Encounters, Agency, and Race in Oceania

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Abstract

Re-reading Greg Dening's writings provides a sharp reminder of the global significance of Pacific history in the second half of the twentieth century and his centrality in it. In this talk, I discuss three episodes of encounter between European voyagers and Indigenous Oceanians which show the enduring significance to my historical practice of what Greg called ethnohistory or ethnographic history. An ethnohistorical method illuminates the co-formulation of 'anthropological' knowledge in the fertile tension between European discourses on human difference or race, travellers' experience in Oceania, and local agency.

Biographical Details

Bronwen Douglas taught Pacific History for 25 years at La Trobe University, was Senior Fellow in Pacific & Asian History at the Australian National University until 2012, and is now Honorary Professor in the ANU College of Arts & Social Sciences. Her research and writing initially focussed on the ethnographic history of New Caledonia and south Vanuatu but from the mid-1990s has combined the ethnohistory of encounters in Oceania with the history of the human sciences and the sciences of place. She is author of *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania 1511–1850* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and *Across the Great Divide: Voyages in History and Anthropology* (Harwood, 1998). She co-edited *Collecting in the South Sea: The Voyage of Bruni d'Entrecasteaux 1791–1794* (Sidestone Press, 2018), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750–1940* (ANU E Press, 2008), and *Tattoo: Bodies, Art and Exchange in the Pacific and the West* (Reaktion Books and Duke University Press, 2005).

I have previously told the story of my first meeting with Greg Dening in 1971, shortly after arriving at La Trobe University as a very green senior tutor in History.[1] Greg asked if I would lecture in an interdisciplinary course on New Guinea. 'I can't possibly,' I replied, 'the History Department has introduced a compulsory segment on reflective history to be taught in every subject and I shall have to read all this theory'. I did not know that Greg, a joint appointee in Sociology and History, was the chief architect of this alarming innovation. It was a while after that before he took me seriously. La Trobe was the original locus of the 'Melbourne Group', a loose collective of innovative ethnographic and social historians who took varied stimulus and reflected glory from the group's illustrious triple pillars, Dening, Inga Clendinnen, and Rhys Isaac.[2] Partly under their influence, I became an ethnohistorian who learned to know the difference between theory and reflection and to complement deep empirical immersion with both reflection (thinking about history-making rather than taking it for granted) and reflexivity (acknowledging authorship, including one's own, as central in history-making). My historical praxis thus parallels Greg Dening's maxim: 'I find theory foreign to my writing, but not reflection… Reflection is the double helix of my story-telling, binding past and present, self and other, author and text'.[3]

'Ethnogging' pasts

The idea of ethnographic history is traced to the eighteenth-century German historian August Ludwig Schlözer, whose adjectival neologism *ethnographisch* (ethnographic) – from ancient Greek *ἔθνος* (éthnos, nation, people) – labels a historical 'method' which makes *Völker* (peoples, language communities) 'the chief subjects of events', rather than period, technology, or geography.[4] Ethnohistory emerged in the United States in the 1950s as a hybrid research method applied by anthropologists testifying in Native American land claims hearings. From the 1980s, many postcolonial and postmodernist critics condemned ethnohistory as rooted in a racist divide between 'our' history and 'their' ethnohistory. Yet by then, it had been productively used to investigate non-Indigenous, as well as Indigenous pasts globally, usually under the rubric ethnographic history.[5] Greg Dening countered critique that ethnohistory is only applied to 'primitive or traditional cultures' with a typical aphorism: '"ethno-" does not mean "primitive" any more than "anthro-" does'. He added: 'I do the history and the anthropology of "primitive" and "civi-

[1] Bronwen Douglas, 'Greg Dening: Way-finder in the Presents of the Past', *Journal of Pacific History* 43.3 (2008), 383–9.

[2] Clifford Geertz, 'History and anthropology', *New Literary History*, 21.2 (1990), 325–9.

[3] 'A personal profile by Greg Dening', Centre for Cross-Cultural Research, ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences, Canberra, updated 11 August 2005, http://web.archive.org/web/20070203072638/www.anu.edu.au/culture/staff/dening_g.php [accessed 27 September 2020].

[4] August Ludwig Schlözer, *Vorstellung seiner Universal-Historie*, 2 vols (Göttingen and Gotha: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1772–3), vol. 1, 96–9. See Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 279–80.

[5] E.g., Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches, Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774-1880* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1980); *Mr Bligh's Bad Langage: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987); Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Donna Merwick, *Possessing Albany, 1630–1710: The Dutch and English Experiences* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Richard Price, *First-time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1983); Renato Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980). See Bronwen Douglas and Dario Di Rosa, 'Ethnohistory and Historical Ethnography', in *Oxford Bibliographies in Anthropology Online*, ed. John Jackson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), HTTPS://WWW.OXFORDBIBLIOGRAPHIES.COM/VIEW/DOCUMENT/OBO-9780199766567/OBO-9780199766567-0240.XML

lized" alike … in the past and in the present'. His students playfully called it 'ethnogging'.[6]

Ethnohistory or ethnographic history is a broad church, but all such approaches seek to decipher the lived realities and mysterious mundanities of particular people in the past. And to do so as far as possible in terms of their own 'present-participled experience' (Greg's delicious phrase[7]) of meaning-making and knowing – which theory substantivizes and stultifies as cosmologies, ontologies, and epistemologies. My ethnohistories use close-grained action descriptions to elucidate encounters in Oceania (Figure 1).

Figure 1. CartoGIS, 'Oceania sub-regions' (Canberra: College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University, 2020), http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/mapsonline/base-maps/oceania-sub-regions. Image withheld.

Encounters and presence

I interpret an 'encounter' not as a general clash of two reified, homogeneous cultures, but as a fluid, embodied episode involving multiple personal relationships between indigenous and foreign agents in a particular spatial and temporal setting, or present. The meanings or knowledges thereby created were sometimes opposed and often mutually ambiguous, but provided stimuli for acting, including representing. Representations of encounters are thus in part products of the encounters they represent.

The term presence has a dual implication: now and being there. In the now sense, 'the present' is fleeting existential moments between pasts and futures. Nowness is critical in all histories: stories about the past which are imagined, spoken, sung, danced, performed, made, drawn, filmed, or written by actors in a present. Presence as now means that authors cannot be wiped from histories, as per the objectivist fallacy which long strait-jacketed the professional discipline by rejecting usage of the pronoun 'I'. Rather, presence means that imagination, creativity, and recognised values contribute reflexively to the histories they help produce.

Presence as being there, glossed as agency, has long been my historical obsession, in contexts of in situ entanglement of mostly European incomers with Indigenous occupants. Until relatively recently, historians took for granted that encounters were dominated or controlled by the Europeans who produced most accessible first-hand accounts. This blinkered perspective stereotyped most Oceanian protagonists as anonymous 'natives' or 'savages', apart from a few named so-called 'kings' or 'chiefs', mainly men. Of course, Indigenous people are central in their own histories and these days are widely acknowledged as potent actors in colonial pasts. My enduring concerns are twofold: the significance of local agency during on-the-ground encounters with European travellers, missionaries, and colonisers from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries; and the critical identification of traces of such agency embedded in writings, pictures, maps, and object collections.

Since the mid-1990s, I have used the lens of encounters between scientific voyagers and Indigenous Oceanians to illuminate dialogic processes of knowing in the human sciences, particularly anthropology and raciology, and in the sciences of place, particularly cartog-

[6] Greg Dening, 'A Poetic for Histories: Transformations that Present the Past', in *Clio in Oceania: Toward a Historical Anthropology*, ed. Aletta Biersack (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 356; *Performances* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 227; 'Performing on the Beaches of the Mind: An Essay', *History and Theory* 41.1 (2002), 7.

[7] Dening, *Performances*, 17.

raphy. A key node in these inquiries is the fertile tension in the co-formulation of 'anthropological' knowledge between scholarly discourses, European experience in Oceania, and Indigenous agency. This paper navigates that tension in practice in three episodes of encounter during sixteenth-century Spanish, eighteenth-century British, and nineteenth-century French expeditions.

