Terrestrial Paradises: Imagery from the Voyages of Captain Cook

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UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

TERRESTRIAL PARADISES: IMAGERY FROM THE VOYAGES
OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

By
Kara Schneiderman

A THESIS

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of the University of Miami
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TERRESTRIAL PARADISES: IMAGERY FROM THE VOYAGES
OF CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

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A series of engravings from George William Anderson’s *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World, Undertaken and Performed by Royal Authority Containing an Authentic, Entertaining, Full, and Complete History of Captain Cook’s First, Second, Third and Last Voyages* (London: Alexander Hogg, 1784-1786) and a French panoramic wallpaper, *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* (Savages of the Pacific Sea), designed and manufactured by Joseph Dufour in 1806, are examined within the context of eighteenth-century European travel imagery documenting encounters with non-Western peoples in the Pacific Islands and the Americas. The impact of Neoclassicism as an artistic movement, along with the role played by Enlightenment empiricism and scientific inquiry, provides a framework for analyzing late eighteenth-century visual understanding of world cultures. These images not only provided a context through which foreign, indigenous cultures could be better understood by a far-removed European audience, but they also helped to support and justify the movement towards nationalism and empire that had taken hold by the late eighteenth century.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Beginning in 1768, Captain James Cook (1728-1779) undertook three historic voyages of exploration around the world. While Cook was not the first European to investigate many of the locations he visited, the large body of artistic output produced during his voyages played a significant role in shaping the Western vision of native peoples from faraway places like the South Pacific. On each of the voyages, artists created sketches, drawings, and occasionally paintings based on their first-hand observations that were widely reproduced in travel accounts well into the nineteenth century. The artists, Sydney Parkinson and Alexander Buchan on the first voyage, William Hodges on the second, and John Webber on the third, came from diverse backgrounds and brought with them differing artistic skills and training. After returning to England, their work was reproduced in engravings, most often in a neoclassical style, to illustrate the official published accounts of the voyages. The popularity of these accounts resulted in many other similar publications in which engravings were copied, often with less attention to detail and artistic skill, to feed the interests of a European audience fascinated by the allure of the peoples, places, and material culture encountered in exotic, foreign lands.

Engravings characteristic of this genre, including those from George William Anderson’s *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World, Undertaken and Performed by Royal Authority Containing an Authentic, Entertaining, Full, and Complete History of Captain Cook’s First, Second, Third and Last Voyages*, today in the collection of the Lowe Art Museum, are typical examples of this type of
travel illustrations. Published in London by Alexander Hogg from 1784-1786, the volume was intended to be an affordable option for those interested in travel accounts. The text was issued in 80 parts that could be purchased by subscription and, when complete, bound into a volume. George William Anderson is most likely a pseudonym, a ploy Hogg employed in a number of his publications in order to endow these inexpensive serials with an aura of authoritative knowledge.¹ The account referenced the official publications of the voyages, and claimed that Anderson was assisted in his effort by an officer who had sailed with Cook, but it was also edited – both textually and visually – to create a more compelling story for its readers. In many cases, the copied engravings deviate in quality and detail from the original, however, they retain the characteristic late eighteenth-century European re-imagining of native Pacific Islanders as idealized and classicized “noble savages,” reminiscent of the ancient Greeks but lacking their sophistication, and at one with nature, happier without the cares of the European world.

The impact of images found in these published accounts of Cook’s voyages, however, extended well beyond the book and, by the early nineteenth century, the bodies of native Pacific Islanders were reworked into the realm of the decorative. The same imagery that Hogg adapted in his populist publication was used to create Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique, a panoramic wallpaper designed and manufactured in France by Joseph Dufour in 1806. Although accompanied by a descriptive pamphlet that identified the specific peoples represented in each panel, once installed the panoramic wallpaper presented a visually homogeneous view of a single pan-Oceanic cultural group realized as classicized figures frolicking in a standardized tropical landscape. Both Hogg and Dufour manipulated and redefined imagery produced on Cook’s voyages to present

classicized versions of the peoples of the Pacific Islands that, through their association with important scientific “voyages of discovery,” appeared to the public as authentic and truthful depictions of world cultures at a time when Enlightenment philosophy and an interest in empirical thought was at the forefront of societal change. These images not only provided a context through which foreign, indigenous cultures could be better understood by a far-removed European audience, but they also helped to support and justify the movement towards nationalism and empire that had taken hold by the late eighteenth century.
CHAPTER 2: COOK’S HISTORIC VOYAGES

James Cook was born in Yorkshire in 1728 and joined the Royal Navy in 1755, employing his mathematical and surveying skills along the St. Lawrence River and around Newfoundland during the late 1750s and early 1760s. By 1768, the Royal Society in London had decided to sponsor a voyage to the South Pacific, under the patronage of the Earl of Sandwich (John Montagu, 1718-1792), who was also the First Lord of the Admiralty, ostensibly to observe the transit of Venus, data from which, it was hoped, would allow for an accurate determination of the distance between the Earth and the Sun.\(^2\) However, Cook had also been given a second set of instructions: after his observation of the transit of Venus was completed, he was to thoroughly investigate the South Pacific and Antarctica in search of *Terra Australis Incognita*, the so-called Great Southern Continent. The hypothetical existence of a large, bountiful land mass located in the southern hemisphere was an ancient concept that had been re-invigorated by writers such as Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) and Charles de Brosses (1709-1777), and further promoted but never definitively proven by the earlier Pacific voyages of John Byron (1723-1786) and Samuel Wallis (1728-1795), among others. Behind this interest lay a fundamental economic goal: if such a continent existed, the first European nation to claim it would reap the benefits of its land and other natural resources, including its people.

Cook and his crew set sail from Plymouth, England on the *Endeavor* in August of 1768 and headed for the Portuguese island of Madeira, where they made port the

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following month. Along for the voyage were the artists Alexander Buchan (d. 1769) and Sydney Parkinson (ca. 1745-1771). Little is known of Buchan’s background before he joined the expedition by invitation of Joseph Banks (1743-1820), a botanist, member of the Society of Dilettanti, and a founder of the Royal Academy who also accompanied Cook on the *Endeavor*. Buchan suffered from epilepsy and died in 1769 at Matavai Bay, Tahiti, after which the drawings he made during the voyage remained in Banks’ custody.3 Born in Edinburgh, Parkinson, who may have had some artistic training under William Delacour (active 1747), moved to London prior to 1765 and exhibited at the Free Society of Artists before working as a natural history illustrator for Banks.4 He produced numerous drawings during the voyage, many of which formed the basis for the illustrations found in John Hawkesworth’s official publication of Cook’s first voyage, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of his present Majesty for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere* (London: Strahan and Cadell, 1773). Parkinson died at sea in 1771 after contracting dysentery during a stop at Batavia, Java, and his brother, Stanfield, later published his journals posthumously. In addition to work produced by Buchan and Parkinson, the Swedish-born Herman Diedrich Spöring (ca. 1733-1771), a one-time surgeon who served as Banks’ clerk on the voyage, made numerous drawings before also dying at sea.


4 There is some confusion about Parkinson’s training as an artist. According to Joppien, Parkinson probably did not have any formal training and may have only been aware of the work of Delacour, whereas Carr’s brief biography of the artists has Parkinson actually training under Delacour. See Joppien, *Art of Captain Cook’s Voyages*, 75 and Grove Art Online, *Oxford Art Online*, s.v. “Parkinson, Sydney,” accessed October 7, 2013, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T065500.
The Endeavor crossed the Atlantic and the Equator, arriving in Rio de Janeiro by the end of the year and from there sailed on to Tierra del Fuego and around Cape Horn. At Matavai Bay, Tahiti, Cook established Fort Venus and observed the transit on June 3, 1769. For Banks, Tahiti was, “… the truest picture of an arcadia of which we were going to be kings that the imagination can form.”\(^5\) With the first part of his mission completed, Cook’s attention turned towards his second assignment, investigation into the existence of the Great Southern Continent. Arriving in New Zealand in October of 1769 and in Australia the following April, Cook explored southern Polynesia for more than a year. The final three months of 1770 were spent repairing the Endeavor in Batavia, Java before sailing around the Cape of Good Hope and north to England, making port in Kent in July of 1771.

Throughout the voyage, Cook, Banks, and others kept journals documenting their encounters with the peoples of the Pacific Islands, which were congenial in some locations and threatening in others. At the close of the expedition, Cook’s journals, along with artwork produced by Buchan, Parkinson, and Spöring, provided source material from which the British writer, John Hawkesworth (ca. 1715-1773), under commission from the Royal Navy, produced his three-volume account of Cook’s first voyage, which also included accounts of earlier voyages such as those of Byron and Wallis. Responding to an increasing public interest in travel literature and especially in the exotic world of the South Pacific, the publication was an immediate success, although it was also widely criticized for the liberties Hawkesworth took with his primary sources. Adding his own interpretation of the account and writing in the first person, Hawkesworth did not differentiate between Cook’s on-site reports and his often moralizing, view of the events.

