The Pacific Self: Oceanic Narratives and Self-Representation in Accounts of Eighteenth-Century British Voyages of Pacific Exploration

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Abstract

This thesis traces the mariner's oceanic experience in the journals of the voyages of Pacific exploration made between 1764 and 1780 by John Byron, Samuel Wallis, Philip Carteret and James Cook and the published narratives that derived from them. Situated within the emerging field of 'blue humanities', the thesis focuses on the account of the ocean and engages with problems of defining and describing the ocean. It examines how the mariners articulated their oceanic experience and how their narrative challenged wider cultural assumptions about the ocean and how it was then absorbed into literary narratives. It argues that the journals of Pacific exploration increasingly emphasized the experience of being at sea and, through the adaptation of that narrative in the texts that followed, were part of a larger shift in the depiction of the ocean.

John Hawkesworth's official adaptation of the first journals published in 1773 involved a process of 'un-seaing' by which, to suit literary pre-conceptions, the ocean was marginalised in favour of a renewed focus on landfalls. The adaptations that followed responded to a variety of audiences. Some continued to 'un-sea' the texts and focussed on terrestrial encounters. These transferred the "other" of the ocean to the societies found there, part of a developing narrative of colonization. However others, designed to appeal to the more 'middling-sort' of reader who might identify with the professionalised accounts the mariners had provided, reengaged with the maritime narrative of the original journals. Here the description of the oceanic experience was revitalised. Thus, the thesis argues, the journals found a place in the literary discourse of the voyage and helped shape a larger understanding of the ocean that challenged its uncertainty and put the mariner's oceanic experience at its centre.

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Please note: throughout this thesis, all quotations from the mariners' original journals preserve their irregular and inconsistent spelling, punctuation and abbreviations.

Introduction

This thesis examines the oceanic narrative in the journals of the voyages of Pacific exploration by John Byron, Samuel Wallis, Philip Carteret and James Cook, and their adaptation for publication. It argues that these narratives were part of a change in the discourse of the voyage narrative and the idea of the mariner in the second half of the eighteenth century. They shaped a reimagining of the ocean, putting the mariners' oceanic experience at the centre and through the navigational language began to delineate and describe the ocean, fixing a perceived uncertainty. The thesis looks at the journals to see how the mariners narrated their experience of the ocean and then how that narrative was responded to and adapted. The re-focus on the ocean narrative in the journals situates the thesis within the "blue humanities" or ocean studies. While recent years have witnessed an interest in this ocean-centred approach, the ways in which the narratives highlighted and constructed specifically oceanic experience has not been significantly investigated. 'Re-seaing' these nautical texts through close literary analysis contributes to the blue humanities by enlarging our understanding of an evolving description of the ocean and the way in which it was understood in the second half of the eighteenth century. New ways of seeing and understanding the ocean developed in the eighteenth century brought attention to the oceanic experience that pre-figure the work of blue humanities now. The study also informs the existing critical engagement with the voyages and their narratives, which has mostly focussed on terrestrial encounters of the voyages. More broadly, this thesis contributes to the critical study of the voyage narrative and the study of the changing identity of the mariner in the long eighteenth century.

The journals and their adaptations took part in a changing treatment of the ocean in the eighteenth century. The discourse of the ocean developed to describe an experiential engagement and to define the ocean space. In 1712, Joseph Addison had described the ocean as a place that fomented the imagination and elicited an emotional and aesthetic response:

> Of all the objects that I have ever seen there is none which affects my imagination so much as the Sea or Ocean. I cannot see the heavings of this prodigious Bulk of Waters, even in a Calm, without a very pleasing astonishment; but when it is worked up in a

> Tempest, so that the Horizon on every side is nothing but foaming billows and floating mountains, it is impossible to describe the agreeable horror that rises from such a prospect.[1]

Addison's ocean was intangible, full of a disruptive potential that suggested the sublime: of terror, power, privation, vastness and infinity.[2] While he described a place that appeared empty and indeterminate, the mariner John Byron looked out from the middle of the Pacific Ocean and offered an apparently more practical description:

> Wind from NbW to NWbW for the most part fresh Gales. A great number of Birds about the Ship, by seeing of which & the wind shifting to the Wtward & having lost the great SW Swell, I imagine we must be near some Land; we keep hands constantly looking out for it.[3]

Taken from the journal of his circumnavigation between 1764 and 1766, Byron had made a passage through the Strait of Magellan almost two months earlier and was now crossing the Pacific Ocean, then a mostly uncharted and unfamiliar space. Byron reversed Addison's visual perspective of looking out from the land to water and, imagining it to be near, looked hopefully for land. That reversal prompted a description focussed on the detail of the environment around the ship and offered an emotional engagement; the birds, the shifting wind and the swell evoked a tangible sense of the instability of the environment. The view from the ship and the need to fix the details of weather, location and environment challenged the idea of the ocean as indeterminate and empty – initially for Byron and other mariners like him, but subsequently for a larger public too: those who read these voyage narratives and learned to understand the ocean in new ways. Addison's incomprehension became Byron's "lived" experience.

This meant that the Pacific Ocean went from a place to be conjured by the imagination to a real place where the reader might dwell imaginatively. Before these voyages, Alain Corbin has argued, 'the Flood coloured the world of collective imagination' to make the ocean 'a

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[1] Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, 489, 20 September 1712.
[2] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. by David Wormsley (London: Penguin Books, 2004).
[3] John Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766,* ed. by Robert E. Gallagher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1964), p. 93.

great abyss'.[4] This was the construction of the ocean in Addison's description. Because of this, there was an impulse to fill the ocean with imagined land, exemplified by the idea of a great southern continent, *Terra Australis Incognita*, 'wanting on the South of Equator to counterpoise the land on the North, and to maintain the equilibrium necessary for the earth's motion'.[5] The idea persisted up to Cook's second voyage but as Andrew Kippis, Cook's first biographer, wrote: 'Every thing, however, which relates to science must be separated from fancy, and brought to the test of experiment'.[6] Kippis emphasized what was different about these voyages and their resulting accounts: imaginative constructions of the ocean space had led to the voyages of exploration but that exploration meant the voyagers could only respond to and describe what was found. With Cook's first voyage, exploration turned scientific, marking 'an epoch no less in the mapping of the world than its exploration'.[7] It allowed the experience of the ocean to come to the centre of the narrative. This began with the statistical description of navigation, the narrative of position, and the description of the conditions the mariners found, the weather, sea state and the privations on board the ship. It was here that a language of oceanic description formed; as the mariners' journals described their exploration of the ocean space, they began to explore a way of describing that space.

The mariners' journals described a relationship with the ocean space and, as I examine, between different spaces: the open sea, the coast and the land. Their accounts challenged the usual perspective of that relationship, so it was the land that could appear hostile and not the sea. The original journals began to contain and define the ocean, in a sense casting a net of navigational observation over it. Repeated adaptations of the journals then engaged with that narrative, sometimes resisting it, otherwise adapting and incorporating it. I argue that the oceanic narrative contributed to the changing perception of the mariner as hero. It was an articulation found in their professional life and the lived experience of the voyage. This new hero was epitomised by Cook, described in the introduction to a later serialisation of the voyages as 'cool and deliberate in judging; sagacious in determining; active in executing; steady and persevering in Enterprises; vigilant, with unremitting Caution; unsubdued by

[4] Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea,* trans. by Jocelyn Phelps (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 1.
[5] Alexander Dalrymple, *An Account of the Discoveries Made in the South Pacific Ocean Previous to 1764* (London: [n. pub.], 1767), p. 89.
[6] Andrew Kippis, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (London: G. Nicol, G. G. J. & J. Robinson, 1788), p. 185.
[7] Raleigh A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps*: *Chapters in the Cartographic Record of Geographical Discovery* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 243.

Labour, Difficulties and Disappointments'.[8] Qualities that reflected the scientific endeavour of the voyages and the articulation of the abilities as navigator and mariner combined with those of a 'Boys Own' hero, his dauntlessness and enterprise. It was a mariner-hero dependent on the narrative of the ocean voyage, on the description of that lived experience and therefore re-emphasized those parts of the texts.

The principal texts under consideration are the journals of the British voyages of exploration of the Pacific between 1764 and 1780, by the commanders John Byron, Samuel Wallis, Philip Carteret and James Cook. The thesis examines the surviving manuscripts of the journals, the first authorised published editions made from them, and adaptations that followed. The journals of the first four voyages were probably not written with publication in mind but were the journals required by the Admiralty of its officers for all voyages in addition to the ship's log. A version of these journals, authorised by the Admiralty and edited by John Hawkesworth, was subsequently published in 1773 in three volumes. Cook wrote the journals of his second and third voyages with a view to publication and these were published in 1777 and 1784, both edited by Dr John Douglas. These published editions became the standard accounts of the voyages thereafter as, after their first publication, the journals were re-formatted, adapted, re-purposed and re-written for different audiences. It was not until the middle of the twentieth century that the original journals by Cook, Byron and Carteret were published.

The approach of the thesis to these journals and their adaptations reflects the perspective of the mariners themselves, as it re-emphasizes the place of the sea. I examine how re-engaging with the oceanic narrative offers new ways of understanding the evolving description of the ocean, its definition and its place in the imagination, and thus expands the work of the new blue humanities. These were texts always made self-consciously for someone, and I outline a critical approach to both life writing and adaptation that prioritised the reader. Finally, I look at previous critical engagement with the texts and how this has mostly looked at the events on land rather than the ocean. However, I suggest that it is only through attention to the description of the oceanic experience that we can fully appreciate the texts. It was through that description that the journals played a part in a changing engagement with the ocean and the depiction of the mariner. The original journals and their adaptations were written and

[8] George William Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World* (London: Alex Hogg, 1784), p. iii.

adapted in the context of an evolving understanding of the ocean and the study of the original journals and their adaptations allows us to explore that change. The journals played an important part in making the experience of the ocean and the idea of the mariner, as understood through their oceanic experience, become part of a wider cultural and literary expression.

0.1 Describing the ocean

Michael Harrigan writes that usually it was the 'Terrestrial stops' that were the 'inevitable generators of narrative', an anthropocentric impulse that prioritised 'interactions between people and peoples'.[9] This was also a rejection of the perceived emptiness of the ocean and an apparent lack of a way of describing the ocean space. However, the ocean routes, the water's 'dissolving paths whose passage leaves no trace beyond a wake', shaped the relationship with land and were essential to those narratives.[10] David Cannadine argues that the Pacific voyages not only helped define a national identity but, by laying routes that products to be consumed back home would follow, the mariners created 'the paths and stopping points (ports) of empire'.[11] The ocean acted as a route to wonder and was the medium that shaped the relationship with the widening world for the reader back home.

This work places that ocean pathway at its heart and approaches the narratives and their description of the oceanic experience within the context of 'blue humanities' or 'ocean studies'. It considers 'the imaginative, aesthetic and sensuous geographies of the sea that contends that maritime worlds open new experiential dimensions and new forms of representation'.[12] Charlotte Mathieson suggests the sea should 'no longer [be] positioned as a peripheral "other" to the land or a "blank" space outside of human spatial relations', and asks how narratives might be 'shaped, challenged, reinvented' by the experience of the sea.[13] Kären Wigen writes that this approach is 'an effort to move the seas from the margins to the

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[9] Michael Harrigan, 'A Need to Narrate? Early Modern French Accounts of Atlantic Crossings', in *Sea Narratives: Cultural Responses to the Sea, 1600–Present*, ed. by Charlotte Mathieson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 23-45 (p. 39).
[10] Robert Macfarlane, *The Old Ways: A Journey on Foot* (London: Penguin, 2013), p. 88
[11] *Empire, the Sea and Global History Britain's Maritime World, c.1760-c.1840*, ed. by David Cannadine (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[12] David Lambert, Luciana Martins and Miles Ogborn, 'Currents, visions and voyages: historical geographies of the sea', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32 (2006), 479-493 (p. 479).
[13] *Sea Narratives: Cultural Responses to the Sea, 1600-Present*, ed. by Charlotte Mathieson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p.2.

centre of academic inquiry' and to hold the '"seascape" to scholarly view'.[14] Thus, the blue humanities returns to an emphasis found in the original journals under examination here and their careful account of the ocean passages. However, this critical approach has neglected the Pacific journals and their oceanic narrative. I outline how the texts offer ways of understanding and defining the ocean and its experience.

A primary concern of the blue humanities has been how to describe the ocean when, as Tricia Cusack writes, it 'lacks the distinguishing markers commonly found in landscapes'.[15] Naomi Oreskes highlights the problem, suggesting that even what constitutes an ocean remains unclear:

> Is it the physical body (or bodies) of salt water that cover those otherwise terrestrial three-fifths? Or is it something we, as humans, variably *conceptualize*: one world ocean, five oceans, seven seas, or a diverse array of bodies of salty water? If the last, then what unifies these diverse bodies, when even their most obvious unifying feature–salinity–is not constant and not all bodies of salt water are oceanic?[16]

A vagueness of definition illustrates how little language there is to engage with the ocean. It emphasizes again the understanding of the ocean as a non-place, unable to generate narrative as Harrigan suggests. Philip Steinberg argues that 'narrated understandings', and 'continually reconstructed through our encounters' can help us understand the ocean space.[17] However, he suggests that the mariner's navigational account does not contribute fully to that narrative, as any point described within the 'vectors of movement – tides, currents, and waves' is 'a false staticization of *geophysical* processes', as 'these vectors do not simply occur *in* the ocean; they *are* the ocean'.[18]

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[14] *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*, ed. by Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal and Kären Wigen (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), p. 1.
[15] *Framing the Ocean, 1700 to the Present: Envisioning the Sea as Social Space*, ed. by Tricia Cusack (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p.4.
[16] Naomi Oreskes, 'Scaling Up Our Vision', *Isis*, 105, 2 (June 2014), 379-391 (p. 382).
[17] Philip E. Steinberg, 'Mediterranean Metaphors: Travel, Translation and Oceanic Imaginaries in the "New Mediterraneans" of the Arctic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean', in *Water Worlds: Human Geographies of the Ocean*, ed. by Jon Anderson and Kimberley Peters (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 23-38 (p. 23).
[18] Philip E. Steinberg, 'On Thalassography', in *Water Worlds*, ed. by Anderson and Peters, pp. xiii-xvii (p. xv).

However, I suggest, with a view from the ship rather than the shore, the journals had to find language to describe the ocean space that began with the navigational account. It came from the professional maritime discipline, the unusual purpose of exploration in the voyages and from the mariner's experience of a mostly uncharted ocean. The spine of this narrative was the navigational description, the statistical account of position that was the essential element of the ship's routine (the ship's day began and ended at noon with the noon position). These discrete observations by the mariner from the perspective of the ship allowed a language and a narrative description of the ocean to develop. What is clear in reading the journals and their adaptations is that, because of the ocean's impermanence and the different experiences possible within it, the mariner's observations of the ocean were an essential part of its narrative description. It was this unique perspective of looking from the sea, the mariner's navigational description and the mapping of their nautical experience that made sense of the narrative description. It provided a psychological sense of place and then fixed the ocean narrative, offering a sense of progression to the daily entries.

Thus, the professional articulation of the mariner's experience—the technical language and nautical vernacular— was essential to describing the ocean. As Joseph Conrad wrote a century later: 'to take liberty with technical language is a case against the clearness, precision, and beauty of perfected speech'.[19] There are critical approaches with later literature such as Conrad's that point to the importance of engaging with these aspects of the texts. Elaine Freedgood and Canon Schmitt describe reading what they call the 'denotative text' as not only a 'space to breathe' but also one that 'makes romance possible' and 'the world literally, navigable'.[20] The 'denotative text' thus appears as the ocean; an ambiguous space that leads to possibility. In another essay, Schmitt shows how tidal constraints make space for storytelling and subtly alert the reader to a shifting vision of character.[21] It reminds us of the constraints of the Pacific voyages and their narratives studied here: the Pacific journals were written in the isolated space of the ship at sea, a place of enforced reflection, and, subject to currents and winds, without complete control of the voyage or its narrative. Margaret Cohen has applied a similar denotative reading to part of Cook's first journal, the stranding of the *Endeavour* on the Great Barrier Reef, in *The Novel and the Sea* (2010). Cohen illustrates the

[19] Joseph Conrad, *The Mirror of the Sea* and *A Personal Record*, ed. by Zdzislaw Najder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p.13.
[20] Elaine Freedgood and Cannon Schmitt, 'Denotatively, Technically, Literally', *Representations*, 125, 1 (2014), 1-14 (pp.5-8).
[21] Cannon Schmitt, 'Tidal Conrad (Literally)', *Victorian Studies*, 55, 1 (2012), 7-29.

adaptive quality of the mariner's craft, its flexibility and pragmatism.[22] It is a product of the mariner's "know-how" or its classical equivalent 'metis', as Cohen suggests, 'embodied by Odysseus, the *polumetis* one and the first navigator in the tradition of the novel'.[23] Thus, the voyage journal is a narrative of practical responses, of the mariner's craft and what Cohen identifies as the 'fundamental subject matter' of later sea fiction, 'work'.[24] By following the oceanic narrative of the Pacific Journals, we are following this narrative of 'work' as it threads through adaptations, influencing the characterisation of the mariner and the reader's relationship with the ocean.

However, although the mariner's description of their oceanic experience was rooted in professional language it suggested more. The ocean is more than a body of water but also a result of a combination of forces acting on it. These combined to make a disorientating relationship with space and movement, as Robert Foulke describes:

> Although the vision of those at sea is bounded by a horizon and contains a seascape of monotonous regularity, what is seen can change rapidly and unpredictably. Unlike the land, the sea never retains the impress of human civilization, so seafarers find their sense of space suggesting infinity and solitude on the one hand and prisonlike confinement on the other. That environment contains in its restless motion lurking possibilities of total disorientation: In a knockdown walls become floors, doors become hatches.[25]

Here is a sense of the mariner's experience of the ocean space found in its movement, currents and swells, its interaction with wind and weather and its relationship with time and the sky. It was a space not only physically separated from land and home but also a geographical and imaginative space, a social and cultural construct. It offers what Anna Ryan describes as 'inescapable emotional content':

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[22] Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 15-58.
[23] Margaret Cohen, 'Travelling Genres', *New Literary History*, 34, 3 (2003), 481-499 (p. 487).
[24] Cohen, 'Travelling Genres' (p. 486).
[25] Robert Foulke, *The Sea Voyage Narrative* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 9.

> The sea's appearance and mood changes so regularly, giving it a personality that moves both with the seasons, and with the hours. In the same way as it is receptive to changing light, the sea also has the flexibility to take on particular meanings.[26]

Ryan suggests that the physical attributes of a place affect how we use and understand that place. Thus, the forces acting on the ocean, the experience of it in its different states and where in the ocean that experience takes place (as I show, the coastal experience is very different to that further out at sea) change our understanding of the ocean. We are "at sea" and the ocean's viscosity and impermanence allows multiple meanings.

Moreover, once on the page, the navigational data suggested further meanings, as Margarette Lincoln observes:

> Criss-crossed with rhumb lines and compass roses, they seemingly indicate practical routes to far-flung places. Such charts have layers of meaning. Often they are decorated with allegorical figures that represent different countries or geographical features and make overt use of different terms of reference.[27]

To the uninitiated, even the 'rhumb lines and compass roses' could appear like magical notations that cast a web over the ocean space. The chart distanced the non-maritime viewer while drawing them in with the offer of special insight. Later, we will see how the mariner's vernacular and technical language appeared to exclude the general reader while also appealing to them with a view of a unique and enclosed world. Lincoln suggests the ocean's representation as a merging of science and myth or the scientific and imaginative.

The statistical description also answered a scientific or navigational need that combined with an emotional or psychological relationship with the ocean space. The mariner looked to the Heavens to find location on unfixable water, looking back to home but also with a sense that they were looking to the unknown. As longitude was 'generated with respect to an astronomically sophisticated metropolitan centre', navigational notation connected the mariner to the time and place of home.[28] The rhumb lines, compass roses and lines of

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[26] Anna Ryan, *Where Land Meets Sea: Coastal Explorations of Landscape, Representation and Spatial Experience* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 17.
[27] Margarette Lincoln, 'Tales of Wonder, 1650-1750', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27 (2004), 219-232 (p. 223).
[28] Richard Sorrenson,'The Ship as a Scientific Instrument in the Eighteenth Century', *Osiris*, 11 (1996), 221-236 (p. 224).

longitude and latitude were an important practical way of defining position in the ocean space but were also an abstract construction that captured and contained the ocean in the statistical web. In Cook's charts of New Zealand, the page filled with notations of depths at the coastline (figure 1). The mariners felt their way around an unfamiliar coast; charting dangers and safe harbours. That place could then become somewhere to engage with imaginatively through the accounts and charts. The journals replicated the statistical description and web of longitude and latitude that showed the progress of the voyage and attempted to contain and define the ocean space. The navigational position emphasized the simultaneity of the ocean space, its space as 'juxtaposition' and 'of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed.'[29] The mariner constructed lines of position across the ocean from their relationship with the ocean space, looking to the sky, securing their place at sea and reflecting back to the geographical and chronological centre at home.

These showed an 'interplay between representation and reality' that lay at the heart of the journals and their adaptations, in the reliability of their account, the authority of their narrative voice and of the mariner's identity.[30] It was a tension in the travel narrative more generally, as the 'detailed sensory description' might become 'melded into fantasy and received as playful exaggeration not controlled observation.'[31] Paul Smethurst argues that there was 'an awareness of the reader' and that 'scientific realism did not define itself against the practices of the picturesque or romanticism, but instead adapted and incorporated these into their representational technique.'[32] That awareness was present in the different published versions of the journals, and even in their originals (as Cook shows in the adaption of his approach to writing over his three journals). The web of positions was thus more than simply a narrative of position but a way of asserting those things. Navigational science and language, the observational processes that lay at its heart were essential expressions of the mariner's practice and acted as authentication of their voyage and of themselves. Navigational position was also, more simply, the mariner's attempt to find a sense of place in the ocean. It worked against the fluidity of the ocean but also began a description of the ocean's shape and size and

[29] Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias', trans. by Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics*, 16, 1 (1984), 22-27 (p. 22).
[30] Sorrenson, 'The Ship as a Scientific Instrument in the Eighteenth Century' (p. 236).
[31] Gillian Beer, 'Travelling the Other Way', in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. by Nicholas Jardine, Anne Secord & Emma C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 322-37 (p. 323).
[32] Paul Smethurst, *Travel Writing and the Natural World, 1768-1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 7-8.

the mariner's relationship within it. It offered the reader a structure to understanding the ocean but also suggested its mystery. Thus, the Pacific journals show a way of engaging with and describing the ocean. The mariner's navigational description provided a language to begin an engagement. It was a narrative of work that both defined the mariner's idea of the ocean space and themselves while offering further meaning and resonance for the reader.

0.2 The oceanic self

Even as a professional articulation of the voyage, the mariners' Pacific journals could not help but be a personal expression of the mariner's self as the mariner's identity was reflected through their oceanic experience. As projections of their author's identities as mariners, they asked questions of authorship, authorial intention, identity and representation. The extreme conditions the mariners encountered exaggerated this and the delineation of the mariner's character changed in the adaptations of their journals, to metamorphose from professional to heroic. In effect, John Hawkesworth acted as both reader and author for the first published edition of the journals, as he attempted to fit the narratives to suit a non-maritime readership and his own literary ideas. He changed the engagement with the ocean and began to mould a collective heroic identity for the mariners. Later adaptations made from these first authorised publications and Cook's later two published journals continued to conform the narratives and the depiction of the mariner to contemporary expectations and to suit their different markets. The Pacific journals therefore, negotiated a difficult relationship with life writing and adaptation. These two elements were not distinct as so many of the adaptations found their narrative vitality in the delineation of a new maritime hero, particularly in their description of Cook. However, it is through the adaptations of the original journals that we can see the different and changing attitude to the ocean and how the mariners' vision became part of the wider cultural imaginary.

As examples of life writing though, the journals are problematic. First, Byron, Carteret, Wallis and Cook, for his first journal at least, did not write for publication. Secondly, these texts mostly eschewed, or at least wanted to appear to eschew, the personal. As professional accounts, they asserted the authors' competency as mariners, navigators and commanders. The mariner's log or journal had become a place for the Admiralty to collect information and as a way of monitoring their officers, as promotion required completed personal logs.[33] This

[33] Margaret Schotte, 'Expert Records: Nautical Logbooks from Columbus to Cook', *Information & Culture*, 48, 3 (2013), 281-322.

suggests that the texts were conscious acts of self-presentation, as the mariner described himself as he wished his peers to see him. Primarily, for the periods at sea, the journals appeared to be collections of maritime data, navigational and meteorological, and an account of the management of the ship. The Royal Society's involvement in Cook's first Pacific voyage expanded this requirement for the journals to be repositories of data, increasing their scientific observation. The editing and publication of the first journals then changed the nature of the mariners' personal accounts, evidenced by Cook's changing approach to writing the journals of his second and third voyages. Thus, although not explicitly acknowledged, the articulation of the narrator's identity as a mariner was an important part of the journal's narrative.

This thesis situates an understanding of the mariner's identity in the experience of the ocean. As the voyages charted the empty space of the Pacific Ocean and, in the process, defined it, the journals re-defined the mariner. Tricia Cusack describes the ocean as a liminal space 'in which old identities are unmade and new ones begin to be forged'.[34] Similarly, Emily Burns writes 'Ocean travel invited a discarded identity, a displacement that opened the traveller to new possibilities overseas'.[35] Both posit the voyage as a place for changing identity or renewal. As in other travel literature, the voyage was a vehicle for self-discovery. Dorinda Outram suggests travel literature derived from earlier narratives of pilgrimage and that the journey or voyage was both the 'metaphor and reality of travel as being and becoming'.[36] Carl Thompson writes that the voyage had a central place in the western cultural imaginary as 'metaphors to live by', so that 'an imagery of voyaging and shipwreck has been frequently applied to themes as varied as the journey of life, the progress of the Christian soul, the act of literary composition, and even falling in love or getting drunk'.[37] Voyage literature could be both a real and metaphorical account of a personal and collective or social transformation. Even in these ostensibly observational and experiential accounts, metaphorical understandings of the voyage permeated the Pacific journals: the ocean became a place of change and the mariner a pilgrim. We see in them expressions of the self and to adapt Cusack's description,

[34] Cusack, *Framing the Ocean* (2014), p. 5.
[35] Emily Burns, 'The Old World Anew: The Atlantic as the Liminal Site of Expectations', in *Framing the Ocean*, ed. by Cusack (2014), pp. 37-54 (p. 39).
[36] Dorinda Outram, 'Autobiography, science and the French Revolution', in *Telling Lives in Science: essays on scientific biography*, ed. by Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 85-102 (pp. 89-90).
[37] *Shipwreck in Art and Literature – Images and Interpretations from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Carl Thompson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 5.

the Pacific journals showed the mariners' selves made and re-made while the adaptations continued the process of re-making. The professional demands of the original journals allowed one projection of the mariner's experience while adaptation for different readers told other versions of the maritime identity.

While the mariners' journals did not appear to have 'the distinctive attitude of autobiography', with experiences 'linked reflectively in the consciousness', their articulation of the oceanic experience can still be read as such.[38] As Nicholas Thomas writes, 'Voyaging was, for officers and scientists, a surprisingly bookish business' and Robert Foulke reasons that the 'environment of long sea passages' promoted 'reflection in thoughtful seafarers'.[39] The multiple drafts and corrections Cook made as well as his and the other mariners' objections to Hawkesworth's editing reinforce that view. Indeed, as literary texts they articulated a natural evolution. Felicity Nussbaum observes that 'incoherence, lack of integrity, scantiness and inconclusiveness' was considered 'most natural' in eighteenth-century journals and diaries.[40] The authors would not look for an over-arching coherence, a mode that suited the impermanence of the ocean, but through 'writing and rewriting of the self over a period of time, through constant revisions or serial modes', they produced texts that confounded 'the notion that there is one definitive or fixed version'.[41] The journals began, as Mary Warnock describes the diary, as 'the raw material of written lives, the essence of each day encapsulated as far as possible in truthful words, to prevent their escape'.[42] However, they went further as reflective accounts that articulated an idea of their authors through their relationship with the ocean space.

As adaptations sought new relationships with their readers, they reworked the unusualness of narrative. This suggests an inherent instability in the texts and a tension between reliability and unreliability in understanding the voyage accounts or the understanding of mariner's identity. While the personal nature of the journal would suggest the primacy of the author, these were always mediated texts. The journals of the first four voyages were originally only

[38] Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 2-3.
[39] Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries* (London: Penguin Books, 2018), p. 43; Foulke, *The Sea Voyage Narrative* (2002), p. 8.
[40] Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth Century England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1989), p. 16.
[41] Linda Anderson, *Autobiography* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001), p. 8.
[42] Mary Warnock, *Memory* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p. 126.

generally available in adapted form and it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that the originals became available. This was first with John Cawte Beaglehole's publications of Cook's original journals, pieced together from surviving manuscripts, Robert Gallagher's editing of Byron's journal and Helen Wallis's edition of Carteret's re-written journals. Thus, though the authentic or un-mediated voices of the mariners is now seen as primary, it was not for much of the time in which the narrative of the voyages was established. This places an emphasis on adaptation, on the editing and recreation of those original texts for publication.

However, the adaptations offer an insight into the changing engagement with the ocean and the mariner. They show how the experience and identity expressed by the mariners was then understood and culturally "translated" for different groups of readers or audiences.[43] Combining the individual mariners' identities and centring their narratives on Cook created an archetype of the mariner-hero. This was problematic, as adaptations often took part in elaborating myth. As Gananath Obeyesekere suggests in the retellings of Cook's narrative, 'The lived person is totally subsumed in the myth and the fact is irrelevant, except in footnotes'.[44] The journals were, and still are to some extent, about a projection of myth, the myth of the place and of the mariner. This mythic quality is a lingering shadow of the older relationship with the ocean, of its place as 'other' and a place of metaphor.

Thus, in their "afterlives" the texts were echoes of the mariners' original voices.[45] Here then, adaptation was not always reductive or imitative but helped 'to move beyond axiological defensiveness, inhibiting taxonomy, and simplistic linearity because it levels distinctions of value and priority'.[46] The treatment of the ocean, appropriately, ebbed and flowed as editors negotiated with the description of the unfamiliar. It was through their adaptations that the ocean narrative found forms that readers might understand and respond to. Indeed, adaptation

[43] Adaptation became a form of translation as John Hawkesworth attempted to make the journals comprehensible to non-maritime readers. However, as Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere argue, this is not simply 'a rewriting of an original text' but a way to 'manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way'. *Translation/History/Culture*, ed. by Susan Bassnett & André Lefevere (Abingdon: Routledge, 1992), p. xi.
[44] Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 10-11.
[45] Linda Hutcheon and Siobhan O'Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p.176.
[46] *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, ed. by Daniel Cook & Nicholas Seager (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 2.

illustrates the first response to the mariners' engagement with the ocean and can help us understand its cultural assimilation. The response evolved because in their afterlives the narratives sought different audiences. The adaptations negotiated with class, as William St Clair observes:

> The practice of tranching down by price in the sale of newly written printed texts tended to divide the reading nation into layers which were differentiated by the length of time which had passed since first publication of the texts as well as by socio-economic class.'[47] This reflected the mariner's own insecure place in society, as 'naval officers challenged contemporary notions of gentility.[48]

Therefore, adaption emphasized a general insecurity surrounding the narrative of the ocean voyage: textual, narrative and social, and indeed with the physical ocean itself. As life writing, the texts mediated between professional and personal while the mariner defined the ocean, which in turn, defined the mariner. Likewise, adaptation meant that the description of the oceanic experience and the identity found in it was part of another cyclical process and to read the texts as ocean-centred emphasizes that process.

0.3 The journals and the critical engagement with the sea narrative

The ocean-centred approach reflects a wider changing engagement with the ocean that took place in the eighteenth century. In *The Lure of the Sea* (1988), Alain Corbin examines shifting attitudes to the sea and the increasing leisure use of the seaside throughout the eighteenth century. He argues that attitudes changed from fear of the sea (and ocean) as a 'vision of the "great abyss", a place of unfathomable mysteries' to a place to appreciate 'natural landscapes, meteorological phenomena, and coenaesthetic impressions'.[49] Matthew Binney has traced a 'changing telos' in the mid-eighteenth century from Christian to scientific, with 'a more pronounced attention to empirical classification and observation'.[50] In *The Enchaféd Flood* (1951), W. H Auden argues that this changing imaginative engagement with the ocean made

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[47] William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 82.
[48] Evan Wilson, *A Social History of British Naval Officers 1775-1815* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), p. 224.
[49] Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea,* trans. by Jocelyn Phelps (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 1.
[50] Matthew Binney, 'The Rhetoric of Travel and Exploration: a New "Nature" and the Other in Early to mid-Eighteenth-Century English Travel Collections', *Revue LISA/LISA* e-journal, 13, 3 (2015), 1-26 (p. 1).

it the site for 'distinctive new notes in the romantic attitude', where the 'decisive events, the moments of eternal choice, of temptation, fall, and redemption occur'.[51]

The journals' record of empirical observation fitted the "changing telos" Binney describes and he argues that Hawkesworth's adaptation legitimized 'the experiential circumstances of the collection, both in the events recounted within the narrative and in the narrative voice'.[52] The publications that derived from them were part of a movement of that imperative towards the ocean. The relation of the oceanic experience was less certain in the adaptions of the journals that followed. As the ocean transitioned from being the "other", much of the focus of the empirical classification was of the newly discovered lands, the societies and natural history found there. The transition came through engagement with the mariner hero, which needed the oceanic experience to explain itself. This change allowed the ocean to become the metaphorical environment of self-realisation Auden describes. Thus, the oceanic experience manifested itself in that experiential narrative, as the data of the mariner's navigation, weather and conditions reflected the moment of observation and the transient sense of place.

However, the part the Pacific journals took in that oceanic turn has been mostly unexamined. There are two aspects to the current scholarship of the Pacific journals: the examination of the texts as part of voyage literature and a wider look at the voyages themselves. Jonathan Lamb's *Preserving the Self in the South Seas* (2001) and Philip Edwards's *The Story of the Voyage* (1994) for example, show these two aspects, of understanding the voyage and then its written account. Both approaches have reflected the early adaptations of the journals and concentrated on the terrestrial encounters of the voyages and the voyages of Cook. The scholarship rests on the work of John Cawte Beaglehole and his authoritative edition of Cook's three journals, which put the navigator's original Journals back in public view. The Hakluyt Society has also published editions of Byron's original journal edited by John Gallagher and Carteret's revised journals edited by Helen Wallis. These have been essential primary resources for my research and Beaglehole, Gallagher and Wallis have provided substantial contextual detail. Importantly, Beaglehole's work returned the mariner's narrative voice to the centre of study. However, this has meant the study of the adaptations and the way in which the journals were first read has been neglected. As this thesis sets out, the mariner's

[51] W. H. Auden, *The Enchaféd Flood, or the Romantic Iconography of the Sea* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 21.
[52] Matthew Binney, 'The Authority of Entertainment: John Hawkesworth's An Account of the Voyages', *Modern Philology*, 113, 4 (2016), 530-549 (p. 534).

narrative of the ocean was only the beginning, while the adaptations show how that narrative was understood. Work such as Gananath Obeyesekere's *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* (1992) has been important in dismantling the 'myth' of Cook but here I address the emergence of another myth of the mariner, one that emphasized their work and allowed the ocean narrative to re-emerge. Thus, here I want to briefly outline the scholarship but suggest the alternative approach of this work that re-emphasizes an oceanic engagement.

Beaglehole's approach to James Cook as a writer is straightforward and establishes a hierarchy of texts with the personal journal seen as the authentic primary account. He describes Cook's first Pacific voyage as not only 'an apprenticeship' in discovery but also 'an apprenticeship in reporting on discovery'.[53] The revisions Cook made to the second and third journals showed, Beaglehole thought, 'a much more thoroughgoing process'.[54] He dismisses Hawkesworth's editing as 'more interested in making an impression on a public much wider than geographers and sailors'. [55] He reads the plainness of Cook's style, compared with the circumlocutions of Hawkesworth's writing, as proof of the mariner's honesty and evidence that the mariner 'could not stop looking for accuracy of statement', implying the editor did not.[56] However, in the thesis I set out how the journals self-consciously addressed specific audiences. While Cook's changing approach to writing in his second and third journals might suggest he had assimilated something of Hawkesworth's attitude, as he abbreviated the detailed facts of navigation. Beaglehole importantly returned the mariner's voice to the centre of study and we see the articulation of the lived oceanic experience in that voice but it is in Hawkesworth's dismissed editing and the later adaptations that we can see that voice develop and find its place.

Unlike Beaglehole's assessment of Cook, Lamb's *Preserving the Self in the South Seas* (2001) situates an uncertain identity in the voyages, arguing that the navigators 'rather redoubled their ignorance than increased their knowledge'.[57] Obeyesekere unthreads the "myth" of Captain Cook in his work, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* (1992), questioning the idea of the mariner as civilizer. While engaging with Lamb's argument I suggest that the ocean was in fact a place of relative certainty for the mariner, or at least where the mariner

[53] John Cawte Beaglehole, *Cook the Writer* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1970), p. 8.
[54] Beaglehole, *Cook the Writer,* pp. 12-13.
[55] Beaglehole, *Cook the Writer*, p. 10.
[56] Beaglehole, *Cook the Writer*, p. 8.
[57] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 4.

could attempt to find certainty in their professional identity. Here the conflation of the voyage with the arrival is especially problematic, as Nicholas Thomas, amongst others, notes, from the start Cook's problems were on land and not at sea.[58] Rather, there is a tension between land and water and in the reverse perspective of the mariner, looking from the ocean to land, it engendered. This was, and possibly remains, counterintuitive to the reader. Gananth Obeyesekere's work reinforces the idea of a reversed perspective. His reappraisal of Cook's interactions at Hawaii that led to his death replaces the civilising hero with an un-civilising one and shows how the land became the disruptive location.[59] The "reason" that Cook expressed at sea through his abilities as a navigator appeared confounded by encounters on shore. This was consistent throughout the voyages as Thomas writes: 'Cook had repeatedly been driven to extremes by an unwillingness to qualify or abandon objectives he had embraced'.[60] Reason was unreasoned or, at the very least, worried and muddled.

That the relationship between ocean and land was different for mariners is a key theme of my analysis. Redefining the borders from the perspective of the ocean is essential to their narratives and was part of the process of adaptation. In *European Vision and the South Pacific* (1960), Bernard Smith established the voyages' place in the visual arts. First what was seen was conformed to a classical ideal, 'a kind of tropical Arcadia inhabited by men like Greek Gods', but then continued observation challenged that vision, as 'increasing knowledge not only destroyed the illusion but also became a most enduring challenge to the supremacy of neo-classical values'.[61] Smith concludes that this "opening up" contributed to the 'triumph of romanticism and science in the nineteenth century world of values'.[62] Thus, William Hodges's paintings from Cook's second voyage were radical re-evaluations as he responded to 'the conditions of light and air as seen in a moment of time', while his depictions of the Antarctic, 'where the normal pictorial components of classical landscapes were simply not found' upset the classical ideal further.[63] More recently, Harriet Guest has questioned Smith's appraisal for its 'narrative of Romantic conversion, of the heroic struggle to discard the

[58] Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (London: Penguin Books, 2018), pp. xxiv-xxv.
[59] Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook, European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 30.
[60] Thomas, *Discoveries*, p. 346.
[61] Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 1.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, pp. 58-9.

conventions of the past and embrace the immediacy of "natural vision"'.[64] However, Smith points to the struggle to represent the ocean and, as Guest suggests, 'the challenge of representing the natural landscape of the islands is bound up with the challenge their cultures pose to European conceptions of social order and hierarchy'.[65] Hodges's response to the light of the ice fields of the far southern latitudes suggests the response at sea was a similar challenge. This has implication for the way the treatment of the ocean in the adaptations, as literary forms could not fit the mariners' experience. Where the account survived in publication, it attempted to conform to existing ways of understanding the ocean: the sublime seascape of the southern ice or the horror of the violent storm.

The changing treatment of both the ocean and of the mariner took part in a changing use of language. Thus, Hawkesworth edited the accounts of the time at sea and the nautical vernacular used by the mariners; it appeared that to write about the ocean, authors needed to "un-*sea*" the ocean. Janet Sorensen has examined the disputed relationship with mariner's language and how it became culturally integrated. She writes:

> The representations of language suggest a model that moves between exclusions and inclusions, with the excluded "noise," sometimes defining community by way of contrast, but those same strange sounds also sometimes seen as making up separate languages and communities that must in turn themselves be incorporated within the nation.[66]

Sorensen points to Tobias Smollett's use of nautical vernacular to emphasize strangeness in his nautical characters but notes that 'the peculiarity' of their language is what 'ties readers to them and what registers them as Common Britons', functioning as 'an evocation of Britishness via eccentric speech'.[67] Nautical vernacular acted as a marker of authenticity and commonality, as did navigational detail. In the later serializations, such as in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, further editing made what remained of those aspects of the texts more prominent, thus realigning the texts with a broader spectrum of reader. Carol E. Percy, who has written about the changes Hawkesworth made to Cook's language, notes how Hawkesworth's own

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[64] Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 6.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Janet Sorensen, *Strange Vernaculars: How Eighteenth-Century Slang Became English* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 2.
[67] Sorensen, *Strange Vernaculars*, p. 16.

inconsistencies came from his use of the naturalist Joseph Banks's journal, illustrating his 'regard for Banks's social standing'.[68] This suggests how the texts negotiated with social class and authenticity, which again directed the text away from the mariner's experience. While the exclusiveness of the first publications asserted social authority, their later adaptation for less affluent readers then allowed a more "authentic" narrative voice. As Percy shows, 'certain linguistic irregularities, if deplored on land, were nevertheless quite standard at sea'.[69] Thus, the mariner's vernacular was resisted at first, considered socially unacceptable but then, with adaptation, became less excluded and another marker of authenticity.

There has been further critical engagement with Hawkesworth's editing of the journals that looks at how he responded to literary fashion. It is helpful to see Hawkesworth as a representative 'reader' of the texts and his editing as an expression of that reading. While mostly concerned with Hawkesworth's treatment of primitivism, W. H. Pearson noted Hawkesworth's pedagogical and moral intentions in his essay 'Hawkesworth's Alterations' (1972). Pearson writes that the editor's 'critical doctrine' was 'that the function of literature was to instruct by entertainment' and that 'the highest literature–tragic drama in verse–engaged the passions in the cause of virtue'.[70] David Sandner highlights Hawkesworth's criticism of the 'realistic novel' and John Lawrence Abbott of Hawkesworth's preference for the 'epic' poem. These steered the narrative to an emphasis on 'wonder' and the creation of a mariner hero.[71] In *The Story of the Voyage* (1994), Philip Edwards follows the initial critical reaction to Hawkesworth's work and raises those issues that frustrated the mariners and some readers then. Edwards emphasizes the confusion of narrative voices with the imposition of the first person across the four journals while also Hawkesworth's inclusion of his own generalisations and combining the narratives of other journals, most notably that of Joseph Banks. Edwards describes the resulting published text of Cook's first journal as 'a curious three-headed monster'.[72] The confusion of the narrative voice is there but, as I explore, it was a result of the inability to understand the mariner's oceanic narrative rather than a desire to

[68] Carol Percy, 'Grammatical Lapses in Dr John Hawkesworth's Voyages (1773)', *Leeds Studies in English*, 26 (1995), 145-168 (p. 22)
[69] Ibid.
[70] William H. Pearson, 'Hawkesworth's Alterations', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 7 (1972), 45-72 (p. 64).
[71] David Sandner, *Critical Discourses of the Fantastic, 1712-1831* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 90; John Lawrence Abbott, *John Hawkesworth: Eighteenth-Century Man of Letters* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p. 174.
[72] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 89.

impose another. As Abbott suggests, the combining of the Mariners' narrative voices by Hawkesworth was the beginning of an archetypal naval hero. I argue that in later adaptations that mariner hero would provide a way for the literary narrative to reengage with the oceanic experience.

Thus, critical engagement has been mostly with the terrestrial engagements of the journals but ironically, it has then been mostly dismissive of Hawkesworth's adaptation that similarly appeared to turn away from the narrative of the ocean. This thesis approaches the journals differently by reengaging with that ocean narrative and the expression of the mariners' identities through that narrative. It treats the adaptations not as challenges to the ocean narrative but reinterpretations of it, modifications that expressed the changing attitudes to the experience of the ocean and its place in the cultural imagination. Nevertheless, it applies the ideas raised by these previous critical studies to the mariners' articulation of their experience. Lamb's thesis of re-doubled uncertainty can be understood in contrast to the attempt to find certainty at sea and I look at how the reversed perspective of the mariner, looking from ocean to land, exaggerated the idea of the land, rather than the sea, as a disorientating "other". As published texts the journals began to conform to cultural pressures and developed a myth of the mariner, manifest in Cook's death. Obeyesekere shows how this mythic mariner was manipulated in its retelling. Conversely, this gave the mariner an authority that allowed their professional identity greater expression, so that their professional narrative, the narrative of being at sea, found a place again.

Thus, the thesis explores the way that the narratives of the Pacific voyages by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook engaged with the experience of the ocean. It focuses on the description of the ocean and of the activities at sea, an area mostly ignored in other studies. I argue that the journals were part of a changing engagement with that experience and that this helped to redefine the mariner. I first identify the articulation of the ocean experience in the original journals, how the mariners described the ocean and their experience of it. Then how the mariner's understanding of the ocean was conformed to suit literary and cultural demands in the published edition by John Hawkesworth and the further adaptations of that and of Cook's further two journals. The changing perception of the mariner was important to this narrative and I trace the changes in the adaptations to suggest that it was the mariner's professional life and lived experience of the voyage that articulated the idea of the mariner as hero. This description, while dangerous and sublime, fixed the ocean through navigational detail and

increased knowledge of its physical space. The Pacific Ocean was no longer a place filled and populated by imagination constructions but a tangible place to provoke the imagination.

I begin in the next chapter by giving literary context to the original journals and an outline of their original texts. Following that, I look at the journals of the first three voyages by John Byron, Samuel Wallis and Philip Carteret. Byron's voyage in the *Dolphin* between 1764-1766 established British interest in the Pacific; Wallis followed, again in the *Dolphin* between 1766-1768. The *Swallow* commanded by Carteret accompanied the *Dolphin*, returning back to England a year later, in 1769. It was Wallis who first came to Tahiti and "discovered" it for the Europeans. Although voyages of exploration, these were not "scientific" as Cook's would be. In the chapter, I establish the mariners' engagement with the Pacific, then mostly unknown. We see in them the struggle with the ocean space and the trials of the voyages. Byron's journal is of particular interest for his description of the passage through the Strait of Magellan, which can appear as a Stygian gateway to the "other" of the Pacific for the British mariners. The coastal experience expressed the tension between land and sea and the mariner's reverse perspective as he looked to a shore that was here an alternate "other". The journal of Wallis's voyage allows the reader to understand the deteriorating conditions on board as the crew struggled with scurvy as well as the deteriorating condition of the ship. It illustrates the lived experience of the ocean crossing. Carteret re-wrote his journal following the completion of his voyage and here we can see the influence of a period of reflection on the journal and its articulation of the ocean experience. All three journals establish an engagement with the ocean rooted in navigational observation, the observations of weather and sea, and in the routine of the ship. They show how the journals were not only a record of the voyages but were expressions of the mariner's self-fashioned identity.

Chapter 3 examines the journals of Cook's three voyages to the Pacific. Cook's approach to writing his journals changed considerably over the three voyages, as he moved from writing for his professional peers to writing for the general reader. His narration of the ocean experience showed a developing language as he expressed a complicated relationship with the sea and how he represented himself in the context of the voyages. The second and third journals became noticeably more literary and focussed on events on land and there was a continuing reduction of the voyage narrative and of the navigational description. I suggest that we can understand this process of editing as an erosion of identity, as it marginalised the narrative of navigation, in which Cook had excelled and expressed himself most clearly as a

mariner. The transition showed the problems of the hybrid voyage journal as it transposed itself into a literary context.

Next, I look at the first published edition of the first four journals, edited by John Hawkesworth. He attempted to make the texts suit a more general readership and to conform them to his ideas of literary narrative. Hawkesworth edited the ocean narrative and the engagement with the ocean, beginning the process of "un-seaing", but there was also in his text the beginning of an idea of the mariner as hero, found in his professional life. The chapter shows how the problems of engaging imaginatively with the ocean persisted and made its editing problematic. The critical reception of Hawkesworth's text, then and now, shows how this problem was never fully resolved.

Following the publication of Hawkesworth's edition of the journals and the official publication of Cook's second and third journals there were numerous adaptations and derivations of the narratives. In the first part of Chapter 5, I outline various different approaches of these adaptations. In the second part, I trace the different ways in which they engaged with the account of the ocean voyage experience and the mariner's identity found in that experience and suggest that there were two contradictory impulses. One prioritised the terrestrial encounter and this increasingly found expression in texts that asserted colonization and British power. Where first the ocean had been the "other", this transferred to the land. The other impulse still allowed an articulation of the ocean centred on the mariner's professional identity. This was a refinement of the archetypal mariner hero present in Hawkesworth's text now made to appeal to a wider readership. It appeared to return the narrative in some ways to the original journals as it emphasized the professional steadfast mariner. Underlying it was a cultural shift, as the Pacific became a more familiar and safer place for the reader, a place made safe in part by the reproduction of narrative.

Thus, the thesis outlines how attention to the ocean narrative found in the Pacific journals and their adaptations can illuminate our understanding of the place of the ocean and of the mariner. It shows how a language of oceanic experience evolved to form a narrative of the ocean, situated in the mariner's perspective from the sea and not the land. It was the mariner's professional identity found in the oceanic experience that allowed the ocean narrative to persist in the adaptations and literature that followed. Tracing the narrative of oceanic experience through the journals and adaptations shows how the Pacific journals played a vital

part in the development of the voyage narrative and the understanding of the ocean and mariner more generally.

Chapter 1. The Uncertain Narrative of the Voyage and the Textual Variation of the Pacific Journals

The voyage journal had an uncertain literary place in the first half of the eighteenth century reflected in their heterogeneous textual identities. The Pacific journals began as professional logs answering the demands of the Admiralty, written against a background of an increasingly regulated navy. Once published, they had to mediate between the demands of maritime journals with the need to appeal to a wider readership. This chapter looks at two earlier texts to establish the context of the journals and the problems inherent in them: Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589) and William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), both texts that were frequently reprinted and known in different versions. It then outlines the different extant manuscript versions of the journals and shows how there was no fixed idea of how the journal should be presented by the mariner. Though written in response to professional demands, the journal was in effect a device for the mariners to either reflect or project an idea of themselves and their voyage; this suggests that there is no authoritative narrative of the voyages.

1.1 *The Principal Navigations* and *A New Voyage Round the World*

Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589-1600) was a systematic description of British voyages made from eyewitness accounts wherever possible and one that presented a record of British naval achievement, 'to recommend to the world, the industrial labors, and painfull travels of our country men [*sic*]'.[1] Oliver Warner has described Hakluyt as 'the primary *source* of maritime writing in England in as true a way as Chaucer was the father of English poetry'.[2] His work established the voyage narrative as a potential source of navigational information; Hakluyt offered a rudimentary outline of the form that the later journals from the eighteenth century would take in its episodic narrative, occasional navigational observations and maritime description. However, there were fundamental differences to the eighteenth-century Pacific journals in the

[1] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 1589), p. 8.
[2] Oliver Warner, *English Maritime Writing: Hakluyt to Cook* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), p. 9.

engagement with the ocean or sea. The voyage was framed within a Christian narrative rather than the experiential narrative that would be seen in the Pacific journals and Matthew Binney writes that 'Hakluyt's "nationally tinged" universalist and imperialist language openly supports imperialism as a means not only to expand the state's dominions but also the universal community of Christianity.'[3] Hakluyt drew a connection between the process and purpose of the voyage and Christian understanding in the preface of *The Principal Navigations*, writing of his guardian 'from the mappe he brought me to the Bible [*sic*]'.[4] In this gesture transferring attention from one to the other, Hakluyt suggested geographical study as a lesson in, or exegesis of, Christianity. However, the text did not engage with the open sea, as if the navigational account was still feeling its way around a coastline and the ocean remained unapproachable. Hakluyt appeared not to have the tools, navigational or imaginative, to make that engagement.

The account given by Hakluyt of two attempts to discover the Northwest Passage in 1585 and 1586 by the celebrated Elizabethan navigator John Davis illustrate this.[5] There was some practical and observational information, though the detail was sporadic compared with that found later, as the beginning of the account of the first passage shows. After several false starts the first voyage finally began on 28 June 1585, there was no account of the passage north except the presence of fog and observations of porpoise and whales towards the end.[6] However, the narrative suggested the mariners carefully attended to the navigational record on the voyages, although it did not include it. It notes: 'the Captain, Master and I went about all the islands and the Captain did place out and describe the situation of all the islands and harbours to the exact use of navigation' and Davis would go on to chart the eponymous Davis inlet on the coast of Labrador.[7] Once in the arctic waters, the mariners encountered ice after following the sound of 'a mighty great roaring of the sea as if it had been the beach of some

[3] Matthew Binney, 'The Rhetoric of Travel and Exploration: a New "Nature" and the Other in Early to mid-Eighteenth-Century English Travel Collections', *Revue LISA/LISA e journal*, 13, 3 (2015), 1-26 (p. 4).
[4] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* (1589), 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'.
[5] John Davis was 'certainly one of the most accomplished seamen of his age'. He was the author of *The Seaman's Secret* (1594) a treatise on navigation and inventor of the backstaff or "Davis Quadrant", for measuring the altitude of heavenly bodies. *John Davis the Navigator*, ed. by Albert Hastings Markham (London: Hakluyt Society, 1880), pp. lv-lvi.
[6] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, p. 776.
[7] Ibid; Margaret Montgomery Larnder, 'DAVIS, JOHN (d. 1605)', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/davis_john_1605_1E.html> [accessed September 23, 2020].

shore' through the fog.[8] The focus of the account in Hakluyt was on the strangeness of the environment: as they sailed along the coast followed by 'the irksome noise' of the ice, the place 'seemed to the true pattern of Desolation'.[9] With no navigational detail there was little sense of location, the mariners passed through fog into an alien seascape only then to be pushed back by adverse winds.

In the account of Davis's second attempt to find the Northwest Passage the following year, there was the suggestion of a greater possible engagement with the ocean with some description of the sea and navigational positions given when in the north. The search for a way through prompted closer attention to the geographical space and the visual quality of the sea: the 'place was all islands with great sounds passing them', while 'the water remained of one colour with the mayne ocean without altering [*sic*]'.[10] There was also a record position that showed the limits of the location. On 15 June they 'discovered land in the latitude of 60 degrees and in the longitude from the meridian of London westward 47 degrees' but with ice lying for ten leagues in some places they bore away for 'a free sea, which through Gods favourable mercy we at length obtained'.[11] The text continued:

> The nine and twentieth of June, after many tempestuous stormes, wee againe discovered land, in longitude from the meridian of London, 58 degrees 30 minutes, and in latitude, 64, being East from us into which course such it pleased God by contrary windes to force us [*sic*].[12]

The description of the ocean came from a desire to explore the Northwest Passage, thus it left the accounts of the passage to those points blank. It meant that the account filled out a little of the edges of the sea, the point where land was reached, but did not expand into the ocean space. In effect, it treated the ocean as an inhospitable and alien non-place, only passed through to find somewhere else. Moreover, the mariner's work was a witness to God: 'they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deepe [*sic*]'.[13] Hakluyt suggests that navigation was not a discovery of place but of God and was one that still looked out to the water rather than from

[8] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, p. 777.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, p.780.
[11] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, p. 781.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'.

it. Thus, we see the beginning of a navigational description but one that projects the ocean space as empty or a place of transition to the other. However, the description the voyage it engenders is a description of God's wonders, an emphasis rather different to the experiential description of the Pacific journals.

That, in its disinterest, would attempt a more detailed picture from the sea. In the Pacific journals of the eighteenth century, the pilgrimage had become an experiential and empirical journey. As Margaret Cohen notes, there were only a few occasions where Cook appealed to God's Providence in his 'sober, secular account' of his first voyage.[14] Cohen outlines how when nearly wrecked on the Great Barrier Reef, Cook articulated an attention to 'prudence and protocol', following a process of accepted practices for getting the ship off.[15] However, caught on the reef a second time there was a potential breakdown of that process, illustrated by evidence of numerous revisions in the surviving manuscript drafts. Cook wrote 'in this distressed situation, we had nothing but Providence' and his language became more vivid as the *Endeavour* was finally saved from 'the very jaws of destruction'.[16] The turn away from the professional and experiential was a collapse that mirrored the common understanding of the shipwreck as a metaphor for moral and Christian crisis.[17] However, here it had become a crisis of empiricism and the professional narrative.

The change to the narrative of the voyage journal to one of experiential record meant a different relationship with incident and observational detail, something made clear in William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World*. First published in 1697 in one volume its success meant three more editions were printed that year, a second volume of additional material including *A Discourse of Trade-Winds, Breezes, Storms, Tides and Currents* was published in 1699.[18] *A New Voyage* was ostensibly the account of Dampier's haphazard voyages with various privateers between 1679 and 1691 but became a vehicle for his observations of natural history, of geography and of the people he encountered. Dampier had kept a journal

[14] Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 45.
[15] Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea*, p. 24.
[16] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. by John Cawte Beaglehole, 4 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*, 1768-1771*, pp. 166-7.
[17] *Shipwreck in Art and Literature: Images and Interpretations from Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. by Carl Thompson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 5.
[18] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 17.

throughout his voyages, once keeping it dry in 'a large Joint of Bambo [*sic*]' sealed with wax.[19] Samuel Taylor Coleridge described Dampier, as 'a rough sailor, but a man of exquisite mind' and Dampier's writing showed that dichotomy as he redrafted his text away from a straight-forward voyage narrative to those of predominantly terrestrial observations of natural history.[20] This emphasis appeared to respond to the Royal Society; as Neil Rennie describes Dampier, he was 'exactly the kind of traveller to whom the Royal Society had addressed its "Directions for Seamen"'.[21] Published in 1667, the "Directions" asked that mariners keep a diary with which to increase the Society's '*Philosophical* stock by the advantage, which *England* enjoys of making Voyages into all parts of the World'.[22] It was an unusual narrative direction then; Philip Edwards suggests the published account of Sir John Narborough's voyages (1694) might have prompted Dampier's decision to exploit the material he had gathered.[23] However, Diana and Michael Preston note that Dampier had discussed *A New Voyage* with the previous director of the Royal Society, Sir Robert Southwell, in the years leading up to its publication and Dampier would dedicate his book to the Society's President, asking him to 'distinguish the Experience of the Author from his Faults'.[24] Thus, Dampier appeared to understand the importance of, and potential interest in, the material he had collected.