In my usage, the toponym Oceania refers to what Europeans from the early sixteenth century called the 'fifth part of the world': the Pacific Islands, Aotearoa-New Zealand, New Guinea, Australia, the Philippines, and Indonesia. This broad delimitation acknowledges both ancient routes of human settlement and the European naming and delineation of Oceania and its regions after 1750. The first Oceanians were seafarers who, more than 60,000 years ago, crossed from Maluku or Timor to the Pleistocene mega-continent conjoining New Guinea, Australia, and Tasmania, called Sahul by geologists and archaeologists. They settled the forbidding highlands and vast expanses of Sahul in voyages of navigation and colonisation no less epic for being on land than the maritime enterprises of the 'Vikings of the Sunrise' – the ancestors of 'the Polynesians' who began to occupy Remote Oceania around 3,000 years ago (Figure 1).[8] In 1500, when Europeans knew the great ocean only in myth or speculation, Indigenous mariners had for millennia regularly navigated their overlapping 'native seas'.[9]

Magellan in Guam, 1521

The first encounter between Pacific Islanders and Europeans occurred near the end of Magellan's torturous passage of nearly four months across the almost empty sea he named Pacific. On 6 March 1521, these voyagers saw two or three islands in modern Micronesia – probably Guåhån (Guam) and two peaks on Luta (Rota).[10] Records of the subsequent meetings testify to the impact of Indigenous agency. The voyage chronicler Antonio Pigafetta recounted how the Spanish crews, in extremis from deprivation and scurvy, could obtain no fresh supplies because Indigenous Chamorro people came out to the ships on their 'flying' proas and seized everything they could, including a small boat. Magellan, 'enraged', stormed ashore with 40 armed men, 'burned from forty to fifty houses with many canoes and killed seven men and got back the small boat'.[11] Out of all proportion to the insult suffered, the Spanish reaction tellingly signifies not only their arrogance but the extent of their plight and vulnerability.

Ethnographically, Pigafetta typified the inhabitants as ungoverned, naked, and worshipping nothing. In sixteenth-century Spanish terms, these characters equated to paganism and extreme *barbaridad* (barbarity), in antithesis to their own self-ascribed Christian *civilidad* (civility). The relative civility or barbarity attributed to particular people was a matter of behaviour, appearance, dress or its absence, and religion, rather than race in the modern sense.[12] Physically, Pigafetta described these Islanders as tall, well-built, and 'olive' in skin colour, while the women were 'beautiful delicate and whiter than the men'. Their infuriating agency was memorialised in Magellan's

[8] Peter Buck [Te Rangi Hiroa], *Vikings of the Sunrise* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1954 [1938]).

[9] Ben Finney, 'Nautical Cartography and Traditional Navigation in Oceania', in *Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, ed. David Woodward and G.Malcolm Lewis, vol. 2, book 3, *The History of Cartography* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 443–92; Damon Salesa, 'The Pacific in Indigenous Time', in *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*, ed. David Armitage and Alison Bashford (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 44–50.

[10] Robert F. Rogers and Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, 'Magellan's Landfall in the Mariana Islands', *Journal of Pacific History* 24.2 (1989), 202–4.

[11] Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World* ..., trans. and ed. James Alexander Robertson, 3 vols (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1906), vol. 1, 90.

[12] Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 39–68.

name for the island group, as Pigafetta made explicit: 'This people is poor but ingenious and very thievish, *for this* we named these three islands the Islands of the Thieves' – *Islas de los Ladrones* in Spanish and *Isles des Larrons* in a map in a French version of Pigafetta's manuscript (Figure 2).[13] *Islas de los Ladrones*, which features in a Spanish planisphere as early as 1525,[14] was the earliest of numerous European place names that deplore or celebrate the conduct and demeanour (i.e., the agency) of populations met in situ, encapsulating in a toponym a total experience of arrival, Indigenous action, and European response.[15] The archipelago was renamed Marianas in 1668, following Spain's formal colonisation of Guam, but the derogatory toponym Ladrones was scarcely challenged in global cartography until the nineteenth century and persisted at least into the 1930s.

There is no contemporary visual representation of Magellan's actual encounter with Chamorro but another Spanish visit to Guam in May 1590 inspired a visual narrative of meeting included in the so-called 'Boxer Codex' (Figure 3) – a richly illustrated ethnographic manuscript prepared in Manila for a Spanish governor of the Philippines. By then, Spanish galleons plied regular return passages across the north Pacific between Acapulco in New Spain (Mexico) and Manila. Guam was claimed by Spain in 1565 as a stopping point on the galleon route. The picture is painted on rice paper, probably by a Chinese artist, and depicts exchanges in progress off Guam between canoe-borne Islanders and a galleon's crew and passengers. The drawing illuminates a four-page written account of *las Islas de los Ladrones*.[16]

[13] Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 92–4, my emphasis; Antonio Pigafetta, 'Isles des Larrons', in 'Navigation et descouuvrement de la Inde superieure et isles de Malucque ou naissent les cloux de girofle', [1525], Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT, http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3438401 [accessed 5 November 2020].

[14] [Diogo Ribeiro], [Carta Castiglioni], 1525, Biblioteca estense universitaria, Modena, https://edl.beniculturali.it/beu/850013656 [accessed 28 September 2020].

[15] Other European toponyms commemorating Indigenous agency include the early seventeenth-century Dutch labels *Dootslagers Rivier* (Slayers River) and *Moordenaars Rivier* (Murderers River), both on New Guinea's southwest coast; Willem Corneliszoon Schouten and Jacob Le Maire's furious *Verraders Eylandt* (Traitors Island) for Niuatoputapu in Tonga in 1616; Abel Janszoon Tasman's traumatized *Moordenaers Baij* (Murderers Bay) for Golden Bay in Aotearoa-New Zealand in 1642; Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's ecstatic *Nouvelle-Cythère* (Island of Venus), for Tahiti in 1768; James Cook's sequential 'Savage Island' for Niue and 'Friendly Archipelago' for Tonga in 1774 (see below); and the Russian Friedrich Benjamin von Lütke's angry 'Port of Hostile Reception' in Pohnpei in 1827, bestowed in counterpoint to his countryman Otto von Kotzebue's grateful labelling of part of Wotje Atoll (Marshall Islands) as 'Islands of Friendly Reception' in 1817.

[16] Anon., [Spanish-Chamorro encounter, Guam], in [Sino-Spanish (Boxer) Codex], [1590], frontispiece, folios 3r–4v, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, LMC 2444. See C.R. Boxer, 'A Late Sixteenth Century Manila MS', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (April 1950), 37–8, 45–8.

Figure 2. Antonio Pigafetta, 'Isles des Larrons', in 'Navigation et descouuvrement de la Inde superieure et isles de Malucque ou naissent les cloux de girofle', [1525], r25, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT, https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2017752.

Figure 3. Anon., [Spanish-Chamorro encounter, Guam], in [Sino-Spanish (Boxer) Codex], [1590], frontispiece, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, LMC 2444. [mage withheld].

These cursory representations of a fleeting encounter lack depth and context but, read together, sketch and words are more evocative than either written or visual medium alone. The protagonists are embodied in the drawing and explicated by the prose to produce a vivid scene of vessels, persons, and objects flowing between them. The galleon is surrounded by 'light' canoes, manoeuvrable like 'very tame and disciplined horses', some tethered to the ship. A local man, 'like fish in water', is diving to retrieve something before it sinks. The Chamorro are bringing local produce and fresh water to exchange for iron, 'because it is their gold', much valued for its utility and power. Drawing and writing convey a contemporary European sense of collective human difference, not between separate races but between *gente* (people) positioned at opposite poles of a universalised continuum between civility and barbarity. Overdressed, light-skinned Spaniards cluster demurely aboard the vessel, with a couple of seamen in the rigging. The ship is encircled by a disorderly crowd of 'very brown'

men of massive stature and great 'strength', with 'wide, flat' faces, 'very long' hair and – a shocking sign of incivility to the Spanish – all unclothed, 'men and women alike', just 'as they were born'.

Among myriad ethnographic sketches in the Boxer Codex are two of armed 'Ladrones', one wearing a strategic figleaf (Figure 4).[17] Though the figures are distorted and unflattering, these drawings and the encounter painting are of great interest since they are among the earliest surviving European visual representations of Pacific Islanders – along with two oddly-garbed persons depicted crewing a canoe in Pigafetta's map of the *Isles des Larrons* (Figure 2).

Figure 4. Anon., 'Ladrones', in [Sino-Spanish (Boxer) Codex], [1590], [folios 1v–2r], Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, LMC 2444. Image witheld].

Cook in Niue, 1774

My second episode of encounter took place in the central Pacific island of Niue, 250 years after Magellan's visit to Guam. During most of this period the great ocean remained a near void in European maps. But after 1764, as more and more lands or islands were charted by scientific voyagers with enhanced technical capacity to determine accurate longitude, encounters with Indigenous people proliferated.