\(^5\) Quoted in Thomas, Cook, 63.
depicted. By deviating from the journals of Cook and Joseph Banks, Hawkesworth created his own moralistic dialogue that touched dramatically on subjects ranging from cannibalism to public sexual practices among the Pacific Islanders. He also raised questions about the behavior of Cook and his crew, especially during problematic encounters, suggesting that European civility was more dependent on circumstance and less a defining characteristic of their more advanced society. The resulting publication, with its many classicizing illustrations and fictional details that Cook found “mortifying,” helped established the public’s perception of the peoples of the South Pacific as “noble savages” living simple, natural lives in often difficult circumstances but free from the materialism and complication of modern European.6

By the end of his first voyage, Cook was fairly certain that the Great Southern Continent of legend was just that, however, with public interest in the South Pacific at a high point, a second voyage aimed at securing a definitive determination regarding the existence of the mythic continent was planned. Banks had originally intended to accompany Cook on this second voyage, along with the German artist, Johann Zoffany (1733-1810), until a disagreement with Cook over accommodations led to their withdrawal from the expedition. Instead, William Hodges (1744-1797) joined Cook as the artist for the voyage. Hodges was born in London and studied drawing under William Shipley (1715-1803) before apprenticing with the Welsh landscape artist, Richard Wilson (1714-1782). He also studied for a short time under Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727-1785/90), the London-based Florentine artist who was a contributor to the illustrations in

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6 Cook first read the account while in Cape Town, South Africa towards the end of his second voyage, and found it “mortifying.” See Thomas, Cook, 154 and 256.
Hawkesworth, and whose neoclassical style was extremely appealing to a late eighteenth-century English audience.

Cook, captaining the Resolution, departed England for Madeira in July of 1772, accompanied by a second ship, the Discovery, under the command of Tobias Furneaux (1735-1781). The ships rounded Cape Town, South Africa in January of 1773 and became separated shortly thereafter, reconvening a few months later in New Zealand. In September, they visited the Society Islands, where Omai, a native of Raiatea, joined Cook for the remainder of the second voyage, eventually returning with them to England where he stayed for two years. By October, the two ships had become separated again due to bad weather, this time permanently, with each continuing their exploration throughout the South Pacific and Antarctica. The Adventure arrived back in England, with Omai on board, in July of 1774. Cook continued his explorations in the South Pacific, visiting islands throughout Melanesia and, in March 1774, arrived at Easter Island where Hodges painted the monumental moai, carved stone ancestor figures found on the island. Cook began his return voyage to England in late 1774, via Tierra del Fuego, Cape Town, and the South Sandwich Islands, before arriving in Portsmouth at the end of July 1775.

With his second voyage behind him, Cook turned his attention to its documentation or, more precisely, its accurate documentation. Hawkesworth’s promotion of lascivious details and his moralizing agenda, which had failed to accurately reflect Cook’s actual experiences, led Cook to reconsider the importance of the second voyage’s official publication as an historic document. To this end, he worked directly on the publication, along with Dr. John Douglas (1721-1807), at that time the Canon of
Windsor and later the Bishop of Salisbury, who was appointed editor. Hodges’ original artwork served as the basis for the illustrations, and the engraving process was directly overseen by the artist himself. Cook’s *A Voyage towards the South Pole, and Round the World. Performed in His Majesty’s Ships the Resolution and Adventure, In the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775* was published in London by W. Strahan and T. Cadell in 1777, however, it was not the only publication produced from first-hand accounts: the German naturalist, Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-1798), who, along with his son, Georg Forster (1754-1794), accompanied Cook on his second voyage, believed he would be selected to write the official account but, with Cook’s involvement and Douglas’ commission as editor, he was legally prevented from writing his own version of events. His son, Georg, on the other hand, was not under the same prohibition as his father; his *Observations made during a voyage round the world…*, published in London for G. Robinson in 1778, was controversial in its criticism of Pacific Islander and European alike.\(^7\)

Although Cook accomplished his goals for the first two voyages, and clearly disproved the myth of the Great Southern Continent, his travels were not over. The Royal Society appointed him captain of a third voyage in February of 1776, this time to investigate the northern Pacific with the hope of locating a passage from Pacific to Atlantic, which would provide significant economic benefit for British interests in North America. It was also an opportunity for Omai to return home after two years in England.

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\(^7\) The elder Forster signed an agreement prior to taking part in the voyage that prevented him from publishing his own account of the events, but his son, who was underage at the start of the voyage, had not been required to sign a similar legal agreement. While the younger Forster was therefore the author of record, the elder Forster’s views were certainly incorporated into the publication, which included criticisms of Pacific Islanders and European sailors alike. This prompted the English astronomer, William Wales (ca. 1734-1829), who had accompanied Cook on the voyage, to publish a rebuttal. His *Remarks on Mr Forster’s Account of Captain Cook’s Last Voyage Round the World* was printed in London for J. Nourse in 1778.
For his third, and what was to be final voyage, Cook’s artistic collaborator was John Webber (1751-1793). Based in London, Webber, the son of a Swiss sculptor, had studied in Bern under the landscape painter, Johann Ludwig Aberli (1723-1786). Of all the artists who accompanied Cook, Webber had the most extensive artistic training, which included studies at the Académie Royale in Paris and the Royal Academy Schools in London, as well as time spent in France drawing country landscapes with the engraver, Jean-Georges Wille (1715-1808).

Cook, in command of the *Resolution*, and accompanied again by a second ship, the *Discovery* under Charles Clerke (1741-1779), departed from Plymouth in July of 1776. They sailed across the Atlantic towards the coast of Brazil, before turning east to round the Cape of Good Hope by the end of the year. Reaching Tasmania (then Van Diemen’s Land) in early 1777, followed by New Zealand, the expedition then spent the remainder of the year continuing to explore the waters throughout Polynesia. After returning Omai to Raiatea, Cook turned north towards Canada. He had expected no further contact with the natives in northern Polynesia but on January 20, 1778 he landed at Waimea Bay on the north shore of Oahu in the Hawaiian Islands, which Cook named the Sandwich Islands. Cook and his crew were the first Europeans to arrive in Hawaii but their stay was a short one, and the ships departed in early February to continue their trek northward. After sailing along the coast of present-day Oregon, they arrived at Nootka Sound, Vancouver Island, in late March of 1778. Northward explorations into Alaska and as far north as the Chukotski Peninsula in Siberia continued, but by mid-September, Cook determined that northern passage through Canada to the Atlantic was
not possible. He again turned southward, arriving in the Sandwich Islands for the second
time on January 17, 1779 at Kealakekua Bay on the west side of the island of Hawaii.

Cook’s second visit to Hawaii was also treated with reverence, in large part
because he had arrived during a time of celebration. Under normal circumstances,
warfare and raiding were endemic in Hawaii as four polities, ruled by elite chiefs with
absolute power, vied for dominance, with King Kamehameha of the Kona Coast
ultimately emerging victorious. Cook, however, reached Hawaii during the Makahiki
festival, a celebration honoring the Hawaiian god of rain and fecundity, Orono (Lono).
This led the Hawaiians to believe him to be an incarnation of the god, thus warmly
receiving him and gifting him with a royal cloak, cap, and fly whisk. Cook departed on
February 4, after the conclusion of the ceremony, but a broken mast on the Resolution
required that he return to port for repairs on February 11.

With the festival now over, the Hawaiian reception at this unexpected return visit
was of quite a different nature; after several days of misunderstandings and hostilities,
Cook and several other British sailors were killed on February 14 during a skirmish with
the Hawaiians. Clerke took over command of the expedition and, after securing the
return of Cook’s remains and overseeing his burial at sea, the ships left Kealakekua Bay
on February 22. They again visited Oahu before sailing for the Kamchatka Peninsula in
Russia; when Clerke died of consumption, John Gore (d. 1790) took command. The
expedition sailed down the coast of Japan to Macao, China, continuing through to
Southeast Asia and Indonesia, and finally returning via the Cape of Good Hope to
England, where they dropped anchor at Yarmouth Roads on September 30, 1780.
In light of the monumental events that had taken place during the course of the third voyage, the publication of its official account took on greater importance. *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean undertaken, by the Command of His Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere* was published in June 1784, comprised of three volumes plus an atlas of the plates. John Douglas served as editor for the third voyage account as he had for the second, and John Webber oversaw the illustrations. The first edition, with a print run of 2,000, sold out in three days, and a second printing of 2,000 copies was made. Great attention was paid to the accurate production of the plates for Webber’s illustrations, and *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* influenced travel literature well into the nineteenth century, including Hogg’s derivative publication, in which Webber’s images were copied with significantly more attention to detail than were illustrations by other artists from earlier official accounts.

