Collaborative Drawing on Captain Cook’s Endeavour Voyage, 1768-1771: An Intellectual History of Artistic Practice

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Abstract

This thesis investigates what can be learned from the drawn gesture on paper by locating it in the historical context in which it was made. This ‘contextualist’ approach to drawing analysis is derived from the methodologies used for text analysis in intellectual history. Intellectual historians recapture the meaning a text conveyed to its original readers by reconstructing the ‘language game’ of the author. The game has two dimensions in this approach: the concepts and practices that define the cultural norms of the author’s society and intellectual community, and might be described as the ‘rules of the game’, and the creative ‘moves’ made by individuals within these parameters as participants in a discourse with the author that constitute the game’s ‘play’. This thesis proposes to expand the field of intellectual history by incorporating the dimension of gesture into the moves of the language game to allow drawing and writing to be studied together. This gestural dimension of the linguistic move constitutes artistic practice in the terms of this thesis. The ramifications of its incorporation into the play of discourse are illustrated in a case study of the first part of Captain Cook’s Endeavour voyage of Pacific exploration from 1768 to 1771, the voyage to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus.

Part One, ‘Intellectual Parameters,’ constructs a model of Georgian civil society that provides the foundation for the linguistic context in which the expedition’s manuscripts of texts and drawings will be read in the chapters of the thesis. Part Two, ‘Drawing Practices,’ applies this model to develop a detailed picture of the expedition’s working community by reconstructing the artists’ drawing sessions in the Atlantic. Part Three, ‘Discourse,’ interprets the drawings of Tupaia, the man who joined Cook’s voyage to travel to England, and his discourse through the bridging languages of navigation and cartography with several members of the expedition, to produce a new reading of the Endeavour’s purpose of discovery in the South Pacific and Cook’s claims to possession.
Declaration

This is to certify that:

(i) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated in the Preface.

(ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.

(iii) the thesis is fewer than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

______________________________
Harriet Parsons
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NOTES:

1. The background maps illustrating the route of the voyage throughout this thesis have been created from images provided by © Mapbox and © OpenStreetMap.org and using the open source software TileMill and Mapbox Studio. Additional text and images have been superimposed by the author.

2. The Endeavour’s zoological and botanical drawings held by the Natural History Museum, London, are catalogued according to their modern scientific names. The titles given to the drawings in this thesis are the names written on the drawings themselves. These names are written as they appear and do not have a consistent format. This assists with identifying the drawing under discussion.

3. The collaborative drawing practices that I propose in this thesis were being used on the Endeavour creates an alternative history of production for many individual drawings that often does not correlate with the current attribution. Rather than reattributing these drawings, all the drawings made during the voyage are captioned in the list of illustrations below as ‘attributed to’. Works not associated with the voyage, including Sydney Parkinson’s drawings from his early career, cite the individual artist’s name without qualification.

4. The sources of the images in the list of illustrations below are cited in the following order: title, archive, manuscript number, online catalogue website, picture ID (for searching the online catalogue), print catalogue, plate number, photograph credit. Where a number of images from the same source are cited together, the information they share in common is listed first.
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B Joseph Banks’ and Captain’s cabins

C Passenger cabins

D Senior officers’ cabins and wardroom

E Lower deck

F Petty officer’s forecastle

G Petty officers’ cabins

H Hold

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B Captain’s Bedplace

C Draughtsmen’s cabins [Sydney Parkinson]

D Draughtsmen and Assistants to Mr Banks [Alexander Buchan]

E Mr Banks’ Bedplace [storage]

F Mr Green’s Cabbin
G Draughtsmen's Cabbin [John Reynolds]
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I Surgeon [William Monkhouse]
J Gunners
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School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. MS 12153, f. 5. SOAS: Digital Collection http://digital.soas.ac.uk/. Picture ID: LOAA000108/00002. Photograph © SOAS, University of London. All rights reserved.

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School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. 12153 ['Vocabulary and grammar of the Tahitian language'], p. 2. SOAS: Digital Collections http://digital.soas.ac.uk/. Picture ID: LOAA000108/00004/2x. Photograph, © SOAS, University of London. All rights reserved.

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**Parkinson’s Narrative**

1. *An altar with a shadow beneath*

   we saw some morais, or burial places, which are similar in all these islands...

2. *A pig on an altar*

   and went into one of them in which there was a whatee, or altar, with a roasted hog, and fish upon it, designed as an offering to the Ethooa, or god...

   [At this point the drawing of the pavement turns upwards indicating that the page should be rotated clockwise to bring the imaginary visitor who is following its narrative path into the centre of the page or the middle of the courtyard.]

3. *A cage thatched with palm leaves*

   Near to the whatee, or altar, there was a large house, which contained the coong-drums used at their solemnities: and, adjoining to this house, were several large cages of wood, having
awnings of palm-leaves upon them. These cages are called Oro, and 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...

[Two small trees placed upside-down at the centre of the plan indicate that the drawing should be turned again so that the visitor is looking back into the courtyard.]

4. Two small plants or trees drawn upside-down.
   a.) Detail plan of the courtyard with a tree in the centre

   these morais are paved, or rather covered with a sort of coral, and...

b) detail of trees

   planted with various sorts of flowering shrubs, such as nonoah, etoa, and hibiscus...

[The drawing is turned again to look back towards the ziggurat.]

5. A stone ziggurat

   at the front of the morai, which faces the sea, they have built a sort of amphitheatre, of large rough stones...

   a. Detail of the design on the boards with a bird alighting on it.

   ...and, among these stones, there are a great many long boards set up, carved in various figures, according to their fancy. Every family of note has one of these morais ornamented as much as they can afford. I have been told that the inhabitants of these three isles worship the rainbow, which they call Toomeitee No Tane.
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**Figure 125**: Detail showing the faint dotted line in pencil of the Endeavour’s course from Huahine to Ra’iatea plotted on Tupaia’s chart, Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769 (figure 113).

**Figure 126**: Comparison of two detail drawings of mountains.  
  b) Detail of the peaks in the foreground.
  c) Detail of the twin peaks of Borabora in Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769 (figure 113).

**Figure 127**: Transit of [Venus] Sat June 3rd 1769, attributed to James Cook.  
Figure 128: Map showing Cook’s estimate of the size of the *Fa’atau Aroha* extending from 200 to 300 leagues (1,111-2,222km) to the west of Ra’iatea (green semi-circle) compared with Anne Salmond’s description of the extent of the *Fa’atau Aroha* in the late eighteenth century (pink triangle; Salmond 2004, p. 38) and the islands identified on Tupaia’s Chart (di Piazza and Pearthree 2007, tables 1-5) located on the map of the Pacific with a key to the numbered islands. (NB 1 nautical league equals 5.556km.)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Island</th>
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<th>No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Rotuma</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Mataiva</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>'Ueva</td>
<td>Oweha</td>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Tikehau</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Vava’u</td>
<td>Oouow</td>
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<td>Rangiroa</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Atafu</td>
<td>Teainoorohete</td>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Ahe</td>
<td>Oo-ahe</td>
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<td>7.</td>
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<td>Moenatayo</td>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Takapoto</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Swains Island</td>
<td>Teatowhete</td>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Mehetia</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Opolu</td>
<td>Opooroo</td>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Tahanea</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Manu'a</td>
<td>Mannua</td>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Hao</td>
<td>Whaow</td>
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15. Tupai   Tupi   32. Ua Pou   Terouwhah
16. Ra’iatea Ulitea   33. Hiva Oa  Oremaroa
17. Tahiti   Otaheite

**Figure 129:** A Plan of King Georges Island Otaheite Lying in the South Sea by Lieutenant Cook, attributed to James Cook.


**Figure 130:** Map of Cook’s three claims to possession in the South Pacific: Ra’iatea and the Society Islands; Queen Charlotte’s Sound in New Zealand; and New South Wales, with the route from Europe to the East Indies via Cape Horn. The claim to Ra’iatea and the Society Islands took inchoate possession of the whole of the Friendly Alliance. Tupaia’s contact with the Maori reconnected them with the Friendly Alliance and incorporated New Zealand into Cook’s claim to the Society Islands, creating a network of safe harbours for British shipping from the equator to the Southern Ocean that took control of the Pacific trade route from Europe to the East Indies. The claim to New South Wales protected Britain’s economic control in the region by excluding other European powers from taking possession by right of first European discovery.

**Figure 131:** Manuscript page of James Cook’s claim to New South Wales.

**Figure 132:** Manuscript page of James Cook’s claim to Ra’iatea.

**Figure 133:** Map showing the extent of the Ra’iatean maritime network, the *Fa’atau Aroha* or Friendly Alliance, in 1769 (pink triangle) and after Cook’s third voyage of Pacific exploration (green triangle).
Figure 134: Benjamin West, *Sir Joseph Banks* (1743–1820), 1st Bt, G. C. B., P. R. S., 1771-1772.

Introduction

This thesis investigates what can be learned from the drawn gesture on paper by locating it in the historical context in which it was made. This ‘contextualist’ approach to drawing analysis is derived from the methodologies used for text analysis in intellectual history. Intellectual historians recapture the meaning a text conveyed to its original readers by reconstructing the ‘language game’ of the author.¹ The game has two dimensions in this approach: the concepts and practices that define the cultural norms of the author’s society and intellectual community, and might be described as the ‘rules of the game’, and the creative ‘moves’ made by individuals within these parameters as participants in a discourse with the author that constitute the game’s ‘play’. This thesis proposes to expand the field of intellectual history by incorporating the dimension of gesture into the moves of the language game to allow drawing and writing to be studied together. This gestural dimension of the linguistic move constitutes artistic practice in the terms of this thesis. The ramifications of its incorporation into the play of discourse are illustrated in a case study of the use of collaborative drawing on Captain Cook’s Endeavour voyage of Pacific exploration from 1768 to 1771.

Methodology

Captain Cook’s first voyage of Pacific exploration on the Endeavour is renowned for its discoveries. The British expedition commissioned by the Royal Society and Royal Navy, with its contingent of private passengers led by Joseph Banks, mapped large parts of the uncharted globe and documented one of the eighteenth century’s most ambitious scientific ventures. James Cook also took possession of Ra’iatea and the Society Islands, Queen Charlotte’s Sound in New

¹ Skinner 2002, p. 103.
Zealand and New South Wales. The idea of discovery implies beyond an increase in knowledge, a transformative experience that changes the imagination of the discoverer; but how imaginative was the exploration of the South Pacific on this voyage which paved the way to colonisation? To use a Romantic motif, were the Endeavour’s ‘discoveries’ of new countries and the natural world merely what the expedition saw illuminated by the ‘lamps’ of their own minds, or were they responding more creatively to the revelations of the unknown?²

This question forms the basis for the case study of this thesis in which the history of imaginative transformation on the Endeavour is approached methodologically in its manuscripts through the concept of practice or how things were done on this voyage. In the language games of intellectual history words are performative as well as conceptual. The utterance of a word, whether as speech or in writing, performs an action that is directed towards achieving a certain objective and this provides the context of its meaning. The merging of concepts with actions in intellectual history as the ‘speech act’ provides an opportunity in this thesis for joining the material evidence of gestures performed on the page with the linguistic evidence of actions performed conceptually through words.

The performative nature of language was first broached by intellectual historians in the field of political philosophy in seminal articles in the 1960s by the founding authors of the ‘Cambridge school,’ John Dunn, J. G. A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner.³ For Dunn reconstructing the language game meant investigating the intellectual discussions of philosophers as ‘complicated instances’ of the social activities of thinking and talking.⁴ Pocock’s approach was

² Bronk 2009, p. 22.
⁴ Dunn 1968, pp. 85, 88.
overtly linguistic, investigating the ‘languages’ that were culturally specific to a particular intellectual community in a given society. Skinner addressed the meaning of texts as a negotiation between the author’s intention and the reader’s ‘uptake’ which had to be recovered from the wider discourse within the author’s intellectual community. Each of these authors proposed to recover the historical meaning of texts by using research into the context of writing to limit the range of possible meanings.

Since the 1960s the methodologies of intellectual history have been applied to a wide range of texts, so much so that Stefan Collini suggests that the field has become a ‘safe house for refugees’ from other disciplines. However, the leap has not yet been made from text to image and the intellectual history of art, as Jennifer Milam notes, is at present mostly a subcategory of the historiography of art theory and writing. In this thesis, the embodied gestures of drawing in the *Endeavour*’s manuscript pages contribute to an intellectual history of this voyage by demonstrating through their recorded practices how the expedition lived and worked together. The detailed picture this creates of its community, provides the intellectual context for reading the discourses of its members that run through their manuscripts and describe what their objectives were in the South Pacific and what they took away from their discoveries.

**Connecting Drawing to Text**

The practical process of connecting the expedition’s texts and drawings involved entering their information into a database to create a single, multi-dimensional daily record. The information was organised in three main parts: the journals, principally of Cook and Banks, which were entered as parallel texts in daily and

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7 Collini 2016, p. 15.
8 Milam and Maddox 2017, p. 286.
hourly entries, images of the drawings with their catalogue details, and a digital map of the coordinates of the voyage. All three parts were cross-referenced by date, time and location, providing a framework to which other documents from the voyage could also be attached. The database and digital map are described in greater detail in Appendix 1. This process revealed the dates of the artists’ drawing sessions. Recovering the context in which each drawing was made from the journals provided the parameters for reconstructing the drawing sessions and the creative problems the artists were addressing through their artistic strategies.

**Historical Context**

The *Endeavour*’s mission was conceived in two parts: the voyage to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus, commissioned by the Royal Society, which forms the focus of this thesis, and its secret exploration of the South Pacific in search of the unknown southern continent ordered by the Admiralty.9 It was the third of three expeditions sent out in quick succession from 1764 to 1768 in search of ‘lands and islands of great extent’ and productions ‘useful in commerce.’10 The *Endeavour*’s voyage was therefore the latest in a well-established program of British exploration of the Pacific. Its uncharted waters, however, were considered a Spanish domain under the treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza between Spain and Portugal, and provoked strong protests from Spain’s ambassador to London, the Prince of Masserano.11

The expedition’s scientific mission in the South Pacific was a thinly disguised pretext for its political and economic objectives. The observation of the transit of Venus in 1769, however, was not insignificant. The international

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10 Cook and Banks 1773, p. 1; for Wallis’ orders, see Williams 1999, p. 19; for Cook see Cook 1974, p. cclxxxii.
collaboration between multiple scientific bodies to measure the sun’s parallax from locations around the globe would make it possible to calculate the distance from the earth to the sun. That in turn would allow the measurement of the distance to the moon, the planets and ultimately the stars.\textsuperscript{12} The observation in the Pacific was to be undertaken by the Royal Society’s two observers, Charles Green, assistant to the Astronomer Royal, Neville Maskelyne, and Cook himself.\textsuperscript{13} When Banks, recently elected a Fellow, joined the expedition with his team of artists and assistants, his investment of wealth and entrepreneurial skill resulted in over a thousand zoological specimens and 30,000 plant specimens being brought back, of which 1,400 were new to science, and set the standard for future scientific expeditions.\textsuperscript{14}

Cook’s predecessor in Pacific exploration, Captain Samuel Wallis, commander of the \textit{Dolphin}, arrived back in England in May, 1768, with news of his ‘discovery’ and ‘conquest’ of Tahiti. His information provided the \textit{Endeavour} with its destination when it departed just three months later in August.\textsuperscript{15} In the late eighteenth century, Tahiti was in political upheaval. The system of primogeniture which determined the hierarchy between individuals, districts and islands, was being systematically overturned by worshippers of the god ‘Oro and the internal fighting was exacerbated by the arrival of the \textit{Dolphin} in 1767.\textsuperscript{16} Wallis’ support for the chief of the Papara region, Purea, promoted her to a position of pre-eminent power, but after his departure war immediately broke out and when the \textit{Endeavour} arrived, those in Cook’s crew who had been on the previous voyage saw that ‘a very great revolution must have happen’d.’\textsuperscript{17} Purea,

\textsuperscript{12} Beaglehole 1974, p. 100.
\textsuperscript{13} Beaglehole 1974, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{14} Attenborough 2016, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{15} Royal Society Minutes, f. 314; Salmond 2004, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{16} Claessen 2000, p. 728.
\textsuperscript{17} Cook NLA MS 1, 13/4/1769.
whom they had called the island’s ‘Queen’, and her political advisor, Tupaia, had been defeated and two new figures now dominated the political landscape, Tutaha and Te Pau.\textsuperscript{18} For the next three months, Purea and Tutaha competed with each other for \textit{taio} relationships or ceremonial friendships, with key members of the expedition.\textsuperscript{19} Tupaia was able to establish a unique relationship with the British by taking up the European practice of drawing on paper and when the expedition was ready to depart, he joined them with the intention of travelling to England.\textsuperscript{20}

Tupaia mediated Cook’s claim to possession of his own home island of Ra’iatea and later interpreted for the Maori in the claim to Queen Charlotte’s Sound in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{21} His \textit{Sketchbook} and charts introduce the Tahitian voice into the records of the \textit{Endeavour’s} exploration of the South Pacific and as such are documents of unique significance in the intellectual history of the voyage.

\textit{Structure of the Thesis}

This thesis comprises three parts of three chapters each. Part One, ‘Intellectual Parameters,’ identifies the drawings that will be examined and establishes the philosophical concepts and conventions that construct the received culture of the voyage. Part Two, ‘Drawing Practices,’ examines how this culture operated in practice by reconstructing the expedition’s drawing sessions on the outward voyage to Tahiti. In Part Three, ‘Discourse,’ applies the experimental strategies recovered from the expedition’s drawing processes in Part Two, to illuminate their discourse through drawing with Tupaia in Tahiti.

Chapter One, ‘Georgian Readings of the \textit{Endeavour} Manuscripts,’ examines two models of civil society in eighteenth century moral philosophy and how the

\textsuperscript{18} Salmond 2004, pp. 66-7.
\textsuperscript{19} Salmond 2004, p. 66.
\textsuperscript{20} Salmond 2004, pp. 75, 95.
\textsuperscript{21} Beaglehole 1974, pp. 194, 208, 250.
relationships they describe between property, power and virtue, are reflected in the practices of the writers who produced the *Endeavour* manuscripts, revealing its internal social structure. Chapter Two, ‘Sydney Parkinson’s Artistic Administration,’ applies the model of social relations from Chapter One to the work of Banks’ senior commissioned artist, Sydney Parkinson, to reconstruct a team of assisting artists on the voyage. Chapter Three, ‘Charles Praval: The End of the Voyage of Exploration,’ examines the life and work of Charles Praval who joined the expedition for the return journey to England. It distinguishes the drawings made under his influence in the Dutch colonial city of Batavia, now the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, from those made during the main voyage. These three investigations into the culture of Georgian Britain, the organisation of the expedition’s team of artists and the chronological order in which the drawings were made, provide the basis for reconstructing the drawing sessions in Part Two.

Part Two begins the narrative of the voyage from the expedition’s departure from Plymouth on August 25, 1768. Chapter Four, ‘Discovery,’ examines how the artists managed, technically and conceptually, the documentation of the expedition’s first scientific discoveries of several species of marine organisms in their drawing processes. Chapter Five, ‘The Colonial Eye,’ examines the drawing sessions in Madeira, Rio and Tierra del Fuego and how international colonial relations shaped the expedition’s behaviour in each place. Chapter Six, ‘Indians,’ examines the *Endeavour’s* drawing sessions in their first encounter with an aboriginal people, the Haush in Tierra del Fuego, and considers where ‘Indians’ sat imaginatively in the intellectual framework of Georgian culture.

Part Three covers the four months the expedition spent in Tahiti and its neighbouring Society islands. Chapter Seven, ‘Tahiti’s Political Landscape,’ examines how Cook and Banks interpreted the structure of Tahitian social hierarchy as a basis for reading their journals. Chapter Eight, ‘The Transition to Paper,’ investigates how Tupaia and the expedition developed a language for discoursing through drawing that would allow them to develop the complex
hybrid cartography of the iconic Tupaia’s Chart. Chapter Nine, ‘The Colonial Pacific,’ the final chapter in the thesis, interprets Tupaia’s discourse with the British through his drawings. The reading of Cook’s three claims to possession in the South Pacific that emerges from the documents in the context of his discourse with Tupaia, reveals their strategic significance for Britain in the European competition for economic control of the South Pacific.

**Historical Approaches**

For nearly two hundred years James Cook’s journal of the *Endeavour* voyage was available only in the eighteenth-century edition commissioned by the Admiralty in 1773, John Hawkesworth’s *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 Carteret, Captain Wallis, 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.* It had been merged by its editor, John Hawkesworth, with Banks’ and was so imaginatively embellished that Banks’ colleague, Daniel Solander, dismissed it as ‘a perfect Jobb.’

It was not until the middle of the twentieth century that the original text, edited by J. C. Beaglehole, became available through his editions of the journals of Cook’s three voyages, which appeared between 1955 and 1967. *The Life of Captain James Cook* which he published in 1974 remains the definitive biography.

Cook’s manuscript has now been published online as scanned pages by the National Library of Australia and is supplemented by Paul Turnbull’s complete transcription.

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22 Cook and Banks 1773. Daniel Solander to the Earl of Hardwick, 1774, BL Add Ms. 35350, fol. 55, quoted in Lysaght 1979, p. 28.


Research into the voyage developed on the foundation of Beaglehole’s work in several directions. His annotated editions of Cook’s journals stimulated the publication of the journals of other officers and explorers. The history of European exploration in the eighteenth century, and the political, economic and cultural forces driving it, has been contributed most notably by Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost.25 Frost addresses Cook’s first Pacific voyage directly in *Voyage of the Endeavour*, published in 1999, but the main focus of his work is on the later period and the colonisation of New South Wales.26 John Gascoigne examines the British voyages of discovery in the context of the scientific Enlightenment.27

In 1960, Beaglehole’s celebration of Cook’s heroic achievements was tempered by Bernard Smith’s more critical view in *European Vision and the South Pacific*, which looked back towards Europe to consider how the imaginings of its travellers had influenced art and science, and the ‘vision’ they created of the South Pacific, had prepared the way for colonisation.28 Alan Moorehead’s *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific, 1767-1840*, published in 1966, has not stood the test of time, but it provoked J. W. Davidson’s ‘Problems of Pacific History’29 published the same year, a manifesto of the emerging field of Pacific studies which placed the emphasis on island-centred histories and aboriginal agency. Pacific history merged with anthropology in Marshall Sahlin’s structuralist approach to the cultural history of Pacific nations, followed closely by the ethnohistory of his protégé, Greg Dening, whose paradigm of ‘Natives’ and ‘Strangers’ reversed Eurocentrism to consider the view

25 For a full bibliography see Frost and Samson 1999, pp. 271-5.
28 Smith 1960.
29 Moorehead 1966; Davidson 1966.
of the history of encounter ‘from the beach.’ In 1993 Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769-1840, which published the conference papers of the ninth David Nichol Smith Memorial Seminar, brought an interdisciplinary approach to bear on post-colonial history that considered the impact of imperialism and colonialism on ‘subaltern’ societies.

In 1993 Geoffrey Blainey’s condemnation of the ‘black armband’ view of Australian history – a phrase famously taken up by the prime minister, John Howard in 1996 – as the over-reaction of a younger generation of historians to the ‘Three Cheers’ view of their predecessors, had echoes of the furore provoked by Gananath Obeyesekere’s The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific the year before, in which he accused Sahlins of perpetuating the ‘cult’ of Captain Cook. In 1995 Sahlins defended himself in How ‘Natives' Think: About Captain Cook for Example but Obeyesekere had perhaps already been more effectively answered indirectly in 1993, by Epeli Hau‘ofa in his article ‘Our Sea of Islands.’ Described by Kate Fullagar as ‘the most influential intervention into Pacific historiography since 1966,’ Hau‘ofa argued that its islands were not isolated but joined together by a connecting sea.

In 1996 the anthropologist Nicholas Thomas convened a conference in Bernard Smith’s honour that sought to expand the legacy of European Vision into the dialogue of ‘double vision’. However art was not a prominent theme in his own history of Cook’s voyages, Discoveries, in 2003, which aspired to ‘step

31 Calder, Lamb and Orr 1999.
32 Macintyre and Clark 2004, p. 3.
35 Fullagar ‘The Pacific.’
36 Thomas 1999, p. xi.
behind the false certainties of both the heroic and the anti-heroic biographies of
this navigator, to deal with the messy actualities of the past' in a two-sided
account of the experience of the European discovery of the South Pacific.37

In The Trial of the Cannibal Dog, 2003, Anne Salmond suggested that
history and anthropology had achieved a kind of 'disciplinary apartheid' in which
the historian 'looks at the way the future has been shaped, within and across
nations, while the discipline of anthropology has often analysed the customs of
indigenous peoples as timeless structures, outside of history.'38 Her location of
Cook's voyage in the context of Tahitian history, expanded the field of
eighteenth-century studies by introducing Tupaia and his peers as political
actors in the European exploration of the South Pacific.

In 2009 Maria Nugent examined the Aboriginal historical memory of the
counter with Captain Cook in Botany Bay in Captain Cook Was Here.39 Based
on research that originated in a community history project with a group of
Aboriginal women from La Perouse, it focused on the nature and impact of
historical interpretation and history making.

Discussion of the Endeavour drawings in their own right, rather than as
incidental illustrations to historical narratives, is dominated by scientists and
technical experts, particularly the curators of the Natural History Museum in
London which holds the zoological and botanical collections. The Museum
produced P. J. P. Whitehead's Forty Drawings of Fishes, in 1968, which also
identifies the handwritings on the drawings;40 catalogues of the zoological and
botanical collections, edited by Alwyne Wheeler in 1984, and Judith Diment,
Christopher J. Humphries and Linda Newington in 1986; as well as John
Braybrooke Marshall's 'The Handwriting of Joseph Banks, his scientific staff and

37 Thomas 2003, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv.
39 Nugent 2009.
40 Whitehead 1968, p. xvi.
amanuenses’ in 1978.41 D. J. Carr’s *Sydney Parkinson, Artist of Cook’s Endeavour Voyage*, from 1983, takes a similarly technical approach to the artist’s work with chapters contributed by experts in various fields, including several of these same authors.42 The British Museum published ‘Banks Artists and His *Endeavour Collections*,’ by Averil Lysaght, in 1979, which constructs most of what is known of the artists’ biographies.43

Bernard Smith’s work, especially with Rüdiger Joppien in *The Art of Captain Cook’s Voyages*, published between 1985-87, is notable, for considering the drawings from Cook’s three voyages in the context of the history of art rather than science or technology.44 The introductory chapters to the first volume which relates to the *Endeavour* reproduce many of the arguments Smith originally proposed in *European Vision* in 1960 and would revisit again in the collection of his writings on Cook’s voyages, *Imagining the Pacific* in 1992.45 Historians tend to rely on Smith’s expert opinion in this area and consequently there is little variety in the aesthetic interpretation of the drawings.

Tupaia was not identified as an artist until some years after *The Art of Captain Cook’s Voyages* was published, when Harold B. Carter located a letter from Banks in 1993 that describes one of his drawings.46 Nicholas Thomas leads the field in the history of Pacific art and has touched on Tupaia’s work in several books.47 His approach to Pacific agency in this area resembles Salmond’s, dismissing the concept of customary practices that exist outside of history and he

42 Carr 1983.  
43 Lysaght 1979.  
44 Smith and Joppien 1985-87.  
46 Banks quoted in Salmond 2004, p. 75; Carter personal communication to Salmond, 1997.  
sees the artist instead as an individual working ‘strategically rather than compulsively and unreflectively.’\(^{48}\) However, a detailed study is yet to be published of Tupaia’s work as an artist.

The first volumes of Smith and Joppien’s catalogue of *The Art of Captain Cook’s Voyages* and it’s companion, Andrew David’s *The Charts and Coastal Views*, provide the backbone of this thesis.\(^ {49}\) However, the focus upon the linguistic context of the drawings as eighteenth-century documents has placed the main emphasis of the research in the field of eighteenth-century studies. In this context, the work of Williams and Frost have been most useful.

There is surprisingly little direct discussion of the text of Cook’s claims in his journal. Merete Borch’s ‘Rethinking the Origins of Terra Nulius,’ published in 2008, provides a detailed analysis of the law on possession in the eighteenth century.\(^ {50}\) Henry Reynold’s *The Law of the Land* offers some brief but pertinent comments on Cook’s claim to New South Wales before moving on to the history of colonisation and Lisa Ford’s *Settler Sovereignty* provides valuable insights into the legal principles in her comparison of the application of the law in New South Wales and the American colonies.\(^ {51}\)

The histories of eighteenth-century Polynesia have been mainly provided by the National Library of Australia’s *South Seas Companion* website, which includes Tahitian as well as European accounts of events, and anthropologists, particularly Anne Salmond and Neil Gunson. These sources have been supplemented by a diverse range of other references relating to the cultures of Georgian Britain and Polynesia, that fall outside the field of European exploration.

\(^{48}\) Thomas 1996, p. 293.

\(^{49}\) David, Smith and Joppien 1988-97, v. 1.

\(^{50}\) Borch 2008.

\(^{51}\) Reynolds 1987, Ford 2011.
Collections and Archives

The manuscripts of drawings that are central to this thesis can be divided into three groups. The first consists of the drawings connected with the main voyage, from the Endeavour’s departure from England to its arrival in Batavia, which marks the end of the voyage of exploration and the beginning of the return journey.

- The zoological and botanical drawings, held in the Natural History Museum, London, which were systematically catalogued with the specimens during the voyage in Daniel Solander’s Slip Catalogue;
- Add MS 9345, Sydney Parkinson’s two notebooks containing his field sketches, held in the British Library, London;
- Add MS 15508, which contains Tupaia’s sketches with drawings by several other artists, mostly of tattoos and artefacts, also held in the British Library.

The second group are collections of drawings associated with the voyage after it reached Batavia.

- Add MS 21593 A-O, a collection of fair copies of maps and charts in the British Library. This includes Tupaia’s Chart, a fair copy of Tupaia’s original drawing, now lost, which is currently thought to have been made by James Cook;
- Add MS 7085, also known as the Admiralty Ms, in the British Library. This folio of pen and ink drawings provides the illustrations to Cook’s official report of the voyage which was started some time during the return to England;
- Add MS 23920-23921, two collections of highly finished scenic views associated with the publication of John Hawkesworth’s Voyages, worked up by Sydney Parkinson from his field sketches.
The third group contains two manuscripts of drawings collected by Cook’s draughtsman, Isaac Smith, held in the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. These drawings, which contain drawings from three of Cook’s voyages, his first command on a voyage to Newfoundland and his first and second voyages of Pacific exploration, are used in this thesis to identify the original artists and copyists who assisted with the production of the drawings in groups one and two.

- Safe / PX*D72, *South Sea Birds – Drawings by Admiral Isaac Smith and others in the Second voyage of Captain Cook. A. D. 1772-1775*;
- ML PXD 11, *Original Sketches, Drawings, Maps etc. Collected by Admiral Isaac Smith*.

There are a large number of journals and logbooks from the *Endeavour*, many of which have been published. This thesis, like most histories of the voyage, relies on the multi-sided narrative they provide. However, the manuscripts that are most important methodologically to this research are, for the most part, lesser known. These manuscripts illuminate the drawings by revealing details of the social organisation of the *Endeavour*. The first of these is Daniel Solander’s *Slip Catalogue* which connects the specimens to the drawings. The descriptions composed by himself and Banks are used to reconstruct the working processes of the scientific team.

The expedition’s vocabulary lists are held in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London. Daniel Solander’s *Observationes de Otaheiti, &ct*, Ms 12892, includes a list of persons from Tahiti that reconstructs the expedition’s social circle. These have been essential resources in the linguistic analysis of Tupaia’s drawings.

Other journals which provide important details about the character of relations between individuals are by the astronomer Charles Green, in the National Archive, London, Adm 51/4545, and Banks’ two servants, Peter Briscoe and James Roberts, in the State Library of New South Wales, the *Endeavour*
journals of Peter Briscoe and James Roberts, Safe/DLMs 96 and ML Safe 1/65, and Roberts’ journal from his voyage with Banks to the New Hebrides and Iceland in 1772, ML MS Safe A 1594.

Cook’s journal, MS 1 in the National Library of Australia, Canberra, also includes clues to the meaning of the text in his writing practices which were edited out of Beaglehole’s publication.

These manuscripts of texts and drawings define the scope of the enquiry in this thesis.
Part One: Intellectual Parameters

Part One introduces the culture of Georgian Britain and the Endeavour's creative community of sailors and scientists. In Chapter One, Georgian Readings of the Endeavour Manuscripts, the social structure of the Endeavour's community is reconstructed by investigating the customs and traditions that underpinned the concept of civil society in Georgian popular thought. The model provided by William Blackstone in his Commentaries on the Laws of England describes a society governed by patterns of patronage and dependence that are recognisable in the Endeavour's manuscripts. Early modern practices of literacy, such as reading aloud rather than silently which only became the norm in the nineteenth century, have left signs that reveal personal relationships between individual members of the expedition. These relationships provide a basic framework that can be extrapolated using Blackstone’s model to create a complete picture of the Endeavour's community.

This model is refined in Chapter Two, Sydney Parkinson’s Artistic Administration, by examining how the principal artist on the voyage, Sydney Parkinson, employed his signature. In this chapter the varying quality of the drawings he signed reveals an extensive team of artists and assistsants were working under his direction. The composition of this team describes the character of relations aboard the ship and the points where Captain James Cook’s Naval command and the social hierarchy of Joseph Banks’ civilian scientific party were able to integrate.

Chapter Three, Charles Praval, the End of the Voyage of Exploration, excludes the drawings that do not belong within the period under investigation in this thesis, the voyage from England to Tahiti. Through close analysis it demonstrates that a group of highly finished scenic views were created under the influence of a French landscape and figure artist, Charles Praval, who joined the ship for the return to England from the Dutch colonial town of Batavia. Sydney Parkinson died of illnesses contracted in Batavia on this return journey.
along with a third of the expedition. The exclusion of these drawings from the earlier part of the voyage is essential for establishing the culture of drawing he created prior to Praval’s arrival. The collective creative identity demonstrated in the expedition’s texts and drawings in Part One provides the basis for reconstructing the drawing sessions in Part Two, Drawing Practices, in chronological order from the beginning of the voyage.
Chapter 1.  Georgian Readings of the Endeavour Manuscripts

William Blackstone’s model of civil society in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* describes how power was exercised in Georgian Britain. The dynamics of this system are recorded in the *Endeavour’s* manuscripts, in the signs that have been left by the last vestiges of an early modern culture of literacy in which the activities of writers and readers were sociable and collaborative. In the *Endeavour’s* crowded spaces a permanent audience was unavoidable and the way these manuscripts have been constructed as material objects and literary strategies has left traces of conversations and relationships between individual members of the expedition. The details these fragments provide of its social structure and working practices create a framework for constructing a picture of the *Endeavour’s* civil society using Blackstone’s model of civil society as a template.

William Blackstone’s Concept of Civil Society

The common law is the traditional or customary law of England and when Blackstone’s *Commentaries* were first published in 1757 they provided a methodical treatment of English law that was suitable for a lay reader. The revised edition in the year of the *Endeavour’s* departure in 1768 gives an account of these laws that is exactly contemporary with this voyage and may therefore be taken as representative of traditional British values at the time of sailing. Land is central to this law and its model of civil society. Citizenship in the eighteenth century was a privilege of landownership because, as Blackstone argues, only land could guarantee the free exercise of political will because those who were dependent on a landowner for the security of their home were open to undue influence and ‘this would give a great, an artful, or a wealthy man, a larger share
in elections than is consistent with general liberty.' For this reason Blackstone deemed the landless classes to have 'no will of their own.'

This land-based principle of citizenship created a culture in which the security of the landless classes lay in ‘consolidating’ their political identity with the citizenship of a landowner. The obligation of ‘protection’ the landowner owed in return was expressed in the law as an archaic right of ownership in which dependants were incorporated into the property of the estate. These relationships of dependence included the ‘three great relations in private life’ in Blackstone’s Commentaries, master and servant, husband and wife and parent and child, all members of the ‘family’, ‘those who live in the same house’ in Samuel Johnson’s dictionary. A woman’s status as the property of her husband is illustrated by his prerogative to use the law of trespass to prosecute a perpetrator who had seduced, abducted or assaulted her. As Blackstone explains, a woman gave up her right to own property upon marriage, and by giving up her property gave up her citizenship.

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs every thing.

52 Blackstone 1765-69, v. 1, p. 171.
53 Blackstone 1765-69, v. 1, p. 171.
54 Blackstone 1765-69, v. 1, p. 422.
56 Blackstone 1765-69, v. 1, p. 422.
57 Johnson 1756, ‘Family’.
59 Blackstone 1765-69, v. 1, p. 422.
Citizenship was therefore almost entirely, but not exclusively, a masculine right. Spinsters retained their right to own property, widows regained it and special provisions could be made in the terms of a will for a woman to continue to own property held in her own right after marriage. Within these paternalistic structures, property rights in persons were not seen as depriving dependents of agency but rather allowing them to share in the economic security of landownership.

Blackstone’s position that ‘liberty, rightly understood... is protection’ adopts a Hobbesian view of these relationships in which a dependant may be simultaneously free and subject to the arbitrary will of a master if unimpeded in the pursuit of his or her desires. Britain’s limited franchise left the majority of the population in this position and they were able to pursue their desires by calling upon the obligation of citizens to remove the impediments through the informal networks of ‘interest’. Figures such as Benjamin Franklin are ubiquitous in the archives, intervening on the behalf of less powerful individuals by offering advice, references and encouragement. In return he received a constant flow of political and scientific information from his correspondents. These relationships of mutual benefit were the foundation of institutional power.

The Manuscripts

Logbooks and sea journals were kept by every officer of the Endeavour and some of its passengers. At first sight these documents appears to offer a rich array of narratives from a dozen points of view on this voyage but, as we will see, these official records of the Navy are for the most part duplicates of each other and the story of the Endeavour is mainly contained in its two principal documents, the

60 See the discussion of Mary Bowes and Jane Gomeldon in Chapter Seven.
journals of Captain Cook and his civilian passenger, Joseph Banks. Some of the relationships and conversations between individual members of the expedition and the people they encountered on their voyage have been recorded by Cook and Banks, but others of less historical moment are recorded implicitly in the manuscripts of other members in their writing practices. These practices include the conventions of record-keeping in the Georgian Navy, eighteenth century ‘paper technologies’ of notebook construction and scholarly discourse and more informal plays on the literary and social conventions of Georgian wit and etiquette.

**The Sea Journals**

The handwritings of two of Joseph Banks’ servants, Peter Briscoe and his younger colleague, James Roberts, are so similar, J. B. Marshall, the expert on the handwritings of Banks and his staff mistook them for the same person. Briscoe and Roberts were both members of Banks’ household and it seems likely that Briscoe had taught Roberts to write. The familial relationship of the household is illustrated literally in Briscoe’s *Endeavour* sea journal in which he has entered James Roberts on his muster list as ‘James Briscoe’. At the time of the voyage Briscoe had been working for Banks since he was a student at Oxford. The botanical expertise he had gained in this role is apparent from Banks’ comment in Newfoundland during a period of sickness in 1766, ‘I sent out [Briscoe] of ten to bring home anything he thought I had not got’ and later in life Banks

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65 Briscoe SLNSW Safe DLMS 96, muster list.


67 Banks Royal Geographical Society of South Australia, MS 2, quoted in Banks 1766, p. 3.
referred to his former servant as his ‘protégé’. Roberts was 16 when he joined the *Endeavour* and had been Banks’ field assistant for at least two years. According to a local historian of the nearby town of Mareham-le-fen, his father had been a farmer on Banks’ Revesby estate in Lincolnshire. Roberts would spend the whole of his life in Banks’ service, rising to the position of under-steward, and when the Banks family took up residence in the newly built Abbey, Roberts lived out his retirement in the old manor house.

Like most of the sea journals created by the officers of the *Endeavour*, Briscoe and Roberts’ are largely identical. These documents were for the most part no more than summaries of the ship’s log, as Jacques St-Cricq, a sublieutenant on Baudin’s expedition, complained.

A nautical journal is, I believe, the most boring thing, both to write and to read. However, custom obliges all Naval officers on duty to keep one, which is completely useless in my opinion. Indeed, the ship’s logbook, kept by the officers, and inspected by the Captain, provides all the details one could possibly want about the

68 Lysaght 1971, p. 286.
69 Catalogue note, ‘Roberts, James, 1752?-1826’, State Library of New South Wales, accessed November 7, 2015. Catalogue http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au. Reference Code: 447217; Briscoe SLNSW Safe DLMS 96, muster list; Banks comments on February 9, 1769: ‘This morn some sea weed floated past the ship and my servant declares that he saw a large beetle fly over her: I do not beleive he would deceive me and he certainly knows what a beetle is, as he has these 3 years been often employd in taking them for me.’
71 Banks 1958, p. 705.
73 Sankey 2010, p.408.
navigation. Even the smallest movement cannot fail to be recorded there with the greatest faithfulness, and it is more useful to consult it than individual journals, which can hardly be expected to mention everything it contains.

I should have liked to give a purely historical account of my voyage, but, so as to conform to usage in every way, I include the general nautical details in this account.\textsuperscript{74}

The constraints imposed on writers by the strict conventions of the Navy make the expression of personal feeling rare in these documents, but the voices of individuals come through in the spelling. Cook’s Yorkshire accent can be heard in his spelling of ‘cloudy’ as ‘clowdy’\textsuperscript{75} and the master’s mate, Richard Pickersgill’s voice is vivid in his spelling of ‘refferances’.\textsuperscript{76} The servants’ journals have been copied for the most part from Pickersgill’s logbook. Their reason as civilians for writing this ‘most boring thing’ may have been to provide evidence of their time at sea which according to the authentication report written for the State Library of New South Wales would have entitled them to apply for the rank of Midshipman after four years.\textsuperscript{77} This ambition may also explain why Briscoe chose to work his passage as the Captain’s servant, a Naval rating, on his voyage with Banks to Newfoundland in 1766.\textsuperscript{78} Spelling variations between Pickersgill’s logbook and Roberts journal, such as the name of the midshipman John Bootie, which becomes ‘Bewtie’ in Roberts’ journal, suggest that Pickersgill dictated his

\textsuperscript{74} St-Cricq, Archives nationales de France, 5JJ MAR 48. Translated by and quoted in Sankey 2010, p. 409.
\textsuperscript{75} For example Cook NLA MS 1, 26/8/1768.
\textsuperscript{76} David, Smith and Joppien 1988-97, v. 1, cat. 307. Public Records Office Hydrographic Department, 541, no. 3.
\textsuperscript{77} Roberts authentication report, p. iii.
\textsuperscript{78} Lysaght 1971, p. 286.
entries to the servants.\textsuperscript{79} This investment of his time in them may indicate that he was cultivating them as potential future ‘followers’.

The system of followers, men loyal to a particular officer whose rise through the ranks was tied to their own as they followed him from ship to ship, closely resembles the concept of interest on land, and was the foundation of Naval command.\textsuperscript{80} ‘Discipline’ has become almost synonymous with modern military service, but the word was literally not in the vocabulary of the Georgian Royal Navy and N. A. M. Rodger argues that, having no word for it, the concept is unlikely to have much occupied their minds.\textsuperscript{81} In reality the authority of rank was extremely fragile and grew increasingly so with the distance from London. Officers relied instead on networks of personal loyalty. Sailors were often brought into the Navy as children and formed close bonds with their training officers. ‘Young gentlemen’ such as Isaac Smith, the cousin of Cook’s wife Elizabeth, were introduced into the service by the captain and ‘reared with a father’s care’ in the words of Admiral William Henry Smyth.\textsuperscript{82} This produced a system of command that Rodger writes would be unrecognisable to officers today.

In the eyes of a modern officer, the discipline of the mid-eighteenth-century Navy would appear lax to the point of anarchy. Insubordination in every form and from every rank and rating in the Service was a daily part of life. Where modern officers expect to command, mid-eighteenth-century officers hoped to persuade. The

\textsuperscript{80} Smyth 1867, p. 312.
\textsuperscript{81} Rodger 1986, p. 205.
\textsuperscript{82} Smyth 1867, p. 312.
fact that this did not alarm them was a feature of Service life to which they were completely accustomed, and no different from the weakness of civil authority on shore... Those in positions of power or authority, and those without either, felt themselves far more bound by mutual ties of dependence and obligation than separated by divisions of class.83

The resistance of sailors to passive obedience was even encouraged in sailors by Admiral Rodney.

Those who are put over us if they act their part right, we ought to reverence. If they do not I say no. None of your passive obedience and non resistance, especially among seamen.84

Such a system of command required a finely tuned political instinct. Greg Dening argues the nuances of language were amplified by the isolation at sea. Layers of meaning could be read into ‘so small a thing as a term of address, an invitation to dinner.’85 Difficulty reading an officer’s meaning could disrupt the smooth operations of a ship and Dening attributes the mutiny on the Bounty to what the crew called Captain William Bligh’s ‘bad language’.86 Civilian interference in the delicate balance was therefore strenuously resisted.

The assistance Pickersgill gave Briscoe and Roberts with their sea journals was performing an important function of integrating the Endeavour’s passengers into the ship’s command. This was especially important for this voyage whose commission had been devised as a joint military-civilian operation. The voyage had initially been neatly divided into two parts: the

observation of the transit of Venus in Tahiti for the Royal Society, and the secret exploration of the South Pacific and search for the unknown southern continent under separate orders to Cook from the Admiralty. However, even before the Endeavour’s departure this line of demarcation had been compromised when Lord Morton, the president of the Royal Society, attempted to appoint a civilian, Alexander Dalrymple, as commander of the ship. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral Hawke, rejected this proposal in the strongest terms as ‘entirely repugnant to the regulations of the Navy’ and replaced him with Cook.87 Hawke’s rebuke however was not sufficient to protect the ship’s command from further civilian interference. The entry of Joseph Banks and his team of passengers added another layer of civilian authority to this confusing structure and a week after this incident, Banks, who had not yet been officially accepted by the Admiralty for the voyage himself,88 extended an invitation to ‘young Totty,’ later Rear Admiral John Totty, to serve on the Endeavour as a midshipman, an offer which Totty declined.89

Banks’ failure to grasp the importance of the demarcation between social power and military command appears to have grown worse over the three years of the voyage. His infamous interference in the preparations for Cook’s second Pacific voyage even outraged his friend and mentor, Lord Sandwich, then First

88 The letter from the Royal Society to the Admiralty requesting the inclusion of Banks and his team in the voyage is recorded in the Royal Society Minutes on June 9, 1768 (f. 314).
89 Correspondence between Banks and Pennant, 1767-68, 10 April to 2 May, 1768. Banks and Dawson 1958, ‘Pennant, Thomas, FRS (1726-1798) Zoologist, Traveller and Author’, letters 14-16.
Lord of the Admiralty. Sandwich's letter in reply to Banks' complaint closed by advising him to buy a ship of his own: ‘that & only that can give you the absolute command of the whole Expedition.’ The fact that the Endeavour’s mixed community of sailors and civilians thrived despite the challenges to Cook’s command is a measure of his sensitivity to the ship’s networks of followers.

The two other members of Banks’ team of servants, Thomas Richmond and George Dorlton, are recorded by Briscoe and Roberts on their muster lists beneath their own entries, like themselves, as ‘footmen’, but they have inserted the detail ‘black’ next to their names. This distinction diverges from the Naval practice and Richmond and Dorlton are not distinguished on the Endeavour’s muster roll. No less than the direct efforts of Morton and Banks to interfere in the ship’s command, this social division was potentially destabilising. Black sailors were common in the Navy and slavery had been explicitly banned since 1758 when the Lords of the Admiralty wrote to Admiral Holburne, the Portsmouth harbour-master, on behalf of William Castillo, a slave imprisoned on the Northumberland by James Jones.

