³ While Kenrick’s character, his role in the *Journal* and any ulterior motive remain open to debate, it can, however, be

argued that Kenrick had specific reasons for agreeing to edit Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* and assisting in its publication.

Kenrick was a man who was not afraid to challenge the establishment and cared little for the consequences. This is obvious from one of his first publications, *Grand Question: The grand question debated; or an essay to prove that the soul of man is not, neither can it be immortal. The whole founded on the arguments of Locke, Newton, Pope, Burnet, Watts etc.* (Dublin, 1751). Kenrick also believed in promoting new ideas and alternative theories. Joppien and Smith note that he was one of the principal means by which the ideas of the French Enlightenment became known in England.²⁴⁴ He was the first to translate Rousseau's *Emile* into English. *Emilius & Sophia or a New System of Education* was published in 1763 only two years after *Emile* first appeared. At the time that Kenrick's translation was published, Rousseau had fled France and was living in Neuchatel in Switzerland, frightened that he might be arrested for spreading his inflammatory ideas. Kenrick's wish to support Rousseau was shared by other British intellectuals. Among them was the foremost member of the Scottish Enlightenment, David Hume,²⁴⁵ who offered Rousseau asylum in England which, in 1766, Rousseau accepted.

In spite of the hostility Rousseau's ideas were creating, Kenrick supported the right of the Enlightenment philosopher to express them. He wrote in the Preface to his translation of *Emile*:

There are, it is true, many well-meaning-people, who hold received opinions as too sacred to be attacked or ridiculed; but, if the matter in question be merely matter of opinion, it may be false, absurd, or destructive. What would have been the consequence, if this principle, of paying an implicit regard to opinion, had universally prevailed for a thousand years past? Where would have been all the improvements in matters of science, politics, and religion, that have been made since those days of ignorance and barbarism? Is the human species arrived to its utmost degree of perfection? Hath society reached the summit of political happiness? Are there no further improvements to be made in the science of government?²⁴⁶

Kenrick felt that men like Rousseau must be encouraged for the sake of society and continued:

Let us encourage, let us esteem, everyone, who, like our Author, ventures, with a manly freedom, to controvert the general opinions and customs of a misguided or

mistaken world. The worst of slavery is the subjection of the mind. The man who dares not think, is the most abject slave in nature; and he who does not publish his sentiments with decency and freedom, is the vilest slave of society.²⁴⁷

As well as translating and publishing Rousseau, Kenrick was also responsible for the first English translation and publication of the earlier volumes of the *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*, 1749-1788 (*Natural History of Animals, vegetables and Minerals*, London, 1776). Its author was the controversial French naturalist, George Louis Leclerc, the Comte de Buffon. The earlier volumes of Buffon's forty-four volume publication had already attracted enormous attention in France and Europe. However, they were being ignored by English publishers. Lyon and Stone report that their sole evidence of serious notice of Buffon's work in Great Britain in the 1750s has been the appearance of an anonymous translation of part of the 'Premier discours' without reference to authorship or source in the *Universal Magazine*, vol. 9 (July-December, 1751), pp. 49-57.²⁴⁸ At the time of the *Endeavour* voyage, the principles of Buffon's taxonomy were still being rejected with natural historians, like Banks and Solander, subscribing to those of Linnaeus instead. Although Buffon's theories about human development, in which men shared a common ancestry to apes, would soon be promoted by the Scottish amateur anthropologist, Lord Monboddo, whom Banks later met,²⁴⁹ they challenged the Creationist theories of the respected seventeenth-century natural historian, John Ray. They also caused outrage at the Sorbonne because they contradicted the teaching of *Genesis*. A later work, *Les époques de la nature* (1778), which placed the age of the world at about 75,000 years, some 69,000 years older than accepted by religious authority, was condemned by the Catholic Church and Buffon's books were burned in France.²⁵⁰ Association with Buffon and his *l'Histoire* was therefore not taken lightly.

Kenrick's translations of both Rousseau and Buffon show that he was no ordinary editor. It is argued here, that his editing of Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* shows that, as far as Kenrick was concerned, this was no ordinary travel book. Its detailed ethnographic observations, together with attempts to prevent its publication by Banks, Hawkesworth, Sandwich and Dr. Fothergill, were sufficient for Kenrick to want to support the *Journal*'s publication. Although Lettsom claimed that Kenrick had edited the *Journal* for money, it seems unlikely. The sum Kenrick was paid cannot have been very large because its

publisher, Stanfield Parkinson, was not a wealthy man like Joseph Banks. Nor did he have the backing of the Admiralty. Instead he was an upholsterer whom Fothergill claimed to have employed occasionally out of respect for Stanfield Parkinson's father and brother and to whom he lent money "on a pressing emergency"²⁵¹ So limited were Stanfield Parkinson's finances that, when he died in a mental institution little more than a year after publication of the *Journal*, he was penniless and heavily indebted because of the costs involved and left four hundred unsold copies of the *Journal* in the hands of the receivers.

In 1785, the year after Fothergill's edition was finally published and twelve years after the *Journal*'s original appearance, the long-established *Gentleman's Magazine* applauded Kenrick's efforts, stating:

Those who were competent to judge, and those who were friends of the oppressed, beheld these acts [the actions taken by Hawkesworth with Sandwich's backing to prevent publication] with detestation, and encouraged the editor to proceed with spirit.²⁵²

It also approved the contents of Sydney Parkinson's *Journal*. "The work came forth and was approved."²⁵³ The significance of the publication can only be recognised through an understanding of the scientific environment of the period. At the time the *Journal* was published, natural philosophers were disputing the methodology upon which developing social theory might be based. Most theory was based upon a synthesis of information gained from ancient philosophy, historical narrative and empirical observation. Although he did not agree with Jean Jacques Rousseau's hypothetical "man in his rude state" the eminent Scottish Enlightenment philosopher, Adam Ferguson, shared Rousseau's belief that purposeful natural philosophy depended on "warranted claims about man's unequal development and first-hand reports of less developed societies in places remote from Europe." However, he found works of comparative social anthropology, like the questionable *Moeurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps* by the French Jesuit monk, Joseph François Lafitau, and Buffon's *l'Histoire Naturelle*, a work based on hypothetical and unsubstantiated sources, quite acceptable. Rousseau, on the other hand, refused to accept evidence based on the teachings of earlier authorities, insisting instead that it should be based on empirical evidence alone.

In 1755 Rousseau published *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité*. In one of the passages, had he but known it, he might easily have been anticipating the *Endeavour* voyage of Joseph Banks and Sydney Parkinson and the empirical ethnographic observations recorded in the *Journal*. Here, he claims to have found it:

í difficult to conceive how, in a Century that prides itself on remarkable knowledge, there are not two like-minded men, rich, one in money and the other in geniusí one of whom would sacrifice twenty thousand crowns of his fortune and the other ten years of his life for the sake of a notable voyage around the world; during which to study, not forever stones and plants, but for once, men and morals, and who, after so many centuries spent measuring and examining the house, finally decided that they want to know its inhabitants.²⁵⁴

Both the passage in question and those that follow are quoted here in some length because they articulate the problems that were being experienced in contemporary attempts to understand human behaviour and development. Not only were these subjects preoccupying the minds of Enlightenment savants in both Britain and Europe, they are also implied in passages in the *Endeavour* journals. They were also the motivation for many of the observations that are made in Sydney Parkinson's *Journal*.

Rousseau's concern was to discover 'what experiments should we require in order to know the natural man, and by what means can we conduct such experiments for the benefit of society?'²⁵⁵ His 'Second Discourse' reads:

Let us therefore begin by setting aside all the facts, for they do not affect the question. The Inquiries that may be pursued regarding this Subject [the origin and the foundations of inequality among men] ought not to be taken for historical truths, but only for hypothetical and conditional reasonings; better suited to elucidate the Nature of things than show their genuine origin.²⁵⁶

Although the inhabitants of Europe have for the past three or four hundred years overrun the other parts of the world and we are constantly publishing new collections of travels and reports, I am convinced that the only men we know are the Europeansí One cannot open a travel book without coming upon descriptions of characters and morals; yet one is utterly astounded to find that these people who have described so many things have said only what everybody already knewí²⁵⁷

The Academicians who have travelled through the Northern parts of Europe and the Southern parts of America were more intent on visiting them as Geometers than as Philosophers: í Except for í accounts [by La Condamine, Maupertius and others] we do not know the Peoples of the East Indies, who are exclusively

visited by Europeans more interested in filling their purses than their heads. All of Africa and its numerous inhabitants as remarkable in character as well as colour, still remain to be studied; the whole earth is covered with Nations of which we know only the names, yet we pretend to judge mankind! Let us suppose a Montesquieu, a Buffon, a Diderot, a Duclos, a d'Alembert, a Condillac, or men of that stamp, travelling with a view to instruct their compatriots, observing and describing as they do so well, Turkey, Egypt, Barbary, the Empire of Morocco, Guinea, the interior and East Coasts of Africa, Mongolia, Mexico, Peru, Chile, the lands of Magellan without forgetting the Patagonians true or false, [etc.] Let us suppose that on their return from these memorable travels, these new Hercules set down at leisure the natural, moral, and political history of what they had seen, then we would ourselves see a new world issue from their pens, would thus learn to know our own.²⁵⁸

Sydney Parkinson was to take up this challenge. His employment as Banks's natural history draughtsman on the *Endeavour* voyage provided him with the opportunity to record the culture, appearance and behaviour of peoples who, in many cases, had not had previous contact with Europeans and were therefore unaffected by European mores. In spite of the heavy workload recording natural history specimens for Joseph Banks, it was an opportunity that Sydney Parkinson took full advantage of. Stanfield Parkinson claimed he was informed that his brother had been extremely assiduous in collecting accounts of the languages, customs, and manners of the people where ever the ship touched and that he had a very fair journal which was looked upon by the ship's company to be the best that was kept.²⁵⁹ Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* shows he recorded detailed observations of the appearance, mode of existence, customs, and domestic habits of the non-European peoples he encountered on the voyage. However, although his efforts might be seen as responding to Rousseau's call for empirical evidence, the artist himself was more likely inspired by the call for empirical methodology from the seventeenth-century English natural philosopher and historian, John Ray.

Ray was the author of a series of authoritative books on natural systems, the most important of which was *Methodus Plantarum Nova* (1682), a work that was instrumental in the development of the Linnaean binomial system of taxonomy that Solander introduced to England and that he and Banks practised on the *Endeavour* voyage. However, it is *The Wisdom of God manifested in the works of the Creation* (1691) and *Three Physico-Theological Discourses* (1692) that are Ray's manifestoes. It is these that detail his understanding of the purpose behind his Creationist theory and of God's

intentions for Earth's eventual fate. The works themselves are based on sermons that Ray had earlier delivered at Cambridge when he was a junior Dean there. Although they are influenced by his Christian beliefs and couched in religious terminology, Ray's manifestoes promote the rejection of textual authority in favour of empirical recording. Ray had written in *The Wisdom of God*:

Let it not suffice us to be book-learned, to read what others have written; and to take upon trust more falsehood than truth, but let us ourselves examine things as we have opportunity, and converse with nature as well as books
Let us not think that the bounds of science are fixed, like *Hercules's* pillars, and inscribed with *Ne plus ultra*; let us not think we have done when we have learned what they have delivered to us; the treasures of nature are inexhaustible; here is employment enough for the vastest parts, the most indefatigable industries, the happiest opportunities, the most prolix and undisturbed vacancies.²⁶⁰

In his *Journal*, Sydney Parkinson not only reiterates Ray's call for an empiricist approach to scientific discovery but also makes a claim in Creationist terminology for the empirical purpose of the *Endeavour* voyage. An entry in Parkinson's *Journal* describing the Bay of Good Success in Tierra del Fuego reads as follows:

A curiosity, perhaps, equal to Solomon's though accompanied with less wisdom than was possessed by the Royal Philosopher, induced some of us to quit our native land, to investigate the heavenly bodies minutely in distant regions, as well as to trace the signatures of the Supreme Power and Intelligence throughout several species of animals, and different genera of plants in the vegetable system. .. and the more we investigate, the more we ought to admire the power, wisdom, and goodness, of the Great Superintendent of the universe; which attributes are amply displayed throughout all his works; the smallest object, seen through the microscope, declares its origin to be divine, as well as those larger ones which the unassisted eye is capable of contemplating;²⁶¹

Ray's authority was recognised in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by men like Dampier and Hans Sloane. His natural history observations and empiricist methodology also influenced the direction of natural science in the eighteenth century in the hands of men like Banks, Solander and Linnaeus. Ray's hypotheses even formed the bases for a number of Enlightenment anthropological theories. His assumption that climate influenced physical appearance, for example, became the basis for the theory of cultural diversity in Maupertius's *Venus physique* (1745) where its

author discusses 'Varieties in the Human Species' and the 'Distribution of Different Races of Men amongst the Different Parts of the Earth'

Comparative anthropological observations are also present in Parkinson's *Journal*. He notes for example that the Fuegians 'Like the rest of the original inhabitants of America ... have no beard.'²⁶² He remarks of the Tahitians from the island of Huaheine, 'Most of the natives of this island...are of a pale brown complexion, mostly having black hair, and that often frizzled; black eyes flat nose and large mouth, with a cheerful countenance... they all wear their beards, but cut off their mustachios, are well made, and very sturdy... There are more tall men among them than among any people I have ever seen, measuring six feet, three inches and a half.'²⁶³ The East Coast Maori are described as being 'in general, lean and tall, yet well shaped; have faces like Europeans; and in general, the aquiline nose, with dark coloured eyes, black hair which is tied up on the crown of the head, and beards of a middling length'²⁶⁴ whereas those from Cape Kidnappers 'had good faces; their noses rather high than flat;'²⁶⁵ Parkinson also records that he found the New Hollanders, 'Both men and women in very lean and raw boned; their complexion was dark, their hair black and frizzled, their heads unadorned and the beards of the men bushy.'²⁶⁶ The Chinese in Batavia, on the other hand had 'sallow complexions, black eyes, and tolerably good noses, but they pluck their beards up by the roots, and make, upon the whole, a very effeminate appearance'²⁶⁷

He notes that there was a wide difference between the tattoo patterns of the various districts of New Zealand, suggesting that the inhabitants of the North Eastern Coast:

...were more tataowed: most of them had the figure of volutes on their lips, and several had their legs, thighs, and parts of their bellies marked. One woman, in particular, was very curiously tataowed. The tataow upon their faces was not done in spirals, but in different figures from what we had ever seen before.²⁶⁸

He also included a number of sketches showing examples of tattoos.

His *Journal* shows he also recorded the language of his non-European subjects. His vocabulary of the Tahitian language alone comprises three hundred and sixty-four words and phrases and is divided into nouns, verbs and adjectives. He also recorded details about their manner of speech, noting that:

The language is very soft, having a great number of vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs.

Every word, almost, begins with a vowel, which they commonly drop.

It is also very metaphorical as Matapoa, a person blind of an eye, which literally is Night-eye. Matavai, the name of the bay we anchored in, literally signifies Watery-eye; which appellation is not unapt from the great quantity of rain which falls in the bay

The natives could not repeat, after us, the sounds of the letters, Q, X, and Z without great difficulty; G, K, and S, they could not pronounce at all.

...They have various sounds peculiar to themselves, which none of us could imitate; some of them they pronounced like B and L mingled together; others between B and P, and T and D. Some like Bh, Lh, and Dh.

When they mean to speak of a thing somewhat small, they often double the word, as Oorè oorè, a smallish nail.

They also double the word for the superlative, as Teà teà, very white.

Mai, when placed after a verb, signifies that the action was done to you.

Mai, when added to an adverb, signifies several things, as Mai Maroo, somewhat soft or inclining to be soft.

They have a whoop, when they call after any person, which they pronounce like Ahu! raising their voice high at the last syllable.²⁶⁹

He kept similar records of the vocabulary of Maori, New Hollanders (Australians), the inhabitants of the island of Savu and Sumatra and the Malay language spoken at Batavia (Jakarta.) These records appear not to have been so much the work of a young man with a passion for collecting [vocabularies] as Beaglehole suggests,²⁷⁰ but the observations of a scientist who is collecting empirical data for the better understanding of human development and behaviour.

Comments in the *Journal* show that he was also interested in other forms of self-expression. He notes, for example, "When the natives beckon to any person at a distance they wave their hands downwards, and when they meet a friend or relation whom they have not seen for some time, they affect to cry for joy." ²⁷¹ He was also fascinated by the use of hand gestures by the Polynesians. A note in his hand, Add. MS 9345, f.70, records:

Expression of the Sentiments, by the Hand

The raising of the hands conjoined, towards heaven, expresses devotion; Wringing the hands, grief; Throwing them towards heaven, Admiration; Fainting & dejected hands, amazement & despair; Folded hands, Idleness; holding the fingers indented, musing; holding forth the hands together, yielding & submission; lifting up the hand & eye to heaven, calling God to witness; waving

the hand from us, prohibition; extending the right hand to any one, pity, peace, & safety; scratching the head, thoughtfulness; laying the hand on the heart, solemn Affirmation; holding up the Thumb, approbation; laying the fourth finger on the mouth, bidding silence; giving with the finger & thumb a giving sparingly; & the forefinger put forth & the next contracted, to shew & point at, as much as to say, this is he.²⁷²

It is the kind of information that could only have been recorded by an observer with an inquiring mind and an eye for anthropological detail. It is argued here that it was recorded by someone who was aware of the pressing need for empirical ethnographic information to substantiate the hypotheses of Enlightenment theorists on both sides of the English Channel.

Sydney Parkinson also left a large number of sketches and drawings of figures, many of which are shown in their specific landscape environments. Stanfield Parkinson claims in the Preface to Sydney's *Journal* that his brother had finished hundreds of drawings on a variety of subjects, and that he had sketched of many more, intending to finish them on his return.²⁷³ He had been told by one of the ship's company that Sydney:

í had made, at his leisure hours, a great many drawings of the people at Otaheite and the neighbouring islands as also of the New Zealanders, particularly of some who were curiously marked in the face; and that he sat frequently sat up all night, drawing or himself writing in his journal²⁷⁴

Lysaght's catalogue features fewer than one hundred drawings and sketches by Sydney Parkinson. However, it doesn't include any from Add. MS 9345 because Lysaght understood the manuscript was about to be reproduced in facsimile.²⁷⁵ (Unfortunately, there is no evidence to suggest that this facsimile was ever produced.) Joppien and Smith's calculations suggest that there are considerably more than Lysaght's catalogue shows. They list one hundred and forty ethnographic works by Parkinson, which include those in Add. MS 9345. If Stanfield Parkinson is correct, and his brother left hundreds of drawings, many of them must have been misappropriated or lost. Today the works that are still extant are in guard books Add. MS 9345, Add. MS 15507, Add. MS 15508, Add. MS 23920 and Add. MS 23921 in the British Library, London. They comprise pencil studies of heads, houses, canoes, tattoos, landscapes, religious structures and women performing domestic duties such as scraping bark to make Tahitian cloth. A number of

these have been worked up into landscapes with figures that record Parkinson's non-European subjects' way of life.

Fothergill claims in the *Remarks* in the second edition of the *Journal* that, when Sydney Parkinson recorded his ethnological observations in image and text, he was acting on the advice of his former employer, James Lee, who persuaded him to 'minute everything he saw, and trust nothing to memory'²⁷⁶ Unfortunately, Fothergill does not tell his readers what Sydney Parkinson intended for his recorded observations and we are left to speculate according to the few details that are known about the artist himself. Little is known of either his life or career. According to 'Preface' to the *Journal*, Sydney Parkinson :

I was the younger son of the late Joel Parkinson, brewer of Edinburgh, one of the people commonly called Quakers I . His son Sydney was put to the business of a woolen-draper; but taking a particular delight in drawing flowers, fruits, and other objects of natural history, he became soon so great a proficient in that stile of painting, as to attract the notice of the most celebrated botanists and connoisseurs in that study.²⁷⁷

Lysaght's research reveals that Sydney Parkinson gave his profession in his will, written shortly before his departure on the *Endeavour*, as that of 'a painter in the Parish of Soho'²⁷⁸ As Lysaght also discovered, there appears to be very little information about either Parkinson's training or early career. She suggests that he may have been the pupil of William De la Cour who ran the first publicly maintained school of drawing and design in Great Britain.²⁷⁹ This school was established in Scotland in 1760 by the Scottish Enlightenment lawyer and amateur anthropologist, Henry Home, Lord Kames, in his capacity as Trustee of the Board for the Arts, Fisheries and Manufactures.²⁸⁰ Carr recalls Lysaght suggesting to him that 'the influences of a teacher such as De la Cour are present in some of his [Parkinson's] landscapes and in his sense of design'²⁸¹ Training by de la Cour is disputed by Joppien and Smith although they suggest that Parkinson may have 'seen something of his work.'²⁸²

While there is no evidence that Parkinson received professional training in fine arts, his pen and wash drawings show a competency that suggests he did. His great skill, however, as his brother asserts, was in his execution of botanic studies. There are no records of his having received professional training in this area either but there is

documentation showing he exhibited flower paintings with the Friendly Society in London in 1765 and 1766.²⁸³

Beaglehole describes Sydney Parkinson as ‘appear[ing] to be an ardent, observant, humane, pleasantly romantic, very hard- working young man, with a particular passion for collecting vocabularies’ who died young, in the course of working diligently for a demanding and mercurial employer.²⁸⁴ Joppien and Smith suggest that, had Banks treated him differently and paid him the monies that were due to him, he might have afforded better living conditions in Batavia and avoided the diseases that were to end his life.²⁸⁵ Although Beaglehole acknowledges that Sydney Parkinson had ‘some scientific leanings as well as a capacity for the production of ‘elegant and highly finished’ botanical drawings’²⁸⁶ it can be argued from his *Journal* records that Parkinson’s ‘scientific leanings’ and his knowledge of contemporary scientific issues were more comprehensive than are generally assumed. No doubt much of his knowledge was gained through his association with the members of the intelligent, creative and knowledgeable society in which he moved.

His closest known associations were with people who were familiar with contemporary social issues and developments in natural history. The first is Jane Gomeldon, née Middleton, who was married to Captain Francis Gomeldon.²⁸⁷ Lysaght’s findings show Sydney Parkinson came from a family with excellent connections amongst the Quaker community and that he had a particular attachment to a widowed cousin from an important family.²⁸⁸ This was Gomeldon, a person who has been described as a gentlewoman ‘of liberal education...adept in natural history and philosophy, who was fond of collecting shells.’²⁸⁹ Although she is considered ‘an obscure figure today’ her current biographer notes that in Gomeldon’s time ‘she was celebrated... as an unconventional woman who successfully employed a network of local publishers to make her mark upon literary life in north-east England.’²⁹⁰ She wrote under an assumed male identity and cited Pope and Fielding as her influences.

Sydney Parkinson wrote to her during the *Endeavour* voyage from Batavia in a letter dated October 16, 1770. The letter shows that she and Sydney had a close relationship and that she would have welcomed news of his safe arrival there. He had collected objects of natural history of interest to her, including the rare shells that

Stanfield Parkinson asked Fothergill to select for her from the collection he obtained from Banks.²⁹¹ Sydney's letter to his cousin Jane begins:

My dear cousin,

Fain would I have excused myself from writing, could I have found any excuse I am so hurried and fluttered about here; but, when I considered what a pleasure it would give thee to hear of our safe arrival here, I thought it would be unjust to withhold it.

It ends:

I have, spared no pains, during the voyage, to pick up every thing that is curious for thee; and I flatter myself that I shall make a considerable addition to thy museum. In most things we have been very successful, and I have made great discoveries. We shall stay here about two months, to refit; so that thou mayest expect me home about the month of June next; at which time I hope to have the pleasure of seeing or hearing from thee. Till then I remain,

Thy obliged friend.²⁹²

The meeting never took place, but Gomeldon appears to have supported the publication of Sydney's *Journal*. As shown above in relation to Stanfield Parkinson's dismissal of taking legal action against Banks, she also had her own views about how to deal with those who sought to prevent it. She was kept informed of the *Journal*'s progress and describes in a letter to Stanfield how she had been approached by Banks's friend, John King, who asked her if:

...[she] knew of any journal that was printing here, published by my cousin. I told him no; but that there was one printing at London, which I expected would be finished by the middle of this month,²⁹³

As well as having a close relationship with his cousin, Jane, Sydney Parkinson appears to have known some of the more influential members of London's natural history community. Carr suggests that when Sydney Parkinson arrived in London from Edinburgh at the age of twenty or twenty-one he was introduced to a society that was both exciting and erudite.²⁹⁴ The person responsible for this introduction was most likely to have been Dr. Fothergill who was a Fellow of the Royal Society and respected amateur naturalist. As noted above, he was also a close friend of the Parkinson family. Fothergill

records in the -Explanatory Remarksø in the *Journal* that he knew the artistø's father while a student at Edinburgh. Sydney Parkinson wrote to Fothergill during the voyage:

As I thought it would be no disagreeable thing for you to hear of our proceedings in this long voyage I made no doubt but that you would excuse this & indeed I look upon it as my duty to let you know that we arrivød here 12th of this month after a long & tedious passage í ²⁹⁵

Sydney Parkinson apologises for the brevity of his letter:

...time wont allow me to enter into any particulars besides that I am so confusød and flutterød about at present that my mind is not settled enough for such a task... ²⁹⁶

This is the kind of information that was usually reserved for someone close, like his cousin Jane. The letter to Fothergill also ends in the same way as hers:

...your much obliged Friend. ²⁹⁷

Fothergill appears to have had an excellent opinion of Sydney Parkinson. He claims in the -Remarksø that the artist -í deserved the character bestowed upon him in the prefaceø written by Stanfield Parkinson and that he, Fothergill, retained -a just esteem for his memoryø ²⁹⁸ As well as introducing him to Londonø's natural historians, Fothergill may also have been the person responsible for finding him a position with the nurseryman, James Lee, who was a further close associate. (Lee would later be responsible for Sydney Parkinsonø's keeping his ethnographic records. He was also the person who was to be shown Sydney Parkinsonø's *Endeavour* journal.)

Lee was the co-owner of one of Londonø's most important nurseries, the Lee and Kennedy Nursery, situated on present day Olympia. Lee was no ordinary nurseryman. Among his associates were respected figures from the Scottish Enlightenment and international natural historians. Little is known about Leeø's early years and his origins are obscure, but he is believed to have been born in Selkirk, near Edinburgh. ²⁹⁹ In 1732, he arrived in London and came under the protection of Archibald Campbell, the Third Duke of Argyll ³⁰⁰ who was the principal sponsor of the Scottish Enlightenment. Broadie writes of the Duke, -If anyone was the father of the Scottish Enlightenment, the 3rd Duke of Argyll deserves the title, because he did more than any other person to open careers to men of talent who then institutionalised ideas.ø ³⁰¹

Lee could have found no better sponsor. On his arrival in London, Lee went to Whitton, the Duke's London residence in Middlesex, near modern-day Twickenham where his interest in the study of botany was encouraged and extended. The garden at Whitton is considered today to be one of the finest examples of the period and still one of Britain's greatest. A series of engravings by William Woollett, who was responsible for two of the plates in the Hawkesworth edition, records the garden's progress. Emerson considers that Whitton was, for a few years in the mid-eighteenth century, one of the great English botanical centres. Through his physicians, secretaries, and friends the Duke was in touch with a surprising number of academic botanists from Upsala to Montpellier and Edinburgh.³⁰² According to one historian, the Duke also gave Lee the use of his impressive library.³⁰³ Brodie claims that the Duke was a book collector and omnivorous reader, a competent amateur scientist, and improver and banker, a botanist and gardener and a moderate, tolerant and secular-minded lawyer who had little use for the evangelicals in the Church.³⁰⁴ Emerson notes that, in spite of his many other interests, botany was the Duke's passion and the books devoted to it were numerous and sometimes splendid.³⁰⁵

Lee's interest in botany was further stimulated when he found employment with Philip Miller, curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden. It was Miller who introduced Lee to Linnaeus when the Swedish naturalist visited Miller in 1736.³⁰⁶ In 1760, Lee published his translation of Linnaeus's works. *An Introduction to Botany containing an Explanation of the Theory of that Science extracted from the Works of Dr Linnaeus* was the first translation of Linnaeus in the English language.³⁰⁷ Carr claims that it created a sensation and brought fame to the nursery of Lee and Kennedy. As a standard work, it was published numerous times over the next fifty years.³⁰⁸

In 1767, Lee, who was looking for a tutor for his daughter Anne to teach her botanical painting, engaged Sydney Parkinson. The same year Lee introduced Sydney Parkinson to Joseph Banks.³⁰⁹ Some time prior to August 1767, Banks contracted Parkinson as natural history draughtsman for a voyage to Lapland that he proposed to take in 1769. In the interim Banks employed Parkinson to work on the zoological specimens in the collections he had brought back from his expedition to Newfoundland and Labrador in the previous year when he had travelled without a draughtsman. Sydney

Parkinson was given the fish and insects while the plants were given to the eminent German botanical artist and Miller's brother-in-law, Georg Dionisius Ehret.³¹⁰ Sydney Parkinson was also employed to paint the exotic birds and insects in Banks's possession,³¹¹ as well as a number of natural history paintings for Gideon Loten, a former governor of Ceylon. The latter were for reproduction in *Indian Zoology*, a publication by the natural historian, Thomas Pennant.³¹² Pennant was so satisfied with Parkinson's achievements that when he heard that Sydney Parkinson would accompany Banks on the Lapland voyage, he wrote to Banks informing him, "I am extremely glad you take Parkinson with you & doubt not you will gain treasures from the several collections of drawings you will find."³¹³ When Banks secured a position on the *Endeavour*, however, the Lapland tour was cancelled and Banks invited Sydney Parkinson to accompany him as natural history draughtsman on that voyage instead.

It was on this voyage that Sydney Parkinson started keeping the records that furnish his *Journal*. The records begin when the *Endeavour* left London on July 22nd, 1768 and finish sometime prior to the artist's death in 1771. The first peoples discussed in the *Journal* are the Fuegians who also appear in a number of sketches and in the finished pen and wash illustration, *Natives of Terra del Fuego in their Hut*, Add. MS 23920, f.13 (Fig. 4). The last peoples to be discussed are the various ethnic groups who inhabited Batavia. In spite of Parkinson's detailed observations of the Batavians, they are not accompanied by any form of ethnographic depiction. Claims in letters to his cousin, Jane, and Dr. Fothergill of feeling "so hurried and fluttered about here" and "so confused" suggest that he may have been under pressure to complete the botanic studies from Australia. He may also have been suffering early symptoms of his fatal illness. Either way, he appears to have had neither the necessary time nor the energy for further ethnography.

There are large sections of the voyage for which there are not the detailed descriptions that might have been expected of him, showing that many of Sydney Parkinson's manuscripts were almost certainly still missing at the time of publication. However, in spite of this, at the time the slim volume of the *Journal* finally appeared, Stanfield Parkinson's dogged persistence was shown to be justified. Sydney Parkinson's

Journal was well-received. In 1785, the year after the Fothergill edition was published, the *Gentleman's Magazine* was effusive in its praise:

With respect to authenticity, it remains unquestioned ó whatever the journalist reports of the manners, customs, employments, pastimes, arts, genius, temper, and civilisation of the inhabitants of the several islands at which he touched he collected, not from the books and relations of others, but from his own observations and judicious remarks.

The magazine was particularly complimentary about the accompanying illustrations:

But by far the most valuable part of his labours, and what was never before executed with equal judgement and fidelity, is that characteristic distinction observable in the portraits of his chiefs, their dresses and ornaments, which marks their originality and brings them home to the view of the attentive observer, all with their distinctive features most strongly expressed...

These are the important objects that give the work before us, so far as respects the *Journal* of Sydney Parkinson, a superiority over those contemporary voyagers, who, being intent on gaining the characters of fine writers and elegant artists, have departed from the simplicity of Nature to give scope to the decorations of Art.³¹⁴

Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* has a total of twenty-seven ethnographic plates, twenty-two of which are after its author. Unlike the plates in the Hawkesworth Edition, the plates in the *Journal* are not by the most successful (or the most costly) engravers of the day. Stanfield Parkinson simply could not afford them. The engravers he chose were artists who were extremely skilled in their use of the burin or graver and who engraved in the conservative style of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately however, although the technique the engravers used was excellent for reproducing fine portraiture, as the French had already discovered, it did not lend itself to the relaxed spontaneity of landscapes with figures. At the time the *Journal* was published the limitations of linear engraving were being recognised by English engravers. William Gilpin, the priest and authoritative art critic of his time, noted in 1768 that the burin was excellent for large portraits since 'large prints require a strength which etching cannot give, and are therefore fit objects of engraving.'³¹⁵ However, he recommended working with 'the dry needle as it is called [also known as dry point]; a manner between etching and engraving' for 'slight designs' which if executed by the graver 'would entirely lose their freedom; and with it their beauty.'³¹⁶ In spite of Gilpin's observations, most of the *Journal* plates show the engravers kept to both traditional techniques and traditional formats.

As well as deploying a technique that was ill suited to the style of the image the *Journal* called for, the engravers of Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* were faced with subjects that were entirely unknown to them. Tattooing, for example, was an art that they had neither seen nor heard of. Another was the extraordinary facial distortion that was achieved by the Tahitian female dancers of the *arioi heiva*.³¹⁷ Even Banks was mystified by it describing it as being achieved 'by setting their mouths askew in the most extraordinary manner'³¹⁸ (Its effect would later be described by Georg Forster on the second voyage as 'horridly frightful'.³¹⁹)

The engravers' lack of understanding of the indigenous cultures led to confused interpretations of their subjects. The lengthy title of Plate VII, *The Head of a Native of Otaheite, with the Face curiously tatow'd; and the wry mouth, or manner of defying their Enemies as practis'd by the People of that, & the Neighbouring Islands*, (Fig. 5) for example, shows that the engraver, Godfrey, was unsure of the cultural differences that existed between his different subjects. While Sydney Parkinson gives detailed descriptions of Maori facial tattoos and left sketches that show examples of the different styles, he does not suggest that Tahitians follow a similar practice. Nor are there any sketches in his manuscripts of Tahitians with facial tattoos, only of tattoos to areas on the body, and in particular, on the buttocks. In spite of this, Godfrey has created an engraving that shows a Tahitian figure with a facial tattoo.

Again, in his description of what he calls an *ephaita*,³²⁰ Sydney Parkinson records how the dancers 'distort the muscles of their faces, and twist their mouths diagonally, in a manner which none of us could imitate'³²¹ But Godfrey seems to have confused this with a later description of how Maori warriors defy their enemies by 'holling out their tongues, and making other signs of defiance'. In the title to his engraved reproduction of Parkinson's drawing, the engraver has recorded the expressions on the faces of the Tahitian dancers as displays of aggressive behaviour towards the Europeans and not as the facial distortions of *arioi* dancers.

Another problem may have been the state of the drawings themselves. Stanfield Parkinson describes how he had only limited time to have the manuscript images copied before they were returned to Banks. Their hasty reproduction could have made their details more difficult to follow. As well as this, the copiers, like the engravers, were faced

with unfamiliar material. Unlike the designers and engravers of the Hawkesworth edition, they did not have the advantage of advice from a person, like Joseph Banks, who had been on the voyage and had written about the scenes and figures himself.

While Sydney Parkinson's scientific ambitions for his *Endeavour* records may have met some satisfaction in the *Journal*, in spite of the enthusiasm of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, its illustrations do not. However, as the magazine noted, even in their altered state, they had qualities that no artist had before achieved. They were illustrations of the hitherto unknown peoples of the Pacific, recorded in a style that was sufficiently empirical to suggest authenticity. The illustrations were therefore, unique for their time. However, the observations that are recorded in the text provide unique details of non-European societies before the impact of European colonisation. It would have been a loss to the disciplines of anthropology and sociology and to historians of the Pacific if the *Journal* had not been published. It therefore seems only fitting that the last words in the chapter should go to Stanfield Parkinson who, in his determination to do justice to his brother's talents, paid the ultimate price:

In respect to the comparative merits of his book and mine, it is not for me to say anything. If I have justified myself in the eye of the impartial world for persisting in this publication, I shall leave the works of my brother to speak his talents; thinking I have paid proper respect to his memory, though it should be said of his journal, that its only ornament is truth, and its best recommendation, characteristic of himself, its genuine simplicity.³²²

Chapter III

The Hand of Joseph Banks in Illustrations in the ‘Hawkesworth Edition’.

Chapter I posits that the parameters of the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ were determined by the political environment and the professional and personal ambitions of the men most closely associated with the publication. It argues that both Sandwich and Hawkesworth recognised that the publication had to be successful if their personal needs and aspirations, as well as their professional responsibilities, were to be met. The steps they took to ensure its success included the interpolation of Joseph Banks’s *Endeavour* journal and the insertion of editorial comment by Hawkesworth.

Chapter III focuses on the other aspect of the publication—the engraved illustrations, three of which already receive some attention in Chapter I. Chapter III identifies the person who was responsible for the illustrations in the *Endeavour* section of the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ as Joseph Banks. It argues that Banks used his position of responsibility to commission plates for personal ends. The chapter examines Plates 5 and 6 from the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ and demonstrates how original artwork was modified for this purpose. It then examines two further plates from the ‘Hawkesworth edition’, Plates 10 and 11, and shows how these were engraved because their geological subjects were of scientific interest to Banks. It also shows how they were engraved to comply with Banks’s insistence on empirical accuracy in subjects of natural history. The accuracy of the depiction is demonstrated by comparing the natural subjects of Plates 10 and 11 with those of two further plates from the *Journal* (Plates XX and XXIV). The chapter also notes how the introduction of two vessels in Plate 11, the pinnace from *Endeavour* and a Maori canoe, both with figures on board, was used to show the peaceful nature of Banks’s relationship with the members of the non-European culture.

Hawkesworth pays tribute to Banks as the source of many of the engravings and also to his generosity in paying for the commissioning of the designs that were made after the original paintings and drawings in his possession. In the Introduction to Volumes II and III, Hawkesworth states:

í the Public is indebted [to Joseph Banks] for the designs of the engravings which illustrate and adorn the account of this voyage, all of them, except the maps, charts, and views of the coasts as they appear at sea, being copied from his valuable drawings, and some of them from such as were made for the use of the artists at his expence.³²³

Banks also commissioned plates. Chapter I argues that Sandwich and Hawkesworth appreciated that both Banks's textual contribution and the association of the Hawkesworth edition with the famous naturalist himself would benefit the publication. There were similarly pragmatic reasons for Sandwich to accede to Banks's authority in the engraving of illustrations for the Hawkesworth edition. Where neither Sandwich nor Hawkesworth were experienced in selecting or commissioning engravers, Banks was. Shortly after the return of the *Endeavour* to England, Banks began selecting engravers and images for a florilegium—an eleven-volume publication illustrated with engravings after seven hundred and forty-three watercolour natural history studies by Sydney Parkinson.³²⁴ By 1773, there were at least ten engravers working on botanical drawings and paintings for the illustrations.³²⁵ Carter records a letter written by Benjamin Franklin at that time where he refers to Banks being:

...at present engaged in preparing to publish the Botanical Discoveries of his voyage. He employs 10 engravers for the Plates, in which he is very curious so as not to be quite satisfied in some cases with the expression given by either the Graver, Etching or Mezzotints, particularly where there is a woolliness or a multitude of small points on a leaf.³²⁶

The letter shows that Banks was not only very involved with the process of engraved illustration at the time of the publication of the Hawkesworth edition but meticulous about the way that original studies were being reproduced. It was, therefore, to Sandwich's advantage to defer to Banks's experience and expertise and allow him to take control of the illustrations in the publication for which he, as First Lord of the Admiralty, was responsible.

The first of the plates to be examined in this chapter is Plate 2 in the Hawkesworth edition, *A view of Matavai Bay in Otaheite: called by Captain Wallis, Port Royal Harbour in King George the Third's Island. The view is taken from One tree Hill, and the tree is a new species of Erythina* (Fig. 6). The plate originated with Parkinson's pen and wash landscape, *The Tree on One Tree Hill in Matavai Bay* Add.

MS 23921, f. 6a (Fig. 12). Matavai Bay is where Cook anchored the *Endeavour* on arriving in Tahiti on April 13th 1769. Wallis had previously anchored the *Dolphin* there, thereby, according to Beaglehole, 'founding...a British tradition'³²⁷

Parkinson describes Matavai Bay in his *Journal* as 'a fine bay to anchor in.'³²⁸ He records how in the afternoon of their arrival in Matavai Bay, a small party of which he was a member:

í made an excursion into the country ... At length, being fatigued [they] sat down under the shade of some lofty trees, the undulation of whose leaves rendered it very cool and pleasant. The high cocoas, and the low branching fruit trees, formed an agreeable contrast; while the cloud-topt hills, appearing between them, added to the natural grandeur of the prospect.³²⁹

Parkinson drew several views of the bay but the *Endeavour* collection in the British Library contains only the one finished drawing of it. Joppien and Smith suggest that this drawing is the first Parkinson completed in Tahiti.³³⁰ Shown here in Fig. 12, the drawing depicts the landscape around Matavai Bay with the *Endeavour* lying at anchor. Point Venus, the principal site for recording the transit of the sun across the planet, can be seen in the background. Small canoes are shown floating towards the British ship.