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8 Joppien, *Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, 169.
CHAPTER 3: THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND NATIONALISM

Cook’s voyages were thoroughly expeditions of the Enlightenment. Unlike earlier Renaissance “voyages of discovery,” where the conversion to Christianity of “savages” encountered in new lands was as important as the economic motivations, Cook’s focus, and that of his sponsors, the Royal Society, was on exploration for the advancement of scientific knowledge and a better understanding of the world. During the Enlightenment, the scientific method and empiricism – the idea that knowledge arises out of direct observation – rose to prominence as a framework for understanding the world, overtaking the earlier, medieval construction of knowledge in which belief in superstition and that which could not be seen or explained played a far more prominent role. Cook’s voyages also may be understood as the product of the eighteenth-century interest in classification as a methodology for understanding the interconnectedness of the natural world. Through the influence of the Swedish botanist, Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778), who published *The System of Nature* in 1735, there was a move towards the classification of all the known life forms in the world, including humankind, into a more formalized system that could provide an all-encompassing model through which to understand global diversity.

The eighteenth century in Europe was not only a period of the celebration of reason, but also embraced the idea that through the advancement of knowledge and the freedom of thought that came with it, a new kind of society would emerge, one that would be liberated from the hierarchical and authoritarian regimes of the past. Key to this proposition was the ability to disseminate information more thoroughly to larger
audiences. To this end, new approaches in printing led to increased availability of books and other publications, allowing those who were previously unable to afford expensive volumes to play a role in the intellectual re-shaping of society.\(^9\) Supporting the increased availability of books was a rise in the importance of social discourse, especially within the context of coffee houses which rose in great number throughout Europe during the period and provided a setting in which people could discuss science, philosophy, and the latest novel. Publishers like Alexander Hogg successfully capitalized on this connection between reading and discourse. While the official publications of Cook’s voyages were costly and, therefore, generally only available to wealthier customers, Hogg produced cheaper versions that were more affordable to those with less disposable income.

In addition to the Enlightenment focus on empiricism, reason, and the wider dissemination of knowledge, there was also a new and vigorous interest in classicism. The ancient Greeks were seen as noble and refined, and thanks to archaeological excavations such as those at Pompeii, and the writings of the German art historian, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768), whose “Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks” was published in 1755, ancient Greece became a model against which all other art should be measured. While the decorative Rococo presence of the earlier eighteenth century lingered, neoclassicism became the dominant artistic style in the eighteenth century, developing into an international artistic movement that lasted well into the nineteenth century. Considered at the time to be a genuinely modern style, neoclassicism’s central concepts included compositional and iconographic elements that recalled antiquity; formal interests in simplicity and strength; a desire to appeal to all

\(^9\) For example, the Franfurt and Leipzig book fairs more than doubled in size during the late eighteenth century, from offering 5,000 titles in 1764 to 12,000 by 18,000 (Outram, *Panorama of the Enlightenment*, 69).
humankind rather than to a single, elite individual; and the prominence of the male nude as symbolic conduit of virtue, honor, strength, and valor. Through the neoclassical style, the visual arts upheld the philosophical ideals of the Enlightenment, leaving behind earlier, individualistic courtly styles while helping to propel European culture forward towards a better, enlightened society.

The work of Scottish artist, Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798), provides a good example of the late eighteenth-century neoclassical style in Britain (Figure 1). While *Venus Presenting Helen to Paris* (1782-1784) retains some of the lightness and delicacy of Rococo decoration in the cherub’s rose, the wispy background foliage, and the graceful turns of the figures, the composition otherwise represents many of the hallmarks of neoclassical style. The subject matter is taken directly from Greek mythology: Venus offers Paris the hand of Helen after Paris judges her to be the most beautiful of three goddesses, an event that would lead to the outbreak of the Trojan War. Painted in the same years that Hogg was producing his publication, Hamilton’s highly finished technique, sharp lines, and strong, solid figures were all common artistic approaches with wide-reaching appeal that were easily translated from the painted canvas to the more widely distributed printed page.

The prominence of the neoclassical taste in eighteenth-century Europe is clearly evident in the illustrations created for the official publications of Cook’s voyages and, in an effort to generate wider appeal (and therefore, sales), to a greater extent in the copies of these illustrations made by Alexander Hogg. An example of the transformation from documentary drawing to neoclassical print may be seen in the illustration, *Inhabitants of the Island of Terra [sic] del Fuego in their Hut*, created for Hawkesworth’s official
account of Cook’s first voyage (Figure 2). Both Parkinson and Buchan drew scenes featuring the Haush peoples of Tierra del Fuego, an archipelago located at the southern tip of South America between the present-day countries of Chile and Argentina, during their January 1769 sojourn. Given that both Buchan and Parkinson were primarily botanical illustrators, and neither is known to have had significant artistic training, it is understandable that their compositional attention is primarily focused on the foliage and hut. In Buchan’s gouache painting, huddled natives are vaguely rendered and out of proportion; the woman on the left holds a stiff, doll-like baby (Figure 3). Parkinson’s pen and wash drawing is more fully developed; he includes additional landscape elements, filling the hut with more figures and adding the standing figure carrying a small child (Figure 4). Both capture a sense of environment, and of the peoples whom Cook described as “miserable,” but neither represents a scene that would have captured the imagination of eighteenth-century Enlightenment Europe interested in renderings of “noble savages.”

Once in the hands of the neoclassical artist selected to create the illustration for Hawkesworth’s account, however, the natives of Tierra del Fuego documented by Buchan and Parkinson were transformed for their Enlightenment audience. Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727-1785/90), a prolific Italian artist who lived in London, frequently created drawings that were engraved by his friend, the Florentine printmaker, Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815). In his wash and watercolor drawing of *Inhabitants of the Island of Terra [sic] del Fuego in their Hut*, which Bartolozzi engraved in about 1772 (Figure 2), Cipriani has preferred Buchan’s straight on view of the hut and its interior, but also incorporated Parkinson’s additional exterior figures and landscape elements into the

10 Thomas, *Cook*, 51.
composition (Figure 5). Cipriani’s version of the “miserable” natives of Tierra del Fuego is presented as a simple Arcadian vision, with delicate touches in the prancing and reclining figures, presenting a composition far more appealing to the eighteenth-century European gaze and better illustrative of Hawkesworth’s elaborated text than the field drawings produced by Buchan and Parkinson. Hogg commissioned a relatively unknown British engraver, Thomas Morris (b. 1750?), to create a copy of Bartolozzi’s official print for his publication (Figure 6). Morris’ version is reversed horizontally, a change in orientation resulting from the process of copying the original, but is otherwise faithful to the print published in Hawkesworth’s official account.

The artistic representation of the peoples of the South Pacific and others encountered during Cook’s voyages as figures akin to those of the classical world also reflected the Enlightenment understanding of race and a discourse on human variety that arose from both travel literature and the desire for scientific classification. As classification systems such as that of Linnaeus sought to categorize the natural world and establish mankind’s place within it, questions arose that challenged Europe’s medieval understanding of human variety as determined by the bodily humors or fluids, which consisted of black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. This ancient concept suggested that the proportions of the different humors within the body accounted for the different physical characteristics between peoples. In marked contrast, during the course of the eighteenth century, a great deal of attention was given to development of a better understanding of the genesis of such physical differences among groups from different geographic locations. One of the most common explanations for human variety in the period of the Enlightenment was Climatic Theory, the idea that all humankind descended
from one original source (understood as Adam and Eve) but which spread out in branches over time, with each branch subsequently developing characteristics specific to the environment encountered in their settlement locations; thus, the paleness of Europeans or the dark skin of Africans was seen as relative to their respective cooler or warmer climates. These branches of humankind were understood to correspond to the Four Continents, with Europe placed at the top of the hierarchy, followed by Asia, the Americas, and, lastly, Africa.

Although Europeans visited the Pacific Islands as early as the seventeenth century, it was not until the eighteenth century that recognition of Australia/Oceania as a continent began to emerge. In most cases, the inhabitants of the continent, the Pacific Islanders, did not resemble any of the existing peoples known at the time and, therefore, their place within the prevailing European view of human diversity was a matter of philosophical and scientific debate in Europe. Unlike imagery of Africans or Native Americans, whose cultures were encountered earlier by Europeans, the visual trope associating Pacific Islanders with the classical world – that is, representing the peoples of the Pacific as less sophisticated versions of the ancient Greeks – helped to situate them within the existing framework of Climatic Theory. Works like Cipriani’s drawing of inhabitants from Tierra del Fuego in their hut strengthened the perception that the peoples of the Pacific were “noble savages,” or derivatives thereof, by representing them as vaguely classical figural types regardless of actual ethnographic origin.