Acquaint Admiral Holburne that the laws of this country admit of no badges of slavery, therefore the lords hope and expect whenever he discovers any attempt of this kind he should prevent it...

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92 Roberts SLNSW ML Safe 1/12, muster list.
93 Rodger 1986, p. 159; Cook TNA Adm. 36/8569, f. 22.
94 Rodger 1986, p. 159.
95 Lords of the Admiralty to Holburne, PRO F Holburne ADM 1/927, 17, 22 & 27/12/1758, quoted in Rodger 1986, p. 161.
Contrary to the belief of the Admirals, slavery was in fact still legal in Britain, but the letter established a precedent in the Navy. The potential of slavery to lead to mutiny is illustrated by an incident described in the autobiography of Olaudah Equiano who was the slave of Lieutenant Michael Pascal in 1762. He had been with Pascal since childhood, brought up by him in the Royal Navy, and Equiano looked upon him as a father figure.

He used to say, that he and I never should part; and that when our ship was paid off, as I was as free as himself or any other man on board, he would instruct me in his business by which I might gain a good livelihood... so that from all this tenderness I had never once supposed, in all my dreams of freedom, that he would think of detaining me any longer than I wished.96

Equiano's shipmates had also been led to believe by the Navy ban that he was legally free and when Pascal decided to sell Equiano back into slavery on their arrival in England his shipmates were deeply distressed and promised to stand by him.97 Their sense of solidarity was fuelled in part by the very real difficulty the concept of property in persons created for distinguishing between slavery and other forms of legally acquired ‘perpetual service’ in English law. Blackstone wrote in his Commentaries,

And now it is laid down, that a slave or negro, the instant he lands in England, becomes a freeman; that is, the law will protect him in the enjoyment of his person, and his property. Yet, with regard to any right which the master may have lawfully acquired to the perpetual service of John or Thomas, this will remain exactly in the same state as before: for this is no more than the same state of

97 Equiano 1789, v. 1, p. 176.
subjection for life, which every apprentice submits to for the space of seven years, or sometimes for a longer term.98

Despite the distinction Briscoe and Roberts made between themselves and their black colleagues in their *Endeavour* sea journals, the detailed description Roberts gives of Banks’ team of scientific servants in his journal from their next voyage together suggests that any distinction ‘made in regard to Superiority’ would not have been tolerated.

’Tis natural to suppose that every one wish’d to make his situation as comfortable as possible in these dreary regions, our tent would just hold us six, and that there might be no partiality we concluded to draw lots with bits of sticks... my lot was to lay next to Mr. Banks; ’tis easy to suppose that those who lay nearest the sides of the tent would have the coldest birth, which was the cause of our deciding it in this manner.

This anecdote is mentioned to prove how amicable our little Society was, and that no distinction was made in regard to Superiority in point of Fortune, here was no master and Slave, but a willingness to assist each other put us all upon an equality, except in point of Learning and Philosophical knowledge.99

The manuscript of Roberts’ journal is a fair copy he made towards the end of his life in 1796 but if the reference to slavery formed part of the original text in 1772, the remark is particularly pertinent to the voyage from which he had recently returned on the *Endeavour*, because in both his and Briscoe’s *Endeavour* journals, George Drolton is listed as George ‘Rupee’, a reference to currency that

99 Roberts SLNSW MLMS Safe A1594, 24/9/1772.
probably identifies him as a slave.\textsuperscript{100} In the 1740s Captain Tiddeman hid the presence of six slaves on the muster roll of the \textit{Elizabeth} in a similar way, by changing their slave names to something more conventional.

\begin{quote}
George Wright, Ordinary = Coffee
Edward Hughes = Webb
Richard Jones, Trumpeter = Soboir
Stephen Wright, Ordinary = Black Will
James Quelch Trumpeter = Quashey
John Williams = Black Jack.\textsuperscript{101}
\end{quote}

Despite the Admiralty’s ban, the captain’s slave was a common phenomenon and Rupee’s master appears to have been Captain Cook. The purpose of placing Rupee on the passenger list would have been to reconcile the cost of victualing with the payroll. This subterfuge would not have been necessary if Rupee had been Banks’ slave.\textsuperscript{102}

Although Banks refers to Rupee as a sailor, he does appear to have been genuinely seconded to his team as a servant. He was assisting with the collection of botanical specimens when he and Richmond died together in Tierra del

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{100} Roberts Safe SLNSW ML Safe 1/65, f. 11. Briscoe SLNSW ML Safe DLMS 96, f. 5.
\textsuperscript{101} Conversation with Dr Nicholas Rodger at all Souls College, Oxford University, January 28, 2015.
\textsuperscript{102} National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, TID, Correspondence and Papers of Captain Richard Tiddeman, f. 31, quoted in Rodger 1986, p. 160.
\end{flushleft}
It is possible that he and Thomas Richmond made five drawings of ferns by an anonymous artist that were created during this period before their deaths in Madeira and Rio (figure 1a-e).

Like Rupee, Thomas Richmond may have had a slave background but when he joined the Endeavour he appears to have been at the top of his field as an expert horticultural assistant. The possibility that he produced these fern drawings is suggested by the letter Sydney Parkinson sent to Dr John Fothergill informing him of Richmond's death which reads, 'your faithful servant Richmond is no more.' This letter identifies Richmond as the former employee of one of Georgian Britain's wealthiest and most prestigious philanthropists and scientific collectors. Fothergill's gardens at Upton extended over 5 acres and according to Banks were rivalled only by Kew. He employed a team of fifteen nurserymen

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103 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 16/1/1769. Banks writes, 'This morn very early Dr Solander and myself with our servants and two Seamen to assist in carrying baggage, accompanied by Mssrs Monkhouse and Green, set out from the ship to try to penetrate into the country as far as we could...’ Reconciling the accounts of Banks, Parkinson and the Master, Robert Molyneux, suggests that the two servants were Thomas Richmond and Peter Briscoe and the two seamen, George Rupee and Archibald Wolfe. This incident is analysed in detail in Chapter Six.

104 Fothergill was involved in a very early movement for the abolition of slavery (Lettsom 1786, p. 69). In 1767 his protégé and biographer, the Quaker John Coakley Lettsom, went to the Virgin Islands to free the slaves on his family's plantation which he had recently inherited (Lettsom 1786, p. 71, Pettigrew 1817, pp. 28, 180). He returned to England in September 1768, too late for Richmond to have come with him, but his actions may have inspired Fothergill in his campaign (Pettigrew, 1817, p. 30). In December, 1772 Fothergill sent Lettsom an economic plan for ending slavery in the West Indies by developing a competing sugarcane industry in Africa based on paid labour (Lettsom 1784, p. lxvii, footnotes pp. lxviii, lxix).


106 Thompson 1782, p. 38, footnote by Joseph Banks.
to manage his collection of plants which included 3,400 species of conservatory plants alone,¹⁰⁷ and a number of artists who are named in the memoir of Gilbert Thompson as Georg Dionysius Ehret, the most famous botanical illustrator of his generation; Ann Lee, daughter of the horticulturalist James Lee and Parkinson’s student; ‘Miller,’ possibly John Miller or one of his sons, John Frederick or James; and two others identified only as ‘Taylor’ and ‘Harris’.¹⁰⁸ Fothergill’s collection of flower paintings numbered 1,200 when they were sold to Catherine the Great after his death.¹⁰⁹

Parkinson’s letter would suggest that Richmond was one of Fothergill’s gardeners and this was a common way for botanical artists to begin their careers. Ehret, for example, was a gardener whom Christoph Jacob Trew taught to illustrate his plant collection according to his classificatory system.¹¹⁰ It is apparent in the drawings of the ferns, from the detail showing the underside of the leaves, that the artist had some training in botanical illustration. The leaf forms vary in complexity across the five drawings and it is difficult to tell if the level of skill is the same, but Ophioglossum scandens (figure 1e) has something of a folkloric quality in the winding composition that suggests another artist. Education was part of the culture of the ‘household’, as we have seen in the relationship between Briscoe and Roberts, and this was also true of the Navy.¹¹¹ Richmond’s mentorship of Rupee would fall in with this pattern established by other relationships on the voyage, such as the astronomer Charles Green’s

¹⁰⁸ Thompson 1782, p. 39.
¹⁰⁹ Thompson 1782, p. 39.
¹¹⁰ See Nickelsen 2006a, pp. 1-25, for a discussion of the training of botanical illustrators.
¹¹¹ A line-of-battle ship could have fifty or more boys aged from six up to eighteen in the crew and often included a schoolmaster (Rodger 1986, pp. 68-9).
education of the *Endeavour’s* young officers, whose calculations he has recorded next to his own in his sea journal.

These observations are not very good not owing to any fault in the art but our wanting practice or being bad observers at present. But I hope we shall grow better for we have room enough to mend at present.\(^{112}\)

Although the formulaic documents of Naval records offer little creative opportunity for writers, as Jaques St-Criq complained, Peter Briscoe and James Roberts’ sea journals offer a rich source of information on the details of the internals structure of the *Endeavour’s* community. The points at which the servants’ journals diverge from the narrative of Richard Pickersgill’s logbook highlight relationships amongst Joseph Banks’ scientific servants that describe a close-knit team organised along the ‘genealogical’ lines of the various ‘households’ represented within the expedition. Briscoe and Roberts were literally members of Banks household staff. George Rupee’s condition as Cook’s slave put him in a position that was difficult to distinguish in legal terms from a civilian servant or the service from his shipmates, at least while the ship remained at sea. Thomas Richmond’s position within the team is perhaps the most ambiguous. Before the voyage he was associated with John Fothergill’s rich estate, but he appears to have left this employment to join the *Endeavour* and the ties of patronage ‘protecting’ him during the voyage are unclear. Briscoe and Roberts distinguished themselves from the black servants in Banks’ scientific team in their sea journals, but the potential for social division along these lines was counteracted on the *Endeavour* by the culture of the crew for whom the integration of the passengers into the ship’s command was a priority; and Roberts’ own comment on the culture within Banks’ team in 1772, ‘here was no

\(^{112}\) Green TNA Adm 51/4545, 2/9/1768.
master and Slave,' suggests the servants themselves valued a sense of egalitarianism.

**Scientific Discourse in Daniel Solander's Slip Catalogue**

Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander are well known for pioneering Carl von Linné's system of classification on the *Endeavour*. As each zoological or botanical specimen was captured or collected it was defined according to the Linnaean system and recorded in Solander's *Slip Catalogue*, a collection of 4,842 loosely filed handwritten notes.\(^{113}\) The empirical attitude that produced this vast collection is seen by authors such as Paul Carter as limiting the imagination of the scientists on the voyage.

By a curious irony, even though he sets out to botanize on the supposition his botanical knowledge is incomplete, his knowledge is always complete: each object, found, translated into a scientific fact and detached from its historical and geographical surroundings becomes a complete world in itself. It loses all power to signify beyond itself, to suggest lines of development or the subtler influences of climate, ground and aspect. In short, its ecology, its existence in a given, living space is lost in the moment of scientific discovery.\(^{114}\)

Carter's impression that Banks and Solander saw their discoveries as 'complete' in themselves is partly attributable to the decision to permanently bind Solander's loose system of slips into volumes when they reached the British Museum (figure 2).\(^{115}\) During the voyage itself, the catalogue was used in a more

\(^{113}\) Wheeler 1986, p. 18.  
\(^{114}\) Carter 2010, p. 30.  
\(^{115}\) Wheeler 1986, p. 18.
dynamic fashion, as an instrument of debate.\textsuperscript{116} The slip catalogue had been in use as a system for organising information since the sixteenth century when the naturalist Conrad Gessner described it in the second volume of his \textit{Bibliotheca Universalis}. Gessner cut out excerpts from books, grouping them by general themes, and topics to create 'slips' which were placed in boxes. This loose catalogue allowed him to select slips from anywhere in the box and arrange them, something like debating cards, as a framework for a discourse.

I know many learned men who are pleased to apply this convenience to almost all their studies; whether it is something to be written or something to be taught orally in public, they collect the subject matter of their discourse roughly and arrange it in the following manner. Both material that was recently compiled and that which had long since been acquired is prepared for use on separate slips (not mounted), so that when needed for whatever subject is to be treated, they can produce them and select from many slips those that serve best for the present purpose; the slips are fastened together with small pins, and are then arranged in whatever useful order one wishes to have them for the purpose of a discourse; what seems to be appropriate is noted down or left out at will, the slips then being put back again in their place.\textsuperscript{117}

The use of Solander's slips as cues for discourse reinterprets his \textit{Slip Catalogue} as socially creative rather than imaginatively closed in by its own prescriptive system. He is renowned for his love of conversation – 'throw him where you will,' James Boswell quipped, 'he swims' – and the slip catalogue system was designed to capitalise on the variety of experience and opinion that could be brought into scientific discourse by engaging the interest of new

\textsuperscript{116} Carter 2010, p. 30.
\textsuperscript{117} Conrad Gessner 1545-49, translated and quoted in Kusukawa 2012, pp. 159-60.
participants. These flexible principles were not unique to science. Other members of the expedition would also have been familiar with them from their school days. Schoolchildren in the late eighteenth century were taught to construct their notebooks in a similar way. The rough notes taken down in class were copied onto a page that had been folded in half to resemble one of Solander’s slips and each sheet of four sides became a ‘module’ for learning. Headings, key words, paragraphs, rows and columns were used to create combinations of word schemes that would operate as a codex however the modules were shuffled. The pages could be stacked in the order that suited the student’s ‘own peculiar habits of association and arrangement’ and eventually bound into a book, as Solander’s slips were.

Michael Daniel Eddy argues that the students’ unique learning processes were captured in the construction of their notebooks. In addition to recording what the student had learned, the strategies built into their design ‘extended the mind’ as a cognitive instrument. The children were required to make qualitative decisions at every stage of the construction process. Their choice of the size of paper and the direction of the grain when it was folded would determine whether the pen travelled smoothly across the page and the size of the final book; the folding of the page encouraged the organisation of text and drawings in patterns of symmetry that created a conceptual structure and the graphic layout and tactile experience of constructing the notebook aided

118 James Boswell, journal entry for March 31, 1781, quoted in Raat 2010, p. 699.
120 Eddy 2018, pp. 277, 280.
123 Stewart 1792, p. 441.
memorisation. All these skills contributed to the fluency of verbal discourse and served students in their future careers in the military, commerce, academia and domestic service, allowing them to move easily through a world of self-organised codices that ordered everything in Georgian society from accounts to recipes.126

Roger Chartier points out that the rough division between literate and illiterate encompasses a broad range of competence: those who can read but not write, those who are learned but not literate and so forth. Reading aloud includes all these listeners in the discourses of scholarship.127 The scientists’ engagement of the Endeavour’s whole community is demonstrated by references in Banks’ journal to theories and identifications contributed by his servants and members of the crew. This shared discourse bound the Endeavour’s Naval-civilian community together.128

Daniel Solander’s Slip Catalogue introduces a performative dimension into the Endeavour manuscripts. The eighteenth-century paper technologies of the slip and the schoolbook were designed to support conversations that were creative, inclusive, collective and improvisational. This dimension of Solander’s text was lost when his slips were bound into volumes, giving Carter the impression of a dry register of information that ‘loses all power to signify beyond itself.’ Silent reading which became the norm in the nineteenth century creates anachronistic readings of these eighteenth-century documents. The unique learning processes recorded in their methods of construction, that describe how they are to be used, provide the context that is essential to the meaning of their texts.

126 Eddy 2018, pp. 278, 289.
127 Chartier 1992, p. 53.
128 See for example, Banks’ discussion in his journal of the sailors’ theories on bioluminescence in the ocean, on 29/10/1768 and the advice of his unnamed black servant, on sexing crabs in Rio on 26/11/1768.
In the oral culture of Georgian literacy, and especially on the *Endeavour* where solitude was virtually impossible, writers and readers speak and listen as narrator and audience. We have already seen this relationship in Pickersgill’s dictation of his journal to Briscoe and Roberts and Solander’s construction of his *Slip Catalogue* as an instrument of improvised discourse. Another way writers and readers engaged with their audiences was through the conscious engagement with the conventions of language itself. The value set upon conversation for entertainment cannot be overestimated in the age before mechanical recording. As Sydney Parkinson’s cousin, Jane Gomeldon, writes in the introduction to her collection of satirical essays, *The Medley*,

Conversation is even at present a most necessary Thing – Suppose, for Example, a Company thrown together without Cards, without a Guittar – what can they do but talk? In Case of Accidents, Conversation is a Resource, and he does well, methinks, who endeavours to set it on Foot again.129

At sea the journals of civilians were a sought after source of entertainment. Banks wrote on his voyage to Newfoundland in 1766,

as I could not carry any book without submitting it to the inspection of every petty officer who chose to peruse it I was contented with notes taken on small pieces of paper... What I got in my expeditions whenever I was aboard the ship I never copied into this book.130

129 Gomeldon 1766, pp. 2-3.
130 Banks, RGSSA MS 2, journal entry for August 2-3, 1766, quoted in Banks 1766, p. 3.
Charles Green’s elaborate calligraphy on June 6, 1764, ‘Sick very much’ and June 7, ‘Sick the better,’ (figure 3) suggests that he expected his journal to be read. On this voyage he was travelling to Barbados as the assistant to Nevil Maskelyne, later the Astronomer Royal. According to Mary Croaken, Maskelyne’s treatment of his astronomical servants was oppressive – for example, he forbade them to answer mathematical problems in the *Ladies Diary*, an annual almanac to which at least eight were contributors at other times in their lives.\(^{131}\) Green vented his frustrations on October 5, 1764, when Maskelyne recorded the sighting of Porto Santo as Madeira in the ship’s logbook.

Some of the Quarter Deck saw the Land tho others Disputed it. however M‘Maskelyne the short Sighted set it with the Az Compass to be SbW & aserted it to be the Madiera’s by his Acc[oun]t & the \(☽\) accordingly it was Put down the Madieras in the Log Book to his great joy tho I Insisted it was Porto Santo.\(^{132}\)

Twelve hours later Green was able to record with some satisfaction, ‘Saw the West End of the Madiera’s bearing SE 10 Leagues.’ A fortnight later he was equally critical of the Captain for flogging John Wofenton for insolence and mutiny, ‘NB – this Insolence & Mutiny consisted in saying Mr Graham a Mate was Drunk who realy was so.’\(^{133}\)

The eighteenth century is of course renowned for its satirists and as actors, performing on the stage of interest, it created a rich field of opportunity. Conversation was a social skill that could transform social status. Through her ‘witty and eloquent’ conversation Mary Knowles, a Quaker of ‘the middling sort,’ became the chosen friend of King George III and Queen Charlotte\(^ {134}\) and the

\(^{131}\) Croarken 2003, p. 289.
\(^{132}\) Green TNA Adm 51/4545, 5/10/1763.
\(^{133}\) Green TNA Adm 51/4545, 19/10/1763.
\(^{134}\) Seward to Lady Gresley, 29/8/1792, in Seward 1811, p. 159; Jennings, 2006, p. 38.
English slave, Ignatius Sancho, was able to count among his friends the duchesses of Queensbury and Northumberland, the actor David Garrick and the artist John Hamilton Mortimer and achieve his emancipation. The written and spoken word are inseparable in these exchanges. Sancho’s letters employ multilingual jokes and plays on words that reveal a taste for *Tristram Shandy*. His instant repost to exclamation, ‘Smoke Othello!’, of a passing ‘wit’ was recorded by his friend the artist William Stevenson: ‘Aye, Sir, such Othellos you meet with but once in a century... Such Iagos as you, we meet with in every dirty passage.’

The sensitivity to language at sea has already been noted and Green’s entries on June 11 and 12, 1764, make use of this feature. As before, his calligraphy invites other readers (figure 4) but here the censored parts of the text imply that by doing they are prying.

To day the Captain, Mr Harrison Mr Irwin & Self Din’d on Board the Princess of Wales Captain Cleveland ___ Poor Cleveland. His happiness must consist in his Sheep & Goats ___ Tho Madam may be kind. ___ NB I was sorry to find Mr Irwin a Man of so mean a Spirit & so much like a Boy for tho’ he had no Invitation & had hints sufficient both from self & xxxxxxxxx yet he would go on Board.


137 Stevenson to George Brudenell, Duke of Montague, Norwich, 14/9/1814 in Nichols 1815, p. 683.

138 Green TNA Adm 51/4545, 11/6/1764.
The next day Green’s text found its mark. His fellow scientist, Christopher Irwin, inventor of the ‘Marine Chair,’ or perhaps his son, had read his journal.

Mr Irwin Junior observ’d that the North Point of the Compass certainly pointed South – This Young Gentleman makes many of these very Curious observations. For instance he observ’d that I slept three thirds of my time & writ Callumny two Thirds.\(^{139}\)

In these entries Green separates the voice of his sea journal into theatrical ‘parts’ that were to be performed over two days by himself and his victim. The individual voices of Green and Irwin are clearly heard in the text, but so is the laughter of his audience. At sea such humour was a dangerous game and Green was more discrete four years later when he joined the Endeavour.

The Endeavour’s manuscripts furnish a greater body of knowledge about this voyage when examined as cultural artefacts than as texts alone. The sea journals of Peter Briscoe and James Roberts describe a social structure operating within Banks’ team of servants that conforms with the land-based class system of patronage and dependence described by William Blackstone in his Commentaries while the quasi-familial loyalty of followers to their officers in the Navy complements its principles. The reciprocal nature of relations underpinning these two systems of hierarchy aboard the Endeavour made language an especially powerful tool. For dependents it was the means of leveraging the interest of more powerful individuals and securing their place within a household and it also allowed them to pursue their ambitions in the wider world. For their benefactors, these relationships were a means of expanding their influence into other spheres of life and gaining knowledge of all kinds – political, scientific, philosophical, social and for pure entertainment. The appetite for information created a culture of conversation, often driven by curiosity, that was more often inclusive than exclusive of other classes and ranks, but the

\(^{139}\) Green TNA Adm 51/4545, 12/6/1764.
counterbalance to the reciprocity of these relationships was to make authority more fragile, particularly at sea where the loyalty of followers was key.

Mastery over the nuances of language was therefore not just a gift of the literati. Conscious awareness of its mechanisms was instilled by the paper technologies taught to schoolchildren which literally demonstrated to them as they were learning how they were organising information, memorising it, selecting ideas and composing them for an oral discourse. In later life, consciousness of the artifice of language was further fostered by the love of satire. These material characteristics of the manuscripts when interpreted in the context of the model of societal power provided by Blackstone describe how the expedition’s texts relate to thought and oral discourse on the voyage. The model this constructs of the Endeavour explains how its community operated technically as a Naval ship, socially as a class hierarchy and ethically as a civil society.
Chapter 2. Sydney Parkinson’s Artistic Administration

Joseph Banks commissioned two artists for the scientific documentation of the *Endeavour*’s exploration of the South Pacific: the botanical artist Sydney Parkinson and the figure and landscape artist Alexander Buchan; and Daniel Solander’s secretary, Herman Spöring, is also known to have contributed a number of drawings. The majority, however, are attributed to Parkinson, who is credited with producing more than 1,300 drawings of plants, animals, landscapes and people, an average of nearly 1.5 drawings per day over a period of 882 days before his death on January 26, 1771.\(^{140}\) The sheer size of Parkinson’s body of work – as Banks commented, ‘a much larger number of drawings than I ever expected’\(^{141}\) – has earned him the reputation of a prolific artist.\(^{142}\) When other factors are taken into account, however – the difficulty of the conditions, a period of illness, shipwreck and the fact that the largest group, the drawings of plants, are associated with relatively short periods spent on land – this extraordinary average becomes increasingly improbable.\(^{143}\)

\(^{140}\) Chambers 2016, p. 19.

\(^{141}\) Banks to Fothergill, undated letter, quoted in Fothergill, 1773?, p. 5.

\(^{142}\) See Banks 1768-71, pp. xiii-xiv for J. C. Beaglehole’s discussion of the quantity of work Parkinson produced. D. E. Allen considers the year that is normally given for Parkinson’s birth of 1745 to be suspect and that it is likely he was much older (Allen 2004, ‘Parkinson, Sydney (d. 1771)’). Five children are registered to his father Joel Parkinson, a Quaker brewer, in the Old Parish Registers of Births and Baptisms of Scotland but there appears to be no record of Sydney. They were Jane 8/3/1731, Stanfield 13/2/1733, Cornelia 17/7/1735, Silvanus 25/12/1737 and Britania 29/7/1740. (National Records of Scotland, Scotland’s People. <https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/search-our-records>)

\(^{143}\) Parkinson 1773, p. 61. In Tahiti Parkinson writes,
The Endeavour’s drawings have been attributed to individual artists on the basis of their signatures and fragments of handwriting on the page. This has produced three extremely eclectic bodies of work by the principal artists. In this chapter the question of attribution is approached differently, by examining the relationship of signatures and handwriting to the drawings in terms of the model of civil society outlined in Chapter One. The culture of collaboration the investigation into the expedition’s practices of literacy revealed in that chapter suggests a similarly collective approach may have been taken to these drawings in which the artistic identities of a number of individuals may have been ‘consolidated,’ in Blackstone’s word, into the identities of the principal artists.

The Speed of Production

The largest component of Parkinson’s work consists of 943 botanical drawings held in the Natural History Museum, London. The majority are pencil outlines, but 269 have been finished in gouache, and more than half of those were made during the period covered by this thesis, the voyage from England to Tahiti and the Society Islands.\footnote{Diment et al. 1984, British Museum (Natural History), The Endeavour Botanical Illustrations. http://www.nhm.ac.uk/our-science/departments-and-staff/library-and-archives/collections/cook-voyages-collection/endeavour-botanical-illustrations/about2.dsm} Despite the difficult conditions, both at sea and on land, there is little variation in their quality. They are exquisitely rendered, showing the fall of light and shadow and the texture and transparency of leaves and flowers, as for example in the drawing *Ilex azevchino* (figure 5). The consistent

At this time the weather was very wet; P. Briscoe, one of Mr. Banks’s servants, was very bad of a nervous fever, and we had but little hopes of his recovery, having been, by a long course of sickness, reduced to very great weakness; and, in this hot climate, it is a long time before an European recovers his strength, as I have known by experience.
format and style of these drawings provides a unit of measurement for comparing Parkinson's rate of production at different points during the voyage, while the need to complete each drawing before the specimen began to wilt and die, confines each drawing session within certain time limits.

As already noted, calculating the number of drawings produced across the whole of Parkinson's voyage of 882 days gives an average of 1.5 drawings per day, but the opportunities to draw the botanical specimens were concentrated during the periods the expedition spent on land. When the number of days in a particular landfall is divided by the number of drawings produced there, Parkinson's average doubles or even trebles. Table 1 shows the average rate of production at each location with his slowest rate of two drawings per day in Tierra del Fuego, the site of a disastrous episode during which Thomas Richmond and George Rupee died, and his fastest in Madeira, where he is credited with making just over three drawings per day.

Table 1: Botanical drawings signed by Sydney Parkinson, made between Madeira and the Society Islands showing the average number of drawings per day.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anchorage</th>
<th>Begin</th>
<th>End</th>
<th>Days</th>
<th>Botanical Drawings</th>
<th>Average no. drawings per day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Madeira</td>
<td>13/9/1768</td>
<td>18/9/1768</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio</td>
<td>13/11/1768</td>
<td>6/12/1768</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay of Good Success</td>
<td>16/1/1769</td>
<td>20/1/1769</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahiti</td>
<td>13/4/1769</td>
<td>14/7/1769</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fare</td>
<td>17/7/1769</td>
<td>19/7/1769</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opoa</td>
<td>20/7/1769</td>
<td>24/7/1769</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamaneno</td>
<td>2/8/1769</td>
<td>8/8/1769</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To put these rates in perspective, Parkinson's production of between one and three highly-finished gouache drawings per day may be compared with the rate of a present-day botanical artist, Margaret Stones, who writes in 1968 as the principal contributing artist to *Curtis’s Botanical Magazine* at Kew Gardens, that
she allows two to four days per drawing.\textsuperscript{145} This would suggest that when Parkinson was working at his slowest, he was still equalling Stones’ fastest rate of one drawing every two days – and these figures do not take into account the zoological drawings, scenic views, navigational landscapes and field sketches he is credited with producing at the same time, nor the physical conditions.

\textit{Distinguishing the Artists}

P. J. P. Whitehead’s analysis of the handwriting on the \textit{Endeavour} drawings shows that Parkinson was perhaps the only artist to sign his own name. The names of the other artists, Buchan and Spöring, were added in the nineteenth century by Banks’ librarian, Jonas Dryander (figure 6).\textsuperscript{146} Unravelling the question of how Parkinson was able to produce so many botanical drawings so quickly may lie in the wide variety of drawing styles that appear under his signature in the zoological collection.

Parkinson’s drawing of a bird, \textit{Fringilla betulae} (figure 7), is typical of his work before the \textit{Endeavour} voyage. His formulaic compositions usually pose the animal on a rock or branch in profile. The emphasis on the pattern and detail of fur and feathers gives an overall effect that is flat and static. In England he was often working from specimens that had been stuffed or preserved in alcohol and the British Museum’s zoological curator, Alwyne Wheeler, notes Parkinson’s drawings of Banks’ Newfoundland collection had ‘only moderate success in the final presentation.’\textsuperscript{147}

\textit{Motacilla-avidA} (figure 8), which was captured on the \textit{Endeavour} on September 28, 1768, was kept as a pet and was thus drawn from life, but Parkinson employed the same style and techniques he was using before the

\textsuperscript{145} Stones 1968, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{146} Whitehead 1968, p. xvi.
voyage. The drawing was completed the day after its capture and this drawing session overlaps with another of a shark, which has been drawn in a completely different style. *Squalus-Carchadius* (figure 9) was captured on the 29th and the documentation ‘finished’ on the 30th. The essential details of this drawing had to be completed within a window of two to three hours, between the time of capture at noon and two to four o’clock, when it was stewed and eaten by Banks and Solander for dinner. In this time, two drawings were made, one in profile and the other showing the shark obliquely from the front, and it was also dissected, as demonstrated by the detail drawing of the eyes (figure 9). The drawing from the front is not currently available through the Natural History Museum’s *Picture Library* online, but the naturalistic style of the other drawing in profile (figure 9), compared with the bird, *Motacilla-avida* (figure 8), is sufficient to show that Parkinson was signing at least two zoological drawings in entirely different styles that were made in the same drawing session, while the timeframe implies the production of three finished drawings within 36 hours.

The lapse of one day between capture and the completion of the documentation is typical of the zoological drawings. The date of capture is

148 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 29/9/1768. Banks writes,

This morn calm; employd in drawing and describing the bird taken yesterday, calld it Motacilla avida; while the drawing was in hand it became very familiar, so much so that we had a brace made for it in hope to keep it alive; as flies were in amazing abundance onboard the ship we had no fear of plentiful supply of provision.

149 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 30/9/1768.

150 Banks describes their daily routine on the *Endeavour* in a letter to Johan Alstroemer, president of the Swedish Royal Scientific Society in 1784, which was published as his obituary for Solander in the *Upfostrings-Sälskapets Tidningar* on February 21, 1785 (Banks to Alstroemer, 16/11/1784, in Rauschenberg and Banks, 1964, p. 66).

151 Wheeler 1986, cat. 58.
routinely recorded by Solander in his *Slip Catalogue* and Banks’ journal, and the
date recorded by Parkinson on the zoological drawings is generally one day later.
This was partly dictated by the time of fishing which, if the organism was
captured in the evening, meant it had to be documented in the morning due to
the dimness of their lamps.\(^{152}\) The possibility that Parkinson was using ship’s
time, that is the date recorded in the logbook that begins the new day at midday
instead of midnight and would put his dates routinely one day ahead of
Solander’s, is ruled out by Alexander Buchan’s drawing *Oniscus chelipes* (figure
10). Solander notes that it was captured ‘in algae off France’ and it is presumably
the new species of *Oniscus* recorded by Banks in his journal on August 28,
1768,\(^{153}\) but the date on the drawing, September 2, places the completion of the
drawing a week later (figure 11). It can therefore be accepted that Parkinson’s
dates refer to the completion of the drawing not the date of capture, creating a
timeframe for the drawing sessions.

Parkinson’s field sketches on the *Endeavour* reveal that he was drawing
by eye and had little understanding of the underlying structures of the body. In
his drawing of the bird *P. oceanica* (figure 12), for example, the left leg is too
long, and there is no sense of where the joints are located or how it connects to
the body. His drawing of a Haush man from Tierra del Fuego shows the same
problem in the right forearm which is too long and the hand which is
disproportionately small (figure 13). One of the advantages of the standard

\(^{152}\) Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 30/10/1768. Banks writes on October 30, 1768,

This Morn employd in Examining the things caught last night, which being taken
by the light of our lamps (for the wind which blows in at the windows always
open will not suffer us to burn candles) we could hardly then distinguish into
genera, much less into species, had the good fortune to find that they were all
quite new.

238; Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 28/8/1768.
format he employed in his zoological drawings before the voyage was that it allowed him to put his preserved specimens into the same life-like pose each time. *Squalus-Carchadius* (figure 9), with its confident sense of the shape of the musculature beneath the skin, employs skills that were beyond Parkinson’s ability.

With the exception of a self-portrait in oils, Alexander Buchan’s work is unknown outside the *Endeavour* voyage and the quality of the drawings attributed to him in the collection is particularly uneven, resulting in widely varied opinions of his ability. Bernard Smith and Rüdiger Joppien for example describe Buchan as an artist of ‘severe limitations’ and unlikely to have been ‘trained as a figure draughtsman,’ while Averil Lysaght refers to his ‘extremely accurate work.’ The upper standard is established by his jewel-like drawings of insects and small marine animals. The zoological drawings were not included in Smith and Joppien’s *Art of Captain Cook’s Voyages* and remain almost entirely unpublished. *Oniscus chelipes* (figure 10), mentioned above, captures the qualities of colour and transparency in the shine on the surface of the carapace, and the insect *Sphex Madeira* (figure 14) shows no hesitation in the anatomy, effortlessly locating the position and proportion of the legs in relation to the body. These drawings are attributed to Buchan based on Dryander’s *Catalogue of the drawings of animals in Banks’s collection* and the identification is supported by their production entirely during the first part of the voyage, before his death in Tahiti. Solander associates 12 specimens with Buchan in his *Slip Catalogue* and there are a number of other drawings in the same style that

157 Wheeler 1986, *Oniscus chelipes*, cat. 238; *Cancer depurator*, cat 221; *Argyope bruennichii* (Scopoli), cat. 216; *Helix Madeira*, cat. 297; *Helix Janthina*, cat. 296; *Lepas vittata*, cat. 291; untitled drawing ‘Sphex Madeira’, cat. 213; untitled drawing ‘Sphex
have been signed by or attributed to Parkinson that I suggest may also be his work.  

Banks’ reference on September 30 to the drawing session for *Squalus-Carchadius* (figure 9), ‘Mr Buchan employd in taking views of the land; Mr Parkinson busy in finishing the sketches made of the shark yesterday,’ appears to support the attribution of the two drawings to Parkinson, but the process of ‘finishing’ may refer to his part in the process of scientific description. Artists and scientists such as Parkinson and Banks frequently formed long-term creative partnerships in which the scientist had trained the artist in the illustrative conventions he or she required. Scientists would personally make corrections to the drawings, preferring an aesthetically inferior drawing to an incorrect one.

Parkinson had been working with Banks since 1766 when he documented the specimens from Newfoundland and he was familiar with the requirements of Banks and his wider scientific circle. From 1766 to 1768 he appears to have been in constant work, drawing the collections of Banks’ friend, the zoologist Thomas Pennant, the nurseryman James Lee (guardian to Banks’ fiancée Harriet Blosett and father of his student, Ann Lee), the collector Gideon Madeira’, *Cancer quadratus*, cat. 218; *Helix violacea*, cat. 295; *Termes fatale*, cat. 212; *Blatta maderae*, cat. 211.


159 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 30/9/1768.

160 Nickelsen 2006a, p. 10.


164 Lysaght 1971, p. 49.
Loten,\textsuperscript{165} and the anatomist William Hunter,\textsuperscript{166} as well as Robert Lord Clive.\textsuperscript{167} Consequently he was experienced in handling specimens and managing the documentary process as well as drawing, and he had been expecting to accompany Banks on his next expedition for a year before the \textit{Endeavour} departed.\textsuperscript{168} Although technically Buchan was the superior artist, his drawings of animals do not show that he had been specifically trained in scientific illustration and there is no evidence that he had worked with Banks before the voyage. For this reason Parkinson may have needed to ‘finish’ his zoological drawings to ensure they included all the necessary details for classification.

The drawing of \textit{Squalus-Carchadius} suggests that Parkinson was signing the work of his colleagues as well as his own, and this conclusion is supported by other drawing sessions. \textit{Squalus-Carchadius} is documented in a pair of drawings of the shark from two perspectives, and another shark, \textit{Squalus-glaucus}, captured seven months later on April 10, 1769, is documented the same way. These two drawings signed by Parkinson introduce two new artists. The drawing of the dorsal view of \textit{Squalus-glaucus} (figure 15) resembles Wheeler’s catalogue description of the second drawing of \textit{Squalus-Carchadius} seen obliquely from the front (unavailable as a digital image). He describes it as pencil and wash with a detail in pencil of the underside of the head.\textsuperscript{169} This style of drawing used for the sharks and rays was identified by Averil Lysaght in the 1960s as the work of Solander’s amanuensis, Herman Spöring.\textsuperscript{170} Using Dryander’s inscriptions she

\textsuperscript{165} Allen 2004, ‘Parkinson, Sydney (d. 1771)’.
\textsuperscript{166} Hancock and Douglas 2009, p. 224.
\textsuperscript{169} Wheeler 1986, cat. 54.
\textsuperscript{170} Lysaght 1979, p. 31; Wheeler 1986, p. 8.
found 'to my astonishment there were many of his drawings previously regarded as the work of Parkinson or Buchan' in the British Museum's archives\textsuperscript{171} and she confirmed her identification by referring to Solander's \textit{Slip Catalogue}. Spöring’s drawings of sharks and rays, such as \textit{Raja rhinobatos} (figure 16), consistently provide a dorsal or profile view of the animal with a detail of the underside of the head showing the mouth parts.

Like Buchan, Spöring’s drawings are only known through his work on the \textit{Endeavour} but Lysaght’s identification produces a convincingly coherent body of work. Spöring was a watchmaker before he was employed by Solander at the British Museum and his background in precision engineering is reflected in his technical drawing style which is most apparent in his drawings of artefacts such as the measurements and intricate spirals of his drawing of the head of a Maori canoe (figure 17).\textsuperscript{172}

The second drawing of the shark \textit{Squalus-glaucus} (figure 18), that complements the dorsal view by Spöring, resembles none of the work examined so far. It appears to have been made in two stages. The fins in Spöring’s dorsal view (figure 15) have an ornamentality that is repeated in the sketch for the profile view (figure 18). This suggests that the pencil outline was created by Spöring, and it was coloured in blue gouache by a less experienced artist. All the drawings of bony fish appear to have been constructed this way, from pencil outlines provided by an expert artist that have been coloured by others of varying ability, ranging from the highly accomplished \textit{Gasterosteus-Ductor} (figure 19) to the crude technique of \textit{Matapoo} (figure 20a).\textsuperscript{173}

The outlines of these drawings are consistent in style, format and quality, and there are several indications that suggest the use of an optical drawing aid. The clearest example is in a drawing made in New Zealand of the fish \textit{Sciena}.

\textsuperscript{171} Lysaght 1979, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{172} Lysaght 1979, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{173} \textit{Squalus-glaucus} is the only shark drawn using the two-stage process.
**salmonea** (figure 21) in which two images of the head are superimposed. In a drawing by eye, the lines merge and overlap as the artist attempts by trial and error to find the right position, as seen, for example, in the hands and forearms of Parkinson’s drawing of a Haush Man (figure 13), but in *Sciena salmonea* the drawing of the head forms two distinct and separate images. This effect is a characteristic of the use of a reflection to trace an image. William H. Wolloston used this method in his patent application for the *camera lucida* in 1807. His design was an improvement on the functionality of an instrument whose basic components had been available to military draughtsmen from the instrument-maker George Adams through the Office of Ordnance since at least 1765, ‘Prisms, Ditto mounted on a ball and socket, Frames and stands for ditto,’¹⁷⁴

The method can be demonstrated using a pane of glass (figures 22a-b). The mass-produced window glass of today was not available in the eighteenth century but the highly polished flat surface is comparable to the quality of a prism. By holding the glass towards the body over a sheet of paper, it is possible to see an object reflected in the glass and the sheet of paper beneath, simultaneously. This allows the image to be traced. Any slight movement of the head or the eye shifts the position of the reflected image relative to the page. At the same time, focusing on the reflection takes the eye off the drawing underneath, making double lines a common mistake.

The proposition that these outlines were created for others to colour is also supported by instructions in pencil that have been incompletely erased. The word ‘orange,’ for example, is still legible above the tail of the fish *Matapoo* (figure 20b). A group of fish drawings from Rio signed with Buchan’s name by Dryander, may be the result of his supervision of one of these less skilled artists (figure 23a-e). Distributing these outlines amongst a group of assistants would have dramatically increased the documentary team’s output, while creating a confusing impression of the ability of the signing artists.

The Assistants

The recruitment of sailors to assist civilian artists became an established practice on Cook's voyages of Pacific exploration. The landscape artist William Hodges is known to have taught several of the midshipmen on Cook's second voyage on the Resolution. John Elliott recalls, 'myself, Mr Roberts and Mr [Isaac] Smith, (Cook's Nephew) were, when off Watch, employed in Capt. Cook’s Cabbin either copying drawings for him or drawing for ourselves, under the Eye of Mr Hodges.'\(^{175}\) Isaac Smith was a cousin of Cook's wife, Elizabeth (not his nephew) (figure 24a) and he was recommended by Cook for the Endeavour voyage on the basis of his skills as a draughtsman which Cook wrote had been ‘of great use to me in assisting to make surveys, Plans, Drawings &c\(^{a}\) in which he is very expert.’\(^{176}\) Smith had been Cook's follower from the age of 13\(^{177}\) and the paint box he used on their voyages together from 1766 to 1775, with its original paints and brushes, is in the Museum of London (figure 24b). Bernard Smith and Rüdiger Joppien acknowledged in 1985 that many of the Endeavour drawings were probably his work but they were only able to attribute one drawing to him directly, a view of an iceberg which is in his logbook from the Resolution.\(^{178}\)

Smith collected two manuscripts of drawings from his three voyages with Cook. These were on the Grenville, Cook’s first independent command to Newfoundland from 1763 to 1767, the Endeavour from 1768 to 1771 and the Resolution from 1772 to 1775.\(^{179}\) The two manuscripts, Original Sketches,


\(^{176}\) Cook to Sir Philip Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty, c. 3-10 August, 1768. Public Records Office Adm 1/1609, quoted in Cook 1768-79a, v. 1, p. 637.

\(^{177}\) Urban 1831, p. 178.

\(^{178}\) Smith and Joppien 1985-87, v. 1, p. 55.

\(^{179}\) David 2004, ‘Cook, James (1728-1779), explorer’.
Drawings, Maps etc. Collected by Admiral Isaac Smith and South Sea Birds – Drawings by Admiral Isaac Smith and others in the Second voyage of Captain Cook. A.D. 1772-1775,\(^\text{180}\) were purchased by the State Library of New South Wales in the nineteenth century from Canon Frederick Bennett, a legatee of Elizabeth Cook’s will and the son of her executor. Bennett identified many of the drawings as Smith’s own work but Bernard Smith, Rüdiger Joppien and Averil Lysaght all rejected the provenance.

Smith and Joppien commented on a view in the *Original Sketches* entitled *Natural Arch 75’ long 27’ broad 45’ high. Tegadoo Bay. N. Zealand. 23 Oct. 1769* (figure 25a), ‘A note by Bennett at the beginning of the portfolio (f. prelim. ii (recto)) attributes, we believe erroneously, the drawing to Isaac Smith. The location to Tegadoo Bay, visited on the previous day, is also inaccurate.’\(^\text{181}\) Lysaght rejected Bennett’s identification of the *South Sea Birds* on similar grounds, ‘Isaac Smith apparently named the birds and noted the localities long after the voyage, and much of his information is misleading.’\(^\text{182}\) While these errors in the captions cast doubt on Bennett’s information, they are not conclusive.

Smith and Joppien’s reason for rejecting the provenance Bennett provided is not made explicit in their catalogue note but would appear to rest upon Lysaght’s attribution to Spöring of two drawings in the British Library, *The Arched Rock Tolaga Bay* (figures 26a) and *Tolaga Bay* (figure 26b), which are duplicates of *Natural Arch 75’ long* (figure 25a) and *Tegadoo Bay New Zealand 28 Oct. 1769* (figure 25b) in Isaac Smith’s *Original Sketches. The Arched Rock Tolaga Bay* has Spöring’s handwriting in the title and *Tolaga Bay* is signed with his abbreviated signature.\(^\text{183}\) Smith and Joppien’s catalogue note does not confirm

\(^{180}\) SLNSW ML PXD11 and Safe / PX*D72.


\(^{182}\) Lysaght 1959, pp. 310-311.

\(^{183}\) Lysaght 1979, p. 40-1.
Lysaght’s reference to Spöring’s signature on *Tolaga Bay* but they do mention the title ‘in Spöring’s hand’ and it would appear to be on this basis that they attributed the two drawings in the *Original Sketches* to Spöring.184

If Spöring’s handwriting and signature, like Parkinson’s, do not necessarily represent his original production, then Bennett’s provenance should be seen as authoritative and this extensive collection of drawings from three of Cook’s voyages provides a means of identifying Isaac Smith’s work on the *Endeavour*.

*King Fisher, Friendly Islands*

One of the most useful drawings for identifying Isaac Smith’s work on the *Endeavour* is a drawing in the *South Sea Birds* manuscript, *King Fisher, Friendly Islands* (figure 27). This drawing depicts the bird in a picturesque landscape using a large variety of materials, techniques and pictorial elements. Some similarities with the shark *Squalus-glaucus* (figure 18), can be noted in the patchy application of the paint on the ground and in the body of the shark, and there are also echoes of the shark’s expressive eye in the cheerful face of the bird. However, more substantial parallels can be found between *King Fisher* and another drawing from the *Endeavour* that has been signed by Charles Praval (figure 28).

Praval joined the *Endeavour* in Batavia, modern Jakarta, initially as a passenger and later as an Able Seaman, working his passage to England. This drawing in pen and ink of a man wearing tribal dress uses a distinctive technique of close, dark lines that appears to have been adapted from scrimshaw engraving, a craft particularly associated with sailors. The overlapping lines that create the planes of the man’s forehead can be compared for example with the technique that creates the rippled surface of the ocean in a nineteenth-century scrimshaw plaque of a whaling ship (figure 29). The same technique appears

throughout the illustrations to Cook's official report of the voyage, known as the
Admiralty Ms, Add MS 7085, which has been attributed to Praval on the basis of
his signature on this drawing (figure 28). However, it also appears in King Fisher
around the jagged tree stump and in the feathers on the breast of the bird.

Parkinson and Spöring died on the return to England and Smith and
Joppien argue that Praval was recruited by Cook afterwards to illustrate his
official report. However, Isaac Smith's association with these drawings would
agree with his role as Cook's draughtsman, while the conclusion that Praval was
a career sailor is called into question by his biography in Walter G. Strickland’s
Dictionary of Irish Artists, which identifies him as a professional drawing master.
The identification is confirmed by an advertisement placed by Praval in 1773
describing himself as 'late draftsman to Mr. Banks during his expedition round
the world.'