However, with the experiential narrative came problems with finding a suitable rhetoric of scientific narrative and a tension between "wonder" and textual authority. This continued later in the published versions of the Pacific journals as they adapted the mariner's professional record to a wider readership. The extent of Dampier's observational material meant there was little room for the account of the ocean. Some of this was given elsewhere, the later inclusion of *A Discourse of Trade-Winds* was significant but within the text of *A New Voyage*, the ocean was left mostly blank. Dampier began to codify the experience of the sea in *A*

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[19] William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 2 vols (London: James Knapton, 1702), I, 21.
[20] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Table Talk*, ed. by T. Ashe (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1923), p. 151.
[21] Neil Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 59; Dampier, *A New Voyage* (1702), p. 2.
[22] Lawrence Rooke, 'Directions for sea-men bound for far voyages, drawn up by Master Rook, late geometry professour of Gresham Colledge', in The Royal Society *Philosophical Transactions*, 1, 8 (1665), pp. 140-3.
[23] Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage*, p. 20.
[24] Diana & Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind* (London: Corgi Books, 2005) p. 325; Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1702), I, 'Epistle Dedicatory'.

Discourse on Winds, recognizing its intrinsic value. It was a comprehensive and schematic description of the trade winds, sea and land breezes, storms and their presages, the differences for the seasons of the year, and the tides and currents. However, it sat outside the principal narrative of *A New Voyage*, suggesting that the literary form could not accommodate the oceanic experience and the observational data it generated. However, the fault line of wonder and experience in Dampier's text was additional motivation for the later Pacific voyages. Dampier's narrative encouraged an imaginative engagement with the wonder at the place that, in turn, spurred exploration.

There was already a deep-rooted desire for the fantastic in travel literature; Neil Rennie describes texts such as *Mandeville's Travels* (c. 1357) providing 'both verisimilitude and romantic glamour to [its] structure of fabulous "facts"'.[25] Gillian Beer suggests the factual travel narrative was susceptible to 'rhetorical modes that were both enabling and dangerous to their project: enabling because detailed sensory description was valued in the genre, dangerous because such description was easily melded into fantasy and received as playful exaggeration nor controlled observation'.[26] This shaded the publication of the Pacific voyage journals, reinforced by the Pacific Ocean's place in the cultural imagination. Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* encouraged an imagined Pacific and prompted a rush of publications at the beginning of the eighteenth century that muddled it and re-made the Pacific Ocean as a place of wonder. Margarette Lincoln notes that following the book's success, 'since the reading public could not obtain enough authentic voyage literature, fiction writers soon supplied more'.[27] Dennis Reinhartz has described how a 'shared vision' developed of the Pacific as a place for mercantile opportunity and exploitation, 'a vast domain of diverse riches'.[28] The idea of the *Terra Australis Incognita* flourished; a great southern continent to balance those of the northern hemisphere. It would fill the empty ocean with land and, more importantly, potential commerce. *A New Voyage Round the World* (1724) made science serve trade and the fantasy commercial:

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[25] Neil Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts*, p. 14.
[26] Gillian Beer, 'Travelling the Other Way', in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. by Nicholas Jardine, Anne Secord & Emma C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 322-37 (p. 323).
[27] Margarette Lincoln, 'Tales of Wonder, 1650-1750', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27 (2004), 219-232 (p. 221).
[28] Dennis Reinhartz, 'Shared Vision: Herman Moll and His Circle and the Great South Seas', in *Science, Empire and the European Exploration of the Pacific*, ed. by Tony Ballantyne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 43-52 (p. 46).

> We were encouraged to make all such kinds of useful discoveries as might tend to the advantage of trade, and the improvement of geographical knowledge and experience, yet it was all to be so directed as to be subservient to the profits.[29]

The Pacific voyages by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook were a product of that vision.

In Dampier's text, the problem of combining the personal account with accumulated observations, the 'ambiguous relationship between the traveller's experiential story and scientific data production', expressed the tension between wonder and reliability.[30] The combination of the scientific observations he had made in his account and his autobiographical narrative as a mariner, a privateer no less, that had facilitated those observations, articulated the fault line of the voyage narrative. Reflecting this fracture or imbalance, Albert Gray has described Dampier's account as 'a haphazard tour interrupted by digressions as accidental and whimsical as some in the autobiography of Tristram Shandy'.[31] Gray suggests the precarious position of the text, placing it potentially within the mode of the fictional narrative. The narratives of wandering mariners distracted from scientific coherence while the scientific narrative needed the other to validate it, a problem that continued in the publications of the Pacific journals.[32]

Thus, in many ways, Dampier appeared to be a reluctant mariner and his observations looked to the land. This might have partly been a result of his desire to suppress his role as privateer. It was part of the inherent imbalance between the experiential narrative and data but also inferred that these observations were less relevant, scientifically and narratively. In effect they only facilitated a route to wonder, a similar position as the absent sea and ocean found in Hakluyt. Where Dampier engaged with the ocean, it tended to the unusual phenomena that could invite the reader to share in the otherness and fantasy of the ocean. Dampier described the 'Corpus Sant' (St Elmo's Fire) as both 'like a Star' and 'a great Glow-worm'.[33] Described

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[29] Daniel Defoe [?], *A New Voyage Round the World* (London: A. Bettesworth & W. Mears, 1725), p. 66.
[30] Anna M. Thell, 'William Dampier's "Mixt Relation": Narrative vs. Natural History in A New Voyage Round the World (1697)', in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 37, 3 (2013), 29-54 (p. 31).
[31] Sir Albert Gray 'Introduction', in William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, ed. by Sir Albert Gray (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1937), pp. xv-xvi.
[32] Anna Thell calls this 'an awkward dance of two logics that enable and disqualify each other'. Thell, 'William Dampier's "Mixt Relation"' (2013), p. 36.
[33] William Dampier, *A New Voyage*, I, 414.

as a heavenly portent presaging either a storms end or its increase, its metamorphosis from star to worm emphasized the strangeness of the ocean. Mostly though, Dampier was reticent about his oceanic experience, particularly of the Pacific crossing. He reduced the account of the passage across the Pacific to one paragraph, first 'a small Land-wind at E.N.E.', then a 'Sea-wind came at W.N.W. a fresh Gale', and after, in the trade winds, 'we made great Runs every Day, having very fair clear Weather'.[34] This reflected uncertainty of place and emphasised the perception of the sea as other. 'It was very strange', Dampier wrote of the passage, 'that in all this Voyage we did not see one Fish, not so much as a Flying-Fish, nor any sort of Fowls'.[35] For Dampier, so far into the ocean, life emptied out and lacked the signifiers that made land interesting.

As Dampier ignored the ocean, he attempted to edit the language of the sea, or appeared to. He claimed that he had 'divested my self of Sea-Phrases, to gratify the Land Reader; for which the Seaman will hardly forgive me: And yet, possibly, I shall not seem Complaisant enough to the other; because I still retain the use of so many Sea-terms.'[36] It suggested that any attempt at compromise with the mariner's vernacular would not satisfy the reader and thus, the impossibility of a resolution between land and sea in the narrative. However, Dampier later described the 'very pleasant sailing' off the Pearl Islands on the coast of Panama in February 1685, 'having the Main on one side, which appears in divers forms. It is beautified with many small Hills, cloathed [*sic*] with Woods of divers sort of Trees'.[37] The experience satisfied both the appeal of being at sea, the sailor's romantic vagrancy, but with the reassuring certainty of the land and its attractiveness to the classifying naturalist, near-by.

Thus, both Hakluyt and Dampier's texts show the precarious place the ocean had in the voyage narrative. Hakluyt offered the beginning of a navigational schema for the voyage narrative but mostly ignored the ocean; within its Christian telos, the ocean was a void or a place of transition. Dampier did suggest the potential of the ocean experience but the engagement stood apart from the literary narrative, implying it held no interest except as technical information; the ocean remained other. However, as literary texts, they were important antecedents to the Pacific journals by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook, serving as references and establishing the context and expectations for the publication of their later

[34] Dampier, *A New Voyage* (1702), I, 281.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Dampier, *A New Voyage* (1702), I, 4.
[37] Dampier, *A New Voyage* (1702), I, 126-7.

journals. The primary difference would be that the Pacific journals would describe voyages where the purpose was to understand the space of the ocean so that it was no longer simply a place to be crossed. This changed the dynamic of the writing, as the extremes of the ocean space and the mariners' orders prompted them to look out to the horizon and begin to fill the ocean with description: navigational, observational and psychological.

1.2 The Pacific voyages and their journals

The mariners responded to the narrative demands found in Hakluyt and Dampier's texts in slightly different ways, as the variations in their journals show. The journals of the first four voyages by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook's first voyage were probably not written with publication in mind but were required by the Admiralty of its officers for all voyages in addition to the ship's log, (a requirement that had begun at the end of the seventeenth century with the increasing regulation of the navy).[38] A version of these journals edited by John Hawkesworth was subsequently published in 1773. Cook wrote the journals of his second and third voyages for publication, which (as we shall see) changed his approach to their drafting. John Cawte Beaglehole edited the original manuscripts of Cook's journals for publication between 1955 and 1967; Byron's original journal edited by John Gallagher was finally published in 1964; and Carteret's revised journal edited by Helen Wallis was published in 1965.

This textual history has meant that any idea of an "authoritative" text is problematic. Hawkesworth's "authorized" version of the first journals and the published editions of Cook's second and third voyages edited by Dr John Douglas established a received narrative of the voyages and understanding of the mariners. Later, Beaglehole's work would offer the idea of the original unpublished journal as personal and therefore more authentic. Yet, these were never written as "personal" accounts in the way we would generally understand them, but were professional records. However, all show the changing engagement with the ocean and so are important to this thesis.

I shall describe the texts in chronological order. First, the original journal MSS by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook for his first voyage and afterwards, the published text of these journals published by Hawkesworth. Following that, I outline the texts of Cook's two subsequent voyages. Further adaptations of the journals are outlined in Chapter 5.

[38] Margaret Schotte, 'Expert Records: Nautical Logbooks from Columbus to Cook', *Information and Culture*, 48, 3 (2013), 281-322 (p. 294).

The mariners' original journals or logs were the officer's "remark books" required by the Royal Navy of all masters and officers in addition to the ships' logs. They would contain a summary of the details from the log with the officers' remarks or notes of any 'remarkable occurrences'. These could include anything that concerned the running of the ship or the progress of the voyage but lay outside the parameters of the log, such as taking on stores or repairs, but they were not meant to be personal diaries. Margaret Schotte outlines their different functions: as records of the voyage; for navigational and other hydrographical information; for professional oversight and scrutiny; as repositories of empirical observation.[39] This had implications for the observation and description of the ocean. Logbooks and journals acted as aids to navigation, the continuous record vital in constructing the ship's position at sea. Thus, the ocean description began with the narrative of position. It was primarily statistical, expanding further to include observations of currents, and augmented with the description of sea-state and weather, the forces surrounding the ship and mariner. Closer to land the description changed to include depths, tides, anchorages and possible dangers. As objects of professional oversight, the journals acted as methods of evaluation and an officer would need to submit their journals to the Admiralty when seeking promotion.[40] That meant, as the officer attempted to articulate his professional qualities, the journals became self-conscious expressions of their idea of themselves. They were examples of self-fashioning, as the mariners constructed an idea of themselves to suit an ordered naval social/professional model and in contrast to the apparently disorder of the ocean.[41] If we see an articulation of a mariner as hero in the later published journals and their adaptations, it began in that self-fashioning. Finally, as well as a professional account or aid to navigation, the journals could be used as a source of data. The Royal Society's 'Directions for Seamen' asked the mariner to observe and record the natural world about them so that the journal could become a narrative of discovery.

Those perspectives are apparent in the Pacific journals but they went further as navigational accounts, as projections of the mariners' identities and as records of discovery, and form a

[39] Margaret Schotte, 'Expert Records'.
[40] Possibly to avoid that oversight, Schotte observes how 'Candidates frequently blamed storms or even pirates for absent logbooks, excuses plausible enough to convince the Admiralty to reconsider their cases.' Schotte, 'Expert Records', p. 294.
[41] Stephen Greenblatt observes that 'self-fashioning is achieved in relation to something perceived as alien, strange, or hostile' – here, the ocean. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 9.

genre peculiar to themselves. The essential difference to previous narratives was that these were voyages of 'discovery' and Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook were asked to report on what they found. For the first of these voyages, Byron's 'Secret Instructions' asked him to extend the knowledge of 'Parts of the British Empire' that had been 'imperfectly explored' and to 'make Discoveries of Countries hitherto unknown'.[42] The orders placed the voyage in the context of past exploration by Francis Drake and William Dampier and asked for careful observations of latitude, longitude, compass variation, headlands, tides, currents, soundings, shoals and rocks.[43] This was not therefore just a voyage on which observations might be made but one whose express purpose was to make observations. That difference became more obvious with each voyage and in Cook's first voyage became explicitly scientific. In part commissioned by the Royal Society to observe the transit of Venus at Tahiti, only recently located by Wallis, Cook's instructions were also to look for the hypothesised Southern Continent, *Terra Australis Incognita*, and give 'a full account of your Proceedings in the whole Course of your Voyage' and to describe what he found.[44] Thus, the journal became much more than an officer's 'remarks' but a journal of scientific observation and a narrative of oceanic experience.

After briefly outlining the voyages themselves, the rest of this chapter describes the different manuscript versions of the journals by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook. It serves as a reference for the thesis but also underlines how there was no uniform approach to the journal.

1.2.1 The voyages

The first voyage that formed the basis of the narratives was by the Honourable Captain John Byron between 1764 and 1766 on the *H.M.S. Dolphin* accompanied by the *H.M.S. Tamar* commanded by Patrick Mouat. Byron's orders were to look for a possible base in the South Atlantic to resupply ships entering the Pacific before then exploring the north of the Pacific for a Northwest Passage through to the Atlantic. Byron did not follow the second part of his orders and go north after making the Pacific but instead headed across the ocean, locating six previously unknown islands along the way. Following Byron's voyage, the Admiralty's focus turned to the Pacific and thus Byron opened the way for the subsequent voyages by Wallis

[42] Robert E. Gallagher, 'Introduction' in John Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766*, ed. by Robert E. Gallagher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1964), p. 3.
[43] Gallagher, 'Introduction', p. 5.
[44] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour, pp. cclxxxii- cclxxxiv.

and Carteret, who would make further "discoveries", and then James Cook's three voyages. Wallis's voyage, from 1766 and 1768, was also in the *Dolphin*; the *Swallow*, commanded by Carteret, accompanied him but returned a year later in 1769 – the ships separated after leaving the Strait of Magellan. Wallis notably located Tahiti, which he named King George the Third's Island. To some extent, Carteret's voyage lies outside the progression of voyages from Byron to Cook. Hampered by a slow, ill-equipped and poorly manned ship, Carteret did not return to England until after Cook's departure. The three voyages by Byron, Wallis and Carteret began to fill in the vast gaps in European knowledge of the Pacific and would be the foundation for Cook's comprehensive mapping of the ocean.

Raymond Cock argues that there was a notable difference between the first three voyages and Cook's first voyage; while Byron, Wallis and Carteret crossed the Pacific with no known stopping points, Cook 'knew exactly where he was headed'.[45] Their character was different as well, as the voyages appeared more specialized: ships were adapted for the purpose, converted North Sea colliers, and carried naturalists on the first two voyages (Joseph Banks on the first voyage, Johann Forster and his son Georg on the second) as well as artists and astronomers, emphasizing their scientific purpose.[46] Cook's first voyage was in the bark *Endeavour* from 1768 and 1771. Rather than going through the Strait of Magellan as the previous voyages had, Cook doubled Cape Horn. The *Endeavour* then made its way to Tahiti where they stayed three months before going on to chart the coastline of New Zealand and the northern coast of Australia. His second voyage, between 1772 and 1775, was in the *Resolution* accompanied by the *Adventure* commanded by Tobias Furneaux. They went via the Cape of Good Hope to the Southern Ocean and, for the first time, south of the Antarctic Circle. Exploration of the southern Pacific Ocean finally put to rest the idea of a great southern continent, the hypothetical *Terra Australis Incognita*. The third voyage from 1776 to

[45] Raymond Cock, 'Precursors of Cook: The Voyages of The *Dolphin*, 1764–8', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 85,1 (1999), 30-52 (p. 33). Koch challenges many of the assumptions that privilege Cook's voyages compared with those by Byron and Wallis, arguing that the earlier voyages played a more important part in the exploration of the Pacific than is usually acknowledged.

[46] The astronomer on Cook's first voyage was Charles Green who had been an assistant to the Astronomer Royal Nevil Meskelyne. The Swedish naturalist Daniel Solander, who had trained with Carl Linnaeus, the Finnish draftsman and botanist Hermann Spöring and botanical draftsman Sidney Parkinson, accompanied Joseph Banks. As well as the naturalists Johann and Georg Forster, William Hodges served as official artist and William Wales was the astronomer on the second voyage. There were no scientists taken on Cook's final voyage but the ship's surgeon, William Anderson, acted as botanist, William Bayly was the ship's astronomer and John Webber was the voyage's official artist.

1780 in the *Resolution*, accompanied by the *Discovery* commanded by Charles Clerke, again went eastward via the Cape of Good Hope. This time Cook was to explore the northern Pacific and look for the Northwest Passage, returning to the objective Byron had ignored. On the passage north, the ships stopped at the Hawaiian Islands, to be the first European visitors there. Events on the return to the islands led to Cook's death on 14 February 1779. Clerke took command and the ships returned north, attempting to go beyond the Bering Strait. Already sick with tuberculosis, Clerke died on 22 August 1779 and John Gore replaced him as commander of the expedition for the return home with James King in command of the *Discovery*.

1.2.2 Byron's journal

i. Byron's journal MS (B.I)

The only surviving manuscript of Byron's original journal (called B.I hereafter) is a fair copy, probably made from Byron's original by the Admiralty, and now kept at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (figure 2).[47] John Hawkesworth's annotations can be seen throughout the manuscript indicating that it was the text from which he worked to produce the published edition of the voyage. They mostly mark points of interest and clarifications of dates but do not suggest the ways in which Hawkesworth would adapt the journals. Entries begin with the day and date and then a brief summary of the weather followed by a narrative of any events and occasional navigational observations. The manuscript departs from the schematic format of the ship's log where, for example, days at sea would be broken down into hours and the page would be divided into headings including course, speed, wind, weather and remarks. Thus the journal essayed a summarized account of each day. This less formal layout might reflect a slightly cavalier approach in Byron, and Philip Edwards suggests he 'was given to extraordinary exaggeration and distortion', certainly it makes Byron's journal appear more personal.[48] The text of B.I was not published until 1962 when the Hakluyt Society produced an edition edited by Robert Gallagher.

ii. The Narrative of the Honourable John Byron (B.II)

Also of note is Byron's *The Narrative of the Honourable John Byron* (B.II), published in 1768, two years after his return from his circumnavigation. This was an account of his shipwreck in 1741 on the Pacific coast of Patagonia as an eighteen-year-old midshipman on

[47] London, The Caird Library, MS Journal of Vice-Admiral John Byron HMS *Dolphin*, contemporary copy, 1764-1766, JOD/58.
[48] Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage*, p. 55.

board the *Wager* and his subsequent journey home over the next five years. There were already two accounts of the wreck and the adventures of the survivors. Byron quoted from one by John Bulkeley and John Cummins, *A Voyage to the South-Seas* (1743) in his Pacific Journal (B.I), which indicates that he carried and read the text on his later Pacific voyage. His instructions too, asked him 'to make enquiry after the People who were Shipwrecked in His Majesty's Ship the *Wager'*.[49] While the reasons why Byron waited so long before publishing his own account of the shipwreck are unknown, that he returned to this formative episode in his life so soon after his circumnavigation suggests the shadow it cast over that later voyage. As I explore in the next chapter, Byron described a problematic relationship with the coastline in his Pacific journal that might have reflected this earlier experience.

1.2.3 Wallis's journal

i. Wallis's journal MS (W.I)

His Majesty's Ship Dolphin's Log Book is a holograph manuscript submitted to the Admiralty at the end of the voyage in 1768 (figure 3).[50] In contrast to Byron's journal it follows the conventions of the ship's log closely, although that did not exclude a personal narrative. The pages are divided into carefully ruled sections for each day with headings across the top of each page. When at anchor, the sections are day, date, wind and 'Remarks'. At sea, the format expands so to make a quarter page for each day, unless there was more to report and then the day's section would expand and fill the page as necessary. These daily sections were further divided, with the headings across the top for H (hours), K (knots), F (fathoms; here as a division of knots rather than depth), course, wind and remarks. The hours ran from 1 to 12 (pm) and 1 to 12 (am), following ship's time, from noon to noon. Along the bottom of each section was the noon sight with course, distance run, latitude and longitude and meridian distance.[51] Hawkesworth's annotations are present throughout the text.

With his account of the voyage, Wallis also attached tables of observations and calculations for longitude made throughout the voyage and pilotage notes by the ship's master, George Robertson. The first were neatly copied tables using the method of lunar observations, a new and difficult method for calculating longitude devised by the Astronomer Royal, Nevil

[49] Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation*, p. 7.
[50] London, The National Archives, MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S Wallis, containing all his observations and remarks, ADM 55.35.
[51] The ship's day ran from noon to noon, marked by the noon sight of the sun, rather than from midnight to midnight.

Meskelyne. It was an attention to navigational detail similar to that found in Cook's first journal. Robertson gave 'descriptions for sailing in and out' for all the anchorages with notes on provisioning, 'wooding and watering', the possibilities for fortification and for trade, and descriptions for piloting the Strait of Magellan and for all the Pacific Islands found. These appendices reinforced the impression of the journal as primarily a navigational document.

1.2.4 Carteret's journal

There are four manuscript journals or part journals (CA.I, CA.II, CA.III and CA.IV):

i. Carteret Public Records Office journal (CA.I)

The first of Carteret's journals is kept at Public Records Office and called *Captain Philip Carteret's Journal, of the Proceedings on Board His Majesty's Sloop Swallow* (figure 4).[52] It is in two volumes and, while written in an unknown hand, signed by Carteret. Like W.I it is schematic, with the days in ruled sections across two facing pages, although it does not contain the same amount of detail in Wallis's MS. It does not break down the day into hours at sea. On the left, there are ruled sections headed: Week Days, Month Days, Winds, Courses, Distances, Latitudes, Longitudes and Bearings at Noon. The facing right page is headed 'Remarks on board His Majesty's Sloop *Swallow*.

It is an impersonal account adhering to remarks on nautical matters: navigation, sail changes, weather, routine of work and matters of discipline. Helen Wallis suggests Carteret kept it as a reference for the other officers and that, for interest, compares poorly with the Carteret's other journals or Hawkesworth version, which 'provide a much fuller and more interesting description of events'.[53] However, the journal is useful: it gives a description of the voyage centring on navigational and maritime matters and shows how even an apparently uninflected narrative can still show the physical and emotional toll of these voyages.

The other three journals were progressively more personal. They are held with Carteret's papers at the Library of New South Wales.[54]

ii. CA.II – Holograph journal

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[52] London, The National Archives, MS, *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P. Carteret, ADM 55.130.
[53] Philip Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, ed. by Helen Wallis, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1965), II, 101.
[54] Sydney, Library of New South Wales, MS, Private papers of Captain Philip Carteret, 22 November 1751 to 29 April 1794, Series 02.

The first is a holograph copy Carteret made of his log and journal kept on the voyage, the original is lost. It is similar to CA.I and Wallis's journal, laid out schematically with details taken from the log and with Carteret's remarks alongside.

iii. CA.III – Abstract

The second is an abstract of his journal. Helen Wallis suggests Carteret wrote it shortly after his return to England in 1769 but there is no definite indication of a date. It is a continuous narrative, beginning on 10 April 1767 and finishes in April 1768 when the *Swallow* was lying in Bonthain Bay, Celebes. Its main point of interest is in its treatment of the Pacific crossing and Carteret sets out the reasons for the courses set and describes the events of his discoveries. There are occasional references to the Admiralty 'remarks' and it has similarities in wording with that of CA.II.[55]

iv. CA.IV – Journal in response to draft of the published journal

Finally, Carteret wrote another journal (CA.IV) possibly in response to reading a draft of Hawkesworth's edited version of the journals and thus written at some point close to the publication of the journals in 1773.[56] Attached to it, a note written by Carteret's daughter reads: 'The Whole is written by my Father being his own handwriting'.[57] Like CA.III, this last journal did not take the form of the log and was not a continuous or full narrative but addressed distinct events. Helen Wallis thinks it was 'designed to supplement the abstract' and it gives much of the nautical information for the voyage.[58] However, as I will discuss in Chapter 2, its approach was also a product of Carteret's attempts to address his dissatisfaction at his treatment by the Admiralty and Wallis on the voyage and then Hawkesworth's adaptation of his journal. Thus, he goes into some detail of the preparations of the *Swallow* for the voyage, emphasizing the inadequacies of the ship and the lack of support from either the Admiralty or Wallis and later, his disagreements with Wallis.

Carteret initially wrote CA.IV for publication, however there seemed to have been little interest and it was not until 1964 that the Hakluyt Society printed an edition of CA.III and CA.IV, edited by Helen Wallis. CA.III and CA.IV are, unlike the other journals examined here, unusual as later recollections rather than contemporaneous accounts.

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[55] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 100.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

1.2.5 The journal of Cook's first voyage

There are four extant manuscripts of Cook's journal of his first voyage, known by the names of the libraries that hold them: the Canberra MS (CO.1.I), the Admiralty MS (CO.1.II), the Mitchell MS (CO.1.III) and the Greenwich MS (CO.1.IV). Only the Canberra MS (CO.1.I) is a holograph. CO.1.II and CO.1.III are in the hand of Cook's clerk on the voyage, Richard Orton, while the transcription of the CO.1.IV is in several different hands. There are also fragments of other drafts that suggest Cook went through a process of writing and re-writing. It was not until the New Zealand academic John Cawte Beaglehole edited the journals of Cook's three Pacific voyages, published between 1955 and 1964, that there was an edition of Cook's journals of the three voyages drawn from the original manuscripts publicly available.

The two most reliable sources, and most significant to this study, are the Canberra MS (CO.1.I) and Admiralty MS (CO.1.II). Both of these run for the whole voyage; CO.1.II continues until the 13 July 1771, one day more than CO.1.I.

i. The Canberra MS (CO.1.I)

CO.1.I was most probably Cook's own personal copy kept by him after the voyage (figure 5). Beaglehole traced its provenance back to the dispersal of the estate of Cook's wife Elizabeth following her death in 1835 and it was the primary source for his edition of the journal.[59] It was probably Cook's fair copy that Orton then transcribed for the Admiralty. However, there are corrections and revisions to it, showing that the process of thought and editing did not end until Cook finally submitted his journal to the Admiralty. (Cook continued making corrections to Orton's transcript, CO.1.II). When at sea the neatly ruled entries are stretched across two facing pages: headings for weekdays, month days, winds, courses, distance sailed, latitude, longitude from Greenwich, bearings at noon are on the left hand page; a brief description of other matters are written on the facing page, headed 'Remarkable Occurrences' with the month and year and location.[60] Cook's writing is fair and legible and evenly spaced, though the spacing varies over the months. He always ends each entry under remarkable occurrences with a swirled line, a little flourish.

[59] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour, p. cxcv.
[60] Canberra, National Library of Australia, MS, Journal of H.M.S. *Endeavour*, 1768-1771, MS1.

ii. The Admiralty MS (CO.1.II)

CO.1.II is in Orton's hand, signed by Cook and with his corrections throughout. It is carefully laid out: individual volumes have a title page and summary or 'Explanation' and, with the latitude and longitude of the ship's position at the top of each page and combined with references in the margin, entries can be correlated to positions on the charts that Cook had made.[61] It is almost certainly the final draft of Cook's journal submitted to the Admiralty at the end of the voyage and bears the Admiralty library stamp on the title page. Thus, it might be considered an authoritative account of how Cook wanted to present the expedition to his superiors and possibly a wider public. Beaglehole suggests it was probably the version from which Hawkesworth worked, although there are none of the editor's notations as seen in B.I or W.I, which suggests otherwise.[62]

To some extent, CO.1.I and CO.1.II represent private and public, or personal and professional, personas, although, Cook would probably not have made such a distinction. While CO.1.I has come to be considered as the personal and therefore authoritative version of Cook's journal, it could also be viewed as a draft on the way to CO.1.II, kept only because the final draft was surrendered to the Admiralty.

iii. The Mitchell MS (CO.1.III)

CO.1.III is again in Orton's hand. It is incomplete and ends after the Pacific crossing, on 23 October 1770 during the *Endeavour*'s stay at Batavia, where it had put in for repairs after the long Pacific crossing. It is probably the journal referred to by Cook in his entry for 24 October 1770 in CO.1.I:

> In the PM I went up to Town in order to put on board the first Dutch Ship that Sails a Packet for the Admiralty containing a Copy of my Journal, a Chart of the South Sea, a nother of New Zealand and one of the East Coast of New Holland.[63]

Beaglehole describes it as a 'rather careless and lazy' transcription and there are numerous omissions of words corrected by Cook. Rather than carelessness, these might indicate that it was hastily prepared for dispatch at Batavia. Differences between it and CO.1.I and CO.1.II

[61] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour, p. ccxxv.
[62] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour, p. ccxxiii.
[63] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour, p. 435.

show that Cook would continue to work and revise his account of the voyage covered by CO.1.III.[64]

iv. The Greenwich MS (CO.1.IV)

CO.1.IV was originally kept at the library at Windsor Castle until it was given to the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich in 1935. It ends on 10 October 1770, the day before the *Endeavour* anchored in the Batavia roads. It appears to be a composite of the log and Cook's journal as the log entries are not summarised but given in full. Much of the copying in the Greenwich MS is quite careless so that 'the text is sometimes reduced to nonsense, and more than once to the direct opposite of Cook's meaning, so that what showed promise of being an exceptionally good copy becomes in the end the most corrupt of all the MSS.'[65]

v. Published editions of Cook's first journal

The first published version of Cook's first journal was that edited by John Hawkesworth (see below). In 1893, the naval hydrographer W. J. L. Wharton edited an edition taken from CO.1.III with additional material from the CO.1.II. Called Captain Cook's *Journal during the First Voyage round the World* it described itself as 'a literal translation of the original MSS'.[66] Wharton did not know of the existence of CO.1.I, which would be the primary source for Beaglehole's editions of the first journal, first published in 1955 for the Hakluyt Society by Cambridge University Press. Beaglehole produced authoritative editions of all three of Cook's voyages, drawn from all the known manuscripts. It was a massive undertaking that resulted in over four thousand pages in four volumes including a biography, a comprehensive survey of previous voyages to the Pacific and detailed essays on indigenous histories and traditions.

1.2.6 John Hawkesworth's published text of the first voyages

In 1771, the Admiralty commissioned the writer and editor John Hawkesworth to edit the journals of Byron, Wallis and Carteret's voyages and Cook's first voyage for publication. An official version of the voyage was felt to be needed 'that our own country shall have the

[64] Amongst others, Beaglehole gives the example of New South Wales: the Mitchell MS refers to it as 'New Whales' and 'New Wales' indicating Cook did not finalise the name until after it had been dispatched from Batavia. Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour, pp. ccxix-ccxx.
[65] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour, p. ccxxii-ccxxiii.
[66] James Cook, *Captain Cook's Journal During his First Voyage Round the World made in H. M. Bark "Endeavour" 1768-1771*, ed. by W. J. L. Wharton (London: Elliot Stock, 1893).

honour of our Discoveries' according to Joseph Banks.[67] This was at the instigation of Lord Sandwich, then First Lord of the Admiralty, although even at the time of their publication the question was asked why the participants themselves were not given the task: 'Is any Man offended at the plain honest Language of our old Voyagers? Are not Dampier and Wood Rogers still read and understood?'.[68] William Strahan and Thomas Cadell published Hawkesworth's version of the journals in three quarto volumes in 1773. It cost three guineas for all three volumes and contained numerous illustrations, charts and maps. The full title was: *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook, In the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour*.

The journals of Byron, Wallis and Carteret took up the first of Hawkesworth's volumes. However, Cook's journal, divided into three books, filled the second and third volumes. The first book covered the departure from England up to and including events at 'Otaheite' (Tahiti). The second book gave an account of the passage from Tahiti to New Zealand and the events there. The final book recounted the passage from New Zealand, events on the east coast of New Holland (New South Wales) then the journey home via Batavia (Jakarta). However, Hawkesworth was not faithful to the commanders' original journals as he attempted to make the narratives suitable for the general reader. He combined accounts, for example the naturalist Joseph Banks' journal with Cook's, and interjected his own opinions and comments. He maintained the personal pronoun to make one overarching narrative voice. He eschewed the format of the logbook, converting the days from ship's time to land time. Dates were given in the margins but some days were missed or elided and some sequences of events were re-organised. Language was changed, not always for reasons of comprehension if nautical terms would have been obscure. However, Hawkesworth did include some of the mariners' navigational observations in the body of the text and some tables and charts.

Hawkesworth submitted a draft to the Admiralty for approval before publication but there was some confusion about this: he claimed that it was for the approval of the commanders

[67] Joseph Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, ed. by J. C. Beaglehole, 2 vols (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1962), II, 249.
[68] *Baldwin's London Weekly Journal*, 22 May 1773.

themselves but they claimed not to have seen it.[69] Helen Wallis hypothesises that the Earl of Sandwich instead had others look at the text on the commanders' behalf.[70] However, as noted above, Carteret appears to have had sight of a draft when writing CA.IV. Wherever it came from, the criticism meant that more of the nautical detail was included in the final text than Hawkesworth wanted and he complained, 'I was not indeed myself sufficiently apprised of the minuteness that was necessary in this part of the work'.[71] Hawkesworth trod an uneasy path between an account for the general reader and one for mariners.

However, the book was a success, for instance, it was the most requested book from the Bristol Library between 1773 and 1784.[72] The first edition of 2,000 copies printed in June 1773 quickly sold out and a corrected second edition of 2,500 copies was produced in August that year; third and fourth editions came in 1785 and 1789 respectively.[73] A New York edition and French and German translations were printed in 1774, an Italian edition in 1794. Numerous abridgements and adaptations followed and these are examined in detail in Chapter 5.

1.2.7 Cook's second journal

Cook was more considered in the production and editing of his second journal. He wrote the journal of the second voyage with a view to publication as well as with what appears to be more confidence in his ability to satisfy the requirements of the Admiralty. There are two known holograph manuscripts and three transcripts made on the voyage by Cook's clerk, William Dawson.

i. The holograph MSS (CO.2.I & CO.2.II)

Both holograph manuscripts are at the British Library; the first covers the voyage up to 10 November 1774, the second the whole voyage. They show a change in Cook's treatment of the journal and its format.

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[69] John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken… for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere and performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Cartaret and Captain Cook*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1773) I, vi.
[70] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World* (1965), II, 469.
[71] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, pp. vi, vii.
[72] Ronald L. Ravenberg, 'The Hawkesworth Copy: an Investigation into the Printer's Copy Used for the Preparation of the Second Edition of John Hawkesworth's 1773 Account of Captain Cook's First Voyage', *Cook's Log*, 26, 1 (2003), 1-39 (p.2).
[73] Ibid.

The first holograph MS, CO.2.I, runs from the start of the voyage to the 10 November 1774, the *Resolution*'s departure from New Zealand and the voyage home via Cape Horn. Thus, it covers all of the major parts of the voyage: the return to Tahiti and both passages in to the Antarctic Circle. It is similar to the Canberra MS (CO.1.I) with summarised log entries on the left hand page and journal entries facing them on the right.

The second holograph MS, CO.2.II, begins again with the departure from Plymouth, though it provides little detail until reaching Madeira. Cook re-drafted the events covered in CO.2.I, dispensed with the summarised log and made the journal a more condensed and generalised version of events. Tellingly, Cook also stopped using ship's time, from noon to noon. These changes suggest that he had decided to write for the general reader. Unfortunately, CO.2.II has many missing pages. It was the copy Cook used as a working manuscript to prepare for publication and thus contains numerous edits, additions and re-arrangements.

ii. The Dawson transcripts (CO.2.III, CO.2.IV, CO.2.V)

The first of the transcripts prepared by Dawson, (CO.2.III), is as CO.2.II but with some differences. In a section entitled 'Explanations', Cook excused the condensed beginning and that he did not begin the account with the taking on of his commission, as the Admiralty would have known these details already. He also explained his use of the 'Natural' day rather than 'Nautical' day (ship's time).

Of the two remaining transcripts made by Dawson, both signed by Cook, the first (CO.2.IV) was originally in the library at Windsor Castle and then presented to the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich in 1936. It appears to be a copy of CO.2.II before Cook started preparing that one for publication. The second transcript (CO.2.V) is of the whole voyage, possibly taken from both the existing holograph manuscripts, CO.2.I and II.

iii. Published text of Cook's second voyage (CO.2.VI)

Cook wrote in the preface to *A Voyage to the South Pole* (1777):

> The Public must not expect from me the elegance of a fine writer, or the plausibility of a professed book-maker; but will, I hope, consider me as a plain man, zealously exerting

himself in the service of his Country, and determined to give the best account he is able of his proceedings.[74]

It addressed directly the disappointment Cook felt at Hawkesworth's treatment of his journal of the first voyage and suggests elements that would become part of mariner-hero's identity: plainness, exertion and patriotism. It ignores that he had followed a process of writing more suited to the general reader that in many ways followed the "book-maker's" example he so disliked. It was, like Hawkesworth's, a continuous narrative with identifying dates in the margin. However, it did not have Hawkesworth's generalisations inserted into it. The journal was published in two volumes and included Tobias Furneaux's 'narrative of his Proceedings in the ADVENTURE during the Separation of the Ships', charts and maps, and plates taken from engravings of the paintings by the artist on the voyage, William Hodges. It was edited and prepared for the press by Dr John Douglas, Canon of Windsor, who described his work as, 'a great deal to ye Capt's Journal to correct its Stile; to new point it; to divide into Sentences, & Paragraphs, & Chapters & Books'.[75] Again, the book was successful; there was a second edition later in 1777, another in 1779. A French translation appeared in 1778.

1.2.8 Cook's third journal

i. Manuscript journals

The textual history of the third voyage appears simpler still. There is only one surviving holograph manuscript journal (CO.3.I) and a portion of a log. In addition there are two transcripts of 'Cook's Logs and Proceedings' made by his clerk covering the periods 10 February 1776 to 27 November 1778 (CO.3.II) and 26 April 1778 to 6 January 1779 (CO.3.III). These transcripts suggest Cook had made other drafts of his journal that are now lost. His journal ended shortly before his death on 14 February 1779 at Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii.

The surviving holograph journal, CO.3.I, continued the process of compression and generalisation that he had begun on the second voyage and, as Beaglehole observes: 'we may

[74] James Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1777), I, p. xxxvi.
[75] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. by John C. Beaglehole, 4 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*, 1772*-1775, p. cxliv; London, British Library, MS, Short Autobiography of John Douglas, D.D., 1776-1796, Egerton MS 2181.

judge that Cook set out deliberately to write a book'.[76] Thus, Cook wrote it as a narrative and condensed parts of the voyage with general summaries. This meant a significant lessening of the navigational detail that had been so prominent in the journal of his first voyage, CO.1.I. Its layout on the page mimicked the form of the previous published journals: blocks of narrative with identifying dates in the margin. The progress of Cook's writing again appeared to be towards a form suited to publication and not the requirements of the Admiralty.

ii. Published text of Cook's third voyage (CO.3.IV)

Like the second journal, Douglas edited the third journal for publication. He included the journal of James King for an account of the events after Cook's death. *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* was published in 1784 in three volumes; the first two volumes were Cook's journals, the last King's. It was an immediate success and the first edition apparently sold out within three days.[77] A second and third edition and a French translation followed in 1785.

Thus, the textual history of the journals begins relatively straightforwardly with Byron and Wallis and then becomes more involved as Carteret retrospectively addressed aspects of his voyage. The multiple versions of Cook's first journal complicate any reading of it. The textual history of the second journal becomes a little simpler as the mariner refined his approach and then was simpler again on the third voyage as he became more comfortable with the task and, as I argue in chapter four, less committed to an ocean narrative. This arc suggests the mariners' own problems with defining the purpose of the voyage journal. At its simplest, the journal related events and a relationship with the ocean defined by the mariner's craft, although that did not preclude a more complex underlying expression of the ocean experience as I explore in the next chapters. The multiple versions of Carteret's journals were a result of his desire to return to his account and re-argue, so it was no longer a journal and distanced the relationship with the ocean experience. Cook's first journal might have reflected insecurity as he attempted to demonstrate his qualification for the task but also a natural exuberance for the astronomical and navigational demands. Both were less apparent in the second and third journals, suggesting that the relationship the mariner sought with the reader changed his relationship with the ocean. All showed that, even within professional constraints, the

[76] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. by John C. Beaglehole, 4 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, 1776-1780, p. clxxii.
[77] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour, p. cciv.

mariner's journal was a personal and individual record. In the next chapter I look in detail at the original accounts by Byron, Wallis and Carteret and how each presented different aspects of the oceanic experience.

Chapter 2. The Journals of Byron, Wallis and Carteret: Different Engagements with the Ocean

As narratives of the ocean, the journals by Byron, Wallis and Carteret each offers a unique insight into the record of oceanic experience. They contend with the genre of the voyage narrative in different ways: in their description of the voyage and the ocean, how that reflected on their mariner/authors' identities and consequently, how the mariners positioned themselves within their narratives. The oceanic description was a product of the professional narrative; founded on the statistical expression of place and the navigational observation of longitude and latitude. Byron, Wallis and Carteret all adapted that description to suit their own narrative and the professional voice they wished to project while responding to the individual circumstances of their voyages. Byron's less formal layout of daily summaries strengthened narrative continuity and allowed space for his eloquent and sometimes hyperbolic description. Wallis's adherence to the format of the ship's log meant his narrative appeared as discontinuous yet coterminous observations, a layout that emphasised navigational description. Carteret produced several different versions of his journals in reaction to Hawkesworth's edition and dissatisfaction with his treatment by Wallis and the Admiralty. However, they did share a complicated engagement with the ocean as both the 'other' and as a natural space of professional expression and all three authors began to reverse a perspective of the land to allow a re-imagining of the ocean. It was a way in which the psychological experience of the voyage invaded apparently factual detail and I argue that the journals' narrative engagements with the ocean allowed an impression of the mariner's identity.

Here 'both memory and imagination must be deployed' and, as Mary Warnock argues, 'autobiography is the place where, more than any other, their functions overlap'.[1] The constant writing of the voyage experience and, in Carteret's case, rewriting meant that an idea of the ocean and the self evolved. As Warnock suggests, imagination intruded into the factual record so that creating the record became a part of the experience. This was a process of evolution that expressed the oceanic experience as a psychological journey and the idea of the mariner/author in their relationship with the ocean space. It included the navigational record

[1] Mary Warnock, *Memory* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p. 126.

as its frame but also as a device that began to articulate a relationship with the ocean and the progress of the journey and mariner's self. Thus, in this chapter, I outline a progression of voyages that found ways to reflect the individual relationship with the ocean.

2.1 The ocean and the land: Byron's uncertain view

Byron's voyage represented a transition: although it was the beginning of British exploration of the Pacific it was not yet the ostentatiously scientific exploration that would emerge later with Cook. However, it led to the further exploration of the Pacific while the journal (the journal MS, B.I) pointed to possible ways of articulating oceanic experience. I argue that the journal emphasized the uncertainty of the ocean space, a result of the form Byron's text took and his relationship with the landfall and coastline. The navigational record was a constant thread and began to outline the Pacific but it lacked complexity and mediated with an emotional response to the environment. In his articulation of oceanic experience, there was a preoccupation with the physical and psychological threshold of the coastline. His text emphasized the emotional texture of the view from the ship to the land, destabilized by the movement of the ship. This subverted usual preconceptions and offered the land as a possible other. Thus, Byron's narrative was caught between two opposing ideas, the ocean and the land, and negotiated with not only what was found but also what was imagined to suggest the emotional resonance of that experience.

In Byron's narrative, the evocation of the space mediated between the formality of the log and an impressionistic and sometimes seemingly emotional response to the environment. Byron appeared to strain against the expectations of professional reticence, was susceptible to hyperbole and was unafraid to express the emotional toll of the voyage. Still in the Atlantic Ocean, he described a squall in typically apocalyptic terms: first, 'it began to blow fresh & looked very black to Windward', then:

> We all upon Deck heard a very unusual noise, it seemed like the breaking Sea upon the Shore. I ordered the Topsails to be handed but before that could be done we saw the Sea for some distance approaching us all in a foaming Breach, I called to them immediately to hawl the Foresail up, & to let go the Main Sheet for by what I saw I was sure if it had taken us with any Sail out we must either have overset or lost all the Masts, before we

> could rise the Main Tack it reached us & laid us upon our Beam ends, we cut the Main Tack, for it was then impossible to cast it off. [2]

Robert Gallagher points out that Robert Mouat, the commander of the Tamar, wrote only that there had been a 'violent squall'.[3] Byron's handling of the episode showed both an exaggeration of the professional voice and an engagement with a literary narrative. It allowed him to describe his handling of the ship and emphasize his professional ability. However, it also made a dramatic narrative that built to chaos when the squall hit the ship. He suggested something sublime in the squall's suddenness, its darkness and its destructive power, adding: 'what was very remarkable was that there was hundreds of Birds flying before it & shrieking terribly'.[4] Presaged by this squadron of harpies, the squall engaged with myth. Byron continued with this emotive style throughout the journal. It showed a literary approach with an emphasis on the drama of the voyage and was an important element in Byron's articulation of the uncertainty of the ocean space.

The uncertainty of space was most obvious at the coast. Fraught with tension, it was 'a liminal, transitional space' with the ocean and land 'historically positioned as separate from one another'.[5] Originally, that tension was between the unformed 'other' of the ocean and the civilising land. Thus, on his island, Defoe's Robinson Crusoe looked inland for the wherewithal to re-make a domestic ideal, fortifying and enclosing himself from the ocean beyond. The shoreline was the site of the destructive shipwreck or infected with the debris of cannibalistic ritual, 'spread with Skulls, Hands, Feet, and other Bones of humane Bodies'.[6] However, as Alain Corbin identifies, there was a changing attitude to the coast in the years leading up to these voyages: 'Cure-takers began rushing toward the sea-shore around 1750 in order to relieve an old anxiety', it 'was one of the tactical weapons used to combat melancholy and spleen'.[7] Smollett, an advocate of regular sea bathing, extolled the virtues of water and 'could easily conceive how extraordinary cures may be performed by the

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[2] John Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766*, ed. by Robert E. Gallagher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1964), p. 31.
[3] Robert Gallagher, 'Introduction', Byron, *Journal*, pp. liii-liv.
[4] Byron, *Journal*, p. 31.
[5] *Sea Narratives: Cultural Responses to the Sea, 1600–Present*, ed. by Charlotte Mathieson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 7.
[6] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 139.
[7] Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea*, trans. by Jocelyn Phelps (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 57.

mechanical effects of simple *Water* upon the human Body'.[8] Byron's narrative reflected these tensions and he looked to the landfall as a relief from the ordeals of the voyage but also as a potentially troubling or disappointing space, conversely making the ocean the safe space from which to view the problematic coastline.

The potentially troubling coastline was especially resonant for Byron for, as a young midshipman in 1741, he had been on board the *Wager* when it was wrecked off the coast of Chile and was part of a small group of survivors who made it overland to Santiago and finally back to England five years later. Thus, popular literary themes of the shipwreck narrative, 'extraordinary weather, adversity and providential escape', shadowed his narrative.[9] Part of his orders on the later Pacific voyage was to 'make enquiry after the People who were shipwrecked in His Majesty's Ship the *Wager* and left upon the Coast, and use your best endeavours to bring them home with you'.[10] That he then published his account of the wreck and his long journey home only two years after the *Dolphin* voyage in 1768 suggests that the second voyage had reawakened memories of the *Wager* experience. It inflected his narration of the coastal experience and, viewed from the ship at sea, the coast became a forbidding perspective. The shipwreck experience energized the already problematic relationship with the view of land from the ship, the mariner's reversal of perspective. The experience underlined the psychological resonance of the text, engaging with the metaphorical tropes of the shipwreck, of moral or religious disordering, breakdown and rebirth. In the *Wager*'s shadow, the literary inflected the professional description of navigation and discovery. With Byron's self-dramatization, the text became more obviously personal so that the voyage could become the place 'where the decisive events, the moments of eternal choice, of temptation, fall, and redemption occur'.[11] Byron's engagement with that form of *bildungsroman* was complicated by a nervousness of the landfall and can be understood in those interactions.

The account of the wreck of the *Wager* that Byron wrote after the circumnavigation engaged with the shipwreck narratives' tropes of moral and social breakdown. He described a crew overwhelmed by the experience, who became 'petrified and bereaved of all sense' and with dawn and a view of the land there came amongst some a collapse:

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[8] Tobias Smollett, *An Essay on the External Use of Water* (London: M. Cooper, 1752), p. 3
[9] Magarette Lincoln, 'Tales of Wonder, 1650-1750', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27 (2004), 219-232 (p. 220).
[10] Byron, *Journal*, p. 7.
[11] W. H. Auden, *The Enchafèd Flood, or the Romantic Iconography of the Sea* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 21.

> The scene was now greatly changed, for many who but a few minutes before had shown the strongest signs of despair, and were on their knees praying for mercy, imagining they were now not in that immediate danger, grew very riotous, broke open every chest and box that was at hand stove in the heads of casks of brandy and wine as they were borne up to the hatch-way, and got so drunk, that some of them were drowned on board, and lay floating about the decks for some days after.[12]

In the last poignant image, the floating bodies of the drowned sailors became the washed-up "flotsam and jetsam" of the storm. Unwanted by the sea or the land, and left floating between the two, they emphasised the coastline as a purgatorial space. Dissipation combined celebration and despair to overwhelm the *Wager* like the sea that breached it: those too sick from scurvy to escape drowned in their hammocks. It was an expression of an emotional as well as physical immersion, happening in the confusion of the space between the sea and land.

Thus, the wreck of the *Wager* shaded Byron's return to the coastline of Patagonia. It reinforced the mythology surrounding the area, what Dennis Berthold calls the 'ontological burden' of Cape Horn, the 'very real terrors combine with superstition, legend, romance, and a four-hundred-year history of violence and brutality to make it a rich and powerful literary symbol'.[13] For western mariners since Magellan, the Patagonian coastline was invested with myth. Antonio Pigafetta's account of the Magellan voyage described a Patagonian giant, 'so tall that we reached only to his waist', while the Terra del Fuego was named for the fires the natives kept that 'dotted the eerie landscape at night …[and] suggested the hellish quality of the region – Land of Fire'.[14] For Europeans coming from the Atlantic against the prevailing winds and currents, Terra del Fuego was an inhospitable, otherworldly place: 'The winds were such as if the bowels of the earth had set all at liberty, or as if all the clouds under heaven had been called together to lay their force upon that place'.[15] As the gateway to the un-explored Pacific, a vast blank, it was a stygian transition between European certainty and the unknown world beyond that.

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[12] John Byron, *The Narrative of The Hon. John Byron* (London: S. Baker & G. Leigh, 1769), pp. 11-12.
[13] Dennis Berthold, 'Cape Horn Passages: Literary Conventions and Nautical Realities', in *Literature and Lore of the Sea*, ed. by Patricia Ann Carlson (Amsterdam: Rodophi, 1986), pp. 40-50 (p. 40).
[14] Berthold, 'Cape Horn Passages', pp. 49, 41.
[15] Berthold, 'Cape Horn Passages', p. 41.

At the start of the *Dolphin*'s passage through the Strait of Magellan to the Pacific, Byron recalled the *Wager* voyage comparing the high mountains on either side of the Strait to the Cordeliers, the mountains on the west coast of Chile where the *Wager* was wrecked:

> The high Mountains on each side of the Straits can be supass'd by nothing but the Cordeliers, wither for height or dismal appearance, these being like them as ragged & steep as its possible for nature to form them & cover'd with snow from top to bottom.[16]

He re-engaged with the inhospitality of the coastline now lining their passage but in doing so, the mountains seemed to loom with an emotional resonance and their disturbing associations. In Byron's description, they suggested the possibility of the sublime or what would emerge as a gothic fantasy of it, 'deep vallies [*sic*] inaccessible to the sun'.[17] Thus, the journal recorded more than a professional description, implying the metaphorical associations of the landscape.

Reading Byron's journal MS in light of his experience of the *Wager* shipwreck emphasises its emotional texture, what Anna Ryan describes as the 'inescapable emotional content' of the spatial experience of the coast: 'The sea's appearance and mood changes so regularly' she writes, 'giving it a personality that moves both with the seasons, and with the hours'.[18] However, by the reversal of the view Ryan describes further amplifies its 'emotional content'. The mariner was part of the sea's changing environment, while the view of the land appeared constantly destabilized by the ship's motion and Byron's journal seems preoccupied by this unsettled perspective. In it he dwelt on the Patagonian coastline, the passage through the Strait of Magellan or the landfalls of the Pacific but always the text suggested an underlying unease at the relationship with the land. On Tuesday, 9 April 1765 almost out of the Strait, Byron wrote:

> The night coming on fast we anchored with great difficulty in a very good Bay on the S^{o} Shore in 20 f^{m} very heavy Squalls came off the Land before we could let go the Anchor, so that we were very near drove off, which if it had happened we must have passed a

[16] Byron, *Journal*, p. 69.
[17] Sir William Chambers, *A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening* (London: The Royal Academy, 1772), p. 36.
[18] Anna Ryan, *Where Land Meets Sea: Coastal Explorations of Landscape, Representation and Spatial Experience* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 17.

> dreadful night in the Straits for it blew till morning a perfect Hurricane of Wind with hard rain & snow.[19]

Here the ship's place in relation to the land was tactical but insecure, as was the writing. Byron tended to literary description rather than resting on a professional exposition of fact. He emphasized the squalls off the land, suggesting that they seemed to be trying to repel the *Dolphin* back into the even more inhospitable straits, making the land the antagonist. As Crusoe had said: 'as we made nearer and nearer the Shore, the Land looked more frightful than the Sea.'[20] This was part of the reversal of the land/ocean dichotomy always to some extent a problem for the ship, the danger of a lee shore, but particularly present in Byron's relationship with the coast of Terra del Fuego.

There remained a sense of ambiguity in his treatment of the coastline though, as Byron could sentimentalize it. He, made comparisons with the English landscape that familiarized the environment and assimilated it into a European view: he 'found the Country vastly pleasant as well as beautiful, for some parts of are cover'd with Flowers of different kinds which smell as sweet as the finest we have in England'.[21] However, such glimpses of homeliness were few, interspersed amongst a predominantly harsh seascape, which the weather and rough seas exaggerated. Towards the end of the passage through the Strait (10 March) Byron wrote:

> In a very hard Squall & the weather extremely thick, we saw a reef of Rocks close under the Lee Bow on which the Sea broke extremely high. We had but just time to tack clear of then, and had the Ship missed Stays every Soul must have been lost.[22]

Again, Byron emphasized the inhospitable coastline, going beyond the professional observation of the conditions. It was an articulation of Byron's own fear: the repetition of 'extremely' strains the emphasis and the sibilance of the last phrase draws attention to Byron's expectation of the worst. The contrast with comparisons of the coast with home only served to remind the reader of the prevailing otherness. In Byron's text, the coast wore the homeliness as a disguise.

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[19] Byron, *Journal*, pp. 81-2.
[20] Defoe, *Crusoe*, p. 39.
[21] Byron, *Journal*, p. 53.
[22] Byron, *Journal*, p. 74.

The weather encouraged the gloom: 'The Winter has set in all at once, It is a terrible time for Seamen'.[23] Almost through the Strait, on 27 March, Byron wrote that 'The So[uth] Shore appears very bad, many sunken Rocks laying a great way from it upon which the Sea breaks vastly high', and later that day, 'the wind shifted to WNW and blew as hard a gale as ever Ship was in'.[24] Byron suggested that now they were almost at the end of the Strait, they were tested the most and he continued: 'Nothing could be more melancholy than our present situation. The weather extremely thick with the hardest rain, a long dark night before us: A narrow Channel & that full of sunken Rocks & Breakers'.[25] Byron intimated an older understanding of the voyage as pilgrimage and in the 'long dark night' navigational problems suggested a spiritual test. Dorinda Outram has argued that Christian traditions of pilgrimage can be seen in the outline of journeys of scientific exploration and discovery, though as a secularisation and inversion of the pilgrimage, where 'Journeying, and the growth of knowledge in and about life, were repeatedly connected'.[26] In Byron's text, particularly at the coastline, that clarification is not so sure. Rather, the mariner combines the mythic qualities of the place found in the hostile environment with an understanding of the voyage as Christian metaphor into a darkly psychological view.

Once in the Pacific Ocean the emotional narrative continued. There was not the same complexity of navigational description that we will see in Wallis's journal MS or that emerged most fully in Cook's journals and that would begin to articulate a scientific engagement with the ocean. Byron did not appear so invested in the voyage as a scientific expedition of discovery and his journal reflected this dis-engagement. When he first thought he had come through the Strait to the Pacific he wrote, 'This day to our infinite Joy we found the Current setting to the Wtward, & now we gain ground fast'.[27] He did not examine the current or look at it in the context of past records. Here the current was of note only because it expedited the ship's progress, as the phrase 'infinite joy' emphasized. However, a proto-scientific voice did emerge in the apparent emptiness of the ocean. The next two weeks of entries were those of the professional navigator, the short entries; the outline of positions and of weather and sea state:

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[23] Byron, *Journal*, p. 75.
[24] Byron, *Journal*, pp. 77-78.
[25] Byron, *Journal*, p. 78.
[26] Dorinda Outram, 'Autobiography, science and the French Revolution', in *Telling Lives in Science: essays on scientific biography*, ed. by Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 85-102 (p. 88).
[27] Byron, *Journal*, p. 76.