This understanding of complex cultures through a classicizing transformation extended to portraits of individuals as well, and many depictions of specific individuals made in the field were also modified for their presentation to the European public. Of the
sixteen plates from Hogg’s compilation in the exhibition, five are generalized portraits whose images are derived from those of specific individuals made on site (Figures 7-11) and four are portraits of named individuals (Figures 12-15), including the Raiatean, Omai, who joined Cook during the second voyage and returned with him to England (Figure 13). Although he was an individual of low status in his homeland, Omai was presented to British society as either a Tahitian chief or as the priest of a cult, which led to an even greater fascination on the part of the British public. Two oil portraits of Omai painted while he was in England provide examples of the extent to which the European interest in romanticizing the peoples of the South Pacific extended even so far as to alter the physical characteristics of a known individual with whom they had direct contact.

Hodges was commissioned to paint Omai’s portrait by the well-known Scottish surgeon, John Hunter (1728-1793), whose interest in physiognomy required the artist to create an accurate depiction, one truer to Omai’s actual appearance; this also explains Hodges’ focus on Omai’s face (Figure 16). There are no known sketches of Omai made during the voyage itself, but Daniel Solander (1733-1782), a Swedish naturalist who accompanied Cook on his first voyage, described Omai as: “… very brown, allmost a[s] brown as a Mulato. Not at all hansome, but well made. His nose is a little broadish, and I believe we have to thank his wide nostrills for the Visit he has paid us – for he says, that the people of his own country laughed at him upon the account of his flatish Nose and dark hue….”11 Although the turn of Omai’s body and slight upward tilt of his chin impart a regal air to the portrait, Hodges set Omai against a neutral background and clothed what little of his body is visible in the classical-style, toga-like garment, the European version of native tapa cloth clothing, that appears in many European depictions

11 Quoted in Joppian, *Art of Captain Cook’s Voyages*, 65.
of Pacific Islanders. Hunter’s interest as a patron in physical accuracy coupled with Solander’s description of Omai suggest that Hodges’ portrait may be seen as a fairly accurate visual description of his likeness, rather than a romanticized representation. In this particular case, the specific visual requirements of Hodges’ patron took precedence over a more generalized interest in a neoclassical presentation.

The same cannot be said of the Grand Manner portrait of Omai painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds (English, 1723-1792), a founder and first president of the Royal Academy, during the former’s visit to London (Figure 17). Reynolds has altered Omai’s facial features, choosing instead to depict him as a beautiful, young man, with finer facial features that are clearly not European but also not entirely characteristic of a Pacific Islander; in terms of physical characteristics, only his darker skin differentiates him as an “other.” Shown in full figure, and set against a stormy, semi-tropical landscape, the Omai of Reynolds’ vision is presented in flowing robes, which, along with his stance, sideways glance, gesturing hand, and turban are more suggestive of an Eastern prince than a South Pacific native.

The portrait of Omai provided by Alexander Hogg for readers of his compilation was roughly (and quite poorly) copied from an image made for volume one of Cook’s 1777 account by the British artist, James Caldwall (1739-ca. 1780). Hogg has foregone any pretense of presenting Omai as an individual or a Pacific Islander; absent the caption, it would be virtually impossible to know who was represented in the engraving. Hogg’s disinterest in presenting his readers with accurate visual imagery becomes even more apparent in this engraving when compared with Hodges’ realistic portrait. While Reynolds created a romanticized vision on canvas of the “Tahitian chief” who was the
toast of London society, Hogg merely created a generic, poorly articulated image; neither captured the true nature of the individual as a native of the Pacific Islands.

Although Hodges created a realistic portrait of Omai, his post-voyage paintings also included sublime landscapes featuring the idealized “noble savage,” which allowed viewers to consider their modern European lives in contrast with man in his natural state, at one with nature and a model of Arcadian perfection. For example, in *A View of Dusky Bay, New Zealand*, a lone Maori warrior stands leaning on his spear on a rocky outcropping overlooking the Bay (Figure 18). While the figure is prominently placed at the center of the picture plane, it is the hazy, tropical landscape imbued with a pure golden light that holds the attention of the viewer. Hodges painted numerous canvases with similar topics that were frequently exhibited to public acclaim in London. Many of Hodges’ drawings made on-site in the South Pacific strove for a realism not seen in the work of the artists on the first voyage; moreover, the illustrations produced from them for the official publication of the second voyage were accurate as well. However, his post-voyage canvases were, for the most part, romanticized, dramatic compositions featuring native figures dwarfed by the grandeur of nature, partly empirically-based but largely romanticized in their overall composition.

Cook landed at Dusky Sound, New Zealand in March of 1773 after months of sailing throughout the Antarctic Circle during which his two ships, *Resolution* and *Discovery*, became separated and most of his crew experienced the effects of scurvy. He visited New Zealand during his first voyage, but was met with significant hostility and resistance from the native Maori. At Dusky Sound, however, Cook encountered a small Maori family, probably members of the nomadic Ngati Mamoe tribe, who appeared to be
It was likely this experience that provided Hodges with the context for his post-voyage “noble savage” paintings. It also may have influenced Hogg’s engraving, *A Family in Dusk* [sic] *Bay* (Figure 19). Like Hodges painting, Hogg’s classicized figures lounge within a lush, expansive tropical landscape, which overwhelms the figures even though they are prominently placed within the composition. For the Enlightenment reader, such images reinforced their ideas about the “noble savage” as a reflection of an idealized existence far from the streets of London.

As European artists reconfigured Pacific Islanders, both as types and as individuals, to fit within the neoclassical framework of the Enlightenment, they also constructed images of encounters that cast Cook and other Europeans in a heroic, classicizing light with respect to their interactions with the native population. Perhaps no image illustrates this better than John Webber’s visualizations of Cook’s death (Figures 20-22). Although he did not witness Cook’s death at Kealakekua Bay on February 14, 1779, Webber created a drawing and painting of the subject after his return to England, likely deriving the composition from a number of first-hand accounts. In his composition, Webber shows Cook, dressed in a white naval uniform, standing in front of a large mob of angry Hawaiians, holding up his hand in an effort to stop his men from firing on the crowd, while a Hawaiian man stands behind him, about to plunge a knife into Cook’s back. Reports indicated that Cook had, in fact, fired into the crowd in an effort to disperse it, and had killed another man but Webber has altered the event to depict Cook as a heroic defender of peace, valiantly trying to stop his men from firing on the crowd, his rifle held passively at his side.

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As a history painting, Webber’s *Death of Captain Cook* owes much to Benjamin West’s *The Death of General Wolfe* (Figure 23), painted by the Pennsylvania-born, London based artist in 1770 and exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1771. Depicting Wolfe’s death in 1759 at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham (Battle of Quebec) during the French and Indian War (1754-1763), West painted a typically dramatic neoclassical death scene, a stylized lamentation scene in which a small crowd of Wolfe’s fellow soldiers surrounds the dying hero as he takes his last breath. At bottom left, seated at the front of the picture, a “noble” Native American contemplates the scene, his quiet, pensive pose a commentary on the greatness of the dying man. West, however, rejected the convention of representing modern heroes in a classical manner, the standard academic practice at the time, which was intended to imbue a sense of timelessness to the imagery, suggesting that these individuals, whose contributions were of such import, should be seen as in possession of a greatness that transcended the ages. Instead, West chose to depict the dying general and his attendants in present-day clothing, paying detailed attention to contemporary military uniforms as well as to native garments. In his version of Cook’s death, Webber also shows the about-to-be fallen hero in contemporary clothing, dressed in a blue and white naval uniform, standing in front of a large mob of angry Hawaiians. For the European viewer, Cook was not a participant in the aggressions that led to his death, but an innocent casualty, tragically killed while attempting to keep his men from firing on the crowd of, in this case, not so “noble savages.”