Praval's certificate of marriage to Catherine Tobin, on 29 October, 1771,
shows that he was 19 or 20 when he joined the Endeavour. He and his wife
moved to Dublin in 1773 where Praval established himself as a landscape artist
and cartographic copyist. Basil S. Long counts Praval among a community of
professional French Huguenot drawing masters and landscape painters and
he and his wife also opened a French language school for young women where
they practiced an 'immersive' style of education in which French was the only

185 Smith and Joppien 1985-87, v. 1, p. 58.
186 Strickland 1913, 'Praval, Charles'.
188 Long 1922, p. 5.
language spoken during school hours.\textsuperscript{189} The focus of the school was on the development of ‘Facility in Speaking and Elegancy in Discourse.’\textsuperscript{190} He published several books on French expression and a magazine, \textit{Le Magazin à la mode}. His personality is captured in two volumes of self-published parallel dialogues in English and French for the use of his students, in which the central character appears to be a thinly disguised version of himself. A dialogue between the main protagonist and his hairdresser as he prepares for the day begins,

\begin{quote}
Sir, how do you chuse to be dressed to-day?
It is equal to me.
Have you brought your curling-irons?\textsuperscript{191}
\end{quote}

The refined character and skilled artist that emerges from this picture of Praval after the voyage cannot be reconciled with the naïve sailor’s drawing signed with his name on the \textit{Endeavour}. Another advertisement quoted by Strickland, ‘Maps, charts and every kind of geographical drawings neatly executed and expeditiously taught at the same place,’ suggests that, rather than the illustrations of scenes in the Admiralty Ms, Praval was probably employed by Cook to copy the charts. Two that are attributed in Andrew David’s \textit{Charts and Coastal Views} to Cook and Smith, are catalogued in the British Library under Praval’s name, \textit{A Chart of the Great South or Pacifick Ocean}\textsuperscript{192} and \textit{A Chart of Newzeland of the Islands of Aeheinomouwe and Tovypoenammi Lying in the South Sea}.\textsuperscript{193}

Seaman was only one trade among many in the Navy. Rather than an experienced sailor, Praval’s rank of Able Seaman suggests he was being paid as a

\begin{footnotesize}
\item[189]Kennedy 1999, p. 130.
\item[190]Kennedy 1999, p. 130.
\item[191]Praval 1795, p. 4.
\item[192]BL Add. MS 7085, no. 1; David, Smith and Joppien 1988-97, v. 1, cat. 71.
\item[193]BL Add. MS 7085, no. 17; David, Smith and Joppien 1988-97, v. 1, cat. 167.
\end{footnotesize}
skilled professional. His signature, like Parkinson’s, can be explained as representing a working relationship with Isaac Smith, either as a colleague or teacher, rather than the artist’s ‘hand’. In this case, however, the drawing does not appear to have been ‘signed off’ by Praval. Rather, the name in block letters and the drawing are of a piece and the signature appears to have been added by Smith himself. The inscription del. after the name, an abbreviation of delineavit, meaning ‘drawn by him’, is normally used by printers to distinguish the artist from the engraver (who signs himself in the opposite corner sculpsit) and in this case, Smith may have been using it to identify his drawing as a copy. Praval’s dialogues include a long description of Cape Town, the home of a large Huguenot community, and it is possible that the figure in the drawing is South African. Further similarities between this drawing and Isaac Smith’s King Fisher can be found in the disproportionately small hands of the man and feet of the bird, the sprig of leaves the man is holding and the sprig that is and hanging down by the feet of the bird, and the technique of stippling used for the leaves of trees and bushes in both drawings.

The techniques demonstrated in King Fisher have suggest that Smith is the artist of drawings that have been attributed to Praval and Parkinson, but this drawing also connects him to the drawing in pencil in the Original Sketches that Smith and Joppien attributed to Spöring entitled Natural Arch 75’ long (figure 25a). The sprigs of leaves around the top of the arched rock, the tight

194 Rodger 1986, p. 16.
195 Praval 1783, pp. 102 ff.
196 Herman Spöring’s work includes a large number of drawings of artefacts and navigational views as well as these scenic views. The drawings of artefacts and navigational views mostly fall outside the voyage from England to Tahiti. Proper analysis would require an extensive investigation but I would suggest that future research may result in the reattribution of many of the navigational views to Smith. The discussion of the scenic views relating to New Zealand is included here because they are
scribbled line that describes the grassy hillside, the dark crescents of shadow on
the ground and the picturesque vignette framed by the arch of the *Endeavour*
under sail are comparable with the leaves hanging down by the feet of the bird,
the scribbled use of green gouache for the bushes, the brown crescents of
shadow on the ground and the view of the small house against a background of
hills in *King Fisher*. These similarities are repeated in the copies in the British
Library, *The Arched Rock Tolaga Bay* (figure 26a) and the Admiralty Ms, *A View of
the Great Natural Arch at Tolaga* (figure 30a).

The style of the figures of the crew collecting water in *Tegadoo Bay New
Zealand 28 Oct. 1769* (figure 25b) and its copy in the British Library, *Tolaga Bay*
(figure 26b), connect Smith to the last of the *Endeavour*’s principal artists,
Alexander Buchan. *A View of the Endeavour’s Watering Place in the Bay of Good
Success* (figure 31) from Tierra del Fuego has been signed ‘A Buchan delin’ and is
one of the few views in the *Endeavour* collection to use colour. Like *King Fisher* it
is a gouache and it shows the same patchy handling of the paint, dark crescents
of shadow on the ground and stippled leaves. The figures are put in the same
postures as *Tolaga Bay*, bent over barrels and walking stiffly across the page, and
they form similar conversational groups with no single centre of interest.

The field sketch for this drawing (figure 32a) does not employ any of the
features that can be seen in the landscape of *King Fisher* (figure 27). The
perspective is established with a fluent line that defines a row of hills and the
pale outline of the creek, but there is no use of stippling in the trees or bushes, no
sprigs of leaves, no distant vignette and the shadows on the ground are cast by
the figures rather than protruding rocks. The skills of a professional artist are
apparent in the economy of strokes that define the features of the Haush person
in the group in the centre (figure 32b) and the shape of the out-turned foot of the
soldier shouldering his musket to the right (figure 32c). Buchan’s name on the

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a smaller group of drawings that may be discussed relatively briefly in relation to
Buchan’s work.
gouache appears to be applying the same logic as Praval’s name on the portrait, acknowledging a copy or development of his original sketch, which is indicated by an abbreviation of *delineavit*.

*The Endeavour’s Model of Artistic Practice*

Although Buchan’s drawings of insects show that his artistic skill was, if anything, superior to Parkinson’s, with a better understanding of anatomy and a finish of almost photographic quality, Parkinson’s signature on the majority of the zoological drawings suggests that, scientifically, he was senior. The passage from Europe to Rio was a regular trade route and Buchan’s skills as a landscape and figure artist were not needed until the beginning of the voyage of exploration when the expedition reached Tierra del Fuego. Zoologically, however, the Atlantic crossing from Europe to South America was one of the busiest periods of the voyage. Within days of their departure from England the scientists were recording previously undescribed species of marine organisms and within a very short period Buchan and Spöring appear to have been working under Parkinson’s direction, who was also recruiting a team of assistants from the crew.

Potential assistants who may have been recruited include the Master’s Mate, Charles Clerke, whom Lysaght notes was recorded on the original Museum register for Smith’s *South Sea Birds* as the creator or instigator of these drawings made ‘by or under the direction of Captain Clerke,’ 197 and Nicholas Young, the ‘surgeon’s boy,’ 198 who replaced Buchan on the muster list of passengers, ‘in lieu of No. 7,’ the day he was buried at sea. 199 Isaac Smith’s peers in the great cabin include Cook’s followers from the *Grenville*, Peter Flower (18 years old), William Howson (16), John Charlton (15) and the Midshipmen, Jonathan Monkhouse, Jonathan Monkhouse,

198 Parkinson 1773, p. 119.
199 Cook, TNA Adm 36/8569, p. 74.
John Bootie, Patrick Saunders and Isaac Manly (12). Very few of these young men and boys survived the return to England during which Praval took over the role of senior artist.

If Banks’ servant James Roberts was an artist, it seems likely he would have illustrated the title page to his journal of the expedition to the Scottish Highlands and Iceland, but he gave this to another artist associated with Banks’ Revesby estate, William Brand. Nor is there any evidence that his colleague, Peter Briscoe, was an artist. However, Briscoe had been working with Banks for many years and, like Thomas Richmond, may have included illustration among his skills as a scientific assistant. He and Parkinson also had the opportunity to develop a partnership in preparation for the voyage in the year that elapsed between Banks’ appointment of his principal artist and their departure.

Towards the end of its voyage, as the expedition departed Botany Bay, a reference from Banks would appear to suggest a team of artists were sketching outlines.

200 Parkin 2006, pp. 96-98.
201 Parkin 2006, pp. 96-98.
202 William Brand illustrated Sir Joseph Banks’s Fishery Book of the River Witham in Lincolnshire, created by Banks’ sister, Sarah Sophia which recorded their annual fishing parties. Yale Center for British Art. http://web.library.yale.edu. Sh437.B36 1784 (website page discontinued). According to an internal note Brand was a local customs officer. This record appears to trace his development as an artist over 20 years from his earliest drawings, possibly as a young boy on the estate, to become a sophisticated watercolourist.
203 One of the most famous examples of a plant collector who was also an artist is William Bartram (1739-1823); examples of artist-servants are Thomas Pennant’s servant, Moses Griffiths (Bonehill, Daniels and Alfrey 2009, p. 16) and Thomas Cocking, servant of the antiquarian and artist Francis Grose, whose works according to Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin are easily confused (Crookshank and the Knight of Glin 2004, p. 41).
This evening we finishd Drawing the plants got in the last harbour, which had been kept fresh till this time by means of tin chests and wet cloths. In 14 days just, one draughtsman has made 94 sketch drawings, so quick a hand has he acquird by use. 204

This ‘one draughtsman’ has been presumed to be Sydney Parkinson, but the passage implies more were at work. 205 These strategies that shared the task of drawing among a large number of people go some way towards explaining how Parkinson was able to produce the enormous body of work that has been attributed to him, especially in relation to those drawings that do not conform to his usual style and skills. In the case of his botanical drawings, however, it is difficult to distinguish the hand of any other artist. If an assistant was producing outlines for him to colour this might have reduced his workload by as much as half, but in Tahiti, where his output was one drawing per day (Table 1), this would still only bring his personal rate of work down to the level of Margaret Stone’s fastest speed of one drawing every two days. This may suggest that a third artist was blocking in the main colour so that Parkinson was only required to finish the drawing. If other artists were assisting him in this way, their collaboration is seamless.

Parkinson was undoubtedly a prolific artist, but the number of drawings attributed to him personally is unrealistic. The attribution of so many drawings to him on the basis of his signature has also resulted in a very confused impression of the work of the other artists on the voyage. Applying a collective concept of agency to the Endeavour’s creative community allows a broad cross-

\[204 \text{ Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12, 12/5/1770.} \]

\[205 \text{ A rough estimate of the number of artists at work could be gained by dividing the number of drawings of plants from Botany Bay by 3 (one week in Botany Bay plus two weeks at sea) and dividing that number by 47, the number of drawings this draughtsman was able to produce in a week.} \]
section of its members to be subsumed within the artistic identity of his signature, while Buchan and Praval, who have been thought of as artists of limited ability, emerge as sophisticated professionals.
Chapter 3. Charles Praval: The End of the Voyage of Exploration

The arrival in the Dutch colonial town of Batavia on October 10, 1770, marks the end of the Endeavour’s voyage of exploration and the moment when the expedition rejoined the European community. In this global centre of international trade new influences entered the artists’ lives and it was here they met Charles Praval who joined the ship as a passenger for the return to England on December 19, and enlisted as an able seaman on February 6, 1771. There was fierce competition to publish the first account of the voyage on the expedition’s return to England and Parkinson immediately felt the pressure on their arrival in Batavia: he wrote to Jane Gomeldon, ‘Fain would I have excused myself from writing, could I have found any excuse, I am so hurried and fluttered about here.’\(^{206}\) Parkinson and Praval’s lives intersected for three-and-a-half months before Parkinson’s death on January 26, as the Endeavour began the journey home and this period introduces Praval as another previously unrecognised professional landscape and figure artist into the Endeavour’s community.

This period parallels the return journey to England on Cook’s second Pacific voyage which represents a transitional period in the work of the artist William Hodges.\(^{207}\) At this point on both voyages, the artists’ priorities changed from the collection of information to the preparation of their materials for publication and the task of making their exotic and unfamiliar experiences in the South Pacific coherent for a London audience. Identifying the drawings the Endeavour expedition made with Praval in Batavia is important not only for reconstructing the artists’ individual bodies of work, but distinguishing their original impressions of their voyage from the narratives they constructed later under his influence.

\(^{206}\) Parkinson to Gomeldon 16/10/1770, Society of Friends, Euston Road, London, quoted in Smith and Joppien, 1985, p. 51.

\(^{207}\) Bonehill 2004, p. 76.
Publication

Two unauthorised books were rushed into print on the *Endeavour*’s return, ahead of the official account commissioned by the Admiralty, John Hawkesworth’s *Voyages*. In 1771 an anonymous journal was published by one of the *Endeavour*’s officers208 and in 1773 Parkinson’s journal was published by his brother, Stanfield, just before Hawkesworth’s book appeared.209 The Admiralty itself appears to have given no thought to publication before the *Endeavour*’s return. Fanny Burney recalls Lord Sandwich mentioning to her father, Charles, ‘his having the papers of it in his possession – for he is first Lord of the Admiralty – & said that they were not arranged, but meer rough Draughts, & that he should be much obliged to any one who could recommend a proper Person to Write the Voyage.’210 Banks, by contrast, had set aside £10,000, the equivalent in 2017 of approximately one-and-a-half million pounds, for publishing the results of his voyage. The scale of ambition this sum represents would place publication at the centre of the artists’ priorities in Batavia.211 Banks’ activities in the year before the voyage and his extensive research afterwards into the documentary techniques of artists and printers can be used to reconstruct the nature of his vision and the part Praval may have hoped to play in it in Batavia.

Parkinson’s botanical illustrations which dominate the visual records of the voyage and defined Banks’ career, reinforce the impression created by Solander’s bound *Slip Catalogue*, that their expedition had been a vast exercise in

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208 [Magra?] 1771.
209 Parkinson 1773.
210 Burney 1768-73, p. 173.
However, before the voyage, Banks' plans for documenting his exploration of the South Pacific were developed in the context of his friend the zoologist Thomas Pennant’s plan to take a walking tour of Scotland which would produce his pioneering work in the genre of travel writing, *A Tour in Scotland*. From the years 1766 to 1773 Banks was constantly away on similar expeditions around Britain and internationally that, like Pennant, combined his scientific interests as a naturalist with travel. In 1766 he went to Newfoundland and Labrador, in 1767 he made a six-months walking tour of the north of Wales and in 1768 he joined the *Endeavour*. On his return in 1771 he immediately began preparations for Cook’s second Pacific voyage in 1772, from which he eventually withdrew, travelling instead to Scotland and Iceland for three months. In 1773 he took another three-months walking tour of the south of Wales with Solander and the landscape artist Paul Sandby.

In the twelve months before the *Endeavour's* departure he was in frequent communication with Pennant and stayed with him for nine days from November 21 to 30 in 1767. Their correspondence mainly concerns Sydney Parkinson, who was working for them both, and Banks' plans for his next expedition. When Banks appointed Parkinson in August, 1767, a year before the voyage, Pennant, congratulated him on his choice of artist, and it was also

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212 Banks devoted nearly two decades to developing the plates of Parkinson's botanical drawings for the *Florilegium*, which was not completed during his lifetime. Diment *et al.* 1984, p. 9.

213 Banks' expeditions from 1766 to 1773 were as follows:

- North Wales, August 1767- January, 1768 (Chambers 2007, p. 87)
- Endeavour 26/8/1768 – 13/7/1771. (Cook 1768-71)
- Scotland and Iceland 11/7/1772 – 29/10/1772 (Roberts 1796)
- South Wales 25/6/1773-16/8/1773 (Hughes 1975, p. 452)

214 Chambers 2007, p. 87.
Pennant who passed on Banks’ invitation to ‘young Totty’ to be a midshipman on the *Endeavour*.  

Although Parkinson’s botanical drawings would become the crowning achievement of Banks’ voyage, before their departure his scientific illustrations were envisaged within Banks’ scientific community as the complement to Buchan’s landscapes. In February 1768, Thomas Falconer wrote to Banks emphasising the need for drawings of landscapes as well as specimens.

> We shall expect... a particular account of some of those wonderful scenes which are mentioned in the Oration of Linnaeus. You take a designer with you, and it would be easy to sketch out some of the views... The appearance of Nature is varied in every Climate: an Alpine scene is different from a Derbyshire landscape; and if your designer would stain his drawing, it would point out the colour of the Soil and verdure, with the nature of the Rocks, and would enable us here to have a full idea of the Country, which no description possibly can.

Banks had a clear vision of the style and quality he wanted in his documentation. His taste in landscapes is exemplified by the artist he took on his tour of South Wales, Paul Sandby. He collected 67 of Sandby’s views of Eton and Windsor. The crisp, luminous clarity of his watercolours provides an important benchmark for understanding what Banks was hoping for from his *Endeavour* artists. The diarist Joseph Farington commented ‘Accuracy of drawing seems to be a principal reccommendation to Sir Joseph,’ and these qualities are

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reflected in Buchan's landscapes and insect drawings. Buchan produced only a handful of landscapes but the qualities of a Sandby drawing from around 1760 purchased by Banks (figure 33a) are recognisable in his view of the Pão de Açúcar at the entrance to the harbour of Rio de Janeiro (figure 33b).

After the voyage Banks also wanted to realise these qualities in print reproduction. This required pushing forward the technology and he pursued engravers who were experimenting with new processes. Benjamin Franklin sent Banks samples of Peter Perez Burdett’s aquatint process, whose ‘manner’ he thought ‘would suit some of his Plants better than the more common methods.’ This process was later sold to Sandby and the drawings he made on his tour with Banks in 1773 resulted in 1775 in his Views of South Wales, introducing the ‘Aquatinta’ as ‘a mode of imitating drawings’ and dedicated to Banks and another patron, Charles Greville.

The Endeavour’s collection of scenic views were passed on by Banks to Hawkesworth after the voyage. They are contained in two manuscripts in the British Library, Add Ms 23920-23921, and form a distinctive group within the

218 Faringdon 1793-1802, journal entry for December 12, 1798, p. 27.
220 Franklin to Burdett, 3/11/1773, in Franklin 1773, pp. 459–460. Burdett also wrote to Banks the same day, apparently prompted by a conversation with Pennant on the techniques that had been used in Georg Knorr’s prints of fossils in Lapides diluvi universalis testes which he felt could be improved upon (Burdett to Banks, British Library Add. MS 33977 ff. 28-9, cited in Diment et al., 1984, p. 11).
221 Laxton 2004, ‘Burdett, Peter Perez (1734/5-1793)’.
223 Hughes 1975, p. 452
Endeavour’s visual records. These drawings resemble the topographical manuscripts collected by antiquarians to record the travel experiences of a group of friends. Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin explain that these collections tend to fall into two groups: collections of copies executed ‘in a perfunctory manner by a draughtsman with little ability’ to ‘give no concept of what the original drawings were like’ – Isaac Smith’s copy of Praval’s drawing might fall into this category – and drawings destined for publication, in which they argue the artists were ‘trying to achieve a similar style for purposes of engraving.’ In this latter case, distinguishing individual artists within the manuscripts can be ‘puzzling’ and an ‘insoluble problem’ and the scenic views in Add Ms 23920-23921 appear to be of this kind.

The composition of a group that toured Ireland with the antiquarian Francis Grose in 1791 closely resembles the Endeavour’s team of artists. It includes Grose’s servant, Thomas Cocking, who ‘uses a very similar style to his master and their work can easily be confused,’ his nephew Daniel Grose, the Irish artists, Jonathan Fisher and John Melchior Barralet, whose brother, John James, worked on Hawkesworth’s Voyages, the architect James Gandon, the English portrait and landscape painter, Francis Wheatley and the American artist, engraver and map-maker, Henry Pelham. However, Crookshank and Glin write, their drawings ‘would not give the impression of many artists at work’ and ‘only occasionally does the style of the artist shine through.’

As on the Endeavour, the signatures in the antiquarians’ manuscripts distinguish between the artist who produced the original sketch and the finished drawing or copy. In Grose’s Antiquities of Ireland, a view of Ardfinnan from the

224 Crookshank and Knight of Glin 1994, p. 35.
south-west by Austin Cooper is signed and dated ‘A Cooper *pinxt* 1785,’ but it is also signed ‘Anthony Chearnly *delint* 1744.’229 These two signatures, attributing the field sketch to Chearnly and the watercolour worked up from it to Cooper, support the interpretation of Charles Praval and Alexander Buchan’s signatures in the *Endeavour* collection that I argued in the last chapter are works by Isaac Smith (figures 28, 31). The tendency of the *Endeavour* artists not to sign their drawings, to sign the names of others, or in the case of Parkinson’s signature on the zoological drawings, to ‘sign off’ on the drawings of his colleagues, makes the use of this convention possibly even more difficult to follow in the *Endeavour* drawings.230

*The Scenic Views*

The encounter with Charles Praval in Batavia might have revived hopes of publishing scenic views of the voyage by creating composite images from the field sketches, but Banks’ intense interest in the technical production of his drawings suggests that Buchan could not have been easily replaced. Upon his death in Tahiti Banks had written,

I sincerely regret him as an ingenious and good young man, but his Loss to me is irretrevable, my airy dreams of entertaining my freinds in England with the scenes that I am to see here are vanishd. No account of the figures and dresses of men can be satisfactory unless illustrated with figures: had providence spard


230 Parkinson’s usual signature, ‘Sydney Parkinson *pinxit*’, ‘painted by Sydney Parkinson’, which he used on the shark drawings discussed in Chapter Two (figures 9, 15 and 18), painted by Buchan, Spöring and Smith, does not allow sketchers and painters on the *Endeavour* to be distinguished by their signatures as Cooper and Chearnly have been on the view of Ardfinnan.
him a month longer what an advantage would it have been to my undertaking...’ 231

The *Endeavour*’s field sketches went through several stages of development before they were published. They were reworked during the voyage itself into finished drawings and then reworked again by Hawkesworth’s artists in London, Giovanni Battista Cipriani, John James Barralet and John Frederick Miller, before being given to the engravers. Praval’s presence in Batavia as a professional artist introduces a potentially important interim stage, between the artists who were on the voyage of exploration and Hawkesworth’s artists in London, during which the field sketches could have been developed into the distinctive collection of scenic views contained in the two manuscripts, BL Add MS 23920-23921.

These scenic views consciously compose the narrative of the voyage, adopting styles of drawing that classicize and romanticize the subjects and introduce elements of theatricality, exoticism and technical drawing. Establishing when these drawings were produced, whether they are contemporary with the field sketches or were later productions, determines whether these attitudes informed the artists’ priorities during the voyage of exploration or represent the later influence of Praval, and equally importantly, whether the modifications Hawkesworth’s artists introduced in London were embellishments of the original artists’ impressions or major departures from them.

Parkinson’s signature on the zoological and botanical drawings is always written ‘Sydney Parkinson *pinxit*’ but the scenic views are mostly unsigned and those that are, use a variety of styles and occasionally a year, which may coincide with the itinerary of the voyage, but in the case of two drawings of the Society

231 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12, 17/4/1769.
Islands, are post-dated 1770 and could correspond to the time in Batavia.\textsuperscript{232} Given the constraints the artists were working under during the voyage of exploration, Batavia, where the scientific team disembarked for 10 weeks into the comfort of a government hotel for foreigners and shortly afterwards, a small house, is an obvious location where these composite drawings could have been produced.\textsuperscript{233}

However, this was also one of the most disruptive periods of the voyage. The city was a major trading port, a cosmopolitan centre, founded by the Dutch East India Company in 1619, whose network of transport canals also served as open sewers. Since 1733 the diseases they carried had been the cause of a rising mortality rate among Europeans within six months of their arrival, that in 1770 was close to its peak of 60\%.\textsuperscript{234} It might be considered a credit to Cook’s command that at 33 the total deaths on the \textit{Endeavour} was almost half that rate. They came in two waves, malaria in Batavia, and dysentery after the return to sea (see Appendix 2). Parkinson, however, appears to have remained well until a few days before his death.

By Banks’ account, the first signs of illness appeared 10 days after their arrival when he and Solander began to fall ill with a recurring fever that would bring Solander close to death several times. Within 18 days, tents, pitched on the beach to accommodate the sick crew, were full. On November 1, Briscoe and Roberts fell ill and on the 5\textsuperscript{th}, William Monkhouse, the ship’s surgeon and a friend

\begin{footnotesize}


\textsuperscript{233} Parkinson 1773, p. 217; SLNW Banks, ML Safe 1/12, 11-20, 1770.

\textsuperscript{234} der Brug, 1997, p. 894.
\end{footnotesize}
of the scientific party, died; followed by the two Tahitians who had joined their expedition, Tarheto, a young boy, on the 9th, and Tupaia, on the 11th. At this point, Spöring escaped with Solander and Banks to the country for ten days. On the 14th Spöring fell intermittently ill and on the 24th the three were forced by monsoonal floods to return to the city.

Praval is not mentioned in any of the journals but Tupaia's arrival in Batavia was the cause of some excitement amongst the French community. Eighteen months earlier the French explorer, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, had arrived in Batavia with a Tahitian passenger, Ahutoru, and it might have been Praval who ran out of his house as Banks and Tupaia were walking together, about a week after their arrival, to ask if Tupaia was Bougainville's passenger. 235

235 There is no known portrait of Tupaia but it is also possible that he is the figure in Parkinson's study of various subjects drawn at Endeavour River on the eastern coast of the Australian continent. During the voyage Tupaia had been wearing clothes given to him on the ship, but on seeing Batavia's cosmopolitan community dressed in their national costumes he asked for his tapa cloth to be brought up (Banks SLNSW. ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 11/10/1770 - 20/10/1770). During the voyage he was therefore probably wearing loose fitting clothes issued to sailors called slops. The Master, Robert Molyneux notes that he provided slops to Banks' men on September 21, 1768 (Molyneux TNA Adm 55/39). The style of dress worn on the Endeavour, long trousers and a loose jacket, can be seen in Isaac Smith's View of the Endeavour's Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success (figure 31). The trousers are worn by both passengers, identifiable by their coloured jackets, and the crew. A portrait of Lord Boyne with a group of friends in the cabin of his yacht on his Grand Tour of Europe painted in 1731-32 shows passengers wearing a similar style of clothing (figure 34). Bernard Smith notes that the figure in Parkinson's study (figure 35a) 'presents a problem'. He writes,

The shirt depicted is European and the head, such as it is, is more European than Aboriginal, but the left hand holds a spear or a paddle. Parkinson was not in the habit of portraying members of the ship's company. Because of the general context of the drawing it seems tempting to conclude that here, as in I.174

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The man gave a detailed account of Bougainville's expedition and the conversation Banks reports engages with themes discussed at length in Praval's dialogues. Praval describes a love of travel stories combined with an enthusiasm for ethnography – 'For my part I always had a great inclination to instruct myself concerning the manners of foreign nations. After having so much travelled, you join experience to theory' – and a deep concern for the impact of Spanish colonisation on Mexico – 'It appears the conquerors of the new world, did not wish the conquest of it, but to exterminate the unhappy inhabitants.' If this man was not Praval himself it seems inevitable that he would have heard of the Endeavour's presence soon after through the French community.

For Parkinson, the meeting with Praval would have represented his first opportunity to work with a professional landscape and figure artist since the

[figure 28], an Aborigine in European clothes is intended.' (Smith and Joppien 1985-87, v. 1, cat. 175, note.)

The standing figure is wearing clothes that resemble a set of sailor's slops from a slightly earlier period in the Museum of London c. 1600-1700 (figure 35b). Alternatively, the lower garment could be a cloth worn by Tahitian men that Cook describes.

the men wear a peice of Cloth like a Sash which goes between their thighs and brought up before and behind and then wraped round their waist this every man wears always without exception and it is no uncommon thing to see many of the better sort have nothing else on as it is reckon'd no shame for any part of the body to be exposed to view except those which all man kind hide.' (Cook NLA MS 1, 'Description of King Georges Island', un-numbered page. South Sea Voyages, 'Description of King Georges Island', p. 19).

The same figure also appears in the background of another group of studies from Botany Bay by Parkinson, paddling an Aboriginal canoe (figure 36a). Tupaia made a drawing of the same style of canoe of an Aboriginal family fishing (figure 36b).

236 Praval 1795, p. 48.

237 Praval 1795, p. 18.

238 Praval 1795, p. 32.
death of Buchan, and the composite scenic views in Add Ms 23920-23921 introduce new styles and levels of technical sophistication into his work that suggest professional assistance. Dividing the number of scenic views by the number of days spent in Batavia gives a rate of one drawing every 1.7 days, or if drawing continued at sea, one drawing every 2.3 days up to Parkinson’s first illness on January 22, 1771 (See Appendix 3, Summary). Spöring and Parkinson’s handwritings on some of these drawings places their creation before their deaths on January 26 and 27 respectively, but it is possible that others were produced or completed by Praval afterwards. The drawing rates explored in Chapter Two suggest these elaborate compositions could not have been produced in addition to the documentation of fresh specimens during the earlier voyage, and the practical constraints on drawing at sea are examined in Chapter Four. However one calculates the figures, the rates of production of the artists remain extremely high.

The Landscapes and Figures

I have been unable to locate an independent example of Praval’s work from his career beyond the Endeavour voyage, but his work, like Buchan's, can be distinguished from Parkinson's by examining the level of technical skill in the figure drawings. Otaheite View at the Back of Point Venus towards Pithas Long House (figure 37a), signed ‘drawn by S. Parkinson,’ is in a separate manuscript in the British Library, Add 15508, that includes Smith’s drawing signed with Praval’s name. Enlarging the figures on the double canoe (figure 37b) shows that the artist has been classically trained and even on this tiny scale, they are precise and proportionate. They bear a close resemblance to six studies of Tahitians

239 The Antique Collectors Club’s Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920, published in 1976, notes that Praval’s work is not held in any public institutions but his inclusion with other ‘collectable’ artists suggests his drawings may be circulating through private sales. Mallalieu 1979, ‘Praval, Charles’. 
drawn on the back of one of Parkinson’s loose sketches held in the National Library of Australia and attributed by Smith and Joppien to Hawkesworth’s artist, Cipriani (figure 38). The drawing of the lower body possibly relates to the central woman in *Otaheite View* and all the figures share the same confident, angular lines.

Figures from the six studies are also duplicated in a finished drawing attributed to Cipriani in the State Library of New South Wales, *Another Scene – a dance in Otaheite, interior* (figure 39), which when it was engraved was inscribed ‘J. B. Cipriani del.’ The similarity between the figures in these three drawings, *Otaheiti View* (figure 37b), the study of six Tahitians (figure 38) and *Another Scene* (figure 39), suggests that Cipriani was the leading artist rather than the maker of *Another Scene*. If these three drawings can all be attributed to Praval, it would place him in Batavia, reworking the field sketches into scenic views, and then continuing to work on the drawings in London with Cipriani and his colleagues for Hawkesworth’s publication.

Praval remained in London until the year of the book’s publication, arriving with his wife in Dublin in 1773. That same year he exhibited two scenic views with the Society of Artists that the titles recorded in the catalogue suggest were variations on drawings reworked by Barralet for the *Voyages*. Praval’s *An Arched Rock in New Holland* is possibly another version of Barralet’s *A View of a perforated rock in Tolaga Bay in New Zealand* and his *Drawing of an Indian Fortification on the Shore of New Zealand* of Barralet’s *View of an Indian town situated on the top of a rock under which is a natural archd passage Opoorage Bay*

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240 Cook and Banks 1773, plate 7, *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.*

241 The reference of New Holland must be a misnomer as there are no drawings of arched rocks from the Australian continent.
Both artists’ drawings may have been developed from Isaac Smith’s *The Arched Rock Tolaga Bay* (figure 26a) and *View of an Indian Fortification built upon an Arched Rock in Mercury Bay* (figure 40).

Lysaght declined to attribute a number of sketches in Parkinson’s notebooks of local boats from around Batavia to him definitively, and some of the types of craft were also a cause of puzzlement to G. Adrian Horridge, who notes that two of the pages show canoes in a style not known in any place along the route of Cook’s first voyage, ‘the famous “flying proas” described by Magellan’s chronicler Pigafetta in 1521 at Guam or Rota.’ These boats in Parkinson’s sketchbook and some of the artefacts from the voyage attributed to Spöring, and in London to Frederick Miller (whose signature is followed by the inscription *del.*), may be attributable to Praval (figure 41a-c).

**The ‘Neo-Classical’, ‘Romantic’ and ‘Theatrical’ Drawings**

Praval’s influence on Parkinson is apparent in six studies of Maori rowers. Two examples (figures 42a-b) show Parkinson’s characteristic weaknesses – the hands are disproportionately small and the foreshortening of the arm in figure 41a has not been successful – but the graceful postures, muscular definition and

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244 Horridge 1983, p. 255.
the delicate folds of the fabric show a new awareness of anatomy and style that is lacking from his field sketch of a Haush man (figure 13).

These studies were developed into *New Zealand War Canoe, the Crew Peaceable* (figure 43) which Bernard Smith comments, ‘can only be described as early neo-classical.’ Another drawing, *New Zealand War Canoe Bidding Defiance to the Ship* (figure 44), would appear from the title to be the companion piece and I would suggest that *the Crew Peaceable* was intended to be similarly coloured. The fabric of the tunic of the central figure in *Bidding Defiance* has lost its delicacy in the rendering, but the underlying sketch has the same fluted hemline as the standing figure in the *Crew Peaceable*, and the grimacing figure with leaves in his hair in *Bidding Defiance*, appears to be the same man facing the viewer in *the Crew Peaceable*. Like the studies of Maori rowers, the quality of the figures in *the Crew Peaceable* (figure 43) is beyond what Parkinson had been able to achieve in his field sketches during the voyage (figure 13), but it does not approach the control of the six studies of Tahitians that I have attributed to Praval. The shape and proportion of the bodies is still awkward in many places, the hands are for the most part too small and the location of elbows, hips and knees uncertain.

These figures appear to be composite images constructed from the expedition’s field sketches and classical drawings copied from a book, such as Johann Winkelman’s *History of Ancient Art Among the Greeks* (1764), which have been ‘collaged’ using an optical drawing aid, similar to the one used to construct the drawings of fish. J. R. H. Spencer notes that one of the scenic views from New Zealand (figure 45) has been reversed, ‘as though the real scene were viewed in a mirror or through a camera obscura.’ The rate at which Parkinson and Praval were working in Batavia required some such strategy to produce so many drawings in such a short time.

It is not only Parkinson's figure drawing that improves in the scenic views, his technique as a landscape artist also becomes markedly more sophisticated. His approach to landscapes before the voyage can be found in the background to his zoological drawings. Like the animals themselves, they are formulaic. His study of five birds (figure 46a) is typical of this work. The motifs in this drawing, the broken bough or tree stump, the calligraphic quality of his line and the regimented rows of waves, are recognisable elements in The Tree on One Tree Hill (figure 46b) from Tahiti, but the use of light and shadow is more sophisticated and the composition is generally more complex.

The drawing has a distinct theatricality. The foreground of low vegetation which is a feature of his zoological drawings, is thrown into shadow as if by footlights, and the depth of field recedes like layers of scenery. A sense of narrative is invoked by the figure of the artist sitting in the foreground, like an author, imagining the opening scene of his play, his characters in costume are illuminated in the landscape and hold their poses as if ready to begin. Many of the landscape artists in Praval's Irish circle, including Barralet, worked as scene painters, and the theatricality that appears in a large number of Parkinson's scenic views (Appendix 3.3) may be a reflection of similar experience in Praval's career. 247

Some of the scenic views also have a tendency towards romanticism. Parkinson's A Perforated Rock in New Zealand, (figure 47), the same subject as Praval's An Arched Rock in New Holland exhibited in Dublin, is noted by Bernard Smith for its romantic effect. 248 The oval frame was a favourite format of...
Barralet,\textsuperscript{249} and the elements of the composition, woods, rocks and rivulets, are the subject of one of Praval's dialogues on the picturesque.

Did you ever take any view \textit{from nature}?
Frequently: I have taken last summer several views of the county of Wicklow.

It is a delightful country: nature there presents at every side enchanting scenes: woods, rocks, rivulets, waterfalls; she has employed everything; and art has come to her assistance to make a terrestrial paradise of it.\textsuperscript{250}

Praval only mentions one artist by name in his dialogues, Vernet, (probably the son, Claude-Joseph): ‘his moon-lights in particular are striking.’\textsuperscript{251} Vernet is a ubiquitous influence amongst the Huguenot drawing masters of Dublin and elements of his style in a painting from 1751, \textit{A River with Fishermen} (figure 48), have echoes in Parkinson’s \textit{A Perforated Rock in New Zealand}. In both works the composition is framed by a combination of rocks, the angled branches of trees and the crescent shape which is traced by the reflection on the water in Vernet’s painting and the path in Parkinson’s drawing. There may also be echoes of Vernet’s style in Parkinson’s \textit{The Tree on One Tree Hill} (figure 46b) in the attitudes of the figures and the view of the ship against a background of hills which recalls Vernet’s low building on the distant shore of his painting.


\textsuperscript{250} Praval 1783, pp. 152-4. The mention of Wicklow may refer to a tour through Ireland taken by the landscape artist Gabrielle Beranger with his antiquarian friends in 1773. See Clayton and McConnell 2004, ‘Beranger, Gabriel (1729-1817).’

\textsuperscript{251} Praval 1783, p. 154.
Vernet's motif of the distant view of a building also appears in Isaac Smith's *King Fisher. Friendly Islands* (figure 27) and the influence of the French Huguenot drawing masters on Smith's work may also be evident in his *A View of the Watering Place at Tolaga* (figure 30b) in the Admiralty Ms. The figure at the centre of this drawing stands with his back to the viewer like the seated artist in Parkinson's *One Tree Hill* (figure 46b) but this romantic device is also used by Gabriel Beranger in his drawing of a fisherman in an idealised landscape with a distant castle (figure 49). This figure does not appear in the two pencil versions of Smith's drawing of the watering place at Tolaga from which the Admiralty Ms drawing was developed (figures 25b, 26b).

The figures in Parkinson's scenic views are generally inferior to the landscapes behind. The woman carrying a child in *Natives of Terra del Fuego in their Hut* (figure 50) is little improved from Parkinson's field sketch (figure 51). Like the view of New Zealand (figure 45), she has been reversed, but the clouds, trees, and composition are expertly executed. Although two artists appear to be at work in the *Endeavour*'s scenic views, it is difficult to distinguish where their individual contributions begin and end. Like the artists on Francis Grose's tour of Ireland, Praval and Parkinson appear to have been attempting to merge their styles in these drawings to produce a consistent body of work for publication.

**The Drawings Attributed to Alexander Buchan**

The most intriguing signs of Praval's influence on the *Endeavour* drawings are in the coloured gouaches signed by Alexander Buchan. Except for Isaac Smith's portrait of a man wearing tribal dress (figure 28), all the drawings signed *delineavit* during the voyage are attributed to Buchan. The use of colour and the bold graphic style of these drawings of Tierra del Fuego makes them some of the most attractive in the collection. Isaac Smith's *View of the Endeavour's Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success* (figure 31) stands out as an inferior work among these expert drawings and at first sight, Buchan's signature, 'A Buchan delin', appears to have been obliterated from it with a patch of dark pigment (figure
52a), but comparing it with his signatures on *A Man of the Island of Terra del Fuego* (figures 52 b-c) and *Inhabitants of the Island of Terra del Fuego*, shows that the dark pigment was not intended to obscure his name but to give it the appearance of having been written into the landscape.252

The possibility that these drawings too were not made by Buchan himself is raised by Sydney Parkinson’s use of the same device in his signature on an early zoological drawing of a sheep (figure 52d). The three companion drawings, *A Man of the Island of Terra del Fuego* (figure 53), *A Woman of the Island of Terra del Fuego* (figure 54) and *Inhabitants of the Island of Terra del Fuego* (figure 55) each position the figures, like the sheep (figure 56), on a grassy island. Comparing *A Woman of the Island of Terra del Fuego* with Parkinson’s sheep reveals the same colour palette, the same positioning of the figure in profile, the same painting technique in the squiggles of grey in the sheep’s coat and the fur around the woman’s neck, and they even share the same candid expression. That Buchan produced these elaborate drawings, either by himself or with Parkinson, is made even less likely by the circumstances in the Bay of Good Success, where he suffered an epileptic fit followed by one of the roughest passages of the voyage as the *Endeavour* rounded Cape Horn.

However, the assistance of another artist is suggested by the anatomical problems in Parkinson’s field sketch (figure 51) which have been resolved in the gouache of *A Woman of the Island of Terra del Fuego* (figure 54). In the sketch, the feet and hands are too small, the knees are too low and there is no sense of where the hips, shoulders and elbow are located beneath her heavy fur cloak, but in the gouache, the shrouded shape of her body is clearly established. Enlarging the image also reveals a delicate portrait and an arresting modern face (figure 57). Praval’s influence is further indicated in these drawings in the ornamental delicacy of the shelter of leaves in *Inhabitants of the Island of Terra del Fuego in their Hut* (figure 58a) which recalls the fanciful scenes of Chinese parents and

252 This signature is not in Whitehead’s analysis (figure 6).
children resting and playing amongst tree branches by another artist in Praval’s French Huguenot circle, Jean Baptiste Pillement (figure 58b).

These drawings could be interpreted, in terms of the conventions recognised by Bernard Smith on the Endeavour, as representing the Haush ethnographically as ‘type specimens’ identifiable by costume and adornment or allegorically as ‘natural productions’ of the environment, but in either case, they would need to be understood as late influences on the voyage introduced by Praval. The part Smith attributes to the Comte de Buffon’s Histoire Naturelle, which was in Banks’ library on the ship, in the propagation of these views on the voyage, could also be traceable to Praval who expresses his admiration for Buffon in his dialogues.

I am surprized that in speaking of the learned men that have done honour to French literature, you have not mentioned the celebrated Buffon.

Certainly, I was wrong: the works which he has published are the admiration of our age.

And they will instruct future centuries.

Bernard Smith notes that the figures in the Inhabitants have been made ‘more comely and graceful’ in Hawkesworth’s engraving, A View of the Indians of Terra del Fuego in their Hut, (figure 59b), but his conclusion that Cipriani’s intention was to transform the vision of ‘miserable wretchedness’ in Buchan’s drawing into ‘the state of primitive elegance imagined by Hawkesworth’ is made more complex by Praval’s potentially instrumental role in both drawings. While a transformation has clearly taken place between Inhabitants and the engraving, the additional figures outside the hut that have been classicized by

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255 Smith 1960, p. 23.
Cipriani, were introduced in a composite drawing by Parkinson, *Natives of Terra del Fuego with their Hut* (figure 50), probably assisted by Praval, and this would appear to be a transitional image between the *Inhabitants*, itself produced in Batavia with Praval, and the drawing that was eventually published\(^\text{256}\)

The two manuscripts Add Ms 23920-23921, containing the *Endeavour*'s scenic views are some of the most elaborately finished of the expedition and the constraints the artists had been working under during the voyage of exploration, suggest they were probably made in Batavia. The frenetic rate at which the artists continued to work after the expedition's discoveries were complete, suggests they were facing a new deadline which would correspond with the ambitious plan for publication Banks had developed before his departure. However, in the event, he gave the drawings created by Parkinson and Praval to Hawkesworth. Banks' graphic vision was particular, both in terms of the drawing process he required and the method of reproduction in print. This suggests that Buchan was not easily replaceable and Praval's tendency to classicise, which is apparent from the one finished drawing that appears to be entirely his own, *Otaheiti View* (figure 37), runs counter to the qualities than can be seen in Paul Sandby's drawings, whose work Banks admired so much.

According to Praval's advertisement in Dublin, he had been Banks' draughtsman on the voyage, and this is supported by the appearance in the scenic views of what I have argued are motifs associated with a group of French Huguenot landscape and figure artists who were Praval's contemporaries and later his colleagues in Dublin. The chronology of artistic practice this creates,\(^\text{256}\)

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\(^{256}\) The *Inhabitants* may well be based on a lost field sketch by Buchan. The hunched figures swathed in their cloaks closely resemble those seated on the ground in *A View of the Endeavour's Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success* (figure 31) and its original sketch (figure 32), and this would explain why the *Inhabitants* is signed with Buchan's name, whereas, *A Woman of the Island of Terra del Fuego* (figure 54), based on Parkinson's sketch, is unsigned.
separates the drawings made by the artists before their arrival in Batavia from
the visual language of the scenic views introduced by Praval which are
undifferentiated in the vision of the South Pacific that was created in Europe
upon the expedition's return.
Part Two: Drawing Practices

Part Two reconstructs the *Endeavour's* drawing sessions on the voyage to Tahiti. The concepts of discovery, colonisation and Indians were central to the expedition’s mission of exploration. How they were framing these concepts before they arrived in the South Pacific can be recovered from their manuscripts by examining how they were enacted through writing and drawing in the Atlantic. Drawing in the field raises concerns that go beyond aesthetics. The purpose of the field sketch is to record details whose significance might only become apparent later. Creativity in these circumstances is often as much about learning, and pushing the bounds of what is practically possible within the physical, social and political parameters of the drawing session, as it is about producing a drawing. By examining the artists’ encounters in the field, with new and unfamiliar sea creatures, with Portugal’s colonial empire in Funchal and Rio, and with the aboriginal people, the Haush, in Tierra del Fuego, their drawing sessions demonstrate the expedition’s use of ‘discovery’, ‘colonisation’ and ‘Indians’ as working concepts on the voyage.

Chapter Four, ‘Discovery’, examines the scientific team’s approach to the documentation of a large number of deep-sea marine organisms that were new to science on the voyage from England to South America. The constraints imposed on drawing by the conditions at sea forced the team to prioritise. The protocols of their drawing sessions provide the creative parameters for interpreting the results of their trial-and-error processes of discovery recorded in their texts and drawings.

Chapter Five, ‘The Colonial Eye,’ focuses on the drawing sessions that took place on land, in Madeira, Brazil and Tierra del Fuego. The reception of the expedition in the colonial towns of Funchal and Rio highlights the state of relations between the British and Portuguese Empires in 1768, while the *Endeavour’s* first encounter with an aboriginal people, the Haush, in the Bay of Good Success, provides the template for first contact in the Pacific. The artists’
negotiation of the drawing process in each of these places demonstrate how they understood their role on the voyage as representatives of a colonial power.

Chapter Six, ‘Indians,’ examines the encounter with the Haush more closely by investigating the political background to the voyage and reconstructing the secret planning committee that had devised Cook’s search for the unknown southern continent. The committee’s plan for possession in the South Pacific provides a framework for examining how the concepts of aboriginal humanity and sovereign power were being applied in practice in the expedition’s drawing sessions with the Haush.
Chapter 4. ‘Discovery’

In the study of artistic practice, the work of art is ancillary rather than central to creative investigation. The artists’ field sketches represent their initial responses, rather than fully resolved ideas. The conceptual challenges of representing the scientists’ first major discovery, a new genus of sea creature which they called *Dagysa*, are entwined with the documentary process and the technical challenges of drawing in difficult physical conditions. In Part One, the practices of writing and drawing were shown to perform a variety of functions in Georgian society that were social as well as documentary. These cultural practices allowed Parkinson to collaborate with a wide cross-section of the *Endeavour’s* community and thereby oversee the production of an enormous quantity of material. The diverse range of knowledge, skills and experience these men brought to his team also determined what could be recorded and therefore to some degree, directed the documentary process. This chapter explores the trial-and-error processes of discovery recorded in Daniel Solander’s *Slip Catalogue* of zoological specimens and the artists’ drawings in their first weeks at sea.

