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COOK'S ARK

Animals on the Move in the Service of Empires

BÄRBEL CZENNIA

 Animals have been on the move in small boats and big ocean-going vessels, as livestock or travel companions, ever since humans took to the waters themselves. Pigs and poultry provided culinary highlights; ship's cats earned their keep by protecting provisions from rats and other vermin;¹ dogs and countless other pet animals cured homesickness and broke up the monotony of journeys that could last from several months to several years.² But while all of this had gone on for hundreds if

¹ For an eighteenth-century ship's cat that later reached international celebrity status, see Bärbel Czennia, "Pawprints on the Sands of Time: Animal Celebrities in Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture," in *Celebrity: The Idiom of a Modern Era* (New York: AMS Press, 2013), 249–88, especially 275–86.

² Many animals paid with their lives for increased international human interactions. For

not thousands of years, both frequency and significance of animal travel by boat reached a new dimension during the era of European exploration and discovery: The introduction of horses to the New World by Spanish settlers during the fifteenth century, including its long-term effect on the natural environment and the cultures of a whole continent, is a well-documented example.³ Louise E. Robbins has shown for eighteenth-century France that animal transports by ship were two-way affairs, increasing the number of new species at both ends of intercontinental journeys. Animals became objects of as well as contributors to *mutual* cultural exchanges: “For Enlightenment-era Parisians, exotic animals both piqued scientific curiosity and conveyed social status.”⁴ King Louis XIV and his two successors lavishly funded the Royal Menagerie at Versailles not only to dazzle and entertain their courtiers, but to demonstrate the ubiquity of their power to less privileged citizens. By opening the gates of the menagerie to the public, the rhinoceros, elephant, zebra, and many other exotic animals became manifest evidence for the far-reaching French political power and the expansion of the French empire. This essay will focus on the opposite transport route: on the systematic release of European land animals in the South Pacific during the later eighteenth century and especially on the role played by English explorer Captain James Cook in this process.⁵ In a second step, the essay will examine how animals

a rather disillusioned contemporary eyewitness report of George Forster, describing the fate of pet monkeys on board of James Cook's ship *Resolution*, see my “Floating Communities: Ships and Sociability,” *Sociability in Great Britain and in France in the Enlightenment: Forms, Functions and Operational Modes*, ed. Allan Ingram, Annick Cossic, and Norbert Col (Brest: Editions Le Manuscrit, coll. Transversales 4, forthcoming).

³ See, for instance, Frank Gilbert Roe, *The Indian and the Horse* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), Robert M. Denhardt, *The Horse of the Americas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), or Pita Kelekna's more recent *The Horse in Human History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁴ Publisher's advertisement on dustjacket for Louise E. Robbins, *Elephant Slaves and Pampered Parrots: Exotic Animals in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

⁵ In his introduction to *Cook: The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook* (New York: Walker and Company, 2003), xxii, Nicholas Thomas writes: “Transplantation had in one sense been going on for millennia. Cultivated plants were always spread through piecemeal adoption from place to place. But as the European colonization of the Americas and elsewhere gained momentum, plants and animals began to be shipped about in an increasingly deliberate way, and the mid eighteenth century was distinctive for the emergence of a more concerted and scientifically based approach.” See also Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), especially 171–84.

moved in the service of empire-building are collectively remembered in verbal and visual art and how literary texts and images from different centuries reflect changing attitudes toward European expansionism.

* Animal Transports on Captain Cook's Voyages *

During the eighteenth century,

any traveler on a long voyage would have been used to the company of bleating and cackling barnyard animals. Ships normally embarked with a full set of domestic animals as a supply of fresh meat: each of the ships on the attempted circumnavigation by Jean-François de Galaup, comte de la Pérouse, in the 1780s carried five cows, thirty to forty each of sheep and pigs, and two hundred poultry (ducks, geese, chickens, and turkeys).⁶

While these observations also hold true for all three of Captain Cook's voyages of exploration into the South Pacific, his own journals as well as those of other eyewitnesses suggest that the importance of animal transports significantly increased from his first journey on the *Endeavour* (1768–1771) to his third (and last) journey on the *Resolution* (1776–1779). Having at first served primarily as a dietary enhancement for the crews to break up the monotony of salt meat and hard tack (ship's biscuits),⁷ over time animals obtained growing political and symbolic significance for Britain's collective self-perception and for how they wanted to be perceived as a nation by others.

For the British Admiralty, animal exports made sense for eminently practical reasons, independent of any altruistic justification. Multiyear expeditions required quantities of provision that could not be carried by eighteenth-century vessels, nor were modern food preservation technologies available in

⁶ Robbins, *Elephant Slaves*, 11. For Lapérouse's later frustration about what he perceived as ungrateful native response to French animal donations (European goats and pigs) on Rapa Nui (Easter Island), where islanders supposedly accepted "gifts of goats from a French officer with one hand while stealing the Frenchman's handkerchief with the other," see also John Patrick Greene, "French Encounters With Material Culture of the South Pacific," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26.3 (2002): 238 and 240.

⁷ For a more detailed study of the diet aboard ships of the Royal Navy, see Janet Macdonald, *Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era* (London: Chatham Publishing, 2004).

order to keep water, vegetables, or fresh meat safe for consumption. As Cook and his predecessors learned the hard way, not all Pacific Islanders were willing to share natural resources and to cooperate with their European visitors. Some denied access even to the most basic resources such as food and water out of a general suspicion toward intruders from the outside world; others artificially limited trade with local produce such as fruit and meat in order to increase the market value of goods; others still were forced by the limits of their own natural resources to prioritize local demand over strangers' needs. Where native inhabitants showed little appreciation for livestock gifts and even less interest in actively breeding European animals,⁸ Cook's deliberate efforts to start feral populations of fertile English hogs and goats promised easier provisions for returning British crews than tedious negotiations with sometimes hostile natives. Andrew Kippis's straightforward acknowledgment of a *mixed* motivation that combined British self-interest with a *degree* of altruism, therefore, appears rather more plausible than the massive rhetoric of pure benevolent intent vis-à-vis indigenous populations that would later be voiced by British government representatives as well as by Cook eulogists:

But the greatest benefit which these islands are likely to receive from Omai's travels, will be in the animals that are left upon them; and which, had it not been for his coming to England, they might probably never have obtained. When these multiply, of which Captain Cook thought there was little reason to doubt, Otaheite and the Society Islands will equal, if not exceed, any country in the known world, for plenty of provisions. . . . Captain Cook continued to the last his zeal for furnishing the natives of the South Sea with useful animals. At Bolabola, where there was already a ram, which had originally been left by the Spaniards at Otaheite, he carried ashore an ewe, that had been brought from the Cape of

⁸ Wade Graham, "Traffick According To Their Own Caprice: Trade and Biological Exchange in the Making of the Pacific World, 1766–1825." *Seascapes, Littoral Cultures, and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges*. 12–15 February 2003, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.; <http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascapes/graham.html>, quotes William Robert Broughton, who reported in 1796 that ducks and cattle left by Vancouver in Kealakekua Bay (Hawaii) "had much increased in number" whereas "seeds had failed through inattention"; he also quotes Bligh and other contemporary sources evidencing Tahitian complaints about European goats and the islanders' neglect of cattle and horses left by Cook. See also Nicholas Thomas, *Cook*, 410: "The goats and pigs Cook distributed throughout the Pacific multiplied quickly, but the cattle he left in the Society Island never produced the stock that he had hoped would be a monument to British benevolence."

Good Hope; and he rejoiced in the prospect of laying a foundation, by this present, for a breed of sheep in the island. He left also at Ulietea, under the care of Oree, an English boar and sow, and two goats. It may, therefore, be regarded as certain, that not only Otaheite, but all the neighbouring islands, will, in a few years, have their race of hogs considerably improved; and it is probable, that they will be stocked with all the valuable animals, which have been transported thither by their European visitors. When this shall be accomplished, *no part of the world will equal these islands, in the variety and abundance of the refreshments which they will be able to afford to navigators* [my italics]; nor did the captain know any place that excelled them, even in their present state.⁹

Colonizing Pacific islands with English hogs, goats, and other European species not only promised to facilitate the provisioning of British explorers during return visits. In time, it would also provide a convenient base stock for future *human* settlement projects. As early as 1771, immediately after Cook's return from his first voyage around the world in the *Endeavour*, Alexander Dalrymple and Benjamin Franklin, intrigued by Cook's reports from New Zealand in particular, published a pamphlet recommending the "Scheme of a Voyage to convey the Conveniences of Life, Domestic Animals, Corn, Iron, &c., to New Zealand."¹⁰ While not many people in England shared Dalrymple's remarkably early enthusiasm for retraining New Zealand's indigenous tribes as English shepherds in order to pave the way for British settlements, the introduction of European farm animals to various South Pacific destinations, including Australia and Tasmania, certainly facilitated later human colonization.

