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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

Fancy, Spectacle, and the Materiality of the Romantic Imagination in Pacific
Exploration Culture

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

English

by

Kacie L. Wills

September 2018

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2018

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A special thank you to my family and friends for loving me during the times when I was more cave troll than human. Mom, thank you for always pushing me to be my best. Dad, thank you for reminding me to enjoy the good things in life, like the Eagles, Seinfeld, and a cold beer. Grampy, thank you for showing me the importance of having a generous spirit, even in difficult times. Lys(s), thank you for being my super sister.

Finally, thank you to my dear Troy for believing in me, for supporting me, and for reminding me, daily when necessary, that I can do anything. You made finishing this dissertation possible. You are the best of the best.

DEDICATION

For Grammy

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Fancy, Spectacle, and the Materiality of the Romantic Imagination in Pacific
Exploration Culture

by

Kacie L. Wills

Doctor of Philosophy, English
University of California, Riverside, September 2018
Dr. Adriana Craciun, Co-Chairperson
Dr. Fuson Wang, Co-Chairperson

My dissertation examines the productions of material and literary culture surrounding late eighteenth-century Pacific exploration, specifically the Cook voyages. By looking to these cultural productions, ranging from indigenous artifacts and tattoos, to ephemera collections and scrapbooks, to literary and theatrical productions about exploration and contact, I broaden the scope of our understanding of fancy in discussions of the Romantic imagination. I show fancy to be a material form of the imagination and both a driving force and product of exploration and scientific progress. In doing this, I also consider the connected role of spectacle in popular culture, its critical function in depictions of gender and indigeneity, and its foundational relationship to science and discovery. Throughout this dissertation, I look beyond the Romantic canon to understand larger issues of the period, including questions of indigenous representation, the role of female collectors in making scientific inquiries, and issues of sensationalism, spectacle, and empiricism that

surrounded the struggle for narrative authority in a print-saturated culture. Ultimately, through turning to a broader historical and material context, I offer a way of reading fancy in Romantic poetry that complicates Coleridge's definition of fancy as passive or mechanical; fancy, instead, is enlivened and shown to be an active and creative form of the imagination that engages meaningfully with global experience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1-21
Chapter 1: Oh Me, Omai: Popular Pantomime, Tatau, and the Spectacle of Science	22-83
Chapter 2: Flights of Fancy: Sarah Sophia Banks's Ballooning Scrapbook	84-163
Chapter 3: Fiction, Fancy, and Authority: Literary Responses to Cook's Pacific Encounters	164-212
Chapter 4: Fancy and the Romantic Poetic Imaginings of the Pacific	213-257
Conclusion	258-265
Endnotes	266-280
Works Cited	281-297

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1 Playbill <i>Omai; or a Trip Around the World</i>	74
Fig. 1.2 Illustration of the Gipsy and the Magician	75
Fig. 1.3 Illustration from <i>Jocko the Brazilian Ape</i>	76
Fig. 1.4 <i>A Human Sacrifice in a Morai, in Otaheite</i> , After John Webber	77
Fig. 1.5 William Hodges, <i>A View of Maitavie Bay in the Island of Otaheite</i>	78
Fig. 1.6 Philip Jacques de Louterbourg, “Oberea”	78
Fig. 1.7 Philip Jacques de Louterbourg, “Otoo”	79
Fig. 1.8 Philip Jacques de Louterbourg, “Toha, Chief of Otaheite, Oedidee”	79
Fig. 1.9 Philip Jacques de Louterbourg, “Prophet’s Dress”	80
Fig. 1.10 Philip Jacques de Louterbourg, “A Man of New Zealand”	80
Fig. 1.11 Joshua Reynolds, <i>Omai</i>	81
Fig. 1.12 Benjamin West, <i>Sir Joseph Banks</i>	82
Fig. 1.13 James Gillray, “The Great South Sea Caterpillar transform’d into a Bath Butterfly (Sir Joseph Banks)”	83
Fig. 2.1 “The Lovely Nymph” print from Sarah Sophia’s Scrapbook	146
Fig. 2.2 Matthew Darly, “The Fly Catching Macaroni”	147
Fig. 2.3 Matthew Darly, “The Botanic Macaroni”	148
Fig. 2.4 Matthew Darly, “A Macaroni Print Shop”	148
Fig. 2.5 Banks “Best Virginia” Tobacco Card	149
Fig. 2.6 Banks “Best Air Balloon Tobacco” Card	149
Fig. 2.7 Banks “Smoke the Balloon” Tobacco Card	150
Fig. 2.8 Banks Plantation Tobacco Card	150
Fig. 2.9 Sarah Sophia Banks Riddle Note	150
Fig. 2.10 “The British Balloon” Handbill from Sarah Sophia’s Scrapbook	151

Fig. 2.11 “Lunardi on the Thames” from Sarah Sophia’s Scrapbook	152
Fig. 2.12 Huntington Collection Aerial Nymph (view 1)	153
Fig. 2.13 Huntington Collection Aerial Nymph (view 2)	154
Fig. 2.14 “The Lady’s Balloon” from Sarah Sophia’s Scrapbook	155
Fig. 2.15 Huntington Scrapbook Note	156
Fig. 2.16 Huntington Scrapbook Piece of Aerial Ship	157
Fig. 2.17 “The Death of Madame Blanchard”	157
Fig. 2.18 Huntington Scrapbook “Mr. Cocking’s Parachute”	158
Fig. 2.19 Huntington Scrapbook Print of Mr. Cocking	158
Fig. 2.20 “Under the Sun” Note from Sarah Sophia’s Scrapbook	159
Fig. 2.21 Joshua Reynolds, “Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire”	160
Fig. 2.22 Matthew Darly, “Ridiculous Taste or the Ladies Absurdity”	161
Fig. 2.23 “The London Monster” Handbill from Sarah Sophia’s Scrapbook	162
Fig. 2.24 “A Real Apple” Handbill from Sarah Sophia’s Scrapbook	163
Fig. 4.1 William Hodges, <i>A View taken in the bay of Oaite Peha [Vaitepiha] Otaheite [Tahiti]</i>	255
Fig. 4.2 <i>A Human Sacrifice in a Morai, in Otaheite</i> , After John Webber, Illustration to <i>A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean...</i>	255
Fig. 4.3 Edmund Scott after John Webber, <i>The Inside of the House, in the Morai, in Atooi</i>	256
Fig. 4.4 . Daniel Lerpiniere after John Webber, <i>A Morai, in Atooi</i>	257

Introduction

Fancy and the Imagination

The concept of fancy is integral to the Romantic imagination and the literature it produced. It is a form of the imagination discussed by every Romantic writer and particularly defined and critiqued in the writing of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Coleridge writes in *Biographia Literaria*, “Good Sense is the Body of poetic genius, Fancy its Drapery, Motion its Life, and Imagination the Soul that is everywhere, and in each; and forms all into one graceful and intelligent whole” (Ch. XIV). In this passage, Coleridge lays out the complex differentiations and hierarchies which characterize his understanding of the Romantic imagination. Fancy, here, is the only poetic element lacking in material and vital substance: body, motion, and soul. Fancy remains the only non-corporeal element and, as drapery, is presented as both superficial and curiously filled with potential for variety and inclusiveness. To access fancy’s potential, I will turn in this dissertation to its broader historical context, Pacific exploration, and to the culture of materiality and spectacle which characterize fancy in the period surrounding the Cook voyages.

Throughout *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge describes fancy as a lesser form of the imagination, drawing attention to its mechanical, passive, and accumulative properties, as well as its role in tainting experience and shaping false memory. On the other hand, the imagination carries the creative power, the potential to find meaning from the accumulations of fancy, as well as the possibilities of transformation. Considering Coleridge’s definition of this distinction alongside that of William Wordsworth, with

whom he collaborated on the seminal work, *Lyrical Ballads*, we can see room for fancy to occupy a more critical space in the formation of Romantic poetry.

Wordsworth writes in the Preface to the 1815 edition of *Lyrical Ballads* that both the Imagination and Fancy have the power to “aggregate and to associate, to evoke and to combine” (xxxiii). He writes, however, that while the Imagination works in materials “plastic” and “pliant,” “Fancy does not require that the materials which she makes use of should be susceptible of change in their constitution, from her touch” (xxxiii). Fancy “scatters her thoughts and her images” with “rapidity and profusion”; she “quicken and beguiles the temporal part of our nature,” while the Imagination deals in things eternal (xxxv). Wordsworth, however, ultimately attributes to Fancy a “creative faculty” whereby she rivals the Imagination (xxxvi).

While Wordsworth veers a bit from Coleridge, making the difference between fancy and the imagination more about the materials on which each works, as well as acknowledging fancy’s creative capabilities, neither poet places fancy within a real material, experiential, or historical context. For this, I will turn to the work of fellow first generation Romantic poet, Charlotte Smith. Smith’s poetry, specifically her poem “Beachy Head,” which I discuss in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, situates the imagination and the poet’s vision within a shifting landscape of natural and historical change. She and the writer Helen Maria Williams, who I discuss in Chapter 4, also highlight the workings of fancy amid the realities of pain and death. Smith’s sonnet, “To Fancy,” shows this form of the imagination taking on a darker color. Fancy carries with it the ability to “dress” the darkest hues of experience (6-7), but this ability to “show the

beauteous rather than the true” (4) is insidious. Smith refers to fancy as the “Queen of Shadows” (1) and associates its power, not with that “radiance” she mentions at the beginning of the poem, but with pain and anguish, with the “sad grave of murder’d Happiness” (9). Like Wordsworth and Coleridge in their writings on the subject, Smith views fancy as a “false medium” for viewing the world (9). For Smith, however, fancy can create pain as well as pleasure (10); it is not a mere tool of escapism. Though she may regard fancy with as much suspicion as Wordsworth and Coleridge, Smith acknowledges a wider range of capabilities within fancy’s wheelhouse. Fancy, for her serves to highlight the more painful aspects of reality in its workings.

Building from the perspectives of these first generation Romantics on the role of fancy in shaping the world, I want to consider how we might further situate it within the broader historical context of the period in which they are writing and what this historical context might reveal that can help to re-assess Coleridge’s initial claim that fancy is the poetic “drapery.” Smith’s *Elegiac Sonnets* were written in 1784, just following the death of Captain James Cook, on the heels of the revolutionary shifts in thought and world-view following the first accounts of extended European contact in the Pacific. For Wordsworth and Coleridge, publishing the first edition of *Lyrical Ballads* roughly a decade later in 1798, these popular accounts of Pacific exploration and encounter would surely be influential on their views of the world and their place in it. As I discuss at length in Chapter 4, Coleridge was particularly influenced in his writing of the “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” his seminal poem engaging with the creative imagination, by accounts of the Cook voyages.¹ While much work has been done on the influences of

history, science, travel and global consciousness on Romantic thought,ⁱⁱ little has been said in regard to the specific influences of the material culture surrounding Pacific exploration. Significant scholarly discussion of the Pacific in Romantic culture often engages with the role of science and exploration in the growth of the British empire,ⁱⁱⁱ with the effects of Pacific contact on constructs of identity,^{iv} and with the role of visual images and popular narrative in promoting the public's conceptions of the Pacific islands.^v Throughout this dissertation, I will connect these threads of scholarship to material and literary culture and to scholarly work on the imagination.^{vi} I will continue a line of critical inquiry that looks beyond the Romantic canon to understand larger issues of the period,^{vii} including questions of indigenous representation, the role of female collectors in making scientific inquiries, and issues of sensationalism, spectacle, and empiricism that surrounded the struggle for narrative authority in a print-saturated culture.

Pacific Exploration and its Cultural Productions

Paula McDowell considers what the role of non-literary material should be in our study of eighteenth-century writing (“Of Grubs and Other Insects” 65), and I wish to place her questioning in the context of the material and literary culture produced in response to the Cook voyages. As Sunne Juterczenka contended in her talk at the recent conference on the networks of Joseph Banks, held at the Royal Society, the maritime exploration of the 1770's was perceived by many as a window of opportunity (“Beyond the Common Centre”). The opportunities afforded by these voyages lent themselves to contemporary ideas about the imagination and the significance of material culture.^{viii}

In examining the ways that the imagination latched on to the possibilities of the Pacific, it is important to consider the confluence of Enlightenment and Romantic conceptions of experience and the imagination. As James Engell contends, in the last thirty or so years of the eighteenth century, “the Enlightenment was creating Romanticism, primarily by developing the idea of the imagination” (ix). In the Romantic period, Engell states, the imagination “enjoyed its brilliant romantic expression” (x). In moving from the arrival of Mai in London in 1774, to the popularity of hot air balloons at the end of the eighteenth century, to the published accounts of and Romantic poetry engaging with the Cook voyages, I traverse both concepts and timelines of the Enlightenment and Romantic periods. With each chapter, however, it becomes clear how fluid these lines drawn between periods and between canonical and non-canonical material really are.

As Peter Reill argues, we need to employ whatever methods necessary in our scholarship to delineate the complexity of human experience and perceptions in the transition from the late Enlightenment to the Romantic, not just to follow linear assumptions (300). I attempt to answer Reill’s call by looking beyond both canon and time period, to the products of material and literary culture, in order to acknowledge the ways the Cook voyages and accounts of the Pacific influenced the public imagination and continue to offer to scholars today more complex ways of understanding markedly Romantic concepts like fancy. From Joseph Banks’s claim, “My grand tour shall be one around the globe!” (Ogborn 298), to Cook’s claim that the tattoos of the Marquesans

were “figured more by fancy than by custom” (*Cook* II 351, 374), fancy occupied an ambivalent, yet crucial position, within Romantic-era exploration culture.^{ix}

While fancy was the driving force in many ways behind the imaginative appeal of exploration, it was not seriously considered, and in most official accounts of voyages, it is relegated to the position it occupies in the statement by Cook: attractive, yet lacking in a deeper or decipherable meaning that would make it truly valuable. However, the more we examine fancy within the context of the material and literary culture surrounding Pacific exploration, the more we can see it functioning as a bridge between subjectivity and reality, between the scientific and sensational, and between the cultural practice and popular understanding. Fancy’s association with the flightiness of femininity can also be seen to break down the scientific and masculinized goals of exploration. As I will demonstrate in the second chapter especially, fancy is connected with gender, spectacle, and science in such a way that helps us reimagine the relationship between scientific knowledge and popular culture. By looking to accounts of Pacific exploration and the visual and print culture surrounding those accounts, to ephemera and collections, to literature, to theatricals, and to the popular visual representations of the Pacific, my research will contribute to our field’s understanding of eighteenth century modes of negotiating a knowledge about the world that affects the ideas of fancy and gender circulating in the literature of the Romantic period.

Fancy’s connection to polish and surface caused it to occupy an ambivalent place within a social culture that valued the polish of manner and feared the corrupting potential of luxury; fancy’s excessive and unpredictable nature was perceived as

dangerous (Robinson 3). The corrupting and superficial nature of fancy, associated with femininity, was positioned in contrast with the more serious and masculinized goals of exploration and science. Though critical to Romantic poetry, the experimental and meaningful potential of fancy is often overlooked because of our cultural and historical associations with the word, and, as Jeffrey Robinson argues, its association with objects but not with real depth of meaning (28). Looking to material productions from this period also provides the opportunity to examine alternative narratives to the official, the masculine, and the scientific: narratives of women and indigenous people in particular are revealed through collections, ephemera, fiction, and visual culture produced in response to global curiosity. These material narratives, I will contend, building on arguments advanced by John Gascoigne, Alan Bewell, Adriana Craciun, Simon Schaffer, and others, have the potential to offer alternative visions of science and exploration to that offered by collections and official narratives in service of the imperial project. I argue for fancy as a material form of the imagination, a position that can ultimately help us to approach the fancy of Romantic poetry from a perspective that tethers the wings of the imagination to a foundation within the popular imaginings of the Pacific.

Fancy is integral to the drive to explore and to the individual and cultural experience of exploration. We see this relationship play out in the poetry of the period with poets like Cowper claiming in his poem *Task* that it is fancy that allows him to navigate the globe and see beyond his own self-interest, again echoing that call to look beyond to see into the self, defining the imagination as the counterpoint to the self-interest of colonization (Fulford 18-19, 20). As Fulford, Lee, and Kitson have emphasized, science,

literature, and exploration were all interconnected in this period, a reality which led to the line between travelers' tales and the science of exploration narrative being based on "polish, ornament, and embellishment" (2). As we see with accounts like Hakwesworth's of the first Cook voyage, however, this line was blurry at best. Commissioned to write the official narrative of the voyage, John Hawkesworth has been criticized for his account's use of the first person perspective and his embellishment of events on the voyage for entertainment value. This account engages in larger debates surrounding polish and the relationship between fact and fiction in the exploration narrative. Removing the polish of fancy from the science of exploration was a fruitless endeavor, and it is this fanciful polish, the ornaments of fashion, and the embellishments of popular representations that I will explore further in this dissertation.

Spectacle

According to Lamb, in the eighteenth century, "Wonder ceased to be either the means or the occasion of a common bond between people and served instead to exemplify the conflict between social norms and a desire for surprising things" (83). Spectacle, as I see it functioning in the age of Romantic exploration, stems from wonder, curiosity, and fancy, and produces a combination of surprise and inquisitiveness.^x Spectacles were material sites of visual and cultural performance. These were often sites of tension, as debates continued over "polite and popular access to Romantic spectacle" (Haywood and Halliwell). Spectacle, according to Ian Haywood and John Halliwell, blurred the boundary between the "respectable and the vulgar" (par 4). With ballooning, in

particular, part of what makes it such a spectacle is the fact that we can see the cause, the mechanisms and machinery making the spectacular event take place.

The desire for spectacle is connected to science, discovery, and progress.^{xi} It manifests itself in the Cook Voyages, the sensational narratives resulting from those voyages, like that of Hawkesworth, and the poetry and satirical work produced surrounding Joseph Banks. Banks was a prime example of this sort of curiosity in his work as a botanist and his enthusiasm for exploration as an exploit of so much potential material value to Britain. The desire for spectacle can be seen in sites of popular literary and theatrical productions spectacularizing exploration and global contact, as with exploration fiction and poetry, naval theatricals and *Omai; or a trip Around the World*, in the craze for balloons dominating the imagination of all classes of people in the late eighteenth century. Spectacle, however, also relies on a degree of idleness and of leisure to consume the novel display, stimulus, object, or experience. Paul Keen's work reads the eighteenth century appetite for spectacle as emerging out of the problem of negotiating knowledge about a world governed by instability, by fluctuating epistemologies and behavioral and cultural norms (21). Spectacle, which is highly visual, was bound up in fashion, in a sense of ephemerality, and in sensation. One particular example of spectacle in the Romantic period can be seen in the theatricalization of voyages, a form of spectacle explored by Gillian Russell (*The Theatres of War*). Through theatricals and the construction of visual spectacle with these sorts of productions, women were able to engage in the masculine theater of empire and were part of a way of recirculating that knowledge and considering the global imagination, quests for discovery, and the material

relationship to empire from perspectives not bound up in a homogenizing imperial vision. Sarah Banks's scrapbooks provide a specific example of interest in these sorts of spectacles, as one of her scrapbooks deals particularly with theatrical productions from various parts of Britain's empire (see Russell "Archiving of Fashionable Life").

Neil Rennie observes spectacle at work in Hawkesworth and Cook's accounts of the "Point Venus Scene." Rennie claims that the changes Hawkesworth made to the original, more subdued document written by Cook were a means of "moderating the spectacle for the public" and display his need to "clothe" the naked spectacle of sexuality on the beach in order to "disguise" its observation as a philosophical pursuit (242-243). In the case of Hawkesworth, and I will argue in many displays of spectacle surrounding exploration in this period, spectacle leads to the confusion of fact and fiction (246). While this confusion in some ways is apparent in Kareem's descriptions of wonder in eighteenth century literature, I contend that spectacle conflates, not just fiction and reality, but the privileging of certain ways of knowing, the scientific and the popular or fashionable. This is a line of argument pursued by Keen in his work on spectacle, print culture and ballooning, but I want to take his argument further and apply it more specifically to the objects of popular culture surrounding exploration that deal particularly with perspectives of women and indigenous individuals.

Importantly, as Haywood and Halliwell argue, spectacle can bring us to new ways of thinking about "the material sublime" in Romantic culture (par 5). The commentary and material productions of a public engaged in viewing or experiencing spectacle, whether that of Omai, hot air balloons, or the sensational tales of contact in the South Seas tend to

reflect the ideas, imaginings, anxieties, and ambivalences of the viewer. The object of spectacle reflects back upon the cultural viewership an image of its own ideas, practices, and preoccupations.

Pacific Exploration

I will be looking at exploration as connected with knowledge, popular culture, science, fancy, and spectacle. Fulford, Lee, and Kitson define exploration as “a social and political construct bound up with the history of imperialism,” and as a form of travel and engagement rather than the discovery of blank spaces (3). Their approach, as I have pointed out, examines exploration from the perspective of indigenous people, as well as white men, demonstrating that exploration is multi-faceted, and, though bound up with this imperial history, it encompasses a variety of perspectives that are often overlooked. Jonathan Lamb argues that, within the popular vision of the history of science, navigation, and empire, there were many discontinuities that demonstrate that these endeavors did not run entirely parallel to one another (80). In other words, that the history of navigation and exploration, while being an integral part of the colonizing vision, was made up of individuals and relationships that were, in turn, caught up in a scientific community marked by heterogeneity, and a public with its own understandings and interpretations of the South Seas voyages (Lamb 81). Acknowledging that exploration can never be wholly separated from a vision of conquest and colonization I think makes the examination of alternate perspectives, perspectives of women and indigenous people, of non-canonical texts and unofficial narratives, all the more important. It is this approach that I will be taking with my dissertation, as I look to

ephemera and the productions of popular culture to find other voices than the ones captured by history and the science of the period, to find perspectives that speak to exploration as a heterogeneous and wide-ranging cultural phenomenon.

The Cook voyages made a distinct mark on the global imagination and popular culture through the groundbreaking length of their stay in the Pacific islands and the voyages' extended contact with Pacific peoples. These voyages and the literary and cultural productions they generated contributed to a vision of the Pacific as a paradise, an Eden before the Fall. These imaginings of the Pacific contributed to the association of the Pacific islands with notions of sexuality and "free love," to ideals of manner and education, to the debates surrounding luxury and ornament, exacerbated by the transportation of the Tahitian tattoo, and to the construction of the noble savage. Fancy, as I am discussing it here, arises out of the specificity of these British imaginings of the Pacific following the Cook voyages, out of the continual process of the imagination inspiring exploration and exploration inspiring the imagination. These imaginings resulted in material productions that range from tattoo transportation, to fantastic fiction, to theatrical productions, to a broader interest in sexual and scientific spectacle and the performance of indigeneity.

Finally, in thinking about exploration, the Cook voyages, and the relationship between fancy and science, it is important to consider the historical situation of the voyages and the question of their value at the time. We often retroactively apply more value and serious imperial goals to a project which initially yielded cloth, flowers, butterflies, and other objects which were not immediately perceived as valuable. With the role of science

in flux, Joseph Banks had to argue for the seriousness and centrality of science to the imperial goals of the nation. This may have also contributed to the attempts at erasing or demoting fancy in order to emphasize the importance of exploration as a serious endeavor.

While the first chapter of this dissertation is focused on the body itself and its representation in popular culture, as the chapters progress, I move to examine more mediated forms of representation. Through this movement, I aim to demonstrate the workings of fancy across various media and the transformation of the Pacific via the imagination, as we move into the Romantic period.

Chapter 1: Oh me, Omai: Popular Pantomime, Tatau, and the Spectacle of Science

While the discussion of representations of Omai circulating throughout London might seem to harken back to Rousseau and the Enlightenment concept of the “noble savage,”^{xii} with this chapter I further show indigenous representation in the period surrounding the Cook voyages to be connected with Romantic conceptions of fancy and spectacle. This approach to reading Omai as he is represented in various media, from painting to pantomime, shows indigenous representation to rely heavily on his association with various surfaces and the spectacle inherent to placing those surfaces on display.^{xiii} Building from the work of Harriet Guest and others,^{xiv} I examine the representations of Omai’s tattoos, as well as the tapa cloth that drapes his body and his “vener’d” and polished skin and manners.

The painting of Omai by Joshua Reynolds may seem to reflect Rousseau’s ideas, but when considered in the context of other representations of Omai in the media, particularly

the pantomime, *Omai; or a Trip around the World*, we see a more complex depiction of the Pacific indigenous identity Omai had come to represent. What emerges from this examination is the entangled identity of Omai amid fanciful ideas of Pacific sexuality, a public fascination with spectacle (particularly as it is merged with the workings of science, exploration, and mechanization), and a curiosity about and a selective desire to assimilate aspects of the exotic into English and European culture. Through examining the ways that fancy works in the various depictions of Omai's identity in the popular culture of the period, I show the presence of an ambivalence toward the gendered nature of the imperial project of exploration and the representation of the indigenous person. Fancy provides a means for navigating the space between the meaning behind the markings of Omai's indigeneity (his tattoos, the tapa, etc.) and the spectacle that they became in popular representation. Fancy and its association with surface, with the perceived flightiness of Omai's manner, and with imaginative construction of the indigenous person in print, in paint, and on stage, helps us to understand this moment of contact between the Pacific and England and provides a perspective from which to consider the subjectivity of Omai and the failure of English attempts at assimilation.

Ultimately, I consider these representations of Omai alongside similar depictions of Joseph Banks. Building from contemporary readings of Banks as a collector and curator of Pacific material culture,^{xv} I show how he and Omai both not only collected objects of fancy, but were also depicted as transformed into the objects of fancy they had acquired. Both Omai and Banks were characters in the public's narrative of the Pacific; in

representations of both, we see the results of the public's Pacific fascination with and the curation of its own fancy.

Chapter 2: Flights of Fancy: Sarah Sophia Banks's Ballooning Scrapbook

Turning in the second chapter to the ephemera collection of Sarah Sophia Banks, sister to Joseph Banks, I build upon the relationship of fancy to spectacle and spectacle to science. Sarah Sophia was introduced to Omai and saved his visiting card in her collection of visiting and trade cards.^{xvi} In this chapter, I consider as a point of intersection what the examination of Omai revealed about fancy and spectacle in terms of indigenous representation and the Pacific and the interest demonstrated by Sarah Sophia's collection in the representation of fancy and spectacle, particularly as both are connected to science and gender in the mania for hot air balloons.

I begin by examining the ways that print collections were shaped into scrapbooks and the role of these scrapbooks in the documenting of cultural phenomena, like hot air ballooning.^{xvii} Sarah Sophia's scrapbook contains newspaper clippings, satirical prints, and handbills, documenting "Balloons, sights, exhibitions," and "remarkable characters." I consider her scrapbook's documentation of ballooning alongside a similar scrapbook held at the Huntington Library, revealing Sarah Sophia's immediate interest in the spectacle and her unique documentation of the different representations of male and female aeronauts.

Sarah Sophia's scrapbook is an example of Romantic collecting, especially the collecting of ephemera that resulted from the explosion of print culture that we see in the aftermath of Pacific exploration.^{xviii} As such, it serves as a bridge in this dissertation

between the media representations of Omai and the resonance of the ideology surrounding Pacific exploration in the later Romantic period. It also demonstrates a movement toward a more mediated form of fancy and spectacle—disconnected from the body of the indigenous person, the point of contact in the Pacific, yet driven by the resulting shifts in thinking about the world, about science, and about discovery. Sarah Sophia's scrapbook is a material product of the intersection of science, spectacle, and fancy; it documents the effects of this convergence as they are revealed in hot air ballooning. The possibilities of the hot air balloon were themselves objects of Romantic fascination and fancy; we see them explored in the writings of both Mary and Percy Shelley.^{xix} Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, then, contributes materially to Romantic fancy as it is connected to the hot air balloon. Her scrapbook shows the balloon not as a flighty object of the imagination, but as a material innovation contributing to a heterogeneous and open world view.

Examining Sarah Sophia's scrapbook within the context of her brother's investment in science and exploration and his imperial aims for the products of both, I see possibilities develop in Sarah Sophia's collection for a new approach to the role of discovery in a period dominated by imperial conquest and colonization. Rather than science in the service of empire,^{xx} we see with Sarah Sophia's ephemera collection, particularly this scrapbook, science serving spectacle and creative, groundbreaking endeavours. Discovery produces innovation, like Lunardi's machine for saving the lives of drowning persons; it creates possibilities for female aeronauts to explore identities free from "earth-bound perceptions of gender" (Brant, "I Will Carry you With Me" 179).

Chapter 3: Fiction, Fancy, and Authority: Literary Responses to Cook's Pacific Encounters

With the third chapter, I consider the ways that not only the ideologies promoted by Pacific exploration, but also the actual voyages themselves were depicted in popular culture. Examining various accounts of the Cook voyages, official and unofficial, fictional, factual, and satirical, I consider how accounts of Cook's voyages shaped the popular understanding of the Pacific. I look closely at the form of both fictional and factual works about the Pacific and investigate their function in the narrative appeal for validation. In fictional and ethnographic accounts of the Pacific from that period, narratives of the Cook voyages are often footnoted or referred to in order to create a sense of authenticity and authority. The Cook narratives referenced in these cases serve to provide not just factual, but also sensational material for later works to look to for validation.

In this chapter, I examine the parallel structures at work in John Hawkesworth's account of Cook's first voyage. These moments of juxtaposition,^{xxi} used to create a more sensational effect and, often, to establish a more familiar frame of reference, establish the foundation for comparison and critique that later works, like the fictional *Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*, build upon. Drawing from ethnographic information^{xxii} and newspaper accounts of encounter in the Pacific and holding up various official voyage accounts alongside the more satirical works, like "An Epistle from Oberea, Queen of Otaheite," "An Epistle from Mr. Banks," and *Bowman*, I show the complex relationship of such satirical versions to the "real" Pacific.

Ultimately, I show the material role fancy plays within the science of discovery and exploration in my examination of *Bowman*. While Cook may have failed to discover the Great Southern Continent, *Bowman*, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by its genre, completes the journey of Cook. In doing so, it reveals something about how essential fancy was to Pacific exploration. At many moments in the text, we are met with harsh criticisms of England, of the desire for luxury, of female vice, and of inequality. The author of *Bowman* often conflates the public's fascination with the sexual freedoms of Tahiti with the sexual corruption of women in his own country.^{xxiii} In these critiques, the author also shows the makings of fancy to be substantial, critical and material. Fancy allows the author and reader to consider multiple situations alongside one another in order to emphasize their sensationalism or spectacle. It constructs a vision of the Pacific that isn't merely a flight of fancy, but an opportunity for critical review; fancy draws from the factual and reconstructs it to pave the way for examining the effects of Pacific exploration and contact.

This chapter concludes with a discussion of Anna Seward's "Elegy" to Captain Cook. The examination of the poem further demonstrates the ways that accounts of the Cook voyages were footnoted as sources of authority in popular literature; Seward not only relies upon official accounts of the voyages, but she also often conflates the official accounts of individuals like Mai and Oberea with the popular perceptions of these figures. The historical figures, one by one, become characters in a popular satire, pantomime, or drama. While fancy is at work in the construction of the legend and celebrity of Cook in this poem, Seward must first draw from the literary and material

archives surrounding his voyages. This final close-reading paves the way for the discussion of fancy in Romantic poems about the Pacific in the final chapter.

Chapter 4: Fancy and the Romantic Poetic Imaginings of the Pacific

The final chapter looks closely at the ways fancy is presented in Romantic poetry about the Pacific, namely Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner," Charlotte Smith's "Beachy Head," Byron's "The Island," and Hellen Maria Williams's "The Morai." This poetry shows fancy to be deeply engaged with the Pacific and with experience, both real and mediated. Complicating Coleridge's definition of fancy discussed in detail at the beginning of this introduction, I show how fancy is less flighty than it is substantial and creative. Fancy bridges the gap between metaphor and reality in Coleridge's "Mariner," and between the subjectivity of the poem's speaker and the events described in the work of Smith. For Byron, mutiny is depicted as a flight of fancy, illustrating the role of fancy in shaping popular responses to the Pacific; Byron's mutineers are driven by a desire to possess that which they have fancied: a Pacific paradise.