The drawing is dominated by the large, dark image of an aging erythrina tree, set to the right of centre. Although its appearance is suggestive of the gnarled trees of Italianate landscapes, its botanical accuracy shows that it is in the style of botanical draughtsmanship that Sydney Parkinson was employed by Banks to execute. Beneath the tree, a number of small figures in native costume are shown performing domestic duties. These figures are recognisable as being taken from Parkinson's pencil figure studies from Tahiti. To the left of the tree, a further figure carries wood. Beneath the tree and at the centre of the drawing, sits a small figure in British dress. He has his back to the viewer. His knees are drawn up and a pad is spread out across his lap. This is the artist about to record what he observes.

The names of both the originating artist and the engraver are absent from the plate in which this drawing is reproduced. A pencil sketch by John Barralet in the Dixon Library in Sydney, New South Wales, DL. PXX2. 44c (Fig. 7), is considered by Joppien and Smith to be the design for the engraving.³³¹ Nothing is known of the artist although the name 'James Barralet' appears on a number of American paintings in the 1780s.

Blunt refers to two brothers, John James Barralet and John Melchior Barralet, who did finished drawings for Banks. He assumes that the designer is one of these two men of that name.³³²

Barralet's design (Fig. 7) shows only minor changes to the original drawing seen in Fig. 12. Although the tree retains its picturesque appearance, Barralet lacked the talent for accurately rendering botanic specimens like the engraver, William Woollett, whose skills are discussed in the Introduction to this thesis. For this reason, the species of the tree in the design is no longer recognisable. The plants at its base are also changed to resemble the generic foreground vegetation of prints in the Northern European style. The figures to the left of the tree are redrawn. The European figure at the base of the tree is no longer there. Joppien and Smith have discovered a smudge revealing the faint pencil lines of a seated figure that has been partly erased³³³ showing that the figure has been obliterated.

Banks's acknowledgement of Sydney Parkinson in his journal is negligible. He gives only minimal recognition of Parkinson's even being on the *Endeavour* voyage, mentioning his draughtsman only rarely. The first time is when Parkinson is acknowledged in Banks's journal as having attended Buchan's funeral in April, 1769, nine months after the *Endeavour* set sail.³³⁴ A second is when Banks is critical of Parkinson's behaviour in Savu in October, 1770,³³⁵ and a third, when Banks records Parkinson's own death on the voyage home. Unlike his eulogy for Buchan, Banks's record of Parkinson's death merely reads, 'In the Evening Mr Parkinson died and one of the ships crew.'³³⁶ At other times Banks refers to him only as 'the artist I had with me' as if Sydney Parkinson played so minor a role as to be unworthy of acknowledgement by name.

In spite of the vast number of highly-skilled natural history studies achieved on the voyage, Banks refused to acknowledge the artist's contribution to his natural history expedition. He also refused to allow Parkinson's name to be associated with the expedition in the 'Hawkesworth edition' on either the engraved ethnographic plates, all but one of which are after Parkinson's drawings, or the ethnographic information derived from any of Parkinson's journal manuscripts that Hawkesworth had used for his text. As shown in the previous chapter, Joppien and Smith note that:

...when Hawkesworth enquired of Banks whether he should acknowledge his own use of Parkinson's materials in the preparation of his own work, Banks's reply was, to say the least, unequivocal.³³⁷

The letter written by Banks on January 12th 1773 in reply to Hawkesworth's enquiry concludes as follows:

As for the D^r [ie. Fothergill's] intention of saying that Parkinson's materials have been used by you I am strongly of the opinion that that should not be.

Believe me Sir
Your affectionate Servant
Jos: Banks³³⁸

Banks's refusal to acknowledge the use of Sydney Parkinson's original artwork for the plates in the Hawkesworth edition was commented upon by Sydney's brother, Stanfield Parkinson, who wrote in the Preface to the *Journal*, "while the name of the engraver is pompously displayed, that of the draughtsman or original designer, is meanly and invidiously suppressed."³³⁹

As noted in the previous chapter, at the time that Plate 2 was being engraved, Banks was involved in a dispute with Stanfield Parkinson over the ownership of Sydney Parkinson's original manuscripts and denying any knowledge of Parkinson's daily journal. Banks had also claimed that, on the death of Alexander Buchan in Tahiti, Parkinson had assumed the role of his figure and landscape artist and was therefore employed by Banks in that capacity. It can be argued from the evidence given in Chapter II that Banks chose to prevent or to remove, wherever possible, any evidence of Sydney Parkinson keeping records on the *Endeavour* voyage in either text or visual format for his own purposes. It therefore seems likely that to ensure that his claim to Parkinson's manuscripts would not be compromised, Banks instructed Barralet to remove the figure of the artist from the design for the plate.³⁴⁰

A second engraving that reveals Banks's influence is Plate 5, *A View of the Island of Otaheite; with the house or shed called a Tupapow, under which the dead are deposited, and a representation of the person who performs the principal part in the funeral ceremony in his peculiar dress; with a man climbing the bread-fruit tree to get out of his way* (Fig. 8). It is engraved by William Woollett after Barralet from a pen and

wash drawing by Parkinson, Add. MS 23921, f.31a (Fig. 13). The drawing has two titles, *A Tupapow in the Island of Otaheite* written in an unknown hand and *Ewhatta no te tuobapaow* written in pencil by Parkinson. According to Joppien and Smith, this drawing was inspired by a scene that was observed on the Island of Ulietea [Raiatea] during a walk undertaken by Sydney Parkinson on May 5 1769,³⁴¹ when he came across the corpse of a Tahitian dignitary lying under a canopy on a bier, surrounded by a bamboo railing. The drawing in Fig. 13 shows that Parkinson has added to this scene by including other elements of Tahitian ritual that he subsequently learnt played a part in the treatment of the dead. The composition is therefore tightly constructed to allow all the significant elements of the ritual to be seen.

To the right of centre stands the *tupapow* or structure upon which the corpse is laid and the fence that surrounds it to keep out intruders. To the left, the figure of the Chief Mourner is shown wearing his ritualistic costume and patrolling the area around the bier. According to Parkinson's text, the Chief Mourner made a great noise with his shell clappers to drive away intruders.³⁴² Those that were too slow felt the shark's-teeth edge of his staff. In front of the *tupapow* stands a tall coconut palm. A figure clings to its trunk, presumably in an attempt to avoid the Chief Mourner. On the far right of the drawing, a figure is shown seated with head in hands under what appears to be another erythrina tree. This figure is a principal relative of the dead in the act of mourning.

The plate created from the drawing, Plate 5 (Fig. 8), shows the designer, Barralet, has made a number of compositional changes to alter the tight construction of Parkinson's pen and wash drawing. The coconut tree is moved to the far left of the image so that the structure with its shrouded corpse is now clearly visible. The distant horizon is lowered so that the *tupapow* now stands against clear sky. The figure of the Chief Mourner is now further to the left where he stands facing the viewer, the details of his costume better exposed. However, there are other changes that appear not so much aesthetic as idiosyncratic. The figure of the female mourner on the right hand side of the drawing is gone. The erythrina tree under which the figure is seated in the original drawing has been replaced by a breadfruit tree standing on the edge of the picture frame. Instead of rising from a patch of vegetation beside the *tupapow* like the erythrina, the breadfruit tree stands in clear space taking up nearly one half of the composition. The

figure, hiding behind the trunk of the coconut palm in the original, now clings to the trunk of the breadfruit tree. The tree's details are enhanced to reveal the fruit it bears.

While the changes appear idiosyncratic, their effect is considerable because they distract the viewer from the important cultural subjects of the original drawing, the *tupapow*, the mourner and the Chief Mourner, leaving the viewer focussing on the breadfruit tree instead. Not only is the tree absent from the original drawing, its presence is quite unnecessary in this context. What is more, because of its size, the tree is out of proportion to the other subjects. Given the anthropological and cultural importance of the Tahitian burial practice of placing the corpse on a bier while it underwent putrefaction, the ritual associated with it and the unique nature of the Chief Mourner, the dominating breadfruit has brought about an unmistakable axiological transference that requires an explanation.

This chapter considers that the reason why the breadfruit tree is so dominant in Plate 5 (Fig. 8) is because the breadfruit tree was the subject of British public interest at the time the Hawkesworth edition was published. Originally, it was only of interest to botanists. One of the earliest descriptions of the breadfruit is by the seventeenth-century English natural historian, John Ray. However, it was subsequently written about in the early eighteenth-century publications of the South Seas explorer, William Dampier. More recently, it had attracted the attention of the public when it appeared in a plate in Anson's extremely popular and widely-read publication of his voyage journal. The presence of the large breadfruit tree in the plate is, therefore, a furthering of that interest.

Not only is the breadfruit tree given priority over the culturally significant subjects of Plate 5 (Fig. 8), a fairly lengthy description of the tree appears in the Hawkesworth edition immediately after the account of the *Endeavour's* arrival in Matavai Bay. Details are given of the tree's size and appearance. There is an assessment of the taste of its fruit which is described as 'insipid, with a slight sweetness somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten-bread mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke.'²⁴³ Banks refers in his journal to the method of procuring the fruit. He also describes the ease with which the breadfruit tree is cultivated and how, if proper attention were paid to it, the fruit would be even more bountiful than he had already observed. He suggests:

In the article of food these happy people may almost be said to be exempt from the curse of our forefathers; scarcely can it be said that they earn their bread from the sweat of their brow when their chiefest sustenance Breadfruit is procurd with no more trouble than that of climbing a tree and pulling it down. Not that the trees here grow spontaneously but if a man should in the course of his lifetime plant 10 such trees, which if well done might take the labour of an hour or thereabouts, he would as compleatly fulfill his duty to his own as well as future generations..³⁴⁴

Banks's account also gives a detailed description of the process of preserving the fruit in underground storage as 'Mahai' or a kind of 'sour paste'. So enthusiastic was he about the species that he commissioned a further illustration of the breadfruit tree and its fruit for Plate 10 in the 'Hawkesworth edition' to be engraved by John Miller, the engraver he employed to engrave plates in the 'Florilegium' from studies by Parkinson.

Banks's sentiments as to the fecundity of the tree are echoed by Sydney Parkinson who describes the fruits of the coconut, breadfruit and apple trees 'drop[ping] as it were, into their [the Tahitian's] mouths'.³⁴⁵ He also suggests that the people themselves might be well served by greater industry by means of which, instead of suffering from the effects of seasonal scarcity, 'the fruits of the island would not only be increased, but their quality might be improved' and their diets better provided for.³⁴⁶ Parkinson does not, however, share Banks's eye for the tree's economic potential. While much has been made of the botanical expertise Banks showed throughout the *Endeavour* voyage, research suggests that he was also developing an interest in the commercial potential of the exotic botanical species he was recording and classifying. In 1778, only seven years after the voyage ended, on Banks's prompting, King George III sponsored a voyage by Captain Bligh in HMS *Bounty* to Tahiti to obtain hundreds of samples of the breadfruit for planting in Jamaica.³⁴⁷ The failure of this enterprise is well known because of the infamous '*Bounty* mutiny'. It is worthy of notice in this context that the West Indies was the source of British sugar and home to many thousands of slaves. Having recognised the potential for the fruit of the generous and easily cultivated breadfruit as a cheap and ready source of food, Banks would ultimately become personally involved in the development of a breadfruit plantation after a more successful attempt in 1791-93 to transport breadfruit from Tahiti to Jamaica, under Bligh.

The placing of the description of the breadfruit at the beginning of the record of the visit to Tahiti in the *Endeavour* section of the ‘Hawkesworth edition’, the inclusion of Miller’s plate after Parkinson’s botanic study on the following page, the dominant presence of the breadfruit in an unrelated subject in Plate 5, and a further reference to the breadfruit in Plate 9 which shows ‘the instrument with which the bread-fruit is beaten to a paste’ as the fourth of seven tools used by the Tahitians, can only have been to further interest in the species beyond the purely scientific. It is argued here, that Banks was keen to capture the attention of men and women readers who might be persuaded to support a commercial venture which would see a breadfruit industry developed. He therefore saw that the breadfruit was given prominence wherever possible in the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ even if it meant compromising the cultural integrity of Parkinson’s ethnography.

Another of the plates that this chapter considers Banks commissioned for his own ends is Plate 6 in the ‘Hawkesworth edition’, *A view of the Island of Huaheine; with the Ewharra no Eatua or House of God; a small altar with its offering and a tree called owharra with which houses are thatched* (Fig. 9). The plate is again by Woollett from a design by Barralet after a pen and wash drawing by Parkinson, Add. MS 23921, f.25 (a), *View of the Island of Huaheine; w^t an Ewharra & small altar w^t an offering on it* (Fig. 14). In the drawing, the principal subjects are the *Ewharra no Eatua* and the altar that stands in front of it. Banks claims in his journal that Tayeto, who was the boy servant of the *ariori* priest, Tupaia, told him that an *ewharra* was the house of the god.³⁴⁸ On July 20th 1769, Banks recorded in his journal how he was shown a number of *ewharra no Eatua* or ‘god houses which were made to be carried on poles’³⁴⁹ These poles can be seen in the drawing. The cultural significance of the drawing is unclear. To the left of the *ewharra* sits a weeping female accompanied by a child. Like the figure in Fig. 13, it might be presumed that she mourns the recent death of a close relative. Although it is not shown, it is possible her relative has been buried somewhere nearby on the *morai* or religious area where the *ewharra* and the altar now stand.

The *Ewharra no eatua* and the altar of Parkinson’s drawing (Fig. 14) and their relative positions are retained in Plate 6 (Fig. 9). However, the positions of the figures have been rearranged. The weeping figure now sits with her back to the altar. The child has been replaced by another female figure shown seated behind an *owharra* tree which

now occupies the space where the female and child were formally placed. This tree also hides the earlier view of the shoreline with its coconut trees and other foliage. The canoe now lies behind it while the longhouse is only just visible in the distance.

Examples of the owharra appear in a number of different botanical studies - Add. MS 9345, ff.1, 2v, Add. MS 23921, f. 25b, and Parkinson's landscape of the district of Papavia, Add. MS 23921, f.7a. However, the owharra is absent altogether from Add. MS 23921, f.29 (Fig. 14), the drawing from which the engraving in Plate 6 (Fig. 9) was taken. Its presence in the plate is therefore difficult to explain. Unlike the breadfruit tree, discussed above, there is no specific reference to the owharra in Hawkesworth's text. A likely explanation is that Banks was keen that the British public should be shown an image of the attractive owharra and recognised that the tree's extraordinary appearance was more likely to attract the attention of Hawkesworth's readers if, like the breadfruit, it appeared in a religious setting.

For the moneyed classes of eighteenth-century England who were redeveloping their extensive gardens in the contemporary style, things botanical were an obsession.³⁵⁰ In 1756, Lady Mary Gregory noted in a letter to a friend, "Mr Potter has laid out 1,200 pounds on a shrubbery it is become a national disease."³⁵¹ Imported exotics, especially those from America, were considered particularly desirable additions to eighteenth-century English gardens. In 1727, an American-born Quaker farmer named John Bartram purchased a plot of five acres of land about three miles from Philadelphia where he developed the first botanical garden in America. There, he raised herbs from the indigenous specimens he had collected for medicinal purposes. In 1732, Peter Collison, the Quaker natural historian and entrepreneur who would later be instrumental in bringing Banks's taxonomist, Daniel Solander, to England, heard of Bartram's collection and wrote to him, asking to purchase specimens of American seeds and rootstock from it. Bartram obliged, and before long Collison had arranged to become Bartram's agent, supplying American flora to wealthy aristocratic English clients. Amongst these clients were Sir Hans Sloane, Lord Petre, the Earls of Bute, Leicester and Lincoln and the Dukes of Argyle, Richmond, Norfolk, Marlborough and Bedford.

Collison also supplied Philip Miller who was Banks's mentor and the curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden where Banks spent much of his time on leaving Oxford.³⁵²

Working in collaboration with Bartram and Collison, Miller began to use the rootstock Bartram provided to raise plants for the London market.³⁵³ When the enterprise began in the 1740s, Miller and Collison had only a limited clientele confined to aristocratic specialist planters. However, it gradually expanded to include clients in every social sphere and by 1757, Collison was to acknowledge that, through their efforts, England had been turned upside down and planted Heithera³⁵⁴ According to Laird, the influx of exotic plants introduced through the Bartram-Collison-Miller enterprise transformed the appearance of the English landscape garden for ever.³⁵⁵

The men who were responsible for promoting American exotics in England were all close associates of Joseph Banks. Not only had Miller been Banks's mentor, Banks was a friend of Collison whom he had met through the Chelsea Physic Garden. He was also closely associated with Dr. John Fothergill who, as shown in the previous chapters, supported Banks in the quarrel over Sydney Parkinson's effects and in the action to prevent the publication of the *Journal*. He was also the person who bought up all remaining copies of the *Journal* when Stanfield Parkinson died and issued a further edition, defending Joseph Banks. Fothergill was the uncle of James Freeman, the man who took over as Bartram's London agent in 1768 when Collison died. Although Fothergill was a physician, he was also both a Fellow of the Royal Society and an enthusiastic botanist. In 1771, his garden was listed with the Vineyard Garden belonging to Sydney Parkinson's previous employer, James Lee, and that of HRH The Princess Dowager at Kew [later Kew Garden] as amongst those that belonged to the noblemen, gentlemen and others which participated in the great interchange of exotic plants with the Chelsea Physic Garden. From 1773 onwards, Fothergill employed Bartram's son, William, to search the Deep South for plants and natural history specimens.³⁵⁶ In 1780, together with Sydney Parkinson's former employer, James Lee, and Joseph Banks, Fothergill would fund the collection of plants on the Gold Coast of Africa and on the edge of the Ashanti country.

It is argued here that, Banks's close association with the men responsible for the importation of exotics and the marketing of the stock subsequently raised, and his understanding of their highly profitable enterprise, persuaded him that there were opportunities to develop a market for species from the South Seas. An astute opportunist,

he recognised that the *Hawkesworth edition* might promote a commercial venture of this nature. He also recognised how this might best be effectively but subtly achieved.

Banks claims in his journal that the Tahitian *Manner of Disposing of their dead* as well as the ceremonies relating to their mourning for them is so remarkable that they deserve a very particular description³⁵⁷ He therefore appreciated that engraved illustrations of the Tahitian *remarkable* ceremonies and treatment of their dead in plates in the *Hawkesworth edition* could not fail to attract the attention of *Hawkesworth's* readers. It is therefore argued here that Banks believed that if the plates in which these subjects appeared also contained images of the Tahitian botanical specimens that he wished to promote they would receive maximum exposure. He also had the materials and the means by which this could be accomplished. He had in his possession exquisite empirical studies by Parkinson. Available to him were the skills of an engraver like Woollett, whose reputation was respected and whose ability to depict trees and landscapes was unequalled. In placing the resultant plates before the *élite* readers for whom the *Hawkesworth edition* was published, Banks would be reaching his potential clients.

The subjects of the next two plates were not selected for their commercial potential but for their scientific interest. While the plates themselves show evidence of only minimal alteration to the original material, the hand of Joseph Banks in the commissioning of them can equally readily be identified. The engravings are Plate 17 in the *Hawkesworth edition*, *A view of a perforated rock in Tolaga Bay in New Zealand* (Fig. 10) and Plate 18 from the same publication, *A fortified town or village called a Hippah, built on a perforated rock at Tolaga in New Zealand* (Fig. 11). As their descriptive titles suggest, they both show unusual geological formations. Geology was of great interest to late eighteenth-century natural historians. Stafford draws attention to the fascination with geological features that existed at that time as part of the empirical focus on nature.³⁵⁸ She considers that exceptional geology was of particular interest to Joseph Banks, and notes how he appreciated the peculiar qualities that many geological formations displayed. Stafford records, for example, that Banks was responsible for the first of a legion of images of the peculiar basalt rocks on the Island of Scarpa in the Shetland Group.³⁵⁹

The name of the engraver is absent from Plate 17, *A View of a Perforated Rock in Tolaga Bay in New Zealand* (Fig. 10), but Joppien and Smith again attribute the design to Barralet.³⁶⁰ The view of the rock that it portrays is described in Parkinson's *Journal* as "very romantic" and "forming a very uncommon view."³⁶¹ Banks is equally impressed and describes the archway in his journal as "an extraordinary natural curiosity"

"a most noble arch or Cavern through the face of a rock leading directly to the sea, so that through it we had not only a view of the bay and hills on the other side but an opportunity of imagining a ship or any other object opposite it to it."³⁶²

He is even uncharacteristically emotional, saying "it was certainly the most magnificent surprise I have ever met with, so much is pure nature superior to art in these cases."³⁶³ Nevertheless, Banks does not fail to record the archway's dimensions.

Although Parkinson left a pen and wash drawing of the same subject, the image in the Plate 17 appears to have been taken from a drawing by Hermann Spöring who was not one of the designated artists on the *Endeavour* voyage but was responsible for the lettering on many of the finished drawings (ML PXD11,V, Fig. 15). Spöring's official position was that of Banks's clerk or amanuensis. His presence on the *Endeavour* was suggested by Solander. Spöring executed both topographical records and zoological drawings that are generally considered to show a precision and an eye for accuracy and detail that is often found lacking in Parkinson's landscapes. Lysaght also suggests that most of the zoological drawings from Australia and New Zealand by Spöring are generally regarded as being "more successful" than Parkinson's.³⁶⁴ The reason Banks chose a view of the rock by Spöring instead of by Parkinson was probably because Spöring was the more accurate of the two. Lysaght claims that Banks "placed scientific accuracy above all else in the work of his artists" and supports the claim by an analysis of some of the *Endeavour* drawings by Spöring and Parkinson.³⁶⁵ She also notes that the diarist, Joseph Farrington, who was also an aspiring artist, recorded that Banks recommended to him that "Accuracy of drawing" was the primary principal of artistic depiction.³⁶⁶

Gascoigne draws the reader's attention to Banks's role in mapping the geographic world, noting that he used "his influence to promote the more accurate charting of the globe."³⁶⁷ Information derived from the maps Banks promoted was "then incorporated into

a multiplicity of maps: charts for navigation, hydrographic maps describing the sea and its currents, diagrams of magnetic variations and of course vast volumes describing and classifying the natural world including its human population.³⁶⁸ While Gascoigne recognises that the information was used to serve the purposes of British mercantilism and imperialism, he also appreciates Banks's enthusiasm for bringing order to the world.³⁶⁹ Here, that same enthusiasm can be seen in his bringing the wonders of the natural world to the attention of the reader.

However, the faithfulness to the original that empirical imagery requires was new to eighteenth-century engravers. It was common practice for them to embellish their subjects and Plate 17 is no exception. The embellishment here breaks Spöring's smooth, striated surface into a number of components delineated by indentations. As well as this, great boulders now stand where before the river ran easily into the sea. Small figures are also added, both Maori and European. They conform to the aesthetic practice of including small figures or staffage in landscapes, although in this context, they may also be to show the peaceful co-existence between European and Maori. In spite of this embellishment, however, the image retained in the plate is a very close approximation to the archway in Spöring's study.

The second example of empirical natural history imagery is found in Plate 18 of the Hawkesworth edition, *A fortified town or village, called a Hippah, built on a perforated rock at Tolaga, New Zealand* (Fig. 11). The title is presumed to be incorrect because, on the design by Barralet from which the plate was created,³⁷⁰ the site of the hippah is given as Opoorage. Why there was confusion over the two locations is unknown, although Beaglehole finds that Banks's journal reveals a number of instances in which this occurs.³⁷¹ The original upon which the image in the plate is based is again a landscape study by Spöring, Add. MS 23920, 42a (Fig. 16). Banks records again in his journal his delight at seeing the scene before him. He describes what he calls the Eppah [Maori fortified village or *pah*] as 'the most beautifully romantick thing I ever saw.'³⁷² However, he goes on to write about it in very unromantic detail. He describes how the *pah*:

... was built on a small rock detach'd from the main and surrounded at high water, the top of this was fenced round with rails after their [the Maori] manner but not large enough to contain above 5 or 6 houses; the whole appeared totally

inaccessible to any animal who was not furnished with wingsí and only approachable by one very narrow and steep path.³⁷³

However, it also appears that it was not the *pah* itself that he found most truly romantickøbut the archway upon which it was constructed:

...much the largest part of it was hollowd out into an arch which penetrated quite through and it was in hight not less than 20 yards perpendicular above the water which ran through it.³⁷⁴

Although his journal gives a very clear description of the houses and fortification surrounding them and the lives and habits of its inhabitants, it is clear that what is of most interest to him is the geological curiosity. This explains why the *pah* in Plate 18 (Fig. 11) is shown as being of secondary importance to the site upon which it stands. It is only just visible and shown sitting upon the top of the archway. The geological features of the rock through which the archway penetrates have been exaggerated. The steep face on the right of the arched rock, below the area where small trees are shown clinging in the original, is replaced by two massive square boulders that hang in a precarious fashion. Behind this same column of arched rock a further large rock has also been placed.

In spite of this modification, the empirical nature of the depiction of the geological formations in Plates 17 and 18 in the Hawkesworth editionø(Figs. 10 and 11) becomes more evident if the images in those plates are compared with images of the same subjects in Plates XX and XXIV from the *Journal* listed here as Figs. 17 and 18. The first of these plates, Plate XX (Fig. 17), engraved by Newton after Parkinson, is entitled *View of a curious Arched Rock, having a River running under it, in Tolago Bay, on the East Coast of New Zealand*. The repetition of the geological subjects of Plates 17 and 18 from the Hawkesworth editionøin Plates XX and XXIV of the *Journal* (Figs.17 & 18) appears to confirm Staffordø's findings that geological formations were capturing the public attention in the latter part of the eighteenth century. However, in Plate XX (Fig. 17) it is not the archwayø's geological features that are of interest but the attractive nature of the archway itself and the scene the plate portrays.

Plate XX (Fig. 17) is presumed to be after an original drawing by Parkinson that is now lost. The appearance of the archway in Plate XX suggests that it is taken from a different viewpoint from that in Plate 17 (Fig. 10) although many of the details remain

the same. Joppien and Smith comment on the image that it is 'apparently drawn from the opposite side of a second version of Spöring's sketch, PXD111,V (Fig. 7) that they label 1.111 (Add. MS 23920, f.39).³⁷⁵ However, since the subjects differ, this seems unlikely.

The rocky shelf running along the top of the archway is again covered with small leafy trees. Two larger trees, one of which bends towards the centre of the plate, are again shown standing on the right of the image. Small figures are poised in different parts of the landscape in the conventional manner of staffage. Where Plate XX (Fig. 17) differs most notably from Plate 17 in the 'Hawkesworth edition' (Fig. 10) is in the clear, empirical manner in which the geology in this latter plate (Plate 17) is depicted. Where the structure of the rocks that make up the archway and those beyond it leading towards the sea are clearly visible in Plate 17, in Plate XX (Fig. 17) they have lost definition and appear as one large amorphous mass. Plate XX is, therefore, not so much an empirical record as an attractive landscape study of limited scientific interest.

Similar differences exist between Plate 18 of the 'Hawkesworth edition' (Fig. 11) and Plate XXIV of the *Journal, View of an Arched Rock, on the Coast of New Zealand; with an Hippa, or Place of Retreat, on top of it* (Fig. 18). This time, although the geological formation in Plate XXIV has greater definition, it is still not scientifically convincing. The massive, square, over-hanging rocks in Plate 18 (Fig. 11) have been removed and replaced with a spiral geological structure that is unlikely to exist in nature. The area to the right of the arch has lost its bulwark. The effect of these modifications is to make the arch seem less substantial and imposing. Geological interest has given way to landscape fantasy. Interestingly, vessels from the two cultures are shown in the illustration. The *Endeavour* shown in full sail and the tiny craft seen in the archway, are separated by the geological formation. The suggestion made here is that the vessels and those who sail in them are also culturally separated in that they belong to different worlds.

Comparison between Plates XX and XXIV in the *Journal* and Plates 17 and 18 in the 'Hawkesworth edition' reveals that the latter plates belong to a new and different kind of voyage imagery. Earlier journal publications contain topographies which show the outlines of landmasses. In Parkinson's *Journal*, Plates XX and XXIV are attractive

landscapes designed to appeal to the aesthetic tastes of the reader but of no scientific importance. Although the plates in the 'Hawkesworth edition' show some modification, such as the presence of the massive square rocks in Plate 17, they are the first engraved landscape voyage illustrations to depict geological formations in empirical detail. They therefore show developments in voyage illustration promoted by advances in contemporary scientific enquiry. No longer simply illustrations designed to entertain the readers, they are, like the maps and charts, designed to provide them with information.

The depiction of their subjects also imitates the tone of Banks's text. Although he describes the two geological formations as 'magnificent[ly] surprising' and 'beautifully romantic' Banks follows with their scientific details. As the leader of a scientific team, he was required to record empirical information about his natural history subjects. His way of seeing was therefore through scientific eyes. It appears from his journal that his perception of natural wonder, although expressed in aesthetic terms, was in fact, scientific.

Ethnographic plates in the 'Hawkesworth edition' such as Plates 5 and 6 (Figs. 8 and 9) discussed above, show Banks manipulating original images for his own personal ends. Allowing for their minimal artistic licence, Plates 17 and 18 (Figs. 10 and 11) demonstrate Banks's requirement of empirical accuracy in subjects that were of scientific interest to him. These plates might therefore be considered to show 'the triumph of empirical naturalism' that Smith attributes to the graphic art from Cook's voyage in the Introduction to the first volume of the *Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*.³⁷⁶ As such, they would form part of the scientific legacy for which Banks is remembered.

However, it should also be recognised, as Plates 5 and 6 above show, that this legacy was not entirely achieved without resort to non-scientific means. Further confirmation of the manipulation of imagery for personal ends can also be seen in Plate 18 (Fig. 11) which, like Plate XXIV (Fig. 18) also shows Small craft from the different cultures. While they do not detract too noticeably from Spöring's original, they are once again, artistic embellishments that compromise the empirical integrity of the illustration. Here, they are a reminder of the political nature of the context in which the geological formations were observed. The pinnacle from the *Endeavour* with Banks and other members of the ship's company on board, rowing towards the shore, and the Maori canoe

from which a group of Maori figures are fishing are shown in close proximity to one another. Banks notes in his journal that, in spite of their own misgivings as to the reception they might receive on entering the private compound below the *pah* or *hippah*, the natives were welcoming and invited them "with joy" and without hesitation, accompanied them on the climb to it.³⁷⁷ The presence of the two vessels and their peaceable co-existence can therefore be seen as showing the friendly nature of the encounter. This not only reflected well on Banks, but also demonstrated to the reading public that Cook and his people were behaving as the Admiralty and the Royal Society expected. The relationship represented by the proximity of the two vessels is a reminder that, while Banks might have been given licence to choose the subjects and determine their engraved reproduction, the illustrations in the "Hawkesworth edition" were, after all, for an official Admiralty publication.

Chapter IV

Tahitian Religious Ritual in the *Endeavour* Publications.

Chapter III shows how exotic species of flora from Tahiti were introduced into plates in the 'Hawkesworth edition' which depict Tahitian religious practices (Plates 5 and 6). The chapter questions the presence of these exotic species in images of ritual associated with the Tahitian treatment of the dead and the place where Tahitian gods were believed to dwell. The chapter argues that the species were included in the plates because Banks believed the religious context would give them greater exposure.

Chapter IV examines further Plate 5, *A View in the Island of Otaheite; with the house or shed called Tupapow, under which the dead are deposited, and a representation of the person who performs the principal part in the funeral ceremony in his peculiar dress; with a man climbing the bread-fruit tree to get out of his way*, and Plate 6, *A view in the island of Huaheine; with the Ewharra no Eatua, or House of God; a small altar with its offering; and a tree called Owharra with which the houses are thatched* (Figs. 8 and 9). This time the examination is in the context of the 'Hawkesworth edition' itself. The chapter begins by investigating the attitudes towards Tahitian religion and its rituals expressed in the voyage journals of Cook and Banks. It compares these attitudes with those expressed in Hawkesworth's text and in the engraved plates that accompany it. The chapter concludes that while the attitudes expressed in the plates agree with those of Cook and Banks they disagree with those expressed by Hawkesworth. The chapter therefore argues that there is evidence of disjunctive representation in the 'Hawkesworth edition'

Chapter IV then investigates the relationship between text and illustration in Parkinson's *Journal* and shows that here, there is greater unity. However, the quality and appearance of the image of the 'god-house' in Plate X (Fig. 23) of the *Journal* appear to have been marred by the poor condition of the original copy. The title of Plate XI of the *Journal* (Fig. 24) shows the engraver was confused about his subject. Chapter IV therefore concludes that evidence from both the 'Hawkesworth edition' and the *Journal* shows that they were disadvantaged by the conditions under which they were published.

Cook relates in his voyage journal how, on Friday the 21st of April 1769, he was taken to see a corpse lying on a bier.³⁷⁸ Its presence had been discovered the previous day by the ship's surgeon who believed the corpse to be that of the man who was shot on the *Endeavour's* arrival in Tahiti. Cook describes the corpse on the bier as lying in "a small Shad [shed] that was "about 14 or 16 feet long, 10 or 12 broad and of a proportional height:

...one end was wholly open, the other end [and] the two sides were partly enclosed with a kind of wicker work. In this lay the Corps upon a Bier or frame of wood with a Matted bottom like a Cot frame used at sea and supported by 4 posts about 5 feet from the Ground, the body was covered with a Mat and over that a white Cloth, ...The head of the Corps lay next the close end of the Shad[e]..³⁷⁹

Cook tells how the corpse had been left coconut shells full of water and pieces of roasted breadfruit that he later concluded were for the dead man's use. A club and axe were also placed near the body together with plantain leaves, the emblems of peace.³⁸⁰ Cook claims to have understood that the Tahitians "did not seem to like that we should go near the Body and stand at a little distance themselves While we examined these matters and appeared to be pleased when we came away.³⁸¹ However, this did not prevent him and his men from continuing the examination until they had seen all they wanted.

Cook recalls in his journal how, the first day they landed, he and his men "saw the Skeleton of a human being laying in this manner under a Shade that was just big enough to cover it...³⁸² When some of the ship's company went to examine it further, some days later, however, it was gone.³⁸³ Cook notes how it was assumed at the time, that this manner of "enterring the dead is not common to all ranks of people. It was concluded by his men that the Tahitians must not only believe in a "Supream being but in a future state also³⁸⁴ because this would explain the presence of the food and artefacts being left for "some Dietie, or for the use of the dead in the other world.³⁸⁵ However Cook discounts the last suggestion because he found no evidence of "Priest craft [witchcraft] in the thing because the food simply rotted away.³⁸⁶ (Banks claims, perhaps more accurately, that it was eaten by rats.³⁸⁷) Cook assumes that he and his men would probably see more examples of the ritual during the *Endeavour's* stay in Tahiti but that, if it was part of a religious ceremony, they "may not be able to understand it, for the Misteries of most Religions are very dark and not easily understud even by those who profess them³⁸⁸

Banks was dissuaded by the surgeon's description of the corpse's odour from visiting the scene. However, he later describes both the manner of the body's disposal and the ceremonies associated with it vividly,³⁸⁹ noting that he considers them subjects ÷...so remarkable that they deserve a very particular description.ø³⁹⁰ Banks describes how:

As soon as any one is dead the House is immediately filled with their relations who bewail their Loss with Loud lamentations, especially those who are the farthest removed in blood from or who profess the least grief for the deceased; the nearest relations and those who are really affected spend their time in more silent sorrow; while the rest join in Chorus of Grief.³⁹¹

However, this ritual was interrupted from time to time by a return to normal behaviour when the relations ÷laugh, talk and gossip as if totally unconcerned.ø³⁹² The mourning continued until daylight when the ceremonies began. Prayers were then offered by the priests and the body was placed on a bier. It was carried down to the sea and back to the house again, a number of times. Shrouded in Tahitian bark cloth, it was finally carried to the place of corruption (the *tupapow* of the plate's title) which had been hastily erected for the purpose.

Banks notes that the size of the *tupapow* was proportional to the rank of the deceased and ÷ornamented according to the abilities and inclinations of the surviving relationsø³⁹³ He describes how ÷Good Clothø was hung around the body; its two open ends garlanded with fruits of the pandanus and coconut leaves in ÷Mysticø knots made by the priests.³⁹⁴ Near by was laid a quantity of water, fruit and fish.ø³⁹⁵ Unlike Cook, Banks understood that this was for not for the deceased but for the gods who might otherwise eat the flesh off the corpse. Once the body was placed in the *ewhatta*, or House of the Dead, the mourning began anew:

The women... assemble Led on by the nearest relation, who walking up to the Door of the House swimming almost in tears strikes a shark's tooth several times into the crown of her head, on which a large effusion of blood flows, which is carefully caught in their linnen and thrown under the Bier.³⁹⁶

The actions of the nearest female relative were then repeated by the rest of the women, sometimes lasting for as much as three days. In the belief that their actions are visible to the ÷soulø of the deceased, the women continued to throw cloths wet with tears on the corpse while the ÷younger peopleø cut off their hair and threw that under the bier as well.

Banks describes how the actions of the women were followed by the entry of the Chief Mourner who patrolled the area around the bier where the corpse lay. The person chosen to perform this ritual duty was an *arioi*, a member of a social group for which there is no known equivalent in Western society. Salmond describes the *arioi* as 'an exclusive society of priests, voyagers, warriors, orators and famed lovers, dedicated to the god, Oro'oa³⁹⁷ The Chief Mourner played a significant role in Tahitian society. Banks describes the dress the Chief Mourner wore for this particular duty as being so extraordinary that he questions whether words could give a tolerable idea of it and suggests that the reader should refer to the annexed figure instead.³⁹⁸ However, because Banks never published his journal, it was not illustrated with the views he intended for it. There is, therefore, no way of knowing to which particular depiction of the Chief Mourner Banks refers.

There are three studies of the Chief Mourner in the *Endeavour* collection, all of which were acquired by Banks. One is by Parkinson; one is by Spöring, with the third by Tupaia, the Tahitian *arioi* who was travelling with Banks to England on board the *Endeavour*. Tupaia's depiction of the Chief Mourner (Fig. 19) best shows the details of his elaborate costume. Kaepler describes the intricacies of the example of the Chief Mourner's costume in the British Museum, (TAH 78). She notes that the costume has a shell face mask with surmounted head piece edged with tropical bird feathers; tying cords for a turban; a crescent wood piece with mounted pearl shells; a chest apron of tiny slips of mother-of-pearl shell; a cape of red/brown and natural bark cloth; feather tassels and extra bunches of feathers; a bark cloth apron with coconut shells; a feathered cloak, bark cloth sash and a belt of bark cloth and other fibrous materials.³⁹⁹ Tupaia's 'Chief Mourner' shows the shell face, the feathered head piece, the ties, the crescent mounted with shells, the chest apron, the cape, the bark cloth apron, feathered cloak and sash. It also shows the Chief Mourner holding the shell clappers and the shark's-tooth rod. While it does not appear in any of the engraved plates, this illustration may have been used for clarification when Barralet created a design for Woollett to engrave, showing the Chief Mourner's costume quite clearly.

It was the duty of the Chief Mourner to protect the corpse and drive away any person or demon who might want to interfere with it. He patrolled the woods early in the

morning and late at night, carrying shell clappers to make a frightening noise, and a staff to beat off intruders. He was accompanied by two or three naked boys who, blackened with charcoal, preceded the Chief Mourner on his patrol. Banks's interpretation of the activities of the Chief Mourner is that he sent his charcoal-covered emissaries to run about in all directions as if in pursuit of people on whom he may vent the rage inspired by his sorrow, which he does most unmercifully if he catches anybody, cutting them with his stick the edge of which is set with sharks teeth.⁴⁰⁰ However, Banks also notes that "this rarely ever happens for no sooner does the figure appear than anyone who sees him or his emissaries, inspired with a sort of religious awe, flies with the utmost speed, hiding wherever they think themselves the most safe"⁴⁰¹

Thomas questions Banks's interpretation of the performance of the Chief Mourner as providing a vent for the sorrow and anger of the bereaved. He finds Banks suggesting that "All the rampaging, clapping and chasing away may also, or may rather, have been intended to ensure that the dangerous spirit of a person of high status actually did quit the vicinity of their home and undertook its proper journey via the sea to the after world"⁴⁰² Banks's journal relates how on June 10th 1769, he was stripped of his clothing except for a small strip of cloth around his waist and blackened all over with charcoal. He was then sent out to Fort Venus where the British were stationed as one of the Chief Mourner's emissaries. It appears that this was not of Banks's choosing but that he was requested to do so by the Tahitian authorities. It seems that his presence was required because the Chief Mourner dared not visit the fort without the sanction of the British. Banks relates how the British who were present at the fort at the time of the Mourner's visit and who had not been warned of it beforehand, fled "like sheep."⁴⁰³ Banks and the other emissaries then patrolled the woods for several hours before cleansing themselves by washing in the river.