Most importantly, the presentation of domestic animals as official gifts sent by a demonstratively benevolent British king during Cook's last voyage became as important a means for British empire-building in the South Pacific

⁹ Andrew Kippis, *Narrative of the Voyages Round The World, Performed by Captain James Cook, With an Account of his Life During the Previous and Intervening Periods* (London, 1788), Chapter VI.: "Narrative of Captain Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, to the Period of his Death"; Project Gutenberg Ebook, unpaginated online edition 7777-8.txt (<http://www.gutenberg.org/7/17/7/7777/>), accessed 15 July 2013.

¹⁰ Alexander Dalrymple and Benjamin Franklin, "Scheme of a Voyage to Convey the Conveniences of Life, Domestic Animals, Corn, Iron Etc., to New Zealand: With Dr. Benjamin Franklin's sentiments upon the subject: London, Aug. 29th, 1771" (Hobart: James Dally, 1971).

as the symbolic claiming of new territories or the search for new pathways (such as the much sought North East and North West Passages) that might shorten future travel times.¹¹

The gradual change in tone and frequency of references to animal transplants in Cook's journals reveals the growing importance of the project. During his first voyage, allusions to the condition of farm animals on board are still very limited: "Very hard gales with some heavy showers of rain the most part of these 24 hours . . . broke one of our Main topmast Puttock plates, Washed over board a small boat belonging to the Boatswain and drown'd between 3 and 4 Dozn of our Poultry which was worst of all," Cook reports on 1 September 1768¹² on his way to Madeira. An unobtrusive journal entry reflecting every-day routines on exploration vessels on December 1769¹³—"I sent some people a shore upon the Island to cut Grass for our Sheep"—and the expression of annoyance about the loss of one young pig (out of a whole litter brought ashore for grazing) in a hostile encounter with Aborigines near the Australian Endeavour River another year later, in July 1770,¹⁴ sums up the captain's rather modest concern for exported farm animals during his first voyage. Six years later, Cook's usual understatement is replaced by a rarely enthusiastic tone in a letter addressed to Lord Sandwich after the long-awaited arrival of Charles Clerke with the companion vessel *Discovery* at the Cape of Africa in October 1776, at the beginning of his third voyage:

Nothing is wanting but a few females of our own species to make the Resolution a *Compeate ark* [my italics], for I have taken the liberty to add considerably to the number of animals your Lordship was pleased to order to be put on board in England . . . the takeing on board some horses has made Omai compleatly happy, he consented with raptures to give up his Cabbin to make

¹¹ For further reading on Britain's so-called "second" empire, see David Mackay, *In the Wake of Cook: Exploration, Science & Empire, 1780–1801* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*, as quoted above; Margarette Lincoln, ed., *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 1998); John Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire: Joseph Banks, the British State and the Uses of Science in the Age of Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Graham, "Traffick," as quoted above.

¹² J[ohn]. C[awte]. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1955ff.), here I (1955), 5.

¹³ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, I (1955), 216.

¹⁴ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, I (1955), 361–62, (19 July 1770).

room for them, his only concern now is that we shall not have food for all the stock we have got on board.¹⁵

Cook had left England months before Clerke with a vessel characterized by observers as a floating barnyard. In addition to secret instructions (e.g., to look for a passage from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic ocean, to observe the nature, fauna, and flora of the places visited, and of collecting local samples and specimens), Cook had received from the British Admiralty the less secret instruction to leave animal specimens of his own country behind in various suitable locations. The list of suitable places included potential venues of future human settlement as well as islands that had already become regular stopping places for the purpose of restocking on provisions, as Cook had acknowledged some months earlier:

Took on board a Bull, 2 Cows with their Calves & some sheep to carry to Otaheite with a quantity of Hay and Corn for thier [sic] subistance. These Cattle were put on board at His Majesty's Command and expence with a view of stocking Otahiete and the Neighbouring Islands with these usefull animals.¹⁶

When Cook wrote to Sandwich, he had just added

two young Bulls, two Heifers, two young stone Horses, two Mares, two Rams, several Ewes and Goats and some Rabbits and Poultry, all of them intended for New Zealand, Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, or any other place we might meet, where there was a prospect that the leaving of some of them might prove usefull to posterity.¹⁷

all in order please the Admiralty and his ultimate employer, George III. Also known under the nick name "Farmer George," this monarch had a keen interest in agriculture, evidenced by his commitment to the crown estates at Richmond and Windsor and his conversion of part of the ornamental gardens

¹⁵ Cook to Lord Sandwich, 26 November 1776; Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.2 (1967), 1518. Mai (or "Omai" as he was called by eighteenth-century voyagers) was a native from Raiatea/Society Islands returning to the Pacific after a two-year stay in England.

¹⁶ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 4 (10 June 1776).

¹⁷ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 23 (23 November, 1776).

of Kew into a so-called “ornamental farm” or “ferme ornée.” Neither did George III show any reluctance to improve the genetic stock of British sheep by crossbreeding them with Spanish Merino, a species that he had smuggled into the country in violation of Spanish law, possibly under the auspices of Joseph Banks.¹⁸ Banks, a farming enthusiast himself, who had accompanied James Cook on his first voyage and who became president of the Royal Society in 1778, actively promoted the use of science for the improvement of agriculture and horticulture in British zones of influence around the globe. Illegal importation and systematic redistribution of potentially profitable plants and animals were rewarded as outstanding acts of British patriotism.

Livestock transports on eighteenth-century sailing ships outward bound with multiple missions, including geographical exploration and scientific observation as well as proto-diplomatic negotiations with indigenous populations, added hardship, increased risks, and often confronted the crew with frustrating setbacks. The journals of Cook and his fellow travelers abound with anecdotes illustrating the physical work and inconveniences related to maintaining a floating farm.¹⁹ Insufficient water and fodder supplies required additional stopovers and negotiations in unfamiliar territory; sick, sometimes scurvy-stricken animals temporarily carried ashore for grazing became vulnerable to attacks by local animals or theft by human inhabitants; cold, poisonous plants, and neglect or incompetent handling by native gift recipients resulted in the loss of valuable cargo.²⁰ Jealousies triggered by

¹⁸ For Joseph Banks’s successful establishment of Spanish Merino sheep in Britain’s new penal colony in Australia as well as for Banks’s general impact on British settlement in Australia and New Zealand and, under the influence of botanist Phillip Miller, on his successful initiation of the smuggling of precious exotic plants all over the growing British Empire, with Kew Gardens as a scientific distribution center, see also Nicholas Thomas, *Cook*, xxii, and Sir David Smith, “Sir Joseph Banks—A Personal Hero,” *The Linnean: Newsletter and Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London* 19.4 (2003): 31–41, especially 36.

¹⁹ See, for instance, Johann Reinhold Forster’s complaint on 15 March 1773, during Cook’s second voyage, when the cold weather between Antarctica and New Zealand resulted in shared living quarters for scientific supernumeraries and traveling animals: “We have been obliged to prepare a better & warmer birth for two Ewes & a Ram, which we wished to bring safe to New Zealand, no more convenient place could be devised than the space between my & the Masters Cabin. I was now beset with cattle & stench on both Sides, having no other but a thin deal partition full of chinks between me & them. The room offered me by Capt Cook, & which the Masters obstinacy deprived me of, was now given to very peaceably bleating creatures, who on a stage raised up as high as my bed, shit & pissed on one side, whilst 5 Goats did the same afore on the other side.” Michael Hoare, ed., *The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772–1775*, 4 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1982), 2:233.