**Drawing at Sea**

The *Endeavour* spent eight months at sea on the voyage to Tahiti with short landfalls in Funchal, Rio and the Bay of Good Success. The beginning and end of the drawing sessions that produced the zoological drawings can be isolated between the dates when the specimen was collected and the drawing was completed, which are provided by Banks, Solander and Parkinson. Most of the zoological drawings are unpublished or only available in poor black-and-white reproductions. I was able to photograph a small number myself by visiting the archive in the Natural History Museum in London, but the overview of the collection for this research was far from comprehensive. The drawing sessions discussed in this chapter are reconstructed from these images, supplemented by the descriptions in Alwyne Wheeler’s catalogue, which gives a physical account
of each drawing with transcriptions of their annotations, and connects them to the entries in Daniel Solander’s *Slip Catalogue*.257

Banks’ description of the scientific team’s regular routine for documentation, written some years after the voyage, gives a sense of the relationship between the drawings and the specimen descriptions in the construction of the *Slip Catalogue*.

We had with us a large assortment of books on the natural history of the Indies. Seldom was a storm strong enough to disrupt our usual study time, which lasted approximately from 8 A.M. until 2 P.M. daily. After the cabin had lost the odor of food, from 4 or 5 P.M. until dark, we sat at the great table with the draftsman directly across from us. We showed him how the drawings should be depicted and hurriedly made descriptions of all the natural history objects while they were still fresh. When a long journey from land had exhausted fresh things, we finished each description and added the synonyms to the books we had. These completed accounts were immediately entered by a secretary in the books in the form of flora of each of the lands we had visited.258

This account of the documentary process describes the physical and social context of drawing on the voyage, and the time constraints the artists were under to complete their work before the specimen began to deteriorate. However, Banks’ description refers to the plant specimens which the team were able to keep fresh for several days by covering them with a damp cloth in ‘keeping boxes,’259 but this was not the case for the discoveries made at sea.

258 Banks to Alstroemer, 16/11/1784, in Rauschenberg and Banks, 1964, p. 66.
259 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 21/1/1769.
The artists’ first drawing session took place within 72 hours of their departure from Plymouth, on the evening of August 28, 1768.\textsuperscript{260} Even before they had left France behind, Banks and Solander had already discovered a whole new genus of marine organism which they later called \textit{Dagysa}. The team typically brought up large numbers of animals in their nets and on the night of the 28\textsuperscript{th}, they also documented a species of jellyfish, \textit{Medusa-pelagica} (figure 60), a new species of \textit{Oniscus}, and an amphipod, \textit{Onidium-quadrircomne} (figure 61), not mentioned by Banks in his journal.

In the Evening very calm; with the small casting net took several specimens of \textit{Medusa Pelagica}, whose different motions in swimming amus’d us very much: among the appendages to this animal we found also a new species of \textit{Oniscus}.

We took also another animal, quite different from any we had Ever seen; it was of an angular figure, about 3 inches long and one thick, with a hollow passing quite through it. On one end was a Brown spot, which might be the stomach of the animal.

Four of these, the whole number that we took, adherd together when taken by their sides; so that at first we imagind them to be one animal, but upon being put into a glass of water they very soon separated and swam briskly about the water.\textsuperscript{261}

Parkinson’s use of pencil in his drawings of \textit{Medusa-pelagica} and \textit{Onidium-quadrircomne} provided the quickest and most convenient method of working, and the documentary process described by Banks is apparent in the classificatory

\textsuperscript{260} The date of depature was August 25 according to Banks or August 26, ship’s time. The captain’s log begins each day at noon, noting the latitude calculated from the sun’s position. For this reason, except on land, Cook’s journal is always 12 hours ahead of Banks’.

\textsuperscript{261} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 28/8/1768.
note *Linn.* after the name *Medusa-pelagica* on Parkinson's drawing which applies Linnaeus' classification in the *Systema Naturae* (1766-67). However, on the 28th the artists' timeframe was even narrower than usual. The calm weather lasted only until the next morning, when Banks records the interruption to Parkinson's drawing process.

Wind foul: Morning employd in finishing the Drawings of the animals taken yesterday till the ship got so much motion that Mr Parkinson could not set to his Pencil; in the Evening wind still Fresher so much as to make the night very uncomfortable.

Although the animal specimens had been captured the night before, the artists were limited to working in the daylight hours. A few weeks later, on October 30, Banks comments after another night-fishing episode,

This Morn employd in Examining the things caught last night, which being taken by the light of our lamps (for the wind which blows in at the windows always open will not suffer us to burn candles) we could hardly then distinguish into genera, much less into species, had the good fortune to find that they were all quite new.

Any discussion of drawing at sea on the *Endeavour* also needs to be set against the backdrop of instability, vividly evoked by E. C. Wines' description of meals on a nineteenth-century frigate as the 'threelfold business of eating, holding the dishes on the table, and bracing up to keep ourselves in our places.' In addition to the difficulty Parkinson had working in rough seas,

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263 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 30/10/1768.
264 Wines 1832, p. 66.
Banks notes that the organisms were placed in water for observation.\(^{265}\) The handling of these glass vessels aboard the ship was a hazardous task. On the same night-fishing session Banks describes on October 30, two species of crab were lost ‘by the tumbling of a glass overboard.’ The recording of the marine organisms was therefore heavily predicated on the assistance of Banks’ servants, and they too imposed a schedule on the artists. In a rare reference, Banks mentions Thomas Richmond using the casting net in these first weeks of the voyage.\(^{266}\) It was they who determined the fishing schedule and how quickly the specimens could be made ready for drawing. The team preserved approximately 400 fish\(^{267}\) and over 30,382 specimens of plants.\(^{268}\) Without their ability to collect and manage this vast quantity of material, Banks would not have attained the scientific reputation he achieved.

On August 28\(^{th}\), Banks’ team was working together for the first time and there was also the general disruption aboard the *Endeavour* caused by the stowing of all the crew and passengers’ sea chests.\(^{269}\) All these factors contribute to five hours, from dawn to m idday during which Parkinson made his two diagrammatic pencil drawings.\(^{270}\) *Medusa pelagica* contains more indications of the timeframe for the drawing. It is composed of two images, in the centre of the page of the animal swimming, after which it was dissected and returned to him for the detail drawings of the bell-shaped hood and one of its tentacles. *Onidium-quadricorn* was a simpler drawing in that it could be removed from the water and its two views, in profile and obliquely from the front, could be completed in a

\(^{265}\) Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 28/8/1768.

\(^{266}\) Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 4/9/1768.


\(^{268}\) Diment *et al.*1984, p. 8.

\(^{269}\) Cook NLA MS 1, 27/8/1768.

single sitting. Pencil was the only suitable material in these conditions which were unstable, poorly lit, possibly wet and extremely limited in time.271

This narrative, however, does not shed any light on the extended drawing process that produced Alexander Buchan’s delicate watercolour of the new species of *Oniscus* that Banks noted was captured in the tentacles of *Medusa pelagica* the same night. Buchan’s drawing of *Oniscus chelipes* (figure 10), which is dated September 2, five days after its capture, was used to establish the parameters for the *Endeavour*’s drawing sessions in Chapter Two. The reason for the long delay between capture and the completion of the drawing is apparent from map of the ship’s course (figure 11). On the morning of the 29th, the ship was entering the notoriously rough seas of the Bay of Biscay and for the next five days it was driven relentlessly back and forth across the ocean. The completion of Buchan’s drawing coincides with the return of calm seas off the coast of Spain.

The drawing of *Oniscus chelipes* which floats in the centre of the empty page, is on a tiny scale. It appears to be life-size (the page measures 113 x 230mm) and the detail of the anatomy and the quality of the handling of the paint which captures the transparency of the carapace around its edges, certainly required light and more stability than was available in the conditions on August 29th. Buchan may also have needed to use an optical drawing aid – a magnifying glass at the very least. The method discussed in Chapter Two in relation to *Sciena salmonea* (figure 21) required light, stability and space to arrange the specimen and the lens, but if these requirements were met, it allowed a sketch to be executed very quickly and accurately. The change in the weather conditions may explain why the artists chose to prioritise *Medusa pelagica*, which had already been identified by Linnaeus, the new species of *Onidium-quadricorn* and *Oniscus chelipes* on August 29th, over the *Dagysa*, which represented a whole new genus and was a major discovery.

271 NLA Cook Ms 1, 2/9/1768. Cook notes the ship was ‘very leaky in her upper works’ during this crossing.
The first drawing of a *Dagysa, Dagysa cornuta*, was made the same day *Oniscus chelipes* was completed, on September 2. Drawings of 12 species were made but none of these have been published or made available through the Natural History Museum’s on-line picture gallery. The discussion that follows of the artists’ approach to the documentation of this discovery therefore relies on the descriptions of these drawings in Wheeler’s catalogue. Dagysa cornuta, meaning ‘horned’, is described by Wheeler as ‘finished pencil; four views,’ from which it may be surmised it is a similar diagram to *Medusa pelagica* (figure 60). The next day another species was captured which they called *Dagysa gemma*, meaning ‘jewel-like’, and this is a pencil drawing finished in water-colour (signed by Parkinson). It is to be hoped that this description is indicative of a collection of drawings of *Dagysa* by Buchan.274

Banks’ account of the documentary process shows the artist’s drawing was contingent on the scientists’ description, who ‘showed him how the drawings should be depicted.’275 However, despite its strengths Linnaeus’ system of classification was still ‘very imperfect’276 and in the case of the *Dagysa* captured on the 28th, Banks and Solander were unable to identify even its most basic anatomy, ‘On one end was a Brown spot, which might be the stomach.’277 Buchan’s almost photographic technique offered a means of recording the scientifically ‘indescribable’ qualities of new organisms as they continued down the coast of Spain, passing over a biological ‘hotspot’. The deep-sea organisms


273 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 2/9/1768. *Dagysa* still has no common name.

274 Wheeler 1986, cat. 244.

275 Banks to Alstroemer, 16/11/1784, in Rauschenberg and Banks, 1964, p. 66.


277 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 2/9/1768.
they encountered continued to offer new challenges, presenting spectacular displays of luminous and shifting colours, leading Banks to contemplate the possibility of a whole new field in natural history.278

Calm today; we were employd in fishing with the casting net and were fortunate in taking several specimens of *Dagysa saccata* adhering together, sometimes to the Lengh of a yard or more, and shining in the water with very beautifull Colours; but another insect which we took today was possest of more beautiful Colouring than any thing in nature I have ever seen, hardly excepting gemms. He is of a new genus and calld ______ of which we took another species who had no beauty to boast, but this which we called *opalinum* shone in the water with all the splendor and variety of colours that we observe in a real opal; he livd in the Glass of salt water in which he was put for examination several hours; darting about with great agility, and at every motion shewing an almost infinite variety of changeable colours. Towards the Evening of this day a new phaenomenon appeard, the sea was almost coverd with a small species of Crabbs *Cancer depurator* of Linnaeus, floating upon the surface of the water, and moving themselves with tolerable agility, as if the surface of the water and not the bottom was their Proper station. Here again as usual our casting net was of great service, we took with it as many as were wanted, and went to bed well contented with the Produce of the day.279

Wheeler notes that there is a bias in the zoological drawings towards animals that would lose their form and colour on preservation and the value of 

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278 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 6/9/1768.
279 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 4/9/1768.
Buchan’s technique at these moments is illustrated by *Medusa-rutilans* (figure 62) (signed by Parkinson), which records the qualities of texture, transparency and probably colour, in the representation of the floating shape of this soft-bodied organism. However, even after the return of fine weather, a drawing aid could only be used to record organisms that, like *Medusa rutilans*, were immobile. Of the organisms captured on the 4th, Buchan made the drawing of the crab, *Cancer Depurator* (figure 63), while Parkinson drew the spectacular *Carcinimum-opalinum* (figure 64) disappointingly as a diagrammatic pencil sketch. Although aesthetically his approach is conservative, the use of a microscope, revealed by the actual size of the organism shown at figure III, shows him pushing the bounds of drawing experimentally in another way.

The conditions forced the artists to make difficult choices about which specimens to document and what characteristics to record, according to what they could practically achieve. Parkinson only made three drawings of birds in the zoological style he had been using before the voyage, *Motacilla-velificans* (figure 65), on September 2nd, *Motacilla-avida* (figure 8), on September 29th and the very charming *Loxia-nitens* (figure 66) on November 8th. All were drawn at sea but are illustrated in partial landscapes. The other drawings of birds are outlines with instructions for colouring. Some, like *Lorus mexicana* (figure 67), have details completed as a guide for the artist. The instructions on the reverse read,

The whole wings & tail black a little inclining to brown the feathers of the Back at their bases are black & their edges scarlet which

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281 The modern scientific name is *Athorybia rosacea* (Wheeler 1986, cat. 263). It is a colonial organism that has no means of self-propulsion.

282 A drawing was also made of *Dagysa saccata* in pencil and watercolour which was finished two days later on the sixth. Wheeler 1986, cat. 245.
makes it look darker than the scarlet of the Belly — is more yellow than the rest, the legs fusca the beak black excepting the oblong space mark’d of on the base of the under mandible which is white. N°i Preserved dry in Box N° [blank]

The small number of drawings of birds that Parkinson succeeded in completing in gouache suggests that there were significant impediments to using paint at sea that probably relate to the extra time these highly finished drawings required as well as the need for conditions of space, light and stability. A large number of the drawings of Atlantic birds were created during an extended drawing session from December 23 to 24, 1768, when the ship was passing down the coast of South America from Rio to Cape Horn. None has been finished although several have been substantially coloured (figure 68a-f).

Some of Parkinson’s subjects may have been drawn from life, such as Motacilla-avida, the bird the scientists adopted as a pet, and perhaps P. oceanica (figure 12), seen from above, which appears to be walking around the artist’s feet. However, the notes on preservation for Lorus mexicana, ‘preserved dry in Box’ and Sporopua caerulescens (figure 69) which refers to the ‘cagg’ or keg number, and the artist’s need for an immobile subject, suggest that for the most part he was working from dead specimens which he was putting into lifelike postures in his drawings. The outlines for these drawings therefore could not have been ‘mass produced’ like the bony fish. They had to be drawn by eye or in several stages with the help of an optical drawing aid to put the bird into its living pose. Parkinson may also have addressed this problem another way by using some drawings as templates for others. Loxia-nitens for example, might have provided the template for Procelaria fregata (figure 70a-b) and Wheeler notes that a sketch in pencil, Pelicanus Aquilus from Rio, has been confused by Dryander in his catalogue with a drawing in watercolour, Pelicanus

283 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 29/9/1768.
sectator/Aehie ne Mauwe from New Zealand. The birds are different species but the confusion may have arisen from the similarity between the compositions (figure 71a-b).\textsuperscript{284} Parkinson was also obliged to give up his preferred support for zoological drawings, vellum. He used it only once, on September 20, for the jellyfish \textit{Medusa azurea},\textsuperscript{285} which Banks describes as 'of a colour equaling if not exceeding the finest ultramarine.'\textsuperscript{286} Vellum gives depth of colour and luminosity but, like leather, buckles when exposed to damp.\textsuperscript{287} As the \textit{Endeavour} crossed the Atlantic they encountered chronic levels of humidity that turned portfolios and black leather trunks ‘almost white.’\textsuperscript{288}

The act of recording the \textit{Endeavour’s} zoological discoveries, required the artists and scientists to define what they had found, not necessarily according to what they understood, but what they were able to describe. Although the voyage is renowned for Banks and Solander’s pioneering use of the Linnaean system of classification, the variable conditions of light, weather, time and the nature of the organisms, made the documentary process resistant to a uniform approach. The \textit{Endeavour’s} zoological drawings made at sea do not conform to a single, unifying visual language, as Parkinson’s do before the voyage. Instead, he and his team of artists were required to constantly improvise, recording each discovery according to what the conditions would allow. The demands the sea was making of the artists were therefore conceptual as well as physical. In each drawing they were learning about the documentary process at the same time as they learned about the organism. The multiple visual languages that reflect the diversity of

\textsuperscript{284} Wheeler 1986, cat. 30.
\textsuperscript{285} \textit{Medusa azurea}. Wheeler 1986, cat. 264.
\textsuperscript{286} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 20/9/1768.
\textsuperscript{288} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 25/10/1768.
Parkinson’s team of assistants describe the discoveries of the expedition in terms of this collective learning experience.

**The Ship’s Plans**

In Chapter One, writing and reading in the late eighteenth century were described as putting the body as well as the mind into play. The movements choreographed by the physical architecture of the *Endeavour* ship and the daily routines of its crew also form another element guiding the artists’ creative solutions to scientific problems in their drawing sessions. Some of the resources available to them were permanent, such as skills and equipment, and others more transient, such as fine weather and daylight, but all of these were governed by the space made available to them by the crew. Parkinson and Buchan’s complex watercolours show they needed access to surface space, adequate light and a place where they could work uninterrupted for extended periods. Banks’ description of working in the great cabin from 8am until dark gives the impression that he and Solander had completely taken it over for the whole of the voyage, but they were only cataloguing the plant specimens at sea for short periods at the end of each landfall. At other times they must have had to give way to the officers for whom the great cabin was also an essential workspace. While the artists might have been able to make their initial sketches of specimens in the hurried way he describes, the surface space, elbow room, light and time the watercolours demanded, required more of the ship’s resources.

The architectural importance of the great cabin for the whole community is best understood by superimposing scale figures on the plans (figures 72-3). Two sets were made, the second of which, dated July 11, 1768, subdivides the three cabins initially provided for Cook, Green and his assistant, John Reynolds, into six to accommodate Banks’ team, but this still makes no allowance for
Solander and Spöring who had not yet decided to join the expedition.\textsuperscript{289} The size of the superimposed figure is an approximation based on my own height measured against the beams in the great cabin of the \textit{Endeavour} replica, which has its permanent mooring at the Sydney Maritime Museum. At 5’10” I am possibly somewhat taller than the average Georgian sailor. Roland Pietch’s table of the mean/median height of ships’ boys at recruitment by the Marine Society, shows that the average 19-year-old was 5 foot tall.\textsuperscript{290} This standard, however, was not universal as Cook himself was 6’2”.\textsuperscript{291}

\textbf{Table 2: Mean/median height of ships’ boys in relation to age at recruitment by the Marine Society, 1756-1762.}

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Age:</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
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<th>19</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Height:</td>
<td>4’ 3”</td>
<td>4’4”</td>
<td>4’6”</td>
<td>4’7”</td>
<td>4’9”</td>
<td>4’10”</td>
<td>4’11”</td>
<td>5’</td>
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\textsuperscript{289} RMG, \textit{Ship’s Plans – The Collection}: General collection of the Maritime Museum. Object ID ZAZ7845, ZAZ6587, ZAZ6591, ZAZ6590, ZAZ6589 ZAZ6592, ship plans \textit{Endeavour}, 1768. http://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections.html#cbrowse. The second draft of the ship’s plans providing cabins for Banks’ party are dated July 11 (NMM \textit{Endeavour} ZAZ7845). These plans do not provide cabins for Solander and Spöring. Solander was still awaiting an answer to his request from leave from the Trustees of the British Museum where he was employed on the eve of Banks’ departure for Plymouth. (Banks to William Phelp Perrin, 16 August, 1768, in Lysaght 1974, p. 95.)

\textsuperscript{290} Pietsch 2004, p. 13. The small stature of ship’s boys was class related. The Marine Society was a charitable institution that mainly recruited boys from poor families. An upper-class fourteen-year old at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst at the same time was on average seven or eight inches taller.

The ship had four levels (figure 72): the quarterdeck, the main deck, the lower deck and the hold. The main deck had been stepped to create more headroom in the great and passenger cabins. The insertion of several mezzanines resulted in a rabbit warren of smaller spaces occupied by the officers. The senior officers’ cabins and ward room, below the great cabin (figure 72 D), could only be entered by crouching; and the petty officers’ cabins in the forecastle (G) are virtual crawl spaces. In addition, people were constantly rotating through all the ship’s spaces as they were converted from one purpose to the next, from sleeping to eating to working. The lower deck (E), for example, was only designed to accommodate half the number of seamen at any one time on the assumption that the other half were on deck.

The difficulty of finding space to write is demonstrated by Olaudah Equiano who, after he was emancipated, was a scientific servant for Dr Charles Irving on an expedition that was a precursor to Cook’s third voyage. On that voyage the place where he slept was a store room packed with combustibles. The shortage of space was so chronic that, even after his candle had caused a fire, he continued to write his journal there, ‘though not without considerable fear and dread on my mind.’ The lack of room to lay down a book may explain why Richard Pickersgill dictated his logbook to Briscoe and Roberts instead of simply lending it to them.

The importance of the great cabin for the officers is illustrated by the key role it had played in Cook’s career when he was an officer on the Pembroke in 1758. On that voyage he met Major Samuel Holland, a military engineer, who was making a survey of the coast of Newfoundland. Cook asked Holland to show him how to use his plane table, a hydrographic instrument, which he agreed to do the next day. As a result, Cook’s Captain, John Simcoe, invited Holland to dine with them on the ship and demonstrate its use to other members of the crew as well.

292 Equiano 1789, v. 2. p. 103.
293 Equiano 1789, v. 2. p. 105.
The following day he and Cook returned to the beach with two young gentlemen, whom Simcoe also ‘wished should be instructed in the Business’ to continue Holland’s survey and later they compiled these materials in a chart of the Gulf and River St Lawrence. The development of Cook’s relationship with Holland depended on the hospitality offered by his Captain and the great cabin. On the Endeavour it was also perhaps the only place that offered a permanent table and the importance of this piece of furniture for the cartographers is demonstrated by Robert Molyneux’s chart, New Holland – The Coast on the Eastern Side which measures more than two metres.

On the final count, Banks’ party had expanded the Endeavour’s original civilian contingent of two, Green and his assistant, John Reynolds, to ten (excluding George Rupee). Banks slept for at least part of the voyage in the great cabin and it seems likely that the lack of accommodation for Solander and Spöring was solved by their joining him there. The artists were therefore competing with their own party as well as the officers for space in the great cabin. In addition they also had to contend with a large number of animals, including Banks’ two greyhounds, the bird Motacilla-avida and the cat that Banks records eventually killed it. Banks notes that at the time the bird was in ‘high health’ having thrived on a diet of flies that were ‘in amazing abundance on

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296 Banks mentions ‘we who slept in the great cabin’ on July 4, 1771 and it is likely that Solander and Spöring, who had no passenger cabin, had slept there from the beginning of the voyage.
297 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 18/9/1770, 4/7/1771.
298 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 21/10/1768.
baord the ship.' In hindsight Banks would advise against taking animals on sea voyages because of the damage they caused, 'Monkies goats dogs and Cats and in short every animal that is not Confin’d is to be dreaded.'

The great cabin was also extremely wet. As a measure of hygiene, the floor cloth 'was usually washed with salt water every morning & sufferd to dry without being ever taken up.' The cloth was so wet it was able to conduct electricity in an experiment the scientists performed with a generator on October 25, 1768. These conditions would have made drawing in the great cabin extremely difficult and the animals, insects and general wetness would have presented a constant threat to paper and especially the artists’ watercolours.

The artists were allocated three passenger cabins, but according to the plans these were to be shared with the servants (figure 73, C, D, G). In figure 73, showing the distribution of cabins, I have suggested that Banks’ servants were accommodated on the lower deck with the seamen (E). This arrangement may well have suited Briscoe and Roberts since, as noted in Chapter One, Briscoe already had experience as a Naval servant and he and Roberts appear to have had ambitions to enlist. With Solander and Spöring sleeping in the great cabin, this would have given Parkinson, Buchan and Green’s servant, John Reynolds, cabins to themselves.

However, even with such a generous allocation of space, the passenger cabins present significant practical problems for use as a studio. The *Endeavour*’s decks taper towards the centre of the ship, so that the height of the great cabin is greater towards the windows than the door. In the artists’ cabins, the headroom is reduced even further so that they too could only be entered by crouching. Only two of the draughtsmen’s cabins have windows (G and C). Parkinson’s drawing

299 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 29/9/1768.
300 Banks to Captain Riou, July 1798, quoted in Frost 1993, pp. 24-5.
301 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 25/10/1768.
of the *Endeavour* (figure 74) shows the size of the artists’ window on the port side (B) compared with the great cabin’s five large windows (C).

If the light from this window was adequate, a specimen such as the crustacean *Cancer-Depurator* (figure 63) could have been drawn there, but it is difficult to imagine how *Medusa-rutilans* (figure 62), in its glass vessel of water, could have been carried into one of these cabins while crouching, or where it could have been put. It is notable that the majority of the marine organisms attributed to Buchan are small and either hard-bodied like the snails *Helix Janthina* and *Helix violacea* (figures 75a-b) or could be removed from the water for drawing, like the goose barnacle *Lepas vittata* (figure 75c). Other animals, such as the shark *Squalus-Carchadius* (figure 9), were obviously too large, while *Carcinimum-opalinum* (figure 64) required enough light and surface space for a microscope.

Another space that potentially could have been used was the platform built over the tiller for the passengers that can be seen in Parkinson’s drawing (figure 74, A). For the artists to have succeeded in making these spaces as productive as they did, they would have had to conduct a kind of triage to determine when, where and how each drawing would be completed. Parkinson, Buchan and Spöring appear to have been working as a team by October 29, two months into the voyage. Four of the five drawings made on this day are signed by Parkinson and all of them are attributed to him, but based on the framework for reattribution established in Chapter Two, I would suggest that Spöring

302 Two other organisms that Buchan may have drawn at sea are the soft-bodied Portuguese man-of-war *Holothuria-Physalis*, Wheeler 1986, cat. 258 https://nhmimages.com Physalia physalia, Picture ID 3122 and *Mimus volutator*, a sea slug which could have been taken out of the water for drawing, Wheeler cat. 240, https://nhmimages.com Glaucus atlanticus Picture ID 3127.

produced *Cancer-vitreus* (figure 76), Buchan, *Medusa-rutilans* (figure 62) and Parkinson *Medusa-pellucens* (figure 77). Examining the whole collection may reveal other drawings by Spöring and the crew from even earlier in the voyage.

The artists’ need to use the great cabin for extended periods of time, however, is inescapable. One way they could have gained this access would have been by teaching the young gentlemen. *Scomber-serpens* (figure 78), created on September 23, is one of the less expertly coloured drawings among the bony fish and is possibly the work of Isaac Smith or another young assistant. This would suggest that Parkinson began recruiting members of the crew into his drawing team less than a month into the voyage. The involvement of the artists on the *Endeavour* in educating the ship’s boys mirrors Cook’s experience on the *Pembroke* in which both he and the young gentlemen benefitted from Holland’s instruction. Cook may have seen the involvement of the artists in teaching as performing an important function of integrating the civilians into the ship’s community and as already noted, Charles Green was also teaching some of them astronomy. Greg Dening considers that Banks contributed to the mutiny on the *Bounty* by appropriating its great cabin as a nursery for his breadfruit plants and the intrusion of his scientific party of 10 on the *Endeavour* was almost as disruptive, yet this community thrived.304

The difficulty of painting at sea that is apparent from the zoological drawings – the lack of space, the conditions in the great cabin and the transience of the opportunity to draw – suggests that the botanical drawings were produced while on land. In Tahiti, where the expedition spent three months, the drawings were made as the specimens were collected, and therefore virtually all would have been completed before their departure. On the outward voyage it can only have been necessary to draw a small number of plants, collected in Madeira, Rio

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and Tierra del Fuego, after the return to sea. These extra days would only have allowed them to record the specimens that had been collected in the hours before their departure. When the expedition was travelling up the eastern coast of the Australian continent from Botany Bay, where the artists had been overwhelmed by the number of specimens collected, the team was able to extend the life of the specimens in their keeping boxes for six days after their departure, but the live specimen would probably no longer have been usable as a reference for colouring and this would have affected the quality of the drawing. The Endeavour’s two most technically elaborate collections of drawings are the botanical illustrations and the scenic views. Locating the drawing sessions for both these groups on land, would leave the drawings executed at sea as primarily zoological and navigational, both of which involved members of the crew.

The other members of Banks’ team who needed access to substantial space on the Endeavour were his servants. As already noted, they were handling an enormous amount of material, preserving literally thousands of specimens. Several manuals were written by Banks, Fothergill and their colleagues, describing the skills that were needed. They explain how to collect, preserve and document insects, birds and fish, how to store and cultivate seeds and plants at sea and perform rudimentary taxidermy. As mentioned, the team used the great cabin for an experiment with an electricity generator on October 25, 1768 and John Coakley Lettsom provides instructions for various other experiments.

305 The drawings of New Zealand plants may raise new questions that have not been considered here, but these drawings fall outside the scope of this thesis and would require a separate study.

306 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12, 12/5/1770.

including the ‘Method of analysing Medicinal or Mineral Waters’ and ‘Experiments for discovering the Contents of the Air.’ However, the more anti-social aspects of the servants’ work, the handling of animal carcasses, chemicals and liquids, must have been done in another place.

The voyage from Europe to South America was broken by a stay in Madeira where the hold was emptied and the ship resupplied, shortly after which the Master, Robert Molyneux, notes ‘Served Hooks and lines slopes and Tobacco to the Banks Company Employed in the Hold.’ Although the hold (figure 72 H) lacked natural light, it was considered a privileged place to be, a quiet retreat used by women, children and ‘idlers’ such as the steward, schoolmaster and cooper, and it was also here that Banks’ gardener on the *Bounty*, David Nelson, had his cabin. The provision of a small workshop in the hold for the servants would have been a more suitable space for them to work than the great cabin and the quiet and privacy it offered might also have encouraged the relationships I have suggested are apparent from their journals and drawings, in which Briscoe and Roberts and Richmond and Rupee appear as mentors and protégés.

Steven Shapin adopted the term ‘invisible technician’ in 1989 to describe the conspicuous absence of assistants from the history of science in the early modern era. Robert Boyle, who is credited with the invention of the scientific method, routinely relied on his servants to perform his experiments yet, Shapin comments, ‘so far as one can tell from typical studies of the scientific revolution,

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308 Lettsom 1772, contents page.
309 ‘Slops’, sailors’ work clothes.
310 Molyneux TNA Adm 55/39, 21/9/1768.
312 Dening 1992, p. 28.
313 Dr Nicholas Rodger supported this suggestion for the location of the servants’ workshop in a conversation at All Souls College, Oxford University, on January 28, 2015.
there was no one in Boyle's laboratory but Boyle.'\textsuperscript{314} As members of Banks' household as well as his team, Briscoe and Roberts were central to his global expeditions and walking tours in Britain. In Scotland and Iceland Roberts records that he and Briscoe regularly set up the campsite and they can be seen in Isaac Smith's \textit{View of the Endeavour's Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success} (figure 31), in the centre of the scene, pointing, and in the background, bent over a cauldron, wearing a combination of Banks' livery colours, a blue coat and scarlet waistcoat and sailors' 'slops' or loose trousers.\textsuperscript{315} The figure seated on a barrel may be Banks.

The provisional nature of the scientific vision the artists presented in their zoological drawings was designed for research rather than publication. There is no sign of the artists attempting to merge their styles, and Banks appears never to have considered publishing the collection.\textsuperscript{316} However, for these drawings to be successful scientifically, they needed to achieve a form of unity. By showing the 'critical features necessary for identification,' many of the drawings now offer the only extant evidence of the taxon.\textsuperscript{317} This working collection was lent widely after the voyage and it has been greatly diminished. Through its use, it generated a discourse that continued long after the expedition's return. While the empirical eye undoubtedly contributes to their aesthetic, particularly in the use of the microscope which can be related directly to the legacy of Robert Hooke's \textit{Micrographia} of 1665, the \textit{Endeavour's} zoological drawings do not offer a totalising vision of the natural world, but one that is rather more speculative, creative and open to modification.

This unity is a reflection of the work processes developed by the team in their first weeks at sea, and these practices provided the foundation for the

\textsuperscript{314} Shapin 1989, p. 556-7.
\textsuperscript{315} Roberts SLNSW MLMS Safe A1594, 29/8/1772.
\textsuperscript{316} Wheeler 1986, p. 24.
\textsuperscript{317} Wheeler 1986, p. 30.
documentation of the rest of the voyage. The variables of light and weather, which obliged them to improvise the documentation of the zoological drawings according to the conditions would allow, and the ship’s architecture, which choreographed their movements, forcing them to stand or crouch, crane for light, work cheek by jowl or vacate the cabin for others, directed them into collaborative relationships. These practices, which are collective, improvisational, diverse and, above all, sociable, define Parkinson’s administration of the documentation of scientific discovery on the voyage.
Chapter 5.  The Colonial Eye

On land, the concept of discovery became political. Of the Endeavour’s three landfalls in the Atlantic, two, Funchal and Rio, were cities of Portugal’s colonial empire, and the third, the village of the Haush in the Bay of Good Success was an aboriginal settlement. Under the treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, a line ran through South America that divided the globe between the Portuguese and Spanish Empires (figure 79). Britain’s two voyages of Pacific exploration since 1764 had provoked the Spanish ambassador, the Prince of Masserano, to reassert this treaty in 1766. In response to the Duke of Richmond’s question as to whether ‘the whole world was Spain’s?’ Masserano had reportedly replied, ‘as to that portion, yes.’ Britain’s relationship with Portugal was very different from its relationship with Spain, but, in its way, no less antagonistic. Britain’s territorial dominion had been massively expanded in the Seven Years War from 1756 to 1773, in America, Bengal and Africa, but others considered Britain’s colonial empire to be far greater in reality. Over two centuries, concessions negotiated for British merchants in treaties with Portugal had resulted in an imbalance of trade that was so great, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, the duc de Choiseul wrote in 1760 to the Marquis d’Ossun that Portugal ‘must be regarded as an English colony.’ In Europe’s colonial Atlantic, the Endeavour was the envoy of Empire. The expedition’s exchanges in these places were diplomatic as well as personal. The picture of the extent of Britain’s colonial empire that emerges from

318 Archivo General de Indias, Seville, State Papers, Minute from Marqués de Grimaldi, Minister of State to Lord Bailio Fray Don Julian de Arriaga y Rivera, Secretary of State for the Navy and the Indies 22/6/1766, encl. 1, the Prince of Masserano to the Marqués de Grimaldi, 10/6/1766, quoted in Salmond 209. p. 41.
the artists’ drawing sessions in their encounters in each of these places, describes the meaning of discovery on the voyage, in its moral sense of the right to possession.

**Madeira**

The monopoly Britain had gained over Portugal’s trade is exemplified by the Madeira wine company, Scott, Pringle and Cheap, whose senior partner, Thomas Cheap, welcomed the *Endeavour* when it arrived in the capital, Funchal, on September 13, 1768. The company was part of a network of Scottish wine merchants who had come to dominate the trade in Madeira over the past century. In 1787, of eleven thousand pipes of wine exported from the island, only two thousand would go in Portuguese vessels and over six thousand in British ships.\(^{320}\) His hospitable welcome was typical of these companies and intimately connected with trade. From their isolated position in the middle of the Atlantic, the Madeira merchants were heavily dependent on international trade. This obliged them to extend lines of credit to customers in Europe and America. A man such as Banks could bring in the custom of his friends in England, but Cheap’s involvement in his personal affairs in Madeira would ensure that he exerted pressure on behalf of the company if there were a risk of default.\(^{321}\)

Scott, Pringle and Cheap had gained a key advantage over their competitors in 1763 when Cheap won the British consulship. The company retained it for all but one of the next 74 years, passing it down through generations of its partners.\(^{322}\) It was in his capacity as British Consul that Cheap met the *Endeavour* and offered his assistance to the expedition. He insisted upon Banks’ party ‘taking possession of his house and living intirely with him during

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\(^{320}\) Gregory 1988, p. 37.

\(^{321}\) Hancock 2005, pp. 478-80.

\(^{322}\) Hancock 2005, p. 476.
our stay.'\textsuperscript{323} The extent of his generosity should not be underestimated. For many of the merchants, it was a ruinous cost, forced upon them by the pressure of competition.\textsuperscript{324} Thomas Murdoch, a partner in Newton, Gordon and Murdoch, complained, ‘had we a mansion as large as Greenwich hospital,’ it would be ‘insufficient to accommodate the numerous guests recommended to our attention.’\textsuperscript{325}

It is probable that the entire scientific party was included in Cheap’s invitation. Banks’ servants went into the hills above the town twice a day, bringing back 333 plant specimens\textsuperscript{326} and the presence of the artists in the house is hinted at by Buchan’s drawing of the cockroach \textit{Blatta maderae}, collected in \textit{Madeira culinis} (‘in the Madeira kitchens’) according to Solander’s \textit{Slip Catalogue}.\textsuperscript{327} Cheap’s house provided the artists and servants with their first opportunity to work together in the same room, without hindrance or disturbance, since they had been brought together as a team by Banks at the beginning of the voyage. In the five days they spent in Madeira, the artists produced 21 drawings of plants, 16 of fish and five of insects, a total of 42. Even allowing for extra days at sea (and this would not have been possible for the fish), this is an extraordinary number.

The experimental strategies the artists employed in Madeira centre on technology and collaboration. In Chapter Four I suggested that Buchan might have used an optical drawing aid to create \textit{Oniscus Chelipes} and the five drawings of insects he produced in Madeira are just as meticulously detailed and expertly executed (figures 80a-e). Cheap’s house would have allowed him to use this

\textsuperscript{324} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 13/9/1768.

\textsuperscript{325} Thomas Murdoch to Francis Newton 1/2/1790, private collection, Newton & Gordon Letterbooks, v. 12, f. 218, quoted in Hancock, p. 483.

\textsuperscript{326} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 13/9/1768.

\textsuperscript{327} Wheeler 1986, cat. 211.
instrument to its full potential and demonstrate it to others. The drawings he produced on land must have suggested enormous potential for the documentation of the zoology of Tahiti and the South Pacific.\textsuperscript{328}

The first drawings of bony fish were also made in Madeira, where the specimens were bought from the markets. Of the 16 drawings of fish, 14 are signed by Parkinson, or attributed to him by Dryander, and two are attributed to Buchan. Given the number of drawings of plants Parkinson produced in Madeira, it seems unlikely that any of the zoological drawings are his. Four drawings appear to show Buchan and Spöring experimenting with different techniques of colouring and drawing, and methods of collaboration. \textit{Perca-Imperator} (figure 81a) and \textit{Perca-decorata} (figure 81b) are signed by Parkinson, and \textit{Sparus griseus} and (figure 81c) \textit{Sparus Sargus} (figure 81d) are attributed Buchan.\textsuperscript{329}

The underlying sketches have the uniformity that is characteristic of all the drawings of bony fish and I would suggest that \textit{Perca-Imperator} has been coloured by Buchan and \textit{Perca-decorata} by Spöring; the pencil sketch of \textit{Sparus griseus} has been both outlined in ink and shaded by Spöring, giving a different effect from his pencil drawings; and in \textit{Sparus Sargus} the two artists have taken the collaboration a step further, with Buchan applying the blue watercolour and Spöring outlining the drawing in ink. This last three-way division of labour resembles the collaboration I suggested in Chapter Two that Parkinson may have used in his botanical drawings, with one assistant creating the outlines and a second blocking in the colour before he began work on the detail. Identifying the individual artists who produced each part of a drawing is extremely difficult, but \textit{Sparus griseus} and \textit{Sargus} provide the clearest indication in the collection of combinations of collaboration between the artists which have resulted in different styles of drawing.

\textsuperscript{328} The drawings of \textit{Dagysa} would reveal how much Buchan had been able to make use of his technique at sea.

\textsuperscript{329} Wheeler 1986, cat. 170, 174, 137, 120.
There are no signs of the team of young gentlemen in these drawings of fish who would have been fully occupied on the ship. The Funchal Road is a shallow harbour in which the winds from the south constantly drive ships towards the shore.\textsuperscript{330} The \textit{Endeavour} lost its moorings and nearly ran aground twice and the expedition experienced its first death while they were reanchoring in deeper waters when the Quartermaster, Alexander Weir, was drowned. During these five days the crew was also occupied with completely emptying and refilling the hold to take on new supplies and it was probably during this period that the servants established their workshop.

The first drawings of fish by the young gentlemen appear after their return to sea on September 18, when \textit{Scomber-serpens} (figure 78) was created on September 23. This would correspond with the implementation of the collaborative strategies the artists had developed in Madeira. At this time a new level of detail also enters into Parkinson’s instructions on the reverse of their drawings. During their stay at Cheap’s house, his notes describe minor adjustments to the scientific drawing. His note on \textit{Scorpaena Choirista}, for example, reads, ‘Mem the Pinna dorsalis more diverging at front & center M. B. 7. the first spine of the P. A. too long,’\textsuperscript{331} but after their departure he provides full colouring instructions in plain English.

Mem the back is of a blackish blue mix\textsuperscript{d} with brown which turns paler toward the side & goes gradually into a silver colour the fins all transparent the pupil of the eye very dark blue the iride dark brown the top of the back part of the head is very brown, the tail


\textsuperscript{331} Wheeler 1986, cat. 91.
The artists also took the opportunity in Madeira to add new members to the team. It was here that Thomas Richmond appears to have made the first drawings of ferns (figures 1a-b) and there is also evidence of another artist temporarily assisting them, who may have been local. *Gnaphalium-crassifolium* (figure 82) is clearly the work of a professional botanical illustrator. The style is very similar to Parkinson's, but the colour palette is chalkier and the highlights have been created by allowing the paper to show through, giving it a light transparency that is not a normal feature of Parkinson’s work. This technique only appears in the drawings made in Madeira. Parkinson’s signature would suggest that he oversaw its production and that these drawings were therefore not a gift from the island’s Chief Physician, Dr Heberden, who gave Banks specimens from his own collection and copies of his ‘descriptions’. Heberden, however, was clearly extremely helpful and Banks expressed his gratitude by naming *Heberdenia excelsa* after him. *Gnaphalium crassifolium* flowers from July to November and should have been in full bloom in September, but Banks notes that the season that year ‘was undoubtedly the worst for both plants and insects.’ The illustration of the flower in bud, which made the drawing of limited scientific use, would suggest that it was made for Banks during his stay, rather than for Heberden who, as a permanent resident, could have afforded to wait for the change of season.

The recruitment of a local artist would help to reduce the number of botanical drawings attributed to Parkinson in Madeira. He is credited with 16 of

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333 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 13/9/1768.
334 Dragovic 2005, abstract. The modern scientific name is Helichrysum obconicum.
335 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 13/9/1768.
the 21, his highest rate of production on the voyage in Table 1 in Chapter Two, but there are also signs that suggest he initiated a collaborative partnership in Madeira that continued in Rio. After Rio the partnership either ended or their work became indistinguishable.\footnote{Parkinson's botanical drawings for the voyage from England to the Society Islands are completely documented on the Natural History Museum's website, The Endeavour Botanical Illustrations http://www.nhm.ac.uk/, with high-resolution images and I did not view the original drawings on my visit to the archives. There may be differences that become apparent upon direct examination.}
The sinuous shape of \textit{Convolvulus-serpens} (figure 83a), for example, seems more mannered and ornamental than his drawing of a similar twining plant, \textit{Banisteria ciliata} (figure 83b). \textit{Heberdenia excelsa} (figure 84a) and \textit{Ceratites amoena} (figure 84b) are almost identical compositions, but the soft fall of light and the subtle changes in colour and tone that create the depth and complex textures of \textit{Heberdenia} are lacking from \textit{Ceratites}, in which the light appears harder and the drawing flatter. The different approaches are most apparent in the treatment of the damaged leaf in both drawings, which in \textit{Ceratites} has been created with several rough patches of colour that give it an almost two-dimensional appearance on the page. There is a similar contrast between the stiff artificiality of \textit{Myrtus pulposus} (figure 85a) and the soft three-dimensionality of \textit{Tournefortia scandens} (figure 85b) from Rio. All the Madeira drawings are finished watercolours. The drawings that diverge in technique from Parkinson's are more easily distinguishable when they are compared as two groups (figure 86a-q).

An example of Buchan's work as a botanical illustrator can possibly be found in an unsigned drawing from Tierra del Fuego that is unique in the collection, the fern \textit{Polypodium palaecenum} (figure 87), which has the photographic quality that is characteristic of his work. The analogy with photography carries over in this drawing into the composition which, instead of placing the specimen in the centre of the page, shows it in 'close up', cutting off
parts of the image arbitrarily at the margins, as if framed by a camera. The unusual composition of this drawing adds further weight to the suggestion that the artists were using optical drawing aids on this voyage.

At the end of their stay in Madeira, Banks owed an enormous debt of gratitude to Cheap. His invitation to ‘take possession’ of his house, had allowed the servants to collect and preserve a huge number of specimens and the artists to make their highest number of drawings per day at any time on the voyage to Tahiti. However, the debt was greater still. The space he gave them to work had allowed the scientists, artists and servants to organise and plan. The artists had brought at least one new member into their team, Thomas Richmond; the opportunity to experiment with the optical drawing aid allowed them to bring in another team of young gentlemen to document the bony fish on the return to sea; and Parkinson may have initiated his collaborative partnership with another artist on the voyage, to work on his botanical drawings. Cheap probably also introduced Banks to Dr Heberden, who gave him some of his own specimens and copies of his descriptions, and perhaps provided the artist who assisted with the documentation during their stay.

As they departed Madeira the team imagined they would have another opportunity to work ashore in Rio, but their reception there was entirely different. In the event, the five days they spent in Madeira would turn out to be their only opportunity to plan before they embarked on the voyage of exploration. The developments in Madeira would therefore profoundly affect what they were able to achieve on the rest of voyage and this too contributed to the debt Banks owed Cheap. Georgian England’s networks of interest provided a natural framework for the expansion of international credit for companies such as Scott, Pringle and Cheap, in which the cultivation of personal relationships with wealthy patrons was key. Britain’s commercial and moral economies were inseparable in these exchanges, in which social and financial debt were assets of equal value. In the Atlantic, the expansion of international credit had allowed Britain to achieve ‘possession without dominion’ of Portugal’s empire through the congenial personal relationships by which its trade passed freely across
international borders.\footnote{Maxwell 1968, p. 610.} In this way, the \textit{Endeavour}'s scientific expedition was assimilated through the consul in Madeira’s hospitality into Britain’s recolonisation of Portugal’s empire.