While Thomas does not discuss Banks's role as an emissary, he attributes Banks's misunderstanding of the Chief Mourner's role to the inability of the Europeans on the voyage to fully understand the significance of Tahitian religious rites. This lack of understanding, Thomas explains, was due to "an insufficient grasp of the Tahitian language to enable the kinds of inquiries that would fully explain the rites"⁴⁰⁴ Banks himself relates that he had difficulties in understanding the Tahitian religion and how, in

spite of Tupaia showing the greatest desire to instruct Banks and the other men from the *Endeavour*, their differences in language made more significant understanding almost impossible.⁴⁰⁵ Philosophically, he notes in his journal that it would be equally difficult to explain the inconsistencies in the Christian religion to an infidel. He says he is concerned, however, to describe the Tahitian religion in such a way that its beliefs and practices may also appear to the reader as inconsistencies and not absurdities.⁴⁰⁶

Plate 5 of the Hawkesworth edition shows, as its title suggests, *A view of the Island of Otaheite; with the house or shed called a tupapow, under which the dead are deposited, and a representation of the person who performs the principal part in the funeral ceremony in his peculiar dress; with a man climbing the bread-fruit tree to get out of his way* (Fig. 8). As noted in the previous chapter, the plate is engraved by William Woollett after Barralet from a pen and wash drawing by Parkinson, Add. MS 23921, f.31a (Fig. 13). The plate, like the original from which it was taken, shows a body lying wrapped in cloth under a canopy on a bier. The bier itself lies on a small, light-weight construction surrounded by a bamboo railing. A figure, identifiable by his costume as the Chief Mourner is shown standing outside its confines. Also shown in the plate are a weeping female figure and another figure that appears to be hiding behind the trunk of a tree.

The depiction of the scene in the plate suggests the curiosity voiced by Cook and Banks in their accounts of seeing a corpse lying on the bier in the two voyage journals. There is no condemnation, only an appreciation of the inconsistencies that Banks found existed in both Christian and pagan religions. The same can be said of Plate 6 (Fig. 9) in the Hawkesworth edition where its title reads *A view in the Island of Huaheine; with the Ewharra no Eatua or House of God; a small altar with its offering and a tree called owharra with which houses are thatched*. The original pen and wash drawing from which this plate is taken, Add. MS 23921, f. 29 (Fig. 14), like the drawing shown in Fig. 13, shows Parkinson has compressed a number of different aspects of the ritual into a single composition. Although, as shown in Chapter III, Plate 6 (Fig. 9) includes an owhara tree that is not in the original, there is evidence of only minor alteration. Plate 6 also shows the same neutrality towards Tahitian religion that is shown in Plate 5. There is no

condemnation of the ritual the plate portrays, only a fascination with its uniqueness and remarkable nature.

There is again the same objectivity that is in keeping with the views expressed by Cook and Banks. However, this objectivity was not without an indifference towards Tahitian cultural sensitivities. As well as Cook's intrusion into the area the Tahitians held sacred and were uncomfortable with, on July 20th 1769, Banks recorded how he was shown an *ewharra* or 'god house' [that was] made to be carried on poles,⁴⁰⁷ similar to if not the same as the subject of Plate 6. He relates how he examined the contents of the *ewharra* by putting his hand inside it. There, he found 'a parcel about 5 feet long and one thick wrapped up in mats.'⁴⁰⁸ He describes how he tore at it with his fingers until he came to a covering made of plaited coconut fibres. Finding it impossible to 'get [his hand] through' the fibres he was obliged to desist, noting that his actions he had given much offence to his Tahitian companions.⁴⁰⁹ Beaglehole considers that the offence was not surprising since the matting was 'a sennet representation of an ancestral god.'⁴¹⁰ Banks, however, appears to have seen it as a curiosity, worthy of examination. No doubt, it was this same lack of respect that allowed Banks to have exotic species of Tahitian flora placed so prominently in Plates 5 and 6.

Hawkesworth describes the *tupapow* in Plate 5 of the 'Hawkesworth edition' in terms very much the same as Banks but adds 'What can have introduced among these people the custom of exposing their dead above ground, till the flesh is consumed by putrefaction, and then burying the bones, it is perhaps impossible to guess.'⁴¹¹ He also describes how the Tahitians placed food around the bodies of the dead. He writes that it was assumed by Cook and his men 'that these Indians' who placed the food there 'had some confused notion of a separate state; but upon our applying for further information' they were told 'the food was placed there as an offering to their gods.'⁴¹² Hawkesworth suggests that the Tahitians, like the Jews, might believe that a god could dwell in a house, and that their gesture was made upon the same principle as the Temple built in Jerusalem, which was 'an expression of reverence and gratitude, and a solicitation of the more immediate presence of the Deity.'⁴¹³ Hawkesworth then relates how the writers, 'Aelian'⁴¹⁴ and Apollonius Rhodius⁴¹⁵ impute a similar practice to the inhabitants of 'ancient Colchis' an early Georgian city state that was home to the Argonauts and Medea and

celebrated for its sorcery. He claims that the principal objects of worship of this ancient race were Earth and the Air, and tells how –in consequence of some superstitious notion, they devoted their dead to both.⁴¹⁶ He suggests that the Tahitians may have shared the Colchisø religious beliefs.⁴¹⁷

He repeats the description found in Cookø journal of the corpse of the man killed on the arrival of the *Endeavour* in Tahiti. However, Hawkesworth later –observesø

í that nothing can be more absurd than the notion that the happiness or misery of a future life depends, in any degree, upon the disposition of the body when the state of probation is passed;
since:

í most men gravely deliberate how to prevent their body from being broken by the mattock and devoured by the worm, when it is no longer capable of sensation; and purchase a place for it in holy ground, when they believe the lot of its future existence to be irrevocably determined.⁴¹⁸

He suggests that the –folliesø and –absurditiesø of the Tahitians should be considered in the same context as –an honest devotee to Church of Romeø might view behaviour of the Indians on the banks of the Ganges, who believe that they shall secure the happiness of a future state by dying with a cowø tail in their handsø⁴¹⁹ Yet, if those same Indians were to be told that the Roman Catholics –imagine they shall secure the same advantage ...with the slipper of St Francis upon their footø they would laugh at the Catholicø folly. He concludes that if the Indian and the Catholic were to reflect on each otherø –absurditiesø they would discover that without the –veil of prejudice and custom ...they would turn their knowledge to a profitable purposeø the nature of which he does not specify.⁴²⁰ The passages quoted therefore show editorial intrusion that imputes views and prejudices to Cook that are not his.

Although Hawkesworthø understanding of Tahitian religious practices is derived from the journals of Banks and Cook, the tone in which it is expressed in his text and the comments that accompany his descriptions of the practices are not theirs. Cookø comments suggest that he is quite indifferent to native religions and finds religious belief in general mystifying. As noted above, Banks states quite clearly that he is writing about –inconsistenciesø and not the –absurditiesø of Tahitian religion. Hawkesworth, however, is derisive. His lengthy dissertation on comparative religions is therefore incompatible with the empirical descriptions of Cook and Banks and the seemingly disrespectful and

inappropriate actions, such as Cook and his men going too close to the corpse and Banks examination of the *ewharra*, that show a scientific curiosity and not philosophical introspection.

Hawkesworth's decision to make religious ritual the subject of further discussion may have been inspired by its treatment in earlier voyage publications. Traditionally, pagan religions and the rituals associated with them had been dealt with at some length, appearing regularly in voyage literature and accompanied by illustrations. The earliest examples are in relation to the politico-religious debates that erupted over Columbus's discovery of the Americas in 1492. On May 23 1493, less than a year after the discovery, a papal bull, known as the *Inter coetera*, was issued, granting the newly discovered territories to Catholic Spain on the understanding that their indigenous inhabitants would be redeemed by Spanish Jesuit missionaries.⁴²¹ However, this attempt to validate Spanish colonial expansion was challenged because it overlooked the need to define the status of the indigenous inhabitants, thereby leaving their potential for redemption open to question. It was held that for redemption to occur, the candidate had to be man and not beast and portray the qualities that defined the former. Aristotle had taught that mankind was set apart from the rest of creation by two particular qualities, rationality and receptivity to divine grace. Evidence was therefore sought for the existence of morality, social organisation and a system of government to determine rationality. Pagan religious practices were examined for evidence that there existed *a priori* knowledge of a divine being and therefore the receptivity of divine grace.

Reports and illustrations confirmed that the former existed in many areas, albeit at an unsophisticated level. On further evidence from the observation of religious practices, it was also concluded that Indians were 'true' men.⁴²² It was argued that, on their banishment from Babel and their distribution to the farthest corners of the earth, these 'true men' had kept enough knowledge to be able to provide for their wants excepting only 'the lack of a soul'.⁴²³ A further papal bull in 1537, entitled the *Sublimus Deus*, stated that since 'Indians' were 'true' men and therefore created as such by God, they were capable of understanding the Catholic faith. However, as Honour notes, the ruling continued to be challenged by the voyagers' observations of cannibalism and sexual

immorality so that the nature of non-European peoples was debated for the rest of the century.⁴²⁴

One of the most frequently discussed subjects was the manner in which the dead were treated in non-European cultures. The first example discussed here, comes from an account of the experiences of the Huguenot missionary, Jean de Léry, in Brazil, *l'Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (1578). Léry's *l'Histoire*, considered by Levi Strauss to be "the breviary of the anthropologist"⁴²⁵ gives an extraordinarily detailed description of the culture of the native people of Brazil, the Tupinamba. Pagden refers to Léry as both a European and a Calvinist, suggesting that in Léry the "line between us [the Europeans] and them [the Tupinamba] was not only cultural, it was also eschatological."⁴²⁶ He notes that Léry believed that the Tupinamba were the descendents of the Biblical Ham who had been cursed and therefore had no capacity for redemption. Pagden suggests that it was this belief that allowed Léry to record the religious practices of the Tupinamba in the morally detached manner for which he has received much praise.⁴²⁷ Léry's account of the burial of one of the Tupinamba reads:

í it is amazing to hear the cries of the women, as loud as the howling of dogs and wolves like the women of Bearth and Gascony who praise their men's many virtues; so sing our poor American women, adding at each refrain, "he is dead, he is dead, he whom we now mourn..." The men answer with "Alas it is true, we will see him no more until we are behind the mountains" these laments last ordinarily for half a day. After the grave has been dug the body, which immediately after death has been folded with the arms and legs bound around it, will be buried almost upright.⁴²⁸

In the illustration of the burial, shown here in Fig. 20, the figures are arranged in a tight composition that is artistically inspired rather than realistically depicted. At the top of the illustration is a Tupinamba warrior who laments the death of the figure lying in the basket with its arms and legs bound around it, surrounded on both sides by the crying women. The illustration, shown in Fig. 20, like the text, is devoid of moral comment.

The second example comes from *America* Part I (1590) by Theodore de Bry. Plate XXII (Fig. 21) shows the manner in which the corpses of the "weroanses" or chiefs of the Algonquian Indians of Virginia were laid in a charnel house while they were "corrupted" or underwent putrefaction. (The original drawing from which it was taken is shown in Fig. 22) The text describes how the various internal organs were removed and tied up in

mats which lay at the corpse's feet. The naked corpses were then placed in straight lines and watched over by a small figure, referred to in the text as a *kiwasa*, to prevent the corpses from coming to harm. The priest who had charge of the corpses lived under the scaffold. De Bry records that he "Mumbleth his prayers nighte and day"⁴²⁹

De Bry appears to empathise with the Algonquian, saying in the text that accompanies his engraved illustration of a *kiwasa*, "These poore soules have none other knowledge of god"⁴³⁰ However, both his comments in relation to the priest and this illustration, which although suggested by the small figure in Fig. 22, is actually a creation of de Bry's own imagination, are designed to emphasise the pagan nature of the Algonquian religion and undermine its validity. De Bry also states that he believes that he thinks "them verye Desirous to knowe the truthe. For as when we kneeled downe on our knees to make our prayers unto god, they went about to imitate us, and when they saw we moved our lipps, they also did the lyke."⁴³¹ He concludes in a subsequent text, that it "is verye like that they might easily be brought to the knowledge of the gospel."⁴³² Elsewhere in the publication, he implies that the Algonquian's pagan religion is a poor substitute for Christianity and one that they might easily abandon if they were given the opportunity for redemption:

Wherein they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credite to their traditions and stories but through conversing with us they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no small admiration of ours, with earnest desire in many, to learne more than we had means for want of perfect utterance of their language to expresse.⁴³³

It can be argued that texts and images in works such as those by Léry and de Bry, have been mediated by the attitudes of their writers. However, in both cases there is consistency in their representation. This is not the case, however, in the "Hawkesworth edition" where, in spite of the objectivity of the original texts and the engraved illustrations, the treatment by the Tahitians of their dead has inspired lengthy debate about the practices of the different religions. Not only is this evidence of disjunctive representation, Hawkesworth's comments, derived from second-hand reports from dubious tests are inappropriate in the context. The reports come from a period in which pagan religious practices had a significance that they no longer had in the new scientific age. More appropriate to the attitudes held by enlightened Englishmen in the eighteenth century, and certainly more in tune with Enlightenment philosophies, are the comments

about the Tahitian religion that are found in Parkinson's *Journal*. Like Banks, Parkinson was well briefed about both the practice and the rituals that accompanied the treatment of the corpse. During his stay in Tahiti, Parkinson spent time with Tupaia the priest and *arioi* and most likely acquired the information about Tahitian religious customs from him. Parkinson's *Journal* describes how the Chief Mourner spent two or three days after the body is laid in the *tupapau*, ranging the adjacent fields and woods, from which every one retires on his approach.⁴³⁴ On April 27th 1769, he recorded seeing women weeping and cutting themselves and describes it as a very odd ceremony when performed by the widow of one of the chiefs:

...after weeping, and expressing some emotions of sorrow, [she] took a shark's tooth from under her cloaths, and struck it against her head several times, which produced a copious discharge of blood; then lamenting most bitterly, she articulated some words in a mournful tone, and covered the blood with some pieces of cloth; and, having bled about a pint, she gathered up as much of it as she could, threw it into the sea, and then assumed a chearful countenance, as if nothing had happened.⁴³⁵

Both the actions of the Chief Mourner and the weeping woman are recorded in the drawing in Add. MS 23921, f. 31a (Fig. 13).

Parkinson's drawing of the *ewharra no eatua* (Add. MS 23921, f. 29) is discussed in the previous chapter and shown in Fig. 14 where it records the appearance of the *Ewharra no eatua* and the *whattee*, or altar, together with the offerings made by the Tahitian people. A different *eatua* standing in an altogether different site is shown in Plate X of Parkinson's *Journal, A Morai, or Burial Place, in the Island of Yoolee-Etea*, engraved after Parkinson by J. Newton about whom nothing is known of his life or career (Fig. 23).

Parkinson describes how, On the 21st of July 1769, while on a visit to Ulietea (Raitaia), Parkinson came across another *morai* and recognised that they were common to other islands in the group. He describes how on this site:

...cages [that] are called Oroí rested upon beams laid upon others that stood upright, and seemed in-tended for the reception of the birds sacred to Ethooa, of which there are two that fly about their morais, the grey heron, and a blue and brown king fisher. These morais are paved, or rather covered with a sort of coral, and planted with various sorts of flowering shrubs, such as nonoah, etoa, and hibiscus. At the front of the morais, which faces the sea, they have built a sort of

amphitheatre, of large rough stones; and, among these stones, there are a great many boards set up, carved in various figures, according to their fancy.⁴³⁶

Both the description of the second *morai* and its depiction in Fig. 14 show that Parkinson understood the cultural and religious significance of the various items he recorded. The site where the *morai* stands, the large rough stones of the amphitheatre, the plantings and carved boards, and the grey heron, are also clearly depicted in the plate. However, the altar and *ewharra* appear to have been problematic for the engraver. The structure upon which the *ewharra* has been placed appears flimsy and unstable. The engraver also seems to have had difficulties in interpreting the *ewharra*'s long handles and therefore included them as part of the standing structure. The appearance of both the *ewharra* and the altar in Plate X (Fig. 23) suggests that the engraver was again faced with subjects that were unfamiliar to him. Because of the chequered history of Sydney Parkinson's manuscripts, described in Chapter II, the engraver may also have been faced with a drawing that lacked definition.

Further problems appear to have occurred in the illustration of the Tahitian priest in Plate XI of the *Journal, An heiva, or kind of Priest of Yoolee-Etea, & the Neighbouring Islands*, by Chambers after Parkinson (Fig. 24). Parkinson gives a very clear account of the priest's appearance in his *Journal*, describing him as:

í cloathed in a feather garment, ornamented with round pieces of mother-of-pearl, and a very high cap on his head, made of cane, or bamboo; the front of which is feather-work; the edges beset with quills stripped of the plumage. He has also a sort of breast-plate, of a semicircular shape, made of a kind of wicker-work, on which they weave their plaited twine in a variety of figures: over this they put feathers of a green pigeon in rows; and between the rows is a semicircular row of Sharks teeth. The edge of the breast-plate is fringed with fine white dog's hair.⁴³⁷

Kaepler describes the head piece shown in the illustration as a mourning mask which was generally worn with a feather-covered breast gorget.⁴³⁸ However, there is no information as to the role of the priest in the *Journal* and the engraver has had to create a title from what few details were available to him. The title's identification of the priest as 'an heiva' suggests that Chambers confused the priest who attended a *morai* with the party of dancers from Ulietea who toured around the various islands performing a dance called a *heiva*.

The chapter concludes that both the *Hawkesworth edition* and *Parkinson's Journal* were disadvantaged by the manner and processes of publication. In the case of the *Hawkesworth edition*, the editorial independence that Hawkesworth was granted allowed him to interpret Tahitian religion in a manner that was at odds with the original journal texts. What is more, the tone of *Hawkesworth's* text does not support the objectivity of the accompanying illustrations. Although there is unity of text and image in *Parkinson's Journal*, it appears that the engraver of Plate X (Fig. 23) may have had to work from an original drawing that was in so poor a condition as to make its details difficult to discern. Chambers, who engraved Plate XI (Fig. 24), appears to have had only limited information and was unable to correctly identify his unfamiliar subject.

Chapter V

The Authority of Theodore de Bry.

Chapter V examines a further plate from the *Hawkesworth edition* and compares it with another excerpt from *Hawkesworth's* text. It argues that the comparison shows not only further disunity between text and illustration but that the image in Plate 1 actually contradicts the depiction of the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego given in *Hawkesworth's* text. It argues that this is the result of *Hawkesworth* and *Banks* emulating practices they found in the authoritative publication of *Theodore de Bry, America Part I*, referred to briefly in the previous chapter, but failing to recognise the implications of their independent actions for their publication.

It also examines Plate VI from the *Journal* and shows how, in copying *de Bry's* iconography the engraver, *Newton*, created an illustration that was ethnographically incorrect.

It concludes that in accepting the authority of *de Bry's* publication, *Banks*, *Hawkesworth* and *Newton* not only created problems for the publications with which they were associated, they also undermined the scientific integrity of both the *Hawkesworth edition* and the *Journal*.

The text from the *Hawkesworth edition* discussed here is the description of *Fuegians* that is given in the Introduction. As noted in the Introduction, *Hawkesworth* describes the *Fuegians* as 'the most stupid of all human beings; the outcasts of Nature, who spent their lives in wandering about the dreary wastes... They are almost naked, and destitute of every convenience that is furnished by the rudest art. However, in spite of suffering from the severities of the winter and being so backward as to have no implement even to dress their food; yet they were content.'³⁹ *Hawkesworth* concludes that in spite of their primitive lifestyle, in comparison with their European counterparts, they 'may be gainers by an exemption from the care, labour and solicitude, which arise from a perpetual and unsuccessful effort to gratify that infinite variety of desires, which the refinements of artificial life have produced among us...'⁴⁰

The source of the first part of this description was identified in the Introduction as being not the journals of *Cook* or *Banks* but a publication by *William Dampier* in which

he portrayed the New Hollanders or Australian Aboriginals in this manner. It was further noted that the moralising tone of Hawkesworth's comments could not be attributed to Cook. While it might be assumed that they reflect Hawkesworth's own *primitivist* views, it is argued here that both the text and the tone of Hawkesworth's comments were inspired by the 1590 publication from the German house of de Bry, *America Part I*, referred to in the previous chapter.

De Bry's publication is considered highly significant for the history of voyage literature. It is therefore likely that it would have been a work that someone contemplating a publication of that nature would have been familiar with and most likely consulted. De Bry's publication belongs to a series that is more generally known as the *Great and Small Voyages*. The authoritative Latin title of the series is *Collectiones peregrinatorum in Indiam Orientalem et Indiam Occidentalem*. Published in Frankfurt between 1590 and 1643 by the House of de Bry, the series is two-fold, comprising two completely different sets of voyage accounts, each of which is in thirteen parts. One of the most successful travel series of all time, the popularity of the de Bry publication was such that the two complete series sold to the Bibliothèque du Roi⁴⁴¹ in 1786 for the unusually large sum of 4,802 livres.⁴⁴² The earlier volumes in the first series, also published in English and French as well as German and Latin, are known simply as 'de Bry's *America*'. In Frankfurt in 1710, the English version of the first volume alone sold for the equivalent of one hundred pounds.⁴⁴³ Its fame was such that Sandwich would have been familiar with the de Bry publication. Joseph Banks, who was a bibliophile, owned a copy. Amongst other works of historical interest, he collected early voyage publications. An unpublished catalogue entitled *A Manuscript Catalogue of the Library and Collection of Prints belonging Sir Joseph Banks* compiled after his death by Banks's sister, Sophia Banks, shows that the collection contained in excess of two hundred and fifty volumes of voyage accounts published prior to 1720.⁴⁴⁴ De Bry's *Great and Small Voyages* were amongst them. Banks's copy of *America Part I*, identifiable because the name 'Jos. Banks' was printed on the flyleaf, was used extensively in research for this thesis.

America Part I is the best known of the de Bry publications. Other than Shelvocke's *Voyage*, which has two figure illustrations from other publications, one of which is informed by a figure engraved by de Bry, *America Part I* is also the last

ethnographically illustrated account of an English voyage published prior to 1773. For this reason alone, it would surely have been consulted by Sandwich, Hawkesworth and Banks in preparation for the publication of the journals of the more recent English voyagers. Hawkesworth would have welcomed its publication in English. As noted in Chapter I, some commentators have suggested that he knew neither Greek nor Latin.

The original text from which the text in *America* Part I was taken is *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, compiled on a colonising expedition to Virginia sent by Sir Walter Raleigh in the years 1585 to 1586. Its writer was Raleigh's librarian, Thomas Hariot, who was also an Oxford mathematician and natural philosopher and travelled as cartographer and natural historian on the expedition. Hariot had intended to publish a record of his Virginian observations, illustrated with engravings after original field drawings by the English watercolour artist, John White on his return. However, Hariot was persuaded to delay its publication. Quinn assumes that this was at Raleigh's instigation because he wanted the publication to include natural history material, much of which had been destroyed when the party was leaving the area.⁴⁴⁵ Hariot went ahead with a simplified version of the voyage account in early 1588, suggesting that, when the full complement of natural history material became available, a more elaborate publication would follow. He was subsequently persuaded to allow de Bry to publish the text together with a series of ethnographic illustrations derived from White's original field drawings.⁴⁴⁶ Hariot undertook to write brief descriptive notes in Latin to accompany the designs John White would prepare for de Bry to engrave.

Comparisons between the original account and de Bry's text, however, show that de Bry often expressed views that were his own and not Hariot's. Hariot's description of the native Virginians, for example, reads:

In respect of us they are a people poore, and for want of skill and judgement in the knowledge and use of our thinges, doe esteeme our trifles before thinges of greater value: Not withstanding in their proper manner considering the want of such meanes as we have, they seeme very ingenious; For although they have no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences and artes as wee; yet in those thinges they do, they shewe excellencie of wit ...⁴⁴⁷

De Bry adds that they are:

...free from all care of heapinge oppe Riches for their posterite, content with their state, and livinge friendly together of those thinges which god of his bountye

hath given to unto them.⁴⁴⁸

De Bry has therefore altered Hariot's text to give it a *primitivist* interpretation of the Algonquian Indians. Like Hawkesworth, De Bry also suggests that the Algonquian's primitive lifestyle is more beneficial to them than the greedy, sophisticated European lifestyle is to his own culture. The Algonquian are 'voyde of all covertousness...'⁴⁴⁹ and 'moderate in their eating wher they avoid sicknes'⁴⁵⁰ De Bry prays that:

...[he] would to god wee would followe their example. For wee should be free from many kynes of diseasyes which wee fall into by sumptuous and unseasonable banketts, continuallye devising new sawces, and provocation of glutonnye to satisfie our unsatiabie appetite.⁴⁵¹

While the words might be different and sentiments otherwise expressed, the perceptions that primitive societies are happier and fare better than Europeans are also those of Hawkesworth's text. It is noted in Chapter I that Hawkesworth expressed a wish to emulate the highly successful journal of Lord George Anson. Here, however, it is argued that the similarity between the perceptions he expresses in the 'Hawkesworth edition' and those expressed by de Bry in *America* Part I show that he also copied Theodore de Bry in expressing *primitivist* views about a non-European society with which he was not, personally, familiar.

Chapter V further argues that, in the same way that Hawkesworth was influenced by Bry's editorial practices when he altered original texts to change their meanings, and repeated the *primitivist* attitudes that he found in de Bry, Banks was influenced by de Bry's choice of subject for an engraved illustration in *America* Part I when he came to commission Plate 1 in the 'Hawkesworth edition' (Fig. 26). For this reason he selected an original gouache painting, Add. MS 23920, f.14 a (Fig. 25), created by Alexander Buchan, his landscape and figure draughtsman who had died in Tahiti. The painting shows a group of the inhabitants from Tierra del Fuego sheltering in a hut where they are seated around a fire. Their primitive appearance suggests a lack of sophistication. The central male figure has his legs apart in a pose that was formerly supposed to be indicative of lack of civilised status. The hut is the kind of flimsy shelter that is described in Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* as 'made of the branches of trees, covered with guanica and seal skins' and which were 'at best... but wretched habitations for human beings to

dwelling⁴⁵² It is in free space and has no landscape context. Seated within the confines of their hut, Buchan's Fuegians are portrayed as isolated and remote from the everyday world of the European.

In the General Introduction to the Hawkesworth edition the editor describes how:

This work is illustrated and adorned by a great number of cuts, from which every class of reader, whether their object is knowledge or pleasure, will find equal advantage, as they consist not only of maps and charts, drawn with great skill and attention, but of views and figures, designed and executed by the best artists in this country.⁴⁵³

However, it is unlikely the faithful reproduction of Buchan's Fuegians would have given Hawkesworth's readers either knowledge or pleasure. The Fuegians and the area in which they lived had been described in voyage literature since Magellan's entry into the Pacific sometime after 1519.⁴⁵⁴ Neither Hawkesworth's description of the Fuegians, nor Buchan's gouache portrayal of them added anything of significance to what was already known. It is therefore difficult to find a reason for the inclusion of an illustration of these primitive Fuegians in the publication.

Equally difficult to understand is the reason why, as in all other cases of ethnographic depiction in the Hawkesworth edition, Parkinson's original drawing was not used instead of Buchan's gouache. Parkinson's depiction of the Fuegians shown in Fig. 4 is not only more visually pleasing, it is also more detailed and informative. It also has the extra figures that the design for Plate 1 required. This chapter posits that the reason Buchan's gouache was chosen as the basis of the design for Plate I was because Banks saw in it, the potential for an engraving that he recalled had earlier attracted de Bry.

Amongst the original field drawings by John White that de Bry used for the illustrations in *America Part*, there is a watercolour drawing entitled *A Fire Ceremony* (Fig. 28). This drawing shows a group of ten scantily-clad figures seated around a smoking fire performing a religious ritual. At the back of the group, and central to the composition, a male figure sits looking into the fire. To his right, a female figure sits with her legs apart. White's Indians are engaged in what Harriot describes as 'a sort of thanksgiving ceremony after returning from war or escaping any great danger by sea or

lande.⁴⁵⁵ They sing songs to the accompaniment of rattles made of gourds or small pumpkins cleaned out, filled with pebbles or fruit stones, and fastened on sticks.⁴⁵⁶ In White's drawing, they have no church or formal structure in which to perform their ritual. They do not even have a landscape setting. Instead they are situated in free space as was the style of contemporary costume studies,⁴⁵⁷ but without its reference to the world beyond their own.

It is argued that Banks was inspired by similarities he found between White's study of the Algonquian Indians in Fig. 28 and Buchan's gouache painting of Fuegians in Fig. 25, where the figures are shown as both primitive and remote from European civilisation. The evidence for this hypothesis is as follows:

In the early 1760s, Banks's taxonomist, Daniel Solander, was classifying American specimens in the British Museum collection that had belonged to Hans Sloane. While viewing the specimens in the collection, he would have found manuscripts also belonging to Sloane. Amongst these manuscripts were a number of natural history drawings including a series of watercolour studies of American flora and fauna. Although the artist's signature was absent from them, these drawings had earlier been recognised by Sloane as being by the same artist as the natural history illustrations in a publication by Thomas Moffett, *Theatre of Insects* (1686). This artist was none other than de Bry's originating artist, John White. In 1577, White had accompanied Sir Martin Frobisher to the New World as natural history draughtsman. Drawings from that expedition are supposedly now lost but, in the seventeenth century, copies circulated among English natural historians like Moffett, who reproduced them in his publication.⁴⁵⁸

In 1709, Sloane purchased the collection of drawings to which the natural history studies belonged from one of John White's descendants. He subsequently made the natural history studies in the collection available to fellow naturalists. Among them was Mark Catesby, who later reproduced copies from the studies for his two volume publication, *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands* (1731-43). Catesby's reproductions of White's drawings were in turn reproduced for Linnaeus's *Systema Naturae* (1750), where they would have been familiar to Linnaeus's pupil, Daniel Solander, and to Joseph Banks.

When Solander came across White's natural history drawings in the Sloane

collection of American specimens in the 1760s, he would have recognised them as being by the same artist as the illustrations in *Systema Naturae*. He would also have read the following identification written on the fly-leaf of one the manuscripts in the collection by Sloane as their being:

The original draughts of ye habits towns customs &^c of the West Indians, and of the plants birds fishes &^c found in Groenland, Virginia, Guiana &^c by Mr. John White who was a Painter & accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage. See the preface to the first part of America of Theodore de Bry of the description of Virginia where some of these draughts are curiously cutt by that graver.⁴⁵⁹

Sloane recognised that he had acquired the first empirical illustrations of Amerindian peoples.⁴⁶⁰ He had also obtained the originals of the most famous images of the New World because the engraver's name was Theodore de Bry. The drawings in the collection were the original ethnographic drawings by John White upon which the engravings in *America Part I* were based.

Carter suggests that:

Without any other firm evidence beyond the chances of sheer opportunity, it is probable that ...in the autumn of 1764 that Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander began to forge that working partnership and lasting friendship from which so many advances in natural history were to evolve.⁴⁶¹

This chapter argues that a similar case can be made for Banks being shown the Sloane collection of John White's ethnographic studies. The bibliophile Banks would have viewed the collection with great interest. When he was selecting drawings from the *Endeavour* collection for reproduction in the Hawkesworth edition, Banks would have recalled White's drawings and recognised that there were similarities between Buchan's gouache painting of Fuegians in a hut (Fig. 25) and White's watercolour study of *Indians around a Fire* (Fig. 28). This would explain his use of Buchan's Fuegians for Plate I (Fig. 26) of the Hawkesworth edition and the manner in which it was reproduced.

When it came to reworking Buchan's gouache painting (Fig. 25) for Plate I in the Hawkesworth edition, *A View of the Indians of Terra del Fuego in their hut* (Fig. 26), the designer, Cipriani, added a background in the contemporary, Italian-inspired landscape style. Instead of being presented on an otherwise blank sheet, the group in their hut are now situated in a landscape that has gnarled tree-trunks, leafy branches and rocky outcrops. The logs on the fire also have larger flames and rising smoke. The female figure

at the back of the hut has neat, styled hair, and a necklace of round beads. Her arm has been lengthened and she sits in a more elegant pose. More figures are added in the foreground, one of whom sits in front of the hut, welcoming the passing strangers, and inviting them to share the humble shelter. Another figure responds by taking a fish from his satchel, ready to return the generous gesture. His small, naked, boy companion prepares to do the same.

Cipriani's additional figures are far more elegant than Buchan's. Not only are they neat in appearance and graceful in their gestures, Cipriani's Fuegians wear guanica shawls that are shaped and constructed with hoods and ties. Joppien and Smith describe these additional figures as being in the style of 'an elegant attenuated, late model of classicism that has aptly been named as rococo classicism'⁴⁶² This style was popular with wealthy Londoners at the time that the plate was engraved.⁴⁶³ Joppien and Smith recognise several of the figures as deriving from Cipriani's 'own neo-classical repertoire' used in the decoration of the Londoners' town houses and they suggest that their inclusion in the engraving is '...to provide additional grace to a happy scene.'⁴⁶⁴ Joppien and Smith note that:

Some years earlier (c1767) he [Cipriani] had been employed by Adam to design an over-mantel for the fireplace in the eating room at Osterley Park. It was called *An Offering to Ceres* [Fig. 27] and was devoted to the celebration of the harvest and the delights of rural life. He therefore proceeded to make use of several of its motifs for the new work.[Hawkesworth,1773] The figure of Ceres's statue, reversed and somewhat modified, provided the model for the tall fisherman returning with his catch. The girl who directs the child bearing food to Ceres's sacrificial fire is transformed into the Fuegian girl directing the fisherman and his boy to the hearth fire of the savage family.⁴⁶⁵

This chapter further argues that Cipriani's alterations to Buchan's gouache painting of Fuegians were inspired by changes that Banks recognised de Bry having made to White's *A Fire Ceremony* (Fig. 28). De Bry's engraving of the subject is one of thirty plates in *America Part I*. The publisher/engraver records in his dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh, that in the engraving of the illustrations in the publication, he has taken for Raleigh's sake:

the pains to cote in copper (the most diligentye and well that wear in my possessible to doe) the Figures which do leuelye represent the forme and manner of the Inhabitants of the same cuntrye with their ceremonies, sollemne feastes

and the manner and situation of their Townes, or Villages.⁴⁶⁶

Plate XVII, *Their Manner of Prainge with their Rattles about the fyre* (Fig. 29), is de Bry's reproduction of White's *A Fire Ceremony* (Fig. 28). It shows the central figure in White's drawing has been removed to create a space for the swirling smoke of a fire in the currently fashionable style of the Fontainebleau mannerists that de Bry had learnt from his teacher, Etienne Delaune, and in which de Bry was highly skilled. The rest of the figures are reversed, as is common in reproductive engraving. They are also reproduced in the same mannerist style as the fire. The figures are elongated and their bodies twist and turn. Although, these same mannerist characteristics can be found in White's original study (Fig. 28), de Bry has slightly exaggerated the musculature of some of the figures. He has made more subtle changes to the physical appearance of others so that they no longer represent members of a primitive Indian tribe. The women's tidy hairstyles, for example, are now like those worn by the sophisticated female figures in costume studies from de Bry's Frankfurt. Their neatly-fringed skirts would also be more appropriate in that context.

Two more figures have been added on the left hand side of the group. They stand apart conversing. These same figures appear in a further illustration in the publication, Plate XVI *Their Sitting at Meate* (Fig. 30) where they are representative of the Algonquian tribe in the area of Secotan. In Fig. 29, the male figure raises his hands as if asking questions about the scene before him. The female figure gestures with her hand towards the group as if explaining the significance of the Indians' behaviour. De Bry has also made changes to their surroundings and introduced a landscape setting using imagery from White's other drawings. De Bry makes the claim that:

[his] Adding unto every figure a brief of their same [was] to that ende that everye man could the better understand a brief declaration of that which is livelye represented. Moreover I have thinke that the aforesaid figures wear of greater commendation if some histoire which traiting of the commodities and fertillitye of the said cuntrye were joined with the same⁴⁶⁷

The Indians are now seated by a lagoon where small figures can be seen rowing boats and fishing in the background. Fish nets also lie across the lagoon's surface. In the foreground, a rocky outcrop stands covered with a variety of small plants in the landscape

style of the mannerist engravers.

The iconography of de Bry's landscape setting was common in prints by mannerist engravers. An example by Etienne Delaune, *Juillet*, is shown here in Fig. 31. In Delaune's collection of prints illustrating the four seasons, each example shows small figures engaged in activities related to their title. In *Juillet*, figures in the foreground harvest hay while others fish and load their carts. All are seen against a background that shows the pleasures of the European summer. The changes that de Bry claims serve an informative purpose might, therefore, be seen to have also been made for aesthetic reasons as well. There may, however, also be yet a further reason.

The introduction of the two extra figures and the tranquil background lagoon setting, undermine the cultural significance of the ritual depicted in White's study. Instead of participating in an important ceremony to celebrate their winning a battle or surviving some life-threatening event, the Algonquian Indian figures in de Bry's engraving appear to be involved in a performance of a ritual that was taking place in conjunction with their everyday activities.

Although Hulton and Quinn claim that it was White who prepared his drawings for engraving by de Bry,⁴⁶⁸ given the ethnographic accuracy of White's drawings, the artist is unlikely to have been responsible for the changes that appear in this plate. The area of land upon which de Bry has placed the Indians is not the setting for the performance of religious ritual. White's other drawings suggest that it would have taken place in a formal setting such as the area around the fire shown in his depiction of the village of Secoton, seen here in Fig. 32 and reproduced by de Bry in Fig. 33. On the lower left hand side of Figs. 32 and 33, a fire can be seen burning in a clearly demarcated circle. The inscription around it in Fig. 32 reads "The place of solemn prayer" The ceremony would also have been far less spontaneous and far less casual than de Bry's engraving suggests.

The text that accompanies Plate XVII (Fig. 29) in de Bry's publication reads:

When they have escaped any great danger by sea or lande, or be returned from the war in token of joye they make a great fyre abowt which the men, and woemen sit together, holding a certayne fruite in their hands like unto a rownde pompio or gourde, which after they have taken out the fruits, and the seedes, then fill with small stons or certayne bigg kernall to make the more noise, and fasten that upon a sticke, and singe after their manner, they make merrie; as myselfe observed

and noted downe at my being amongst them. For it is a strange custome, and worth the observation.⁴⁶⁹

In spite of the detailed ritual described in both the text and the illustration in *America Part I*, the ceremony shown in White's drawing in Fig. 28 is seen by de Bry as nothing more than a strange cultural practice. This is not implied in the original study where the Algonquian are shown performing a ritual that is far removed from the European experience. In Plate XVII (Fig. 29), the portrayal of the ceremony has therefore acquired a subtext that is not present in White's drawing seen in Fig. 28.

In the previous chapter it is shown that, in his publication of Hariot's account, de Bry attempted to persuade his readers the Algonquian would quite readily abandon their strange religious practices for the true faith acquired through Protestant intervention. By making the changes to White's drawing given above, de Bry suggests that the ritual is not as significant as the drawing suggests, thereby supporting his argument. Like de Bry's depiction of the Algonquian Indians performing their ritual around a fire in Fig. 29, Cipriani's extra figures alter the tone and subtext of the image in the engraved plate. However, Chapter V argues that, unlike de Bry's illustration, Plate I of the Hawkesworth edition does not, as Joppien and Smith suggest, support the accompanying text. Hawkesworth describes the Fuegians as 'the most stupid of all human beings; the outcasts of Nature who spent their lives in wandering about the dreary wastes' In Plate I they are shown as attractive, generous and hospitable to passing travellers, or as Joppien and Smith suggest, 'comely youths and maidens and wise old men enjoying the delights of nature's simple plan'⁴⁷⁰ Joppien and Smith conclude that, the changes that have been made by Cipriani:

í [are] rather in the nature of a gloss placed upon the travellers' empirical information: the presentation, even though in a fashionable and sentimental mask, of a profound and ancient truth about the unity and dignity of man ó the belief born in antiquity, reborn in the Renaissance and championed by the radical philosophers of the Enlightenment that, in the eyes of God and nature, humanity was of one kind.⁴⁷¹

They suggest that with the aesthetic changes that Cipriani deployed, 'the drawings moved from the realm of topographical art to the higher realm of history painting.'⁴⁷²

These changes can also be described as altering Buchan's ethnographic painting so that it conforms to the precepts of the civic humanist aesthetic, espoused by Shaftesbury and referred to in Chapter III, where visual beauty inspired worthy or noble thought. However, this chapter argues that this perception of the Fuegians is not consistent with the views expressed in Hawkesworth's text.