On 21 June 1774, during the second circumnavigation of the globe by the British navigator James Cook, HMS *Resolution* was hove to off a large coral island unknown to Europeans (Figure 5). Deciding that 'landing was Practical', Cook led a small party ashore, including the naturalists Johann Reinhold and Georg Forster, their colleague Anders Sparrman, and the artist William Hodges.[18] Their 'friendly signs' were met with 'menaces' by two men who were 'blackened as far as the waist', wore feathers in their hair, and 'charged forward with warlike shouts, dancing and gesticulating in the usual manner of savages'. A later Niuean oral history describes these actions as the *takalo* (war dance).[19] The modern *takalo* is a ceremonial challenge or welcome like the Māori *haka* or Samoan and Tongan equivalents, but Cook and his companions felt materially threatened. One man flung a large piece of coral which struck Sparrman violently on the arm. To Cook's displeasure, Sparrman 'let fly at his enemy' with small shot and shortly afterwards the men retired. When the ship's party landed at another place, a 'troop of natives' rushed upon

[17] Anon., 'Ladrones', in [Sino-Spanish (Boxer) Codex], [folios 1v–2r].

[18] My synopsis of the landings at Niue draws on contemporary European accounts by James Cook, *The Voyage of the* Resolution *and* Adventure *1772–1775*, ed. J.C. Beaglehole, vol. 2, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1961), 433–8; Georg Forster, *A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution … during the Years 1772, 3, 4, and 5*, 2 vols (London: B. White, J. Robson, P. Elmsly, and G. Robinson), vol. 2, 163–7; Johann Reinhold Forster, *The* Resolution *Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772–1775*, ed. Michael E. Hoare, 4 vols (London: Hakluyt Society, 1982), vol. 3, 536–40; Anders Sparrman, *A Voyage Round the World with Captain James Cook in H.M.S. Resolution*, trans Huldine Beamish and Averil Mackenzie-Grieve, ed. Owen Rutter (London: Robert Hale Limited, 1953), 129–30; and William Wales, 'Journal on the Resolution, 21 June 1772–17 Oct. 1774', State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/nGm4lbbY [accessed 29 September 2020]. See also Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 88–93; cf. Sue McLachlan, 'Savage Island or Savage History? An Interpretation of Early European Contact with Niue', *Pacific Studies* 6.1 (1982), 26–51.

[19] Uea, cited in Edwin M. Loeb, *History and Traditions of Niue* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1926), 30, 124. For other descriptions by Europeans of a similarly confronting 'war dance' in Niue, see John Williams, *The Samoan Journals of John Williams 1830 and 1832*, ed. Richard M. Moyle (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1984), 41; John Williams, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands …* (London: John Snow, 1837), 295–6); Basil Thomson, *Savage Island: An Account of a Sojourn in Niué and Tonga* (London: John Murray, 1902), 121–2, 127.

them with 'the ferocity of wild Boars'. Two men, similarly decorated and armed with spears, advanced 'with furious shouts'. Cook and his colleagues discharged their muskets but they misfired, whereupon the men hurled two spears, narrowly missing Cook and Georg Forster. Only a 'regular firing' by the sailors and marines covering the landing convinced the attackers to withdraw.

Figure 5. Anon., 'Savage Island', in R.A. Skelton, ed., Charts & Views Drawn by Cook and his Officers and Reproduced from the Original Manuscripts, in The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1955), plate 34b. National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-588082496/view. Image withheld, under copyright.

Cook claimed: 'we had reason to believe none were hurt'. However, Georg Forster thought that one man must have been wounded, 'by the dismal howl which we heard presently' and the astronomer William Wales, who had remained on the ship, was told by Hodges that someone was 'probably' killed.[20] The Niuean history mentions no injuries or deaths but relates that the warriors fled because 'they were afraid of the sticks that exploded'.[21]

Again, Indigenous demeanour was memorialised in a European toponym: Cook acknowledged that 'The Conduct and aspect of these Islanders occasioned my nameing it *Savage Island*'. The elder Forster called the Niueans 'brave' but 'mistrustfull' and was glad to quit 'this *inhospitable* Shore with it [sic] still more *inhospitable Inhabitants*'. Georg Forster thought their 'almost inaccessible' country made them 'unsociable' and deemed them 'little advanced' in civilization since they were 'savage, and go naked'.[22] Local agency is central in these voyagers' representations of Niueans. The words 'blackened', 'warlike', 'savages', 'enemy', 'ferocity', 'furious', 'Savage', 'mistrustfull', 'inhospitable', 'unsociable', 'savage', 'naked' are verbal fallout from the interplay of intimidating Indigenous conduct with charged European emotions and bigoted standards of relatively civil or savage behaviour, assumed to be environmentally determined. The words do not imply the systematic racial categories or terminology characteristic of nineteenth-century racial science, since at this point the expedition had only encountered people whom raciology would essentialise as 'the Polynesians'. So Georg Forster recognised the Niueans' common 'origin' with the Tongans as 'one race of people'. Yet a few days out of Niue, at Nomuka in Tonga's Ha'apai group (Figure 6), he admired the 'difference between this race, and the savages [the Niueans] whom we had so lately left'. Cook named the Tongan group the Friendly Archipelago as 'their Courtesy to Strangers intitles them to that Name' and Forster endorsed the sentiment: 'the name Friendly was very justly given to them'.[23] This toponym is as much a sign of strategic local actions as is the appellation Savage for Niue.

Figure 6. Henry Roberts, [Savage Island to the New Hebrides], in 'A General Chart: Exhibiting the Discoveries made by Captn. James Cook in this and his two Preceding Voyages …', in James Cook and James King, A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean … in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. [Atlas]

[20] Cook, *Voyage*, 435; Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 166; Wales, 'Journal'.

[21] Uea in Loeb, *History*, 30.

[22] Cook, *Voyage*, 437, original emphasis; G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 166–7; J.R. Forster, Resolution *Journal*, vol. 3, 538, 540, original emphasis.

[23] Cook, *Voyage*, 449; G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 167–8, 190.

(London: G. Nicol and T. Cadell, 2nd edition, 1785), plate 1, detail. David Rumsey Map Collection, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~24142~870156. Image withheld.

Encounters to races

Three weeks after leaving Tonga, the expedition anchored at the island of Malakula in the archipelago Cook named New Hebrides (modern Vanuatu, Figure 6). The shock of meeting 'the Mallicollese' stimulated Georg Forster to differentiate them in his voyage narrative as 'a race totally distinct' in 'form', 'language', and 'manners' from the 'lighter-coloured nation' he had seen in the eastern and central Pacific and in New Zealand, who evidently shared 'one common origin'. He speculatively aligned the inhabitants of the New Hebrides with the 'black race' earlier reported in 'New Guinea and Papua', since 'both nations' shared characteristically 'black colour and woolly hair'.[24] Notwithstanding this embryonic human classification, Forster consistently adhered to a conventional eighteenth-century definition of the term race as a synonym for 'variety', equally 'changeable' and 'accidental'. He insisted that voyagers only applied race to South Sea Islanders to imply 'a crowd of people' of 'idiosyncratic' form and 'unknown origin'. So 'the Papuans and the black Islanders … incidentally related to them' were called a race to differentiate them from nearby 'light-brown people of Malay origin'.[25]

In this indeterminate vein, Forster was far less complimentary about the 'lighter-coloured' Niuans than about 'black' Malakulans. As an enthusiastic savant, he was delighted by their 'quick apprehension' of his 'signs and gestures', their ability to teach him words of their language, and their accurate pronunciation of 'difficult' foreign sounds. He thought them the 'most intelligent people' he had met in the South Seas and 'very open to improvement' into a 'higher state of civilization'.[26] In contrast, Cook the anxious commander, infuriated by their recalcitrant agency – their indifference to his trade goods and refusal to traffic much needed provisions – maligned them as an 'Apish Nation', 'the most Ugly and ill proportioned of any I ever saw'.[27] Forster praised the published engraving of Hodges's attractive red crayon portrait of a Malakulan man as 'very characteristic of the nation', aside from the engraver's anomalous addition of drapery across the subject's shoulders (Figure 7).[28]

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[24] G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 1, 598; vol. 2, 205–6, 208–9, 226–8, 231.

[25] Georg Forster, 'Noch etwas über die Menschenrassen', *Teutsche Merkur* (October 1786), 80, 159–61.

[26] G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 208, 213–14, 236, 243.

[27] Cook, *Voyage*, 464, 466.