Webber, through this construction of a history painting in the style of Benjamin West, sends the same message about Cook’s valor and timelessness, while also
suggesting to his European audience that they should not forget that “noble savages” may become more savage and less noble at any time, a trend in the perception of race that would become widespread in the nineteenth century. In his illustration (Figure 22), Hogg takes Webber’s rendition one step further away from the truth through the addition of a caption for the title, “Accurately Engraved from a Drawing made on the spot purposely for this Work by A. Hogg.” No such on-site drawing had been made by Webber, who, as previously stated, did not witness the events of Cook’s demise, nor had his subsequent drawing been created for Hogg’s compilation. Yet for Hogg’s readers, this romanticized image would become a reliable representation of what had transpired and a confirmation of the enduring heroism of the courageous explorer.
Throughout the late eighteenth century, information about the peoples of the Pacific Islands was widely available in a variety of textual sources and visual media. Not only did a fascinated public purchase affordable publications like Hogg’s account, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century, images of the peoples of the South Pacific had been further transformed beyond the book into material decoration in the form of a popular panoramic wallpaper, *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* (Savages of the Pacific Sea). Manufactured by Joseph Dufour (1757-1827) et Cie in Mâcon, France, in 1806, the wallpaper was designed by Jean-Gabriel Charvet (1750-1829), an artist from Lyon who had lived in the Caribbean for four years (Figure 24A-B). Dufour’s main textual reference was a French compiled history of voyages, Jean-François de la Harpe’s *Abrégé de l’Histoire Générale des Voyages*, published in Paris in 32 volumes from 1780-1786. Although the exact print run of the wallpaper remains unknown, it is estimated to be in the hundreds and has been found in different configurations in homes throughout Europe and North America. Following in the tradition of Hawkesworth and Hogg, Dufour edited and adapted visual imagery of Pacific exploration to present a colorful, tropical paradise full of scenes of domestic tranquility replete with classical references. When


15 Art Gallery of New South Wales, *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*, 7. See also pages 44-47 for a list of known institutions and private collections in Europe and the United States owning copies of the wallpaper. The wallpaper was comprised of 20, 98-inch by 24-inch panels, called drops or *lés*, that while originally organized in a specific order, could also be reconfigured or the number of panels reduced to fit within a specific space.
acquired and installed in middle and upper class households, *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* created a visual environment within a domestic setting in which viewers might actively participate in their own version of Pacific exploration.

In 1804-1805, prior to producing the wallpaper, Dufour circulated a 48-page prospectus, which explained the design of the soon-to-be-manufactured wallpaper. “This decoration” he wrote, “has been designed with the object of showing to the public the peoples encountered by the most recent explorers, and of using new comparisons to reveal the natural bonds of taste and enjoyment that exist between all men, whether they live in a state of civilization or are at the outset of the use of their natural intelligence.”16 The wallpaper, which was intended to, “… try to please the eye and to excite the imagination without taxing it,” also had an intentionally didactic purpose: a man reading travel accounts from the exploration of the Pacific could use the wallpaper imagery as a visual accompaniment to the texts, while a woman could give, “… effortless lessons in history and geography to her eager, inquisitive and intelligent daughter …”17 To appeal to the widest audience possible, Dufour provided different installation configurations so that the wallpaper could be easily adapted to rooms of varying sizes (Figure 25).18 In Dufour’s eyes, *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* was an extension of publications like that of Alexander Hogg, providing a colorful setting in the round in which travel literature could be brought to life and parents could teach their children about the foreign cultures of the Pacific Islands.

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18 Although added to the space in the 1950s, an example of the panoramic wallpaper installed may be found in Glen Burnie House, Museum of the Shenandoah Valley, Winchester, Virginia.
When installed in its entirety, however, the outcome was a homogenous scene in which the realities of cultural diversity and environment were ignored in favor of their merging into one exotic world lacking all but the most rudimentary visual distinctions between cultures. Like Hogg, Dufour was far more interested in appealing to the European market for all things foreign, than in providing accurate ethnographic information about the peoples of the South Pacific. Set within a continuous landscape, no distinction is made in the wallpaper between Tahitians, Hawaiians, and other peoples; panel 1, for example, depicts the Nootka peoples of Canada, and fits seamlessly into panel 2, which features “Inhabitants of Ulietea, one of the Friendly Islands” (Raiatea, French Polynesia). And despite the appearance of a bucolic, tropical paradise in the imagery, the prospectus, in which Dufour dramatically highlighted some of the Pacific Islanders’ more “uncivilized” proclivities and encouraged readers to learn more through citations from de la Harpe’s work, told a different story.

Panels 4-6 (Figure 26), for example, depict the “Inhabitants of Tahiti,” which Dufour characterizes as the, “… most beautiful, the most fertile and the most populous of the islands of this group.” He based this assertion in part on Joseph Banks’ observations during Cook’s first voyage. In *Thoughts on the Manners of Otaheite*, Banks wrote that, “I have nowhere seen such elegant women as those of Otaheite, such as the Grecians were from whom the Venus of the Medicis was copied,” and went on to compare the clothing worn by Tahitian women to the garments represented in classical sculpture and Italian painting. Dufour devotes a substantial portion of his description of the Tahitian panels to qualifying this perception. He relegates Tahitian women of loose

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20 Terry, *Voyages of Captain Cook*, 179.
moral standing to one particular societal class, and attempts to differentiate between the
“men and women who observe honest laws” and those women of the “common people …
who … spilled the cup of pleasure on the sense of the sailors and the officers, while, with
plump delicate hands they pilfered, as neatly as possible, anything that could be easily
removed.”
Once he has established that only some Tahitian women fall into this latter
category of looser moral values, Dufour goes on to describe a three-panel scene in which
the Tahitian king, O-too, watches from his throne as a dance performance takes place in
the center of the triptych. The performance, identified as the *heava*, has much in
common with the classical iconography of the Three Graces. In Charvet’s imagery, three
female figures in the center of the panel are posed in daintily balanced positions as they
enact the dance for their audience. Like examples such as a 1793 plaster sculpture by the
Italian artist, Antonio Canova (1757-1822), the Tahitian dancers in their flowing robes
gracefully twist and delicately gesture as they step lightly through their dance (Figure
27). In his design, Charvet has adopted a basic neoclassical framework, with numerous
references to classical-themes artwork throughout, but as a French decorative artist, has
continued to maintain delicate Rococo detailing within his figures, taking a similar
approach as that of Cipriani in his drawing for the peoples from Tierra del Fuego in their
hut.

Also closely connected to the imagery from Cook’s final voyage is a scene
depicted in panel 8, in which a helmeted chief firmly gripping a club and accompanied by
a dog leans over an outcropping of rocks looking toward action unfolding in the

background (Figure 28).  The panel depicts the “Inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands,” or Hawaii, and the scene in the distance is a representation of the death of Captain Cook taken, with some liberties, from Webber’s imagery. Dufour presents a lengthy narrative of the events surrounding Cook’s death, an account of which was produced by James Burney, first lieutenant on the *Discovery*, among others. In his version, however, Dufour has simplified the overall design as required by the larger format of the wallpaper panel in order to create a scene that recedes into the background, however, he shows a stick-like figure of Cook, hand raised, with an armed Hawaiian coming up behind him. Unlike the scenes presented by John Webber and Alexander Hogg, Dufour also shows Cook’s two ships anchored in the Bay and firing upon the crowd.

Although the wallpaper was manufactured primarily using a relief printing process, it has more in common with the traditions of landscape painting and tapestry than with printmaking itself, given its size, scope, and cost to produce. Made through a complicated production process that employed as many as sixty blocks for each of the 20 panels, *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique* may be seen as a continuation of the Enlightenment trope of visual representation of the Pacific Islander, as begun by Hawkesworth in his official publication of Cook’s first voyage, and replicated repeatedly,

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22 See cat. no. 17 for Hogg’s version of Webber’s image of a man wearing a Hawaiian *mahiole*, a feathered helmet with basketry framework and plant fiber braids, from which Dufour has sourced his image.

23 *State Library of New South Wales*, s.v. “Captain James Cook’s Voyages of Discovery.” accessed October 7, 2013, http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/voyages/discovery/. An example of the continuity of interest in Cook’s travels may be found in the Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries: the re-print of Andrew Kippis’ *Narrative of Captain James Cook’s Voyages Round the World; with an account of his life during the previous and intervening periods: also, an appendix, detailing the progress of the voyage after the death of Captain Cook*. London: Milner and Company, Paternoster Row, 1854, a very small, pocket-sized volume with only one illustration, a colored plate in the frontispiece, which was clear intended to appeal to the recreational reader.

by publishers like Alexander Hogg, throughout the remainder of the eighteen and well into the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{25}

In addition to addressing issues of scientific empiricism and Enlightenment ideas about race, images like those of Hogg and Dufour also served to help define national identity and support the expansion of empire in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century. Beginning with the French Revolution in 1789, models of political leadership based on a single monarch with a God-given right to rule gave way to the modern nation-state, in which sovereignty became the purview of the people, who were bound together through a shared national identity and patriotic sentiment. As more and more distinct cultures were encountered during Enlightenment period explorations, the national boundaries at home needed further reinforcement through the establishment of what, or who, existed outside of those limits. By further defining those “others” as something less civilized than the modern European nation-state, the movement toward empire and the colonization of indigenous people became not on justified, but necessary.