When Hawkesworth followed de Bry's editorial practices and Banks commissioned a plate that deployed de Bry's illustrative methodology, it appears that there was no consultation about the results of their actions. When Hawkesworth echoed the perceptions that he found in de Bry, it appears that he did not understand their implications. De Bry portrays the Algonquian Indians as primitive, happy with their few possessions and not wanting to emulate the excesses of European society but does not suggest that they should remain this way. Throughout the text of *America* Part I, the message is that the Algonquian would readily accept Christian conversion and develop mores that conformed to Christian customs and religion. Fundamental to de Bry's interpretation of the Algonquians is the belief that, in their current state, they were no less civilised than Europeans had been in the distant past. De Bry notes in an appendix to the publication:

The painter of whom I have had the first of the Inhabitants of Virginia give my also thees 5 Figures, followinge, found as hy did assure me in an oold English chronicle, the which I wold well sett to the end of thees first Figures, for too Showe how that the Inhabitants of the Great Britannie have in times past been as savage as those of Virginia.⁴⁷³

But de Bry's stadial⁴⁷⁴ views must have been lost on Hawkesworth who assumed that the Fuegians were nature's outcasts and not part of nature's plan and, therefore, doomed to remain in their primitive state.⁴⁷⁵

Unfortunately for Hawkesworth, acting on Banks's instructions, Cipriani used the illustrative methodology found in de Bry to create an image that agreed with de Bry's stated perceptions. The plate that Cipriani designed reflects, as Joppien and Smith have identified, "a profound and ancient truth about the unity and dignity of man—the belief born in antiquity, reborn in the Renaissance and championed by the radical philosophers of the Enlightenment that, in the eyes of God and nature, humanity was of one kind"⁴⁷⁶ But, as shown above, this is a contradiction of Hawkesworth's text.

It is understandable that both Hawkesworth and Banks would have wanted to follow de Bry's practices. The de Bry's publications were the benchmark by which subsequent voyage literature was measured. Iconography from *America* Parts I, II and III, in particular, had an enormous impact on graphic voyage illustration. Elements from de Bry's images were repeated in numerous publications where the Americas or its peoples were discussed. They were also deployed in totally unrelated contexts. An example is Plate VI from Parkinson's *Journal, House and Plantation of a Chief of the island of Otaheite*, engraved by R. B. Godfrey (Fig. 34) which shows a building from de Bry's *America* used as the basis for a Tahitian longhouse.

There are no extant drawings by Parkinson to indicate the origin of Plate VI although a building of a similar size with perimeter fencing, storage vessels, chickens and a seated figure all appear in Add. MS 23921, f.10 (Fig. 35). It also shares the same title. *House and Plantation of a Chief of the Island of Otaheite* has been written on the drawing by an unidentified hand. However, while the source of Plate VI is likely to have been Parkinson's drawing, there are several images in the plate that are definitely not after that artist. Among them are two figures, shown standing just inside the left hand edge of the picture frame. One of these figures wears naval dress while the other appears to be a native Tahitian. These figures both show stylistic and iconographical departures from Parkinson's other drawings. The first departure is the position of figures close to the frame and outside of the principal focus of the composition. This is not found in any of his other works. The second is that, apart from the small image of the artist himself in Plate 2 of the Hawkesworth edition (Fig. 6), Europeans are not included in any of Parkinson's *Endeavour* drawings. What is more, trade between the ship's company and the local inhabitants is a topic that Parkinson neither explores in his journal nor depicts in his drawings. The figures are therefore examples of artistic licence being deployed by the engraver. Their presence shows the geographical, cultural and social contexts Parkinson has created in his drawings and demonstrates the friendly relationship that exists between the Tahitians and their European observers in his *Journal*. However, the figures are not the only examples of artistic licence found in the plate.

The building standing in the enclosed area is not the long house of a Tahitian chief as the title of the plate suggests. Instead it is the kind of Algonquian structure that is

shown in White's drawing of the village of Secoton in Fig. 32 and was subsequently reproduced in Plate XX of *America Part I* (Fig. 33). This kind of structure was included in landscapes in numerous subsequent voyage illustrations. A further example is an illustration of the inhabitants of Brazil in L ry's *l'Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Br sil* recounted by de Bry in *America Part III* (1591) shown here in Fig. 36. Another is an illustration of native Brazilians coming under Spanish attack in *America Part V* (1595) shown in Fig. 37. Like images of cannibalism and eroticism, this particular style of building became part of the imagery that was associated with the American continent and used indiscriminately in graphic Amerindian illustration.

The reason why the Amerindian building appears in Plate VI in Parkinson's *Journal* (Fig. 34) was almost certainly because the engraver, Richard Bernard Godfrey, was an engraver of traditional genres and was, therefore, familiar with traditional iconography. Although he engraved portraits and landscapes, he was best known for his book illustrations for publishers of antiquarian topographical volumes, an example of which is *Antiquities of England and Wales* (1772-87).⁴⁷⁷ He had a successful career, working for a number of patrons, including Horace Walpole, who described him as one of 'my engravers'.⁴⁷⁸ As a reproductive engraver in the traditional style, Godfrey would have been familiar with the kind of building shown in these plates from its frequent representation in graphic illustration.

The impact of the iconography in the de Bry publications was not limited to voyage illustration, but was important in map making. Potter refers to a map in Linschoten's *Itinerario* published in 1599 by Pertrus Plancius which he claims can be considered 'a fair summation of European knowledge of the world at the time [and decorated with] illustrations derived directly from those which appeared in the travel accounts published by the engraver de Bry in the early 1590s'.⁴⁷⁹ For reasons given in Chapter VI, Godfrey may have had difficulty in reproducing Parkinson's Tahitian house and therefore engraved the generic non-European dwelling that he knew from traditional voyage illustration instead.

While the authority and popularity of de Bry's publication may have made it appear an appropriate model for Hawkesworth, Banks and Godfrey to follow, it did not lend itself to scientific voyaging. One result was a text in the 'Hawkesworth edition' that

did not accord with the observations of those who recorded details from the lives of their Fuegian subjects and an illustration that accompanied the text contradicting it. The other, in the *Journal*, was an illustration that undermined empirical integrity. While the de Bry publications had held an authoritative place in voyage literature, they belonged to an age that was no longer relevant to the scientific nature of discovery in the late eighteenth century. To follow them was therefore potentially damaging for the publication's credibility and inappropriate to its genre.

Chapter VI

Costume Studies

It was noted in the previous chapter that the source of the images in the engraved plates in de Bry's *America* Part I was a collection of watercolour drawings by the English artist, John White. It was further noted that a drawing also by White (Fig. 32) was the original source of the Amerindian building in Plate VI of Parkinson's *Journal* (Fig. 34). This chapter examines other drawings by White and defines the discourse to which they belong as 'costume studies'. It demonstrates their conformity to the visual conventions of early social and ethnic identification of the genre.

It shows how these same visual conventions were deployed by the engravers of plates in Parkinson's *Journal*. It argues that the reason for this was that, at the time the plates were executed, an empirical style of ethnographic depiction had yet to be established. It concludes that the *Journal's* conservative engravers deployed the format of the costume studies in the absence of a more satisfactory means of ethnographic representation. It further argues that this representation was inappropriate for Parkinson's pen and wash drawings because, unlike White's drawings, the costume study was not the genre to which they belonged.

Three of White's illustrations in the Sloane Collection show Algonquian Indians eating or cooking food. One other shows them catching fish. Nine other illustrations by White show Indian men and women of different ages. Some of these figures have been recorded because of their status, others because of their religious significance for their tribe. In each case, even where the figures are shown cooking or eating food, they stand on bare earth against a plain background. The figures in the studies are all posed and static. A number of them hold stances that are familiar from Italian Renaissance paintings. The clothing and head dresses of these figures are finely detailed as are their jewelry and their body decoration. Captions on the folio explain the figures' social or religious significance. The example seen here in Fig. 38 shows a 'Weroance' or 'great lord of Virginia' displaying the 'manner of attire and painting themselves when they go to their general huntings or at their Solemne Feasts.'⁴⁸⁰ Because the figure is without background or landscape setting, the identification of the figure and his role in

Algonquian society is entirely dependent on the depiction of figure itself, his dress, adornment and the brief textual description.

As well as the Algonquian figures, the Sloane collection of White's drawings also contains studies of figures from several other ethnic groups. All of these studies again show figures dressed in the costume of the country to which they belong, standing on bare earth and against a plain background. Amongst the various ethnic groups represented, there are a citizen from ancient Rome and members of the Ancient British race of Picts, an engraved example of which is shown here in Fig. 39. It is noted in Chapter V that de Bry claims in the text of *America Part I* that he has acquired the images of Picts included in the illustrations for the publication from John White who assured him that they came from 'an oold English chronicle.'⁴⁸¹ . However, in spite of this claim, the figures in these non-Amerindian studies are understood to have not originated in such a document. They are instead part of large body of costume studies that were being circulated among European artists who copied them for use in different contexts.

Hulton & Quinn argue that the non-Amerindian figures are copies of studies by Lucas de Heere who worked in England between 1567 and 1577.⁴⁸² Bernard Smith argues more convincingly, however, that the source of the female Pict shown in Fig. 39 is Jacques le Moyne de Morgues whom de Bry befriended and gained rights to his manuscripts which were subsequently published in *America Part II*.⁴⁸³ Comparisons between de Bry's female Pict (Fig. 39) and that by le Moyne, shown here in Fig. 40, appear to confirm Smith's identification. Le Moyne's more ornate, atypical style of depiction, suggests that Fig. 40 may have been intended for a publication of his own. Costume studies were, therefore, a common form of ethnographic depiction and widely copied.

The Sloane collection of White's drawings also contains images of Inuits. These are supposedly copies of White's lost originals from the Frobisher voyage to Newfoundland in 1577 on which he travelled as voyage artist. Kim Sloan, however, notes that the source of other figures in White's studies has yet to be identified.⁴⁸⁴ Hulton and Quinn suggest that *A Tartar or Uzbek man*, *A Greek or Turkish woman with a rose and pomegranate*, and *A Turkish woman with a black veil*, shown here in Fig. 41, may be after engraved costume illustrations by Guillaume du Choul from his *Théâtre de tous les*

peuples de la terre avec leurs habits (A Representation of all the Peoples of the World in their National dress), a copy of which is in the University of Ghent library.⁴⁸⁵ An alternative suggestion is that they are derived from *Navigations et Peregrinations Orientales* (1568) by the sixteenth-century geographer, Nicolas Nicolay.⁴⁸⁶ Hulton and Quinn also understand that White may have turned to Choulø's publication for de Bryø's Roman soldier in *America Part I*.⁴⁸⁷ In the absence of copyright regulations, illustrators simply copied whatever they chose, without acknowledging their sources.

Costume studies began in the late middle ages when they were used to identify the peoples of different ethnic groups and social classes by the clothing they wore. The format of the costume studies informed a wide range of different forms of illustration. Amongst these are the images of 'Saraceni' in Reuwichø's voyage publication, *Peregrinationes in Terra sanctam* (1486), an account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Lands in the years 1483-1484 written by the Dean of Mainz Cathedral, Bernard von Breydenbach (1440-1497) and published by Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht. The first of the illustrated 'travel books' it contains forty-nine accurately drawn topographies of the more important cities through which the pilgrims passed on their journey⁴⁸⁸ and a woodcut illustration of the costumes worn by the people of the Holy Lands (Fig. 42). The costume study format was also utilised in popular genre prints from the same period by artists like Schongauer, and Dürer, whose *Turks* are shown here in Fig. 43. Although Dürerø's male figure is believed to have originated in field drawings by Gentile Bellini, executed while he was resident in Constantinople in between 1479 and 1481 in the service of the Sultan of Mehmet,⁴⁸⁹ these same drawings are believed to have also been later utilised in drawings of 'Orientals' in the stock book of a firm of Milanese tailors ranging in date from 1540s to c1580 along with numerous anonymous costume illustrations.⁴⁹⁰

Art historian, Kim Sloan, notes that figures derived from costume studies were also 'incorporated into cosmographies and atlases like Orteliusø's popular *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, travel and history books, paintings and theatre.'⁴⁹¹ She adds that costume books were 'an attempt to understand people not only through their government and buildings but also through their social and religious customs, manner of rites and dress ó a new way of understanding the world as a *theatrum mundi*.'⁴⁹² In the recently published facsimile of

Vecellio's *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (The Costumes of Ancients and Moderns) 1590-1598, the authors, Rosenthal and Jones, describe how the costume book became the most popular ethnographic source in the late 1550s. In response to their question, "Why should ethnographic curiosity have been channeled into books on clothing?" they claim:

In early modern Europe, clothing wasn't mainly an expression of personal style or an imitation of fast-changing fashion [but] it marked the gender, age, marital status and rank of its wearers, and reflected their city or regional identity. Individuals weren't free to dress as they pleased. Sumptuary laws [in European cities] controlled the fabrics, colors, and cut of clothing in an attempt to limit inequality among citizens. Every public official dressed in a robe and hat that matched his position, and a woman wore a rich silk and satin or good wool or cheap linen in particular colors, according to her family's wealth and social status. To dress was to be *invested* with a public identity according to a system of fixed codes. In a largely pre-literate society, people learned to read the value of textiles and the meaning of their cut as signs of profession, wealth, social status and provenance.⁴⁹³

They describe how "habiti" the term used in Vecellio's costume book, has been defined as meaning more than just clothing or costume since it also "signified" the tradition and conventions attached to it. "It identified aspects aligned with place, and these were the ideals inscribed in costume prints; the social roles and characteristics that distinguished regional diversity across time."⁴⁹⁴

The costume book therefore provided a convenient medium for the representation of the non-European subjects who were being discovered on the ever more extensive expeditions to Africa, Asia and the Americas. Rosenthal and Jones give examples of costume books from the latter part of the sixteenth century in which the clothing of a wide range of ethnic groups is displayed. Among the books which utilised the costume study for ethnographic depiction, they identify the *Receuil de la diversité des habits qui sont de presant en usage dans les pays d'Europe, Asie, Afrique et Isles sauvages* (Collections of the Variety of Costume Presently Worn in the Countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Wild Islands), Paris, 1562, *Omnium fere gentium nostrae aetas habitus* (The Clothing of almost All the Peoples of Our Age), Venice, 1563, and *Omnium fere gentium nationum hibitus et effigies* (The Clothing and Images of Almost All the Peoples and Nations of Our Time), Antwerp, 1572.⁴⁹⁵ As well as these, there was the ambitious *Des Habits, moeurs, ceremonies, façons de faire anciennes & modernes du monde* (The

Clothing, Customs, Ceremonies and forms of Behaviour, Ancient and Modern, of the World) by Jean de Glen, published in Liège in 1601 and largely based on Vecellio's *Habiti*.⁴⁹⁶

Rosenthal and Jones describe Vecellio's publication as "the largest, most diverse and rich in commentary of all the costume books printed up to 1590"⁴⁹⁷ It contains in excess of five hundred illustrations all of which are accompanied by a descriptive text. It begins with the dress of Ancient Greece and Rome then moves to clothing currently worn by the peoples of Europe, Scandinavia, Russia, the Baltic, Eastern Europe, Turkey, Greece and the Mediterranean, Africa and Asia. To this was later added the clothing from the New World which included images of Virginia and Florida derived from de Bry's engravings of drawings after John White and Jacques le Moyne de Morgues. An example is Vecellio's Virginian costume study (Fig 44) shown here together with the engraving by de Bry from which it was taken, Fig. 45. The original is White's "Werowance" shown in Fig. 38. White's ethnographic depiction therefore not only followed the format of the costume study, but also provided the basis for others to follow.

The creators of costume studies often introduced ethnographic comments derived from dubious sources. They then depicted the accompanying figures in such a manner as to confirm the subjective observations that were made of them. Vecellio, for example, describes "An East Indian Woman of Middle Rank" as follows:

The women in the clothing shown here love their husbands very deeply, and if they should die before them, fifteen days after they have burned their bodies, they have themselves burnt as well with many accompanying ceremonies, saying that they are going to a better place to eat and sleep with their husbands. They wear a certain garment most often of cotton and sometimes of silk or ciambellotto, floor-length with full sleeves, and another piece of cloth that they tie at their waist with striped veils. Their coiffeur resembles the one shown here, with circlets of palm leaves or strips of other wood, with their braids divided into four parts, two parts hanging on each side. Their diet consists of rice or some other grain resembling maize, as is shown in this print. They worship the sun, the moon, oxen, or other kinds of crazy thing, or animals such as monkeys and baboons.⁴⁹⁸

The woman, seen here in Fig. 46, is shown standing with her shoulders hunched and holding out a sheaf of maize as if in the act of oppressed supplication.

The style of the costume study was fairly uniform. Typically, it showed the figure in an elaborate costume standing on bare ground against a plain background. McDonald

suggests that engravers of costume studies also showed a fascination for detail.⁴⁹⁹ The adornment of their figures was often sufficiently detailed for beading and jewellery to be used to identify prints, with descriptions like ‘the woman with three rows of beads’ ‘the figure wearing the large pearl’ appearing in print catalogues from the sixteenth century onwards. McDonald further suggests that this manner of identification may have been used because in their detailed representation beads and suchlike could be counted.⁵⁰⁰ White’s ethnographic studies, like that of the ‘Werowance’ in Fig. 38, with his fringed skirt, puma tail, feather head dress, jewellery, and body paint follow this convention. The description in the watercolour study also begins with the words ‘The manner of their attire...’

But whereas White followed this kind of representation in his finished studies, Sydney Parkinson did not. He preferred instead to work his studies up into finished pen and washed drawings where the figures are shown performing customary actions in landscape settings. When analysing the depiction of figures in the drawings and paintings from the *Endeavour* voyage, Joppien and Smith suggest the ‘ethnographic convention...[is] relevant to [their] concerns.’⁵⁰¹ They say they consider this convention defines the ethnicity of the figure ‘by means of costume and adornment’⁵⁰² and note that the convention is ‘present in Western art from Hellenistic time onwards wherever the foreigner needs to be specified.’⁵⁰³ This style of depiction can be seen in two finished studies by Alexander Buchan, Add. MS 23920 f.16 (Fig. 47) and Add. MS 23920, f.17 (Fig. 48). It can also be seen in the pencil sketches Add. MS 23920, f.18 c and Add. MS 23920 f. 18e (Figs. 49 & 50) by Sydney Parkinson. However, this is not the style of finished works by Parkinson. His finished pen and wash drawings, without exception, show the figures performing cultural acts or domestic-related duties against their native surroundings. Examples are seen in Figs. 4, 13 and 14. There are also others that show the figures fishing or sailing in canoes against Tahitian and New Zealand settings.

One of the worked-up figures used in Parkinson’s version of the natives of Tierra del Fuego in their hut, Add. MS 23920, f. 13 (Fig. 4), comes from a pencil study by him of a figure from Tierra del Fuego, Add. MS 23920, f.18b (Fig. 51).⁵⁰⁴ It shows a woman holding a stick and basket while standing with a child on her back. There are several other, now faint, similar pencil studies which show figures that were subsequently

repeated in his worked up landscapes of Tahiti and the surrounding islands such as those in Figs. 64, 65, 67 and 68. There is also one pencil study where he notes the colours that he should use in a later painting of the subject. This is Add. MS 23921, f. 38c, (Fig. 52) which depicts an *arioi* dancer from Ulietea (Raiatea).

It is therefore argued here, that these examples show that Parkinson did not execute the great majority of his pencil figure studies with the view to reproducing them in the traditional costume study format. Instead he intended that they should be reproduced as figures in paintings and figure and landscape studies that would show the behaviour of indigenous peoples in their native environment.

However, it is also argued that, when the engravers of the *Journal* came to reproduce Parkinson's original images in plates for the publication, they reverted to the traditional format and reproduced his figures in costume studies. They also gave the plates titles that conformed to this format.

Plate I is entitled *A Man, Woman and Child of Terra del Fuego, in the Dress of that Country* (Fig. 53). It is taken from Parkinson's pencil sketches of heads, Add. MS 23920, f. 18 c and Add. MS 23920, f. 18e (Figs. 49 & 50). Acknowledgement is made on the plate to Thomas Chambers its engraver. There are no artists of that name recorded as engraving at that time. However, there was a Thomas Chambers who had been employed alongside the young Woollett by the publisher John Boydell for a series entitled *A Collection of Prints, Engraved from the most Capital Paintings in England* that was published by subscription in 1763.⁵⁰⁵ A close examination of the engraving style seen in a series of forty-two engraved portraits dated 1762 in the National Portrait Gallery, London, by an engraver of that name shows the technique that the engraver deployed was very close, if not identical, to that used in Parkinson's journal. Little else is known of Chambers other than that he was born in Ireland in 1742 or thereabouts and died in 1789. Although no longer considered significant he was well-regarded in his own time.⁵⁰⁶

The heads that Parkinson recorded are described in his journal as having 'broad, flat faces, small black eyes, low foreheads, and noses much like those of negroes, with wide nostrils, high cheeks, large mouths, and small teeth'⁵⁰⁷ They also have straight black hair that hangs over their foreheads and ears, which most of them had smeared with brown and red paint.⁵⁰⁸ They wear a bunch made of guanaco's wool on their heads,

which, as well as their hair, hangs down over their foreheads.⁵⁰⁹ Parkinson adds ‘They also wear the skins of guanicas and of seals, wrapped round their shoulders, sometimes leaving the right arm uncovered. Both men and the woman wear necklaces.’⁵¹⁰ Parkinson’s heads (Figs. 49 & 50) show the facial details, the scarification and the plaited guanica bunch of the female figure. The engraver has reproduced these details in the plate. He has also reproduced the hairstyles, facial hair and lines of scarification that are found on the figures in the original studies (Figs. 49 & 50). However, the necklace on the male figure is not shown in Fig. 49. Neither are the Fuegians’ guanica or animal skin cloaks shown in Figs. 49 and 50. However, the engraver, who was conforming to the practice of including adornment and jewellery in the costume study, appears to have obtained details in the textual description to that end. The placing of the child on the back of the female figure is also referred to in the text. Although less common in costume studies, this iconography is traditional in voyage illustration.

The expression on the female’s face in the plate is different from that of the original study (Fig. 50). There, she is shown side on, looking out at whatever lies before her. Her mouth is closed and in a relaxed position. Her expression is one of quiet interest. In the plate, she is more demure and looks up at her male partner or husband. Parkinson’s *Journal* notes that Fuegian women not only ‘carry their children on their backs’ they are also ‘generally employed in domestic drudgery’⁵¹¹ and this might be the source of her expression. It was noted above that Veccelio’s East Indian Woman of Middle Rank, shown in Fig. 46, has the downcast expression described in the text. It is therefore likely that the female in Fig. 53 may be expressing the subservience that the engraver has deduced from the description of the role of Fuegian women given in Parkinson’s text and, following traditional practice, shown it on the face of the female figure in the plate.

While the title of Plate I in the *Journal* (Fig. 53) and the nature of the reproduction all comply with the formulaic costume study, the figures themselves are only busts. Normally the figures were shown full length so that their costumes could be seen in their entirety. Although, given the limitations of Fuegian dress this might not have been considered necessary, it was still a departure from customary practice. This cannot, however, be said of Plate III, a full-length portrait entitled *A Native of Otaheiti in the Dress of his Country* (Fig. 54) by Godfrey after Parkinson. Although the costume the

figure is shown wearing in Plate III is different from that worn by the figure in Parkinson's pencil study of a male figure, shown standing holding a paddle (Add. MS 23921, f.36d, Fig. 55), they are sufficiently similar to suggest that Fig. 55 is the origin of the figure in Fig. 54. There is, however, a marked difference in the way the two figures are posed.

Joppien and Smith suggest that the stance of the figure in Fig. 54 was modelled on the currently-fashionable *Apollo Belvedere* that had been the subject of a recent translation of an influential essay by Winckelmann, the eighteenth-century Hellenist archaeologist.⁵¹² The aesthetic qualities of the *Apollo Belvedere* were therefore highly topical at the time the plate was engraved. Joppien and Smith consider that as a result of its contemporary popularity the figure in Fig. 54 has adopted the *Apollo's controposto* stance with the feet slightly apart. The right arm has also been extended and the left hand turned outwards so that the figure assumes an unnatural pose. However, this particular stance was also popular in Italian Renaissance painting and informed many figures in traditional voyage illustration as shown in John White's study of the Algonquian *Werowance*, 1586 (Fig. 38).

While the face of the figure in Plate III (Fig. 54) is recognisably after Parkinson, there are no pencil studies that show a figure wearing a similar costume. However, it is the costume that has become the focus of the image on the plate. Great care has been taken to give it volume, engraving it by the burin or graver alone in the seventeenth-century French *lozenge* technique of cross-hatching. The engraver has scrupulously avoided the contemporarily popular, dot and lozenge that was widely used by the English engravers. This was frowned upon by traditionalist engravers who continued to deploy the French *lozenge* technique instead. Godfrey has also avoided the use of etching that was also scorned by the same group, deploying it only on the face. Joppien and Smith state that the engraver, Godfrey, also engraved for Grose's *Antiquarian Repertory* (1775) and for Bell's *British Theatre*⁵¹³ where the costume study format was likely to have been deployed. Plate III is therefore an excellent example of a conservative interpretation of a modern drawing by an engraver who deployed the same engraving technique that he used for his antique subjects.

A second full-length costume study is Plate V. Entitled *A Woman & a Boy*,

Natives, of Otaheite in the Dress of that Country (Fig. 56), it is again engraved by Chambers after Parkinson. Joppien and Smith suggest that it is likely to have been taken from a drawing that has since been discarded or lost.⁵¹⁴ Like others in the *Journal*, the engraving is in the style of the costume study in that it again has no landscape background with all of the attention focussed on the figure's dress. Although Parkinson's description of Tahitian costume is largely confined to the production of the cloth and the different kinds of jewellery, Banks' description shows that the dress on the female figure in Plate V is an accurate rendition of it. The figures themselves have again been created using the burin in the French style, with the etcher being used only for facial features, fingers and toes. Shading has again been achieved by the deployment of the lozenge with heavier cross hatching in the darker areas.

Plate IX is a further costume study engraved by Godfrey (Fig. 57). Entitled *The Lad Taiyota, Native of Otaheite, in the Dress of the Country*, its source has again been attributed to Parkinson but there are again no extant studies in the *Endeavour* collection that are even similar. The name given in the title refers to the boy Tayeto who accompanied the Tahitian priest, Tupaia, to Batavia and for whose death from disease there, the priest held himself personally responsible. However, there is no record of Tayeto being a flute player. Neither is there any reference to him in either Banks's journal or Parkinson's *Journal* in that context. Banks's only record of Tahitian flute-playing is limited to a description of the notes coming from the flute itself which he describes as being 'very few...rude and ungrateful.'⁵¹⁵

Again the plate gives emphasis to the figure's costume. The 'Taiyota' in the engraving wears a woven shawl or poncho. Kaepler discusses the poncho in the plate in Parkinson's *Journal*, describing it as being made of hibiscus fibre.⁵¹⁶ Her description of a fringed fibre mat from the *Endeavour* voyage currently held in Göttingen University, the recipient of many of the artefacts from the voyage, shows that the figure's poncho is almost certainly similarly woven.⁵¹⁷ Kaepler's description therefore shows that Godfrey has reproduced the fibre cloth of the poncho in Plate IX (Fig. 57) accurately, suggesting that a similarly woven piece of fibre matting may have been amongst the 'curiosities' Stanfield Parkinson received from his brother's collection that Godfrey was able to observe for himself.

Plate XV engraved by Chambers is the first image of a subject from New Zealand in the *Journal*. Again in the format of a costume study, it depicts *A New Zealand Warrior in his Proper Dress, & Completely Armed to their Manner* (Fig. 58). Although Parkinson is named on the engraving as the originator of the figure, there are again no images in the *Endeavour* collection to confirm it. It appears that the plate may, instead, have been created out of a number of different images. The head with its feathered head piece is similar to that found in a further study by Parkinson Add. MS 23920, f.46 (Fig. 60) as is another figure wearing a dog fur cape, similar to the one in Plate XV. The so-called 'battle-axe' also appears in Plate XXVI which shows artefacts from New Zealand. Entitled *Various kinds of Instruments Utensils &c., of the Inhabitants of New Zealand, with some Ornaments &c of the People of Terra del Fuego & New Holland*, it is engraved by Chambers after S.H. Grimm (Fig. 61). The 'patta-pattoo' or 'war-bludgeon' that is held rather unconvincingly by the figure in Plate XV, and the whistle hanging rather curiously from the pendant, feature also in Fig 61. The descriptions accompanying Plate XXVI (Fig. 61), many of which also give dimensions, suggest that these may also be New Zealand artefacts that Stanfield had in his possession.

It might be argued that in the absence of Sydney Parkinson, his brother, Stanfield Parkinson, instructed the engravers to reproduce the figures in the costume study format. However, it seems more probable that, given the nature of their other works, Godfrey and Chambers were simply deploying the conservative techniques and formats with which they were familiar. However, it must be noted that, although they were inappropriate for Parkinson's style of ethnography, there were few alternatives in engraved ethnography and certainly none that showed empirical depiction.

In Chapter I, it was stated that the earlier voyage publications of Narborough, Dampier, Shelvocke and Anson all repeated texts that had been written by the commanders in whose names the publications appeared. Another aspect of these English publications was that they all had few, if any, accompanying ethnographic illustrations. The voyage journals of Narborough, Dampier and Anson have none at all while Shelvocke's *Voyage* has a figure study created from a plate in a voyage publication written by the French hydrographer Amadée Frézier, and another after a figure in a further plate from *America Part I* that is discussed in Chapter VII and shown in Fig. 85.

One of the reasons for the lack of ethnographic illustration is that it was not British practice to take voyage artists on major expeditions. Raleigh's voyage of 1585-6 was the last to do so until Cook's *Endeavour* voyage almost two hundred years later. Although Dampier expressed a wish that is repeated in the posthumous, 1729 publication of his last journals, that it should be acceptable to "candid and impartial readers who are curious to know the nature of the inhabitants, animals, plants soil &c in those countries which have been either seldom or not at all been visited by Europeans" ⁵¹⁸ he fails to satisfy his readers' curiosity with informative illustrations. He announces with some pride that he had had the services of "...a Person skilled in Drawing" which had enabled him, "for the greater Satisfaction of the Curious Reader"

to present him with exact Cuts and Figures of several of the principal and most remarkable of those Birds, Beasts, Fishes and Plants, which are described in the following Narrative; and also of several, which not being able to give any better or so good Account of as, by causing them to be exactly Ingraven ⁵¹⁹

However, their number are far fewer than his announcement suggests, comprising no more than two engravings or "Tables" of plants, three of fish and two of birds. He excuses their small number on the grounds that, because they were found in "Countries" the "Narrative" does not reach, they "could not [be] put into the present volume" ⁵²⁰

In the Introduction to Anson's voyage publication, its editor, Richard Walter, expresses his concerns about his government's lack of interest in employing artists to accompany voyages such as Anson's as was the practice in other countries. He argues that his motivation is that this would serve British mercantile interests as well as British navigation. He suggests that it would create no extra expense to "establish a particular regulation for this purpose" since all that would be required would be:

a person with the character of an engineer, and the skill and talents necessary to that profession, should be employed in drawing such coasts, and in making such other observations of all kinds, as might either prove of advantage to future Navigators ⁵²¹

He refers to the French, and quotes the example of:

Monsieur Frezier, an Engineer, who has published a celebrated voyage to the *South Seas*: For this person in the year 1711 was purposely sent by the *French King* into that country on board a merchantman, that he might examine and describe the coast, and take plans of all the fortified places ⁵²²

He further notes:

í Had more of our travellers been initiated in these requirementsí we should by this time have seen the geography of the globe much correcter, than we now find it; the dangers of navigation would have been considerably lessened, and the manners, arts and produce of foreign countries would have been much better known to us, than they are.⁵²³

However, in spite of British reluctance, he claims to be in possession of í the most valuable drawings í taken by Mr. *Peircy Brett*, one of Mr. *Anson's* lieutenantsí from Anson's voyage.⁵²⁴ He affirms of Anson's journal:

í without fear of being contradicted on a comparison, that no voyage I have yet seen, furnishes such a number of views of land, soundings, draughts of roads and ports, charts, and other materials, for the improvement of geography and navigation, as are contained in the ensuing volume: ⁵²⁵

However, there are no ethnographic images amongst them. While two plates show figures, they are all in European dress and too small for ethnic identification.

The engravers of Parkinson's *Journal* were therefore unable to look to earlier British publications for illustrative models. Other graphic images of non-European subjects appear to have been regarded as inferior to other forms of illustration and of little artistic merit. Known as 'Indian pictures' they appear to have been popular during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but only with the lower classes of British society. Sales of 'Indian pictures' in catalogue listings in contemporary London papers are confined to household lots where they are described, only according to their situation.⁵²⁶ Most of these 'Indian pictures' are situated in back passages or under the stairs, areas which would have been occupied by members of staff and servants. Although there are numerous examples of 'Indian pictures' in eighteenth-century sale catalogues, today they are almost impossible to find. One reason for this is that because they were engraved in large numbers the plates would have worn out quickly and been discarded. Another is that the paper upon which they were engraved was most likely to have been of poor quality and therefore did not last. A high number of prints of inferior quality would also have made 'Indian pictures' of little interest to serious collectors so that they would not have been represented in significant collections where they would have been

cherished and preserved.

A search for examples of so-called "Indian pictures" in the British Library and the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum proved almost fruitless. However, a scrapbook in the Department of Prints and Drawings was found to contain a number of poorly reproduced images of printed illustrations of Amerindian and Asian subjects that had been cut and pasted to fit the page.⁵²⁷ The order in which the images appear shows no concern for either geographical or ethnic origin. Some comprise crude copies of engravings from the better known voyage journal illustrations such as the de Bry's *Voyages*. Others, like the Asian figures, may have been taken from the copybooks of china manufacturers, who made Chinese and Japanese styled porcelains for the flourishing European market or those belonging to furniture makers who created the highly popular "Japanned" furniture and decorated it with Asian images. Their sources were therefore commercial and not aesthetic.

Subsequent research has shown that there were also reproductions of the portraits of four Amerindian kings painted in 1710 by John Verelst at the request of Queen Anne. The example shown here in Fig. 62 is of the Mowhawk leader, Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row. This is one of a series of portraits that were painted to record the visit to London of three of the so-called "kings" or leaders of North American Indian tribes ó the fourth died on the voyage. Their images were reproduced in mezzotint by the engraver and publisher, John Faber, and his son, John Faber the younger, who adopted his father's mezzotint practice and became one of the most prolific engravers of the first half of the eighteenth century. Others were engraved by John Simon.

The portraits are in a style similar to that of the costume studies in that the figure is shown wearing the clothing and adornment of his tribe together with what was believed to be its weaponry. However, the figure in Fig. 62 is surrounded by flora that is meant to identify his homeland. He also has a wolf standing behind him to represent his clan. This iconography is likely to have come from printed landscape illustrations that were informed by images of flora and fauna in natural history studies. The inclusion of the natural history iconography here cannot have been influenced by the ethnographic paintings of artists like Eckhout and Wagener and van der Post,⁵²⁸ whose few works were in private collections and not available to the public.⁵²⁹

There is no doubt that, given the fame of the Four Indian paintings and the copies that were engraved from them, their format would have been familiar to the engravers of Parkinson's *Journal*. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this impacted on the plates. Given the public perception of the 'Indian pictures', the engraved copies that were made from their portraits by engravers like Faber and Simon may not have been considered appropriate for formal engravers like Godfrey and Chambers who, instead, followed the well established convention in voyage illustration of ethnographic depiction in the form of costume study.

This chapter concludes that, while John White's ethnographic depiction conformed to the genre of the costume study that of Sydney Parkinson did not. But with Parkinson dead and unable to direct the engraving of illustrations for his *Journal*, it was left to others to do so in his place. Information as to whether the engravings were commissioned by Stanfield Parkinson or Kenrick does not exist. In all likelihood, Stanfield would have sought advice from someone who was experienced in the field of engraved reproduction or literary illustration. The plates Godfrey and Chambers engraved show them to have been conservative engravers who used a technique that was popular in France in the seventeenth century in portraits and formal painting. It was also a technique that was no longer considered appropriate for landscapes with figures. Since Parkinson chose to record his ethnographic observations within this particular convention, it must be further concluded that the conservative engraving technique that Godfrey and Chambers deployed was inappropriate for the illustrations in his *Journal*.

Chapter VII

Golden landscapes.

Chapter VII examines the manner in which Tahiti, its inhabitants and their lifestyle are depicted in both text and illustration in the Hawkesworth edition. It shows that the image presented in the publication agrees with the findings given in Banks's journal. However, it also shows that Banks's findings differ from those given in the journals of both Samuel Wallis, who discovered the island group in 1767, and Cook, who visited it in the *Endeavour* in 1769.

Banks refers in his journal to Louis de Bougainville who visited Tahiti in the interim, and implies that he agrees with the perceptions of the island nation and its mores that he understands derive from the French explorer. An investigation of Bougainville's account, however, shows that Banks's perceptions and those of Bougainville are not the same.

The chapter suggests that a more likely source of Banks's perceptions is a French newspaper article written by Bougainville's naturalist, Philippe Commerson, and published in 1769. However, the chapter questions how it was that Commerson's article which was published while the *Endeavour* was in the South Seas, informed the image in a journal ostensibly written prior to Banks's return to England. The chapter also questions how Banks, who did not know of Bougainville's visit to Tahiti until more than a year after he had left Tahiti, or read the French explorer's account of it until his return in to England in 1771, was able to compare his own views with those expressed by Bougainville at the time of writing his journal.

The chapter concludes that the passage in which the descriptions of Tahiti and its inhabitants appear was actually written after Banks returned to England. It further argues that Plates 3 and 4 in the Hawkesworth edition were created to reinforce the image Banks subsequently presents.

The chapter begins with an assessment of the views of Tahiti expressed by Wallis and Cook.

When Samuel Wallis discovered Tahiti two years before Cook arrived there he found an agricultural society living in an area which had a fine climate and fecund

terrain. A report that was written by Wallis's lieutenant of an excursion undertaken on Wallis's orders on the 26th of July 1767 and included in Wallis's unpublished journal records his impressions of Matavai Bay in Tahiti as follows:

...for the first two miles we found it very well inhabited with Gardens, Walled in with plenty of Fowles Hogs and fruit, the Soil look'd to be rich fat blackish Earth. there were Canalls cut in the Sides of the Hills for to lead the Water from the high parts of the River into their Gardens and to their fruit Trees ... the Ground was fenced off very Prettily and the Breadfruit and Apple Trees planted in Rows on the Side of the Hills the Cocoa Nut and Plantain in the level requiring more Moisture, it made it pleasant and cool

...being arrived at the Top of the hill we sat down to refresh and rest ourselves; ...on our looking toward the Ship it was delightfully pleasant; the Side of the Hills being full of trees and Villages, and the Valley still thicker inhabited ... in coming up the hill we found severall Springs. and when on the Hill we saw a number of houses that passed by undescerned...⁵³⁰

When Cook first arrived there in 1769, however, he found that this was no longer the case because much of what Wallis's journal describes had been destroyed. Cook later recorded in his journal:

We afterwards made a circuit through the Woods and then came on board ó We did not find the inhabitants to be numerous and therefore at first imagined that several of them had fled from their habitations upon our arrival in the Bay but Mr Gore & some others who had been here before observ'd that a very great revolution must have happen'd ó not near the number of inhabitants, a great number of houses raz'd, hardly a vestage of some to be seen, particularly what was call'd the Queens and not so much as a Hog or Fowl was to be seen ó no very agreeable discovery to us whose Ideas of plenty upon arrival at this island from the report of the Dolphin was carried to the very highest pitch.⁵³¹

Salmond believes that the "great revolution" Cook refers to was intertribal war. She explains that it had erupted over Oberea's [Purea's] claims to her son, Amo's, ascendancy to chief and over Oberea's treatment of her closest relatives in relation to it.⁵³² At a final battle in December 1768, six months prior to the arrival of the *Endeavour*, Oberea's priest and lover, Tupaia, was wounded and, together with Oberea's son, Amo, Oberea and Tupaia escaped to the mountains, crossing to the eastern districts of Tahiti where they were given refuge. After a time, a truce was negotiated and Tupaia, Oberea and Amo were all allowed to return but with diminished status.⁵³³ The damage to Port Royal

(Matavai Bay) that Cook saw had been in reprisal for Oberea's insult to her relatives. During this reprisal, many of Oberea's people were either killed or forced to flee the area and their homes and their gardens were destroyed. As Cook notes in his journal, Oberea's own house had been razed.⁵³⁴

Although Banks recognised that changes had occurred, he is dismissive in his journal of the wider effects of the recent warfare, focusing, instead, on the consequent lack of provisions and suitable company:

Our pleasure in seeing this [the area around Matavai Bay] was however not a little allayed by finding in all our walk only 2 hogs and not one fowl. The Dolphin's people who were with us told us that the people who we saw were only of the common sort and that the bettermost had certainly removed, as a proof of this they took us to the place where the Queen's palace formerly stood of which there was no traces left. We however resolved not to be discouraged at this but to proceed tomorrow morning in search of the place to which these superior people had retreated, in hopes to make peace with them as we have done with our friends the backguards.⁵³⁵

As far as Banks was concerned, the area around Matavai Bay where Port Royal stood retained the great natural bounty that Wallis's lieutenant described. His journal speaks of:

... groves of Cocoa nut and breadfruit trees loaded with a profusion of fruit and giving the most grateful shade I have ever experienced...in short the scene we saw was the truest picture of an arcadia of which we were going to be kings that the imagination can form.⁵³⁶

He later wrote:

—O fortunati nimium sua si bona norint— may most truly be applied to these people; benevolent nature has not only supplied them with necessities but with abundance of superfluities.⁵³⁷

However, while there might be agreement as to the physical beauty of Matavai Bay described by Wallis and Banks, Banks's journal depicts it in different terms, preferring traditional stereotypes to contemporary empiricism. Banks also presents a different view of the native population from that of Wallis's journal. Unlike the Lieutenant's description of a people who are responsible for much of the island's former abundance through agriculture and the management of the island's resources, Banks portrays them as the inhabitants of an Arcadia that lies waiting to be possessed by Europeans. While

Hawkesworth is careful to avoid any sense of British appropriation, his text repeats the image Banks portrays:

í they [a group of Tahitians] went with us from the watering place and took a circuit through the woodsí Our circuit was not less than four or five miles, though groves of trees, which were loaded with cocoa nuts and breadfruit, and afforded the most grateful shade. Under these trees were the habitations of the people, most of them being only a roof without walls, and the whole scene realised the poetical fables of Arcadia.⁵³⁸

The image of Tahiti that Banks's journal creates and Hawkesworth repeats is therefore quite unlike Cook's. Banks also fails to recognise the beneficial effects of human presence in the Tahitian environment or their accomplished organisation of its resources as recorded by Wallis's lieutenant. It might be argued that Banks's portrayal of Matavai Bay is no more than an allusion to the Golden Landscape of classical mythology that was common in traditional voyage representation.