[28] G. Forster, *Voyage*, vol. 2, 209–10; William Hodges, 'Mallicolo', 1774, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, https://viewer.slv.vic.gov.au/?entity=IE1340699&mode=browse; James Caldwall after William Hodges, 'Man of the Island of Mallicolo', engraving, in James Cook, *A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World … in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775* …, 2 vols (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777), vol. 2, plate 47, facing p. 168, David Rumsey Map Collection, https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~24066~870110 [both accessed 6 November 2020].

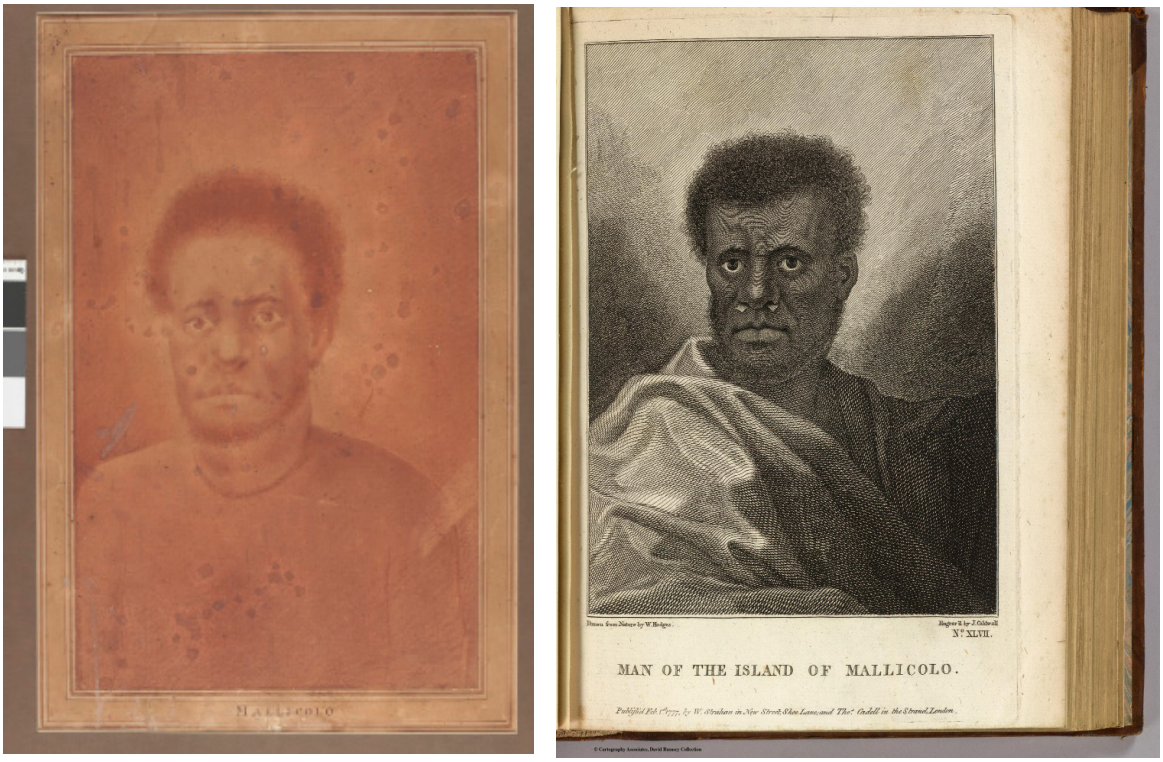

Figure 7. (a) William Hodges, 'Mallicolo', 1774, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, https://viewer.slv.vic.gov.au/?entity=IE1340699&mode=browse; (b) William Hodges, 'Man of the Island of Mallicolo', in James Cook, A Voyage Towards the South Pole and Round the World … in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775 … (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777), vol. 2, plate 47, facing p. 168. David Rumsey Map Collection, https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~24066~870110.

Georg Forster's speculative comparison was formalised in a scientific treatise by his father Johann Reinhold as a division into 'two great varieties of people in the South Seas', each grading towards the other.[29] To this point, Pacific Islanders had been represented as a medley of diverse skin colours and hair types, largely on the eyewitness authority of the late sixteenth-century Spanish voyager Pedro Fernández de Quirós: 'the people of these lands are many; their colours are white, brown[,] mulattos, and Indians, and mixtures of one and the others, the hair of some is black, thick and loose, of others is twisted and frizzy, and of others very fair and thin'.[30] This kaleidoscopic vision was condensed in 1756 by the French savant Charles de Brosses: 'It is astonishing to find so many races of men of diverse kinds, & different colours, placed in the same climates at such small distances from each other'.[31] In contrast, Johann Reinhold Forster dichotomized 'two different tribes': the 'first race', seen in the eastern and central Pacific Islands and in New Zealand, was 'more fair,… of a fine size, and a kind benevolent temper'; the 'second race', encountered in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia, was 'blacker, the hair just beginning to become woolly and crisp, the body more slender and low, and their temper … more brisk, though somewhat mistrustful'.[32]

[29] Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage Round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy* (London, G. Robinson, 1778), 228.

[30] Carlos Sanz, ed., *Australia su descubrimiento y denominación: con la reproducción facsimil del memorial número 8 de Quirós en español original, y en las diversas traducciones contemporáneas* (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1973), 38–9.

[31] [Charles de Brosses], *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes* …, 2 vols (Paris: Durand, 1756), vol. 1, 334; vol. 2, 347–8.

[32] J.R. Forster, *Observations*, 228.

Seeking to explain these 'evident difference' between 'two different tribes', Forster hypothesised their descent 'from two different races of men'. He revived an ancient conjectural history of human migration and displacement that ominously conflates darker skin colour with primordiality, absence of civility, and low station. He reasoned that the 'first aboriginal inhabitants' of the Pacific Islands were 'all cannibals' and must have resembled people he had seen in the New Hebrides. This imagined 'aboriginal black race of people' were displaced or 'subdued' by 'successive' migrations of lighter-coloured, 'more civilized Malay tribes' and became the 'lowest rank' in the highly stratified societies Forster had visited in the eastern and central Pacific. Whereas Georg's narrative identifies Niueans with Tongans as 'one race of people', his father's conjectural history now reconfigures them: '*Savage-island*, whose inhabitants we found very tawny and ferocious, might perhaps be another island, which the Malay tribes have not hitherto been able to subdue'.[33] This striking anomaly is a clear imprint in a voyager's text of the unsettling impact of personal experience of threatening Indigenous agency.

In 1783, Georg Forster published a German translation of his father's treatise. No doubt using race in the vague sense he subsequently professed, Georg rendered the English phrases 'the aboriginal black tribes' and 'the aboriginal black race of people' as the *ursprünglichen* (original) or *ersten* (first) *schwarzen* (black) *Rassen von Menschen* (human races). But he translated 'the aboriginal tribes' as *die schwärzeren Völker* (the blacker peoples).[34] Both versions stress primordiality but I read a somewhat heavier emphasis on blackness in Georg's translation than in the English text.

The German prefix *ur-*, as in *ursprünglichen*, derives from a Proto-Indo-European term meaning 'up' or 'out' and is attributed a dominant 'recent' meaning of 'that which is first', 'original', 'primitive', 'pure'.[35] In a paper on Botany Bay published a few years later, the self-professed empiricist Georg Forster imposed a markedly more essentialist usage of *ur-*. Disparaging Indigenous Australians (whom he had never seen) as the 'most miserable' of human 'races', he complained of the difficulty of tracing 'the origin of these savages'. But he deduced their relationship with the inhabitants of nearby archipelagoes from their shared 'black colour', 'frizzy woolly hair', and 'mistrust, jealousy, and lack of civilization'. He concluded that it would be hard to prove 'which of the two, the New Hollanders or the Islanders, are the *Urvolk* [original people], and which the colonies derived from them'; moreover, both might be 'different offspring of another common stock'. Forster also allowed paternalistically that the 'unformed' New Hollanders were 'not barbarous' and that their 'slight' items of material culture showed 'skill' and 'ability' which might be developed under the influence of European settlers.[36] His imperious, impatient father similarly insisted in principle on a

[33] Ibid., 252, 275–6, 353–60. There was nothing novel about these speculations, since Brosses (*Histoire*, vol. 2, 376–80) had argued similarly and stories of migration and dispersal pepper European literature on Oceanian populations from the sixteenth century, often echoing local tales of small, brutish, dark-skinned inland dwellers driven to remote places by more civilised, lighter-skinned immigrants (Douglas, *Science*, 89–90). See, for example, Pedro Fernández de Quirós, *Descubrimiento de las regiones austriales*, ed. Roberto Ferrando Pérez (Madrid: Dastin, 2000), 89, 175.