²⁰ During the third voyage, Cook worries about sufficient quantities and quality of food for

arbitrary gift-giving could even increase the risk for a ship's crew of becoming dragged into sudden outbreaks of local conflict, as it happened, for instance, at Tongataboo/Friendly Isles in June 1777:

Captain Cook, on the 19th, made a distribution of the animals which he had selected as presents for the principal men of the island. To Poulaho, the king, he gave a young English bull and cow, together with three goats; to Mareewagee, a chief of consequence, a Cape ram and two ewes; and to Feenou a horse and a mare. He likewise left in the island a young boar and three young sows of the English breed; and two rabbits, a buck and a doe. Omai, at the same time, was instructed to represent the importance of these animals, and to explain, as far as he was capable of doing it, the manner in which they should be preserved and treated. Even the generosity of the captain was not without its inconveniences. It soon appeared that some were dissatisfied with the allotment of the animals; for, next morning, two kids and two Turkey-cocks were missing.²¹

The resulting hostilities and Cook's responses, including the dangerous strategy of using sacred objects and tribal leaders as temporary hostages, could quickly outweigh the potential beneficial effects of animal gifts, as even the admiring Kippis admits despite his rhetorical effort to emphasize the positive

animals (requiring a special stopover at Teneriffe in August 1776), reports attempted cattle theft, aggravated by dog attacks on grazing sheep and the tedious efforts of retrieval near the Cape of Good Hope in November 1776, laments loss of cattle owing to poor living conditions en route in December 1776, records the poor quality of the first grass harvested in Adventure Bay/Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), attempted pig theft by natives, and his own subsequent reluctance to drop off more than a pair of English pigs on 28 January 1777: "I did intend to have left also a young Bull & Cow, some sheep and Goats . . . had I not been fully satisfied that the Natives would destroy them, as I am persuaded they will do the Pigs if ever they meet with them; but as this is an animal that soon becomes wild and is fond of the thickest part of the woods, there is a great probability of their escaping whereas the other Cattle must have been left in an open place where it would have been impossible for them to remain concealed many days" (Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 [1967], 53). In February 1777, Cook participates in a grass harvesting expedition in New Zealand near the infamous Grass Cove "where the Natives cut off Captain Furneaux's boat" barely four years earlier, worries about animal provisions while exploring the Cook islands in March 1777, and justifies his decision to head for the Friendly Islands instead of exploring further north with repeated references to cattle on board suffering from shortage of water and grass (until relief is found at Palmerston Island in April and in Tonga in May 1777).

²¹ Kippis, *Narrative*, Chapter VI.

outcomes rather than forceful interventions: “It was a happy circumstance, with respect to this transaction, that it did not abate the future confidence of Poulaho and his friends in the captain’s kind and generous treatment.”²²

Cook and Furneaux, captain of the companion vessel *Adventure*, had already made several attempts to introduce European animals to Pacific islands during their second voyage (1772–1775) but had not been altogether successful. “Antarctic weather” had reeked havoc among their hogs, sheep, and poultry. Some of the animal pairs that Cook and Furneaux had put ashore at various landing spots in New Zealand hoping “that in process of time this Country will be stocked with Goats and Hogs”²³ were later found to be injured, separated by warring tribes, or simply found to have been killed and eaten by uncooperative natives so that “all our endeavours for stocking this Country with usefull Animals are likely to be frusterated by the very people whom we meant to serve.”²⁴

Tending to the needs of farm animals as well as of crews in need of fresh greens had turned out to be more dangerous than expected, as the place name “Grass Cove” on Cook’s chart (for modern-day Wharehunga Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand), suggests. For eighteenth-century explorers, “Grass Cove” commemorated a violent encounter between native New Zealanders and ten of Furneaux’s crew who mysteriously vanished in 1773 after having been sent out to cut wild greens for Cook’s consort ship, the *Adventure*. Soon after, a search team discovered that the men had been killed and fallen victim to cannibalism after a cultural clash that spun out of control. Not only did the Grass Cove event put a premature end to Cook’s and Furneaux’s collaboration, it also had a negative influence on Cook’s interactions with the local population during his following voyage.²⁵

Imperial rivalries, especially between Spain, France, and Britain, increased the number of European farm animals presented to Pacific islanders—who quickly learned to turn national jealousy between competing European visitors to their own advantage. James King, Cook’s second lieutenant during

²² Kippis, *Narrative*, Chapter VI.

²³ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, II (1961), 169 (2 June 1773).

²⁴ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, II (1961), 287 (5 November 1773).

²⁵ Anne Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 119–30, hypothesizes that the episode may also have had a negative effect on the group dynamics between Cook and his own men during his third voyage. Salmond argues that Cook’s reluctance to take the expected bloody revenge for the earlier massacre alienated both local natives and his European crew, who responded with a mock trial of a dog, supposedly undermining the captain’s authority beyond the New Zealand episode.

the third voyage, recorded that upon the British return (in 1777) Tahitians told them of foreign visitors who gave them "cattle much finer than ours." Nicholas Thomas conjectures that Cook "must have been appalled to gather that the Spanish had already brought cattle" to Tahiti, although his textual evidence reflects James King's strong disappointment rather than Cook's: "the disappointment & vexation on this last information was visible on all our Countenances. We saw that our Act of benevolence from its being too long deferred, had lost its hour, & its reward; We saw the loss of a season & an immense deal of trouble all thrown away to no purpose."²⁶ Cook, on the other hand, remains strictly descriptive and neutral in tone: "I saw some very fine large hogs of the Spanish breed, two goats and Dogs of two or three sorts, all of them either brought here by the Spaniards or bread [sic] from those they did bring"²⁷ and with regard to the Spanish bull he also concedes that "a finer beast than he was I hardly ever saw."²⁸ He also tries to recover from the lost race against the Spaniards by answering quality with quantity, flooding Tahiti with English animals and emphasizing this fact in his not so private journal, clearly with an eye to future readers, his personal connections among the British nobility as well as the general public included:

as soon as we had dined, a party of us accompanied [sic] Otoo to Oparre, taking with us the Poultry viz. a Peacock and Hen which my Lord Besborough was so kind as [to] send me for this purpose a few days before I left London, a Turkey-cock and Hen, one Gander and three Geese, a Drake and four Ducks.²⁹

In a surprise move, Cook then deflates the value of the Spanish gift, cleverly exposing it as utterly useless without the additional and even more generous donation on behalf of the British king:

I wondered to find this Bull the property of a Stranger and the more so as we were told he purchased him of the Spaniards for a Mat. Indeed it was of little consequence who had him, as without a Cow he could be of no use, for none were left with him, we

²⁶ James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean . . . for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere* (London, 1784), quoted in Thomas, *Cook*, 334.

²⁷ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 188.

²⁸ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 194 (24 August 1777).

²⁹ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 193–94 (24 August 1777).

may reasonably suppose that they died on the passage, though the Natives told us there were some on board, but that they took them away with them, but this I cannot beleive [sic]. The next day I sent the three Cows I had on board to this Bull, the Bull, the Horse and Mare and Sheep I put a shore at Matavai. And now found my self lightened of a very heavy burden, the trouble and vexation that attended the bringing these Animals thus far is hardly to be conceived. But the satisfaction I felt in having been so fortunate as to fulfill His Majestys design in sending such usefull Animals to two worthy Nations sufficiently recompenced me for the many anxious hours I had on their account.³⁰

The "trouble and vexation"³¹ involved in keeping farm animals alive for months or even years while crossing oceans and changing climate zones, in addition to the already bone-breaking work of operating an eighteenth-century sailing vessel, may well have aggravated Cook's growing exasperation with theft not only of material objects but also of livestock. Perceived as a challenge to his own authority as well as to that of his king and his benevolent projects, cattle theft by Pacific Islanders during the third voyage resulted in some harsh overreactions that triggered astonishment and critical responses

³⁰ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 194 (24 August 1777).