Honour finds Christopher Columbus noting similarities between the American landscape and those described by classical authors. He repeats Columbus's descriptions of 'Mixed woods', 'a varied terrain', 'spontaneous fertility' and 'birdsong', all of which Honour claims are the 'essential elements in the ideal poetic landscape from Homer onwards.'⁵³⁹ Honour further suggests that 'the fecund land' of Columbus's description recalls the 'Golden Age' when 'men had no need of iron to fight or plough', an image that was reinforced when the explorer learnt that Amerindians had no 'iron or steel or arms'.⁵⁴⁰ Honour considers that Columbus may well have visualised the West Indies in terms of Renaissance iconography, such as 'the background to Botticelli's *Primavera* or Jan van Eyck's vision of a Mediterranean paradise in which the palm, the pine, and fragrant orange flourish side by side while the ground is eternally bright with spring flowers.'⁵⁴¹

By the time Banks first saw the Island of Tahiti, it was an established tradition for voyagers to describe the physical characteristics of newly-discovered and unspoilt natural environments in classical terms. Pagden notes:

í [Europeans] believed that somewhere in the world there existed lands where nature provided all that humankind required, and where peoples lived wholly virtuous lives free from the terrible constraints of civilisation. This vision, part fantasy and part ethnographic curiosity, was loosely based upon impressionistic travellers' tales. It was a transposed version of the dream of the earthly paradise or

what antiquity called the Islands of the Blest. Alexander had visited it, in myth if not in reality, and it had been glimpsed briefly by eager European readers in Amerigo Vespucci's account of America⁵⁴²

Mackay recognises that 'The Pacific as an entity in itself and the character of its peoples, remained stubbornly prey to speculation and myth.'⁵⁴³ It would therefore not have been unreasonable for Banks to see Tahiti in the same way that ancient Greek voyagers saw the islands of the Aegean Sea.

However, this chapter argues that Banks was not conforming to traditional representation. Instead he is repeating a perception he believed to have come from the French explorer, Count Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, who visited the island of Tahiti for a period of ten days in 1768. Banks even refers to him in his journal as 'Mr De Bougainville' who was 'pleas'd with the Beauty of the Ladies of Otaheite [and] gave that Island the Name of Cypre'⁵⁴⁴

Bougainville had published his account of his voyage to the South Seas and the time he spent in Tahiti in Paris in 1771. The first translation into English was made the following year by Johann Reinhold Forster, the naturalist on Cook's second voyage. In this publication, Bougainville does not suggest that the Tahitian preoccupation is with the sexual licence and free love associated with the Island of Cythera in classical mythology. When he discusses the sexual mores of the Tahitians in his journal, Bougainville claims to have found polygamy well established but only among the 'chief people.'⁵⁴⁵ By these he means the *arioi* or chiefly class to which Tupaia belonged.⁵⁴⁶ He further claims that for them, 'although love is their only passion, for a great number of women [polygamy] is only the luxury of the opulent.'⁵⁴⁷ While he notes that he finds that many women of the lower classes are openly promiscuous, he also records that he discovered that 'the husband is commonly the first who persuades his wife to yield to another.'⁵⁴⁸ He states that he understands that unmarried women are freer with their favours because:

'every thing invites her to follow the inclination of her heart, or the instinct of her sensuality; and public applause honours her defeat; nor does it appear, that how soever great the number of her previous lovers may have been, it should not prove an obstacle to her meeting with a husband afterwards. Then wherefore should she resist the influence of the climate, or the seduction of examples. The very air which people breathe their songs, their dances, almost constantly attended with indecent postures, all conspire to call to mind the sweets of love, all engage to give themselves up to them'⁵⁴⁹

In other words, Bougainville shows that he believes that, where young female Tahitians readily engage in sexual activity, it is because their passions or what would today be described as their primal physiologies, encourage it. In other words, Nature created them for procreation.

However, Bougainville reports that the young Tahitian women were not so happy to share their favours with his own men. On the French ships arrival at the island it was the husbands, fathers and mothers of these young women who posed the women naked and pressed the Frenchmen to choose a female mate and to come on shore with her⁵⁵⁰ The young women were therefore prostituted by their closest relatives who demanded beads and iron materials in return for the women's favours. So insistent were the relatives, Bougainville was moved to later complain, 'It was very difficult, amidst such a sight, to keep at their work four hundred young French sailors, who had seen no women for six months.'⁵⁵¹

When one of the young girls appeared on board and dropped the cloth which covered her, according to Bougainville, she appeared to the eyes of all beholders, such as Venus shewed herself to the Phrygian shepherd, having, indeed, the celestial form of that goddess.⁵⁵² However, this reference to Venus, the goddess of love, and the shepherd from Greek mythology is an isolated one. Although Bougainville suggests that a certain class practises free love or that young women followed the dictates of their passions and that their relatives sought to benefit from it by prostitution, his view of Tahitian sexuality is very different from that which Banks implies.

Neither does Bougainville describe Tahiti generally in Greek terms. His first extended description of the Tahitian landscape is in terms derived from the Bible. He describes it as 'the garden of Eden,⁵⁵³ occupied by a people who enjoy the blessings which nature showers liberally down upon them' ⁵⁵⁴ and from whom 'every where we found hospitality, ease, innocent joy, and every appearance of happiness amongst them.'⁵⁵⁵ Perceptions informed by Biblical concepts are another aspect of traditional representation. Although Columbus described the New World in classical terms, Pagden notes that when the explorer first saw the Americas he believed that he had 'sighted the Earthly Paradise'⁵⁵⁶ Pagden also suggests that the representation of Christian perceptions

in terms of pagan imagery was due to the mediaeval mind working on a variety of levels. Understanding the world that is, was dependent upon the interpretation of a determined canon of texts: the Bible, the Church Fathers, and a regularly contested ...corpus of ancient writers.⁵⁵⁷ Columbus was not confused when he deployed classical stereotypes in textual descriptions based on Christian perceptions. He was simply using the mixture of stereotypes that was to be found in the literature of the polyglot society to which he belonged. Although increasingly challenged by empirical observation, Biblical concepts continued to be repeated in subsequent voyage texts where they were often expressed in terms of classical literary stereotypes.

But while Bougainville might have deployed the same imagery as Columbus, his attachment⁵⁵⁸ to use Pagden's terminology, was to a quite different age. By the 1770s, the scientific movement that began in the late seventeenth century had undermined the traditional view of the world and replaced it with another described in empirical terms. In spite of the language of his journal descriptions, Bougainville was an eager participant in this movement and made scientific recording his paradigm. This is revealed in the analysis of his journal.

He notes, for example, that the general appearance of the Tahitians gives him to understand that they belong to two separate races. He describes the males of the larger race as tall and well made and suggests that any painter looking to paint a Hercules or Mars could not find more beautiful models.⁵⁵⁹ Pagden describes how, when Bougainville returned to France in 1769, he brought with him the son of a Tahitian chief he called Aotouru.⁵⁶⁰ The reason for this, according to Pagden, is that Bougainville was a serious scientist who had hoped to use Aotouru to study a real savage society at home as a living human specimen of the diversity of mankind.⁵⁶¹ Bougainville's observations had led him to believe that Tahitians were accustomed to live continually immersed in pleasure, [where] they have acquired a witty and humorous temper, which is the offspring of ease and of joy.⁵⁶² He wanted to discover whether their happy disposition could survive a European environment.

Like Wallis's lieutenant, Bougainville also recognised that, in spite of the easy lifestyle their island afforded, Tahitians actually belonged to a nation [that] appeared to love agriculture.⁵⁶³ Contrary to Banks's suggestion that they lived in an Arcadia where

everything was readily provided, Bougainville finds the Tahitians living in a well-organised society in which agriculture was practiced. Although he describes them as enjoying the 'most fertile region in the universe' he also recognises that it was their management of it that made Tahiti a 'land of plenty'. In acknowledgement of their obvious 'love [of] agriculture' Bougainville gave them wheat, barley, oats, rice, maize, herbs and onions to plant believing they would be taken good care of.⁵⁶⁴

Banks's claim that Bougainville represented Tahiti as a new-found 'Golden' landscape where every need was accommodated by Nature's bounty and free love prevailed is therefore not supported by Bougainville's own text. But Banks was not alone in his misunderstanding of Bougainville's portrayal of the Tahitians or their culture.

Jimack claims that when Bougainville's *Voyage* appeared:

...[it] was on the whole impressively balanced, and that he had clearly made a serious attempt to give an objective account of the evidence. But, as Proust has pointed out, Bougainville's readers⁵⁶⁵ 'ne lurent dans le *Voyage* ce qu'ils s'attendaient à y trouver: une apologie du primitivisme et de l'amour libre, la condamnation de la propriété privée, et un exotisme discret qui ne les dépayât point trop des chinoiseries de Boucher et des fêtes de Fragonard' [only read in the *Voyage* the parts that they wanted to find there; praise for the Tahitian's primitive society and free love and their rejection of private ownership, and images of discreet exoticism not too far removed from the *chinoiseries* of Boucher and the fêtes of Fragonard with which they were familiar.]⁵⁶⁶

This was a great disappointment to Bougainville who Pagden claims wrote of his sadness that the interests of most Parisians amounted to little more than:

... a sterile curiosity which had resulted only in giving false impressions to men who ...had never left the capital, who had never thought deeply about anything, and seized by errors of every kind, see things only in the light of their own prejudices.⁵⁶⁷

While their misinterpretation might have been in part due to Bougainville's choice of iconography and texts being taken out of context, the perception that his readers took from his journal had been seeded earlier by his own naturalist, Philibert Commerson, who had travelled with him on the voyage.

In November 1769, shortly after his return to Paris, Commerson published a lengthy article entitled 'Post scriptum sur l'île de la Nouvelle Cythère' in the *Mercure de France*. It was in this article that Tahiti was described as the new Cythera, the Greek

island where Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love had been worshiped. Commerson's portrayal of Tahiti had titillated readers' imaginations on both sides of the channel. It was this image and not Bougainville's that provided the description repeated by Banks.

Banks's comments in the Hawkesworth edition give its readers to understand that he was familiar with Bougainville's account of Tahiti and its inhabitants at the time of the *Endeavour's* visit there in 1769. And there is nothing in his journal to suggest that his reference to Bougainville was made any later than the *Endeavour's* visit to Tahiti between April and August of that year. However, it was not until some sixteen months later, when the *Endeavour* reached Batavia that Banks and Cook even learnt of Bougainville's having been in Tahiti. The evidence for this is as follows;

When Cook found articles in Tahiti that had been left behind after a visit from a non-British ship he was given to understand that they were Spanish. On June 6th 1769, he wrote:

This day and for some days past we have been inform'd by several of the Natives that about 10 or 15 months ago, Two Ships touched at this Island and stay'd 10 days in a Harbour to the Eastward call'd Ohideaí We have several times seen Iron tools and other articles with these people that we suspected came not from the Dolphin and these they now say had come from these two Ships.⁵⁶⁸

In order to set the record straight, on June 11th:

í [he] and Mr Banksí took Toobouratomita on board the Ship and shew'd him the Print containing the Colours worne by the Ships of different Nations and very soon made him understand that we wanted to know which of them was worne by the Ships that were at Ohidea he at once pitched upon the Spanish Flag and would by no means admit of any other: this together with several Articles we have lately seen amongst these people Such as Jackets Shirts &C^a. usually worne by Spanish Seamen, proves beyond doubt that they must have been Ships of that Nation and come from some Port on the Coast of South America.⁵⁶⁹

When they arrived in Batavia, however, Cook learnt that these articles came not from two Spanish ships but the French ships, *La Boudeuse* and *l'Etoile*, which had been under the command of Louis de Bougainville. Cook records in his journal:

Upon our arrival at Batavia we were inform'd that two French Ships commanded by the Sieur de Bougainville had put in there about two years before us in their way home from the South Sea: We were told many circumstances relating to these two Ships all tending to prove beyond a doubt that they were the same two as were at Georges Island as above mentioned, which we than conjectured to be

Spaniards, being lead into that mistake by the Spanish Iron & C^a we saw among the Natives and by Toobouratomita pitching upon the Colours of that nation for those they wore in which he might very easily be mistaken⁵⁷⁰

Banks confirms this in his journal at the same time telling his readers that it was only by chance that the identity of the ships was discovered. He describes how he was walking down the street with Tupaia when a stranger inquired as to whether the Indian with him had been in Batavia before:

On my declaring that he had not and asking the reason of asking so odd a question he told me that a year and a half before Mr De Bougainville had been at Batavia with two French ships, and that with him was an Indian so like this that he had imagined it to be identical same person had I not informed him to the contrary.⁵⁷¹

Banks enquired further and heard how, when Bougainville visited the South Seas, he took on board a Tahitian who resembled Tupaia.⁵⁷² Although Banks's entry for October, 1770 reads, "Even the story of the woman was known here & she it seems was a French woman who followed a young man sent out in the character of Botanist in men's cloaths"⁵⁷³ the story that Banks was given was only a verbal account from a resident of Batavia. Its full significance could only have been made known to Banks on his return to England. The botanist Banks refers to, whose name he does not appear to know at the time of his visit to Batavia, was Philibert Commerson, the author of the article, "Post scriptum sur l'île de la nouvelle Cythère" referred to above, that was published in 1769. Bougainville's own publication did not appear until two years later. It can therefore be argued that the earliest Banks could have read of Bougainville's experiences in Tahiti, or learnt of Commerson's article, was after his return to England in July 1771. For these reasons, Banks could not have known of Bougainville's visit to Tahiti until much later than his journal shows. It must therefore be concluded that Banks revised his journal to include his reference to Bougainville at a date later than either his journal or the "Hawkesworth edition" would have the reader understand.

Beaglehole informs the readers of Banks's *Endeavour* journal that there are five known copies of Banks's account. The copy that he edited, believing it to be the original text, is in the Mitchell library in Sydney, Australia. However, Beaglehole states that each of the five copies differs little in content. The text that Banks gave Hawkesworth for

inclusion in the publication must therefore be little different from the copy Beaglehole edited.⁵⁷⁴ Beaglehole further states that he understands that the copy he transcribed was composed on the *Endeavour*.⁵⁷⁵ He notes, however:

í the early part of the journal, for something like 150 pages is written in a big rather untidy hand, as if the journal keeper is hastening on in breakneck excitement; the writing then becomes smaller, with more lines to the page, perhaps from some prudential motive of ensuring a sufficient supply of paper; then towards the end of Volume II it becomes bigger again, as if a new excitement, that of being turned homewards, had asserted itself.⁵⁷⁶

It might be argued that an alternative explanation is that the speed with which Banks was writing was due to his having decided to revise part of what he had already written before handing it on to Hawkesworth, and was driven by time constraints.

Hawkesworth's correspondence reveals that he received the journals of the voyages of the *Dolphin* and the *Swallow* and Cook's *Endeavour* some time before the 6th of October 1771, only a month after Sandwich announced that he was seeking an editor.⁵⁷⁷ However, he did not receive the first part of Banks's journal until sometime in November.⁵⁷⁸ It is very likely that this delay was caused by Banks revising his journal account and, in the process, making changes to his earlier portrayal of Tahiti and its inhabitants so that it would agree with what he believed to be Bougainville's perceptions of it. He also depicted both the island and its peoples in the terms he understood Bougainville to have used.

Banks was very keen to have his own account associated with Bougainville. In December 1771, when he wrote to Count Lauraguais, giving him a brief account of the *Endeavour* voyage, Banks compared his own observations with Bougainville's, noting rather patronisingly, that 'Mr Bougainville's account of them [the Tahitians] is as good as could be expected from a man who staid among them only 9 Days; and never ...made himself master of their Language...'⁵⁷⁹ He also notes in the letter that on June 10th 1770, 'we struck upon a Rock in Latit^e 15 S nearly y^e same place where Mr Bougainville heard ye voice of God...'⁵⁸⁰, showing that by this time he had read Bougainville's journal publication very closely. Banks was also now familiar with Commerson's name and notes in the same letter that a new species of fig tree found on the voyage 'probably did not escape the researches of so accurate a Botaniste as Mr de Commerson who sail'd with Mr

Bougainville, is disputed to be.⁵⁸¹ He closes by saying that he was expecting his narrative of the *Endeavour* voyage:

...some time next Winter: as I have put all the Papers relative to ye adventure of it into ye hands of Dr Hawkersworth [*sic*] who I Doubt not will do justice to ye work which ye shortness of my Stay in England would not permit myself to attemptí ⁵⁸²

His comments to the Count were no doubt to signal that when it appeared under Cook's name, Banks not only wanted his account to be recognised but also considered in the context of Bougainville's.

Because of the great interest that was currently being shown in both the island nation and its culture as a result of Bougainville's voyage, Hawkesworth draws the reader's attention to the importance that Banks paid to images of Tahiti in his eulogy to Alexander Buchan, Banks's landscape and figure draughtsman. He describes the young man who died on the *Endeavour*'s arrival in Tahiti as follows:

...a sober, diligent, and ingenious young maní [whose death was] greatly regretted by Mr. Banks, who hoped, and by his means, *to have gratified his friends in England with representations of this country and its inhabitants*, which no other person on board could delineate with the same accuracy and elegance. ⁵⁸³ [italics this writer's]

While Banks's journal does not specify that he wished Buchan to record the ethnicity of the figures, he expresses similar sentiments. It reads:

í I sincerely regret him as an ingenious and good young man, but his Loss to me is irretrievable, *my airy dreams of entertaining my freinds in England with the scenes that I am to see here are vanished*. No account of the figures and dresses of men can be satisfactory unless illustrated with figures: had providence spard him a month longer what an advantage would it have been to my undertaking I must submit. ⁵⁸⁴ [italics again this writer's]

As shown in Chapter II, Banks later claimed that when Buchan died he employed Sydney Parkinson to continue the task of recording images of Tahiti. Several of Parkinson's pen and wash drawings were subsequently selected for the representation of this island and its inhabitants in Plates 3 and 4.

The originals chosen for Plate 3, *A View from the Island of Ulietea, with a double canoe and boathouse* (Fig. 63), are Add. MS 23921, f.11 and Add. MS 23921, f.12 (Figs. 64 & 65). The first of these originals, *View in Ulietea* (Fig. 64), shows a boathouse and a

figure carrying coconuts at the end of a long pole. The position of the figure suggests that the coconuts will have come from a tree similar to the one behind it. Parkinson describes the boathouse as being built with a Cantanarian arch, thatched all over; and the boats kept in them are very long, bellying out on the sides with a very high peaked stern, an achievement that required skill and hard labour. His illustration reveals the carefully constructed thatched interior and suggests its large size. Banks measured one of them and found it was 50 paces in length, 10 in breadth and 24 feet high.⁵⁸⁵ This is a society that is organised and has achieved a high level of creativity.

The second original drawing used in the plate is *Double Canoes* [Raiatea] Add. MS 23921, f. 12 (Fig. 65). It shows a double canoe with figures both in it and swimming in the sea around it. These figures may belong to a single family since several of them have the appearance of children. Two foreground figures appear to be fishing. One is shown bent over gathering shell fish or to retrieving a catch. The other figure stands poised with his spear. The figures in these finished drawings are therefore all depicted actively involved in hunting and gathering for themselves and their families. However, this level of activity is absent in the plate made from these two pen and wash drawings.

Plate 3 (Fig. 63) was engraved by Edward Rooker who was a competent artist and a foundation member of the Incorporated Society of Artists, the parent body from which the Royal Academy later developed. He contributed to the Society's exhibitions from 1760 to 1768.⁵⁸⁶ The earliest engraving by Rooker that is known to this writer is a landscape from 1745. Entitled *Knaresborough*, it is after William Oram, a painter and architect best known for works in the styles of Poussin and John Wootton. It was included in a publication of eight views of Yorkshire and Derbyshire all of which were engraved by Rooker.⁵⁸⁷ The engraver is better known, however, for his ability to reproduce items of classical detail in works such as those published by Stuart and Revett amongst which was *Antiquities of Athens* (1762) for which King George III was the principal subscriber.⁵⁸⁸

By the time of the publication of the *Endeavour* journals, Rooker had established a career engraving architectural details in designs for aristocratic houses. During the latter part of his life he began engraving images of the buildings themselves and reproducing paintings of the London landscapes in which the more famous buildings could be

recognised. In 1766, he engraved *Scotland Yard with Part of the Banqueting House*, after Paul Sandby. In 1768, he was working for the curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden and Banks's former mentor, Phillip Miller, engraving illustrations for the eighth edition of Miller's dictionary.⁵⁸⁹ He was also a successful professional actor who regularly appeared on the stage at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane managed by David Garrick, the friend of Dr. Burney, Sandwich and Hawkesworth. In the world of influence in late eighteenth-century London, Rooker's contacts were such that his selection as engraver for the plates in the *Endeavour* publication carried no surprises.

Plate 3 (Fig. 63) is set on the foreshore of Tahiti. It shows the inhabitants enjoying the bounty of their beautiful surroundings. In the background are Tahiti's high peaks and coconut-lined shoreline. On the horizon sit two further canoes, outlined against a wide open sky. A figure on the left of the plate is shown carrying a long pole with coconuts tied to it, similar to the one in the drawing in Fig. 64. In the centre of the plate there is a group of seven figures. One of the figures, a semi-naked Dionysian male figure, shows a basket of fish to one of the females. The suggestion is that this female figure, like those in Plate I, discussed in Chapter V, is being invited to share in the catch. To the right of the group, further figures can be seen languidly sitting or standing conversing on a double canoe or *pahi*, while one of their number sorts fish. Beside the *pahi*, a figure in a dugout paddles ashore.

Unlike any of the female figures in the original pen and wash drawings, these female figures are all depicted with their breasts exposed. Their image in the plate implies that Tahitian women were generally bare-breasted, but this was not so. Banks describes them as 'covering and adorning their Persons'⁵⁹⁰ He records that their manner of clothing is the 'most various as they never form dresses or sew any two things together' but that it comprises 'a piece of cloth which is generally 2 yards wide and 11 long [that they]...put on in a thousand different ways, often very genteel.'⁵⁹¹ However, he also describes how at sunset they always bared their bodies 'down to the navel, which seemd to be a kind of easy undress'⁵⁹² He likens this to the way in which eighteenth-century European women take off their daytime finery and put on a cloak and hood. Tahitian women were therefore not generally bare-breasted as the plate suggests.

While the basket of coconuts, the boathouse, canoes and fish baskets all suggest the presence of Tahitian industry, the scene is one of great ease. Although the central figures standing on shore have fish in their baskets, unlike Parkinson's pen and wash drawing, none are shown actively involved in catching fish. Instead, the plate appears to suggest that the islanders' food comes spontaneously and does not require the energetic participation that Parkinson's scene depicts. The figures appear to follow Bougainville's description of Tahitians, "enjoying the blessings which nature showers upon them" Theirs is an existence in which nature's bounty is shared amongst a people whose "hospitality, ease, innocence and joy" Bougainville's journal records.

Banks's letter to Lauraguais shows that, while Banks may not have read all that Bougainville had actually written when he submitted his journal to Hawkesworth in 1771, he had certainly done so by the time this plate was commissioned. This is confirmed by the plate's reference to selected passages from it. A further reference to Bougainville's account appears in the depiction of the figures themselves. Instead of Parkinson's busy, brown-skinned, curly-haired Polynesian figures, one of which has tattooed buttocks, those in Plate 3 are elegant men and women with the bare breasts and muscular bodies of figures in Italian Mannerist paintings. These are the "Hercules" and "Mars" of Bougainville's description and its "Venuses" with their breasts and shoulders conventionally exposed. But at the same time, they are also the inhabitants of Arcadia, the "golden land" of ancient mythology. Theirs is not an active engagement with nature but a passive one in which they are the recipients of its bounty.

More activity is shown in Plate 4 of the "Hawkesworth edition" *A View of the Island of Otaheite, with Several Vessels of that Island* (Fig. 66). Joppien and Smith note the name "Otaheite" on the plate is incorrect.⁵⁹³ The actual site where the scene occurs is Otaha or Tahaa on the northern end of Raiatea (Ulietea). The *Endeavour* anchored just south of Rautoanui in that part of the Island between the 2nd and 9th of August 1769 to obtain provisions.⁵⁹⁴ Beaglehole describes the people of the island as "the great canoe builders of the Society group"⁵⁹⁵ Parkinson's sketchbook contains a number of rough sketches of the different kinds of canoes found in the area, with pencil notes showing that he intended to use them in finished pen and wash drawings. It was therefore an area of great activity and much skill.

Joppien and Smith suggest that the canoe that dominates the plate may have been taken from one of these rough sketches rather than a finished pen and wash drawing.⁵⁹⁶ However, since there are no exact originals in the sketchbook it seems more likely that it is after a finished work, *View of the Island of Otaha* [Tahaa] (Add. MS 23921, f. 16, Fig. 67) which has a similar canoe occupying the middle ground. The canoe again carries a large number of the native inhabitants or perhaps an extended family group. The canoe appears to be well-provisioned and about to set sail. Its appearance suggests that it is the flat-bottomed travelling *Ivaha* found in Ulhietea, Bola Bola and Huaheineø that Banks considered more suitable for long-distance travel.⁵⁹⁷ The bird on the rock on the far right of Plate 4 has been again taken from Add. MS 23921, f.12 (Fig. 65).

This plate (Fig. 66) shows a somewhat greater degree of activity or industry than Plate 3. The various vessels portrayed are manned with figures that row, paddle and sail. The figures on the foreshore gather food. In right hand foreground, the figure fishing from his dugout in the original has been replaced by a figure on a raft, bringing what appears to be a bundle of cocoanuts to those on shore. Here it is not so much the figures' relationship with their environment that is significant but the style in which they are depicted. Once again Parkinson's 'staffage' have become Dionysian figures. As if to emphasise the reference to figures of Classical origin, the figure standing facing the viewer with his hand raised, holding a rod resembles the Greek sea god, Poseidon.⁵⁹⁸ This again suggests a reference to Bougainville's description of Tahitians with the bodies of Hercules and Mars, but at the same time, implying that the figures in the plate are the inhabitants of a new Cythera. However, this is not an accurate interpretation of Bougainville's 'Tahitians'

Bougainville's *Voyage* subsequently provided the context for an argument staged by the encyclopaedist, Denis Diderot, to demonstrate his own view of Enlightenment theory. Although it was named after the explorer and called *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (1775) the theory it represented was not his but Diderot's. Diderot portrays Tahiti as a golden age society of noble savages who lived a life that was both virtuous and happy. The *supplément* comprises a series of dialogues between an ancient Tahitian sage and Bougainville, assisted by an Aumonier, a ship's chaplain or priest, whom Pagden describes as 'a man who subscribes, unthinkingly to all the European sexual

mores, and who is driven by every human sexual passion.⁵⁹⁹ The native Tahitians, on the other hand, who eagerly satisfy his desires, are represented as strictly moral utilitarian human beings⁶⁰⁰ whose only concern is procreation. At first the Aumonier cannot appreciate this but eventually comes to understand that the Tahitian women's eagerness to respond to his sexual demands is because they live in a state of nature driven by natural passions. It was, as Pagden suggests, the image of the *savage* natural man and *child of Nature* of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau and de Lisle that Diderot was re-creating.⁶⁰¹ Together with the savages' lack of personal ownership of property, this image would fuel further Enlightenment philosophy. However, those who took this image to be the one of Tahiti that Diderot was promoting missed the point that he was making. As recognised by Pocock:

Diderot knew perfectly well that he was not writing about real Tahitians, and he knew that if he had understood their culture, he would have found that it was not natural or noble, according to the standards of enlightenment sentimentality...the idealised Tahitians are there only to criticise French culture... so that Diderot can use Tahitian sexual liberty to criticise the dreadful Christian customs of monogamy, celibacy and repression.⁶⁰²

Unfortunately, this was not appreciated by Joseph Banks. Not only was the image of Tahiti and its inhabitants that he understood Bougainville to project incorrectly interpreted, his understanding of the stance of Enlightenment theorists like Diderot was naïve.

Plates 3 and 4 of the Hawkesworth edition that were commissioned by Banks misrepresented the Tahitians and their way of life. As a result, instead of gaining intellectual status for the Hawkesworth edition Banks was actually undermining it in the minds of readers who knew better. He was also being uncharacteristically scientific. Instead of an empirical record of Tahiti, Banks created a false construct that neither agreed with a sophisticated understanding of the complexities of contemporary epistemology nor portrayed Tahitian life as he had observed it in on the *Endeavour* voyage.

But while Banks claimed to have seen Tahiti and its peoples in the same way as he believed Bougainville had done, and commissioned engravings to support this perception, Hawkesworth appears to have wanted the accompanying text to align itself

with a more sophisticated Enlightenment theory as to the state of Nature and natural man. His dissertation for the 28th April, 1969, reads:

It is not indeed strange that the sorrows of these artless people should be transient, any more than that their passions should be suddenly and strongly expressed: what they feel they have never been taught either to disguise or suppress, and having no habits of thinking which perpetually recall the past, and anticipate the future, they are affected by all the changes of the passing hour, and reflect the colour of time, however frequently it may vary: they have no project which is to be pursued from day to day, the subject of unremitting anxiety and solicitude, that first rushes into the mind when they awake in the morning and is last diminished when they sleep at night. Yet if we are to admit that they are upon the whole happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views.⁶⁰³

The exact Enlightenment source of Hawkesworth's perception is not clear. Condillac's theories were concerned with the cognitive-linguistic properties that distinguished man from beast and are therefore not followed here.⁶⁰⁴ It is perhaps closer to a reading of Rousseau. Durkheim describes the construct of "natural man" in Rousseau's *The Social Contract* (1762) as follows:

Our natural man can desire only the things to be found in his immediate physical environment, for he cannot imagine any other. Hence his desires will be purely physical and extremely simple.⁶⁰⁵ His desires do not go beyond his physical needs; in all the universe the only desirable things he knows are food, a female, and rest.⁶⁰⁶

Durkheim further suggests that Rousseau's "natural man" "...does not even worry about insuring the satisfaction of his future appetites. His purely sensory knowledge does not enable him to participate in the future; he thinks of nothing beyond the present."⁶⁰⁷ His plans barely extend to the end of the day.⁶⁰⁸ Hence his notorious improvidence. But such needs are easily satisfied. Nature has provided for them.⁶⁰⁹ Man has all he desires because he desires only what he has.⁶¹⁰

Needless to say, this is not the Tahitian society that Cook or Wallis observed or that Bougainville described.

Chapter VIII

Hawkesworth's Erotic Savages

The previous chapter investigates the source of the images in the -Hawkesworth edition of Tahiti as Arcadia, and its peoples as the inhabitants of a new Cythera. It concludes that they are derived from Joseph Banks's perceptions of the views expressed in Bougainville's *Voyage*. It shows how Bougainville's comments about the Tahitian lifestyle were mistakenly taken to imply ease and indulgence while his analysis of Tahitian sexual practices was misinterpreted as evidence of generalised sexual licence. The consequence was that the text and the engraved plates in the -Hawkesworth edition presented unsubstantiated views of both the country and its native population.

Chapter VIII returns to the subject of Tahitian sexuality. It examines Plate 7 in the -Hawkesworth edition, *A view of the inside of a house in the island of Ulietea, with the representation of a dance to the music of the country* and demonstrates the presence of an erotic subtext. It then examines the texts in Joseph Banks's journal and Sydney Parkinson's *Journal* that describe both the Tahitian dance and the dancers and also the drawings in which the dancers are depicted. These examinations suggest that, while it might be argued that this erotic subtext was created as a result of comments in Banks's text or an image in one of Parkinson's original illustrations, a close reading of both texts and illustrations reveals that such an argument cannot be sustained. The chapter demonstrates how the subtext was deliberately created through the deployment of selected imagery from the collection of original *Endeavour* drawings and the modification of that imagery to give it an alternative reading. While the chapter finds that the erotic subtext in Plate 7 accords with the perception of Tahitian immorality that was introduced by Banks's comments, discussed in Chapter VII and supported in Plates 3 and 4 of the -Hawkesworth edition, it argues that this was not the designer of the engraved plate, Cipriani's, principal motivation. Chapter VIII argues that Cipriani was actually following a tradition of voyage illustration where non-European female figures were portrayed in an eroticised manner. Given that reader satisfaction had sustained this tradition, the chapter concludes that it was recognised by Banks and Sandwich that an erotic subtext in Plate 7 would also serve the needs of the -Hawkesworth edition that

were established in Chapter I.

Plate 7 in the Hawkesworth edition (Fig. 69), *A view of the inside of a house in the Island of Ulietea, with the representation of a dance to the music of the country* is engraved by Bartolozzi from a design by Cipriani and developed from a series of pencil sketches by Parkinson. Its subject, as the title suggests, is a group of female dancers who perform their dance to the accompaniment of flutes and drums inside a Tahitian longhouse in front of a small audience of male Tahitians. The dance shown in Plate 7 is described in the *Endeavour* journals, as the *heiva* or *heivo*. This was a dance that was performed by the chiefly class of *arioi* as they toured the various islands in the Tahitian group. Parkinson recounts in his journal how he and Banks were invited to a performance of the *heivo* on Yoolee-etea (Raiatea) on August 7th, 1769:

...where a number of people was assembled. A large mat was laid upon the ground, and they began to dance upon it, putting their bodies into strange motions, writhing their mouths, and shaking their tails, which made the numerous plaits that hung about them flutter like a peacock's train. Sometimes they stood in a row one behind another, and then they fell down with their faces to the ground, leaning on their arms, and shaking only their tails, the drums beating all the while, with which they kept exact time. An old man stood by as prompter, and roared out as loud as he could at every change. These motions they continued till they were all in a sweat; they repeated them three times alternately, and after they had done the girls began.⁶¹¹

The illustration that accompanies the description of the dance in the Hawkesworth edition shows three female dancers accompanied by one male figure who plays a flute and two others who beat drums. In the background, leaning on his staff and watching the dancers, stands the old man referred to by Parkinson as the prompter. The appearance of two of the dancers and the manner in which the dance is being viewed by a small number of males gives the illustration an erotic quality that is absent from Parkinson's original drawings.

The first of the erotic elements analysed in this chapter is the dancer on the left of the plate who is shown bare-breasted. Here, it might be argued that Cipriani was doing little more than reproducing the dancer in a drawing by Parkinson, Add. MS 23921, f.36c (Fig. 70), that Joppien and Smith consider is bare-breasted.⁶¹² Their description is debatable, given the condition of the drawing and its lack of clear definition. When the image of the dancer in Fig. 70 is compared with the dancers in Parkinson's other

sketches, it can be noted that lacks both the feathered top and the ornate head dress. Even if Joppien and Smith are correct it does not necessarily mean that Parkinson's sketch records his observance of bare-breasted dancing. A more likely explanation for the dancer's appearance might be that her costume is incomplete. It could therefore be concluded that the dancer in Fig. 70 is shown dressing rather than dancing with her breasts exposed in the manner that Plate 7 shows.

It can also be argued that the topless dancer in Fig. 70 does not adequately represent Tahitian female dancers. There are nine studies of *arioi* dancers in all by Parkinson in the *Endeavour* collection, eight of which show the dancers wearing a dress which covers their breasts. Further examples of dancers wearing the full costume can be seen in Add. MS 23921, f. 37c (Fig. 71) and Add. MS 23921, f. 38b (Fig. 72). A study of a dancer by Tupaia (Fig. 73) shows the full costume in colour. The same full costume is also worn by the dancers depicted in a watercolour drawing by the artist on the third of Cook's voyage to Tahiti in the years 1776 -78, John Webber (Fig. 74). Even if Cipriani had assumed that the dancer in Fig. 70 was performing bare-breasted, the images of the other eight dancers in the collection and those in Tupaia's coloured drawing should have alerted him to the anomaly.

It might be argued that the reason why he chose not to do so was because Cipriani's design for the dancer in Fig. 69 was mediated by some agenda that denied it both empirical depiction and anthropological accuracy. Alternatively, it might be argued in Cipriani's favour that Banks's description of the costume worn by of the female dancers suggests that their breasts were exposed. The description reads:

The women had on their heads a quantity of *tamou* or plaited hair which was rolled and between the interstices of it flowers of Gardenia were stuck making a head dress truly Elegant. Their shoulders arms and breasts as low as their arms were bare, below this were covered with black cloth and under each shoulder was placed a bunch of black feathers ...On their hips rested a quantity of cloth pleated very full which reachd almost up to their arms and fell down below into long petticoats reaching below their feet, which they managed with as much dexterity as our opera dancers could have done; these pleats were brown and white alternately but the petticoats were all white.⁶¹³

But while Banks's description might suggest that the dancer's breasts were bare to the armpit, Beaglehole notes:

The expression ‘as low as their arms’ [in Banks’s journal] is rather baffling: the breasts were covered, the arms were bare. One gets a rough idea of the dress Banks describes from the central dancing figure in Hawkesworth’s plate IX which is apparently founded on a crude drawing in Add. MS 15508, f.9. The elegantly formed young female bare to the waist in Hawkesworth appears to be an innovation by Cipriani.⁶¹⁴

Beaglehole’s conclusion that this is ‘an innovation by Cipriani’ finds agreement in this chapter.

Further eroticising can be found in the appearance of the dancer right of centre in the illustration. This figure was not taken from any of Parkinson’s nine studies of dancers but from a pencil study by him of a female Tahitian figure whose dress shows quite clearly that she was not a dancer, Add. MS 23921, f. 36e (Fig. 75). The dress on this figure is described by Joppien and Smith as ‘a *tiputa* over a *pareu*’⁶¹⁵ Banks describes the ‘*tiputa*’ or ‘*Te buta*’ as consisting of ‘1, 2 or 3 pieces of thick cloth about 2½ yards long and one wide ...through a hole in the middle of which they put their heads, and suffer the sides of it to hang before and behind them.’⁶¹⁶ He describes the ‘*pareu*’ or ‘*Parou*’ as the kind of petticoat that they wore with the *tiputa*.⁶¹⁷ Both the *tiputa* and the *pareu* were worn as everyday dress and were not reserved for the *heiva* as Plate VII suggests. Surely, Cipriani would have known this from Banks’s journal descriptions of Tahitian female dress. The fact that it did not deter him from creating a dancer from the figure in Fig. 75, again suggests an agenda. That neither Banks nor Hawkesworth drew Cipriani’s attention to his error shows that his depiction of a dancer wearing the *tiputa* was approved.

It can be argued that Cipriani chose the figure in Fig. 75 for one of the dancers because the figure’s stance and dress lent itself to the second kind of female dancer Banks knew many of the readers of the ‘Hawkesworth edition’ would enjoy seeing. Female figures like the one in Plate 7 were being popularised in paintings and drawings by the contemporary French artist, Jean-Baptiste Greuze. Examples are shown here in the preliminary drawing for Greuze’s painting entitled the *Two Sisters*, from 1770, (Fig. 76) which Munhall describes as ‘a study steamy with its erotic overtones’⁶¹⁸ Images of seductive young females, like those in Greuze’s drawing, were currently appearing in France in paintings known as *peintures morales* by Greuze and a number of his contemporaries. In spite of their morally descriptive title, these works were little more

than vehicles for the erotic depiction of young women. Waterhouse relates that figures, similar to those created by Greuze and his French imitators, began appearing in English paintings in the 1770s. He describes the paintings as comprising 'a series of lightly draped busts of smiling and inviting ladies, which caused a mild scandal and became instantly popular in engravings.'⁶¹⁹ He notes how the *peintures morales* were '...completely devoid of moral overtones and the yearning glances [were] given no cover by being made to appear to be motivated by a dead sparrow or an attitude of prayer.'⁶²⁰ Although the Royal Academy frowned upon the *peintures morales* and only admitted Greuze as a genre painter,⁶²¹ prints taken from the *peintures morales* remained popular with the public. It can therefore be argued that this is the reason why Cipriani introduced a figure in the style of the *peintures morales* into Plate 7 in the Hawkesworth edition.