[34] J.R. Forster, *Observations*, 358–60; Johann Reinhold Forster, *Bemerkungen* über *Gegenstände der physischen Erdbeschreibung, Naturgeschichte und sittlichen Philosophie auf seiner Reise um die Welt gesammlet …*, tr. Georg Forster (Berlin: Haude und Spener, 1783), 312–14. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) derives English 'ab-, prefix', from classical Latin *ab-* (from, away from), and defines 'aboriginal' as meaning 'first or earliest', 'primitive', 'native', 'indigenous' (*OED Online*, https://www.oed.com/) [accessed 16 October 2020].

[35] The *Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (*DWDS*) traces the etymology of German *ur-* to Proto-Indo-European *uds, *hinauf, hinaus* (up, out) (*DWDS*, https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb/ur-). The *OED* defines 'ur-, prefix', attributed to German, as meaning 'primitive, original, earliest' (*OED Online*, https://www.oed.com/) [both accessed 16 October 2020]. My thanks to Hilary Howes for helping to guide me through the maze of eighteenth-century German etymology, meanings, and syntax.

[36] Georg Forster, 'Neuholland und die Brittische Colonie in Botany-Bay', in *Historisch-Genealogischer Calender oder Jahrbuch*

universal human potential to 'progress' towards 'civilization', conceived in equally Eurocentric fashion, while vilifying particular people whose behaviour did not meet his expectations or demands.[37]

Georg Forster is authoritatively cited as an early user of the term *Urvolk*, defined as a neologism meaning 'original', 'ancestral', 'autochthonous', or 'unmixed' people.[38] If the racial implications of primordiality are ambiguous in Forster's usage, there is no doubt about the categorical racialism of the synonym *Ur-Nation*, which appears in a series of early nineteenth-century German maps of *Australien* (Australia) – German cartography's then preferred toponym for the entire fifth part of the world. Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann's map of 1810 (Figure 8) divides *Australien* along overtly racial lines by draping two novel captions across substantial segments of the 'Great Ocean'. These labels constitute the earliest racial classification of Pacific people I have found inscribed on a map. *West Australien (der Ur-Nation)* (West Australia [the Original nation]) brackets New Holland, New Guinea, and the archipelagoes as far east as the New Hebrides (modern Melanesia). *Ost Australien (der Malaien)* (East Australia [of the Malays]), spans the Caroline Islands in the north (in modern Micronesia), New Zealand in the southeast, and all the central and eastern Pacific Islands (modern Polynesia).[39] Over the next two decades, Sotzmann's racial slogans were replicated by several German cartographers.[40] They include Christian Gottlieb Reichard, who added the captions to a reissued map of *Australien* by recently deceased Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler and revised them in his own map of 1816 (Figure 9). Reichard's maps feature an even more racialist geography. His captions split *Australien* between *Bewohner Neger artigen ursprungs* (Inhabitants of Negro-like origin) and *Bewohner Maleyischen ursprungs* (Inhabitants of Malay origin).[41]

der merkwürdigsten neuen Welt-Begebenheiten für 1787 (Leipzig: Haude und Spener, 1787), 315, 319–20. For Forster's self-positioning as a 'clear-sighted and reliable empiricist', see 'Noch etwas', 62.

[37] J.R. Forster, *Observations*, 285–335. See Michael Dettelbach, '"A Kind of Linnaean Being": Forster and Eighteenth-Century Natural History', in Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*, ed. Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, and Michael Dettelbach (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), lxxiii-lxxiv.

[38] Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, 5 vols (Braunschweig: Schulbuchhandlung, 1807–11), vol. 5, 253; *DWDS*, https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb/urvolk [accessed 19 October 2020].

[39] Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann, 'Karte des Grossen Oceans gewöhnlich das Süd Meer gennant …', in Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann, *Australien in Hinsicht der Erd-, Menschen- und Produktenkunde …*, 2 vols (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes,1810), vol. 1, endpiece, National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-528411564 [accessed 12 October 2020].

[40] Friedrich Gottlieb Canzler, *Karte vom Fünften Erdteil oder Australien …* (Nürnberg: Christoph Fembo, 1813), National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230591627; Friedrich Wilhelm Streit, *Charte von Australien …* (Nürnberg: Friedrich Campe, 1817), National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm521; Friedrich Wilhelm Streit, 'Charte von Australien ...', in C.G.D. Stein, *Neuer Atlas Der Ganzen Welt …* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1827), plate 7, David Rumsey Map Collection, http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~249500~5516694 [all accessed 12 October 2020].

[41] Christian Gottlieb Reichard, 'Australien Nach Mercators Projection', in Christian Gottlieb Reichard and Adolf Stieler, *Hand-Atlas* über *alle Theile der Erde …* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1816), plate 50, National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230589240; Christian Gottlieb Reichard, 'Australien', in Christian Gottlieb Reichard and Friedrich Haller von Hallerstein, *Neuer Hand-Atlas* über *alle Theile der Erde …* (Nürnberg: Friedrich Campe, 1822), plate 7, David Rumsey Map Collection, https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~33022~1170385 [both accessed 12 October 2020]. See also Christian Gottlieb Reichard, 'Oceanica (Polinesia) projezione di Mercatore', in Christian Gottlieb Reichard and Adolf Stieler, *Atlante universale del globo compreso …*, ed. Giuseppe Dembsher Veneziano (Venezia: Alvisopoli, 1829), plate 7.

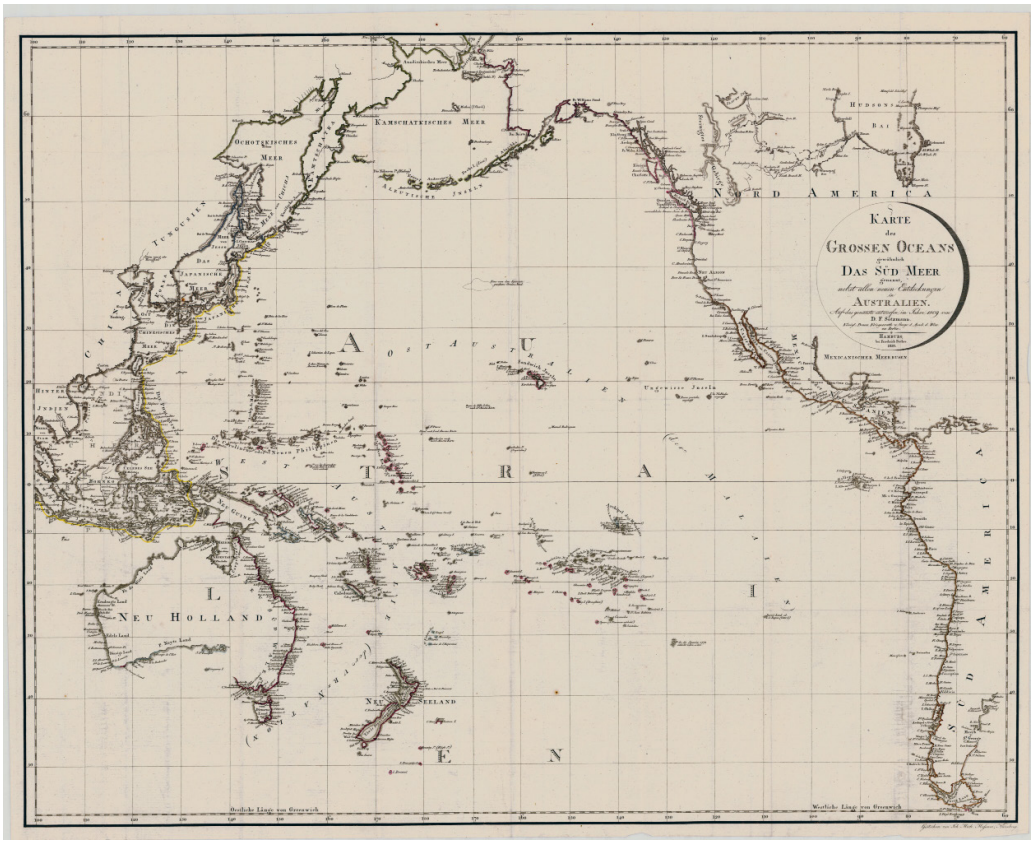

Figure 8. Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann, 'Karte des Grossen Oceans gewöhnlich das Süd Meer gennant …', in Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmermann, Australien in Hinsicht der Erd-, Menschen- und Produktenkunde … (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1810), vol. 1, endpiece, detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-528411564. Annotation B. Douglas.