Williams's poem appears in the Appendix to Andrew Kippis's biography of Cook. Kippis introduces Williams's poem, commenting on the unique role of women in being the chief writers about Captain Cook, expressing, of course, his desire to see more of the "stronger sex" take up their pen in honor of the heroic voyager (Kippis 510-11). I look to both the poems of Smith and Williams in this chapter for their ability to offer an alternate view of paradise to that of, say, Byron. Both Williams and Smith infuse their imaginings of Tahiti with the realities of death and corruption resulting from contact in the Pacific. Fancy, in these poems, works to heighten that sensation, drawing from archived materials

depicting key aspects of Tahitian culture and holding these materials up alongside the image of Tahiti as a new Eden and the image of Captain Cook as a heroic martyr.

The manner in which the female poets bring death, destruction, and sacrifice into the fanciful depictions of the Pacific hearkens to larger Romantic concerns over aesthetics and the sublime.^{xxiv} Considering Williams's depiction of death in the Pacific in "The Morai" alongside her sublime descriptions of violence and death in *Letters Written in France*, we can see her historical engagement with the Pacific as very much in line with her fundamental Romantic work on the French Revolution. In these terms, "the shrieks of despair" and the "agony of torture" color Cook's death and place him within the category of those who were martyrs for liberty, discovery, and progress.

Embarking on this Flight of Fancy

After considering fancy in these various material and literary contexts, Coleridge's claim that fancy is the "drapery" of poetic genius takes on new meaning. That drapery is a surface, yes, but as I will show in the chapter on Omai, surfaces can carry significant weight in the representation of indigenous persons. Surfaces communicate across various media, and the spectacle of their display can both reflect and distort. The drapery of fancy is non-corporeal and flighty, but those flights can be ones which open up new possibilities for women. In the chapter on Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, I highlight the ways that flights of fancy can be seized by popular science, by spectacle, and by female subjectivity. As I discuss in the third chapter, fancy drapes the exploration narrative in sensationalism, but in doing so, it opens up the possibility for imaginative comparison and critique of masculinized conceptions of progress. Finally, fancy may be the drapery

of Romantic poetry, but that drapery, as I demonstrate in chapter 4, is material, substantial, and complex. Fancy, its surfaces, its flights, and its sensations do not only serve escapist fantasies of the Pacific; fancy allows for reflection on Pacific contact, its devastation, and its possibilities.

Chapter 1:

Oh Me, Omai: Popular Pantomime, Tatau, and the Spectacle of Science

In July 1774, James Cook's second voyage returned to London with the Raiatean man named Mai, or as he was commonly known by English society, Omai. Omai quickly became associated with the other "curiosities" of the Cook voyages and circulated, as so many objects in Joseph Banks's collection, among the socially-prominent members of English society. Omai was not merely a curiosity, however, but he was also a figure who navigated the space of science and spectacle, demonstrating fancy's material role in constructing popular imaginings of indigeneity, scientific inquiry, and the spectacle of both. In this chapter, I will examine the ways English society re-created Mai on stage, in print, and in painting in order to fit in with the popular imaginings of the Pacific following the Cook voyages. In these recreations, Omai disrupted the "polish" of metropolitan cultural encounter through his spectacle: mainly, his tattoos that marked him as the familiarly "indigenous other," and his manners that defamiliarized England's polish through a process of excess and fanciful display.

Pantomime

The production, *Omai; or a Trip Around the World*, portrayed the spectacle of Omai's indigeneity, displaying the performed and material nature of indigenous representation (see Fig. 1.1). This pantomime, which combined both the workings of machines and the knowledge gleaned through the narratives and collections of men of science, placed Omai within the larger cultural convergence of science and spectacle in the productions of popular culture surrounding the Cook voyages. Omai's representation in popular culture

relied heavily upon the external representation of his indigeneity: whether that of his tattoos, the tapa cloth draped over him in the famous portrait, *Omai*, by Joshua Reynolds, or the red feathers associated with his nativeness in performance of the pantomime. These material objects and surfaces construct the spectacle of his indigeneity, as performed, painted, and inscribed by the people who were fascinated by him.

History of Pantomime, Machines, and Spectacle

Pantomime, importantly, was both a visual and a material spectacle, created through its ability to draw on other forms of popular entertainment.^{xxv} Pantomimes were exceedingly topical and “drew on events of very recent public interest in ways that other forms of musical theatre were incapable, or perhaps, disinclined” (Semmens 149).^{xxvi} Pantomime’s connections to popular culture and various forms of popular entertainment place its genre and the subjects it represented within a larger conversation about the popular imagination and the representation of topical figures and incidents as spectacle. Importantly, this also involved the interconnection of high and popular culture within the pantomime, an intersection that not only contributed to the success of pantomime (Semmens 127), but also reflected the role of Omai within popular culture. The celebration of Omai, a figure so connected to Pacific exploration, through the spectacle of pantomime sheds light on the way that both Omai’s indigeneity and the movements of science were connected with the visual and material culture of popular entertainment. This connection highlights the entanglement of the popular imagination with Pacific voyaging and contact and encourages the reading of the narrative of this historical moment across a variety of media.

Central to the theatrical spectacle of the pantomime were the machines, the sets, the dancing, and the music.^{xxvii} The pantomime, *Omai; or a Trip Around the World*, was no exception to the visual spectacle that was eighteenth-century pantomime. The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser's* review from the day following the performance states, "A spectacle abounding in such a variety of uncommonly beautiful scenery never before was seen from the stage of a theatre; nor was there ever, considered altogether, a more rich treat for the lovers of musick" (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* 21 Dec, 1785). *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* praised the pantomime for its ability to "bring the most distant object from the various quarters of the world immediately before our view" and to "familiarize us with the multifarious manners of mankind" (*Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 21 December, 1785). In its move away from traditional mythological themes, it exemplifies a distinct relationship to science and Pacific exploration culture through its choice of subject and setting. While there are instances of the fantastical within the Omai pantomime, the influence that Cook's journals and the accounts of Pacific exploration had upon the pantomime's design links those fantastical elements to the fancy associated with contemporary trends in exploration and scientific progress.

According to John S. Powell, there seemed to be both science and magic to the working of machines within pantomime (37): the science behind their creation and the magic of their ability to materialize the workings of the imagination. Powell quotes Subligny in *La Muse Dauphine* as saying of the machines of machinist and designer, Denis Buffequin, "The machinist is the devil incarnate when he creates such marvels; one cannot conceive of the workings of his incomparable machines" (qtd. in Powell 37). Subligny continues by

saying that the machines are beyond description, that one must “Go...go and see them.” This statement speaks to the visual and material nature of spectacle--that it is something that must be seen and experienced. The machines of the pantomime give material to fancy. The workings of mechanized science create the spectacle that illustrates that deep-seated connection between science and the fanciful imagination. The science of mechanization, in its materiality, is both inspired by and inspires fancy.

The handbill for *Omai; or a Trip Around the World* claims that it includes a Procession “Exactly representing the dresses, weapons, and manners of the inhabitants of Otaheite, New Zealand . . . and the other Countries visited by Captain Cook,” with “Scenery, Machinery, Dresses, &c Designed and Invented by Mr. Loucherbourg” (see Fig. 1.1). The traditional visual spectacle of pantomime was employed to illustrate to the audience the experiences recorded by Captain Cook. In fact, the *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* claimed that the pantomime “ought to be considered as the stage edition of Captain Cook’s voyage to Otaheite . . .” (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* Dec 21 1785 issue 5178). The science of exploration was, thus, translated into the visual spectacle of *Omai* by Philippe Jacques de Loucherbourg, who, according to Greg Dening, was the “greatest technological innovator of the eighteenth-century stage” (*Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language* 271). *Omai*, as Dening states, “caught up the simplicities of being native in an exhibition of civilized technology” (*Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language* 271).^{xxviii} This can be seen in both the costume designs of Loucherbourg, which I will address shortly, and in the ways that the Pacific was represented through music, dance, plot, and scenery.

The work of Marian Hannah Winter on the ballet illustrates the role of the exotic in eighteenth-century theatrical performance.^{xxix} The history of characters like the gypsy and the magician (see Fig. 1.2) and the designs for ballets like *Danina; or Jocko the Brazilian Ape* (see Fig. 1.3), illustrate the connection of costuming and representations of the exotic within theatre to the growing British empire. Such a history can be seen in the design and production of *Omai*. As Denning states, “in all his lyrics O’Keeffe verbalized the British mood of satisfaction at its humanism toward savage peoples” (*Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language* 271). O’Keeffe’s lyrics, then, included Tahitian words with translations in the footnotes of the program (*Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language* 271). This effort on O’Keeffe’s part displays both the self-satisfaction Denning finds in the production and, as I will demonstrate, the ways that the popular familiarity with the aspects of Tahitian culture communicated by the accounts of the Cook voyages shaped representations of indigeneity on the stage.

Omai; or a Trip Around the World: Setting, Plot, and the Ambivalence toward the Exotic

First performed at Covent Garden on December 20, 1785, *Omai; or a Trip Around the World*, was noted as a “celebrated” pantomime, and it was revived after its first run in March, 1788, with “new Decorations, and the Scenery new painted” (*The London Stage* 1049). According to Daniel O’Quinn, with its scope and visual spectacle, *Omai* “needs above all to be considered as a visual experience perhaps unrivaled on the eighteenth-century stage” (90). It was also a production that both reflected and continued to shape the public’s ideas of the Pacific. According to the *Public Advertiser* on the day following its first performance, the pantomime was an “illustration of facts” of the voyages of Captain Cook (*Public Advertiser* 21 December, 1785). As an elaborately-embellished production,

however, it integrated fancy into the popular understanding of Pacific exploration through its mythically-proportioned depiction of Omai, alongside well-researched set and costume design that drew much from the illustrations of the Cook voyages, as well as museum collections like that of Sir Ashton Lever (see O'Quinn 92). Though, being a pantomime, its performance had innumerable variations,^{xxx} much can still be gained by looking more closely at its design. Pantomime is a particularly fitting form for examining the representation of the Pacific because of the manner in which exploration had become a theatrical spectacle in sensational accounts like those of John Hawkesworth and satirical representations of the voyage like in "An Epistle from Mr. Banks, Voyager, Monster-Hunter, and Amoroso to Oberea, Queen of Otaheite" (O'Quinn 78).

The music for the pantomime, "entirely new," was by William Shield (*The London Stage* 850). Creating a fantasy version of the previously published *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*, Shield, known for "exotic flavour" in his music, used "conch-shell sounds and unusual percussion instruments, as well as the first notated sea shanty" in the production (see William Shield Bio *Grove Music Online*). The music for *Omai* is an example of what Vanessa Agnew calls "encounter music." Encounter music is "a form of relational practice, one that was always local, often spontaneous and provisional, and at times uncontrollable" ("Encounter Music" 185). Agnew contends that in these moments of encounter, sailors recognized that "music and dance could be useful for managing interactions between people unfamiliar with one another's ways and limited in their capacity for linguistic communication" ("Encounter Music" 185). In fact, when Mai was reinstated in the Pacific after his journey to London, it was through music, feasts, dances,

and other forms of entertainment that Cook attempted to please the public and recommend Mai (Agnew “Encounter Music” 186). What is reflected in the music for *Omai* is that Oceanian music seems to have been “too unfamiliar and too varied to be readily quoted to a metropolitan public” until identifiable Hawaiian music was available for comparison later in the nineteenth century (Agnew “Encounter Music” 194). This unfamiliarity shapes the context in which the Tahitian music in the pantomime is placed, as well as where the value is placed in the musical composition. *Omai* serves as an example of encounter music, which reflects “cultures stretched, tested, and changed by the arrival of new listeners and by the provocation provided by strange sounds” (Agnew “Encounter Music” 196).

Through material objects associated with the exotic, shells and “unusual percussion instruments,” Shields constructs the imagined exotic setting of the Pacific. For instance, there is a note in the score to the pantomime that calls for the use of “drums, naffas and pagges,” which were traditional Tongan instruments that Cook first mentioned in his journal of 1773 (Richard Moyle “Tongan Musical Instruments”). Moyle notes that from Cook’s descriptions, it appears that drums were played in groups of two or three and were beat with force by paddle-shaped clubs. The drummers were set aside from the dancers and surrounded by singers (Moyle 86). This not only gives an idea of what the performance of indigenous song would have looked like on stage, but it is also a notable moment where the indigenous instruments were specified in the score, in a manner directly connected to Cook’s description of Tongan instruments in his account. In fact, Shield consulted with two of Cook’s officers: James Burney^{xxxix} and Molesworth Phillips,

James's brother in law, both of whom shared a knowledge of Polynesian music culture (Agnew, "William Shield" 319). As Dening has noted, the music played a role in the pantomime's sense of authenticity, and it was the authenticity of the more familiar music—the Irish reels, folk tunes, and sea shanty—that reinforced this sense of its authentic representation of the exotic (Agnew, "William Shield" 319). Agnew notes, Shield did not "confine himself to elements then considered typical of Polynesian music" (Agnew, "William Shield" 320), but he depended, instead, on "exotic instrumentation" and Tahitian words in the lyrics to achieve the desired effect (Agnew, "William Shield" 320). The music, therefore, was less an authentic representation of Polynesian music and more another reflection of the popular knowledge of the exotic, demonstrated by the importance of the instruments and words that would be recognizable to the public from accounts of Cook's voyages.

The plot and settings of the pantomime *Omai; or a Trip Around the World* (See Fig. 1.2) were bound up in both fancy and spectacle. Daniel O'Quinn contends that *Omai* was a "protoanthropological project" with a "pedagogical imperative" having to do with Pacific exploration and global contact.^{xxxii} With this pantomime global contact and "science became spectacle," and Joseph Banks's "classified collection became a pantomime show" (Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 59). According to E.H. McCormick, "The plot, as recorded in newspaper summaries, was a fanciful melange in which stock figures of European comedy mingle with fictitious characters, patriotic abstractions with personages drawn from the official volumes and freely adapted to histrionic requirements" (317). The pantomime itself, a form of theatrical production engaging in

surface display and fancy, draws upon historical and contemporary events and presents them in a spectacular and fantastic manner. The pantomime uses this spectacular form to re-enforce certain patriotic ideals while at the same time reflecting back upon English society its distorted ambivalence in advocating those ideals.

The opening scene of *Omai* is set upon “a Morai in Otaheite by Moonlight.” Setting this first scene, where Otoo makes invocations to his ancestors, asking them to help his son, Omai, achieve the throne, in a Morai, and setting the following scene “Inside of a Morai,” illustrates a larger connection to popular representations of the Pacific Islands and Cook’s voyages. In 1784, a year before the premier of this pantomime, an edition of Cook’s *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* included an illustration of “A Human Sacrifice, in a Morai, in Otaheite” (see Fig. 1.4) by John Webber, who worked on the design with Louthembourg, and who, according to O’Quinn, was profoundly influential upon the pantomime (90).^{xxxiii} In the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser’s* account of the pantomime, the writer identifies the Morai as “a repository for the dead” (The *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 22 December, 1785), reflecting a popular public understanding of the sacred location. The popular knowledge of Cook’s voyages and the illustrations that accompanied his accounts would have played a role in the audience’s understanding of the scene. The association of the Morai with human sacrifice in the illustration accompanying Cook’s account and the inclusion of this place of prayer and sacrifice at the opening of the pantomime signal cultural associations of the Morai and the Pacific islanders with ancient (and in many ways, taboo) ritual and spiritual practice.

The setting of the Morai in the first two scenes is also significant, as it is one of the most specific setting locations mentioned in relation to the Pacific Islands in the pantomime. The next would be Part II, scene IX, which is set in “Oberea’s Dwelling.” This setting is designated as being “full of magical Instruments, &c.” Here, the significance of the space for the audience might lie in the association of Oberea with Joseph Banks, established through John Hawkesworth’s account of their relationship, and through the popular satirical account, “An Epistle from Oberea, Queen of Otaheite, to Joseph Banks, Esq.,” which was published in 1773. Joseph Banks was said to have been Oberea’s lover while in Tahiti and, though historical connection between Omai and Oberea was fictitious,^{xxxiv} the association depicted in the pantomime, as well as the particular designation of her dwelling as a setting in the production, speaks to the way Oberea and Omai had become connected in the popular imagination’s understanding of Tahiti.

Oberea’s role as a sort of enchantress in the pantomime, illustrated by the magical instruments in her dwelling, is coupled with the description of Omai’s “Talisman” in Part I, scene IV. The talisman produces a “Magic Odour” that sets the Justice, Captain, and Constables in the Justice Room, where Omai is being held, “sneezing, yawning, dancing, whistling, laughing crying.” The sense of taboo ritual associated with the Morai, as well as the associations of Oberea and Omai’s powers over the body through sound and scent, construct an image of the exotic in the popular imagination as being marked by a magical and seductive power with external manifestations. The final setting of the pantomime brings this magical association together with the popular notion of expanding global contact: “A View of the Great Bay of Otaheite at Sun-set. On one side of a Magic Palace-

---the Bay filled with ships and boats, bringing the Deputies from the different quarters of the globe that have been visited by Captain Cook, &c.” The view of the Bay of Otaheite would have been a commonly understood image, illustrate in accounts of Cook’s voyages (see Fig. 1.5). The bringing together of this exotic location with the Magical Palace reinforces the association of the exotic in Tahiti with not only the seductive beauty of the location, as demonstrated by the Bay, but also with a potentially threatening magical power. This magical palace, however, seems to have been neutralized by the coming of the ships from the different quarters of the globe, all connected by Captain Cook.

Much like the feathers in Omai’s Talisman, which I will discuss in more detail, this Magical Palace, while maintaining its exotic beauty and associations with the physical trappings associated with indigeneity (housing the procession of costumed representatives of the various islands, as well as Omai’s “fifty red feathers”), is brought into the English fold. The Mad Prophet Eatooa states near the end that “by (King) George’s aid, Omai ne’er shall want!” While Tahiti and the Tahitian, represented by these external, magical objects, maintain a level of exotic attractiveness that serves to entertain and engage the popular imagination, the pantomime makes clear that that same exoticism, now associated with England and King George, is part of the Cook voyages’ global network, through which the threat of exoticism’s seductiveness becomes minimized.

Through both setting and plot, the pantomime illustrates the slippery nature of Omai’s place and the place of indigeneity and the exotic in the conceptions of British society.

O'Quinn notes that *Omai's* success, and later alteration, was very much influenced by its depiction of indigenous people. He notes:

To render the Pacific islanders as natural objects designed for visual observation alone radically deprived them of agency and hence of the capacity to effect stage action. Reviews of the opening two shows of *Omai* . . . indicated that the second part was less successful than the first because it was merely a series of views. . . (98)

The spectatorship of the scenes set in the Pacific constructs the representation of indigeneity in *Omai* as passive, part of the visual spectacle of the exotic. According to O'Quinn, this passive visual spectacle of the Pacific prevented the activation of cultural difference through performance and resulted in the presence of "remarkably passive" Tahitian characters (99). O'Quinn contends that the changes made by Loutherboung to later performances reflect a response to this passivity. It seems also that this passivity of spectacle in terms of the Pacific islanders in the pantomime may result in the specific alterations made to *Omai's* story and in the continual displacement of the markings of his indigeneity, making him into a character of mythic proportions and smoothing over the discomfiting aspects of his "nativeness." *Omai's* rank is elevated in the pantomime, as he is made a son of Otoo, a chief. This change alone speaks to the discomfort many in his English circles felt with his rank. After arriving in England, *Omai* defeats Don Struttolando, the Spaniard with whom he is vying for the affection of Londina. Upon his conquest, *Omai* takes Londina with him back to the South Seas. This journey allows the pantomime to display visual representations of many parts of the Cook voyages, specifically encounters with material signifiers of indigeneity (McCormick 317-18). It also paints in geographical terms on the stage the desired relationship between London and the South Pacific, as *Omai* brings London, like a lover, back to Tahiti.^{xxxv}

Throughout the pantomime, key figures from Cook's journeys in the South Seas make appearances, including Odiddy and Oberea.^{xxxvi} Denning rightly reads the pantomime's depiction of these historical characters and their environments as encouraging a belief that the pantomime had illustrated an authentic history when it really was "an extravagant hocus-pocus" (*Mr. Bligh's Bad Language* 276). What I am interested in, however, is not the authenticity of the portrayal of Polynesia and the figures associated with the Cook voyages, but the demonstration of a shared popular knowledge of the exotic spurred by accounts of Cook, Hawkesworth, and others. The pantomime, in bringing this popular knowledge together with accounts perceived as scientific and authentic at once exposes the spectacle inherent in the science of those accounts and the sensationalism intermingled with attempted authenticity.

The pantomime concludes with Omai's return to Otaheite and subsequent coronation and marriage, acknowledging him as "the ally of Britain." Following Omai's coronation and union with Londina, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook* was displayed, showing Cook amid the clouds, crowned by Fame and Britannia.^{xxxvii} While much has been written on the depiction of Cook in this image, I am going to focus my reading on the preceding pantomime's plot, particularly as it deals with the external markings of Omai's nativeness and the way those dealings speak to English ambivalence toward Omai and all he represented.

In *Omai; or a Trip Around the World*, not only is there a notable absence of descriptions of Omai's tattoos, but also the character of Omai is consistently associated with new sartorial surfaces. In the pantomime, Omai is accompanied on his voyages to and

from England by “an Otaheitian.” This character, rather than Omai himself, is noted as being clothed in ornaments compiled from the various places he had seen in his travels. This costuming note is based upon the account from Cook’s voyages that “to make himself fine on his introduction to a Chief, Omai dressed himself with a piece of the habit of each country he had seen in his several voyages” (John O’Keefe *A short Account of the New Pantomime called Omai: or a Trip Around the World*). This note clearly reflects George Forster’s commentary on Omai’s presentation of himself, which I will discuss further later in this chapter, as well as the concern felt by author John O’Keefe and set designer Philippe Jacques de Louthembourg to present accurate depictions of cultural dress and environment from Cook’s voyages. In fact, as O’Quinn claims, it was Mr. Webber, Cook’s chief illustrator on the third voyage, who provided the information necessary for Louthembourg to dress the various characters in the pantomime. However, the placement of the ornaments onto a fictional character who is connected to Omai rather than on Omai himself begs further inquiry. A similar depiction of sartorial adornment occurs at the end of the play in the final setting description I have already mentioned:

The Bay filled with ships and boats, bringing the Deputies from the different quarters of the globe that have been visited by Captain Cook, bearing presents and congratulations to Omai, on his advancement to the throne of his ancestors, and who afterwards approach him dressed, characteristically, according to their several countries.

As O’Quinn remarks, “The procession that closes the pantomime acts as a runway of sorts for ethnically distinct fashion and demonstrates the continuing importance of clothing as an index for cultural, religious, and national identity” (91). Here, again, however, there is

a displacement; the characters surrounding and offering tribute to Omai are clothed in representative garments, but no mention is made of Omai's clothing or of his tattooed skin.

This is not to say that Omai wasn't tattooed or adorned with other representative markings of his origins; he very well could have been and most likely was. What I find intriguing, though, is that no mention is made of either, there being no extant illustration for his costuming or mention of it in the pantomime notes or reviews I've been able to locate. This absence could speak to an assumed popular knowledge of Omai through the various visual and textual representation circulated of him. The displacement of the most popular marking of his indigeneity, however, onto another exotic object, red feathers, seems to suggest that the absence of the tattoos in discussion of the pantomime had more to do with the potential of the external signifier of the exotic to be assimilated.

Throughout the play, Omai is directly connected sartorially only with one representative object: a magic talisman with red feathers. Beyond the talisman's significance within the performance of the Harlequin, which O'Quinn discusses at length, I want to consider this talisman in terms of its sartorial potential and, thus, its significance within the larger conversation of global contact and exchange in which the pantomime engages. At the beginning of the play, Omai is given the talisman for protection by Towha, the Guardian and Protector of the legal Kings of Otaheite, Omai's home. As the play progresses, Omai loses the talisman, which he is able to recover from a Justice of the Peace (*Omai* 1.3-4). Interestingly, when in the possession of the Justice of the Peace, the talisman is figured as a "tuft," much like the "wing of a turkey or tail of a goose," that "'Twill make a choice top for the head of [his] wife" (*Omai* 1.4.10-16). The feathers of

the talisman, however “contain sure some magical spell” (*Omai* 1.4.40). The feathered surface of the talisman becomes a sartorial object in the eyes of the Justice of the Peace that he speaks of as if it can be appropriated as a fashion object for his wife. However, the magic associated with the talisman ultimately prevents this appropriation. The foreignness of the surface of the talisman, though it appeared assimilable through the intelligible surface of the feathers, contained a presence invisible to the European eye (a magical perfume), a presence that resisted assimilation.

Red feathers are singled out in the Cook Journals as items of singular importance to the Otaheite people. Cook writes:

I have occasionally mentioned the extraordinary fondness the people of Otaheite shewed for red feathers, which they call Ooravine and grow on the head of the Green Paraquet, all red feathers are indeed esteemed but none equal to these and they are such good judges as to know very well how to distinguish one sort from another; many of our people attempted to deceive them by dying other feathers, but I never heard that any one succeeded. (*The Journals of Captain James Cook: II The Voyages of the Resolution and the Adventure, 1772-1775*, 411)

This passage points to both the feathers’ significance and the inability of the Europeans to fully comprehend their value, a sort of relationship to exotic objects that we can see play out in the pantomime. At the end of the play, Omai is declared by the mad prophet Eatoo to be the “owner of fifty red feathers” (*Omai* 2.9). The feathers that could not be turned into a hat by the English Justice ultimately ended up in the possession of Omai, bearing a significance that is unexplained to the audience of the play, but which they most likely recognize (but perhaps not fully understand) from having knowledge of Cook’s journals. The feathers and their significance serve to uphold Omai’s power when he returns to his island.

As O'Quinn argues, "Within the terms set out by the performance, the stage magic of pantomime and the spirit magic of Otaheite are equated. This implies that the mythic envelope that imbues Tahitian life is for Louthembourg and his audience a subset of visual wonder" (102). The representation of objects like the feathers demonstrates both the captivation with the spectacle of the exotic and the simplification of nativeness in applying meaning to the objects that only partially accesses their cultural potential and significance. Whether perceiving the red feathers in terms of a sartorial object like a hat, or in wondering at the excess of Omai's manners which often mimicked their own, Europeans attempted to assimilate and understand the external markings of nativeness in a variety of ways. These attempts at assimilation are demonstrated by the range of meanings red feathers are said to possess for the Tahitians in voyage accounts.

George Forster's account describes the sacred function and significance of the red feathers, as well as the ways that their sacredness becomes entangled in the material and the commercial. He writes, "these feathers are in high estimation with these people and become the emblem of the divinity" (*A Voyage Round the World* 562). He notes that the feathers "serve to fix their attention" during sacred ceremony (*A Voyage Round the World* 562). However, he also states that the red feathers are "the most valuable article of commerce, and there is nothing which a Tahitian would not give or grant in order to acquire some of these precious feathers" (*A Voyage Round the World* 367). The Tahitians had a discerning eye for these red feathers and were able to distinguish the prized red feathers from imitation feathers. Forster cites an instance when the English attempted to trade with dyed red cock feathers and the Tahitians "took them indeed but refused to give

anything in return” (*A Voyage Round the World* 367). Forster’s attention to the commercial value of the red feathers, however, veers into a misreading of their meaning to the Tahitians. He writes, “The rage after these trifling ornaments was so great, that Potatoa a chief, whose magnanimity and noble way of thinking, we never questioned before, wanted even to prostitute his own wife, for a parcel of these baubles” (*A Voyage Round the World* 367). He then places the red feathers with other articles of commercial value, like iron tools (*A Voyage Round the World* 367). This reading of the red feathers as ornament or object of commercial value, rather than accurately presenting their value to the Tahitians, reflects the debates over luxury, ornament, and corruption in Europe. The feathers, then, for Forster, become a site which he uses to reflect upon growing concerns over ornament in metropolitan aristocratic circles.

In an instance from July, 1769, Hawkesworth shows both the religious significance of the feathers for the indigenous population and their political significance for the British. Interestingly, in this instance, Tupaia, the Raiatean man who served as navigator and translator on the *Endeavor*, plays a significant role in the exchange of the feathers:

The moment we landed, Tupia stripped himself as low as the waist, and desired Mr. Monkhouse do the same: he then sat down before a great number of the natives, who were collected together in a large house or shed; for here, as well as at Otaheite, a house consists only of a roof supported upon poles; the rest of us, by his desire, standing behind. He then began a speech or prayer which lasted about a quarter of an hour, the King who stood over against him every now and then answering in what appeared to be set responses. In the course of his harangue he delivered at different times two handkerchiefs, a black silk neckcloth, some beads, two small bunches of feathers, and some plantains, as presents to their Eatua, or God. In return for these, he received for our Eatua, a hog, some young plantains, and two small bunches of feathers, which he ordered to be carried on board the ship. After these ceremonies, which we supposed to be the ratification of a treaty between us, every one was dismissed to go whither he pleased. (251-252)

Here, Hawkesworth shifts from political to religious significance, even in his word choice, as with “a speech or prayer.” The feathers, mutually exchanged, bear religious significance for the Tahitians, presented to their Eatua, and political significance for Cook and his men, signifying “the ratification of a treaty.” Tupaia, as agent in this exchange, demonstrates the indigenous person’s unique access to the significance of articles like the feathers. Tupaia, in guiding the exchange, is a conduit for both the religious and the political significance of the feathers, the external markings of indigeneity. As a Pacific islander and resident of Tahiti, he understands the distinct religious and cultural significance for the Tahitians; as a guide and translator for the British, he understands the feathers’ value as a political symbol and sign of good will.

For the Tahitians, red feathers signified the instantiation of divinity. They functioned as an Ata, which was an object humans used to symbolize the gods’ incarnation (see Robert D. Craig *Dictionary of Polynesian Mythology*). Red feathers were specifically associated with the Polynesian god, Oro, closely linked to the cult of the Arioi, which features significantly in accounts of Cook’s voyages. For the British and Europeans, however, the various meanings attributed to the red feathers in voyage accounts show them to possess the captivating power of external signifiers of indigeneity. The displacement of the tattoos in the pantomime in favor of the red feathers then seems an attempt at assimilation, another application of meaning to an object that can function, for the English and Europeans, more readily as familiar and sartorial. In the end, however, the feathers remain with Omai alone, indicating the deeper understanding of their meaning to be possessed by indigenous persons like Tupaia and Omai.

I have included Louthembourg's costume designs for *Omai; or a Trip Arond the World*. In order, we see the illustrations for Oberea, Otoo, Oedidee, the Prophet, and a Man of New Zealand (see Fig. 1.6-1.10). The only illustration that displays the character's prominent tattooing is that of the New Zealand Man. Interestingly, Cook had singled out the New Zealanders as being "completely tattooed," with their "true skin" being completely covered (Cook *The Journals of Captain James Cook: I The Voyage of the Endeavor 1768 1771*, 573). The people of New Zealand were also portrayed in popular voyage accounts as being more violent or savage than the people of the Friendly Islands or the Society Islands, which included Tahiti. New Zealand accounts were often characterized by conflict with the indigenous population and fears of cannibalism (see *Journals of Captain James Cook I. and II.*). In respect to cannibalism, in particular, New Zealand was set up by Cook in contrast to Tahiti, where people were "never guilty of cannibalism" (see Cook I.).

In Johann Forster's account of the second voyage, much more time and detail are given to the tattooed bodies of the peoples he considered to be lower on the scale of humanity.^{xxxviii} If we consider the New Zealand Man in relation to Cook's comments on the Marquesans, that they were "as fine a race of people as any in this sea or any whatever" (*The Journals of Captain James Cook: II The Voyages of the Resolution and the Adventure 1772-1775*, 373), one possible reading of Omai's absent tattoos may lie in the desire to depict Omai and the people of Otaheite as "fine" or "noble," as opposed to their savage counterparts in New Zealand.