The presence of three dancers performing the *heiva*, one in the costume of a Tahitian female dancer, one only semi-clad and one in the style of a figure from a *peinture morale* is a further modification by Cipriani. Banks's account speaks of only two female dancers and Webber's drawing (Fig. 74) also shows two dancers instead of three. Since there is no reference in any of the texts from Cook's three voyages to suggest that there were more than two dancers, there was no apparent justification for showing three dancers in Plate 7. It might be argued that the inclusion of a third was a reference to the three graces and that this was in keeping with Cipriani's neoclassical style. However, it is far more likely that three dancers were necessary to his subtext. While the central dancer was to identify the dancers as Tahitian, the other two were to ascribe to the *heiva* dance the erotic overtones that Cipriani wanted to bring to the plate.

Again, in Cipriani's defence, it might be argued that the erotic overtones in Plate 7 were prompted by Banks' description of the dance itself. Banks claims in his journal:

The chief entertainment of the spectators seemd however to arise from the Lascivious motion they often made use of which were highly so, more indeed than I shall attempt to describe⁶²²

Hawkesworth interprets Banks's 'lascivious motions' as 'wantonness...exceeding all description'⁶²³. However, the reader is never told of the nature of the lascivious motions or the identity of the sex who performed them. Hawkesworth's interpretation as 'wantonness' suggests that the motions are those of the female dancers. However,

Parkinson refers to the lascivious nature of the dance pertaining only to the males:

In the interval, between the several parts of the drama, some men came forward...they attempted to represent the Conquest of Yoolee-etea, by the men at Bolabola; in which they exhibited the various stratagems used in the conquest, and were very vociferous, performing all in time to the drum. In the last scene, *the actions of the men were very lascivious*.⁶²⁴ [italics this writer's]

Banks on the other hand records how the female dancers:

...advanced sideways, keeping excellent time to the drums which beat brisk and loud; they soon began to shake their hips giving the folds of cloth that lay upon them a very quick motion which was continued during the whole dance, they sometimes standing, sometimes sitting and sometimes resting on their knees and elbows generally moving their fingers with a quickness scarce to be imagined.⁶²⁵

There is therefore no reason for Cipriani to have concluded that the dances performed by the females were themselves erotic.

However, although there is no justification in either Banks's or Parkinson's original texts or in Parkinson's drawings for Cipriani's subtext, it might be argued that it was quite appropriate in the context of the Hawkesworth edition for the dancers to be shown performing an erotic dance. Cipriani's depiction of the female dancer on the left of Plate 7 and the nature of the Tahitian behaviour it implies were in keeping with the portrayal of Tahitian subjects in Plates 3 and 4, and the perception of the country found in Banks's comments, both of which are discussed in the previous chapter. However, this chapter finds another, more compelling reason for the eroticised depiction of the Tahitian dancers in Plate 7. This was that it was that there was a long-standing tradition in voyage illustration to represent non-European female figures as erotic and that this had long been approved by male readers.

One of the earliest voyage publications is Amerigo Vespucci's *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle Isole Nuovamente Trovate*, better known as the Soderini letter after its recipient, Piero Soderini. It was published in Florence in 1505 with a German version following in 1509. The Soderini letter gives an account of Vespucci's voyage of exploration and his discovery in 1499 of the area of South America now known as Brazil. Vespucci describes in the Soderini letter how the women he found there were naked and very libidinous, adding 'yet they have bodies which are tolerably beautiful and cleanly'. When they had the opportunity of copulating with Christians, urged by

excessive lust, they defiled and prostituted themselves.⁶²⁶ Both the 1505 and the 1509 publications of the Soderini letter accompany the textual descriptions with woodcut illustrations showing unrestrained displays of female sexuality, one of which is shown here in Fig.77.

The erotic depiction of the non-European female subject was not confined to publications recounting voyages to America. A further example appears in a series of woodcuts by the German artist, Hans Burgkmair, that were designed to illustrate an account of a voyage to Africa and India in the years 1505-1506 under the command of the Portuguese commander, Francisco d'Almeida. While none of the original prints from the publication has survived, there are reproductions of them in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum, London.⁶²⁷ One of these (Fig. 78) shows a group of men, women and children from Africa standing in a clearing where they are accompanied by their domestic animals. On the right hand side of the plate there are three figures, two women and one man, set apart from the rest. The women have the long, dishevelled hair that was often associated in contemporary depiction with lascivious behaviour. Its meaning here is made clear by the presence of the monkey, the symbol of promiscuity, in the tree above the figures' heads. Further sexual connotations are seen in the depiction of female figure on the right whose pubic hair protrudes above her sarong and in the action of her male companion who fondles her naked breast.

The depiction of a more sophisticated, libidinous, non-European female is found in a further illustration by Burgkmair in a frieze entitled *Triumph of Maximilian* (1516-26).⁶²⁸ The *Triumph* was a frieze commissioned by Maximilian I of Austria, the Holy Roman Emperor from 1508 until his death in 1519, to celebrate his passionate dedication to the arts, sciences and intellectual currents of his day.⁶²⁹ The frieze comprises a series of groups of figures from Maximilian's empire. A number of the groups are composed of prisoners who, according to the frieze text, were captured by Maximilian during his military campaigns. Those of non-European origin follow a banner that translates:

The Emperor in his warlike pride,
Conquering nations far and wide,
Has brought beneath our Empire's yoke
The far-off Calicutish folk

Although the banner refers to a specific geographical location, the people who follow it belong to a variety of different indigenous groups. The term 'Calicutish' is therefore simply a generic name for figures of non-European origin. One of the female prisoners, shown standing with her back to the viewer, carrying a basket of exotic produce on her head and holding the hand of a child (Fig. 79 detail 80), is a further adaptation of the female figure standing on the left of the group in Burgkmair's earlier frieze. Although both these figures share the same naked torso, girdle and long hair, the female figure in the *Triumph* (Fig. 80) is no longer the unkempt, libidinous 'savage' of the earlier depiction shown in Fig. 78. Instead it she is a fair-haired, European seductress with the body of a Renaissance goddess.

McGrath claims that:

í throughout the history of western art figures of female beauty, whether virginal or provocative, sacred or secular, are regularly assimilated to an ideal of European whiteness, even where ethnic origin might suggest they should be represented otherwise.⁶³⁰

Burgkmair has, therefore, altered the colour of the figure's skin so that she would conform to this perception of female beauty. Like Cipriani, Burgkmair has also introduced the erotic qualities that were present in a popular, contemporary form of graphic art. Between 1496 and 1499, Dürer was creating semi-erotic prints in which there are figures inspired by Italian Renaissance painting. The examples shown here are *Dream of the Doctor*, c1489-99, (Fig. 81) and *Small Fortune* from the same period (Fig. 82).⁶³¹ Burgkmair has copied the appearance of the figure in Fig. 81, and the stance of the figure in Fig. 82 in reversed format, and incorporated them in the modifications he made to the female figure in Fig.78 for his female prisoner from Calicut in Fig.79.

Burgkmair's female 'Calicutish' figure conforms to the kind of depiction that is referred to in a letter written by Joseph Banks in 1773, the year of the publication of the 'Hawkesworth edition' to the daughter of King George III, the Princess of Orange.⁶³² It is a frivolous description of Tahitian women, designed to amuse rather than to inform. It reads:

í I have no where seen such Elegant women as those of Otaheite such as the Grecians were from whose model the venus of Medicis was copied; undistorted

by bandages, nature has full liberty of the growing form in whatever direction she pleases and amply does she repay this indulgence in producing such forms as exist here; only in marble or Canvas may such as might even defy the imitation of the Chizzel of a Phidias or the pencil of an Apelles.⁶³³

Banks even refers to the "antique Statues and gems and in the work of the best Italian Painters" with reference to the manner in which the women are depicted.

The manner of depiction that Banks describes and Burkmair deploys defined non-European female figures in voyage illustration for more than two hundred years. Regardless of their ethnic origin, non-European female figures were portrayed as having pale skin and long fair hair. Either naked or scantily-dressed, their bodies were modified to conform to contemporary European standards of beauty. The pale-skinned, fair-haired non-European figures that belong to this convention were often inspired by the voyage artists themselves. A well-known example of an illustration that deploys this convention is the miniature on vellum shown in Fig. 83 by the French Huguenot artist, Jacques le Moyne de Morgues (known in English simply as "de Morgues"). De Morgues is the earliest European artist known to have visited America. In 1564, he was sent on an expedition under the command of fellow Huguenot, René de Laudonnière, to Florida where it was proposed that a Protestant colony should be established. The painting in Fig. 83 records the moment when the Timucuan chief of Florida, Athore, shows Laudonnière the stone pillar that was erected by Laudonnière's predecessor, Ribault.⁶³⁴ Not only is Athore pale skinned and fair-haired, in the background equally fair-haired, pale skinned and semi-naked men and women kneel in homage to their French overlord. One of de Morgues's two extant field studies of the Timucuan, seen here in Fig. 84, shows a young female from that tribe. Comparison of the figure in this study (Fig. 84) with those in Fig. 83 shows the extent to which images of non-European figures were modified to conform to contemporary conventions of Western beauty.

The most familiar examples of engraved modification to original figures to make them conform to these conventions are again from the house of de Bry. The example shown here is the young female Algonquian Indian from the town of Secotan in Virginia that appears in Plate VI of *America* Part I (Fig. 85). The Algonquian figure, itself, is taken from a further costume study by John White (Fig. 86), the artist discussed in Chapters IV, V and VI of this thesis. In the engraved plate, the figure is repeated to give

views from both front and behind.⁶³⁵ This was a common practice in seventeenth-century costume studies in works by artist like Jacques Callot. Here, however, it seems more likely to have been achieved to display the rounded buttock that is now clearly visible under the figure's skin wrap and to show the ample flesh on her back. (The more substantial female bodies were preferred in contemporary prints of Northern European origin.) Her right arm, covering her breast in the original, is now raised sufficiently to leave the nipple exposed. To enhance her erotic representation, the expression on her face has been altered to show sensual invitation.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the convention of depicting female non-Europeans as naked, fair-haired, pale-skinned erotic subjects was firmly established. The eroticism of these figures, however, relied less on the figure's semi-naked appearance and behaviour, as in the illustration from Vespucci's Soderini letter (Fig. 77) and Burgkmair's African subjects (Fig. 78), but on the figures attraction for the viewer. Seated or lying in erotic poses, figures that conformed to this convention became *de rigueur* in Northern European allegorical representation in works engraved by Flemish artists. Examples shown here are *America* (1581-1600) by Philippe Galle (Fig. 87) and *America* (1581) by Jan Sadler after Dirk Barendsz (Fig. 88). By the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the greater part of the eighteenth, the iconography of pale-skinned, fair-haired female figures conforming to contemporary European standards of beauty determined the representation of the female inhabitants of the New World.

Increasingly the eroticism was enhanced by the seductive expression on the figure's face. Honour relates how a figure representing *America* at the wedding of the Duke of Wurtemberg in 1764 had all the sultry southern voluptuousness of a fictitious character... from St Kitts described by James Grainger⁶³⁶ in the following words:

Such charms the old world never saw,
Nor oft I ween the new.
Her raven hair plays round her neck,
Like tendrils of the vine;
Her cheeks red dewy rosebuds deck,
Her eyes like diamonds shine.⁶³⁷

Honour notes how the erotic qualities suggested in the eighteenth century by the word 'charms' were fully displayed in allegories of America by important European artists like Tiepolo.⁶³⁸ They also appeared in prints like *America* by de Launay after Gravelot

(c1710) Fig. 89.

While the young, bare-breasted figure on the left hand side of the Plate VII in the Hawkesworth edition followed the semi-clad, sexually suggestive female of traditional erotic depiction shown in Figs. 77, 78 and 79, and the figure on the right hand side of the plate with the eroticism of figures painted by Greuze and was its contemporary counterpart, inspired by figures like those in Fig. 76, there are also further erotic elements in Cipriani's design. This is the positioning of the dancers in an enclosed space before a small audience of male voyeurs.⁶³⁹ As noted above, Parkinson speaks of an outside performance before 'a number of people' In the drawing shown in Fig. 74, Webber situates the performance on an area of matting in the open air dance before a large crowd of men and women. The suggestion that the performance was given inside the longhouse and only to a select number of male viewers must therefore be considered another 'innovation' of Cipriani's. Its effect is to suggest that, instead of being an entertainment for the tribe as a whole as the various accounts of the *heiva* indicate, it was a private, intimate performance before a select group of young men with no other females present.

The motivation behind the convention of depicting non-European figures in an erotic manner, often male as well as female, is the subject of learned debate. Bjelajac claims that the representation of female subjects as lascivious was not based on observation and that, instead of originating in the behaviour of the indigenous female subjects, it originated with the voyagers themselves.⁶⁴⁰ He says Vespucci 'conveniently projected [his own] desire for sex onto the strange victims of European conquest' and 'excited readers with provocative stories of Indian sexuality'⁶⁴¹ The result was that the inhabitants of America became synonymous with sexual provocation and this influenced artistic representation.⁶⁴² However, Honour suggests that:

Much of what he [Vespucci] says of Brazil and its inhabitants seems to be the product of a fertile imagination, though perhaps as much that of his translator as his own, for the original text of the letter from which the *Novus Mundus* is derived is unfortunately lost.⁶⁴³

Honour claims that in describing the female inhabitants of Brazil in provocatively sexual terminology such as 'libidinous' and 'urged by excessive lust' and recalling in his account their readiness to 'prostitute themselves' for the benefit of his European sailors,

Vespucci was simply giving the European readers the kind of information they wanted.⁶⁴⁴ Further research appears to confirm Honour's claim. It also shows that the demand for erotic depiction was not confined to Vespucci's readers. Bartrum shows that her research reveals a flourishing market for erotic prints existed in Europe in the 1550s.⁶⁴⁵ However, the sexual imagery in engravings by the German artist, Hans Baldung, suggests a market existing even earlier than Bartrum's research shows. Baldung's *Adam and Eve: The Fall of Man*, 1511, (Fig. 90), which was contemporary with both the illustration in the Soderini Letter and Burgkmair's frieze, shows Adam holding the breast of Eve in a manner similar to that depicted by Burgkmair in Fig. 78. McDonald describes Baldung's print shown in Fig. 90 as 'the first to allude to the erotic nature of the fall of man...'⁶⁴⁶ He describes Eve as 'Wearing a seductive smile and looking directly towards the viewer to engage us in the scene of sexual interplay. Rabbits in the background further allude to their [Adam and Eve's] sexual laxity.'⁶⁴⁷ Bartrum notes that the gesture in Baldung's engraving was the first in which Adam's fall was represented by an overtly sexual gesture.⁶⁴⁸ However, she suggests that it was widely utilised in profane subject matter as well and cites as an example an engraving entitled *Unequal Lovers* from 1507, also by Baldung, in which a similar gesture appears.⁶⁴⁹ Baldung, Burgkmair and the illustrator of the Soderini letter were all creating erotic images for the same market, often deploying similar iconography in the erotic content.

A market, similar to the one Bartrum describes, also existed in the eighteenth century. This same market continued to find satisfaction in voyage illustration. Harvey asks why, in the eighteenth century, the map and the travel book were considered suitable models for erotic depictions of sex.⁶⁵⁰ She concludes that 'Erotica shrouded bodies in metaphor and depicted sexual activity with deferral and silence, and in part, the map and the travel book provided effective means of disguise for erotic authors adding, 'But these writers were also firmly embedded in the eighteenth-century print culture...'⁶⁵¹ While the context of Harvey's comments is a discussion on the erotic depiction of the female body in geographic terms, her observations are relevant to the discussion of plates in the Hawkesworth edition of a travel book that was written to appeal to the readers by a variety of means.

It was noted above that the pleasure derived from erotic imagery in voyage

illustrations was often supplemented by the aesthetic appeal of the female subjects concerned. This is particularly evident in Burgkmair's female figure from Africa in Fig. 79 which recalls the figures from the Italian Renaissance painting of Banks's letter. Allusion to the same figures is made in Plate VI where, it might be argued the figures recall the three graces found in paintings by artists like Botticelli. The facial expression and pose of the figure on the right hand side of Plate 7 recall those of figures found in the erotic paintings and drawings of the popular French artist, Greuze. Their purpose is therefore to give aesthetic appeal to the eighteenth-century viewer. However, these are not the plate's only aesthetic properties. It also has an exquisite surface luminosity that could only be achieved by an extraordinarily skilful engraver. The volumes or tones have been created by the use of *pointillée*, a technique that was developed in France during the second half of the seventeenth century. It was extremely time-consuming and technically demanding and only attempted by the most talented of master engravers. Its deployment in the *Endeavour* engravings shows Bartolozzi's engraving skills at their most accomplished, and before he adopted the ease and increased productivity of the stipple technique for which he is better known today.

From around 1773, Bartolozzi deployed a technique that involves the creation of images by the use of small points or 'stipples'. The soft, luminous effect of the technique gained an immediate popularity and demand for engravings in this style forced Bartolozzi to take on a large number of assistants who did the preparation while Bartolozzi applied the finishing touches.⁶⁵² The engraving of Plate 7, however, shows only the 'v'-shaped *pointillée* of the graver. The plate's softness and luminosity have therefore been achieved by the use of the graver alone and may well be amongst the last of Bartolozzi's engravings using this technique.

Chapter VIII concludes that Plate 7 (Fig. 69) has all the qualities of traditional ethnographic female representation. Its erotic depiction of pale-skinned, fair-haired female figures, one of which has its breasts exposed while another assumes the coyness of contemporary 'charm' would be at home in a plate by de Bry or in a Burgkmair frieze. But while, as Banks's letter to the Princess of Orange suggests, the association of the 'Hawkesworth edition' with former representation might delight its elite readers, there was for him, an equally compelling reason for the erotic subtext in Plate 7. This was its

reference to the erotic depiction of female Tahitians that Bougainville was reputed to have created and was currently exciting British readers. As suggested in the previous chapter, Banks went to some length to show that he agreed with this erotic depiction, even rewriting parts of his journal to show that he personally concurred with Bougainville's perceptions while still in Tahiti. Banks therefore sought to associate himself with Bougainville and with what he believed to be Enlightenment theory. The opportunity that presented itself to this end, while at the same time, depicting female non-European subjects according to the traditional convention of eroticised Western beauty through Cipriani's ability to create figures in the popular neoclassical style and Bartolozzi's unique engraving skills were just too enticing to ignore.

Chapter IX

The 'Noble Savage'

Previous chapters have examined the way in which the native peoples of the Pacific are represented in plates in both the Hawkesworth edition and Parkinson's *Journal*. They find no evidence of the existence of a generalized Eurocentric ethnographic structure other than the outmoded convention of the costume study. Instead, the manner in which native peoples are depicted has been independently determined according to the dictates of the men most closely associated with the publications or by the style assumed by the illustrators. It is argued that in the Hawkesworth edition depiction has been largely determined by Joseph Banks who chose to portray the native populations according to the different stereotypes he believed had appeal for the reader. The examples that are given include Tahitians depicted as the mythical inhabitants of Ancient Greece, Fuegians depicted as noble savages and Tahitian dancers as erotic female savages.

Other chapters show that the depiction of non-European subjects in the *Journal* was determined by engravers who reproduced Parkinson's original ethnographic observations using the conventions of the costume studies with which they were familiar. Chapter IX shows how other forms of depiction, derived from accounts of a voyage to Brazil by the French Franciscan missionary and Historiographer Royal to Henry IV of France, André Thevet, were used in further plates in the *Journal* and in the Hawkesworth edition, one of which is a double portrait of New Hollanders, with three others, portrait busts of Maori chiefs.

The chapter concludes that this last form of depiction is further evidence to show that, in the absence of an established methodology for empirical ethnographic depiction, the *Journal's* engravers looked to earlier examples for the portrayal of the inhabitants of the South Pacific region.

The first plate examined in this chapter is the double portrait of New Hollanders or Aboriginal warriors, Plate XXVII from the *Journal*, *Two of the Natives of New Holland, Advancing to Combat* (Fig.91), engraved by Chambers. A single source cannot be found amongst the original drawings in the *Endeavour* collection although Joppien

and Smith record that Parkinson left a sheet containing a series of ten pencil sketches of Aboriginals, their canoes, a bark hut and shields, Add. MS 9345, f. 14v (Fig. 92). The sketches are all very crude, having perhaps been hurriedly drawn. Parkinson records how the men from the *Endeavour* were confronted by two New Hollanders. Cook records that when he attempted to frighten them off by firing a gun loaded with small shot they threatened the Europeans with a variety of different weapons:

One of them repaired to a house immediately, and brought out a shield of an oval figure, painted white in the middle, with two holes in it to see, and also a wooden sword, and then they advanced boldly, gathering up stones as they came along, which they threw at us. After we had landed, they threw two of their lances at us, one of which fell between my feet.⁶⁵³

The hastily sketched images in Fig. 92 may well have been executed following this incident. One of the figures in the sketches has a head and leg bands similar to one of the figures in Plate XXVII. Another clutches a shield to his body and holds his lance as if to throw it. Joppien and Smith suggest that these sketches may have been used in the development of the figures in Plate XXVII or that they come from a finished drawing now lost.⁶⁵⁴

Parkinson describes the New Hollanders as 'quite naked, very lean and raw boned: their complexion was dark, their hair black and frizzled, their heads unadorned, and the beards of the men bushy'⁶⁵⁵ Elsewhere, he describes them as having 'flattish noses' and records that their bodies were marked by ridges that appeared to be 'scars of ill-healed wounds.'⁶⁵⁶ Some of the New Hollanders 'were painted with red streaks across the body while others streaked over the faces with white'⁶⁵⁷ Although, together with the sketches, these detailed descriptions appear to have been sufficient for the engraver to create the figures in Plate XXVII, the facial characteristics of the Aboriginals are so life-like as to suggest that they were in fact taken from a pen and wash study that Parkinson subsequently completed. Given the presence of detailed portraits of Maori warriors in the collection, (Figs. 98 & 100) the sources of these Aboriginals may even have been further portraits since lost.

While Joppien and Smith assume that the original sources of the double portrait of the New Hollanders were sketches by Parkinson who 'provided materials from which more developed drawings were later made' they suggest that 'It is likely the figures in

the engraving owe their stance and posture to the engraver, Thomas Chambers.⁶⁵⁸ The reason they give is that:

None of the surviving field drawings by Parkinson uses the vocabulary of postures provided by classical statuary for presenting full-length native figures. Which is not to say that Parkinson was immune from neo-classical influences. But he certainly lacked classical training in drawing the figure.⁶⁵⁹

Joppien and Smith assume that because of his professional status as an Associate of the Royal Academy and an exhibiting artist with the Academy and the Society of Arts ⁶⁶⁰ Chambers was ñ exposed to classicism far more fully than Parkinson.⁶⁶¹ They consider there is evidence to support their assumption in two other plates in the *Journal* by Chambers. These are Plates V, *A Woman & a Boy, Natives of Otaheite in the Dress of that Country* (Fig. 56) where they find the Tahitian woman adopting ña modified Venus de Medici pose⁶⁶² and Plate XV, *A New Zealand Warrior in His Proper Dress; & Completely Armed According to their Manner* (Fig. 58), where they find the figure holding ña modified Apollo Belvedere pose.⁶⁶³ They note that:

Engravings of this kind lent a certain elegance to a publication. They were essentially illustrations to words in the text rather than engravings developed from field sketches ó even when sketches played a part in the final result. This process of elevation was in due part to the high status of history painting, the currency of the grand style, the neo-classical taste of the engraver and the conventions of fine book illustration. What Chambers has done essentially is to draw an illustration expressive of true heroic courage, based in part upon antique models, such as the Borghese Gladiator, the Tyrant Slayers and the Horse Tamer, and in part upon words chosen from Parkinson's text.⁶⁶⁴

They add:

For it was a fundamental truth of the grand style that general truths of action, not particularities of detail, should be seized upon in presenting historic events. Even so, ethnographic details such as nose ornaments and body paint could still be indicated with tolerable accuracy. But it was the heroic character of the act that determined the category of the depiction.⁶⁶⁵

Their comments suggest that they identify the figures in Plate XXVII with the ñnoble savage⁶⁶⁶ for which they show elsewhere they consider Hawkesworth had ñsympathy⁶⁶⁶ However, there is no evidence to show that either the humanist concept of the ñnoble savage⁶⁶⁶ or Hawkesworth's *primitivist* views of ñsavage⁶⁶⁶ peoples, displayed in his comments about the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego that were discussed in Chapter V,

were shared by either the engraver of Plate XVII or the editor of the *Journal*. What is more, it appears that the *Journal*'s eighteenth-century readers did not recognize the true heroic courage that Joppien and Smith identify in the *Journal*'s illustration. Instead, the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁶⁶⁷ asked of them, "Who can look upon the two New Hollanders advancing to combat without being struck with their ferocity?"⁶⁶⁸ showing that it was not the New Hollanders' noble qualities that were considered noteworthy but the fear that Parkinson would have experienced when the spear fell between his feet.

An alternative reading of the figures in Plate XXVII to that of Joppien and Smith is that they belong to an illustrative tradition in voyage publications that began with an account of a voyage to Brazil written by the Historiographer Royal, André Thevet, and published in Paris in 1557, *Singularitéz de la France Antarctique*.⁶⁶⁹ In 1556, Thevet travelled as chaplain of the fleet to Brazil where a French colony for Huguenot refugees had been established. However, he spent only ten days there, confined to an island in the Bay of Rio de Janeiro, mostly ill in bed. Thevet's account of his voyage suggests that he made up for his lack of personal experience in Brazil by creating images of the local Tupinamba tribe from accounts of contacts with non-European peoples by other writers. What is more, most of the accounts were by writers who had never set foot in the Americas or belonged to the distant past. According to Lestringant, Thevet's own account is:

í nothing but the sum of particular and circumstantial traits; that is to say it condensed itself into a catalogue of "singularities" that were irreducible and contradictory.⁶⁷⁰

In the Foreword to Lestringant's assessment of this early voyage representation, Greenblatt describes Thevet's "Brazil" as "a Mythopoetic world."⁶⁷¹ Thevet's readers learn of strange trees from which water can be wrung,⁶⁷² that milk is but whitened blood⁶⁷³ and that wine can be got from a certain palm tree.⁶⁷⁴ The work itself contains numerous references to classical authors with comparisons made between the native inhabitants of Brazil and figures from classical myths and legends.

The Brazilians themselves are at first described as "marvelous, strange, wild and beautiful people [but] without faith, without law and without religion."⁶⁷⁵ They worship the sun and owe allegiance to a "greate Lorde" named Toupan.⁶⁷⁶ They are also cannibals

who eat human flesh as Europeans eat bief and mutton but without manners or civilitie í at all hours⁶⁷⁷ They are tormented by wicked sprites⁶⁷⁸ deceitful and wilde but also obstinate, courageous, faithful and vengeful.⁶⁷⁹ Greenblatt describes them as:

í like living wonder cabinets: Cruel and debauched or virtuous and hospitable, a man of honour or a great thief. Thevet makes do with whatever tools and materials are at hand, fashioning out a finite series of elements a whole Mythopoetic world.⁶⁸⁰

This same juxtaposition of incongruities is carried through to the engraved illustrations. Lestringant cites as an example, Plate 6 of *Antarctike, Savages in Combat* (Fig. 93) which he claims is populated with gods, and Indians, identified by their feathers and Brazilian clubs, stabbing, biting and hacking each other to death in a mannerist frenzy⁶⁸¹ He describes the depiction of the Tupinamba as í having the anatomy of the Indians í exposed in its most Dionysian aspect í

Thevet's engraving brings about a synthesis in which the observation of the Indian plays the least part. Only in a few revealing details such as the club shaped like a flattened spindle, the ring of feathers worn on the haunches, or the pectoral crescent, can the tableau be associated with the actual military behaviour of the Tupinamba. The bodies with elongated muscles, the oval shields, the bows and lances would fit as well in Chapter 10 of the second book of *On Inventors*,⁶⁸² on the origins of military art as well as in this manual of ethnography before its time⁶⁸³

Lestringant continues, Vergil's *On Inventors* tells us that, before the use of arms, primitive soldiers fought with fists, claws, and by biting with teeth.⁶⁸⁴

While Lestringant finds the origin of the representation of Tupinamba warriors in Vergil, its mannerist style is equally reminiscent of a print by Vergil's contemporary, Antonio Pollaiuolo, *The Battle of the Nude Men* (c1460-75), Fig. 94, that McDonald describes as the outstanding engraving produced [in Florence] in the fifteenth century.⁶⁸⁵ In the catalogue of engraved prints belonging to the son of Christopher Columbus from the sixteenth century, Pollaiuolo's print is described as Ten nude men who fight with sticks, bows, hatchets and knives, two men in the middle have seized a chain.⁶⁸⁶ McDonald considers the print is one of the most important and best-known works made in Florence during the Renaissance. Produced on one plate, it is also the most ambitious

print from the fifteenth century⁶⁸⁷ The engraved print was popular with artists of the Fontainebleau Mannerist school who included de Bry's teacher, Etienne Delaune, and Jean Cousin, both of whom created their own versions of it. It is one of these versions, and more likely the latter, that is generally considered to be the source for an illustration of the Tupinamba in battle in Léry's *l'Histoire*, (Fig. 95) a work that is discussed in Chapter IV. As well as informing plates shown in Figs. 93 and 95, Pollaiuolo's *Battle* became part of engravers' repertoires and was used, with modifications, whenever it was considered appropriate for the subject being engraved. Amongst these was Thevet's *Savages in Combat*. Although Lestringant does not make the connection between Pollaiuolo's *Battle* and the subsequent battle scene, he suggests that images from Renaissance literature were re-invented for the depiction of Tupinamba warriors. He adds that he considers that it was the 'composite nature' of Thevet's *Antarctike* illustration that 'commended [it] to the attention of Thevet's contemporaries, and in the first place, to the artists who were inspired by it.'⁶⁸⁸ Chambers, engraving plates for Parkinson's *Journal* more than two hundred years later appears to have been one of those artists.

This chapter concludes therefore that it was this same illustration or its derivatives and not neo-classical humanist philosophy or history painting that inspired Chambers's depiction of Dionysian figures of non-European subjects in combat in Plate XXVII of the *Journal*, *Two Natives of New Holland, Advancing to Combat* (Fig. 91). While the chapter agrees with Joppien and Smith that the figures of the New Hollanders are derived from classical models, it finds that they are not the heroic figures of neo-classical painting. Instead they have been developed from the mannerist figures that appear in an engraving by the Renaissance artist, Antonio Pollaiuolo.

Further illustrations discussed in this chapter are three engraved portraits of Maori warriors from the *Endeavour* publications. Two of these are from the *Journal* while the third is from the Hawkesworth edition. The first of the portraits is Plate XVI from the *Journal*, *The Head of a chief of New Zealand, the face curiously tataow'd or mark'd, according to their manner* (Fig. 97). It is again engraved by Chambers. The head is taken from a finished pen and wash drawing by Parkinson, *Portrait of a New Zealand Man*, Add. MS 23920, f.55 (Fig. 98). Although the tattooing in the plate is not identical to that in the drawing where the tattoo that swirls above the eye and around the mouth is made

by a single heavy line and not two finer ones and the lines below the eye are more pronounced, its details are sufficiently similar to confirm that the drawing in Fig 98 is the source of Plate XVI (Fig. 97).

Parkinson appears to have been fascinated with tattoos. His fascination with began on his arrival at Tahiti when he discovered it used in Polynesian body adornment. He drew sketches to record the different designs that he found in Tahitian tattoos and to show the tools that were used to create them. He even underwent the process of tattooing himself.⁶⁸⁹ He subsequently followed his observations of Tahitian tattooing by recording those practiced by the Maori.

A second pen and wash drawing of a figure with a Maori tattoo is *Portrait of a New Zealand Man* Add. MS 23920, f. 54a (Fig. 100). On October 12th 1769, in an area north of Poverty Bay where the *Endeavour* first sighted the coast of New Zealand, Cook and his men were approached by several groups of Maori warriors in their canoes. Parkinson describes the warriors' faces as 'tataowed, or marked either all over, or on one side, in a very curious number; some of them in spiral directions like a volute being indented in the skin very different from the rest.'⁶⁹⁰ This is the kind of tattoo that appears on the face of the figure in Fig. 100. Parkinson also describes how these warriors wore their hair, and their ornaments:

Most of them had their hair tied up onto the crown of their heads in a knot, and by the knot stuck a comb of wood or bone. In and about their ears some of them had wire feathers, with pieces of bird's skins, whose feathers were soft as down; but others had the teeth of their parents, or a bit of greenstone worked very smooth. These stone ornaments were of various shapes. They also wore a kind of shoulder knot, made of the skin of a large sea fowl, with the feathers on, split in two length-ways.⁶⁹¹

He recalls that their clothing consisted of 'garments wrapt about them made of silky flax, wove in the same manner as the cotton hammocks of Brazil, each corner being ornamented with a piece of dog-skin.'⁶⁹² The portrait in Fig. 100 also shows the hair style, comb, white feathers, green stone ear pendant and clothing, exactly as they are described in the text, seemingly confirming that it is a depiction of one of the warriors encountered on October 12th.

The same figure is reproduced in Plate XXI of Parkinson's *Journal* where it is named in the title, *Head of Otegoongoon, Son of a New Zealand Chief, the face curiously*

tataow'd (Fig. 96). The engraver's name is again given as Chambers. The same figure also appears in Plate 13 of the Hawkesworth edition, *The head of a New Zealander with a comb in his hair, an ornament of greenstone in his ear and another of a fish's tooth round his neck* (Fig. 99). Here the name of the engraver is not given but Joppien and Smith suggest that they can discern James Barralet's familiar, cross-hatched style on the throat in Add. MS 15508, f. 21 no. 23, a pen and wash study of the same subject. They therefore posit that the design for the engraving was by Barralet after Parkinson.⁶⁹³ Joppien and Smith also note that although neither Cook nor Banks mention the subject by name, the figure in Plate 13 is again Otegoongoon or Otegoowgoow, 'the son of a chief of the Bay of Islands' [who] was wounded by shot in a fracas with Cook and his party on 29 November 1769.⁶⁹⁴ However, this identification cannot be substantiated.

Parkinson mentions the Maori warrior by name in the *Journal's* entry for November 29th. He records how:

Many canoes came off to us; and the people in them, according to custom, behaved somewhat unruly; while I saluted one of them, in their manner, he picked my pocket. Some of our people fired upon them, but they did not seem to regard it much. One of our boats went on shore, and then they set off all at once and attempted to seize her, in which, they however, failed. The marines fired upon them; five great guns were fired from the ship, and Otegoowgoow, son to one of their chiefs, was wounded in the thigh.⁶⁹⁵

But Banks's description of the wounding of the man in the thigh reads altogether differently. He relates how, on November 29th as soon as he and his companions 'set foot on shore' in a sandy cove 'they became surrounded by what the 'gentlemen on the ship believed to be 5 or 600 men.'⁶⁹⁶

We now expected to be attacked but did not chuse to begin hostilities so the Capt'n and myself marched up to meet them. They crowd'd a good deal but did not offer to meddle with us, tho every man had his arm almost lifted up to strike. We brought them towards the party and made a line signing to them that they were not to pass it: they did not at first but by this time a party of their other side had come up and mix'd with our people. They now began to sing their war songs but committed no hostility till 3 stepp'd to each of our boats and attempted to draw them ashore. It was now time to fire; we whose Guns were loaded with small shot did so which drove them back.⁶⁹⁷

Once the war party got 'upon rising ground' they were dislodged by:

' firing musket balls, none of which took effect farther than frightening them. In this way we were about_ of an hour, resolving to maintain our ground, when the

ship had brought her broadside to bear and fired at the Indians who were on the tops of the hills. The balls went quite over them notwithstanding which they went off and at last left us our cove to ourselves, so that the muskets were laid down upon the ground and all hands employed in gathering Cellery which was here very plentiful. An Old Indian now appeared who had been on board in the morn with two more. He said that another brother of his was struck with the small shot and asked whether he would dye: we told him no and gave him a musket ball with some shot telling him that it was the latter with which he was struck, but that if they again attacked us we would shoot them with the former which would infallibly kill them.⁶⁹⁸

Banks then scribes how, on December 4th, the man who had been shot with small shot on the 29th was brought on board the *Endeavour* by his brother our old man. On examination, the shot he received which [Banks supposed] had not less than 100 shots in it appeared to have slanted along his thigh.⁶⁹⁹ Banks noted that the wound was not causing any pain and that it had healed over with a hard crust, nature's plaister, equal maybe when she chooses to apply it to any that art has conceived.⁷⁰⁰ But while his description of the event is more detailed than Parkinson's, it does not give the victim's name as Otegoongoon.

Cook, who places the incident on November 30th instead of the 29th, records how he, Banks and Solander went with the pinnace and Yawl Mand and Arm to an island in the Bay of Islands. On landing, they found themselves surrounded by two or three hundred warriors who quite unexpectedly set up the war dance and attempted to seize the two boats.⁷⁰¹ Cook fired a musket loaded with small shot and Banks and two others fired after. Although this caused the warriors to retire a little one of the Chiefs rallied his men again so that Solander gave him a peppering with small shot.⁷⁰² After several more attempts by the Maori to rally, Cook had the ship fire a few shots over their heads and a Musquet now and then from us.⁷⁰³ Cook explains that in so doing, he attempted to avoid killing any one of them as much as possible and for that reason withheld our people from firing.⁷⁰⁴

The discrepancies between the three accounts cannot be accounted for unless notice is taken of a further observation in Parkinson's *Journal* account for November 29th where he tells how Banks who had been a passenger in the boat had gone ashore and had come under attack from the Maori who tried to seize [the boat].⁷⁰⁵ Although he [Banks]

had like to have been apprehended by one of the natives, he happily escaped.⁷⁰⁶ Cook's comments at the end of his record of the incident read "Having taken a View of the bay from the Island and loaded both the boats of the seller [celery], which we found there in plenty, we returned on board" ⁷⁰⁷ suggesting that the whole affair was the result of a "botanising" expedition going awry. It might therefore be concluded, that in his quest for celery, Banks had endangered not only himself but also Cook and Solander. He had also caused the son of a chief to be wounded by shots fired by one of them, possibly Banks's taxonomist, Daniel Solander. It seems likely that the incident was one of considerable embarrassment to them and was therefore recorded by both Banks and Cook in such a way as to absolve them of any wrongdoing. Banks in particular, would not have wanted it recorded that in his quest for celery, he had been the cause of the "five great guns" from the *Endeavour* being fired, or that a shot from the musket of his taxonomist or from Banks himself had wounded the son of a local chief. As noted in the Chapter I, Thomas has described Banks as someone who manipulated facts for his own sake.⁷⁰⁸ This may be another example of Banks's factual manipulation.

While these details may account for the discrepancies in the various reports of the incident, questions still remain, however, as to the identity of the Maori warrior in Plate 13 (Fig. 99) of the "Hawkesworth edition" Joppien and Smith's identification of the portrait's subject as Otegoongoon is difficult to sustain from either Cook's or Banks's textual accounts for the 29th or 30th of November, where, in spite of Parkinson's reference to him as Otegoowgoow, the injured warrior is not named. There is also no evidence to show that the pen and wash drawing in Fig. 100 was executed by Parkinson around the time of the fracas or that the portrait is of a Maori figure from the Bay of Islands. Instead, it appears that Joppien and Smith may have relied for their identification on the title of Plate XXI of the *Journal* (Fig. 96) which shows a figure similar to that of Plate 13 of the "Hawkesworth edition" and wearing an almost identical tattoo, named Otegoongoon.

The *Journal* records a tattoo such as that worn by the figure in plates 13 and XXI having been observed on the faces of Maori warriors near East Cape on October 22nd. Parkinson describes how this style of tattooing:

It is done very curiously in spirals and other figures; and in many places indented into their skins, which looks like carving through at a distance, it appears as if it had been smeared with black paint.⁷⁰⁹

Rather than being created by incising lines of demarcation into the skin, as on the faces of other warriors such as that shown in Fig. 98, this manner of tattooing was created as a positive against a blackened background of skin that left the pale lines of the decoration untouched. Parkinson notes that this tattoo was preserved for the principal men among them presumably from the chiefly class, with servants and women having to be content with besmearing their faces with red paint or ochre.⁷¹⁰

He describes the men he saw with this kind of tattoo:

í in general, lean and tall, yet well shaped; they have faces like Europeans; and in general, the aquiline nose, with dark-coloured eyes, black hair, which is tied up on the crown of the head, and beards of middling length.

Their cloth is white, and as glossy as silk, worked by hands, and wrought as even as if it had been done on a loom.⁷¹¹

This is surely the figure in Add. MS 23920, f.54a (Fig. 100) that is reproduced in both Plate 13 in the Hawkesworth edition (Fig. 99) and Plate XXI in the *Journal* (Fig. 96). In each case the portrait records not only the same kind of tattoo Parkinson describes but also the facial features, the beard and hairstyle of Parkinson's extended description. It also shows the cloak made of fine, glossy, white cloth. It must therefore be concluded that the figure in these illustrations is representative of Maori from the East Cape of New Zealand, whose appearance is recorded in Parkinson's *Journal* entry for October 22nd 1769. Because he notes in his description that the tattoo worn by this tribe is quite distinct from that of any other group, it is most unlikely that it would have been worn by the Maori he encountered in the Bay of Islands some six weeks later in late November. For this reason, the chapter concludes that the figure shown in Plates 13 and XXI cannot be Otegoongoon or Otegoowgoow.