\textit{Rio}

In the mid-eighteenth century, Spain and Portugal’s statesmen were forced to address the problem of modernisation. The Iberian nations had been overtaken economically by the mercantilist strategies of other European powers, while they remained dependent on capital. So economically dependent had Portugal become on its gold and diamond mines in Brazil, the diplomat Luís da Cunha suggested transferring the Royal Court to Rio de Janeiro while a viceroy was appointed in Lisbon.\footnote{Maxwell 1968, p. 611.} One of those who took up the challenge was Sebastião José Carvalho e Mello, who went to London in 1738 as the Portuguese minister and returned to Lisbon seven years later convinced that Britain had succeeded in transferring the wealth of Portugal’s mines to itself through its manipulations of the balance of trade.\footnote{Maxwell 1968, p. 610.}

In 1768 Carvalho e Mello, now Marquis of Pombal, took control of Portugal’s affairs as Secretary of State and when the \textit{Endeavour} arrived in Rio, the Viceroy, Antônio Rolim de Moura, was justifiably suspicious of Cook’s orders. Cook had received them in two parts;\footnote{Cook 1974, p. ccbxxii.} his official orders, which he now presented to the customs officers, declared the \textit{Endeavour}'s purpose in the Pacific to be purely scientific, but a second set of secret orders, which were not to be opened until the observation of the transit of Venus was complete, instructed him to undertake a voyage of exploration and take possession of his discoveries, which under the treaty of Tordesillas were considered the dominions of

\footnote{Cook 1974, p. ccbxxii.}
Portugal’s ally Spain. De Moura had somehow become aware of this secret plan – perhaps he had read it in the *London Gazette*, ‘Secret Voyage: Lieutenant Cook awaits fair winds. Search for unknown continent south of the equator’\(^{341}\) – and he set about delaying the expedition while he quizzed Cook about his orders. Cook’s temper can be seen beginning to fray a week into their ‘paper war’ when de Moura suggests in a letter that verges on the mischievous, that ‘the Ship of itself does not Manifest to being His Britannick Majesty’s; And it being also true that a Patent may be Conterfeit’\(^{342}\) to which Cook shot back, ‘If my Commission should be counterfeited it follows of course that every other Officers Commissions & Warrants are Counterfeits, that all other papers in the Ship tending to the same end are Counterfeits, that the Officers & Marines Uniforms are Counterfeited...’\(^{343}\)

Tensions were high from the moment the *Endeavour* arrived in the entrance to Rio’s harbour. The ship’s approach on November 13, 1768, can be reconstructed hour by hour from the navigational views (figure 88). The first drawing was made at 6am outside the entrance, *Thus appeard the Entrance of the Harbour of Rio Janeiro Novr 13. 1768 at 6. in the morn distant about two Leagues*, (figure 89, figure 88 point A). At 9am Cook sent Lieutenant Zachary Hickes and the Master’s Mate, Charles Clerke, to request a pilot and the ship proceeded to the entrance where Buchan drew *Entrance to the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro the ship supposed to be between the heads* (figure 90, figure 88 point B). The long delay as they awaited the officers’ return can be measured in the number of views, 14 in total, although it must be acknowledged that some of these are copies. When Hickes and Clerke had not returned by 12pm, according to

\(^{341}\) ‘Secret Voyage’, 1768.


Parkinson, ‘as the wind was fair, the captain ventured to continue sailing on, and was assisted by signals from the forts.’ When they anchored in the sound they were met by armed guards and found that Hickes and Clerke had been arrested (figure 88, point C). For the next three weeks, neither the passengers nor the crew, with the exception of Cook, were allowed to disembark.

On Cook’s second Pacific voyage one of the conditions of anchoring in the Funchal Road was that no drawings would be made of the harbour or its fortifications. The act of drawing was provocative in itself and the Portuguese were apparently already being formulated as ‘the enemy’ on the Endeavour, even before the ship had anchored in the sound. Over the next three weeks, the tensions between Britain and Portugal played out in the Endeavour’s drawings, in a competition between the expedition and the Viceroy for moral possession of Rio.

27 navigational views of landscapes and landmarks were made while anchored in the Sound, as well as detailed charts of the city and harbour, including its defences. Nothing is known of Buchan’s life or career before the voyage, but his contributions to these landscape drawings reveal his training as a military draughtsman. This training is most apparent in his A View of the Town of Rio Janeiro from the Anchoring-Place (figure 91) which uses skills that were taught at Woolwich Military Academy to analyse the town and hillside as a complex of prospects and refuges. Point ‘B’ in the key to the drawing lines up the Pão de Açúcar, the landmark at the entrance to the harbour, between two buildings like the sights of a gun. Such panoramas were used in warfare for indicating targets and determining the range and arc of fire. In a battle, artillery fire could be directed by a Forward Observation Office from a position close to

344 Parkinson 1773, p. 22.
345 Cook to the Lords of the Admiralty 30/11/1768, Public Records Office, Adm 1/1609 no. 3, quoted in Cook 1768-79a, v. 1, p. 484.
346 Bonehill 2004, p. 77.
the front using a panoramic drawing on which the targets had been registered. This drawing was copied to the gunners some distance behind who would use it to engage the targets by number following the officer’s signals, so that in effect, the panorama became a surrogate view for the distant artillery who could not see the battlefield.347

The use of technology, which was frowned upon in the Royal Academy of the Arts, was a tool of the trade of military draughtsmen.348 Its use is apparent in this drawing in its construction in several sections which have been glued together to form a panorama, a format that is typical of military drawing. It was necessitated by both the main types of optical drawing aid. The method patented by Wollaston in his design for the camera lucida, requires the landscape to be drawn in several sections because the flat reflective surface only takes in the view directly in front of the artist. In order to capture the peripheral view, the surface has to be turned slightly to the left and right, requiring a new drawing each time. The drawings are then joined to create a panoramic view. The other method in use in the eighteenth century, the camera obscura, projects the image into a darkened room or box and the artist David Hockney found in his experiments with this instrument that, regardless of the size of the lens, its largest usable image is no more than 30cm, so that larger drawings have to be ‘collaged’ from several smaller ones.349

Buchan’s military training is most apparent in the quality of his topographical drawing. These skills were taught at Woolwich and they had been largely devised and developed by Paul Sandby and his older brother Thomas

347 Gough 2009, p. 238
348 The president of the Royal Academy, Joshua Reynolds, commented,

If we suppose a view of nature represented with all the truth of the camera obscura, and the same scene represented by a great Artist, how little and mean will the one appear in comparison with the other’. (Reynolds 1798, p. 316.)

349 Hockney 2006, p. 103.
when they were military draughtsman in the Ordnance office in the Tower of London. In 1746 Thomas Sandby was the draughtsman to the Duke of Cumberland when he documented the battlefield at Culloden.\textsuperscript{350} In 1747 he brought his younger brother, Paul, into the Ordnance office who was then about 16.\textsuperscript{351} The careers of both brothers are closely associated with the \textit{Military Survey of North Britain}, known more commonly as \textit{The Great Map}. It was part of a plan to suppress the remains of the Jacobite rebellion by building roads and bridges that would allow the British Army to penetrate into the Scottish highlands. It was an overtly colonial enterprise whose objective was, in the words of one of its architects, Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, to ‘civilise’ the Scots by introducing agricultural and industrial development, thereby ‘extirpateing their barbarity, with their chief marks of distinction, their language and dress.’ This Milton saw as ‘the present source of their poverty, Theft and Rebellion.’\textsuperscript{352}

Thomas and Paul Sandby continued to use technology in their later careers as landscape artists. Thomas openly acknowledges the use of a ‘camera’ in the title of his picturesque view, \textit{Windsor from the Goswells drawn in a Camera} (figure 92) from the 1760s. The techniques they developed became enormously influential on both the culture of military drawing and the development of the picturesque. Paul Sandby was appointed Chief Drawing Master at Woolwich the same month as the \textit{Endeavour}’s departure and this association may provide the connection that explains how Buchan came to be recommended to Banks.\textsuperscript{353} Averil Lysaght made extensive searches intermittently over many years for the details of Buchan’s life without great success\textsuperscript{354} but she did locate a self-portrait

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\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{350}] Charlesworth 2008, p. 5.
\item[\textsuperscript{351}] Luke 2004, ‘Sandby, Paul (bap. 1731, d. 1809)’.
\item[\textsuperscript{352}] Fletcher to the Duke of Newcastle 7/4/1747, State Papers of Scotland, Geo. II, Bundle 37, No. 9, quoted in Bonehill, Daniels and Alfrey 2009, p. 14.
\item[\textsuperscript{353}] Bonehill, Daniels and Alfrey 2009, p. 17.
\item[\textsuperscript{354}] Lysaght 1979, p. 16.
\end{enumerate}
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(figure 93) which connects him to ‘the side of the family traditionally attached to
the army.’ The painting was once owned by a Major Buchan and passed down
through the family with two other military portraits by Henry Raeburn of the
Major and his brother, a veteran of Waterloo. Buchan’s self-portrait shows
him working at his easel from a sketch in his hand that is folded in several
sections and may be a panorama.

Army officers at Woolwich received quite different training in drawing
from Naval officers who went to the Royal Mathematical School of Christ’s
Hospital. The first navigational view made on the *Endeavour, Bay on the Coast of
S. America Lat 21.29 Distant 5 Miles Novr 9 1768* (figure 94a), demonstrates the
contrast between the two traditions. The drawing is little more than a line with
the points of hills marked with compass directions, but this minimal information
is sufficient to identify the ship’s position (figure 94b). The barrel distortion that

355 Lysaght 1979, p. 18.
356 Lysaght 1979, pp. 18-19. Lysaght identified two branches of Buchan’s family, one
associated with the military around the town of North Berwick, close to Edinburgh, and
another who were yeoman farmers. I searched for the record of his birth in North
Berwick but no boys of that name were born in the 14-year period from 1738 to 1752.
One boy was born in the nearby parish of Haddington on October 11, 1748 and this
would have made him 19 in August, 1768 at the time of his departure. Another branch of
the family in Perthshire produced no fewer than 5 Alexander Buchans born in Fowlis
Wester between December 12, 1746 and September 23, 1750 making him between 18
and 21 at the time of departure. Another boy born on April 22, 1744 in Trinity Gask
would have been 24. National Records of Scotland, Old Parish Records Births &
.uk/search-our-records. Results of searches for: Surname, ‘Buchan’, Forename:
‘Alexander’ from January 1, 1738 to December 31, 1752 January 1, 1745 and December
31, 1752.
appears to be indicated by the bulge in the central panel is a characteristic of the camera obscura that was noted by Wollaston.\textsuperscript{357}

One of the drawings made while the ship was waiting in the entrance to the harbour, an unfinished outline in Parkinson’s sketchbook of the Pão de Açúcar (figure 95), has the characteristic double line of an inexperienced user of the camera lucida method, and may suggest that Buchan was passing his skills on to others on the voyage. This would explain Cook’s cryptic comment on Buchan’s death that ‘there are now none on board that understands this sort of drawing.’\textsuperscript{358} The Endeavour’s navigational views are contained in a manuscript entitled, Drawings, in Indian ink, of headlands, bays, islands, etc., by A. Buchan, draughtsman to Mr. Banks, in Capt. J. Cook’s first voyage, 1768-1770, that appears to attribute them all to Buchan. Many were made after his death but all those made before that date appear to have been attributed to him on this basis.

Bernard Smith’s theory of the European vision of the South Pacific centres on the nexus created by The Great Map between landscape drawing, military conquest and commercial and cultural colonisation. He points out that, ‘the defence of the realm encouraged drawing techniques that were able later to encompass an emotional appropriation of landscape in terms of the beautiful, the picturesque and the sublime.’\textsuperscript{359} Proof of his theory is provided by the drawing Sandby produced as a young military draughtsman around 1747 of the recent war zone in Scotland, Ben Lomond. View near Dumbarton (figure 96), which was

\textsuperscript{357} Wollaston 1807, p. 347.

\textsuperscript{358} This entry is quoted by Lysaght 1979, p. 22, and comes from an incomplete draft of Cook’s journal in the British Library, Add Ms 27955. It was omitted from the manuscript in the National Library of Australia, Ms 1.

\textsuperscript{359} Smith 1992, p. 30.
published some thirty years later as an engraving with the caption, ‘This delightful and romantic spot.’

The artists’ views of Rio’s harbour include four drawings by Parkinson. Three of these, when placed side by side in the order of their titles form a panorama: *View of part of the left side of Rio de Janeiro Sound near the entrance*, *View of the Entrance of the Sound taken on the inside, wt the Citadel & fort Santa Cruz*, and *View of the right side of Rio de Janeiro Sound near the entrance*. I have not been able to identify the landmarks in the fourth drawing in this series, *View in Rio de Janeiro Sound of Monta Burga Leon & fort St Juan*, but when the other three are plotted on the map, it seems likely that it forms the fourth side of a 360 degree view (figure 88, point C), with Buchan’s *View of the Town of Rio* providing a detailed plan of the city’s defences. The artists’ feelings of frustration at their continuing incarceration aboard the ship is clearly expressed in this ‘plan of attack’ and Banks expressed his hopes for a British invasion overtly on their departure.

I was told by a person who certainly knew and I beleive meant to inform me right, that a little to the southward just without the South head of the harbour was a bay in which boats might land with all facility without an obstruction, as there is no kind of work there, and from this bay it is not above three hours march to the

360 Bonehill, ‘Catalogue plates and entries’, p. 88-9. This drawing belonged to Thomas Pennant and was pasted as an extra-illustration into his personal copy of the *Tour of Scotland*. Pennant may be another of Banks’ friends who recommended Buchan for the voyage.
town, which you aproach on the Back part where it is as
defenceless as the landing place...³⁶⁵

However this use of the pedagogical legacy of *The Great Map* sits
uncomfortably with Parkinson's Quakerism which condemned the use of arms
and I would suggest that these drawings had a more practical purpose than
wishful thinking.³⁶⁶ Despite their confinement to the ship, Banks records 667
plant specimens in his journal,³⁶⁷ and the artists made 35 botanical drawings
finished in watercolour, or nearly one-and-a-half drawings per day (Table 1).
The specimens were collected on clandestine trips ashore and an entry in
Parkinson's journal suggests that the artists' 360 degree view of the harbour may
have been part of an escape plan.

...having obtained a sufficient knowledge of the river and harbour,
by the surveys that we had made of the country we frequently,
unknown to the centinel, stole out of the cabin window at
midnight, letting ourselves down into a boat by a rope; and, driving
away with the tide till we were out of hearing, we then rowed to
some unfrequented part of the shore, where we landed, and made
excursions up into the country, though not so far as we could have
wished to have done. The morning after we went ashore, my eyes
were feasted with the pleasing prospects that opened to my view
on every hand. I soon discovered a hedge in which were many very

³⁶⁵ Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 7/12/1768.
³⁶⁶ Fothergill 1772, p. 10.
³⁶⁷ Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 22/11/1768.
curious plants in bloom, and all of them quite new to me. There were so many, that I even loaded myself with them.368

Just as in Madeira, what the artists were able to draw in Rio was determined by Britain’s relations with Portugal. The implication of the artists in Britain’s clandestine expansion of its colonial empire had worked to their advantage in Madeira where they had the support of the consul, but in Rio, where they had no ‘fixer’, it worked against them, and they had to turn their ingenuity from planning for the voyage ahead to the problem of gaining access to the shore. Here Buchan’s military skills were used to develop a plan of escape, and the artists took possession of the town. Cheap had performed an act of moral sleight of hand in Madeira. By connecting the expedition’s congenial scientific discourse and pursuit of knowledge to credit, he had made the expansion of British commerce the test of civil society on the Endeavour, a test which the Portuguese had failed to pass in Rio

**The Bay of Good Success**

When the expedition arrived in the Bay of Good Success on January 16, 1769, they had crossed the notional line drawn in the Treaty of Tordesillas that divided Portugal’s Empire from Spain’s as they passed down the South American coast

368 Parkinson 1773, p. 22. Parkinson’s presence, not only in the countryside but in the town is witnessed by his drawing of three men carrying a litter (BL.Add MS 9345. f. 23. Smith and Joppien 1985-87, v. 1, cat. 1) which corresponds to the description of the anonymous author of A Journal of a Voyage Round the World.

The gentry here keep their chaises, which are drawn by mules; the ladies however use a sedan chair, boarded before and behind with curtains on each side, which is carried by two negroes, depending from a pole connected to the top of the chair by two iron rods coming from under the bottom, one on each side, and resting at the top.’ ([Magra?] 1771, p. 22.)
Ferdinand Magellan had named the country Tierra del Fuego in 1520, but the *Endeavour* was the first known European expedition to go ashore.\(^{369}\) That the Haush were already regularly trading for European goods, however, ‘was very plain,’ as Banks observed from their possessions.\(^{370}\) In Rio the artists’ plan of ‘invasion’ reflects a sense of moral entitlement to ‘possession’ of the city. The question of whether they felt a similar sense of entitlement to aboriginal land is tested in their drawing sessions with the Haush.

In the few hours following their landing two drawing sessions took place, one observing the first encounter with the Haush from a distance, and the other drawing their portraits. The first meeting on the beach with the Haush was recorded from a distance by Buchan (figure 32). This field sketch was worked up by Isaac Smith into *View of the Endeavour’s Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success* (figure 31) in Batavia.\(^{371}\) Some of the figures in this drawing were identified in Chapter Four. James Roberts occupies the same position in the sketch as the gouache, in the centre of the drawing pointing to the left, and Peter Briscoe is bent over the cauldron in the background. The figure wearing a long coat in the central group is possibly Daniel Solander, while the man wearing a shorter coat in the group to the right, resembles the man who is seated on a barrel in Smith’s gouache and may be Banks. The adults gathered in the centre and to the right are matched on the left by another encounter between four figures who appear to be children. Banks and Solander gave gifts of beads and ribbons with which the Haush seemed ‘mightily pleased,’ and, despite the marines guarding the watering party, the theme of this drawing is one of convivial conversation.\(^{372}\)

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\(^{369}\) Thomas 2003, pp. 48-9.

\(^{370}\) Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 20/1/1769.

\(^{371}\) Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 20/1/1769.

\(^{372}\) Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12, 15/1/1769.
The quality of the figure sketching in this drawing is extremely mixed. The professional skills that have been used to compose two of the figures, the Haush person in the group in the centre (figure 32b) and the soldier shouldering his musket to the right (figure 32c), were noted in Chapter Two. The figures of the children, however, are very crude. It is possible this drawing was a collaboration between Buchan and Smith, part of a teaching exercise in which Buchan has created the central narrative described by Banks, and Smith has added the parallel experience of the Endeavour's boys. However, if this is the case, it is difficult to distinguish where the hand of one artist begins and the other ends.

An Indian Town at Terra del Fuego (figure 97a) may be the only example of a finished drawing of figures in a landscape by Buchan. The drawing is signed ‘A. Buchan Delin.1,’ raising the possibility that it is another composite created by Charles Praval, but the hunting figures climbing the hill in the background (figure 97b), while elegantly produced, have not been classicized like Praval's Tahitians in Otaheiti View (figure 97c) and the figures in the foreground (figure 97d) closely resemble those in the field sketch for View of the Endeavour's Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success (figure 97e), using the same wavering lines and dark straight strokes for the hair.

Neither of these drawings show any hint of the military analysis of his View of the Town of Rio. In the field sketch of the watering party, Buchan’s focus is on the conversations between identifiable individuals, while the landscape is barely sketched in. Two of these individuals are the couple towards whom Roberts is pointing. This act of pointing identifies them as the protagonists in a narrative. They appear to be a man and a woman and the bow and arrows they are holding may identify them as two of the people who came aboard the ship at the end of this meeting and stayed for about two hours.373 This would locate the

373 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 15/1/1769. A number of early films of the Haush have been uploaded by the public online. See for example Charles Sagigi, Youtube, accessed May 21, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dJWHoSF5wqQ.
drawing session in which Buchan and Parkinson drew portraits of a Haush man and woman in the great cabin. In their drawings of the man holding a bow (figure 98a-b), we see the artists working side by side, Parkinson sitting to the left of Buchan. Although the line in Buchan’s drawing is loose, it is controlled and confident. Parkinson’s drawing, by contrast, shows the signs of hesitancy and difficulties with the anatomy in the forearms and hands already noted in Chapter Two. His technique, however, is greatly improved in his portrait of this man (figure 99) in which, in a similar scenario to the unfinished outline of the Pão de Açúcar in his sketchbook (figure 95), he appears to have been learning how to use an optical drawing aid. In these field sketches, the artists appear to be not only recording their meeting with the Haush, but engaging in a drawing lesson.

The dark shadows marking points at the corners of the eyes, mouth, nostrils and lips, are signs described by David Hockney of the use of a *camera lucida*. He points out these marks in a portrait of Madame Louis-Francois Godinot by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres from 1829.

The form is so precise and accurate. I think he did the head first by looking at the lady through a *camera lucida* and making a few notations on the paper, fixing the position of her hair, her eyes, her nostrils and the edges of her mouth (notice how deep the shadows). This may have taken him a few minutes to do. Then, he finished drawing her face from observation, eyeballing – the delicacy of the portrait suggests he spent an hour or two doing this.374

The companion portrait of a Haush woman, also attributed to Parkinson, I would suggest is the work of Buchan (figure 100). It shows the same shadows marking the chin, lips, nose and eyes but it is a more delicate work. The pattern of her headband perfectly follows the shape of her head in even rows, a complex

374 Hockney 2001, p. 23.
piece of draughtsmanship suited to the use of an optical drawing aid. The dark
points around the face continue to appear in Parkinson’s portraits after Buchan’s
death (figure 101), and his grasp of shape and proportion remains consistently
better in these drawings than his figures. He appears to have been practicing the
technique in a copy of a medieval figure drawn at the bottom of a Tahitian
vocabulary list (figure 102).

The expedition remained in the Bay of Good Success six days but was only
able to go ashore for four. Two of these were spent on an expedition into the hills
during which Buchan suffered an epileptic fit and Richmond and Rupee died.
Banks took another party to visit a Haush village on the 18th, the day after they
had survived this ordeal, but it seems unlikely Buchan would have been in a state
to join them. I would suggest that his drawing of the Haush village was based on
a sketch he had made of an empty village the expedition saw on January 14, the
day before they anchored in the Bay of Good Success, to which he has added the
figures after this first meeting with the Haush on the 15th.

The value set upon access to the great cabin on the voyage means that
drawing sessions held there mark significant moments in the social life of the
Endeavour, when people were able to work communally in its hospitable
atmosphere, to develop their skills, knowledge and cultivate new acquaintances.
In this drawing session, the animated conversations on the beach recorded in
Buchan’s sketch, continue in the great cabin through the drawing process itself,
which becomes the medium of social communication. Parkinson used the same
technique in Tahiti. By drawing portraits he established friendships through
which he was able to compile a long botanical list of plants, recording their
Tahitian names and detailed explanations of their uses along side their scientific
names. The use of the plant Ficus-tinctoria, E mattee, for producing dye, for
example, was demonstrated to him by ‘a girl who was present’ on one of these
visits.

375 Parkinson 1773, p. 42.
E matte. Ficus-tinctoria\textsuperscript{376} The figs of this tree are one of the chief ingredients in their red-dye for their garments: when they use them they nip or bite off the stalk close to the fruit, at which time a small drop of milky juice issues out; this they either shake upon the tow-leaves, used in this dye, or else into a cocoa-nut shell, with a little water, or cocoa-nut milk, and then dip the leaves into it, which they roll up in a small bundle, and work or squeeze them between the palm and their fingers, till the red colour is produced by the mixture of the two juices; but, what is very odd, these leaves being beaten in a mortar, and the juice taken from them and mixed with the fig-milk, will not produce the same colour. Of the bark of this tree very good twine is made, which is of particular use for making of seins, and other nets.\textsuperscript{377}

As noted in Chapter One, the \textit{Endeavour}'s intellectual community was expansive by nature. Its oral discourse was designed to capitalise on the variety of experience and opinion on the voyage and bring in new voices. Although the Haush and the expedition lacked a common language, the artists were able to develop drawing as an instrument of cultural mediation in these portraits and figure drawings that were made in the great cabin. The concept of colonial possession that emerges in relation to aboriginal sovereignty from these drawing sessions, conforms with the culture of literacy, in which writing and drawing cultivate new relationships at the same time as they record information. Although Cook did not make a formal claim to possession of Tierra del Fuego, by engaging in the \textit{Endeavour}'s discourse, the Haush were being assimilated


\textsuperscript{377} Parkinson 1773, p. 76.
through these drawing sessions into the expedition’s personal networks and Britain’s program of colonial expansion.
Chapter 6. ‘Indians’

The status of ‘Indians’ in relation to property in the *Endeavour’s* framework of civil society is central to its purpose of discovery in the South Pacific and the nature of its ‘colonial’ mission. This concept can be constructed in several ways using the template provided by William Blackstone’s *Commentaries* in Chapter One. According to this model, the economic autonomy of landownership was the source of a citizen’s political power and capacity to exercise free will. If Indians were deemed to be landowners on the *Endeavour* it follows that they were also citizens and this establishes the footing on which negotiations followed. However, this model can be turned around to argue the reverse by suggesting that Indians were seen by the British as morally ‘deficient’. Bain Attwood’s argument that ‘in the opinion of Grotius, Pufendorf, Locke and others, hunter-gatherers... had no concept of property because they were in the original state of nature’, for example, reverses this principle by referring to the stadial theory of social evolution to suggest that nomadic societies that had not yet ‘evolved’ to the division of land for agriculture might have been seen on the *Endeavour* as lacking the concept of private property and therefore having no ownership of their land.\(^{378}\) A variation on this argument is suggested implicitly by Bernard Smith’s proposition that it was ‘the overriding Enlightenment conviction that all nations were the members of one great human family, though some may have degenerated, as a result of dispersion and the effects of climate, from that perfection that had been attained by the European.’\(^{379}\) The idea of a scale of degenerating perfection within the human family might be construed as implying an associated decline in the moral capacity to exercise free will that transformed these nations into the moral and economic ‘dependents’ of superior nations on

\(^{378}\) Attwood 1996, p. ix.

\(^{379}\) Smith 1992, p. 47.
contact with Europeans. This chapter investigates the potential of each of these configurations of the Indian relationship to property to form a component of the Endeavour’s model of civil society.

**Possession**

Cook’s claims to possession in the South Pacific have generally been understood in terms of territorial acquisition. Nicholas Thomas, for example, describes the claim to New South Wales as an act of ‘impulsive imperialism’ and Alan Frost as ‘effective occupation’.\(^\text{380}\) According to these arguments the legal mechanism that made it possible for Cook to take possession of countries undiscovered by Europeans in the South Pacific was the concept of the ‘state of nature’. The philosopher John Locke explains in his *Two Treatises of Government* from 1690 that land, held in the state ‘nature hath placed it in,’ is transformed into private property by the act of ‘mixing’ it with labour, ‘this labour being the unquestionable property of the labourer.’\(^\text{381}\) However, Merete Borch has refuted that Locke’s principle was applied on the European voyages of exploration to take possession of aboriginal land.

It seems much more likely that there was no legal doctrine maintaining that inhabited land could be regarded as ownerless, nor was this the basis of official policy, in the eighteenth century or before. Rather it seems to have developed as a legal theory in the nineteenth century.\(^\text{382}\)

The legal historian Lisa Ford describes the conflation of sovereignty with territory and jurisdiction as a ‘uniquely destructive’ innovation that became


\(^{381}\) Locke 1689a, p. 15.

\(^{382}\) Borch 2008, p. 224.
necessary in the nineteenth century to ‘shore up’ the legitimacy of colonial settlement when it began to be tested in the courts. For this reason, ‘since the 1830s, indigenous subordination has been a founding tenet of settler sovereignty in North America and Australia.’

Technically, Cook’s claim to New South Wales was ‘inchoate’, that is, as Henry Reynolds explains, ‘important in respect of other European powers but not in relation to the Aborigines,’ and he adds that the instructions Cook received, ‘clearly... accorded not only with current practice but with accepted principles of international law.’ Cook’s detailed instructions are contained in a letter of advice from the president of the Royal Society, Lord Morton, which recognised aboriginal people, not only as ‘human creatures’ but landowners.

- 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 give no just title; because they could never be the aggressors.
- They may naturally and justly attempt to repel intruders, whom they may apprehend are come to disturb them in the quiet possession of their country, whether that apprehension be well or ill founded.

In the philosophical terms of Blackstone’s Commentaries, Morton’s acknowledgement of Indians as landowners suggests that he attributed to them the moral will and political autonomy of citizens. This right was consistent with

384 Ford 2011, p. 3.
385 Reynolds 1987, pp. 10, 52.
386 Morton NLA Ms 9, f. 1-2.
the principle expressed by Hugo Grotius in 1625, when he rejected character as grounds for denying a person the right to own property.

Equally shameless is it to claim for oneself by right of discovery what is held by another, even though the occupant may be wicked, may hold wrong views about God, or may be dull of wit. For discovery applies to those things which belong to no one.387

The law on possession that was current in the eighteenth century and Cook’s own instructions would seem to preclude the overt use of stadial theory to dispossess Indian nations of their land in Cook’s claims, but in the realpolitik of eighteenth-century colonial expansion, its logic may have been operating covertly within the mentality of the expedition. Although historians are quick to emphasise that it would be anachronistic to apply the concepts of race and racism to explain stadial theory, the two are difficult to distinguish. Nicholas Thomas, for example, describes stadial theory as ‘an overtly judgmental system of thought that ranked some people higher than others… [and] could be applied to aspects of subsistence or production among any people anywhere, and could thus potentially rank all peoples on a scale of progress.’388 Given how significant the concept of race would become in the colonial Pacific, it is worthwhile investigating the theories of ‘natural’ human superiority or inferiority that were circulating in moral philosophy at the time of the Endeavour voyage.

**Ranking the Human Species**

Shortly after the Endeavour’s return in 1771, Edward Long, an American planter, added the spectrum of skin colour to the metaphysical ‘great chain of being’ which ranked all life and matter in a universal hierarchy in his History of Jamaica


388 Thomas 2003, p. 40.
which he published in 1774. His ranking of the human species from ape to man was not new. The anatomist Edward Tyson had made a point-by-point comparison between the body of an ‘orang-outang’ (a chimpanzee) and a man in 1698 which marked a philosophical shift in the definition of the humanity, but Sylvia Sebastiani argues that in these early studies of comparative anatomy the continuum was interrupted by a chasm that separated the sensitive animal from rational man. Long filled this gap in his book with the ‘gradations of the intellectual faculty,’

from the first rudiments perceived in the monkey kind, to the more advanced stages of it in apes, in the oran-outang, that type of man, and the Guiney Negroe; and ascending from varieties of this class to the lighter casts, until we mark its utmost limit of perfection in the pure White.

On the surface, the proximity of the Endeavour’s departure for the Pacific in 1768 to the publication of Long’s book in 1774 makes it seem likely that his ‘theory’ was nascent on the voyage, but Long had a vested interest in maintaining black slavery which had come under threat in 1772 when Justice Mansfield’s landmark ruling in England on the case of the slave, James Somerset, marked the beginning of the Abolition movement. Long’s book is clearly tied to Mansfield’s ruling by an anonymous pamphlet protesting against the result entitled ‘The Candid Reflections upon the Judgment Lately Awarded by the Court

389 Long 1774, pp. 374-5.
390 See for example, Edward Tyson, Orang–Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or, the Anatomy of a Pygmie Compared with that of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man, 1699.
391 Sebastiani 2015, p. 111 ff.
392 Long 1774, pp. 374-5.
393 Sebastiani 2015, p. 122.
of King's Bench, in What is Commonly Called The Negroe Cause' and signed 'by a
Planter' that has been connected to him.394

The concerns the abolition of slavery raised in England were quite
different from those of planters like Long. As noted in Chapter One, the
connection of citizenship to landownership placed most people in Britain in the
class of property in persons. The difference between the priorities in England
and its American colonies is apparent in the writing of anti-abolition's main
proponent in Britain, the Scottish judge, James Burnet, Lord Monboddo. In his
book, Antient Metaphysics, or the Science of Universals, Monboddo's justification
for slavery relies on Aristotle's concept of 'natural slavery' which distinguishes
between those who are slaves by nature, and are therefore rightly enslaved, and
those who have been enslaved by circumstance and should be emancipated.
Monboddo identifies three natural classes in society: the governors, who are
'very few in number'; free men, who are 'able to judge of what is right or wrong'
and a third class, 'the most numerous of all' who 'must be governed by fear and
dread of punishment, that is like slaves.'395 He argues that 'no education can
make a man fit to govern, who is not by God and nature destined for office.'

Those 'destined for office' were distinguished from among the 'herd' (for
'men lived in herds before they were formed into civil societies') by certain
'marks,' 'the features of a man, his look, his voice, and the movements of his
body.' The 'marks' Monboddo identifies, however, were a matter of mien, not
biology. Comparative anatomy played no part in his argument: 'I hope the reader
will not believe that the qualities of the mind depend upon the features of the
face, any more than upon the colour of the skin or the nature of the hair.'396 This
natural capacity of people to recognise the superior man, Monboddo concluded,
provided the foundations of government.

394 Sebastiani 2015, p. 122.
395 Monboddo 1795, p. 178.
396 Monboddo 1784, p. 145, footnote.
Without men so distinguished by nature, I do not think that such states, as I have mentioned, could have been constituted in Greece, nor indeed in any other country; for it is impossible to suppose that savages, who had by nature no superiority one above another, would assemble together, for a plan of policy, and chuse kings or governors...  

Monboddo gave a dissenting opinion in the case won by the slave Joseph Knight against his Scottish master John Wedderburn in 1778. For Monboddo, the principle of slavery could not be abolished without unravelling the very fabric of British society which was based on the principle of dependence in Blackstone’s ‘three great relations in private life’: master and servant, husband and wife and parent and child. Monboddo’s opinion on the case of Joseph Knight merges slavery with service, as Blackstone had done in the concept of lawfully acquired ‘perpetual service’, by arguing that ‘there were no servants in the orbis Romanus [of St Paul] who were not also slaves.’

The shift Long introduced into the concept of natural slavery in 1774 by changing its foundation from class to biology, was a radical adjustment that was designed to serve his own immediate interests as the owner of a slave plantation in the face of Mansfield’s ruling on the Somerset case. The notion that his ideas were the public expression of popularly held beliefs in Britain would therefore not appear to offer a viable model of Georgian attitudes on the Endeavour.

‘Blackness’ on the Endeavour

The impact of ‘blackness’ on the structure of social relations on the Endeavour has already been touched upon in Chapter One where the investigation into the

397 Monboddo 1795, p. 178.
399 Dalrymple 1826, p. 779.
culture of the Navy, which did not distinguish between black and white sailors on the muster roll, and the spirit of ‘egalitarianism’ embraced by Banks’ team of scientific servants, established a pattern of social integration. This pattern, however, is disrupted in the four accounts of the deaths of Thomas Richmond and George Rupee in Tierra del Fuego written by Joseph Banks, Sydney Parkinson, Robert Molyneux and Captain Cook. In each narrative the colour of their skin plays a key role in shifting culpability from one person to another. The variations introduced by each author offer insights into the expedition’s internal relations that build up a picture of why the blackness of these men should have taken on such uncharacteristic significance at this moment in the voyage.

The fatal excursion on which Richmond and Rupee died took place the day after the artists had their drawing session with the Haush in the great cabin. Banks led a party of 12 into the hills that can be seen in the background of Isaac Smith’s View of the Endeavour’s Watering Place to collect botanical specimens. As they made their way through a densely overgrown bog, Alexander Buchan had an epileptic fit and soon afterwards the whole party was caught in a summer snowstorm. Banks divided the group, sending those who could walk ahead to make a camp and allowing the others to rest. His is the only eye-witness account of the four narratives and according to him, when only Richmond remained and he was still unable to walk, he left him behind with ‘two hands’.400 Parkinson describes this group as ‘two negroes and a tailor’ which identifies Richmond’s companions as George Rupee and the ship’s tailor, Archibald Wolfe.401

In Banks’ journal, the responsibility for the deaths of Richmond and Rupee falls most heavily on Wolfe, who shared a bottle of rum with Rupee after which they both fell asleep in the snow beside Richmond. When Wolfe awoke and was unable rouse either of his companions, he returned to the main camp to raise the alarm. According to Banks, efforts were made to bring both men back,
but when they could not be carried, the party covered them with branches and reluctantly left them to spend the night in the snow. Parkinson’s version contradicts Banks’ here. He writes that when Wolfe arrived at the main camp he pleaded with the party to rescue his friends but they ‘declined it.’ The central role Wolfe plays in this account and the positive light in which he appears suggests that he was Parkinson’s informant.

In the Master, Robert Molyneux’s account, Wolfe disappears from the narrative altogether, nor is any mention made of Buchan’s fit. Instead he writes,

Night coming on & the weather as before mention’d the Blacks felt it more sensibly than the rest, they had recourse to the Brandy Bottle by which means they became stupid & at last refus’d to Proceed further.

A more intemperate version of this account appears in Cook’s journal, in which he blames the two men for their own deaths.

two black servants to M’r Banks... being intrusted with great part of the Liquor that was for the whole party had made too free with it and stupified themselves to that degree that they either could or would not travel but laid themselves down in a place where there was not the least thing to shelter them from the inclemency of the night.

The points where the secondary reports diverge from Banks’ eye-witness account, shift the blame for the deaths away from a member of the crew, Archibald Wolfe, first onto a civilian, Banks, who was in charge of the party that supposedly refused to rescue the men, and then onto the dead men themselves

402 Parkinson 1773, p. 31.
403 Molyneux TNA Adm 55/39, 17/1/1769.
404 Cook NLA MS 1, 17/1/1769.
who were according to Molyneux biologically predisposed to hypothermia and, in Cook’s version, reckless of their lives. The variations that creep into the story with each new version show ‘bad language’ spreading through the *Endeavour*’s reporting system in order to conceal from the Captain the part that had been played by Wolfe in the death of his slave. Rupee’s death may have caused Cook a substantial financial loss that put him into a position that was sufficiently stressful for him to decide to continue collecting the cost of victualing for both dead men as the ship’s Purser for the remainder of the voyage. Neither Richmond nor Rupee was recorded ‘D. D.’, ‘discharged dead’, on the muster roll for the next two-and-a-half years (figure 103).\(^{405}\)

The compromise Rupee’s ambiguous presence on the *Endeavour* had introduced into the ship’s reporting system by his death, can be seen spreading into Cook’s own journal when he describes him as Joseph Banks’ servant; and it threatened to spread to his command if he ordered Wolfe to be punished. His motives in relation to Wolfe were no longer transparent and if the order took on the appearance of a personal vendetta in the eyes of the crew, it was in danger of undermining the delicate balance of the ship’s networks of followers. At this point Robert Molyneux appears to have relieved Cook of this decision by erasing

\(^{405}\) *Cook TNA Adm 36/8569, f. 222.* Dr Nicholas Rodger has kindly interpreted this page of the *Endeavour*’s muster roll.

On my reading neither Dorlton nor Richmond is recorded as DD. Someone has added the notation later, in a different ink, but you observe that they are still mustered as present at every weekly muster (the letters in the columns at the right-hand margin) to the end of July 1771. On the face of it this suggests a victualing fraud by the purser – meaning Cook himself – continuing to receive credit on his accounts for the two men’s victuals after their deaths. The annotation might suggest that someone in the Victualing Office had caught up with it, but without Cook’s accounts I don’t know how one could confirm that.’ Dr Nicholas Rodger, All Souls College, Oxford University, e-mail to the author, June 25, 2015.
Wolfe from the narrative and attributing the cause of Rupee's death to the natural sensitivity of a black man to the cold.

After the voyage John Fothergill persuaded Banks to pay a pension to Richmond’s widow, but the subterfuge meant that he and Rupee would always be remembered as Joseph Banks’ ‘two black servants’ who died drunk in the snow. The effect on Banks’ other servants was perhaps reflected in James Roberts’ assertion on his next expedition with Banks that ‘here was no master and Slave.’ In his retirement he appears to have commemorated the Endeavour’s landing at the Bay of Good Success by building a moated island in the gardens at Revesby on which he built structures resembling a Haush village.

Britain’s Empire

The law on possession, the model of civil society that was current in Britain at the time of the Endeavour’s voyage and the patterns of its internal relations support Henry Reynold’s assertion that Cook’s claims to possession were not territorial. However, without an understanding of the advantage inchoate possession offered Britain on this voyage, the territorial motive persists despite the evidence to the contrary. The plans for Cook’s search for the unknown southern continent have not been found but an outline of the policy that was guiding his actions in the South Pacific can be reconstructed by examining the

407 The remains of the structures were found by J. M. Blakeman-Shead in an archaeological dig in 1997. The report quotes Nikolaus. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire, 1995, ‘The house is 19th century and the gardens are a ghost of what had been done for their embellishment early in the century by Henry [sic more probably James] Roberts. He erected huts resembling those of Tierra del Fuego, a country he has seen when he accompanied Sir Joseph Banks, of Revesby, on Cook’s voyage. But these have unfortunately disappeared.’ Blakeman-Shead 1997, p. 1.
political and economic circumstances in which the expedition was planned and the documents of figures associated with its organisation.408

The *Endeavour* voyage was the third to be sent out in a programme of Pacific exploration that began immediately at the end of the Seven Years War, a global conflict between all of Europe’s great powers from 1756 to 1763, in which the number of colonies Britain had acquired was great enough according to the economist Adam Anderson to be considered ‘An Empire (it may now well be literally termed).’409 At the end of the war Anderson calculated the national debt at more than £122 million,410 a sum ‘surpassing all former experience,’411 but he considered that Britain would be more than capable of repaying this, having accrued by the war ‘Such advantages (more especially in a commercial Sense) as this Kingdom never knew or experienced, in any period of time whatever, since it was a nation!’412

However, even before the first voyage of Pacific exploration, the *Dolphin* under the command of John Byron, had returned in 1766 the national debt was already spiralling out of control. Twelve years later, on the eve of the American Revolution, Adam Smith would reflect in the closing paragraphs of *The Wealth of Nations* that Britain’s Empire had ‘existed in the imagination only.’

It has hitherto been, not been an empire, but the project of an empire; not an not a gold mine, but the project of a gold mine; a project which... as it has been hitherto, is likely to cost immense expence, without being likely to bring any profit; for the effects of

408 Morton NLA MS 9, f. 6; Beaglehole 1974, p. 151.
409 Anderson 1764, v. 2 postscript pp. 1, 3.
410 Anderson 1764, v. 2 postscript p. 1.
411 Anderson 1764, v. 2 postscript pp. 1, 4.
412 Anderson 1764, v. 2 postscript pp. 1, 4.
the monopoly of the colony trade, it has been shewn; are, to the
great body of the people, mere loss instead of profit."\textsuperscript{413}

The annual interest on the national debt in 1764 was £4,409,797 but in
1766 the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Charles Townsend, calculated the total of
Britain’s annual revenue at less than at quarter of that at only £1,000,000.\textsuperscript{414} Townsend himself then set the American colonies on the road to revolution by
attempting to generate revenue by imposing a stamp duty which sparked the
protest ‘No taxation without representation’. However, it was the crisis
generated by Britain’s newest acquisition that was of more immediate concern.
Bengal had been conquered in 1757 at the Battle of Plassey by Robert Clive, an
officer of the East India Company. The Company had its own army, navy, bases,
supplies and money, and it had only required the Government to strengthen its
existing war machine with additional troops and funds.\textsuperscript{415} The Eastern campaign
of the Seven Years War had been directed by the Chairman of the East India
Company, Lawrence Sullivan. During the War the advantages of this arrangement
had suited William Pitt, as Secretary of State for the Southern Department, but in
the peace, the dispute over the right to possession split the Company and the
Parliament.

In 1759 the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, offered Clive the tax revenue
of Bengal, known as the \textit{diwani}, as part of a peace settlement. Clive calculated its
value at an ‘income’ of £2,000,000 per annum, twice the size of Britain’s annual
revenue.\textsuperscript{416} From the outset Clive and Sullivan took opposing views on the place
of conquest in the expansion of British economic power. Clive advised Sullivan in
1758, ‘Force only can preserve and prevent acquisitions in the face of the

\textsuperscript{413} Smith 1776, p. 464.
\textsuperscript{414} Townshend to Smith, Oct-Dec, 1766, in Smith 1762-3, letter 302, p. 333.
\textsuperscript{415} McGilvary 2006, p. 58.
\textsuperscript{416} Clive to Pitt, 7/1/1759, Fort St George Archives, quoted in Forrest 1918, p. 413.
Mussulman's lack of gratitude, narrow conception and method based on everything by treachery,' but on October 9, 1759, the East India Company's Court of Directors declined the Shah's offer and Sulivan later told Pitt that, at the time, they had been 'ready to make a general Restoration of Territory to the Indian Princes, resting satisfied, as become a Merchantile Body, with the Protection of Commerce.'

The decision marked the end of what Clive called the 'masters to servants' relationship between the Company's officials in India and the Court of Directors in London and he offered the diwani himself directly to Pitt. Clive's agent, John Walsh, who had hand-delivered his letter, reported on November 26 that after a lengthy interview Pitt too had refused. Pitt had commented dryly that conquest was not the difficulty, 'sustaining it was the point.' This was the

419 Sulivan to Pitt, 27/7/1761, quoted in Forrest 1918, p. 189.
420 Clive to the Court of Directors, Despatch from Fort William, 29/12/1759, private correspondence, quoted in Malcolm 1836, p. 130.
421 Clive appears to have anticipated that the Directors would decline the diwani. His letter to Pitt was drafted a week after he wrote to Sulivan, and delivered ten months later by his agent in London, John Walsh, six weeks after the Director's meeting. Walsh appears to be explaining this delay between the Directors' meeting and the delivery of Clive's letter to Pitt in his report which begins, 'It was not till six days ago that I had admittance to Mr. Pitt.' (John Walsh to Clive, 26/11/1759, family papers communicated by the Earl of Powis, quoted in Malcolm 1836, p. 126).
422 John Walsh to Clive, 26/11/1759, family papers communicated by the Earl of Powis, quoted in Malcolm, pp. 126-7.
argument Adam Smith would make, looking back in 1776, that the ‘constant expense in time of peace, though very great, is insignificant in comparison with what the defence of the colonies has cost us in time of war.’\textsuperscript{423} The wealth of Bengal was a magnet for conflict with competing colonial powers that, Clive himself observed had to be protected ‘sword in hand in this country, if we mean to preserve our possessions.’\textsuperscript{424} However declining the \textit{diwani} was not so easily done. Pitt was convinced that, as merchant traders, the Company ‘were not proper to have it,’ but he was also wary of the possibility that Clive might offer it to the King, in which case he thought the alignment of ‘such a revenue’ with the Crown’s constitutional power over parliament ‘would endanger our liberties.’\textsuperscript{425} In either case, the \textit{diwani} was a politically destabilising force.

The competition between Clive and Sulivan came to a head on March 30, 1766, when Clive informed the Company that he had accepted the \textit{diwani} in the treaty of Allahabad on its behalf. \textsuperscript{426} In a further act of recklessness, he sent a letter at the same time to Walsh instructing him ‘Whatever Money I may have in the public funds, or anywhere else, and as much as can be borrowed in my name, I desire may be, without loss of a minute, invested in East India stock.’\textsuperscript{427} The run on East India Company shares launched the Bengal Bubble. Parliamentarians also became entangled in the boom, privately speculating on the price of shares

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\textsuperscript{423} Smith 2008, p. 463. For the views of the Governor-General of French India, Joseph François Dupleix, see McGilvary 2005, 102.

\textsuperscript{424} Clive to Law, 29/12/1758, family papers communicated by the Earl of Powis, quoted in Malcolm 1836, pp. 142-3.

\textsuperscript{425} John Walsh to Clive, 26/11/1759, family papers communicated by the Earl of Powis, quoted in Malcolm 1836, pp. 126-7.

\textsuperscript{426} Sutherland 1934, p. 457.

\textsuperscript{427} Clive to Walsh 17/4/1765, quoted in Bolts 1772, p. 29.
\end{flushleft}
continuing to rise while publicly debating legislation to bring the runaway stock market under control.\textsuperscript{428}

By 1766 Britain’s colonial expansion had been disastrous for the national economy on multiple fronts. The cost of defending its colonies in the War had created an enormous national debt that was continuing to grow with interest, and the Government’s attempts to repay the debt by taxing the American colonies was creating a new political crisis. The conquest of Bengal, a country with enormous revenues, had proved, if anything, even more disastrous, transforming the East India Company into a virtual rival state to Britain within its own state; and the Bengal Bubble, launched by the news of the acquisition, burst in the second year of the \textit{Endeavour}'s voyage in 1769.