³¹ For the mental stress and demanding physical work involved, see, for instance, Cook's journal entry written near the archipelago later named Cook Islands: "Having received this report, I considered that as the Ships could not be brought to an anchor the procuring grass here would be very tedious as well as attended with some danger . . . It was therefore absolutely necessary to persue such methods as was most likely to preser[v]e the Cattle we had on board in the first place, and save the Ships stores and Provisions in the second the better to enable us to prosecute the Discoverys in the high northern latitudes the ensuing summer . . . When we bore away I steered WBS . . . intending to proceed first to Middleburg, thinking if the wind continued we had food enough on board for the Cattle to last till we got there . . . At length . . . we desried Palmerstone islands . . . when I sent four boats . . . for now we were under an absolute necessity of procuring from this island some food for the Cattle otherwise we must lose them. . . . About 1 PM one of the boats came aboard, laden with scurey grass and young Cocoanut trees which at this time was a feast for the cattle . . . this determind me to get a good supply of these articles before I quited the island. In the evening I went ashore in a small boat . . . we found every body hard at work . . . After the boats were laden I returned on board . . . the next Morning. . . which was spent in collecting and bringing on board food for the Cattle . . . Having got a sufficient Supply, by sunset I ordered every body on board." Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 90-93 (April 1777). See also Cook on 2 May, 1777 near Anamocka/Tonga: "In the after noon I went ashore again with a party of Marines and such of the Cattle as were weak . . ." Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 99.

even among Cook's own men. A frequently quoted example is the destruction of several houses and war canoes during a visit to the island Eimeo (Moorea) in October 1777 in an attempt to retrieve the second of two goats stolen within several hours:

a circumstance happened that . . . gave me a good deal of trouble, this was some of the Natives . . . stealing one of our Goats, that we had ashore in the day time grazing, with two men to look after them. The loss of this Goat would have been nothing if it had not interfered with my views of Stocking other islands with these Animals but as it did it was necessary to get it again if possible . . . as I could not spare any but at the expence of other islands that might never have another oppertunity [sic] to get any. . . . Not thinking that any one would dare to take a nother at the very time I was taking measures to recover the first, the Goats were again put ashore . . . and in the evening a boat was sent to bring them on board for good; as they were geting [sic] them into the boat one was carried off undiscovered . . . which was a she goat and big with kid . . . I insisted upon its being deliv[er]ed up, if not I would burn their houses and boats.³²

Only Cook's threat to destroy *all* remaining houses and canoes results in a return of the animal. Once the episode is over, Cook himself sounds at a loss for offering a convincing justification for his behavior. The journal entry is unusually long and gives many details of an escalation in the course of which the captain finds himself increasingly entrapped between contradictory impulses: In his effort to maintain control and to demonstrate European superiority, he acts more and more like an unenlightened barbarian: "I was now very sorry I had proceeded so far as I could not retreat with any tolerable credet, and without giving incouragement to the people of the other islands we had yet to visit to rub us with impunity."³³ His conclusion on October 10, "Thus this troublesome, and rather unfortunate affair ended, which could not be more regreted [sic] on the part of the Natives than it was on mine"³⁴ sounds meek and his claim that "[t]he next Morning we were again all good friends the people bring[ing] to the Ships fruit &ca to ba[r]ter with the same confidence

³² Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 228–30 (7–9 October 1777).

³³ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 229.

³⁴ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 232.

as at first"³⁵ not very plausible, especially when compared to concerns voiced by his own men. Heinrich Zimmermann, for example, a German crew member, commented in his own journal:

he sent out soldiers all over the island with orders to burn all huts, & on the coast he employed sailors on a similar mission, there also to destroy all canoes they could find; there were several very big ones . . . it will certainly take the poor savages more than a century to repair all the damages that we did to them. Basically, I can only disapprove of the somewhat violent procedures of Mr. Cook.³⁶

According to Nicholas Thomas, Cook's extravagant behavior can only be understood as part of his personal, increasingly ambitious, nearly transcendental sense of mission:

We cannot avoid concluding that the prospective contribution "to posterity" was of peculiar importance for him. . . . Over the London winter and spring, Cook's ambitions had become wider . . . the improvements he sought would not be exclusively in the domain of geography, but also that of "oeconomy" (a capricious

³⁵ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 232 (11 October 1777).

³⁶ My translation of the following French version: "il envoya les soldats par-tout le pays avec ordre de brûler les cabanes, & sur la côte il employa les matelots à une pareille exécution, comme aussi à détruire toutes les pirogues que l'on pourroit trouver; il y en avoit de très-grandes . . . il faudra certainement plus d'un siecle à ces pauvres sauvages pour réparer tout le dégât que nous leurs fîmes. Dans le fond, je ne puis m'empêcher de désapprouver en quelque maniere le procédé violent de M. Cook," *Dernier voyage du Capitaine Cook autour du monde . . . publié par Henri Zimmermann, témoin oculaire, & traduit avec un abrégé de la vie de ce navigateur célèbre & des notes* (Bern, 1783), 41-42. Zimmermann's journal was first published in a French translation (printed anonymously in Switzerland) after the original German version had been suppressed immediately by the British Navy with the help of German censors. Before the voyage, all crew members had to sign a contract obliging them to submit to the Navy all written material including personal journals and diaries at the end of the voyage. Thomas, *Cook*, 346, additionally quotes officer Williamson ("totally destitute of humanity . . . I must confess this once I obey'd my Orders [to destroy houses and canoes] with reluctance"), James King ("I doubt whether our Ideas of propriety in punishing so many innocent people for the crimes of a few, will ever be reconcileable to any principle one can form of justice . . . I much fear that this event will be a very strong motive not only to these Islanders, but to the rest, to give a decided preference to the Spaniards, & that in future they may fear, but never love us"), and George Gilbert ("I can't well account for Capt Cook's proceedings on this occasion . . . all about such a trifle as a small goat") among Cook's strongest critics upon this occasion.

notion that encompassed sociality and morality as well as economics): Pacific Islanders would enjoy more and better foods, and have more and better to trade; more trade, maybe more civility. There was no mercenary scheme here, but a grander notion, and Cook had his eye on it.³⁷ (287)

Cook's increasing sense of mission and of his personal role as that of a modern Prometheus, a cultural mediator delivering tools deemed necessary to lift peoples disadvantaged by nature to a higher level of civilization, is also evident from Cook's own and Kippis's renderings of local responses to their first sightings of European horses. In early April 1777, Kippis claims that natives of an unspecified island in a group nowadays summarized as Cook Islands were afraid of horses:

In a visit from several others of the inhabitants, they manifested a dread of approaching near the cows and horses: nor could they form the least conception of their nature. But the sheep and goats did not, in their opinion, surpass the limits of their ideas; for they gave our navigators to understand that they knew them to be birds. As there is not the most distant resemblance between a sheep or goat, and any winged animal, this may be thought to be almost an incredible example of human ignorance. But it should be remembered, that, excepting hogs, dogs, and birds, these people were strangers to the existence of any other land animals.³⁸

Cook himself seems to have regarded the resettlement of Omai in Huahine/Society Islands in September 1777 as another opportunity to demonstrate the perceived superiority of European civilization, English horsemanship included:

In the evening of the 14th Captain Clerke and I took a ride round the plain of Matavai to the very great surprise and astonishment of a great train of people who attended us; for tho Omai had been once or twice on horseback he had been as often thrown off before

³⁷ See Thomas, *Cook*, 287; similarly also 347: "few shared or even discerned Cook's sense that his voyage was historic, in a broader and higher sense that did not hinge on a single discovery." See also Cook's journal entry of 30 November 1776 (quoted above) that lists the additional animals he had bought in Cape Town (outward bound) and that reflects on their value for "posterity."

³⁸ Kippis, *Narrative*, Chapter VI.

he got himself seated, so that this was the first time they had seen any body ride a horse. It was afterwards continued every day by one or a nother so long as we stayed and yet their curiosity was not then satisfied; *they were exceedingly delighted with these Animals after they had seen the use that was made of them. And I think they gave them a better idea of the greatness of other Nations than all the other things put together that had been carried amongst them* [my italics].³⁹

Describing a major disembarkation seven months earlier (February 1777) in Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand, a, David Samwell, surgeon on board of Cook's consort ship *Discovery*, offers an idyllic scene worthy of a contemporary pastoral play:

Today our Ship, which for the variety of living Things she contained might be called a second Noahs [sic] Ark, poured out the Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Goats &c. with peacocks, Turkeys, Geese & Ducks, to the great Astonishment of the New Zealanders, who had never seen Horses or Horned Cattle before; these being all feeding & diverting themselves about the Tents familiarised the Savage Scene & made us almost forget that we were near the antipodes of old England among a rude & barbarous people.⁴⁰

Samwell's choice of the term "Noah's Ark," which Cook himself had already used at the beginning of their journey in his letter to Lord Sandwich, became a leitmotif in later appreciations of Cook, especially after his violent death in Hawaii in 1779. The comparison with biblical Noah, a human being exempted from divine punishment in the interest of the preservation of biodiversity, not only lent a redeeming quality to Cook's encounters with indigenous peoples. It also helped to establish the idea of a "second coming" of European visitors, in particular, a second empire initiated by the British people and associated with mutually enriching peaceful trade and commerce, in sharp contradistinction to the first wave of European empire building during the fifteenth and sixteenth century, dominated by Portugal and Spain and presented by their British rivals for empire as brutal conquest and exploitation of native peoples. "The grateful Indian, in time to come, *pointing to the herds grazing his fertile plains, will relate to his children*

³⁹ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 209 (14 September 1777).