Interestingly, however, the New Zealand Man is not a key character in the play; he is not listed among the characters and only appears during Omai's journey back to Otaheite in one of the various scenes depicting portions of the Cook expedition. Since none of the other characters from Otaheite were noticeably tattooed in the illustrations, it would seem a stretch to assume the New Zealand Man served as a model for Omai's costuming. It is more likely Omai's costuming would be based on that of Otoo. In any case, the New Zealand Man demonstrates Louthembourg's conscious decision to illustrate (or not illustrate) tattooing on the indigenous characters.

The difference in the skin markings adds weight to the displacement of the markings and ornaments of Omai's nativeness that I have pointed out in the pantomime. Turning to Nicholas Thomas's discussion of material culture,

we take the 'concrete and palpable' presence of a thing to attest to the reality of that which we have made it signify; our fantasies find confirmation in the materiality of things that are composed more of objectified fantasy than physical stuff. Not that this mystification is a veneer of falsehood; the dialectic of reification and consumption is as necessary and fundamental as anything else constitutive of human sociality, but the truths are truths of seduction rather than presence. ("The European Appropriation of Indigenous Things," 176)

This idea of "seduction rather than presence" is crucial for understanding the absent presence of Omai's tattoos in this play, as well as the displacement of representation of his ornament. The absence of the tattoos themselves draws attention to the constructed nature of their display, as well as the English ambivalence that construction reflects.

The Omai Pantomime and the Spectacle of the Exotic

Georgia Cowart reads spectacle as "a kaleidoscope reflection of a complex and changing society" (xv).^{xxxix} Spectacle for the English, according to Cowart, "generally

refers more specifically to events produced on a grand scale, especially those containing elements of dance” (xv). This is clearly the case with the popularity of such forms of entertainment as the English pantomime. Spectacle, importantly for my discussion here, is linked to privilege, pleasure, and with a sort of superficiality of meaning (Cowart xvi). Both spectacle and pantomime bear with them an anxiety towards “works and performances that seem to have no higher purpose than gratification,” a concern both in the eighteenth century and today (John O’Brien). These associations, as I will demonstrate throughout the remainder of this chapter, are very much also connected to Omai and his reception and representation among English society. As John O’Brien contends, entertainment is an interaction between performer and audience, and there is an “ever shifting relationships between high and low culture, between theater and audience, and between performer and spectator” (xiv). Both spectacle and pantomime involve this interaction and thinking of entertainment in this way can help us to understand the way in which Omai was not only the subject of the pantomime spectacle, but he was also a spectacle outside of the theatre. His daily interactions among English society illustrate the ever-shifting nature of relations between classes and between the people of the metropole and the indigenous Other, specifically the manner in which the shifting nature of those interactions is driven by and reflects ambivalent feelings toward the exotic.

The controversies over the superficiality of spectacle, its connection to luxury, as well as its ultimately complex nature, are all ideas I will consider in regard to Omai, as he is represented not only in this pantomime, but also in popular cultural productions of his time. According to Cowart, spectacle served as a means of projecting and idealizing historical

narrative (xx). In many ways, we can see this at work within the pantomime, *Omai; or a Trip Around the World*. Not only does the plot, as I've laid it out in this chapter, attempt to navigate the threat and seductive power of the exotic, but it also attempts to reconcile the tension between Omai's unpolished upbringing and his desired social significance within British society and a homogenizing imperial agenda. Elevating Omai's rank, establishing a fanciful connection with Londina, and re-writing the narrative of his return to the Pacific islands, the pantomime utilizes the spectacle of setting, costuming, and overall visual design to smooth out the tensions inherent in both Omai's presence in London and the imperial drive behind exploration, more broadly. In this way, the spectacle of the pantomime becomes a sort of surface in itself. The rough, unpolished reality of English society's relationship to indigeneity is made polished through spectacle: both the spectacle of performance and the spectacle of Omai's seemingly un-tattooed skin.

Omai in the Popular Imagination: Tatau, Polish, and Tapa

According to Rod Edmond, the islander's skin is the surface upon which cultural encounter was written (17). While Edmond explores these marks of contact in terms of disease, tattoos also clearly enter into this discussion. Omai's tattoos, one of the most remarked upon and visible surfaces of this moment of contact, are often ambivalently portrayed or entirely absent from depictions of him in popular culture. The frequent displacement of the markings of Omai's "nativeness," particularly his tattoos, signals the disconnect between presence and reality, which, according to Nicholas Thomas, is so often associated with acts of European appropriation. "Nativeness" becomes an idea signified by objects external to the body, rather than the body itself ("The European

Appropriation of Indigenous Things”176). As we’ve seen in *Omai*, the tattoo, though seen as a type of sartorial ornament, is displaced in favor of more seductively assimilable surfaces and sartorial objects. Beyond this, visual and written accounts of Omai demonstrate the problematic representation of his tattoos, skin, and manner in connection to ornament, spectacle and scientific inquiry.

The Science and Spectacle of the Tatau

Omai’s tattoos and skin are particularly problematic aspects of the indigenous performance ascribed by the imperial imagination. Tattoos are not only connected to the ambivalence toward ornament and the luxury debates, but they are also connected to spectacle and the developing scientific inquiry into cultural variations and the human condition. Joseph Banks, who was famously tattooed in Tahiti, recounts a particular instance of both cultural and scientific inquiry and spectacle surrounding the practice of tattooing. On July 5th, 1769, he writes,

This morn I saw the operation of Tattowing the buttocks performd upon a girl of about 12 years old, it provd as I have always suspected a most painfull one. It was done with a large instrument about 2 inches long containing about 30 teeth, every stroke of this hundreds of which were made in a minute drew blood. The patient bore this for about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour with most stoical resolution; by that time however the pain began to operate too stron[g]ly to be peacably endurd, she began to complain and soon burst out into loud lamentations and would fain have persuaded the operator to cease; she was however held down by two women who sometimes scolded, sometimes beat, and at others coaxd her. I was setting in the adjacent house with Tomio for an hour, all which time it lasted and was not finishd when I went away tho very near. This was one side only of her buttocks for the other had been done some time before. The arches upon the loins upon which they value themselves much were not yet done, the doing of which they told causd more pain than what I had seen. About dinner time many of our friends came, Oamo, Otheothea, Tuarua etc. (*Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*)

In this passage, Banks takes the role of observer, curious at both the cultural practice and science of tattooing. From the attention paid to the particulars of the instrument involved, Banks reveals his interest in detailing with accuracy the almost-surgical procedure. The more sterile quality of the sentence describing the instrument used, however, gives way to spectacle of the proceedings, marked by incredible pain and the girl's "loud lamentations." The practice of tattooing, with its scientific precision, is also made a spectacle through the pain of the experience. Hearing the loud cries and witnessing the girl's violent attempts to wriggle free, attempts that had to be subdued by two women who "held her down" and who "sometimes scolded, sometimes beat, and at others coaxed her."

Omai's skin and manner, marked by both his tattoos and his indigenous exoticism, became for British society a similar site of both cultural and scientific inquiry and spectacle. His time in London yielded not only such events of scientific interest as his participation in small pox inoculation (see *Omai, Pacific Envoy*), but also a very public (and published) fascination with his often-misconstrued Tahitian heritage. As we have seen with the production of the pantomime, Omai was a figure who embodied the convergence of public interest in science and global contact with spectacle and performance. In this way, he became associated not only with pantomime, but also with other popular forms of public display, like portraiture.

The Reynolds Portrait and the Spectacle of Omai's Skin

Looking at the portrait of Omai by Joshua Reynolds (See Fig. 1.11), one of the most well-known and valuable portraits in history (Kate Fullagar 191-212), it is clear that

Omai's tattoos are made a crucial part of his constructed identity. In this painting, both Omai's skin and the tapa cloth draped over him become sites of spectacle associated with global exploration and curiosity. Omai's pose in the painting emulates the *Apollo Belvedere*, which was the standard for classicized masculinity in Reynolds. The painting, therefore, participates in the tradition of classicizing the native subject. This classicization illustrates the Enlightenment concept of the "noble savage," which presents the indigenous person as exotic Other and as an ideal form from which to critique society.^{x1} This simultaneous display and critique serves to frame the ambivalent portrayal of Omai, his tattoos, and his manner.

For Harriet Guest, this portrait presents Omai as a "blank" subject "punctured" by the exotic presence of his tattoos that render him ultimately illegible ("Curiously Marked: Tattooing and Gender Difference in Eighteenth-century British Perceptions of the South Pacific" 84-5). This statement is complicated by Nicholas Thomas's claim that it was the Tahitian tattoo, in particular, that lent itself most readily to appropriation by Europeans and that, therefore, came to mark the European and indigenous tattooing encounter (*Tattoo* 21). The spectacle of the surfaces of Omai's body and his manner, the illustration of his tattoos in the Reynolds portrait, then can be seen as a surface site of interaction between European and indigenous people.

Omai's tattoos, in contrast to the pure, white surfaces of his garments in the portrait, stand out as a marked surface. His tattoos draw attention to his skin as an object, separated from the unmarked surface of his face and his garments. The marked skin of his

arms and legs resists assimilation into the classical depiction of his body. While the body can be covered, the tattoo cannot be eradicated from the skin.

Cook writes:

I at first wondered that Captain Furneaux would encumber himself with this man who, in my opinion, was not a proper sample of these happy islands, not having any advantage of birth or aquired rank; not being eminent in shape, figure or complexion. For their people of the first rank are much fairer, and usually better behaved, and more intelligent than the middling class of people, among whom Omai is to be ranked. (qtd. in McCormick 183)

This statement draws obviously upon the association of skin color with class, but it also builds upon the existing associations between the polish of Omai's skin and the polish of his manner. Both, to Cook, were affected by the fact that Omai was perceived to be "dark and ugly." Omai's "darkness," according to Harriet Guest, functions on both surfaces—that of his exoticized and objectified skin and that of his class ("Curiously Marked" 84). Omai, popularly racialized and considered "an elite subject whose privilege was undercut by miscegenation" (see O'Quinn 106), reflects late eighteenth-century thinking about reading the face "like a mask for typical signs that then stand for traits of character or mentality" (O'Quinn 107). This reading of the face is, then, as O'Quinn claims, not only associated with the popular black mask of the pantomime Harlequin, but I believe it is also associated with the reading of indigeneity as an outward sign manifest upon or as a surface. Not only is the surface of Omai's skin inherently othered in its absence of "whiteness," but it is further darkened through the presence of his tattoos. His tattooed skin is marked, then, as both "vener," glistening curiosity, and puncture, indelible otherness.

To understand, then, Omai's darkened and marked skin as a surface site of both spectacle and possibility, we can look to critical theories of skin. Steven Connor offers a critique of the idea of the “immaculacy” of skin, stating, “Perhaps there only ever was contingency, and the unmarked skin merely the not-yet-marked skin” (73). Thinking of skin and marking in this manner not only reveals the vulnerability of skin to be inevitably searching for protection through forms of marking, but it also calls into question the hierarchical value placed on the “immaculate,” unmarked skin over the marked, scarred, tattooed, or weathered skin. As Connor states, “Time is marked in bodies, and all bodies mark time” (74); the markings of decay are inevitable, so the marked body is itself an inevitable reality, always already present in the “not-yet-marked” skin. The idea of “true skin” is remarked upon in Cook’s journals, as it is noted that “two or three” of the men of New Zealand were “completely tattooed,” with markings entirely covering their “true skin” (*The Journals of Captain James Cook: I The Voyage of the Endeavor 1768 1771*, 573). For Connor, markings treat the skin as an object, making it ever more durable and erasing the value of a once-immaculate bodily surface (82-3). Omai’s tattoos, in contrast to the pure, white surfaces of his garments in the portrait, are such a marked surface. The layers of draped fabrics, his headdress, and the brightness of the tapa cloth draw attention away from the skin and onto the sartorial objects themselves. Within this construction, however, the tattoos remain insistently visible, even down to the lines of his (left) leg tattoo, which are almost entirely shrouded in shadow. His hand gesture seems to display the body art at the same time that the drapery seeks to hide it, revealing the complex nature of Omai’s “exoticism.” As with the mixed interpretations of the red feathers in

popular voyage accounts, the external representations of Mai's exoticism are made open to interpretation, though that interpretation is often fragmented, conflicted, or limited to reflections framed by English and European concerns.

Tapa and the Spectacular Surfaces of Indigenous Representation

The tapa cloth, worn by Omai in the painting, is significant on both a material and spiritual level. Tapa was associated with spirituality and with the priestly class, but it also held a material, social significance connected with ceremony. According to Julia Lum, tapa is a cloth that has the power to shape people and create a boundary between the sacred and profane (“Visual and material economies of bark cloth in Robert Smirke’s *The Cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite*”). Adrienne Kaeppler notes, one of the most elaborate uses of barkcloth both socially and ceremonially can be seen in the Tahitian rituals of mourning (5). Tapa was used to drape the house of a chief laid in state and was part of the “ritualized performance of the chief mourner who put on a spectacular display of grief at the death of a chief or other important person” (5). Such spectacular mourning rituals utilizing the tapa were captured in accounts and illustrations of the Cook voyages that were popularly circulated. Many other ceremonies and rituals bearing great social significance throughout Polynesia make use of tapa, particularly its association with both the chiefly and the sacred. The surface of this fabric in the painting of Omai, then, elevates Omai's status and places more than just his body on display; it communicates, through the tapa, social, spiritual, and material significance. While it resonates most deeply with Polynesian culture, the dissemination of information from the

Cook voyages in regard to the tapa ensured that its significance was also accessible, particularly on a material level, to the British imagination.

The tapa cloth places the idea of cultural significance on display and highlights the tradition of objects brought back to England from Tahiti. Tapa, or bark cloth, was a particularly valued object by the English and Europeans, and Banks took special interest in it as a surface of varied potential. It was thought that bark cloth could be written on, and it was seen also as a demonstration of the ability of indigenous cultures to transform natural objects into garments (Lum “Visual and material economies of bark cloth in Robert Smirke’s *The Cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite*”). According to Lum, bark cloth moved across categories and was pliable in meaning and potential, and, as such, it quickly became a central symbol of distinction (“Visual and material economies of bark cloth in Robert Smirke’s *The Cession of the District of Matavai in the Island of Otaheite*”). In a way, then, the tapa cloth speaks to Omai’s role as both a curiosity and a curator: he is draped in the vibrant cloth, a spectacle of curiosity collected from the Cook voyages, and in wearing the cloth, he elevates his status in a manner significant to him culturally. We have in this portrait an overwhelming appeal to the visual spectacle of both the collected object of scientific and cultural interest, the tapa, and the inviting and troubling spectacle of Omai’s tattooed skin.

Reynolds’s depiction of Omai relies upon the surface of the collected object, the tapa cloth, to represent Omai’s nativeness. Rather than the tattoo, the collected indigenous sartorial object rises to a place of importance in displaying Omai’s nativeness in a manner more readily-acceptable to British culture. This is, in part, due to the draping of the tapa

like a toga, calling to mind familiar classical representations (see Fullagar). I think, also, the tapa is more acceptable because of its already existing sartorial adoption in British culture. In some ways, like the appropriation of red feathers in the Omai pantomime, the tapa had become a material marker of both indigeneity and the sort of amicable relationship to the “noble savage” that individuals like Cook sought to foster. For instance, as Kaepler notes, Mrs. Cook famously used tapa brought back from the Pacific to make a waistcoat for Captain James Cook to wear at court upon his return to England (3).

The tapa in the painting is also bright and appears polished, much like the many descriptions of Omai’s skin. In this way, it too speaks to Omai’s “vener.” This veneer can be seen to signify the reflective potential of Omai as a spectacle within British society. Much popular cultural commentary on Mai is often focused on the texture and sheen of his skin, as well as the flighty inattention or excess of his manner. The writer, George Colman, describes Omai in water as “a specimen of pale moving mahogany highly varnished but curiously veneered” (qtd. in McCormick, 154). James Burney’s account of Mai makes him out to be a person “addicted to romancing” (qtd. In McCormick, 58). Throughout these accounts and others, Omai’s history becomes a veritable game of telephone, source after source attributing to him an origin story that grew more distorted with every telling. In accounts like those of his inoculation against smallpox, Omai was used to, according to the *London Chronicle*, “attack the evils of the age” (qtd. in McCormick 98). For the poet Cowper, Omai came to represent the depression of people displaced by globalization in his poem *The Task* (Fulford, Lee, and

Kitson 63). For Cowper, however, Omai's role as a reflective spectacle is particularly clear, as, according to Tim Fulford, "the poet sees more of himself in a South Sea islander than he does in a farm laborer" (64), a statement that reflects the general fascination with the Pacific islands as a sort of Eden before the Fall. And, though George Forster would continue to insist that "Omai's understanding was not sufficiently penetrative," was too focused on the surface of things, too excessive and too easily distracted (qtd. in McCormick 296), his manner and representation across various media served to reflect what many in the social circles in which he moved and beyond wanted to see: about morality, civilization, and the polish of English society.

According to O'Quinn, the pantomime, *Omai*, was less about instruction and insight into the cultures of the Pacific than it was a mode of training the audience in "the complex art of class ascendancy in the metropole" (103). Conversely, Christopher Balme contends that not only were the first encounters between Pacific islanders and Europeans marked by theatricality, but theatrical representations of these encounters that immediately followed strove explicitly for authenticity, with the turn toward the exotic coming only later (47). The figure of Omai himself, amid this discussion of the purpose and authentic representation of the Pacific, is a uniquely reflective figure. As James Mulholland contends in his work on the satirical poems written in the voice of Omai, one of which I will discuss later in this chapter, exoticism and ventriloquism, "can lead not to the representation of Tahitians as sexual objects, imperial curiosities, or ethnographic specimens, but as subjects" (344). Mulholland does not claim, like Balme, an authentic representation of Tahitians, but he does complicate the idea that O'Quinn suggests of the

representations of Omai being constructed purely for the “training” of the audience. Omai was clearly positioned to attack certain ills of European and English society, but in his ventriloquism, as Mulholland puts it, or his display of English manner and ornament, we can see his subjecthood in his reflection of society’s excesses. The authenticity of the manner in which indigeneity was presented to the British popular culture is then less a concern than the potential offered by these representations of “nativeness” and cultural encounter across various media.

The “Polish” of Omai’s Surfaces

Perceived as ultimately “frivolous,” Omai denies the European vision its desire for the “native” through his reflection of what Harriet Guest calls “cosmopolitan civility” (“Ornament and Use: Mai and Cook in London”³²²). Omai’s rank and social status, more common than that of Tupaia, were not fitting with the European ideal of the “noble savage” figure. Omai’s status among his own people paved the way for the construction of his identity within London society as a parrot of aristocratic affect or, according to Vanessa Smith, a sensualist lacking in high ideals (139-60, 156). George Forster, naturalist on Cook’s second voyage, felt that the English aristocracy, however, offered Omai, “polish at the expense of improvement” (“Ornament and Use: Mai and Cook in London”³²⁶). See also George Forster, *A Voyage Round the World* 1, 11). This polish characterized both the perceived texture of Omai’s tattooed skin and the performative excess of his manner. It is clear that the Forster’s criticism is not merely aimed at Omai but, rather, at the façade of English society that would “polish” Omai’s behavior without

improving it; such customary behavior remained merely on the surface, lacking the depth Forster would deem necessary for improvement.

“Polish” is also associated with Omai’s physicality in popular accounts. George Colman, a companion of Omai provides an account of him swimming at Scarborough.

Colman writes,

The coast of Scarborough having an eastern aspect, the early sunbeams shot their lustre upon the tawny Priest, and heighten’d the cutaneous gloss which he had recently received from the water; he look’d like a specimen of pale moving mahogany, highly varnish’d; not only varnish’, indeed, but curiously veneer’d; for, from his hips, and the small of his back, downwards, he was tallow’d with striped arches, broad and black, by means of a sharp shell, or a fish’s tooth, imbued with an indelible die, according to the fashion of his country. He hail’d me with the salutation of Tosh, which was his pronunciation of George, and utter’d certain sounds approaching the articulation of— ‘back’— ‘swim’—‘I’—‘me’—‘carry’—‘you’, and he constantly cried ‘Tosh not fraid’; but Tosh *was* fraid—and plaguily frighten’d indeed, that’s the plain truth. (qtd. in Dening, “O Mai! This is Mai: A Masque of Sorts” 54)

Harriet Guest writes of this quote, “One of the most frequently cited accounts of Omai’s buttocks tattoos . . . compared them to veneer inlaid in mahogany, as though they were a part of the body’s surface, but confirmed its exotic difference”(“Curiously Marked” 87).

The mixed accounts of the texture of Omai’s skin reflect the ambiguously physical texture of the tattoo in the latter part of the eighteenth century (“Curiously Marked” 87), as well as the relationship these polished surfaces maintained to conflicting opinions on polished manner.

Omai’s tattoos occupy a dialectical space, as they are both perceived as marks of “natural,” primitive man, and as markings at odds with order of nature in their savageness and the suffering involved in the tattooing process (see Daniel Miller “Why Clothing is not Superficial”). England itself, though privileging the enlightened inner man, advocated

a superficial polish that was, in its self-cultivation, at odds with the “natural” person within.^{xli} Though his tattoos are displayed, the surface of Omai’s skin asks us to do more than look at it; rather, we are able to see in accounts, written and visual, of his tattoos the tension between the “polish” simultaneously promoted and condemned by the English aristocracy.

In the complicated and convoluted responses to Omai, we can see the simultaneous anxiety and curiosity produced by his marked skin. His skin was identifiable in its exotic otherness and threatening in its feminized association with ornament and fancy, two elements heavily debated among eighteenth century critics of fashion (particularly fanciful male fashions). Harriet Guest’s work is engaged in considering these anxieties at length, particularly how they manifest fears about the feminization for the British male subject and the growing relationship between ornament and nationalism (see Guest “Curiously Marked”). Though the skin is marked by both sex and race, according to Anne Cheng, the skin is also the site where those distinctions break down (98-119). This reality contributes to the difficulty in reading Mai’s skin in popular culture and supports a turn to its connection with his manner for a more complete understanding of the potential of indigenous representation for reflection.

According to Guest, Forster believed that Omai had little chance of improving his status upon his return to his home. To Forster, Omai had merely acquired more polish and more surfaces in his visit to England—manners, civilities, “ornaments” and “other trifles” (see Guest, “Ornament and Use: Mai and Cook in London,” 328). This accumulation of surface ornaments and manner not only reflects the perception of Omai,

the indigenous other, as lacking depth, but it also reflects the “improvement” English society had to offer. In the quest for “improvement,” England, ultimately, is met in Omai with a reflection of its own aristocracy’s contradictions and often shallow sensibilities.

According to Fulford, Lee, and Kitson, Omai’s manner pointed out discrepancies between the aristocracy’s ideals and its behavior (57). O’Quinn notes that in accounts of Omai in popular culture, the line between “sensuality and sensibility, between desire and discernment” was often blurred (80). This blurring ultimately reveals the ambivalent behaviors of the class within which Omai was circulating, As *Westminster Magazine* noted, Omai demonstrated a manner different from the European polish of manner. Omai’s excess, his “exceeding fine bow” (see McCormick 128), his fanciful manner, in their distortions of English “polish,” indict that polish and their very practice of reading manner. Guest claims that Omai absorbs the habits of those around him (*Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation: Captain Cook, William Hodges and the Return to the Pacific* 157), but absorption seems the wrong term for what is happening, especially considering the distortion of manner that is attributed to him. Rather than absorbing, Omai reflects and distorts in a manner that is connected with the ambivalent portrayal of his tattoos. Just as the tattoos as both ornament and indelible mark are ambivalently portrayed and often absent in the popular imagination (as in the popular pantomime, *Omai; or a Trip Around the World*), so Omai’s manners, that reflective surface he has created, perform a dialectical function linked to the simultaneous shine and darkened marking of the physical surface of his skin.

Navigating the Space of Science and Spectacle through Fancy

The *Public Advertiser's* account of the Omai pantomime stated: "It is an illustration of facts, as related in Capt. Cook's voyage, and there must be a very desirable object to be seen by those who have any wish to be acquainted with, or form any idea of, these important discoveries, in the prosecution of which, the indefatigable navigator lost his life" (see "Theatrical Intelligence," *Public Advertiser*. 21 Dec, 1785). This account interestingly connects to Paul Keen's account of the dissemination of knowledge surrounding spectacle. Like Keen's argument for the spectacle surrounding ballooning and its relationship to both fashion and scientific progress that I will discuss in the next chapter, this account of the pantomime treats the play as a serious representation of the knowledge gleaned from the Cook voyages. We see in the conflation of the visual representation of scenes from the Cook journals in the play with the more scientific knowledge produced by the voyage, a reflection of the eighteenth century's conflation of popular and scientific knowledge. This conflation was often an attempt to negotiate terms of communication and forms of knowing in a world whose order was constantly subject to change. Accounts of Omai participate in this conflation and dissemination in a unique way, as his persona is adopted, both in the pantomime and in popular writing, to bring together the spheres of scientific exploration and fashionable spectacle. In these representations, Omai can be seen to reflect European ambivalence toward the gendered pursuit of knowledge and the popularity of fanciful narration.

The Science of Spectatorship

Spectatorship itself involved not only a “science,” but also an integration of the imaginary and the material. This was particularly the case with representations of indigenous persons on stage. According to O’Brien, pantomime, in some ways, consisted of a diversion of the attention of the spectator from the meaning of the play to the *objects* intended to convey that meaning (76). This statement particularly applies to the manner of indigenous representation in the Omai pantomime, especially concerning the absence of his tattoos and the inability of the characters to fully perceive the significance of the red feathers. The importance of the material objects signifying indigeneity carried greater weight to the audience than the deeper meaning associated with the objects. In addition to this material focus, O’Brien argues that there was a science to the act of spectatorship, the concept of which emerged around the time of the production of *Omai; or a Trip Around the World* (71). He states, “Spectatorship must be understood as a material process, an exercise that engages the body’s apparatus for viewing and its machinery for mentation” (72). The spectator’s body is mechanically engaged in the material representations of the imagined scenarios taking place on the stage. The spectacle of the pantomime thus becomes this merging of the “science” of viewing—a mechanical process of empirical observation—with the material representation of the fanciful on stage.

Spectatorship also importantly involved a sort of dialogue between the audience and the performance. At times, this took the form of a literal interjection by the audience into the production, as in an April 1788 production of *Omai*, in which “The performance was interrupted when ‘a piece of brass of upwards of a pound weight was hurled from the

gallery into the pit, and much injured a lady on which it fell' (*Public Advertiser*, 8 Apr, qtd. In *the London Stage* 1053). Spectacle and the act of spectatorship involved the audience in such a way that, in cases like this one, the audience member created his or her own spectacle by hurling the piece of brass and becoming part of the performance record of the evening.

On a philosophical level, according to Cowart, the nature of spectacle “demands treatment as a textured dialogue consisting of a heterogeneity of discourses, rather than as the reflection of a monochromatic, absolutist culture” (xvii). O’Brien builds on this point by illustrating that the concept of spectator emerging in this period mediated between concepts of perspective: the singular, Olympian concept and the “emerging reality of multiple and subjective viewpoints” (71). This idea relates not only to Omai as spectacle, but also to spectacle of science. In both cases, there was not one, singular, homogenous perspective at work. Much as the vision we have of Omai consists of a cacophony of voices and views, so the spectacle of scientific progress at the end of the eighteenth century did not fit neatly into the overarching, singly-focused imperial vision we have often come to associate with global exploration. This chapter and the next, and my project as a whole, are invested in exploring this multitude of perspectives and the ways that spectacle and its representation of the materiality of the fanciful imagination can more fully reveal to us the multi-faceted reality of global exploration as a cultural phenomenon.

Reading Omai's Spectacle in Popular Culture

By examining this phenomenon through accounts of Omai's spectacular presence in English society, we can see that his spectacle and the many views held by his spectators blurred genres and ways of knowing and revealed an ambivalence toward the gendered nature of the imperial project of exploration and the representation of indigeneity in the surrounding culture. Newspaper account of Omai's return to his home after his time in England engage in a romantic reading of his place among his people, the role ascribed to him in the pantomime as ally to England, and the sentimental attachment between Cook and Omai. *The Bath Chronicle* cites Cook's account of the separation and Omai's establishment of himself at Huaneine (see "Account of Omai's first reception among his countrymen, at his return from England," *The Bath Chronicle*. 12 Aug, 1784), while prior to that, the *London Chronicle* creates a much more affecting scene:

if tears could have prevailed on Capt. Cook to let him return, Omai's eyes were never dry; and if the tenderest supplications of a dutiful son to an obdurate dather could have made any impression, Omai hung round his neck in all the feeling agony of a child trying to melt the heart of a reluctant parent. He twined his arms round him with all ardour of inviolable friendship, till Captain Cook, unable any longer to contain himself, broke from him, and retired to his cabin, to indulge the natural sympathy which he could not resist, leaving Omai to dry up his tears and compose himself on the quarter deck. ("Account of Captain Cook's Farewell from Omai," *London Chronicle* 29 May, 1781).

This account reads like sentimental fiction and demonstrates the conflation of the experience of global contact and exchange with popular entertainment. Omai, a central figure in the English understanding of the Cook expeditions, becomes both a representative of the results of the masculine scientific endeavor of exploration and a character in a work of popular, fashionable fiction.

The structure of the poem "Omiah's Farewell" speaks to this very ambivalence, as the author constructs a preface that attempts to speak to Omai's life and personal history while at the same time satirically painting Omai in sensational proportions as a Don Juan. Mulholland contends that "literary impersonations of Omai transform this 'authentic object of curiosity'[as depicted in the Reynolds portrait] into an inauthentic, temporary subject, fashioned in such a way as to engage types of sympathetic recognition typically reserved for other portrayals of Pacific Islanders" (347). He continues, "to speak for Mai, rather than to sketch or to paint him, is to assign psychic depth to what is otherwise portrayed as an illegible body" (347). In his distinction between the visual and textual representations of Mai, Mulholland demonstrates Mai's potential subjectivity in the "exotic voices" of poems like "Omiah's Farewell" (345). Mai in this poem is a subject of interest, who, according to Mulholland, "is brought into being by the desire of English readers for exchange with the exotic, rather than merely the appreciation of a curious surface of an object" (347). Mulholland's argument, then, reflects the nature of public interest in Omai as being driven by popular knowledge of and interest in the exotic. Omai, in this exchange was more than the surfaces presented in the Reynolds portrait; he was a subject who could simultaneously both be engaged with and could serve to hold a mirror to England's on desire for an assimilable type of exotic engagement.

The preface to the poem opens: "Omiah, like the Duenna, became a very favourite with the public, and people contended who could see them most, not for their intrinsic merits, but to surpass eachother in an extravagant absurdity" (see "Omiah's Farewell; Inscribed to the Ladies of London"). While this opening speaks to my earlier points about

Omai's excess, the author continues upon the issue of Omai's "improvement," echoing Forster: "instead of dressing him out in a bag and sword and leading him forth to all public spectacles, it would have been an act of the most humane nature to have instructed him in such things as might have made him useful to his uninformed fellow creatures upon his return." Omai is used here, then, to continue to reflect the debate over education and improvement, as well as to reflect the dissolution and "depravity" of polished females who would engage in scandalous behavior with Omai. As Sunne Juterczenka argues, this poem is meant to express more about European self-perception than about Omai (193-216, 212). We see this particularly in the poem's attack of Omai's admirers for their "extravagant absurdity." Near the end of the preface the author writes: "when we consider that his majesty speaks of his circumnavigators, and their discoveries, as the first ornaments of his reign, it is not to be doubted but so rare a human exotic in his native dress would attract the eyes and attention of the British Sovereign." This statement engages in the act of conflating the science of exploration with fashion and popular entertainment, as the navigators themselves are described, like Omai, as ornaments. For the eighteenth-century reader, ornament conveyed less superficial meaning than we associate with it today; it was associated with refinement, which makes this conflation seem largely positive here. However, ornament's association with luxury or polish, particularly its association with femininity and the exotic, connects it at the same time with certain class-specific anxieties.