> Thursday Apl 11th. PM fresh gales WNW & Squally. AM Little wind NWt with a very great Swell from the SW. Course So 65˚ Wt. Dist 48 Ms Latt in 52˚46' So. Longde made 4˚6' Wt. M Dist 148 Wt from Cape Pillar. Cape Pillar So 86˚ Et. Dist 50 Leags.[28]

In part, the language in entries like these answered the challenge the Royal Society had set mariners, to provide observational information. George Berkeley worried, 'words are so apt to impose an understanding' and Sir William Petty wanted only to express himself 'in Terms of *Number*, *Weight*, or *Measure*'.[29] It was a problem of discerning truth, and made a self-conscious discourse that placed the narrator at the centre of the experience. However, for the mariner it was a statistical record of the experience. The metronomic repetition of longitude and latitude across days and weeks emphasised the ocean space and an aspect of the mariner's experience: its and their isolation and the cycle of days. It emphasised the complexity of time at sea: both chronological time, the position line's beginning and end, and cyclical time, 'just as the rhythm of waves is cyclical, because the pattern of a ship's daily routine, watch on and watch off, highlights endless recurrence', with the repetition of entries.[30] They suggested emptiness after the incident of the coastal experience. There was some sense of the ocean around the ship, the gales and squalls and the 'very great Swell', which suggested the expanse after the confinement of the Strait. However, this was perhaps the only way available of articulating a space that otherwise defied description. Whilst mediated through the ship, much of the ocean experience was simply of a material 'difficult to grasp'.[31] The watery 'other', a liquid 'shapeless but not abstract; temporal; changeable', it was impossible to mark.[32]

Thus, the narration of the chart became a rudimentary net to spread out over the ocean; the notes of its swells and currents began to describe its character. However, without the shoreline to fix against, the journal now could only describe abstract points on the journey across the ocean rather than the ocean itself. The details, with each day changing slightly, drew a line across the ocean and, in part, captured the space. Thus, another metaphor was suggested and we can see the lines Byron writes and draws as the beginning of a web to be drawn by the

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[28] Byron, *Journal*, p. 83.
[29] Roy Porter, *Enlightenment* (London: Allen Lane, 2000), p. 54.
[30] Robert Foulke, *The Sea Voyage Narrative* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 9.
[31] 'Phillip E. Steinberg, 'On Thalassography', in *Water Worlds: Human Geographies of the Ocean*, ed. by Jon Anderson and Kimberley Peters (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. xiii-xvii (p. xiv).
[32] David Lambert, Luciana Martins & Miles Ogborn, 'Currents, visions and voyages: historical geographies of the sea', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32 (2006) 479-493 (p. 484).

European mariner and explorer across the Pacific. The position lines traced the route from the beginning to the end of the ship's voyage, relating in them the progress depending on weather, wind and current. The landfalls interrupted them; forming perturbations of time and the entries entangled and combined the experience with the possibility of the voyage.

In Byron's account, the lines also mapped a line of anxiety as scurvy took hold. The joy of the ocean gave way to the urgent need for land and refreshment. The view from the ship localized, to focus on incidental detail, both to break the monotony of the horizon and to find some solidity within the ocean environment. Although there was no attempt to identify and collect species, as there would be on Cook's voyages, observations of birds or marine wildlife punctuated the narrative of position and weather. Byron's narrative included: 'a straggling Bird, the back & upper part of the wings brown, all the rest of it white with a short beak & a short pointed tail'; 'Several Grampusses blowing, & some Birds of the same kind mentioned before'; 'Several Tropic Birds about the Ship, they are much larger than any of the kind I ever saw before'.[33] These observations emphasized the isolation; the 'straggling bird' seemed an apt image for the *Dolphin* itself, now with a crew increasingly laid low by scurvy. Moreover, like the bird, the voyage appeared to have less directional purpose and the text less narrative drive as the initial relief of an open ocean after the Strait had gone. The text rustled into activity when the swell died and there was the hope of land. However, it was not for discovery but relief: 'it would be a most agreeable sight to us now, as my People fall down daily in the Scurvy'.[34]

On 5 June the swell abated again and two days later, they found land. Immediately the short entries stopped and with an object to focus on, Byron's writing became discursive and relaxed:

> After making the Land I hauld upon a wind under an easy Sail til morning, & then saw it was a low small Island bearing WSW about 2 leags from us; presently after we saw another Island to Windward of us bearing ESE distance 3 or 4 Leags. This appeared to be much larger than the first we saw, and we must have passed very near it in the night. I stood for the small Island which appeared very beautiful as we drew near it, having a

[33] Byron, *Journal*, p. 90.
[34] Byron, *Journal*, p. 93.

> fine white Sandy Beach all round it, and the Inner part cover'd with tall shady Trees, which looked vastly green & pleasant & no underwood.[35]

The islands offered a reassuring possibility and became the 'generators of narrative' Michael Harrigan has described.[36] Like the observations of birds, the islands provided something to fix the narrative on beyond the confinement of the ship. Likewise, they allowed the text to move beyond the confinement of the professional journal and into the more literary form that had been present earlier in the Strait. The text took the rhythm of the 'easy Sail' and led the reader to the island. Byron appeared beguiled by the sand and greenery of the smaller island; it was almost a mirage. However, a coral reef surrounded the island and there was no place to anchor. Byron continued:

> This news was great grief to us, for had I found a place to anchor the Ships, I intended to have landed my Sick here, & have remained till they recover'd, as this little beautiful Spot seemed to promise all the Refreshments necessary for Scorbutick People.[37]

He mixed both an aesthetic and emotional response that encouraged imaginative engagement. As the mariners circled the island the 'Savages followed us hollowing and dancing, & every now & then brandishing their long Spears at us, & then of a sudden falling down upon their backs as if they were dead'.[38] Thus, Byron imagined the islanders' designs on the boat he had sent out to look for an anchorage: 'They wanted much to get hold of the Boat & haul her on Shore that they might murder the Crew'.[39] Even without the inhospitable islanders, they could not find an anchorage anywhere at the islands and, 'greatly grieved I could procure no Refreshments for our Sick here', they bore away.

Over the next weeks Byron continued to find other islands, though all were unapproachable. The Isles of Danger was impossible to reach for 'Rocks and Breakers', although it was tantalisingly 'beautiful almost beyond description'; he thought the mariners were 'the first People that ever saw' at the Duke of York's Island (Atafu), again inaccessible, and there was

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[35] Byron, *Journal*, p. 95.
[36] See above, p. 5; Michael Harrigan, 'A Need to Narrate? Early Modern French Accounts of Atlantic Crossings', in *Sea Narratives: Cultural Responses to the Sea, 1600–Present*, ed. by Charlotte Mathieson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 23-45 (p. 39).
[37] Byron, *Journal*, p. 95.
[38] Byron, *Journal*, p. 96.
[39] Ibid.

no safe anchorage at Byron Island (Nukunau) either.[40] It was a narrative of frustration and, with relief just out of reach, the beauty appeared hallucinatory. Byron could not find the Solomon Islands as he had wanted and hoped instead his men would survive the voyage onward to the Ladrone Islands (Mariana Islands) 'to get some Refreshments, which we all stand in great need of at present, For certainly this is the longest, the hottest, & most dangerous Run that was ever made by Ships before'.[41] They made the Landrone Islands at the end of July and made a camp for the sick there.

Towards the end of the Pacific crossing the narrative returned mostly to the short entries of the professional journal, notes of weather and position, until they reached the Indonesian archipelago and Batavia (Jakarta). That signalled an end to the Pacific voyage. An important centre for the Dutch East India Company, at Batavia there was a return to European influence and they found on their arrival 'above a hundred sail Great and small here'.[42] Byron described a large, well-laid out but crowded city; it 'swarms with People'.[43] However, it was notoriously unhealthy: 'Europeans die here like rotten Sheep', he grittily observed and so made the stay as short as possible.[44] Even with that precaution a fever broke out a few days after they left and he 'lost three of my People in it in a very few days & had many others seized with it, who lay in a wretched condition for a long time'.[45]

Thus, although scurvy had coloured the Pacific crossing, sickness also marked the return to western influence. It suggested again, the emerging idea of the land as a location of disease and the sea as a cure. Batavia was a place of Western influence but also, in the image of Europeans dying 'like rotten sheep', of a corrupting decay, one that signalled the end of the unusual experience of the Pacific. This emphasized the sense of the Pacific's place outside of Western understanding and the voyage as an engagement with the 'other'. By clearly marking the Pacific experience in this way, the text could be something else apart from the usual professionally voiced officer's voyage journal. Rather, it could be an account of an experience of the uncharted ocean. It had become in a sense a form of pilgrimage or trial, not perhaps of self-discovery but certainly of resilience, and an engagement with the mythical idea of an ocean crossing and the ocean's relationship with the land, particularly reflecting on Byron's

[40] Byron, *Journal*, pp. 105-113.
[41] Byron, *Journal*, p. 116.
[42] Byron, *Journal*, p. 135.
[43] Byron, *Journal*, p. 136.
[44] Byron, *Journal*, p. 137.
[45] Byron, *Journal*, pp. 137-8.

own past experience of the *Wager*. Byron recognised this focus of his narrative too and, apart from a description of the stop at the Cape of Good Hope, he did not write much more; there were no longer the day-to-day accounts. With a damaged rudder the *Tamar* headed for Antigua and so the *Dolphin* completed the voyage alone, arriving at the Scilly Isles on 7 May 1766, 'a little more than Twenty two months upon the Voyage'.[46]

This showed that there was no real understanding of how to write about the ocean and properly articulate the experience of it. Byron's journal engaged with myth and complicated the relationship with the coastline and then the Pacific islands, reversing the perspective of the landfall as a homecoming. At Patagonia, he was nervous of the coastline that had previously upset the normal social and moral order and had even stripped him of his identity. He attempted to contain it with comparisons with home but it was the Pacific, at least initially, that became the release or escape from the coastline's otherness. Thus Byron's journal showed that, while the encounter with the ocean was problematic, so too was the encounter with the land. He struggled with this displacement and it shifted him away from the professional narrative voice to a more literary engagement and to parallels with journeys of pilgrimage or redemption. While the journal offered a transitional text between mythical and scientific engagement and was ostensibly a professional narrative, it also suggested the voyage narrative was deeply personal.

2.2 Wallis's account: the professional voice

Unlike Byron's journal, the original manuscript of Samuel Wallis's journal adhered closely to the format of the logbook. His was a description that was clearly rooted in the mariners' craft and the web of navigational record. This allowed a significant engagement with the mariner's experience of the ocean and offered an evocation of the ocean passage that was tangible and immediate. The format and appearance of the manuscript of Wallis's journal shaped the narrative and reflected key approaches Wallis took in his description of the ocean and the voyage, emphasizing the hybrid nature of his text (figure 3). His navigational account, the record of weather conditions and observations of currents and tides suggested an empirical approach to the description of the ocean. Alongside this narrative, Wallis made notes that described life on board the ship: of sail changes and repairs and, more particularly, the sickness and death amongst the crew. A perspective on the personal experience of the voyage,

[46] Byron, *Journal*, p. 140.

these moments offered a narrative that was more subjective and a counterpoint to the assumption of empirical certainty.

While the format of Wallis's journal adhered more closely to the conventions of the ship's logbook than the personal journal, in sections of his narrative, when the *Dolphin* navigated the Strait of Magellan, its approaches to Pacific islands, or in the descriptions of conditions on board, the schematic format was adapted and the account became more descriptive. This led to a distinctive narrative approach that found its voice in the mariner's experience. An emotional narrative of the voyage emerged in discontinuous remarks punctuating the framework of navigational record. Thus, Wallis used different devices to describe and narrativise the experience: the schematic description of ocean navigation; the description of weather; the descriptive navigational account at the coast; and the engagement with shipboard life. All pointed to ways of engaging with the ocean that challenged the predominant literary expression at the time. As with Byron's journal this account continued the reversed perspective and the troubled relationship with the land, creating two distinct spaces of land and water that could appear in opposition to each other. The variation within the format of the journal illustrated that there was no fixed way of writing about the ocean experience. Even within the constraints of such a professional report, it reflected the personality and interests of the author.

The journal began on Thursday, 19 June 1766 when Wallis, appointed commander of the *Dolphin*, went aboard and hoisted his pennant.[47] The ship was lying in dock at Deptford and the next weeks gave brief entries of its fitting out. Each page was ruled into sections with columns for the day and date, wind direction and remarks. Notably, even though the ship was in dock, Wallis gave the wind and weather from the start, establishing a refrain for the voyage and a spine to the narrative. On Tuesday, 8 July he wrote: 'Moderate & Cloudy weather at Three hauled the Ship out of the Dock at lashed her alongside of the sheer Hulk, got in forty five Tons of shingle Ballast. AM got in the Fore & Main Masts.'[48] The detailing of the preparations illustrated Wallis's focus on the practical work of the voyage and on the ship itself and contributed to the identification of the *Dolphin* as a distinctive and self-contained space that would underlie Wallis's text.

[47] London, The National Archives, MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, containing all his observations and remarks, ADM 55.35.
[48] MS Dolphin: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Tuesday, 8 July 1766.

At sea the format of the journal expanded: as noted previously, the page was divided into four sections broken down further for hours, knots, fathoms (as a division of knots), course, wind and remarks and with the hours from noon to noon down the side of each section. Each entry then ended with the noon sight written across the bottom with the general course and distance made good over the twenty-four hours (figure 3). Wallis's remarks in these parts were centred on the changes to the weather, any soundings taken when they approached land, observations to check compass variation, observations of marine life or birds, sail changes, and concern for the crew –their health and food. This schematic layout emphasised the ship's relationship with time. The counting of hours echoed the ringing of the ship's bell, the regular noon sight and the hourly record of the ship's speed taken from reeling out the log line recorded the routine of the watches on board that structured the days and nights. The journal suggested the metonymic and cyclical ship's time while Wallis's remarks marked interruptions in that routine. Timekeeping was a self-conscious activity to maintain the structure of daily routine and of geographical position, most clearly seen in the plotting of the ships course on the chart; in the journals this relationship affected the natural 'innate teleology' of the voyage, its purpose and course.[49]

Wallis's remarks through the twenty-four hours starting at noon Saturday, 13 December 1766, as the *Dolphin* approached the Strait of Magellan, illustrate this:

> Very Heavy squalls, handed the Topsails & reef the Courses–and brought too is
> Blowing excessive hard with heavy Rain and continued so for most part of these 24
> hours, it being very cold, a great SW sea–
> 30 fm mud
> Reefd Foresail & main Staysail, Beachy Head NbyE 7 pr 8 Leagues–
> 35 fm sand & small stones
> 40 fathoms
> Strong Gales with heavy Squalls & much Hail. Brought too at Midnight
> Made sail under the Courses. The Extreams of the Land from WbN to NWbN –
> 49 fms sand with small stones & shells[50]

The chant-like repetitions of soundings and the sail changes responding to the changes in wind expressed the experience of the ship and its management directly and emphasized the

[49] Foulke, R., *The Sea Voyage Narrative*, p. 10.
[50] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Saturday, 13 December 1766.

mariner's intimate relationship with the elements and the ocean. The immersion in the detail and the structure of cyclical routine appeared to reduce the narrative progression, upsetting expectations. This reflected the nature of the journal, written without a sense of ending. In his entries at sea, Wallis's observations were both continuous and separate. Although contained within the schematic structure of the journal, each note might have described the continuing activity of the ship but they were not dependent upon each other. When combined, the unconnected observations, 'the great SW sea— / 30fm mud', would describe the environment for the mariner and suggest the ship and its crew suspended between two elemental conditions. The entries responded only to the elements around them and the practice of the mariner's craft, not to any purpose of the voyage.

The format of Wallis's journal changed with the approach of land and dispensed with the hourly breakdown of the log. The entries for the *Dolphin*'s passage through the Strait of Magellan adjusted to a navigational description that followed the shoreline, punctuated by frequent anchorages. This did not mean Wallis eschewed navigational detail, if anything pilotage made his narrative appear more fully realised and the text had the potential to overwhelm the page. On Friday, 23 January 1767 Wallis wrote,

> Fresh gales, at 3 little wind weighd & made sail, at 9 PM Cape Gallant WbN 2 Leagues, Cape Holland EbN 6 Leagues, it and Cape Fravard near in One a White Patch in Monmouth Isladn SSW3/4W. Ruperts IsleWSW. About 2 Miles from the shore, here the Streights are not above five Miles ever, at 10 it falling calm hoisted the Baots out & sent them ahead, the tide runs very strongly & the Ships head could not be kept on any point, at 6 the *Swallow* made the signal that she had Anchorage, at 8 Anchored in a bay under Cape Gallant in 10 fm Water Muddy the Et Point of Cape Gallant SWBW1/2W the Extream Point of the Patch on Charles Island SW – Sent the Boats and sounded and found good fm every where except two cables length SW of the Ship where is was Coral and deepned to 16 fm water.[51]

The description of the ship's position seemed to make for a more conventional narrative, unfolding as the mariners sought a safe anchorage, worried by the strong tide. The Noon sight was replaced by a web of sights from ship to land and, with that web, Wallis began to express the ship's relationship with the land and an awareness of the conflicting spaces of land and

[51] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Friday, 23 January 1767.

water already seen in Byron's journal. He looked to the land for a sense of place but the ship remained at the centre with the land changing around it.

The narrative described a staggered and frustrating journey through the Strait, hindered by strong tides and opposing winds. On 24 December 1766 Wallis wrote: 'Weighed and made sail Turning to Windward the *Swallow* a head, the Tide made so strong that the *Swallow* is set one way we another and the Pr. Frederick another, notwithstanding there was a fresh Breeze none would answer the Helm'.[52] This was a more measured tone than Byron's had been, and in the following days, with the wind variable but a good anchorage found, Wallis adapted to the conditions and took the time to make repairs and re-provision. Wallis's entry for Monday 19 January 1767 suggested the insecurity of the Strait. Anchored in the lee of Cape Holland, Wallis wrote:

> [We] found ourselves very near a Reef of Rocks, tript the Anchor and drop't further out into twelve fathoms about half a Mile from the Shore and opposite a large Rivulet of Water from the Mountains for here the land is Excessive high.[53]

The reef combined with the mountains as a threatening landscape that suggested the mariner's difficult relationship with the shore. However, it was a contrast to Byron's perhaps more evocative prose and Wallis's narrative deflated the sense of threat by framing it as the detail of information.

After she exited the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific Ocean, the *Dolphin* lost contact with the *Swallow* and so faced the Pacific alone. As will be seen in the next section, Carteret thought the separation was deliberate on Wallis's part. Wallis recorded that with light winds they had to make all sail they could to clear the Straits and so lost the other ship. He wrote:

> [We] never saw or heard of her after, I would have gone back into the streights but the Weather coming on thick and dirty we were all of Opinion that we had nothing to do but get an offing as soon as possible.[54]

That Wallis notes they could not see the *Swallow* again, suggests that the entry was retrospective and that he thought some justification was necessary. Notably, he used the

[52] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Wednesday, 24 December 1766.
[53] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Monday, 19 January 1767.
[54] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Saturday, 11 April 1767.

collective ‘we’ while elsewhere in the text he mostly avoided personal pronouns. This was a product of the way the text was constructed, the brief entries encouraged economy, and, although this style did not disassociate Wallis from the decisions and actions he took, it gave the appearance of a more objective and impersonal record. The self-conscious direction of the reader to a collective decision here suggested two things: it offered proof that this was felt to be the right course of action, deflecting personal responsibility from him, and introduced a subjective tenor to the text, notably where Wallis felt less secure of the decision. It subtly emphasised the self-conscious nature of the journal; that it could be a document of reflection and self-fashioning. This became particularly evident in his account of the Pacific voyage. He described a close attention to his ship, in his response to the difficult conditions of such a long passage and to the increasing sickness of the crew, firstly, because of the inhospitable cold and wet of the southern latitudes and then after that, scurvy.

The schematic format of the logbook transposed to the journal with its hourly divisions and prioritising of the numerical description of place through longitude and latitude was re-established immediately on leaving the Strait of Magellan. Within that format, the remarks that described sail changes, repairs and, most personally, the crew showed the potential for a more subjective account. While approaching the landfalls of Pacific islands, the narrative description increased to replace the numerical description. Through these changes, Wallis’s narrative clearly established three different spaces that interacted with each other: the ocean, the land and increasingly, the ship. The hourly breakdown and the separation from the *Swallow* seemed to emphasise the European perception of the Pacific as an empty space. After the denser text describing the passage through the Strait, the greater space on the page made by the division into hours, and with it the relative paucity of remarks, reflected that emptiness. The ruled lines dividing the pages reflected the lines of longitude and latitude and the position lines with which the mariners were beginning to fill their charts. Moreover, to find their position Wallis looked to the heavens, another unexplored space. The ocean experience was an exercise in finding some sort of meaning in the emptiness or a relationship between the ocean and the land that could only be understood from the ship.

Primarily, the weather filled the ocean’s apparent emptiness in Wallis’s account of the Pacific. In the entry for 12 April 1767, he noted ‘Moderate, cloudy and hazey weather’ then ‘the sea running pretty high’ and ‘squally weather’ to ‘Fresh gales & thick hazey weather with

a pretty Great Sea'.[55] Alongside these remarks were the response to the weather, the sail changes: 'carried all the sail she could bear, which was fore reeft topsail' then later as the weather worsened, 'got down top gallant yards and Masts'.[56] The mariner's vernacular became more prominent without the distraction of land, emphasizing that the narrative was one of work, the 'metis' Margaret Cohen identifies as essential to later maritime writing.[57] It was part of a tangible, almost tactile, expression of the oceanic experience. The description of the weather transferred to the motion of the ship: 'a very heavy Sea & the Ship labours much, & makes a great deal of Water' then some hours later, 'very Strong Gales with a heavy Sea Ship Strains much the Rain and Sea find way thro' every seam that there is not a dry place in her'.[58] This emphasised the ship's instability and vulnerability, an environment 'that contains in its restless motion lurking possibilities of total disorientation'.[59] The ship was a medium for the mariner's experience of the ocean: in the course that could be set, the speed and the motion of the voyage. It was essential to the mariner's understanding of that experience. Just as Wallis had made the *Dolphin* the centre of the navigational description through the Strait of Magellan, here the description of the weather localised the narrative to the ship and the mariner.

There were other observations populating the horizon and the page: on 31 May 1767, Wallis noted 'grampuses, Dolphins & flying fish and some Men of War birds'.[60] Birds were significant as they might indicate land and as the *Dolphin*'s crew grew increasingly sick, the journal seemed to connect them with Wallis's remarks about the ailing crew. Thus, a description of the sick immediately followed a note of 'Men of War birds':

> The People begin to look very pale & meagre, and fall down fast in the scurvy. They have Vinegar & Mustard whenever they want it, the Ailing men have Wine instead of Spirits, have likewais Wort, and Saloup – Portable Soup boiled constantly in the pease and Oatmeal. Their berths and clothes kept very clean, and all that come on Deck, are

[55] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Sunday, 12 April 1767.
[56] Ibid.
[57] See p. 8; Margaret Cohen, 'Travelling Genres', *New Literary History*, 34, 3 (2003), 481-499 (p. 486).
[58] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Thursday, 16 April 1767.
[59] Foulke, R., *The Sea Voyage Narrative*, p. 9.
[60] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Sunday, 31 May 1767.

> kept upon the Air, the Hamacoes are constantly brought up at 8 in the Morning and down at 4 in the Afternoon and some Beds Aired & Hammocks washed every Day.[61]

Here, as in his other remarks on sickness, Wallis demonstrated his close attention and care. He suggested the desperation of their rapid decline, 'they fall down fast', as though the disease was overtaking the crew; it was a collapse. However, Wallis carefully constructed the entry to position himself as considerate, responsible and active. The regularity of the activity, their bedding brought 'up at 8 in the Morning and down at 4 in the Afternoon', emphasised the attention to method and order consistent with the running of the ship. Thus, the entry went beyond being just a record of events; Wallis began to create a narrative of the struggle to survive the voyage and focussed his account in the close observation of the community of the ship, not only its isolation but also its self-containment, and his ability to manage it.

Some days later Wallis returned to the problem of the sick crew again: 'people daily fall down in the scurvy & look very unhealthy, yet have very good spirits in hope of getting sight of some place to refresh in'.[62] Three days later, on June 6 1767, there was another hopeful observation of birds: 'At 8 AM saw several birds, some small ones near the Ship which look'd like land birds'.[63] This was the prelude to finding the Whitsunday Islands (the Tuamotu Group) and as Wallis's narrative worked through the observations of birds and the increasing problems of scurvy the final discovery was a relief: 'all the sick are overjoyed at our discovery'.[64] The journal showed little descriptive interest beyond attempts to find fresh food and water as the *Dolphin*, unable to find an anchorage, stood on and off the island. As it had been in Byron's journal, the search for land appeared to be more from the need for the relief it might offer than for claims of discovery. When the boats were launched to look for an anchorage the journal filled with narrative that articulated that need and overwhelmed the page so that the longitude and latitude were squeezed into the bottom of the entry.

The narrative illustrated a tension between the objective navigational account and the more subjective descriptive account. An emotional response to the landfall that was at odds with the objective language of navigation inflected the description of the coastline. It was unlike Wallis's description of the passage through the Strait of Magellan as an understandable desire

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[61] Ibid.
[62] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Wednesday, 3 June 1767.
[63] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Saturday, 6 June 1767.
[64] Ibid.

to find a safe anchorage replaced concern for the identification of navigational position. As the *Dolphin* stood off the Whitsunday Island, Wallis did not describe the coastline in any detail but recorded the sightings of islanders and more particularly the refreshments brought back by the boats, 'several Cocoa Nuts and three bags of Scurvy Grass'.[65] The entry for 7 June 1767 goes on to emphasise the lack of provisions on the island and of any anchorage. It describes the activity as the boats go out, probing the island, the few provisions found distributed to the sick. There was an underlying frustration: Wallis emphasized the 'great difficulty'; a possible harbour was so 'full of breakers' the boats could not 'venture in it' and, resigned, Wallis had them hauled back on board and they made for islands to leeward.[66] There was not the web of position lines that connected ship to shore seen in the entries for the Strait of Magellan. The narrative was less an objective description of the island that might be useful to other mariners but a reflection of the frustrations on board the *Dolphin*.

This insularity affected Wallis's description of the islanders. Wallis never set foot ashore, staying on the *Dolphin* and sending boats to gather water and fresh food. His descriptions distanced the islands with a sense of watchfulness as events ashore unfolded. He saw 'about fifty people drawn up with long Pikes & running about with Firebrands' and ordered Lieutenant Furneaux, to man the boats and 'endeavour to traffic with them' which the islanders were reluctant to do.[67] Then later the islanders disappeared leaving their island to the visitors. Some days later, they saw the inhabitants again on another island:

> There were not any Huts but the people had hauled up their canoes upon the Beach and placed their Women & Children under then and they came down close to the Waterside with long Pickes in their Hands & some with Firebrands making a great noise and dancing in a strange manner.[68]

In spite of his claims of possession, Wallis's account suggests only the briefest encounter or, more aptly, non-encounter. There was wariness and the view from the ship reflected the passing strangeness and mariners' isolation.

Unlike the descriptions of weather, of sail changes and navigation that were rooted in a professional language, the island encounters had a sense of unfolding unreality. It continued

[65] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Whitsunday, 7 June 1767.
[66] Ibid.
[67] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Monday, 8 June 1767.
[68] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Thursday, 11 June 1767.

with Wallis's finding of Tahiti. The stop at the Tuamotu Islands had not provided enough fresh food and the crew were still sick. On the morning of Wednesday, 17 June 1767, after lying heaved to overnight in 'Dirty weather', they made sail again and 'soon after saw land Bearing WBN it making a small Round Hummock'. By midday, the 'hummock' had grown so that 'it looked very like the Mewstone in Plymouth Sound only larger'.[69] This was an unusual comparison with home, like those found in Byron's journal. However, Byron had suggested an emotional connection while Wallis's was simply a physical comparison. They continued the next night, standing on and off the island, and at ten that evening saw a small light on shore that encouraged them further. In the morning Wallis sent the boats, under Lieutenant Furneaux, ashore for 'refreshments and at the same time endeavour to find a place to anchor in'. Furneaux returned with a hog, coconuts and plantains and reported seeing '100 inhabitants and believed that there were many more' but found no anchorage.[70]

As Wallis was sick and too weak to go ashore himself, the account of was second-hand. This combined with, as Nicholas Thomas observes, an approach to exploration that was 'not much less half-hearted than his predecessors'.[71] Particularly after Byron, Wallis's account appears understated, even uncommitted. It is only with hindsight that we can understand the discovery as significant; that it would shape the course of Cook's first voyage, or as J. C. Beaglehole suggested, that Wallis 'had stumbled on a foundation stone of the Romantic Movement' where the 'unreal would mingle with the real'.[72] Although Wallis would not have known this significance, there was a sense of that mingling of reality and unreality in his account. Still searching for a safe anchorage, they continued following the coast and on the morning of 19 June the weather cleared. Wallis wrote: 'we were much surprised to find we were surrounded by some Hundred of Canoes, which had from One to ten in them who made such hallowing and Hooting that we could scarce hear each other speak.'[73] However, amongst the strangeness he described the high peaks of the land with rivers flowing down and land that looked cultivated and the shore full of houses and people and coconut and fruit trees. With so much to describe again, the note of the ship's position appeared less important and was squeezed

[69] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Wednesday, 17 June 1767.
[70] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Thursday, 18 June 1767.
[71] Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (London: Penguin Books, 2018), p. 18.
[72] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. by J. C. Beaglehole (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*, 1768-1771*, pp. xciv.
[73] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Sunday, 21 June 1767.

into the margin. Finally, on the morning of 21 June they found an anchorage in Matavai Bay. Almost immediately, boats came out to them with 'Hogs, fowls & plenty of fruit' that the sailors exchanged for nails.[74] The Europeans had found Tahiti; Wallis named it King George's Island.

Wallis's description of the canoes surrounding them, appearing from the night, 'hallowing and hooting', emphasised the strangeness of the islands, they seemed to be almost conjured out of the ocean.[75] The sickness and the birds that appeared to have led the sailors to the islands and Wallis's detached descriptions added to that sense of unreality. The detachment suggested, as shall also be seen in Cook's first journal, an apparent lack of certainty about how to engage with the terrestrial experience in the text. It was in the details of shipboard life and navigation that Wallis could express himself most clearly, through the professional maritime vernacular, the navigational narrative and the description of the management of the ship and his concern for the crew's wellbeing. This reinforced the idea of the ship as an isolated and self-contained space, a heterotopia importing a microcosm of European society into the Pacific. Only when the ship engaged with the land and particularly a society that promised something, did the heterotopia begin to look vulnerable, first in Tahiti and then at Batavia (Jakarta). Thus, although relations with the Tahitians settled, uncertainties and insecurities transferred from the ocean to interactions with others. In Wallis's account, it seemed mostly to manifest in the behaviour of the crew, now unconfined. It was a loosening of boundaries, best represented by the nails that disappeared from the ship and used by the sailors as currency for sexual relations with the Tahitian women. The trade was so vigorous, Wallis wrote, 'that all the Belaying Cleats were ripped off and most of the Hammock Nails drawn' by the crew.[76] Thus the land encounter threatened even to pull apart the fabric and structure of the ship.

This potential dis-assembling of the ship contrasted with the account of its preparation for the voyage at the opening of the journal. That had signalled the optimistic building of a community: taking on ballast, rigging and fitting out while reading the articles of war set the boundaries of the ship's community.[77] Stopping at Batavia after the *Dolphin* left the Pacific there was another description of the potential for the ship's disintegration. Another British

[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Saturday, 11 July 1767.
[77] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, entries for July 1766.

ship, the *Falmouth* was found 'lying rotten in the mud', and Wallis indicated the awful potential of the land to cause a ship's disintegration: 'she is all to pieces' he wrote, 'and [I] think that she cannot last out the next Monsoon'.[78] The *Falmouth*'s remaining crew petitioned Wallis to take them with him and let them abandon the rotting ship. Wallis continued to describe a mental and physical decay that infected surviving crew and ship:

> The Gunner hath been long Dead, his stores all spoiled, the Powder being spoiled was by order of the Dutch thrown into the Sea – the Boatswain Mad and in the Hospital and his stores rotten and spoiled the roof of the Storehouse fallen in the beginning of a Wet Monsoon and remained so for many Months until they could get another place to put them in, the Carpenter in a very low weak condition, & I think cannot live long, the Cook a Wounded Cripple. I told them that as they had Charge of Stores that it was not in my power to relieve them & that they must wait Orders from home, they said that they never have had a single order from England since they were left here and therefore humbly Prayed that I would make their deplorable case known that there may be some relief given them, that they have ten years Pay due, are grown old men, and would be happy to go home sweepers and forfeit even their ship nor hope to be employed again if the[y] could only be relieved from the Miseries the[y] suffer here.[79]

The *Falmouth* offered a potential narrative for the *Dolphin*: the erosion of the ship, exhausted by the voyage and then reduced by the encounter with the 'other' of the landfall. Subsiding into the mud, she conjured a primordial image with the mud as an impossible semi-state of the coast with neither the solidity of land nor the fluidity of water. Henry Fielding had used it for comic effect, carried over mud's 'impassable gulf' to get ashore whilst waiting for a fair wind on his voyage to Lisbon.[80] Over a hundred years later, Conrad suggested a similar sense of ancient decay as the Nellie swung to its anchor on the Thames, waiting for the tide at the beginning of *Heart of Darkness*: 'Sand-banks, marshes, forests, savages' and the 'fascination of the abomination'.[81] Wallis's language rooted the decline in the ship's unnatural confinement: unable to sail, the crew incapacitated by madness, sickness or disability. The language emphasised the inability to act: everything 'rotten' or 'spoiled', the storehouse roof

[78] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Tuesday, 1 December 1767, Thursday 3 December 1767.
[79] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Monday, 7 December 1767.
[80] Henry Fielding, *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (London: A. Millar, 1775), p. 92.
[81] Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness* (London: Everyman, 1991), p. 7.

'fallen in'; Wallis too, unable to go beyond the rules, was impotent. As with Byron's narrative, it suggested Batavia as an analogue to Terra del Fuego. That Wallis brought himself directly into the narrative suggests its significance and that he saw in the *Falmouth* a possibility for the *Dolphin* and for himself.

In Wallis's description of the *Dolphin*'s journey home from Batavia that possibility came closer, as his record of events began to form together in a narrative of decline. On 23 December 1767 the Quartermaster George Leavis died, although 'he was very well two days ago and seemed not an hour ago to be tolerable' and then the next day John Woolridge died after another sailor had fallen from the main yard onto him.[82] They repeatedly washed the ship with vinegar in an attempt to stop the sickness that had affected more than forty sailors since Batavia. There was another death on 12 January: Joseph Gibson, a marine, died of the flux.[83] Three log lines were lost in one day and on 23 January in a gale, 'the strop of the Main topsail broke and carried away the Tops gallant yard in the slings and tore the sail to pieces' and later the top sail was split and the starboard rudder chains broke.[84] In the calm that followed the storm, Wallis had 'everyone that handles a needle employed in repairing sails which are now in a very tattered condition'.[85] As the *Dolphin* approached the Cape of Good Hope, the remarks became less frequent, underlining a sense of exhaustion. It was a narrative of holding the ship together, a stitching together of its 'tattered' self. Again, Wallis stressed his responses to the various problems and asserted his ability. He showed himself husbanding the crew and ship to the end of the voyage, each problem followed by the description of his actions to resolve them. He found in this deterioration an object for storytelling that did not look out to the land but inward to the ship and its crew.

Thus, Wallis's journal clearly showed the sometimes problematic relationship with land: first, in the strangeness of the island encounters, the dangers of a coastline, then most completely in the story of the *Falmouth* and the deteriorating condition of the *Dolphin* and her crew after they had left Batavia. Wallis's journal was a product of the environment and its variations illustrated that there was no fixed way to write about the voyage or ocean experience. The relationship at the coast could appear more fully described; as the progress of the ship could

[82] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Wednesday, 23 December, Thursday 24 December 1767.
[83] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Tuesday, 12 January 1767.
[84] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Saturday, 23 January 1767.
[85] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Monday, 25 January 1767.

be marked against the shore, its navigational description brought the land closer, just as the channel narrowed. The text drew the landscape around the ship in order to position it, while the chronological mapping of ocean navigation, the counting of hours, the record of the log and the noon sight, became less important. This suggested time as a substitute for landscape in the oceanic experience. The heaving of the lead line to take soundings as the ship approached the coast was a pendulum marking the transition between the chronological space of the ocean and the physical space of the coast. The approach to the island landfalls reflected the desperation of an increasingly sick crew, replacing navigational detail with the possibility of relief. The different formats of Wallis's journal narrated the mariner's orientation within each of these places and intimated the psychological journey of the mariner.

Such a psychological narrative meant that the journal showed an increasing concern with the activity of the ship. Wallis began to describe the space of the ship as a social and professional place so that the *Dolphin* became an essential component of the narrative. It was a way to engage with the description of the oceanic experience and found vitality in the description of the work of sailing. As the ship became the focus of the account, everything was understood from it and in relation to it, reasserting the separate and separating spaces of ocean and land. The reversed perspective already seen in Byron's journal produced either an account of the navigational relationship with the land or one centred in the ship and the vulnerability of the ship's crew. In Wallis's text, an imaginative engagement with the Pacific became real, focussed on the arduous work of sailing, life on board and of navigation. It was in this description of the ocean voyage that we find what Auden described as 'real situation' of the Romantic sea.[86]

2.3 Carteret's journal: recollection and the contestation of narrative

This section focuses on the revisions Philip Carteret made to his journal after his return. It was in these texts that Carteret most clearly articulated his version of the voyage and it allows us to see how retrospection might affect the ocean narrative. The process of rewriting following the completion of Carteret's voyage meant that his journal became increasingly reflective, an approach that Philip Edwards notes, 'brought out some of his best writing'.[87] The primary motivation for this was the bitterness Carteret felt at his perceived mistreatment by the Admiralty, Wallis and then Hawkesworth in the published account. Where the

[86] W. H. Auden, *The Enchaféd Flood*, p. 21.
[87] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 96.

mariner's relationship with the sea was an attempt to exist in, and contain, its otherness, Carteret's disappointments and professional aggravations distorted the record of his engagement with the ocean. They pointed to how the sailor's relationship with the ocean went beyond the professional to become a personal and moral engagement. Carteret's narrative showed the potential of the ocean to be a device of pathetic fallacy, a metaphor of Carteret's emotional state. The narration of each of the mariner's encounters with the sea thus became indicative of an encounter with the self. This recalled previous forms of maritime literature and the perception of the ocean as a vestige of chaos, although this darkening was unusually personalised and internalised in his account.[88]

As Carteret engaged in a more extensive process of rewriting, producing several different versions of the same account, the autobiographical intention of the journal changed. It allowed the recalled emotional experience to influence the description, to become 'an interplay, a collusion, between past and present'.[89] This does not mean that the initial account lacked personal perspective, only that the process of reflection helped embed the emotional response more deeply into the narrative. Thus, with each of the iterations of his journal, Carteret came closer to the possibility of the narrative as a narrative of feeling, contesting the 'professional' form of the mariner's journal. There are several parts of the voyage that illustrate this and I shall look in more detail at each of these. First, Carteret's account of the passage through the Strait of Magellan articulated his argument with Wallis and his problems with handling his ship, the *Swallow*. His treatment of the Strait also serves as a comparison with that by Byron and Wallis. He described the relationship with the ocean most explicitly just after leaving the Strait of Magellan and emerging into the Pacific. This coincided with Carteret's separation from Wallis and it is possible to see Carteret's reaction to those events reflected in his description of the problems with the *Swallow*. Towards the end of the Pacific crossing, with the discovery of the Santa Cruz Islands and the St George's Channel between New Britain and New Ireland, Carteret's engagement with the ocean changed again. The long Pacific crossing and a lack of opportunities to replenish supplies exaggerated initial problems with the ship and crew. Carteret's concern for the survival of the ship and its men meant that the emotional narrative focussed on the deterioration of the ship as it had in Wallis's narrative.

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[88] W. H. Auden, *The Enchaféd Flood*, p. 16.
[89] Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 11.

Carteret had previously sailed with Byron on his circumnavigation and Byron had recommended him for this second expedition. There was little respite between the two voyages; Carteret returned from the first voyage at the beginning of May 1766 and took command of the *Swallow* two months later, it was his first command. Wallis, as leader of the expedition, had command of Byron's old ship, the *Dolphin*. Carteret's disappointment with the Admiralty began with the condition of his own ship, the *Swallow*; in poor repair and heavy with bad manoeuvrability, she was quickly named the 'poor Dull Swall'.[90] Moreover, the *Swallow* was poorly crewed and short of officers, while Carteret's relationship with Wallis started badly and never improved. Wallis had taken the supply of 'Junk' (spare rope) meant for both boats and only distributed a small portion of it to the *Swallow* later in the voyage, and he took all the trade goods supplied to barter with any indigenous people they met. The relationship finally broke down completely when, after struggling through the Straits of Magellan, the *Dolphin* sailed away into the Pacific, leaving the *Swallow* behind, an action Carteret thought deliberate. A line of resentment runs through Carteret's accounts and there are repeated insinuations that he was the more capable commander and better suited to lead an expedition of discovery.

Carteret was concerned for his legacy and position but as well, as he saw it, for an accurate and faithful account of the voyage. Thus, he prefaced his revised journals with his reasons for returning to his story:

> Before I enter on this narration of my Voyage, round the Globe, it will be highly proper to relate many particulars concerning the Equipment of the Swallow, for such an undertaking, as it will naturally serve to inform the Reader, with the true situation she was in, and what could be, or rather, what was expected from me; And I hope from the Candour of the Publick, that I shal not be suspected, in this to have any other motive, but the love of Truth, and of that Justice, which every man, owes to himself; Nor shall I presume to inquire into the Reason, of so great a partiality for the Dolphin, or the cause of such proceedings.[91]

Couched in terms of 'Truth' and 'Justice', Carteret went beyond technical arguments over the suitability of the Swallow or the professional conduct of the voyage to an appeal to his

[90] Philip Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World 1766-1769*, ed. by Helen Wallis, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1965), I, 23.
[91] Philip Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 105.

prospective reader. He is both accusatory and defensive, emphasizing his disgruntlement. In this respect, a sense of failure or the defence against a perception of failure darkened Carteret's accounts of his voyage. That he had not failed, that his discoveries (Pitcairn Island, the Queen Charlotte's Islands, St George's Channel between New Britain and New Ireland) were notable, was irrelevant. Wallis's discovery of Tahiti and then Cook's first voyage over shadowed Carteret's voyage. This mingled with his resentment toward Wallis and, as shall be seen, was apparent in a peculiar mixture of determination and sense of resignation to the conditions he found and articulated in his narrative.

Like the other commanders, Carteret was critical of Hawkesworth's version of his journal, objecting to the reduction of navigational information, the mariner's perspective, and Hawkesworth's insertion of his own opinions into the narratives. Carteret though, had the time and inclination to respond more fully. As noted above, Hawkesworth treated Byron, Wallis and Carteret's journals as a prelude to Cook's narrative. However, while the longest voyage, when published, Carteret's was the shortest account, which might have explained some of his impression of neglect.[92] He saw Hawkesworth's version of the voyages as part of the marginalisation of his voyage and the promotion of Wallis's.

Of the two lists of notes Carteret made of Hawkesworth's text, one was of problems with the version of his journal after seeing the manuscript before publication, the other referred to Hawkesworth's published quarto of both Wallis's journal and his own.[93] In the first list, Carteret's criticisms appear relatively trivial; they were mainly issues of clarity and the recurring comment was that points were 'not well expressed'.[94] CA.IV would go further, particularly as it continued what Carteret had begun in his previous abstract of his journal (CA.III), and dealt more fully with his criticisms of the Admiralty and Wallis. For example, Carteret questioned Wallis's account of a group of Patagonians they had encountered:

> What they did when they looked at themselves in the Glass was no more then what Country People might do in England who are not often used, to view themselves in

[92] As the *Swallow* had accompanied the *Dolphin* until they separated after leaving the Strait of Magellan, much of the first part of the voyage had already been covered in Wallis's account.
[93] London, Caird Library, MS Private papers of Philip Carteret, NMM 35 MS 0081, CAR/5 & CAR/10b.
[94] Ibid.

looking glass's. But from what they did, they did not seem to been Strangers to a looking glass.[95]

Carteret suggested his own reasonableness and perceptiveness but in Wallis original journal, he had only remarked that 'they looked in a glass that diverted them extremely'.[96] In Hawkesworth's rendering it became much more and 'they advanced, retreated, and played a thousand tricks before it'.[97] Thus, Carteret mistakenly blamed Wallis for Hawkesworth's exaggeration. The image of the looking glass seems appropriate, suggesting the multiplicity of confusing views. Hawkesworth refracted Wallis's view of the Patagonians looking in the glass, while Carteret looked on Hawkesworth's gaze, supposing it to be Wallis's, and thought he saw the original more clearly. It was a problem of perception; Hawkesworth looked for difference and for markers of the primitive while Carteret took issue with this too simple understanding.[98] However, he also wanted to advertise his own discernment and diminish what he thought was Wallis's. Thus, in the CA.IV, Carteret did not re-tell the events but by referring his potential reader to his letter 'Printed in the 60th vol. of the Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society' implied his own account was authoritative.[99]

Carteret's criticisms of Wallis as a commander and mariner were of a similar tone and suggested what he perceived were his own superior skills as a mariner. Underlying these complaints was that of Wallis's neglect and lack of concern:

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[95] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, II, 507.
[96] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Wednesday, 17 December 1766.
[97] John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken… for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere and performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Cartaret and Captain Cook*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: Strahan & Cadell, 1773), I, 376.
[98] For analysis of the changes Hawkesworth to the description of the Fuegians see W. H. Pearson, 'Hawkesworth's Alterations', *Journal of Pacific History*, 7 (1972), 45-72.
[99] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 315. The article in the Royal Society's *Transactions* was a letter addressed to Matthew Maty, the secretary of the Society. It described a group of Patagonians who he found 'the finest set of men', but he pointedly noted that Wallis would not allow more time with them, remarking 'by this we lost a fine opportunity of being better acquainted with them'. [Philip Carteret, 'A letter from Philip Carteret Esquire, Captain of the *Swallow* Sloop, to Mathew Maty, M. D. Sec. R. S. on the inhabitants of the coast of Patagonia' in Royal Society *Philosophical Transactions*, 60 (1771), 20–26.

> Ye *Swallow* had no boats of ye *Dolphin* to assist her to come into Port Famine, all tho she stood in need of them, but as soon as ye *Dolphin* anch'd. Capt. Wallis went on shore with his boats instead of sending of them to assist ye other ships.[100]

In his journal MS, Wallis had written that he had 'sent all the boats & towed in the Swallow & Prince Frederick', with no mention of going ashore.[101] Hawkesworth's *Voyages* repeated this in the chapters on Wallis's voyage.[102] (Details of this part of the voyage were omitted from Hawkesworth's version of Carteret's journal.) Carteret's contemporaneous journal, CA.I, made no mention of any help from the *Dolphin*, the *Swallow* already being towed by its own boats: 'PM both Boats ahead, towing us, at 7 turning round Point St Ann into Port Famine Bay, where we Anchored'.[103] It is a peculiar point to dispute, as there is no mention that either the *Swallow* or the *Prince Frederick* had problems anchoring with or without the help of the *Dolphin*'s boats on this occasion. However, it intimates the complete breakdown in the relationship between the two officers, and the unreliability of the personal record.

Thus, although he had not commanded a ship before, Carteret thought himself a more capable commander than Wallis, and a more capable explorer. As the *Swallow*'s poor manoeuvrability and slowness held up their progress through the Strait of Magellan, Carteret offered alternative arrangements to Wallis, finally suggesting that 'he "was not afraid of going on this duty in a Single Ship; if Wallis would take the *Swallow* home he would take the *Dolphin* and complete the voyage'.[104] This was something Wallis could not agree to, and as Helen Wallis observes, Carteret's apparent disinterestedness in helping the overall objectives of the expedition did little to disguise his condescending tone.[105] The dispute would continue to inform Carteret's description of the ocean and the experience of the voyage. The narratives Carteret made encapsulated his struggle; there was a sense of fatigue. However, as shall be seen, his preoccupation with the voyage allowed an occasionally evocative description of the oceanic experience.

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[100] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 507.
[101] MS *Dolphin*: Log kept by Captain S. Wallis, ADM 55.35, Saturday, 27 December 1766.
[102] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 384.
[103] London, The National Archives, MS *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P Carteret, ADM 55.130, Saturday, 27 December 1766.
[104] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World* (2017), I, 35.
[105] Ibid.

CA.I is significant as an account seemingly uninflected by personal observations and thus stands apart from the revised journals. However, in its account of the passage through the Strait of Magellan we can see the establishment of the tone of resentment that would shade his account. It did not relate the same sense of space seen previously in Byron or Wallis's journals but still gave a sense of the difficulty and frustration of the passage. Carteret's account of the attempt to leave Port Famine at the beginning of the passage through the Strait highlighted the problems the voyagers would face:

> AM. Unmoored the Ship & hove short on Best Bower. Struck the tent on Shore. At 7 weighed (by signal) & came to sail. Out Reefs & sent the Cutter ahead to tow us. At 10 the Wind veering to the WSW the Commodore made the signal to Anchor'[106]

The rhythm of the journal's narrative of the strait described a staggering progress. Throughout the passage the wind was variable, either gusting violently or dying to nothing and with the strong currents set against the ships, frustrated attempts to make way. Thus, the entries were preoccupied with the changes of sails and the details of anchoring—which anchors were used, the lines taken to shore to steady the ship against the wind:

> First part fresh Breezes & clear, middle moderate & hazey, the latter moderate & fair. At ½ past Noon the Wind coming to WNW, was taken a Back; payd her head off to the Northward, & got the Larboard Tacks on board. At 2 made all the Sail we could, but the Tide made so strong against us, we dropd to leeward. At ½ past 2 bore away, off signals, for York Road, where at ½ past 4, we anchored with Small Bower in 7 fm. Water, & veered away to a whole Cables service. Moored with the Stream Anchor in Shore.[107]

Even in these technical descriptions, there was a sense of the frustration as the description of making way rises and falls. The terse language evoked the labour of their attempts to progress, pushing the boat to its limits and the entry turned to a forlorn resignation as the tide 'made so strong against us'. The cadence of the phrasing fell too as 'We dropd to leeward'. Here it seemed to carry the weight of disappointment; the disappointment that Carteret returned to throughout his journals.

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[106] MS *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P Carteret*,* ADM 55.130, Thursday, 15 January 1767.
[107] MS *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P Carteret*,* ADM 55.130, Sunday, 15 February 1767.

However, Carteret's description in CA.I also distanced the ship from any sense of its environment. The *Swallow* existed only within the dynamic forces acting upon it, the wind and current, but not in relation to the land it was navigating past. Focussed on the failure to sail well, there was little concern for the wider environment. In this passage and mostly throughout CA.I's description of the Strait, there was nothing of the narrated position. Carteret's account narrowed to the manoeuvrability of his ship, marginalising any other substantive engagement.

The coastline was only included when it helped illustrate the *Swallow*'s inadequacies. Thus, leaving their anchorage off 'Island Despair',

> At ½ past [9] came to sail, but it falling calm, the eddy current set us close upon the Rocks & obliged us to stand through a narrow Channel between the Islands & the main; the narrowest place of it about a Ship's Length over & 3 fm the least Water, soft Ground. The Breeze springing up, got both Boats ahead & 4 Oars out, we towed her almost through, tho' a very strong Current against us; but it falling calm, the Eddy set her close upon the Rocks, & had not a small Breeze sprang up, we must undoubtedly have gone on Shore.[108]

The rocks, the only geographical detail, combined with the strong current and failing breeze as a hazard but, un-described in any other way, they were not the threatening 'other' seen in Byron's description of the Strait. However, the entry also showed that even without a subjective personal voice, the mariner's professional account might still point to a dramatic and potentially metaphorical narrative. Here was the possibility of grounding or a wreck and the narrative suggested the mariners' struggle as much more than a physical problem.

Another later entry in CA.I suggested the possibility of the pathetic fallacy in vivid language:

> At 8 had very hard Gusts of Wind, or Hurricanes, which near blew the Ship out of the Water; you could not hear any Person close to you speak it blew so hard; and thought it was impossible for our Anchors & Cables to hold us, though we had no Sea, but a continual under-Tow out of the Bay. The sudden Gusts blew the Gulls down in the Water; and we thought the Tops of the Mountains were coming down; for one close by us, over which a Fall of Water tumbled down the Rocks, & the Wind blowing so

[108] MS *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P Carteret*,* ADM 55.130, Thursday 19 February 1767.

violently, that it caused the Water to return back again so vehemently that it seemed like smoke.[109]

Wallis had not made so much of these gales, writing more simply of 'very hard Gales with much hail and snow and frequent Gusts', while the frequent wind shifts and heavy sea strained 'the Cables much as the ship was on a Constant Sheer'.[110] Thus, Carteret's was an expression of the personal experience on board the *Swallow* and was a more unusual engagement with the environment around the ship. The description animated the geography so it combined with the storm to become a series of impressions that suggested the emotional experience. The narrative veered away from the objective professional voice to conjure the enveloping elemental sensation: the deafening sound of the wind, the birds blown down into the water and the water blown back up the mountainsides. Nature was reversed, or up-ended, and a disorientating sense of the apocalyptic and the engagement with the environment became an almost overwhelming struggle. The earlier notion of the ocean as a vestige of the great abyss transferred to the shoreline and became a struggle between land and water. In passages like this, there emerges the possibility of teasing a psychological narrative from an apparently uninflected professional narrative. Objective observation could not contain the experience of the voyage. The extremes of weather and the difficult environment of the Strait of Magellan, made worse by the inadequacies of the *Swallow*, pushed the text towards a literary tone, with the mariner/protagonist subjected to a series of tests. As Byron's narrative had reflected his psychological experience of the Strait, Carteret's text began to reflect his despair and his hostility towards what he perceived as his mistreatment.

This sense of hostility was essential to Carteret's narrative, animating and darkening his texts. It was particularly apparent in his account of the passage immediately after the separation of the *Swallow* and the *Dolphin* after leaving the Strait of Magellan. This was a difficult period; low in the southern latitudes, the weather was poor with heavy seas and the *Swallow* struggled to escape the coastline of Chile. That allowed the possibility of a more evocative ocean description, tainted by Carteret's anger at the separation. CA.I gives a straightforward account of the separation:

At 6 Cape Tamar NW1/2N 4 Leags, The Island of Westminster Hall WNW 8 Leag^{s}; the land in the South Shore W1/2N 8 Leagues. At 8 the Commodore WbN 4 Leagues; at ½

[109] MS *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P Carteret, ADM 55.130, Thursday 12 March 1767.
[110] MS *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P Carteret, ADM 55.130, Thursday 12 March 1767.

> past lost sight of the Commodore. At 4 AM the Island of Westminster Hall NWbN 4 Leag[s]. Set all our Studing Sails. At ½ past 6 saw the Comodore W1/2N 8 or 9 Leag[s], with his Studing Sails set of a fresh Breeze, & we only a light Breeze, but all the sail we can set. At 8 Cape Pillar W1/2N 3 Leagues, the Island Westminster Hall North 3 or 4 Leag[s], Cape Victory SW1/2W 7 or 8 leag[s]. Lost sight of the Commodore from the Mast head. At ½ past 9 hauld down our studing sails & took in 1st Reefs Top Sails.[111]

The entry disguised the sense of abandonment Carteret felt, though it alluded to it as he drew attention to the 'Commodore' setting the light studding sails.[112] The navigational observations emphasized the increasing ocean space as the ships moved away from the coast and from each other. That the Swallow had 'but all the sail we can set', appeared to suggest that Carteret was resigned to his inevitable isolation as the *Dolphin* ran away from the *Swallow*.

Hawkesworth's adaptation provided another view that was fuller but appeared more reserved:

> Hitherto I had, pursuant to my directions [given by Wallis], kept ahead, but now the *Dolphin* being nearly abreast of us, set her foresail, which soon carried her ahead of us; and before nine o'clock in the evening, as she shewed no lights, we lost sight of her. We had a fine evening breeze, of which we made the best use we could during the night, carrying all our small sails, even to the top-gallant studding sails, notwithstanding the danger to which it exposed us; but at day-break the next morning, we could but just see the *Dolphin*'s top-sails above the horizon, we could perceive, however, that she had studding sails set, and at nine o'clock, we had entirely lost sight of her.[113]

Hawkesworth's tone was understated but also slightly ironic. The narrative of the *Dolphin* overtaking and leaving the *Swallow* was clearer: setting her foresail as she came abreast; that she did not carry lights. However, Hawkesworth also seemed to minimize the seriousness of the event. He admitted to the danger of driving the *Swallow* so hard, but his phrasing, 'notwithstanding the danger to which it exposed us', suggested it only as an afterthought.

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[111] MS *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P Carteret*,* ADM 55.130, Saturday, 11 April 1767.
[112] Studding sails were set in light winds on extensions of the yardarms. William Falconer described them as 'wings upon the yard-arms'. William Falconer, *An Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (London: T. Cadell, 1769).
[113] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 531.

In response to Hawkesworth, Carteret elaborated events in yet more detail in CA.IV. Even so, the accusation that Wallis had deserted the *Swallow* was veiled by Carteret's need to exculpate himself.