⁴⁰ Samwell in Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.2 (1967), 995.

how the first stock of them was introduced into the country; and the name of Cook will be remembered among those benign spirits [my italics], whom they worship as the source of every good, and the fountain of every blessing,"⁴¹ David Samwell wrote six years after his return from the third voyage in his personal memoir of Captain Cook. In one of his own moments of flirtation with posterity, Cook had flattered himself with similar thoughts after his release of male and female sheep on Eua, a small island belonging to the Tonga archipelago:

From this hill we had a full View of the whole island . . . the SE side from which the hills are not far distant, rises with very great inequalities directly from the Sea, so that the plains and Meadows, of which here are some of great extent, lay all on the NW side; and as they are adorned with tufts of trees and here and there plantations, make a very beautiful Landskip from whatever point they are viewed. *Whilst I was viewing these delightfulfull spots, I could not help flatering my self with the idea that some future Navigator may from the very same station behould these Meadows stocked with Cattle, the English have planted at these islands* [my italics].⁴²

Considering how important animal transports had become for Cook over time, it is all the more surprising that the draftsmen and painters hired for these voyages, for example Parkinson, Hodges, or Webber, apparently missed the opportunity to document the as yet unusual sight of grazing European herds on Pacific Islands or that of rejoicing natives dazzled by the sight of English domestic animals in any of their illustrations. Instead, their illustrations focus on non-European animal and plant life, all of which was probably deemed more important for the emerging sciences. As often in history, it was left to the creative imagination of later generations of poets, novelists, painters, and sculptors to fill the remaining blank in our collective memory.

⁴¹ David Samwell, "Some Particulars Concerning the Life and Character of Captain Cook," *A Narrative of the Death of Captain James Cook. To Which are Added some Particulars, Concerning his Life and Character and Observations Respecting the Introduction of the Venereal Disease into the Sandwich Islands* / by David Samwell, Surgeon of the Discovery (London, 1786), 21–27, here 27.

⁴² Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, III.1 (1967), 157–58 (13 July 1777).

* Cook's Ark in Art: Literary and Pictorial Representations of Animal Transplants in Europe and in the South Pacific *

Two German scientists, former expedition member Georg Forster and Goettingen professor Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, were among the quickest to respond to Cook's unexpected death with biographical appreciations. Emphasizing the amazement of native peoples when first seeing European animals, they suggested that the natives' response was bordering on worship:

In O-Taheiti he released some of the animals taken onboard at the Cape, namely a bull, several cows, a stallion and a couple of mares, several rams and some ewes, a peacock and some peahens . . . When the big animals came out of Cook's ark, the local inhabitants are said to have nearly idolized them.⁴³

The step from idolizing the gift to idolizing the gift-giver was only a short one for many of Cook's eulogists, eager as they were to associate his animal exports with his personal or Britain's collective generosity and love of mankind.

⁴³ My translation of "In O-Taheiti liess er die am Cap eingenommenen Thiere, nemlich einen Bullen und einige Kuehe, einen Hengst und einige Stuten, ein Paar Schafsboecke und einige Mutterschafte, einen Pfau und einige Pfauhennen . . . Als die grossen Thiere aus Cooks Arche hervor kamen, sollen sie von den Einwohnern fast angebetet worden seyn. Es wurden auch welche unter die uebrigen Inseln vertheilt." Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, "Einige Lebensumstaende von Capt. James Cook, groesstenteils aus schriftl. Nachrichten einiger Bekannter gezogen," *Goettingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur*, 1. Jg., 1. St. (1780): 243–96. See also Georg Forster, *Fragmente ueber Cooks letzte Reise und sein Ende*, 4 (1780): 387–429, *Goettingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur*, 1. Jg., 4. St. (1780), especially 393, and Georg Forster, *Cook der Entdecker. Versuch eines Denkmals*, pp. 1–106 of Georg Forster, *Des Capitain Jacob Cooks dritte Entdeckungs-Reise . . . Aus den Tagebuchern des Capitain Cook und der uebrigen nach seinem Ableben im Commonado auf ihn gefolgten Befehlshaber Clerke, Gore und King ingleichen des Schiffswundarzes Herrn Anderson herausgegeben* (Berlin: Haude and Spener, 1787), 24; electronic edition, Göttingen State and University Library, Germany. Additional evidence comes from an anonymously published obituary, titled *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Seereisen des beruehmten Captain Cook* (Reval & Leipzig, 1780), 33–34: "Die Verwunderung, die sie bey dem Anblick eines Hengstes, einer Stutte, eines Ochsen und einer Kuh, die Kapitain Cook ihnen vorfuehren liess, sehen liessen, war so gross, dass sie beinahe an Anbetung grenzte, bis Omiah ihnen Begriffe davon beybrachte." Michelangiolo Gianetti's *Elegy of Captain James Cook Composed and Publickly Recited Before the Academy of Florence . . . Translated into English by a Member of the Royal Academy* (Florence, 1785), 87, likewise celebrates Cook as the benevolent harbinger of modern agriculture: "He is celebrated in those Islands which he has enriched with European plants, seeds, and the most useful animals."

Anne Seward's "Elegy on Captain Cook" (1780), for example, first condemns "hostile" natives of New Zealand for their unenthusiastic reception of Cook as brutal "savages" and then praises more accommodating tribes for their willingness to collaborate in the joint venture of European animal breeding. Friendly behavior is promptly rewarded with generous gifts of livestock, transforming the harsh foreign environment (depicted with negative epithets such as "iron" and "uncultur'd") into a neo-European idyll, worthy of paradise or at least echoing the peace and plenty of rural England as celebrated in the first section of Alexander Pope's "Windsor Forest" (1713). The white plumage of the English goose promises innocence and cleanliness, the roar of the English bull, worthy emblem of a beef-loving nation that by the 1780s had transformed John Arbuthnot's 1712 creation "John Bull" into a positive auto-stereotype, inspires a sense of awe and sublimity:

And yet there were, who in this iron clime
 Soar'd o'er the herd on Virtue's wing sublime;
 Rever'd the stranger-guest, and smiling strove
 To soothe his stay with hospitable love . . .
 To these the hero leads his living store,
 And pours new wonders on th' uncultur'd shore;
 The silky fleece, fair fruit, and golden grain;
 And future herds and harvests bless the plain.
 O'er the green soil his Kids exulting play,
 And sounds his clarion loud the Bird of day;
 The downy Goose her ruffled bosom laves,
 Trims her white wing, and wantons in the waves;
 Stern moves the Bull along th' affrighted shores,
 And countless nations tremble as he roars.⁴⁴

Anne Seward further emphasizes Cook's selfless humanism by adding a footnote to this passage suggesting that the captain's cattle imports were driven by his hope to wean Pacific Islanders off cannibalism:

Captain Cook left various kinds of animals upon this coast, together with garden-seeds, &c. The Zealanders had hitherto subsisted upon fish, and such coarse vegetables as their climate produced;

⁴⁴ Anne Seward, *Elegy on Captain Cook. To Which is Added, An Ode to the Sun* (London, 1780), lines 7–20.

and this want of better provision, it is supposed, induced them to the horrid practice of eating human flesh.⁴⁵

The commemoration of Cook as an ambassador of European progress was supported by an international community of Cook eulogists who in subsequent decades spared neither verse nor prose to turn the tightlipped Yorkshire man into a benevolent agricultural aid worker. French poet Jacques Delille concluded his poem on the English landscape garden, "*Les Jardins, ou l'Art d'embellir les Paysages*" (1782) with an encomium on Captain Cook that was immediately translated into English and published independently in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.⁴⁶ Echoing the biblical idea of transforming "swords to ploughshares," Cook is again stylized as an agricultural savior figure, this time redeeming the sins of pre-British imperial ambition:

Thee, chief, brave Cook, o'er whom, to nature dear,
With Britain Gallia drops the pitying tear.
To foreign climes and rude, where nought before,
Announced our vessels but their canons' roar,
Far other gifts thy better mind decreed,
The sheep, the heifer, and the stately steed [my italics];
The plough, and all thy county's arts; the crimes
Atoning thus of earlier savage times."⁴⁷

Two species from Cook's menagerie, English goats and English bulls, would continue to attract special attention, occupying the imagination of verbal and visual artists right up to our own time. A goat that traveled with Cook as part of the ship's permanent crew was the first to receive a literary monument. It was a nanny goat that had already circumnavigated the globe with Captain Wallis and provided gentleman crew members onboard of the *Dolphin* with

⁴⁵ Anne Seward, *Elegy*, footnote on page 9.