Interestingly here, also, there is no mention of Omai's tattoos beyond his "dark Numidian stain" referred to in the poem, as Omai speaks of his desire to cover the

darkness of his skin, to paint it white like his fair maiden's skin. The tattoos on women's buttocks are mentioned, however, as Omai states, "Is it not strange, the ladies of my shore, / Whome heaven favours and whom you adore--/ That they should use their paints with such disgrace, / And give the tail what they deny the face?" And, again, "Here painted faces bloom on every Strum, / In Otaheitee--we tattow the bum," which is followed by Omai vowing to put an end to this practice. The displacement of the discussion of Omai's tattooed skin onto the tattooed buttocks of the women of Otaheite can be seen to reflect and engage with Harriet Guest's work on the association of tattooing with ornament and a feminization that was responded to with much ambivalence (see "Curiously Marked"). Beyond that, however, this displacement can be seen as another instance of Omai's tattoos resisting assimilation. Because Omai inhabited this space at the crossroads of progress and aesthetics, his tattoos appear to have been particularly difficult to portray. Unlike the women of Otaheite discussed in the poem, there is no demand that the tattooing practice he had engaged in be eradicated. Instead, his tattoos, with their various roles in the cultivating of spectacle and exotic representation, could simply not be depicted openly because doing so would not only undermine that sense of ethical openness encouraged by rhetoric of scientific progress, but would also undermine England's own fascination with ornament.

Fancy and the Tattoo

The treatment of Omai's spectacle and its association with the performance and material representations of indigeneity and with scientific collecting and progress can ultimately be seen to be constructed by the material workings of the fanciful imagination.

The notion of "fancy" comes into play in establishing the underlying ambivalence in the European mindset toward global contact and colonization in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In its excess, fancy was connected to polish, and, as such, reflects the sense of instability at the heart of eighteenth century debates over fashion, gender, and the expanding commercial world.

Fancy is also entwined with notions of curiosity and spectacle.^{xlii} It is connected to the English and European response to Omai's polish and his tattoos, which become transformed from mediums of meaning to objects of inquiry (see Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, 106-110). Omai's tattoos reflect the process Omai himself goes through, moving from curious traveler to object of curiosity. This process, however, is not static, but is always in flux. Barbara Benedict claims, "The doubleness of cipher as both evident to the eye yet concealed from the mind reinforces its curious aspect" (16). The often displayed but often simplified, displaced, or concealed surface of Omai's skin illustrates this function of curiosity. The visual, written, and performed representations of the spectacle of Omai and his tattoos that I've discussed here, therefore, provide both a more productive mode of reading Omai in popular culture and a means of understanding fancy within the gendered construction of exploration narrative.

In *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, the tattoo was not only generally mentioned alongside discussions of clothing and customs, but was also included within a cursory ethnography of the island peoples. Discussion of the "tattow" or "tatau" was generally couched within that of hair, gender, skin and clothing (*Cook*: I, 124-5). The depiction of

the lack of “general rule” to the tattoo persists throughout the journals (*Cook*: I, 586), with the emphasis seeming to remain on the tattoo as a mark whose design is “figured more by fancy than by custom” (*Cook*: II, 351, 374). It is this notion of “fancy,” this excess in both the practice of tattooing and the excessiveness of manner that Omai displays in his “polished” interactions with English society and which English society ultimately fails to apperceive.

I find it significant that the Marquesans, whose tattooing design practice is singled out by Cook as being driven primarily by fancy, are described as “as fine a race of people as any in this sea or any whatever.” This statement is immediately followed by a description of their tattooing practice, in which the men are “tattooed and marked” in a manner that “makes them look dark,” while women are “little tattow’d (*Cook*: II, 373). Thinking about Cook’s depiction of the Marquesans in relation to their tattooing practice, a practice which remains largely surface-oriented and descriptive through the eyes of the Europeans, can provide a way of reading Omai’s surface, his tattoos and the polish of his manners within aristocratic London, as sites reflective of the “fancy” and attractiveness of the Marquesan people in Cook’s journals.

Omai’s “cultural capacity for mimicry” (see McCormick 211) not only reflected but it also distorted the aristocracy’s vision of itself. And, while George Forster might critique the society that would polish Omai without improving him, he would not venture to acknowledge the critical value of the distortion of vision that Omai’s excesses reflected. Upon closer examination of the representations of Mai’s polish, the veneer of English

society begins to crack; the unpolished and performed nature of London aristocracy and the ambivalent position which fancy occupies in English culture is revealed.

Fancy functions in both fashion and exploration as a mode of understanding contact through aesthetic appreciation of design and surface ornamentation, but, as I have demonstrated with the pantomime, *Omai; or a Trip Around the World*, with the fanciful, appropriation of indigenous objects and practices, the European subject ultimately fails in appropriating or assimilating the full meaning. Fancy attracts and subverts. It implies a frivolity that, when read correctly, becomes a form of resistance.

Joseph Banks, Esq.

In order to understand the absence of Omai's tattoos in popular representation, as well as Omai's role as both curiosity and curator of the fancy of exploration, it is useful to now turn to Joseph Banks, a figure similarly prominent in both narratives of scientific progress and in the popular sensational imagination. Through looking more closely at Omai's association with Joseph Banks and the various representations of Banks in popular culture, we can see fancy's role in materially constructing this relationship through popular representation.

Banks, unlike Omai, was historically considered to be "coarse" and often lacking in the "polish" Omai so famously displayed (Gascoigne 22). Banks returned from his voyage with Cook bearing a Tahitian tattoo on his arm. The absence of illustration of this tattoo is notable in both his journals and his later portraits. In contrast to the image of Omai, this portrait by Benjamin West of Banks (see Fig. 1.12) after his return from the South Pacific depicts him displaying, not his tattooed arm, but a decorated garment made

from the native New Zealand plant, *Phormium tenax*. As Ekaterina Heath notes, in the painting, Banks shows us the importance of this plant by both wearing it and having the book on the ground opened to the image of that plant (“Sir Joseph Banks and British Botanical Diplomacy”). The fibres from this plant were used, importantly, for both the making of textiles and for ornament. It, thus, served not only as an external marker of his relationship with New Zealand, but a sign that that relationship was both decorative or ornamental and commercial in value. The garment worn by Banks reflects the complex reality of exploration and cultural engagement with the South Pacific: the surface or ornamental value, the consequent varied meaning and interpretation, and the vested commercial interest of the growing British empire.

Simon Layton and Khadija Carroll argue that the border of the garment and what Banks is pointing to in the image is actually sacred dog skin (“The Sartorial Science of Joseph Banks”). They argue further that the garment he is wearing actually might have belonged to Tupaia. Through clothing himself in Tupaia’s garment (Tupaia was of the priestly class), Banks, thus, presents himself as a “holy man of science” (Simon Layton and Khadija Carroll). This claim makes this painting even more fascinating and establishes further significance to Banks’s sartorial choices. His adoption of the holy garment, like Mai’s wearing of the tapa, further highlights the garment as an external marker of or marker of connection to indigenous culture. Looking further, though, it is of note that Banks is clothed in sort of a hybrid garment: his regular clothing beneath the flax, his status as a man of the British Empire never relinquished. His finger, not only points to the sacred dog skin, but it also points to the markings on the fabric wrapped

around him. He displays the design on the flax in a similar manner to Mai's display of his tattoos in the Reynolds portrait. This gesture highlights the ornamental value of the garment, at the same time that the open book in the corner of the painting highlights the plant's potential for the British empire. Unlike Mai's tattoos, the flax is not only ornamental and sacred, but it also has commercial value that can be assimilated into British culture and, therefore, it does not need to be covered. The sacred tapa is not needed and the dog skin can exist alongside the ornament because the garment is external to Banks in both its nature and its association with indigenous culture. Banks has put on the garment; he displays this connection to indigeneity that can be taken on and off. Mai, on the other hand, can not discard his tattoos or undress from his culture.

Smith argues that Omai "replaces Tupaia as Banks's Oceanic reflection" as news of Banks's sexual exploits with native women in the islands spreads around London (157-8). She contends that Banks's notoriety was seen as a spectacle, similar to Omai's spectator/spectacle position within British high society (157). Within the context of global exchange, "Omai and Banks are depicted as both passive and active, swapping roles of overweening carnality and curious effeminacy, their co-implicated authority undermined even as it is acknowledged" (Smith 159). In this way, Banks's spectacle is also depicted in terms of surface. Unlike Omai, his tattooed skin is entirely hidden beneath fabric, though the presence of that tattoo seems displaced to the pattern of the fabric that he displays. The social behavior of Banks was met with criticism upon his return to England, the "vener" of his reputation both called into question and ultimately tarnished. While Omai's excessive "polish" of manner finds representation in the surface

of his skin and the brightness of the tapa, the depiction of Banks calls attention to his “curiosities”, the ornaments, tools, and draperies acquired during his travels.

Omai as Curator of Fancy

The attention to curiosities in the Banks portrait can also help us read Omai as a curator (For more on indigenous collecting, see Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects* and Jenny Newell, “Polynesians and their eighteenth-century collecting”). Omai famously had his own reasons for traveling to England: mainly, to acquire guns and weapons so that he could return to his home, Raiatea, and conquer the invading Bora Borans. He returned to the Pacific with his own collection of curious objects: a barrel organ, a collection of miniature figures, portraits of the king and queen, fireworks, a jack-in-the-box, an illustrated Bible, handkerchiefs, two drums, a suit of armor, and an electrical machine, presented to him by Joseph Banks.^{xliii} According to Guest, he was also given a variety of objects meant to remind him of life in England: utensils, iron tools, furniture, linen clothes, and trade goods, as well as livestock, seeds for a garden, and maps, charts and a compass. Most importantly to Omai, he was given some guns, powder and shot (“Ornament and Use” 328). These guns, according to Jenny Newell, were particularly valued by Polynesian collectors and were a “volatile force for change” (79). In Tahiti, where “wars between jealous chiefs became increasingly common . . . it was not just the muskets that were useful, but the connection to those who had provided them” (Newell 81).

Guest suggests that Omai’s “dolls and trinkets may demonstrate how the progress of advanced civilizations is involved in frivolous utility and inconvenience (“Ornament and

Use” 329). Omai’s collection of these objects reflects and distorts popular English collecting habits. His unstructured, seemingly frivolous collection, vaguely mirrors initial popular perceptions of collections like that of Joseph Banks, filled with flowers, butterflies, and cloth. More importantly, however, its apparently haphazard organization and perceived purposelessness reflects both the original collection of Sir Hans Sloane and the collection of Joseph Banks’s sister, Sarah Banks, whose 30,000 object collection, housed at the British Museum and British Library, was initially perceived as the collection of a hoarder, lacking in organization and purpose. It is now being examined more critically for its commentary on the relationship between fashion, femininity, spectacle and science and its examination of popular science and exploration in a manner that, foremost, engages with fancy and spectacle. Omai, in this sense, becomes a curator of a collection that distorts the popular expectation of developing scientific collecting practices.

The depiction of Joseph Banks in James Gillray's satirical sketch of him as “The Great South Sea Caterpillar, Transformed into a Bath Butterfly” (see Fig. 1.13), is a biting attack on what Banks represented about science to the English conservatives at the time (see Alan Bewell, “On the Banks of the South Sea” 189). This image paints Banks, not as clothed in his curiosities, but as transformed into one of them. The naturalist in this image becomes the object of study, the sample collected from the voyage. This image, according to Alan Bewell, asks us to see “Joseph Banks as a man, a plant, and a caterpillar” (190). In this image, Bewell contends that Gillray “emphasizes the “corrupt sexuality of Banks, his emergence out of the soil of Tahiti” (190). Thinking of this sketch

alongside the portrait of Omai, I want to focus particularly on the markings on Banks's butterfly wings. Subject made object, Banks is doubly objectified by the display of whimsical symbols on his wings. The crab, the shell, the flower, and the sun not only suggest the perceived threat of revolutionary experimentation, but also Banks's perceived frivolity, or fancy. As Richard Holmes notes, Banks's association with the butterfly became significant after his travels in the South Seas, as he was said to prefer a butterfly to the woman he was involved with (42). The significance of his experience and writings becomes overdetermined in light of his fanciful display here.

As I have suggested, however, re-thinking exploration and contact in terms of fancy may help us to read this image in a new way. Like Omai, Banks here is transformed into a figure both aesthetic and of scientific interest, a curiosity to be pinned upon the wall, studied to determine a significance that is seemingly lacking in context. Considered in light of Banks's absent tattoos, the images upon his wings can be read in relation to the practice of shipboard "ethnographic" tattooing. This is defined by Thomas as the "enhancement of self and biography that took the form of the bodily inscription of a proof of [the sailors'] travels and voyage," a process that lent itself to a "correspondingly erratic" mode of tattooing (see Thomas, *Tattoo* 21). This type of bodily inscription upholds the inaccessible element of Omai's tattoos at the same time that it speaks to the resistance of English culture to complete adoption of the tattooing practice.

Conclusion

As O'Brien states, "The challenge of re-creating and thinking about eighteenth century British pantomime underscores how inadequate the printed word is as a means to

capture the full texture of embodied performance” (xx). My project further develops this argument “for a history that is less-exclusively literary” (O’Brien xx). By examining not only the pantomime itself, but also newspaper accounts of the pantomime and Omai’s time in London, as well as other ephemeral and visual materials, the “full texture” of the performance, the representation, and, ultimately, the spectacle of Omai’s indigeneity begins to take shape.

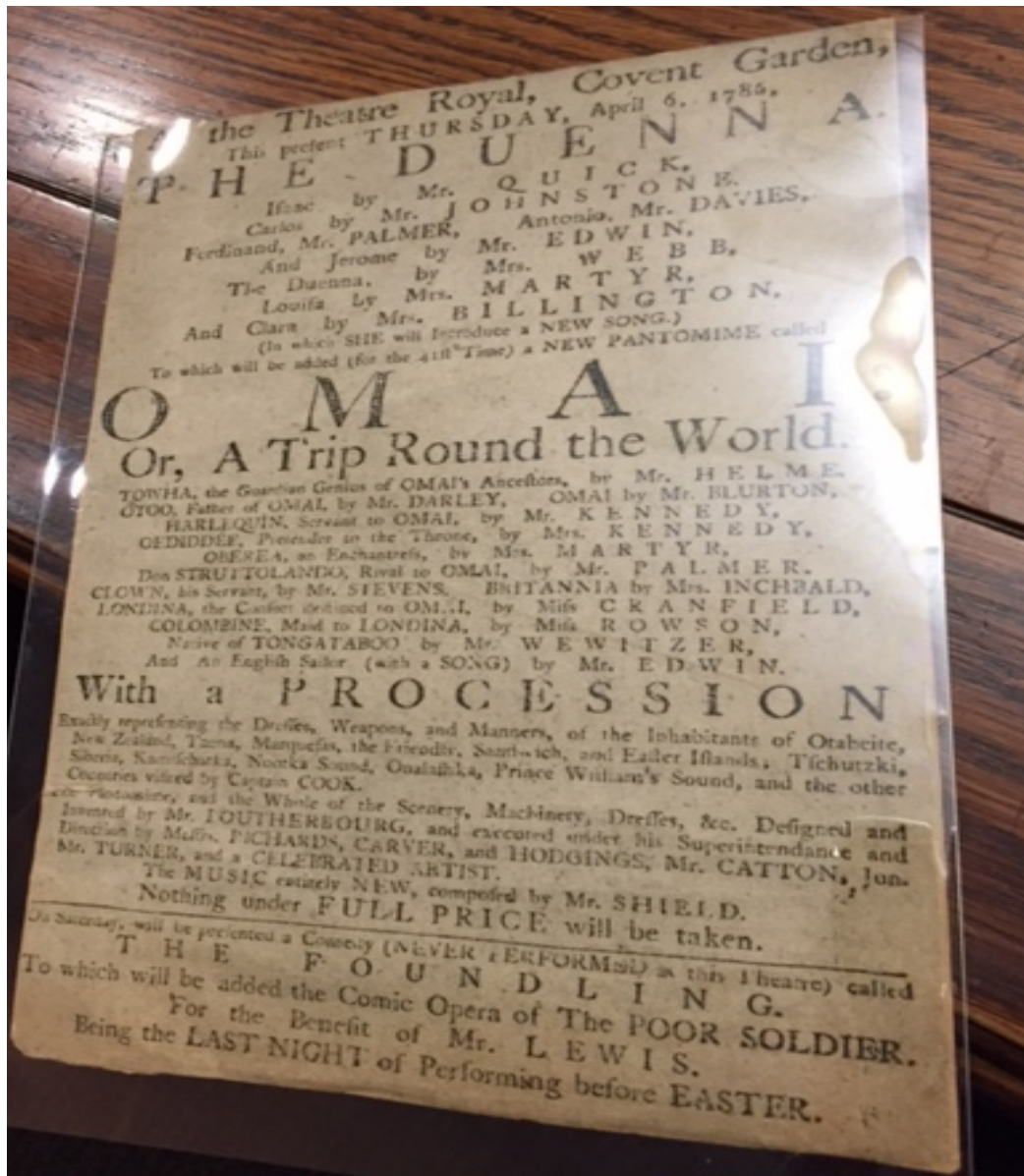


Fig. 1.1 *Omai: or a Trip around the World* Playbill. Library Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles.



Fig. 1.2. Illustration of the Gypsy and the Magician. From Winter, *the Pre-Romantic Ballet*.



Fig. 1.3. Illustration from *Jocko the Brazilian Ape*. From Winter, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet*.



Fig. 1.4. Courtesy of The British Museum. *A Human Sacrifice in a Morai, in Otaheite.* After John Webber. Illustration to *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean...*1784.



Fig. 1.5. Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum. William Hodges. *A View of Maitavie Bay in the Island of Otaheite*. 1776.



Fig. 1.6. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia. Philip Jacques de Loutherbourg. "Oberea." 1785.



Fig. 1.7. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia. Philip Jacques de Loutherbourg. "Otoo." 1785.



Fig. 1.8. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia. Philip Jacques de Loutherbourg. "Toha, Chief of Otaheite, Oedidee." 1785.



Fig. 1.9. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia. Philip Jacques de Louterbourg. "Prophet's Dress." 1785.



Fig. 1.10. Courtesy of the National Library of Australia. Philip Jacques de Louterbourg. "A Man of New Zealand." 1785.



Fig. 1.11. Courtesy of the Tate, London. Joshua Reynolds. *Omai*. c. 1775.



Fig. 1.13. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery. James Gillray. "The Great South Sea Caterpillar transform'd into a Bath Butterfly (Sir Joseph Banks)." 1795 (printed 1851).

Chapter 2:

Flights of Fancy: Sarah Sophia Banks's Ballooning Scrapbook

At the time of the Cook voyages, the tension between science as a part of polite culture aimed at the improvement of man and science as an end in itself grew, as the move toward scientific specialization increased (Gascoigne 4). Within this movement, Joseph Banks stands out as a figure whose importance lies in his abilities to promote the possibilities science held for the benefit of the growing British Empire (Gascoigne 7). As was noted in a recent conference on Joseph Banks and his scientific networks at the Royal Society, London, Banks was both an entity and an individual.^{xliv} One way in which, as both entity and individual, Banks promoted the possibilities of science for Britain was through his collection of objects of interest to the study of botany, natural science, and the imperial potential of the South Pacific. As Joseph Banks and his collection grew in social and political prominence following the first Cook voyage, the science and spectacle of ballooning captured the imaginations of people across England and France. Michael Lynn, at the outset of his book, *The Sublime Invention*, even places ballooning within the context of other scientific ventures that captured the imaginations of the public in the late eighteenth century, specifically the Cook voyages (2).

The ballooning craze of the late eighteenth century^{xlv} highlights the spectacle of popular science and its relationship to the fanciful imagination. This relationship is demonstrated in various aspects of print culture from the period and can be seen, especially, in ballooning scrapbooks. One such scrapbook was famously constructed by Joseph Banks's sister, Sarah Sophia Banks.^{xlvi} Housed in the British Library, Sarah

Sophia's scrapbook^{xlvii} traverses the line between fancy and science, destabilizes norms of masculine collecting and scientific endeavor, and illustrates feminine commentary on the relationship of balloon flight to gender. Most importantly, Sarah Sophia's scrapbook demonstrates the perspective of a woman who lived in the very midst of these innovations, who had access to a variety of perspectives because of her class status, her education, and her relationship with her brother, and who chose to compile this book, documenting the phenomena of the hot air balloon and its effects on social life. Looking especially at the ways her scrapbook represents the differences between male and female balloonists, we can see patterns of mythic and gendered spectacle emerge. These patterns show Sarah Sophia's scrapbook to be invested in a more thorough perspective on female flight than that of the popularly-depicted "aerial nymph." Ultimately, Sarah Sophia's scrapbook showcases a significant collection of hot air ballooning ephemera that speaks to the developing Romantic imagination,^{xlviii} to the rising fame of female aeronauts, and to the possibilities for discovery found in the balloon, beyond the service of empire, the primary focus of her brother.^{xlix}

One image from Sarah Sophia ballooning scrapbook especially demonstrates the unique engagement of her scrapbook with the science of ballooning from a perspective that highlights equally ballooning's spectacle and its association with luxurious excess and femininity (see Fig. 2.1). The woman in the image is at once a satirical commentary on the mania for hot air balloons, female flight, and the outrageous macaroni hairstyles that had risen to popularity in the latter portion of the eighteenth century. This image is illustrative of the manner in which the contents of Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, which I will

explore in detail in this chapter, represent a convergence of these aspects of popular culture. Not limited by ties, like those of her brother, to imperial discovery and progress, Sarah Sophia's ballooning scrapbook highlights the many facets of discovery involved in the ballooning craze, celebrating the varied responses to and interactions with the captivating spectacle of the hot air balloon. I will read her collection as taking part in a quest for discovery and will show how such a reading genders these quests and reveals their existence between disciplinary spaces.

The ballooning craze is captured in various mediums of media culture from the period: newspapers, satirical prints, poems, plays, and personal collections. It played particularly upon the Romantic imagination, and it is a subject of interest in the writing of both Percy and Mary Shelley. Percy Shelley's poem, "To a balloon, laden with Knowledge," presents the balloon as medium for representing hope and potential. At the same time, however, the poem acknowledges the ephemeral nature of the material object of the balloon, which soon shall "Fade like a meteor in surrounding gloom" (line 6). In Mary Shelley's futuristic novel, *The Last Man*, set in the 21st century, balloons serve as extraordinarily ordinary means of transportation. Early in the novel, the balloon represents the triumph of man over nature, as the protagonist sails effortlessly through the sky: "The machine obeyed the slightest motion of the helm; and, the wind blowing steadily, there was no let or obstacle to our course. Such was the power of man over the elements; a power long sought, and lately won" (Vol. 1, Ch. 4). However, as the story develops, the balloon becomes "fragile" and "dares no longer sail on the agitated air" (Vol. 2, Ch. 5). The science that developed the balloons, like so many material

manifestations of the ambitions of man, fails over time in the face of the power of the natural world. The balloon represents innovation and the ambition for the infinite, but it is ultimately, like the human race, subject to its materiality: “What are we, the inhabitants of this globe, least among the many that people infinite space? Our minds embrace infinity; the visible mechanism of our being is subject to merest accident” (Vol. 2, Ch. 5). For Percy’s 26th birthday, Mary even gave him a hand-stitched balloon and telescope they purchased together in Geneva (Fara 217). Both Percy’s and Mary Shelley’s interest in and writing on balloons present us with a Romantic commentary upon the transcendence of the idea and its entanglement with the limitations of the ephemerally material. Their perspectives on the balloon in the Romantic imagination illustrate a way of thinking about the balloon’s materiality, its significance, its science, and its spectacle that correlates with the curating and collecting of balloon ephemera in popular culture, particularly as can be seen in the connections and collections of Joseph and Sarah Sophia Banks.

While officially skeptical of the science of ballooning, Joseph Banks, nevertheless, was, in his private capacity, a member of the unofficial British Balloon Club, headed by Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and the Prince of Wales (Holmes 137). Banks’s personal interest and official hesitation toward ballooning speak to larger concerns about the practice of science and its role in fostering the “improvement of man,” particularly through its relationship to government (Gascoigne 4). In many ways, Sarah Sophia Banks’s collection fills in the gaps in the areas, like ballooning, Joseph Banks didn’t want to/couldn’t risk his official position to acknowledge. Sarah Banks’s ballooning scrapbook

offers us a complementary history to that of her brother, one that seems to respond to his official hesitation toward the science of ballooning and, in doing so, emphasizes the importance of spectacle in scientific endeavor. The ballooning scrapbook of Sarah Sophia Banks and another similar ballooning scrapbook held in the Huntington Library Collections, demonstrate an intense interest and investment in the sensational that broadens the scope of our understanding of science in the life of the public during this period of growing specialization, highlighting the function of spectacle and performance in the pursuit of improvement, progress, and national identity. By looking to the collection of Sarah Sophia, I am answering the call issued by Hannah Wills and others at the recent conference on Joseph Banks at the Royal Society, *Joseph Banks: Science, Culture and Exploration: 1743-1820*, to de-centre Banks in order to understand what he was accomplishing on a global scale; in order to do this, I am looking particularly to the material productions and collection of the female who shared his home at 32 Soho Square and who was responsible for helping with the curation and management of his collections and their display to the public.¹ As Helen McCormack notes, there were no defined divisions in the Banks house; the home at 32 Soho Square indicates in itself that public and private performance of science are related (“Banks and Hunter”). Daily breakfasts were held at 32 Soho Square, which included Sarah Sophia and Joseph’s wife, Lady Dorothea Banks; Banks’s library was both a scientific and a sociable space (Dominik Hünninger “32 Soho Square as Contact Zone”). Within this space, Sarah Sophia housed her collection alongside that of her brother. In this collection, as Arlene Leis contends,

“Sarah Sophia constructed a personal history that intermingled with wider national and international concerns” (“Ephemeral Histories” 185).^{li}

Joseph’s Macaroni, Sarah Sophia’s Collection, and the Pursuit of Popular Science

Joseph Banks famously engaged in the endeavor of promoting science as a distinct and valid form of knowledge with material value to an outward-looking Britain. In legitimizing the collections brought back from the first Cook voyage, consisting of objects from butterflies, to plants, to cloth, to feathers, Joseph Banks himself was navigating a space between science and spectacle that the then-developing science of ballooning would engage in on a wildly popular, performative level. According to Sunne Juterczenka, the media played a significant role in Banks’s rise to authority and position (“Beyond the Common Centre”); this media attention included a sense of celebrity created by popular accounts and spectacle, making him not dissimilar from Omai, whom I discussed in the previous chapter, and also, in some ways, not dissimilar from the subjects of “curiosity” found within Sarah Sophia’s collection. On the level of his reputation, as well, Joseph Banks was constantly in this space: depictions of him range from his portrait by Benjamin West (see Fig. 1.12) where he was surrounded by his collections to satirical depictions of him with a macaroni hairstyle catching butterflies (see Fig. 2.2). This latter image not only engages in the popular satire of the macaroni, which I will discuss shortly in relation to the ballooning craze, but it also illustrates the reception of Joseph Banks and his collection as one characterized by fancy in both its object and execution. Michelle Hetherington reads this satirical print of Joseph Banks as a macaroni as representing the “epitome of frivolity” (“Mirror of Folly”). The macaroni

print, according to Hetherington, is related to a number of satirical military prints that reflect a popular concern for the military's lack of virility and inability to defend the nation ("Mirror of Folly"). This print, therefore, not only comments on Banks's masculinity, but it also attacks both him and his science as victims of fashion.

Hetherington notes that the two globes upon which Banks stands in the print comment on his trips to the two poles/oceans ("Mirror of Folly"). This print was published on the day Joseph sailed to Iceland, a trip perceived as a result of the "frivolity" and excesses of his requests to refashion the ship meant to attend Cook on his second voyage (Hetherington). A second macaroni print of Joseph Banks (see Fig. 2.3), "The Botanic Macaroni," according to Hetherington, shows Banks holding a magnifying glass like a mirror, illustrating the perception of botany as vanity, attacking Banks for "self love over love of country" ("Mirror of Folly").^{lii} Interestingly, Sarah Sophia's collections, in spite of their inclusion of hundreds of satirical prints, do not include any of the famed satirical prints of her brother, Joseph, only one of the "Macaroni Print Shop," in which you can see, so small in the window, one of the infamous macaroni prints of Joseph Banks (see Fig. 2.4).

Joseph Banks himself became a spectacle after the Cook voyages, as accounts of his questionable conduct ran through popular poems and stories (i.e. *An Epistle from Oberea, Queen of Otaheite, to Joseph Banks, ESQ*, which recounts his rumored romantic liaisons in Tahiti).^{liii} His famously tattooed arm, as well as his recounted engagement in ritual practices of Tahiti (including stripping naked and taking part in a ritual dance),^{liv} captured the popular imagination and lead to a perception of Banks and the science he practiced as inextricable from the sensationalism that marked his reputation and that of his scientific

collection. This mark, however, did not prevent him from rising to prominence among men of science on an international level or from being elected as President of the Royal Society and, though contentiously, holding much influence in that role for over 40 years (Gascoigne).

Joseph Banks's role in navigating the space between science and spectacle, both personally and professionally, and promoting science as materially valuable to the British Empire (from his botanical investment in and curacy of the Gardens at Kew to his promotion of African exploration with Mungo Park) may have contributed to attempts at demoting fancy and spectacle in order to emphasize the potential of exploration and natural science when intertwined with government. Within this schema, it is possible to see Joseph Banks's official hesitation toward ballooning as resulting from his own experiences as an object and producer of scientific spectacle. Joseph Banks's personal interest and professional ambivalence can be seen as connected to the already-difficult path he was navigating, bridging natural science with the material productions of empire. Nonetheless, Joseph Banks's hesitation toward ballooning leaves a gap both in his collection's engagement with popular science and in the history that his collections can be seen to represent. This gap can be approached by turning to alternate forms of collecting and engagement with popular science, by turning specifically to the heterogeneous collecting practices and histories that ballooning scrapbooks like that of his sister, Sarah Sophia, represent.

Sarah Sophia was born on 28 October 1744, one and a half years after her brother Joseph, and she spent her childhood and teenage years on the family's estate at Revesby

Abby, Lincolnshire (Leis *Sarah Sophia Banks: Femininity, Sociability and the Practice of Collecting in Late Georgian England* 9). According to Leis, the fashion plates from the year 1760 in her collection suggest she started collecting as teenager, and her antiquarianism and taxonomical structures are revealed early on in her collections (10). John Gascoigne contends that Sarah Sophia was, in addition to being praised for her moral worth and character, praised by the *Gentleman's Magazine* as one who "Like her venerable brother...was strongly animated with a zeal for science and the study of natural history, of whom she had made a valuable collection" (*Banks and the English Enlightenment* 24). While Gascoigne goes on to claim that such merits made her life "very much an extension of her brother's" (25), the nature of her scrapbook shows the degree to which her person and her collection engaged in a published (for scrapbooks were considered to be published material once compiled)^{lv} and popularly-engaged observation and commentary on the heterogeneous nature of scientific progress.

Letters from Joseph Banks to his sister suggest the significance of her collection and the role she played in the curation of a particular perspective on the relationship between fashionable life and exploration culture. In a letter from August 11, 1766 (Joseph Banks *Letters to Sarah Sophia* 93.01), during his journey to Newfoundland, Joseph writes to Sarah Sophia, thanking her for sending newspapers. He relays that he "sat around the fire and hunted out all the deaths marriages ie: ie: as eagerly as a schoolboy does plumbs out of a pudding." He then relates that he would have sent her a sealskin gown and petticoat if more acquainted with ladies in Newfoundland. Joseph's enjoyment of the newspapers speaks to his own interest in the social and fashionable happenings of his circle, even

amidst his travels to new places, while his remark about the sealskin gown and petticoat, though facetious, brings together the world of fashion and the world of exploration, commenting upon his sister's unique position to engage with both.