Figure 9. Christian Gottlieb Reichard, 'Australien Nach Mercators Projection', in Christian Gottlieb Reichard and Adolf Stieler, Hand-Atlas über alle Theile der Erde … (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1816), plate 50, detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230589240. Annotation B. Douglas.

The stimulus for this German wording is mysterious to me. Sotzmann's map is the endpiece to Eberhard August Wilhelm von Zimmerman's geography of *Australien*. However, that work is ordered chronologically by voyages, rather than geographically, and lacks systematic classification. Zimmerman casually replicated his sources' categories, including *Neger* (Negro), *Austral-Neger* (Austral Negro), and *Ureinwohner* and *Originalbewohner* (original inhabitants), but did not use Sotzmann's terms.[42] Perhaps the map was simply added to the book for illustrative purposes rather than specifically commissioned. Perhaps Sotzmann meant to map Johann Reinhold Forster's conjectural history of the supplanting of aboriginal blacks by 'more polished and more civilized' Malay 'conquerors' and borrowed Georg's term *Urvolk*.[43] Perhaps Sotzmann or Reichard drew cartographic inspiration from the French geographer Conrad Malte-Brun's recent racial classification of what he called *Océanique* (Oceanica). Malte-Brun paired a sharp spatial opposition with conventional, value-laden physical analogies: the 'very fine' 'Polynesian race' inhabited New Zealand and the eastern Pacific Islands and was 'often whiter than the Spaniards'; the 'Oceanic Negroes' peopled New Holland, New Guinea, and the southwest Pacific Islands and were 'as black as the negroes of Africa, having lips as thick, nose as flat, and wool instead of hair'.[44]

Notwithstanding these uncertainties, it is clear that ethnographic traces of experience, observation, or Indigenous agency, such as those which qualify or disrupt the deductions of both Forsters, are absent from the work of Malte-Brun and the early nineteenth-century German cartographers. Their congealed abstract categories foreshadow the incipient dominance of raciology in European discourses on human difference.

Dumont d'Urville in Tikopia and Vanikoro, 1828

My final exemplary encounters occurred in the small neighbouring islands of Tikopia and Vanikoro (southeast Solomon Islands, Figure 10) during the French expedition of Jules Dumont d'Urville.[45] A very experienced navigator who had circumnavigated the globe as first officer in Louis-Isidore Duperrey's expedition of 1822–5, Dumont d'Urville was also a respected field naturalist with a strong interest in anthropology. On 10 February 1828, he made a daylong stopover in Tikopia, seeking information about recently reported traces of the vanished expedition of Jean-François de Galaup, comte de La Pérouse. The French identified 'the Tikopians' as a unexpected enclave of the 'beautiful *yellow*' or 'Polynesian race' amid the mostly 'black' populations of surrounding islands. The inhabitants were familiar with foreigners, including several resident seamen. Their 'extremely gracious' reception of a small landing party delighted the French: the people were 'so cheerful, so amiable and so trusting'; 'joy and mildness' radiated on every face; they were 'handsome', 'not very dark', 'agile and fit', with 'generally pleasing' features.[46] A lively watercolour by the artist Louis-Antoine de Sainson (Figure 11), personalised

[42] Zimmermann, *Australien*.

[43] J.R. Forster, *Observations*, 359.

[44] Edme Mentelle and Conrad Malte Brun, *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde* …, 16 vols (Paris: H. Tardieu et Laporte, 1803–5), vol. 1, 540–52; vol. 12, 473–4, 577.

[45] See Douglas, *Science*, 233–43, for detailed consideration of these encounters.

[46] Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté … pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 …*, 5 vols (Paris: J. Tastu, 1830–3), vol. 5, 109–22; Joseph-Paul Gaimard, [Extraits du journal], in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 305–7; Pierre-Adolphe Lesson, 'Voyage de découvertes de l'Astrolabe', 1826–9, 3 vols, Médiathèque de la Ville de Rochefort, France,

by his own presence (third from left), depicts the Frenchmen being led ashore by attentive helpers.[47]

Figure 10. Jules Dumont d'Urville and Victor-Charles Lottin, 'Carte de la partie de l'Océan Pacifique parcourue par la corvette l'Astrolabe', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas historique (Paris: J. Tastu), map [2], detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-nk2456-74. Annotation B. Douglas.

Figure 11. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Vue de la plage de débarquement à Tikopia], n.d., in Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Aquarelles', folio 19, Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, SG (Rés), fol. 4. Image withheld.

Eleven days later, Dumont d'Urville anchored at Vanikoro (Figure 12), where La Pérouse's vessels had foundered in 1788. During nearly a month's stay, the voyagers were confused, frustrated, or intimidated by unpredictable Indigenous behaviour, in sharp contrast to their brief, gratifying experience in Tikopia. These encounters hardened general aversion for blacks into categorical opposition: according to Dumont d'Urville, the Vanikorans were '*naturally* fierce and mistrustful, like all the savages of the black Oceanic race'; their mistrust was 'foreign to peoples of the Polynesian race', who were '*naturally* mild, joyful and friendly'.[48]

MLE(PA)8122–4, vol. 3, 13–28; Jean-René Constant Quoy, [Extraits du journal], in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 304–5; Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Extraits du journal], in Ibid., 312–15.

[47] Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Vue de la plage de débarquement à Tikopia], n.d., in Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Aquarelles', folio 19, Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, SG (Rés), fol. 4.

[48] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 112, 145, 221, my emphasis.

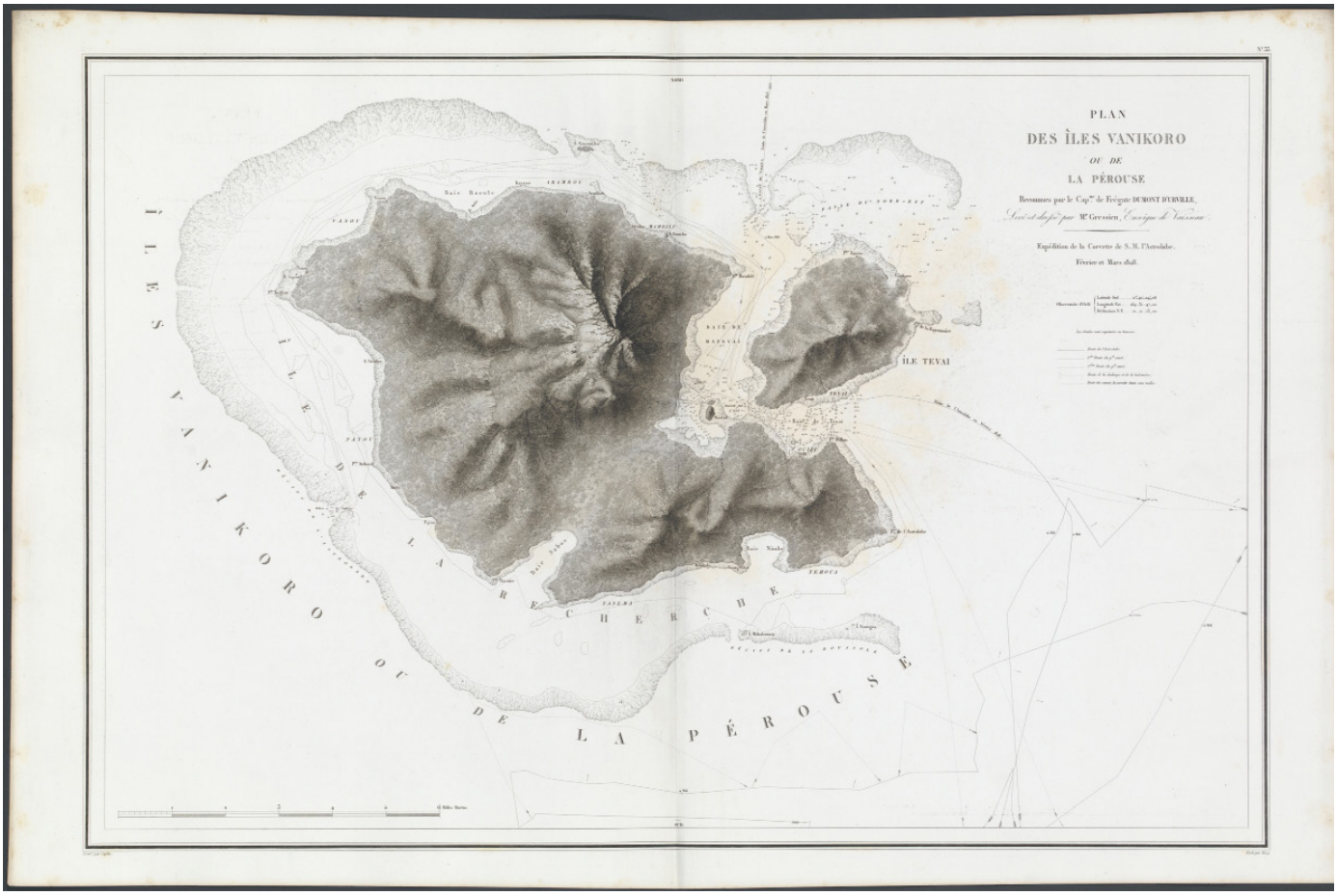

Figure 12. Victor-Amédée Gressien, 'Plan des îles Vanikoro ou de La Pérouse', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas [hydrographique] (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 33, detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra, https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230843544.