> In the morning, the wind springing up in the SE quarter, we immediately weighed, our Anchors; and by 10 OClock were both under Sail, clear of the Bay; the weather was dark [and] gloomy, with showers of snow, and hail, having all the appearance of winter; the wind blowing unsteady, from the SE quarter; of which however we made the most of. The *Dolphin* had all along before much out sailed us, but now as our bottom was grown much fouller, and hers being Copper'd, kept always clean, we found now that she sailed faster with only her Topsails, with a reef in then, then the *Swallow* did with all the Sails we could sett. […] I had all the time before this, been made to keep a head, but soon after it was dark, we observed the *Dolphin* who was nearly abreast of us, set her Foresail, by which she soon shot ahead of us, and before 9 o'Clock (as she did not carry, nor during the whole Night, did she show us any lights) we had quite lost sight of her. All this night, we had a fine light Eastern breeze, of which we endeavour'd to make the best use we possibly could, by carrying even our Topgallent-Studding sails. A conduct, which people who are acquainted with the Sudden Squalls, & the variableness of the winds, which reign, with so much violence in the Streights of Magellan, may be apt to censure.[114]

Carteret added details he thought missing from Hawkesworth's text, although they were also self-justifications: the *Swallow*'s foul bottom and then the acknowledgement of the possible recklessness of carrying so much sail. The first explained the *Swallow*'s low speed and thus Carteret's inability to sail her well; the latter clarified Hawkesworth's opaque reference to 'danger'. Both also served as accusations against Wallis. The description of the two ships' hulls and the observation of the *Dolphin*'s speed were clear and concise. Carteret suggested that the disparity between the two ships was obvious; the implication was that Wallis too would have been aware of these points. Carteret then insinuated Wallis's deception, using the cover of darkness to leave, while emphasizing the possible recklessness of carrying too much sail.

[114] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 116-117.

That underlying psychological animus continued to colour the text, giving a subtext to the simple reportage of the journal. The context of the 'gloomy' weather at the start of the passage reflected the mood that descended on the *Swallow*'s company as they realised they had been left behind. To suit their mood, the weather became progressively worse. While the *Dolphin* appeared to have a fair wind and escaped the mouth of the Strait, the *Swallow* found the wind turned to come from the SW and then the WSW, 'right in from the sea' and, after tacking several times, they could not clear the land. The weather too seemed to conspire against the *Swallow* and soon turned worse: 'it began to grow dark, the weather coming very thick, with violent rain and the wind blowing very hard driving before it a great hollow Swell from the Sea'.[115] Carteret found an allusive language that suited the emotional context. The weather was both sombre and aggressive and the 'great hollow Swell' described the physical heaving of the ocean swell and an emptying out of feeling or hope. Again, description went beyond the objective as the ocean resonated with the mariner's disappointment.

In Carteret's description of the ocean crossing disappointment was coloured further by the increasing sickness of the crew from scurvy, as it had in Byron and Wallis's accounts, but this time aggravated by the shortage of officers capable of navigating the ship.[116] This affected the latter part of the voyage particularly and the route to be taken, as Carteret was increasingly concerned about being able to bring the ship home. Re-writing his journal afterwards changed the emphasis of Carteret's account to reflect this vulnerability. Rather than being simply a contemporaneous account, it allowed the re-called emotional experience to influence the description. In it, we see the narrative became, in part, an imaginative endeavour and a re-construction of the daily record, as the relationship between author and narrative is in some respects cognizant of its purpose. In Carteret's re-writing he developed a language of ocean description that appears, as Charles Taylor suggests, 'more like a medium in which we are plunged, and which we cannot fully plumb'.[117]

Carteret's descriptive language responded to the environment but in a way that reflected his vulnerability. In the Journal MS2 Carteret described bad weather encountered at the beginning of May 1767:

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[115] Ibid.
[116] This became more extreme with the death of the ship's master from wounds incurred after a violent confrontation with the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Island.
[117] Charles Taylor, *Human Agency and Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 235.

> The wind all of a sudden shifted from NW, to SW, and for the space of about an hour, it blew, I think stronger then ever I had seen it at Sea; this wind made that the Ship come up with her head, right against this great & mighty Sea, which the NW wind had raised […] I was much afraid [the ship] would have founder'd, for at every Pitch she made, against this terrible high sea, it was with the end of her bowsprit under water, over which: and the forecastle, these mighty great Seas broke in as far aft, as the main mast, & as if it had been over a Rock; so that we were quite under water, and had not the Ship been, an extraordinary good sea boat, (which was the only good quality she had) she could never have out lived this Storm.[118]

This entry developed the description of the storm itself more than those in the previous commanders' journals had. Carteret was responding with an approach that looked to the drama of felt experience. His emphasis on the scale of the seas was an understanding of the ocean as a 'terrible' sublime force. The ship appeared diminished; the violent movement as it rose and plunged, overwhelmed by the water that broke over it.

He went further, describing renewed gales and then the lull that followed:

> The 5th. winds NbW & NNW, but blew so hard, that it was with difficulty we could carry the Courses, the hollow high Sea made the Ship pitch very hard, labour & strain much, in her hull, & rigging, this wind continued till 8 o'Clock in the Evening, when all at once it fell calm, and then this great hollow confused sea did toss about the Ship, as if she had been an Egg shell, breaking upon her in a strange manner, so that we had no kind of Command of the Ship which roll'd, & labored in such a manner, that at each roll, I was afraid she would have jerked all her masts overboard[119]

As Taylor suggests, the text plunged into an emotional experience. The lull in the wind was notable; neither Byron nor Wallis used similar language or such density of imagery. Again, Carteret used 'hollow' to describe the ocean, as he had after the separation and with all its similar connotations. It resonated with the emptiness of the ocean around him; the absence of meaning or place that combined with chaos, though that confusion appeared almost purposeful. The analogy of the *Swallow* as an eggshell made her small and friable, both vulnerable but also with the connotations of shell's protectiveness. Positioned after 'Egg

[118] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 126.
[119] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 127.

shell', 'breaking' acted as both verb and adjective, so that the sea broke on an eggshell ship but was also the breaking shell of the ship. The ship appeared incompatible with its environment as the rolling motion contrasted with the angular 'jerk' of the masts. The description, an interplay of emotion and storm, appeared to reflect an emotional confusion, and a loss of place or direction. CA.I did not describe this, although there were repeated references to the swell and heavy weather, and the entry for the following day described the 'very hard squalls, with rain & Lightening all round the compass'.[120] Thus, memory increased the emotional resonance so Carteret moved away from an uninflected professional view. His engagement in an emotional narrative undermined the need to establish the journals reliable unexaggerated accounts. As Gillian Beer argues, 'the detailed sensory description' required as an authenticator, translated into a rhetorical mode that undermined objectivity.[121] It was a tension throughout the journals, from the professional, mostly uninflected account of CA.I to moments such as those above in his later re-written journals.

Carteret's attention to the ocean narrative was increasingly found in the problems he had with the *Swallow*, her poor handling and, as the voyage progressed, her leakiness. He wrote: 'we found that the Ship made a good deal of water, for she began to be very Crazy, by her hard labouring in ye high turbulent Seas we had been in for so long a time, & our Sails were now much wore & often splitting'.[122] Just as Wallis had described the stranded *Falmouth*, the *Swallow* appeared to be disintegrating but rather than indolently rotting she was broken by the seas. It reflected the deteriorating health of the crew: Carteret was sick himself and with only one young lieutenant capable of navigation, the return home was threatened. In the different texts of Carteret's journals, the emotional narrative of the ship's distress superseded a potential narrative of what was a fecund period of "discovery" during the latter part of the Pacific crossing.[123] Carteret gave no description of finding the Queen Charlotte Islands in the abstract, CA.III, except to remark that 'the sight of Land had been a long wished for thing, as we were now grown very sickly, and from its agreeable appearance prepossessed us much in

[120] MS *Swallow* Journal kept by Captain P Carteret, ADM 55.130, Wednesday, 6 May 1767.
[121] Gillian Beer, 'Travelling the Other Way', in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. by Nicholas Jardine, Anne Secord & Emma C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 322-37, p. 323.
[122] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 151.
[123] Carteret found Pitcairn Island then went on to find the Queen Charlotte's Islands (Santa Cruz Islands), and re-find the Solomon Islands. Afterward he charted the St George's Channel between New Britain and New Ireland, locating the Duke of York Islands within it.

its favour'.[124] Instead, Carteret was preoccupied with the 'ill behaviour' of the ship's master, Simpson, which resulted in an altercation with the islanders and the master's death later from his wounds.[125] The events meant the *Swallow* left the islands without the fresh supplies it desperately needed and Carteret had needlessly lost someone capable of running and navigating the ship while he was sick. In CA.IV, Carteret summed up the condition of his company: 'we were now reduced to so low and weak condition that we could keep the sea no longer, and nothing but a speedy relief of refreshments could possibly save the lives of the greatest part of the remaining Crew'.[126] There appeared to be little energy left for any engagement with either the ocean or landscape around them.

The attenuation of the ocean account was a consequence of the psychological narrative underlying it. Carteret's approach to the voyage narrative demonstrated a changing personal response to the ocean experience. This preoccupation and frustration with the poor handling of his ship meant first, in the narrow waters of the Strait of Magellan, he looked only at its inability to make progress against the wind and current so that the account became drawn into a description of that lack of progress. In the open seas of the Pacific, his isolation after the separation from the *Dolphin* led him to engage in a description of the seascape that reflected his frustration and despair. Here the potential for an engagement with the ocean as a physical and emotional space began to emerge. In some ways, this was indicative of the older trope of the ocean as a metaphor of struggle but it also pointed to another, more personal, understanding of the ocean. That disappeared as the narrative turned inwards to the weakened condition of the crew and the concern that they would survive the voyage. The ocean description was, in part, a product of a personal emotional engagement and appeared to be a narrative of decline and despair.

Thus, in all three journals, the writing became part of the process of oceanic experience, articulating the lived experience of the mariner and the relationship with the ocean space. Underpinning these, providing professional and narrative structure, was the navigational account. The statistical description of the ocean provided some certainty to the mariner and authority to their narratives; these were texts to navigate. However, they also expressed the

[124] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 159.
[125] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 160.
[126] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 213-4.

mariner's relationship with the ocean space, encompassing the space and securing the mariner within it. Alongside this, the journals were self-conscious articulations of the mariners' selves. All three mariners demonstrated how the journal could describe an unusual and dynamic narrative that was peculiar to the mariner's oceanic experience: it could upset conventional views of what was the other, land or water, or provide a narrative concentrated in the activity and work of the ship and the sensation of being at sea. Each contributed to create evolving accounts of the oceanic experience and the idea of the mariner, a process that would then continue in their further adaptation.

Chapter 3. Cook's Journals: Writing a Changing Identity

Just as Cook's three Pacific voyages continued to explore and chart the ocean after the voyages of Byron, Wallis and Carteret, Cook's journals developed the articulation of the oceanic experience in the voyage narrative. Its description still began in the navigational narrative and there remained a relationship between land and water problematized by the mariner's reverse perspective. Cook went further though, as the text of the first journal recognised the more explicitly scientific purpose of the voyages. The beginning of a scientific narrative voice emerged as Cook explained his navigational observations and calculations and recorded detailed observations of currents and tides. However, Cook's approach to writing the oceanic description changed over the course of the voyages, a change that was marked by the diminution of the navigational voice. This reflected Cook's evolving relationship with the ocean, with the nature of the voyages and with their narrative. In this chapter, I examine this changing narrative and argue that it reflected confusion in Cook's projection of his self. That is, he no longer clearly articulated an idea of himself as a mariner in his narrative.

Jonathan Lamb suggests a progressive collapse of Cook's identity that stemmed from a failure to find land:

> The journals of James Cook's three voyages record a mounting bewilderment in the commander's mind, no doubt partly caused by his failure to locate either of the two grand objects of his quests, the Great Southern Continent and the Northwest Passage. His bafflement culminated in behaviour so unaccountable that his colleagues thought him infatuated.[1]

However, Cook did not seem invested in either quest and he expressed doubt for example about the Southern Continent from early on. 'But what foundation have we for such a Supposition' he wrote in the first journal, 'none that I know of but this, that it must be here or nowhere'.[2] Gananath Obeyesekere argues that Cook was a product of a de-civilising process,

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[1] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 4-5.
[2] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. by J. C. Beaglehole, 4 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1999), I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*, 1768-1771*, pp. 289-90.

'Implicit in the thrust of civilization is a dark side that parallels the Kurtz persona of the civilizer. Both are facets of the same enterprise'.[3] Scientific exploration, the charting of the unknown Pacific, the naming of places, was a process of colonization that in turn de-civilized the civilizer.

Thus, both Lamb and Obeyesekere account for Cook's decline only in terms of a relationship with the land but Cook's loss appeared to be from the opposite: a lack of sea room. There was less space in which to be a mariner and navigator that expressed an idea of his self most completely and it was in his self-fashioning that this became most critical. With the increasing literary quality of his writing, Cook had written himself away from this identity. This marginalised the proto-scientific expression of navigation and the meticulous counting of days at sea, the original expression of himself as mariner and his articulation of the ocean experience and the Pacific 'space'. In the first journal, Cook began to find ways to express the oceanic experience and himself as a mariner through the navigational and proto-scientific narrative. In the second and third journals, he produced a narrative designed to be more appealing to a public audience. Because of this, he became less complacent, less confident, in the way he expressed himself. There is a sense of fragmentation in these journals, that Cook no longer knew how to represent the Pacific and the oceanic experience.

I will look first at the development of the navigational narrative as a proto-scientific voice in the first journal and then how it changed in his second and third journals. Cook's account in his first journal of two critical events shows how he could also manipulate his narrative. These were an incident shortly after the *Endeavour*'s arrival at New Zealand and then the ship's stranding on the Great Barrier Reef. Both illustrated the problem of the coastal experience already articulated in the previous journals by Byron, Wallis and Carteret. Similarly, Cook's writing showed how the land was a space where his narrative was less comfortable or certain. I then look at other aspects of his description of the oceanic experience as Cook responded to the extremes of the voyages, particularly the sense of the sublime found in his view of the ocean. These suggested ways in which the writer could engage with oceanic experience. However, there was also a process of dis-engagement with the account of the oceanic experience, as his narrative looked increasingly to the land and it this that led to a loss of the mariner's identity.

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[3] Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 13.

Reading Cook's journals as literary texts and as examples of life writing is pertinent in the parts of the journals that engage with the ocean rather than the land-based encounters. The narration of the ocean-experience shows a developing language to express a complicated relationship with the sea and, through that, a changing presentation of the self. It was in reaction to a difficult, often sublime environment mostly unknown to European mariners, while also having to fulfil the demands of his different groups of readers. As exercises in life writing, Cook's journals engaged with self-fashioning, he was writing first for his superiors at the Admiralty and then for both them and a wider general readership as well. Cook constructed the journals with great care to address these demands: writing and re-writing them throughout the voyages and afterwards and then presenting them in different formats to suit the audience. In an area so mired in myth and fantasy, the journals raise questions about the distinction between fiction and fact. The proto-scientific narrative voice that emerged began as the technological language of navigation but can be understood as a defence against an insecure environment; his constant resort to time and position, a condition against the ocean — a place impossible to mark.

The journals were not purely exercises in autobiography; they do not take an overview of a life, attempting some form of self-realization. Instead, Cook seems to have adhered to Goethe's maxim:

> Man knows himself only in so far as he knows the world, and becomes aware of the world only in himself and of himself only in it. Every new object, well observed, opens a new organ in ourselves.[4]

Roy Pascal understands this as scepticism of 'the purely contemplative, introspective method' of self-understanding. For Goethe, 'being is for him becoming; one is never oneself, one becomes oneself.'[5] As John Locke had written at the end of the previous century: 'all the men we meet with, Nine parts of Ten are what they are, Good or Evil, useful or not, by their Education.'[6] Goethe extended this idea of anti-innatism but was not entirely sceptical of introspection as Pascal suggests; Goethe's emphasis on awareness and careful observation, that it was *in* and of his self, suggested an innate capacity for active self-reflection. So it was

[4] Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 41.
[5] Ibid.
[6] John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (London: A. & J. Churchill, 1693), p. 2

for Cook: through his voyages of discovery and his interaction with the ocean, Cook found himself and became himself. The articulation of that development, the self-awareness necessary to make an account of these journeys, augmented the self-discovery. Linda Anderson describes the 'essentialist or Romantic notion of selfhood' where 'there is little apparent difference […] between realizing the self and representing the self'; the autobiography presented an ordered view of 'the unique self which [was] also the expression of a universal human nature'.[7] Thus, Cook's self-representation in his journals was also a self-realization. Moreover, as Anderson suggests, this way of reading the journals has implications more generally for the human condition; for from these attempts to articulate the ocean experience there came a solitary and psychological relationship with a sublime ocean.

3.1 The changing navigational narrative

In the first journal, Cook developed what can be described as a proto-scientific narrative voice for his journals. It was a way of writing about his experiences that avoided opinion and relied on apparently empirical observations. This was to be expected; the first voyage had an ostensibly scientific aim—to observe the transit of Venus and collect data. This narrative voice had several motivations: there were generic expectations; in part it came from Cook's self-presentation as an accomplished navigator and expert in hydrography; and it was a response to the expedition itself. The first journal took its form from the 'Remark Books' required by the Admiralty at the end of the voyage and was similar to the format of Wallis's journal. Cook attempted to extend the reputation he was already establishing as a navigator and hydrographer, while these disciplines provided a basic language with which to talk about the ocean. The narrative was enriched by the three voyages that explored what was for Europeans a mostly unknown Pacific and searched for the hypothetical Southern Continent, the *Terra Australis Incognita*. After the success of Cook's first circumnavigation and its published account taken from his journal, although still concerned for his professional reputation, the narrative voice in the second and third journals became increasingly suited to appeal to the general reader.

The roots of the proto-scientific narrative are in the remark book Cook kept as master of the *Northumberland* between 1759 and 1761. Cook laid out this journal with details of winds, course, each day's run and position on one page and then any remarks on the other facing

[7] Linda Anderson, *Autobiography* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2001), p. 4.

page. He confined his observations to the running of the ship but there was already a detail of navigation. For example for Thursday, 25 October 1759 he noted for the tenth to twelfth hours:

> (10) Course made from Gaspey to Brion S˚ 59″ Est Dist 4[8] Leag^{s}
> (11) From Gaspey to Birds Island S˚ 64″ Est Dist 45 Leag^{s}.
> (12) Variation 1 ½ points West, Largest Birds Island 8 ½ W 6 miles, Island of Brion WSW ½ W dist 5 Leag^{s}. Latt ⊙ $\frac{0}{48''}$ $\frac{1}{02\ 8}$˚ .[8]

The narrative of position was both a record and an aid to navigation but it also served as a demonstration of Cook's attention to the detail of navigation. Observations of the ship's position would have already been recorded in the log, so this expressed the mariner's priorities: Cook looked for precision while the inclusion of his calculations suggests he enjoyed the process of navigation. Although he would no longer divide the day into hours in the journal of his first Pacific voyage, Cook followed the generic conventions established in this earlier remark books and the level of navigational detail. However, the demands of the Pacific voyage, that it was one of scientific discovery, and the challenges of navigating uncharted waters challenged and expanded the format.

In the journal of his first Pacific voyage, Cook established a way of describing the ocean through the language of navigation and the cataloguing of weather, given as an apparently contemporaneous account. This was a self-fashioning as an accomplished navigator, a presentation of himself in terms expected by his nautical peers. His journal conformed mostly to the generic expectations of those expectations but the exceptional demands of the voyage and Cook's own navigational interests meant it was more expansive and detailed than the *Northumberland Remark Book*. What emerged in the text of Cook's Pacific Journal was a description of the sea as a narrated chart with the ship's course outlined across it. For example, on the approach to Brazil after crossing the Atlantic in October 1768 on the first voyage, Cook wrote:

> Saturday 29th. Winds ESE. Course SBW. Dstce in miles 101. Latd in 5˚25'S. Longd in West from Greenwich 32˚48'W. Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. Variation of the compass 2˚25' W.

[8] London, The National Archives, MS Master's Log*: Northumberland*, ADM 52/959, 22 January 1759 – 30 November 1762.

> Sunday 30th. Winds EBS. Course S ¾W. Distce in miles 107. Latd in 7˚8'. Longd in West from Greenwich 33˚4'. A steady breeze and for the most part close clowdy weather. Variation by several Azimuths 1˚31'W. At Noon the observed Latitude 7 Miles to southward of account.
> Monday 31st. Winds E to ESE. Course S½W. Distce in miles 114. Latd in 9˚1'. Long in West from Greenwich 33˚16'. A Fresh breeze and clear weather. Variation 0˚15' West. Observed latd again to the southward of the Log.[9]

There was no engagement with the physical experience of the ocean itself; it was not described; neither its colour or wave height was given. There was little to suggest the character of the ship's company either, or to give any impression of each day's sailing. Rather, the information Cook gave, the wind direction, the ships course, the distance run over the last twenty-four hours, the latitude and longitude, drew a two-dimensional course that could be extrapolated to a chart. It created an imaginary web from the lines of longitude and latitude that hovered above the water. This was the construction of the "non-place" that Philip Steinberg's suggests: 'a space above the ocean from which [the navigator] maintains an all-knowing gaze over the ocean beneath him'.[10] It was an abstract way of coping with the problem of finding a way around the ocean but was not a tangible engagement with its physical being.

However, it was one way to describe the experience of the ocean, others showed less engagement or a different sort of engagement. The entries quoted above were from the Canberra holograph MS, CO.1.I, and were replicated in the copy of the journal made by his clerk, Richard Orton, and delivered to the Admiralty (CO.1.II). In Hawkesworth's published edition of the journal omitted these entries and in the hybrid text the editor manufactured, there was an entry taken from Joseph Banks's journal instead. The entry described the appearance of the ocean: 'In the evening of the 29th we observed that luminous appearance of the sea which has been so often mentioned by navigators' and Banks used a net to gather 'what prov'd to be a species of Medusa [jellyfish]'.[11] That Cook did not offer this, or information like it, suggests his writing still adhered to the conventions of the remark book.

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[9] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 17.
[10] Philip E. Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 54.
[11] John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken,* 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1773), II, 16.

The luminous effect was not unusual, although the scientific investigation of it was. That lack of engagement with Banks's scientific work would change as the voyage progressed and particularly with the entry into the Pacific, as the expedition undertook the scientific objectives of the voyage. Still restricted to the navigational experience of the ocean, a relationship between the ocean and the chart, Cook refrained from engaging any non-navigational qualities of the ocean.

Cook's construction of the narrated chart, allowed an understanding of the size of the oceans, of the incommensurability of the space and thus the scale of the endeavour, a focus on the ocean journey. The presentation of navigational data was no mechanical act either; it was at least in some senses a rhetorical gesture. Cook showed an unusual active engagement with the processes of navigation, not merely recording the results. He had learnt the skills of surveying after a chance meeting with the military surveyor, Samuel Holland, and with him had already surveyed Newfoundland and the Gulf of St Lawrence.[12] He had already come to the notice of the Royal Society through his observation of an eclipse of the sun at Newfoundland in 1766 and published in the *Transactions* the following year.[13] He used the Astronomer Royal Nevil Meskelyne's new lunar tables published at the time of the first voyage and was able to make the difficult lunar calculations necessary to find longitude. As seen previously, Wallis had also used the lunar method for calculating longitude but Cook's journal of his first voyage gave the method and calculation in such detail it became a prominent part of the narrative. He showed an interest in the developing technology of navigation; not only with his use Meskelyne's lunar tables but also on the second voyage, taking a copy of Harrison's chronometer that so revolutionised the calculation of longitude.

On 25 October 1768, Cook described checks made on the compass that illustrate this engagement:

> Soon after sun Rise found the Variation of the Compass to be 2˚24' West being the mean result of several very good Azimuths, this was just before we crossed the line in Longitude of 29˚29' West from Greenwich. We also try'd the Deping Needle belonging

[12] John Cawte Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (London: A. & C. Black, 1974), pp. 33-37.
[13] James Cook, 'XXIV. An observation of an eclipse of the Sun at the Island of New-found-land, August 5, 1766, by Mr. James Cook, with the longitude of the place of observation deduced from it: Communicated by J. Bevis, M. D. F.' in The Royal Society *Transactions*, 57 (1767).

> to the Royal Society and found the North point to dep 26˚ below the Horizon, but this instrument cannot be used at sea to any great degree of accuracy on account of the motion of the Ship[14]

Here Cook was not only making sure of the ship's compass but undertaking tests for the Royal Society, an example of his interest in the technology of navigation and the scientific purpose of his voyage.[15] Yet this note suggests something more, as it did not merely record the results of the observations taken like those above, but narrated the activity of them. Cook made a small shift of emphasis from recording the observations of navigation only as they were relevant to the ship's progress to their importance and interest in their own right.

Thus, Cook went further than the numerical scientific expression already seen in Byron, Wallis and Carteret's journals or his earlier *Northumberland* Remark Book and his proto-scientific voice can be seen as part of the genesis of scientific discourse. Cook's use of words reflected the spare style that the Royal Society advocated, as had the journals of the other mariners. It might be that the Society saw in the mariners record a potential model for scientific discourse and without 'amplifications, Digressions, and Swellings', Cook's words offered a way forward.[16] The journal was part of the 'process of distillation' of scientific discourse 'in which various genres of literary expression are successively labelled non-scientific and banished'.[17] Beaglehole suggests that Cook regarded language as simply the practical articulation of his craft: 'as concrete things with a precise use, much in the way he regards a block and tackle or a tiller-brace'.[18] This reflects Margaret Cohen's idea of the voyage narrative as a narrative of work.[19] However, in the first journal, language appears to work in two ways, as a scientific expression and as the unromantic language of work. For Cook the lack of ambiguity of this form of writing was essential, not as part of the self-conscious act of writing science but as a way of being at sea. The proto-scientific voice was a way of generating fixed points of certainty amidst the ocean. While Hawkesworth's use of Banks's surface description, the analysis of the sea's luminescence, attempted to bring the

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[14] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 16.
[15] The dipping needle measured the angle the magnetic field made with the horizontal and its variation could affect the compass.
[16] Thomas Spratt, *The History of the Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London: J. Martin & J. Allestry, 1667), p. 113.
[17] Scott L. Montgomery, *The Scientific Voice* (New York: The Guildford Press, 1996), p. 29.
[18] John Cawte Beaglehole, 'Introduction', in Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. cxciii.
[19] See Introduction; Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 15-58.

ocean into a sphere of cultural understanding, Cook understood the otherness of the ocean. He could pull together strands of understanding, sequences of navigational positions, conditions and course, aware that they were coterminous but not always connected. He could not be negligent of them as Hawkesworth could.

Appropriately, as Cook crossed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, he showed how the routine entries of weather and position that provided the essential narrative line might become a narrative of active navigation and the beginning of a more scientific voice. He appeared to relish the opportunities to make observations and in giving the details of his calculations. From the entry for 28 January 1769, after the *Endeavour* had left Cape Horn and first come into the South Pacific he described an observation made that morning:

> Had 3 sets of Observation of the Sun and Moon which gave the Longitude 69˚7'15". The longd of the Ship at Noon by this Obsern is 69˚24' – 1˚48', the Longd made from C. Horn, is =67˚36', the Longd of the Cape which is 52' less then the result of yesterdays observations. This difference may arise partly from the observations and partly from the Ships Run: the Mean of the two gives 68˚2' + 68˚24', the Longitude of the Cape from the observations taken at Strait Le Maire 136˚26' $\frac{136.26}{2}$ = 68˚13' West from Greenwich, the Longd of Cape Horn, being deduced form no less than 24 observations, taken at no very great distance from the Cape and on both sides of it, and when the Sun was both to the East and West of the Moon, for in this case the errors arising from Observation are most likely to correct one another.[20]

This is from the Canberra MS, CO.1.I; Cook removed the equation from the copy submitted to the Admiralty, CO.1.II, although he still gave the mathematics in detail. However, here, as with the entry for the 25 October 1768 quoted earlier, Cook did not simply state his observations or lay out his calculations but narrated the process of them, their mathematics and his reasoning, his written maths. It might have overstated the process, but for Cook these observations seem to be the defining incidents of his time at sea. Although this was a meticulous and pedantic entry, dull for most readers, it marked a transition from the familiar navigational sphere of the Atlantic to the more unfamiliar Pacific. The written maths had a purpose because Cook was trying to establish the geographical space of the Pacific. Entries like these illustrated his sense of engagement with the processes of navigation; his pleasure in

[20] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 54.

it as well as the pride he had in his ability to practice it. What Cook articulated with these entries in the first journal, in spite of their seemingly pedantic restraint, was that he was an enthusiast.

However, it also purposefully established an idea of himself as an accomplished mariner and navigator. His absorbing interest in navigation and his articulation of it also made an important statement on behalf of Cook; it provided proof of his qualification for the task in hand. To assert his ability as leader of the voyage was an important part of the first journal. As an officer's remark book, written as a record of the voyage for the Admiralty, the journal could show Cook's professional competence as a commander, navigator and hydrographer and so justify his appointment. This had not been straightforward, as the Royal Society had wanted Alexander Dalrymple, a leading advocate of the *Terra Australis Incognita*, to command the expedition. The Admiralty had insisted on a naval officer and Cook had a growing reputation as a navigator. However, it was still an unusual appointment: Cook was only a ship's master, promoted from the crew, rather than the ranks of young gentlemen destined to be officers, and he had started in the merchant service and then started again as an ordinary seaman in the royal navy. Beaglehole describes the master as 'the chief professional on board, though not the highest ranking one, the man who never ceased to retain control, as a professional thing, of the ship's navigation'.[21] In his satire *The Wooden World* (1707), Edward Ward was less flattering: 'He is a seaman every bit of him, and can no more live any while on dry land than a lobster', but his social position was uncertain, on 'the meridian altitude of the lower kind of midshipmen'.[22] N. A. M. Roger is more straightforward still: masters were not considered gentlemen.[23] Thus, Cook's preoccupation with advertising the detail of his navigation — and his ability — was, in part, a social insecurity. It was a rhetorical gesture, which emphasized his own capabilities and distinguished him from many other naval men (who were above him in the naval and social hierarchies).

Thus, the first journal was part of a long process of self-fashioning: the first Pacific voyage was a peculiar opportunity and with it, Cook could write himself a future. As his narrative developed in the second and third journals, there came into sight an idea of a whole life as purposeful as the voyages. They outlined the preoccupations and workings of a mind that

[21] Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook*, p. 26.
[22] Edward Ward, *The Wooden World Dissected*, 2nd edn (London: H. Meere, 1771), pp. 29, 32.
[23] Nicholas A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World* (London: Collins, 1986), p. 264.

seemed changed by each voyage, just as the readers would be. With the writing of it, the idea of Cook's 'self' and of his life 'completely intertwined and entangled, take on a certain form, assume a particular shape and image, and endlessly reflect that image between themselves and between two mirrors'.[24] After the success of the first voyage, this sparse navigational voice was to some extent less necessary, or could be expressed in a different way for another reader, as Cook's position as a commander was more certain. His meticulous charting of the New Zealand coast on the first voyage would particularly prove his abilities as a maritime surveyor. Moreover, with the successful publication of Hawkesworth's edition of the journal alongside those of Byron, Carteret and Wallis, Cook would have understood that he would now be writing not only for the Admiralty but for a general reader. Still, his enthusiasm for navigation meant it remained important to the journals' narratives. However, its purpose, and thus the emphasis on it in the text, changed. Cook no longer needed the details of navigation as a proof of himself but of the authenticity of the text.

Initially the proto-scientific voice remained in the second journal. In the holograph manuscripts, the earlier entries were as in the first journal with a summary of the wind, course, distance sailed, position in latitude and longitude. Additionally Cook now had 'Mr Kendall's Watch', the copy of Harrison's chronometer, and he gave longitude calculated using it. From October 1772, Cook wrote:

> Tuesday 6th. Winds SE. Course S 20˚15' W. Distce sail'd 50 miles. Latd in South 29˚49'. Longd in West pr Reck.g corr by Observn 11˚35'. Fresh gales and squally with Showers of Rain.
> Wednesday 7th. Winds ESE. Course S¾W. Distce sail'd 92 miles. Latd in South 31˚20'. Longd in West pr Reck.g corr by observn 11˚48'. Ditto weather. In the evening took a reef in each Topsail.
> Thursday 8th. Therm. 62½. Winds E to NE. Course SBE¼E. Distce sail'd 88 miles. Latd in South 32˚45'. Longd in West pr Reck.g corr by Observn 11˚23'. Weather

[24] *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, ed. by James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 22.

> continues the same, squalls a little stronger which obliged us to take the 2nd Reef in the Topsails. [25]

Thus, essentially the narrative voice apparently remained brief and of little general interest. He continued the detailed narrative of position, use of the chronometer made that task more precise, albeit less mathematically taxing. He constantly compared the estimated position with the observed, testing his own assumptions. There was little exceptional here though; it did not show the impulse to begin describing an ocean that came with his passing Cape Horn and entering the Pacific on his first voyage. However, the entries established a rhythm of observation and Cook's place as a meticulous navigator again.

Cook's writing would become more confident as the second journal progressed, with greater fluency and fuller phrasing even in shorter entries. This was in spite of his protestation in the preface to the published version of the second journal. He claimed there that it was the 'production of a man, who has not had the advantage of much school education, but has been constantly at sea from his youth' and thus, 'had no opportunity of cultivating letters'.[26] Bougainville had made a similar disclaimer at the beginning of *A Voyage Round the World*, 'the rambling and savage life I have led for these twelve years past, have had too great an effect upon my ideas and my stile. One does not become a good writer in the woods of Canada, or on the seas'.[27] Both apologies pointed to the authenticity of their authors as explorers rather than as writers, and thus the authenticity of their accounts. They made a virtue of a lack of style and the routine entries of the journal. Both suggested recourse to the sort of plain language the Royal Society wished for again. However, Cook's apology speaks to his ability as a literary writer, and not the text's place as a navigational record. It marked a move away from a narrative that was so important to his first journal and the way in which he had defined himself.

On Monday, 12 October 1772 Cook wrote 'Light breezes and clear weather. Many birds about the Sloop especially of the sort of Petrels, call'd Pintadoes, caught some with hook and

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[25] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole, 4 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*, 1772-1775*, p. 41.
[26] James Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1777), I, p. xxxvi.
[27] Louis de Bougainville, *A Voyage Round the World*, trans. by John Reinhold Forster (London: J. Nourse & T. Davies, 1772), p. xxv.

line' and then outlined observations of the time of the end of a partially eclipsed moon, 'At 6h 24' 12" by Mr Kendals Watch the Moon rose about 4 Digits Eclipsed'.[28] Cook, the naturalist Johann Forster, the astronomer William Wales and Lieutenants Pickersgill, Gilbert and Hervey made the observations with a variety of telescopes. They were laid out as a table in the journal to give a mean time to compare with that from Mr Kendall's watch, the copy of Harrison's chronometer carried by Cook on the voyage, and thus to compare longitude made by the watch and by lunar observations. There was no description of the spectacle of the eclipse itself, a change from the detail of the first journal. Cook increasingly seems to have recognized the general reader's lack of interest in the apparently uneventful entries of position and weather and edited them from the published journal but he kept the table of observations of the partially eclipsed moon and the check for a current, although not the reference to Forster's hunting. That suggests that while he moderated the navigational detail he still felt the need to ground the narrative in its practice.

There were further, more overt indications of this appeal to the general reader. For the second journal, Cook abandoned the use of nautical time with the day running from noon to noon. He had kept it in the first journal, as the Admiralty would have expected him to, although Hawkesworth had not. However, the most obvious sign of his different approach was the shape of the text on the page. Even in the manuscripts it appeared less fragmented, the entries seemed to be more developed, whole paragraphs rather than short notes. Cook was beginning to conceive a more generalised narrative for the journal while still on the second voyage and before editing the journal for publication. As the voyage progressed, the entries in the manuscript journals became fuller and more detailed and eschewed the format established in the first journal. This is first notable in the entries as the ships went down into the Southern Ocean after leaving Cape of Good Hope and encountered ice. Later still, in the Pacific Ocean, Cook abandoned the earlier format altogether, so the journal read more fluently even in the sparser entries. As they crossed the South Pacific towards Cape Horn in November 1774, he wrote:

> Saturday 19th. Steered ESE with a very fresh gale at North, hazy dirty Weather. At Noon Latitude in 53˚43', Longitude 166˚15' W.
> Sunday 20th. Steered EBS with a moderate breeze at North attended with thick hazy weather. At Noon Latitude 54˚8', Longitude 162˚18'W.

[28] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 41.

> Monday 21st. Winds mostly from the NE a fresh gale attend with thick hazy dirty weather. Courses. SEBS. Latitude at Noon 55˚31', Long 160˚29'. Abundance of Blue Pterels and some Penguins seen.
> Tuesday 22nd. Fresh gales at NWBN and NBW and hazy till towards Nooon when the weather cleared up and we observed in Lat 55˚48'. Long in 156˚56' W. In the afternoon had a few hours Calm after which the wind came at SSE and SEBS a light breeze with which steered East northerly. In the night the Aurora Australis visible, but very faint and noways remarkable.[29]

There was still the attention to navigational position but it was with a lighter touch. By not prefacing each entry with the list of wind direction, distance run, position and so on – information that would have been available in the ship's log– and excluding much of them, Cook engaged the navigational observations with the narrative more. It was a slight alteration but it changed the emphasis of the journal. Less isolated in the text, the observations became part of the routine of sailing; possibly with an increasing confidence in the chronometer for calculating longitude, they were less of a preoccupation. The final observation of the Aurora Australis, the Southern Lights, served no navigational purpose but confirmed the location in the Southern hemisphere to the reader at home in England. Cook no longer seemed to be writing for the Admiralty, or no longer felt it necessary to replicate information from the log for them.

The process continued in the journal of his third and final voyage. Although care should be taken of this, as Cook's death at Hawaii meant we do not know if other revisions were intended, it would be sensible to assume that he did not intend to return to the detail of the first journal. He compressed the narrative further than in the second journal even. An extract from December 1776 as the *Resolution* and *Discovery* approached the Kerguelen Islands in the southern latitudes of the Indian Ocean illustrates this:

> On the 16th being then in the Latitude of 48¾˚, Long. 52˚E we saw Penguins and Divers and Rock Weed floating in the Sea all of which we continued to see more or less every day as we proceeded to the Eastward, and on the 21st in the latitude of 48˚25' S, longitude 65˚ E very large Seal was seen. We had now much foggy weather, and as we

[29] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 582.

> expected to fall in with the land every hour, our Navigation became both tedious and dangerous.[30]

The change is obvious: position was still essential but it now served merely as a preface to the rest of the text and as a way of anchoring the progress of the narrative and of the voyage with a scientific authority. The ship's position secured the observation of the seal rather than being a discrete navigational note, it is almost inconsequential. Thus, the eye is drawn towards the water and the environment rather than dwelling on the construction of the abstract perspective of the narrated chart, Steinberg's 'non-space' hovering above the ocean.[31] There was even an intimation of the emotional experience of the journey, 'both tedious and dangerous' that might have signalled Cook's own exhaustion with the voyage and progress of exploration. Indeed, the limited navigational detail suggested he was less interested or engaged with that narrative.

Later, Cook condensed the passage between the Christmas Islands and Hawaii, made in January 1778, into one paragraph, although it lasted seventeen days:

> On the 2nd at day-break we weighed anchor and resumed our Course to the North, having fine weather and a gentle breeze at East and ESE till we got into the latitude of 7˚45' N, Longitude 205˚E where we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a NEBE and ENE wind, at first it blew faint but freshened as we advanced to the north. We continued to see birds every day, of the sorts last mentioned, sometimes in greater numbers than at others: and between the latitude of 10 and a 11 we saw several turtle. All these are looked upon as signs of the vicinity of land; we however saw none till day break in the Morning of the 18th when an island was discovered bearing NEBE and soon after we saw more land bearing North and entirely detached from the first'.[32]

This compression of time suggests Cook's intention was different. Beaglehole thought that now 'we may judge that Cook set out deliberately to write a book'.[33] It was not simply that; there was also a change to the way he articulated his observations. The description of the

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[30] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. by J. C. Beaglehole, 4 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, *1776-1780*, p. 26.
[31] Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean* (2001), p. 54.
[32] Cook, III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, p. 263.
[33] J. C. Beaglehole, 'Introduction', in Cook, III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, p. clxxii.

wind, which in the first journal was summarily stated and in the second just began to be developed, now intimated the voyagers' progress through zones of prevailing winds as the expedition advanced into the northern hemisphere. It combined with the observations of birds and of turtles, alerting the reader to this progress and of the possibility of approaching land. The text, no longer segmented into individual days, could shape a course with the *Resolution* towards its destination. The strengthening wind appeared to collude in the narrative trajectory and Cook was finding another way to describe the progress of the journey and the size of the ocean space — the scale of the endeavour — to replace the previous repeated entries of weather and position. In the excerpt from the second journal above, Cook had emphasized observations that might appeal to the general reader and the navigational narrative served as a frame for those observations. In the two sections from the third journal, Cook looked towards land and the navigational observations and those of the sea around him were 'signs of the vicinity of land', adjuncts to its discovery. Cook directed the reader to what they expected, discovery, and in the process wrote himself away from the navigational narrative that initially, he had used to define himself.

3.2 Cook's unease with the experience of the coast

This was a problem because Cook appeared most secure in his engagement with the ocean and the oceanic description. There are two passages from the first journal that show how interaction with the land created problems of narrative, evidenced by Cook's troubled rewriting. These were the encounter with Maori at Poverty Bay when the *Endeavour* first arrived at New Zealand in October 1769 and the near loss of the *Endeavour* as it navigated the Great Barrier Reef between June and October 1770. In retelling both events, Cook wrote and rewrote; Beaglehole describes Cook's re-writing of the Poverty Bay incident as 'a process of rather worried thought'.[34] Like the previous journals, they show how the coastline was the most troubling and troubled space for the mariner. The events at Poverty Bay showed how, for Cook, that discomfort continued on land, without the certainties he looked for at sea and found in navigation. The process of rewriting expressed the uncertainty in the journals, as Cook attempted to understand, to contain, sometimes to evade the events described. It suggests an author more concerned with appearance and reputation than the apparently un-mediated observations of the journals would initially indicate. Thus, the text and his presentation of himself were both more of a construct than he fully acknowledged.

[34] Beaglehole, 'Introduction', in I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. ccxii.

This had implications for the second and third journals, which, in their attempt to be more literary, were more carefully constructed. The prosaic details of navigation and weather contributed to the appearance of authenticity. Implicit in Mary Warnock's description of the diary as 'the raw material of written lives, the essence of each day encapsulated as far as possible' is that the diary or journal did not construct an overview of the events or of the life narrated, and this seemed to be what Cook attempted to project in his journals.[35] Essentially, he meant them to be read as the transcriptions of the 'raw material' of the voyages. However, evidence of writing and re-writing and Cook's changing approach to narrative over the three voyages showed a writer carefully considering how to communicate his experience. This evolution emphasized the tension between the transcription of 'raw material' and its encapsulation. The idea of the journals as un-mediated and contemporaneous accounts of events was problematic. They could not simply be transcriptions of the lived experience.

After the *Endeavour*'s arrival at New Zealand in October 1769, interaction with the Maori had been uneasy. At first, Cook was cautious and had covers made for the blunderbusses so they might be used on the ship's boats.[36] On their first landing a group of the landing party, thinking they would be cut off from their fellows, shot and killed a Maori, whose name is unrecorded. The next morning there was more trouble when a Maori snatched a hangar from the astronomer Charles Green and refused to return it. After these unsuccessful attempts to communicate, Cook decided 'if possible to surprise some of the natives and to take them on board and by good treatment and presents endeavour to gain their friendship'.[37] The following day there was a confrontation that ended in two more Maori killed. Banks wrote in his journal afterwards, 'thus ended the most disagreeable day My life has yet seen black be the mark for it and heaven send that such may never return to embitter future reflection'.[38] Cook was as unhappy, as his narration of the event and the decisions he made showed. The objectivity he preferred, in effect, a way to maintain some sort of moral certainty, was confused by the interactions with the Maori and he regretted afterward the assumptions he had made about them that led to the deaths. In Hawkesworth's later published version, the combining of Cook and Banks's narratives with Hawkesworth's own generalisations supposed motivations and emotions on behalf of the Maori Cook could not have known, and in the end, while

[35] Mary Warnock, *Memory* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p.126.
[36] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 168.
[37] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 170.
[38] Joseph Banks, *The* Endeavour *Journal of Joseph Banks*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole, 2 vols (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1962), I, 403.

attempting to take one, muddled any moral position. It was an example of how Hawkesworth's 'curious three-headed monster' of a text, as Philip Edwards has described it, obfuscated any consistent narrative voice.[39]

Notably, the previous encounter, which had also resulted in the death of a Maori, did not appear to trouble either Banks or Cook in the same way. In the holograph Canberra journal, CO.1.I, Cook wrote:

> Tuesday 10th PM I rowed round the head of the Bay but could find no place to land, on account of the great surf which beat every where upon the shore; seeing two boats or Canoes coming in from Sea, I rowed to one of them in order to seize upon the people, and came so near before they took notice of us that Tupia called to them to come along side and we would not hurt them, but instead of doing this they endeavoured to get away, upon which I order'd a Musquet to be fire'd over their heads thinking this would either make them surrender or jump overboard but here I was mistaken for they immediately took to their arms or whatever they had in the boat and began to attack us, this obliged us to fire upon them and unfortunately either two or three was were kill'd, and one wounded, and three jumped over board, these last we took up and brought on board, where they were clothed and treated with all imaginable kindness and to the surprise of every body became at once as cheerful and as merry as if they had been with their own friends; they were all three young, the eldest not above 20 years of age and the youngest about 10 or 12.[40]

The log recorded only the boats return after 'having been attack'd by ye natives our people fir'd kill'd & wounded several of them they brought 3 Prisoners on board'.[41] The Admiralty MS, CO.1.II, copied the account given in the holograph journal but the accounts in the Mitchell Library MS, CO.1.III, and the Greenwich MS, CO.1.IV, are both different. CO.1.IV is briefer than the others are. There is no explanation for why the musket was fired but it adds in conclusion that once on board and 'treated with all imaginable kindness', the captured Maori 'seem'd much less concerned at what had happen'd then I was myself'.[42]

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[39] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 89
[40] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* pp. 170-1.
[41] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. ccx.
[42] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. ccxi.

CO.1.III contains the longest account of the episode. Here there is the justification for firing the musket over the heads of the Maori as in the Canberra journal, CO.1.I, and another explanation of the three captives behaviour once on board the *Endeavour*. From this Cook developed an explanation, or attempt at a justification, of his behaviour:

> These we took up and brought on board the Ship where they had clothes and victuals given them and where treated in the best manner I could devise this together with Tobia [Tupia] telling them that they would not be hurt made them soon forget what was past and before they had been on board half an hour before they both eat and drank very heartily and were as cheerful and as merry as if they had been acquainted with us from their cradles, the oldest might be about 18 or 19 and the youngest about 9 or 10 I can by no means justify my conduct in attacking and killing the people in this boat who had given me no just provocation and was wholly ignorant of my design and had I had the least thought of their making any resistance I would not so much as have looked at them but when we was once a long side of them we must either have stud to be knocked on the head or else retire and let them gone off in triumph and this last they would of Course have attributed to their own bravery and timorousness.[43]

CO.1.I and CO.1.II both concluded with a variation of this explanation:

> I am aware that most humane men who have not experienced things of this nature will censure my conduct in firing upon the people in this boat nor do I my self think that the reason I had for seizing upon her will at all justify me. And had I thought that they would have made the least resistance I would not have come near them but as they did I was not to stand still and suffer either my self or those that were with me to be knocked on the head.[44]

These different versions show that while his account of the incident did not change, Cook's attempts to explain his actions did. What seemed to have troubled Cook most were his own assumptions about how the Maori would react. That he was less concerned by the death of a Maori the previous day suggests Cook was not so much disturbed by the loss of life but by his part in it and how that appeared to his reader; not only because he was concerned about their censure of him but also because he censured himself. In his journal so far, Cook had

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 171.

essentially attempted a discourse that removed the self from the narrative. Here it intruded and with that and the attempt at self-fashioning slightly unravelled.

As a terrestrial encounter, the events at Poverty Bay emphasized Cook's discomfort with land. It marked almost the end of the Pacific crossing but also showed an inability to adjust as the land appeared less certain to the mariner than the ocean. The unfamiliarity of a landfall that in many ways should have provided some succour, acted almost as an *unheimlich* environment in Cook's mind. The narrative was no longer an apparently impartial and contemporaneous account. Rather that conceit wore thin and the interjections intruded into Cook's process of concerned rewriting. It suggests that it was while at sea that Cook felt most comfortable and most able to express an idea of himself that he thought appropriate. While the identity of the navigator behind the proto-scientific voice was a good one to present to the Admiralty and Royal Society, it was also the one most convenient to him. The relative certainties of scientific observation and the mathematics of navigation were easier and perhaps more compatible than that of unpredictable human behaviour ashore. He chastised himself because the events perplexed him. Cook reversed the accepted tropes of the ocean; the chaos was actually when meeting the land.

However, the incident also demonstrates a dilemma for Cook's adoption of the proto-scientific voice; that it only expressed part of the project of the voyage. Gananath Obeyesekere identifies 'the paradox of civilisation', that 'Implicit in the thrust of civilization is a dark side'.[45] He highlights the opposing instructions of the Royal Society on the one hand promoting 'the utmost patience and forbearance with respect to the Natives' and mindful that they were the 'legal possessors of the several Regions they inhabit', whilst on the other, The Admiralty's were to appropriate land on behalf of the Crown.[46] Thus, the expression and self-fashioning of a scientific persona might always be threatened by that of the professional naval officer. Reinhold Forster, thought that the presence of scientists on the first two voyages had acted as a restraint on Cook's behaviour, writing:

[45] Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*, p. 13.
[46] Ibid.

> Our mode of thought, our principles and our habits had their effect on him in the course of time through having them constantly before his notice, and these restrained him from practising cruelties upon the harmless South-Sea-Islanders.[47]

Obeyesekere concludes that Cook's propensity towards violence was always there, as the Poverty Bay incident and Cook's apparent sanguine acceptance of the killing of the Maori the day before suggest. This helps explain Cook's perplexity over the Poverty Bay incident. It suggests that the proto-scientific voice was as much a posture as it was an expression of a part of his self, and because of that, was always vulnerable. This problematizes the appearance of the journal as an unmediated account; the re-writing showed Cook trying to resolve the conflict between these two narrative voices.

The Mitchell MS (CO.1.III) also showed that Cook undertook an involved process of rewriting of the account of the *Endeavour*'s near wreck on the Great Barrier Reef in August 1770 on the first voyage. This was a more straightforward affair than the Poverty Bay incident, but with the dramatic, and possibly fatal, outcome of an accident. Thus it shows more clearly Cook trying to give an account of an event and his process of writing in the first journal. It is also an example of how with increased tension and drama the narrative moved away from the proto-scientific voice. The passage along the coast of what is now New South Wales had been difficult. On 11 June 1770, the *Endeavour* had stuck on a reef. They streamed the anchors and lightened the ship but she would not float off. The next day Cook expressed some hope as 'Fortunately we had little wind fine weather and a smooth sea' and they streamed the two bower anchors but as the tide rose again the leak increased and the third pump was employed, they would have used another but it would not work. Later, Cook added to the margin of the main body of the entry of the Canberra journal, CO.1.I, 'This was an alarming and I may say terrible Circumstance and threatened immediate destruction to us as soon as the Ship was afloat'.[48] With other additions and corrections, the text of the Canberra journal shows a difficult process of thought and writing as he accommodated the situation, (the text in square brackets show Cook's amendments):

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[47] Heinrich Zimmermann, *Zimmermann's Account of the Third Voyage of Captain Cook, 1776-1780*, trans. by U. Tewsley (Wellington: Alexander Turnball Library, 1926), p. 49.
[48] Canberra, National Library of Australia, MS Journal of H.M.S. *Endeavour*, 1768-1771, MS 1.

> At 9 oClock the Ship righted and the leak gaind upon the Pumps considerably. [This was an alarming and I many say terrible Circumstance and threatened immediate destruction to us as soon as the Ship was afloat.] However I resolv'd to risk all and heave her off in case it was practical and accordingly turnd as many hands to the Capstan & windlass as could be spared from the Pumps and about 20' past 10 oClock the Ship floated and we hove her into deep water having at this time 3 feet 9 Inches water in the hold. [This done] sent the Long boat to ~~weigh~~ [take up] the stream anchor - got the Anchor but lost the Cable among the rocks, after this turn'd all hands to the Pumps the leak increasing upon us. ~~but~~ before 8 oClock in the ~~AM~~ [Morning they] ~~the pumps~~ gain'd considerably upon the leak. ~~In the Morning~~ [We now] hove up the best bower but found it impossible to save the small bower so cut it away at a whole Cable - got up the fore topmast and fore yard warped the Ship to the SE and at a 11 got under Sail and Stood in for the land with a light breeze at ESE some hands employ'd sewing ockam wool &C[a] into a lower Studding sail to fother the Ship. Others emplo'd at the Pumps which still gain'd upon the leak.[49]

Beaglehole notes that 'When Cook revises he generally enlarges and adds circumstantial detail' and the log, written in the immediate aftermath, is more tempered.[50]

> The ship now righted and the leak gain'd on the Pumps in such a manner that it became a matter of consideration whether we should heave her off or no, in case she floated for fear of her going down with us in deep water but as I thought that we should be able to run her ashore either upon the same shoal or upon the Main in case we could not keep her, I resolv'd at all risks to heave her off if possible.[51]

With rewriting, Cook's narrative voice became more expansive and literary. It helped that there was a strong narrative to record, but the text also engaged with the drama. The numbers of corrections illustrate the problem of translating the press of events to the page and suggest the chaos of events. Eschewing phlegmatic observation or the straightforward explanation of decisions but with the addition of his personal feeling, Cook emphasized the danger.

This tendency in the narrative continued as the mariners attempted to get the *Endeavour* away from the reefs. After making repairs and almost two months later, the *Endeavour* was trapped

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[49] Ibid.
[50] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. ccxiii.
[51] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 345n.

amongst the reefs again. On the 15 August (16 August in Cook's journal) trying to find a way past, the wind changed and threatened to make their clearing them doubtful. They ran on a tack northward until midnight then tacked southward. However, it soon fell calm and

> A little after 4 oClock the roaring of the Surf was plainly heard and at day break the vast foaming breakers were too plainly to be seen not a Mile from us towards which we found the Ship was carried by the waves surprisingly fast.[52]

Too deep to anchor they attempted to tow the ship clear. When they thought they would not make it, a slight breeze came up and helped them:

> A small opening was see now seen in the Reef about a quarter of a Mile from us which I sent one of the Mates to examine, its breadth was not more than the length of the Ship but within was smooth water, into this place it was resolved to push her if possible having no other probable Views to save her for we were still in the very jaws of destruction and it was a doubt whether or no we could reach this opening, however we soon got off it when to our surprise we found the Tide of Ebb gushing out like a Mill stream so that it was impossible to get in, we however took all the advantage possible of it and it carried us out about a 1/4 of a Mile from the breakers, but it was too narrow for us to keep in long, how ever what with the help of Ebb and our boats we by noon had got an offing of one and a half or two Miles yet we could hardly flatter our selves with hopes of getting clear even if a breeze should spring up as we were by this time imbayed by the Reef and the Ship in spite of our endeavours driving before the Sea into the bight, the Ebb had been in our favour and we had reason to suppose the flood which was now making would be against us the only hopes we had was another opening we saw a bout a Mile to the Westward of us…[53]

CO.1.III was briefer and more straightforward, again suggesting that rewriting led to Cook's augmenting rather than condensing the text. Beaglehole notes the introduction in CO.1.I of 'a literary phrase' kept in the Admiralty journal, 'the very jaws of destruction', and attributes it to the influence of Banks.[54] If so, that was a slightly different influence than Forster claimed, away from a scientific restraint to a melodramatic and literary tenor. It illustrates a tendency to direct the reader to the emotional resonances of the events, subjective pointers to their

[52] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 377.
[53] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 378.
[54] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. ccxiii.

'surprise' or 'hopes' and an emphasis on the physical struggle. Cook's narrative was inflected by the trope of the shipwreck with all its 'complex layers of existential, religious symbolism' and as 'a recurrent reminder of the limits of human power'.[55] Cook seemed to be flexing his literary muscles, breaking from the proto-scientific mode, although this was only at times of crisis, recognised by him as having dramatic interest and merit.

These examples are both from the first journal when Cook was beginning to discover a way to write about these sort of scientific expeditions. They showed a way for Cook to divest himself of the constraints of the remark book. As written responses to critical events, both offered a different approach in which to write the voyage journal. Margaret Cohen has used Cook's account of events at the Great Barrier Reef to show how the voyage narrative as an expression of the 'mariner's agency' might engage in a narrative of work. 'Practical treatises straightforwardly describe manoeuvres and recommend techniques' she writes, 'but the human agency that performs them must be read between the lines.'[56] We can see those practices clearly in Cook's narrative but rewriting and the notable interjections made it a place where the physical narrative was also susceptible to other influences. In these episodes there was a psychological construction of the voyage experience not always obvious elsewhere. It was notable that both were narratives of the coastal experience, in the uncertain space between ocean and an unknown coastline. Here uncertainty appeared to provoke an increased written engagement and the simple solidity of writing seen in the navigational narrative became less secure.

That process continued with the journal of the second voyage. Beaglehole notes of this journal that the various extant versions and the many fragmentary copies suggest a large amount of drafts that have not survived, suggesting 'the quite extraordinary amount of writing that Cook must have done on the voyage, as well as after it'.[57] The process of rewriting here appears mostly an accretion of changes. Thus, unlike the drafts of the Poverty Bay incident where he was trying to articulate his misgivings about the events and justify himself, these changes seemed more to do with literary expression.

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[55] Carl Thompson, *Shipwreck in Art and Literature – Images and Interpretations from Antiquity to the Present Day* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), p. 2.
[56] Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (2012), p. 17.
[57] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. cxv.