⁴⁶ Jacques Delille, *Les jardins, ou, l'art d'embellir les paysages: poëme par M. l'abbé De Lille* (Paris, 1782); first complete English edition, *The Garden, or, The Art of Laying out Grounds, translated from the French of the Abbé De Lille* (London, 1789). Partial translation in *The Gentleman's Magazine, and Historical Chronicle* 53, Part 2 (1783): 1044–45 as "Elogium on Capt. Cook. From the French of Abbé de Lisle" [sic].

⁴⁷ Quoted from the concluding pages of Kippis, *Narrative* (unpaginated edition), introduced by Kippis with the following words: "To the applauses of our navigator, which have already been inserted, I cannot avoid adding some poetical testimonies concerning him. The first I shall produce is from a foreign poet, M. l'Abbé Lisle. This gentleman has concluded his '*Les Jardins*' with an encomium on Captain Cook, of which the following lines are a translation."

fresh milk for their coffee before embarking on the *Endeavour* for the same purpose. In his introduction to Cook's journals, J. C. Beaglehole quotes the captain's appreciation of this animal's service after his return from the first voyage in 1771: "Before I conclude, I must not omit how highly we have been indebted to a milch goat: she was three years in the West Indies, and was once round the world before in the Dolphin, and never went dry the whole time; we mean to reward her services in a good English pasture for life."⁴⁸ Beaglehole also reports that Joseph Banks and Swedish naturalist Daniel Solander discussed the goat's unusual merits with Samuel Johnson, who, upon request, produced a humorous Latin epigram in honor of the recently retired four-legged crew member. The couplet was also imprinted on a silver collar that the far-traveled milch goat wore during her last years:

*Perpetua ambitâ bis terrâ proemia lactis
Haec habet altrici Capra secunda Jovis.*

In his Johnson biography, James Boswell offers an English translation in quatrain form, further emphasizing the mock-heroic mode:

In fame scarce second to the nurse of Jove,
This Goat, who twice the world had traversed round,
Deserving both her master's care and love,
Ease and perpetual pasture now has found.⁴⁹

Australian author Jackie French has renewed twentieth-century interest in this particular animal through a historical novel for children titled *The Goat who sailed the World*.⁵⁰ Honoring the milk goat with the role of one of two narrator figures, French's book recounts Cook's first voyage from the viewpoint of an animal and a child, likewise based on a historical figure, Isaac George Manley, whose later career as a navy admiral had begun with his service as a ship's boy on board of Cook's *Endeavour*. As the first novel in a co-called "Animal Star Series," Cook's goat helps to revive an important chapter in national history for twentieth-century Australian schoolchildren. Adding an emotional

⁴⁸ Beaglehole, ed., *Journals*, I (1955), 649 (29 July 1771); newspaper extract from *General Evening Post*, possibly written by Cook or another crew member.

⁴⁹ *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. by George Birkbeck Hill, revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934), 2:144 (27 February 1772).

⁵⁰ Jackie French, *The Goat who Sailed the World* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 2006).

dimension to dry historical facts, the book humanizes Cook's contribution to British empire building by presenting life aboard the *Endeavour* in a favorable light and Cook himself as an English founding father of modern Australia.⁵¹

Another goat, but one that left Europe behind for good, has been eternalized on an early-nineteenth-century panoramic wallpaper, designed by Jean-Gabriel Charvet for Joseph Dufour & Co., Macon, France. First produced in 1804, the wallpaper bears witness to the favorable posthumous perception of Captain Cook as a transnational, European hero, a perception perpetuated by many intellectuals and artists all over Europe after his death. Originally named "Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique," but also known as "Les voyages du Capitaine Cook" or simply "Captain Cook Wallpaper," Charvet's design presents his viewers with a landscape vaguely reminiscent of Tahiti but explicitly referencing many different sites visited by Cook and other Pacific explorers during the eighteenth century. It displays representatives of diverse Pacific peoples pursuing a number of activities such as dancing, resting, and fighting, in the midst of lush, exotic-looking vegetation. The colorful panorama⁵² is filtered through a nostalgic neoclassical lens that fuses European ideas of a mythical past (including the Golden Age of classical antiquity

⁵¹ For more details, see my "Pawprints," 286–87. For more recent children's books on another ship's boy aboard the *Endeavour*, Nick Young, who apparently shared responsibility for the well being of the ship's goat with Isaac, see Karen Hesse, *Stowaway* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000) and Michael J. Rosen, *Sailing the Unknown: Around the World with Captain Cook* (Mankato, Minnesota: Creative Editions, 2012). The New Zealand Arapawa Goat Association not only defends modern-day descendants of English goats released by Captain Cook in the Queen Charlotte Sound as members of a genetically unique breed against culling but also offers a history book "for young children" by Allison Sutherland, titled *Old Will, the First Arapawa Goat* (2013). Bibliographical details of a musical for children about James Cook's voyages by Australian writer and director Rob Inglis, titled *95 Men and a Nanny Goat* and performed at Parade Theatre, Kensington, New South Wales in 1970, remained inaccessible until the publication date of this essay.

⁵² Each panel was circa twenty inches wide and ninety inches high. Jean-Gabriel Charvet (1750–1829) was a minor painter who was inspired by the new discoveries in the Pacific, especially those made by Captain Cook, as well as by his own travels in the Caribbean. The wallpaper was first exhibited at the fourth industrial exhibition in Paris in 1806, where the Jury described it as "perhaps the most unusual example[s] which art has produced in this genre." Even more unusual was Dufour's clever marketing strategy, consisting of a 48-page promotional "prospectus," published in 1804–05 to explain design and potential uses of his visual narrative to the newly affluent post-Revolutionary upper middle-class of the Napoleonic era: "This decoration has been designed with the objective of showing to the public the peoples encountered by the most recent explorers, and of using new comparisons to reveal the natural bonds of taste and enjoyment that exist between all men."



Jean Gabriel Charvet, French, 1750–1829. Joseph Dufour (printer), French, 1742–1827. *Savages de la Mer Pacifique* (Savages of the Pacific Ocean). Inhabitants of the Marquise Islands (Marquesas), ca. 1804–1806. Block printed watercolor on paper, 99 x 21 1/4 in. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, museum purchase, Gift of Georgia. M. Worthington and The Fine Arts Museums Trustees Fund, 77.6.18.

and biblical Eden) with ethnographic details extracted from contemporaneous travel reports. According to the manufacturer Dufour, panels X and XI represent “Inhabitants of New Zealand,” with panel XI focusing on “a New Zealand woman with her child” in the middle ground and “several warriors” involved in the Grass Cove killings “climbing a trail” in the background. The foreground of panel XI is dominated by a free-roaming goat of European

extraction⁵³ that might well be one of Cook's hospitality gifts. Clearly enjoying its Pacific pasture and the admiring looks of picturesque natives, the goat is many times bigger in size than the dying Captain Cook, defending himself against angry native Hawaiians (then called "Sandwich Islanders") in the far distance of panel VIII. Minimizing the scene of Cook's death so as "to please the eye and excite the imagination without taxing it,"⁵⁴ and enlarging his benevolent livestock gift by foregrounding it, the message of the artist is clear: Rather than the ugly circumstances of Cook's violent death, the beneficial impact of Cook's voyages for Pacific Islanders should be remembered "since he [Cook] became the compatriot of every nation by devoting himself to the welfare of all." Like the French poet Delille, French wallpaper producers of the early nineteenth century celebrated James Cook as a transnational European hero and benefactor of mankind.⁵⁵

One of the most recent artistic responses to Cook's floating menagerie is a series of life-sized bull sculptures designed by a Pacific Islander of mixed Samoan, Rarotongan, Tahitian, and European descent, who lives in New Zealand. While Michel Tuffery's bulls may be a far cry from Anne Seward's roaring monster that supposedly set complete Pacific nations atrembling,

⁵³ Arapawa goat breeders in New Zealand distinguish the English heritage of the Arapawa goat from that of goats bought and imported by Cook en route at Cape Verde Island, which apparently "were long-legged, straight horned and had pendulous ears." By contrast, "the Arapawa goat has a small, light-framed goat with all parts of the body in balanced proportion relative to its size, the ears are placed at the upper part of the skull and are expressive, and the horns sweep up towards the back, with the bucks' sweeping up, back and curling outwards. There is a greater resemblance . . . between the Arapawa goat and the Old English goat as described by the Old English Goat Society (2013). The latter is described as small and 'cobby' . . . the legs are short and well-boned, the horns rise straight up to start with, then curve backwards . . . or twist outwards . . . , and the ears are described as 'small' and 'pricked'; <http://www.arapawagoats.org.nz/nzaga-timeline.html>, accessed 4 August 2013.