In a letter from April 1, 1773 (Joseph Banks *Letters to Sarah Sophia* 93.05), Joseph notes that he has shared Sarah Sophia's paper on bringing vegetables to Antigua and includes a "Copy of directions relative to moving plants and seeds" in Sarah Sophia's handwriting. In this document, Sarah Sophia details the difficulties of moving vegetables and remarks upon the "similar heat" across the "Countries within the Tropics." This similarity leads one to believe the plants, trees, shrubs, fruits, and flowers of the East Indies will also flourish in Antigua. She gives instructions for storing and transporting vegetable plants and keeping soil cool. This document demonstrates the range of her interests and their connection to the colonial world that so captured the imagination of and directed the resources of her brother and his collections. And, in a letter from more than a year later, July 21, 1774 (Joseph Banks *Letters to Sarah Sophia* 93.08), Joseph writes to Sarah Sophia, giving news of the *Adventure's* arrival, which she would have "known by the papers," and of the ship's bringing with it an "Indian from the South Sea Islands," who, by admiralty, has been put under "my care." Joseph Banks says he received so much kindness from his (the Indian, Mai's) countrymen, that he seems to think it his duty to take charge of him. He concludes the letter by stating that he is taking him to be "inoculated." He then writes in a post script, "ten of the *Adventure's* people have been eaten and roasted by our friends in New Zealand." This letter interestingly draws upon Sarah's engagement with popular news of Cook's second voyage, both in its

acknowledgement of her having “known by the papers” of the *Adventure’s* arrival with the Pacific Islander, Mai, and in its reference to the sensational accounts of cannibalism in New Zealand (the notorious Grass Cove incident). Beyond just following the papers’ accounts of the voyages and reading her brother’s letters, however, Sarah Sophia copied many of Joseph’s diaries and journals. As is noted with the 1766 “Copy of Some Account of Lisbon, & the adjacent Countrey, & Customs of the Inhabitants” (Joseph Banks Papers, Series 94), these copies of Joseph’s documents were for “her own use” and, when considered alongside her other collected materials, speak to her personal engagement with exploration and its significance to the growing British empire.

As a woman of fashion and a collector, it is noted of Sarah Sophia in *A Book for a Rainy Day, or, Recollections of the Events of the Years 1766-1833*, by John Thomas Smith, that she was known for her “old school dress” and for her “immense pockets, stuffed with books of all sizes” (229). Smith writes of Sarah Sophia walking all over town and making inquiries in order to locate objects of collection, like “halfpenny ballads” (229). He describes an instance in which Sarah Sophia was offered a large number of tokens for her collection, but, out of that large number, she found “not one” she wanted (231), an instance I believe illustrates the highly selective and itinerate nature of Sarah Sophia’s collecting practice. Smith describes Sarah Sophia as “wanting civility” toward certain persons and writes that he “heard” that a “great genius” arrived early for dinner at her home as she was putting away “knick knacks” and observed to Sarah Sophia that it was a “fine day,” to which she responded, “I know nothing at all about it, you must speak to my brother upon that subject when you are at dinner” (231). This instance, I

believe, rather than demonstrating a want in civility, shows Sarah Sophia to be as much engrossed in cataloguing her, “knick knacks,” her collection, as a man like her brother would be. Surely, while organizing and putting away her collected objects, she would not want to be bothered by dull conversation, like the observation that it was a “fine day,” any more than Joseph would want to be bothered at such a moment. Her further comment that it was a subject that should be discussed with her brother over dinner seems to both gesture to her exclusion from said dinner and to comment upon the trivialities of much conversation, even among such “men of genius.”

Sarah Sophia’s collecting practice has, thus, often been gendered and demeaned, but recent scholarship on Sarah Sophia and her collection has showcased the strategic manner of her collecting, as well as her distinct tastes and taxonomies.^{lvi} As Patricia Fara contends, Sarah Sophia “seems to have been a frustrated academic,” and “as an adult she was ridiculed for stuffing her pockets with books so that she would never be short of something to read”(15). Fara writes, “Had she been a man, her inelegant clothes and studious demeanor would have been praised as signs of her intellectual aptitude. Instead, she was mocked for lacking the appropriate feminine graces” (15). Sarah Sophia and her collection are part of a history of female collectors and antiquarians.^{lvii} Fara contends that women like Sarah Sophia embody the ambiguous concept of the intellectual woman who challenged the very definitions of sexual difference (5). In this period, however, women could engage at a practical level in the organization of collections and expenses and as assistants in the scientific process, much as we see in the culture of ballooning, and women often played an indispensable part in “achieving results for which men became

renowned” as translators, interpreters, illustrators, collectors, curators “by writing lucid explanations, they ensured that scientific knowledge became accessible to everyone-- future scientists as well as the general public” (Fara 10-11). This is true of Sarah Sophia’s driving interest in cultivating a collection that represented the public more broadly than it was defined by her brother, especially through the aeronautical accounts of women that she collected.

While Sara Sophia’s interests at times overlap with those of her brother, her collection demands critical attention on its own for its unique approach to the social life of her period.^{lviii} As is shown by BL MS 6304, a handwritten volume containing notices of ceremonials “entirely in the handwriting of Miss Sarah Sophia Banks,” Sarah Sophia was especially concerned with the public’s access to history. Her collection illustrates this both through her interest in and documentation of coronations, funerals, and other spectacles, often of limited access to the general public, and through her handwritten recording of these accounts from newspapers and other printed documents. Her recordings in this manuscript were by printed the date such proceedings were available to popular reception, followed by printings with no date. In this manuscript, Sarah Sophia clearly records and combines politics, performance, and entertainment; she writes a history of ceremony and entertainment through the lens of print culture and public access. This manuscript, and the prevailing interests of her collection as a whole, reflect the modern processing of information, the way we are informed of a wide variety of information within one publication or one website. This is a type method of organization

and information processing that we will see take shape most clearly in the form of the scrapbook.^{lix}

Sarah Sophia Banks's scrapbook on ballooning takes part in the quest for discovery which marked much of her brother's career, but it does so without the necessary ties he constructed to government and imperial hegemony. Ballooning opened up a process of discovery that led to the questioning of Britain's place within an expanding global sphere (Carrol 16).^{lx} Sarah Banks's scrapbook clearly takes part in this discovery process. A number of images in Sarah Sophia's scrapbook reflect the potential of ballooning for military use and, therefore, seem to align her scrapbook collection with her brother's interest in the potential of science to serve the nation. More importantly, however, the unwieldy atmosphere is shown in the scrapbook to be a space of an exploration of gender. Though Sarah Banks's collection is clearly engaged to a degree in the imperial potential of ballooning, the turn her collection takes toward fashion, spectacle, and sensationalism offers an alternative approach to the scientific and spectacular developments of the period. Her ephemera collection, though distinct from her brother's collection in terms of much of its content, reflected Joseph Banks's interest in the texts and aesthetics of a larger print culture (Leis, "Cutting, Arranging" 130). In fact, as Leis argues, in many ways Sarah Sophia's collection of printed materials and her brother's natural collection of plants and bugs reflect a similar investment in the ephemeral (Leis, "Cutting, Arranging" 130).

It is interesting that in Richard Gillespie's engaged account of Joseph Banks's response to ballooning, he never turns to the collection of Sarah Sophia. Instead, he

illustrates why Joseph Banks might have hesitated in his official response to the craze. Citing Joseph's letters to aerostation supporters like Benjamin Franklin, Gillespie makes it clear that Joseph initially saw great potential in ballooning, at first considering it the greatest development since ships (261). Gillespie attributes Banks's initial hesitation toward ballooning to be the result of the Royal Society's four-month break, from July to October, at the height of much of the mania, during which Joseph Banks, sufferer of gout, was an invalid at his country estate. Banks received accounts of aerostation from France, in particular from his secretary, Charles Blagden. Blagden advocated against Royal Society support for or involvement in ballooning (see "Letter to Benjamin Franklin from Joseph Banks, 7 November 1783"). In his communication with Benjamin Franklin on the subject, we see Banks's ultimate hesitation toward ballooning being very much rooted in his association with and responsibilities in regard to the Royal Society. He writes to Franklin in November, 1783:

We are told by the newspapers that a Ballon has been let fly from London_I know nothing relative to the particulars but I think I see an inclination in the more respectable part of the R. S. to guard against the Ballomania which has prevaild in & not to patronize Ballons merely on account of their rising in the atmosphere till some experiment likely to prove beneficial either to Society or Science is proposd to be annext to them. (see "Letter to Benjamin Franklin from Joseph Banks, 7 November 1783")

Gillespie claims that Banks was caught up in other issues with Royal Society and, when these blew over, the problem of directing balloons couldn't be overcome (262).

Ultimately, Gillespie sees Banks's reason for inaction regarding balloons to be:

- 1) society was unwilling to commence a race with French, so the Royal Society sought to minimize the importance of the invention, and 2) engineering

mathematics and chemistry—fields connected to aerostation—had no business in the Banks empire which linked royal society, agricultural antiquarian, horticultural and natural history. (262-3)

Due to the Royal Society's hesitation and a lack of acknowledged scientific interest in ballooning, Gillespie claims that adventurers took to the air (263). While Gillespie dismisses British attempts at science as attempts to legitimize ballooning, claiming that science was "a form of rational entertainment and a means to justify curiosity about socially questionable activity" (265), and, in spite of Banks referring to one of an adventurer's aerostatic vehicle, that of Zimbeccari, as a "miserable taffeta balloon" (qtd. in Gillespie 263), Sarah Banks's scrapbook and the Huntington scrapbook illustrate much more harmony between the realms of science and spectacle than Banks's official position would lead us to believe.

After the first English flight being by Vincent Lunardi on 15 September, 1784, attending a balloon flight would expose one of the sensational aspects of being in a crowd: pickpockets, riots, etc... (*Times*, 4 May 1785, 9 May 1785, 4 June 1785; Gillespie 264). And, according to the *Times*, aerostation was "foreign, lower class, and mischievous and should be banned" (*Times*, 5 May 1785; Gillespie 264). As the *Times* claimed, "Nothing can more fully demonstrate the folly of the age, than their rage for ballooning" (*Times*, 5 May 1785). This fascination with folly, however, grew alongside the fascination with ballooning disaster, which I will address shortly. As was stated in the

Public Advertiser, “A person who goes up in a balloon for the entertainment of the public, has a double chance of meeting with death,” either from the rioting of the mob or the dangers of the voyage (*Public Advertiser*, 5 May 1785).

While Joseph Banks begrudgingly allowed an account of flight and experiments to be read to the Royal Society months after it was submitted but never published it (Gillespie 265), Sarah Banks’s scrapbook arranges and publishes in a bound volume to be shared with visitors to 32 Soho Square, accounts of ballooning that mingle experimentation with sensation. Gillespie claims that it was voyaging that reflected Joseph Banks’s interests, while ballooning did not, and that determined the Royal Society’s position, making it a great deal unlike the Paris Academy (268). Voyaging and ballooning, however, ultimately shared many similar qualities, not the least of which being the appeal to the imagination and public interest in the performance and spectacle of popular science that we can see reflected in collections of ephemera.

Ballooning and Pacific Exploration: The Banks Collection Tobacco Cards

Trade cards were uniquely collected items in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the collection of which engaged popular understandings of industry and empire.^{lxii} Trade cards were a part of a culture of curiosity and, in their graphic design and multi-layered messages, promoted curiosity about products and innovations in consumers (Hubbard 32). With their ability to combine imagery and phrases, trade cards connected consumers “both bodily and imaginatively to acts of consumption” and displayed a particular link between the imagination and the advertised sensory experience (Hubbard 33). Importantly, as I will now demonstrate with the tobacco trade cards in the Banks

collection, trade cards “embodied the spectacle of consumption and the anticipation of future shopping experiences” (Hubbard 35). This spectacle of consumption, in the cards I will discuss, is connected specifically to the spectacle of ballooning and the expanding vision of empire.

Leis contends that “the collecting of trade cards was a practice that complemented the Royal Society’s ‘History of Trades’ project. . . This project had called upon the Society’s members to compile complete descriptions of all trades as a way of achieving progress in the sciences and mechanical arts” (*Sarah Sophia Banks: Femininity, Sociability and the Practice of Collecting in Late Georgian England* 213-214). The trade cards in the Banks collection at the British Museum are currently organized by trade, but we are unsure how Sarah Sophia and her brother had originally organized them. Leis notes that these cards “complicate our understanding of high and low culture” (*Sarah Sophia Banks: Femininity, Sociability and the Practice of Collecting in Late Georgian England* 221) and that

Collecting trade cards enabled Sarah Sophia to gather and record ‘useful information’ about commerce, improvements, industry and engineering on a more domestic level. It enabled her to survey and catalogue knowledge about a broad range of trading services and wares. As such, her collection was a mechanism that enabled her to participate in the kinds of social, cultural, and intellectual spheres associated with the Royal Society—of which her brother was President—and the Society of Arts. In these terms, her collection of these objects can be interpreted as a paper monument to the history of trades. (*Sarah Sophia Banks: Femininity, Sociability and the Practice of Collecting in Late Georgian England* 215)

Sarah Sophia’s trade cards, thus, engage with many of the interests of her brother and the Royal Society, particularly, as Leis notes, in “promoting an array of inventions and improved products” (*Sarah Sophia Banks: Femininity, Sociability and the Practice of*

Collecting in Late Georgian England 235). We can see this promotion in a subtle way with the tobacco cards. These cards can be seen to “house imagery advocating the benefits of mechanical invention and technological progress,” an interest that aligns both the collecting of Sarah Sophia and that of her brother (*Sarah Sophia Banks: Femininity, Sociability and the Practice of Collecting in Late Georgian England* 235) and which promotes the relationship between invention and the imagination.

In spite of Joseph Banks’s hesitation toward ballooning, one aspect of the Banks print collection at the British Museum interestingly highlights the interconnectedness of Pacific exploration, commerce, and hot air ballooning. The Tobacco and Snuff collection (BM Prints and Drawings 117.177-117.229) illustrates the manner in which the spectacles of the exotic and that of hot air ballooning were intertwined in the popular imagination. This collection includes cards depicting indigenous peoples connected with trade and ships, and it also highlights the collection’s connection to America and the manner in which much of Britain’s relationship to North America was shaped by tobacco. In this collection of tobacco and snuff cards, indigeneity and commerce are connected and intermingle in London (Fig. 2.5). The tobacco ad connects tobacco and trade to a sense of global identity and purpose. A number of the cards illustrate the ways tobacco was connected to sociability and public spectacle, specifically the spectacle of ballooning (see Fig. 2.6). BM Print 117.224 (see Fig. 2.7), with its phrase, “smoke the balloon” seems to specifically connect science to the commercial aspects of public spectacle and enjoyment. The many depictions of indigeneity (see Fig. 2.8) illustrate the pleasure in the spectacle of exotic sociability surrounding consumption of the exotic.

Included in this collection is a note by Sarah Sophia concerning a dice game. This note is written over a tobacco ad and contains a key to deciphering the apparent riddle in the advertisement (see Fig. 2.9) Sarah Sophia's note provides a connection with her scrapbook collection, so filled with aeronautic ephemera and curiosities. This collection's interest in the spectacle of ballooning as connected with the exotic and the expansion of Britain's commercial empire, so dear to Joseph Banks's heart, provides a significant point of intersection between the siblings' interests that converges around spectacle and the hot air balloon. Whether officially acknowledged by Joseph or not, the siblings shared an interest in the hot air balloon for its potential in society. The balloon, then, serves as a point of entry into my discussion of Sarah Sophia's ballooning scrapbook and the ways it reveals the potential, not only for the development of global agriculture and commerce that interested Joseph, but also for the dissemination of knowledge and the representation of female subjectivity.

The Scrapbook and the Gendered Collecting of Ephemera

Scrapbooking and the related process of extra-illustration were geared at "resisting the homogeneity of the book and turning it into a unique record of taste" (Luisa Calé, "Dickens Extra-Illustrated" 8). As Ellen Gruber Garvey tells us, scrapbooking was both a way of coping with an inundating amount of information in the media and "dignifying clippings" from newspapers by placing them in a bound book (3). Scrapbooks were a way for individuals, particularly individuals who did not have access to positions of power, to "tell their own stories with scissors" (Garvey 4). Scrapbooking reflects the way that the expanding global sphere affected was perceived by and affected the individual.^{lxii}

While scrapbooking was practiced by both men and women, by those in positions of power and those who were relatively powerless, particular scrapbook structures became associated with gender. Within these structures, women's scrapbooks became more associated with miscellany and trivial or domestic concerns (Garvey 10). This gendered identification, however, ultimately does not account for the variety of scrapbooking styles practiced by both men and women, a point which proves important when considering the seemingly disconnected contents of Sarah Sophia Banks's scrapbook on ballooning.^{lxiii}

As Luisa Calé and Patrizia Di Bello argue, materiality “gives new life to what has been an object of the imagination represented in literature and art” (1). This materiality provides us with a perspective from which to view the popular imagination and its reception and translation of the changes in thinking about science and the globe following the Cook voyages.^{lxiv} Ephemera collections and scrapbooks, in particular, provide us with a means of looking at this history, at this moment of shift in the perception of science, indigeneity, and the metropole, from a non-linear perspective, what Calé and Di Bello would call a “folded, pleated, and kneaded history,” dynamic rather than linear (*Illustrations, Optics, and Objects* 2). My study of Sarah Sophia's scrapbook and the ballooning scrapbook of the Huntington Library responds to their call for material histories that bring “apparently diverse or distant phenomena together” (*Illustrations, Optics, and Objects* 2). In the words of Todd Gernes, Sarah Sophia, like other “women, professional writers, and amateur compiles, shaped paper worlds of miscellaneous fact and imaginative fancy” (110). As material objects formed from the tangible productions of surrounding culture and the imagination, Sarah Sophia's and the Huntington's

ballooning scrapbooks help us to read history in a haptic manner that allows for the emergence of new experience through a practice of collecting that engages the body and the imagination in a material process of history-making characterized by heterogeneity and curiosity (Gernes 117).^{lxv}

The collecting of ephemera, mass-produced objects, takes part in a feminine knowledge that is built upon accumulation and preservation and plays a key role in curating and chronicling information.^{lxvi} Ephemera was not only often gendered feminine, but its purpose blurred genre lines. Sarah Sophia's scrapbook collection is made up of such ephemera and demonstrates the convergence of science and fashion in both content and arrangement. The ephemeral literature her scrapbook includes crossed genres between the sensational and the scientific.^{lxvii} Publications like the *New Lady's Magazine*, which Sarah Sophia includes in her ballooning scrapbook, were created in imitation of the popular scientific ephemeral publication, the *Lady's Magazine*,^{lxviii} published by Mrs. Stanhope in the 1770's. The composition of Sarah Sophia's scrapbook showcases the way that the culture of ephemeral publications brought together science and fashion (Phillips 117). Alongside serious scientific and intellectual issues, as we see in the latter portion of Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, are sensational stories that continue to reflect the development of science and sensation alongside one another. This practice of "leavening purely scientific fare with a little light entertainment" was not limited to popular publications, but was also standard with the public lecture (Phillips 128), a fact which further supports the entangled nature of science and entertaining spectacle in popular culture.

Sarah Sophia Banks's ballooning scrapbook exemplifies interdisciplinarity and a practice of collecting that, like the female aeronauts I will now discuss, bridges many spaces and identities within culture. Luisa Calé and Adriana Craciun argue, "Aeronauts and their balloons radically expanded the geoimaginary knowledge available to their time, and akin to maritime voyagers and their oceanic orientations, enjoyed novel, ephemeral orders of knowledge."^{ix} Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, combining elements of the scientific, the fashionable, and the sensational, brings together gendered worlds within the feminized medium of the scrapbook, a medium known for its ability to subvert through the domestic appeal of its artifice and the powerful potential of its contents and arrangement.

Compiling Clippings: Perspectives on Female Flight

A number of clippings in Sarah Sophia's scrapbook engage directly with female aeronauts, praising their "courage and fortitude," and alluding to the various roles they played in balloon flight. Some, which I will discuss first, however, paint a different picture of females in flight as added accoutrements to the fame of male aeronauts. In a clipping dated May 6, 1785, Mr. Blanchard is credited for having been the first aeronaut to "carry up a LADY in his boat." This flight merely adds to the other accomplishments of Mr. Blanchard, like having crossed the sea in his balloon; female flight, here, is "another success" in Blanchard's "attempts to improve the brilliant and wonderful discovery of Aerostation." By placing the lady in question, Miss Simonet, alongside other innovations in flight, this clipping treats the female in the balloon much like another clipping in the scrapbook treats "Mr. Lunardi's companions": "two pigeons, a dog and a

cat.” These animals were taken up for the purpose of trying “the effect which the change of air might have on them.” While I’m not making a literal comparison between the two scenarios, I do think there is something to consider in terms of the portrayal of the passive female as part of the experimentation and advancements surrounding the quest for aerostatic discovery. In fact, as another clipping, dated May 4, 1785, tells us, Miss Simonet ascended in the balloon alongside Blanchard, “with a small lap dog.” This detail further emphasizes the role of the woman in the balloon as an observer in this process, sitting with her lap dog and adding to the fame of the male aeronaut, as he pushes the boundaries of possibility in the balloon.

Sarah Sophia’s choices of clippings do not only present us with these passive representations of female aeronauts, however. A number of clippings emphasize the presence of a “lady” as a number of experiments are being performed. A handbill advertising the ascent of Count Zambecari, for instance, claims that it is his intention to “explore the atmosphere very speedily with this Balloon, for the purpose of making some interesting Experiments.” It then states that in this excursion, “he wishes to be accompanied by a British Lady and Gentleman.” Another advertisement for this flight calls it the “first instance of British aerial female heroism,” and states that the event will include “a British Lady and a Scientific Gentleman for the purpose of making philosophical experiments” (see Fig. 2.10). The advertisement makes clear that the woman in the balloon will be assisting in conducting experiments, while a “second gentleman” oversees the function of the balloon. Another clipping, dated May 3, 1785, detailing this flight, parallels the groundbreaking new “filling operation” that this balloon

will demonstrate with the “display of British female aerial heroism.” The woman’s flight and the scientific experiment and discovery aboard the balloon, again, go hand-in-hand, though, this time, in a much more positive manner; the woman is still on display, though this time for her strength and heroic qualities during flight. It is not merely her presence in the balloon that makes her a part of the advancements in aerostation; she is there to observe and assist, and she is recognized in the process for her qualities that make her more similar to the “heroic” male aeronauts than the furry and feathered “companions” of Lunardi in the previous clipping.

In the same clipping that described Miss Simonet with her lap dog from May 4, 1785, Count Zambecari is said to have prepared to send another woman up in his balloon, but “his company were . . . disappointed in their expectations of the success of his balloon, which . . . was not filled to carry any considerable weight.” This clipping describes the woman who was to have accompanied him, a woman by the name of Hall, as a “young lady of fortitude.” This clipping seems to place the woman even in a position of more agency, saying that she “took her station in the boat” along with Zimbecari. More clippings, detailing this sort of agency, describe a number of women going up in the balloons alone. A clipping, dated May 9, 1785, describes another flight of Miss Simonet. This time, however, Miss Simonet ascends alone: “Miss Simonet (his companion in the last voyage) was elevated alone several times, amidst the acclamations and huzzas of the beholders, for the space of a quarter of an hour, after which time she descended.” While the ascent of Miss Simonet lacks the bravado and detail of the description of Blanchard’s flight in the same clipping, and though she is described as being “elevated,” while

Blanchard “seats himself in” and “maneuvers” the boat, her presence alone in the balloon stands in sharp contrast to her previous flight, accompanied and (most likely) encumbered by a lap dog.

Other instances of women going up in balloons alone are also documented in Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook. Following an announcement of the delay of Lunardi’s proposed flight with a Lady, who would turn out to be Mrs. Sage, an article dated April 2, 1785, states that at the Pantheon, “several ladies will ascend in the new gallery . . . as high as the dome will permit.” Though these flights were restricted by the dome of the Pantheon, they were no less a spectacle than the open-air balloon flights: the article indicates that “several pieces of canon will be fired from the machine at that point of altitude; and the musick will play from eleven to five.” Another article, dated April 4, 1785, conveys a similar message, the article again including a reference to the delayed flight of Lunardi with Mrs. Sage. A third article Sarah Sophia included, dated April 9, 1785, states that the ladies’ ascent will “be an exact representation of a real ascension.” Here, again, these “mock” flights are connected to the flight Lunardi had planned with Mrs. Sage. Though Lunardi’s flight with Mrs. Sage was not the first planned flight with a lady (Blanchard had beat him to that), the spectacles leading up to the proposed flight that Sarah Sophia documents here speak to the expanding presence of women in the air. The women ascending in the Pantheon were predominantly depicted in terms of spectacle, as part of the music, canon fire, and general entertainment of the exhibition, and this spectacle of female flight seems to build the expectation for the proposed flight with Mrs. Sage. When looking to the actual account of Mrs. Sage’s flight, however, particularly from her own

perspective, we see new patterns of female flight and narrative develop beyond simply the spectacular.

In the scrapbook, Sarah Sophia includes a number of clippings that reference Lunardi's flight with Mrs. Sage. There is an advertisement for the flight, initially set to ascend from Artillery Ground on the 13th of May. In this planned flight, he would be accompanied by his "British friends," a Gentleman and a Lady. They would be "seated in a beautiful and magnificent car, attached to his Grand Balloon," and they would be carried around Artillery Ground so that "everything relating to his apparatus, his own appearance, and that of his friends, may be deliberately and equally surveyed by the lowest as well as the highest person, who may favour him with his company, and bid him a friendly Adieu." This ascent would also be the testing ground for a new method of filling the balloon, conveying into the balloon "inflammable air, passing through water." This handbill, again, promotes the idea that the woman is merely a part of the spectacle. Following the women on display in the Pantheon, she will be part of the display of the grandeur and science of the balloon. Looking to other clippings Sarah Sophia includes, however, a more complex picture of the gender and aeronautics emerges.

A clipping dated June 25, 1785, informs readers that Mr. Lunardi's ascent with an "English Gentleman and a Lady," has been rescheduled to the following Wednesday. The article states that the originally-planned ascent could not take place because the balloon "mysteriously failed in their intended experiments at the Artillery Ground on Friday the 13th of May." The article continues:

However mortifying that failure has been to his ambition—however severely injurious it may have proved to his reputation, he hopes now to convince the world that his principles and his science will justify every profession that he has made.

From there, the article explains the difficulties faced by Lunardi in acquiring materials needed to improve the function of the balloon and for a large space from which to ascend. Interestingly, the article claims that the improvement of the balloon and its readiness for flight took longer than expected because of sabotage on the parts of “emissaries” of his competitors, “employed to engross the whole materials in the metropolis that were necessary for his purpose.” Such acts of sabotage are also depicted in a clipping dated May 5, 1785. This clipping describes the failed initial ascent of Zimbeccari’s British Balloon, the ascent discussed previously, intended for the “making of philosophical experiments,” in which Zimbeccari would be accompanied by “a British Lady and Scientific Gentleman.” At first, this article indicates that the ascent was called off due to the “indisposition of the lady”; as the article develops, however, it claims that the balloon was, in fact, sabotaged by “a person of foreign appearance” who “pulled the cord which has command of the valve” in such a way as to “break the spring.” This act rendered the flight “abortive.”

In these accounts, the acts of sabotage say something about the way the male aeronaut is portrayed in terms of competition and the ability to heroically overcome obstacles, notions connected with the mythic portrayal of the male aeronaut which I will discuss later in this essay. First, however, I will address the manner in which fault was assigned when these ascents were delayed. Though the failure of Lunardi’s mechanical designs

were responsible for the delay of his flight with Mrs. Sage, the article portrays him as nobly striving to mend his mistakes and remain true to his promises. In the instance of the British Balloon, female “indisposition” is initially blamed for the failure of the balloon flight. This trend can also be seen in accounts of Mrs. Sage’s later flight with Lunardi.^{lxx} Looking more closely at the narrative of that flight, written by Mrs. Sage in a letter to a friend, we can see how she addresses these trends and shows herself to be more than just part of the spectacle or failure of the ascent.

Mrs. Sage: Inhabiting the Subjectivity of the Female Aeronaut

The account of Mrs. Sage’s ascent with Lunardi in June, 1785 is included in the scrapbook held by the Huntington. This account claims that Mrs. Sage is “the first female aerial traveler,” a statement which seems contradicted by the earlier flight of Miss Simonet. This scrapbook, being compiled primarily in the early nineteenth-century, includes this account to speak to the history of feats in ballooning. This could account for the incorrect attribution of first flight to Mrs. Sage, as well as a more souvenir-oriented interest in ballooning and ballooning disasters in particular, which I will address shortly.

While Mrs. Sage’s letter isn’t included in Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook, it provides important context for the various clippings addressing Lunardi’s flight with Mrs. Sage, especially to the clipping dated July 16, 1785, which announces the display of the balloon in which Mrs. Sage ascended with Mr. Biggin (the English Gentleman) from St. George’s Fields. Ultimately, we learn that Lunardi did not ascend with them, making this flight not a solo flight for Mrs. Sage, but a groundbreaking flight, nonetheless, because her name and that of Mr. Biggin would become associated with the balloon’s spectacle and display

at the Pantheon. She would not be a nameless “English Lady” anymore, but an integral part of the aeronautical experiment that occurred that day at St. George’s Fields.

Mrs. Sage’s act of writing a letter from the balloon, was, according to Clare Brant, infused with both the significant relationship between letter writing and ballooning that had developed in eighteenth century and the associated gender constructs and expectations (“I Will Carry you With Me). Mrs. Sage’s letter was participating in a tradition practiced by other aeronauts, like Lunardi, of writing and distributing letters from the balloon, and, like what occurred with Lunardi’s letters, Mrs. Sage’s letter participates in a form of self-fashioning (“I will Carry you With Me” 178). According to Brant, Mrs. Sage’s letter both foregrounds gender and “uses epistolary form to explore an aerial identity in which conventions of gender could be reworked” (“I Will Carry you With Me” 179). Brant suggests, however, that unlike Lunardi, Mrs. Sage did not want to make herself a spectacle but took the opportunity to observe midair experiments (“I Will Carry you With Me” 180-81).

In “A Letter Addressed to a Female Friend,” Mrs. Sage, “the First English Female Aerial Traveler,” describes “The general appearance and effects of her expedition with Mr. Lunardi’s balloon which ascended from St. George’s Fields on Wednesday 29th June, 1785.” Mrs. Sage begins, “at length, my dear friend, I have accomplished my favourite experiment” (3). She continues, “All is now over, and I feel myself more happy, and infinitely better pleased with my excursion than I ever was at any former even time my life” (3). Both the initial act of referring to the flight as an experiment and the subsequent declaration of the satisfaction which it brought her are significant in terms of

the female experience of flight. As I have shown with other accounts and advertisements for female aerial travel in Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, experimentation was often mentioned in the description of the woman's experience in the balloon. Often women were excluded from the role of performing the experiments themselves, but Mrs. Sage's observations provide us with an entry point into her subjectivity and her experience of the flight. Mrs. Sage's feelings of pleasure at her accomplishment speak to the degree of independence and satisfaction achieved in flight when free from "earth bound perceptions of gender" (Brant, "I Will Carry you With Me" 179).

As Mrs. Sage's letter continues, it is made clear that she had not communicated to her dear friend her intention of ascending in Lunardi's balloon (3), a point that further emphasizes what Brant sees as Mrs. Sage's shying away from the spectacle of ballooning (she remained in her carriage until the flight and "did not want to be seen" (10-11)). She then details many of the difficulties that arose in attempting to secure a date and time to ascend with Mr. Lunardi; these difficulties focused mainly on the material and practical aspects of the feat: expense, location, and planning, showing Mrs. Sage to not only be "infatuated" with the idea of the balloon ascent, as she claimed previously in the letter (4), but also to be keenly aware of the processes and logistics of scheduling such a flight. A significant portion of her letter, in fact, details the expense of the venture and the many costs associated with the balloon. Mrs. Sage exhibits a great deal of sympathy for Lunardi who was tasked with the difficulties of arranging the balloon and the flight and with "a great number of very unpleasant matters" (9). In this attention to the difficulties Lunardi faced, Mrs. Sage shows a side to Lunardi not wholly in keeping with the spectacular

image which he had fashioned for himself in the popular imagination (certainly in contrast with the image of his experiments on the Thames, included in Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, which I will address shortly). Mrs. Sage shows Lunardi to be not only a showman, but an overworked and burdened man of practical concerns, speaking continually of the "great expenses" he was met with in his quest to "remove the reflections of ignorance" regarding ballooning and aeronautics (9).