But while this might establish that Joppien and Smith's identification is incorrect, it does not show why the figure in Plate XXI of the *Journal* is identified in the plate's title as Otegoongoon. On the one hand, it might be argued that the engraver or person responsible for the title simply made a mistake. A more plausible argument, however, is that the plate was engraved to depict a savage that had a name and an identity.

Parkinson's descriptions of the Maori and the studies he made of them present an image of a warrior nation. However, he also portrays its warrior culture as lacking the

discipline that would be expected of European soldiers. The text that accompanies Plate XVI describes how, after the shots were fired from the big guns to frighten off the Maori warriors who were attempting to seize the boat in which Banks was a passenger, they fled to their ships closely followed by Cook's men. It makes the comment 'had these barbarians acted more in concert, they would have been a formidable enemy and might have done us much mischief; but they had no kind of order or military discipline among them.'⁷¹² The behavior of the Maori warriors is also shown as erratic and unpredictable with Parkinson recording how, on the day following the skirmish, they were 'more sensible of our power [and] behaved very civil.'⁷¹³ The *Journal* relates how, on December 5th, the day after Otegoongoon was brought to the *Endeavour* injured, members of the tribe brought Cook and his men 'a great many fish' and allowed them a peaceful opportunity to catch some fish themselves 'with hook and line.'⁷¹⁴

It might be assumed that Parkinson read their behavior as the result of changing passions rather than a considered response. In other words, he could have seen it as confirming the hypotheses of the Enlightenment where pre-social man acted without benefit of reason, or, as presumed by Rousseau, with unpremeditated actions and in a childlike manner. However, this was only one example of the Eurocentric perceptions of the non-European subject and in particular, the indigenous inhabitants of the South Pacific islands that were currently held by European readers. There was also another perception, generally referred to as that of the 'noble savage'

While Parkinson's text might demonstrate the existence of a behavior that conformed to Enlightenment hypothesis, the figure in Plate XXI does not show the characteristics associated with primitive man. Instead, it suggests a chiefly physiognomy with characteristics more in common with those of the 'noble savage' of Joppien and Smith's earlier reference.⁷¹⁵ Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed that the engraver developed the figure called Otegoongoon according to dictates of the contemporary history painting that Joppien and Smith associate with the noble savage.

As noted in the previous chapters, the *Journal*'s engravers relied on earlier ethnographic sources for the depiction of their non-European subjects and it can be argued that the portrait of the so-called Otegoongoon was again inspired by ethnographic precedent. Portraits of individual non-European figures were extremely rare in engraved

voyage illustration prior to Cook's expeditions to the South Pacific. As noted in Chapter VI, there are a number of extremely life-like portraits of Brazilian subjects in paintings by Eckhout, Wagener and Post, but these were all held in private collections belonging to men like Count John Maurits of Nassau-Seigen and Louis XIV where, unseen by the public, they had no impact on engraved ethnography.

This chapter argues that the model for the portrait in Plate XXI of the *Journal* (Fig. 96) is again derived from André Thevet whose portrait of the Brazilian warrior, Quoniambec, is considered by Lestringant to be 'the prototype of the noble savage.'⁷¹⁶ Whether Thevet's Quoniambec was actually based on a person from real life has never been established. Thevet's textual description, discussed above, suggests that Quoniambec is most likely to have been another of Thevet's own creations. The first description of Quoniambec is in *Antarctike* where he is portrayed as 'the most feared and redoubted that is in all the countrey, living in a palace the outer wall of which is decorated with Portuguese heads.'⁷¹⁷ Nearly twenty years after *Antarctike*, Thevet published an extended account of his experiences as historiographer in *Cosmographie Universel* (Paris, 1757), a work that comprises material from both *Antarctike* and an earlier work, *Cosmographie de Levant* (Paris, 1554). Here, Quoniambec is far more frightening with 'expressions of horrible desires' that would immediately reduce the strongest and most able of his 'enemies to hash stew if he had them in his grasp.'⁷¹⁸ But as well as this barbarism and cannibalism, Thevet has also given Quoniambec a number of admirable qualities, suggesting that had he not succumbed to a serious epidemic, almost certainly introduced by the French colonisers, and allowed himself to be guided by the French 'he would have achieved great things.'⁷¹⁹ Thevet has also given Quoniambec an enviable physique which the author describes as 'tall and big-limbed, with a height of eight feet' and claims that he is capable of carrying a barrel of wine in his arms.⁷²⁰ An illustration in *Cosmographie Universel* (Fig. 101) shows the warrior carrying two cannons on his shoulders like a New World Hercules. In this later depiction of him, Thevet's Quoniambec has become a complex non-European figure, displaying both undesirable and laudable social and physical attributes, and as having an identity.

Thevet subsequently included a portrait of Quoniambec, together with two other ethnographic portraits, in a work written for the Queen of France, Catherine de Medici,⁷²¹

entitled *Les Vrais portraits et vies des homes illustres* (True Portraits and Lives of Famous Men) Paris, 1584. The other portraits in the work show Paracovissi, Roy de Platte (King of the River Plate Area of Brazil) and Parovisti Satourina, Roy de Floride (King of Florida), both of which are considered to be derived from lost drawings of Amerindian subjects by le Moyne de Morgues whose gouache paintings are shown in Figs. 83 and 84.⁷²² The portrait of Quoniambec from *Les Vrais poutrraits*, is shown here in Fig. 102. It depicts him as a young, muscular figure who poses for the viewer, wearing a feathered crown and holding a Brazilian spear. There is no suggestion in the portrait of the barbaric savage described in earlier texts. Instead, Quoniambec is shown as a kingly figure. Lestringant comments on this kind of figure as:

í the prototype of the noble savage, situated midway between its obscure origins and an impoverishing elucidation, and alienated by aims that were foreign to its internal economyí the myth of an Indian monarchy more or less constituted an illuminating case of the imaginary contamination between cultures.⁷²³

According to Lestringant, the kind of nobility that this prototype represents ‘[is] the new humanity discovered beyond the oceansí susceptible of conversion to the Christian faith and thereby becoming a cog in the wheel of the colonial enterprise’⁷²⁴ A recognized example of this kind of figure is the engraved portrait of the famous Roanoake princess from Virginia, Pocahontas, engraved by Simon de Passe (1616.)⁷²⁵ Her portrait, shown here in Fig. 103, was engraved to celebrate the Princess’s presentation at the Court of King Charles I. Unlike earlier engravings of Amerindian women, examples of which are shown in this thesis, she is not a scantily clad seductress but a well-dressed figure of noble presence. The legend on the border of the portrait claims that she has married an English clergyman, John Rolfe, and changed her name to Rebecca. This was the name of the mother of the Old Testament Jacob who was the patriarch of the ancient Israelites. The Europeans who settled in America habitually associated themselves with the Hebrews, the ‘chosen people of the Old Testament, who had also found a promised land. It appears that the early American colonists may have found in Rebecca a new matriarchal figure for themselves.’⁷²⁶ Rolfe, himself, claims to have taken Pocohontas, ‘not for the unbridled desire of carnal affection; but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our country, for the glory of God, for my own salvation and for converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ...’⁷²⁷

Like the description of Pocohontas, much of Parkinson's description of the Maori is Eurocentric. Although he calls Maori barbarians and accuses them of lacking discipline, he describes the East Coast Maori as "well-shaped" and with "faces like Europeans." They have "the aquiline nose" and beards of a middling length, their cloth is white and glossy as silk, worked by hands, and wrought as even as if it had been done on a loom. Not only does this recall the complex nature of Thevet's Quoniambec, it provides a confusing image for engravers who were not familiar with the non-European races, and Maori in particular. Parkinson's subjects, while described in terms more appropriate to the European, were recorded in images that clearly showed that they were not. The engravers of the *Journal* were therefore dependent upon earlier ethnographic depictions of subjects of similar social complexity. For this reason, it is argued, that the engraver of Plate XXI turned to an established prototype from early voyage illustration in which the subject not only had the qualities of a European dignity, he also had the appearance of a non-European chief. He therefore chose Quoniambec as the model for the chief's son, Otegoongoon.

While Chambers's New Hollanders are sufficiently war-like to have struck the critic writing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* with "their ferocity," his exquisitely engraved image of Otegoongoon shows a face that is noble and refined. The artist appears to have relished the opportunity to engrave the intricate tattoos, the shading on the tinted lips, the fine beard and curls of the hair. The details of the ears and the expression in the eyes have all been achieved through the skilled use of the burin alone. While it might not be as faithful to Parkinson's original as the image in Plate 13 of the "Hawkesworth edition," the quality of workmanship is unsurpassed. To the eighteenth-century British reader, who understood the process of engraved reproduction and could appreciate the skill that Chambers displays, it is a small masterpiece. The Otegoongoon of Plate XXI in the *Journal* is therefore a worthy heir to Thevet's Quoniambec. It must therefore have seemed to the engraver that it was only fitting that he should also have a name.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to identify the complex origins of the ethnographic illustrations in John Hawkesworth's edition of the *Endeavour* journals of James Cook and Joseph Banks and the posthumously published *Journal* of Sydney Parkinson.

The Introduction states that, unlike the original paintings and drawings from which they were developed, the engraved plates in the two publications are not representative of the personal attitudes and preconceptions of the voyagers. Instead, images in the original ethnographic paintings and drawings have been modified in designs for the engravers to engrave. This thesis attempts to identify the reasons why this modification occurred. In Chapter III, this thesis shows how original ethnography was altered for plates commissioned by Joseph Banks for the 'Hawkesworth edition' to satisfy his personal agendas. Chapter VI reveals how original images of indigenous Tahitian subjects were again altered for plates in the 'Hawkesworth edition' this time to create subjects of erotic interest according to the traditional stereotypes that were popular in earlier voyage literature. Chapters VI and VII show how original images of native Fuegians and Tahitians were modified for plates that reflected contemporary epistemology and Enlightenment hypotheses.

These modifications, together with journal augmentation, textual introduction and emendations led to the 'Hawkesworth edition' becoming little more than a combination of personal observation, contrived record and subjective analysis. As such, it failed to accurately record many of the empirical details from the epic scientific journey or to satisfy its eighteenth-century readers.

While the text in the *Journal* is assumed to be a fair reconstruction of Parkinson's original manuscripts, most of the plates in the publication show engravers deploying the conventions of the traditional European costume study with which they were familiar. Engravers also followed traditional models from European voyage literature such as in the creation of the warriors from New Holland and New Zealand described in Chapter IX.

In some instances changes to images occurred because the copies the engravers or designers worked from were imprecise or because of the lack of personal familiarity with the subject in hand. While the *Journal* illustrations impressed eighteenth-century readers, they would have been of little benefit to the Enlightenment savants for whom Parkinson's ethnography was intended.

The Introduction stated that it was appropriate for this thesis to find answers to questions similar to those posed in Bernard Smith's *Harkness Lecture* to the School of Fine Arts at the University of Canterbury. The questions Smith asked were to what extent was the imagery that emerged from the voyages truthful, to what extent false and whether true or false to what extent was it accessible to serve the purposes of European domination? He also asked to what extent was the pre-Cook imagery of the Pacific, the imagery that issued from the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch voyages, modeled on oriental prototypes? To what extent was the Pacific, as it became known to Europeans, a fringe-dweller beside the great orientalist stereotype? The Introduction concluded that the first of Smith's questions were relevant to this thesis and, as shown above, attempts have been made to respond to them. However, the Introduction also noted that answers to the questions that followed would require a far greater field of inquiry.

The words used in the title of this thesis, 'Empiricism, Enlightenment and Aesthetics' are indicative of this thesis's parameters. It does not attempt to discuss issues such as European territorial expansion, colonization, or the role of Orientalism in Eurocentric perception or xenophobia. It is instead confined to the analysis of the European art form of engraved illustration, its status and practice in eighteenth-century England, and the cultural, social and political environment that determined its usage in two English voyage publications from the latter half of the eighteenth century.

While this thesis recognizes that the inhabitants of the South Seas would soon be subjected to the dictates of British colonial policy and mercantile activity, it considers that at the time of the *Endeavour* voyage, they were subjects of interest and curiosity. Not only did they represent a lifestyle that was the envy of many Europeans, their indigenous societies were of significance to contemporary social theory. It was the latter that was of interest to Cook, Banks and Parkinson and informed the perceptions they recorded in

their journals. However, the portrayal of the South Seas islanders differs from that in the original ethnography in both the -Hawkesworth editionø and the *Journal* because of the style and content of the publications in which they appear, the personal and professional motives of those who responsible for them and the status and experience of the illustrative engravers.

The findings of this thesis suggest that the treatment of the original ethnography from the *Endeavour* voyage is indicative of cultural instability, the existence of which is apparent in historical studies of the eighteenth century that show a conflict between the forces of tradition and innovation. This thesis makes reference to earlier English voyages from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and concludes that they were quite unlike the *Endeavour* voyage. As explained in the Introduction, the *Endeavour* voyage was the first publically-funded scientific voyage ever undertaken by Britain. As such, the voyage established the validity of empirical science and the significance of empirical recording in scientific and social development. The *Endeavour* voyage was unprecedented. But so too were the publications in which the findings of the voyage were recorded. Acting on behalf of the Admiralty, Sandwich, with no previous experience in publishing and without an appropriate model, followed the literary conventions of the contemporary publications with which he was familiar. Hawkesworth, Sandwichø appointed editor, who had no previous experience in scientific writing, deployed the style that had served him in his essays and literary criticisms. Banks, whose own journal records scientific details in an empirical manner, largely ignored empirical methodology and commissioned engraved illustrations that were attractive to contemporary readers. Only Kenrick, the editor of Rousseau and Buffon, recognized the importance of empirical ethnography and saw that Parkinsonø's manuscripts were faithfully recorded in the *Journal*. He was, however, unable to ensure that its empirical principles were followed in the *Journal* illustrations.

In conclusion, this thesis finds that the ethnographic depiction in the -Hawkesworth editionø and the *Journal* is representative of a changing world. The traditional practices that were giving way to scientific innovation found the methodology

of contemporary voyage publication wanting. As a result, both the Hawkesworth edition and the *Journal* lack genre identification and direction.

Their ethnographic illustrations are therefore best recognized in words from the thesis title, 'empiricism, enlightenment and aesthetics'. These three terms represent discourses that were in competition in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the outcome of which would ultimately define the culture of modern Europe. Here, however, the discourses are shown to have impacted on each other so that ethnographic illustration from empirical observation has been mediated by Enlightenment theory and reproduced according to the aesthetics of popular culture and tradition. The resultant engraved images therefore speak less about the lives of the inhabitants of the New World observed by Cook, Banks and Parkinson than they do of society in the old world, the voyagers left behind.

¹ James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, 3 vols., ed., J.C. Beaglehole (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1955-74). Vol. I *The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771*.

² Helen Wallis, 'The Publication of Cook's Journal; Some New Sources and Assessment', *Pacific Studies* (1978). i. (No.2): pp. 163-194.

³ *Ibid*, p. 163.

⁴ Carol E. Percy, 'In the Margins: Dr. Hawkesworth's editorial emendations to the language of Captain Cook's *Voyages*', *English Studies* (1996), 77, (No.6): pp. 549-579.

⁵ Banks (1962), vol. I, p.128.

⁶ *Idem*

⁷ Those by Tupaia remained unidentified until 1997 when Harold B. Carter, the Royal Society's official Banks biographer, discovered a letter written in 1812 by Banks to the banker and fellow botanist, Dawson Turner FRS, on the subject of Banks's more memorable business transactions. It included a reference to a watercolour drawing in Banks's possession showing him trading with a Maori - see Add. MS 15508. The letter reads:

Tupaia the Indian who came with me from Otaheite Learnd to draw in a way not Quite unintelligible. The Genius for Caricature which all wild people Possess Led him to Caricature me and he drew me with a nail in my hand delivering it to an Indian who sold me a Lobster but with my other hand I had a firm fist on the Lobster determind not to Quit the nail till I had Livery and Seizin of the article purchasd.

Carter concluded that 'the artist can now be identified as Tupaia, the middle-aged Polynesian from Raiatea in the Society Islands.' He subsequently lodged an interim note recording this identification on 10th September, 1997, with the British Library Department of Manuscripts, asking the identification to be approved. As in Harold B. Carter, 'Note on the Drawings by an Unknown Artist from the Voyage of HMS *Endeavour*', *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans*, ed., Margarette Lincoln (London, Boydell Press in Assn. with the National Maritime Museum, 1998), pp. 133-4, p. 134.

⁸ A.M. Lysaght, 'Banks's Artists and his Endeavour Collections', *Captain Cook and the South Pacific: British Museum Yearbook 3* (London, British Museum Publications, 1979), pp.9-80.

⁹ Sydney Parkinson, *Artist of Cook's Endeavour Voyage*, ed., D. J. Carr (London, British Museum and Sydney, Australian National University Press, 1983).

- ¹⁰ William Blunt, 'Sydney Parkinson and his fellow artists' D. J. Carr ed., *Sydney Parkinson, Artist of Cook's Endeavour Voyage* (Sydney & London, British Museum & Australian University Press, 1983), pp. 14-46, p. 15.
- ¹¹ Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: a study of art and ideas* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960), Intro. p.1.
- ¹² Bernard Smith, *Art as Information: reflections on the art from Captain Cook's voyages* ó the Annual Lecture delivered to the Australian Academy of the Humanities at its Ninth Annual General Meeting on May 1987 (Sydney, Sydney University Press, 1979), p. 74.
- ¹³ Ibid, p. 6.
- ¹⁴ Idem
- ¹⁵ Idem
- ¹⁶ Rüdiger Joppien & Bernard Smith, *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, 4 vols., (Melbourne, Oxford University Press in Assn. with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 1985-88).
- ¹⁷ Joppien & Smith (1985-88), Volume I, *The Voyage of the 'Endeavour', 1768-1771* (1985).
- ¹⁸ Ibid, p. 8.
- ¹⁹ Ibid, p. 20.
- ²⁰ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. cclxvii, n.4.
- ²¹ Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds; First Meeting between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772* (London and Auckland, Penguin Books, 1991).
- ²² Ibid, p. 295.
- ²³ Idem
- ²⁴ Ibid, p. 296.
- ²⁵ Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain James Cook* (New York, Walker & Co., 2003). Intro., p. xxxiv.
- ²⁶ *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840*, eds., Alex Calder, Jonathon Lamb and Bridget Orr (Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1999), Intro., p. 15.
- ²⁷ Idem
- ²⁸ Ibid, Intro., p. 3.
- ²⁹ Leonard Bell, 'Augustus Earle'ø *The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief, Hongi, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1827*, and His Depictions of Other New Zealand Encounters: Context and Connectionsø Calder et al. (1999), pp. 241-64, p. 257.
- ³⁰ Ibid, p. 257.
- ³¹ *Quarterly Papers of the Church Missionary Society* 97 (1840), as in Bell (1999), p. 258.
- ³² Ibid, p. 258.
- ³³ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 15.
- ³⁴ Ibid, p. 16.
- ³⁵ Ibid, pp. 16 & 19.
- ³⁶ Ibid, p. 15.
- ³⁷ Idem
- ³⁸ Ibid, p. 22.
- ³⁹ Ibid, p. 15.
- ⁴⁰ Nigel Rigby and Peter van der Merwe, *Captain Cook in the Pacific* (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, 2001), p. 101.
- ⁴¹ Rüdiger Joppien, 'Philippe Jacques de Louthembourgø Pantomime, *Omai, or a Trip round the World* and the Artists of Captain Cookø Voyagesø The British Museum Yearbook 3 (London, British Museum Publications, 1979), pp. 81-136.
- ⁴² Tim Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 233, 234, records that in 1788, the London correspondent of a German newspaper claimed that he found 'so many outstanding artists in every branch of artøthere and commented that 'nowhere are they so well paid.øTowards the end of the eighteenth century, Woollettø prints were making large sums. 'Prices for Woollett continued to climb. In 1799, Boydell paid £10 for í *Ceyx and Alcione* and [the art dealer] Mr. Miles paid £12 10s for *La Hogue* and *Boyne*.ø
- ⁴³ Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilisation* (University of Minnesota, 2008), p. 48.
- ⁴⁴ The only exception was Bartolozzi who was employed to teach perspective. Clayton (1997), p. 192,

- notes that in 1770, there was a change of heart and places were created for six engravers who could hold seats but not take part in deliberations, share in the Academy's governance or have the use of its library. With so little appeal for the engraver, it is not surprising that most of the places remained empty until 1774.
- ⁴⁵ Gaudio (2008), p. 49.
- ⁴⁶ John Bonehill, 'This hapless adventurer': Hodges and the London art world, *William Hodges 1744-1797: The Art of Exploration*, eds., Geoff Quilley & John Bonehill (Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, 2004), pp.9-14, p. 13.
- ⁴⁷ The only other collection known to this writer is the collection of John Whites watercolour figure studies in the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, London, Department of Prints and Drawings, MS 1906, 1509.
- ⁴⁸ Bernard Smith, 'Style Information and Image in the Art of Cook's Voyages', *Harkness Lecture* (School of Fine Arts, Canterbury, New Zealand, 1988), p.1.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 6.
- ⁵⁰ The work Smith refers to is Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, Vintage Books, 1994).
- ⁵¹ Cook (1755-74), vol. I, Intro., p. cclxxxiv. Cook's orders from the Admiralty read 'upon your Arrival In England you are immediately to repair to this Office in order to lay before us a full account of your Proceedings in the whole Course of your Voyage, taking care before you leave the Vessel to demand from the Officers and Petty Officers the Log Books and Journals they may have kept, and to seal them up for our inspection and enjoying them, and the whole Crew, not to divulge where they have been until they have Permission to do so.'
- ⁵² John Lawrence Abbott, *John Hawkesworth; eighteenth-century man of letters* (Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1982), p. 142.
- ⁵³ *Idem*
- ⁵⁴ J.C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974), p. 289, adds 'Cook and Banks were patriotically anxious that this should be done as soon as possible, and it was all the more important to get something authentic on the market because of the temptation put by the booksellers in the way of anyone who could provide a connective narrative of a hundred pages or so.'
- ⁵⁵ Abbott (1982), p. 142.
- ⁵⁶ Horace Walpole *Memoirs* IV, pp. 170-171, as in *The Private Papers of John Earl of Sandwich*, eds., G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen (Navy Records Soc., 1932-38), vols. 69-78, vol. 69, August 1770-3 March 1778, Intro., p. xiii.
- ⁵⁷ N.A.M. Roger, *The Insatiable Earl: A Life of John Montagu 4th Earl of Sandwich* (London, Harper Collins, 1993) p. 14, describes how Sandwich was responsible for meeting the costs of elections in the areas in which he held a seat and securing 'the favours which every self-respecting constituency demanded'. He was also required 'to stand at the head of every subscription list, to provide civic feasts and municipal improvements, to employ the poor and advance the suppliant, to let tenancies at low rents to favoured supporters and buy goods at high prices from local tradesmen.' There were also obligations such as maintaining country estates and town houses. Sandwich owned a large, stately, Tudor country home at Hinchinbrooke in Cambridgeshire to which he invited the king and other notables. He also had a yacht where he held weekend parties and entertained Members of Parliament.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 15.
- ⁵⁹ *Idem*
- ⁶⁰ *Idem*
- ⁶¹ *Idem*
- ⁶² Walpole (1932-38), Intro., p. xiii.
- ⁶³ *Publick Advertiser* No. 1130, Tuesday, February 19, 1771.
- ⁶⁴ Sometime after 1739, Sandwich completed a journal of his own his travels around the Mediterranean. It was not published during his lifetime, but in 1803, it was edited by an enthusiastic follower, J. Cooke, and published by the London booksellers, Allen & Co. Its title is *A Voyage Performed by the late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean in the years 1738, 1739. Written by himself*. It is a classicist's handbook, containing numerous references to classical heroes and voyagers, with a number of carefully detailed plans of the ruins he found in places where they were reputed to have lived or visited.
- ⁶⁵ Sandwich-6 Barrington, 1776, Alexander Turnbull Library, [Ske] MS-0841 6892.

- ⁶⁶ Fanny Burney, *Early Diary*, 1:133-34 as in Abbott (1982), p.143-144.
- ⁶⁷ A. S. Collins, "Language 1660 -1784" as in Basil Ford, ed., *The Pelican Guide to English Literature: From Dryden to Johnson* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Pelican, 1963), pp. 125-141, p.135.
- ⁶⁸ Idem
- ⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 139.
- ⁷⁰ Idem
- ⁷¹ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 15.
- ⁷² Percy (1996), vol. 77, no. 6, p. 549.
- ⁷³ Hawkesworth - Burney, October 6, 1771. National Library of Australia, NLA, MS 332/1.
- ⁷⁴ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, Intro, p. ccxlv.
- ⁷⁵ Idem
- ⁷⁶ Idem
- ⁷⁷ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 16.
- ⁷⁸ As in Abbott (1982), p. 143.
- ⁷⁹ Idem
- ⁸⁰ Idem
- ⁸¹ Percy (1996), p. 552.
- ⁸² Hawkesworth ó Garrick, BM Add. MS e8104, as in Beaglehole (1974), p. 290.
- ⁸³ Hawkesworth ó Sandwich, November 10, 1771. British Library, BL, MS 642.
- ⁸⁴ Idem
- ⁸⁵ Hawkesworth ó Sandwich, November 19, 1771, Sandwich Papers, Hinchbrook.
- ⁸⁶ John Narborough, *An account of several late voyages discoveries to the south and north towards the Streights of Magellan and south seas and the vast tracks of land beyond Hollandia Nova &^C also towards Nova Zemola, Greenland or Spitsberg, Groenland or Engrondland &^C by Sir John Narborough, Captain Johnwood and Frederick Marten of Hamburg. An account of several late voyages discoveries to the south and north towards the Streights of Magellan and south seas and the vast tracks of land beyond Hollandia Nova &^C also towards Nova Zemola, Greenland or Spitsberg, Groenland or Engrondland &^C by Sir John Narborough, Captain Johnwood and Frederick Marten of Hamburg (1694).*
- ⁸⁷ Dampier's publications comprise *A New Voyage around the World* (1697), *Voyages and Descriptions, a supplement to the earlier account describing his voyage to New Holland* (1699) and *Voyages consisting of a New Voyage Round the World, a supplement to the Voyage Round the World, Two Voyages to Campeachy, a Discourse of Winds, a Voyage to New Holland, and a Vindication, in answer to the Chimerical Relation of William Funnell* (1703-1709).
- ⁸⁸ George Shelvocke, *A Voyage round the world by way of the Great South sea Perform'd in the Years 1719, 20, 21, 22, in the Speedwell of London of 24 guns and 100 men (under HM's Commission to cruise on the Spaniards in the Late War with the Spanish Crown) till She was cast away on the Island of Juan Fernandez in May 1720 and afterwards continued in the Recovery, the Jesus Maria & Sacre Familia* (1723).
- ⁸⁹ Hawkesworth ó Burney, September 18th, 1771, National Library of Australia, NLA MS., 332/1.
- ⁹⁰ This account is further discussed in Chapter V, "The Authority of Theodore de Bry"
- ⁹¹ Anthony Paine, *Richard Hakluyt and his Books* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1997), p. 3.
- ⁹² Cook (1955-74), vol. I, Appendix II, p. 516.
- ⁹³ As quoted in Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 136.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid, Intro., p. ccxlviii.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid, Intro., p. ccxlix.
- ⁹⁶ Glyndwr Williams, "The Endeavour Voyage: a Coincidence of Motives" *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the Eighteenth Century*, ed., Margarette Lincoln (London, Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 3 - 18, p. 3.
- ⁹⁷ Cook (1955 -74), vol. I, Intro., pp. cclvii & cclviii.
- ⁹⁸ Anne Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas* (London, Allen Lane, Penguin, 2003), p. 167.
- ⁹⁹ Idem
- ¹⁰⁰ *Private Papers of James Boswell*, 9. (New Haven, 1930), as in www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Bea01Bank-t1-front-d13.html 22/11/2008 p. 55.

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- ¹⁰¹ Idem
- ¹⁰² *Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke* (Edinburgh, 1892), 3 vols. Vol. III, p. 435, as in Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 52.
- ¹⁰³ For more examples see Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 651 ff.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Public Advertiser*, 7 August, 1771, as in Cook (1955-74), vol. I. Appendix, p. 651.
- ¹⁰⁵ DøAlembert-Banks, July 26, 1772. Add. MS 8094, f.17, as in Joseph Banks, *Papers of Sir Joseph Banks, 1743-1820 (microfilm)* (Marlborough, England, Adam Mathew Publications, 1993-1998), The History of Science and Technology, Series 2.
- ¹⁰⁶ Linnaeus-Banks, August 8, 1771, Add. MS 8094, f.33, as in as in Banks (1993-1998).
- ¹⁰⁷ As in Anne Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island; the European Discovery of Tahiti* (Viking, Penguin, Auckland, 2009), p. 257.
- ¹⁰⁸ Buffon-Banks, June 1, 1772, Add. MS 8094, f.16, as in Banks (1993-1998).
- ¹⁰⁹ Salmond (2003), p. 29.
- ¹¹⁰ Banks had found Cook's itinerary on the *Endeavour* voyage frustrating because it had limited his natural history investigations. This time, however, Banks would have greater control over both destinations and length of stay.
- ¹¹¹ 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 etc.*, 3 vols. (London, W. Strachan & T. Cadell (1773). Vol. II, Intro., p. i.
- ¹¹² Idem
- ¹¹³ Banks (1962), vol. I, Intro., p. 47.
- ¹¹⁴ Thomas (2003), pp. 59-60.
- ¹¹⁵ Hawkesworth (1773), General Intro., vol. I, p. iii.
- ¹¹⁶ Idem
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, Intro., vol. II, p. iv.
- ¹¹⁸ Idem
- ¹¹⁹ Idem
- ¹²⁰ Idem
- ¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. v.
- ¹²² *Ibid*, p.vii.
- ¹²³ Idem
- ¹²⁴ Charles de Brosses, *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes, contenant ce que l'on sait des moeurs et des productions des contrées decouvertes jusqu'à ce jour* (Paris, 1756).
- ¹²⁵ Alexander Dalrymple was a geographer and an hydrographer as well as a fellow of the Royal Society. He had, for some time, been compiling voyage accounts for a publication entitled *Account of the Discoveries made in the South Pacific Ocean in 1767*. Finally appearing in 1769, the publication's purpose was to assemble in a single work evidence that might confirm the existence of a great southern continent. The knowledge Dalrymple had gained from the exercise was believed to be of considerable assistance to anyone who might command a voyage in that area. He was therefore interviewed by the Council of the Royal Society in December 1767 with a view to appointing him Commander of the South Sea voyage. The interview resulted in Lord Morton, the President of the Society, recommending to the Admiralty that Dalrymple should be given the position. However, Dalrymple was neither a naval officer nor did he have any experience in navigation. Morton's recommendation suggests that both he and the Royal Society were entirely lacking in their appreciation of the demands of the task ahead and the dangers that threatened the kind of long distant voyage that they anticipated for its commander. Morton's recommendation was rejected by the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Hawke, on the grounds that Dalrymple lacked the necessary credentials. Dalrymple subsequently withdrew his candidacy.
- ¹²⁶ A copy of the manuscript had been given to Banks just prior to his departure on the *Endeavour* voyage.
- ¹²⁷ *Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation, 1764-1766*, ed., Robert E. Gallagher (Cambridge, Hakluyt Society, 1964), p. 46, as in Wallis (1978), p. 169.
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 170.
- ¹²⁹ *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (1357-1371)*, as in Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land European*

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- Images from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York, 1975), p. 4.
- ¹³⁰ Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires: Europeans and the Rest of the World, from Antiquity to the Present* (London, Phoenix Press, 2001), p. 13, names Herodotus as the ‘father of history’ who had traveled well beyond the limits of the Grecian world to Egypt, Libya, Babylon, the Phoenix city of Tyre and Southern Russia reporting ‘extensively what he found there.’
- ¹³¹ Idem
- ¹³² Jean de Léry, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Otherwise called America*, trans. & ed. Janet Whatley (Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford, University of California Press, 1990), Intro. p. xxii.
- ¹³³ Hawkesworth (1773), vol. III, p. 59 ff.
- ¹³⁴ *Public Advertiser*, 21 May, 1768, as in Williams (1998), p.10.
- ¹³⁵ Percy (1996), p. 549.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 552
- ¹³⁷ Idem
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 556.
- ¹³⁹ Idem
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid* p. 552.
- ¹⁴¹ Hawkesworth (1773), vol. II, p. 59.
- ¹⁴² Cook (1955), p. 45.
- ¹⁴³ Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, ed., J. C. Beaglehole (Sydney, Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales I Assn. with Angus & Robertson, 1962), vol. I, p. 224.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 228.
- ¹⁴⁵ William Dampier, *Dampier’s Voyages consisting of a New Voyage Round the World, a Supplement to the Voyage Round the World, Two Voyages to Campeachy, a Discourse of Winds, a Voyage to New Holland, and a Vindication, in answer to the Chimerical Relation of William Funnel*, ed., J. Masefield, 2 vols., (London, E. Grant Richards, 1906), p. 453.
- ¹⁴⁶ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 358.
- ¹⁴⁷ Idem
- ¹⁴⁸ Although Oberea met and entertained Cook as queen, her position was, by this time, much altered as a result of intertribal warfare. However, she is still referred to by Cook as the ‘Tahitian Queen’
- ¹⁴⁹ Samuel Wallis, log-book and journal account of the voyage of the *Dolphin* under Captain Samuel Wallis, 19th June 1766 to 10th June, 1768. Alexander Turnbull Library, Micro-MS-0353. Account for June 26, 1767.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, June 23, 1767.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid*, July 13, 1767.
- ¹⁵² *Secret Instructions issued to Lieutenant James Cook, July 30th, 1768*, NLA, MS 2.
- ¹⁵³ Salmond, (2009), p. 57.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Hints offered to the consideration of Captain Cooke, Mr Bankes, Doctor Solander, and the other Gentlemen who go upon the Expedition on Board the Endeavour*, August, 1768, NLA, MS 9 as in Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 156.
- ¹⁵⁵ Banks to Lauraguais, December 1771, Mitchell Library, as in Banks (1962), Appendix III, ‘Correspondence about the voyage’ pp. 308-329, p. 325.
- ¹⁵⁶ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, Intro. p. ccxlvii.
- ¹⁵⁷ Cook (1955-74), vol. I Intro, p. cxxvii.
- ¹⁵⁸ Mrs M. Hawkesworth- Curry, March 7, 1773. Alexander Turnbull Library, MS 3141, reads:
‘...much is still to be done consequently much time is still employed about it but as there will be many engravings which are executed by the best masters much time will be necessary to compleat them which will in some degree retard the publication. It will have to be published this winter if the same diligence will be continued which has hitherto been employed about it.’
- ¹⁵⁹ *Letters*, ed., Paget Toynbee, VIII, p. 277, as in Cook (1955-74), vol. I, Intro.p.ccxlix.
- ¹⁶⁰ *Letters*, ed., Paget Toynbee, VIII, p. 303, as in Cook (1955-74), vol. I, Intro. p.ccxlix
- ¹⁶¹ Boswell, Friday May 7, 1733, as in Abbot (1982), p. 156.
- ¹⁶² Idem

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- ¹⁶³ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, Intro., p. ccli.
¹⁶⁴ Hawkesworth (1773), vol. I, General Introduction, p. v.
¹⁶⁵ Idem
¹⁶⁶ As In Abbott (1982), p. 159.
¹⁶⁷ MS NLP:M Ac 148/1, as in Helen Wallis, *Carteret's Voyage round the World, 1766-1769* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1965), I:3, quoted in Abbott, (1982), p. 159.
¹⁶⁸ Abbott (1982), p. 158.
¹⁶⁹ Geoffrey Scott, ed., *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle*, 18 vols. (Mount Vernon, New York: W.E. Rudge, 1928-1934), VI, 133, as in Wallis (1978), p. 167.
¹⁷⁰ *Annual Register* for 1773, p. 267.
¹⁷¹ Idem
¹⁷² *Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs Montagu*, ed., Montagu Pennington (London, 1817), 2:202, 207, 209, as in Abbott (1982), p. 155.
¹⁷³ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 94.
¹⁷⁴ Idem
¹⁷⁵ Hawkesworth (1973), vol. II, p. 128.
¹⁷⁶ Ibid, General Intro., p. xvii.
¹⁷⁷ Parkinson ó Fothergill, October 16, 1770. Religious Society of Friends Library, London, as in Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 50.
¹⁷⁸ Idem
¹⁷⁹ Abbott (1982), p. 161.
¹⁸⁰ Idem
¹⁸¹ M. Hawkesworth ó Curry, 1 December, 1773. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. MS 3141.
¹⁸² Wallis (1978), p. 165.
¹⁸³ Sandwich ó Banks, October, 16, 1780, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. qMS-1380,
¹⁸⁴ Francis Bond, *Journal of HMS Providence 1791-92*. ADM 55/96.
¹⁸⁵ Sydney Parkinson, *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in HMS Endeavour* (London, 1774). Reprinted by Caliban Books (London, 1984).
¹⁸⁶ Ibid, Preface, p. viii, Stanfield claims that this was irregular and normally the duty of the captain of the ship but that Banks told him that since he was Sydney Parkinson's employer, he was the only person who could do it.
¹⁸⁷ Ibid, p. viii.
¹⁸⁸ Idem
¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p. ix.
¹⁹⁰ Idem
¹⁹¹ Idem
¹⁹² Idem
¹⁹³ Idem
¹⁹⁴ Idem
¹⁹⁵ Ibid, pp. ix, x.
¹⁹⁶ Ibid, note to p. x.
¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p. x.
¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. xi.
¹⁹⁹ Idem
²⁰⁰ Idem
²⁰¹ Idem
²⁰² Ibid, note to p. x.
²⁰³ Ibid, p. xii.
²⁰⁴ Idem
²⁰⁵ Idem
²⁰⁶ Idem
²⁰⁷ Idem
²⁰⁸ Idem
²⁰⁹ Idem

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- ²¹⁰ It was Quaker practice to avoid litigation through mediation where possible.
- ²¹¹ John Fothergill ó Samuel Fothergill, October 31, 1771, as in *John Fothergill, Chain of Friendship, Selected Letters of Dr John Fothergill of London, 1735-1780*, eds., Betsy C. Corner and Christopher C. Booth (Harvard, 1971), p. 366.
- ²¹² Parkinson (1984), Preface, p, xiii.
- ²¹³ Ibid, p. xxi. Jane Gomeldon to Stanfield Parkinson.
- ²¹⁴ Ibid, p. xiii.
- ²¹⁵ Idem
- ²¹⁶ Idem
- ²¹⁷ Idem
- ²¹⁸ Ibid, p. xiv.
- ²¹⁹ Idem
- ²²⁰ Idem
- ²²¹ Idem
- ²²² Idem
- ²²³ Ibid, p. xv.
- ²²⁴ Idem
- ²²⁵ Idem
- ²²⁶ Idem
- ²²⁷ Idem
- ²²⁸ Ibid, p. xvi.
- ²²⁹ Idem
- ²³⁰ Ibid, p. xviii. LeeóStanfield Parkinson, 26th November, 1772.
- ²³¹ Ibid, p. xx. Stanfield ParkinsonóLee, 11th Mo. 1772.
- ²³² Ibid, p. xx.
- ²³³ Ibid, p. xxii.
- ²³⁴ Ibid, p. xxi.
- ²³⁵ John Fothergill, "Explanatory Remarks on the Preface to Sydney Parkinson's Journal" as in Parkinson, (1984), p.18.
- ²³⁶ Fothergill ó Banks, 1773, ML MSS 743/1.
- ²³⁷ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 54.
- ²³⁸ Parkinson (1984), Explanatory Remarks, p. 1.
- ²³⁹ Ibid, p. 2.
- ²⁴⁰ *A Review of Dr Johnson's new edition of Shakespeare; in which the ignorance, or inattention of that editor is exposed, and the poet defended from the persecution of his commentators* (London, 1765.)
- ²⁴¹ *Love in the Suds, or the lamentation of Roscius for the loss of his Nyky* (1772).
- ²⁴² Banks (1962), vol. I, Intro., p. 57.
- ²⁴³ Cook (1955), vol. I, Intro., p. ccliv, n.1.
- ²⁴⁴ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 53
- ²⁴⁵ For further information on the Scottish Enlightenment see Alexander Broadie, *The Scottish Enlightenment: the historical age of the historical nation* (Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2001), ed., Alexander Broadie, *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also Stephen Buckle, "The Scottish Enlightenment: Essays in Reinterpretation" *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, ed., Paul Wood (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, July 2002), pp. xi-399, *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment*, eds., R. H. Campbell & Andrew S. Skinner (Edinburgh, J. Donald, 1982) and David Daiches, *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730-1790* (University of Edinburgh Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Edinburgh, Lothian, Edinburgh University Press, 1986).
- ²⁴⁶ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emilius & Sophia or a New System of Education. Translated from the French of J. J. Rousseau by the translator of Eloise*, ed., William Kenrick, LLD, (London, 1763), 2 vols. Vol. I, Preface, p. vi.
- ²⁴⁷ Ibid, p. viii.
- ²⁴⁸ George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *From Natural History to the History of Nature, Readings from Buffon and his Critics*, eds. and trans., John Lyon & Philip Stone (London & New York, University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), Preface, p. x.