⁵⁴ "Le but de cette entreprise . . . a pour objet le dessein de plaire aux yeux et d'occuper l'imagination sans la fatiguer." Joseph Dufour et Cie, *Les sauvages de la mer Pacifique, tableau pour décoration en papier peint* [microforme] (Macon, France, 1804). Microfiche de l'exemplaire de l'édition originale se trouvant à la Library Division, Provincial Archives of British Columbia (http://archive.org/details/cihm_14114). The English translation is copied from Susan Hall, ed. *Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique: Manufactured by Joseph Dufour et Cie 1804–05 after a Design by Jean-Gabriel Charvet* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales / National Gallery of Australia, 2000), 33.

⁵⁵ Neither the ongoing Napoleonic Wars (that must have caused considerable anti-British resentment) nor national borders seem to have stopped Dufour's positive transnational endorsement of Cook. Owing to strong advertizing from Maine to "French America," historians estimate that more than a hundred copies of the Captain Cook wallpaper were hung in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century.

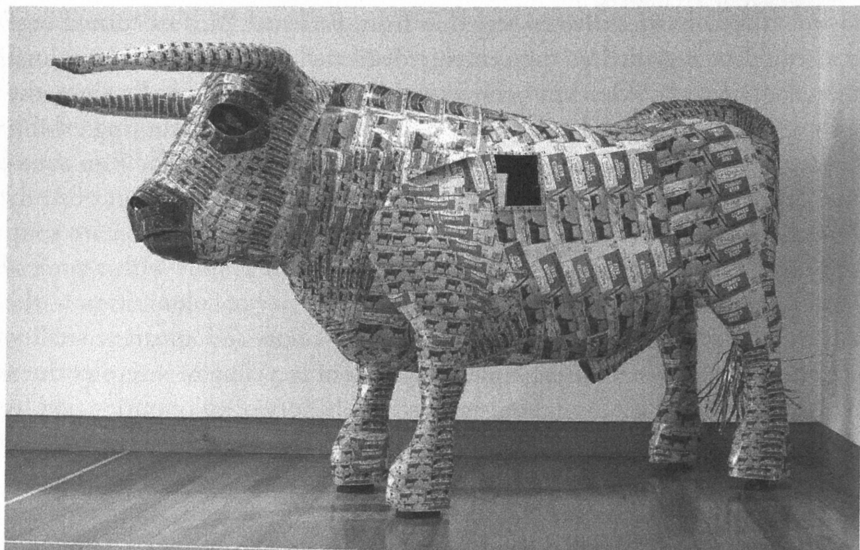
his colorful sculptures, riveted together from flattened Pacifica corned beef cans could be regarded as monuments dedicated to the unknown animal transplant. Tuffery, who has been experimenting with tin bulls since the early 1990s, has obtained a degree of regional fame through touring exhibitions and spectacular street performances at art festivals in Pacific Rim countries, more recently also in New York and in Britain.⁵⁶ Reminiscent of Andy Warhol's transformations of everyday objects (e.g., Campbell's tomato soup cans) into pop art, Tuffery's bulls provide exhibition visitors with a projection surface for their own attitudes toward the history of colonization in the Pacific. Some viewers focus on the bulls' lively colors and apparent vitality, regarding them as creative examples of the art of recycling or interpret them as playful or even humorous comment on the history of colonization and its modern aftermath in the Pacific. Other viewers have described the bulls as representations of "imperiled nature"⁵⁷ in a "scarred Paradise,"⁵⁸ as "robotic specters of life-sized animals rendered inorganic, hide and scales replaced by the very tins containing their flesh" and as "ersatz creatures with hollow eyes that reflect nothing and expose only the depths of their fraudulent armatures."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ An introductory information page dated 6 August 2007 and posted on the website of the Christchurch Art Gallery, New Zealand, introduces Michel Tuffery's sculpture with the following paragraph: "One of the most visually striking contemporary sculptures in the Collection, and certainly the most popular with young visitors, is Michel Tuffery's *Povi Christkeke* (1999). This life-sized bull is constructed entirely out of flattened corn-beef tins and combines a festive appearance with a serious message about the health problems caused in Polynesian societies by the replacement of the traditional diet with Western convenience foods. The Gallery's bull was built especially for the Collection, but others like it have been used by Tuffery in a series of high-profile performances. The bulls, decorated with flashing Christmas tree lights and with smoke pouring from their mouths, 'charged' each other down city streets, pushed by Tuffery's assistants and supported by Samoan drumming, dancing and cheering crowds." (<http://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/blog/collection-articles/2007/08/06/the-sculpture-collection/>). For reviews of Tuffery's growing international popularity, see also Fred Myers, "Paradise Now? Contemporary Art from the Pacific, Asia Societies Galleries, New York, New York, 18 February–9 May 2004," *The Contemporary Pacific* 17.1 (2005): 273–77. According to a New Zealand press release in August 2009, Tuffery was appointed Member of the New Zealand Order of Merit in the Queen's Birthday Honours List for services to the Arts in 2008; he is also the first Polynesian to have a painting ("Cookie in the Cook Islands") acquired by the British Museum in London.

⁵⁷ Julia Rauer, "Paradise Lost: Contemporary Pacific Art at the Asia Society," exhibition announcement on 2004 website for "Paradise Now? Contemporary Art From the Pacific" in New York; <http://www.asianart.com/exhibitions/paradise/> (accessed August 2013).

⁵⁸ Myers, "Paradise Now?," 2005.

⁵⁹ Rauer, "Paradise Lost," 2004.



Michel Tuffery MNZM, Wellington, Aotearoa New Zealand (1966–). *Povi Christekeke*. © 1999 by artist. Collection of Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetu; purchased 1999.

Tuffery's modern response to Cook's Ark clearly has a double edge and its beauty, or lack thereof, lies in the eye of the beholder. Where some viewers detect nothing but a condemnation of technological progress, of an industrialized agriculture, of damage to a fragile island environment, a lament over the decline of indigenous fishing, cultivation and cooking skills, excessive consumption of Westernized, overprocessed food and resulting ill health for islanders living in the postcolonial era, other visitors see a successful appropriation of Western technology and its incorporation into a strong, self-confident, forward-looking version of indigenous culture. Tuffery's corned beef bulls offer a half serious, half tongue-in-cheek approach to the colonial legacy of James Cook in the Pacific. The animal sculptures could be associated with British jingoism (and the related John Bull figure), more generally also with the damage done to indigenous cultures by Christian missionaries in Cook's wake and the advent of Western materialism: in such an interpretation, the modern bull sculpture might even be perceived as echoing the Old Testament story of the dance around a golden calf. Last but not least among negative interpretations, Tuffery's bulls could also be perceived in a metonymic relation with an age-old European tradition of cultural imperialism: the mythical Trojan horse artfully crafted of wood by the ancient Greeks

has been replaced by a profanely modern bull, made from recycled trash. Inversely and with a more positive spin, the tin can bulls can be regarded as witty metaphors for the changes that have taken place in Samoa and elsewhere in Oceania since the early days of cultural contact: as clever challenges to common assumptions made about modern Pacific Island life, including Western fantasies of South Sea islands as all natural Garden Eden, a "worn cliché refreshed seasonally by tourist operators, drinking water companies, pearl traders, and other enterprises."⁶⁰ Tuffery fans with a taste for ancient myths might even detect ironic echoes or a modern variation of the abduction of Europe: Just as the ancient princess "Europe" was seduced by divine Zeus disguised as a bull, eighteenth-century Europeans often described themselves as seduced by the sunny shores of the "South Seas" and the physical charms especially of their female inhabitants; French and English travel reports abound with erotically charged language and comparisons of Pacific Islands to a new paradise or "la Nouvelle Cythère." But in contrast to the Golden Age and the world of ancient myth, eighteenth-century Europe was no longer romantically carried away on a bull's back; instead, the bull became a mobile commodity in exchange for Pacific favors, opening the first chapter of a global market economy.