In the papers, Mrs. Sage was said to be "fainting" and "much terrified,"^{lxxi} but she declares herself in her letter to never have been more "mistress of her reason" (13). This is demonstrated by her careful attention to the scientific procedures aboard the balloon, her determination to "pay attention to every minute circumstance that should occur" (18). After noting the shortcomings of female education and her reliance upon the explanations of Mr. Biggin (18), Mrs. Sage succeeds, however, in giving a detailed record of the experiments performed in the balloon (though she was responsible for kneeling on and cracking the barometer (19)). At "12 Minutes before 2," Mr. Biggin "began to arrange his instruments for observation" (20). At "6 Minutes before 2, Ther. 59, hyg. 3, direction West," Mrs. Sage notes that the balloon turned on its axis three times (21). At "4 Minutes before 2, t.52, h.6, W," "The balloon began to dilate" and "Mr. Biggin bid [her] "throw out small bits of paper, which ascertained [their] motion exactly" (21). The next entry at "4 Min. after 2, t. 45, h. 13. W." details their sitting down to eat "some ham and chicken" and drink some "Florence wine," the bottle of which they threw out of the balloon and observed its rate of descent (21). This entry perfectly captures that combination of sensation and fashionable spectacle with the science of ballooning.

The subsequent account of measurement in Mrs. Sage's letter is linked to sensation rather than the use of instruments; in this entry, the body becomes the barometer. She writes that they were passing some clouds and that she "was very cold for above five minutes, and felt a difficulty in respiration; but it was not an unpleasant sensation" (22). Similarly, she writes that Mr. Biggin's

ears were affected with an unusual sensation; this he seemed think proceeded from the rarefaction of the air contained in the cellular organs, which extended the tympanum, particularly, as on the descent he found himself a little deaf, which seemed to indicate that the condensation of the air, and consequently the relaxation of the tympanum, had taken place. (22)

Following this statement, she records the turning of the balloon and the way "it presented the whole face of the country, in various points of view" (22-23). She, thus, brings together not only bodily sensation and the measurement of atmospheric pressure, but she also then turns immediately to aesthetic appreciation of the experience. This practice of involving the body in experimentation was typical of men of science of Mrs. Sage's day. This act of giving "self evidence," according to Simon Schaffer, involved the body as a site of authority and experimentation as a "theatrical performance" accredited by the public (329). Through involving her body in the experimentation while aboard the balloon, Mrs. Sage is taking part in a practice of the male scientific community, while also experiencing the sublime viewpoint offered by the balloon.^{lxxii} Mrs. Sage's female body, itself a spectacle in the air, however, merged scientific practice involving the body with the spectacle of female flight, thus highlighting the performative elements of the popular practice.

Mrs. Sage recounts both experiments with sound and electricity at “15 after 2, t. 37, h. 10, W.” Mr. Biggin “tried a small bell with the intention of observing any difference in sound; but the effect was as usual” (23-24). He then “prepared an electrical experiment, with an electrometer, armed...with a silver wire, terminating in a great number of points, by which he meant to form a conductor” (24). In detail, Mrs. Sage then describes the process of measuring the electricity of a cloud, which she claims Mr. Biggin concluded that it “was negative” (24). Following these experiments, Mrs. Sage’s letter ends on a sensational note as she describes the balloon’s “rapid descent,” during which she hurt one of the tendons of her foot “by its striking against a piece of broken iron, which was not to be avoided, from the astonishing power the wind had upon the balloon at our descent” (25). The wind was, in fact, so powerful as to drag along three of the men trying to assist in securing the balloon (25).

Once landed, Mr. Biggin intended to take to the air again, but Mrs. Sage admits, “I wished him not to proceed further than I could accompany him. I envied him a lengthened journey” (26). She quickly dismisses these sentiments, however, declaring them to be “unnatural” and bidding Mr. Biggin “adieu with infinite pleasure” (26). As the letter concludes, very little mention is made of Mrs. Sage’s injury, other than to use it as an excuse to take the leisure time to write her friend the lengthy letter (31). In contrast, she declares herself and her party at the end of the letter to be in “perfect health and spirits” (31). This seeming neglect of her injury sharply contradicts popular newspaper accounts that describe her as being “very much indisposed from a contusion on her foot” (*The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 1 July, 1785; 5 July, 1785).

Mrs. Sage concludes by stating, “The door is never quiet a single instant, and I suppose when I go out I shall be as much looked at as if a native of the aerial regions had come down to pay an earthly visit” (31). This statement indicates her sense of her own celebrity, having ascended into the “aerial regions.” Upon landing the balloon, the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* notes that Mrs. Sage distributed to those who received them “any trifling articles belonging to the Balloon, as tokens to be kept by them in remembrance of the circumstance” (*The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 1 July 1785), initiating a practice of collecting balloon-related souvenirs reflected in other scrapbooks and collections of the period.

Mrs. Sage’s letter brings together so many aspects of ballooning culture: spectacle, sentiment, science, sensation, fashion, and gender. Moving beyond the newspaper accounts of female aerial ventures, her letter provides a unique perspective on the woman’s role in and understanding of aerial experimentation and the presentation of the spectacle. Her insight into and cultivation of her own celebrity via the distribution of articles from the flight demonstrates a keen awareness of the importance of her ascent. Looking at this account of a female aerial venture not only opens up our discussion of female flight, revealing the ways in which it both embodies and reflects upon the intersection of science and spectacle, but also aids the understanding of Sarah Sophia’s own work and perspective in compiling her scrapbook.

Mrs. Sage’s account offers a glimpse into the subjectivity of the female aeronaut. Her observations of the science of ballooning, of its practical elements, juxtaposed with the more sensational and spectacular provide a perspective on balloon travel that isn’t bound

up in the “god-like” heroics of the male aeronauts, which I will discuss shortly. In the same way that Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook is not bound to the imperial agendas of the collections of her brother, so the experience of the female aeronaut is one characterized by possibility beyond the realm of the male aeronaut. While some of the accounts of female aerial travel in Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook seem to limit the opportunities of women in air, accounts describing the flight of Mrs. Sage open up the possibility of female narration of the aeronautic experience. Mrs. Sage’s letter reveals the potential for scientific observation, sensation, and aesthetic experience that was open to women in the balloon. As they weren’t tied to the responsibility of operating the balloon, the possibilities of experience in flight were more varied. Turning now to depictions of male balloonists, I will illustrate both how they are presented in terms of agency and heroics, and how that very representation works against the varied potential for discovery we can see in Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook.

Beyond the “Aerial Nymph”: Discovery and the Hot Air Balloon

Mary Terrall’s work on gender and science, and on the heroic narrative of discovery, offers a perspective from which to approach the depictions of the male aeronaut in clippings within Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook, as well as the limited definition of that form of discovery. The hero scientist was part of a history of narrative of discovery in which “physical effort and daring” were combined with “mathematical and instrumental prowess” in order to produce a gendered tale that promoted the value of science in the quest to enlighten and civilize the world (Terrall, “Heroic Narratives” 226). This sort of discovery narrative was characteristic of accounts of Pacific exploration; this attitude

towards science can readily be seen in the collections and work of individuals like Joseph Banks.^{lxxiii} These narratives “registered the bodies of scientific travelers as part of the practice of astronomy and geodesy, since results depended on the strength and endurance of men who ventured out of the protected spaces of the study and the salon” (Terrall, “Heroic Narratives” 237). These “physical feats” were accompanied by observation and calculation “in the Herculean task of making scientific knowledge (Terrall, “Heroic Narratives” 237). The narratives were, thus, registered in terms of both the glory associated with militaristic accomplishment and in terms of intellectual ability (Terrall, “Heroic Narratives” 240). This sort of association with the glory of the nation can be seen with the design of balloons like Lunardi’s Grand Balloon.^{lxxiv} Within the schema of both the acts of observation and bodily experience, however, women like Mrs. Sage can be seen to have participated in this process. The foundations for these sorts of narratives being explicitly gendered, Mrs. Sage’s account of her flight veered from the task of “making” scientific knowledge; instead, Mrs. Sage’s account serves as an example of the communication of the experience of that process. Her observation of both the scientific calculations performed by Mr. Biggin and the aesthetic experience of aerial travel provides more than a gendered feminine response to the spectacle of the male hero scientist. Mrs. Sage’s account, in its attention to so many aspects of the balloon flight, offers an opportunity to enter into the subjective experience of the aeronaut, unencumbered by the obligations of the scientist or the performer, to observe, appreciate, and feel the possibility offered by the balloon.

As Terrall argues in her work on the gendered spaces of science:

the makers of scientific knowledge needed to convince their public of the value of mathematics and experiment. Just as theatrical actors need an audience to give a performance meaning and value, the academic player depended on an audience wider than his immediate colleagues—readers, auditors, and patrons—to validate his work and to keep it going. This meant developing ways of relating to that audience, and ways of marking the differences between actor and audience. In highlighting that difference, academicians defined their practices and values. (“Gendered Spaces, Gendered Audiences” 207)

Terrall’s argument, here, can be applied to the science and theatrical presentation of balloon flight, as well as to the place women occupied in that sphere. Women were not under the same pressure to convince the public of the value of the science or the experience; they were able to simply communicate. We see this with Sarah Sophia’s scrapbooks as well, in their varied interests and their inclusion of materials of interest on scientific, sensational, and personal levels. Though Terrall continues, stating that gender came to define the roles of spectator (female) and doer (male) (“Gendered Spaces” 223), the accounts of female aerial travel show women as more than just viewers of spectacle. Though observation is a key aspect of female flight, the ability to communicate that observation to the public, like Mrs. Sage has done in her letter, offers possibility to not only other female aeronauts but to the broader public as well, bringing the experience of flight to the masses in a manner that takes advantage of the potential of this sort of writing to allow the reader to inhabit the subjectivity of the speaker.

Examining the work of Émilie du Châtelet, Terrall claims that a woman crossing into the male spaces of invention, experimentation, and calculation “from her customary place in the salon or the spectators’ gallery meant challenging the gendering of participation in science” (“Gendered Spaces” 224). In this sense, women like Émilie who wrote in an

authoritative manner about science, “upset the order of the hierarchical relations between male author and female spectator/ reader by giving herself the voice of authority and directing it to a young boy” (“Gendered Spaces” 227). In a similar way, writings like that of Mrs. Sage offer new perspective on the authority of the female aeronaut and the significant role her voice played in the public understanding of balloon flight. Sarah Sophia, in composing the scrapbook, similarly challenges perspectives on the authority of women to collect, compile, and comment on significant cultural events.

Through the inclusion of clippings that describe the experiences of both male and female aeronauts, Sarah Sophia showcases varied perspectives within her scrapbook. The clippings offer the reader the opportunity to examine the portrayal of the subjectivities of both men and women in flight, and they show the scrapbook compiler’s ability to inhabit subjectivities beyond her own gender. As a woman compiling these clippings, Sarah Sophia displays the potential offered to women collectors by the growing media culture. She was able to clip and compare varying accounts of the same story, as well as accounts of both male and female aeronauts. These acts of clipping and comparison allowed Sarah Sophia to both highlight the differing presentations of their subjectivities and, like Mrs. Sage, to explore the possibilities offered by ballooning from a number of angles, not limited by political, economical, or scientific agendas. The clippings Sarah Sophia includes that deal with male aeronauts paint a picture of agency, heroism, and god-like potential; however, in this construction of their gendered identity in flight, we are also met with a picture of the balloonist as one burdened with responsibility to various agendas that bind neither female aeronaut nor Sarah Sophia.^{lxxv}

The image of Lunardi cultivated in a number of clippings in Sarah Sophia's scrapbook highlights the dual concern of responsibility and showmanship embodied in the figure of the male aeronaut. The print of Lunardi on the Thames (see Fig. 2.11) especially displays the drama and the spectacle of aeronautical "experiments." The title of the print reads, "Representation of Mr. Lunardi making an Experiment on the Thames of his invention to save persons from drowning." This print alludes to the attempts made to use the science of aeronautics for the benefit of the public. The print, however, highlights the sensational, nationalistic, and Romantic aspects of this seemingly benevolent effort. The angles of the image, from that of Lunardi's oar to the Thames's waves, convey a sweeping sense of motion. Amidst this, however, Lunardi remains graceful and undisturbed by the wind that blows the flag behind his head. His face serene, his chin held high, Lunardi is the image of the Romantic, both amidst and above the elements surrounding him, contemplating, yet unphased by, the dangers of aeronautic experimentation. The United Kingdom's flag waving behind him, attached to his small vessel, and the boats flying the Cross of St. George in the background display the nationalistic undertones of the mania for ballooning, in spite of the foreign spectacle that Lunardi and other Italian aeronauts had come to represent. Overall, the print, though illustrating Lunardi's "experiment," effectively illustrates Lunardi's responsible invention overwhelmed by the sensational value of the experiment as a popular spectacle: Lunardi's handsome appearance as he paddles his small craft nobly and bravely over the turbulent waters of the Thames is illustrative of the inextricable nature of science and spectacle in the mania for ballooning and its representation in mass media culture. Clippings

discussing Lunardi's experiment that Sarah Sophia also includes in the scrapbook call it a "grand and beautiful spectacle," while at the same time acknowledging Lunardi's heroism and ingenuity in the efforts to save people from drowning.

In one of the clippings Sarah Sophia includes in her "Air Balloon Paragraphs" section, Blanchard is depicted in the heroic terms Terrall discusses in her work. He is described as an "adventurer" with "determined courage." He ascends into the Paris sky, his "God-like equipage, mounting on the wings of the wind, with all the majestic sublimity attributed to the celestial powers." Fitting his god-like appearance, his ascent went as high as "the grand spire of Notre Dame." In another clipping, Blanchard is presented like Icarus, as the author writes: "I had an acromatic telescope of two feet with me, with which I could distinctly see him use the wings like an eagle all the way, till he to all appearance nearly touched the horizon, and to the naked eye did not appear larger than a cricket ball After about thirty-five minutes I lost sight of him." These images of the god-like Blanchard, ascending into the heavens at heights beyond the power of the naked eye to perceive establish a mythological connection to the gender of the aeronaut we see continued in clippings from Sarah Sophia's scrapbook and in the popular press.

Not only Blanchard, but also Montgolfier and Lunardi were associated with Icarus in newspaper accounts of balloon flight. In an article from 6-9 March, 1784, in the *London Chronicle*, Montgolfier's intentions to navigate a balloon across the Channel are said to have "naturally led" the author of the piece "to reflect upon the expedition of Daedalus and his son Icarus" (*London Chronicle* 6-9 March, 1784). The writer then includes the story from the 8th Book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. *The Morning Post and Daily*

Advertiser from later that year, 24 September, 1784, praises Lunardi for foregoing the decision made by others to keep the balloon on ropes and declares him to have “the courage of an Icarus” soaring to the sun (*Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 24 September, 1784). This particular account continues by turning to female aeronauts:

It is not at all a circumstance of surprise, that the ladies of France should be found ready to go upon excursions in air balloons. The clouds have lent their aid to intrigues of old, Jupiter made them useful to his amours, and deities and nymphs, with whom he gamboled, found them serviceable in concealing their blushes. (*Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* 24 September, 1784)

While this account develops the mythological association of male aeronauts with Icarus, an agent to his own destruction, but an agent nonetheless, it depicts female aeronauts with nymphs and other such mythological deities who were perceived, at least in this instance, as creatures to be acted upon by powerful gods, who flew to the clouds “to hide their blushes.”

The woman as “aerial nymph” was a popular representation of the female aeronaut. An image from a collection of aeronautical prints and ephemera at the Huntington Library depicts a woman flying away, her hair resembling a balloon, soaring high above the city (see Fig. 2.12). There is a crowd of spectators below, watching her be blown by the wind. The position of her hand on her balloon hair seems to allude to her control of her flight, however. It appears as if she is guiding the direction she goes in by moving what might be a lever on the side of her hair-do. I mention this print because it is significantly different from a similar image included in Sarah Sophia’s collection; unlike the Banks image, the Huntington print does not illustrate the scientific instruments responsible for the flight. On the ground is merely a platform that the woman apparently

ascended from (see Fig. 2.13). Three men surround the platform who appear to have had a role in the ascent.

While this print emphasizes the feminization of the spectacle of ballooning, it lacks the integration of that spectacle with the pursuit of science. The caption reads, “The ascent of the Aerial Nymph was made January 1st, 1787 on the Square of the District of Buisses in Lille by the Sr. Enslen.” In popular representations, in fact, the aerial nymph was often accompanied by a Pegasus, further emphasizing this connection to myth, which was not uncommon in accounts and illustrations of ballooning.^{lxxvi} While men were “god-like,” associated with the agency (if not foolishness) of Icarus, women were commonly connected with the “nymph” figure.

“The Aerial Nymph,” driven by the winds beyond her control, is in line with a way of thinking about female flight in which the woman was merely being acted upon: lifted in the balloon (sometimes with a dog on her lap), gazed at by the spectators, brought to safety by the male aeronaut. Such thinking is reflected in the accounts of female aeronauts by popular papers. In an account of the ascent of Miss Simonet, for instance, in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, Miss Simonet, said to be just 15 years of age, and “not being used to such excursions, was air sick and fainted several times” (*Whitehall Evening Post*, 3-5 May, 1785). This is in striking contrast not only the performance of Mr. Blanchard aboard the balloon, who “gave a new specimen of his skill,” “navigating the machine so dexterously” (*Whitehall Evening Post* 3-5 May 1785), but also the manner she is depicted in many clippings within Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook. The clippings discussed previously, in contrast, marked her “courage” and “fortitude.” Banks also includes “The Lady’s

Balloon or Female Aerial Traveler” poem, (see Fig. 2.14) praising the moment when Miss Simonet “sailed into the regions or air” in the manner of famous male aeronauts, Lunardi and Blanchard. In this poem, Miss Simonet is described by the poem in terms of the goddesses Venus and Juno, and it is determined that, though women have always been fair, their courage is shown to carry the day through aerial exploits such as this. The poem concludes, “Let’s drink to the lass in an air balloon / Who looked like the goddess of May.” This refrain at the end of the poem continues the depiction of the woman in the air balloon as a goddess. This image is in contrast to that of Lunardi and Blanchard, whose ascensions are mentioned in the beginning of the poem as almost a matter of course, while the female's “boldness” makes her stand out as an aerial heroine.

Looking to the “aerial nymph” in Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook we can see the marked difference in the images she chose to include and how, like with the account of Mrs. Sage, the woman in flight is portrayed as more than just an object to be blown by the wind. This figure (Fig. 2.1) is referenced in a handbill advertising the display of aerostatic figures at the Pantheon, along with Pegasus, Perseus, Mercury, Fame, and a Harpy. “The lovely nymph coeffee en ballon at habillee a la Pelonaise, eight feet in proportion, weight ten ounces” is illustrated on a page following the handbill. The figure of the woman in the image is at once a satirical commentary on the mania for hot air balloons, female flight, and the outrageous macaroni hairstyles that had risen to popularity in the latter portion of the eighteenth century. This image is illustrative of the manner in which the contents of Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook represent a convergence of these aspects of popular culture. Not limited by ties, like those of her brother, to imperial

discovery and progress, Sarah Sophia's ballooning scrapbook highlights the many facets of discovery involved in the ballooning craze, celebrating the varied responses to and interactions with the captivating spectacle of the hot air balloon.

The caption of the image speaks of the "experiment" of the woman being at a "height" of "8 feet" above the ground and weighing "14 ounces," occurring on the 12th of July. The attention in the caption to the exact date and the numerical measurement contrasts with the fanciful and spectacular nature of the scene. Moreover, referring to this as an "experiment" importantly places it in the realm of scientific inquiry. This association is heightened by what seem to be scientific instruments surrounding the pillar above which she hovers. The shape of the instruments resembles Montgolfier's apparatus for creating hot air for a balloon. Hovering above the pillar, the woman appears as a statue, lifted off the ground by scientific progress. She is simultaneously an object of decoration, holding an ornamental garland of flowers, and an object of scientific inquiry. It is significant that Sarah Sophia included a print that depicted the spectacle of the flying woman as connected to science rather than to whims of gods or gusts of wind. This association with science, as with Mrs. Sage's account, broadens the scope of women's involvement with ballooning and speaks to the potential for female aeronautical agency brought about by scientific observation and practice. The choice of this image by Sarah Sophia is also in line with the scrapbook's larger goals and interests; the fact she included a satirical print that engaged with both fashion and Montgolfier's experiments with hot air supports her documentation of the immediate cultural effects of ballooning and the relationship between science and sensation they embody.

Though Sarah Sophia includes this example of the “aerial nymph” in her scrapbook, the manner in which it represents the relationship of female flight to science sets it apart from illustrations of the aerial nymph like that held by the Huntington. In addition, the varied perspectives she includes on female flight do not limit female aeronauts to the role of aerial nymph. Rather, we are met with clippings that illustrate both the progresses and pitfalls of female flight: the courage of Miss Simonet, the participation of Mrs. Sage, the integration of science with the spectacle of the woman in the air in such a way that provides the opportunity for women to communicate the spectrum of the experience of the balloon.

Ballooning’s strong association with the feminine through popular depictions of its spectacle makes its role within science and scientific progress complicated. Though accounts of Pacific exploration and the objects of scientific interest collected by Joseph Banks were often the source of sensation and the objects of spectacle, Sarah Sophia Banks’s scrapbook, with its inclusion of images that merge the scientific and spectacular and its abundance of sensational clippings, defies any attempt to limit ballooning by its association with such feminine spectacle. Instead, the spectacular aspects of ballooning open it up to new and interesting associations and contexts. The association of the female with the experimentation of ballooning also places her beyond the role of aerial nymph and closer to that of the men. These contexts explored in Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook, generally considered outside the realm of science proper, highlight all the more the existing relationship between science and sensational spectacle in exploration and scientific discovery of the day. Sarah Banks’s scrapbook, therefore, refuses the

limitations of a scientific curiosity motivated by a masculinized imperial utility and pushes toward the potential for women within the merging of science and spectacle that existed in the imagination of the public. Women are both spectacle and observer.

Through writing like that of Mrs. Sage and through compiling the scraps of paper like Sarah Sophia had done, women were able to move into the role of narrator. The female aeronaut could be a nymph, yes, but when that mythological spectacle is grounded in scientific progress, balloons gave women a space to tell and compile stories of aerial heroism and spectacle.

Sarah Sophia applies her role as compiler of this scrapbook in order to provide us with a multi-lensed perspective on female flight. Through bringing various articles and representations of both male and female aeronauts together, she uses the space of the scrapbook to comment on the relationship between ballooning and gender and to consider the possibilities and pitfalls of progress within a growing print culture. It was this print culture that helped to shape the phenomena of the hot air balloon, as well as the larger instantiations of discovery within the later part of the eighteenth century (specifically, we can think of Pacific exploration). As much as the goals and character of her brother Joseph were shaped in the minds of the public by print and media coverage of his time in the Pacific, so Sarah Sophia exerts an agency over the culture of print and media that very much defined his reputation. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, it's notable that she never included any satirical sketches of Joseph in her collections,^{lxxvii} but the thousands of clippings she does include speak to the power of print culture to shape

conceptions of identity, and to her own power as a compiler to shape how those identities were read.

Creating an Archive of Disaster or a Vision of Eclectic Possibility

Sarah Sophia Banks's scrapbook engages with ballooning and the role of women in a more immediate fashion than the Huntington scrapbook. Compiled during the period these events were occurring, Sarah Banks's scrapbook engages with the science and the spectacle that female aeronauts embody through the composition of the scrapbook, as well as her handwritten notes. Looking at the Huntington ballooning scrapbook illustrates even more significantly Sarah Banks's unique collection and documentation in her scrapbook on ballooning.^{lxxviii} While the Huntington scrapbook includes some personal engagement, such as with the handwritten notes and sketches, as a whole, the scrapbook appears to be more invested in collecting souvenirs from ballooning, such as the scrap of paper taken up in a balloon by Mrs. Green (see Fig. 2.15). This handwritten note states, "Mrs. Green took this up with her Friday August 25, 1837." The small sketch of a hot air balloon with the date and what appears to be the compiler's signature completes the souvenir. The compiler also includes another souvenir, a piece of the "Aerial Ship," "The Eagle," (see Fig. 2.16) which was of a much larger size than the traditional balloon, made for a crew of 17, and "constructed for establishing direct communications between the several capitals of Europe, particularly London and Paris, in 1835." These scraps of paper and fabric demonstrate the compiler's interest in creating this ballooning archive with not only articles and tickets, but with material objects that serve as reminders and personal tokens of engagement with a history that not only captured the popular imagination, but

of which people like this compiler genuinely felt a part. The ballooning souvenirs in this album speak to the visual spectacles and sensational occurrences valued by the collector, to the experiences the collector was either a part of or wished to commemorate in a material way. As Susan Pearce states,

In souvenir collecting, the individual creates a romantic life-history by selecting and arranging personal memorial material to create what . . . might be called an object autobiography, where the objects are at the service of the autobiographer. (32)

The most interesting aspect of this scrapbook, however, and its points of intersection with Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, is its particular attention to occurrences surrounding female aeronauts. This attention, however, is uniquely focused on to the more spectacular or disastrous aeronautical feats. The Huntington scrapbook devotes pages to the accident of Mrs. Graham. Mrs. Graham was known for her theatrical ascents and, while her husband was also an aeronaut, she was the more active partner (Hodgson 227). She adopted the "practice of releasing a small parachute with a monkey" from her balloon to the amusement of the crowd (Hodgson 228). In an ascent to benefit widow of Robert Cocking (whom I will discuss shortly), she released one of his parachutes from her balloon (Hodgson 228), thus connecting herself not only to theatrics but also to innovations in aeronautic safety. She was known for her "imminent deadly 'scapes" and for making ballooning an attraction of feats of daring and spectacle (Hodgson 263). After an 1851 accident with her husband, his career ended but she persisted (Hodgson 228). While the author of *The History of Aeronautics in Great Britain* attributes Mrs. Graham's career to "extraordinary luck" rather than "skill in handling balloons" (Hodgson 228, 229) claiming that she and her husband "had little place in the scientific development of

the free balloon” (Hodgson 229), a closer look at the newspaper accounts of her accident with the Duke of Brunswick suggest that she was a skilled and practiced pilot, attuned to the scientific workings of the balloon.

Varying accounts of Mrs. Graham’s accident are contained in the scrapbook, and these accounts range from first-person accounts supposedly taken by her companion in the balloon, the Duke of Brunswick, to sensational stories more focused on the accident, to accounts that incorrectly identify her companion as her husband, Mr. Graham. In one first-hand account written in a “very explicit” letter by the Duke of Brunswick recounting his experience, he takes particular note of the more sublime experiences aboard the balloon. The Duke writes of wishing “to get out of sight of the earth altogether.” Against what appears to be Mrs. Graham’s better judgment in the situation, she takes the balloon higher and the Duke writes that this position of losing sight of the earth was far more agreeable to him. Mrs. Graham, throughout the Duke’s account, must explain to him how the balloon is functioning and deny a number of his requests to continually ascend higher, as it would compromise her ability to navigate the balloon. In spite of her precautions, something appears to have gone wrong with the descent of the balloon, forcing Mrs. Graham to instruct the Duke to join her in grabbing onto the ropes and turning the balloon into a sort-of parachute. Badly injured upon her fall, one newspaper account says that she still asked about the fate of her balloon, the loss of which “would be ruinous to Mr. Graham.” The paper then includes details on the balloon’s size, design, and cost. These accounts not only demonstrate this compiler’s interest in the varied accounts of this incident, but more specifically, the accounts reveal the heroism and resourcefulness

of Mrs. Graham in a perilous situation and the commercial value and expense of ballooning, its materiality.

This compiler also takes a special interest in the death of Madame Blanchard and the accident of Mademoiselle Garnerian. Several articles are concerned with Mademoiselle Garnerian's accident in which she suffered the effects of altitude and broke her arm and was "otherwise severely injured" upon landing in her parachute. The "Dreadful catastrophe" of Madame Blanchard upon her 67th ascension, in July 1819, is recorded in several articles in the scrapbook. Apparently Madame Blanchard's balloon was decorated with fireworks, which caused the balloon to catch fire and be "entirely consumed" upon their eruption. One article notes that Madame Blanchard, in a "singular occurrence," "testified a degree of disquietude resembling fear" before her ascent; "it seemed as if she foresaw the approaching danger." This article engages in a more sensational narrative of the accident and details her fall from the sky and her cries of agony as she landed on a family's roof. With Madame Blanchard's death, the disaster is intimately connected to the desire to make the balloon and its ascent into even more of a spectacle, making it "illuminated, ornamented with fireworks," and dressing Madame Blanchard all in white "with a white hat and white feathers." Her fall is dramatically illustrated in the 1867 volume, *Les Aérostats* (see Fig. 2.17). The illustration shows the balloon engulfed in flames while Madame Blanchard tumbles head-first toward the roof of a house. Her fashionable hat falls before her and her white garments trail hauntingly through the air, exposing the further spectacle of her bare ankles.

This stories of accident and death surrounding ballooning, along with the many of the pieces of balloons, parachutes, and basket lining included in the scrapbook which were recovered from sites of aeronautical disasters, speak to the compiler's interest in archiving these events as part of ballooning's history. The piece of Mr. Cocking's parachute and the lining of his basket are examples of this sort of disaster souvenir. Cocking spent 35 years attempting to overcome the "dangers of an oscillating parachute" (Hodgson 329) and is described as "a victim to the very dangers which, with ardent but unscientific enthusiasm of the amateur, he had so long sought to overcome" (Hodgson 334). He is said to have exhibited an "unselfish devotion to an idea—even unto death—characteristic of much greater pioneers" (Hodgson 334). At Vauxhall Gardens, the "too confident Cocking" attempted a descent in "an entirely new parachute" from Charles Green's Nassau Balloon (*The Romance of Invention* 105). A great crowd of many "fashionable visitors" assembled to watch the flight and to take part in other "miscellaneous entertainments" (*The Romance of Invention* 105). However, something went wrong and the balloon shot up while Cocking and his parachute fell to the ground. By the time Cocking's friends reached his "shattered body," they found that "his purse had been stolen from his pocket, his watch, snuff-box, and eye-glass had been taken, and even the cap from his head, the shoes from his feet, and the buttons from his dress" (*The Romance of Invention* 106).

Scraps taken from Cocking's parachute and the number of articles and images included in the scrapbook detailing his death (see Fig. 2.18 and Fig. 2.19) engage in a tradition of Romantic collecting that involved the looting and stripping of persons and

places of significance, the accumulation of relics, and the development of thanatourism.^{lxxix} Relics from ballooning disasters take part in not only this history of sightseeing and relic collecting associated with the tragedies of war, but they also engage specifically in a practice of Romantic collecting.^{lxxx} The often-morbid Romantic collecting and preservation practices, according to Pascoe, display a “material longing” to possess objects that can be seen to be in contrast to the spirituality assigned often to Romantic poetry (3). Beyond this, however, I believe that collecting can be seen to illustrate the material fascination of the Romantic imagination, a fascination which manifests itself in collecting relics of disasters, in compiling scrapbooking ephemera, and in, as I will argue in my fourth chapter, the representations of fancy in Romantic poetry.

This interest in and collection of disaster souvenirs connects the Huntington scrapbook to Sarah Banks’s engagement with the sensational, but it’s material engagement and collection of scraps from the disasters sets it apart. While Sarah Banks contextualizes ballooning among other examples of spectacle, often as it collides with science, this scrapbook creates an archive of failed experimentation that makes it feel of the past. In many ways, the history of science is itself an archive of mostly failed experimentation. Though it also includes tickets and handwritten notes, Sarah Banks’s scrapbook seems to grow, as it includes more images and expands the discussion of ballooning into the circus, and other curiosities; it lacks that sense of finality that the Huntington scrapbook has with its singular focus, it’s ticket stubs, and souvenirs of balloons and parachutes that no longer exist.