Books like Hogg’s were widely available and played a critical role in establishing a visual understanding of the native “other” as separate and different from the European national citizen. And while less accessible and more expensive, Dufour’s wallpaper would have served as the same type of defining mechanism for those who could afford it, as well as for the members of and guests to their households. In both cases, the European viewer not only came to understand a specific trope of the unsophisticated, uncivilized Pacific Islander, childlike and in need of control and supervision, but also, by extension,
to see themselves in opposition as representatives of a sophisticated, civilized nation whose imposition into the indigenous world was both warranted and right.\textsuperscript{26}

Paintings created by voyage artists like William Hodges and John Webber, inexpensive publications like Hogg’s compilation, and colorful, panoramic wallpaper such as \textit{Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique} were three different artistic formats that brought the exotic paradise of the Pacific into the late eighteenth-century European world. In each case, whether it was a painting commissioned by a patron interested in a scientific study of ethnology or large-scale imagery used to create a setting within domestic space, the bodies, faces, and cultures of Pacific Islanders were re-configured through a neoclassical lens to confirm to an Enlightenment period understanding of the world. These differing artistic visions were connected through imagery created during the empirically-driven voyages undertaken by James Cook on behalf of the Royal Society, and a contemporary understanding of Pacific Islanders as “noble savages,” living simple Arcadian lives in exotic, tropical settings, far away from the complexities of modern European life. At the same time, many of these images, or more frequently their accompanying didactic materials, reminded viewers that upon occasion, the attribution of “nobility” to the peoples of the South Pacific might be a tenuous one.

Often text and image diverged, perhaps nowhere more obviously than in Alexander Hogg’s compiled publication, in which copies of previously published illustrations compete with rudimentary, almost cartoonish portraits of native peoples. In many cases, the people in these images may be distinguished from classical sculpture only by their identifying captions. In other cases, they appeared side-by-side with better

\footnote{\textsuperscript{26} For a discussion of the significant role played by print culture in the building of nation and national identity, see Benedict Anderson, \textit{Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism} (London: Verso, 1991), 36.}
quality copies of prints derived from the original artwork of Parkinson, Hodges, and Webber, among others. Hogg’s interest in creating the visual accompaniments to his compilation was not in the accurate presentation of empirically-derived information. Although he took pains in some cases to create better quality copies of original engravings, his goal, as was Hawkesworth’s and Dufour’s, was to perpetuate the ideal of the “noble savage” to capitalize on the European fascination with the Pacific Islands, a faraway place that most British and French citizens would never experience for themselves yet one that helped to reinforce European ideas of civilization and national identity.
A major component of this thesis included an exhibition of the same name, *Terrestrial Paradises: Imagery from the Voyages of Captain James Cook*, which opened on March 1, 2013 in the Matus Focus Gallery of the Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami. Additional text, which appeared alongside the sixteen engravings and two rare books included in the exhibition, is provided in this appendix and correlated with the attached figures. The text for this exhibition includes quotes from James Cook and others describing the peoples encountered in Tierra del Fuego and Polynesia and depicted in the engravings on display. These quotes include eighteenth-century grammar and punctuation that differ from contemporary usage. Unusual spellings, such as “paridises” instead of “paradises,” are direct quotes not typos.

**Figure 2: View of the Indians of Terra del Fuego in their hut.**

In this neoclassical version of a domestic scene, a family of Haush, the native peoples of Tierra del Fuego, are seen huddled around a small fire inside a hut made of animal skin stretched with tree branches to form a pointed dome. Drying frames lean against the right side of the hut and on the roof, and a bladder for holding water is suspended from the ceiling. The classicized figures surrounded by lush, overgrown foliage present an image more appropriate for an Arcadian vision than the stark reality recounted by Cook in 1769.
Cook first arrived in Tierra del Fuego at the southern end of South America in January of 1769. Communication with the native peoples was difficult and interactions were limited. In his journal, Cook wrote that the native Haush people lived in such a simplistic society, the Europeans, “… could not discover that they had any head or chief, or form of Government, neither have they any useful or necessary Utentials except it be a Bagg or Basket to gather their Muscels into: in a Word they are perhaps as miserable a set of People as are this day upon Earth.”

During the first voyage, Sydney Parkinson described the Fuegians in his journal: “Their hair, which is black and straight, hangs over their foreheads and ears, which most of them had smeared with brown and red paint; but, like the rest of the original inhabitants of America, they have no beard … They wear a bunch of yarn made of guanicas wool upon their heads, which, as well as their hair, hangs down over their foreheads. They also wear the skins of guanicas and of seals, wrapped round their shoulders, sometimes leaving the right arm uncovered.” Hogg’s illustration somewhat resembles an engraving by James Basire (English, 1730-1802) after a lost drawing by Hodges made during Cook’s second visit to Tierra del Fuego in December 1774; however, it lacks the intensity of the original, which is faithful to Parkinson’s description, sharing only the attributes of a shaggy head of hair and generally similar facial features.
The woman from Christmas Sound is less distinctive in appearance, and closely resembles the man except for a slightly smaller frame and longer hair; only the caption indicates to the viewer that this is a woman.

**Figure 8: A Man of Sta. Christina. A Woman of Sta. Christina.**

John Hall’s engraving of a woman from Santa Christina (Tahuata, Marquesas Islands), published in volume one of Cook’s 1777 account, may have served as a basic artistic model for this print, but Hogg’s engraver was unable to capture any of the realistic detail of the original. His rigid, statue-like figures have mask-like faces and lack any sort of animation or individuality. He added large earrings and a short, beaded necklace to the woman, who wears a turban and longer strings of beads in the original engraving. The man’s facial features, with his long, dark hair and paler beard, are similar to those of the chief and other male figures in the print depicting Cook’s landing on Eua. Both are presented as generic, classicized types and, like other images in the publication, identifiable as Polynesians only by their captions. This engraving, more than any other in this series, is indicative of Hogg’s limited interest in presenting accurate reproductions of previously published illustrations, as well as the intervention of less skillful engravers in the process.

**Figure 9: A Man of New Zealand. A Woman of New Zealand.**

Hodges, Webber, and William Webb Ellis (English, ca. 1756-1785), the surgeon’s assistant on the third voyage, all sketched Maori women, whereas Sydney Parkinson’s best known images depicted the extensive facial tattoos and costumes of Maori men. In
his journal, Parkinson described the Maori he encountered: “Most of them had their hair tied up on the crown of their heads in a knot … Their faces were tataowed, or marked either all over, or on one side, in a very curious manner, some of them in fine spiral directions like a volute being indented in the skin very different from the rest.” Tattoos were a unique expression of status for both men and women, wrapping the wearer in a layer of spirit power (mana) and creating a visible statement of genealogical claim in a society in which clan affiliation and descent was a matter of paramount importance.

Hogg’s engraver has made some effort to distinguish male from female in this print. The Maori woman bears the closest resemblance to an engraving after Hodges from Cook’s 1777 account. Greater liberties have been taken with the man of New Zealand. His simplified facial tattoos and full beard are unusual in the artistic production from the voyages; moreover, he lacks the more commonly depicted Maori hairstyle and costume ornamentation, also an important source of mana, which were described in the official accounts. During Cook’s first voyage, a number of his colleagues acquired tattoos, including Sydney Parkinson and Joseph Banks. They and others brought the art form back with them to Europe where, by the end of the eighteenth century, it became a popular practice.

Figure 10: Portrait of a Man of the Sandwich Islands in a Mask. Representation of a Man of the Sandwich Islands Dancing.

The man on the left wears a gourd helmet with fern fronds attached at the top. Webber sketched the portrait in Hawaii, but neither the mask nor its ceremonial usage is mentioned in any of the voyage journals. James King (English, 1750-1784), an officer
who also served as editor of Cook’s account of the third voyage, described it as: “… a kind of mask, made of a large gourd, with holes cut in it for the eyes and nose. The top was stuck full of small green twigs, which, at a distance, had the appearance of an elegant waving plume; and from the lower part hung narrow stripes of cloth, resembling a beard. We never saw these masks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in a canoe, who came to the side of the ships laughing and drolling with an air of masquerading.”

Webber made several sketches of a Hawaiian dancer he observed in February of 1779, but only painted a watercolor to be engraved by Thomas Cook (English, 1744-1818) and Charles Grignion (English, 1717-1810) after his return to England. As with the masked figure, the dance was not described in the voyage journals but by King: “He held in his hand an instrument [a rattle] … some bits of sea-weed were tied round his neck; and round each leg, a piece of strong netting, about nine inches deep, on which a great number of dogs’ teeth were loosely fastened, in rows. His style of dancing was entirely burlesque, and accompanied with strange grimaces, and pantomimical distortions of the face…”

Figure 11: Portrait of a Man of the Sandwich Islands with his Helmet. A Young Woman of the Sandwich Islands.

Although John Webber’s original drawing for the man’s portrait is lost, King identified him as the Hawaiian chief, Kana’ina. He is depicted wearing a feathered cloak and helmet, a costume that King described as being “… appropriated to their Chiefs, and used on ceremonious occasions, consisting of a feathered cloak and helmet, which, in
point of beauty and magnificence, is perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation in the world.” Royal cloaks, made from red and gold feathers and usually including geometric motifs of circle and crescent shapes, were considered high status objects worn only by elites. The woven wicker and feather headdress, with its crescent shape arching over the head, represented an extension of the spine designed to protect the mana (spirit power) of the ruler whose royal body was considered sacred.