This process of rewriting is notable in the differences between the two holograph manuscripts of the journal for Sunday, 30 January 1774 (CO.2.I and CO.2.II). Cook had returned to the far south and to the ice. The entry in CO.2.I begins:

> Winds ESE. Course S 20˚ E. Dist. Sailed 51 Miles. Lat. in South 70˚48'. Longd. In W. Rec.g. 106˚34'. Continued to have a gentle gale at NE with Clear pleasant weather till towards the evening, when the Sky became Clowded and the air Cold atten[d]ed with a smart frost. In the Latitude of 70˚23' the Variation was 24˚31' East; some little time after saw a piece of Rock Weed covered with Barnacles which one of the brown Albatroses was picking off. At 10 o'Clock pass'd a very large Ice Island which was not less than 3 miles in circuit, presently after came on a thick fog, this made it unsafe to stand on, especially as we had seen more Ice Islands ahead; we therefore tacked and made a trip to the North for about one hour and a half in which time the fog dissipated and we resumed our Cou[r]se to the SSE, in which rout we met with several large ice islands. A little after 4 AM we precieved the Clowds to the South near the horizon to be of an unusual Snow white brightness which denounced our approach to field ice, soon after it was seen from the Mast-head and at 8 o'Clock we were close to the edge of it which extended East and West in a straight line far beyond our sight; as appear'd by the brightness of the horizon; in the Situation we were now in just the Southern half of the horizon was enlightened by the Reflected rays of the Ice to a considerable height. The Clowds near the horizon were of a perfect Snow whiteness and were difficult to be distinguished form the Ice hills whose lofty summits reached the Clowds.[58]

This account still adhered to the format established in the first journal: the summary of details taken from the log, then the description of the weather that develops into the remarks about the day's events. As we shall see later, the ice inspired greater literary ambitions in Cook but here he continued to describe things as they occurred. However, there is a greater sense of a narrative unfolding: the small vignette of the barnacle-covered rockweed replaced by the passing large ice island, the fog lifting to reveal the shimmering brightness of the ice field. It is a narrative of increasing scale, to become a vision that seems to overwhelm, 'the brightness of the horizon', 'a perfect snow whiteness', the ice hills reaching up and merging with the clouds. The second holograph MS, CO.2.II went further, leaving out the initial details to begin:

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[58] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 321.

> At 4 o CLock in the Morning we preceived the C[l]owds over the horizon to the South to be of an unusual Snow white brightness which we knew denounced our approach to field Ice; soon after it was seen from the Top-mast head and at 8 o Clock we were close to the edge of it, it extended east and west far beyond the reach of our sight. In the situation we were in just the Southern half of our horizon was illuminated by the rays of light which were reflected from the Ice to a considerable height. Ninety Seven Ice hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside and many of them were very large and looked like a ridge of Mountains rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds.[59]

Cook focuses the narrative on the vision of the ice. No longer contextualised by the details of their approach, the entry becomes not only about what is seen but about the experience of seeing: first the 'Snow white brightness', then the sight from the top-mast that extended 'out of our sight'. It is only afterwards that Cook gives some scientific context, assessing the danger of going further south into the ice and finally to the details of sailing away from it. This then reassures the reader, placing them back into the narrative of the voyage. However, by opening the entry so, Cook diverted the reader's attention from that narrative of the voyage and of scientific discovery to an almost sublime experience.

3.3 The ocean and the turn towards the land

Cook's narrative voice was also a response to exploration and discovery itself, both on land and at sea. Much has been made of Cook and others' observations of the indigenous cultures and of the natural history encountered on the Pacific voyages but it was also at sea that there was a significant development of this voice. While, in the first journal the narrative voice was founded in, and structured by, his discipline in navigation and hydrography, it was extended by the demands placed on him as an explorer and of charting coastlines in areas of the Pacific and Southern Oceans that were mostly unknown. However, the ocean was less malleable to this Linnaean project; not only wrapped in its own mythology as a sublime other and a vestige of primeval chaos, unlike the land, it was impossible to mark or hold. Cook's proto-scientific voice was, in a large part, a reaction to this insecurity. As Gillian Beer has identified, the

[59] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* pp. 322-323.

phenomenological engagement also invited engagement with the tropes of those mythologies.[60]

The attempt to negotiate these areas and then describe them is more apparent in his first navigation of Cape Horn, a place that recalled the myths already created around it and essentially the beginning of the navigation of an unfamiliar ocean on the first voyage. It is present in the voyage into the far southern latitudes in pursuit of the Southern Continent and the experience of ice on the second voyage, an unsettling but beautiful, sublime seascape. Finally, the exploration of the northwest coastline of America engaged with the problematic boundary of the uncharted coastline and the possible encounter with a sublime experience of the frozen north.

Primarily, it was the Admiralty instructions that established and initially articulated these voyages as scientific expeditions. The secret instructions for the first voyage asked Cook to observe the Transit of Venus from King Georges Island (Tahiti) and to look for the mythical Southern Continent, *Terra Australis Incognita*. They directed him to give 'a full account of your Proceedings in the whole Course of your Voyage' and to observe the 'Nature of the Soil, and the Products thereof; the Beasts and Fowls that inhabit or frequent it', to collect specimens and to 'observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives, if there be any'.[61] The instructions for the second voyage were similarly framed, focussed on the search for the Southern Continent, following, what was for some, inconclusive findings of the first voyage.[62] For the third voyage they directed Cook to explore the north west coast of America, 'New Albion', particularly 'such Rivers or Inlets as may appear to be of a considerable extent and pointing towards Hudsons or Baffins Bays', in other words a passage through to the Atlantic coast.[63]

The instructions suggested the focus of scientific observation was on the land, or, with the observation of the transit of Venus, in the Heavens. Exploration was not so much of the ocean but of new routes directed towards the land in and around it, and of the possibilities once

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[60] Gillian Beer, 'Travelling the Other Way' in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. by Nicholas Jardine, James A. Secord and Emma C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 322-37 (p. 322).
[61] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* pp. cclxxxii- cclxxxiv.
[62] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* pp. clxvii-clxx.
[63] Beaglehole, 'Introduction' in Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* pp. ccxxii.

ashore.[64] However, Cook had attempted to continue with that voice at sea as well. The choice of ship was perhaps the first indication of this possibility. The *Endeavour* and then the *Resolution*, *Discovery* and *Adventure* were all converted Whitby colliers, purposefully chosen for their suitability for the voyage rather than, as in the previous voyages of Byron, Carteret and Wallis, coming from the Navy's existing fleet. Thus, they were examples of what Richard Sorrenson describes as the ship as scientific instrument, 'never merely a vehicle that transported investigators to observe mundane new worlds, anymore than a telescope was merely a vehicle that transported images of heavenly new worlds to an observer'.[65] The ship and voyage were integral to the scientific purpose, not merely facilitating it. It was a part of Cook's practice as an accomplished navigator and in the observations of sea birds, of the natural phenomena such as ice, hydrographical observations, the meticulous charting of coastlines and observations of currents. However, the instructions also suggest the engagement with scientific discovery was equivocated by the exigencies of trade. No longer under the joint auspices of the Royal Society, the instructions for the second and third voyages had less to say about the recording of scientific observations, rather they emphasized observations that would facilitate trade. The third voyage notably did not take any naturalists, as the first two had. This marginalization of the scientific perspective had implications for the narrative voice and the articulation of Cook's selfhood.

The passage round Cape Horn on the first voyage marked the beginning of Cook's exploration of the unknown Pacific. As seen earlier, it was here that the proto-scientific narrative voice became most important. Rounding the Horn allowed Cook to demonstrate his abilities as a navigator and hydrographer, adding to the limited knowledge of the area. However, it also represented an archetype of the liminal coast, a clash between the chaos of the oceans and the certainty of land. The perception of it as a gateway or passage through to the Pacific might have exaggerated this sense of otherness. As with the equator, it was a marker of the voyagers' progress and of their further separation from the home. Thus, it would have had emotional resonance for the mariners and for the reader. This sense of

[64] John R. Gillis, 'Islands in the Making of an Atlantic Oceania, 1500-1800', in *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges*, ed. by Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal and Kären Wigen (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), pp. 21-37 (p. 22).
[65] Sorrenson, R., 'The Ship as a Scientific Instrument in the Eighteenth Century', *Osiris*, 11 (1996), 221-236 (221-2).

otherness as a liminal boundary, between ocean and land and between the known and unknown, intruded into Cook's narrative voice.

As the narration of the Poverty Bay incident and the near wreck on the Barrier Reef showed, the coastline was problematic. Coastal navigation could always be difficult, even when the sea was well known and charted. In the age of sail, the danger of a lee shore was ever-present but the unknown hazards of an uncharted coastline would make that doubly so. Thus, Cook's proto-scientific voice, the expression and projection of himself as navigator and hydrographer, was necessary in Cape Horn. The self-fashioning that extended this, the astronomical observation, the articulation of a narrated chart, the written maths, also helped to define and limit the apparent otherness of Cape Horn. To draw the outline of the coastline of Tierra del Fuego, to make certain of the longitude of Cape Horn reduced the threat to navigation practically but also familiarised it and brought it under the gaze of the European scientific discourse, a form of colonization.

As Dennis Berthold suggests, much of the 'mythopoetic force of the Cape Horn' came from the account of Ferdinand Magellan's passage through the strait in 1520.[66] Then the people of Terra del Fuego were mistaken for giants, the rotting corpse of a whale became the remnants of a sea-monster, the discovery of two hundred smoked human corpses, and the fires the natives kept that 'dotted the eerie landscape at night […] suggested the hellish quality of the region – Land of Fire'.[67] This understanding of Cape Horn was an expression of a particular spatial experience that had 'inescapable emotional context'.[68] Behind Cook's navigational descriptions and details of sailing was a relationship with a constantly changing environment, coloured by changing light, the unstable motion of the ship, an evolving panorama. His remarks were small fixed moments of an experience always in motion, of potentially destabilizing change. Thus, Cook was writing, and his readers would have understood him, in the emotional context of this 'mythopoetic force'.

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[66] Dennis Berthold, 'Cape Horn Passages: Literary Conventions and Nautical Realities', in *Literature and Lore of the Sea,* ed. by Patricia Ann Carlson (Amsterdam: Rodophi, 1986), pp. 40-50 (pp. 40-41).
[67] Ibid.
[68] Anna Ryan, *Where Land Meets Sea: Coastal Explorations of Landscape, Representation and Spatial Experience* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 17.

On 12 January 1769, the *Endeavour* reached the entrance to the Le Maire Strait, the passage between the Isla de los Estados and the eastern point of Tierra del Fuego. However, the navigation was difficult and frustrating. On 13 January he wrote:

> The tide soon turn'd against us and oblige'd us to haul under the Cape again and wait until 9 am when it shifted in our favour. Put into the Straits again with a moderate breeze at SW which soon grew boisterous, with very heavy squalls with rain & hail and oblig'd us to close reef our top-sails.[69]

The weather remained harsh, a southwest wind meant the ship had to wear through the Strait, though sometimes with a fresh breeze, often 'Squally and some times little wind' leaving the *Endeavour* wallowing. Cook hoped to find shelter 'hauld under Cape St Diego' but the strong tide 'carried us past that Cape with surprising rapidity'.[70] Cook described the ebb tide raising 'such a Sea off Cape St Diego that it looked as if it was breaking Violently on a ledge of rocks'.[71]

Against the prevailing winds and currents, navigation of Cape Horn from east to west was difficult. Cook's instructions asked him to make a passage round the Horn, standing well to the south 'in order to make a good Westing' for Tahiti, rather than negotiating the Strait of Magellan as Byron, Carteret and Wallis had before him.[72] Cook approached the passage as a navigational problem using others' accounts as aids, particularly that of Anson's circumnavigation, *A Voyage Round the World* (1748). He appeared most comfortable when navigating or dealing with the science of hydrography and astronavigation. He enjoyed the detail and looked for errors to correct where he could. Observations made on 12 February 1769, indicated an error with the log line. The next day, adjusting for that, Cook observed that the longitude from Sun and Moon sights agreed with that reckoned from the course run and thus proved 'to a demonstration that we have had no Western current since we left land'.[73] They had now doubled Cape Horn and Tierra del Fuego.

Cook took the opportunity to break from the daily account of the journal and produce a short exegesis on the virtues or not of rounding Cape Horn or making a passage through the Straits

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[69] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 41.
[70] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 43.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Beaglehole, 'Introduction', in Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. cclxxx.
[73] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 16.

of Magellan. He had made an efficient rounding of Cape Horn and his summary suggests a growing confidence. He dismissed the passage through the Straits as too long and arduous, it would have been 'fatiguing of our people' and damaging to 'our Anchors Cables Sails and Rigging'.[74] Moreover, he dismissed the advice from Anson's voyage, and of his instructions, to make as much southing as possible, 'for it cannot be suppose'd that any one will Stear South mearly to get into a high Latitude when at the same time he can Steer west, for it is not Southing but Westing that's wanting'.[75] There is a suggestion of impatience and frustration with instructions that do not account for their practical application. Rather, Cook argued that the prevailing wind would force any ship southward and thus they should sail as close as possible to make as much "westing" as possible. He wrote, as a practical mariner, going west round Staten Island or east through the Le Maire Strait as he did, was a matter of judgment depending on the conditions. He described cloud formations that would help future navigators, 'When the winds was westerly the mountains on Terra del Fuego were generally cover'd with dense clowds' and when the winds were Easterly, 'the weather was more serene and milder'.[76] The engagement with the environment he articulated was pragmatic.

Here the proto-scientific voice of the exemplary mariner and navigator was for the first time most fully expressed. The beginning of exploration not only by necessity prompted those attributes but Cook used the occasion to self-fashion himself in this way. Not only was Cape Horn the gateway to the Pacific and the beginning of exploration but the beginning of his presentation of himself as an archetype of the maritime scientific explorer. The experience he narrated was notably different from the accounts by Byron or Carteret. They appeared uneasy with their passages through the Strait of Magellan, wanting to escape it, while Cook used his doubling of Cape Horn as an opportunity.

However, the emotional resonance of Cape Horn, a sublime impression of the ocean, intruded. For all Cook's attempts to contain the area with navigational observation and advice, Cape Horn maintained its 'otherness'. Liminality exaggerated this quality or it exaggerated liminality: the hostile landscape and weather; a limited horizon veiled by fog or rain; the problems of locating the ship's position. As it had been with the previous mariners, part of this ambiguity was because of the reverse perspective of the ship, watching a passing coastline rather than the usual one of looking out to sea. Anchored after the passage through

[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

the Le Maire Strait, Cook noted, 'We saw here two of the Natives come down to the Shore who stay'd some time then retired into the woods again'.[77] This was shortly before they had encountered the Yaghan for the first time and Cook would suggest an uneasy sense of being watched. Banks and his retinue went ashore to collect samples after the passage through the Le Maire Strait, but overnight two of his servants became drunk and, separated from the others, died from exposure. This emphasized the hostility of the environment and the inhospitable myth of the Tierra del Fuego. While for the reader, the accumulation of Cook's descriptions of adverse weather, 'the dense clowds, formed as one may reasonably suppose by watery exhalations and by Vapours brought thither by the westerly winds', could become not reasonable observations but descriptions of air that seemed to breathe out an enveloping and alienating atmosphere.[78] The death of Banks's servants became some signal of a stygian passage, Charon's obol or a necessary sacrifice.

In these parts of his narrative, there was the beginning of a description of the sublime in the oceanic experience. Paul Smethurst argues that 'In romantic travel writing, the unruly natural sublime is not mastered, or not mastered in the same way as it is in exploration and the picturesque'.[79] Yet, Cook's journals suggest that this distinction is not so clear. The containment Cook attempted was never complete: he could calculate latitude and longitude for Cape Horn but, as it disappeared into the 'thick Foggy weather', could not see it. It only created points on a map or of anthropological and botanical observations and went no further. It left the reader, in parts, with an impression of the 'unruly natural sublime'. Moreover entries that often seemed to show little variation could accumulate into something more. Days at sea could become a litany of dates, wind directions, distances sailed and positions, the weather, a sight sometimes, 'Variation AM of Mean of several Azimuths 3˚14'E', changes to sails if any, 'Loosed the 2nd reef out of the topsails', and any observations, 'Saw some Egg Birds'.[80] However, the concreteness of these entries created a sort of desultory poetry, rumbling with the absence of the long sea journey, the tedium and dislocation from life ashore. Thus, underlying the methodical and straightforward narrative, there was another possible understanding, one that was more expressive.

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[77] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 44
[78] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 59
[79] Paul Smethurst, *Travel Writing and the Natural World, 1768-1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 161.
[80] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 65.

The account of the death of a marine, William Greenslade, in the first journal suggests this expressive possibility. It happened a little after leaving Cape Horn at the beginning of the passage towards Tahiti on 26 March 1769. Cook recorded:

> At 5 pm Saw some Sea Weed pass the Ship, and at 7 Wm Greenslade Marine either by Accident or design went over board and was drownded; the following circumstances makes it appear as tho it was done designedly, he had been Centinal at the Stearage door between 12 and 4 oClock where he had taken part of a Seal Skin put under his charge which was found upon him, the other Marines thought themselves hurt by one of their party commiting a crime of this Nature, and he being a raw young fellow, and as very probable made him resolve upon commiting this rash action; for the Sergant, not being willing that it should pass over unknown to me, was about 7 oClock going to bring him aft to have it inqure[d] into when he gave him the Slip between decks and was seen go upon the Fore Castle, and from that time was seen no more.[81]

Banks thought that Greenslade's fellow marines had driven 'the young fellow almost mad' and added, poignantly, 'He was a very young man scarce 21 years of age, remarkably quiet and industrious, and to make his exit the more melancholy was drove to the rash resolution by an accident so trifling'.[82]

The event disturbed both Banks and Cook and the tone of Cook's entry in his journal was subdued. In many ways, the passage should have been an optimistic time as the ship left the Southern ocean for warmer latitudes. However, The Pacific remained an unfamiliar place. Cook had noted that two nights before someone had thought they had seen a log floating past the ship but in the morning light, there was no sign of land and he 'did not think my self at liberty to spend time in searching for what I was not sure to find'.[83] The crew were hopeful for land. Prefacing the entry recording Greenslade's death with the observation of drifting weed, another indicator of the possibility of land or here an illusion of land, emphasised the ship's ethereal position in a liminal space, itself displaced into an unknown world. The listless weed was subject to the vagaries of current and wind, redolent of the *Endeavour*'s own comparative helplessness. Resonant with the feeling of absence and longing, the weed foreshadowed Greenslade's death or acted as a replacement for the marine. Both emphasised

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[81] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 67.
[82] Banks, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771*, I, 242.
[83] Cook, I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*,* p. 67.

the longing for land and desire for a release from the confinement of the ship. The hopeful watch for signs of land made before become more melancholic in light of Greenslade's drowning. Thus, that longing becomes more than a matter of position on the chart but a sensation of belonging or of not belonging, an expression of the *unheimlich*, as the home, the ship, had become dislocated from anything known before and continued on its passage uncertain of any destination.

Cook returned to an experience of the sublime on the second voyage as he went into the Antarctic Circle. He first dipped into the Circle in January 1773 after sailing south from the Cape of Good Hope (unlike the first circumnavigation this time they sailed west to east), then after leaving New Zealand in December 1773 and January 1774. The ice crept up on them, first the deepening cold that made 'great destruction among our Hogs, Sheep and Poultry, not a night passes without some dying', then, on 10 December 1772, an 'Island of Ice to the Westward' was seen.[84] As the weather grew foggy and thick with snow and sleet the ice islands accumulated. On Friday, 11 December, they passed close between two islands and the next day saw six more islands, 'some of which were near two Miles in circuit and about 200 feet high'.[85] In the published version of the journal, *A Voyage to the South Pole*, Cook added,

> And yet, such was the force and height of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. This exhibited a view which for a few moments was pleasing to the eye; but when we reflected on the danger, the mind was filled with horror. For were a ship to get against the weather side of one of these islands when the sea runs high, she would be dashed to pieces in a moment.[86]

This was a more fulsome description than Cook would usually give and it seemed reflection, or a desire to appeal to his reader, had heightened the dramatic effect of the icebergs. As Burke would understand it, it was an appeal to the sublime, a mixture of beauty, awe and horror, but it also spoke honestly of the danger of the situation.

On Monday 14, 'twenty Islands of Ice presented themselves to our View'.[87] The next day he wrote in the manuscript journal:

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[84] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* pp. 56-7.
[85] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 58.
[86] Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, I, 23.
[87] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 59.

> We found ourselves in a manner surrounded by it which extended from the NNE round by the West and South to the East farther then the Eye could reach in one compact body, some few places excepted, where water was to be seen like Ponds, in other places narrow creeks run in about a Mile or less, high hills or rather Mountains of Ice were seen within this Field Ice and many Islands of Ice without in the open Sea.[88]

In the night, a thick snowfall left the sails and rigging 'decorated with Icikles'.[89] The sight of the ice fields overwhelmed: the water diminished by the ice's scale to become 'Ponds'; Cook corrects himself, 'high hills' does not do justice to the 'Mountains of Ice'. In the published account, after the earlier exclamations of horror, the text became more subdued. It suggested instead a melancholy and ethereal vision of the ships: The icicles still hung from the sails and rigging but also 'The fog was so thick, at times, that we could not see the length of the ship; and we had much difficulty to avoid the many islands of ice that surrounded us'.[90] The ship appeared to be disappearing into or merging with the ice around it.

Cook became more descriptive again on the second passage into the Antarctic Circle. With harsh cold weather and the ice building around them, he wrote on 24 December 1773:

> With the wind northerly a strong gale attended with a thick fog Sleet and Snow which froze to the Rigging as it fell and decorated the whole with icicles. Our ropes were like wires, Sails like board or plates of Metal and the Sheaves froze fast in the blocks so that it required our utmost effort to get a Top-sail down and up; the cold so intense as hardly to be endured, the whole Sea in a manner covered with ice, a hard gale and a thick fog.[91]

Again, the ship appeared to combine with the icescape but now it was more tangible, the ropes and sails made brittle and immoveable. Cook reached for ways to describe the extreme conditions; the weather tested him and he admitted thinking of returning north. On 26 December it had fallen calm but, having thought this might happen, Cook had worked the ship into a clearing 'where she drifted along with the ice islands and by taking advantage of every light air of wind was kept from falling foul of any one'.[92] Cook admitted they were lucky and if the weather had not been clear, 'nothing less than a miracle could have kept us

[88] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 60.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, I, 25.
[91] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* pp. 308-9; Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, I, 257.
[92] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 310.

clear of them, for in the morning the whole sea was in a manner wholly covered with ice'.[93] In the published version, he emphasized the danger, writing with dramatic finality that 'nothing less than a miracle could have saved us from being dashed to pieces'.[94]

All this time Cook was looking for evidence of the *Terra Australis Incognita*. Something he had been sceptical about after the first voyage but others were still insistent on. Thus, while disproving a myth, Cook described a strange and ethereal landscape to replace the other in the reader's imagination. One 'Ice Island' they estimated to be over 200 feet high and formed a peak 'not unlike the Cupola of St Pauls Church'.[95] When they dipped south again at the end of January 1774, he described the 'brightness' of the clouds and horizon that signalled an ice field.[96] The scene is beguiling:

> The Clowds near the horizon were of a perfect Snow whiteness and were difficult to be distinguished from the Ice hills whose lofty summits reached the Clowds. The outer or Northern edge of the immence Ice field was composed of loose or broken ice so close packed together that nothing could enter it; about a Mile in began the firm ice, in one compact solid body and seemed to increase in height as you traced it to the South.[97]

The 'perfect snow whiteness' suggested virginal purity; the landscape reached up beyond the frame of view; a 'lofty' purpose; its impenetrable density an imperious defence. The narrative might be the description of a spiritual as well as physical experience. It was an emotional and visceral engagement with the sublime. Thus, Cook seemed to leave behind the proto-science. The icescape prompted a greater literary effort, the descriptive prose shifted from detached observation to an emotional engagement. The explorer was artist: 'To feel strange, to retain throughout life the sense of being a voyager on the earth come from another sphere to whom everything remains wonderful, horrifying, and new, is, I suppose, to be an artist'.[98] The sublime icescape overtook the proto-scientific voice and Cook began to realise a more literary persona.

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[93] Ibid.
[94] Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, I, 258.
[95] Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, I, 264.
[96] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 321 & Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole* (1777), I, 267.
[97] Cook, II, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Endeavour*,* p. 321.
[98] Stephen Spender, 'Confessions and Autobiography', in *Autobiography: essays theoretical and critical*, ed. by James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 115-122 (p. 116).

In the third journal, Cook's approach to narrative changed again. He abandoned the vestiges of the log that still prefaced each entry in the second journal and often, compressed days at sea into a few lines. It suggested that now he no longer needed to self-fashion as navigator and instead directed the narrative to engage fully with the general reader. This generalisation of the sea experience appears as a concession to Hawkesworth's literariness but it further diminished the engagement with the sea. The rudiments of the proto-scientific voice no longer had so much space in which to prosper. However, with that voice now sublimated into narrative, the descriptive engagement of the second journal also seemed diminished. This was most apparent in the description of the passage north into the Arctic Circle. While this meant the description avoided sensationalising the experience, it also meant that as an expression of ocean experience the narrative seemed diminished, with an ensuing effect on the expression of Cook's own identity. There is a sense that through the third journal Cook disappears from the page.

However, because of its continuous narrative, the third journal appeared, with a more measured tone, more assured. There was still a brief legacy of the proto-scientific voice, the references to weather and navigational details, but they were absorbed into the body of the text. Thus, as they made the northwest coast of America, Cook wrote:

> We had variable light airs and calms till 8 PM when a breeze sprung up at SW, with it I stood to the NW under an easy sail waiting for day light to range along the Coast. But at 4 in the morng the wind Shifted to NW and blew in squalls with rain. Our course was NE till near 10 oclock when finding I could make no hand on it on this tack, and seeing nothing like a harbour, I tacked and stood off SW[99]

Later the wind veered and the weather cleared 'so that we were inabled to make lunar observations' to get the longitude, 'This longitude is made use of for settling the longitude of the Coast and I have not a doubt that it is within a very few miles of the truth'.[100] Abbreviated, there was little scientific or navigational description of the ocean-experience, the weights and measures of description, the written maths gone.

> We had not been long under sail before the Wind Veered to the North, increased to a fresh gale and blew in Squalls with rain; this did not hinder us from plying up so long as

[99] Cook, III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, p. 289.
[100] Cook, III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, pp. 289-90.

> the flood continued, which was till near 5 AM the next day. We continued to have Soundings all the way from 35 to 24 fathoms. In this last depth we anchored about two leagues from the Eastern shore in the Latitude of 60˚8' N some low land that we judged to be an island lying under the western Shore, extended from N ½ W to NWBN distant three or four leagues.[101]

Without the long passages at sea, the narrative focused on the land and its accessibility. The engagement was exploration for trade rather than science, which Cook tacitly admitted: 'There is no doubt but a very beneficial fur trade might be carried on with the Inhabitants of this vast coast, but unless a northern passage is found it seems rather too remote for Great Britain to receive any emolument form it'.[102]

Once in the Arctic Circle, there was none of the drama of the descriptions of the approaching ice found in the journal the second voyage. For the 17 August 1778 in the Bering Sea, Cook wrote:

> Some time before Noon we perceived a brightness in the Northern horizon like that reflected from ice, commonly called the blink; it was little noticed from a supposition that it was improbable we should meet with ice so soon, and yet the sharpness of the air and Gloomyness of the Weather for two or three days past seemed to indicate some sudden change.[103]

It is underwhelming and there appeared a lack of engagement as Cook misunderstands the deteriorating weather and the ship's increasing proximity to the ice. He almost misses and then does not describe 'blink', the reflection of the ice, in any substantive way. On the 27 August he engaged with the ice in more detail:

> At 4 AM we tacked and stood to the west and at 7 PM we were close in with the edge of the ice which lay ENE and WSW as far each way as the eye could reach. Having but little wind, I went with the boats to examine the state of the ice, and found it consist of loose pieces of various extent, and so close together that I could hardly enter the outer edge with a boat and was as impossible for the Ships to enter it, as if it had been so many rocks. I took Notice that it was all pure transparent ice, except the upper surface

[101] Cook, III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, p. 362.
[102] Cook, III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, 371-2.
[103] Cook, III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, pp. 416-7.

> which was a little porous. It appeared to be intirely composed of frozen Snow and had been all formed at sea, for setting side the improbability or rather impossibility of such masses floating our of Rivers in which there is hardly Water for a boat, none of the productions of the land was found incorporated, or fixed in it.[104]

In the second journal, the descriptions of ice in the south over-awed the proto-scientific voice but here, the ice appeared to limit the experience, just as it limited navigation. Thus, the third journal pedestrianized the experience of the north, ignoring any suggestion of the sublime. The text had undergone a strange transformation; it was restrained and more fluent but this apparent literary quality did not lead to a fuller engagement. Cook had ostensibly left scientific engagement behind just as there were no scientists included in the company on the third voyage. He seemed to have had enough of science and enough of its sense of wonder. Thus, while Cook still showed confidence in his navigational ability and suggested the navigational certainty he had established on the first voyage, he appeared deflated by the desolate landscape of New Albion. He had moved away from science to become a colonizer rather than being an enlightened explorer. Or, here he found less to explore: already open to Russian traders this was less a space for fantasy as the South Sea Islands or the edges of the Antarctic had proved to be.

Thus, over the course of the three voyages, Cook changed his approach to writing the journals and made adjustments to his narrative voice. It apparently was a reflection of his increasing confidence after the success of the first voyage, both in itself and in its reception. It showed an awareness of the demands of the different readers, first the Admiralty and then a wider public keen for the narratives of Pacific exploration. In part, the changes can be read as a response to the perceived problems with Hawkesworth's stewardship of the first journal, which I explore next. The tendency was towards a more generalized narrative voice, away from the strict structure and pedantic detail of the Officer's remark book that shaded the first journal. The concern for position and the problems of navigation was at first complicated by a growing facility with the description of the ocean experience. The establishment of the proto-scientific voice in the first journal and its adaptation to the general reader allowed space for a further engagement with the more ambiguous nature of the ocean in the second and third journals. However, that further engagement seemed to confuse that projection and there appeared to be a decline in scientific wonder. Attempting to find a way to write the narrative

[104] Cook, III, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and the* Discovery, p. 424

of the voyage, to find a form that suited his growing readership, Cook increasingly lost touch with the navigational voice that had originally defined him. Instead, he directed his narrative to the land where he felt less secure so the three journals show a slow and confused disengagement from the ocean experience and with it, a disengagement from the self.

Chapter 4. The Problems of Expectation and the Reception of the Journals: Hawkesworth's 'Un-seaing' of the Narratives

The literary editor and author John Hawkesworth's adaptation of the first four journals for publication illustrate how the texts had to engage with and responded to popular expectations. Hawkesworth attempted to conform the journals to fit pre-existing expectations of the voyage narrative. I suggest that these expectations meant an ambiguous literary engagement with the ocean; it was a vacuity to be filled with the exotic incident of the land encounters, of either scientific observation or sensational description. In order to perform this literary commodification, Hawkesworth changed the narratives to become less about the seagoing experience and homogenized the distinctive and different narrative voices of the original texts. This influenced the projection of the different mariners' identities found in that ocean experience. The literary treatment of the texts worked against what was to some extent, original in the mariners' original narratives: an unusual account of the ocean experience.

The problem of expectation was manifest in the conflicting impulses of the voyage narrative. This was the problem of the disparate demands of the genre, of sensational fictional accounts, the narratives of discovery popularized by Dampier's *New Voyage*, or the mariner's professional account. In his edition of Byron, Wallis, Carteret's journals and Cook's first journal, Hawkesworth had to accommodate those demands with the mariners' own different tenors of narrative voice. This was apparent in the treatment of the ocean within the narratives but also in the format and language used. Alongside these conflicting expectations of text, there were also problems with the expectation of place; that is, of what would be found at the Pacific itself. The insistent belief of many in the great Southern Continent showed a fundamental desire for land rather than ocean and similarly, to direct the narratives towards encounters on land. This was not merely a psychological and literary impulse but a result of the voyages' mercantile purposes; land meant the possibility of trade. The vast emptiness of the Pacific Ocean disappointed these expectations and exaggerated its 'otherness'. These thwarted expectations had implications for the projection of the mariners' identities. Hawkesworth's homogenization of the narratives 'un-sea'd' the mariner's identity and affected the mariner's projection of the self.

I shall first give some background to Hawkesworth's edition of the journals, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken*. I then look at the problems of authorship and of the authority of the narrative exacerbated by the re-writing of the journals for a general audience. The problem of authorship gives context to Hawkesworth's apparent usurpation of the narrative voice. Hawkesworth's General Introduction to *An Account* and an essay he wrote earlier for his periodical *The Adventurer* (no.4, 1752) rehearse Hawkesworth's own expectations for the journals and his theoretical approach to editing them. Comparisons between *An Account* and the mariners' original journals then illustrate how Hawkesworth tried to fulfil expectations and put his own ideas into practice, the homogenization of the mariners' narrative voices and the abstraction of the ocean's part in the narratives. I conclude with the reception of *An Account*, which shows how expectations for the voyage narratives were not straightforward and continued to problematize the description of the ocean.

4.1 Background to publication

'My Father has had a happy opportunity of extremely obliging Dr. Hawkesworth' Frances Burney wrote in her journal in the entry for 1 October 1771.[1] During a stay at Lord Orford's house in Norfolk that September, Charles Burney had met with Lord Sandwich, the first Lord of the Admiralty. 'His Lordship mentioned his having the papers of it [Cook's voyage] in his possession', Frances Burney wrote, '& said that they were not arranged, but meer [*sic*] rough Draughts, & that he should be much obliged to any one who could recommend a proper Person to *Write the Voyage*. My Father directly named Dr Hawkesworth.'[2] There was an informality to the process of selection that Burney noted: 'I cannot but be amazed that a man of Lord Sandwich's power, &c, should be so ignorant of men of learning & merit, as to apply to an almost stranger for recommendation.'[3] Burney's journal also suggests the freedom Hawkesworth would have in re-writing and that the manuscripts were 'mere rough Draughts' implied that the Admiralty was not sure of the literary potential of the narratives, expecting the editing to be extensive.

Neither is it clear what prompted the Admiralty to seek publication, except that there was immense interest in the voyages, particularly following the discovery of Tahiti, and they wished to assert some control over the account. Since Hakluyt, the publication of voyage

[1] Frances Burney, *The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. by Lars E. Troide, 4 vols (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), I, 173 & n.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

journals was an important practice, useful to other mariners; Cook had carried a copy of Anson's *Voyage* with him. Bougainville's *Voyage Autour du Monde* was published in France in 1771 and an English translation would be made the following year. An anonymous and unauthorised account of Cook's voyage, *Journal of a Voyage Round the World in His Majesty's Ship Endeavour*, had been quickly produced by the printers Becket and de Hondt in 1771 and Joseph Banks wanted an authorised account published as soon as possible, so 'our own country shall have the honour of our Discoveries!'.[4] Thus, the publication was motivated by a mixture of laying claim to 'our Discoveries', a political claim as well as an assertion of national pride, the desire to control publication and maintain authority, as well as the dissemination of reliable nautical information.

The choice of Hawkesworth as editor appears an accident of social and literary connections. From a modest background, he became an established literary figure, a friend of Samuel Johnson's and made Doctor of Laws by the Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been a contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and between 1752 and 1754 produced *The Adventurer*. He had popular success with a life and collected works of Swift (1755) and *Almoran and Hamet, an Oriental Tale* (1761). However, none of these showed any obvious interest in nautical affairs and opinions of Hawkesworth were mixed. Sir John Hawkins wrote that he had 'a competent share of that intelligence which is necessary to qualify a man for conversation' but that he had 'no learning: his reading had been irregular and desultory' so that 'on no subject had he ever formed any system.'[5] Frances Burney confirmed this: 'his talents seem to consist rather in the solid than the splendid.'[6] There was a suggestion that success had made him proud and Johnson reportedly said that 'Hawkesworth is grown a coxcomb'.[7] Professional jealousy may have influenced the critical reception of *An Account of the Voyages.* Hawkesworth was given the rights to the journals, selling them to the printers Strahan and Cadell for £6,000, then the largest payment of its kind. It was a testament 'to the thorough commercialization eighteenth-century publishing had undergone', his biographer, John Lawrence Abbott, writes, and one that 'heralded all the best-sellers to come'.[8] Certainly, as Abbott adds, Strahan came to regret the payment, writing to David Hume in 1774, 'if it

[4] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 83.
[5] Sir John Hawkins, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D.* (Dublin: Chambers, 1787), p. 224.
[6] Burney, *The Early Journals*, I, 63.
[7] John Lawrence Abbott, *John Hawkesworth: Eighteenth-Century Man of Letters* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p. 46.
[8] Abbott, p. 147.

does not cure Authors of their delirium, I am sure it will have the proper effect upon booksellers'.[9] However, this sum emphasized the expectations for the journals and that they were a literary and cultural event, expected to be bestsellers, overshadowed their more serious scientific and nautical purposes. The process of Hawkesworth's selection also showed an ambiguity about what the purpose of the journals was, once published. They had served as professional records but now had to fulfil another role. There remained a vestige of that professional purpose, as they would become sources of information for other mariners. Burney's report of Sandwich's demand for a 'proper person' to order the journals suggested the desire for a literary eye. Banks' remark offered the sense of national pride in, as well as the popular sensation of, discovery, which would seem to have appealed to Strahan and Cadell judging by the deal Hawkesworth made with them. However, there was also the suggestion of a muddle in the re-purposing of the journals, something of the 'delirium' Strahan had noted afterwards. These different voices point to the confusion within in the genre of the voyage narrative opened up by Hawkesworth's editing.

4.2 Problems of authority and authorship

The confusion of purpose created two interrelated issues. First, there was the problem of the authority and reliability of the accounts, exacerbated by the desire to appeal to a general readership. Secondly, it led to issues of authorship and, in light of a less secure notion of authorship, an understanding of adaptation as an attempt to interpret the original texts rather than as an undoing of the original authorship.

Even before publication, there was the possibility of unreliability in the production of the mariners' journals and logbooks. Authored as accounts of professional conduct and competence, the original journals seemed to have authority. However, that was also problematic: used to assert their authors' competence, they might not always be considered completely objective. As Margaret Schotte suggests, an increasing amount of information was required of the records, and 'Distanced from their original role as position-tracking tools, where the authors drew directly upon the majority of the content and were thus invested in its precision, these ubiquitous volumes were losing the aura of certainty and skill'.[10] Translation for a general audience problematized that appearance of reliability further and revealed inherent contradictions in its recourse to descriptive detail.

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[9] Abbott, p. 148.
[10] Margaret Schotte, 'Expert Records: Nautical Logbooks from Columbus to Cook', *Information & Culture*, 48, 3 (2013), 281-322 (p. 300).

Although Schotte argues that the accumulation of detail in the logbook eroded professional authority, Gillian Beer writes that in the literary sphere that accumulation, its dullness even, could be a guarantor of authority. The narrative's rhetorical mode changed and it was no longer simply a technical record but a record of survival: 'the narrator is *here* to tell it in retrospect even as the reader sets out on the journey'.[11] The reader, she argues, becomes part of the experience of travel. This implies the relationship with the description changed: as the reader re-lived the voyage, they invested the narrative with their emotional response. Through these ambiguous relationships with the original journals, the shifting values of description, Hawkesworth's role as editor became one of both reader and author. He responded to the emotional narrative as well as the technical description, and then re-wrote the text within the rhetorical modes available, 'both enabling and dangerous'. What is apparent in Hawkesworth's treatment of the journals, the reduction of the ocean narrative, was an expression of the general cultural understanding of the sea and the confusion of expectations.

Criticism of Hawkesworth's editing then and now focuses on that tension between the nautical and the literary understanding and on Hawkesworth's insertion of his own opinions and generalizations. The addition of his own voice suggests he over-stepped his part as editor, as Boswell remarked to Cook, 'Hawkesworth has used your narrative as a London Tavern-keeper does wine. He has *brewed* it', and this is the view of much contemporary opinion.[12] Philip Edwards judges Hawkesworth's construction of *An Account* founded in an 'overweening self-satisfaction', glosses over the confusion of purpose of the voyage narrative, pointing to the problem of the use of the authorial voice: 'Hawkesworth's conviction that events in a narrative must be presented with the accompaniment of their proper moral significance—which he of course was able to supply'.[13] However, this approach limits our understanding of the expectations and the demands placed on the texts.

Jonathan Lamb offers an analysis that is more helpful: *An Account* was a transitional text and 'Hawkesworth stood at the hinge of an important development in the production of South

[11] Gillian Beer, 'Travelling the Other Way', *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. by Nicholas Jardine, James A. Secord and Emma C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 322-37 (p. 322).
[12] Edwards, p. 80.
[13] Edwards, p. 87.

Seas narratives.'[14] This was to make them interesting by framing the observational account with its commentary:

> What was interesting was the matter exorbitant to a process Dorinda Outram describes as "the replacement of the responsive inner space of the roving field naturalist by the controlling eye of the sedentary enquirer". In short, it was whatever approximated to the novelistic without seeming too improbable.[15]

In this novelistic expression, the scientific nature and the literary nature of the writing came into contention with each other. To go further than empirical observation and to draw conclusions from those observations might lead to the imaginative constructions of which Gillian Beer warned. However, engaging in the controlling devices of fiction was also a process that attempted to avert the danger. It helped that there were already similarities between the voyage narrative and the picaresque novel. It suggests however, the possibility of understanding *An Account*, not as somehow derivative or distorting, but as part of 'an ongoing process within a larger matrix of allusion and invocation'.[16] J. L. Abbott adopts this understanding, writing 'that Hawkesworth was no mere compiler of one of the most famous works of the age, but its author'. He goes on to argue that *An Account*, 'has yet to be assessed for what it really is—the work of a professional man of letters contending with a great mass of materials, wrenching from them a coherent work at once historical and literary'.[17] Nevertheless, Hawkesworth also revealed the indeterminate nature of the voyage narrative.

4.3 The problem of genre and Hawkesworth's intentions

Hawkesworth outlined his approach to the travel narrative in an essay he wrote for *The Adventurer* (no. 4, 1752) and then elucidated his intentions more directly in the general introduction to *An Account*. The essay in *The Adventurer*, a response to an earlier essay by Samuel Johnson, was a 'defence of the fantastic' and set out his expectations for the travel narrative.[18] In it, Hawkesworth considered the travel narrative's problems of structure and engagement with the reader, and so indicated the reasoning behind the strategies he would

[14] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 100.
[15] Ibid.
[16] *The Afterlives of Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, ed. by Daniel Cook & Nicholas Seager (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 1-2.
[17] Abbott, p. 174.
[18] Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler* No. 4, Saturday, 31 March 1750; David Sandner, *Critical Discourses of the Fantastic, 1712-1831* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 81.

adopt later when editing the journals. There was a desire to go beyond the format of the travel narrative, to engage more with the reader and cast the traveller as hero. This compromised the objectivity of the texts and suggested that Hawkesworth had yet to find a way to resolve inherent tensions between the professional and the literary.

Samuel Johnson had begun his essay in *The Idler* with a description of the novel that might also have been of the journals:

> The works of fiction, with which the present generation seems more particularly delighted, are such as exhibit life in its true state, diversified only by accidents that daily happen in the world, and influenced by passions and qualities which are really to be found in conversing with mankind.[19]

Here might be the long days and nights of the journals' ocean crossings punctuated by the accidental discoveries and the small communities of sailors' behaviour moderated by the (self-professed) qualities of their commanders. Hawkesworth responded in *The Adventurer*: 'No species of writing affords so general entertainment as the relation of events; but all relations of events do not entertain in the same degree.'[20] This was his essential claim: that there could be little entertainment and thus the resort to fantasy. This was particularly a problem with voyage and travel narratives where 'no passion is strongly excited except wonder'.[21] Moreover, Hawkesworth claimed, there was little left to wonder at: 'nature is now exhausted; all her wonders have been accumulated, every recess has been explored, deserts have been traversed, Alps climbed, and the secrets of the deep disclosed'.[22] Thus, his task with the mariners' journals would be to make them 'not only excite and gratify curiosity, but engage the passions'.[23]

Hawkesworth first identified a problem of structure: 'If they [the facts] have not a necessary and apparent connexion, the ideas which they excite obliterate each other, and the mind is tantalized with an imperfect glimpse of innumerable objects that just appear and vanish'.[24] He described each journal as 'a single thread' in the introduction, suggesting he had followed a

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[19] Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler* No. 4, 1750.
[20] John Hawkesworth, '*The Adventurer* No. 4, November 18, 1752', in *The Adventurer*, 3 vols (London: J. Richardson & co., 1823), I, 17.
[21] Hawkesworth, *The Adventurer*, I, 18.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

delicate narrative path, tying or sewing together the disparate observations; he was at pains to emphasize the care with which he organised the journals, to 'prevent obscurity and confusion of events'.[25] We see his attempts to adjust the 'thread' of those events: reorganising the account of Wallis's dying crew or omitting the longeurs of the ocean passage and avoiding repetitions across the four accounts. However, Hawkesworth could not fully resolve the problem. Frustrated, he wrote of the 'minutely' related nautical events he had had to include:

> The situation of the ship at different hours of the day, with the bearings of different parts of the land while she was navigating seas, and examining shores that hitherto have been altogether unknown, in order to ascertain her track more minutely than could be done in any chart.[26]

In *The Adventurer*, he justified fantasy as an antidote, where the incident is 'sufficiently uncommon to gratify curiosity, and sufficiently interesting to engage the passions'.[27] This would be less possible in the journals, although his treatment of the Patagonians, as shall be seen, in part satisfied that impulse. W. H. Pearson corrected the misconception of Hawkesworth's benign view of the indigenous people the mariners met, 'their enviable happiness', in his essay 'Hawkesworth's Alterations'.[28] As Pearson shows, this arose from a conflation of observations, particularly Banks and Cook's, with his own generalizations, the need to make the work morally instructive. It helped the narrative to emphasize the difference between peoples. The moral instruction gave what Hawkesworth described as the mere 'table of chronology or index' of incident some sort of framework.

The essay offered another device that was more important to the ocean engagement and the mariner's identity found there. Hawkesworth looked to the epic poem as the apogee of literature. 'The epic poem at once gratifies curiosity and moves the passions', he wrote, but it was in the hero that events coalesced:

> Whatever concerns the hero engages the passions; the dignity of his character, his merit, and his importance, compel us to follow him with reverence and solicitude, to tremble when he is in danger, to weep when he suffers, and to burn when he is wronged; with

[25] John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: Strahan & Cadell, 1773), I, vii-viii.
[26] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, vi.
[27] Hawkesworth, *The Adventurer*, I, 21.
[28] William H. Pearson, 'Hawkesworth's Alterations', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 7 (1972), 45-72 (45).

> these vicissitudes of passion every heart attends Ulysses in his wanderings, and Achilles to the field.[29]

The unified first person narrative he imposed across the four voyages attempted to bring together the disparate narrative voices of the various journals and would 'more strongly excite an interest, and consequently afford more entertainment'.[30]

However, as Hawkesworth acknowledged, this would mean, 'I could exhibit only a naked narrative, without any opinion or sentiment of my own', so he thought it would be necessary to comment on 'the opinions, customs, or manners of the people now first discovered' as well as 'any other incident or particular that might occur.'[31] He did not question the rightness of the first person. The resolution of this problem was to show the manuscript to the commanders, with 'nothing published without their approbation', so that 'it would signify little who conceived the sentiments that should be expressed, and therefore I might still be at liberty to express my own'.[32] This became a point of contention, as the commanders claimed afterward that they had not been consulted, while Hawkesworth maintained they had. He wrote in the introduction to *An Account* that he had started with Cook's journals to allow the mariner an opportunity to see a draft of his journal before leaving on his second circumnavigation.[33] Carteret had seen a draft but thought Hawkesworth had not properly addressed his criticisms.[34] Hawkesworth acknowledged that the changes asked for were to the navigational detail rather than anything else. Thus, there seemed to be an assumption that Hawkesworth's opinions had validity and could be included. It allowed that the narrative voice only had to appear personal and that the author's role was to provide sentiment rather than facts.

Pearson suggests that through the combined narrative voice Hawkesworth created

> The prototype of that hero of Victorian boys' sea fiction, the magnanimous British commander, and for all that Cook was embarrassed by his editor's intrusions and

[29] Hawkesworth, *The Adventurer*, I, 19.
[30] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, iv.
[31] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, v.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, vi.
[34] Philip Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World 1766-1769*, ed. by Helen Wallis, 2 vol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1965), II, 508.

> inaccuracies, Hawkesworth's edition of his first voyage was the first contribution to Cook's ennoblement as a national figure.[35]

Lamb agrees that Hawkesworth 'sacrificed himself to Cook's reputation' while his 'synthesis of first persons was peculiarly faithful to the propensity for self-preservation'.[36] In effect, Hawkesworth had the hero mariner transcend the voyage experience but the result was more ambivalent. As seen, he tempered aspects of the commanders' identities, containing Byron's narrative exuberance for example. A rational, professional mariner, probably appealing to the Admiralty's view, vested the narratives with some reliability but also allowed them to become a moral voice representing the European cultural hegemony. As Lamb argues, it was an attempt to preserve the self in the face of the uncertainties of the Pacific. However, by distinguishing the mariner in such a way it sought only their relationship with the land discoveries and thus abstracted them from the preserving and defining discipline of their maritime identity through the engagement with the ocean.

Thus, the ambiguity of purpose allowed Hawkesworth to re-fashion the journals into a text that contested the place of the ocean in the narrative and because of that, also contested the mariner's voice and identity. *An Account* was not only a bridge between the European cultural understanding and the experience of Pacific discovery but also one between the different narrative voices of the professional mariner and of literary opinion. It was, as Lamb said, a transitional document.

4.4 Hawkesworth's *An Account of the Voyages*

The title page to Hawkesworth's *An Account of the Voyages*, (figure 6), established this disputation between original and published versions of the text:

> AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES UNDERTAKEN BY THE ORDER OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY FOR MAKING **Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere**, And successively performed by COMMODORE BYRON, CAPTAIN WALLIS, CAPTAIN CARTERET AND CAPTAIN COOK […] DRAWN UP from JOURNALS which were kept by the several COMMANDERS, and from the papers of JOSEPH BANKS, Esq; By JOHN HAWKESWORTH, LL.D..[37]

[35] Pearson, p. 64.
[36] Lamb, p. 105.
[37] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, title page.

The typesetting emphasizes the '**Discoveries'** in bold typeface in the centre of the page, with the mariners' names set prominently underneath. Hawkesworth's name sits on a line on its own towards the bottom of the page, as though the work rested on him, a literary guarantor. Compare this with the title page to the earlier account of Anson's voyage: 'A Voyage Round the World In the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV By George Anson, Esq; Now Lord Anson […] Compiled from his Papers and Materials By Richard Walter, M.A.'.[38] Here Walter merely seemed to be an amanuensis, gathering up the disparate materials; Anson was both author of the voyage and its narrative. Hawkesworth's title suggested something more: that it was 'drawn up from' the mariners' journals, offered the original journals as sources only; the use of the indefinite article for 'An Account' implied that this was one possible version of events. Hawkesworth's role then was more than just compiler and left room for his commentary.

Thus, the title page suggested an adaptation, an assimilation of influence: King, Mariner, Naturalist (Banks) and Hawkesworth himself threaded down the page. However, this *bricolage* was principally a transposition of the mariners' professional journals into the literary and cultural understanding. It would be a text that attempted to meet expectations rather than challenge them in any way. The prominence of the title page's reference to the 'Discoveries' appealed to popular expectations of adventure and novelty whilst the reference to the King and the mariners' journals asserted the text's authority. This was furthered by Hawkesworth's dedication: His Majesty's 'liberal motives' were 'not with a view to the acquisition of treasure, or the extent of dominion, but the improvement of commerce and the increase and diffusion of knowledge'.[39] That suggested a political motivation too; the glory of British discovery was an enlightened project enabled by, as Hawkesworth also puffed in his dedication, 'the best fleet, and the bravest as well as most able navigators in Europe'.[40] This political positioning became part of the 'ennoblement' of the mariner Lamb describes. From simple narrative accounts then, Hawkesworth adapted the text to fulfil various purposes. Thus, *An Account* was not, as it is usually understood, a reduction of the mariners' journals. Rather, in this chapter I wish to go beyond that 'axiological defensiveness' of adaptation, and

[38] George Anson, *A voyage round the world, in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV By George Anson, Esq,* ed. by Richard Walter (London: John & Paul Knapton, 1748).
[39] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 'The Dedication'.
[40] Ibid.

view Hawkesworth's work as an attempt to address the expectations for the voyage journals and to bring them into the cultural fold.[41]

The preface to the second edition described the pressure to fulfil the initial expectations for the voyages, particularly the instructions to look for the Southern Continent. It was Hawkesworth's response to criticisms of the first edition of *An Account* by Alexander Dalrymple, a leading advocate for the presence of the Southern Continent, who had been the Royal Society's initial choice to lead what would be Cook's first circumnavigation. The beginning of his pamphlet *A Letter from Mr Dalrymple to Dr Hawkesworth*, published shortly after the first edition of *An Account* in 1773, bristled with the resentment that he had not led the voyage and that he read the account as a slight on him:

> I did not expect to have found myself mentioned by *Name* in the work which you have just published; I concluded that the same influence which prevented me from going in the *Endeavour*, and which, I doubt not, has since prevented Mr. Banks from going in the *Resolution*, would impose silence concerning the merit of every attempt of mine to throw light on former discoveries in the South-Seas.[42]

The criticisms he went on to make were principally that Cook did not try hard enough to find the Southern Continent and that there were inconsistencies between the journal and the charts. Hawkesworth's response was somewhat intemperate, comparing Dalrymple with 'an old woman whose mind had contracted a splenetic turn', and he was indeed, 'very sorry for the discontented state of this good gentleman's mind'.[43] However, that Cook had not looked hard enough was easy to answer. Dalrymple was particularly concerned with the events of March 1769 when Cook did not go south when others believed that there would be land to windward. Hawkesworth responded that Cook 'did not think himself at liberty to search for what he was not sure to find' as the 'first and principal object being to observe the Transit of Venus at Otaheite'.[44] Of the disparity between the charts and the journals, he could answer only for 'the fidelity of the narrative, and to see that the charts were faithful was not my province'.[45] Dalrymple's criticisms appeared a veiled attack on Cook and Hawkesworth defended him.

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[41] Cook and Seager, p. 2.
[42] Alexander Dalrymple, *A Letter from Mr Dalrymple to Dr Hawkesworth* (London: J. Nourse, 1773).
[43] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 'Preface to the second edition'.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

Cook was 'universally allowed, except perhaps by Mr. Dalrymple, to be as good an officer and as able a navigator as the world has ever seen', a response that could be seen as helping to establish the legend of Cook as navigator.[46] As Lamb argues, Hawkesworth served as a defence between the critics and the mariners.[47] His rewriting abstracted the mariners from their narrative and Dalrymple could not properly take aim at Cook.

Where the voyagers were treated with opprobrium, it was satirically veiled and the mariners caricatured. The anonymous pamphlet *An Epistle from Oberea, Queen of Otaheite, to Joseph Banks, Esq.* (1773) parodied the relationship between Purea and Banks, he breaks down into 'streams of scalding tears' when discovering a rival. Its reply later that year, *An Epistle from Mr. Banks, Voyager, Monster-Hunter, and Amoroso, to Oberea, Queen of Otaheite*, gleefully suggested the baleful influence of Hawkesworth's work:

> One page of Hawkesworth, in the cool retreat,
> Fires the bright maid with more than mortal heat;
> She sinks at once into the lover's arms,
> Nor deems it vice to prostitute her charms;
> 'I'll do,' cries she, 'what Queens have done before,'
> And sinks, *from principle*, a common whore.[48]

Attacks in the press were as candid: *An Account* provoked 'stronger Excitements to vicious Indulgences than the most intriguing French Novel could' so that 'Libertines may throw aside the *Woman of Pleasure*'.[49] John Wesley professed that he could not believe the account of 'Men and women coupling together in the face of the sun' and decided, or, at least, rhetorically gestured, that *An Account* must therefore be a fiction.[50] Thus, with Banks lampooned and Hawkesworth censured, the mariners appeared mostly untouched by the criticism. While there was not the active defence against Dalrymple given by Hawkesworth, the mariner was beyond reproach.

However, it meant the mariner became part of a narrative that was both fictional and factual. From revelling in the sexual description through condemnation to denial, these reactions all

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Lamb, p. 104.
[48] "A. B. C. Esq.", *An Epistle from Mr. Banks, Voyager, Monster-hunter, and Amoroso, to Oberea, Queen of Otaheite* (London: John Swan and Thomas Axtell, 1773), p. 13.
[49] The *Public Advertiser,* Saturday, 3 July 1773.
[50] Neil Rennie, *Far-Fetched Facts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 101.

operated in a similar way: fictionalizing the reports and participants. The European idea of moral behaviour could not contain the events so easily, caught between what were the 'contrasting ideological constructions of knowledge' that Harriet Guest has described as a tension between

> The conception of civilised and civilising knowledge, in which particulars are given form and meaning by their relation to the whole that is grasped in the intuitive act of comprehension, and, on the other, the construction of a more bourgeois concept of knowledge as achieved in the progressive acquisition of diverse material facts. [51]

Guest applies this to William Hodges paintings from Cook's second voyage where:

> The object of erotic fantasy is constructed as diverse and formless, without chaste definition or containment except in so far as it is distanced and deferred, but at the same time […] it is the curious attraction of detail that lends material and sensual substance to fantasy.[52]

Similarly, the accounts of Tahitian sexual practices formed part of the detail of material facts while its fictionalisation served to distance it, allowing both European fascination and condemnation.

Thus, the oceanic experience was a counter-balance to the fantasy. Dalrymple's criticisms showed the persistence of the imagined Pacific filled with a continent full of potential for trade but conversely it also took part in the assimilation of discovery Guest describes. What the mariners actually found at the Pacific was mostly ocean, not land, which signified emptiness for the European reader, making the ocean's description doubly challenging. Both Hawkesworth and Dalrymple attempted to incorporate this detail into their conception of the world. Dalrymple's insistence on the Southern Continent, on its potential to give the ocean's perceived formlessness form, was similar to Hawkesworth's reduction of the ocean narrative and his direction of it towards the land. The ocean could then be glimpsed, the navigational detail and experience acknowledged and offer the potential for curiosity while the expected solid lines of land that were consistent with the European conception could be foregrounded.