While Sarah Sophia shares a belief in the potential of science with her brother, her engagement with the science of ballooning defies her brother's official hesitation and exhibits an eclectic vision for its potential (that we see in its connection to the public fascination with sensation and disaster) that a scientific vision bound by imperial hegemony simply cannot see. In the words of Gillian Russell, Sarah Sophia Banks can be seen with this scrapbook to "haunt" her own archive. She includes in the scrapbook her tickets to ballooning exhibitions, as well as her notes, one of which reads in the form of a poem: "Under the sun we suppose / there can be nothing new / But aerostation plainly shews / This notion is not true" (see Fig. 2.20). This note, in itself, captures the hold of ballooning on the popular imagination, at the same time that it posits ballooning's potential in terms of scientific progress and the relationship of that progress to the fancy of poetry,^{lxxxii} exhibiting an optimism that sets her collection apart from that of the Huntington scrapbook compiler and demonstrates her unique enthusiasm as a collector. The hopefulness of this little poem also illustrates her belief in the varied potential of a scientific endeavor immersed in spectacle. The note continues the popular verse published anonymously in 1786, "To Montgolfier the invention's due / Unfinished as it lies / But his Will be the Glory / Direction's art supplies." The Montgolfier brothers were responsible for inventing the Montgolfier-style hot air balloon, known for its beautiful decorations. They performed many failed experiments and public demonstrations before its first successful piloted flight in 1783—piloted by a sheep, a duck, and a rooster! Referencing these brothers here again calls attention to that relationship between the

fashionable, the spectacular, and the performative appeal of ballooning and the way these qualities are interwoven with science and experimentation.

Fashion, The Unofficial British Balloon Club, and Scrapbooking Sensationalism

Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (see Fig. 2.21), famous for her macaroni hairstyles like the one satirized in the images of the flying women, was head of the unofficial British Balloon Club (see Holmes). The complicated relationship of fashion, ballooning, spectacle, and science that this fact represents is also clearly illustrated in the satirical image from Sarah Banks's collection and the image from the Huntington ephemera collection. Looking again at the image from Sarah Banks's scrapbook, the flying woman, both experiment and artistic spectacle, interweaves science, fashion, and ornament. Big hair, like that of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, associated with both the science and spectacle of ballooning also shows this interaction and the potential of spectacle to engage with not only art and femininity, but also with science.

For Margaret Powell and Joseph Roach, big hair, like the macaroni hairstyle depicted in the satirical prints and the portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire, was a form of cultural performance, and hairdressing itself was a science; it was a science involving the whole body of the hairdresser and also the spectacle of the process (see Fig. 2.22). In the image I've included, the intersection of science, fashion, and spectacle is on display. While the hairdresser works meticulously to construct the woman's towering hairstyle, her husband uses a sextant, meant for navigation, to measure its height. This satirical image illustrates the fact that, in a manner not dissimilar from ballooning, these hairstyles engaged in a sort of constructed fashionable performance that involved science and

measurement in the creation of spectacle. It is especially worthy of note that the sextant being used directly links the measurement occurring in this satirical print to the science of navigation.

Roach and Powell claim, “Hair is a performance, one that happens at the boundary of self-expression and social identity, of creativity and conformity, and of production and consumption. Hair lends itself particularly well to self-fashioning performance because it is liminal, on the threshold, ‘betwixt and between,’ not only of nature and culture, but also of life and death” (83). This quote is particularly applicable to the aspects of ballooning captured in ballooning scrapbooks: the glittering display of balloons as art, their relationship to science, and the balloon, hovering in the air in a moment of hope and possibility that, gone awry, would end in death for a number of aeronauts. Thinking again of the many clippings in the Huntington scrapbook detailing Mrs. Graham’s accident, both the fashionable spectacle of the balloon, its silk and its size, is detailed alongside her clear knowledge of the science of ballooning. Both, however, are overshadowed ultimately by the disaster that befell her descent. The instance of British Aerial Female Heroism advertised in Sarah Banks’s scrapbook also demonstrates this intersection. The spectacle of the balloon flight, particularly the “display” of aerial female heroism, occurs alongside the experimentation performed aboard the balloon.

Sarah Banks’s scrapbook ultimately mixes in ephemera referring to or depicting circus performances, side-show characters, phantasmagoria, sea monsters, sensational fiction, and the infamous London Monster, (see Fig. 2.23). In this latter portion, Sarah Banks displays a collection of illustrations, narratives, and newspaper clippings demonstrating a

wide range of spectacular and salacious characters and events that captivated the popular imagination. The account of the “wonderful and astonishing apple” that as been “shewn to Sir Joseph Banks” again blurs the line between spectacle and science (see Fig. 2.24). The advertisement for this apple that bears resemblance to the head of an infant garners a sort of authority and scientific status by claiming to have been shown to Joseph Banks; this advertisement appeals to Banks for authority in a manner similar to the fictional and satirical accounts of exploration I will discuss in the next chapter. This advertisement engages then in the larger popular interest in science as a form of spectacle, and Sarah Banks’s scrapbook demonstrates that the spectacular is of particular importance to the science of ballooning, as it is incorporated into the sensational and performative elements.^{lxxxii}

The shift in focus in Sarah Banks’s scrapbook not only opens up further possibilities for the relationship between science and spectacle, but it also asks the reader to consider the power of fashion and spectacle to transform our understanding of fact and scientific discovery. Sarah Banks’s fascination with The London Monster later in the scrapbook especially demonstrates the relationship of empirical fact and trending fashion within public engagement in spectacle. The Monster, famous for his piquerism (attacking women by poking them with sharp objects) and attacks on fashionable ladies, became a media sensation. Women would at times claim they had been attacked by the Monster to gain status and sympathy; men, afraid of being wrongly accused by women in the dark, formed the “No Monster Club.” On 12 May, 1790, Georg Forster, known for his work

alongside his father as naturalist on the second of the Cook voyages, wrote:

The newspapers are full of him; the playwrights entertain audiences with his exploits from the stage; the ladies are afraid of him; the mob gives every pedestrian a keen look in case he is the Monster; all the walls are covered with posters advertising a reward for the apprehension of the Monster. (*Werke*, xii, *Tagebucher* 297-98; qtd. in Robert Shoemaker, *the London Mob* 275)

This passage from Forster^{lxxxiii} illustrates both the media frenzy and the spectacle surrounding the London Monster. The Monster had captured the imaginations of the public, much like the hot air balloon and the Cook voyages to the Pacific, and this craze is similarly reflected in both print and performance culture.

We can see through Banks's collection of Monster-related newspaper clippings, that she was fascinated by this case. The number of clippings having to do with the question of The Monster's identity particularly speak to Banks's fascination with this case as one invested in questions of fashion and the transformation of "the truth." There is question, even today, whether the man eventually convicted, Renwick Williams, was truly the culprit. Many of the images of Renwick Williams in Sarah Banks's collection are captioned "Renwick Williams, commonly called The Monster," emphasizing the uncertainty of The Monster's identity.^{lxxxiv}

Interestingly, the sections of the scrapbook dealing with The Monster and the trial of Renwick Williams are followed by clippings from popular Ladies Magazines; these include poems about the Monster, accounts of travel, and sensational fiction. I will address the travel accounts in a moment, but the inclusion of poetry and sensational fiction seem to again point to the blurring of that line between fact and fiction with the fashionable literature of spectacle and sensation. One poem, entitled, "The Monster," is

dedicated to the feeling of relief that since “the naughty Monster” had been apprehended, “beauty” might stand “no more aghast.” The Monster would no longer be preying on female beauty and women might again leave their homes and find in men “a kind protector.” Interwoven between this poem and accounts of the Monster’s trial is a sensational story from *The New Lady’s Magazine*, called, “The Seduced Female.” The mixing of accounts of the trial, sensational stories of seduction, and poems dramatically, almost satirically, praising The Monster’s apprehension that would allow women to walk freely out of the house, demonstrate Sarah Banks’s choice as compiler again to bring together a form of spectacle, sensational literature, with what should have been the factual, empirical, proceedings of the trial. In bringing the trial discussion into this context, she draws attention the frequent absence of fact in such proceedings, particularly in the popular perception of them. Like the story of Mrs. Graham and the other ballooning disasters in the Huntington scrapbook, these sensational stories create spectacle out of what should have been an empirical process and emphasize the desire for sensation and spectacle in the popular imagination. This desire, as shown in Sarah Banks’s scrapbook, is inextricable from science and factual evidence. Whether with ballooning or sensational figures like The Monster, spectacle is just as important as the “science” of the process.

The inclusion of clippings and sketches of The Monster and other sensational figures of the time makes this scrapbook curious indeed. While these figures speak, again, to the spectacular nature of ballooning, alongside the more scientific illustrations of ballooning, they also break down the epistemological hierarchies we create among types of knowing.

While empirical or scientific epistemologies are often historically privileged over sensational and popular narratives, Sarah Banks's scrapbook moves back and forth between these epistemologies so that they become inextricably connected. We can even see the effects of sensational interest in Sarah Sophia's life as Gascoigne notes that she stipulated in her will that she was not to be buried until it was certain she was dead (26). Here, again, even in this request, her sensational fear of being buried alive collides with the empiricism of science, which must prove that she is no longer alive before burial can take place.

Performance and the Material and Spectacular Wings of Fancy

The scrapbook ends with the plan for the Theater Royal at Drury Lane. This image is significant, as it draws attention to the performative nature of spectacle documented in this scrapbook. Whether spectacles of science, fashion, oddities, or violence, there seems to be an awareness of the performative nature of all of these in the public eye that again breaks down any hierarchy that could be created between scientific and sensational popular epistemologies. I see Sarah Banks's collection not only offering an alternate view to the developments in science during this period than that offered by her brother, but also offering a collection that does not submit to the demands of an imperial ideal. Sarah Banks's collection demonstrated by this scrapbook showcases a variety of perspectives and ways of knowing that has led in the past to not only confusion about her collection, but to her also being negatively defined as a "hoarder," a label which I have noted has been debunked by other scholars. Sarah Banks's unique manner of organizing the world in her scrapbook works against an imperial project of homogenization of the Other,

represented by the many sensational figures showcased in the scrapbook. The very attention given to the sensational figures in this scrapbook and their inclusion alongside ballooning emphasizes the heterogeneity absent in many imperial conceptions of progress. According to Fulford, Lee, and Kitson, while exploration science and literature served the colonial mission, it also caused people to question that mission (11). Sarah Banks's collection of ephemera and her scrapbook, in emphasizing the popular alongside the progressive, disrupt the very notion of science as a distinct, hierarchical category and collecting as a mechanism of empire.

Lastly, I want to turn to the idea of Sarah Banks traversing space through her collection. As I noted, *The New Ladies Magazine* clippings feature travel writing, and the section I've included here contains a portion of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters*. The notion that one could travel through acts of collecting and "on the wings of the imagination," through reading accounts, like these, of travels in foreign lands, was popular in the Romantic period but was often bound up within an overarching imperial vision. What I see with Sarah Banks's collection is unique in a couple of ways from this traditional function of the Romantic imagination. First, her collection demonstrates a particularly material means of this sort of imaginative exploration. As Leis demonstrates, "[Sarah] Banks always allowed the material to inform her methodological choices," a strategy for arranging her collection that reflected the manner in which materiality influenced and guided both her display and her imagination ("Cutting, Arranging" 137); fancy, through Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, is shown to be distinctly material.

Sarah Banks's scrapbook engages in a material journey on the wings of fancy, one that is fantastic, technical, and theatrical in its exploration of ballooning and popular spectacle. Secondly, not only does she engage with a popular imagination invested in exploration and curiosity, but she does so in a way that allows that curiosity to venture into areas unexplored in collections bound by a science serving a larger vision of empire. As Leis notes, "The history of the collection takes priority over other kinds of history," a fact which we can see in her unique strategy for dating items by the date on which they were acquired ("Cutting, Arranging" 137). Sarah Banks's scrapbook not only demonstrates, as critics have pointed out, her vision for organizing the world; it demonstrates the unique importance of that vision within our larger critical understanding of collecting practice in the Romantic period, in which both high and low forms of culture mingle together (Leis "Cutting, Arranging" 140). Through looking to collections like those of Sarah Banks, we are given an opportunity to re-visit our understanding of such practices and, ultimately, to reassess the value of the curious, the fashionable, and the spectacular within Romantic scientific inquiry.



Fig. 2.1. © British Library Board. L.R.301. h.3.



Fig. 2.2. Courtesy of the British Museum. Matthew Darly. "The Fly Catching Macaroni." 1772. 1915,0313.152



Fig. 2.3. Courtesy of the British Museum. Matthew Darly. "The Botanic Macaroni." 1772. 1915,0313.196



Fig. 2.4. Courtesy of the British Museum. Matthew Darly. "A Macaroni Print Shop." 1772. J,5.46.



Fig. 2.5. Courtesy of the British Museum. Banks Trade card of a tobacconist. 117.178.



Fig. 2.6. Courtesy of the British Museum. Banks Trade card of a tobacconist. D,2. 3978.+ 1117.214.



Fig. 2.7. Courtesy of the British Museum. Banks Trade card of a tobacconist. D,2.3967. 117.224.



Fig. 2.8. Courtesy of the British Museum. Banks Trade Card of a tobacconist. 117.191.



Fig. 2.9. Courtesy of the British Museum. Banks Trade Card Collection. Note of Sarah Banks. D,2. 3998. 117.198*.

May 2. 1785.

Ascends To-morrow. *May 3. 1785.*

T H E

British Balloon,

Which ascended the 23d of March last, with
Count ZAMBECCARI, and Admiral
Sir EDWARD VERNON,
Being destined for a different Part of the Kingdom,

IT WILL ASCEND AGAIN

On Tuesday next, the 3d of May,
From Mr. HALL's Premises, nearly opposite the
TABERNACLE, TOTTENHAM-COURT-ROAD,
With a BRITISH LADY, a SCIENTIFIC GENTLEMAN, for the
Purpose of making Philosophical Experiments,
And a SECOND GENTLEMAN to attend to, and conduct the Balloon
while the said Experiments are making.

The FILLING OPERATION

Will be performed upon a new and so improved a Method as to prevent
the Delay, and all the Inconveniencies of the usual Mode; which,
with the additional Decorations, will render the Preparation and
ascensional Appearance pleasing beyond Description, especially as it
will display the First Instance of

British Aerial Female Heroism.

TICKETS for Admission to view the inflating Operation and Ascension, are
now delivering at the Lyceum Office in the Strand, at the former Prices of
Half-a-Guinea each for the best Accommodations, and Five Shillings for the
others.--A few genteel private Apartments, for Select Parties, may be obtained
by those who apply in Time.

* * * The Entrance to the Half-Guinea Seats will be through Mr. HALL's
Dwelling House.



Fig. 2.10. © British Library Board. L.R.301. h.3.



*Representation of M^r LUYARDI making an Experiment on the Thames,
of his invention, to save persons from drowning*

London: Printed and Sold by J. Smith, in Strand Street.

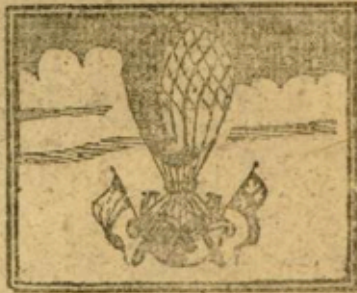
Fig. 2.11. © British Library Board. L.R.301. h.3.



Fig. 2.12. "Collection of original drawings, engravings, broadsides, posters, programs, songs, etc. relating to aeronautics, 1790-1900," Box 1, 10015. Huntington Library Aeronautica Collection: Prints and Ephemera, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



Fig. 2.13. "Collection of original drawings, engravings, broadsides, posters, programs, songs, etc. relating to aeronautics, 1790-1900," Box 1, 10015. Huntington Library Aeronautica Collection: Prints and Ephemera, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



The LADY'S BALLOON,
OR,
Female Ærial Traveller;

Being a Copy of Verses made upon Miss
SIMONET, the young Lady who went up
with Mr. Blanchard in an Air Balloon,
on Tuesday the 3d of May, 1785.

COME all who delight in an air balloon,
To me now attention pray lend,
I sing in the praise of that lady so bold,
Who with a balloon did ascend.
Who with a balloon,
Who with a balloon,
Who with a balloon did ascend.

Lunardi went up, Zimbaccari also,
And Blanchard he often has been,
But a lady so bold as our fam'd British fair,
Is the first that has ever been seen.
Has ever been seen,
Has ever been seen.
Is the first that has ever been seen.

At twelve the balloon was prepar'd for a flight,
When she boldly stept into the car,
The cords were then cut, the balloon did
ascend,
And their signals were seen from afar.
Their signals were seen,
Their signals were seen,
Their signals were seen from afar.

In pink and in white the sweet girl she was
dress'd,
Like Venus she look'd I declare,
And as Juno when drawn by her peacocks
o-g-y,
She sail'd in the regions of air,
In the regions of air,
In the regions of air,
She sail'd in the regions of air.

Near Lee-bridge they landed as I to you tell,
And they drew them in triumph to town,
When Blanchard flew over the houls again,
And with safety to Langhorn's came down.
With safety came down.

Fig. 2.14. © British Library Board. L.R.301. h.3.

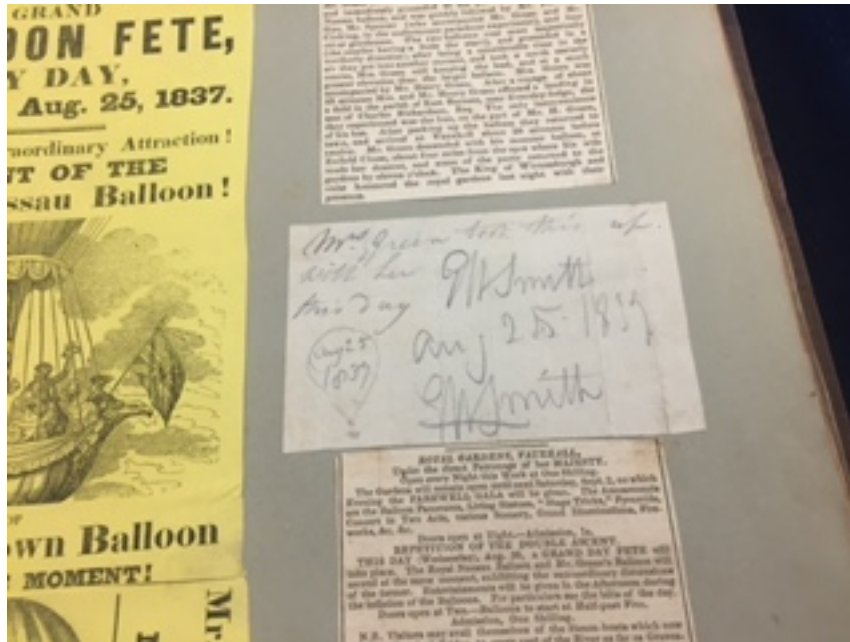


Fig. 2.15. "Collection of clippings relating to aviation: a scrapbook, 1780-1850" Series 1, 139413. Huntington Library Aeronautica Collection: Prints and Ephemera, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



Fig. 2.16. "Collection of clippings relating to aviation: a scrapbook, 1780-1850" Series 1, 139413. Huntington Library Aeronautica Collection: Prints and Ephemera, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



Fig. 2.17. J. Lara. "The Death of Madame Blanchard." Wood engraving. in *Les aerostats* by Louis Figuier. Paris, 1867. *Cushing-Whitney Medical Library Internet Archive*.

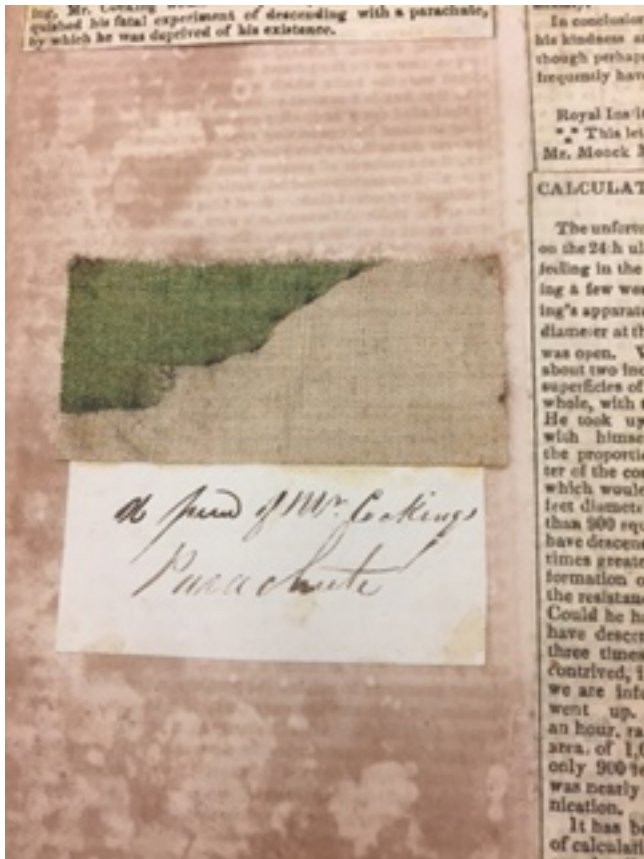


Fig. 2.18. "Collection of clippings relating to aviation: a scrapbook, 1780-1850" Series 1, 139413. Huntington Library Aeronautica Collection: Prints and Ephemera, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

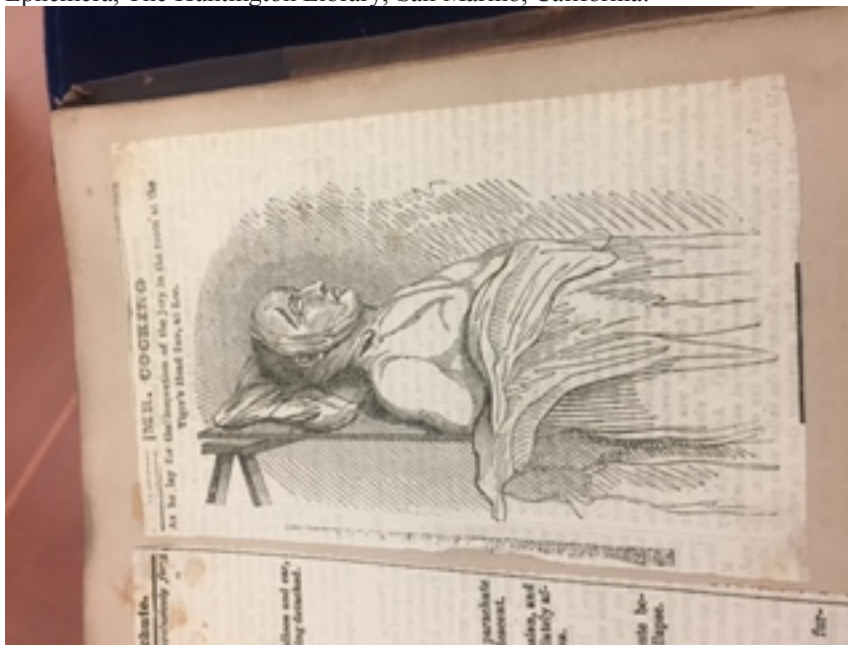


Fig. 2.19. "Collection of clippings relating to aviation: a scrapbook, 1780-1850" Series 1, 139413. Huntington Library Aeronautica Collection: Prints and Ephemera, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Under the Sun we all suppose
There can be nothing new
But Acrostation plainly shews
This notion is not true.

To Montgolfier the Invention's due
Unfinished as it lies
But his Will be the glory who
Direction's art supplies.

65 BR
1786.




Fig. 2.20. © British Library Board. L.R.301. h.3



Fig. 2.21. Joshua Reynolds. "Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire." c. 1775-76. 25.20 The Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens



Fig. 2.22. Courtesy of the British Museum. Matthew Darly. "Ridiculous Taste or the Ladies Absurdity." 1771. J,5.130

The MONSTER.

Mr. ARGENSTEEN, takes the earliest opportunity of informing the Nobility and the Public, of the MONSTER's re-appearance in Town on Friday last June 4th. He is dressed in a Scarlet Coat, wears a prodigious Cockade, and bears in every respect a Striking Likeness to that much respected Character

PHILIP THYCKNESS, Esq.

He has already frightened a Number of Women and Children; made several desperate attempts upon different Noblemen; and, has attempted to cut up his own Children.

Since his last arrival in London, he has assumed the name of Lieutenant Governor GALLSTONE; and, as it is strongly suspected that his present Journey to Town, is in Order to devour all Editors of Newspapers, Book-sellers, Engravers and Publishers of Satiric Prints, and every other Person who has dared to arraign his Conduct, the Public are cautioned to be upon their Guard.

N. B. The Reward for his Apprehension still remains in its full force.

Fig. 2.23. © British Library Board. L.R.301. h.3.

1791

21 AP
EL

A REAL APPLE!

Just arrived from Gloucestershire,
To be seen at the Exhibition, Room at
No. 31, *HAY - MARKET,*

WHICH may be called the **WONDER** of the **WORLD!**
It is allowed by the Curious, to be the greatest
Curiositie ever presented to the Public view.

This Wonderful and Astonishing Apple

IS a representation of a Head of a new born
Infant;—Forehead, Eye-brows, Lids, Eyes, Nose,
Cheeks of a beautiful colour, Lips, Mouth Chin
&c. &c.—Beauty we may justly infer without Paint,
because beautified by the great Creator of Nature;
It as been shewn to **SR. J. BANKS, Bar. F. R. S.**
and to the **PROPRIETORS** of the Pantheon, who
acknowledge to have never seen such a Curiosity
before, all who wish to see this most surprizing
Phenomenon, may now have an oppertunity every
Day from 10 in the Morning until 6 in the
Evening (Sundays, excepted,) **Nov: 13th 1789.**

Admittance One Shilling.

N. B. It can be made a Public Show of but a short time, if
any Ladies, or Gentlemen, wish to see it at their own
Houses, they will be waited upon by the Proprietors, when
the hours for Public shew are Expired.

Fig. 2.24. © British Library Board. L.R.301. h.3.

Chapter 3:

Fiction, Fancy, and Authority: Literary Responses to Cook's Pacific Encounters

The anonymously-written fiction of the year 1778, *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*, details the journey of a sailor, Bowman, as he travels among the islands of the South Pacific. Taking as its starting point the "Grass Cove Incident" on Cook's second voyage, the text takes us through a stadial history of humankind. In a Swift-like fashion, the author explores and critiques European notions of civilization and progress with each island Bowman visits. Exploiting its links to the Cook voyages, the text opens with a letter addressed to Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, key figures and representatives of the flourishing science of botany and the vision for the British empire on James Cook's first voyage. The letter begins,

Gentlemen, I address these Travels to you, as the best judges of the veracity of some part of them; and as my friend Omai was indebted to your friendship and protection (before you could possibly discover his intrinsic merit), to the grateful remembrance of favours received in his native country; I flatter myself, you will not refuse your Patronage to one, who was adopted into a Nation, with whom you held a friendly intercourse in the Southern Hemisphere, because he was born in England. (iii-iv)

This letter appeals to two men of scientific importance to the British empire at the time of Cook's second voyage, when the *Travels* were to have taken place, in order for them to "judge" the "veracity" of Bowman's account. This appeal illustrates a trend in fiction surrounding Pacific exploration of looking to the experiences and writing of the "explorers" and "men of science" to support fictional travel and exploration narratives. This appeal not only blurs the lines of genre, but it also demonstrates the complicated nature of the position of the author of such accounts. As we see in the beginning of this letter, the author of Bowman's narrative appeals to Solander and Banks for assistance,

asking their help, not as an Englishman, but as a man who lays claim to a shared experience of “adoption into a Nation” of the Southern Hemisphere.

Bowman then alludes to the identity of Solander and Banks in the eyes of the public, particularly to the sensational stories of the romantic liaisons of Banks and other sailors in Tahiti:

The Inhabitants of great part of New-Zealand, are certainly much less civilized than those of Otaheite and the other Paphian isles; but had you been fortunate enough to have fallen in with the Auditante coast, and could have conversed with the natives, I make no doubt but the fair Shepherdesses of that country, would have rivalled your favorite charmers, with this advantage, they scorn all pilfering, but that of hearts. (iv)

In addition to demonstrating a shared prejudice toward the more “savage” inhabitants of New Zealand (which we see in accounts from Cook and Banks, as well as in popular portrayals like the pantomime *Omai; or a Trip Around the World*, discussed in Chapter 1), this portion of the letter conflates the experiences of Bowman along the fictional Auditante coast with the experiences of Banks and Solander, and of Cook’s men in Tahiti. Drawing upon the stories popularized in satirical accounts like, *Joseph Banks, Amoroso, and Monster Hunter*, the letter here appeals to the reputations of Solander and Banks as men of science and men of sensational experience. In a work of narrative fiction based upon Pacific Exploration, both of these public perceptions of the men were important. Following upon the conflation of fact and fiction earlier in the paragraph, the letter’s allusion to the more salacious details of the voyage’s time in Tahiti, to the “pilfering of hearts” that was popularly understood to have taken place, plays on the distinction between the scientific and the sensational, the real and the imagined. In popular reception and the public’s imagination of Cook’s Pacific encounters, which we

see reflected in various types of literature from the time, there was little distinction between these categories, and the value of the scientific, the factual and the real often paled in comparison to the possibilities of fancy and wonder.

Even the fictional, however, was within the realm of the growing empire. The letter concludes with an appeal by Bowman:

Should Government think proper to send any ships to cultivate friendship and commerce with the Nations I have discovered, and I am honored with the command of one of them, nothing could add so much to my satisfaction on that event, as the company of two Gentleman, who have set so laudable an example to all European Literati, of braving the greatest dangers in the pursuit of knowledge. (v)

Bowman's tale would be incomplete without a look back at England's mission of "cultivating friendship and commerce," the mission of the Cook voyages in particular. In his official account of the first Cook voyage, which I will later discuss, John Hawkesworth opens with a similar letter to that of Bowman, dedicating the work itself and the Pacific voyages recounted to the King. He praises the King for his "liberal motives" in sending the "bravest" and "most able navigators in Europe" to the Pacific for the "improvement of commerce and the increase and diffusion of knowledge" (vol. 1, 8). As a work of fiction, building from the tradition of accounts like that of Hawkesworth, *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman* has the unique power to be critical of the mission of commerce, civilization, and friendship. Bowman and the other popular works which I will discuss draw upon the credibility of the Cook voyages, and in their conflation of genre distinctions and their emphasis on the sensational and spectacular, reflect not only the public perception of Pacific exploration, but, more importantly, the space within this perception for critical evaluation of exploration's goals and shortcomings. In popular

reception of the events in the Pacific, fancy is of equal importance to reality, forcing us to confront the subjective, constructed nature of the “exploration narrative.”

Exploration and Authorship

The identity of the explorer is itself linked with authorship. As Adriana Craciun argues, the “explorer” was a product of “early tourism and travel industries” developing around nineteenth century empire (“What is an Explorer” 30). This development produced an integral connection between authorship and the development of the explorer’s identity.^{lxxxv} Though Craciun focuses on the particular development of the explorer/author in nineteenth century print culture, and the Cook voyages represent a period defined by the looser protocols of the “gentlemanly network” in which Cook was not seen as an “explorer” (“What is an Explorer” 33, 31), her argument is still useful to consider within the context of the representation of Pacific exploration in popular print. That the explorer was created through a process of compilation and collaboration (“What is an Explorer” 31), rooted in the function of perspective within the narrative and the dissemination of that perspective, is critical to understanding the ways that the Pacific was authored. These voyage accounts, though produced by a compiler like Hawkesworth rather than an explorer/author, influenced the public’s perception of the Pacific and played upon a popular imagination invested in the workings of fancy.