In practice, however, this abstract racial antithesis is repeatedly contraverted in Dumont d'Urville's voyage narrative. The previous year, the expedition had encountered 'a fine type of the yellow or Polynesian' race in Tonga. Yet the 'perfidious' behaviour of Tongans, who attacked and seized a ship's boat and its crew, provoked Dumont d'Urville to fulminate on their 'most opposed qualities': while seemingly 'generous, obliging, hospitable', Tongans were also 'covetous, audacious, and above all profoundly hypocritical'.[49] Even in Vanikoro, his stories of particular encounters show marked empirical variation. At the village of Tevai, Dumont d'Urville was disappointed by the inhabitants' 'indifference'; unhappy about the insistent demands, 'surly air', and 'bad faith' of the 'chief' who astutely negotiated an exchange; and ultimately intimidated by the 'greedy, turbulent dispositions' of these 'alert, resolute, well armed savages', and – as in Tonga – by their 'perfidy'. But his account of his reception at the nearby small island of Manevai is very different in tone and reminiscent of Tikopia: 'the inhabitants ran to meet us, without arms, manifesting an extreme joy to see us'. Dumont d'Urville repeatedly praised them and his 'particular friend', the *ariki* (chief) Moembe, who was supposedly 'very ugly' but also 'mild', 'peaceable', 'decent', 'reserved', 'polite',

[49] Ibid., vol. 4, 129, 221, 231; Quoy, [Extraits], in Ibid., 347. Sainson drew a visual narrative of this assault ([Enlèvement du petit canot de 'l'Astrolabe' sur l'île Panghaï Modou], n.d., in Sainson, 'Aquarelles', folio 13).

and 'honest'.[50]

Sainson's pencil portrait of Moembe (Figure 13), which was lithographed for the historical *Atlas* of the voyage,[51] is in keeping with the generally positive tenor of his artwork in Vanikoro. In another vibrant watercolour (Figure 14), the artist depicted the reception of a French boat off the village of Nama (Figure 12) as a scene of friendly, helpful Indigenous activity. On the left, a man aids a sailor to rig an awning over the officers; on the right, another man exchanges with a sailor; others wade to the boat bearing objects for barter.[52] During a visit to the same place a few days earlier, the French were approached by unarmed villagers who seemed to express 'good' intentions. However, on that occasion – following Dumont d'Urville's order to exercise 'much circumspection' in dealings with 'the savages' – the party 'did not dare to land, having learned at our expense to mistrust all these peoples in general'.[53] This admission presumably alluded to the incident in Tonga while tacitly acknowledging the vulnerability of all voyagers when navigating in poorly known seas amongst independent, warlike people.

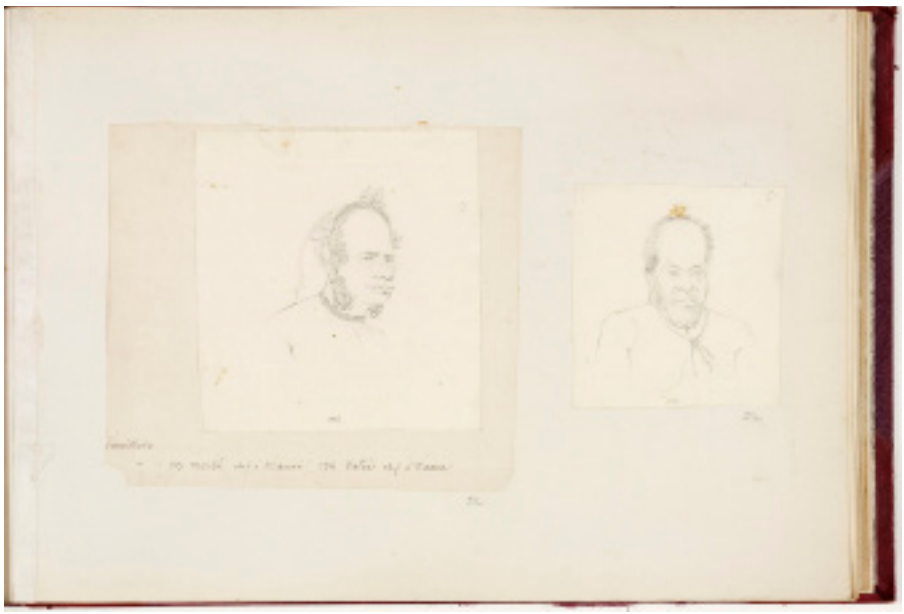

Figure 13. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Monbê chef à Manévé', 1828, in Jacques Arago and Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Drawings], folio 53b, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=457892.

Figure 14. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Vue du village de Nama, île de Vanikoro], n.d., in Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Aquarelles', folio 20, Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, SG (Rés), fol. 4. Image withheld.

Such pragmatic anecdotal diversity had no echo in Dumont d'Urville's bitter general characterisation of the Vanikorans: 'En masse, like all those of the black Oceanian race, this people is disgusting, lazy,

[50] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 150–3, 175–83.

[51] Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Monbê chef à Manévé', 1828, in Jacques Arago and Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Drawings], folio 53b, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/item/itemDetailPaged.aspx?itemID=457892 [accessed 6 November 2020]; 'Vanikoro: Monbai', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas historique* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 167 (1).

[52] Louis-Auguste de Sainson, [Vue du village de Nama, île de Vanikoro], n.d., in 'Aquarelles', folio 20.

[53] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 145; Quoy, [Extraits], in Ibid., 316.

stupid, fierce, greedy… timid, mistrustful, and naturally hostile to Europeans'.[54] These voyagers' aversion to these Islanders seems excessive. But there are numerous signs in Dumont d'Urville's narrative of the dismay, contempt, and fury inspired by the appearance, attitudes, and actions of some Vanikoran men – their omnipresent arms, extravagant body decorations, and especially their determination to dominate exchanges. Complaining that 'the savages' were 'unreasonably demanding' but 'have sold almost nothing', Dumont d'Urville recast local disinclination to trade as proof of a moral fault inherent in race: it 'seems to stem from a kind of *natural* antipathy of the black races against the whites, the dire effects of which have been felt by a crowd of voyagers'.[55] This disingenuous passage rewrites history in racialist terms, since the most notorious acts of violence committed on Europeans in Oceania to that point had been by Polynesians – including the Tongan attack on Dumont d'Urville's own men.

Reifying races

The ugly theme of my final section is bleakly familiar. By the late 1820s, especially in France, raciology dominated the science of man (or anthropology) and reified as real and true its own taxonomic categories (or races). Dumont d'Urville's narrative dichotomises a wide spectrum of Tikopian and Vanikoran tactics for managing strangers as 'natural' characters of 'Polynesian' and 'black' races. In a seminal scientific article of 1832, he reworked that circumstantial logic into a well-known geo-racial classification of Oceanian places and people. Ambroise Tardieu's illustrative map (Figure 15) partitions the Pacific Islands into the now stereotyped regions *Polynésie* (Polynesia, many islands), *Micronésie* (Micronesia, small islands), and the racialist neologism *Mélanésie* (Melanesia, from ancient Greek μέλας-, *mélas*-, black), to name 'the homeland of the black Oceanian race'. Dumont d'Urville's novel racial nomenclature freezes Johann Reinhold Forster's elastic 'two varieties of people in the South Seas' into 'two truly distinct races' embedded in a tripartite global racial hierarchy. The 'primitive race of Melanesians' – which was 'only a branch of the black race of Africa' – were the 'true natives' or 'first occupants' of Oceania. The 'tanned or copper-coloured Polynesian race' – which was 'only a branch of the yellow race' of Asia – were 'conquerors' who had supplanted or interbred with the 'very inferior' 'Melanesians'.[56]

[54] Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 166, 214.