- ²⁴⁹ James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, who is associated with the Scottish Enlightenment, was a lawyer by profession. However, he was also an amateur anthropologist whose anthropological works, based on a mixture of historical narrative and secondary sources, were widely read in the 1780s. Amongst his theories is what is known as ‘Simian Theory’ that stated that orangutans were representative of man at his rudest state. Monboddo questioned Joseph Banks on his return from the South Seas for information to support his Simian Theory. Monboddo is best known for a six-volume treatise, entitled *Origin and Progress of Language* (1773-92).
- ²⁵⁰ Buffon (1981), Intro., p. x.
- ²⁵¹ Parkinson (1984), Explanatory Remarks, p.3.
- ²⁵² *Gentleman’s Magazine*, January 1785. As in Joppien and Smith (1985), p. 54.
- ²⁵³ Idem
- ²⁵⁴ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l’origine de l’inégalité* (1755): *The Discourses and other early political writings*, ed. & trans., Victor Gourevitch (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- ²⁵⁵ Ibid, ‘Second Discourse’ n. X :10, p. 210.
- ²⁵⁶ Ibid, ‘Second Discourse’ 4, p. 132.
- ²⁵⁷ Ibid, ‘Second Discourse’ n. X : 8, p. 209.
- ²⁵⁸ Ibid, n. X: 11, p. 210.
- ²⁵⁹ Parkinson (1984), Preface, p. xi.
- ²⁶⁰ John Ray, *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of the Creation*, (1691). Eighteenth Century Collections on Line, //galenet.gale group.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/serlet/ECCO?ddi Document Number CW118498102 11/02/2005.
- ²⁶¹ Parkinson (1984), pp. 10 & 11.
- ²⁶² Ibid, p. 7.
- ²⁶³ Ibid, p. 22.
- ²⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 97.
- ²⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 94.
- ²⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 134.
- ²⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 176.
- ²⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 108.
- ²⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 65.
- ²⁷⁰ Cook (1985-74), vol. I, Intro., p. cclv.
- ²⁷¹ Parkinson (1984), p. 66.
- ²⁷² Add. MS 9345, f.70.
- ²⁷³ Parkinson (1984), Preface, p. xi.
- ²⁷⁴ Idem
- ²⁷⁵ Lysaght (1979), p. 32.
- ²⁷⁶ Parkinson (1984), Explanatory Remarks, p. 14.
- ²⁷⁷ Parkinson (1984), Preface, p.vi.
- ²⁷⁸ Lysaght (1979), p. 16.
- ²⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 13.
- ²⁸⁰ ‘Arts Fisheries and Manufactures’ was begun in 1728 to improve the economy. Kames’s art school was created to encourage commercially viable forms of art.
- ⁹⁵ Carr (1983), Preface, p. xi.
- ²⁸² Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 75.
- ²⁸³ Carr (1983), Preface, p. xi.
- ²⁸⁴ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, Intro., p. cclv.
- ²⁸⁵ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 51.
- ²⁸⁶ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, Intro., p. cclv.
- ²⁸⁷ Helen Berry, ‘Gomeldon, Jane (d. in or before 1780)’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/view/article/65396>, accessed 3 May 2011].
- ²⁸⁸ Lysaght (1979), p. 12.
- ²⁸⁹ Berry (2004).
- ²⁹⁰ Idem
- ²⁹¹ Parkinson (1984), Explanatory Remarks, p. 7..

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- ²⁹² <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Bea02Bank-tl-back-d8-d13.html>.
- ²⁹³ Idem
- ²⁹⁴ Carr (1983), Preface, p. x.
- ²⁹⁵ Parkinson to Fothergill, 16 October, 1770. Religious Society of Friends Library, Euston Road, London. As in Joppien & Smith (1985), p.50. Smith notes here, that this letter is not listed by Beaglehole and suggests that it does not appear to be known to him..
- ²⁹⁶ Parkinson (1984), p. x.
- ²⁹⁷ Idem
- ²⁹⁸ Parkinson (1984), -Explanatory Remarksø p. 2.
- ²⁹⁹ Carr (1983), Preface, p. ix.
- ³⁰⁰ Idem
- ³⁰¹ Broadie (2003), Intro., p. 16.
- ³⁰² Roger L. Emerson, -The Scientific Interests of Archibald Campbell, 1st Earl of Islay and 3rd Duke of Argyll (1682-1761)ø *Annals of Science*, vol., 59 (2002), pp. 21-56, p. 30.
- ³⁰³ Eleanor Joan Wilson, *James lee and the Vineyard Nursery Hammersmith* (London, Hammersmith Local History Group, 1961), p. 3.
- ³⁰⁴ Broadie (2003), Intro., p. 16.
- ³⁰⁵ Emerson (2002), p. 30.
- ³⁰⁶ Charles Elliott, -The Apothecaries Plot; Chelsea Physic Garden in London, Englandø *Horticulture, the Art of American Gardening*, (Nov-Dec., 1998), vol. 95, n. 9, pp. 26-8, p. 26.
- ³⁰⁷ Carr (1983), Preface, p. ix.
- ³⁰⁸ Idem
- ³⁰⁹ Averill Lysaght, *Joseph Banks in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1766 : his diary, manuscripts and collections* (London, Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 103.
- ³¹⁰ Sydney Parkinsonø experience working with the distinguished Ehret and learning from his style and technique could account for Lysaghtø recognising the influence of Ehret in some of Parkinsonø *Endeavour* botanical drawings.
- ³¹¹ Lysaght (1979), p. 15.
- ³¹² In this work Pennant received assistance from Daniel Solander.
- ³¹³ Pennant ó Banks, August 4, 1767, Kew B.C. 1:12; D.T.C. 1:14, as quoted in Lysaght (1971), p. 243.
- ³¹⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1785 as in Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 54.
- ³¹⁵ William Gilpin, *An Essay on Prints, Containing Remarks upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty* (London, 1768), p. 52.
- ³¹⁶ Idem
- ³¹⁷ The *heiva* is discussed further in Chapter VIII.
- ³¹⁸ Banks (1962), vol. I, p.335.
- ³¹⁹ Georg Forster, *A Voyage Round the World*, eds., N. Thomas & O. Berghof (University of Hawaii Press, 2000). 2 vols. Vol. I, p. 395.
- ³²⁰ Parkinson (1984), p. 40.
- ³²¹ Ibid, p. 54.
- ³²² Ibid, Preface, p. xxiii.
- ³²³ Hawkesworth (1773), vol. II, Intro., p.iv.
- ³²⁴ Harold B. Carter, *Sir Joseph Banks, 1743-1820* (London, British Museum, 1988), p.142, notes that, for reasons unknown, the florilegium was never completed in Banksø lifetime although more than two hundred and thirteen plates had been executed by 1777. In 1782, Banks confided to the Swedish biologist, Johann Alstromer, that it was no longer possible to complete the work in hand. Work on the publication ceased in 1784. The prints contained in the *Florilegium* (London, Alecto Historical Editions in association with the British Museum (Natural History), 1980-1986) were printed from the original eighteenth-century plates.
- ³²⁵ Ibid, p. 136.
- ³²⁶ Benjamin Franklin, November 1773, as in Carter (1988), p. 140.
- ³²⁷ Cook (1955), vol. I, Intro., p. xciii.
- ³²⁸ Parkinson (1984), p. 14.
- ³²⁹ Idem
- ³³⁰ Joppien & Smith (1985), p.100.

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- ³³¹ Ibid, p. 101.
- ³³² Blunt (1983), p. 32.
- ³³³ Idem
- ³³⁴ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 258.
- ³³⁵ Ibid, vol. II, p. 157.
- ³³⁶ Ibid, p. 257.
- ³³⁷ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 54.
- ³³⁸ ML MS A 80. 4, 12 January, 1773, as in Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 54.
- ³³⁹ Parkinson (1984), Preface, p. xxiii.
- ³⁴⁰ As also noted in Chapter II, in the second edition, Fothergill deleted reference to Sydney Parkinson as the originating artist of the *Journal* illustrations.
- ³⁴¹ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 109.
- ³⁴² Further discussion on the Chief Mourner and the ritual he performed will appear in Chapter IV.
- ³⁴³ Hawkesworth (1773), vol. II, p. 431.
- ³⁴⁴ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 107.
- ³⁴⁵ Parkinson (1984), p. 23.
- ³⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 24.
- ³⁴⁷ For details of the operations see William Bligh, *Voyage to the South Sea; undertaken by Command of His Majesty; for the purpose of conveying the Bread Fruit Tree to the West Indies, in His Majesty's Ship the Bounty, commanded by Lieutenant William Bligh* (London, George Nicol, 1792) and Anne Salmond, *Bligh: William Bligh in the South Seas* (Auckland, Penguin, Viking, 2011).
- ³⁴⁸ Banks (1962), vol. I, 317.
- ³⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 318.
- ³⁵⁰ Michael Laird, *The Flowering Landscape: English Pleasure Grounds, 1720-1800* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p.17, describes what he calls "The mania for collecting and displaying North American trees and shrubs"
- ³⁵¹ As in Laird (1999), p. 17, n. 67.
- ³⁵² See Gavin R de Beer, *Sir Hans Sloane and the British Museum* (London, 1953), for the background to Miller's appointment as curator.
- ³⁵³ www.bartramtrail.org/pages/biography/bio3.html. p. 1.
- ³⁵⁴ Edmund Berkely and Dorothy Smith Berkely eds., *The Correspondence of John Bartram 1734-1777* (Florida, 1992), p. 392 as in Laird (1999), p. 17.
- ³⁵⁵ Laird (1999), p. 17.
- ³⁵⁶ These expeditions became the basis for William Bartram's classic, *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1791).
- ³⁵⁷ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 376.
- ³⁵⁸ Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance - Art Science, Nature and the Illustrated Travel Account, 1760-1840* (Cambridge Massachusetts & London, MIT Press, 1984), p. 41.
- ³⁵⁹ Idem
- ³⁶⁰ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 173.
- ³⁶¹ Parkinson (1984), p. 99.
- ³⁶² Banks 1962), vol. I, p. 419.
- ³⁶³ Idem. Banks's comments relate to the contemporary Enlightenment debate over the relationship between nature and culture and their relative qualities.
- ³⁶⁴ Ibid, p.23
- ³⁶⁵ Lysaght (1979), p. 30.
- ³⁶⁶ Idem
- ³⁶⁷ John Gascoigne, "Banks, Mapping and Natural Knowledge" *Georgian Geographies; Essays on Space, Place and Landscape in the Eighteenth Century*, eds., Miles Ogborn & Charles W. J. Withers (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 151-173, p. 155.
- ³⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 154.
- ³⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 168.
- ³⁷⁰ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 179, note that unlike most of the other works in the *Endeavour* collection, Baralet's design is not in the British library, London, but in the Knatchbull Collection, Brabourne,

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- Smeeth, Ashford, Kent.
- ³⁷¹ Joppien & Smith (1985), p.180, refer to an editorial to the *Auckland City Art Gallery Quarterly*, XX (1962) by P. Tomory in which this confusion is discussed.
- ³⁷² Idem
- ³⁷³ Idem
- ³⁷⁴ Idem
- ³⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 180.
- ³⁷⁶ Smith (1979), p. 7.
- ³⁷⁷ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 432.
- ³⁷⁸ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 83.
- ³⁷⁹ Idem
- ³⁸⁰ Idem
- ³⁸¹ Idem
- ³⁸² Idem
- ³⁸³ Ibid, p. 84.
- ³⁸⁴ Idem
- ³⁸⁵ Idem
- ³⁸⁶ Idem
- ³⁸⁷ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 379.
- ³⁸⁸ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 84.
- ³⁸⁹ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 378.
- ³⁹⁰ Idem
- ³⁹¹ Idem
- ³⁹² Idem
- ³⁹³ Idem
- ³⁹⁴ Idem
- ³⁹⁵ Idem
- ³⁹⁶ Idem
- ³⁹⁷ Salmond (2003), p. 37.
- ³⁹⁸ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 378.
- ³⁹⁹ Adrienne Kaeppler, *Artificial Curiosities ; an Exposition of the Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, RN, held at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawaii, January 18 - August 31, 1978* (Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1978), pp. 123-4.
- ⁴⁰⁰ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 378.
- ⁴⁰¹ Idem
- ⁴⁰² Thomas (2003), pp. 72.
- ⁴⁰³ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 378.
- ⁴⁰⁴ Thomas (2003), p. 73.
- ⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 379.
- ⁴⁰⁶ Idem
- ⁴⁰⁷ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 318
- ⁴⁰⁸ Idem
- ⁴⁰⁹ Idem
- ⁴¹⁰ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 318, n. 4.
- ⁴¹¹ Hawkesworth (1773), as in <http://southseas.nla.gov.au/journals/hv23/237.html>. 14/04/201. vol. II, p. 143.
- ⁴¹² Ibid, p. 42.
- ⁴¹³ Idem
- ⁴¹⁴ Claudius Aelianus was a Roman author and Greek military writer from the second century AD.
- ⁴¹⁵ Apollonius Rhodius was an Alexandrian poet from the third century BC.
- ⁴¹⁶ Hawkesworth (1773), as in <http://southseas.nla.gov.au/journals/hv23/143.html>. 14/04/2011. vol. II, p.143.
- ⁴¹⁷ Idem
- ⁴¹⁸ Idem
- ⁴¹⁹ Idem
- ⁴²⁰ Ibid, p. 145.

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- ⁴²¹ Gregory J. Shepherd, *An Exposition of 'José de Acosta's 'Historias natural y moral de las Indias, 1590: an emergence of an anthropological vision of colonial Latin America* (New York, 2002) Note 14, p. 14
- ⁴²² Idem
- ⁴²³ This definition is based on *Genesis* 8, 9 &10 which describes how God was angered by the behaviour of the Jews at Babel and, as a result of this anger the Jews not only suffered banishment but also lost their single language. The *Genesis* texts were used in the early years of the sixteenth century to explain the existence of different ethnic groups, in the New World, all of whom spoke different languages. For further discussion on the history of the graphic depiction of non-European religious practices see Honour (1975), p. 53 ff.
- ⁴²⁴ Ibid, p. 47.
- ⁴²⁵ Claude Lévy Strause, *Tristes Tropiques*, trans., John Russell (New York, Atheneum, 1972), p. 85, as in Léry (1990), Intro., p. xv.
- ⁴²⁶ Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires: a Short History of English Migration, Exploration, and Conquest, from Greece to the Present Day* (New York, Modern Library, 2003), p. 42.
- ⁴²⁷ Ibid, p. 43.
- ⁴²⁸ Idem
- ⁴²⁹ Léry (1578), pp.173- 174.
- ⁴³⁰ Idem
- ⁴³¹ De Bry, *America Part 1*, -A brief and true report of the new found land of Virginiaø (1590), text to Plate XXI, *The Idol Kiwasa*.
- ⁴³² Idem
- ⁴³³ Ibid, p. 27.
- ⁴³⁴ Parkinson (1773), p. 71.
- ⁴³⁵ Ibid, p. 21.
- ⁴³⁶ Ibid, p. 70.
- ⁴³⁷ Ibid, note to p.70.
- ⁴³⁸ Kaeppler (1978), p. 128.
- ⁴³⁹ Hawkesworth (1773), vol. II, p. 414.
- ⁴⁴⁰ Idem
- ⁴⁴¹ This would subsequently become the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
- ⁴⁴² H.D. Houghton, *A Bibliographical Description of a Copy of the Great and Small Voyages of de Bry in the Library of the Late John Carter Brown of Providence* (Cambridge, 1875), p. ii.
- ⁴⁴³ Idem
- ⁴⁴⁴ Sarah Sophia Banks, *A Manuscript Catalogue of the Library and Collection of Prints belonging to Sir Joseph Banks*, c. 1818. BL.
- ⁴⁴⁵ Paul Hulton & David Quinn, eds., *The American Drawings of John White, 1557-1590, with drawings of European and Oriental Subjects*. 2 vols. (University of North Carolina Press & British Museum Publications, 1964), vol. I, p.26.
- ⁴⁴⁶ Idem. Hulton and Quinn suggest that Hakluyt also played a considerable part in the publication.
- ⁴⁴⁷ Thomas Harriot, *A brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588). <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/etas/20/16/03/2011>, p. 36.
- ⁴⁴⁸ Theodore de Bry, *Collectiones peregrinatorum in Indiam Orientalem et Indiam Occidentalem* (Frankfurt, 1590), text to Plate XIII.
- ⁴⁴⁹ Ibid. Text to Plate XX.
- ⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. Text to Plate XV.
- ⁴⁵¹ Idem
- ⁴⁵² Parkinson (1984), p. 8.
- ⁴⁵³ Hawkesworth (1773), General Introduction, vol. I, p. 17.
- ⁴⁵⁴ John Dunmore, -Magellanø entry into the Pacificø *Who's Who in Pacific Navigation* (Carlton, Victoria, Melbourne University Press, 1992), p. 167, states that he entered the Pacific on November 28th 1520.
- ⁴⁵⁵ Harriot (1588) as in Hulton & Quinn (1964), vol. I, p. 99.
- ⁴⁵⁶ Idem
- ⁴⁵⁶ Parkinson (1984), p.28.

- ⁴⁵⁷ The iconography of costume studies is discussed further in Chapter V.
- ⁴⁵⁸ Deborah E. Harkness, *The Jewel House; Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (New Haven & London, 2007), p.15.
- ⁴⁵⁹ Hans Sloane, as hand-written on the fly leaf of Theodore de Bry, *America* vol. I (Frankfurt, 1590).
- ⁴⁶⁰ Although this has been disputed, Kim Sloan, *A New World: England's first view of America* (London, British Museum Press, 2007), p.12, claims that Sloane was correct in believing that he had the original watercolours. She notes that 'The watercolours in the Sloane volume have been dismissed as copies ever since the discovery and purchase by the British Museum in the mid-nineteenth century of the 'originals' but their status is re-assessed in the present book.
- ⁴⁶¹ Carter (1988), p. 28.
- ⁴⁶² Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 16.
- ⁴⁶³ Idem
- ⁴⁶⁴ Idem
- ⁴⁶⁵ Idem
- ⁴⁶⁶ De Bry (1590), Dedication, p. 4.
- ⁴⁶⁷ Idem
- ⁴⁶⁸ Hulton & Quinn (1964), vol. I, p. 95.
- ⁴⁶⁹ Ibid. Text to Plate XVII, de Bry (1590).
- ⁴⁷⁰ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 16.
- ⁴⁷¹ Ibid p.18 & 19.
- ⁴⁷² Ibid, p.15.
- ⁴⁷³ De Bry (1590), Appendix.
- ⁴⁷⁴ What has come to be known as the 'stadial theory' was central to the eighteenth-century social theories of the Scottish Enlightenment. In a preface written to support the authenticity of Macpherson's infamous Gaelic forgery, *The Poems of Ossian* (1763), the first Regius Professor of Rhetoric at Edinburgh University and prominent member of the Enlightenment movement, Hugh Blair, describes early Britons as belonging to 'the beginnings of Society'. In 'A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal' Blair writes:
- There are four great stages through which men successively pass in the progress of society. The first and earliest is the life of hunters; pasturage succeeds to this, as the ideas of property begin to take root; next agriculture; and lastly commerce.
- Although this concept (subsequently known as the 'stadial theory') did not exist in the sixteenth century, as de Bry's text shows, the premise upon which it was based was accepted at that time. The origin of this premise is unknown, but it has been attributed to concepts expressed in the myths and legends of the Greek poet, Hesiod, from the fourth century BC, and in the writings of the third-century philosopher, Epicurus.
- ⁴⁷⁵ See Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.5, for a description of the eighteenth century understanding of its origin in a speech by S.E. Desnitsky, entitled 'A Legal Discourse about the Different Ideas which People have concerning the Ownership of Property in Different Conditions of Society'.
- ⁴⁷⁶ Joppien & Smith (1985), pp. 18 & 19.
- ⁴⁷⁷ Lucy Peltz, 'Godfrey, Richard Bernard (b. c.1728, d. in or after 1795)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2006.
http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezporxy.auclik.amnd.ac.nz/view/printable/10871_12/03/2009.
- ⁴⁷⁸ H. Walpole, *Correspondence* 2.53, as in Peltz (2006).
- ⁴⁷⁹ Jonathon Potter, 'The World through Travellers Eyes' www.geographical.co.uk. April 2002, pp. 12 & 13, p. 12.
- ⁴⁸⁰ John White, 'Werowance' BM 1906, 0509. 1.12. as in Sloan (2007), p.121.
- ⁴⁸¹ De Bry, (1590), Appendix.
- ⁴⁸² Hulton & Quinn (1964), vol. I, p.76.
- ⁴⁸³ Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific* (New Haven, 1992), p. 15.
- ⁴⁸⁴ Sloan (2007), p. 150.
- ⁴⁸⁵ Hulton & Quinn (1964), vol. I, p. 76.
- ⁴⁸⁶ Idem
- ⁴⁸⁷ Idem

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- ⁴⁸⁸ Guilia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1490-1550* (British Museum, 1995), p.13, n.6 states that Erhard Reuwich is the first artist to be documented also as a publisher. It was as a travel book documenting a pilgrimage to the Holy Lands and illustrated with woodcuts after his [Reuwich's] designs [it was] a best seller of the 1480s.
- ⁴⁸⁹ Michael Jacobs *The Painted Voyage: art, travel and exploration, 1564-1875* (London, British Museum Publications, 1995), p. 32, states that Gentile Bellini worked at the court of Constantinople between 1479 and 1481 and is said to have painted erotic scenes for the harem of the Sultan of Mehmet.
- ⁴⁹⁰ J.K. Rowlands & G. Bartrum, *Drawings by German Artists; the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century by artists born before 1530* (London, British Museum Publications, 1993), p. 61.
- ⁴⁹¹ Sloan (2007), p. 147.
- ⁴⁹² Idem
- ⁴⁹³ Margaret F. Rosenthal & Ann Rosalind Jones, *Cesare Vecellio: Habiti Antichi et Moderni: the clothing of the Renaissance World; Europe: Asia: Africa: The Americas* (London, Thames & Hudson, 2008), Intro., p. 16.
- ⁴⁹⁴ Bronwyn Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern History* (Toronto, 2005), p. 102, as in Rosenthal and Jones (2008), Intro., p. 16.
- ⁴⁹⁵ Rosenthal & Jones (2008), Intro., p. 20.
- ⁴⁹⁶ Idem
- ⁴⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 20.
- ⁴⁹⁸ Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (Venice, 1590-98) as in Rosenthal and Jones (2005), p. 469.
- ⁴⁹⁹ Mark P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector, 1488-1539* (London, British Museum Press, 2005), p. 28.
- ⁵⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 63.
- ⁵⁰¹ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 6.
- ⁵⁰² Idem
- ⁵⁰³ Idem
- ⁵⁰⁴ It should be noted that this study was executed well before Buchan's death and when he was still acting as Banks's landscape and figure draughtsman. As such, it undermines Banks's argument that Parkinson's ethnographic studies were created for Banks after Buchan's death at Banks's request.
- ⁵⁰⁵ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 13, also note the alternative spelling.
- ⁵⁰⁶ In spite of this identification, the name Chambers that is given on the plate will be used throughout this thesis.
- ⁵⁰⁷ Parkinson (1984), p. 7.
- ⁵⁰⁸ Idem
- ⁵⁰⁹ Idem
- ⁵¹⁰ Idem
- ⁵¹¹ Ibid, p. 8.
- ⁵¹² Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 22.
- ⁵¹³ Idem.
- ⁵¹⁴ Ibid, p.114.
- ⁵¹⁵ Ibid p. 25.
- ⁵¹⁶ Kaeppler (1978), p. 130.
- ⁵¹⁷ Idem
- ⁵¹⁸ Dampier (1729), Preface p. 3.
- ⁵¹⁹ Idem
- ⁵²⁰ Idem
- ⁵²¹ George Anson, *A Voyage round the World in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV* by George Anson, ed., Glyndwyr Williams (London, Oxford University Press, 1974), Intro. p. 15.
- ⁵²² Idem
- ⁵²³ Idem
- ⁵²⁴ Ibid, p. 17.
- ⁵²⁵ Ibid, p. 10.
- ⁵²⁶ Burney Collection of Newspapers, RAM 094.20941, BL.
- ⁵²⁷ Described in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings as 'Book of pasted woodcut curiosities donated by Madan, 165 G.31a'

- ⁵²⁸ For further reading on these artists see T. Thomsen *Albert Eckhout* (Copenhagen, 1938) and Joaquim de Sousa-Leao, *Frans Post, 1612-1680* (Amsterdam, A.L. van Gent & Co., 1973).
- ⁵²⁹ Peter Whitehead, 'Faces of the New World: The Brazilian Paintings of Albert Eckhout' as in *Albert Eckhout: A Dutch Painter in Brazil*, ed., Quentin Buvelot (Zwolle, ca. 2004), pp. 126-134, p. 130 describes those by Eckhout as 'in any age, superb human documents and of quite outstanding ethnographic importance.
- ⁵³⁰ 'The unpublished log-book and journal account of the voyage of the *Dolphin* under Captain Samuel Wallis, 19th June 1766 to 10th June, 1768' Alexander Turnbull Library, Micro-MS-0353, entry for July 26, 1767.
- ⁵³¹ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 76.
- ⁵³² Salmond (2003), p. 54 ff.
- ⁵³³ *Ibid*, p. 66.
- ⁵³⁴ Cook (195-74), vol. I, p. 56.
- ⁵³⁵ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 250
- ⁵³⁶ *Idem*
- ⁵³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 252.
- ⁵³⁸ Hawkesworth (1773) vol. II, p. 434.
- ⁵³⁹ Honour (1975), p. 6.
- ⁵⁴⁰ *Idem*
- ⁵⁴¹ *Idem*
- ⁵⁴² Pagden (2001) p. 120.
- ⁵⁴³ David Mackay, 'Myth, Science, and Experience,' as in Calder et. al. (1999), pp. 100-113, p. 108.
- ⁵⁴⁴ Banks (1962), vol. II, p. 248.
- ⁵⁴⁵ Louis de Bougainville, *A Voyage Round the World Performed by Order of His Most Christian Majesty in the Years 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769*, ed.& trans., Forster, J. (London, J. Nourse, 1772), p. 256.
- ⁵⁴⁶ For a description of the *arioi* see Chapter II of this thesis.
- ¹⁵ Bougainville (1772), p. 256.
- ⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 257.
- ⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 257.
- ⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 218.
- ⁵⁵¹ *Idem*
- ⁵⁵² *Ibid*, p. 219.
- ⁵⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 228.
- ⁵⁵⁴ *Idem*
- ⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 229.
- ⁵⁵⁶ Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World from Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1993), p. 51.
- ⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 52.
- ⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 24.
- ⁵⁵⁹ Bougainville (1772), 249.
- ⁵⁶⁰ Pagden (2001), p. 128.
- ⁵⁶¹ *Idem*
- ⁵⁶² Bougainville (1772), p. 257.
- ⁵⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 229. Cook, Add. MS 27888, appears to have also misunderstood Bougainville's perception of Tahitian life because in a letter written on the 2nd or 3rd voyage he writes, 'while it is true some things require but little labour, but others again require a good deal' Bananas and Plantain will not grow spontaneously but by proper cultivation, nor will the Bread and Cocoa nut trees come to perfection without. These are not the only mistakes M. Bougainville has committed in his account of the Customs of these people nor can I see how it could be otherwise a stay of ten days was by no means sufficient for such a task.
- ⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 229.
- ⁵⁶⁵ Peter Jimack, *Diderot, Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (Grant & Cutler, 1988), p.11.
- ⁵⁶⁶ Jacques Proust, *Bougainville, Voyage autour du Monde; Préface de Jacques Proust*, ed., J. Proust, (Paris, Gallimard, 1990), p. 26 as in Jimack (1988), p.11.

- ⁵⁶⁷ Sergio Moravia, *La Scienza dell' uomo nel settecento* (Bari, 1987), pp. 104-105, as in Pagden (1993), p. 32.
- ⁵⁶⁸ Cook (1955- 74), vol. I, p. 478.
- ⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 100.
- ⁵⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 478.
- ⁵⁷¹ Banks (1962), vol.II, p. 188.
- ⁵⁷² This was Ahutoru who is named above.
- ⁵⁷³ Banks (1962), vol.II, p.188. See also Lysaght (1979), p. 9.
- ⁵⁷⁴ Banks (1962), "Textual Introduction" vol. I, p. 138,
- ⁵⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 140.
- ⁵⁷⁶ Idem
- ⁵⁷⁷ Hawkesworth - Burney, October 6, 1771. Alexander Turnbull Library, MS 332/2.
- ⁵⁷⁸ See Chapter I.
- ⁵⁷⁹ Banks ó Lauraguais, December 1771, Mitchell Library, as in Banks (1962), vol. II, Appendix III, "Correspondence about the voyage" pp. 308-329, p. 325.
- ⁵⁸⁰ Banks (1962), vol. II, p. 327.
- ⁵⁸¹ Ibid, p. 328
- ⁵⁸² Ibid, pp. 238-329. Banks was at this time still intending to travel with Cook on the second voyage.
- ⁵⁸³ Cook (1955-74), vol. I, p. 441.
- ⁵⁸⁴ Banks (1962), vol.1, p. 258.
- ⁵⁸⁵ Ibid, vol. I, p. 368.
- ⁵⁸⁶ www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/articles/24/24064-article.html/back+5/03/2009.
- ⁵⁸⁷ Clayton (1997), p. 158.
- ⁵⁸⁸ Idem
- ⁵⁸⁹ As well as being the curator of the Chelsea Physic Garden, Miller was also a successful writer. In 1724 he published the first edition of his *Gardener's Dictionary* in which he listed plants and gave advice on their propagation and planting. It became one of the most popular and widely-read gardening authorities in eighteenth-century England and ran to eight editions, the last of which was in 1769. It was also the source of the design for plantings at Banks's Reevesby Abbey in Lincolnshire.
- ⁵⁹⁰ Banks (1962), vol.I, p. 337
- ⁵⁹¹ Idem
- ⁵⁹² Ibid, p. 338.
- ⁵⁹³ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 152.
- ⁵⁹⁴ See the map showing "The Endeavour in the Society Islands" Banks (1962), vol. I, p.315.
- ⁵⁹⁵ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 364.
- ⁵⁹⁶ Joppien & Smith p. 120.
- ⁵⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 364.
- ⁵⁹⁸ Poseidon was the Greek God of the Sea who was always depicted with his trident raised. It was believed that he could make new islands and calm seas. It was also believed that when his anger was aroused he could also create earthquakes.
- ⁵⁹⁹ Pagden (1993), p. 32.
- ⁶⁰⁰ Idem
- ⁶⁰¹ Idem
- ⁶⁰² J.G.A Pocock, "Nature and History, Self and Other European Perceptions of World History in the Age of Encounter" as in Calder et al., (1999), pp. 25-44, p. 41.
- ⁶⁰³ Hawkesworth (1773), vol. II, p. 450.
- ⁶⁰⁴ R. Christopher Coski, *Condillac: Language, Thought and Morality in the Man and Animal Debate*, (French Forum, 28.1 (2003), pp. 57-75, p. 58.
- ⁶⁰⁵ Emile Durkheim, *Montesquieu and Rousseau, Forerunners of Sociology* (Michigan, Michigan University Press, 1966), p. 70.
- ⁶⁰⁶ Jean Jacques. Rousseau, *The Social Contract or Principles of Political Right*, Part I, "Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité" (1762), Part I, as in Durkheim (1966), p. 70.
- ⁶⁰⁷ Durkheim (1966), p. 70.
- ⁶⁰⁸ Rousseau (1762) as in Durkheim (1966), p. 70.

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- ⁶⁰⁹ Durkheim (1966), p. 70.
- ⁶¹⁰ Durkheim (1966), p. 70.
- ⁶¹¹ Parkinson (1984), p. 74.
- ⁶¹² Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 142.
- ⁶¹³ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 325.
- ⁶¹⁴ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 325 n. 3.
- ⁶¹⁵ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 145.
- ⁶¹⁶ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 337.
- ⁶¹⁷ Idem
- ⁶¹⁸ Edgar Munhill, *Greuze the Draughtsman* (London, Merrill Publishers, 2002), p.174.
- ⁶¹⁹ Waterhouse (1978), p. 292.
- ⁶²⁰ Idem
- ⁶²¹ Idem
- ⁶²² Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 326.
- ⁶²³ Hawkesworth (1773), vol. II, p.272.
- ⁶²⁴ Parkinson (1984), p. 74.
- ⁶²⁵ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 362.
- ⁶²⁶ Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Conquest of Paradise: Christopher Columbus and the and the Columbian Legacy* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), p. 141, as in David Bjelajac, *American Art: A Cultural History* (London, Lawrence King, 2000), p. 24.
- ⁶²⁷ Bartrum (1998), p.132.
- ⁶²⁸ Stanley Appelbaum, *The Triumph of Maximilian; woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and others with a translation of the descriptive text, introduction and notes* (New York, Dover Publications, 1964), Intro., p. vi.
- ⁶²⁹ Idem.
- ⁶³⁰ Elizabeth McGrath, "The Black Andromeda" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 55 (1992), pp.1-18, p.7.
- ⁶³¹ The catalogue of an exhibition in which Dürer's engravings recently appeared, *Albrecht Dürer: oeuvre gravé* (Paris, Musée de Petit Palais, 1996), p. 73, claims the source of the figure in *Small Fortune* (Fig. 81) is one of the dancing muses from *Parnassus*, a painting executed in 1497 by Mantegna to decorate the *studiolo* of Isabella d'Este at Mantua.
- ⁶³² Banks (1962), vol. II, Appendix IV, p. 330.
- ⁶³³ Idem
- ⁶³⁴ Hulton (1977), vol. I, p.19.
- ⁶³⁵ This same figure would subsequently become the model for an illustration engraved by John Pine in Shelvocke (1720), "Two Californian Women, the one in a Bird's skin; the other in that of a Deer"
- ⁶³⁶ Honour (1975), p.6.
- ⁶³⁷ Idem
- ⁶³⁸ Idem
- ⁶³⁹ Two females are just visible amongst the men on the right of the plate but their head dress shows that they are dancers.
- ⁶⁴⁰ Bjelajac (2000), p. 23.
- ⁶⁴¹ Idem
- ⁶⁴² For further discussion on this subject see Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages*, trans., B. M. Gulati (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 24, and William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore; Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.93.
- ⁶⁴³ Honour (1975), p. 8.
- ⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁴⁵ Bartrum (1995), p. 131.
- ⁶⁴⁶ McDonald (2004), p. 161.
- ⁶⁴⁷ Idem
- ⁶⁴⁸ Bartrum (1995), p.131.

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- ⁶⁴⁹ Idem
- ⁶⁵⁰ Karen Harvey, "Spaces of Erotic Delight" as in Ogborn and Withers, (2004), pp. 122-150, p. 131.
- ⁶⁵¹ Ibid, p. 132.
- ⁶⁵² Selwyn Brinton, *Bartolozzi and his pupils in England with an abridged list of his most important prints in line and stipple* (London, 1903), p. 24.
- ⁶⁵³ Parkinson (1984), p. 134.
- ⁶⁵⁴ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 220.
- ⁶⁵⁵ Parkinson (1984), p. 134.
- ⁶⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 147.
- ⁶⁵⁷ Idem
- ⁶⁵⁸ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 48.
- ⁶⁵⁹ Idem
- ⁶⁶⁰ While Chambers exhibiting with the Society of Arts would not have been exceptional, his admission to the Royal Academy would. Apart from Bartolozzi, who was employed to teach perspective, engravers were refused membership when the Royal Academy opened in 1769. In 1770, there was a change of heart and places were created for six engravers who could hold seats but not take part in deliberations, play a role in the Academy's governance or use its library. With such limited appeal, it is not surprising most the places allocated to engravers remained empty until 1774.
- ⁶⁶¹ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 48.
- ⁶⁶² Idem
- ⁶⁶³ Idem
- ⁶⁶⁴ Idem
- ⁶⁶⁵ Idem
- ⁶⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 10.
- ⁶⁶⁷ The *Gentleman's Magazine* was a popular London newspaper. It was the first to use the name "magazine" in relation to newspapers. Beginning in 1731, it ran uninterrupted nearly for two hundred years. Samuel Johnson joined its staff in 1738, writing parliamentary reports.
- ⁶⁶⁸ The *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1785, p. 52, as in Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 54.
- ⁶⁶⁹ Its full English title is *The New found Worlde, or Antarticke, wherein is contained wonderful and strange things, as well as humaine creatures, as Beetles, Fishes, Fowles and Serpents, Trees, garnished with many learned authorities travailed and written in the French tong, by that excellent learned man, master Andrewe Thevet* (London, 1558).
- ⁶⁷⁰ Frank Lestringant, *Mapping the Renaissance World: Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery* trans. D. Faussett (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1994), p. 38.
- ⁶⁷¹ Ibid, Foreword, p. xiii.
- ⁶⁷² André Thevet, *The New Found World, or Antarticke* (London, 1568, reprint by Da Capo Press, Amsterdam & New York, 1971), p. 7.
- ⁶⁷³ Ibid, p. 11.
- ⁶⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 16.
- ⁶⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 11.
- ⁶⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 36.
- ⁶⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 43.
- ⁶⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 44.
- ⁶⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 46.
- ⁶⁸⁰ Lestringant (1994) Foreword, p. xiii.
- ⁶⁸¹ Ibid, p. 73.
- ⁶⁸² Polydore Vergil, *De Inventoribus Rerum* (The Invention of all things), Padua, 1499.
- ⁶⁸³ Lestringant (1994), p. 73.
- ⁶⁸⁴ Idem
- ⁶⁸⁵ McDonald (2005), p. 18
- ⁶⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 99.
- ⁶⁸⁷ Idem
- ⁶⁸⁸ Lestringant (1994), p. 73.
- ⁶⁸⁹ Parkinson (1984), p. 25.
- ⁶⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 90.

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- ⁶⁹¹ Idem
- ⁶⁹² Idem
- ⁶⁹³ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 184
- ⁶⁹⁴ Idem
- ⁶⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 109.
- ⁶⁹⁶ Banks (1962), vol. I, p. 443
- ⁶⁹⁷ Idem
- ⁶⁹⁸ Idem
- ⁶⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 444.
- ⁷⁰⁰ Idem
- ⁷⁰¹ Cook (1985-74), p.
- ⁷⁰² Idem
- ⁷⁰³ Idem
- ⁷⁰⁴ Idem
- ⁷⁰⁵ Parkinson (1984), p. 109
- ⁷⁰⁶ Idem
- ⁷⁰⁷ Cook (1985-74), p.
- ⁷⁰⁸ Thomas (2003), p. 60.
- ⁷⁰⁹ Parkinson (1984), p. 97.
- ⁷¹⁰ It might be compared to the engraving technique known as mezzotint where the ground is created by the rocker moving back and forth to create a dense texture before the areas making up the design are polished out with the burnisher.
- ⁷¹¹ Parkinson (1984), p. 97.
- ⁷¹² Ibid, p. 98.
- ⁷¹³ Ibid, p. 109.
- ⁷¹⁴ Idem
- ⁷¹⁵ Joppien & Smith (1985), p. 16.
- ⁷¹⁶ Parkinson (1984), p. 97.
- ⁷¹⁷ Thevet (1971), p. 84
- ⁷¹⁸ Lestringant (1994), p. 92. This later embellishment had its origin in a voyage account that was published in Germany in 1557 by a German mercenary in the service of the Portuguese named Hans Staden. According to Honour (1975), p. 64, Staden was held captive by the Tupinamba and allegedly forced to march naked into one of their villages announcing 'Here I come,; food for you.øThe title of Staden's published account, which in translation reads, *Truthful History and Description of a Landscape of Wild, Wicked, Cruel, Man Eating People in the New World of America* conveys the author's feelings about the experience. Graphic images of Tupinamba barbarity and cannibalism from the publication were widely used in voyage illustrations including those in de Bry's *Voyages*.
- ⁷¹⁹ Lestringant (1994), p. 92.
- ⁷²⁰ Idem
- ⁷²¹ Ibid, p. 91.
- ⁷²² Paul Hulton, *The World of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues: a Huguenot Artist in England*, 2 vols., (London, British Museum Publications, 1977), vol. I, p. 208, claims to recognise three heads of Florida Indian chiefs after de Morgues in Plate XIII from Part II of de Bry's *America* (1591) as the source of Thevet's portraits of the Amerindian kings. Since this work was not published until 1591, the images cannot have been copied from de Bry, Hulton suggests that although Thevet claimed to have acquired them from a sailor, it is more likely that he owned or had access to drawings by de Morgues that no longer exist.
- ⁷²³ Lestringant (1994), p. 92.
- ⁷²⁴ Idem
- ⁷²⁵ Simon de Passe, Mataoaks also Rebecca, daughter to the Mighty Prince Powahatan, baptised and Married to Mr John Roff. Engraving, excudit Compton Holland (1616). Republished by W. Richardson, August, 1973).
- ⁷²⁶ As in Bjelajac (2000), p. 29.
- ⁷²⁷ Ibid, p. 98.

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