John Byron’s return from the Pacific in May 1766 was followed immediately by the departure of Samuel Wallis in the same ship in August. When Wallis returned in May 1768, he brought back the unwelcome news that he had made the first European discovery of Tahiti and ‘conquered’ the island. Any further addition to Britain’s colonial empire by this time was not to be contemplated, and Lord Morton’s letter to Cook on his departure in August advised him that ‘conquest over such people can give no just title.’

\textit{Cook’s Secret Voyage}

The Royal Society’s planning process for the observation of the transit of Venus in Tahiti is recorded in detail in its Minutes, but there is no mention of Cook’s secret mission of South Pacific exploration in search of the unknown southern continent. This part of the \textit{Endeavour}'s voyage appears to have been organised by a clandestine committee who used the expedition’s scientific purpose as a pretext for entering the Pacific’s contested waters. Lord Morton’s letter identifies him as one of its members. Page six begins, ‘When that business is finished, other

\textsuperscript{428} Sutherland 1934, pp. 478-9.
matters may be attended to, Particularly the Discovery of a Continent in the lower temperate Latitudes’ and proceeds to describe the logistics of Cook’s search. 429 The Minister for the Southern Department, Lord Shelburne, appears to have been the prime mover in the government on the *Endeavour* voyage. He was the Royal Society’s liaison with the King who arranged the procurement of a ship.430 He was one of the ministers who filled the vacuum when William Pitt’s declining health prevented him from returning to London after Christmas in 1766, leaving the Government without a leader for the next two years until his resignation in October 1768. During this period, he, Townshend and Pitt’s eventual successor, the Duke of Grafton focused on the problems of the colonies and the need to generate new sources of revenue.431 At the same time that Shelburne was acting as the Royal Society’s liaison with the King, he was also encouraging Alexander Dalrymple, a young official of the East India Company, who had come to London with ambitions in the South Pacific.

Dalrymple had arrived in England from Madras on July 10, 1765 to promote two plans. *An Account of the Discoveries Made in the South Pacifick Ocean, Previous to 1764* was a complete summary of the commercially sensitive and secret information contained in the maps and accounts of European explorers of the navigable routes through the South Pacific and contained all his research for a search for the unknown southern continent. The second was *A Plan for Extending the Commerce of This Kingdom, and of the East-India Company* which proposed the establishment of a ‘commercial capital’ in Southeast Asia on the island of ‘Balambangan’ (Bilang Bilangan) off the north coast of Borneo which he

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429 Morton NLA MS 9, f. 6.
431 Peters 2004, ‘Pitt, William, first earl of Chatham [Pitt the elder] (1708–1778)’.
432 Dalrymple 1767, p. 53; 1816, p. 195.
argued would solve ‘the difficulty of remitting home the Bengal revenue without ruining the country’ through a balance of trade with the region.  

As soon as he landed in England he found that his friend Captain Kempenfelt had arranged a meeting for him with the First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Egmont, who was ‘intent on prosecuting discoveries in the South Seas.’

According to Dalrymple Egmont offered him the command of a ship, but he had been obliged to decline, ‘as his friend Lord (then Sir George) Pigot and the Earl of Egmont were at variance.’

According to P. J. Marshall ‘Pigot was a dangerous man to cross’ but a generous patron to a number of younger people. Shortly afterwards, on February 13, 1766, Thomas Hornsby urged the Royal Society to send an observer to the South Pacific for the transit of Venus that was due in 1769. The Royal Society’s organisation of a civilian expedition offered a way around the impasse created by Pigot’s quarrel with Egmont and bypass the Admiralty. Dalrymple submitted his own article to the Philosophical Transactions in 1767 and shortly afterwards approached Adam Smith, a friend of his brother, Lord Hailes, to recommend him to Shelburne for a voyage of exploration in search of the unknown southern continent.

Smith wrote to Shelburne on Dalrymple’s behalf on February 12, 1767.

I send you enclosed Quiros’s memorial presented to Philip the Second after his return from his voyage, translated from the Spanish in which it is published in Purches... upon looking over a great number of Dalrymple’s papers. I imagined this was what you

433 Dalrymple 1769b, pp. 98, 3.
434 Dalrymple 1767, p. 53; 1816, p. 195.
435 Dalrymple 1767, p. 53; 1816, p. 195.
437 Hornsby 1765, pp. 343-4.
438 Dalrymple and Morton 1767.
would like best to see. He is besides just finishing a Geographical account of all the discoveries that have yet been made in the South seas from the west coast of America to Tasman’s discoveries. If your Lordship will give him leave he would be glad to read this to you himself and shew you on his map the geographical ascertainment of the situation of each island... Whether this continent exists or not may perhaps be uncertain; but supposing it does exist, I am very certain you never will find a man fitter for discovering it, or more determined to hazard everything in order to discover it.440

Although Smith was yet to embark upon The Wealth of Nations, both Shelburne and Townshend were consulting him on questions of political economy. Towards the end of 1766 Townshend sent him a draft plan for taxation and the creation of ‘a real American revenue’ to bring the national debt under control;441 and in February, 1767, Smith’s letter to Shelburne responded to a request from him for advice on the Roman colonies or, in other words, advice on Britain’s relationship with America.

The colonists lost their right of voting or of being elected to any magistry in the Roman comitia. In this respect they were inferior to many municipia. They retained, however, all the other privileges of Roman citizens... They frequently rebelled and joined the enemies of the Republic. Being in some measure little independent

440 Smith to Shelburne 12/2/1767, in Smith 1762-3, p. 123.
441 Townshend to Smith end? of October /end of December, 1766, in Smith 1762-3, p. 332.
republics they naturally followed the interests which their peculiar
Situation pointed out to them.442

It was in this context of the growing national debt and the deteriorating
relationship with the colonists, that Dalrymple’s meeting with Shelburne took
place. According to Dalrymple, Shelburne expressed ‘a strong desire to employ
him in these discoveries’ and also revealed that he had been instrumental in
organising Wallis’ expedition, regretting ‘that he was not acquainted with
Alexander Dalrymple when Captain Wallis was sent.’443 Dalrymple’s plan for
Pacific exploration included an economic component in which the unknown
southern continent, which he believed must support a civilisation of wealth and
commercial sophistication, would be a vent for British exports.444 His economic
strategy is explained in greater detail in relation to his plan for a commercial
capital in South East Asia in his *Plan for Extending the Commerce of This Kingdom,
and of the East-India Company*.

Balambangan was an island off Borneo where Dalrymple proposed to
establish a trading post. Chinese merchants in particular would be encouraged
‘to settle with us, and by every other means, to form a colony’ which would allow
Britain to sell wool into this lucrative, closed market.445 Dalrymple’s plan
allowed free trade for Asian merchants but excluded all other European traders.
This semi-free trade was the key to accessing the wealth of the Asia-Pacific that
the *diwani* could not realise. If the *diwani* were accepted, he argued, sending the
nation’s tax revenue back to Britain as an ‘income’ as Clive suggested, would
simply drain Bengal of its currency and bring its domestic trade to a halt. What
was needed was a balance of trade.


442 Smith to Shelburne 12/2/1767, in Smith 1762-3, p. 123.
443 Fry 1970 p. 113-4.
444 Dalrymple 1767a, p. xiii.
445 Dalrymple 1767a, p. 9.
if the productions and manufactures of Bengal can be carried to
some port to the eastward, and disposed of for goods fit for the
China market; then the exportation of money from Bengal will, at
least in part, be avoided, and the returns thither from the eastward,
adequate to the first cost of the Bengal exports, will occasion a
constant circulation without impoverishment.446

In his plan for Pacific exploration, *An Account of the Discoveries Made in
the South Pacifick Ocean, Previous to 1764*, the establishment of trading posts
serves two purposes: benefiting Britain ‘from the advantages immediately to be
derived from thence,’ as a market for trade goods, and as a ‘barrier to secure the
trade of the East-Indies’ against other European merchants.447 Dalrymple was
deeply opposed to territorial colonisation which he saw as draining Britain of its
skilled artisans through emigration and establishing rival manufactures.448 When
he published his plan for exploration in 1769 he made the objective of Cook’s
secret voyage, which was then under way, explicit.

colonies, whether to dispossess the native inhabitants, or to people
desart wilds and woods, are as different from discoveries as day
from night. Discoveries in the South Sea have in view the research
of extensive and populous countries, which have, at present, no
communication with Europeans...Whoever is conversant with the
history of the Spanish discoveries must be convinced, that amity
and the strictest alliance would have been easier attained, and
would have afforded to Spain much greater advantages of every
kind, than has been reaped from their conquests. Upon such

446 Dalrymple 1769b, p. 3.
447 Dalrymple 1767a, p. 9, p. xiii.
448 Dalrymple 1769b, p. xxvii.
grounds there can be no object more important than discoveries in the South Sea.449

By November 19, 1767, the organisation of the Royal Society's expedition was underway, with Dalrymple singled out in the Minutes as ‘a proper person to send to the South Seas, having a particular turn for Discoveries and being an able Navigator and well skilled in Observation.’450 Dalrymple also claims that the choice of the vessel purchased on April 3, 1768,451 was done 'by his judgment.'452 His 'particular turn for Discoveries' is the only oblique reference in the Minutes to the Endeavour's secret mission of exploration. The secret committee's plan came undone when Morton wrote to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral Edward Hawke, recommending Dalrymple for the command of the ship in a letter not recorded in the Minutes. The request was flatly denied as 'entirely repugnant to the regulations of the Navy.'453 Dalrymple refused to take part in the voyage except as commander and Cook was brought in as his replacement.454

449 Dalrymple 1769b, p. xxvii-xxviii.
450 Royal Society Minutes, 19/11/1767, f. 177.
452 Dalrymple 1812, pp. 194-5.
453 Royal Society Minutes, 3/4/1768, f. 294. According to Dalrymple, Hawke 'was persuaded that he would be liable to parliamentary impeachment if he employed any but a naval officer' (Dalrymple 1812, p. 195), but he had addressed this himself in his letter to Shelburne, in which he wrote,

At the same time, I am not insensible, notwithstanding the instances of Dampier, Halley, etc, how foreign to rules of office it is, to form the most distant expectations, that a person may be employed in the publick Service by Sea, who has no rank in the Navy. (Dalrymple to Shelbourne, 24/11/1766, Public Records Office, Chatham Papers, 30/8, vol. 31, f. 11., quoted in Beaglehole 1974, pp. 105-6.)
Despite his disappointment, Dalrymple passed on his papers to Cook and the dot points of Lord Morton’s letter of advice follow a sequence of logic that connects the discovery of the continent to commerce using arguments that mirror Dalrymple’s plan. Dalrymple believed that a commercial society was most likely to be found in latitudes that were the parallel of Europe or ‘that climate best adapted for the conveniency of man, and where, in the northern hemisphere, we find the best peopled countries.’ Accordingly, Morton’s first instruction reads, ‘A Continent in the higher Latitudes, or in a rigorous climate, could be of little or no advantage to this nation.’ After describing how a continent may be recognised from sea level, the points that follow make a three-way association between the size of land, the size of population and the evolution of commercial societies, ruling out societies similar to the ‘Hottentots’ and ‘Savage Nations in North America’ as being of no economic advantage to Britain.

His biographer, Howard T. Fry, writes that his aim was to obtain a brevet similar to the commission that was allowing Bougainville at that moment to command a French naval vessel on a voyage around the world. (Fry 1970, 113.)

454 Royal Society Minutes, 3/4/1768, CMO/5/119, f. 294..


It is no secret that the noted hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple, who was originally the Royal Society’s choice for Commander of the Endeavour, before the Lords of the Admiralty insisted on Lt Cook, has given to Mr. Joseph Banks a secret document he discovered while on expedition in Madras. This is believed to contain the statement of Capt Luis Vaez de Torres that he sailed between two great land masses in the far South more than one Century and a half since.’

456 Dalrymple 1767, p. 91.

457 Morton NLA MS 9, f. 6.
- The most populous Nations are generally found on large Continents.
- Populous nations are commonly the most civilized.
- The Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope, are described to be in no great number.
- The Same observation holds with respect to the Savage Nations in North America.
- If the Ship should fortunately discover any part of a well inhabited Continent, many new Subjects in Natural History might be imported, and usefull branches of Commerce set on foot, which process of time might prove highly beneficial to Brittain.\textsuperscript{458}

The correspondence between Lords Shelburne and Morton and Alexander Dalrymple suggests that rather than challenging the Spanish claim to the Pacific's undiscovered countries, Britain's strategy for global supremacy was to avoid the economic burden of colonial government by expanding the commercial infrastructure of its trade relations. In Dalrymple's plan, recognising the autonomy of the South Pacific's Indian nations was key because this would allow them to enter into trade agreements with Britain. The social exchanges acted out in the \textit{Endeavour}'s drawing sessions with the Haush in the Bay of Good Success that emphasise the knots of adults and children engrossed in conversation in Alexander Buchan's sketch for the \textit{View of the Endeavour's Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success}, and the artists' strategies for integrating the Haush into the expedition's culture of discourse appear to support the objectives expressed by Shelburne, Morton and Dalrymple, for the establishment of Indian relations on an equal footing.

\textsuperscript{458} Morton NLA MS 9, f. 6.
Part Three: Discourse

Parts One and Two have constructed the foundations of an intellectual history of the *Endeavour* from the artistic practices recorded in its texts and drawings. William Blackstone’s account of the traditional values of Georgian society in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* was used as a framework for modelling the unique culture of this closed community, including the structure of its systems of hierarchy, the key concepts of its mission in the South Pacific (‘discovery’, ‘colonisation’ and ‘Indians’) and its practices of writing and drawing. The picture this created of the cultural norms of the *Endeavour’s* community made it possible to identify the unique ‘voices’ of individuals in the manuscripts expressed in their artistic practices. These voices constructed the discourse of the voyage in new readings of the manuscripts. In Part Three this approach is used to interpret the expedition’s discourses in cross-cultural communication through drawing in Tahiti.

Tahiti has very little that can be defined in art historical terms as ‘drawing’ before European contact. As a culture without paper the Tahitian engagement with the expedition through drawing took place mostly on a conceptual level. Cook comments that ‘in conversation one with another they frequently join signs to their words in which they are so expressive that a stranger will very soon comprehend their meaning by their actions.’

Sydney Parkinson also noted that the Tahitian language was ‘very metaphorical.’ Matavai harbour where the *Endeavour* was anchored, which means literally ‘Watery-eye,’ he comments, ‘is not unapt from the great quantity of rain which falls in the bay.’

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459 Cook NLA MS 1, ‘Description of King Georges Island’ un-numbered page; *South Sea Voyages*, ‘Description of King Georges Island’, p. 32.
460 Parkinson 1773, p. 93.
thesis to be expanded to incorporate conceptual processes into the analysis of the expedition's practices on paper in Tahiti.

Chapter Seven interprets Captain Cook and Joseph Banks' understanding of Tahiti's political and social structure by examining their accounts of the island in the context of the Georgian models of civil society constructed in Parts One and Two. Chapter Eight investigates the use of navigation as the basis for a common language in the expedition's collaborative drawings with Tupaia, the man who joined their ship to travel to England. Chapter Nine uses this language to reconstruct an extended discourse through drawing between Cook and Tupaia that describes their negotiation of a joint vision for the future of the South Pacific.
Chapter 7. Tahiti’s Political Landscape

Two social structures have been established on the *Endeavour*. One based on the capital power of land, creates hierarchies of patronage and dependence, such as Peter Briscoe’s relationship with James Roberts as his teacher, mentor and father figure; and the other, based on the social power of credit, ‘colonises’ the social networks of other communities through the cultivated conversation of British civility, as demonstrated by Mr Cheap in Madeira. The first appears to have been employed mainly in the expedition’s internal relations and the second in their role as international envoys of Britain. The artists’ drawing sessions with the Haush in Tierra del Fuego suggested that ‘Indians’ were regarded within these structures as landowners and ‘citizens’ of their country and it has been assumed that relations in Tahiti would be initiated on this same footing. However, in Tahiti another dimension of the model of Georgian land-based citizenship comes into play.\(^{461}\) As noted in Chapter One, citizenship in Georgian Britain was predominantly (although not exclusively) masculine, but in Tahiti, where women were prominent political agents, this cultural norm has the potential to have significantly distorted the expedition’s understanding of what they were seeing and learning. The capacity of the expedition to recognise the political autonomy of Tahitian women as citizens is therefore key to how we read their journals.

*The Eighteenth-Century South Pacific*

The *Endeavour* arrived in Tahiti in a period of radical political upheaval during which the traditional hierarchies across the islands in the region were being

\(^{461}\) The anthropologist Neil Gunson observed in 1987 that ‘attempts to write the history of individual groups and islands which do not give a prominent place to the political activities and social influence of women are likely to be in need of drastic revision.’ Gunson 1987, p. 168.
systematically overturned. Ra’iatea lay at the centre of this network as the home island from which those surrounding it had been populated in waves of emigration. A hierarchy between the traditional landholdings of Ra’iatea or *fenua*, had been established based on the order of primogeniture of the founding ancestors. Their descendants formed ‘ramages’ or genealogies traceable to a single ancestor on the other islands that repeated this hierarchy in a tiered system. By the mid-eighteenth century many of the junior ramages on the colonised islands had outstripped in size and material power the older ramages who outranked them. At this time, the spread of the worship of ‘Oro, out of Ra’iatea’s *marae*, Taputapuatea, offered them a means of transcending the hierarchy by claiming direct descent from the god.462

Around 1760 Tupaia, a *tahua* or ‘priest’ of Taputapuatea, brought an image of ‘Oro to the Papara district of the chief Purea and her former husband, Amo in Tahiti.463 Together they embarked upon a plan to establish Purea’s son, Te ri’i rere as the *ari’i rahi* over the whole of Tahiti and Mo’orea.464 As part of this plan they began the construction of Maha’iatea, an enormous *marae* which they dedicated to the god. When Cook’s predecessor Captain Samuel Wallis arrived on the *Dolphin* in 1767 and ‘conquered’ the island, rather than deterring Purea she appears to have seen this as an opportunity to forward her plans. Wallis had turned his ship’s guns on the island’s war canoes and the people on the shore, but Purea greeted him in a fleet of canoes and cultivated a *taio* relationship or ceremonial friendship with him. She chose ‘favourites’ from his crew that reflected her interest in the *Dolphin* as a ship of war: the Captain, the Gunner, the Sergeant of Marines, and the Master,465 and in return was recognised as the

462 Claessen 2000, p. 728.
‘Queen’ of Tahiti. Through these actions she was able to create the perception that she had struck an alliance with Britain. When she ceremonially joined the *Dolphin*’s red pennant, the flag of British possession, to the red *maro* or feather girdle that was to be used in the investiture Te ri’i rere, it completed the three objects identified by H. J. M. Claessen as bestowing the ritual right to offer human sacrifice: the *maro*, with the image of the god and the consecrated *marae*, and five to ten people from each of Tahiti’s districts were sacrificially buried beneath the foundations of Mahaiatea.

When Wallis abruptly decided to return to England, he left Purea suddenly exposed to her enemies. After his departure she was challenged by several other powerful women before Papara was attacked by the Vehiatua of the southern island of Tahiti-iti. In the war that ensued, Papara was razed to the ground. Purea and her allies had retreated into the hills when the *Endeavour*’s fortuitous arrival forced the Vehiatua to withdraw. Several of the *Endeavour*’s officers who had been on the *Dolphin* immediately saw that ‘a very great revolution must have happen’d – not near the number of inhabitants, a great number of houses raiz’d, har[d]ly 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.’ From this Cook deduced that Purea ‘hath no authority over the rest of the Inhabitants whatever she might have had when the Dolphin was here’ and that another chief, Tutaha, was now ‘to all appearences the Chief man of the Island.’

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466 Salmond 2004, p. 47.
468 Claessen 2000, p. 727.
469 Salmond 2004, pp. 38, 47.
470 Salmond 2004, pp. 54-5.
471 Cook NLA MS 1, 13/4/1769.
472 Cook NLA MS 1, 28/4/1769.
Neil Gunson describes Purea as a ‘female headman,’ a role in which women were understood to be acting as men, and this accords with Cook’s description of her as ‘very Masculine.’\textsuperscript{473} His impression is echoed by Wallis who describes her ‘tall,’ ‘well-looking’ and of a ‘very Majestic Mein’ and Georg Forster’s, a passenger on Cook’s second voyage, as ‘rather masculine.’ George Robertson, the Dolphin’s master, estimated her age at about 45 and called her a ‘strong well made Woman about five foot ten Inches high.’\textsuperscript{474} Other female headmen are described in similar terms and Gunson’s note that their husband’s were often ‘mere youths’ also agrees with Banks’ surprise at finding Purea in bed with Obadée, ‘a handsome lusty young man of about 25.’\textsuperscript{475}

Female headmen fought in wars in the Society Islands into the nineteenth century and were celebrated for their prowess on the battlefield. On the neighbouring island of Huahine, for example, Teri’itaria, described by William Ellis in 1831 as ‘tall and rather masculine in her stature and features’ went into battle in flaxcord armour with a musket and spear.\textsuperscript{476} As a commander she was responsible for the massacre of an invading French detachment in 1845-46.\textsuperscript{477} Another Tongan story describes the exploits of a daughter of the chief ‘Ahome’e.

Wrapping bark cloth about herself she fought through a long day with the strength and courage of a man, and was known for a woman only when, relaxing after the battle she threw aside the cloth that covered her breasts.\textsuperscript{478}

\textsuperscript{473} Gunson 1987, pp. 141, 146; Cook NLA MS 1, 28/4/1769.
\textsuperscript{474} For Wallis and Forster’s descriptions see NLA South Seas Companion, s.v. ‘Purea’; for George Robertson, see Salmond, 2009, p. 77.
\textsuperscript{475} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 29/4/1769; Gunson 1987, p. 142.
\textsuperscript{476} Ellis 1831, v. 2, p. 148, quoted in Gunson 1987, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{477} Matsuda 2005, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{478} Gunson 1987, pp. 142-3.
Purea’s negotiations would only be legible to the British if they were able to recognise her as a powerful political agent. Her role as a female headman in pursuit of British guns considerably raises the stakes in the narrative of her arrival at the Endeavour’s encampment at Point Venus in a procession of ‘very Masculine’ women on April 28, 1769. At this first meeting Banks describes her as ‘about 40, tall and very lusty, her skin white and her eyes full of meaning, she might have been handsome when young but now few or no traces of it were left,’ but Cook saw her in quite different terms, as the ‘head or Chief of her own Family or Tribe’ but without the authority she had enjoyed while the Dolphin was in Tahiti.

The Expedition’s Views on Women

When the Endeavour arrived in Tahiti on April 13, 1769, Cook and Banks were immediately taken to meet Tutaha, ‘the Chief man of the Island,’ who became the expedition’s patron and provided all their encampment’s needs. Banks’ initial assessment of Tutaha and his chief advisor, Te Pau, turns to a central point of reference for Georgians on questions of governance: classical Greece and Rome. Roman law provided – and continues to provide – the foundation of civil law, but Georgians also turned to the classical past for guidance on cultural norms and the philosophical principles of moral behaviour. In Chapter Six, for example, Lord Monboddo’s opinion in the case of the slave, Joseph Knight, cites the orbis Romanus, in which there were no servants ‘who were not also slaves,’ as an appropriate basis for master-servant relations in the late eighteenth century; and similarly, when Charles Townshend turned to Adam Smith for advice on the American colonies, Smith responded with an analysis of the Roman Empire’s relations with its colonies. Using this same framework, Banks writes,

479 Cook NLA Ms 1, 18/4/1769.
480 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 28/4/1769.
Our two freinds the cheifs of the west came this morn to see us. One I shall for the future call Lycurgus from the justice he executed on his offending subjects on the 14th, the other from the large size of his body I shall call Hercules. Each of these brought a hog and bread fruit ready dressd as a present for which they were presented in return with a hatchet and a nail each. Hercules's present is the largest he seems indeed to be the richest man.\textsuperscript{481}

The classical names given to Tutaha and Te Pau, Hercules and Lycergus, do not only describe Banks' impression of their personalities, they speculate on their roles in Tahitian society and status in relation to each other. The limitations these concepts imposed on the interpretation of the structure of Tahitian society becomes apparent in Daniel Solander's analysis of the ranks of Tahitian women in his vocabulary list, grouped together under the letter 'W'. In Table 1, Solander struggles to 'consolidate' Tahiti's ranks of women into the property of their husband’s estates as property in persons according to William Blackstone’s principles of land-based citizenship. As his many provisos on the gentility of 'whores', 'prostitutes' and single mothers show, neither property nor marriage was a criterion capable of giving an accurate or useful translation of Tahiti’s multi-layered power structures.

\textit{Table 1: Daniel Solander's analysis of the ranks of Tahitian women from the letter 'W' in his vocabulary list}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Heuva heine heine, no... without any other addition than the husband's name.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife v. partu</td>
<td>Heuva heine, Man property tied to her</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{481} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 17/4/1769.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whore</th>
<th><em>Heuva heini Mōebo</em> obs. better than a prostitute.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Woman that has had no child, either unmarried or married</td>
<td><em>Areri</em> opposite: <em>e’p’hannaunon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman that has borne children, <em>D[itt]o D[itt]o</em></td>
<td><em>E’p’hannaunon</em> obs. so that to be married don’t intitle one to this name.482</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the patrilineal principles of property ownership reflected in Solander’s vocabulary list, the descriptions of the expedition’s female acquaintances in his notebook suggest his libertine views were also a significant impediment to recognising the nature of the ceremonial *taio* relationships the expedition were entering into in Tahiti, which were designed to cement political alliances by creating bonds between lineages and families.483 Just before the *Endeavour*’s departure from England he and Banks joined the notorious rakes’ club, the Medmenham Monks, also known as the Hell Fire club.484 The sexual playground established by Sir Francis Dashwood in the grounds of the old Medmenham abbey in 1751 was entered through a doorway above which was

482 Solander SOAS MS 12023, ‘O.Taitian vocabularly by Dr. Solander’, NLA Australian Joint Copying Project Microfiche, Reel M686.
483 Solander SOAS 12892, ff. 7-22/63; Salmond 2009, p. 164.
484 *Morning Post* 22/8/1768, quoted in Jones 1942, p. 135.
carved the motto from Rabelais, ‘Fay de que vouldras,’ ‘Do as you will.’ One of Purea’s principle allies, Tiatia, became Banks’ ‘lover’. While he compares Tutaha and Te Pau to Hercules and Lycergus, Tiatia is described in Solander’s notebook as a ‘fine Grecian Girl.’ This was perhaps making a ‘classical’ reference more along the lines of the ‘attitudes’ performed by the wife of their friend, William Hamilton, the notorious Emma Hamilton, in imitation of the statues in her husband’s collection of antiquities.

There were notable examples of women landowners in Britain that might have allowed Banks and Solander to recognise the authority of women in Tahitian society. Two of them were among the Endeavour’s immediate social circle. Solander’s friend, Mary Bowes, a patron of botanical science, was left a vast fortune in 1760, which by a condition of her father’s will required her future husband to take her name in the marriage ceremony; and Parkinson’s patron and cousin, the Quaker Jane Gomeldon (figure 104), a powerful personality and early feminist, also inherited a fortune in her own right from her mother. However, even when it was at its most liberal, a deep vein of misogyny ran

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485 Jones 1942, p. 124.
486 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 12/5/1769. Banks describes Tiatia as ‘my flame’ but it is difficult to gauge the strength of his attachment. He writes that she arrived with Purea in the evening, ‘much to my satisfaction’ as she had ‘for some days been reported either ill or dead.’
487 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 12/5/1769. Solander SOAS MS 12892, ff. 9, 10, 13/63. Other aides-mémoire against against the names of women in Solader’s list, ‘Toimata --- fine wild woman’, ‘Ånnāa --- fine brown Girl’ ‘Noa hoa --- French girl’ suggest they may have been playing a connoisseurial game.
488 Pocock 2004,’Hamilton [née Lyon], Emma, Lady Hamilton (bap. 1765, d. 1815)’.
489 Moore 2010, p. 28.
490 ‘Plaintiff: Jane Gomeldon Defendant: Francis Gomeldon (her husband) of Newcastle upon Tyne All Saints, Northumberland, esq. matrimonial cause - divorce for cruelty’, Durham University Library, DDR/EJ/PRC/2/1740/6, paras 5-6.
beneath relations between the sexes in Georgian society. Bowes was introduced by Solander to James Magra, an officer Cook judged ‘good for nothing,’ 491 who was instrumental in trapping her in an elaborate scam in which she became the target of James Robinson Stoney. 492 Stoney fought a sham duel and tricked her into marrying him as she thought he lay dying, only to see him make a miraculous recovery as soon as the ceremony was over. 493 She endured 11 years of sadistic treatment before she was able to divorce Stoney and recover her fortune. 494 In a similar case, Gomeldon accuses her husband, Francis, of horsewhipping her in her petition for divorce. 495

Counterbalancing Banks and Solander’s views on female sexuality was the significant Quaker influence on the Endeavour. Equality between the sexes was one of the central tenets of the Quaker religion which was explained by a friend of the voyage, Thomas Richmond’s former employer, Dr John Fothergill in his Brief Account of the People Called Quakers in 1772. 496

perhaps this is the only society in the World, that have allowed any share in the Management of their affairs to the Female Sex; -- which they do upon the principle, that ‘Male and Female are all one in Christ.’ – Accordingly we find them in every Department of their Institution. 496

491 Cook NLA MS 1, 23/5/1770.
492 Moore 2010, p. 137.
495 ‘Plaintiff: Jane Gomeldon Defendant: Francis Gomeldon (her husband) of Newcastle upon Tyne All Saints, Northumberland, esq. matrimonial cause - divorce for cruelty’, Durham University Library, DDR/EJ/PRC/2/1740/6, paras 5-6.
Most notably Sydney Parkinson was a Quaker, but Cook’s Quaker education as a child apprentice to Captain John Walker is also often cited in relation to this voyage. Fothergill also sent Banks gallons of lemon and orange juice as well as brandy and a barrel of American apples for the voyage.\textsuperscript{497} The Quakers also published transcripts of their mediations of treaties between the American First Nations and colonists which might be expected to have formed part of Cook’s preparations.\textsuperscript{498}

Although the Quaker call for plainness and a simple, godly life gave the religion a reputation for austerity,\textsuperscript{499} the importance of another of its tenets, freedom of conscience, could give women wide latitude. Gomeldon fled from her violent marriage to France where ‘she had many adventures disguised as a man, including paying court to a nun, whom she almost persuaded to elope with her.’\textsuperscript{500} Her ribald sense of humour comes through in her collection of satirical


\textsuperscript{498} See for example three anonymous treatises published before the Endeavour’s departure, available from Eighteenth Century Collections Online, An account of conferences held, and treaties made, Between Major-General Sir William Johnson, Bart. and The chief Sachems and Warriours of the Mohawks... (1756), Severe conferences between some of the principal people amongst the Quakers in Pennsylvania, and the deputies from the six Indian nations, in alliance with Britain... (1756), An account of a visit lately made to the people called Quakers in Philadelphia, by Papoonahoal, an Indian chief, and several other Indians... (1761).

\textsuperscript{499} Richard C. Allan notes that the divergence between popular culture and the Quaker call for plainness and a simple, godly life which ran counter to eighteenth-century social mores, had led to a relentless decline in membership which is reflected in the meeting minutes by the number of Friends disowned for ‘marrying out’ of the Society. (Allen 2004, p. 23.)

\textsuperscript{500} Berry 2004, ‘Gomeldon, Jane (d. in or before 1780)’. According to her obituary she had wanted to go on Cook’s voyage herself. Lysaght 1979 p. 12. Lysaght notes the
essays, *The Medley*. The title is explained by its fictional masculine narrator who is one of many siblings.

It was continually remarked, that one Child was like one Gentleman, another Child like another Gentleman: As for myself, I was reckoned like a whole Regiment; and what was very singular, this very regiment had been quartered in our neighbourhood the year I was born.\(^{501}\)

Gomeldon made the incongruous gift of this manuscript to the governesses of a charitable lying-in hospital who appear to have received it in the spirit in which it was intended, publicly thanking her for the funds raised from subscriptions which amounted to over £53.\(^{502}\)

The confusing and contrary attitudes towards female agency in Georgian society are perhaps most clearly explained by the model of property and dependence illustrated in the dialogue published by the Quaker Mary Knowles, who took Samuel Johnson to task over his treatment of Jane Harry.\(^{503}\) The transcript of the dialogue which she published turns on the question of whether a woman may be 'accountable,' that is, exercise free will. Harry, the illegitimate daughter of an English slave plantation owner, does not appear to have been held back in English society while she was supported by her natural father, mixing with men like Johnson and Joshua Reynolds.\(^{504}\) However, when he cut her off for

newspaper cutting is attached to a copy of Gomeldon’s book, *The Medley*, in the Public Library of Newcastle upon Tyne but is without adequate provenance.

\(^{501}\) Gomeldon 1779, pp. 5-6.

\(^{502}\) Berry 2004, ‘Gomeldon, Jane (d. in or before 1780)’.


\(^{504}\) Jennings 2006, p. 55. Jennings writes,
converting to Quakerism, Johnson refused to have anything to do with her.\textsuperscript{505} In the heated debate with Knowles, the status of women marks the fault line between the rights of nobility and individual conscience.

In Knowles’ record of the conversation, Johnson argues that, as a ‘girl,’ Harry is not ‘accountable’ and her conversion to Quakerism is therefore apostasy. Knowles counters, ‘there is no sex in souls’\textsuperscript{506} and that as an ‘accountable creature’ Harry has an ‘undoubted right’ and in fact a duty ‘to examine and to change her educational tenets whenever she supposed she had found them erroneous.’\textsuperscript{507} Johnson asserts her duty is to the Church in which she has been educated and thereafter to the state, but Knowles wins the argument by invoking Harry’s obligation to conscience.

A nation, or state, having a conscience, is a doctrine entirely new to me, and indeed, a very curious piece of intelligence, for I have always understood that a government, or state, is a creature of time only, beyond which it dissolves, and becomes a non-entity. Now, gentlemen, can your imagination body forth this monstrous individual, or being, called a state, composed of millions of people? Can you behold it stalking forth in the next world, loaded with its available evidence does not reveal whether, living in England, Jane Harry considered herself, or was considered by others, as a woman of color. While a nineteenth-century publication described her as a ‘quadroon’, no such contemporary racialized references to her have been found. Unlike John Coakley Lettsom, there is no record of Harry identifying herself as a West Indian or comments about her skin color. Her future husband once described her as “that West Indian girl”... This absence suggests the fluidity of metropolitan as opposed to colonial, racial categories in the late eighteenth century.

\textsuperscript{505} Jennings 2006, p. 57.
\textsuperscript{506} Knowles 1799, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{507} Knowles 1799, p. 4.
mighty conscience, there to be rewarded, or punished, for the faith,
opinions, and conduct of its constituent machines called men?508

Although Johnson personally rejected the principles of Quakerism,
‘Certainly, I do think you little better than Deists,’ he acknowledged Knowles’
right to practice her religion and she was a frequent guest in his house.509 Rather,
it was Harry’s ‘presumption’ that offended him, ‘I hate the arrogance of the
wench, in supposing herself a more competent judge of religion than those who
educated her... she ought not to have presumed to determine for herself in so
important an affair.’510 By undermining the obligations of dependence, the claim
to conscience posed a similar threat to the State as the one Monboddo perceived
in the proposed abolition of slavery, and Johnson finally terminates the dialogue
saying, ‘I cannot forgive that little slut.’511

The proposition that Banks saw Tahiti’s civil society as the parallel of
Britain’s land-based class system is supported by his translation of the land
tenure system of ‘whennua’ (fenua) as ‘estate,’512 and for him as for Johnson, the
proposition of feminine political power may have been not only untenable but
unconscionable. Cook’s Quaker upbringing may have made the concept of female
accountability in Tahiti both a more familiar and comfortable idea.

Fort Venus

When the Endeavour arrived in Tahiti and the expedition was introduced to
Tutaha and Te Pau, Cook’s first priority was to negotiate for the use of a

508 Knowles 1799, pp. 5-6.
509 Knowles 1799, p. 6.
510 Knowles 1799, p. 6.
511 Knowles 1799, p. 8
512 Solander SOAS MS 12892, f. 25/63. See also for example Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12,
26/6/1769.
campsite. They would remain on the island for three months and he proposed to build a temporary fort to protect the astronomical observers and their equipment. The elaborate structure of Fort Venus became the focal point of Anglo-Tahitian relations, provoking controversies as well as providing the site for conversation. The contrast between Cook and Banks’ trial-and-error approaches to negotiation at first contact are highlighted in these exchanges. This first meeting was mediated by a man called Fa’a who had acted in the same role for the Dolphin and was known to its officers on the Endeavour. Cook told Fa’a ‘as well as we could that we wanted that ground to sleep upon such a number of nights and than we should go away.’ Banks then illustrated this request by drawing a line in the sand ‘with the butt end of my musquet’ and making signs to the crowd ‘to set down without it.’ This gesture could not have failed to recall Wallis’ claim to possession of the island two years before which Lord Morton had rejected in his letter of advice to the expedition. In this instance Banks’ use of drawing was literal but Fort Venus would repeatedly act as a catalyst in the first three weeks of the expedition’s stay for interactions that illustrate in gestures and metaphors the state of relations between the Tahitians and their British visitors.

When the watering party came ashore afterwards the scene on the beach should have been a repeat of the experience in the Bay of Good Success. On that occasion, like Banks, Alexander Buchan had used drawing to mediate first contact, but he was absent during this encounter having suffered a second epileptic fit. His drawing session had engaged both the Haush and the Endeavour’s young gentlemen, but Banks’ line in the sand signalled separation rather than conversation. After taking possession of the campsite he and Cook went into the woods leaving the midshipman, Jonathan Monkhouse, in command of ‘the lines.’ When an attempt was made by a Tahitian to seize a soldier’s

513 Cook NLA MS 1, 15/4/1769.
514 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 15/4/1769.
musket, Monkhouse reacted by ordering the marines to fire ‘into the thickest of the flying crowd some hundreds in number.’\textsuperscript{515} The death of a man earned him the name ‘Matte,’ translated by Solander as ‘die’\textsuperscript{516} in his vocabulary list, ‘from giving orders to fire when [blank] was killed.’\textsuperscript{517}

Afterwards Cook struck the tent that had been erected during the day and the expedition withdrew to the safety of the ship. Buchan died in the early hours of the next morning and was buried at sea.\textsuperscript{518} Two days later, Cook and Green ventured on shore again to observe an eclipse of one of Jupiter’s satellites, and the rest of the expedition gradually followed, gathering inside the protection of Banks’ line in the sand. Over the next two weeks Banks’ outline was gradually filled in with the material and social architecture of Fort Venus.\textsuperscript{519}

Banks continued to use lines in the sand not only to separate the British encampment from the Tahitians but to distinguish the ‘nobility’ from the common people. His first impulse on landing had been to abandon the ‘blackguards’\textsuperscript{520} and go in search of the island’s ‘superior people.’\textsuperscript{521} On the island of Mo’orea, for example, he brought the ‘King,’ Ta’aroa, and his sister, Nuna, ‘very farmonally into a circle I had made, into which I had before sufferd none of the natives to come.’\textsuperscript{522}

\textsuperscript{515} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 15/4/1769.
\textsuperscript{516} Banks SOAS MS 12153 [Vocabulary of the Tahitian Language], f. 10/59.
\textsuperscript{517} Solander SOAS MS 12892, f. 22/63.
\textsuperscript{518} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 16/4/1769.
\textsuperscript{519} Cook NLA MS 1, 17/4/1769.
\textsuperscript{521} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 13/4/1769.
\textsuperscript{522} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 3/6/1769.
the crowd by rattling it ‘to fright[en] the people and keep them at a distance’\textsuperscript{523} also recalls Monboddo’s view of the lower classes, who ‘must be governed by fear and dread of punishment, that is like slaves.’\textsuperscript{524} Towards the end of their stay Banks reveals how regularly he had resorted to the memory of the \textit{Dolphin} massacre for his authority, even as he appears to deplore it.

we have found by constant experience that these people may be frightened into any thing. They have often describd to us the terour which the \textit{Dolphins} guns put them into and when we ask how many people were killd they number names upon their fingers, some ten some twenty some thirty, and then say \textit{wowrow wowrow} the same word as is usd for a flock of birds or a shoal of fish: the Journals also serve to confirm this opinion.\textsuperscript{525}

During the construction of Fort Venus Tutaha arrived at the campsite twice a week with a large retinue and Cook wrote that when he arrived ‘we were sure to have a supply, more or less, of every thing the Island afforded; both from him self and from those that came with him – and it is a Chance thing that we got a hog at any other time.’\textsuperscript{526} At the same time his advisor, Te Pau, and his wife, Tamio, moved to a location near the Fort ‘in order from what we could understand to live near us.’\textsuperscript{527} Parkinson drew portraits of Te Pau and his family, repeating the social strategy he and Buchan had employed in Tierra del Fuego, and receiving in return botanical information.\textsuperscript{528} Shortly afterwards Te Pau

\textsuperscript{523} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 14/4/1769.
\textsuperscript{524} Monboddo 1795, p. 178.
\textsuperscript{525} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 3/7/1769.
\textsuperscript{526} Cook NLA MS 1, 28/4/1769.
\textsuperscript{527} Cook NLA MS 1, 19/4/1769.
\textsuperscript{528} Parkinson 1773, p. 42.
became ‘embedded’ with the British when he was entered on the muster roll as a supernumerary ‘to assist with forming connections with the other Natives.’

On April 22 Banks makes a reference to Parkinson’s team of artists making drawings of bony fish which places them on shore within the first week of the expedition’s arrival. The artists presumably worked while the construction was going on around them. These were trying conditions. Parkinson writes that the sandy ground was ‘very troublesome when the wind was high’ and they were also ‘much incommoded with a species of flies’ which ‘eat the painters colours off the paper as fast as they can be laid on.’

A number of new styles of colouring appear in the drawings of bony fish during this period. One of these new assistants may have been Nick Young, the ‘surgeon’s boy,’ who replaced Buchan on the muster roll of Banks’ party the day he was buried at sea. Parkinson also appears to have forged relations with the Tahitians by recruiting them to assist in the classification process. He has written the Tahitian name of 30 of the 32 fish drawn in the Society Islands on the front of the drawings. The location of these notes on the front of the drawing suggests his informants were working with the artists from the specimen while the paint was still wet. Banks and Solander’s Latin descriptions were written later in ink on the back when the drawing could be safely turned over. The fish drawings from Tahiti are mostly undated, making the identification of individual artists more difficult, but it may be speculated from the assistance Tahitians were giving in the classificatory process that some of them were also colourists.

529 Cook TNA Adm. 36/8569, f. 74. This entry presumably relates to the cost of victualing.

530 Parkinson 1773, p. 38.

531 Parkinson 1773, p. 38; Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 22/4/1769.

532 Parkinson 1773, p. 119.

533 Cook TNA Adm. 36/8569, f. 74. A note against his name reads ‘in lieu of No. 7’, Buchan’s number on the list of supernumeraries.
Parkinson occupied the bell tent, the circular tent that can be seen flying the Union Jack in Isaac Smith's drawing, *The West Elevation of the Fort* (figure 105). It appears to have been the social centre of the camp where the Tahitians frequently slept and were entertained. A number became permanent residents. Tamio's sisters, Tuarua and Piari, formed *taio* relationships with Charles Green and Sydney Parkinson; and Piari also seems to have become 'Mrs Boba,' the 'wife' of the Master, Robert Molyneux. These friendly relations carried over into the construction of Fort Venus. Cook wrote, 'the Natives were so far reconciled to us that they rather assisted us than not.' However, the confidence of the Tahitians in the British began to falter when Cook installed the first of the Fort's guns. Fa’a made a prediction 'by signs that after 4 days we should fire great guns from the Ship.' It was an accusation Cook could not flatly deny.

there were some other circumstances cooperate'd with this mans Prophecy, whither an opinion hath prevail'd amongst them that after that time we intend to fire upon them, or that they intend to attack us we know not, the first we do not intend unless the latter takes place which is highly improbable.

The sequence of events that led up to a near siege of the Fort over the next four days are recorded in the journals of Cook, Banks and Parkinson. The meaning of the actions of the Tahitians they describe are often opaque to them and these texts lack what might properly be called a narrative (see Appendix 4 for a timeline). The sequence begins the day six swivel guns were installed, (a

534 Parkinson 1773, pp. 46, 61, 63.
535 Solander SOAS Ms 12892, f. 10, 13/63.
536 Cook NLA MS 1, 22/4/1769.
537 Cook NLA MS 1, 27/4/1769.
538 Cook NLA MS 1, 27/4/1769.
small canon on a swivelling stand). Purea arrived the next day at the Fort and Molyneux immediately recognised her as ‘the Dolphin’s Queen.’ Banks writes that she was taken on board the ship ‘where no presents were spard that were thought to be agreeable.’ Afterwards she showed these presents which included a child’s doll to Tutaha who ‘became uneasy’ and was not satisfied until he was offered a similar gift. The next day, April 29, Cook added two carriage guns to the defences and mounted two more on the Endeavour’s quarterdeck. On April 30, he writes Purea visited the camp again and ‘made me sencible that I must give her a hatchet & then she would give me a Pig.’ After this meeting, large numbers of canoes began gathering outside the Fort and Cook wrote, ‘no one of us went from the Fort except such as were sent out to watch the Motions of the natives.’ He also calculated the ship’s total number of small arms: ‘45 Men with small arms including the officers and gentlemen who resided aShore.’ Banks writes, ‘The sentrys are therefore doubled and we sleep tonight under arms.’ After two days approximately 30 double canoes, carrying two to three-hundred people, had gathered around the Fort.

On May 1, their defences complete, Cook wrote, ‘I now thought myself perfectly secure from anything these people could attempt.’ Smith’s Plan of Fort Venus in Royal Bay (figure 106) shows the Fort protected on three sides by breastwork mounted with a palisade and on the fourth by the river bank, along which a row of water barrels had been stacked to form another barrier.

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539 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 28/4/1769; Cook NLA MS 1,28/4/1769.
540 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 28/4/1768.
541 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 28/4/1768.
542 Cook NLA MS 1, 30/4/1769.
543 Cook NLA MS 1, 1/5/1769.
544 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 29/4/1769.
545 Cook NLA MS 1, 29/4/1769.
546 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 30/4/1769.
swivel guns were mounted at each corner, marked ‘l’ on the plan, and two carriage guns, marked ‘k’, point across the river, ‘the two ways by which the Indians might attack us out of the woods,’ as Banks explains. Off the page, two more guns were mounted on the Endeavour’s quarterdeck to defend the entrance.

On May 1, with the tensions close to breaking point, Cook ordered the astronomical instruments provided by the Royal Society to be brought ashore. However, before the quadrant was even taken out of its box it was stolen. Parkinson’s bell tent is located at ‘a’ on Smith’s plan, flanked by two tents belonging to Banks. Cook and Green occupied the officers’ tent at ‘d’, where the quadrant was stored overnight, with the observatory, ‘b’, directly outside (figure 106).

When Cook and Green discovered their loss the next morning, conflict appeared inevitable. Banks, who Cook observes was ‘always very alert upon all occasions wherein the Natives are concern’d,’ went in pursuit of the thief with Green, armed with their pistols. Almost immediately the crisis was averted when they came upon Te Pau in the woods, who already knew of the theft, making the shape of the quadrant ‘with 3 straws in his hand the figure of a triangle.’ He then retrieved it in parts which he delivered to Banks where he sat waiting in ‘a ring we had markd out on the grass.’