Webber sketched the young Hawaiian woman on site, and again after returning to England, but made a number of changes to classicize her facial features in translating his sketch into a design for Sherwin’s engraving. She wears two feathered rings (lei) on her head and another around her neck. The quality of this reproduction, which is probably by George Noble (English, active 1795-1806), is better than many of Hogg’s other prints. King’s praise extolling of the beauty of Hawaiian featherwork may have encouraged Hogg to take more care with this engraving which differs only in subtle details from the original.

Figure 12: The Chief, at Sta. Christina. A principal Woman of Sta. Christina.

Throughout Polynesia, Cook encountered highly stratified societies ruled by hereditary chiefs to whom genealogy was of extreme importance. Native art forms, including costume and body ornamentation, announced the social order in Polynesia, mediating between the elite status and power of royals and their subjects. The chief at Santa Christina (Tahuata, Marquesas Islands) is shown with facial tattoos, wearing a feather headdress, an elaborate necklace, and mother-of-pearl ornaments on either side of his face. J. R. Forster described the chief he encountered during the second voyage:
“When dress’d they wear on the fore head as an ornament a curious fillet of shell work decorated with feathers etc, round the neck a kind of Ruff made of wood decorated with small red pease which are stuck on with gum and bunches of human hair fastened to a string and tyed round the legs and arms; in this manner was the chief who came to visit us dress’d.” Hogg’s version lacks the details of the original engraving by John Hall (English, 1739-1797) after a sketch by Hodges; the ornamentation on the headdress has been simplified, as have the chief’s facial tattoos. Hodges also sketched a woman from Santa Christina, which was subsequently engraved by Hall, but Hogg has chosen instead to endow her with facial features very similar to those of his chief. The two are presented as mirror images, distinguished only by their costumes and ornamentation.

**Figure 13: Portrait of Potatow. Portrait of Omai.**

Potatow (or Potatau) was a chief of Punaauia, Tahiti. Hodges sketched his portrait in August of 1773 and John Hall later engraved it for the first volume of Cook’s 1777 account of his second voyage. George Forster said of Potatau, “His ample garments, and his elegant white turban, set off his figure to the greatest advantage, and his noble deportment endeared him to us….” Hogg has done little to distinguish the physical features of Potatau from those of the man from Christmas Sound, Tierra del Fuego (Figure 7). Although the Tahitian chief is portrayed with a more regal demeanor, his cloak and turban do not accurately reflect the details of native costume that Hodges represented in his sketches.

Hogg’s unidentified engraver has roughly captured the long, softly curling hair that James Caldwall (English, 1739-ca. 1780) added to his original engraving of Omai for
volume one of Cook’s 1777 account, but otherwise Hogg’s reproduction shows the
Raiatean seated in a rigid profile with facial features very similar to the other Polynesian
to the other Polynesian men generically illustrated in the publication.

Figure 14: Portrait of Ohedidee, a Young Man of Bolabola. Portrait of Otago, or Attago,
a Chief at Amsterdam.

Ohedidee (Hitihiti) was a young man from Bora Bora in the Society Islands who,
from 1773-1774, traveled with Cook to New Zealand, Easter Island, Tahiti, and back to
Raiatea where Cook had first met him. Along with Otago, the son of a chief from
Amsterdam Island (Tongatapu), Hitihiti is depicted by Hogg in much the same manner as
Potatau and Mai. Hodges sketched portraits of both men during the second voyage,
however, Hogg barely distinguished between the two, giving them only different
hairstyles; otherwise, the follow the generic type of the Polynesian male found
throughout the publication, with very similar facial features and costumes.

Figure 15: The Landing of Captn. Cook &c. at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Isles.

In Hogg’s interpretation of Sherwin’s engraving, the scene has been significantly
altered. Instead of standing on Cook’s boat facing his own subjects, the chief, Ataongo,
is positioned on the beach, gesturing in peace towards Cook as he arrives on shore.
Through this shift in position, Ataongo becomes less a proactive leader brokering a
peaceful encounter on behalf of his people and more a willing subordinate, ready to
accept Cook’s arrival without question or threat of violence. Hogg’s unidentified
engraver did not simply create a less skillful copy Sherwin’s original, but made a
fundamental compositional change that affected the meaning of the illustration for readers of his compilation.

Figure 19: *A Family in Dusk Bay, New Zealand.*

In Hogg’s engraving, a Maori man sits in the foreground to the right, while women and children lounge in the background in their verdant natural surroundings. Minor attention has been paid to ethnographic detail in the spear the man holds and the club attached to his belt, however, his facial features are more European than Maori, as are those of the women and children, and the unidentified artist has awkwardly rendered the man’s proper right arm, cutting it off at the wrist.

Figure 22: *An Exact Representation of the Death of Captn. James Cook, F.R.S. at Karakakooa Bay, in Owhyhee, on Febv. 14, 1779.* Accurately Engraved from a Drawing made on the spot purposely for this Work by A. Hogg.

Webber was not present when Cook was killed at Kealakekua Bay on February 14, 1779; his depiction of the scene was painted in England, and likely based on first-hand accounts, although these were not consistent in terms of the details of the actual events. The original print, with figures engraved by Francesco Bartolozzi and the landscape elements by William Byrne, was printed in London in 1784. In Hogg’s version of Webber’s painting, the scale of the event has been reduced, the figures of both Cook and his attacker have been altered, and the composition is reversed as a result of the copying process. More significantly, Hogg added a caption designed to confirm the legitimacy of his image, sending the message to his readers that they could believe the
authenticity of his version because it had been drawn on-site especially for the publication, neither of which was true.

After Cook’s death, Charles Clerke took command and departed Kealakekua Bay on 22 February. Clerke continued the voyage, sailing to Kamchatka Peninsula in Russia, Macao, Vietnam, and Indonesia before returning to England via South Africa and the Cape of Good Hope. Upon his return to England, Webber served as the image coordinator for the official publication of Cook’s third voyage, which set a standard for travel accounts and influenced similar publications throughout the nineteenth century as Britain continued to extend its imperial reach. The body of artwork produced during the three voyages constitutes an impressive record not only in its documentation of native peoples, but also in its reflection of the European reaction to and interpretation of these varied and complex cultures.

Figure 29: The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Isles.

This dramatic scene depicts Ataongo, the chief of Eua in the Tonga Islands, who had visited the Resolution upon its arrival in October of 1773, leading Cook’s landing party safely onto the beach. He stands at the prow of the boat, holding up a banana frond as a symbol of peace to signify to his subjects that they may welcome the arrival of the Europeans. There is no textual evidence to support Ataongo’s role in this scene as that of mediator between Cook and the Eua Islanders, although it would not have been out of character for the Polynesians to welcome visitors in such a manner. Arrivals at new locations were often fraught with misunderstandings and conflict, and positive negotiations between native chiefs and Cook were critical to his exploratory agenda.
Figure 30: *A larger View (by another Artist) of that celebrated Natural Curiosity, the Perforated Rock, in Tolaga Bay, in New Zealand.*

The other artist referred to in the title of this print is Herman Diedrich Spöring, the Swedish-born secretary who accompanied Banks on Cook’s first voyage. An amateur artist, Spöring made numerous drawings for Banks including a pencil sketch executed in October of 1769 at Tolaga Bay, New Zealand. Banks, whose primary interest was botany and documenting the flora and fauna of the Pacific, described the arched rock as “…certainly the most magnificent surprise I have ever met with so much is pure nature superior to art in these cases.” Spöring’s image was re-drawn by others, including Parkinson, and in the original engraving by John James Barralet (Irish, 1747-1815) that appears in Hawkesworth, figures were added to enhance the landscape. A native figure leads two European men along a path on the left-hand side of the composition. He faces the viewer, holding out his hand as if presenting the natural wonder of New Zealand to the viewer. Another Maori man carrying a long fishing spear walks along the opposite shore, where the *Endeavor*’s pinnace may be seen sailing in the bay. Barralet’s inclusion of figures in the landscape served not only as a visual aid to provide a sense of scale of the perforated rock, but also to indicate the perceived status of the relationship between the British and the native Maori. Hogg’s version, by the Dutch engraver, Gerald Sibelius (1734-1785), is a close reproduction.