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[51] Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 44.
[52] Ibid.

However there was always the potential for an imaginative construction of the Pacific that would incorporate it into the European cultural imaginary. This was also partly the reason for Hawkesworth's exaggerated treatment of the Patagonians. It was an appeal to the fantastic and to situate the fantastic into the narratives, thus to fit the mariners' narratives into his literary one. It was also a way to fit the detail of their observations into a pre-existing conception of the Tierra del Fuego and the Patagonians.

The legend of the Patagonians' stature began with Pigafetta's account of Magellan's voyage, 1519-1522, and remained persistent. However, in his *Wager* journal, describing the time he had spent living among the Patagonians, Byron made no mention of their size, which suggests he regarded the stories of giants as unfounded. The story was always disputed: Narborough found no evidence for them while others maintained they were to be found.[53] In the journal of his circumnavigation however, Byron did draw attention to the Patagonian's height: one, possibly their chief, was 'of the most extraordinary Men for size I had ever seen till then' and later, that they were 'in size the nearest to Giants I believe of any People in the World'.[54] Hawkesworth rewrote this so the chief became 'of gigantic stature, and seemed to realize the tales of monsters in a human shape', 'a frightful colossus', and, although Byron did not measure him, 'could not be much less than seven feet'; Hawkesworth then cast them in 'a religious ceremony', where they became 'enormous goblins'.[55] This time Byron's account appeared quite restrained compared with Hawkesworth's version. Gallagher notes the deliberate change of tone; the religious ceremony was invention and Hawkesworth seemed to be appealing to the fantastic while recalling earlier conceptions of the place.[56]

Helen Wallis suggests that the reports of 'Byron's Giants' might have had political motivations: the British government's desire to distract from the more controversial objective of the voyage, the visit to the Falkland Islands.[57] Lamb offers that Hawkesworth must have been initially sceptical of 'these colossi' before giving a 'spirited paraphrase' of Byron's journal.[58] He points to Hawkesworth's preface; here, quoting Charles de Brosses at length,

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[53] Lamb, p. 94.
[54] John Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766,* ed. by Robert E. Gallagher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1964), p. 46.
[55] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 28.
[56] Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation*, p. lxxix
[57] Helen Wallis, 'The Patagonian Giants', in Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation*, 185-196, p. 188.
[58] Lamb, p. 94.

Hawkesworth admitted 'men have a strange propensity to the marvellous', this fitted with the ideas he had outlined in *The Adventurer*.[59] In the end, Hawkesworth concluded that the evidence of Byron, Carteret and Wallis, 'Gentlemen of unquestionable veracity', was reliable.[60] However, this does not suggest so much Hawkesworth's 'initial scepticism' but a tactical manoeuvre. While admitting to the debate, he placed the responsibility for the evidence of giants on the mariner even though he had changed their evidence. Thus, Hawkesworth allowed the journal to appear to be a faithful record and maintain the 'propensity to the marvellous' while he remained the objective editor. In doing so, he undermined Byron's original narrative voice but it was a sleight of hand that enlivened the narrative and allowed Samuel Johnson to write 'the giants of antiquated romance have been exhibited as realities'.[61] The exaggeration of the Patagonians' size brought the fantastical to the narrative, they were the 'Genii and Fairies' that Hawkesworth had described in the *Adventurer* and preserved the Tierra del Fuego as 'other'. His freedom with the original accounts allowed him to couch this fantasizing of the narrative within the tropes of the authentic narrative of discovery.

4.5 Translating language

I now turn to Hawkesworth's treatment of the mariner's language. More recently, the text has been read against a changing understanding of literary style and of the expression of authorship and selfhood. As Abbott points out in his biography of Hawkesworth, 'Most readers today would prefer the honest simplicities of the captains to the more ornate utterances of a polished man of letters, but to fault Hawkesworth in this instance is to judge him by the stylistic conventions of our time.'[62] Hawkesworth changed the original in two ways: by smoothing out the abbreviated remarks of the commanders and by substituting some of the nautical language and phrasing. Thus, these changes were an obvious re-purposing of the texts; from professional remarks and accounts to a publishable narrative. However, as shall be seen, the change of language had a wider affect and changed the narration of the ocean experience and the mariner's expression of their professional self. It was part of the creation of a coherent narrative voice from the individual voices of each of the mariner that levelled and smoothed the mariner's own distinctive voices.

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[59] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, ix.
[60] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, xvi.
[61] Lamb, p. 97.
[62] Abbott, p. 176.

Hawkesworth's treatment of Byron's syntax and language shows this clearly. In sections, Byron's voice had turned towards a more literary and metaphorical narrative mode. This was encouraged by the format of his journal, as seen previously, written in paragraphs, and in part a reaction to the already mythical resonance of the Patagonian coast and the shadow cast by the *Wager* shipwreck. Notably, Hawkesworth did not remove any of these sections, however he did make some small but notable changes. These illustrate the amelioration of the narrative that Abbott describes. Byron's original narrative compared the landscape and flowers found on the Patagonian coast to those at home:

> I was yesterday some Miles along the shore to the N^{o}ward & found the Country vastly pleasant as well as beautiful, for some parts of are cover'd with Flowers of different kinds which smell as sweet as the finest we have in England.[63]

Byron suggests an almost tender response to the landscape that is, in this instance, benign.

Hawkesworth rewrote the section:

> I made also another excursion along the shore to the northward, and found the country for many miles exceedingly pleasant, the ground being, in many places, covered with flowers, which were not inferior, to those that are commonly found in our gardens.[64]

The changes were subtle, principally formalizing Byron's phrasing while positioning the text within literary expectations. Where Byron had suggested the similarity between the Patagonian and British landscapes, Hawkesworth emphasized their difference and a view of them as both unfamiliar and familiar. The less encouraging negative 'were not inferior' suggested foreignness while the use of the possessive 'our gardens' for those at home asserted the oppositional nature of Hawkesworth's comparison. This was in keeping with the literary expectation, pointing to difference and contrast, the 'othering' of Tierra del Fuego. Hawkesworth shows his position as both reader and writer: Byron, writing from the unfamiliar place, looked for commonality; Hawkesworth, safely ensconced in his home at Bromley, looked for difference. As Gillian Beer has explored in her essay 'Travelling the Other Way', the voyage narrative negotiated between the alien and the homely, a record of experience and survival that became the reader's own.[65] Thus, Hawkesworth absorbed the

[63] Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation*, p. 53.
[64] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 39.
[65] Beer, p. 322.

experience of the unfamiliar into the reassuring narrative of the voyage's safe return. That reassurance meant that the vicarious sensation of discovery and otherness needed emphasis and he had always to look for difference.

Alongside the literary commodification was Hawkesworth's formalization of the narrative style. The main effect of this was on individual narrative voice and thus on the mariners' written identities. It appears in the passage as a smoothing out of the idiosyncrasies of the language. The informality of Byron's narration suggested an unfolding of the countryside around him as he happened upon it. There was exuberance in this description, Byron's delight in the fragrance of the flowers, and in his active part as narrator that marked his account as a whole. However, Hawkesworth's introduction of 'an excursion' gave the event a formality and he did not describe the flowers with any pleasure. As Abbott suggests, the informality of the original is more appealing to the modern reader as its idiosyncrasies intimate individual character. However, Hawkesworth's intention was to iron out those peculiarities of the mariners' narrative. Instead, he offered a narrative that was more clearly structured; here constructed to direct the reader to the relationship between the experience and home. Hawkesworth made the personal descriptions of the mariners into more elegantly phrased arguments or commentaries of European outlook. It was an attempt, as he had argued in *The Adventurer*, to draw 'connexions' and to deliver events with 'discriminating circumstances', not merely to offer 'an imperfect glimpse of innumerable objects that just appear and vanish'.[66]

This cultivation, or amelioration, was also prominent in Hawkesworth's treatment of Wallis's journal. With its closer adherence to the format of the logbook, it required Hawkesworth's formalizing more immediately. His re-working of the first stages of Wallis's voyage across the Pacific after the passage through the Strait of Magellan and the separation of the *Dolphin* from the *Swallow* illustrates this clearly. The reduction of the ocean narrative was in part the turning away from the ocean to find meaning in the events on land through 'connexions' and 'discriminating circumstances' but it was also a problem of language. As noted above, Wallis's language was deeply engaged in the description of sailing and life aboard, the remarks, mostly short notes, concentrated the language into bursts enunciating the mariners' craft. The remarks for Thursday, 16 April 1767, omitted by Hawkesworth in his account, showed that almost staccato description of sailing:

[66] Hawkesworth, *The Adventurer,* I, 17.

> Hard Gales got down top Gallant yds. and Masts & close reef the Top sails
> Hard Gales with a Great Sea, Hauld up the Mainsail & clewed up the Fore Topsail and handed them, Lowered the Mizen yard —
> a very heavy Sea & the Ship labours much, & makes a great deal of Water —
> at 10 kept the Ship more away to make her go easier —
> at noon very Strong Gales with a heavy Sea Ship Strains much the Rain and Sea find way thro every seam that there is not a dry place in her. [67]

There were similar remarks for the days before and after that built a picture of the *Dolphin* struggling to make way in difficult and inhospitable seas. They made real the abstract navigational observations of longitude and latitude, so, rather than dots on charts, each position was a place felt and described. Through the description of the labour of sailing, there was an active engagement with the ocean.

However, the opening paragraphs of Chapter 4 of 'Captain Wallis's Voyage' covering April 1767 illustrate Hawkesworth's attempts to situate the narrative within the certainty of navigational observation while still reducing the ocean account. It shows that there was little understanding of how to translate the mariner's vernacular and its articulation of the ocean experience into a language and story that might resonate with the ordinary reader. Instead, Hawkesworth used the human story of sickness, as seen earlier a recurrent concern in Wallis's account, to provide narrative tension.

> As we continued our course to the westward, after having cleared the Streight, we saw a great number of gannets, sheerwaters, pintado birds, and many others, about the ship, and had for the most part strong gales, hazy weather, and heavy seas, so that we were frequently brought under our courses, and there was not a dry place in the ship for some weeks altogether.
> At eight in the morning of the 22d, we had an observation, by which we found our longitude to be 95˚ 46' W. and at noon, our latitude was 42˚ 24' S. and the variation, by azimuth, 11˚ 6' E.
> By the 24th, the men began to fall down very fast in colds and fevers, in consequence of the upper works being open, and their cloaths and beds continually wet.[68]

[67] London, The National Archives, MS *Dolphin*: *Log kept by Captain S Wallis, containing all his observations and remarks*, MS, ADM 55.35, Thursday 16 April 1767.

Wallis's description above was now only 'strong gales', 'heavy seas' and the problem of keeping the ship on its course. Instead, Hawkesworth continued with another note of the ship's position for 26 and 27 April before describing attempts to dry out the clothes and bedding and give some relief to the sick in a short period of respite from the bad weather. However, the weather turned bad again:

> The hard gales, with frequent and violent squalls, and a heavy sea, soon returned, and continued with very little intermission. The ship pitched so much, that we were afraid she would carry away her masts, and the men were again wet in their beds.
> On the 30th, the variation, by azimuth, was 8˚ 30' E. our latitude was 32˚ 50'; longitude, by account, 100'W. I began now to keep the ship to the northward, as we had no chance of getting westing in this latitude; and the surgeon was of opinion, that in a little time the sick would so much increase, that we should want hands to work the ship, if we could not get into better weather.[69]

This is indicative of Hawkesworth's attempts to address the different concerns of the narrative. The previous chapter (Chapter 3) had been an account of the anchorages found in the Strait of Magellan completed by a table of distances between points in the Strait taken from the descriptions made by the master of the *Dolphin*, George Robertson. This chapter interrupted the narrative with the maritime 'details' that Hawkesworth had complained of in his 'General Introduction' but helped contribute to the authority of his text. The beginning of Chapter 4 thus segued between the professional and literary narrative but it also contained elements of the other influences on the voyage narrative. The description of the birds now continued the narrative from the final paragraph of Chapter 2, so bridging the descriptions of anchorages. Chapter 2 had ended with a dispiriting coda to the *Dolphin*'s passage through a 'dreary and inhospitable' Magellan Strait; 'where', Hawkesworth wrote, 'the prospects had more the appearance of a chaos than of Nature', comments not found in Wallis's original journal (W.1).[70] The birds appeared to accompany the ship from that semi-mythical place like spirits accompanying the winds. Hawkesworth attempted to straddle two competing impulses, the scientific observation and the literary, while also maintaining something of the mythical found at the Terra del Fuego. It changed the texts relationship with the ocean space: he separated the narrative of position, so prominent in the mariners' journals, from Wallis's

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[68] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 419-20.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 409.

oceanic experience. In changing the oceanic experience, Hawkesworth was also in effect translating Wallis's nautical language. As Janet Sorenson notes, such nautical language was part of the 'strange vernaculars' that stood outside an increasingly standardised English, sharing 'a tantalizing obscurity and an association with the "common people"'.[71] Wallis's remarks above would need translating too, the different names for sails and what was happening to them would have at least required the glossary Hawkesworth provided at the front of *An Account*. However, in the entries for the beginning of his Pacific crossing, the thrust of Wallis's writing was apparent: the energy of the wind seemed to transfer to the labour of hauling the heavy yards of canvas as the ship struggled in the sea. Thus, Hawkesworth not only resisted the language itself but the tangible engagement with the natural environment of the ocean it suggested. However, readers outside of the nautical world did read and enjoy such language, as the popularity of poems such as William Falconer's *The Shipwreck* (1762) attest. Falconer used nautical vernacular to engage the reader in a visceral sense of the mariner's experience:

> The shivering sails descend: and now they square
> The yards, while ready sailors mount in air.
> The weather-earings and the lee they past;
> The reefs-enroll'd, and every point made fast.[72]

Like Wallis's journal entries for the days after leaving the Strait of Magellan, Falconer immersed the reader in the activity on board the ship with an authenticity that gave confidence in the poet's narrative. The rhythmic vigour of the language recalls the concentration of the abbreviated remarks in Wallis's journal. Both suggest that there was the possibility of intuiting the human condition in this use of the language's dynamic engagement with the weather: the sailors mounting the yards 'in air' balance and reflect the 'shivering sails' descent; the men become part almost of the 'boisterous' wind and engage in an elemental struggle. It is a potential connection similarly drawn in Wallis's text, the energy of the description of shortening sail next to the forlorn picture of the labouring, straining ship.

Although such language might have engaged the reader in the experience, its unfamiliarity was also a dislocation, contributing to the 'othering' of the mariner and of the ocean space. As

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[71] Janet Sorensen, *Strange Vernaculars: How Eighteenth-Century Slang Became English* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), p. 1.
[72] William Falconer, *The Shipwreck* (London: J. Wren & W. Hodges, 1789), p. 38.

one sailor recalled of his first going to sea as a boy, 'All seemed strange; different language and strange expressions of tongue, that I thought myself always asleep or in a dream, and never properly awake.'[73] Sorensen notes of Falconer's poem,

> The mariners and their material technical world, however, are violently destroyed in a storm at sea, becoming literally subliminal. Just as it seems a specific argot might become the property of all readers, the particulars it calls up disappear in un-navigable depths, reiterating the impossibility of knowing the whole, the enticing promise of the idea of a national vernacular culture.[74]

Thus, the nautical vernacular held the potential to both reveal and confound the maritime experience. Wallis's language suggested the possibility of understanding the mariner's condition at sea but also hid it beneath the professional description that allowed a metaphorical engagement with the experience. However, unlike the mariners in *The Shipwreck*, assimilation made Wallis and his fellow commanders' language and its description subliminal. Thus, we can see Hawkesworth's version, not merely as a direction to the incidents of land encounters and the possibility of comparison and commentary they offered, but also as a translation and a matter of language. It was a rejection of the mystery of the ocean experience and its expression or at least, an admission of incomprehension.

This incomprehension seemed to express Hawkesworth's unease with the ocean, closer to land he appeared able to incorporate greater description. Yet, even so he struggled to express the immediate and fundamental relationship between the mariner and the water. As we have seen, Byron's description of 27 March 1765 suggested the Strait of Magellan as a purgatorial test:

> Nothing could be more melancholy than our present situation. The weather extremely thick with the hardest rain, a long dark night before us; A narrow Channel & that full of sunken Rocks & Breakers; Before we could clew the Mizen topsail up he blew all to rags. I brought too with the Main & Fore topsail close reefed & on the Cap, the Ships head to the SW. A prodigious great Sea ran which broke over us often.[75]

Hawkesworth pedantically elaborated on Byron's economical style:

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[73] Nicholas A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World* (London: Collins, 1986), p. 37.
[74] Sorenson, p. 21.
[75] Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation,* p. 78.

> The storm increased every minute, the weather was extremely thick, the rain seemed to threaten another deluge, we had a long dark night before us, we were in a narrow channel, and surrounded on every side by rocks and breakers. We attempted to clew up the mizen-topsail, but before this service could be done it was blown all to rags: we then brought to, with the main and fore-topsail close reefed, and upon the cap, keeping the ship's head to the south west; but there being a prodigious sea, it broke over us so often that the whole deck was almost continually under water.[76]

Giving the passage a literary gloss, Hawkesworth's careful re-structuring and his prolixity, meant the dynamic relationship between description and action was lost. He attempted to maintain some of the language of the mariner but the more elaborate phrasing of the description of the blown out sail unnecessarily dissipated any urgency. However, Hawkesworth maintained and developed the sense of melancholy Byron had instinctively captured in his remarks in the mounting sub-clauses of the first sentence. Hawkesworth conjured an image of the land crowding darkly around the ship, the shoreline as the other that, as argued earlier, would emerge as an important theme in Byron's journal. This passage seemed to offer a transition: between land and sea, the two oceans and worlds and between the language of description as Hawkesworth attempts to incorporate in part the mariner's vernacular.

Comparisons between Hawkesworth's text and Carteret's revised journals show clearly how the land-based editor could alter the mariner's emotional engagement with the voyage. We have seen previously in Carteret's journals that responded to *An Account* (CA.III and CA.IV) how Carteret could suggest a vivid description of the interplay between the mariner's emotional experiences with the ocean. The process of reflection and rewriting allowed an engagement with the voyage that transgressed the professional description and employed literary techniques. Carteret reached for a descriptive language that was emotionally vivid and engaging. His description of a moment in the middle of a storm, 'and then this great hollow confused sea did toss about the Ship, as if she had been an Egg shell', suggested the vulnerability of the ship and the lack of control.[77] Carteret's narrative was often one of frustration, a difference to the active protagonist that evolved in Hawkesworth's version.

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[76] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 76.
[77] Carteret, *Carteret's Voyage Round the World*, I, 127.

Hawkesworth's account of the same storm tempered the language and reduced the sense of the storm's overwhelming size:

> This wind made the ship come up with her head right against the vast sea which the north west wind had raised, and at every pitch which she made against it, the end of the bowsprit was under water, and the surge broke over the forecastle as far aft as the main-mast.[78]

This still suggested the storm's severity but the drama became less heightened. Hawkesworth reduced the sense of chaos by martialling the narrative into a coherent shape and avoiding the repetition that the journal form had encouraged. Instead, the emphasis of his narrative rested on the list of damage done to the ship and the problems of making repairs. That he omitted the lull in the storm meant that there was no sense of the ocean's strange malevolence that Carteret had captured. Here, the rewriting suggested a problem in Carteret's projection of his identity as a mariner as it avoided the emotional narrative that would underlie Carteret's re-written account. It was a similar impulse to that which Hawkesworth had shown as he tempered the language in Byron's journal. However, it contradicts the view that Hawkesworth's text attempted to appeal to a general audience more interested in sensation than details of navigation. As Hawkesworth's text looked both ways, to the professional mariner and to the general audience, he still needed to establish the journals as reliable unexaggerated accounts and Carteret's engagement in an emotional narrative undermined this.

Thus, Hawkesworth prefaced the account of Carteret's discovery of the Queen Charlotte's Islands with a description of the deteriorating conditions on board in language that was straightforward and did not evoke emotional engagement:

> The scurvy still continued to make great progress among us, and those hands that were not rendered useless by disease, were worn down by excessive labour; our vessel, which at best was a dull sailor, had been long in so bad a condition that she would not work; and on the 10th, to render our condition still more distressful and alarming, she sprung a leak in the bows, which being under water it was impossible to get at while we were at sea. Such was our situation, when on the 12th, at break of day, we discovered land: the

[78] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 539.

> sudden transport of hope and joy which a criminal feels who hears the cry of a reprieve at the place of execution.[79]

The description of the awful situation the mariners were in did not go beyond the appearance of verisimilitude and there was none of the telling detail that would point to authenticity or engage the reader's sympathy. It did appear though, that however reliable, the final analogy was banal. Carteret's rewritten accounts appeared to be travelling the other way to Hawkesworth's retelling. However, they were also similar in that they were productions of re-reading and written at a remove from the events and places. The original journals were products of the environments, written in the unstable environment of the ship at sea and without the certainty of a safe return. Thus, they appear to project a desire for the sureties of navigational position, the specificity of nautical vernacular and the record of observation. Hawkesworth's commentary was a product of domesticity while Carteret delivered his emotional retelling from his enforced sojourn on half-pay and thus, had no need for those certainties.

Thus, the mariner's identity was a product of the sea-journey while Hawkesworth showed there was an expectation of a relationship with the land, a perspective from the ship that the general reader could understand. Again, it was a problem with the perceived empty space of the ocean: for the mariners the ocean was not the lacuna it was for either Hawkesworth or his readers. Hawkesworth's treatment of Cook's first journal illustrated this, emphasizing the difference between the mariner's need to understand the ocean space and the terrestrial impulse to instead turn away from the ocean towards the land. Cook attempted to provide a statistical description of the ocean space founded on his navigational observation. As seen previously, this evoked a 'non-place'; the narration of navigational observation created a web of imaginary lines over the ocean rather than amongst it. However abstract though, it also allowed a way of engaging with the space, of measuring it and, in some ways, containing it. Cook's mathematical descriptions reflected the lattices of longitude and latitude of the chart and with the position lines of the ship's course staggered across them, they created an image of a web cast over the otherwise indeterminate ocean.

Hawkesworth articulated his disengagement with the navigational treatment of the ocean clearly in the introduction to the second volume of *An Account*. This was an explanation for

[79] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 568.

his preference for Banks's journals who had 'kept an accurate and circumstantial journal' and 'was so obliging as to put it into my hands, with permission to take out of it whatever I thought would improve or embellish the narrative'.[80] He thought the narrative needed improvement and was somewhat dismissive of Cook's journal, which 'contained a very particular account of all the nautical incidents of the voyage, and a very minute description of the figure and extent of the countries he had visited'.[81] There followed a list:

> The bearings of the headlands and bays that diversify the coasts, the situation of harbours in which shipping may obtain refreshments, with the depth of water wherever there were soundings; the latitudes, longitudes, variation of the needle, and such other particulars as lay in his department.[82]

Whilst these observations showed Cook's skill as mariner and navigator, Hawkesworth obviously tired of these exacting navigational observations. He preferred the 'great variety of incidents which had not come under the notice of Captain Cook, with descriptions of countries and people, their productions, manners, customs, religion, policy, and language'.[83] Again, this illustrated an equivocation with an emerging narrative of scientific expression of the ocean founded in navigational observation and suggested that there was little within the literary mode with which to engage with the ocean space. Again, it directed the narrative to the land encounters.

There were however, remnants of Cook's 'particular account'. In the previous chapter, I looked at an entry from the Canberra Journal (CO.I.1) for 28 January 1769 shortly after leaving Cape Horn and the *Endeavour*'s entrance into the South Pacific Ocean. It was concerned with a series of lunar observations and Cook's calculations to ascertain a correct longitude for the Cape from them. It exemplified Cook's recourse to the mathematics of navigation.

> Had 3 sets of Observation of the Sun and Moon which gave the Longitude 69˚7'15''. The longd of the Ship at Noon by this Obsern is 69˚24' – 1˚48', the Longd made from C. Horn is =67˚36', the Longd of the Cape which is 52' less then the result of yesterdays observations. This difference may arise partly from the observations and

[80] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, xiii.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, xiv.

> partly from the Ships Run: the Mean of the two gives 68˚2' + 69˚24', the Longitude of the Cape from the observations taken at Strait Le Maire 136˚26'$\frac{136.26}{2}$ =68˚13' West from Greenwich.[84]

Hawkesworth omitted it but maintained references to the navigation that then acted as a frame for the narrative:

> Between Streight Le Maire and Cape Horn, we found a current setting, generally very strong, to the N. E. when we were in with the shore; but lost it when we were at the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues.
> On the 26th of January, we took our departure from Cape Horn, which lies in latitude 55˚ 53' S. longitude 68˚ 13' W. The farthest southern latitude that we made was 60˚ 10', our longitude was then 74˚ 30' W; and we found the variation of the compass, by the mean of eighteen azimuths, to be 27˚ 9' E. As the weather was frequently calm, Mr Banks went out in a small boat to shoot birds, among which were some albatrosses and sheerwaters.[85]

An improved position for Cape Horn and the observation of compass variation were important for navigators and so would have had to stay as part of *An Account*'s function as navigational record. However, here the purpose of the navigational detail was to validate the narrative, dressing it in the apparent certainties of navigation (that were of course more often approximate). They acted as points not only of record but also as ways of fixing the narrative to a place that was otherwise undistinguishable. There was notably no attempt at description, either of the current between Strait Le Maire or of the general environment when in such a low latitude. Thus, there was no attempt to make the seascape tangible in any way. The references acted more as markers of progress, the reader might also follow them on a chart, and here merely gave a location for Banks's escapades, which otherwise would happen in an apparently empty space.

The statistical description showed a possible form of language with which to articulate science, one codified in the certainty of mathematics. However, in Hawkesworth's handling did not explore that potential. As noted above, Cook's enjoyment of the mathematics of

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[84] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*, 1768-1771*, p. 54.
[85] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 66.

navigation made the observations, measurements and calculations part of the exploration. In Hawkesworth, the numbers transcribed became something more abstract and unverifiable. A comparison of Cook's journal entry for 13 February 1769 from the *Canberra Journal* (CO.I.1) with Hawkesworth's treatment in *An Account* show this disconnect. Cook's entry is the start of a longer account that compares the route around Cape Horn with that through the Strait of Magellan:

> The first part of these 24 hours Moderate breezes and clowdy the remainder fresh gales and clowdy, PM saw a great many Albetrosses and other Birds about the Ship, some were all white and about the Size of Teal — Took several observations of the Sun and Moon, the result of which gave 90° 13' West Longitude from Greenwich- the Variation of the Compass by the Mean of several Azth 17° East — The Longitude by account is less then that by Obser^{n} 37' which is about 20 Miles in these high Latitudes, and nearly equall to the Error of the Logg Line before mntioned: this near agreement of the two Longitudes proves to a demonstration that we have had no Western current sence we left the Land.[86]

However, although he kept much of the comparison between the different routes, Hawkesworth condensed the record of the ship's position:

> From a variety of observations which were made with great care, it appeared probable in the highest degree, that, from the time of our leaving the land to the 13th of February, when we were in latitude 49° 32', and longitude 90° 37' we had no current to the west.[87]

Although brief, Cook's notes of the weather and wildlife suggest a relationship between the navigational observations and the environment; they are both observations that contribute to a picture of the location missing in Hawkesworth. The detail of Cook's astronomical observations related a narrative of position. The comparison with the estimated longitude draws the initial observations of the moon and sun down to the water. The incidental detail of the error in the log line reminded the reader of the possibility of human error. Thus, the entry becomes an account of the relationship between navigation and place. Hawkesworth's version reduced that, with the relationship between the observations and the current gone, they

[86] Canberra, National Library of Australia, MS Journal of H.M.S. *Endeavour*, 1768-1771, MS 1, 13 February 1769.
[87] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 67.

appeared to be merely assertions. To replicate Cook's navigational authority, Hawkesworth had to insist on the care taken and then made the lack of current only probable rather than the certainty Cook could demonstrate. There was a slippage in the authority of the navigation and of the narrative.

The next chapter of *An Account* began several weeks later at the beginning of March. Again, Hawkesworth began by anchoring the text with the navigational position:

> On the 1st of March, we were in latitude 38° 44' S. and longitude 110° 33' W. both by observation and by the log. This agreement, after a run of 660 leagues, was thought to be very extraordinary; and is a demonstration, that after we left the land of Cape Horn we had no current that affected the ship. It renders it also highly probable, that we had been near no land of any considerable extent; for currents are always found when land is not remote, and sometimes, particularly on the east side of the continent in the North Sea, when land has been distant 100 leagues.[88]

This condensed Cook's original journal entries, though not substantially. However, Hawkesworth made small but important changes to the agreement between the observed position and the estimated position. In CO.I.1 Cook wrote that the lack of current signified that there was probably no land near, 'because near land are *generally* found currents'.[89] Hawkesworth changed that to 'for currents are *always* found when land is not remote' [my italics]. Where Cook was reluctant to draw general conclusions; Hawkesworth preferred to express certainty. It reminded the reader of the pursuit of land, particularly the Great Southern Continent and thus the importance of Cook's navigational observation as part of the process of terrestrial discovery.

Hawkesworth though, used it solely as a way of beginning the chapter. He subsequently went to Banks's journal as his source and described in part the naturalist's research, a great slaughter of birds 'no less than 62 in one day'.[90] This was apparently a turn to the observations of natural history that, as we have seen, Dampier had made an important part of the voyage narrative. Yet, here Hawkesworth showed a similar disregard to the details of Banks's scientific observations as he had to Cook's navigational observations. Banks's record

[88] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), II, 69.
[89] Canberra, National Library of Australia, MS Journal of H.M.S. *Endeavour*, 1768-1771, 1 March 1769.
[90] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), II, 69.

showed a desire to identify similarities and differences between specimens. With Dr Daniel Solander, the Swedish naturalist trained by Carl Linnaeus, Banks collected and classified across the Pacific. He wrote in his entry for 3 March 1769:

> Calm: went in the boat and killd *Procellaria velox, 2 velificans, 3 sordida, 4 melanopus, 5 lugens, agilis* and *Diomedaea exulans*. The Albatross very brown exactly the same as the first I killd, which if I mistake not was nearly in the same latitude on the other side of the continent. Caught *Holothuria obtusata, Phillodoce velella* exactly the same as those taken on the other side of the continent except in size, which in these did not exceed that of an English sixpence. Also *Dagysa vitrea* the same as that taken off Rio de Janeiro; now however we had an opportunity of seeing its ext[r]ordinary manner of breeding which is better to be understood from the drawing than any description I can give; suffice it therefore to say that the whole progeny 15 or 20 in number hung in a chain from one end of the mother, the oldest only or the largest adhering to her and rest to each other.[91]

Hawkesworth removed the Latin names for the varieties of petrels, the Holothuria, a sea cucumber, and the observation of the reproduction of the Dagsya vitrea, a Thaliacea. Thus, his version became more simply a record of the quantity of the birds killed and a description of a cuttlefish, which 'was very different from the cuttle-fishes that are found in the European seas; for its arms, instead of suckers, were furnished with a double row of very sharp talons'.[92] Hawkesworth appeared unsure how to treat Banks's scientific account; he ignored classification but wanted to indicate difference. The cuttlefish was interesting because it appeared an aggressive, savage cousin of its European counterpart. Therefore, information was relevant when it was an object of wonder and reinforced the perception of strangeness.

Hawkesworth's resistance to specialization, both in the adaptation of Banks and Cook's journals, emphasized the problem in *An Account*. It was neither completely a navigational record nor one of natural history but a compromise between these as well as with the various other literary demands made on the text for their publication. However, in his treatment of the *Endeavour*'s stranding on the Great Barrier Reef off the coast of New South Wales Hawkesworth managed to resolve the various tensions pulling at the text. Here, as seen in the previous chapter, the drama of the events allowed even in Cook's telling a more literary

[91] Canberra, National Library of Australia, Joseph Banks, *Journal*, 3 March 1769,
[92] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), II, 70.

approach that could be inflected with description of the humanity of the situation. Similarly, the drama allowed Hawkesworth a narrative that he could mould rather more like the tales written for the *Adventurer*.

Hawkesworth's adaptation could not have the immediacy of Cook's account but he related instead a carefully orchestrated and controlled account that did not neglect the maritime details. The beginning established the potential dangers as the *Endeavour* made its way along the unknown coastline:

> HITHERTO we had safely navigated this dangerous coast, where the sea in all parts conceals shoals that suddenly project from the shore, and rocks that rise abruptly like a pyramid from the bottom, for an extent of two and twenty degrees of latitude, more than one thousand three hundred miles; and therefore hitherto none of the names which distinguish the several parts of the country that we saw, are memorials of distress; but here we became acquainted with misfortune, and we therefore called the point which we had just seen farthest to the northward, CAPE TRIBULATION.[93]

The evocative description of the coral suggested its aggressive potential and there remained in it something of the navigator's precision. However, Hawkesworth's emphasis on the place name cleverly foreshadows events. They are, of course, a reminder of the proprietorial nature of these voyages: laying claim to places, operating as Linnaean classification, collecting and classifying locations so they could be ordered into part of the European view of the world. Cook also used place names as a way to articulate an emotional response to the journey and Byron similarly suggested an understanding of the voyage as something more than a scientific or colonising project. These recalled the older understanding as an Odyssean journey of self-discovery and Hawkesworth exploited this aspect of the mariners' narratives here, incorporating it into the Homeric narrative he had argued as a model in *The Adventurer*. That literary potential is further provided by Hawkesworth's use of Cook's description of the clear, almost idyllic night: 'we had the advantage of a fine breeze, and a clear moonlight night'.[94] Then there was the first strike, followed by relief and 'we concluded that we had gone over the tail of the shoals which we had seen at sun-set, and that all danger was past'.[95]

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[93] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), III, 544.
[94] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), III, 545.
[95] Ibid.

A lengthy account of the second stranding that was mostly faithful to Cook followed. However, as Jonathan Lamb notes, Hawkesworth emphasized the precariousness of their position: 'and when that dreadful crisis should arrive, as all command and subordination would be at an end, a contest would probably ensue, that would increase the horrors of shipwreck, and terminate in the destruction of us all by the hands of each other'.[96] Hawkesworth suggested the sort of moral breakdown Byron had witnessed on the *Wager*. Lamb offers that Hawkesworth's mistake here was to admit what most preferred not to discuss and in his 'synthesized first person' was 'passing off the details of maritime violence as a sociable truth.'[97] It was an attempt to frame the events according to the terms he had outlined in the *Adventurer* and so provide the narrative with the tension of possible collapse. Of course, not only would the reader have known that the *Endeavour* returned but Hawkesworth had already established the crew's moral rectitude. In his journal, Cook had reflected on his crew's behaviour, saying that 'I must say that no men ever behaved better than they have done on this occasion [animated by the behaviour of every gentleman on board] every man seem'd to have a just sence of the danger we were in and exerted himself ~~self~~ to the very utmost'.[98] Prompted by this, Hawkesworth wrote:

> The men were so far imprest with a sense of their situation, that not an oath was heard among them, the habit of profaneness, however strong, being instantly subdued, by the dread of incurring guilt when death seemed to be so near.[99]

Thus, there was not then the potential for moral collapse favoured by the shipwreck narrative and seen in Byron's account of the wreck of the Wager (B.II). The crew showed an urgency and resilience that countered the view of the mariner as thinking themselves 'discharged from the common bonds of humanity', as Henry Fielding had described them.[100] Notably, Hawkesworth omitted Cook's patronising insertion that it was the officers' example that prompted the men's behaviour. It could have prompted the observation that discipline would collapse if there were a loss of hope. Rather the fear of death and judgment couches the crew's behaviour in religious and moral terms. These two passages thus suggest a rather confused view of the mariner, of both discipline and potential collapse, from Hawkesworth.

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[96] Lamb, p. 104.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Canberra, National Library of Australia, MS James Cook's MS 1-Journal of H.M.S. *Endeavour*, 1768-1771, 13 June 1770,
[99] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), III, 547.
[100] Henry Fielding, *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (London: A. Millar, 1755), p. 68.

However, both dressed the 'naked narrative' as Hawkesworth had suggested he should in his introduction.[101] Hawkesworth showed in this account the potential for a literary treatment of the voyage narrative; an engagement with the nautical experience that could 'not only excite and gratify curiosity, but engage the passions'.[102]

4.6 'Un-seaing' the mariner

However, as seen throughout this chapter, in his adaptation of the journals Hawkesworth changed the articulation of the mariner's identity, especially in its relationship with the ocean. It was a problem of identity bound up in the problem of the ocean. As seen previously the mariners had used their journals as expressions of their professional abilities. Hawkesworth necessarily played with that, looking to mould the mariner into something more suitable for his literary treatment. With the *Endeavour*'s stranding, he suggested the mariner as an archetypal hero, a Homeric hero facing physical and moral challenges. Abbott suggests that Hawkesworth shaped the mariners to become part of a 'national myth' of discovery and empire.[103] However, this re-making emerged primarily as the result of the reduction of the navigational account and homogenization of the mariners' narrative voices to include Hawkesworth's own. Hawkesworth's privileging of the land encounters, which was in part a product of the heroization of the mariner, distanced them from their essential defining identity expressed in the original journals and rooted in the experience of the ocean and its navigation. In Cook's second and third narratives, there was an increasing direction to the land, reinforcing the 'un-sea'd' mariner hero.

Out of the drama of the *Endeavour*'s stranding on the reef we can clearly see the emergence of the literary hero Hawkesworth had described in the *Adventurer*,

> The events are various and important; but it is not the fate of a nation, but of the hero in which they terminate, and whatever concerns the hero engages the passions; the dignity of his character his merit, and his importance, compel us to follow him with reverence and solicitude, to tremble when he is in danger, to weep when he suffers, and to burn

[101] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, v.
[102] Hawkesworth, *The Adventurer*, p. 17.
[103] Abbott, p. 174.

> when his is wronged; with these vicissitudes of passion every heart attends Ulysses in his wanderings, and Achilles to the field.[104]

Hawkesworth made the mariner/narrator as hero a vehicle for the reader's emotional response to the story and, in the account of the stranding of the *Endeavour*, emphasized their dignity and moral steadfastness. Elsewhere, as we have seen, particularly in Wallis's account, the narrative prioritized the mariner's compassion in ways that made them active protagonists in the face of adversity. This cast the mariner as the wandering Homeric hero Hawkesworth sought and thus, the tracks of the ships across the Pacific delineated more than voyages of discovery but also trials on a long journey home. The names of places reflected this emotional narrative: The Island of Disappointment, Poverty Bay and Cape Tribulation. The Terra del Fuego (the land of fire) asserted itself as a mythical gateway from the familiar to the unfamiliar. This narrative line emphasized the land encounters; they became not only points of discovery and locations for potential trade but also encounters with the 'other' and tests for the mariner hero. The search for land in the Pacific crossing as they looked for some relief from illness was the predominant theme of Byron, Wallis and Carteret's journals. This was not land for the sake of discovery but for survival and it emphasised the mariner's heroic struggle.

The prioritisation of the hero combined with the reduction of the navigational description at sea, as it reduced the articulation of the mariner's professional identity. As seen, Hawkesworth used the navigational record to support the narrative with the authority of observation and provide an impression of each voyage's progress. However, detachment from the process of observation or the description of weather, sail changes and adjustments of course reduced that record to abstract notes. Particularly in Cook's first journal the navigational record was used to assert more than professional competence but as a form of control of the otherwise unstable and uncertain environment. The delineation of observations and recourse to explanations of the calculations expressed Cook's skill and was a way of describing the ocean, identifying place and making certain of 'undifferentiated flux'.[105] Thus, while establishing the mariner as hero, there was a notable loss of what was one of their defining modes of expression.

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[104] Hawkesworth, *The Adventurer*, p. 19.
[105] W. H. Auden, *The Enchaféd Flood, or the Romantic Iconography of the Sea* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 16.

The primary objection of the commanders was that Hawkesworth had re-voiced them, ventriloquizing opinions they did not hold. As Boswell observed, Cook's narrative had been '*brewed*'.[106] Cook then expressed his desire to re-assert himself in the preface to his second journal (CO.2.VI) to reclaim his voice: 'When a man of sense and spirit publishes the history of his own affairs, the world is a thousand times better instructed, than by the most elaborate compositions of the mere bookmaker'.[107] As we have also seen, this was essential to Carteret's grievances and his desire to tell the "truth". It remains a criticism of *An Account* as Philip Edwards's description of Hawkesworth's treatment of Cook's first journal as a 'a curious three-headed monster' testifies.[108] This was, of course, part of the homogenization of the narrative voice, an incorporation of Hawkesworth's interpretation of narrative into the mariners' journals. It was, as Lamb has written, an attempt to achieve 'a balance between the eyewitness and the controlling eye' so Hawkesworth synthesised 'the circumstantiality of experimental philosophy [scientific observation], the descriptive prolixity of the novel, and the urbane summarizing style of the periodical essay'.[109] Thus, Hawkesworth's adaptation of the journals was their assimilation into the civilizing literary world.

However, this was not so straightforward. As seen, the commanders had already produced narratives that projected an idea of themselves in carefully considered ways. They were not simply objective records unencumbered by ego but already suggested attempt to project the mariner as participants in that civil discourse. The mariners saw themselves as heroes of their own stories and, in his attempt to make the mariner heroic, Hawkesworth had taken that away from them. Cook's protestation that he had, with little schooling and a life at sea, 'no opportunity of cultivating letters' was careful positioning; his honesty was artful.[110] His journals were not unconsidered narratives but the product of extensive re-writing as the various manuscripts attest. This also suggests the heart of the mariners' problem with Hawkesworth's work: their ideas of themselves, their identities, came from the experience of the voyage and ocean and in its written expression. In the mariners' writing, we see the understanding of the voyage narratives as more than just reliable and honest descriptions but accounts of truthfulness; that the reflexive account could also reveal some sense of selfhood.

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[106] Edwards, p. 80.
[107] James Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1777), I, p. xxxvi.
[108] Edwards, p. 89.
[109] Lamb, p. 101.
[110] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, xxxvi.

Thus, Hawkesworth's reduction of the ocean account and the assimilation of the journals into their contemporary cultural understanding was not merely a problem of narrative for the mariners but a problem of the expression of their selfhood as maritime heroes.

However, the problem went beyond the mariners' egos to their identity as seafarers. The mariner's identity was a reflection of an idea of the oceanic space that Robert Foulke has described as a reversal of 'many physical and social realities' as the ship rigidly confines but imposes movement.[111] It was a potentially disorientating environment that for the mariner, as Foulke continues, combined with an unusual perspective of time: there is the linear time of the voyages progress and the cyclical time of the ocean's motion and the patterns of watches on board.[112] Both these processes entwined with the experience of and description of the ocean space, in the navigational positions and measurements of speed and distance. Navigation exemplified this relationship in the ritual of the noon sight of the sun and the reference between sky and ocean, a relationship that Hawkesworth did not translate. As seen in the previous chapter, Cook's second and third journals showed a similar disconnect from the ocean experience as the mariner condensed the ocean experience to appeal to the reader; a direction that reflected, and possibly contributed to, Cook's disintegration. However, in Hawkesworth's version, with the lessening of the ocean narrative, Cook also assumed the role of mariner hero. However, it was in Cook's self-fashioning where this became most critical. With the increasing literary quality of his writing to fulfil expectations in part formed by Hawkesworth, Cook had written himself away from this identity. This marginalised the proto-scientific expression of navigation and the meticulous counting of days at sea, the original expression of himself as mariner and his articulation of the ocean experience and the Pacific 'space'. To marginalise the sea was to marginalise the mariner's self.

Hawkesworth's *An Account* was a literary success, a second edition was produced later that year, third and fourth editions in 1785 and 1789 respectively. A New York edition and French and German translations were printed in 1774 and an Italian translation came later in 1794. Therefore, it seemed that, in some respects at least, Hawkesworth's changes had worked. The critical response was less convincing: the attack on Hawkesworth's denial of the part of Divine Providence in the recovery of the *Endeavour* after it was stranded on the Great Barrier Reef was fierce; so too was that on the descriptions of the sexual mores of the Tahitians.

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[111] Robert Foulke, *The Sea Voyage Narrative* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 8.
[112] Ibid.

However, the compromise between literary demands and nautical detail also spurred much of the literary criticism. As Horace Walpole wrote:

> I have almost waded through Dr Hawkesworth's three volumes of the voyages to the South Sea. The entertaining matter would not fill half a volume; and at best is but an account of the fishermen on the coasts of forty islands.[113]

Thus, the text remained compromised by its requirement to fulfil its disparate demands for some at least. Walpole's criticism showed the problem of expectation; the voyage narrative remained fixed in certain generic conventions, either of professional or sensational modes. However, while not wholly successful, Hawkesworth's mediation between these demands began a process of adjustment to bring the nautical account into the literary fold.

[113] Horace Walpole, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. by Wilmarth S. Lewis, 48 vols (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1937-1974), XXVIII (1955), 96.

Chapter 5. The Legacies of the Journals

This chapter looks at various adaptations and appropriations that followed the first publication of the journals to trace the development of the account of the ocean voyage experience and the mariner's identity found in that experience. The ocean voyage narrative went in two contradictory directions: one away from the sea towards the prioritisation of the terrestrial encounter and another towards the experience of being at sea. These were not always distinct, and could inform each other. The marginalisation of the ocean narrative in favour of the terrestrial encounters followed the trajectory established by Hawkesworth as he had attempted to resolve the professional account with his own literary demands. However, alongside this, the narrative engagement with the ocean and the voyage remained a persistent thread throughout these texts. This was the professional narrative found in the activity of the ship and the experience of the voyage and increasingly centred on the mariner as hero. I will start by giving an outline of the different forms of adaptation. I will then look in detail at examples of the adaptations to see the development of the ocean narrative. I suggest that these developments took part in a cultural shift in the understanding of the ocean and the Pacific specifically, as it became a more familiar place. This was not a simple or direct transition but fed into a literary treatment of the ocean and particularly the experience of the voyage as a site of narrative exposition.

5.1 A survey of the adaptations

This survey of adaptations that followed the journals is wide-ranging but does not intend to be an exhaustive bibliography of the literature.[1] Instead, it gives an overview of the corpus within which to understand how the engagement with the treatment of the ocean and voyage narrative developed. The texts produced were varied and approached the subject of the

[1] There is no comprehensive listing or study of the adaptations. Philip Edwards's *The Story of the Voyage* (1994) surveys the voyage literature of the period but does not look at the adaptations of these Pacific voyages. Similarly, Neil Rennie's *Far-Fetched Facts* (1995) examines the literature of travel in the Pacific up to the beginning of the twentieth century but does not engage with further adaptations of the journals. However both offer insight into the literature that followed, as does Margaret Cohen's *The Novel and the Sea* (2013) and an earlier study, Charles Napier Robinson's *The British Tar in Fact and Fiction* (1909). These two works look mostly at the fictional work that followed later.

voyages in multiple forms and ways. However, I concentrate on those texts that took their subjects directly from the original accounts. Thus, the survey primarily looks at the abridgements and adaptations of the published journals and work that re-told and repurposed the events of the voyages.

The texts have been identified principally using the British Library catalogue, COPAC (Jisc Library Hub), ECCO and WorldCat, by searching the names of the commanders, the voyages specifically and references to the 'Pacific or 'South Seas'. I began with texts produced immediately following the publication of Hawkesworth's *An Account* in 1773 and took my search up to the end of the 1830s. This end date was chosen for several reasons related to nautical history and the history of voyage narratives, as well as the history of printing. The period I have selected pre-dates the mass production of print, only from the 1840s was the hand press replaced by the steam press (with the introduction of the rotary press in 1843). Nautical history proceeded in parallel: the first Atlantic crossing by a steamship, the SS Great Western, was in 1838. The invention of the screw-driven propeller steamship in 1844 was a second significant event that led to the decline of sail in the latter part of the nineteenth century. J. M. W. Turner painted 'The Fighting Temeraire' in 1838, the elegiac image of a steam tug towing an old fighting sail-powered ship to be broken up. The sun setting behind them encapsulated the end of the days of sail; the silvery outline of the *Temeraire* contrasts with the dark outlines of the tug to suggest the ship is already a ghost. Finally, Charles Darwin published *Journal and Remarks 1832-1835* (later known as *The Voyage of the Beagle*) as the third volume of *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle* in 1839. This seems a natural marker with which to end a progress of narratives of scientific voyages recording the natural history of the Pacific that can be traced from Dampier's *New Voyage* and through the journals of Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook.

Previously we have seen how the narrative of the ocean voyage emerged in the professional demands of the daily remarks and the navigational record. This was then moderated in Hawkesworth's published adaptation of the original journals, while, as W. H. Pearson has suggested, the combining of the commanders' four narrative voices with Hawkesworth's own voice began to form an archetype for a mariner hero.[2] Cook's second and third journals in turn responded to Hawkesworth and the perceived demands of the general reader with a

[2] William H. Pearson, 'Hawkesworth's Alterations', *The Journal of Pacific History*, 7 (1972), 45-72 (p. 64).

continued qualification of the professional narrative and description of the ocean. Following these, the narratives taken from the journals continued in different formats. They can be divided into various categories: serialisations, or abbreviated epitomes; scientific texts; single or multi-volume adaptations for the general reader; geographical works; general voyage collections; fictional and verse treatments; children's literature, including educational works; and popular, cheap print versions, including chapbooks. I use these categories loosely to situate the various adaptations and some texts cross over several categories, these ranged from scientific texts and pedagogical literature to theatrical adaptations and verse.

Many of the reiterations took part in a widening of the readership. They were part of an increase in publication; of reprints, different forms of adaptations and abridgements and 'a rise in the rate of growth of provincial book publishing, provincial bookshops, and provincial circulating libraries' following the change in copyright law in 1774.[3] There was a process of what William St Clair has called 'tranching down by price', that is the journals were reproduced in different formats at lower costs, thus reaching different constituencies of readers.[4] This affected the narrative approach, as the texts sought to influence these new constituencies of reader but were in turn, influenced by a desire to appeal to those constituencies. I argue that this widening of readership affected the narrative of the ocean directly as, while the wonder of discovery remained important, there was also an emphasis on the *professional* qualities of the mariner, their 'workmanlike' navigational abilities and the treatment of their crew, and the experience of the voyage itself, all designed to suit the widening constituency of readers.

Thus, appropriation and adaptation meant the journals served different purposes, in response to their changing readership and to political or cultural agendas. This was in part, a continuation of the process seen in Hawkesworth's adaptation, with the authors of these new texts functioning as both readers and then authors. This was apparent in the way in which the language of colonisation appropriated the mariner hero formulated by Hawkesworth and most clearly identified in Cook. This was a departure from the original conception of Cook but was also an outcome of the turn away from the ocean that had confused his self-expression in his second and third journals. It reflected that the adaptations were not merely reproducing the records of discovery but, by engaging with a wider readership, offered narratives that

[3] William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 118.
[4] St Clair, pp. 82, 268.

reinforced British identity. Thus, these adaptations and the re-iterations no longer expressed the original mariner's relationship with the ocean so much as one mediated by the growing readership.

i. Scientific texts

One significant form of adaptation was the authorised publications that abstracted the specialist information from the original journals. They did not broaden readership but reinforced the scientific purpose of the voyages and asserted the authority of original narratives. Most prominent were the collections of astronomical data gathered on the voyages: *The Original Astronomical Observations made in the course of a Voyage towards the South Pole, and Round the World*, (London: the Board of Longitude, 1777) edited by William Wales; *The Original Astronomical Observations made in the course of a Voyage to the Northern Pacific Ocean, for the discovery of a north east or north west passage* (London: P. Elmsly; Mount & Page, 1782) edited by William Bayly; *Astronomical Observations, made in the Voyages undertaken ... for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and ... performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook* (London: P. Elmsly, 1788), again edited by William Wales. The publication of the data for the first voyages after that of Cook's second and third voyages confirmed that these first three voyages were only seen as part of a structured scientific project retrospectively. It changed the emphasis of the record of astronomical observation from being a product of navigation to being an accumulation of scientific observational data. It was part of a re-casting of those first voyages, which carried no astronomers or naturalists, and asserted a teleological narrative of British scientific 'discovery'.

There were also contributions to the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society made by members of the voyages. These began with a doubtful contribution: Charles Clerke's 'An Account of the very tall Men, seen near the Straits of Magellan' (*Philosophical Transactions* 57, London, 1768), which described the Patagonians met on Byron's voyage and perpetuated the myth of giants. Again, it pointed to the problem of the reliability of the voyage narrative and the pervasiveness or durability of fictional renderings of Cape Horn and the Pacific. Persistent notions of what the mariners might find in the Pacific continued up to the conclusion of Cook's second voyage with the insistence by some, particularly Alexander Dalrymple, for the existence of the Great Southern Continent. This persisted despite the fact that, as R. A. Skelton notes, Carteret and Bougainville had already sailed where its advocates

insisted there was should be land.[5] Cook's second voyage put paid to the idea of a continent and there seemed to be a growing impatience with the notion. William Wales argued that it had 'no foundation in nature' and was a notion 'so unphilosophical' he could not understand how so many had adopted it.[6] Nevertheless, as Andrew Kippis wrote in his biography of Cook, it was an idea that had captured the imagination and he had 'often dwelt upon it with rapture'.[7] The scientific texts, the fantasies of Clerke's paper and the data of astronomical observation, illustrated an uneven transition from the Pacific as a site of imaginative constructions to one that, once observed and catalogued, could be imagined about. Similarly, the romantic ideas of a noble savage showed that the cultural reception of the Pacific was not so much a reversal of fantasy but an adaptation.

The other contributions were less controversial than Clerke's had been. Previously, Cook had come to the Royal Society's attention with 'An Observation of an Eclipse of the Sun at the Island of New-found-land, August 5, 1766, by Mr. James Cook, with the Longitude of the Place of Observation deduced form it: Communicated by J. Bevis, M. D. F. R. S.'.[8] It was published two years before his appointment as commander of the *Endeavour* and, coincidentally, in the same edition of the *Philosophical Transactions* as Clerke's contribution. Thus, the edition neatly expressed the problem of transition from the fictional to the scientific observation. Cook's other contributions to the Royal Society were a table of tides observed in the South Sea on the first voyage (*Transactions,* vol. 62, 1772), another description of the tides there made on the second voyage (*Transactions,* vol. 66, 1776) and a report on 'The Method taken for preserving the Health of the Crew of His Majesty's Ship the *Resolution* during her late Voyage round the World' (*Transactions,* vol. 66, 1776). Contributions made by others on the voyages were a letter describing the observation of a solar eclipse by Wallis (*Transactions,* vol. 62, 1772) and two by Carteret: one on the inhabitants of Patagonia and a report of a 'camelopardalis' (giraffe) found at the Cape of Good Hope (both in *Transactions,* vol. 60, 1771). In addition, there was 'An Account of some poisonous fish in The South Seas' by William Anderson, surgeon on the *Resolution* (*Transactions,* vol. 66, 1776).

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[5] Raleigh A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps*, *Chapters in the Cartographic Record of Geographical Discovery* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 233.
[6] William Wales, *The Original Astronomical Observations made in the course of a Voyage towards the South Pole, and Round the World* (London: the Board of Longitude, 1777), pp. v-vi.
[7] Andrew Kippis, *Life of Captain Cook* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1788), p. 184
[8] *Philosophical Transactions*, 57 (London: The Royal Society, 1767), pp. 215-6.

These contributions and their publication by the Royal Society, like the publication of the astronomical observations, reinforced the scientific endeavour of the voyages. Notably, the Royal Society did not publish Wallis or Carteret's contributions until 1772, after Cook's first voyage. Thus, apart from Clerke's fabrication, the Royal Society did not appear to engage with the Pacific voyages until after their involvement with Cook's first voyage. Again, it suggests that those earlier voyages were subsequently fitted into the narrative of discovery that was most fully realised in Cook's first voyage. As seen previously, it was the narrative trajectory of Hawkesworth's *An Account* and not inappropriate; there was an obvious progression in purpose from Byron through Wallis to Cook. What is clearer in the later popular adaptations and voyage collections is that this becomes a narrative of British achievement, both scientific and maritime, and of British power.

As specialised material, the scientific texts did not appear intended for a wider audience. The astronomical works, which were mostly tables of observations, were published in quarto under the auspices of the Board of Longitude. The *Philosophical Transactions* had a limited initial print run of about 750 copies, almost half of which would be distributed to Fellows, the remaining copies would be sold for between seven shillings and £1, depending on the size of the volume.[9] Although not produced for a wider readership, they would serve a wider purpose. Their publication helped frame the voyages' authority, which transferred to the other narratives taken from the journals. This was important to a genre that had had a reputation as unreliable and inauthentic.[10] Gillian Beer highlights 'the synthesizing gaze' of the 'gentlemanly traveller' or the 'imprimatur [of] the King, the Admiralty, the Royal Society' as guarantors of authority.[11] Dane Kennedy has argued however, that 'Cook transformed exploration into an empirically verifiable enterprise' that led to travellers 'being held to a set of standards that demanded verification through quantitative measurements and other scientific methods'.[12] The astronomical works, under the auspices of the Board of Longitude, and the reports in the *Philosophical Transactions* with the 'imprimatur' of the Royal Society,

[9] Aileen Fyfe, Julie McDougall-Waters, Noah Moxham, *Philosophical Transactions: 350 years of publishing at the Royal Society, 1665-2015* (London: The Royal Society, 2015), pp. 11-12.
[10] Margarette Lincoln, 'Tales of Wonder, 1650-1750', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27 (2004), 219-232 (p. 3).
[11] Gillian Beer, 'Travelling the Other Way', in *Cultures of Natural History*, ed. by Nicholas Jardine, James A. Secord and Emma C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 322-37 (p. 324).
[12] Dane Kennedy, *The Last Blank Spaces: Exploring Africa and Australia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), pp. 26, 28.

combined these different authorities and a transition of the 'synthesizing gaze' to empirical observation. Thus, although their readership was not wide, the scientific texts emphasized that the voyages and their narratives were important and reliable.

ii. Serialisations

With the imprimatur of the authorised publications (Hawkesworth's *An Account* and afterwards Cook's second and third journals) and as the scientific texts played a continuing role in maintaining that authority, there was less need for the adaptations that followed to assert their reliability. Where Hawkesworth had had to try to balance the nautical narrative with the literary, this became less important. Thus in most of the adaptations there was a broadening of popular appeal reflected in the 'tranching down' of price that increased accessibility.