[55] Ibid., 145–6, 166–7, my emphasis.

[56] Jules Dumont d'Urville, 'Sur les îles du grand Océan', *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 17.105 (1932), 1–21; Ambroise Tardieu, 'Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand océan (Océanie)', in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas historique*, map [1], National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230622715 [accessed 27 October 2020].

Figure 15. Ambroise Tardieu, 'Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand océan (Océanie)', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas historique (Paris: J. Tastu), map [1]. National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230622715.

Dumont d'Urville's article concludes with a assertion of race pride expressed as a grim biological axiom underpinning resurgent European global colonialism: that fixed 'organic differences' in the 'intellectual faculties' of the three races determined a 'law of nature' whereby the black 'must obey' the yellow 'or disappear', while the white 'must dominate' both the others, even when numerically inferior. He thus disavowed the venerable precept of a universal human potential for progress towards civilisation allowed by the Forsters' ambiguous but more optimistic Enlightenment vision.

The radical significance of Dumont d'Urville's racial geography of Oceania was quickly evident to French savants and made explicit from the mid-1830s in a series of maps by Charles Monin (Figure 16).[57] In France since the 1750s, the 'Division adopted by the Geographers' had standardised regionalisation of Oceania according to the size of land masses, into *Australasie* or *Australie* (Australasia or Australia, from classical Latin *auster*, south wind, south) and *Polynésie*.[58] The 'Division by race of men adopted by M. d'Urville' overthrew that physical logic by adding deep salients to his border between *Polynésie* and *Mélanésie*: one passes west of New Zealand, thereby relocated to Polynesia; the other juts east of Fiji, thereby reassigned to Melanesia. Dumont d'Urville's revisionism is explicitly racialist: 'the New Zealanders' were 'evidently' of the 'same origin' as other 'Polynesians'; whereas the Fijians had only reached the 'top rank' of 'the Melanesian race' thanks to their 'frequent communications with the Polynesian race'.[59]

[57] Charles V. Monin, *Océanie* (Paris: s.n., 1834), National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232617889 [accessed 27 October 2020]. See Bronwen Douglas, 'Geography, Raciology, and the Naming of Oceania, 1750–1900', *Globe* 69 (2011):1–28.

[58] [Brosses], *Histoire*, vol. 1, 80.

[59] Dumont d'Urville, 'Sur les îles', 7, 12–13.

Figure 16. (a) Charles V. Monin, Océanie (Paris: s.n., 1834). National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232617889; .

There nonetheless remains a strong experiential dimension in Dumont d'Urville's revolutionary cartography: his general hydrographic map of the Pacific carefully bends the regional border between Polynesia and Melanesia to place Tikopia and Vanikoro in their respective racial zones (Figure 17). It makes explicit the tacit racialist agenda in Dumont d'Urville's historical *Atlas*, which juxtaposes Sainson's portraits of the inhabitants of Vanikoro and Tikopia as opposed racial exemplars and references them as such in his narrative (Figure 18).[60]

[60] Jules Dumont d'Urville and Victor-Charles Lottin, 'Carte générale de l'Océan Pacifique …', in Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage … Atlas [hydrographique]* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 1, National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230838133 [accessed 27 October 2020]; Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Tikopia et Vanikoro: Costumes des habitans de Vanikoro; Costumes des habitans de Tikopia', in Dumont d'Urville, *Atlas historique*, plate 185, National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an8395367 [accessed 7 November 2020]; see Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage*, vol. 5, 112, 214.

Figure 17. Jules Dumont d'Urville, and Victor-Charles Lottin, 'Carte générale de l'Océan Pacifique … ', in Jules Dumont d'Urville, Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas [hydrographique] (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 1, detail. National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230838133.

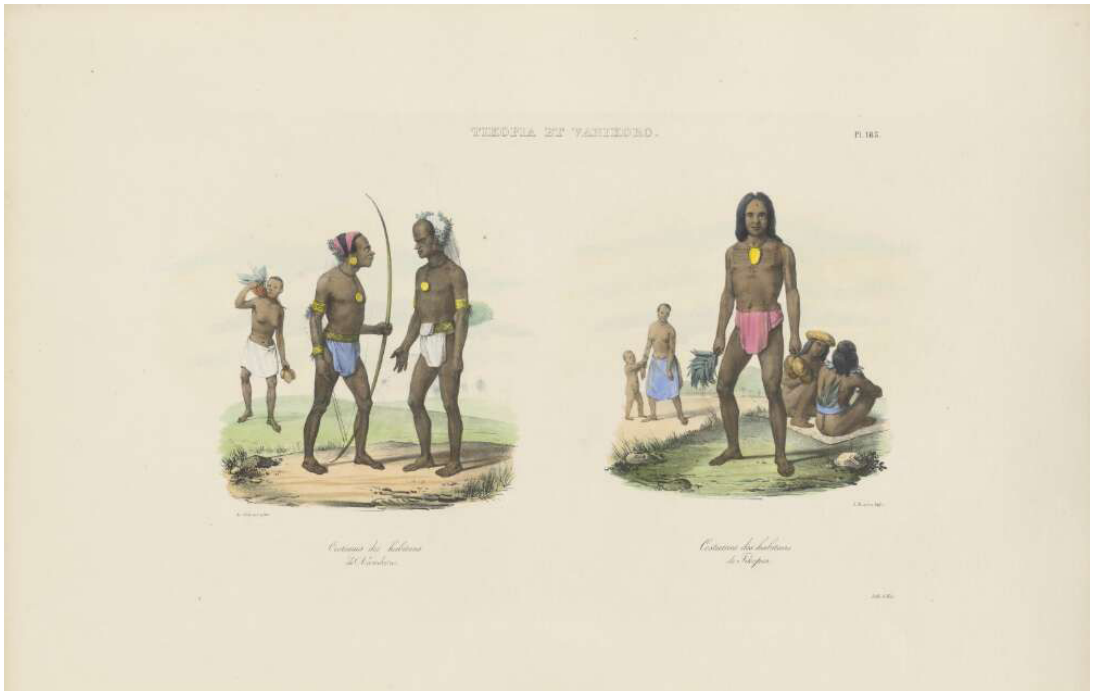

Figure 18. Louis-Auguste de Sainson, 'Tikopia et Vanikoro: Costumes des habitans de Vanikoro; Costumes des habitans de Tikopia', in Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826–1827–1828–1829 … Atlas historique (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833), plate 185. National Library of Australia, Canberra, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an8395367.

Conclusion

For twenty-five years, I have read, thought, and written about the intersections of the ethnohistory of Oceanic encounters and the ethnohistory of science. This agenda means following shifting Euro-American ideas about human similarity and difference; their varied genealogies; their generation in action in the emotions of encounters; their feedback into metropolitan science; their cross-fertilisations and transformations across contexts and languages; and their application and further mutation in subsequent encounters. This paper encapsulates that trajectory across three centuries while reflecting on the legacy of Greg Dening's work in mine.

In important respects, I have followed Greg's intellectual footsteps but in at least one way we are very different: he loathed footnotes and supplanted them with brief, elegant bibliographic essays organised in endnotes; I adore footnotes as a roadmap to one's historical thinking, and thus a form of reflexivity, and as vital tools for tracking intellectual genealogies, influences, and metamorphoses, especially in the history of science.

I end as I began, with an anecdote about an ancient encounter with Greg. Around 1990, he kindly agreed to give a lecture to my students based on his marvellous essay 'Possessing Tahiti'.[61] At

[61] Greg Dening, 'Possessing Tahiti', *Archaeology in Oceania* 21.1 (1986), 103–18.

the end of a typically virtuoso performance, I broke the students' long, diffident silence by asking: 'Can you please tell us how you know about the significance of the *maro 'ura* [feathered girdle] in eighteenth-century Tahiti'. I was totally abashed when he replied ascerbically that he really hated such scepticism and went on to talk about something else. I wasn't being sceptical, of course, but wanted the students to share my wonderment at the luminous results of Greg's imaginative knowing and to find out how he did it. I now think that the major difference between our positions was aesthetic, relating to how little or how much of our heuristic scaffolding we liked or needed to leave in place. Whereas Greg preferred to dispense with the formal disciplinary framework entirely and focus on the 'beaches of the mind', I struggled for a long time to stop the scaffolding taking over the building. In maturity, I have largely broken free of this 'inside-out' style of History – I hate in-text references – but my love for footnotes remains, as this paper amply demonstrates.