Figure 31: *The Inside of A Hippah, in New Zealand.*

Cook described his visit in February of 1777 to a *hippah*, a fortified village with dwellings constructed from reeds, on Motuara Island in Queen Charlotte Sound: “I made
an excursion in my boat to look for grass, and visited the Hippah or fortified Village at
the SW point of Motuara, and the places w[h]ere our Gardens were on that island. There
were no people at the former but the houses and palisades were rebuilt and in good order
and had been inhabited not long before….” John Webber produced a number of sketches
of the area and of its huts while on-site; upon returning to England, he prepared a
watercolor that was engraved by B.T. Pouncy (English, d. 1799) for Cook’s official
account of his third voyage, published posthumously in 1784. Although Cook’s account
reported that the hippah was not in use when they arrived, Webber added two small
groups of figures to the scene. These placid, huddling figures reinforced the concept of
the unsophisticated but noble savages, thereby ignoring the realities of the complex and
ferocious Maori society.

Figure 32: A View of Karakakooa, in Owyhee.

Webber drew this view of Kealakekua Bay, to be engraved by William Byrne
(English, 1743-1805), after returning to England for inclusion in the official account of
the third voyage. The omission of a large crowd, reported to have included around 1,500
canoes and upwards of 10,000 people, makes it unlikely that it was intended to represent
Cook’s arrival. The Resolution and the Discovery dwarf the native canoes gathered
around them, and at bottom left, a Hawaiian man paddles toward the British ships on a
surf board made of wooden planks. For the reader of the account, this panoramic
landscape of the Kona Coast, reproduced by Hogg in its correct orientation, reinforced
Cook’s initial peaceful welcoming by the Hawaiians and set the stage for the tumultuous
events to come.
Webber sketched this scene depicting the king, Tereoboo (Kalani’opu’u), meeting the ships on January 29, 1779. Kalani’opu’u is in the first double canoe with upright lateen sail seated behind featherwork cloaks that were given as gifts to Cook. The second canoe contained additional gifts of large basketry images and cloth, and the third transported hogs and vegetables. For the European viewer, the Hawaiian belief that Cook was sent by the gods and the subsequent gifting of objects associated with royalty would have reinforced their perception of Hawaii as a rustic, Arcadian paradise less sophisticated than the contemporary European world. Here, as well, perhaps in deference to the importance of the scene, Hogg has closely followed the original.
Figure 1.
Gavin Hamilton (Scottish, 1723-1798)
_Venus Presenting Helen to Paris_, 1782-1784
Oil on canvas
Museo di Roma
Figure 2.
Francesco Bartolozzi (Italian, 1727-1815), after Giovanni Battista Cipriani (Italian, 1727-1785)
*View of the Indians of Terra del Fuego in their hut*, 1773
Engraving
Plate 1 from Volume 2 of John Hawkesworth’s *An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of his present Majesty for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*... Published by W. Strahan and T. Cadell, London.
Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries
Figure 3.

Alexander Buchan (Scottish, d. 1769)

_Inhabitants of the Island of Terra del Fuego in their Hut_, January 1769

Gouache on paper

British Library, London
Figure 4.
Sydney Parkinson (Scottish, ca. 1745-1771)
_Natives of Terra del Fuego with their Hut, January 1769_
Pen and wash on paper
British Library, London
Figure 5.
Giovanni Battista Cipriani (Italian, 1727-1785)
*Inhabitants of the Island of Terra del Fuego in their Hut*, ca. 1772
Wash and watercolor on paper
State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
Figure 6.
Thomas Morris (Probably English, Dates Unknown), after Francesco Bartolozzi (Italian, 1727-1815) and Giovanni Battista Cipriani (Italian, 1727-1785)
*View of the Indians of Terra del Fuego, with a representation of a Hut, and their domestic mode of living*, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 7.
Unknown Artist
*A Man of Christmas Sound, Tierra del Fuego. A Woman of Christmas Sound, Tierra del Fuego*, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 8.
Unknown Artist
_A Man of Sta. Christina. A Woman of Sta. Christina_, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 9.
Unknown Artist
_A Man of New Zealand. A Woman of New Zealand_, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 10.
Royce (Probably English, Dates Unknown), after Thomas Cook (English, 1744-1818) and Charles Grignion (English, 1717-1810)
*Portrait of a Man of the Sandwich Islands in a Mask. Representation of a Man of the Sandwich Islands Dancing*, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 11.
Noble (Probably English, Dates Unknown), after J. K. Sherwin (English, 1751-1790)
*Portrait of a Man of the Sandwich Islands with his Helmet. A Young Woman of the Sandwich Islands, 1784-1786*
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 12.
Unknown Artist, after John Hall (English, 1739-1797)
The Chief, at Sta. Christina. A principal Woman of Sta. Christina, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 13.
Unknown Artist, after John Hall (English, 1739-1797), James Caldwell (English, 1739-1819) and William Hodges (English, 1744-1797)

*Portrait of Potatow. Portrait of Omai*, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 14.

Unknown Artist

*Portrait of Ohedidee, a Young Man of Bolabola. Portrait of Otago, or Attago, a Chief at Amsterdam, 1784-1786*

Engraving

Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 15.
Unknown Artist, after J. K. Sherwin English, 1751-1790) and William Hodges (English, 1744-1797)
*The Landing of Capt. Cook &c. at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Isles, 1784-1786*
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 16.
William Hodges (English, 1744-1797)
*Omai*, 1775-1776
Oil on panel
Royal College of Surgeons, London
Figure 17.
Joshua Reynolds (English, 1723-1792)
Portrait of Omai, ca. 1776
Oil on canvas
Private Collection, England
Figure 18.
William Hodges (English, 1744-1797)
*A View of Dusky Bay, New Zealand, 1775*
Oil on canvas
Auckland Art Gallery, Toi o Tamaki
Figure 19.
Unknown Artist
*A Family in Dusk Bay, New Zealand*, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 20.
John Webber (English, 1751-1793)
*The Death of Captain Cook*, ca. 1781-1783
Pen, wash and watercolor on paper
State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
Figure 21.
John Webber (English, 1751-1793)
The Death of Captain Cook, ca. 1781-1783
Oil on canvas
State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
Figure 22.
Unknown Artist, after Francesco Bartolozzi (Italian, 1727-1815), William Byrne (English, 1743-1805) and John Webber (English, 1751-1793)
An Exact Representation of the Death of Captn. James Cook, F.R.S. at Karakakooa Bay, in Owhyhee, on Feby. 14, 1779. Accurately Engraved from a Drawing made on the spot purposely for this Work by A. Hogg, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 23.
Benjamin West (American, active in Great Britain, 1738-1820)
*The Death of General Wolfe*, 1770
Oil on canvas
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa
Figure 24A-B.
Joseph Dufour (French, 1752-1827), Manufacturer
Jean-Gabriel Charvet (French, 1750-1829), Designer
*Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*, 1805
Panoramic wallpaper (stencil woodblock prints with hand painting)
National Gallery of Australia
Figure 25.
Master Bedroom, Glen Burnie House
Museum of the Shenandoah Valley
Winchester, Virginia
Figure 26.
Joseph Dufour (French, 1752-1827), Manufacturer
Jean-Gabriel Charvet (French, 1750-1829), Designer
Inhabitants of Tahiti (detail), Panels V-VI from *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique*, 1805
Panoramic wallpaper (stencil woodblock prints with hand painting)
Art Gallery of New South Wales
Figure 27.
Antonio Canova (Italian, 1757-1822)
*Three Graces*, 1793
Plaster
Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon
Figure 28.
Joseph Dufour (French, 1752-1827), Manufacturer
Jean-Gabriel Charvet (French, 1750-1829), Designer
The Inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), with the Death of Captain Cook (detail), Panel VIII from Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique, 1805
Panoramic wallpaper (stencil woodblock prints with hand painting)
Art Gallery of New South Wales
Figure 29.

J. K. Sherwin (English, 1751-1790), after William Hodges (English, 1744-1797)

*The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Isles, 1777*

Engraving

Plate from Volume 1 of James Cook’s *A Voyage towards the South Pole, and Round the World. Performed in His Majesty’s Ships the Resolution and Adventure, In the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775*. Published by W. Strahan and T. Cadell, London.

Special Collections, University of Miami Libraries
Figure 30.
Gerald Sibelius (Dutch, 1734-1785) after John James Barralet (Irish, 1747-1815)
A larger View (by another Artist) of that celebrated Natural Curiosity, the Perforated Rock, in Tolaga Bay, in New Zealand, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 31.
Rennoldson (Citizenship Unknown, Dates Unknown), after John Webber (English, 1750-1793)
The Inside of A Hippah, in New Zealand, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 32.
Taylor (Probably English, Dates Unknown), after William Byrne (English, 1743-1805)
A View of Karakakooa, in Owyhee, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami
Figure 33.
Alexander Hogg (English, Active ca. 1778-1819), after B. T. Pouncy (English, d. 1799)
*Tereoboo, King of Owyhee, bringing Presents to Captn. Cook*, 1784-1786
Engraving
Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami


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