The magazine serialisations, called 'epitomes', that immediately followed the publication of Hawkesworth's *An Account* were examples of that narrative trajectory. There were three: *The Gentleman's Magazine* and *The Town and Country Magazine* serialised re-written and abridged adaptations; another, , exploited Hawkesworth for pornographic and satirical effect. *The Covent Garden Magazine* advertised itself as 'intended as the pantheon of literature, where the gay, the voluptuous, the witty, and jocose, will be introduced into the company of the choice votaries of Bacchus and Venus' and was concerned only with the erotic possibilities of the narratives, first in the descriptions of the Patagonians, and then episodes at Tahiti.[13] The magazine ironically recommended *An Account* 'for the improvement of the morals of the youth of both sexes, but particularly the female'.[14] It was not a serious attempt to engage with the journals but it emphasized one aspect of their appeal. Just as Wallis's men had almost stripped the ship of nails to pay the women of Tahiti for their company, readers sought the possibility of a parallel excitement in the accounts.[15] It was also an opportunity to make fun of 'the chaste but philosophical' Hawkesworth and of Joseph Banks, who featured prominently in all the episodes the magazine included.[16] Produced for no other reason than to

[13] *London Evening Post*, July 18-21, 1772.
[14] 'Amorous Extracts from Dr. Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages, *Covent-Garden Magazine; or, Amorous Repository*, July 1773. The only illustration used, 'A modest scene in Hawkesworth's Voyages', was of a group of Patagonians with a naked woman immodestly squatting at the centre, *Covent-Garden Magazine*, June 1773.
[15] London, The National Archives, MS *Dolphin*: *Log kept by Captain S Wallis, containing all his observations and remarks*, ADM 55.35, Saturday, 11 July 1767.
[16] *Covent-Garden Magazine*, June 1773.

exploit the voyages, serialisation in *The Covent Garden Magazine* illustrates that the narratives were still an opportunity for fantasy, however ribald, and suggests, in part, why the Pacific voyages were such a feature of the public imagination.

The influential and more respectable *Gentleman's Magazine* published its 'epitome', an abridgement or abstract, of Hawkesworth's *An Account* in monthly sections from July 1773 to March 1774. Each section was of varying lengths of between three and five thousand words printed in two columns over four or five pages. The account of Byron's voyage ran from July to August 1773, Wallis's from September to November 1773 and Cook's from December 1773 to March 1774. There was no epitome of Carteret's voyage. It showed a broadening of the readership beyond that for whom Hawkesworth's *An Account* and the scientific texts would normally have been available. In her analysis of the readership of the magazine, *British Masculinity in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1731 to 1815*, Gillian Williamson identifies the magazine's readership as '"gentlemen" of the middle class or "middling sort"' rather than 'traditional gentlemen of the nobility or gentry'.[17] Although there are no accurate figures, the circulation of the magazine was wide: initial monthly print runs in the relevant period were reported to be around 6,000 copies and often there were reprints.[18] Increasing accessibility the magazine was widely shared through coffee houses, libraries, reading aloud within the family home and simply amongst friends. Thus, the accounts of the voyages began to reach out to a wider and less exclusive readership.

The Town and Country Magazine also continued that trend. The magazine usually traded in 'thinly veiled "scandal" tales, parodic "oddities", and satirical narratives' alongside the 'copious selection of moral, sentimental, and factual compositions'.[19] It featured the monthly 'Tête-à-Tête', an early form of the gossip column, 'rakish biographical sketches featuring illicit amours and intrigues'.[20] This was a popular formula with monthly sales estimated at between 2,000 and 3,000 copies that then reached a wider readership through various forms of

[17] Gillian Williamson, *British Masculinity in the* Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731 to 1815* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 3.
[18] Williamson, p. 35.
[19] E. W. Pitcher, 'A Reconsideration of Magazine Serials in *The Town and Country Magazine*', *The Library*, 6-5, 1, (1983), 44–52 (p. 44).
[20] Eleanor Drake Mitchell, The Tête-À-Têtes In *The Town And Country Magazine* (1769 - 1793)**',** *Interpretations*, 9, 1 (1977), 12-21 (p. 12). Richard Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* (1777) begins with Lady Sneerwell and Snake plotting to cause 'a Tête-à-Tête in the Town and Country Magazine' (Act 1 Sc. 1).

sharing outlined above.[21] The 'epitomes' of Hawkesworth's *An Account* were in a similar format to *The Gentleman's Magazine* with the length of entries varying between three and four thousand words. Byron's voyage appeared from June to September 1773, Wallis's voyage from October to December 1773 and in the supplement to 1773, Carteret's in January and February 1774. The epitome of Cook's voyage followed, appearing each month from March 1774 until the end of 1775. Thus, including the entries in the supplements for 1774 and 1775, the reader followed Cook's voyage over twenty-four issues. The serialisations engaged the least with Carteret's voyage, signalling that, with the finding of Tahiti by Wallis, their interest had moved from the voyages themselves to the potential engagement with the societies found there and the events of Cook's first voyage.

Another later serialised adaptation focussed primarily on Cook's three voyages. 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* (1784) was produced in instalments and claimed it 'enables every person, whatever may be his Circumstances, to become familiarly acquainted with those extraordinary and important Voyages and Discoveries'.[22] Anderson was a pseudonym for the publisher Alexander Hogg who had successfully published number books and would later challenge *The Lady's Magazine* with his own *New Lady's Magazine*.[23] Anderson/Hogg originally offered the work at sixpence for each instalment and this appeared to be relatively affordable, although, over the eighty volumes to complete the narrative, it would amount to two pounds, unbound. Nevertheless, it was still less expensive than the original published journals; the three volumes of Hawkesworth's *An Account* originally cost three guineas.[24] It was also an attractive volume with numerous illustrations of some quality. A decorative frontispiece contained 'A striking likeness of Capt. James Cook F.R.S.' and a map showing the routes of Cook's three voyages and a series of views of the coast of Terra del Fuego prefaced the text.

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[21] *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, ed. by Hannah Barker, Elaine Chalus (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997), p. 209.
[22] George William Anderson, *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: Alex Hogg, 1784), p. ii.
[23] Daniel Allington, David A. Brewer, Stephen Colclough, Sian Echard, *The Book in Britain: A Historical Introduction* (Chichester: Wiley & Sons, 2019), p. 242.
[24] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 85.

The collection included the narratives of Byron, Wallis and Carteret's voyages but only as supporting material.

Thus, the serialisations showed several impulses. They were to widen readership, emphasizing their accessibility and reaching out to aspirational readers who wanted to improve themselves. They emphasized the possibilities of trade, the navigational and seamanship of the commanders and their concern for their crews, all possibly an outcome of the aspirational and professional outlook of the reader Gillian Williamson has identified. They focussed the narratives on Cook and used his navigational achievements to define his heroism. As Anderson/ Hogg wrote in his introduction:

> This great Man possessed, in an eminent Degree, all the Qualifications requisite for his Profession and great Undertakings. He was cool and deliberate in judging; sagacious in determining; active in executing; steady and persevering in Enterprises; vigilant, with unremitting Caution; unsubdued by Labour, Difficulties and Disappointments [25]

It continued, citing his 'His knowledge, his Experience, his Sagicity [*Sic*]' and his 'Attention to the Welfare of his Ship's Company'.

iii. Single and multi-volume adaptations

The other adaptations of Hawkesworth's *An Account* and later of Cook's second and third journals were either re-printings of the original published journals, more cheaply produced, or abridgments of them, again in cheaper formats. They were collected in single or multiple volumes and sometimes included other voyages. Increasingly, they showed a similar focus on Cook's voyages and on Cook as a heroic figure as the serialisations. Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages* would be re-published in a single volume in 1790 published by A. Millar, W. Law, and R. Cater and again as part of William Henry Portlock's *A New, Complete, and Universal Collection of… Voyages and Travels to all the various parts of the world* published by Hogg in 1794.

There were numerous abridgments of Cook's voyages. The publisher and bookseller George Kearsley produced his adaptations in 1784: First *A Compendious History of Captain Cook's First and Second Voyages,* then *An Abridgement of Captain Cook's Last Voyage*. The abridgement of the first and second voyages reached its seventh edition by 1798. *A*

[25] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. iii.

Compendious History was not an expensive production, though it was indexed and contained some illustrations taken from the original publications, excluding charts mapping the routes of the voyages. As Anderson had, Kearsley advertised his texts' affordability, commenting that the original authorised publication's high price 'meant that the majority of the Public are excluded from the pleasure of reading it'.[26] These appeals on price and the suggestion that the publishers were in a sense democratising knowledge, giving access to those previously excluded, was a suggestion of radical intent. It reaffirmed too that they had found a suitable hero in Cook, with his own hard-won knowledge and success.

There were other adaptations produced over the period solely devoted to Cook's voyages. John Fielding published two different abridgements of Cook's third voyage in 1785, one in a single volume and the other a more opulent affair in four volumes with illustrations and a dedication to 'Lord Viscount Howe and the other Lords Commisioners'.[27] *Cook's Voyages Round the World for Making Discoveries Towards the North and South Poles* was printed in Manchester by S. Russell in 1809 and then again as *Voyages Round the World for Making Discoveries Towards the North and South Poles* in 1811. In 1821 Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown published *The Three Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World* in seven volumes. It was a re-printing of Hawkesworth's version of Cook's first voyage including his short introduction explaining the use of Banks's journal. In addition, there was a short life of Cook preceding the introduction. Thereafter it was a re-print of the Cook's published journals of the second and third voyages. *The Voyages of Captain James Cook round the world; comprehending a history of the South Sea Islands* published by Jaques and Wright in 1825 in two volumes was unusual in that it included as its frontispiece a portrait of Sir Joseph Banks rather than Cook. However the text itself returned to the formula of praising Cook for his 'humble origins' and abilities as 'one of the ablest circumnavigators this or any

[26] *An Abridgment of Captain Cook's Last Voyage, Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere* (London: C. & G. Kearsley, 1784), p. iv.
[27] *Captain Cook's third and last voyage, to the Pacific Ocean, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780. Faithfully abridged from the quarto edition published by order of His Majesty.* (London: John Fielding & John Stockdale, 1785); *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean: Undertaken, by the command of His Majesty, for making discoveries in the northern hemisphere: Performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780 ... being a copious, comprehensive and satisfactory abridgement* (London: John Fielding, 1785).

other country ever produced' and whose attention to the health of his ship's company, whereby they were preserved from that fatal malady the scurvy'.[28]

The British Navigator, or a collection of voyages made in different parts of the world (1799) was unusual, as it did not include an account of Cook's voyages. Instead, it was a simplified and dramatized account of Byron, Wallis and Carteret's voyages, possibly for reasons of copyright. Disregarding chronology, it began with an unconnected episode, the 'miraculous escape' of the crew of the Centaur in 1782, before returning to begin the narrative of Byron's voyage. Thus, it established a theme of the danger of the marine adventure. The navigational account was ignored: of Wallis's passage through the Strait of Magellan it said, 'We shall pass over the various bearings, distances, and soundings, made by Capt. Wallis while navigating this strait, as the recital of such particulars could afford no amusement to the reader'.[29] Nevertheless, the text detailed the deteriorating conditions of the ships and their crews, numbering, for instance, the deaths on board the *Swallow*: 'They had lost thirteen of their crew by the 12th of this month, and the death of thirty others was hourly dreaded'.[30] Thus it continued an account of the ocean voyage in the narrative of the experience on board the ships but excluded the navigational account that in many of the adaptations was most closely associated with Cook. It pointed too, that there remained a market for publications that emphasized sensation. Again, these showed the popular appeal of the voyage narratives as a mixture of adaptations and reprints, and made the narratives accessible to a widening audience. They also showed disparate approaches to the narrative of oceanic experience emphasizing that there was no single way of understanding it as a literary, rather than scientific, text. However, as *The British Navigator* showed, the voyage experience was an essential part of their narrative.

iv. Geographical literature and general voyage collections

These showed a different emphasis from the previous adaptations and most were concerned with the terrestrial discoveries and the people the mariners encountered. The *New Discoveries Concerning the World, and its Inhabitants*, produced in two volumes by the publisher Joseph Johnson in 1774, was an abridgement of Hawkesworth's *An Account* but also included

[28] *The Voyages of Captain James Cook round the world; comprehending a history of the South Sea Islands*, 2 vols (London: Jaques and Wright, 1825), I, 2.
[29] *The British Navigator, or a Collection of Voyages Made in Different Parts of the World* (London: William Lane, 1799), pp. 67, 126.
[30] Ibid.

accounts of Bougainville's voyage and the voyage to the Arctic in 1773 by Commodore Phipps. It illustrated how the literature was expanding to incorporate other narratives beyond the Pacific voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook.

As its title suggested, *New Discoveries Concerning the World* also showed the continuing tension between the narrative of the ocean voyage and that of the land. Its preface emphasized the part of science and navigation:

> In geography they have established certain knowledge instead of conjectural delusion: they have supplied the astronomer with valuable discoveries concerning the heavenly bodies: navigation is thereby furnished with many important practical improvements: the naturalist sees, as it were, a new world opening to his view: Europe is hereby made acquainted with about three millions of the human species, which were before scarcely known to have existence; and the curious enquirer after the operations of the human mind in a state of uncivilized society, is supplied with abundant matter on which to reason and reflect.[31]

However, the text contained very little of the navigational or astronomical account but focussed instead on the descriptions of the places the mariners found. It thus directed itself to a description of 'a state of uncivilized society' and continued the objectification of the indigenous people. It began by describing the immensity of the ocean, 'This sea, therefore, may be said to embrace an entire hemisphere of the globe of the world' but then restricted itself to the description of the Pacific islands.[32] However, there was a return to the engagement with the voyage experience in the description of the southern latitudes and 'ice islands' of Cook's second voyage.

Many of the adaptations framed themselves as geographical works. Daniel Fenning's *A New System of Geography: or, a General Description of the World*, published in London by J. Johnson and G. and T. Wilkie in 1785-86, included accounts of the voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook and a description of the South-Sea islands. John Trusler, the priest and publisher, produced *A Descriptive Account of the Islands lately discovered in the South Seas* (1778). As its title suggests, it was more emphatically concerned with the terrestrial encounter. Its format was simpler too: with a brief introduction that outlined the voyages to

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[31] *New Discoveries Concerning the World, and its Inhabitants*, 2 vols (London, J. Johnson, 1778) I, iv.
[32] *New Discoveries Concerning the World*, I, 2.

the Pacific beginning with Magellan, Trussler then described the islands and inhabitants, customs and production, beginning with Tahiti. It showed one characteristic impulse, to dispense with the voyage narrative completely and focus instead on the description of the people and societies encountered by the mariners. Another Anglican priest turned publisher, Thomas Bankes, produced *A New, Royal authentic and complete System of Universal Geography, antient and modern ... Containing every important ... discovery throughout the whole of Captain Cook's voyages round the world. Together with those of ... Byron, Mulgrave* (1788). It followed a similar line to Trusler's work, explaining that 'The considerable number of new discoveries in Geography which have been made in the course of the last twenty years, by various enterprising navigators, has opened to us such a NEW WORLD, that it is now become a science more generally studied than any other subject whatever'.[33] However, alongside its scientific purpose, Bankes had another: to address the interest in the possible use of New Holland as a penal colony.[34]

Others suggested the voyages as part of a wider historical project. Cook's voyages were included in the first American edition of *The World Displayed, or, a Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1796). Alexander Hogg re-issued George William Anderson's edition again, now revised by W. H. Portlock and incorporated into *A New, Complete, and Universal Collection of ... Voyages and Travels to all the Various Parts of the World* (1794). This suggested, not only the endless commercial pressure to re-cycle and re-package material, but that the framing of the Pacific voyages by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook within a larger historical perspective was current. Perhaps the most ambitious of these were Robert Kerr's *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels, Arranged in Systematic Order* published between 1811 and 1824 in eighteen volumes and William Mavor's *Historical Account of the Most Celebrated Voyages, Travels, and Discoveries, from the Time of Columbus to the Present Period* in twenty-five volumes and published between 1799 and 1802. However, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels: from The Discovery of America to the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century* published in 1809 by Richard Phillips ran to twenty-eight volumes and returned to the original published versions of the journals by Hawkesworth and Cook. These were expensive and prestigious productions meant for an

[33] Thomas Bankes, *A New, Royal Authentic and Complete System of Universal Geography, antient and modern ... Containing every important ... discovery throughout the whole of Captain Cook's voyages round the world. Together with those of ... Byron, Mulgrave* (London: J. Cooke, 1788), p. ii.
[34] Bankes, *A New, Royal Authentic and Complete System*, p. 1.

exclusive readership and countered the trend of other adaptations to reach a wider market. More manageable was *All the Voyages Round the World, from the First by Magellan in 1520, to that of Krusenstern in 1807* by Captain Samuel Prior, published by the entrepreneurial Sir Richard Phillips in 1820. It was in a single volume, bound in red and cost ten shillings and sixpence.

These volumes looked to the terrestrial discoveries and, mostly uninterested in the oceanic experience, ignored the narrative of the mariner or the expression of their identity. Instead, they showed how the use of Pacific narratives to assert British ascendency in the Pacific and the exploitation of the discoveries there. It is notable that they were often markers of exclusivity, with expensive multi-volume editions suggesting not only the owners' intellectual interests but also, their purchasing power.

v. Educational literature and stories for children

Some of the general voyage collections were didactic: John Adams's *Modern Voyages, ... for the Amusement and Instruction of Youth of Both Sexes*, published in two volumes in 1790. Francis Drake's *Entertaining and Instructive Selections of Voyages and Travels, from the works of the most distinguished navigators and travellers ... with an account of the missionaries, etc.* (1822) described itself as 'adapted to every age, sex, and condition in life' and that it would 'claim a place on the parlour-table, in the school-room, and in the library'.[35] These volumes had less space for the voyage narrative itself. As *The Young Man's Book of Knowledge* (1786) suggested, the interest was in the terrestrial discoveries, as it was in those for adults, and again centred on Cook. There was the sense of the unfolding of discovery as it reported on only recent voyages:

> During the last 20 Years several Voyages have been performed round the World, particularly by the celebrated Captain *Cook*, in the Course of which some new Islands have been discovered in the *Great South Sea*, or *Pacific Ocean*, and others more perfectly explored; though little more than the Coasts of any of them, except *Otaheite*, is yet known.[36]

[35] Francis Drake, *Entertaining and Instructive Selections of Voyages and Travels, from the works of the most distinguished navigators and travellers* (London; Birmingham: J. Tallis, 1822), p. iii.
[36] D. Fenning, *The Young Man's Book of Knowledge* (London: S. Crowder, 1786), p. 177.

Thomas Wright's *A Miscellany for Young Persons* (1785), 'printed chiefly for the use of the author's seminary', did not give any account of the voyages on the discovery of Society Islands attached a short elegy in memory of Cook:

> To thee, O Cooke, familiar grew the task
> Of circling all our globe: Ocean rever'd
> Thy hardy enterprize; reveal'd to thee
> New awful secrets of his mighty world.
> Philosophy
> Records with pride thy life-preserving arts:
> And oft by the ill-fated strand, where thou,
> O'erpower'd by barbarous multitudes, art fallen,
> The passing ship shall veil her gallant pomp,
> In homage to thy memory.[37]

It summarized what were seen as Cook's great achievements: the accomplishment of the voyages, what they revealed of the world to the European, his preservation of his crew and the charting of different coastlines.

At the end of the period this survey covers, Peter Parley's (Samuel Griswold Goodrich) *Tales about the Sea, and the Islands in the Pacific Ocean* (1837) found a way to incorporate the ocean description within a geographical text. It was a re-packaging and slightly amended edition of two Peter Parley books originally published separately in 1831, *Tales about the Sea* and *Tales about the Islands in the Pacific Ocean*. There were few references to the voyages: Wallis and Carteret were not included; Byron was referred to in connection with the Falkland Islands and to add colour, a confrontation with a sea lion was described with an accompanying illustration.[38] Cook fared better: his discovery of the Society Islands led to an account of his death; his estimate of the population of Otaheite; his naming of the Friendly Islands; the number of visits to New Zealand.[39] None of these included anything of the voyage experience or the descriptions of the islands given in the original journals. The two

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[37] Thomas Wright, *A Miscellany for Young Persons* (South-Town, near Great Yarmouth: Thomas Wright, [1785(?)]), p. 138.
[38] Peter Parley [Samuel Griswold Goodrich], *Tales about the Sea, and the Islands in the Pacific Ocean* (London: Thomas Tegg & Son, 1837), pp. 124-5.
[39] Parley, *Tales about the Sea*, pp. 145-152, 182, 184, 245.

episodes related were descriptions of confrontation, part of narrative of adventure. Its description of the Pacific was of island idylls:

> The Pacific Ocean is the largest on the globe, and there are a multitude of islands scattered throughout its surface. Many of these are exceedingly beautiful, and they are all interesting. Some of them enjoy a climate of perpetual summer, always refreshed by soft sea breezes.[40]

Here the ocean was merely a space for scattered islands. However, in spite of this lack of engagement with the ocean accounts found in the voyage narratives, the text was notable for an engagement with the ocean more generally. In the first chapter, it outlined the geography of the different oceans and seas, and gave the evolving nomenclature of the Pacific.[41] In the second chapter, there was an unusual description of the oceans themselves: their salinity, motion and tides, and appearance. The text suggested a tangible picture of the oceans as it described the changing light and colour. Its luminescence conjured a vibrant living space: 'In stormy weather, the brilliancy of the water is often increased; and, during a gale of wind, I have frequently seen the spray of the sea dash over the ship, in a dark night, seeming like a stream of liquid fire'.[42] The chapter finished by quoting Sir Francis Bond Head: 'The ideas which rush into the mind, on contemplating, by night, out of sight of land, the sea, are as dark, as mysterious, as unfathomable, and as indescribable as the vast ocean itself.'[43] Thus, Parley introduced his young readers to an idea of the ocean as a place of contemplation and wonder.

Real Stories: Taken from the Narratives of Various Travellers (1827) gave an account of Cook's visit 'to the South-sea Islands' and a description of the inhabitants. Written as a dialogue between a mother and her two young children, it enjoined a colonising narrative and asserted European moral and Christian values. Cook was portrayed as an enlightened and benevolent visitor and, while the Tahitians might have appeared to display behaviour 'that

[40] Parley, *Tales about the Sea*, p. 119.
[41] Parley, *Tales about the Sea*, p. 5.
[42] Parley, *Tales about the Sea*, p. 21.
[43] Parley, *Tales about the Sea*, pp. 22-3. The quotation was taken from Sir Francis Bond Head, *Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau, by an Old Man* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1834), p. 3.

could be taken for their civilization', they were 'in a state of extreme mental ignorance, and rude and uncultivated as the mountains and valleys around them'.[44]

Notably when the eponymous hero of Isabella Jane Towers's *The Wanderings of Tom Starboard* (1830) ran away to sea he 'stuffed [his] pockets with two odd volumes, one of Captain Cook's, and the other of Commodore Byron's voyages' and had 'some vague notion of keeping a log-book'.[45] These would have been either volumes of Hawkesworth's *An Account* or their adaptations and possibly Byron's account of the *Wager* shipwreck. It is the only moment in the story that refers to the journals and, although he was running away to be an ordinary seaman, signalled his place as an educated mariner, uniting both science and adventure in the mariner's vocation. The novel works hard to assert Starboard's status, an ordinary seaman he is also the son of a gentleman. Thus, the story mediated between the idea of the mariner as outside society and conversely, acceptable to society.

vi. Other fictional treatments, theatre and verse

Otherwise, the novel apparently did not engage with the Pacific voyages. In his comprehensive survey of naval fiction, Charles Napier Robinson noted the absence of any novels that included voyage narratives in the latter part of the eighteenth century, noting that it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that naval fiction flourished and then it primarily took its subjects from the Napoleonic wars.[46] The absence is surprising, especially as there was some engagement in children's literature, and Margaret Cohen has asked whether it was a product of the saturation of the market by nonfiction voyage accounts, notably the journals of Pacific discovery.[47] It might also suggest that there was still no understanding of how the voyage and oceanic experience might become part of a fictional narrative. However, there was another fictional engagement with the Pacific voyages and their narratives: the theatrical and verse responses to the voyages that quickly followed the journals' original publications. As with the other popular abridgements, verse and theatre tended to look to the exotic land encounters and the events of Cook's death. However, the verse written following

[44] *Real Stories: Taken from the Narratives of Various Travellers* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1827), p. 22.
[45] Isabella Jane Towers, *The Wanderings of Tom Starboard* (London: John Harris, 1830), p. 16.
[46] Charles Napier Robinson, *The British Tar in Fact and Fiction: the Poetry, Pathos, and Humour of the Sailor's Life* (London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1909), p. 292.
[47] Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 9.

Cook's death showed some engagement with the idea of the mariner hero and with it, the ocean narrative.

The initial fictional response to the voyages was ironic: verse that satirised the voyagers and dwelt on the erotic possibilities found at Tahiti. They were mischievous and, possibly prompted by Hawkesworth's sententiousness, ready to prick the vanity of the voyagers. The poems *An Epistle from Mr. Banks ... to Oberea, Queen of Otaheite* (1773), *An Epistle from Oberea, Queen of Otaheite, to Joseph Banks* (1774), and *An Epistle (Moral and Philosophical) from an Officer* (1774), probably by John Courtenay, developed a relationship between Banks and Oberea already implied in Hawkesworth's *An Account*. *An Historic Epistle, from Omiah* (1775) used eroticism to offer a more serious critique of a perceived frivolity in British culture, engaging with the arguments of the noble savage. *Omiah's Farewell* (1776) took the opposite position: Omiah was of 'dull parts' and sad that he must return home and leave the wonders of Britain. Thus, there was no interest in the voyage account. These fictional treatments affirmed the dilemma Hawkesworth had faced but with no need to compromise, chose to exaggerate the sensational human interaction ashore.[48]

Theatrical treatments, such as *The New Pantomime called Omai, or, A Trip Round the World* (1785), depended on spectacle and romance and took part in the heroizing of Cook. Inspired by the visit of Omai (Mai) to Britain between 1774-1776, it contrived a love story between Omai, now a Tahitian prince, and Londinia, the daughter of Britannia. Pursued by their enemies they escape to England and then some of the places visited by Cook: Tahiti, Kamchatka, an 'ice island', Tonga and Hawaii, all presented as magnificently designed stage sets by the painter Philip de Loutherbourg. The pantomime finished in homage to Cook: a great procession of representatives of all the places visited by Cook and the final words,

> He *came*, and he *saw*, – not to *conquer*, but *save*;
> The Caesar of Britain was he;
> Who scorn'd the ambition of making a slave
> While Britons themselves are so free.
> Now the Genius of Britain forbids us to grieve;

[48] It is notable that the irony continued following Cook's death, though it was a marginal commentary. This ran counter to the general heroization of Cook that we will see in the verse treatments of his death. See Ruth Scobie, 'The Many Deaths of Captain Cook: A Study in Metropolitan Mass Culture, 1780-1810' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2013), p. 68.

Since Cook, ever honor'd, immortal shall live[49]

The Death of Captain Cook; a Grand Serious-Pantomimic-Ballet (1789) similarly invented a love story, this time between two Hawaiian Islanders that would lead to Cook's death. It was a simpler production than *A Trip Round the World*, set only on Hawaii. Again, Cook was cast as beneficent and just and both productions showed idealised fantasies of the Pacific islands and Cook's actions there. They were celebrations of a man who was becoming a myth and a synecdoche of British values and expansion rather than as a remarkable mariner and navigator.

There were numerous elegies written following Cook's death. This was a popular format but it was here that the construction of Cook as heroic mariner appeared most fully realised or, was expressed most directly. Amongst others, Anna Seward published *Elegy on Captain Cook* in 1780, as did William Fitzgerald with *An Ode to the Memory of the Late Captain James Cook*, and Alexander Schomburg, *An Ode to the Memory of Captain James Cook by a Sea Officer*. In Schomburg's handling, Cook's death was an encounter between a mythic 'other' and enlightened European ideals as 'Foremost of the Gorgon Band, / A Monster strode with hideous Pace' wielding 'the ponderous Mace' against 'The Star of Science'.[50] Cook was transcendent though, and, in a scene that recalled Philip de Loutherbourg's 'The Apotheosis of Captain Cook', 'soars on high / And bears the impress of the Sky'.[51] Loutherbourg and Schomburg returned Cook to the heavens the navigator had observed so assiduously. Fitzgerald also praised the voyages led 'by love of science', but drowned it in professions of grief, lamenting the 'glorious deeds to dark oblivion doom'd'.[52] Both poems are overwrought and Cook the mariner and navigator gets lost. Both returned to an idea of the ocean as the 'void' that Cook had begun to chart away. Schomburg described the oceans as the 'Flood', for Fitzgerald it was a 'vast before untempted wild'.[53] Fitzgerald then made the connection with

[49] John O'Keefe, *A Short Account of the New Pantomime called Omai, or, A Trip Round the World* (London: T. Cadell, 1785), p. 24.
[50] Alexander Schomburg, *An Ode to the Memory of Captain James Cook by a Sea Officer* (Dublin: n. pub., 1780), p. 10.
[51] Schomburg, p. 22.
[52] William Fitzgerald, *An Ode to the Memory of the Late Captain James Cook* (London: G. Robinson, J. Sewell, J Faulder, 1780), p. 7.
[53] Schomburg, p. 7; Fitzgerald, p. 9.

the ocean as 'other' explicit, as it left the mariners 'Lost in doubt, in darkness lost'.[54] The Pacific once more became a primordial place of fantasy intruded on by the enlightened Cook.

As Dorinda Outram has argued, the earlier path of the pilgrim had become the path of the scientist and there were resonances between religious vocation and scientific vocation.[55] In the concluding verse of Anna Seward's *An Elegy*, Cook is borne to 'the Immortal Plains' by the same 'Attendant Power' that guided his voyages. As with Fitzgerald and Schomburg's attempts, Seward's elegy is replete with classical references, asserting Cook's place amongst a pantheon of heroes.[56] Cook transcends his role as mariner and explorer to become a hero guided by the goddess 'Humanity' to 'Unite the savage hearts, and hostile hands' and 'Strew her soft comforts o'er the barren land'.[57] Again, the Pacific Islands and their inhabitants become a hostile 'other' in contrast to the benign hero. Seward made Cook's vocation religious and it seems he could only properly be realised in his death. Harriet Guest writes that his achievements were 'difficult to imagine positively' as they mostly proved an absence, of the Great Southern Continent or the Northwest Passage.[58] Thus, Cook was idealised in his character rather than his achievements. It was an appeal to sentimentality, as Ruth Scobie notes, and one that appealed to readers who were uninterested in the voyages or their discoveries.[59]

Nevertheless, Seward also included the experience of the voyage and created the idea of the heroic mariner partly in its ordeal. Seward elaborated the 'glittering mountains' of ice islands of the second voyage and 'the dangerous shoals' and hazards of the coral reefs surrounding New Holland and the Pacific islands.[60] Footnotes referenced the original published accounts, so that a mythologizing of the ocean voyage was founded in the mariner's experience: 'Furling the iron sails with numbed hands' led into a description of the horizon of ice surrounding the ships each with footnotes referring to the original.[61] Later the difficulties of

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[54] Ibid.
[55] Dorinda Outram, 'Autobiography, science and the French Revolution', in *Telling Lives in Science: essays on scientific biography*, ed. by Michael Shortland and Richard Yeo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 85-102 (pp. 88; 92-3).
[56] Anna Seward, *Elegy on Captain Cook* (London: J. Dodsley, 1780), p. 3.
[57] Seward, p. 5.
[58] Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation: Captain Cook, William Hodges and the Return to the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 9.
[59] Scobie, p. 111-112.
[60] Seward, pp. 7, 10.
[61] Seward, p. 7.

navigating uncharted coast lines as 'sleepless Patience heaves the sounding-line' referenced the observation taken from the second journal, 'We had now passed several months with a man constantly in the chains heaving the lead'.[62] Seward recalled the desultory notes of taking soundings in Cook's journal that had echoed with the sense of dislocation and listlessness.

Seward's elegy led to another: Helen Maria Williams's 'The Morai, An Ode', first published as an appendix to Andrew Kippis's *The Life of Captain James Cook* (1788). Partly inspired by Seward's poem and in part a response to it, here the Pacific became a place for imaginative engagement most completely. Ruth Scobie pinpoints how in it Cook has become 'not a hero of rationality, commerce or empire so much as a harlequin figure who choreographs dreamlike transitions between scenes and sensations'.[63] Thus Williams's poem would appear to similarly render the tableau of *Omai, or, A Trip Round the World*, except that it's images appear in a tumult of short lines of irregular patterns of rhyme. It begins as a fevered dream conjured out of the Southern Ocean: 'The fury of the Polar wave, / That fiercely mounts the frozen rock'.[64] The 'unusual snow-white brightness' Cook described as heralding the ice fields became 'Deep and lengthened darkness'.[65] Williams described the conflict at the coast: ocean and land clash, mocked by the 'harsh sea-bird'.[66] She creates a cacophony of nature, a sublime scene that reveals the 'half-seen horror' of the ocean.[67] The mariner's navigation or science have no part in this narrative; it is a sensual imagining of place far from the statistical description, the measurements and coordinates, of Cook's description. Instead, the ocean returns to functioning as metaphor and the ocean storm becomes an unsettled mind.

vii. Cheap print

Chapbooks engaged considerably with the maritime, and numerous printings of songs and stories survive (although probably far fewer than were printed).[68] First, I give an overview of

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[62] Seward, p. 11.
[63] Scobie, p. 262.
[64] Helen Maria Williams, *Poems*, 2 vols (London: T. Cadell, 1791), I, 3.
[65] James Cook, *A Voyage to the South Pole and Round the World*, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1777), I, 267; Williams, I, 4.
[66] Williams, I, 3.
[67] Williams, I, 4.
[68] The 'chapbook' is difficult to define. See Barry McKay, *An Introduction to Chapbooks* (Oldham: Incline Press, 2003); Jan Fergus, *Provincial Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Victor Neuburg, *Chapbooks: A Guide to Reference Material on English, Scottish and American Chapbook Literature of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, (London: Woburn Press, 1972). Here I use the term to describe short and simply produced volumes, often of text abridged from longer sources. For the latter

their engagement with the maritime before looking at the treatment of the Pacific voyages. An edition of *A Garland of New Songs* (figure 7), a series of songbooks printed in Newcastle upon Tyne by James Marshall, was dedicated to songs of the mariner's life: 'The Bay of Biscay'; 'All's Well'; 'Poor Joe the Marine'; 'The Mid Watch'; 'The Sea Boy'; 'The Sailor's Adieu'. This reflected Newcastle's maritime heritage but also showed there was a popular demand for songs that described the experience of a life at sea. They featured separation and the peril of war: 'The Bay of Biscay' finished with a dismal wreck, although the crew were saved; Joe the Marine died in battle and so too his wife, 'sweet Polly of Portsea', on hearing the news. 'The Mid Watch' begins in the gloom of a night watch when 'chilling mists hang o'er the darken'd main, / Then sailors think of their far distant home', but like the other songs in the collection, homesickness is overtaken by duty and 'serving at your gun'.[69] The naval heroics in the wars with France animated these songs, just as novels had been. There were older narratives as well; adaptations of *Robinson Crusoe* or its derivative, *The Adventures of Philip Quarll*, were popular.[70] The chapbook did not limit itself to fiction and *The Four Russian Sailors*, the true account of the sailors' stranding at Spitsbergen, was popular. Notably, in one surviving edition, it positioned itself carefully not only as true but reliable, referencing Joseph Banks and the Royal Society. Its straightforward account of the sailors' survival reflected aspects of *Crusoe*; detailing their ingenuity and the methods they employed to survive.

Against this background, the Pacific voyages also became a subject for cheap print. The appeal of the shipwreck meant Byron's account of the *Wager* voyage survived; it reappeared as late as possibly 1844 in *The Dangers of the Deep* (figure 8).[71] However, there is less evidence of the Pacific voyages by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook in any surviving

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part of the eighteenth century, the period in question in this study, the 'more important criterion', Matthew Grenby writes, would be 'the plebeian tone of the text and images'. Matthew Grenby, 'Chapbooks, Children, and Children's Literature', *The Library*, 8, 3 (2007), 277–303 (p. 278).

[69] *A Garland of New Songs: The Bay of Biscay, O, All's Well, Poor Joe the Marine, The Mid Watch, The Sea-Boy, The Sailor's Adieu* (Newcastle upon Tyne: James Marshall, [1800–1831 (?)]).

[70] Originally published as *The Hermit* (1727) by 'Edward Dorrington', attr. Peter Longueville, The Adventures of Philip Quarll told the story of Quarll's 50 years stranded alone on a South Sea island ['Philip Quarll, The Adventures of', in *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, ed. by Dinah Birch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[71] John Byron, 'Narrative of the Loss of the *Wager* Man-of-War', *The Dangers of the Deep*, *Interesting Narratives of Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea* (London: Orlando Hodgson, [1836-1844(?)]).

chapbooks. Thomas Tegg published *The Struggles and escapes of Captain Wallis and his crew, and their various conflicts with the natives of Otaheite* (ca. 1810) and, like many of his publications, priced only a sixpence. As the title suggested, its subject was Tahiti and not the voyage itself, emphasizing the problems, 'conflicts', of the encounter. Of course, scientific observation would come later with Banks on Cook's first voyage but Tegg also repeated the myth of the Patagonian giants in the brief summary of the voyage to the Pacific. Thus, chapbooks appeared more interested in the sensational aspects of the voyage, shipwreck particularly.

However, the chapbook publisher Ann Lemoine did produce an adaptation of Cook's Pacific journals, but it was unusual. *The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World. With an Account of His Unfortunate Death at Owhylee, One of the Sandwich Islands* (1807) appears at first to be a loose adaptation of Andrew Kippis's *A Narrative of the Voyages round the World, performed by Captain James Cook. With an account of his life, during the previous and intervening periods* (1788) and afterwards became a redaction of the first published editions of his three voyages. It was both longer than most other chapbooks, running to three hundred and twenty-two pages, and well illustrated with specially commissioned engravings. Other voyages Lemoine published were between forty and sixty pages with the exception of an edition of *The Voyage of Commodore Anson Round the World* (1806), which ran to 108 pages.[72] *The Voyage of Commodore Anson* had one full-page illustration in the body of the text and an illustration as an end-piece.[73] *The Voyages of Captain James Cook* had two full-page engravings before the title page and then four more dispersed through the body of the text (facing pages 58, 138, 189 and 265).[74] Both volumes became part of another unusual aspect of Anne Lemoine's publishing process. Unlike other chapbook publishers, remaining stock of various books would be compiled into themed collections that might appeal beyond the usual readership for the chapbook.[75] Both the Cook and Anson volumes were part of *The Pocket Navigator*, a four-volume collection of voyages beginning with Columbus. The third volume included the voyage of Anson, Byron's *Wager* voyage and the voyage of Wallis with

[72] See Roy Bearden-White, *How the Wind Sits: the History of Henry and Ann Lemoine, Chapbook Writers and Publishers of the Late Eighteenth Century* (Texas: Laughing Dog Press, 2017), pp. 124-125.
[73] *The Voyage of Commodore Anson Round the World* (London: A. Lemoine, 1806), p. 41.
[74] *The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World. With an Account of His Unfortunate Death at Owhylee, One of the Sandwich Islands* (London: A. Lemoine, 1807), pp. 58, 138, 189, 265.
[75] Bearden-White, p. 51.

Carteret's appended there followed two other voyages, those of Captain Wilson and of Governor Philips; the fourth volume was a re-packaging of *The Voyages of Captain James Cook*.

None of the Lemoine adaptations engaged with the experience of the ocean voyage in any significant way. For example there is nothing of Cook's doubling of Cape Horn except to remark that contrary to popular belief, it was not dangerous: 'the *Endeavour* doubled it with as little danger as the North Foreland on the Kentish coast', it then quickly moved on to the sighting of land two months later.[76] As this suggests, the navigational narrative that had been present in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and to a lesser extent the adaptations of Cook's first journal that followed was absent. The surviving chapbook adaptations of the Pacific voyages illustrated the problem of how to adapt narratives centred on a meticulous description of navigation, natural history and the cultures encountered. The chapbook looked towards tales of adventure, as the substitution of an adaptation of Byron's Pacific journal with that of his *Wager* shipwreck underlined, but still did not situate that adventure in the mariner's oceanic experience.

The chapbook's approach was one of the different literary modes that Hawkesworth had previously attempted to resolve: the scientific description, the narrative of the professional mariner, the literary narrative and the sensational account. The tension between these and the twin narratives of terrestrial encounter and ocean voyage remained but seemed to be of less concern in the adaptations; they were preoccupied with widening readership. Some texts became explicitly didactic, not only giving lessons in geography and history but in morality. In them, however, a narrative of difference and an assertion of European power seemingly replaced the wonder of discovery, the attempt to describe the places found. An emphasis on the potential for trade then became a narrative that prioritised colonizing imperatives and assertions of British superiority. The mariner-hero that Hawkesworth had begun to articulate became an archetype of that imperialism. With Cook's death, these narratives focussed on an idealisation of the mariner. In verse, the treatment of the voyages went from satire to sentimentality, from *An Epistle from Oberea, Queen of Otaheite* to the elegies of Fitzgerald, Schomburg and Seward, then to the sensation of feeling in Williams's *The Morai*. There was little room for the ocean in these narratives, which became instead, sentimental projections of British identity.

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[76] *The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World* (1807), p. 21.

5.2 Adaptation and the oceanic narrative

The oceanic narrative — meaning adaptations of the voyage narratives that focussed on the ocean experience itself — was principally found in an articulation of the professional mariner. The serialisations of *The Gentleman's Magazine* or the adaptations by publishers such as Anderson or Kearsley, which attempted to widen readership, showed this most clearly. While still appealing to Hawkesworth's idea of the mariner-hero, it was a prosaic identity, formed in the mariner's apparent abilities to manage the ship and as a navigator and so allowing an articulation of oceanic experience. Thus, though abbreviated, these accounts returned to a similar articulation of the ocean found in the original journals. The navigational narrative asserted the text's reliability but also the mariner's professional authority. The accounts of disease amongst the crew, bad weather and the difficulties on board emphasized the adversity the mariners faced and allowed the reader to engage with the visceral experience of the long voyage. In this section, I first outline the elements that encouraged this engagement: the aspirational outlook of the publications, the place of the mariner and the articulation of a professional identity. Then I look at the adaptations of episodes of the voyage narrative to see how they expressed the oceanic experience through this narrative identity.

5.2.1 Promotion of the professional mariner: the gentleman, national identity and trade

Publications such as *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World* or Kearsley's *A Compendious History of Captain Cook's First and Second Voyages* and *An Abridgment of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* appealed to a readership beyond the affluent elite who had been able to afford the original publications. Gillian Williamson identifies the *Gentleman's Magazine*'s appeal to a 'middling sort' of reader, with the 'potential for the broad dissemination of ideas and the creation of a shared outlook across the boundary of rank with the social and educational elite'.[77] The magazine enabled professional and artisanal readers to acquire the cultural knowledge of the gentleman. Thus, its inclusion of the first Pacific journals was a marker of the voyages' cultural significance and of their relevance to that aspirational readership. As noted above, both Anderson and Kingsley promoted their adaptations as more affordable alternatives to the originals. The introduction of Anderson's *A New, Authentic and Complete Collection of Voyages* stressed not only this affordability but also, in its assertion of Cook's virtues, his perseverance, skill, and, notably, his concern for his crew, an idea of the mariner's

[77] Williamson, p. 69.

professionalism.[78] It was a construction of an idea of the mariner as a disciplined professional, similar to the narrative of professional competence given by the commanders in their original journals and it made the description of oceanic experience more necessary.

The idea of a mariner hero had begun to emerge in Hawkesworth's journal, although, it was not connected to the idea of the mariner's professionalism so closely. Indeed, in Hawkesworth's reading, it was difficult to associate that professionalism with the attributes of a gentleman. The introduction to the second volume of *An Account of the Voyages* suggested the difference: it was a panegyric on Joseph Banks that emphasized his education and gentlemanly status and drew a comparison between Banks's 'accurate and circumstantial' journal with that of Cook's 'very particular account of all the nautical incidents of the voyage'.[79] Later texts negotiated between the two identities of gentleman and mariner suggesting this was never quite resolved. Isabella Jane Towers contrived to make 'kind hearted' Tom Starboard both an ordinary sailor and gentleman.[80] Jane Austen worked hard in *Persuasion* (1818) to have the naval officers heroic gentlemen in comparison with the enervated knight, Sir Walter.

However, at the time of the journals, there was the beginning of a transition to an idea of the naval officer as someone socially more acceptable, a new enthusiasm for the sailor who appeared honest, stalwart and patriotic. The title of David Garrick's 'Hearts of Oak' (1760) evoked the mariners' Britishness; they were both part of the fabric of the ship and rooted in the country they defended. Charles Dibdin's 'Poor Tom Bowling' (1788), whose 'virtues were so rare', sentimentalized these attributes further.[81] Dibdin's lines suggested characterisations found in Cook following his death, his 'disposition' described as 'the most benevolent and humane' in Kearsley's text.[82] A later adaptation from 1806 emphasized Cook's humble origins, writing that he was noted for his 'honesty, sobriety, and industry, qualities which reflect a lustre on the lowest ranks'.[83] It was a long way from a navy 'where

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[78] Anderson, *A New, Authentic and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. iii.
[79] John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773), I, xiii.
[80] Towers, p. 4.
[81] Charles Dibdin, 'Poor Tom' (1788), in *The New Oxford Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse*, ed. by Roger Lonsdale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 625.
[82] *An Abridgment of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (1784), p. xi.
[83] *Cook's Voyages Round the World for Making Discoveries Towards the North and South Poles* (Manchester: S. Russell, 1806), p. 2.

the seven liberal Sciences of Swearing, Drinking, Thieving, Whoring, Killing, Couzening, and Backbiting' were taught.[84] Isaac Land explains the transition as one where,

> The same qualities that had made sailors seem brutish and misanthropic to earlier generations of polished Britons now made Jack Tar look like a redeeming primitive, a home-grown antidote to the effeminate "fops" and "macaroni" who had overdosed on imported drolleries from France.[85]

Markman Ellis locates this change of heart to the late 1760s, the time of the voyages, a 'watershed where prurience was usurped by rectitude, where the decorous interdicted gallantry'.[86] Again this was encapsulated in Cook, as Anderson commented: 'His courage was cool and determined' with 'a presence of mind' in moments of danger; and while his temper might have been hasty, it was 'disarmed by a disposition benevolent and humane'.[87]

The association of the mariner with patriotism meant that they also emphasized the 'otherness' of the places visited and people met. It aligned the mariner with a Great Britain that increasingly defined itself against 'an obviously hostile Other', as Linda Colley has argued:

> They defined themselves as Protestants struggling for survival against the world's foremost Catholic power. They defined themselves against the French as they imagined them to be, superstitious, militarist, decadent and unfree. And increasingly as the wars went on, they defined themselves in contrast to the colonial peoples they conquered, peoples who were manifestly alien in terms of culture, religion and colour.[88]

The trajectory of 'othering' Colley describes threads its way through the adaptations. At first, most clearly articulated in opposition to the French, Spanish and Dutch, there was competition with Bougainville, Carteret's experience in the East Indies and Cook's stop at Rio. The *Gentleman's Magazine* ignored Cook's stay at Rio except to comment on the restrictions placed on the *Endeavour* and the 'sharp altercations' between its Governor and

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[84] Edward Ward, *The Wooden World Dissected* (London: H. Meere, 1771), p. 2.
[85] Isaac Land, *War, Nationalism, and the British Sailor, 1750-1850* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 89.
[86] Markman Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 39.
[87] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. 29.
[88] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Vintage, 1996), p. 5.

Cook, 'which ended, however, not much to the credit of the Governor'.[89] The account in Anderson's *A New, Authentic and Complete Collection of Voyages* was more comprehensive but summarised the relationship with the Governor thus:

> Capt. Cook, uneasy under the restrictions of the viceroy, remonstrated with him, but the latter would return no other answer, than that the king his master's order must be obeyed. The Captain, thus repulsed, and much displeased, resolved to go no more on shore rather than, whenever he did so, to be treated as a prisoner in his own boat.[90]

The difficulties with the Spanish became a relationship between British civility and foreign unreasonableness.

The distinction between the British mariner and the 'other' later transferred to the indigenous islanders encountered on the voyages, as Colley suggests. The seeds of that were already apparent in the journals, as the mariners struggled to understand societies that did not resemble their own. The inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego were considered particularly savage but, as Nicholas Thomas points out, this was as much a reaction to the inhospitable landscape and climate, so there would be 'no accumulation of knowledge, no deeper insight' as there would be at Tahiti.[91] In the adaptations, unfamiliarity was interesting and so, exploited. Thus, there was the sensationalised treatment of the Tahitians or the use of the Pacific peoples as exotic colour in treatments such as the procession at the end of *Omai, or a Trip Round the World*. Notably, there were no Fuegians included. Later, it included even those originally seen as better: previously 'noble savages', were described as being 'in a state of deplorable ignorance, barbarism and superstition, and utterly destitute of the means of acquiring knowledge'.[92]

Now more clearly assimilated into an idea of British identity, the mariner was essential to the networks of trade and commerce. The Pacific voyages were both scientific expeditions and an attempt to broaden those networks: 'Maritime enterprise [was] at the very heart of the

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[89] 'An Epitome of the Voyage round the World by Lieutenant Cook accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1773.
[90] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. 8.
[91] Nicholas Thomas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (London: Penguin Books, 2018), pp. 247-8.
[92] *Real Stories: Taken from the Narratives of Various Travellers* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1827), p. 5.

economic order of society in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries'.[93] Thus, the voyage narratives were not only culturally interesting but also significant to the commercially minded reader. Accounts of arrivals in unfamiliar bays would quickly become descriptions of trade with the local people; the waters around the ships became a floating market place. At "Ship's Cove", the first significant stop at Nootka Sound on Cook's third voyage, 'A great many canoes, filled with the natives, were about the ships all day' and 'a trade commenced betwixt us and them, which was carried on with the strictest honesty'.[94] This description was repeated almost exactly in Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World* and in Kearsley's abridgement and across other adaptations.[95] Entries like this threaded their way through the journals and adaptations to become identified with the mariner. As Bernard Smith writes, Cook 'was in a sense Adam Smith's global agent, for he developed markets and spread the notion of enlightened self-interest'.[96]

In this way, the journals and their adaptations refined the older narrative of the Pacific that followed the publication of Dampier's *Voyage Round the World*: a place, as Dennis Reinhartz describes it, 'generally pictured as a vast domain of diverse riches, actual and potential, under the lessening control of Spain'.[97] However, the mercantile narrative now framed itself as one of national advancement, although behind it the motivation of self-enrichment was not hard to see. Thus, the mariner was navigator, national hero and shopkeeper (the last, ironically, the career Cook had escaped to go to sea). The narrative and the mariner was part of a subtle relationship between bourgeois merchants, social advancement and support for the navy. The creation of the Marine Society in 1756 by merchants intended to supply the navy with men but also helped connections and advancement:

> Not only were various lucrative contracts being given out, but all overseas traders were dependent on the Admiralty for convoy protection against enemy warships and

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[93] John Peck, *Maritime Fiction: Sailors and the Sea in British and American Novels, 1719-1917* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 5.
[94] James Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, […] for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere*, 3 vols (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1784), II, 270.
[95] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World*, p. 536; *An Abridgment of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (1784), p. 210.
[96] Bernard Smith, "Cook's Posthumous Reputation", in *Captain Cook and His Times*, ed. by R. Fisher and H. Johnston (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), p. 179.
[97] Dennis Reinhartz, 'Shared Vision: Herman Moll and His Circle and the Great South Seas', in *Science, Empire and the European Exploration of the Pacific*, ed. by Tony Ballantyne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 46.

> privateers. Doing one's bit for the manning of the Royal Navy was one way of impressing the authorities, a public-spirited gesture that might just ensure some kind of reward.[98]

These societies were set up in the years preceding the voyages but they also suggested a connection between bourgeoisie and navy then reinforced by the adaptations of the journals.

Thus, in some of the adaptations there was a characterisation of the mariner as patriotic hero: someone acceptable to society who represented the values of a gentleman and linked to bourgeois interests of expanding trade. It was an identity most clearly seen in Cook, just as Cook's voyages had overtaken those of Byron, Wallis and Carteret in their significance. Adaptations sought a connection with their readers through an idealised version of Cook's professional identity. Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages* exclaimed,

> Let us contemplate, admire, revere, and emulate, this great Navigator; whose Skill and Labours have enlarged natural Philosophy; have extended nautical Science; and have disclosed the long concealed and admirable Arrangements of the Almighty in the Formation of this Globe.[99]

Emulation might seem impossible but this was not an apotheosis, rather it was an identity defined by perseverance, 'His Knowledge, his Experience, his Sagacity'. The text emphasized not only Cook's navigational abilities but also his attention to the health of his crew.[100] These were attributes then of hard work and experience and a professional relationship with the ocean. To describe the man, the narratives needed to describe that experience. It was a way for an heroic narrative to emerge from the detail of the voyages, the narrative of navigational position, of sail changes, weather and conditions of the ship.

5.2.2 What happened to the ocean narrative?

This does not mean that the navigational narrative, the repetition of position, course sea state and weather was as it had been in the mariners' original journals but the adaptations used parts of these in a way Hawkesworth had resisted. Description of severe weather or where the

[98] Colley, p. 100.
[99] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. iii.
[100] Ibid.

ships had been in danger were included of course as exceptional events. However, the adaptations also recounted the day-to-day ocean experience, illustrating the life on board and the professional routine. This experience had been detailed in the original journals in the description of illness and deaths, sail changes, on-going work to maintain sails and ships. In some of the adaptations, this account became more prominent with the overall reduction of the texts' length. Just as in the original journals, it established the commanders' professional competence.

With this emphasis, the adaptations prioritised similar episodes that reflected Hawkesworth editing. They mostly excluded the Atlantic crossing, only touching on the stops at Madeira and then did not start their narratives more fully until the arrival at Rio de Janeiro. The events at the Strait of Magellan or Cape Horn focussed on encounters with the Patagonians. Once in the Pacific, the islands found were recorded, then the stop at Batavia, which acted as a marker for the end of the Pacific voyage. The stop at the Cape of Good Hope was briefly noted but otherwise there was little, if any, description of the voyage home following the stop at Batavia. The adaptations of Wallis and Cook's narratives attended to the incidents at Tahiti, to Cook's circumnavigation of New Zealand and incidents at the coast of New South Wales in some detail. *The Gentleman's Magazine* gave no reason for its omission of Carteret's voyage but possibly, it interfered with the narrative of discovery once an account of Tahiti had begun in Wallis's voyage. As it had in Hawkesworth's *An Account*, this neglect gave the impression that the voyages of Byron, Wallis and Carteret were merely preludes to Cook's voyage. The adaptations of Cook's second and third journals were more straightforward as they were unmediated by previous adaptations. Cook had some oversight of the journal of his second voyage and Dr John Douglas again edited the third journal. Certainly, as seen in Chapter 3, Cook had already adapted his writing to suit publication and there was no contentious mixing of narrative voices as there had been in Hawkesworth's editing of Cook's first journal.

I will now examine some of the episodes included in the abridgements in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Town and Country Magazine*, Anderson and Kearsley's abridgements, making comparison between them and with Hawkesworth's *An Account* and the original journals. My focus will be on the ocean passage or coastal navigational experience as it was in the more prosaic narratives of these sections that an idea of the Pacific and an articulation of the ocean voyage were most exceptional. Thus, I begin with an examination of the arrival in the Pacific on the first voyages, the beginning of the voyage of discovery for the mariners. This part of

the voyages suggested the experience of first coming to the Pacific an experience of a mostly unknown ocean, or the ocean as the 'other'. Then I look at the adaptations of Cook's circumnavigation of New Zealand with some references to the Strait of Magellan and Cape Horn. Here we can see the adaptation of the mariner's de-centring perspective of the coast, looking from sea to shore.

5.2.3 The beginning of the ocean narrative

The first days and early part of the voyages in the Pacific for Byron, Wallis and Carteret, and for Cook's first voyage signalled, both navigationally and psychologically, the end of the problems of the passage through the Strait of Magellan or round Cape Horn and the beginning of the mariners' voyages of discovery. It was here that a narrative began to develop that offered an idea of the oceanic experience in the adaptations. It was a narrative that could be shaded by the mariners' own misgivings and forebodings at the perceived emptiness of the ocean and the adaptations began to find ways in which to suggest the emotional experience of the ocean space.

Byron expressed 'infinite joy' as his ship first came to the Pacific and found a current setting west that signalled the end of the Strait.[101] However, in the next weeks, he gave only short entries of weather, course and positions and did not continue with any descriptive narrative until sighting land. It suggested that, for Byron, the Pacific began as a place empty of incident and significance. Hawkesworth followed Byron's text and the indication of emptiness. He gave a summary of the passage through the Strait and then began the next chapter with sighting land on April 26 1765. Thus, it is unsurprising that the adaptations, working from Hawkesworth, could not properly engage with the ocean space. *The Gentleman's Magazine* wrote only: 'Having passed the Straits, as has been already related, in most tempestuous weather, they directed their course to Masafuero, on the north shore of which island they anchored on the 28th of April, after a passage of 19 days, without incident worth notice intervening.'[102] *The Town and Country Magazine* was similarly brief, 'Having cleared the streights of Magellan with great danger and hardship', before moving quickly to the arrival at

[101] John Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766,* ed. by Robert E. Gallagher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1964), p. 76.
[102] 'Epitome of Commodore Byron's Voyage round the World', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1773.