While Banks and Green were in the woods, Cook, who had stayed behind, was told by an unnamed informant that Tutaha ‘had no hand in takeing away the Quadrant and that there was almost a certainty of geting it a gain.’ When Cook decided to go in pursuit of the thief himself a miscommunication of his orders resulted in Tutaha being taken hostage. When he returned with Te Pau he writes

547 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 30/4/1769.
548 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 2/5/1769.
549 Cook NLA MS 1, 2/5/1769.
550 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 2/5/1769.
the scene between them ‘was really moving, they wept over each other for some time.’ As a result of this humiliation, Tutaha removed himself and his entourage from the encampment.

This is the account pieced together from the journals. A more coherent reading of these events can be constructed by introducing the women inside Fort Venus as political actors. The community occupying the Fort can be divided into three camps: the British and the two Tahitian factions aligned with Tutaha and Purea. When Purea arrived, Fort Venus had been thoroughly infiltrated by Tutaha’s allies. As already noted, Te Pau had been entered on the muster roll as the expedition’s chief friend and two of his wife, Tamio’s sisters, Tuarua and Piari, were the ‘wives’ of Parkinson, Green and Molyneux. Purea arrived at Fort Venus for the first time the day after the first guns were installed, and this repeats the pattern of her first meeting with Wallis when she arrived in a fleet of canoes in the aftermath of his deadly attack on the island. I would suggest that, rather than acting as a deterrent to violence as Cook had hoped, the news of the guns had attracted her to the Fort by reviving her hopes of continuing the war with the Vehiatua and this was the substance of Fa’a’s ‘prophecy’.

Banks writes that as soon as she was recognised, ‘Our attention was now entirely diverted from every other object to the examination of a personage we had heard so much spoken of in Europe.’ The favour the expedition showed her and the doll which she and Tutaha probably thought to be an ancestral image appeared to confirm the ‘alliance’ with Britain that she had forged with Wallis. If Purea succeeded in negotiating for guns, or, as she had done with Wallis, simply gave that impression, it would effectively have reversed the outcome of the recent war. The next day she reinforced the relationship with Cook through a token act of trade of a hatchet for a pig. Over the next two days the tensions

551 Cook NLA MS 1, 2/5/1769.
552 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 28/4/1769.
553 Salmond 2004, p. 72.
caused by this apparent alliance heightened with each new instalment of guns, and large numbers of people and canoes gathered around the ship and fort.

The order to bring the astronomical instruments ashore shifted attention from the Fort’s defences at its periphery to the observatory at its centre. The delicacy of the situation, the importance of the quadrant to the success of the British mission and the complexity of the plan for its theft, suggest the timing of the act was not coincidental. It required foreknowledge that the box was being brought ashore and the location where it would be placed overnight. Cook wrote afterwards,

I did not stir out of the Tent where the quad[ant]t was till Sun set, then walk’d several times round the Inside of the Fort after which I went into Mr Banks’s Markee and order’d the Drumer to beat the tattoo in the doing of which he went 3 times round the works yet in one of these Short intervals when either mine or the drumers back turn’d the man found means to carry off the Box for immediately upon beating the Tattoo every boddy came into the Fort, the centinals call’d and place’d in the inside when it wold have been impossible for him to have done it. Indeed we found it difficult to beleive that a naked Indian, frighten’d of f[i]rearms as they are, would have made such an attemp’d at the certain risk of his life.\textsuperscript{554}

The quadrant was the latest of many thefts to which the expedition had been subjected since their arrival that often involved baffling acts of sleight of hand. Cook, for example, lost his stockings from under his head while he slept.\textsuperscript{555} Anne Salmond attributes these acts to worship of the ‘trickster god,’ Hiro. Their ‘audacity,’ she explains, demonstrated that the thief was protected by the god.

\textsuperscript{554} Cook NLA MS 1, 2/5/1769.
\textsuperscript{555} Cook NLA MS 1, 28/5/1769.
However, the stakes were high and failure could be harshly punished, including by death.\textsuperscript{556} The theft of the quadrant drew the British into the competition between Purea and Tutaha as active players. Initially both leaders were equally suspect in Cook’s eyes and he planned to seize upon them as hostages together to secure its return, but he abandoned this idea ‘as we had only Obaria [Purea] in our power.’\textsuperscript{557} All those who can be identified in the vicinity of the theft are associated with Tutaha’s faction through Tamio. Her sister, Charles’ Green’s \textit{taio}, Tuarua, is an obvious source of information on the arrival of the instruments on shore; the thief is identified by Parkinson, whose \textit{taio} was another of Tamio’s sisters, as a man called Moroameah, a servant of Tamio’s brother Titaboreah;\textsuperscript{558} and when Green and Banks came across Te Pau in the woods, he already knew what had happened and where to find the quadrant.

Banks’ quickness to respond with action, his threats with his gun, his trust in Te Pau and his willingness to wait patiently in a circle drawn on the ground, were well-rehearsed gestures of his ‘vocabulary’ by the time the theft was perpetrated. It was such predictable behaviour that had allowed Green to manipulate Christopher Irwin on his voyage to Barbados, and it is possible that when Banks and Green plunged into the woods, they were unwittingly following a similar ‘script’ created by Tamio. If the plan had succeeded, Te Pau’s status as the expedition’s ‘chief friend’ would have been confirmed and, in Banks’ words, ‘as we rightly guessd that none of our freinds had any hand in the theft,’ suspicion would have shifted onto Purea, bringing about her expulsion from Fort Venus.\textsuperscript{559} The plan, however, backfired when Tutaha was taken hostage and he withdrew with his retinue from the encampment.

\textsuperscript{556} Salmond 2009, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{557} Cook NLA MS 1, 2/5/1769.
\textsuperscript{558} Parkinson 1773, p. 47; ‘Tetubuar’ha’ in Solander’s ‘Names of People’, Solander SOAS MS 12892, f. 13/63.
\textsuperscript{559} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 2/5/1769.
The British dependence upon his patronage was brought home to them when he cut off trade with the Fort. Within three days Cook noted that their supplies were running short and in six days Banks writes,

We now begin to think that Dootahah is indeed a great king much greater than we have been usd to imagine him, indeed his influence upon the late occasion as well as today has prov’d to be so great that we can hardly doubt it.

The embargo was broken when Banks and Solander, who had been appointed by Cook to act as daily ‘market men’ for purchasing food and other staples for the encampment, brought out their supply of iron nails. On Wallis’ voyage the trade in nails in exchange for sex had resulted in runaway inflation and this had threatened his ability to resupply the ship for the return to England, as well as nearly stripping it of iron. One of Cook’s chief concerns on landing had been to prevent a repeat of this experience and nails had therefore been held back until this moment, with the result that by the end of the day’s trade Banks was able to report ‘we aproach our former plenty.’

With the collapse of Tutaha’s bargaining position, Te Pau abandoned subtlety and made Tutaha’s demands explicit when he took Banks’ gun from him and fired it. In the nineteenth century the introduction of guns into Maori warfare in New Zealand would result in the devastating campaigns from 1820 to 1833 known collectively as the Musket Wars and I would suggest they were at the centre of Tutaha and Purea’s competition for the right to negotiate with the

560 Cook NLA MS 1, 5/5/1769.
561 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 4/5/1769, 8/5/1769.
562 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 3/5/1769.
564 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 9/5/1769.
565 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 13/5/1769.
British. However, Banks was shocked when Te Pau took his gun from him and he ‘scolded him severely and even threatened to shoot him.’\textsuperscript{566} For him, guns would never be on the table as a commodity for trade.

From the moment of their arrival in Tahiti, Cook and Banks appear to have been out of step on the meaning of possession. The incompatibility of their approaches became clear at their first meeting with Fa'a when Banks undermined the consultative attitude of Cook’s negotiation for temporary use of the campsite at Point Venus by taking possession with his gun. Despite Morton’s rejection of Wallis’ claim, Banks appears to have seen the island as a British possession, either metaphorically or perhaps even literally. His language asserted his own authority and the authority of those he saw as the nobility of the island, but the breaking of Tutaha’s embargo changed the language of discourse, opening the way for negotiations to recommence on a footing that resembles relations in Madeira. As Purea’s ‘right hand man,’ Tupaia, took over as the expedition’s chief advisor, British cultivation intersected with Tahitian \textit{mana}: two concepts that merged the idea of hospitality and knowledge exchange with the expansion of trade and the growth of wealth, power and status.\textsuperscript{567}

\textsuperscript{566} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 13/5/1769.

\textsuperscript{567} Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 3/5/1769. \textit{Mana} is defined by Robert Henry Codrington as ‘what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can be ascribed to its operation.’ Codrington 1891, p. 118.
Chapter 8. The Transition to Paper

Tupaia arrived at Fort Venus the day after the siege to examine Purea’s canoe which had been held to ransom with several others. Banks records that rather than remonstrating against her treatment, he pronounced himself satisfied, ‘so much so that he would not take it away’ and ‘stayd with us all day and at night slept in Oboreas [Purea’s] Canoe.’ Tupaia remained at the British encampment for two-and-a-half months at the end of which he joined the Endeavour to travel to England. The culmination of this relationship was a chart of 72 islands with Ra’iatea at the centre known as Tupaia’s Chart (figure 107). In this drawing he and his collaborators succeeded in combining European and Tahitian concepts to create a unique, hybrid system of cartography. The European practice of drawing offered an alternative language of communication, but not one that would immediately allow them to collaborate in the highly intellectual way this chart required. The expedition’s journals and Tupaia’s drawings during this period describe a complex process of negotiation that was necessary if drawing was to mediate between Tahiti’s oral traditions of knowledge transmission and British literacy.

Communicating at the Margins

Tupaia’s Sketchbook was attributed to him in 1997 by Harold B. Carter from a letter in which Banks identifies himself as the Englishman trading with a Maori in the drawing that has become the iconic image of first European contact in the South Pacific (figure 108). Banks writes ‘he drew me with a nail in my hand delivering it to an Indian who sold me a Lobster.’ The Sketchbook contains

568 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 3/5/1769.
569 Carter personal communication to Salmond, 1997.
570 Banks quoted in Salmond 2004, p. 75.
nine drawings on several stocks of paper cut to various sizes put together into a portfolio. Neither the folio page numbers nor the numbers written on the drawings themselves organise them in the order of the voyage’s itinerary, with those made in New Zealand and Australia appearing in both cases in the middle of the sequence. He also drew three charts. Of these two are rough sketches and the third, *Tupaia’s Chart*, is a fair copy of his lost original. Organising the drawings in the order of technical skill rather than the events they depict suggests that the majority were made after Tupaia’s departure from Tahiti (Appendix 5). The collaborative drawing processes his sketches record locate his discourse in the linguistic context provided by his British collaborators. This makes it possible to reconstruct their drawing sessions in this chapter using the same methods of analysis employed in Parts One and Two.

The first of his drawings on paper are possibly among the bony fish which, as noted in Chapter Seven, introduce a number of new colourists in this period. Nicholas Thomas sees Tupaia’s adoption of drawing on paper as a radical departure from the conventions of his own culture in which, he writes, representational images ‘invoked deities, affirmed status, and marked genealogy and sovereignty; they existed to express presence and power, not to communicate information.’ In the drawings of fish Parkinson’s Tahitian assistants were consciously engaging in a process of documentation that systematically matched Tahitian names to specimens, drawings and descriptions, and Thomas suggests that while it might be overstating the case to interpret Tupaia’s drawings as embracing the ethnographic attitude, ‘Yet this is almost so.’

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571 It is attributed by Banks in a note on the front to Cook but I would suggest it is probably the work of Charles Praval (David, Smith and Joppien 1988-97, v. 1, notes, cat. I.133).

572 Thomas 2012, pp. 272, 274.
However, in this cross-cultural experience the Tahitians were not only comparing images with things, but metaphorical systems of understanding. The adoption of alternative classificatory systems is inherently subversive, inevitably disrupting ‘the thought that bears the stamp of our age and our geography,’ as Foucault writes in *The Order of Things*. The Chinese taxonomy that opens his book, ‘(a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs...’ is a fabrication of Jorge Luis Borges, but it serves to illustrate how taxonomies force us to recognise that the ‘natural’ order of the world is man-made by revealing the contradictions in the prevailing language system.

David Turnbull suggests that communications at first contact in Tahiti took the form of Lacanian *mésconnaissance* or misrecognition, but J. G. A. Pocock suggests an alternative way of thinking about these encounters in which the ‘ambiguities, absurdities and contradictions’ that take place at the margins of language become opportunities that reframe ignorance and misunderstanding as dynamic tools of learning. In these terms the trial-and-error of miscommunication can also be seen as offering a creative opportunity on the *Endeavour* for improvising new meanings that served their own unique purposes. Social strategies were built into the expedition’s manuscripts by their

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574 Foucault 1973, p. xv.
575 The concept of *Méconnaissance* is used by David Turnbull in ‘(En)-countering Knowledge Traditions: The Story of Cook and Tupaia.’ Turnbull 2000, p. 56. *Méconnaissance*, translated as mis-recognition, is used by Jacques Lacan in ‘The Mirror Stage as Formative of the I Function as Revealed in Psychoanalytic Experience’ in his *Écrits*, in which he argues that the nature of the development that takes place in the ego of a child when it recognises itself in a mirror is not centred on what he calls the ‘reality principle’ but rather is an act of misrecognition that is a function of its defensive structures, the ideal ‘I’ that we wish to see rather than what we really are. See Lacan 1966, p. 100. Pocock 1973, p. 41.
authors for integrating new members into their community, often through education or in the case of Daniel Solander's *Slip Catalogue*, an oral discourse that was entertaining as well as informative. James Boswell commented of Solander ‘throw him where you will, he swims’ and the skills of the expedition as conversationalists come to the fore in their development of a discourse through drawing with Tupaia.576

*Learning to Listen*

Drawing on paper allowed the British and Tahitians to visually match words to things, but more abstract concepts had to be learned by ear. Just as we see Tupaia learning what things ‘looked like’ to the British in his drawings, the British could be said to have been learning what things ‘sounded like’ to Tahitians in the lists of words and concepts they recorded. These lists required them to learn to hear Tahitian sounds in order to be able to transcribe them, and to become ‘literate’ in the conventions of their oral culture in order to be able to ‘read’ them.

Learning by ear introduced immediate challenges for a culture used to learning through reading and writing. Parkinson notes that the Tahitians ‘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.’577 Inversely, ‘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.’ As a result Banks became ‘Opane’; Pickersgill, ‘Petrodero’; and Solander, ‘Tolano.’ These difficulties created problems for transcription and when it came to comparing their notes on the names of islands Cook wondered if the discrepancies between their lists were ‘owing to the want

577 Parkinson 1773, p. 94.
of rightly knowing how to pronounce the names of the islands after them’ or if they had been given different information.578

The ship’s surgeon, William Monkhouse, attempted to address this problem with a system of accents, ‘this stroke over the letter ā denotes it to be pronounced as in the words call, fall &c.’579 (figure 109). This instruction, however, introduces new problems when one considers that Parkinson was a Scot, Solander and Spöring, Swedes, Banks, Oxford educated and Cook from Yorkshire. English spelling had not yet been standardised – Samuel Johnson’s Dictionary was published in 1755 – and the regional accents that appear in their texts were noted in Chapter One. Every member of the expedition created his own system of spelling, both in English and Tahitian, so that the spelling for Ra’iatea, for example ranges from Parkinson’s ‘Yoole Etea’580 to Banks’ ‘Ulietea.’581

The expedition received the first of its lists of islands on May 4, the day after Tupaia arrived at Fort Venus, from a delegation who had come from the nearby island of Mo’orea.582 Like Solander’s Slip Catalogue, the oral dimension of these lists was lost when they were written down, taking on the appearance of a dull catalogue of information. In use, they describe navigational courses that bring up an image of each island in the imagination of the navigator as it is recited in the order it would be encountered when sailing. As more courses are memorised they intersect creating a conceptual geography. To these images, other information about histories, genealogies, produce and resources can be

579 Banks SOAS 12153 [‘Otaheite Words from Mr Monkhouse’], f. 5/10.
580 Parkinson 1773, p. 92.
582 Cook NLA Ms 1, 4/5/1769.
attached and similarly memorised.\textsuperscript{583} Johann Forster, who was on Cook's second voyage of Pacific exploration, recorded a description of one of Tupaia's performances.

Tupaia... when on board the \textit{Endeavour}, gave an account of his navigations and mentioned the names of more than eighty isles which he knew, together with their size and situation, the greater part of which he had visited, and... gave directions for making one according to his account, and always pointed to that part of the heavens, where each isle was situated, mentioning at the same time that it was either larger or smaller than Taheitee, and likewise whether it was high or low, whether it was peopled or not, adding now and then some curious accounts relative to some of them.\textsuperscript{584}

This way of navigating would not have been alien to Cook's officers. Much of the examination for an officer's commission consisted of memorising narratives just like Tupaia's. One of the questions and answers from a manual from 1784 reads,

Q. What is to be observed in sailing into Plymouth Sound?
A. If coming from the Westward, and am got round the Ramshead, I must give Penlee Point a good Birth, by Reason of a Ledge of Rocks that lies off from it; then haul NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ E. For anchoring, the best Mark is Mount Edgecumbe just open, the Withy Hedge right up and down, and St. Nicholas's Island NW. the leading Mark is Plymouth Church open with the West Part of the Citadel. The Dangers in going in are the Tinker, N by W one Mile and a half; and about half

\textsuperscript{583} See Goodenough and Thomas 1987, for a detailed discussion of navigational techniques in the Western Pacific.

\textsuperscript{584} Forster 1778, p. 310.
a Mile East Southerly from it, is the Shag Stone; there is a Buoy on each of them.  

Piloting directions had to be memorised to be able to recognise landmarks and avoid hazards when sailing close to land. These instructions make a similar use of narrative and metaphorical images, like the Ramshead, the Tinker and the Shag Stone, that create a moving picture in the mind of the experience of sailing into Plymouth harbour. These traditions continue into the present day. David Lewis noted in 1964 that the masters of sailing barges in the Thames Estuary could recognise each of 200 lightbuoys by their flashes without the aid of charts. Similar traditions can be found in Cook’s own navigational practices. The repetitive patterns of Tupaia’s rendition of the locations of eighty islands is echoed in his Directions For Navigating on Part of the South Coast of Newfoundland, published in 1766.

One League and a half to the Northward of St. John’s Head is the Great Bay de Leau, wherein is good Anchorage in various depths of Water, sheltered from all Winds. The best Passage in is on the East-side of the Island laying in the Mouth of it; nothing can enter in on the West-side but small Vessels and shallops. To the Westward of Bay de Leau, 3 Miles NNW. from St. John’s Head is Little Bay Barrysway, on the West-side of which is good Anchorage for large Ships in 7, 8, or 10 Fathom Water; here is good Fishing Conveniencies, with plenty of wood and water.

European cartography was an inadequate tool for recording the relative distances between islands separated by vast tracts of ocean. In Richard

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585 Moore 1784, p. 222.
586 Lewis 1964, p. 364.
587 Cook 1766, p. 12.
Pickersgill’s chart of the Tuamotu Archipelago and the Society Islands the islands appear as pinpricks on the mostly empty grid (figure 110). The *Endeavour*’s navigators needed to become familiar with the conventions of Tahitian ‘cartography’ to interpret the lists of islands they wrote down, but this idea is routinely ruled out in commentaries on Tupaia’s relationship with Cook. David Turnbull, for example, writes,

Cook appears never to have asked any of his informants how they navigated. What is especially interesting is that he did not ask Tupaia, or at least made no reference to asking him in any of his writings. This was partly because he found that ‘most of them hated to be asked what they probably thought idle questions.’

Greg Dening goes further, asserting that ‘Tupaia annotated his map orally to Cook with stories of these islands, but Cook wasn’t interested in anything else than their direction and distance.’ However, Cook himself refers to having several conversations with navigators in Tahiti and the effectiveness of their communications is demonstrated in a drawing of the approach to a harbour (figure 111). In this drawing Tupaia can be seen working in a detailed way with another pilot. The drawing uses very little in the way of European conventions, describing what may be channels through the reef, the direction of currents and perhaps wind, represented by the feathered forms which resemble the streamers on the boats in his view of a boatshed (figure 112). In the centre of the drawing his partner has written a mathematical calculation. This chart may refer to a conversation similar to the one Banks recounts in Huahine.

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We have now a very good opinion of Tupias pilotage, especialy since we observd him at Huahine send a man to dive down to the heel of the ships rudder; this the man did several times and reported to him the depth of water the ship drew, after which he has never sufferd her to go in less than 5 fathom water without being much alarmd.591

Another drawing session recorded in Tupaia’s rough sketch of six islands, *Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769*, shows him working on the detail of the south-west coast of Ra’iatea, the right-hand edge of ‘Ulietea’ on the chart, with Robert Molyneux and/or his Mate, Richard Pickersgill (figure 113). The coastlines in this chart are mostly defined with hatched lines, but Ra’iatea, and this part of the coastline in particular, use wash to represent the depth of water. This technique is used by Molyneux and Pickersgill in their charts and Anne di Piazza and Eric Pearthree suggest Tupaia was imitating their style when he made this drawing, but both had good reason to collaborate with him directly on this section of the chart.592

When the *Endeavour* left Tahiti, Tupaia led the expedition on a survey of these islands. Plotting the whole course from Cook’s coordinates shows the south-west corner of Ra’iatea was left unexplored (figure 114). Molyneux and Pickersgill were sent to survey this part of the coastline in the longboat, but Pickersgill’s chart terminates at a point that can be identified as Pouhine on the modern map, beyond which he notes, ‘The Pts & Bays & ca. on this Side not known’(figure 115).593 The soundings terminate at the same point on Cook’s *Chart of the Society Isles* (figure 116a-b), yet Cook’s map is complete (figure 117).

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591 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 31/7/1769.
592 di Piazza and Pearthree 2007, p. 322.
593 Hydrographic Department 497, 07, David, Smith and Joppien 1988-97, v. 1, cat. 145.
As the modern map shows, Pohine is some distance from Opua Bay where the *Endeavour* was anchored (figure 118a), but on Tupaia’s *Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook*, they are virtually next to each other (figure 118b). Tupaia’s information begins where Molyneux and Pickersgill’s survey had left off. Pickersgill makes frequent references in his charts to the advice of the ‘natives’ and Tupaia specifically in his chart of Ohetirua (Rurutu). His collaboration with Tupaia culminated in the production of another version of *Tupaia’s Chart* which is now lost. These drawings suggest that Tupaia developed an intimate working relationship with the *Endeavour*’s navigators. By describing the southwest coastline in a narrative of piloting directions which appear on the chart as indications of deep and shallow water, reefs and rocks, landmarks, supplies of wood and water, Cook may have been able to gather sufficient information to complete his chart.

The performative element of the narratives in Tupaia’s drawings can be seen most clearly in his plan view of a *marae* (figure 119) which is conceptually perhaps his most complex drawing outside of *Tupaia’s Chart*. Smith and Joppien identify the location as Purea and Amo’s *marae* of Maha’iatea but they acknowledge their evidence is weak. Greg Dening identifies it in passing as Robert Molyneux was sent to survey this coastline in the longboat but this section of his journal is missing. Molyneux TNA Adm 55/39.

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596 Smith and Joppien attributed these drawings to Banks as ‘neither Parkinson nor Spöring, nor any other member of the ship’s company, was of the party’ (Smith and Joppien 1985-87, v. 1, cat. 41, notes). Reading between the lines the party was substantial, but as in so many cases, Cook and Banks’ journals give the impression that they were alone. The specific identification of Maha’iatea is based on Banks’ count of 11 steps in the ziggurat which, excluding the top and bottom lines, agrees with a the second drawing (figure 122), however, Smith and Joppien caution, ‘As these correspondences are not close, it cannot be assumed that it is the Maha’iatean *marae* depicted’ (Smith and
Taputapuatea and the correspondences between this drawing and Parkinson’s description of it support this opinion.597

Parkinson visited Taputapuatea with an unnamed companion the day after they landed on Ra’iatea and his description follows a narrative path that can be traced through Tupaia’s drawing, passing each of its features in order like the directions of a navigational course. (Figure 120 quotes the full text of Parkinson’s description, numbering the points of interest he names in order and locating them on the drawing to reveal the path.598) A sense of the shape of this building can be gathered from Herman Spöring’s drawing of Tutaha’s marae (figure 121). Parkinson’s tour begins by describing the marae as a burial place and the shadow beneath an altar in the lower left-hand corner of Tupaia’s drawing is the first of the sites encountered. The narrative path travels along the top edge of the cobbled surface of the courtyard. As the path reaches the middle of the page it turns upwards to bring the visitor into the midground of the drawing or the centre of the courtyard. At this point the page is rotated 90 degrees to bring the next structure upright, described by Parkinson as a wooden cage with an awning of palm leaves. This signals that the visitor is now facing towards it.

Joppien 1985-87, v. 1, cat. 42, notes). When the drawings were attributed to Tupaia, the identification of Maha’iatea was allowed to stand. Salmond’s narration of Tupaia sketching the layout as Cook and Banks ‘measured its dimensions’ (Salmond 2004, p. 91) appears to be based on Cook’s comment that shortly before they had come upon ‘a great number of our friends an[d] acquaintance’ (Cook NLA MS 1, 28/6/1769). Nicholas Thomas’ appears to be relying on the same information when he identifies the location as Maha’iatea, referring to the count of 11 steps (Thomas 2012, p. 273; 2003, p. 76).

597 Dening does not cite the archive reference but the identification is clear, ‘We have Tupaia’s map painting of Taputapuātea. He draws the Seaward sacrificial space separate from the Landward feasting and memorializing space, with ‗Oro’s canoe, Rainbow, in between.’ Dening 2008, p. 254.

598 Parkinson 1773, pp. 99-100.
The page is turned again to invert two small trees in the centre of the courtyard. The visitor is now looking back the way he has come and Parkinson describes the courtyard itself which is covered with a sort of coral with plants growing amongst the stones that he names as hibiscus and etoa. The types of trees are illustrated in the margins and a detail drawing shows the courtyard with a tree in the centre.

The page is turned 180 degrees so that the visitor faces the next feature, the stone ziggurat at the back of the courtyard and the decorated boards mounted on top. A detail drawing in the margin shows the pattern on one of the boards which Parkinson explains contain further information about the marae and its people.

The implicit directions that tell the storyteller when to rotate the page and the listener imaginatively inhabiting the space, where to direct his gaze, create the ‘depth of field’ in this drawing that gives a rich and detailed representation of the marae in three-dimensional space. This experience is lost in a second drawing of the marae (figure 122) which introduces the midground through perspectival drawing. Tupaia’s use of this technique suggests it was made after the plan view and this concept had been explained to him.

His adoption of the visual languages of Parkinson and Spöring in other aspects of the plan view of the marae make this drawing more ‘legible’ to European readers than his chart of the approach to a harbour. At first sight he and Parkinson appear to have worked together on this drawing, Parkinson in pencil and Tupaia in wash. The central tree has a sinuous shape and bulbous termination at the roots that imitates Parkinson’s palm trees in his View of the Bay of Oware, Hooaheine (figure 123) but it lacks the fluency of his line. The bold, graphic style of the trees in Tupaia’s drawing of a boathouse (figure 112) appears unrelated to the pencil drawings of trees in the marae, but the round-

599 The trees and plants are identified from left to right as pandanus, breadfruit, banana, coconut trees and the taro plant. Smith and Joppien 1985-87, v. 1, cat. 66 notes.
leafed tree in pencil that can be seen between the two coconut trees on the right, is in the same style as the trees in figure 119 at 4b, showing them to be the work of the same artist. Spöring's influence is also apparent in this drawing, in the ruled lines that define the shape of the courtyard and the alternating pattern of light and shadow on the bricks which have been copied from his drawing of Tutaha's marae, Morai no Tuttaha Otaheite (figure 121), made just before their departure from Tahiti.

**Geo-Political Orientation: The Development of Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769**

The charting of the south-west coast is just one of several drawing sessions that compose *Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769* (figure 113). The shape of the islands and their arrangement on the page does not relate to Western geography and for this reason the outlines have been attributed to Tupaia. The handwriting is Joseph Banks’ and details have been added in a number of styles that can be connected to officers including Molyneux and Pickersgill. The construction of this chart in drawings sessions with several collaborators resembles the way another chart of the north island of New Zealand was created by the Maori, Tuki, a few decades after Cook’s voyage, in 1793, which was described by the judge-advocate for NSW, David Collins.

Perceiving he was not thoroughly understood, [Tuki] delineated a sketch of New Zealand with chalk on the floor of a room set apart for that purpose. From a comparison which Governor King made with Captain Cook's plan of those islands, a sufficient similitude to the form of the northern island was discoverable to render this attempt an object of curiosity; and Toogee was persuaded to

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render his delineation on paper. This being done with a pencil, corrections and additions were occasionally made by him, in the course of different conversations; and the names of districts and other remarks were written from his information, during the six months he remained there.\(^{601}\)

I would suggest that Tupaia’s rough chart was made over a period three months in a number of drawing sessions. The first of these took place on May 4, the day the Mo’oreans gave the expedition their first list of 22 islands, six of which appear on this chart. Reconstructing the drawing sessions in this chart shows the expedition’s informants using the language of navigation to describe the location of islands by orienting them to the geo-political landscape of the region. The Mo’oreans explained the location of the islands on this list by taking the British to the top of a hill and pointing to Ra’iatea.\(^{602}\) As noted in the last chapter, Ra’iatea was the home island from which the surrounding islands had been populated in waves of emigration, forming a hierarchy in the order of colonisation that was connected by a network of genealogical relationships.

In addition to this colonial relationship, there are two historical political movements that appear to have been important in Tupaia’s encounter with the Endeavour. The first of these was the Fa’atau Arhoha or ‘Friendly Alliance’ that, according to oral tradition recorded in the nineteenth century, had been formed in ancient times by the marriage between a ‘prince’ from Rotuma and a ‘princess’ of Borabora. The Fa’atau Aroha created a kind of federation that centred on the Opoa district of Ra’iatea where the marae Taputapuatea is located.\(^{603}\) The islands

\(^{601}\) Collins 1798, pp. 521-2; See also Salmond 1993 for a full discussion of Tuki’s Map.

\(^{602}\) Parkinson 1773, p. 92.

\(^{603}\) Finney 1999, p. 12. This history was told to a British missionary by Tu’au, a Raiatean ari’i vahine (female chief) around 1830 who had learned it from her grandfather, Tainoa. It was printed in English translation in Ancient Tahiti by the missionary’s granddaughter, Teuira Henry, in 1928 (Henry 1928, pp. 119-128.)
were divided into two groups that lay to the windward and leeward or east and west of Ra’iatea. Representatives from each of the islands had periodically made long-distance sea voyages to meet at an international congress at Taputapuatea. This alliance had persisted for generations until it broke down in a dispute in which a high priest of the leeward islands was murdered and the congress never met on the same scale again.\textsuperscript{604}

The second political structure was more recent. It had started at the beginning of the eighteenth century when the priests of Taputapuatea began bringing the worship of the god ’Oro to other islands with a kind of missionary zeal.\textsuperscript{605} Many of the islands that had been colonised from Ra’iatea were larger and better resourced than the ancestral home island, and over time some of the chiefs on these younger islands had become wealthier than those who ranked above them. The priests of Taputapuatea who arrived on these islands, offered these chiefs a means of transcending the traditional hierarchy by claiming direct descent from the god.\textsuperscript{606} When the Endeavour arrived, the spread of this religion was systematically overturning the old hierarchy in a radical restructuring of relations between this network of islands.

As a priest of Taputapuatea who had brought the worship of ’Oro to Purea’s Papara district, Tupaia was at the centre of all three of these structural networks: the genealogical network spreading out from his home island, the Friendly Alliance that had its political centre at Taputapuatea, and the new movement that was restructuring the islands. He was therefore potentially an extremely powerful figure, except that some years earlier Ra’iatea had been

\textsuperscript{604} Finney 1999, p. 12-13.
\textsuperscript{605} Dening 2000, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{606} Claessen 2000, p. 728.
invaded by the neighbouring Boraborans and he was now living in exile in Tahiti.607

Daniel Solander made a record of the *whennua* or traditional landholdings Tupaia had lost in this invasion in his notebook, *Observationes de Otaheite* (figure 124).608 Most of these appear on the *Society Isles* chart among the names written around the edges of the islands by Banks (Appendix 6). Solander also recorded the *whennua* on Ra’iatea of two other men, Tayoa and Nuna (figure 124).609 These two men are the first two entries in his list of ‘Names of People’.610 He wrote down the name of each person he met in Tahiti with a description of who they were and some kind physical description or nickname to help him remember them. This list therefore records the people he met in chronological order. The position of Tayoa and Nuna at the very top of this list suggests that the British were approached by at least two Ra’iatean exiles almost as soon as they arrived in Tahiti and Solander includes Tupaia with this group. The only other mention of Tayoa and Nuna is in Banks’ journal, where they are listed as members of the party of Tupaia’s allies who farewelled him on the expedition’s departure: Purea, Tiatia, Tayoa, Nuna and Nuna’s nephew, Tuanna Matte.611 Since Solander did not record the *whennua* of any other individual, he would appear to have been taking a particular interest in the impact of the war on Ra’iatea’s exiles.

Tupaia’s list of *whennua* is connected to the survey by a footnote marked with an anchor which reads ‘in the bays of these *whennua* did the *Endeavour* anchor’ (figure 124). It would seem clear from Solander’s lists that when the

608 Solander SOAS 12892, f. 26/63.
609 Solander SOAS 12892, f. 25/63.
610 Solander SOAS 12892, f. 7/63.
611 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 13/7/1769. Tutaha, Te Pau and Tamio were conspicuously absent from this group of well-wishers.
British went to see these islands their interest was more than geographic. *Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769* is a political map of the landholdings of the original ancestors to whom the ramages on the outlying islands traced their ancestry. Rather than a British idea, the survey of the Society islands would appear to have originated with these Ra‘iatean exiles and the British invested a considerable amount of time and effort in understanding their situation.

The first part of the survey has been plotted on the *Society Isles* chart (figure 125). This was the same course that was taken by a Hawaiian canoe in 1985, the *Hokule‘a*, crewed by a new generation of navigators who were reviving the art of long distance sailing and the traditions of the *Fa‘atau Aroha* or Friendly Alliance. For the *Hokule‘a*, their arrival at Taputapuatea was the crowning moment of a voyage of approximately sixteen thousand miles.612 They had been asked to take this course to lift a *tapu* or curse that had been put on Taputapuatea according to Herb Kawainui Kane ‘in the olden days when the last canoe left.’613 Kane describes this crossing as a very eerie experience in which the canoe appeared to sail itself into the centre of a double rainbow to arrive at the foot of Taputapuatea.614 The fact that only this part of the *Endeavour*’s three-week survey has been plotted would suggest that Tupaia also considered this a particularly significant part of their voyage.

This chart can be identified as a planning document that was made in advance of the survey, not a record of what took place afterwards, from the detail drawing of the peaks of Borabora. This detail (figure 126a), drawn in Isaac Smith’s distinctive style, appears to have been copied from a peak in the foreground of his *View of York Island from Royal Bay in Georges Island* (figure

612 Kane 1993, p. 21.
613 Kane 1993, p. 16.
614 Kane 1993, p. 22.
126b, c), a view that could be seen from Point Venus. This detail suggests the chart was begun inside the Fort with local navigators as part of a planning process for the survey of the islands. During the survey itself, Borabora’s twin peaks were the principal landmark from which Robert Molyneux took his bearings.

Tupaia’s drawings with the *Endeavour* expedition record complex learning processes in which navigation was adapted to support sophisticated conversations about political structure as well as geography. The complexity of these conversations suggest that when he joined the *Endeavour* to leave Tahiti, he and the British had achieved a detailed understanding of each other’s political interests and developed a plan that centred on the British survey of Ra’iatea.

**The Transit of Venus**

The observation of the transit of Venus that signalled the end of the British mission in Tahiti turned the focus inside the Fort onto astronomy, another point at which the language of the British and Tahitian navigators could intersect. The convergence may have been assisted by the site Cook had chosen which was close to a famous navigational school or *fare hap’ira’a* known as Tapu-ata-i-te-ra’i where the ancestor-god Hiro, also an explorer, had been taught. While there is little to indicate how much of an interest the Tahitians took in British astronomy, for the British the lists of islands they transcribed would have been meaningless without the intellectual framework of Tahitian oral tradition.

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615 Smith and Joppien compare the detail of Borabora with Parkinson’s *View of the West Side of the Island of Bollabola about 3 leagues distance*. BL Add MS 9345, ff. 55v-56.

616 Molyneux, TNA Adm 55/41, 26/7/1769 - 17/8/1769.

617 Salmond 2009, 485. The ancestor god is a separate entity from the ‘trickster god’ Hiro.
The exactitude of tables and numbers is often used as a metaphor for the limited imagination of the British on this voyage but if they did arrive in Tahiti with a complacent belief in the superiority of their knowledge and technology, their confidence must have been shaken on June 3 when the observation of the transit of Venus failed. At this point that same exactitude required them to minutely document the failure of their mission which had taken years of preparation and cost the lives of five men: Alexander Weir, Thomas Richmond, George Rupee, Alexander Buchan and the man killed by Jonathan Monkhouse.

The astronomers were required to measure the time it took the shadow of Venus to pass across the face of the sun. By triangulating the results from observers at different points around the globe, the distance from the earth to the sun would be calculable and provide a standard unit for measuring the distance between planets and stars. However, as Venus approached the point of intersection, the earth’s atmosphere made the edges of the sun and the planet appear to distort in an effect known as the ‘black drop’, so that the beginning and end of the period of transit could not be precisely timed. Observations were made from three locations on Tahiti and Mo’orea and Cook, Green and Solander’s measurements at Fort Venus differed both from those of each other and the observers they had sent to the other locations.

Accounting for this failure brought into question the accuracy of their instruments and the obvious factor of human error was raised by Neville

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618 See for example Greg Dening’s reference cited earlier, that ‘Cook wasn’t interested in anything else than their direction and distance’ (Dening 2008, p. 257) and Nicholas Thomas who refers to Cook’s charts as the ‘moralizing cartography of the Enlightenment’ (Thomas 1997, p. 4).

619 Lomb 2004, p. 91; Cook and Green 1771, p. 411.

620 Cook NLA MS 1, 1/6/1769; Cook and Green 1771, p. 406.
Meskalyne in his remarks on Green’s posthumous report, compiled by Cook and published in the Royal Society’s *Philosophical Transactions*.\(^{621}\)

It must be confessed, that the results of these observations (most of which were made by Mr. Green) differ more from one another than they ought to do, or than those do made by other observers, with quadrants of the same size, and made by the same artist, the cause of which, if not owing to want of care and address in the observer, I don’t know how to assign.\(^{622}\)

The objectivity of the human eye was also open to question in the late eighteenth century. As recently as 1764 Johann Joachim Winkelman had written in the *History of Ancient Art Among the Greeks* that,

> the conclusion at which the sect of Sceptics in philosophy arrived is not groundless, who argued, from the diversity in the colour of the eyes both in beast and man, that our knowledge of the true colors of objects is uncertain.\(^{623}\)

As all the observers shared the same experience, Cook was able to conclude that ‘such a phenomenon did indisputably exist,’\(^{624}\) but he was willing to question his own judgement, writing on the reverse of a watercolour he gave to his wife, Elizabeth, *Transit of ♀ Sat June 3rd 1769* (figure 127), that the exact

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\(^{621}\) A number of factors may have affected the instruments inside the observatory: the temperature reached 119°F or 48°C which may have caused them to expand, there were variations in the type and magnification of their telescopes, and the quadrant had been damaged when it was stolen and had to be repaired by Spöring (Cook and Green 1771, p. 411).

\(^{622}\) Cook and Green 1771 p. 406.

\(^{623}\) Winkelman 1850, pp. 34-5.

\(^{624}\) Cook and Green 1771, p. 411.
timing of the phenomenon could not be ascertained, ‘at least not by me.’ The need for the expedition to acknowledge self-doubt, which the process of documenting their failure had brought home, may have contributed to an openness to other systems of knowledge.

When the observation of the transit of Venus was over, Tupaia took the Endeavour’s expedition directly to the Society Islands. When they disembarked at the place where the Hokule’a arrived two centuries later, carried by the wind and current without a steering paddle into the centre of a double rainbow, Cook writes ‘I then hoisted an English Jack and took possession of the Island.’ As additions to Britain’s colonial empire, Ra’iatea and its ‘adjacent’ islands promised to do nothing to lighten the load on Britain’s struggling economy. Cook comments, ‘notwithstanding nature hath been so very bountiful to it yet it doth not produce any one thing of intrinsick Value or that can be converted into an Article of trade.’ Nor could a territorial claim have served the interests of Tupaia and his fellow exiles of the Ra’iatean war in Tahiti who, the drawing sessions that constructed Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769 show, had probably instigated this journey. As noted in Chapter Six, settler sovereignty was an innovation of the nineteenth century and inchoate possession is the appropriate legal interpretation of Cook’s claim, but the advantage it offered has never been clear.

Cook and Tupaia’s purpose begins to emerge when their actions are viewed in the context of Alexander Dalrymple’s plan for South Pacific exploration in which the chief interest was the establishment of trading posts that would benefit Britain ‘from the advantages immediately to be derived from thence,’ as a market for trade goods, and as a ‘barrier to secure the trade of the East-Indies’

626 Cook NLA MS 1, 21/7/1769.
627 Cook NLA MS 1, ‘Description of King George’s Island’, un-numbered page; South Sea Voyages, ‘Description of King George’s Island’, p. 32; ‘Description of the Islands Ulietea, Otaha and Bolabola’, un-numbered page; South Sea Voyages, ‘Description of King George’s Island’, p. 41. This description relates to Tahiti and in his description of Ra’iatea he judged that island to be ‘much the same.’
against other European merchants.\textsuperscript{628} As Dalrymple wrote in his published plan, just as Cook was making this claim, ‘Discoveries in the South Sea have in view the research of extensive and populous countries, which have, at present, no communication with Europeans.’\textsuperscript{629}

The drawing sessions in the \textit{Society Isles} chart show that before they left Tahiti the \textit{Endeavour}’s navigators had an appreciation of Ra’iatea’s position as the centre of a network of islands. By the time they had completed their survey Tupaia’s drawing of a \textit{marae} in plan view shows that they had been introduced to Taputapuataea and guided through it spaces in a walking tour of this religious, political and intellectual centre of the \textit{Fa’atau Aroha}; and by then Cook also had a clear idea of the extent of Ra’iatea’s network of emigration. As they left the islands, he wrote,

\begin{quote}
From all the accounts we can learn, these people sail in those seas from Island to Island for several hundred Leagues, the Sun serving them for a compass by day and the Moon and Stars by night. When this comes to be prov’d which I have now not the least doubt we shall be no longer at a loss to know how the Islands lying in those Seas came to be people’d, for if the inhabitants of Uleitea have been at Islands laying 2 or 300 Leagues to the westward of them it cannot be doubted but that the inhabitants of those western Islands may have been at others as far to westward of them, and so we may trace them from Island to Island quite to the East Indias…\textsuperscript{630}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{628} Dalrymple 1767a, p. 9, p. xiii.
\textsuperscript{629} Dalrymple 1769b, p. xxvii-xxviii.
\textsuperscript{630} Cook NLA MS 1, un-numbered page, \textit{South Sea Voyages}, Description of the Islands Ulietea, Otaha and Bolabola’, p. 43.
Cook’s estimate that Ra’iatea’s network of islands extended two to three-hundred leagues to the west roughly corresponds with Anne Salmond’s description of the bounds of the Fa’atau Aroha in the late eighteenth century (figure 128 pink triangle), which extended from the Cook and Austral Islands to the Tuomotus and the Marquesas, and it is also comparable with the distribution of the islands identified by Anne di Piazza and Eric Pearthree on Tupaia’s Chart (figure 128 white spots).\(^{631}\) In the terms of Dalrymple’s plan, Ra’iatea represented the ‘capital’ of a vast network of harbours. British ‘possession’ of the exclusive European right to their use required Indian nations to be seen as politically autonomous, in order to be able to enter into a trade agreement, and a claim that was strictly inchoate.

**Indian Sovereignty in the South Pacific**

Acknowledgement of Indian sovereignty on the Endeavour is implicit in the cartographic strategy of Cook’s chart of Tahiti. In a parallel agreement with the treaty of Tordesillas that had divided the Atlantic between Spain and Portugal in 1494, the treaty of Zaragoza had divided the Pacific in 1529, placing Tahiti in Spanish waters. Cook’s actions when he negotiated for the temporary use of the campsite at Point Venus on April 15 had done nothing to disturb these agreements, but *A Plan of King Georges Island or Otaheite Lying in the South Sea by Lieutenant I. Cook 1769 Discover’d by Capt’n Wallis the 19th June 1767* (figure 129) could be seen as undermining the Spanish claim to Tahiti by demonstrating in Lockean terms that the country was divided into property in a complete map of its whenua.

When Cook and Banks made a survey of Tahiti on June 26 concern had been growing inside Fort Venus since April 24 when Tutaha brought an axe for grinding that was possibly of French design, and ‘some went so far as to give it as

\(^{631}\) Salmond 2004, p. 38; di Piazza and Pearthree 2007, Tables 1-5.
their opinion that some other ship had been here since the *Dolphin*.632 As an increasing number of European artefacts were brought to the Fort, fears that Tahiti had been ‘discovered’ by another colonial power grew, reaching a peak when Te Pau identified the Spanish flag.633 According to Banks, when they took a survey party to investigate the place where a Spanish ship was said to have anchored he and Cook went without a change of clothes, ‘so little did either of us expect to go round the Island when we set out from Matavie.’634 When the campsite failed to yield any useful information they decided to continue round the coastline, eventually walking the full circumference of the island.

In three days they crossed the borders of each *whennua*. When they came to the narrow isthmus that separates the northern island of Tahiti-nui from the southern island of Tahiti-itī, they found the frontier of Purea’s recent war. Cook writes that their Tahitian companion ‘endeavour’d to perswaid us to go no farther, telling us that we were going to a place where no provisions was to be got and that the People would kill him & that they were at War with Tootaha & would kill us – we made light of these reports and let him see us put balls into our guns on which he consented to accompany us.’635 Crossing these frontiers allowed Cook to discover the boundaries of each *whennua* and sketch out the first complete European map of the island and its divisions.

This Isthmus divides the Island into two districts or Kingdoms, wholly independant of each other as we were told. We were told also that the country we were now in, as well as all the country we

632 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12, 24/4/1769.
633 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 6/6/1769; Cook NLA Ms 1, 11/6/1769. Later Cook would learn that the Spanish ships were in fact the *Boudeuse* and *Étoil* of Louis Antoine de Bougainville’s French expedition who had on board a quantity of Spanish goods and currency. Cook NLA MS 1, 13/7/1771.
634 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 1/7/1769.
635 Cook NLA MS 1, 26/6/1769.
had come from was call’d Oboreanoo or Otahite Nua and was
Subject to Tootaha, but we were now on the borders of Tiarreboo
or Otahite Ete the Enimies country we had yesterday heard of...636

Tahitian autonomy is also implicit in Cook’s use of their language in this
European map. Three copies were made, for the Admiralty, Banks and Isaac
Smith’s personal collection.637 The Admiralty’s map is entirely in English but
those belonging to Banks and Smith are bi-lingual. The description of Maha’iatea
as ‘Marae no te Oamo’ or the marae of Amo638 suggests that these two maps were
intended to be used in the South Pacific. Cook uses this strategy to even greater

636 Cook NLA MS 1, 26/6/1769.
637 The three versions of the chart are Isaac Smith’s plan, A Plan of King Georges Island or
Otaheite Lying in the South Sea by Lieutenant I. Cook 1769 Discover’d by Capt’n Wallis the 19th June 1767. SLNSW Safe / DLMS 166. David, Smith and Joppien 1988-97, v. 1. cat.
117. The Admiralty’s plan, A Plan of King Georges Island or Otaheite Lying in the South
Sea by Lieutenant I. Cook 1769 Discover’d by Capt’n Wallis the 19th June 1767. BL Add MS
Plan of King Georges Island or Otaheite Lying in the South Sea by Lieutenant I. Cook 1769
Discover’d by Capt’n Wallis the 19th June 1767. BL Add MS 21593, B. British Library,
and Joppien 1988-97, v. 1. cat. 116. This is the same manuscript that contains Tupaia’s
Chart. Based on the analysis of Smith and Praval’s working partnership on the Admiralty
Ms in Chapter Three, I would expect the original drawing to be the one in Smith’s own
collection in the SLNSW and the other two to prove to be copies by Charles Praval.