Far less committed to postcolonial pessimism than some of his guilt-ridden admirers, Tuffery expresses a more differentiated attitude toward the ways in which Pacific Islanders incorporated Western goods and technologies into their own culture, rejecting some and embracing others. Tuffery's approach is refreshing in its willingness to allow space for ambiguities. In contrast to many post-colonial cultural theorists and museum curators, Tuffery introduces a degree of playfulness, even humor, into his own exploration of the highly charged moment of first contact.⁶¹ Rather than merely condemning corned

⁶⁰ Melissa Chiu, "Introduction: Tikis, Torches, and Beachside Barbeques"; catalog essay for "Paradise Now? Contemporary Art From the Pacific" in New York; quoted from a 2004 online announcement; <http://www.asianart.com/exhibitions/paradise/>.

⁶¹ As has been pointed out by many philosophers, humor by no means equals uncritical agreement with human shortcomings and resulting cruelty or injustice; but in contrast to sharp satire or high-seriousness humor acknowledges the imperfection of human nature and remains open for dialogue and reconciliation. See, for instance, Tuffery's playful variations on well-known eighteenth-century portraits of James Cook that he defamiliarizes and recontextualizes through ornamentation in the Polynesian tradition (including the spiral patterns of facial tattoos), called "Cookies." Another playful deconstruction of a well-known historical image (one that also includes European animals) is based on "Omai's Public Entry on His Landing at Tahiti," a book illustration from J. Rickmann, *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage* (London, 1781), 136, showing the Polynesian traveler proudly returned to Huahine on

beef as a colonizers' poisonous boon, Tuffery has pointed out its cultural importance for Samoan rituals of feasting, gift-giving and communal hospitality.⁶² In a 2004 interview, the artist has expressed fascination with what he calls the "humanity" of first contacts, and with the long-term significance of imported "four-legged animals" to New Zealand and other Pacific islands during the eighteenth century.⁶³ While postcolonial art critics continue to debate whether his bull sculptures should be read as ironic comments on "the harmful effects of a 'throw away' mentality and the impact of global trade and colonial economics imposed upon the Pacific Island culture and environment,"⁶⁴ or on "the replacement of traditional items by imported ones," and whether "foreign invention encourages independence or rather fosters dependency,"⁶⁵ Tuffery's 2004 diptych titled "Tupaia's Chart, Cook and Banks—Tupaia and Parkinson's Paintbox" has moved on to a celebration of the mutually enriching cultural exchanges between James Cook, Joseph Banks, and the Polynesian priest Tupaia, who traveled aboard the *Endeavour*.⁶⁶ The left

horseback, wearing a European knight's armor. Tuffery's deviating response to the historical image consists of a sequence of four sepia-toned close-ups titled "Equestrian Exercise with Mai and Cookie at Vaitepiha Bay." Tuffery's four close-ups zoom in first on Mai's absurdly outdated white-feathered medieval helmet, second on a white hand (maybe gloved, considering its anatomical linkage to Omai) discharging a European fire arm above a brown horse's head, third on Omai on his horse, both now whitened by the reflection of a massive puffball of gunpowder smoke painted in a "naive" manner reminiscent of children's books, and fourth on the dark face of a strangely "indigenized" Cook reminiscent of modern-day graphic novels. The overall effect is a new emphasis on the grotesque mix of slap stick comedy and violence inherent in the first contact situation. For visual samples, see <http://www.michel-tuffery.co.nz/archive-gallery/first-contact-paintings-and-printworks/22> (accessed July 2013).

⁶² Michel Tuffery interviewed in 2000; Isabelle Genoux, "Povi Tau Vaga—The clash of the bulls—performed at the Third Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art"; online edited version of Pacific Focus, first broadcast on Radio Australia in September 1999 (<http://www.abc.net.au/arts/artok/performance/s202947.htm>).

⁶³ Michel Tuffery interviewed in 2004; excerpts of the interview printed as part of Linda Herrick, "Bulls and Cannibals in Tuffery's Art," *New Zealand Herald*, 21 January 2004.

⁶⁴ Jennifer Hay, "News—Povi Christkeke by Michel Tuffery, 15 June 2005," <http://christchurchart-gallery.org.nz/blog/collection-articles/2005/06/15/povi-christkeke-by-michel-tuffery/>

⁶⁵ "Pisupo lua afe (Corned beef 2000) by Michel Tuffery"; text originally published in Tai Awatea, Te Papa's onfloor multimedia database (2003); <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/theme.aspx?irn=1110>.

⁶⁶ According to the 2013 website of the artist, which offers a slide representation of the diptych discussed above, "First Contact study provides a 21st century view of 18th century Pacific history; this ongoing body of works spans paintings, prints, drawings, bronze sculpture and time based media installation and architectural projection artworks rendering Tuffery's images and archival material from Cook's epic voyages throughout the Pacific"; <http://www.michel-tuffery.co.nz/archive-gallery/first-contact-paintings-and-printworks/22>, accessed July 2013.

panel of Tuffery's diptych shows the faces of a Polynesian man, vaguely reminiscent of the other famous eighteenth-century Polynesian traveler, Omai, or possibly a representation of Tupaia himself (or maybe even a blend of Tupaia and Tuffery), as well as Cook and Banks, all three faces clearly echoing iconic eighteenth-century representations by European artists. These faces have been interspersed with silhouettes suggestive of Pacific Islander heads (possibly representing the Pacific Islands themselves on Tupaia's famous chart, as the land and human or divine ancestors were traditionally perceived as one) in a hilly landscape of soft browns and some bluish grays. The right panel of the diptych plays with two intertextual (or rather: inter pictorial) references to well-known eighteenth-century illustrations that over time have likewise obtained iconic status in their own right, condensing Pacific first encounters in the minds of modern museum visitors: one created by Banks's draftsman Sydney Parkinson, "The Lad Taiyota [Taiata], native of Otaheite, in the Dress of his Country,"⁶⁷ the other one ascribed to Tupaia, representing the peaceful exchange of goods, believed to be bark-cloth and a crayfish, between Joseph Banks and a New Zealander. By imitating Tupaia's eighteenth-century technique (e.g., Tupaia's choice of European watercolors that echo the warm earth tones of red, brown, and black, traditionally used in traditional bark-cloth painting) and also by transforming Tupaia's and Parkinson's paintings with modern media, by rearranging bits and pieces from both the Polynesian and the European collective memory in a modern collage, and by using a coherent color scheme to establish a harmonious fusion (both in terms of color and content), Tuffery "breathes new life into historical material" as the curators of a 2012 exhibition in Wellington, New Zealand, have put it.⁶⁸ Even more

⁶⁷ Sydney Parkinson, "The Lad Taiyota, native of Otaheite, in the Dress of his Country," an illustration from his *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's Ship, The Endeavour*, first published posthumously in 1773. Commonly called "Taiata" by modern anthropologists, the young man, here presented as a Polynesian musician/nose flute player, was the travel companion and servant of the more famous priest and artist Tupaia, who joined Cook's *Endeavour* in Tahiti. Both Polynesians later died en route to England from European diseases.

⁶⁸ Advertisement for "First Contact 2012," New Zealand International Arts Festival, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. For more information on Tuffery's historical work, see Helen Kedgley "Fresh Eyes on Pacific History" and Karen Stevenson, "Michel Tuffery, First Contact," in Michel Tuffery, Helen Kedgley, *Michel Tuffery: First Contact: Paintings, Drawings, Prints and Sculptures by Michel Tuffery Along With his Latest Project, a Multi-Media, Projection* (Porirua, New Zealand: Pataka Museum of Arts & Cultures, 2007). Mark Amery's 2007 appreciation of Tuffery as "history painter," in *The Dominion Post* combines praise with a degree of negative criticism: "On canvas . . . he doesn't push through to new ideas beyond costuming of what has come before. The introduction of cellphones into a reworking of an iconic John

interesting in the context of animal transports than the—foregrounded—Pacific players of Tuffery's vision, is the background of the right panel: in parallel to and no bigger than the flute of "Taiyota," seemingly guided by his tune, what looks like a small European bull is slowly but inevitably moving toward a timeless Pacific island landscape.

Webber image of a Tongan dance . . . ends up feeling like a cheap shot. There are a number of fascinating narrative threads here—such as a series concerning Tahitian priest and navigator Tupaia who befriended and inspired Cook and was the first Pacific Island artist to use Western art materials—but they remain underdeveloped." "Michel Tuffery and the History of Pacific Cultural Contact at Paraka," *The Dominion Post*, 3 October 2007.