Masafuero.[103] Anderson's provided a little more information than the epitomes, before jumping to Masafuero: 'On our entering the Pacific Ocean, we found a great swell running the S. W.'.[104] All the adaptations appeared to confirm the Pacific as an empty space after the incident of the passage through the Strait of Magellan.

The separation of the *Dolphin* and *Swallow* and the heavy weather both ships encountered meant that there was more recorded for Wallis and Carteret's arrival at the Pacific. These had prompted a greater engagement with the voyage narrative in the original journals, which in turn resulted in fuller accounts in their adaptations. Hawkesworth edited Wallis's account of the separation that was broken into hours with observations and remarks thus:

> At this time there being but little wind, we were obliged to make all the sail we could, to get without the Streight's mouth. At 11 o'clock I would have shortened sail for the *Swallow*, but it was not in my power, so as a current set us strongly down upon the Isles of Direction, and the wind came to the west, it became absolutely necessary for me to carry sail, that I might clear them. [… And, with] a fog coming on, and the sea rising very fast, we were all of opinion that it was indispensibly necessary to get an offing as soon as possible[105]

The Gentleman's Magazine did not elaborate on the separation, merely remarking that the *Swallow*, 'being a poor sailor' lost sight of the *Dolphin*.[106] However, it went on to give a brief summary of the *Dolphin*'s passage afterwards:

> They continued their course westward with strong gales, heavy seas, and hazy weather, till on the 22nd they had an observation, by which they found their longitude to be 95° 46' W. and their latitude 42° 24' S. The weather continuing tempestuous, the men began to sicken very fast with colds, in consequence of the upper works of the ship being open, and their beds and hammocks continually wet. Salop and wheat boiled with portable soup was the diet prescribed to the sick; and vinegar and mustard, as much as they chose, was given with their sea provisions to those who were well.

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[103] 'Continuation of the Epitome of Dr Hawkesworth's Voyages, being the conclusion of Commodore Byron's Voyage', *The Town and Country Magazine*, September 1773.
[104] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. 234.
[105] John Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, 408.
[106] 'Epitome of Captain Wallis's Voyage round the World', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1773.

> On Thursday the 30th, the hard gales and heavy seas continuing, being in latitude 32˚ 50' S. longitude 100˚ W. and having no chance of westing in that latitude, they changed their course to the northward[107]

Here was both a description of the conditions fixed by navigational observation and then made human by the description of its impact on the crew. It continued the concern with the health of the crew that was so prominent in Wallis's narrative. It condensed Hawkesworth's account, which was broken down into several short paragraphs, to make the connection between the three elements of ocean, navigational observation and the human clearer.

Similarly, *The Town and Country Magazine* ignored the separation of the *Dolphin* and *Swallow*, remarking only that 'On the 10th the two ships sailed in company; and on the 11th they lost sight of each other'.[108] As the *Gentleman's Magazine* had done, it condensed Hawkesworth's narration of the conditions around the ship and on board:

> On Sunday the 12th of April we held a westward course, during which a number of sheerwaters, pintadoes, gannets, and other birds, flew about the ship; the upper works of which being open, and the cloaths and bedding constantly wet, the sailors in a few days were attacked with colds and fevers. The 27th of this month proving a fine day, the sick were brought on deck, and nourished with salop, and portable soup, in which wheat was boiled. The violent gales soon returned, so that the beds were again wet through, and it war feared that the ship would lose her masts.[109]

Notably *The Town and Country Magazine* did not include the navigational observations, although the birds added some texture to the ocean space absent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World* (1784) avoided all mention of the separation of the two ships but expanded on both magazines' accounts of the next weeks sailing:

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[107] 'Epitome of Captain Wallis's Voyage round the World continued', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1773.
[108] 'Continuation of the Epitome of Dr Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages, being a Account of a Voyage […] by Captain Samuel Wallis', *The Town and Country Magazine*, October 1773.
[109] Ibid.

> Here it may be proper to observe, that, as all the hard gales by which we suffered, blew from the westward, we think it adviseable to stand about 100 leagues and more to the westward, after sailing out of the Strait of Magellan, that the ship may not be endangered on a lee-shore, which at present is wholly unknown. As we continued our course a number of sheerwaters, pintadoes, gannets, and other birds, flew about the ship; the upper works of which being open and the cloaths and bedding continually wet, the sailors in a few days were attacked with fevers; and having a continuation of strong gales, hazy weather, and heavy seas, we were frequently brought under our courses. On Wednesday the 22nd, we observed in latitude 42 deg. 24 min. south, and in 95 deg. 46 min. west longitude; and on Monday the 27th noon, we found our latitude to be 36 deg. 54 min. south, and our longitude, by account, 100 deg. west from London. This day being fair, and the weather moderate, the sick were brought on deck, to whom were given salop, and portable soup, in which wheat had been boiled. The violent gales returned, so that the ships would lose her masts; we therefore began to think of altering our course, in hope of better weather; and the rather, as the number of our sick encreased so fast, that there was danger of soon wanting hands to navigate the vessel.[110]

This passage encapsulated the different elements contained in the other texts. First, it created a sense of the ocean space around the *Dolphin*, possibly a tacit reference to the separation. The mariners sailed from one unknown space into another: the birds swirled about the ship; the elements permeated through its protective shell, attacking the crew; the strong winds meant they could not make their course. It offered a sense that the mariners were increasingly overwhelmed by the place and conditions and unable to maintain their course. However, the spine of navigational observation fixed the narrative and offered reassurance to the reader in the mariner's ability to overcome the conditions. The condensed format meant that the ocean narrative became more coherent and Anderson suggested an account of the ocean passage entwined with a human story that described the mariners' physical and emotional experience of the environment.

However, the death of the young marine, William Greenslade, on Cook's first voyage most significantly showed the sense of apprehension as the mariners entered the Pacific. The treatment of the incident in the adaptations was tentative though, as they tried to fit the story to a more optimistic narrative of discovery. I have already examined Cook's treatment of the

[110] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. 262.

incident in Chapter 3. His report of it followed an observation of drifting weed that to the reader might foreshadow the drowning, significant of emptiness and dislocation as the mariners, hopefully, looked for land:

> At 5 pm Saw some Sea Weed pass the Ship, and at 7 Wm Greenslade Marine either by Accident or design went over board and was drownded; the following circumstances makes it appear as tho it was done designedly.[111]

The episode remained important in Hawkesworth's handling, as he gave an account of the marine's theft in some detail and concluded that the suicide was 'proof of an ingenuous mind; for to such only disgrace is insupportable'.[112] Hawkesworth had hedged Joseph Banks's sympathetic response that the mariner had been driven to act by the actions of his fellows to give a more general opinion of character. The episode was unusual in providing some description of the human narrative of the ordinary crew and suggested the psychological effect of life in the confines of the crowded ship that contrasted with the open unknown space of the ocean.

The Gentleman's Magazine condensed Hawkesworth's detail of the event further:

> In the run from Cape Horn, to the new discovered islands in the S. S. nothing very material happened, except the loss of a young marine, who, having taken a seal-skin tobacco pouch in jest, was accused by his comrades of stealing it in earnest, and was so much affected by the accusation, that he threw himself over-board to avoid their reproaches; he was regretted by his officer as an ingenuous youth, who, knowing himself innocent, could not survive the injury done to his good name.[113]

In *The Town and Country Magazine* the report was briefer still: it noted only that 'one of the marines, a young fellow about twenty, threw himself overboard, and was drowned, on being severely reprimanded by his officer for a misdemeanour'.[114] George Kearsley's adaptation of 1784, *A Compendious History of Captain Cook's First and Second Voyages*, seemed to

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[111] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, ed. by J. C. Beaglehole, 4 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1999), I, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour*, 1768-1771*, p. 67.
[112] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), II, 71.
[113] 'An Epitome of the Voyage round the World by Lieutenant Cook', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, December 1773.
[114] 'Continuation of the Epitome of Dr Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages, containing Captain Cook's Voyage round the World', *The Town and Country Magazine*, April 1774.

combine both magazines' reticence and described the events as the result of a 'squabble', finishing abruptly that Greenslade 'threw himself overboard, and was drowned'.[115]

The episode did not suit the narrative of discovery and, increasingly, of British ascendency. The sense of foreboding in Cook's initial report was replaced in Hawkesworth by a generalisation about character, seeking some moral lesson from the events, a perspective repeated in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. The brevity of *The Town and Country Magazine* and *A Compendious History* point another way, one suggested already by Cook: the tensions within the claustrophobic community of the ship where disagreements were enflamed. The changing treatment of Greenslade's death suggested a potential problem of the ocean narrative. There was little heroic in it; rather the episode was a melancholic beginning to the ocean crossing. Moreover, it was unlike the narrative of sickness and scurvy, which the commanders and then their literary adaptors could use to show positive action that resulted in a narrative of triumph over adverse conditions.

In the re-telling of the arrival in the Pacific, the death of Greenslade, the sickness and storms, there was a sense that coming to the Pacific was more than a navigational achievement. There was the material experience, coping with the extremes of weather and the deteriorating environment of the ships, but the mariners also had to engage with a space in many respects considered empty. Nicholas Thomas reminds us that these were not entirely 'rational' expeditions:

> Despite the "enlightened" nature of the mission, despite the persons and instruments of enlightenment science aboard, their perspective was not exactly that of rationality not that of orthodox Christianity. Some, if not all, of these Europeans inhabited a world full of signs and omens.[116]

Looking from the ship to an endless horizon suggested what Anna Ryan describes as the 'blurred relationship' between sea and land, here the ship as a proxy for the land.[117] While the statistical description of navigation helped fix the mariner's sense of place, and the narrative, it did not negate an emotional engagement with the ocean's size and impermanence.

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[115] *A Compendious History of Captain Cook's First and Second Voyages* (1784), p. 14.
[116] Thomas, *Discoveries*, pp. 146-7.
[117] Anna Ryan, *Where Land Meets Sea: Coastal Explorations of Landscape, Representation and Spatial Experience* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. 10.

5.2.4 Adaptation, ocean space and the coast

Reflecting this uncertain relationship with the ocean and its boundlessness, the adaptations mediated the engagement with the coast. David Lambert, Luciana Martins and Miles Ogborn have argued that without clear boundaries a focus on the ocean was a 'radically decentring – and post-colonising – move that marginalises nation-state centred historical master narratives'.[118] This can also be applied to the process of the creation of those boundaries as the colonising narrative was formed. The mariner's exploration of the Pacific, their description of the places and cartographical record of the coastlines both disputed ownership and asserted control. Thus, the ocean narrative, a place where those boundaries were unclear and where place was less secure, upset a clear delineation of place and power. The mariner's professional identity engaged confusingly with both the claim of control and a lack of control. However, the adaptations wanted to assert that control or, at least, appear to. As the narrative of trade became more important, the land became more certain. In Cook's charts of New Zealand the land was the blank space and left mostly un-contoured, with only prominent features that might be useful as markers at sea outlined. In the abridgements, such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* or Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World*, the description of the land and the events there were prioritised. However, what becomes apparent is that while the more certain engagement with the land appeared to dominate the narratives, there was a persistent engagement with the ocean narrative and the professional mariner identity found in that. This narrative subtly established itself and there developed a more personal identification with the ocean through the process of disengagement and engagement with the ocean and voyage. It was a progression from the objective and phenomenological description of the original journals to one about a description of experience.

The navigational description and the cartographical project of the voyages reflected the mariner's ambiguity. The metaphor of navigational description creating a net spread out across the ocean that I have previously used is apt as that description allowed the mariners to come to terms with the emptiness of the Pacific and find their way through it. It served as the beginning of the description of the space, allowing the mariners to comprehend and then describe the ocean's size and their place within it. However, the navigational description was

[118] David Lambert, Luciana Martins and Miles Ogborn, 'Currents, visions and voyages: historical geographies of the sea', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 32 (2006), 479-493 (p. 480).

also a language that imposed a structure on the ocean space, allowing the narratives a semblance of control. Here Philip Steinberg's argument that the statistical description reduces the ocean to a static space rather than a space 'constituted by vectors of movement – tides, currents, and waves' and John Mack's description of it 'as an abstraction of the experience of being at sea' suggest the need to understand the ocean's impermanence.[119]

Thus, the navigational web complicated the reader's relationship with the space. It offered navigational and narrative certainty, plotting the progress of the voyage. However, while essential to the mariner, navigational necessity was an abstract notion for the reader, imposing on and limiting the ocean space. By making the ocean more certain, it made it safe and familiar; the statistical description of navigation both began an engagement with the ocean and restrained that description. Where the adaptations gave navigational observations, they appeared detached from the navigator's experience, exaggerating their imposition. The narrative of position that remained served to provide authenticity or progress and suggest a description of ownership over the unknown space. As the narratives were co-opted into a narrative of British power, the ocean became less important and the otherness it had always suggested shifted to the experience on shore and the people there.

The 'epitomes' were less concerned with the literary niceness that seemed to preoccupy Hawkesworth or, as he had, with imposing a commentary on the mariners' observations. Incident was what was important and without Hawkesworth's commentary, the narratives became more functional, emphasizing the artisanal qualities of the voyages. Moreover, in some of the adaptations the editing of the narrative made what engagement with the ocean there was more prominent. Abbreviation returned the narrative to a form closer to the original journals rather than Hawkesworth's overtly literary form. The condensed narrative meant the serialisations showed a clear narrative trajectory. Byron's voyage established the sense of strangeness beginning at the Strait of Magellan and the ordeal of the Pacific crossing. Wallis's voyage emphasised the difficulties of the Pacific crossing but mostly ignored the continuing distress after the stop at Batavia, suggesting this part of the voyage was no longer so important to the narrative. Instead, the focus became Wallis's finding of Tahiti.

[119] Phillip E. Steinberg, 'On Thalassography', in *Water Worlds: Human Geographies of the Ocean*, ed. by Jon Anderson and Kimberley Peters, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. xiii-xvii, xv; John Mack, *The Sea: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion, 2011) p. 62.

The emphasis on the potential for trade had a significant effect on the engagement with the ocean and on the projection of the mariner's identity found in the accounts. It was the basis of a colonising narrative so that the perspective of the mariner looking from sea to land became one of acquisitiveness. This further distanced the mariner hero from the ocean experience that had defined him in the journals and more closely associated him with the national power he projected. This narrative had already established its roots before the voyages and the serialisations show a re-engagement with this earlier impetus for the exploration of the Pacific. Dennis Reinhartz shows in his essay 'Shared Vision: Herman Moll and His Circle and the Great South Seas' how a circle of writers centred around the cartographer Herman Moll formed a vision of the South Seas at the beginning of the century as 'a vast domain of diverse riches, actual and potential, under the lessening control of Spain'.[120] Though less present in *An Account*, the narrative of mercantile expansion still mattered to Hawkesworth, who wrote in his preface 'that the increase in knowledge and commerce are ultimately common benefits' in justification for the harm caused to some of the indigenous people the voyages encountered.[121] The serialisations took this justification for granted and I will look first at its effect on the engagement with the ocean experience and then its effect on the mariner's identity. It is not a straightforward picture however, as, in other ways, the serialisations allowed an engagement with the ocean that was closer to the original journals, undoing some of Hawkesworth's work. This allowed the narrative of the ocean experience to separate itself from the engagement with the land and so begin to define itself as a distinct environment for narrative.

The impact of the mercantile narrative was most noticeable at the coastline. Here the reversed perspective of the mariner looking from ship to shore was changed. It originally had been most significant in Byron's account of his passage through the Strait of Magellan. Interest in the Patagonians primarily superseded it in the serialisations, although there remained a vestige of the original engagement that, as seen previously, established the coastline of Terra del Fuego as an alien other. *The Town and Country Magazine* followed Byron's passage through the Strait quite closely, giving an account of individual day's events and some of the navigational detail.[122] There was something of the staggered journey but less description of the passing land, so the narration became a prosaic list of anchorages. It concluded flatly that

[120] Reinhartz, p.46
[121] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), I, xix.
[122] 'Epitome of Dr Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages', *The Town and Country Magazine*, August 1773.

they cleared the Strait 'with great danger and hardship'.[123] *The Gentleman's Magazine* reduced its narrative of the passage through the Strait considerably. However, its summary suggested something of the inhospitable landscape that surrounded the ships:

> In this dreary situation the ships continued labouring for three and twenty days without getting forward. This part of the strait bears a most horrible aspect; the craggy mountains that bound it on both sides rise above the clouds, and are eternally covered with snow. Nothing is to be seen but rugged cliffs and dreadful precipices, with the sea breaking against the rocks, and threatening momentary destruction.[124]

There was a suggestion of the sublime and a stygian passage through to another place. It echoed Byron's original that had vividly described the high mountains 'as ragged & steep as its possible for nature to form them & cover'd with snow from top to bottom'.[125] However, the static image did not engage with Byron's repeated narration of the experience from the ship, of the fierce weather and jagged coastline that constantly threatened to wreck the *Dolphin*. *The Gentleman's Magazine* concluded Byron's passage through the Strait with a summary of the different speeds of the passages made by each of the commanders and Bougainville and for Cook's doubling of the Horn. Thus, neglecting the account of Cook's passage round Cape Horn also, the magazines suggested they were mostly interest in the opportunities of the Pacific rather than the voyages themselves.

In contrast to the two magazines, Anderson's *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World* gave a thorough account of Byron's passage through the Strait of Magellan. The problems of navigation and contrary sudden winds were described but the tone remained positive and resembled the energetic narration in Byron's original journal. 'It is remarkable,' Anderson writes towards the end of the passage, 'that notwithstanding the late severity of the weather, added to their incessant labour, the crew of both ships, in general, retained both health and spirits.'[126] Shortly after this passage however, the ships faced an extreme test: 'the sky suddenly became dark and lowering, and the noise of the waves, which we plainly heard dashing against the precipices, seemed to foretell the disaster which we

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[123] 'Continuation of the Epitome of Dr Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages […] the Conclusion of Commodore Byron's Voyage',*The Town and Country Magazine*, August 1773.
[124] 'An Epitome of the *Dolphin* and the *Tamar*'s Voyage round the World, under the Command of Commodore Byron and Capt. Mouat', *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1773.
[125] Byron, *Journal of his Circumnavigation*, p. 69.
[126] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. 233.

thought ourselves near experiencing'.[127] This suggested the hostile other-worldliness of the myth of Terra del Fuego and of Byron's shipwreck when a midshipman. It was also a Gothic image and admitted that the mariner-narrator reflected his own foreboding, investing the narrative with an emotional energy.

However, in this instance, the danger becomes a way of affirming the mariners' heroism:

> The officers and men united in doing their utmost, to extricate us from the impending danger, and behaved with alacrity and intrepidity, which so strongly characterize those who compose our naval force, who justly merit this transient testimony to their honour.[128]

The crew become 'Hearts of Oak' and their behaviour contrasts with the collapse of discipline aboard the shipwrecked *Wager* that Byron had described. In order to emphasize the point the narrative voice places itself aboard, which is unusual as Anderson's text does not adopt Byron's narrative voice elsewhere. The effect is to make the narrator and the reader passengers on the *Dolphin*, exaggerating the vicarious experience for the reader. That intimacy reinforces the relationship between the mariners and the reader. In effect, the reader became more dependent on the mariner while conversely the mariner was working for the reader. It suggests the relationship between mariner and reader these less expensive editions wanted: the voyage narratives were not only about scientific discovery but also a shared experience of adventure and the possibilities those adventures might offer.

The change to the narrative of the coastal experience was most clear however in the adaptations of Cook's circumnavigation of New Zealand. They retained some of the navigational description of the originals but looked more explicitly towards the land for the potential for trade, seen as a resemblance to European modes of living and an ideal of moderation. *The Gentleman's Magazine* described a community of Maori where the land was 'neatly laid out and as well cultivated as in the most fruitful parts of Europe' while the inhabitants cooked their food, were modestly dressed and 'followed their several occupations regularly', and, although once hostile, the people were now 'so gentle and friendly'.[129] *The Town and Country Magazine* was also interested in Cook's circumnavigation of New Zealand

[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] 'An Epitome of the Voyage round the World by Lieutenant Cook accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander continued', *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1774.

and spread its account of it over six months compared with the five covering the *Endeavour*'s stop at Tahiti. However, it took a slightly different approach and emphasized the aggression of the Maori and its potential to upset trade, suggesting that there was a constant antagonism between the residents and the mariners. Trade was used as a marker for the Maori's honesty and civilised behaviour, 'we should offer them no injury if they behaved in a proper manner' it was explained to one group, thus conform to the desires of the mariners.[130] Where trade continued, *The Town and Country Magazine* was careful to give details of what was preferred by the Maori: nails, 'other trifles', while English cloths were 'greatly estimated' over those of Otaheite.[131] The magazine continued Hawkesworth's process of emphasizing the savagery of the Maori rather than the mostly non-judgmental appraisal of them given in Cook's original journal. Now 'their ideas were so shocking and brutal, that they seemed to pique themselves upon their barbarity and inhumanity'.[132] New Zealand had taken up less than two entries in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which suggested it editorialised more carefully to emphasize the possibilities of trade while *The Town and Country Magazine* emphasized the otherness of place.

However, what was missing from both serialisations of the coasting of New Zealand was the sense of the unfolding navigational position that was so important to Cook's original journal. The original was a narrative of the *Endeavour*'s relationship with the coast: a line of position and description drawn around the islands. Cook's circumnavigation of New Zealand had been primarily an attempt to chart the islands comprehensively and thus, this omission changed the nature of the voyage. Both periodicals continued Hawkesworth's use of navigational observations as narrative anchors, giving the sense of the voyages' progress and the authenticity of the mariner's craft. However, they detached them from experience, something further hampered by the lack of charts to accompany the texts, so any reference became an abstract notation. Thus giving the position of Cape Table, 'It is seven leagues to the south of Poverty Bay, in lat. 39 deg. 7 min. S. and long. 181 deg. 36 min. W', there was only a vague and isolated sense of place, of somewhere in the ocean rather than a part of an on-going

[130] 'Continuation of the Epitome of Dr Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages […] containing Captain Cook's Voyage round the World', *The Town and Country Magazine*, January 1775.
[131] Ibid.
[132] 'Continuation of the Epitome of Dr Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages […] containing Captain Cook's Voyage round the World', *The Town and Country Magazine*, Supplement to 1774.

narrative outlining the extent of the voyage.[133] Where Cook had constructed a web of positions to define and structure the Pacific, now it was an indeterminate space again, as it had been before the voyages. This returned the texts to a form that did not reflect the experience of the voyage and only appeared to ventriloquize the mariner's language.

However, this was not consistent and there was one occasion where *The Gentleman's Magazine* appeared to replicate the repetition of positions as the *Endeavour* headed south looking for the Southern Continent: 'They pursued their course till Sept. 1 when being in lat. 40˚ 22' S. and in long. 174˚ 29' W. and no signs of a continent appearing, they changed their direction, and steered to the northward.' It continued with a series of positions:

> On Sunday the 3d, they plied to the westward.
> On the 19th they were in lat. 29˚ S. and in long. 159˚ 29' W.
> On the 24th in lat. 33˚ 18' S. long. 162˚ 51'W.
> On the 27th in lat. 28˚ 59' S. long 169˚ 5' W. saw hunches of sea-weed, a bird like a snipe, and a seal asleep upon the water.
> On the 28th and 29th, more sea-weed.[134]

The text continued similarly until the mariners sighted land. It repeated the rhythms of the original journal and gave a sense of the experience of the mariners on the ocean as they kept a hopeful watch over the days and weeks. It is an example of how the serialisations could reconnect their narratives with the original journals, bypassing Hawkesworth's amelioration of them. There was not the space for Hawkesworth's pedantic phrasing or his opinion. His narrative of these days had provided more detail, changes to sails for example, that gave some indication of the working life of the ship but also smoothed out the phrasing and attempted a more conventional literary style that made the narrative ponderous.[135]

Anderson wrote: 'As a navigator, Capt. Cook's services were perhaps not less splendid than important and meritorious.' He went on, 'The method he discovered, and so successfully pursued, of preserving the health of seamen, forms a new ærea in the œconomy of navigation

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[133] 'Continuation of the Epitome of Dr Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages […] containing Captain Cook's Voyage round the World', *The Town and Country Magazine*, October 1774.
[134] 'An Epitome of the Voyage round the World by Lieutenant Cook accompanied by Mr Banks and Dr Solander continued', *Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1774.
[135] Hawkesworth, *An Account* (1773), II, 282.

and will transmit his name to future ages, among the friends and benefactors of mankind'.[136] However, the navigational description of New Zealand was mostly reduced further in *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages Round the World*. The position line of the *Endeavour*, that was essential to the narrative of Cook's original journal, already diminished in Hawkesworth's *An Account*, was now merely the occasional position of a prominent site. However, Anderson did include an illustration with a chart of Cook's Strait showing the islands of Queen Charlotte's Sound.[137] Occasionally there would be some careful description that engaged with the coastline and some of the navigational detail: 'We bent our course to an opening in the east; and when in the mouth of the straight where becalmed in latitude 410 south and 184 deg. 45 min. west longitude. The two points that form the entrance we called Cape Koamaro, and Point Jackson.' It went on to discuss the Maori names for the place and then continued,

> In the last of these inlets are two ledges of rocks, three fathom under water which may easily be known by the sea weed that grows upon them. Attention must also be paid to the tides which, when there is little wind, flow about nine or ten o'clock at the full and change of the moon, and rise and fall about seven feet and a half, passing through the straight from the south-east.[138]

This reflected Cook's own preoccupations, describing his navigational observations and giving information useful to other sailors: the shape of the bay, identification of rocks, tidal times and heights. It suggests that there was an appetite for this sort of detail and reflects that the workmanlike approach that might have been distasteful to the literary ear was acceptable, even encouraging, to others. While few of Anderson's readers might have actually needed the information, this was a democratized narrative suggesting they were important enough to have it and understand it. Moreover, information such as this was a way of opening up the boundary between the reader and the place; understanding the sea allowed engagement with the land; its interest and its potential.

Thus, a legacy of the mariner's articulation of the ocean experience did remain. Condensing the narrative and a refinement of Hawkesworth's pedantic and ponderous commentary meant

[136] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. 38.
[137] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. 52.
[138] Anderson, *A New, Authentic, and Complete Collection of Voyages*, p. 54.

that the serialisations appeared to return, at times, to the rhythm of the mariners' original remarks. It was not completely a return to the navigational expression or the urgent notes of life on board but it suggested the potential for a narrative that used those devices to engage with the reader. The segmentation of the narrative into different approaches encouraged this approach and different books could attend to different readers, emphasizing aspects of the narratives Hawkesworth had struggled to combine. The scientific texts particularly, which confirmed the narratives authority, gave other adaptations the freedom to look to a wider readership. Lemoine's chapbook editions attest to that widening appeal. This was the beginning of the democratisation of the narrative, both in readership and in the treatment of the mariner. Here the account of the ocean narrative, navigation and life aboard became more prominent.

We should be careful not to exaggerate this tendency however, as a great many adaptations still concentrated on the landfalls, the geographical and anthropological information. Fictional treatments and verse engaged with romance of the South Seas and the part of the mariner hero, epitomized in the celebration of Cook. Even so, here there was room for an idea of the ocean experience, as Seward showed. Helen Maria Williams returned the description of that experience into a troubled and troubling metaphor. The idea of a professional mariner that allowed an engagement with the narrative of the ocean voyage was most fully realised in the serialisations. In them, where once the mariner was considered outside society, part of the 'othering' of the ocean, there was now a process of inclusion: the mariner could potentially be a 'gentleman', or made one at least. To define the professional mariner, these texts articulated a navigational narrative and the incidents of life aboard, relating them to the artisanal and bourgeois readership. It meant that the ocean need no longer be ignored or 'othered' but could be a space defined by navigation and then emotionally described, a connection between the scientific and the emotional modes.

Conclusion

A description of the ocean that was both scientific and emotional appears paradoxical. However, these two modes cannot be disentangled, as Tim Fulford writes, fact and fiction were effectively 'parts of a Janus-faced enquiry into the principles that animate both mind and nature'.[1] Paul Smethurst goes further, arguing that 'scientific realism did not define itself against the practices of the picturesque or romanticism, but instead adapted and incorporated these into their representational technique'.[2] The Pacific journals by Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook were part of a process of understanding what scientific writing might be when distinctions between the two were only beginning to be clearly defined. The focus on the oceanic experience, the ocean-centred approach of the blue humanities, is therefore essential to understanding this relationship in the journals and gives a different emphasis to previous readings. Smethurst writes of the 'almost obsessive need to record every conceivable navigational point and observation'.[3] For Jonathan Lamb the accumulation was a form of colonization: 'The Imperial eye must contemplate the world as an object of dispassionate inquiry before it may be appropriated and used'.[4] However, for the mariners, observation was part of the practice of craft. Throughout this study, we have seen how they articulated their work at sea: observation was not an impulse of colonization, although the narrative of colonization appropriated it, but a way of being at sea. The engagement with the ocean, in all its forms, was essential to the lived experience of the mariner.

The ocean space the mariner occupied, the ship at sea, a location 'constantly displaced', defined the mariner.[5] The mariners' writing was thus an attempt to find ways to counteract that ocean displacement and give it form. The mariners' observations — particularly the statistical accounts of navigational position — were part of a commentary that provided both

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[1] Tim Fulford, Debbie Lee, and Peter J. Kitson, *Literature, Science and Exploration in the Romantic Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 4.
[2] Paul Smethurst, *Travel Writing and the Natural World, 1768-1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 7-8.
[3] Smethurst, p. 24.
[4] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 80.
[5] *Framing the Ocean, 1700 to the Present: Envisioning the Sea as Social Space*, ed. by Tricia Cusack (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 8.

narrative structure and structure to the mariners' relationships with the ocean space. Thus, the narrative of the ocean was a narrative of identity and the journals were personal expressions situated in the mariners' experiences of the ocean. The ocean-centred approach points to the land as the problematic space in the mariners' journals, with the reversed perspective from ship to shore casting it as a hostile or confusing location. It was confusing because land, viewed as a place of potential relief, proved continually disappointed, as Wallis' description of the disintegration of the *Falmouth* at Batavia showed. Without the discipline of being at sea, the land, Hawaii, was the location of Cook's final unravelling and death; the dismemberment of his body following his death was a final undoing of the 'self'.

Thus, the voyage journal was a narrative of work and of the active life of the ship that defined the mariner in terms of their oceanic experience. While Hakluyt and Dampier had set parameters for published voyage journals, Byron, Wallis, Carteret and Cook originally worked to the format of the naval officer's remark book, a working journal. The mariners' different approaches to that task showed how these journals were individual and personal responses and that a psychological narrative was possible. It was a narrative in reaction to the oceanic experience and structured by the navigational account. Each went beyond the usual demands of the remark book however, as, unusually, the purpose of their voyages was to explore. Cook went further still in the journal of his first voyage, relishing the navigational engagement with the ocean. However, in his second and third journals, he moderated that discourse and, as he turned away from the narrative of oceanic experience, turned away from what had originally defined him as a mariner and navigator. In spite of his resistance to the nautical matters of the journals, Hawkesworth made out of the disparate narratives a single narrative voice to articulate a new mariner hero. The idea of this mariner hero would have important implications for the discourse of the oceanic experience in the later adaptations. As, while many of them were preoccupied with the terrestrial stops of the voyages, others saw the potential of the mariner-hero Hawkesworth had begun. These texts looked to a broader readership of the 'middling sort' and the heroic mariner appealed. They emphasized the work of the ship and the mariners' virtues in their abilities as sailors and navigators. It returned the emphasis to the oceanic experience and the expression of the sailor's lived experience outlined in the original journals.

This was a 'romance of fact distinguished by this capacity's simultaneous practical importance and mythic allure', as Margaret Cohen argues: 'Craft remained an ideal of

maritime labour'.[6] Again, imagination combined with the practical, an appeal that recalls the voyage as metaphor. The romance was essential to the continuing life of the oceanic description. In the previous chapter, I noted the lack of maritime fiction in the latter part of the eighteenth century. However, at the turn of the century, maritime fiction began to flourish and although it took as its subject the naval wars with France, it focussed on the impression of the mariner-hero developed in the adaptations of the Pacific journals and showed the legacy of their description of oceanic experience. One of the first of these novels, John Davis's *The Post Captain, or the Wooden Walls Well Manned* (1805), launched the reader into the naval world and the routine of the ship, confident that the reader would understand: 'the topsails were hoisted, and the walk of the ship was considerably increased. Seven bells were now struck, the hammocks were piped up, and the quartermaster stood at the nettings to receive them from the sailor'.[7] In the story 'The Chase' from *The Naval Sketch Book: or, the Service Afloat and Ashore* (1826), a compendium of stories, verse and miscellaneous pieces on naval practices, there was a similar immersion in the nautical world and language. Here too, the ship became active in the narrative to make the experience of sailing visceral: 'ploughing the agitated deep—throwing high in air the sparkling spray, and bursting beneath her bounding bow the briny billow in boiling foam'.[8] These narratives focussed on the experience on board and the human story found there. As the journals had, they created a space at sea ordered and marked by the routines of the ship. The reader would be orientated within an environment that was self-contained, responding to the natural rhythm of the ship and ocean.

There was another legacy as well, with the continuing scientific engagement of the mariner such as the exploration of the Pacific by George Vancouver and the later arctic voyages of John Ross and William Parry. The published accounts of their voyages showed the continuing public interest in these narratives alongside the fictional work.[9] The idea of mariners as keepers of observational records seems to have travelled from the appeal by the Royal Society to mariners over a hundred years earlier to the navy becoming a semi-official body of

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[6] Margaret Cohen, *The Novel and the Sea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p.16
[7] John Davis, *The Post Captain or, the Wooden Walls Well Manned* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1815), p. 4.
[8] William Nugent Glascock, *The Naval Sketch Book: or, the Service Afloat and Ashore*, 2 vols (London: Whitaker & Co., 1834 [1826]), I, 18.
[9] *Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; Performed in the years 1819–1820* (1821) was an account of Ross and Parry's first voyage. It was followed by the accounts of Parry's second and third voyages published in 1824 and 1826 respectively.

researchers. Glyn Williams notes the prolific research and gathering of material by naval officers in the first half of the nineteenth century:

> Four hundred naval officers and naval surgeons were members of scientific societies, and 136 of them published papers on scientific subjects' and indeed, 'under Sir Francis Beaufort, the navy's official hydrographer, the Admiralty became a clearing house for [botanical, zoological, geological] data.[10]

It illustrates how the Pacific journals had become central to the idea of the mariner's part in scientific research and its record, while the voyage journal continued to influence scientific discourse.

The transition from factual accounts to fiction in maritime literature and the continuing publication of voyage journals suggest other avenues of research. The ocean-centred approach of this thesis and its attention to the technical aspects of the texts, the denotative reading, opens up possibilities to understand how the oceanic experience has been used more widely in other literature and beyond the adaptations of the journals. For example, the maritime account in children's literature of the period combines different aspects of the voyage narrative as either pedagogical texts or tales of adventure. Besides those of Vancouver, Ross and Parry, there were other voyages that followed Cook's: William Bligh's account of his voyage to safety in a ship's boat following the mutiny on the *Bounty* provides a distinctive account of an intimate and immediate relationship with the ocean and one where the navigational narrative becomes a narrative of survival.[11] There has not been room in this study to examine the narratives of the French voyages by Louis de Bougainville and later The Comte de la Pérouse. Bougainville's voyage and his account of it shadows those studied here. La Pérouse's voyage consciously followed the scientific purpose of Cook's but offers another perspective of the myth of the voyage with the mysterious loss of both ships *L'Astrolabe* and *La Boussole*. That loss still resonates, as Naomi Williams's account of the voyage in her novel *Landfalls* (2015) attests.

The study of the Pacific journals and their adaptations show how the ocean and the ocean voyage hold a strange place in the imagination and cannot be either scientifically or

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[10] Glyn Williams, *Naturalists at Sea* (New haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015), pp. 232-3.
[11] William Bligh, *A narrative of the mutiny, on board His Majesty's ship* Bounty*: and the subsequent voyage of part of the crew* (London: G. Nichol, 1790).

imaginatively described but must combine both. It was the product of an ambiguous relationship with an uncertain ocean space and an attempt to find a place there. Frances Burney related a meeting between her father and Cook in 1773 that captured something of imaginative task. Charles Burney had a copy of Bougainville's *Voyage Autour du Monde* and asked Cook how his track round the world compared with Bougainville's, 'Captain Cooke instantly took a pencil from his pocket-book, and said he would trace the route; which he did in so clear and scientific a manner, that I would not take fifty pounds for the book'.[12] Cook showed an easy facility for the representation of a ship's passage, its translation through the coordinates of the compass and the calculations of longitude and latitude. However, the anecdote also intimates the mariner's process from voyage to page. Just as the Pacific voyages were an attempt to find an idea of place in an apparently empty space, the journals were part of a representation of that space on the blank page. Oceanic description led to an articulation of what it was to be at sea. That articulation in the journals and their adaptations shows how the exploration of the Pacific led not just to the charting of the ocean but also to new ways to describe and narrate the ocean and to represent the mariner.

[12] Madame D'Arblay [Frances Burney], *Memoirs of Dr Burney*, 3 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1832) I, 56-7.

Illustrations

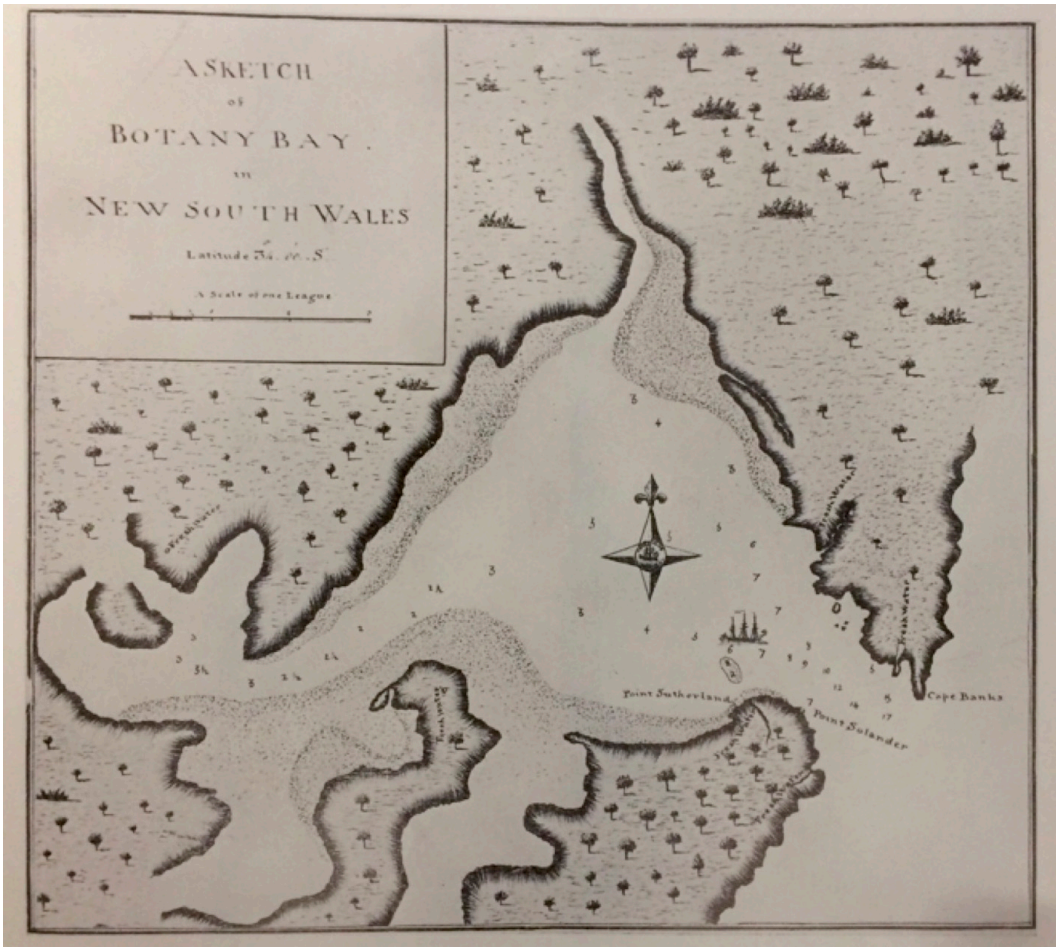


Figure 1. James Cook's chart for Botany Bay, New South Wales made on his first voyage and showing the depths at the coastline, from *The Journals of Captain James Cook, Charts and Views,* ed. by Raleigh A. Skelton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999).

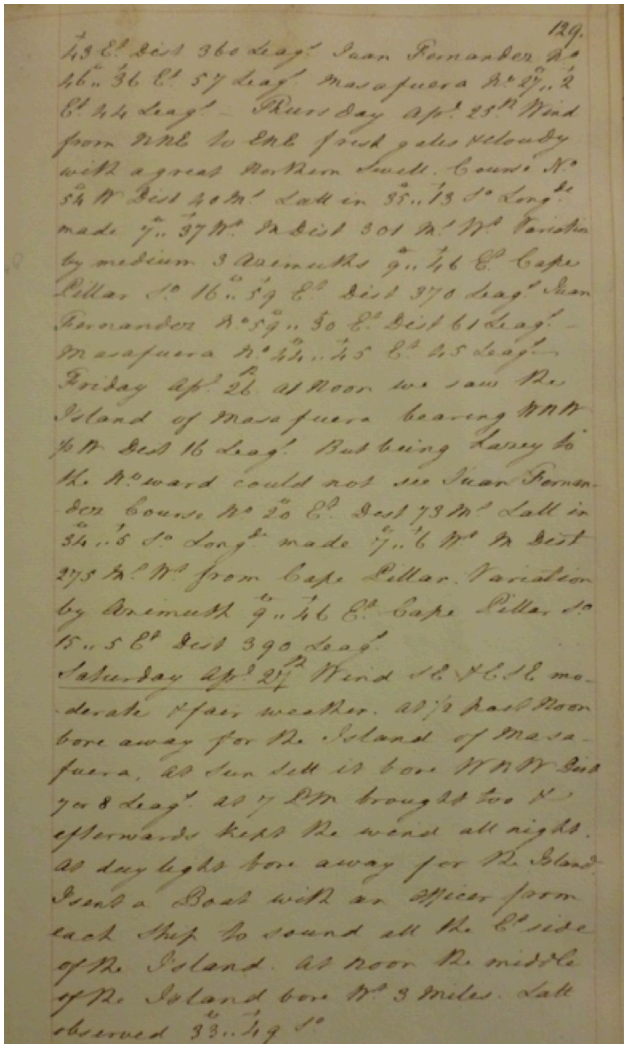


Figure 2. A page from the manuscript of John Byron's journal (B.1) for April 26 and 27, 1765, courtesy of the Caird Library, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

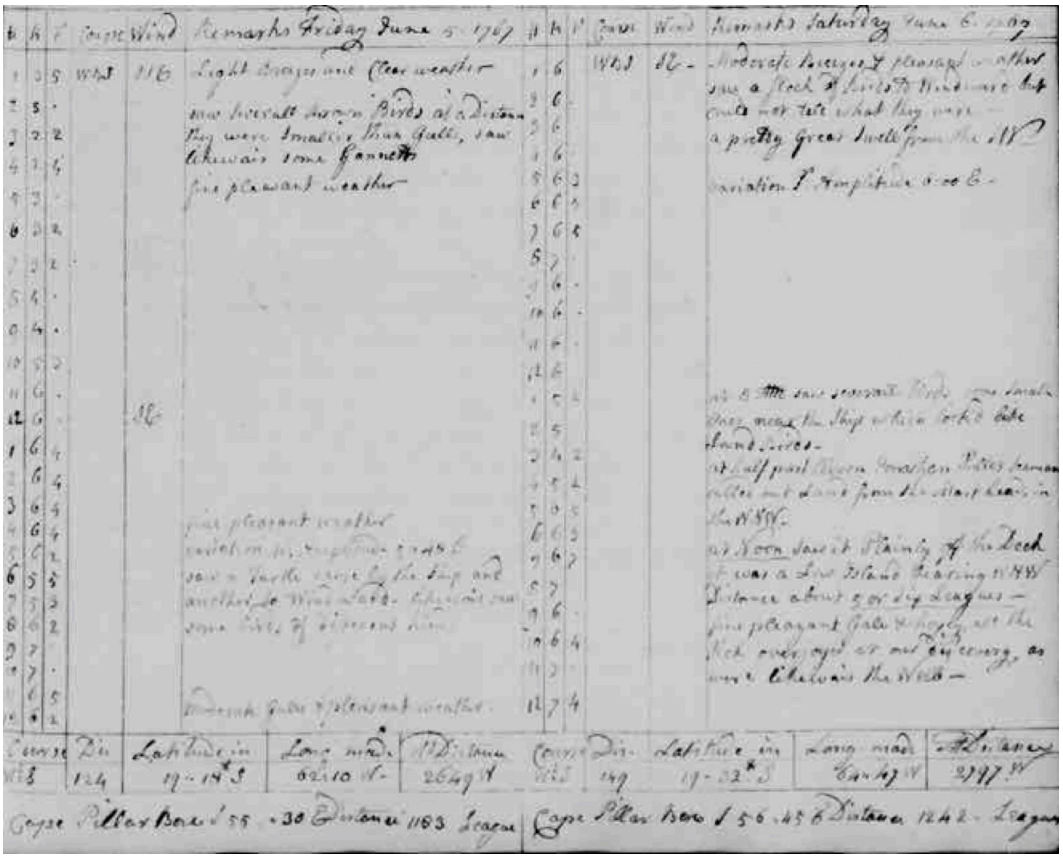


Figure 3. Samuel Wallis's journal (W.1) for June 5 and 6, 1767 showing the schematic layout with the day broken down into hours, courtesy of the National Archives, Kew.

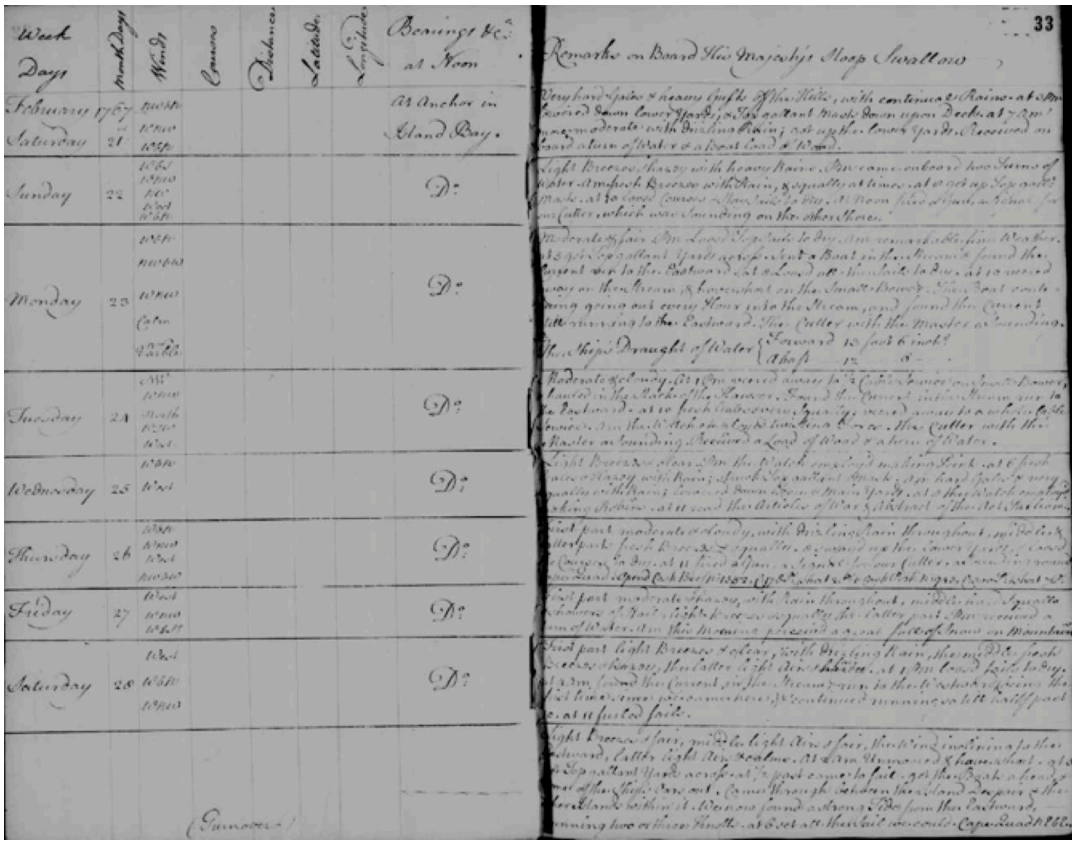


Figure 4. Philip Carteret's journal (C.1), February 21-28 1767, courtesy of the National Archives, Kew.

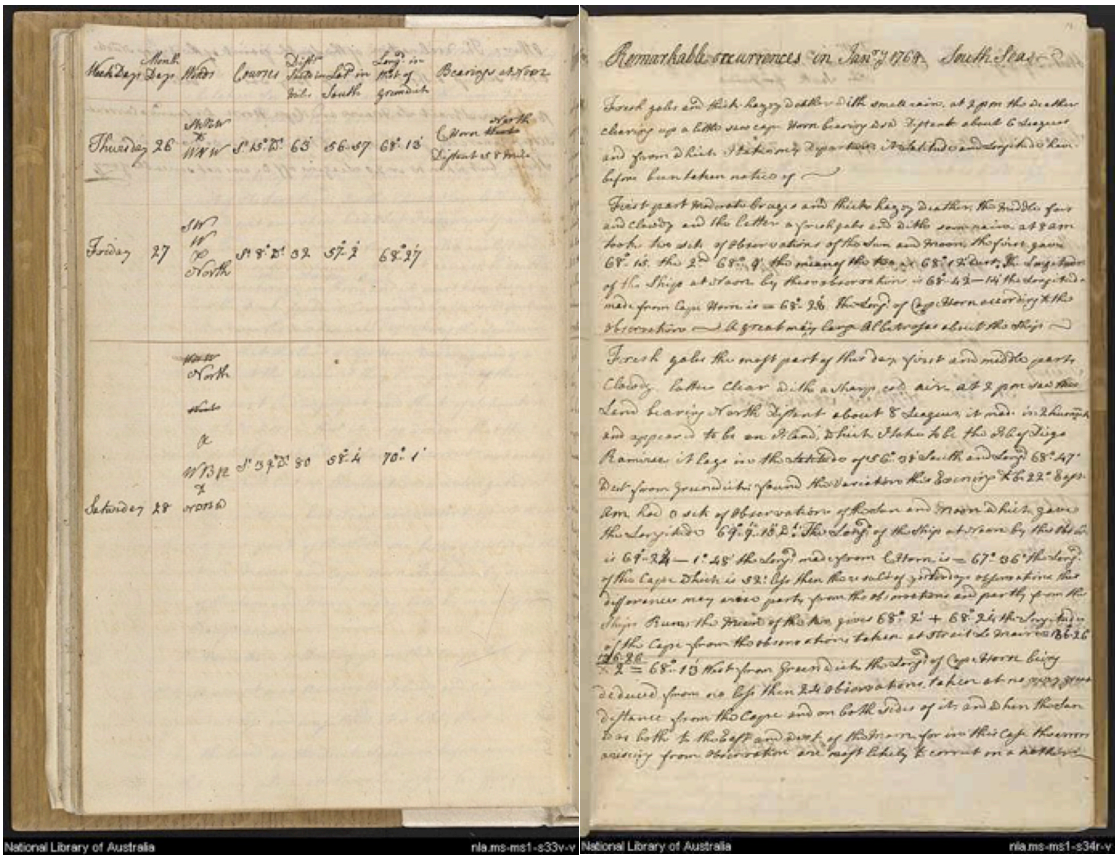
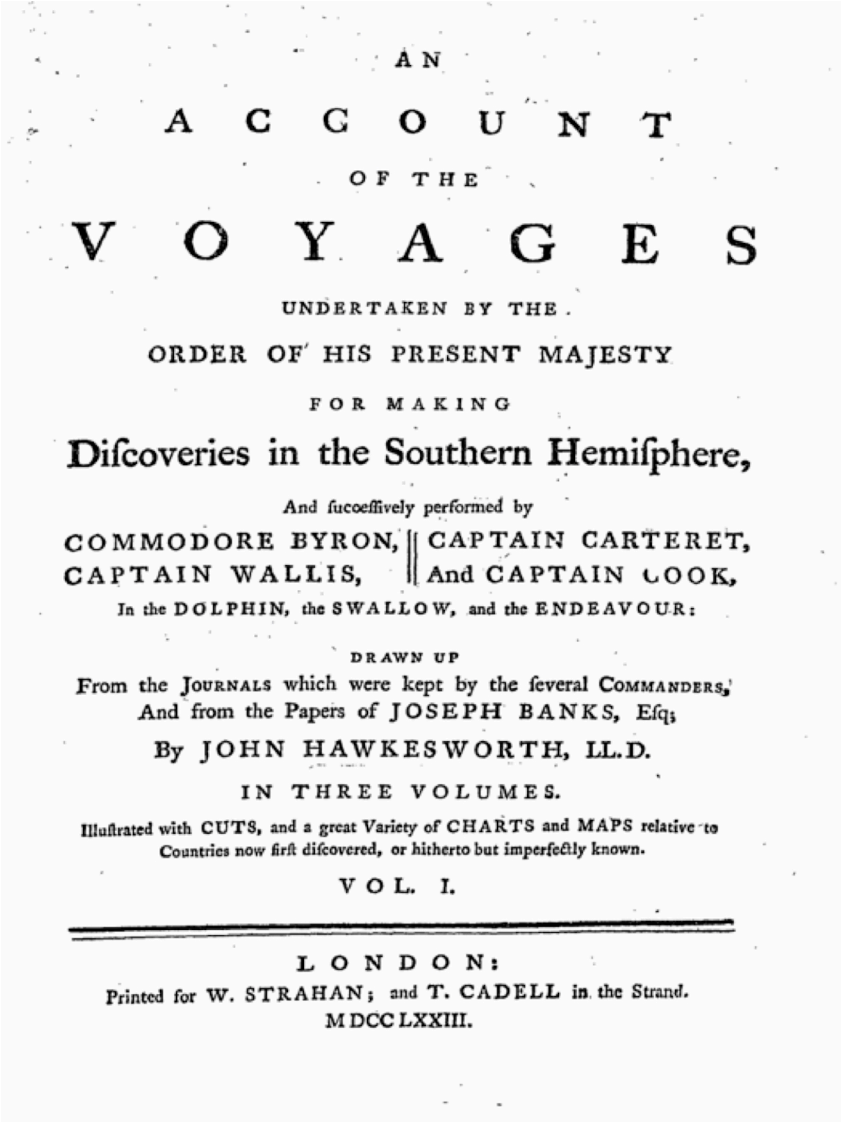


Figure 5. Entries for 26-28 January 1769 in James Cook's holograph Canberra journal, (CO.1.I), showing his calculations for the longitude of Cape Horn. Journal of H. M. S. *Endeavour*, courtesy of the National Library of Australia, MS1.



AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

VOYAGES

UNDERTAKEN BY THE

ORDER OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY

FOR MAKING

Diſcoveries in the Southern Hemiſphere,

And ſucceſſively performed by

COMMODORE BYRON,
CAPTAIN WALLIS,
CAPTAIN CARTERET,
And CAPTAIN COOK,

In the DOLPHIN, the SWALLOW, and the ENDEAVOUR:

DRAWN UP

From the JOURNALS which were kept by the ſeveral COMMANDERS,
And from the Papers of JOSEPH BANKS, Eſq;

By JOHN HAWKESWORTH, LL.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

Illuſtrated with CUTS, and a great Variety of CHARTS and MAPS relative to Countries now firſt diſcovered, or hitherto but imperfectly known.

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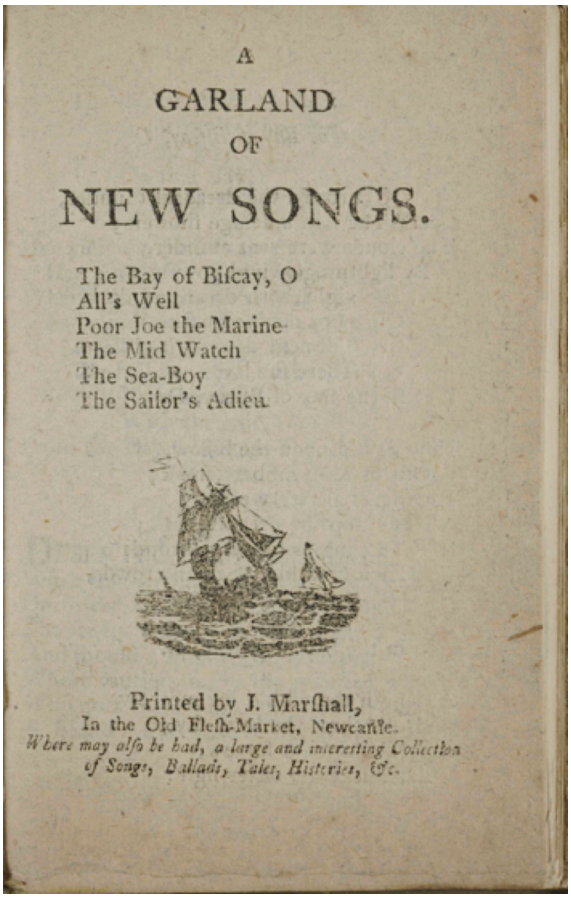
Printed for W. STRAHAN; and T. CADELL in the Strand.

MDCCLXXIII.

Figure 6. The title page of John Hawkesworth's *An Account of the Voyages* (1773).



A
GARLAND
OF
NEW SONGS.

The Bay of Biſcay, O
All's Well
Poor Joe the Marine
The Mid Watch
The Sea-Boy
The Sailor's Adieu

Printed by J. Marſhall,
In the Old Fleſh-Market, Newcaſtle.
Where may alſo be had, a large and intereſting Collection of Songs, Ballads, Tales, Hiſtories, &c.

Figure 7. *A Garland of New Songs*, courtesy of McGill University Library Chapbook Collection.

Figure 8. Illustration from the *Dangers of the Deep* (1836-1840), captioned 'Part of the crew of the Wager, man of War', courtesy of McGill University Library Chapbook Collection.

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