638 For the purposes of the research I ordered a high-resolution image of only the last of
these maps, BL Add Ms. 21593, f. B. The marae is recorded on all three maps and the text
in Smith’s original, based on the available image, appears to be in a combination of
Tahitian and English. The map does not show Tutaha’s marae, drawn by Spöring shortly
before their departure from Tahiti, which perhaps suggests that Cook saw Purea as the
dominant power by the time this map was complete.
effect in *Tupaia’s Chart* (figure 107). The points of the compass and its annotations are written in Tahitian and have no English translation. Partnership is built into these documents which require a European reader and a Tahitian listener to decipher their meaning and as such they are overtly designed as instruments for negotiation with Europe. The three drawings of ships suggest that European discovery was at least one theme of their discussions. Attempts to identify these ships have not yet arrived at a definitive answer, but the urgency with which Cook and Banks questioned Tutaha and Te Pau on the Spanish ship must have communicated something of the competition that was taking place in Europe for colonial possession of the South Pacific. The need for Tahiti’s leaders to engage with this new political challenge would suggest that rather than a record of the past, these drawings of European ships may represent a plan for the future.

Tupaia was in a position to offer Britain the use of the Friendly Alliance’s network of harbours if the Boraborans were driven out of Ra’iatea, and Georg Forster, who was on Cook’s second Pacific voyage with his father Johann, claims that when Tupaia joined the *Endeavour* he was going to England to procure guns for this purpose; and he adds that, had he reached England, he might well have achieved his goal. The name Cook gave Ra’iatea’s adjacent islands, the ‘Society
Islands’, which he explains he chose, ‘as they lay contiguous with one a nother’, is reminiscent of the modern translation of *Fa’atau Aroha*, Friendly Alliance, and I would suggest that rather than just the six islands they charted on their survey, Cook’s claim to the Society Islands refers to all the islands in *Tupaia’s Chart*.642

**Indian Entrepreneurialism**

The offer of safe harbours for British shipping trumped the *Endeavour’s* immediate need for provisions in the competition between Purea and Tutaha at Fort Venus. This was a pattern in negotiations with Europeans around the Pacific in the late eighteenth century. In 1792, Maquinna, one of three chiefs governing in a confederacy in the Nootka Sound, offered a safe harbour for European ships to Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, commandant of the Spanish settlement.643 In return, Quadra treated Maquinna as a head of state, superior to his fellow chiefs, Wickaninish and Tatoosh, even though his district was the poorest of the three. Quadra’s observation of the rituals of serving food, the placement of people at his table and the accommodation of high-ranking guests in his own quarters reshaped the balance of power across the west coast community by complementing the protocols of the Nootka Sound.644 From 1790 to 1795 Wickaninish made persistent efforts to regain the upper hand by attempting to capture, and later purchase, a European ship to trade with China.645

The entrepreneurialism of Pacific nations in these early relations with Europeans has been overshadowed by the history of colonisation. From 1793 to


1840 the commerce between New Zealand and the fledgling colony of New South Wales was seen by both sides as an important trade relationship. It began inauspiciously with the kidnap of Ngahuruhuru (Huru) and Tuki Tahua (Tuki, creator of the map of the North Island), who were brought to New South Wales on the orders of Philip Gidley King, the commandant of Norfolk Island, to teach the colonists the Maori technique of spinning New Zealand flax. As it turned out, spinning flax was a feminine skill and Huru and Tuki were unable to help. However, King’s treatment of them as distinguished guests resulted in Tuki and Huru willingly exchanging information with him.646 As in Quadra’s relationship with Maquinna, King’s hospitality had inadvertently demonstrated the Maori principle of manaakitanga, characterised by respect, kindness, and care, and after Huru and Tuki were returned to New Zealand, Maori rangatira or ‘chiefs’ travelled frequently to New South Wales while Tuki took on the role of ‘cultural broker’ in northern New Zealand.647

It seems likely that these visions that were shared across the region, of the entry of Pacific nations into global trade, were also driving Tupaia’s negotiations. When the Endeavour arrived in New Zealand the Maori were reconnected with the home island after centuries of separation and Tupaia was able to immediately demonstrate the existence of this ancient relationship to Cook and Banks by speaking to them in their own language, as Banks observed.

Tupaia... had much conversation with one of their priests; they seemd to agree very well in their notions of religion only Tupia was much more learned than the other and all his discourse was heard with much attention.648

647 Howitt 2014, pp. 9, 21.
648 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 25/10/1769.
Here, just as in Ra'iatea, Tupaia mediated Cook’s claim to the possession of Queen Charlotte’s Sound. If this second claim is seen in terms of the first, as inchoate, it extends Cook’s claim to the Society Islands across the whole of the South Pacific, virtually from the equator to the Southern Ocean, by bringing the Maori back into the Friendly Alliance. This would have closed off the route between Europe and the East Indies via Cape Horn giving Britain economic control (figure 130).

The weakness in this plan was the long coastline of NSW which if it was claimed by another European power could undermine the British monopoly. This was Cook’s third and final claim. It was not negotiated with any Aboriginal nation and the famous passage that concludes Cook’s description of the people of New Holland establishes that their indifference to European trade was absolute. What was more, he saw their lack of commodities or ‘superfluities,’ things in excess to need that could be used for trade, as integral to their happiness.

From what I have said of the Natives of New-Holland they may appear to some to be the most wretched people upon earth, but in reality they are far more happy 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 things necessary for life, they covet not Magnificent Houses, Household-stuff &ca, they live in a warm and fine Climate and enjoy a very wholsome Air, so that they have very little need of Clothing and this they seem to be fully sensible of, for many to whom we gave Cloth &ca to, left it carelessly 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 any thing we gave them, nor would they ever part with any thing of their own for any one article we could offer them; this in my
opinion argues that they think themselves provided with all the
necessaries of Life and that they have no superfluities.649

Of his three claims to possession, New South Wales was the most
complex. Here, once again, colonial possession of this continent ran counter to
Britain’s economic interests. Rather, what Britain needed was a right that would
allow it to exclude other Europeans from the region by claiming possession
without dominion. There were a number of texts on the law of possession Cook
could have consulted before his departure in 1768. English translations in recent
editions were available of Hugo Grotius’ De jure belli ac pacis, 1625, translated in
1738; Emer de Vattel’s Jus Gentium Methodo Scientifica Pertractum, 1758,
translated in 1759, John Locke’s Two Treatises of Government, 1690, reprinted in
However, only Pufendorf’s De jure naturae et gentium, first published 1672,
which was reissued in its fifth English edition in 1749 as The Law of Nature and
Nations, gives practical advice on how to draft a claim.

Pufendorf explains that property has a variety of aspects which may
belong to different people.

the same Thing may belong to several Persons at once, according
to their different Ways of holding or owning it. Thus the
Commonwealth, the landlord, and the tenant... may be said each of
them to have the Property of the same Piece of Ground.

Rather than a positive concept, Pufendorf defines possession in the
negative, as the property that remains after certain aspects of ownership have
been excluded by ‘diminution.’ The manuscript page of Cook’s claim to New
South Wales has the appearance of being heavily revised (figure 131). He has

649 Cook NLA MS 1, 23/8/1770.

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used two methods to cross out parts of the text: a single line and a series of close hatched lines. His claim begins,

Having satisfied myself of the great Probability of a Passage, thro’ which I intend going with the Ship and there for may land no more upon this Western Eastern coast of New Holland...

In this part of the text, Cook has changed ‘Western’ which is a mistake, to ‘Eastern’ and he has made the correction by striking it through with a single line and writing in the correct spelling over the top, but in the next section, which affects the nature of the claim itself, he has changed the method of crossing out from a single line to hatched lines. The first part of this section relates to the European discovery of the western side of the continent by the Dutch.

and on the Western side I can make no new discovery the honour of which belongs to the Dutch Navigators and as such they may lay claim to it as their property

The second part of this section crosses out the right of the Dutch to claim the western side of the continent as their property. Rather than correcting the text, I believe Cook is using the principle of diminution here in to acknowledge the Dutch claim to first European discovery, while denying the right to it as their property.

The second part of this section relates to his own discovery of the eastern coast. Here he writes,

but the Eastern Coast from the Latitude of 38° South down to this place I am confident was never seen or viseted by any European before us and therefore by the same Rule belongs to great Brittan

In this part he asserts his claim to first European discovery of the eastern side of the continent, and then uses the principle to deny, ‘by the same rule’ that
has been applied to the Dutch, that it belongs to Great Britain. As a whole, the claim eliminates all European rights to ownership – from the Dutch claim to possession as well as his own; and we can be certain that he was consciously drafting a legal document and this is not simply a page in his journal with corrections, because in the last sentence he has changed ‘same coast’ to the legalese ‘said coast’.

He uses this same technique in his claim to the Society Islands to exclude the right to use of harbours, which was the advantage that remained to be negotiated in London with Tupaia (figure 132).650

At 1 PM I landed in company with Mr Banks and the other Gentlemen. The first thing done was the performing of Tobiaupia’s ceremony in all respects as at Huaheine. I then hoisted an English Jack and took posession of the Island as & those adjacent in the name and for the use of His Britk Majestys, calling them by the same names as the Natives do.651

Indifference to European commerce had a well-known precedent in China, whose isolationist position was seen by one of the leading German political economists of the eighteenth century, Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi, as the wise and ‘philosophical’ response to the aggressive European competition for global monopoly.652

Cook’s claim to New South Wales converted Britain’s first European discovery of the eastern part of the continent into a negative right of possession but, as William Pitt might have told him, possession was not the difficulty, ‘sustaining it was the point,’ and keeping this coastline vacant (or at least uncolonised by other powers), would ultimately have to be enforced militarily.

650 Cook NLA Ms 1, 21/7/1769.
651 Cook NLA Ms 1, 21/7/1769.
652 Hont 2005, 35.
network of safe harbours in the Pacific which would allow British ships to repair
and resupply, made the non-possession of New South Wales not only
economically desirable but militarily defensible.

By the end of his third voyage of Pacific exploration Cook had found the
full extent of the *Fa'atau Aroha*, which stretched across the whole of the Pacific
from New Zealand to Easter Island and Hawai'i (figure 133 green). Ben Finney
describes this as his ‘greatest discovery’, approaching the significance of a new
continent.653 In a sense he had discovered the continent Alexander Dalrymple
was hoping for: a highly commercial people who had the potential to give Britain
economic control of the European trade of the South Pacific. But Tupaia did not
survive the voyage. He died in Batavia and, unless another like him could be
found, all that he and Cook had agreed was obsolete.

*Cook and Banks Out of Step*

The contrast between Cook and Banks’ understanding of the meaning of
possession in the South Pacific has been obscured by the secret nature of Cook’s
mission of discovery. Banks’ implicit reference to Samuel Wallis’ conquest of
Tahiti by his regular threats of violence suggests that he was not cognisant of the
secret committee’s plan for exploration and when Cook offered guns to Tupaia
for the possession of Ra’iatea and the Society Islands, their differences were
exposed. It was Banks’ constant fear that guns would fall into the hands of the
Indians and he reacted badly when Te Pau took his own gun from him and fired
it. Banks’ account of the nine days of the crossing from Tahiti to Ra’iatea suggests
that he became aware of their plan during their passage.

Banks was enthusiastic when Tupaia joined the expedition on July 12, two
days before their departure. He describes him as ‘a most proper man, well born,

653 Finney 1993, pp. 20, 21, 30.
chief Tahowa or priest of this Island." Cook managed to persuade Banks that, for his own part, he was willing to leave Tupaia behind and on their departure Banks complained that he had been forced to fund Tupaia's passage himself.

The Captn refuses to take him on his own account, in my opinion sensibly enough, the government will never in all human probability take any notice of him; I therefore have resolved to take him. Thank heaven I have a sufficiency and I do not know why I may not keep him as a curiosity, as well as some of my neighbours do lions and tygers at a larger expence than he will probably ever put me to; the amusement I shall have in his future conversation and the benefit he will be of to this ship, as well as what he may be if another should be sent into these seas, will I think fully repay me.

Banks' suggestion that he might keep Tupaia 'as a curiosity, as well as some of my neighbours do lions and tygers' is a rather weak attempt at satire. Contrary to his belief, Tupaia was central to Cook's plan and furthermore, he and the boy he took with him, Taiato, had been on the muster roll as supernumeraries since April 21. It seems unlikely that Cook had been paying for their victualing as purser for the past three months only to refuse to support them during the voyage itself. Since Tupaia arrived at Fort Venus 12 days after he was signed on as a supernumerary, and Cook was already claiming the cost of victualing the dead men Richmond and Rupee, this may be another example of petty fraud. This deception, by which Cook persuaded Banks to pay for Tupaia's passage, shows that their dealings were not transparent.

In Tahiti Banks took an intense interest in the religious beliefs of the island. He enthused over Amo and Purea's marae of Maha'iatea, and took Spöring

654 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 12/7/1769.
655 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 12/7/1769.
656 Cook TNA Adm. 36/8569, f. 74.
to Tutaha's *marae* on their last day, ‘of which I was desirous to have a drawing made and had not yet done it’; and Tupaia’s religious knowledge was also one of his chief recommendations to him, but when the expedition arrived in Ra’iatea this interest had evaporated. Taputapuatea was prominently recorded in Solander’s *Observationes* as Tupaia’s *marae* (figure 124), yet when Tupaia took him there – ‘the Vatican church’ of the islands, in Herb Kaiwanui Kane’s description – Banks was indifferent. When the ceremony taking possession was complete he writes, ‘we walk[ed] to a great Marai calld Tapodeboatea whatever that may signifie.’ Then, at the *marae* itself, in front of Tupaia and his fellow priests, he thrust his hand into what he himself calls a god house (point 3 on Parkinson’s tour figure 120), penetrating the protective layers to touch the covering of ‘Oro, the first of the gods on his list of ‘Names of Etuas or Gods of Otaheiti’ in his *Vocabulary of the Taheitian and Some Other Languages*.

Here were also 4 or 5 Ewharre no Eatua or god houses which were made to be carried on poles. One of these I examind by putting my hand into it: within was a parsel about 5 feet long and one thick wrappd up in matts, these I tore with my fingers till I came to a covering of mat made of platted Cocoa nut fibres which it was impossible to get through so I was obligd to desist, especialy as what I had already done gave much offence to our new friends.

657 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12, 29/6/1769, 12/7/1769.
658 Kane 1993, p. 18.
659 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 20/7/1769
660 Salmond 2004, p. 100; Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 12/7/1769. Banks SOAS 12156, LOAA000109/00001, f. 55/100.
661 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, 20/7/1769.
Taputapuatea was the place where the most sacred of the high chiefs of the archipelago were invested. A Tahitian text transmitted by Teuira Henry reads,

It was the basis of royalty;
It awakened the gods;
It fixed the 'uru [red feather girdle] of sovereigns.

Banks did not tell his British companions what he had done when he returned. Parkinson writes of the Ra'iateans,

They behaved so coolly that the captain did not know what to make of them. Toobaiah, who was with him, seemed to be quite displeased. We did not know the occasion of their reservedness, but conjectured that the Bolobola people had been amongst them.

If Cook and Tupaia had just sealed their agreement with the priests of Taputapuatea in the ceremony at Opua Bay, no action could have been better calculated to derail it.

Banks and the Colonisation of the South Pacific

In the years following the Endeavour's voyage, Banks became a key advisor to the government on the potential for British expansion into the South Pacific. It was he who did most to promote the commercial potential of New Zealand flax for the production of rope and canvas. Benjamin West’s portrait of Banks (figure 134) painted in 1771 or 1772, immediately after the Endeavour's return, is

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662 Salmond 2004, p. 100.
663 Henry 1928, pp. 150-1, quoted in Salmond 2004, p. 100.
664 Parkinson 1773, p. 99.
dedicated to this plant. In this painting Banks is acting the part of the entrepreneur. The book at his feet is open at an illustration of Phormium tenax and his hand points to the manufacturing process that produced the kaitaka or Maori cloak he is wearing.665

Banks was also an enthusiastic supporter of colonisation. When he was consulted by the Bunbury Committee on Transportation on a suitable location for a penal colony the same year Cook died, 1779, he immediately suggested Botany Bay.666 Afterwards he and James Magra put forward a formal plan for the colonisation of New South Wales in which New Zealand flax played a key economic role for supporting the proposed colony.667 Banks promoted the fibre as superior in strength to the European plant and in a comment that could almost provide the caption to West’s portrait he writes,

The threads or filaments of this New Zealand plant are formed by nature with the most exquisite delicacy, and may be so minutely divided as to be manufactured into the finest linens.668

666 Bunbury Committee 1779, p. 37.
When he was asked to testify before the Beauchamp Committee in 1785, he virtually repeated verbatim the description he had written of New South Wales in his journal in 1770, with devastating effect. Then he had described an ‘immense tract of Land... thinly inhabited even to admiration,’ populated by a people who everywhere ‘behavd alike... giving up any part of the countrey which we landed upon at once’ and ‘seemd to have no Idea of traffick.’

This allowed him to paint a picture in his testimony of a country that was owned by no-one.

Committee: Is the coast in General or the particular part you have mentioned much inhabited?
Banks: There are very few Inhabitants.
Committee: Are they of peaceable or hostile Disposition?
Banks: Though they seemed inclined to Hostilities they did not appear at all to be feared. We never saw more than 30 or 40 together.
Committee: Do you apprehend, in Case it was resolved to send Convicts there, any District of the Country might be obtained by Cession or purchase?
Banks: There was no probability while we were there of obtaining anything either by Cession or purchase as there was nothing we could offer than they would take except provisions and those we wanted ourselves.
Committee: Have you any idea of the nature of the Government under which they lived?

669 Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, ‘Some account of that part of New Holland now called New South Wales’, digital manuscript currently unavailable; South Sea Voyages ‘Banks’ Descriptions in the Journal of Places and Peoples Encountered During the Endeavour Voyage’, ‘Some account of that part of New Holland now called New South Wales’, pp. 279, 285, 304.
Banks: None whatever, nor of their Language.

Committee: Do you think that 500 men being put on shore there would meet with that Obstruction from the Natives which might prevent them settling there?

Banks: Certainly not – from the experience I have had of the Natives of another part of the same coast I am inclined to believe that they would speedily abandon the country to the newcomers.

Committee: Were the Natives armed and in what Manner?

Banks: They were armed with spears headed with fish bones but none of them we saw in Botany Bay appeared at all formidable.670

Cook’s description of New South Wales parallels Banks’, but while he agrees with Banks’ account of the country, he comes to a different conclusion. Their journals address the same themes in order, mentioning many of the same details671 and Beaglehole suggests that in its more florid passages Cook was repeating ‘some oration’ of Banks’, but given the Endeavour’s culture of literacy, it seems likely that he was working directly from Banks’ journal.672 Although he judged that European crops would flourish under cultivation, in his view, the lack of trade excluded the prospect of colonisation, ‘the Country it self so far as

671 For example, both Cook and Banks record the crew’s name for the bone worn by the Guugu Yimithrr through the septum of the nose which they called a ‘sprit sail yard’. Cook NLA MS 1, ‘Description of New Holland’ un-numbered page 123, South Sea Voyages ‘Description of New Holland’, p. 84; Banks SLNSW ML Safe 1/12-1/13, ‘Some account of that part of New Holland now called New South Wales’, digital manuscript currently unavailable; South Sea Voyages, ‘Some account of that part of New Holland now called New South Wales’, p.284.
672 Beaglehole 1974, p. 252.
we know doth not produce any one thing that can become an Article in trade to invite Europeans to fix a settlement upon it.\textsuperscript{673}

Cook and Banks’ exploration of the South Pacific was never a partnership. The government’s use of the scientific expedition as a pretext for exploration and taking possession of lands that had in principle been claimed by Spain, shrouded its planning process in secrecy. The voyage was also commissioned by multiple agencies, each with its own agenda, whose actions were not all known to each other. The lack of transparency almost guaranteed individuals would act out of step with each other.

The \textit{Endeavour’s} split commission, which had initially neatly divided the voyage into two parts, the observation of the transit of Venus, commissioned by the Royal Society, and the search for the unknown southern continent, ordered by the Admiralty, was made more complex by the entry of Lord Shelburne’s secret committee. Their economic plan for expanding British trade appears to have been created without consulting the Admiralty, who rejected Lord Morton’s proposed commander of the ship, Alexander Dalrymple; and when Banks joined the expedition, his poor understanding of the demarcation between civilian and Naval authority added another layer of confusion to this structure. During the voyage, Cook appears to have kept Banks in the dark about their true purpose in the South Pacific, excluding him from his negotiations with Tupaia and the \textit{Fa’atau Aroha}.

Cook was an extraordinary communicator but he was also a master of discretion. His personality is difficult to read in his journal which rarely gives expression to his personal feelings. The exposure of George Rupee as his slave and his manipulations of Joseph Banks during the voyage show that he knew how to keep a secret, both for himself and others. His role for the government was highly political but his power of possession in the South Pacific was inchoate

\textsuperscript{673} Cook NLA MS 1, ‘Description of New Holland’ un-numbered page; \textit{South Sea Voyages} ‘Description of New Holland’, p. 89.
and he kept the provisional plan he and Tupaia had devised out of the official record of his journal. As a result, their conversations, which only appear in their drawings together, died with them and after Cook's death in 1779 it was Banks who became the chief interpreter of the *Endeavour’s* discoveries.
Conclusion: Towards the Intellectual History of Artistic Practice

The *Endeavour*’s manuscripts provide a comprehensive record of one of the eighteenth century’s most ambitious scientific and exploratory ventures and are the subject of an extensive literature. The language of these documents is sufficiently modern for them to be read without great difficulty, and sufficiently archaic for misreadings to occur. J. G. A. Pocock warns of the dangers of falling into the ‘hermeneutical circle’ of self-referential interpretation when searching for the author’s sense of the meaning of a text. He recommends constructing multiple hypotheses that can be tested against each other. The purpose of the investigation of this thesis into collaborative drawing on the *Endeavour* has been to demonstrate the potential of the drawing gesture on paper to add another layer of evidence to intellectual history for interpreting the meaning of manuscripts.

In Chapter One, William Blackstone’s *Commentaries on the Laws of England* provided a ‘manual’ of the traditional or customary beliefs of Georgian society. This was applied to interpret the shape of hierarchy on the *Endeavour* and would explain the rationale of interpersonal relationships throughout the thesis. This was combined with an analysis of the oral dimensions of the culture of literacy in Georgian Britain which was demonstrated in examples from the journals of members of the expedition and Daniel Solander’s *Slip Catalogue*. In Chapters Two and Three, the incorporation of drawing analysis into the methodologies of intellectual history reconstructed the biographies of several members of the expedition as artists on the voyage. The clues to their lives were in some cases contained in the details of technical skills and styles of drawing that could be followed up using the ordinary methods of historical research.

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674 Pocock 1985, p. 4.
However, it was the networks of relationships these drawings revealed between individual members of the expedition that added further layers of context to the intellectual history of this voyage. These relationships provided evidence of internal structures of social organisation that could be tested against the model of Georgian civil society provided by Blackstone and the details they revealed of the *Endeavour*’s moral hierarchy contributed to a dense linguistic context for reading the manuscript texts. This method of analysis was continued in Part Two to reconstruct the drawing sessions in the Atlantic in chronological order to produce a detailed picture of the expedition’s working community and its objectives as a voyage of discovery.

The model of the *Endeavour*’s community constructed in Parts One and Two allowed for a more conceptual approach to the expedition’s discourses in Tahiti in Part Three. In Chapter Seven, the interpretation of the trial-and-error exchanges of communication at first contact were approached through the language games of the expedition that had been established on the outward journey. Cook and Banks’ journals and other documents suggested that they had selected different models of civil society from the two that were operating on the expedition in their negotiations with the Tahitian leaders, Tutaha and Purea. These models affected Banks’ capacity to recognise the political agency of women on the island and Purea’s engagement with Tutaha in a competition for British guns.

In Chapter Eight, the ‘commercial’ strategies noted in Cook’s approach to negotiation in Chapter Seven provided the foundation for interpreting his discourse through drawing with Purea’s advisor, Tupaia. Their use of navigation and cartography as bridging languages in their drawing sessions described the relationship between islands in geo-political terms that identified Tupaia’s home, Ra’iataea, as the centre of a maritime network of islands known as the *Fa’atau Aroha* or Friendly Alliance. This provided the key in Chapter Nine to Tupaia’s negotiations with Cook, revealing the meaning of possession in his journal and the nature of the *Endeavour*’s discoveries in the South Pacific.
The interpretation of the meaning of gestures in historical records, such as an artist's signature or pointing to an island, has ramifications that go well beyond the biographies of individuals, their thoughts and private actions. They suggest models of relationship that imply certain structures of hierarchy which can in turn propose motives and character traits that go on to construct the narrative of history. The risk of falling into the hermeneutical circle of self-referential interpretation when considering the meaning of gestures in manuscripts is very great, but the methodologies of intellectual history allow the evidence of artistic practice – the idiosyncratic and creative ‘moves’ of individuals within a language game – to be tested within a model of culture reconstructed from historically connected documents to produce close readings of texts and drawings together. In the case of the *Endeavour*, without this layer of evidence, the nature of its community, the government purpose of the British program of Pacific exploration in the late eighteenth century and the Tahitian and Ra’iatean political response, are distorted in the account of this voyage and parts of it are even lost.
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**Whitehead, 1968:** Whitehead, P. J. P. *Forty drawings of fishes made by the artists who accompanied Captain James Cook on his three voyages to the Pacific, 1768-71, 1772-75, 1776-80....* London: Trustees of the British Museum (Natural History), 1968.


**Manuscripts of Drawings**

**BL Add MS 7085:** British Library, London. BL Add MS 7085 ‘Charts, plans, views and drawings, taken on board H. M. bark Endeavour, in the years 1768, 1769 and 1770, by Lieut. James Cook, Commander.’

**BL Add MS 9345:** British Library, London. BL Add MS 9345 ‘Sydney Parkinson’s Sketchbook.’

**BL Add MS 11803:** British Library, London. BL Add MS 11803 A-M ‘A Large colored Map of Ila, one of the Hebrides or Western Islands of Scotland; -Three Charts of the coast of New South Wales, from Cape Morton to Cape Flattery, by Lieut. James Cook, Commander of the Endeavour, 1770; -Two large colored Plans of the Settlements in New South Wales, by C. Grimes, Deputy Surveyor-General, 1796; -Colored Chart of Port Dalrymple and the river Tamer, on the north coast of Van Diemen's Land, 1798-1805; -Five Charts of the eastern coast of the North Island of New Zealand, from Cavalle Head to Cape Kidnappers, showing Capt. Cook's track in the Endeavour, 1769. From the Collection of Sir Joseph Banks, bequeathed in 1827.’

**BL Add MS 15507:** British Library, London. BL Add MS 15507 ‘Drawings, in Indian ink, of headlands, bays, islands, etc., by A. Buchan, draughtsman to Sir. Banks, in Capt. J. Cook’s first voyage, 1768-1770. Large Folio. Bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., in 1832.’

**BL Add MS 15508:** British Library, London. Add MS 15508 ‘Drawings, in Indian ink, illustrative of Capt. Cook's first voyage, 1768 -1770, chiefly relating to Otaheite and New Zealand, by A. Buchan, John F. Miller, and others.’

**BL Add MS 21593:** British Library, London. BL Add MS 21593 A-O ‘Charts and maps made during voyages of discovery in the South Pacific Ocean by Samuel Wallis, commander of the “Dolphin,” in 1767; Lieut. James Cook, commander of the “Endeavour,” in 1769 and 1770; and Matthew Flinders, second lieut., and George Bass, surgeon, of the “Resistance,” in 1798, 1799. See Add. MS. 7085 for
duplicates of some of Cook’s maps. Paper rolls. Bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks, Bart.’

**BL Add MS 23920-23921**: British Library, London. Add MS 23920-23921 ‘A Collection of Drawings by A. Buchan, S. Parkinson, and J. F. Miller, made in the Countries visited by Capt[ain James] Cook in his First Voyage [1768-1771], also of Prints published in [John] Hawksworth’s Voyages of Biron [Byron], Wallis, and Cook [1773], as well as in Cook’s second and third Voyages [1772-1775, 1776-1780].’

**BL Add MS 31360**: British Library, London. BL Add MS 31360 ‘Sixty-seven Charts and maps illustrating the voyages and surveys of Capt. James Cook, R. N., and other discoverers; circ. 1760-1780.’


**BM MS 201.C.5**: British Museum, London. MS 201.C.5 ‘Prints and Drawings, mainly by P. J. de Loutherbourg.’

**CCMM C139**: Captain Cook Memorial Museum, Whitby. C:139 ‘Contemporary plan of the Resolution, Mulgrave Archives, lent by the Marquis of Normanby.’

**HD 11803**: Hydrographic Department HD 11803 [A collection of 12 separate rolled manuscripts (charts).]

**NLA Map Rm 423**: National Library of Australia, Canberra. Map Rm 423 ‘A chart of part of the south coast of Newfoundland : including the islands St. Peters and Miquelon, from an actual survey / taken by order of Commodore Palliser, governor of Newfoundland, Labrador & c by James Cook, surveyor; Larken sc.’

**SLNSW Safe / DLMS 166:** State Library of New South Wales, Dixon Library, Sydney. Safe / DLMS 166 ‘Three charts drawn by Isaac Smith from surveys by Cook.’


Appendices
Appendix 1: Research Tools

Two tools were developed in the research for this thesis: a FileMaker database and a digital map. The database correlated the journals of James Cook and Joseph Banks with the daily coordinates of the voyage and the drawings. This information was visualised as a digital map of the voyage using an open source cartography program, TileMill.

FileMaker Database

Two open-source documents provided the skeleton for the database: a transcript of Joseph Banks’ daily journal entries available as a Word document from the State Library of New South Wales\(^675\) and Alwyne Wheeler’s transcription of Daniel Solander’s manuscript of zoological specimens for the British Museum (Natural History) now the Natural History Museum\(^676\). Both documents were converted to an Excel spreadsheet and uploaded into FileMaker to create the skeleton of the chronology of events and drawing sessions on the voyage.

Cook’s daily entries were copied from Paul Turnbull’s transcription at the National Library of Australia’s South Seas site\(^677\) and matched to Banks’ with other entries from the journals of Sydney Parkinson and Robert Molyneaux.

\(^{675}\) State Library of New South Wales ‘Sir Joseph Banks Papers’, http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/section-02/series-03. The website has been redesigned since this research and this document may no longer be available.

\(^{676}\) Wheeler 1986, <https://archive.org/stream/bulletinofbritis13histlond#page/n0/mode/1up>

Map of the Voyage

The drawings of navigational views, birds and fish, generally relate to Cook’s coasting directions rather than the daily coordinates of the deep sea voyage. These locations were found by following his directions using Googlemaps to identify landmarks and measuring the distance to the ship in kilometres with the aid of a jpg image of a compass. Googlemaps then provided the coordinates. The drawings and their catalogue entries were then linked to the journal entries and the coordinates to create a complete, cross-referenced database of the archives. The coordinates were uploaded into an open source cartography program, TileMill, to create a map of the voyage that shows how many drawings were made in each place, revealing the artists’ drawing sessions.
Appendix 2:  *Chronology of Illness and Death in Batavia and on the Return England.*


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>October 1770</th>
<th>Arrival in Batavia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td><strong>Parkinson</strong> writes to his cousin, Jane Gomeldon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td><strong>Banks</strong> meets a man a few days before the 20th who could be <strong>Praval</strong>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Expedition begins to fall ill. <strong>Tupaia</strong> and his companion <strong>Tarheto</strong> especially so.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tents are pitched on the beach and are full of the sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td><strong>Banks</strong> falls ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>Briscoe, Roberts, Solander</strong> and Monkhouse fall ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Death: William Monkhouse, surgeon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Funeral of Monkhouse, <strong>Banks</strong> unable to attend.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7

8

9

Death: Tarheto.

10

11

Death: Tupaia.

12 Solander close to death.

13 Banks, Solander and Spöring move to the country.

14 Only 13-14 members of the crew fit to work. Cook and Spöring fall ill.

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

The monsoon causes flooding. Banks, Solander and Spöring return to town. Solander begins to recover.

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

December

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Death: William Howson, A. B. Solander falls ill again.

8

9

10

11

Solander recovered. Repairs to the Endeavour complete.
19 Death: Isaac Johnson, A. B., Cooper.  
20 Death: John Reynolds (Green's svt)  
21 Charles Praval signs on as a passenger.  

22 Passengers and crew rejoin the ship, ready for departure.  
23 Death: John Woodworth, A. B.; Timothy Reardon, A. B., Bosun's Yeoman.  
24 Desertion: Patrick Saunders, Midshipman.  

28 Departure from Batavia  
29 The ship enters the straits between Java and Sumatra. They remain off the coast of Sumatra attempting to catch the wind and trading for the next 15 days.  

13 Banks falls ill again.
21. The ship's company grow worse with dysentery or the 'bloody flux.'

23. Almost all the ship's company ill. Spöring and Parkinson ill. Banks grows worse.


26. Death: Thomas Dunster, Marine; Banks has bloody flux. 

27. Death: John Ravenhill, Sailmaker.

29. Banks still in great pain.


Banks feels recovered.

Death: John Thompson, Cook. Banks feels recovered.

Death: Daniel Roberts, Gunner's Servant.

Death: John Thurman/Thurmond, A. B.

Death: John Gathrey, Boatswain; John Bootie, Midshipman.

Death: Jonathan Monkhouse, Midshipman.

Charles Praval: signs on as Able Seaman.
Appendix 3: Scenic Views and Related Drawings in BL Add Ms 23920-23921 and 15508.

3.1: Drawings and Manuscripts
3.2: Current Attribution based on signatures and handwriting
3.3: Proposed Reattributions

Source: Smith and Joppien 1985-87 v. 1.

**Summary:** Scenic views and related drawings divided by the number of days in Batavia and up to Parkinson’s death.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of days in Batavia 10/10/1770-27/12/1770</th>
<th>No. of days to last illness 10/1/1770-22/1/1771</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of days</th>
<th>Average number of days per drawing (Total 46)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batavia 78</td>
<td><strong>1.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To first illness 104</td>
<td><strong>2.3</strong></td>
</tr>
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### 3.1 Drawings and Manuscripts

<table>
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<th>Cat. No.</th>
<th>Ms.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15508</td>
<td>f.03</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Otaheite View at the Back of Point Venus towards Pithas Long House</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.27(bv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Study of a classical nude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>135a</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Six studies of Maori rowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New Zealand Canoe The Crew Peaceable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.25(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>View in the Island of Huaheine; w.t an Ewharra &amp; a small altar w.t an offering on it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.10(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.40(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.41(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.41(b)</td>
</tr>
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<td>12</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.43(b)</td>
</tr>
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<td>23920</td>
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<td>142</td>
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<td>f.49</td>
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<td>139</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.50</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.54(a)</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>23921</td>
<td>f.06(a)</td>
</tr>
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<td>30</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.07(a)</td>
</tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.07(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>f.08(a)</td>
</tr>
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<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.09(a)</td>
</tr>
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<td>24</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>f.09(b)</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>f.11</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.12</td>
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<td>f.16</td>
</tr>
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<td>23921</td>
<td>f.17</td>
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<td>23921</td>
<td>f.19</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.19</td>
</tr>
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<td>31</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.20</td>
</tr>
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<td>32</td>
<td>93</td>
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<td>f.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.25(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.29(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.31(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>23921</td>
<td>f.8(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23920</td>
<td>f.11r</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 39 | 8 | 23920 | f.16 | *A Man of the Island of Terra del Fuego*
| 40 | 6 | 23920 | f.14(a) | *Inhabitants of the Island of Terra del Fuego in their hut*
| 41 | 12 | 23920 | f.17 | *A Woman of the Island of Terra del Fuego*
| 42 | 14 | 23920 | f.20(b) | *Ornaments used by the People of Terra del Fuego*
| 43 | 16 | 23920 | f.21(b) | *Bow, Quiver & Arrows of the Inhabitants of Terra del Fuego*
| 44 | 14 | 23920 | f.20(a) | *Ornaments used by the People of Terra del Fuego*
| 45 | 15 | 23920 | f.21(a) | *A Man’s Head-Dress from Terra del Fuego*
| 46 | 18 | 15508 | f.01 | *Necklaces of the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego*

### 3.2: Current Attribution based on signatures and handwriting

*based on the examples in P. J. P. Whitehead, 1968, p.xvi.*

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>Signature</td>
<td>Written by*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Otaheite View at the Back of Point Venus towards Pithas Long House</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>drawn by</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Study of a classical nude</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Six studies of Maori rowers</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>New Zealand Canoe The Crew Peaceable</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>View in the Island of Huahine; w.t an Ewharra &amp; a small altar w.t an offering on it.</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td><em>pinxit Australia</em> 1770</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>House and Plantation of a Chief of the Island of Otaheite</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td><em>pinxit 1770, mare Australe</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>Natives of Terra del Fuego with their Hut</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>drawn by</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>A Chiefs House in the Island of Savu near Timor</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>drawn by</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>A Perforated Rock in New Zealand</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>artist’s name</td>
<td>Dryander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>Views in New Zealand</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td><em>SP Australie</em> 1769</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><em>Views in New Zealand</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td><em>SP Australie</em> 1769</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><em>New Zealand, Fortified tops of Hills</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><em>New Zealanders Fishing</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td><em>New Zealand War Canoe</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td><em>New Zealand War Canoe</em></td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Drawn by</td>
<td></td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>New Zealand war canoe bidding defiance to the ship</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Portrait of Otegoowoogow or Otegoongoon, Bay of Islands</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Portrait of a New Zeland Man</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>The Tree on One Tree Hill</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>drawn by Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>View of the Coast &amp; Reef in the District of Papavia</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Otaheite. View up the River among Rocks</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
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<td>View of the Island of Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>SP Australie 1769</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
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<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
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<td>Parkinson</td>
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<td>r. Unknown</td>
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<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Double Canoes</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>View of the Island of Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Vessels of the Island of Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Untitled drawing of a double canoe of Ra’iatea</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Vessels of the Island of Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Canoe of Ulietea</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>r. Unknown</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>A War Canoe</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>View of an Ewharra Tree</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>SP Australie 1769</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>A Morai with an Offering to the Dead</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>A Platform for Supporting the Offerings Made to the Dead</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>v. Parkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>A Tupapow in the Island of Otaheite</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>v. Parkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>View between Ulietea &amp; Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>SP Australie 1769</td>
<td>v. Banks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>A View of the Endeavour’s Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success</td>
<td>Buchan</td>
<td>del.</td>
<td>Parkinson ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>A Man of the Island of Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan</td>
<td>del.</td>
<td>Parkinson ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Inhabitants of the Island of Terra del Fuego in their hut</td>
<td>Buchan</td>
<td>del.</td>
<td>Parkinson ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>A Woman of the Island of Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>r. Spöring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Ornaments used by the People of Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>r. Spöring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Bow, Quiver &amp; Arrows of the Inhabitants of Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>r. Spöring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3: Proposed Reattributions

Key

Group 1: Drawings of figures demonstrating technical skills beyond Parkinson’s ability.
Group 2: ‘Neo-classical’ and ‘romantic’ drawings
Group 3: ‘Theatrical’ drawings
Group 4: Drawings probably attributed by Sydney Parkinson to Alexander Buchan after his death.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Latest completion in 1771*</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Current attribution</th>
<th>Proposed Reattribution</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Otaheite View at the Back of Point Venus towards Pithas Long House</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>Praval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>26/01</td>
<td>Study of a classical nude</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>26/01</td>
<td>Six studies of Maori rowers</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>26/01</td>
<td>New Zealand Canoe The Crew Peaceable</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>26/01</td>
<td>View in the Island of Huaheine; w.t an Ewharra &amp; a small altar w.t an offering on it</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>26/01</td>
<td>House and Plantation of a Chief of the Island of Otaheite</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Natives of Terra del Fuego with their Hut</td>
<td>Parkinson</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
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<td>12/07</td>
<td>A Chiefs House in the Island of Savu near Timor</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>12/07</td>
<td>Views in New Zealand</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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</tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Views in New Zealand</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>12/07</td>
<td>New Zealand, Fortified tops of Hills</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>New Zealanders Fishing</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>New Zealand War Canoe</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>New Zealand War Canoe</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<tr>
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<td>New Zealand war canoe bidding defiance to the ship</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Portrait of Otegoowoogoo or Otegoongoon, Bay of Islands</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>The Tree on One Tree Hill</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>View of the Coast &amp; Reef in the District of Papavia</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>Otaheite. View up the River among Rocks</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<td>View of the Island of Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Otaheite. View along shore</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Otaheite</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Ulietea</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Double Canoes</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>View of the Island of Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Vessels of the Island of Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29</td>
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<td>Untitled drawing of a double canoe of Ra'iatea</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Vessels of the Island of Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>Canoe of Ulietea</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>A War Canoe</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>View of an Ewharra Tree</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>A Morai with an Offering to the Dead</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>A Platform for Supporting the Offerings Made to the Dead</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>A Tupapow in the Island of Otaheite</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>12/07</td>
<td>View between Ulietea &amp; Otaha</td>
<td>Parkinson and Praval</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>25/01</td>
<td>A View of the Endeavour’s Watering Place in the Bay of Good Success</td>
<td>Buchan, Smith, Isaac</td>
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<td>39</td>
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<td>Buchan, Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>Inhabitants of the Island of Terra del Fuego in their hut</td>
<td>Buchan, Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>A Woman of the Island of Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan, Parkinson and Praval</td>
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<td>Ornaments used by the People of Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan, Praval?</td>
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<td>Bow, Quiver &amp; Arrows of the Inhabitants of Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan, Smith</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>25/01</td>
<td>A Man’s Head-Dress from Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan, Praval?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>46</td>
<td>26/01</td>
<td>Necklaces of the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego</td>
<td>Buchan, Parkinson and Praval</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4:  

**Chronology of Encounters with the Factions of Tutaha and Purea at Fort Venus, April - July, 1769.**

Sources: Cook NLA Ms 1, Banks SL ML Safe 1/12, Parkinson 1773.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>April 1769</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 27   | Six Swivel guns installed  
Fa’a predicts the Endeavour will fire its guns within four days.  
Canoes begin to surround the fort. |
| 28   | Purea visits the fort and is recognised by Molyneux. |
| 29   | Carriage guns installed.  
Sentries doubled, Banks writes  
‘we sleep tonight under arms.’ |
| 30   | Fort Venus complete.  
Purea exchanges gifts with Cook.  
Tiatia begins an affair with Banks. |
| May 1 | Quadrant brought ashore.  
Cook calculates the number of small arms |
| 2    | Quadrant taken.  
Thief is associated with Tamio’s family.  
Te Pau returns quadrant to Banks.  
Tutaha and Purea taken hostage. |
| 3    | Tutaha cuts off trade.  
Withdraws from Fort Venus. |
| 4    | Tupai'a arrives at the Fort.  
Effects of Tutaha’s embargo begin to be felt by the expedition. Banks: ‘we are for the first time in distress for necessaries’ |
| 5    | Mo’oruan delegation comes to Fort Venus. |
Banks and Cook attempt to restore relations with Tutaha.

**Beginning of Society Isles chart.**

6

7

8 Effects of embargo worsen. Banks acknowledges Tutaha ‘indeed a great king.’

9 Banks begins trading with nails, breaking the embargo.
Appendix 5: Chronological Order of Tupaia’s Drawings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rationale for the Order of Production</th>
<th>Ms. no.</th>
<th>Title</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commenced in Tahiti, May 5, 1769, continues to be developed in Ra’iatea.</td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 f. 16</td>
<td><em>Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibly Tupaia’s first drawing, June 10, 1769.</td>
<td>BL Add. Ms 23921 f. 31a.</td>
<td>Drawing of a chief mourner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibly a group of musicians seen on June 12, 1769.</td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 no. 11</td>
<td>Drawing of musicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These two drawings show progression to incorporate the concept of the midground. Possibly made with Sydney Parkinson on July 21, 1769.</td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 f. 15, no. 17</td>
<td>Untitled plan view of a <em>marae</em>, probably Taputapuatea (without midground)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 no. 16</td>
<td>View of a <em>marae</em>, probably Taputapuatea (with midground)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relates to survey of society Islands. Approach to an unknown harbour, possibly Fare, July 17, Opua July 20, or Hamaneno Bay, August 2, 1769.</td>
<td>SOAS 12153 p. 2.</td>
<td>Chart of an unknown harbour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified as Ra’iatean by Smith and Joppien. Possibly relates to dancers seen at Hamaneno Bay by Banks on August 3 or August 7, when he returned with Parkinson.</td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 no. 13</td>
<td>Drawing of two dancing girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The dancing girl and chief mourner are on the same page and these three drawings reach Tupaia’s highest technical standard. They were probably made at Hamaneno Bay where the expedition had its longest stay from August to 8, 1769.</td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 f. 14, no. 12.</td>
<td>View of a boathouse (bay of Fare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 no. 9</td>
<td>Untitled drawing of a dancing girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 no. 9</td>
<td>Untitled drawing of a chief mourner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This drawing relates to Cook’s notes during the transit to New Zealand (see later discussion of <em>Tupaia’s Chart</em>)</td>
<td>BL Add Ms 21593 C</td>
<td>Drawing of 72 islands with Ra’iatea at the centre (<em>Tupaia’s Chart</em>).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Zealand, October 8, 1769 – March 31, 1770.</td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 f. 11. no. 12</td>
<td>Drawing of Joseph Banks trading with a Maori.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia, Botany Bay, April 29 to May 5, 1770.</td>
<td>BL Add Ms 15508 no. 10</td>
<td>Untitled drawing of an aboriginal family fishing in Botany Bay.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 6: *Comparison of the Whennua of Tupaia, Nuna and Tayoa in Ra’iatea with Society Isles Discovered by Lieut. J. Cook in 1769*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Society Isles Chart</th>
<th>Openstreetmap.org</th>
<th>Cook</th>
<th>Tayoa</th>
<th>Nuna</th>
<th>Tupaia</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oopoa</td>
<td>Oopoa</td>
<td>Oopoa Harbour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taputapuatea</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oaterra</td>
<td>Oatara</td>
<td>Oatarha Isld</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotoopoo</td>
<td>Hotopu’u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hototah</td>
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<td>Poowheine</td>
<td>Pouhine</td>
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<td>Hobopa</td>
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<td>Oyahay</td>
<td>Haaio?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whatemoo</td>
<td>Fa’atemu</td>
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<td>Onunamoo</td>
<td>Onunamu Harr</td>
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<td>Tuatau</td>
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<td>Otuatau</td>
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<td>Fetuna</td>
<td>Ohetuna Harbour</td>
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<td>Eeuroa</td>
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<td>Tayo</td>
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<td>Tu’uroto</td>
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<td>Puna’e Roa</td>
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<td>Opunarei</td>
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<td>tayaturidoa? (faded)</td>
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<td>Vaihuti</td>
<td>Oaheuti Harr</td>
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<td>Oaheuti</td>
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Solander, SOAS MS 12892 (figure 116).