As Craciun contends, nineteenth century explorers were fueled by “commercial authorship, visual spectacle, and costumed public performance” (“What is an Explorer” 45), and much the same can be said about the productions of the popular imagination that represented the Pacific. I will read various re-constructions in print of Cook’s encounters

in the Pacific to be the workings of a public whose imaginations are fueled by the official and sensational accounts of Cook's voyages to embark upon their own voyages of discovery. Texts like *Hildebrand Bowman*, much inspired by the performance and spectacle that motivated the nineteenth century explorer/author, adopt a position of authority that is both the result of and the inspiration for the public's perception of the Pacific. This authority allows the text to turn its critique back to England itself. The legitimacy of the Cook voyages and the sensational aftermath of Hawkesworth's account represent the different but interwoven points of authority over public perception. The author of *Bowman* is able to draw upon these points to establish an authorial voice that uses both the scientific and the sensational to construct a journey through a Pacific in which critique of the very culture that formed its contents takes precedence over what is real and what is imagined.

Nicholas Thomas contends,

When we damn Cook for inaugurating the business of colonisation, we are in underlying agreement with traditional Cook idealizers--we are seeing the explorer above all as a founder or precursor, and judging him according to how we judge what happened afterwards. He's history's man. (xxxiii)

Thomas, while speaking to the sort of explorer-author connection that Craciun establishes, also introduces the idea that being a "man of history" means that Cook is subject to being continually re-shaped. Through examining the various fictional accounts sparked by Cook's voyages, the role that fancy often plays in these historical reconstructions becomes clear. Through this examination, fancy is ultimately revealed as playing a central role in the historical and the factual accounts of the Cook voyages and their legacies. It is, thus, essential to view Cook's voyages not only as inspiring literature

but as resulting from other inspirational literature, like Charles de Brosses's *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*, which Thomas argues provided a "plot" for Cook's first two voyages (16). As Thomas argues, men at sea were not only searching and seeing, but also reading (43).

Thomas writes, "Cook's history-making, however, lay in discovering nothing" (xvix). Thomas makes this comment in relation to the fact that Cook never did find the Great Southern Continent" he sought out. For Thomas, Cook made history by "making geography" (xx). In a broader sense, this quote speaks to the power of fancy and the imagination in the wide-spread and long-lasting reputation of the Cook voyages, as well as their legitimacy. The expedition to find the Great Southern Continent, for example, the "secret plan" of the Cook voyages, was not just a rational plan to fill spaces on a map, but also a "symptom of enchantment" (Thomas 17). De Brosses, though not the first to engage in such "wishful mappings," brought the idea of the Great Southern Continent back up to date and to the attention of scientists, merchants and admiralty lords in the 1760's (Thomas 17). The Great Southern Continent was a place of fantasy and possibility (see Thomas xvix), and in his very quest for it, Cook sparked the imaginations of the public. In much the same way, through his descriptions of the Pacific, Cook laid the foundations for the popular imagination to construct narratives of its own, drawing on Cook as their "legitimate," scientific source, even though, as Thomas notes, Cook often "lacked the devices to describe or measure meeting with other people, their bodies, cultures, and practices" (xx).

Fictional Footnotes and the Authority of Cook

The 1799 novel, *The Vagabond*, by George Walker, cites the Cook voyages in a footnote to comment upon the idea of the noble savage (172).^{lxxxvi} In the scene in which Cook is noted, Doctor Alogos comes upon “an Indian severely beating two women with a cane” (171). Doctor Alagos remarks upon the incident, noting that the people were generally “warlike,” but this was “astonishing gallantry,” even for them. He then has his “black servant, Mungo,” inquire as to “the reason of this usage.” The Indian then replies, “Because I choose it.” When the Doctor, through Mungo, inquires further as to the reason for his behavior, the Indian replies, “I ordered them to shoot some plovers for my dinner while I was painting myself with this delightful blue, and they return to tell me they can find none” (171-72). The Doctor then continues, asking if the Indian is related to the women. The Indian replies that the women are his wives. When the Doctor remarks on the young age of one of them, the Indian says that she is his daughter, prompting to Doctor to inquire, “What, do you use your daughter as a wife?” To which the Indian replies, “To be sure I do—have not I the most right to my own? Does not Nature and the great Manetaw of the Lakes tell us to do so?” The Doctor then responds,

We must acknowledge . . . this is very strange—the women appear universally to be slaves of the men; but, alas! what a mere brute is man, when some greater law than his own will does not curb his passions. If this be liberty, bind me forever to a gallery oar. (172-173)

In response to the Doctor’s lamentations, his companion Stupeo states, “I find nothing strange in all this . . . These men are ignorant of the sublime doctrines of philosophy—they do things without feeling their – an therefore may err a little in promoting universal

good” (173). Stupeo then goes on to compare the behavior of the Indian to the “natural” behavior of animals.

The footnote citing Cook follows the Indian’s declaration that one of his wives is his daughter. The reference to Cook here is, thus, used to legitimize the existence of this practice among the people of such exotic parts of the world, as well as to segway into a discussion of the “noble savage” and natural man.^{lxxxvii} In addition, however, one can see the sensational alongside the anthropological in reference of the Indian’s behavior. As we will see with Hawkesworth’s account and its popular reception, such discussions of the people of the Pacific as men and women in a “natural state” often turned to sensationalized accounts of sexual practices and sexual freedoms. Choosing to cite Cook’s voyages in this instance draws upon the tradition of early anthropological work and the groundbreaking length of contact between Cook and the people of Tahiti, as well as the legacy of accounts of this contact that engages in depictions of the noble savage through accounts of sexual license that sparked the imaginations of the public.

The fictional work, *The Wandering Islander; or, the History of Mr. Charles North*, also draws on the Cook voyages in a footnote. This epistolary novel, its form harkening to Tobias Smollett’s *Humphry Clinker*, references the Cook voyages to support the author of the letters’ interest in ship-building and voyaging. He writes,

My mind was continually running on boats and ships, and the variety of materials of which they had been composed in former days, particularly among the ancient Britons and Icelanders: --the canoes of the Sandwich Island, as described by Captain Cook, charmed me beyond all the rest, notwithstanding I thought the model might be improved, and I was determined to try if it could not. (162-3)

This passage not only captures the hold that exploration had on the imagination of the public, but it also places the people of the Sandwich islands alongside “ancient Britons.” This comparison echoes one response to encounter with Pacific peoples which saw them as more akin to pre-modern Europeans; in the terms of Johann Forster, indigenous peoples and the development of civilization was influenced by and responsive to environment and history.^{lxxxviii} Along these lines, the writer is “charmed” by the Sandwich Island canoe, but he thinks it “might be improved” upon. What he overlooks, however, is the particular purpose of the Sandwich Island canoe, how suited it was for travel around and among other islands, rather than for the long sea voyages which captivated the people of England and Europe.^{lxxxix}

That this passage is footnoted with a portion of Captain Cook’s journals that goes into detail about the Sandwich Island canoes adds to its significance. The footnote reads:

These canoes are in general about twenty-four feet long, and have the bottom for the most part formed of a single piece or log of wood, hollowed out to the thickness of an inch, or an inch and a half, and brought to a point at each end. the sides consist of three boards, each about an inch thick, and neatly fitted and lashed to the bottom part. The extremities, both at head and stern, are a little raised, and both made sharp, somewhat like a wedge, but they flatten more abruptly, so that the two side boards join each other side by side for more than a foot. (163)

The detail Cook provides speaks to his own interest in the canoe’s craftsmanship, while the inclusion of this detail in a footnote identifies Cook as an authority on the subject of the canoe, enough so that the writer then goes and builds his own skiff, “improving upon,” the description offered by Cook. Within the work of fiction, Cook’s account becomes not merely a subjective observation, but a how-to manual that offers a concrete means for the character to embark upon his own voyage of discovery.

Interestingly, the description of the canoe included here depicts a much more simplified canoe than the descriptions, say, of the Tahitian canoes from Cook's first voyage. The description Cook offers of Tahitian canoes varies significantly from type to type. The Proes, for example:

are built all of them very narrow, and some of the largest are 60 or 70 feet long. These consist of several pieces; the bottom is round and made of large logs hollow'd out to the thickness of about 3 Inches, and may consist of 3 or 4 pieces; the sides are of Plank of nearly the same thickness, and are built nearly perpendicular, rounding in a little towards the Gunwale. The pieces on which they are built are well fitted, and fastned or sewed together with strong plating something in the same manner as old China, Wooden Bowls, etc., are mended. The greatest breadth is at the after part, which is generally about 18 or 20 Inches, and the fore part about 1/3 Narrower; the heighth from the bottom to the Gunwale seldom exceeds 2 1/2 or 3 feet. They build them with high curv'd Sterns which are generally ornamented with carved work; the head or fore part curves little or nothing. The smaller Canoes are built after the same plan, some out of one, 2, or more trees according to their size or the use they are for. In order to prevent them from oversetting when in the Water, all those that go single, both great and Small, have what is called Outriggers, which are Pieces of Wood fastened to the Gunwale and project out on one side about 6, 8, or 10 feet, according to the size of the Boat. At the end is fastened in a Parrallel direction to the Canoe a long log of wood simply; or some have it Shaped in the form of a small Boat, but this is not common; this lays in the Water and Balances the Boat. Those that are for sailing have Outriggers only on the other side abreast of the Mast; these serves to fasten the Shrouds to, and are of use in Trimming the Boat when it blows fresh; the sailing proes have some one and some 2 masts; the sails are of Matting and are made narrow at the head and Square at the foot, something like a Shoulder of Mutton Sail, such as are generally used in Man-of-War Barges, etc. (Cook *Journal During His First Voyage Round the World*)

I've included this lengthy description here to provide a sense of the degree of detail Cook engaged in with these descriptions. This detail carried over into descriptions of Tahitian double canoes and Pahees, which, Cook notes, were built outside of the island. His description of New Zealand war canoes is similarly detailed, and he notes that in the building of these canoes, the New Zealanders "shewed great ingenuity and good workmanship" (*Journal During His First Voyage Round the World*). What stands out the

most in contrast with the author's use of Cook in the footnote to the *Wandering Island* is not only the degree of detail but the focus Cook has on demonstrating the "well-fittedness" of the Tahitian canoe's parts, the unique construction of various canoe types, and the attention to ornament the canoes displayed through "carved work." While the description of the canoe the novel includes is more simplified, one that could be adapted and personalized, those found in other portions of the Cook journals reveal the canoes of the Pacific peoples to be highly specialized, expertly ornamented, seaworthy crafts. The author's choice to include the more simplified description of the canoe in the footnote, however, speaks to the manner in which the fiction used Cook as a leaping-off point for its own purposes, fanciful and otherwise.

In the case of the *Wandering Islander*, Tobias Smollett's review in *The Critical Review; Or, the Annals of Literature*, speaks to the text's largely fanciful nature. Smollett writes that the events in the first volume are "too romantic" and suggests that the author, in the future, "keep more strictly within the boundaries of probability" (300). The detailed footnote engaging with the Cook voyages, within a text which was perceived as disregarding the boundaries of reality, is worthy of note and calls into question the broader relationship between accounts of the Cook voyages and popular fiction. William Ellis, for instance, cites Cook on the title page of his 1829 work, *Polynesian Researches, During a Residence of Nearly Six Years in the South Seas Islands*: "In so vast a field, there will be room to acquire fresh knowledge for centuries to come, coasts to survey, countries to explore, inhabitants to describe, and perhaps to render more happy." This quote further supports the manner in which the Cook voyages became not only fodder for

the imagination, but also for the seemingly endless possibilities opened up by exploration and contact in the Pacific, possibilities that would stretch “for centuries to come,” that would stretch the boundaries of fancy, and that would link up ever so nicely with imperial goals (“inhabitants to perhaps render more happy”). Whether taking the form of exploring the more salacious stories of sexuality or savagery in the Pacific islands, or following the more scientific or commercial goals of navigation and contact, the Cook voyages, in their many iterations, provided a material jumping-off point for the public’s imagination.

Hawkesworth and the Sensational Appeal to the Pacific

Looking, now, to John Hawkesworth’s account of Cook’s first voyage can help to illustrate the ways that the “official” account of the expedition itself drew the authority of the exploration narrative into question, as it blurred the lines entirely between the scientific and the sensational, and the real and the imagined. This blurring of lines between the real and the imagined was in some ways built into the voyages from their outset. Thomas notes that, prior to the Cook voyages, the Royal Society both listened to and published a paper by Charles Clerke, who had sailed with Byron and who was to sail with Cook, reporting not only of the island’s natural resources, but also that the inhabitants of Patagonia were giants (Thomas 30). Hawkesworth cites this possibility in his general introduction, referring to it as evidence of men’s “strange propensity to the marvelous” (vol. 1, ix). This early connection between fancy and empiricism surrounding voyages to the Pacific makes the subsequent fantastic fictions and the fantastic within the “official” accounts of Cook’s voyages seem less outlandish. Not only, as I will

demonstrate, were these accounts taking part in the tradition of literature of the imaginary voyage, but they were also situated amid a changing scientific community, still captivated by the wonders and possibilities of the unknown. Within this schema, as Thomas notes:

Banks, and for that matter, Cook, were embodiments of Enlightenment inquiry. They were empirical travelers who would replace confusion with precision and obscurity with information in matters geographical and natural-historical. They would not take the Royal Society for a ride with tales of Patagonian giants. The meaning of the mission hinged absolutely on the creditworthiness of its reports but voyagers were renowned for retailing the incredible. (59)

As we now turn to Hawkesworth, we will examine how the official account of Cook's first voyage straddled this line between precise empiricism and the incredible.

In his official account of the first voyage, published in June 1773, Hawkesworth used Cook's and Banks's journals selectively. Most significantly, however, he drew upon his own reflections, claiming that Cook and Banks had approved the final product, a claim which Cook vehemently disputed (Hawkesworth vol. 1, vi; Thomas 152). According to Thomas, Hawkesworth's infamous use of first person was to "excite the reader's interest" (152). He felt that he needed to infuse the account with "sentiments" that would make "diverse and remarkable incidents intelligible to a European readership" (Thomas 152). In Hawkesworth's words, he sought to "relate little circumstances" for it is within these little circumstances that "the relation of great events derives its power over the mind" (vol. 1, vii). By infusing the account with the first person, Hawkesworth sought to make the events not "naked," but to clothe them with the sort of personal significance and connection that we find with "imaginary heroines" like Pamela (vol. 1, vii). As reading material, Hawkesworth's account was wildly popular; "one of the ten most popular books borrowed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century" (Thomas 153). Hawkesworth

himself hoped that “those who read merely for entertainment” would be “compensated by the description of countries which no European had before visited, and manners which in many instances exhibit a new picture of human life” (vol.1, vii). The account, however, was displeasing to a number of readers and opened Hawkesworth up to eviscerating criticism, criticism Matthew Binney notes many believed contributed to his death shortly thereafter (530).^{xc} Infusing the account with commentary on overarching moral principles and civilization, as well as what was perceived as distasteful sexuality, Hawkesworth ultimately “did much to turn the South Seas sensuality already cited in newspapers into an enduring image” (Thomas 155). In this process, Hawkesworth’s account shows us much about narrative authority, the purpose of the exploration narrative, and its relationship to the imagination.

Much criticism was leveled at Hawkesworth for what was perceived to be his distortion of Cook’s and Banks’s accounts of the voyage. This was done not only through the first person, which I will address shortly, but also through his infused commentary, often of a blasphemous nature (such as his perceived denial of Providence’s role in the voyage’s success, vol. 1, xx-xxi), or invested in offering a broader moral commentary of events (as with his expressions of regret regarding the harm done to indigenous peoples, vol.1, xvii). According to Thomas, Hawkesworth distorted his sources, he “omitted good things Cook had to say about aboriginal Australians and instead reinforced the racism that was emerging in accounts of them” (153). In other instances, however, Hawkesworth responded to violence toward indigenous populations with commentary on the injustice

of the violence. Comparing Hawkesworth and Cook's account of this incident of violence in New Zealand, we can see this pattern take shape. Cook writes:

Tuesday, 10th. P.M., I rowed round the head of the bay, but could find no place to land on account of the Great Surf which beat everywhere upon the Shore. Seeing 2 Boats or Canoes coming in from Sea I rowed to one of them, in order to Seize upon the People; and came so near before they took notice of us that Tupia called to them to come alongside and we would not hurt them; but instead of doing this they endeavour'd to get away, upon which I order'd a Musquet to be fir'd over their Heads, thinking this would either make them surrender, or jump overboard; but here I was mistaken, for they immediately took to their Arms or whatever they had in the Boat, and began to attack us. This obliged us to fire upon them, and unfortunately either 2 or 3 were kill'd and one wounded, and 3 jumped overboard. These last we took up and brought on board, where they was Cloathed and Treated with all imaginable kindness; and to the Surprise of everybody became at once as cheerful and as merry as if they had been with their own Friends. They were all 3 Young, the eldest not above 20 years of Age, and the youngest about 10 or 12. I am aware that most Humane men who have not experienced things of this nature will Censure my Conduct in firing upon the People in their Boat, nor do I myself think that the reason I had for seizing upon her will at all justify me; and had I thought that they would have made the Least Resistance I would not have come near them; but as they did, I was not to stand still and suffer either myself or those that were with me to be knocked on the head. (*Journal During His First Voyage Round the World*)

Here Cook, while expressing a sense of the injustice of his decision to fire upon the indigenous people, nevertheless stands by his decision: "I was not to stand still and suffer either myself or those that were with me to be knocked on the head." He does not engage in a broader commentary on the decision or the problem of violence in these moments of contact; instead, he expresses regret only in terms of his initial misreading of the situation ("had I thought that they would have made the Least Resistance I would not have come near them"), not the violence that follows. In this scene, violence is constructed as the necessary response to "resistance."

Looking to Hawkesworth's interpretation of this incident, however, we see a different response to the event:

To my great regret, I found no place where I could land, a dangerous surf every where beating upon the shore; but I saw two canoes coming in from the sea, one under sail, and the other worked with paddles. I thought this a favourable opportunity to get some of the people into my possession without mischief, as those in the canoe were probably fishermen and without arms, and I had three boats full of men. I therefore disposed the boats so as most effectually to intercept them in their way to the shore; the people in the canoe that was paddled perceived us so soon, that by making to the nearest land with their utmost strength, they escaped us; the other sailed on till she was in the midst of us, without discerning what we were; but the moment she discovered us, the people on board struck their sail, and took to their paddles, which they plied so briskly that she out-ran the boat. They were however within hearing, and Tupia called out to them to come along side, and promised for us that they should come to no hurt: they chose, however, rather to trust to their paddles than our promises, and continued to make from us with all their power. I then ordered a musquet to be fired over their heads, as the least exceptionable expedient to accomplish my design, hoping it would either make them surrender or leap into the water. Upon the discharge of the piece, they ceased paddling; and all of them, being seven in number, began to strip, as we imagined to jump overboard; but it happened otherwise. They immediately formed a resolution not to fly, but to fight; and when the boat came up, they began the attack with their paddles, and with stones and other offensive weapons that were in the boat, so vigorously, that we were obliged to fire upon them in our own defence: four were unhappily killed, and the other three who were boys, the eldest about nineteen, and the youngest about eleven, instantly leaped into the water; the eldest swam with great vigour, and resisted the attempts of our people to take him into the boat by every effort that he could make: he was however at last overpowered, and the other two were taken up with less difficulty. I am conscious that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people, and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not chusing to confide in my promises; or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowlege of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid further hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience.

Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expence of life; yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect. (Hawkesworth "The Passage from Oteroah to New Zealand," 290)

Beyond Hawkesworth's dramatized account of the incident, his extended explanation for and broader moral commentary on the violence makes the differences between the accounts significant. While Cook states that "Humane men who have not experienced things of this nature" would condemn his conduct, Hawkesworth declares that "every reader of humanity" would censure him. Rather than justifying the actions by the situation, Hawkesworth goes on to say that they "certainly did not deserve death for not chusing to confide in my promises; or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger." Hawkesworth does not place the blame on Cook for the violence, however, continuing on to explain the difficult situation the voyage placed him in: that of needing knowledge of the country and having a limited number of ways he saw fit to obtain that knowledge. Hawkesworth's critique, then, is leveled at the moral problem presented by the situation the requirements of the voyage had placed Cook and his men in; specifically, Hawkesworth lays a moral charge against the very tendency to resort to the guns in the first place, to "command to fire," even overhead. In such situations, when this command has been given, "no man can prescribe its effect."

According to Thomas, Hawkesworth "translated Cook's regret into a more general and morally pressing register" (154). The problem lay not in misjudgement but "in what the voyage required and made inevitable" (154). Hawkesworth begged the question of whether "civilized men were only civilized in civilized places, and whether their travels

took them into situations beyond the scope of ethical and moral principles that were surely supposed to apply universally” (Thomas 154). We can see the lasting legacy of these moments of contact plagued by violence in the current debates over Cook’s legacy in New Zealand. To better understand why his statue was defaced just last year, for instance, it is helpful not only to return to his own words and the interpretations of Hawkesworth, but also to take into serious consideration the responses and feelings of the indigenous people in the face of a legacy of violence.^{xci}

The differences between Cook and Hawkesworth’s accounts of the voyage shaped the public’s imagination of the Pacific, not only as a place of savagery and violence (as with the previous account), but also as a space for the open and unimpeded practice of sexuality. In the juxtaposition of Cook and Hawkesworth’s infamous accounts of the “point venus scene” of May 14, 1769, we can further see Hawkesworth’s interjection of not only moral but philosophical commentary on the cultural practices of the people of the South Seas. Cook’s account, as in most cases, is brief and unaccompanied by extended commentary:

Sunday, 14th. This day we performed divine Service in one of the Tents in the fort, where several of the Natives attended and behaved with great decency the whole time. This day closed with an odd scen at the Gate of the Fort, where a young Fellow above 6 feet high made love to a little Girl about 10 or 12 years of Age publicly before several of our people and a number of the Natives. What makes me mention this is because it appear'd to be done according to Custom, for there were several women present, particularly Obariea and several others of the better sort, and these were so far from showing the least disapprobation that they instructed the Girl how she should Act her part, who, young as she was, did not seem to want it. (*Journal During His First Voyage Round the World*)

While Cook’s account describes the situation according to his observations, merely venturing to say that it appeared to be “done according to Custom,” Hawkesworth engages

in an extended commentary on the event that places it, not only within the Customs of the Tahitians, but, philosophically, within Western Christian religious rites:

Such were our Matins; our Indians thought fit to perform Vespers of a very different kind. A young man, near six feet high, performed the rites of Venus with a little girl about eleven or twelve years of age, before several of our people, and a great number of the natives, without the least sense of its being indecent or improper, but, as appeared, in perfect conformity to the custom of the place. Among the spectators were several women of superior rank, particularly Oberea, who may properly be said to have assisted at the ceremony; for they gave instructions to the girl how to perform her part, which, young as she was, she did not seem much to stand in need of. This incident is not mentioned as an object of idle curiosity, but as it deserves consideration in determining a question which has been long debated in philosophy; Whether the shame attending certain actions, which are allowed on all sides to be in themselves innocent, is implanted in Nature, or superinduced by custom? If it has its origin in custom, it will, perhaps, be found difficult to trace that custom, however general, to its source; if in instinct, it will be equally difficult to discover from what cause it is subdued or at least over-ruled among these people, in whose manners not the least trace of it is to be found. (“Uncommon Ceremonies and an Extraordinary Spectacle,” 128)

Thomas notes that Hawkesworth’s account of a public sexual act at point venus juxtaposes Christian ceremony with the sexual acts, emphasizing how the act occurred before a great number (155). In his commentary Hawkesworth engages in emerging Nature vs. Nurture debates (see Thomas 155), building upon Cook’s brief observation that the act seemed to be one of Custom. Attempting to justify the account in the narrative, Hawkesworth notes that it is no subject of “idle curiosity,” but is an incident from which we can begin to ponder larger philosophical questions of cultural practice and the foundations for civilized society. Nevertheless, Hawkesworth’s extended commentary on the incident created its place within the public’s imagination of the Pacific as a sort of Garden of Eden, a place free of sexual inhibition, whose customs encouraged sexuality without shame.

This notion led to material for much of the fiction and satirical work produced about the Cook voyages, particularly involving Joseph Banks. W.H. Pearson, however, contends that Hawkesworth saved Banks from more embarrassment with satirists (59-60), and that he omits things from his account, like Banks's decision to keep "Tupaia as a curiosity" (Banks 1, 312-313; Hawkesworth 2, 180). Pearson also notes that Hawkesworth seems to insert commendations from Cook to make Banks appear more favourably (60, Hawkesworth 2, 126). From Pearson's perspective, it was not Hawkesworth but Banks who was responsible for much of the unacceptable content in Hawkesworth's official account (64), and it was Banks in the guise of Cook who was giving philosophical comments on Polynesia throughout the account (65).

Hawkesworth's authority over the account has been a subject of much critical debate.^{xciii} I shall take as my jumping-off point here, Matthew Binney's claim that Hawkesworth's narrator has a "dynamic self" that responds to constantly "mutable data of reality" (533). As such, the editor's perspective represents "one among many" in the account of travel and, therefore, "denies the authority of an external, overarching, validating narrative and instead foregrounds the experiential authority of the editor-narrator" (Binney 534). Such authority is grounded, not in a rhetoric of providence, which would yield control of the narrative to an external source, but in "entertainment," which "emphasizes character and circumstance" (Binney 534). It is through this rhetoric of entertainment that Hawkesworth legitimizes the travel account (Binney 537), for it is through the reader's understanding of the traveler's character that the exotic and unfamiliar can come to be known (Binney 540).

The “I” Hawkesworth creates, while disputed for its claims to authority, remains the foundation for a popular literary type. According to Pearson, Hawkesworth’s “I” is the foundation of “that hero of Victorian boy’s sea fiction” (64, also cited in Binney 543). J.C. Beaglehole contended that Hawkesworth created a “classic of English adventure” (Pearson 72, Beaglehole in Cook Journals I, ccliii). These statements support the idea that Hawkesworth was an influential literary figure whose “literary credo took no account of the claims of scientific accuracy” (Pearson 66). According to Pearson and to Hawkesworth’s critics like Georg Forster, the official account took no notice of the scientific. Though, Hawkesworth is nevertheless cited in later accounts of exploration, that of the third Cook voyage for instance, as a source of authority. In *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (vol. 2, 20), Hawkesworth’s Collection (vol. 2, 248) is cited as providing an accurate “plan” of Matavai Bay. Also, I would contend that if we think about the parallel structures Hawkesworth employed, we might see these as laying the foundation for fiction being potentially more insightful and exacting than the “scientific” accounts.

Through parallel structures, Hawkesworth unites sensational scenes in the readers’ minds by recounting them together, though they occur apart in the accounts of Cook and Banks (Binney 545). Through tone and narrative placement, Hawkesworth brings together two scenes of disrobing: that of May 12, 1769 and, again, on June 21, 1769. On May 12, Hawkesworth, drawing from Banks’s journal, writes of the disrobing of Oorattooa, who, “with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity,” turned about before Banks and the men with “great composure and deliberation” (2, 125). Hawkesworth writes of this disrobing as a ceremony, emphasizing that the woman repeated this process

three times. According to Binney, this scene is not only connected with the scene of overt sexuality occurring days later at point venus, but Hawkesworth also uses this instance to create a parallel to a later scene of disrobing. On June 21, 1769 Hawkesworth writes of another instance of the “natives” uncovering their bodies to the waist. He then connects this instance with that of Oorattooa (whom Binney notes is only briefly mentioned by Banks in his journal and not overtly connected with either of the ceremonies Hawkesworth describes, 545). Hawkesworth writes:

Uncovering the body, therefore, is in this country probably a mark of respect; as all parts are exposed with equal indifference, the ceremony of uncovering it from the waist downwards, which was performed by Oorattooa, might be nothing more than a different mode of compliment, adapted to persons of a different rank. (2, 153)

Here, Hawkesworth uses the person of Oorattooa to bring the two events together and to launch into an attempt at contextualizing and understanding the act of disrobing in familiar terms: that of deference and respect.^{xciii} Hawkesworth’s manner of bringing parallel situations together not only encouraged European readers to think about difference in habit and custom, but also to “reflect back upon their own customs and beliefs” (Binney 547). These parallel structures, thus, lay the foundations for self-reflection in the European reader. They also, I would argue, make real persons mentioned in the journals of Banks and Cook, like Oorattooa, into characters. Hawkesworth, in a sense, fictionalized Oorattooa; he placed her within the parallel structures he had created, though no evidence suggests she had any connection with the events of June 21, as a basis for his own philosophical musings. Hawkesworth’s parallel structures, therefore, lay the foundation for the creation in popular literature of characters and situations inspired by the Cook voyages.

According to Binney, Hawkesworth provides parallel structures in order to offer interpretation (546). I would argue, however, that Cook does something similar when he lists off habits and customs in portions of his journals. He may not bring events together, but he uses the events to make more general statements.^{xciv} And, as Hawkesworth uses “parallel circumstances” to show how events seemingly “incommensurable” are “essentially the same” (Binney 548), I believe that he lays the foundations for the critique of customs and habits in England through fiction and satire. While fiction like Bowman uses a satirical vision of the reality to critique English custom, Hawkesworth holds up these parallel instances, like burial,^{xcv} to illustrate, as Binney says “how European habits, prejudices, and customs define much of their behavior, and how these not only distinguish them from but also connect them to other cultures” (548). Both of these ways of processing and assimilating information about the unknown involve, first, a process of placing the foreign within the context of the familiar. For Hawkesworth, this is done to make the instances understandable and to foster connection through interpretation. As Pearson points out, in Hawkesworth’s account, disputes may not end in reconciliation but they end in reassurance for reader (69), and Hawkesworth often “does everything he can to exonerate the ship’s command and to ease the conscience of the English reader” (69). Interestingly, fiction often does quite the opposite. The satirists and fiction writers I will now discuss assimilate the exotic into the framework of the familiar, only to then critique the very framework within which Pacific peoples and customs had been assimilated.

The Structure of Satire

The satirical piece, “An Epistle from Oberea, Queen of Otaheite, to Joseph Banks, Esq.,”^{xvii} begins with an introduction that bears similarities to the opening letter of Bowman. This introduction treats the text as a factual and serious study of the incidents in Tahiti. It begins, “The Editor of the following Epistle has only to inform the Public, that he has translated it with all the Fidelity, which the different idioms of the two Languages will admit of. He is sensible that it is impossible in English to convey any Idea of the Beauties of the Otaheite Tongue” (3). The author, posing as editor, of the fictitious epistle declares the language of Otaheite to be the “noblest of languages” and cites a complete grammar and dictionary of the Otaheite language which he is using to translate the letter (3). He declares himself on the title page to be “Professor of the Otaheite language in Dublin, and of all the languages of the undiscovered Islands in the South Seas.” The introduction then states, “This work will be printed on the same Paper, and with the same Letter as Doctor Hawkesworth’s celebrated Voyages” (3).

In the introduction to the satirical epistle, we can see certain familiar patterns emerging. First, the text appeals to a more empirical or scientific form of knowing by citing the supposed grammar and dictionary, as well as the original ties to Tahiti of the fictional document and the role of the author/editor as “Professor of the Otaheite language.” Second, it appeals to the “official” voyage account written by Hawkesworth, but in a manner that emphasizes from the outset the triviality of that connection, as it notes that the epistle will share with that account the same “paper” and “letter.” As the epistle continues, Hawkesworth’s account, cited throughout in footnotes, becomes its

main source of authority and credibility. This text, thus, participates in the practice of footnoting Hawkesworth and Cook seen in both fictional and actual accounts of South Seas voyaging, but it does so in such a way that critiques Hawkesworth's account and Banks's role in the voyage. This epistle builds upon the parallel structures and commentary provided by Hawkesworth, highlighting the liberties taken in his account and adding to those liberties for the purpose of constructing a critique of the European vision of Tahiti.

The introduction to the Epistle concludes by stating that "It will be highly useful to such Gentlemen as propose to visit the South Seas, and to make the Grand Tour" (4). This statement begins the epistle's critique by poking fun at Joseph Banks's claim that his Grand Tour would be one around the globe (see Edward Smith *The Life of Sir Joseph Banks*, 16). The claim that, like the Grand Tour of the Continent, Gentlemen might make such a tour of the Pacific also highlights the pretension inherent to the highly class-based notion of the Grand Tour itself. The introduction, thus, sets up not only the critique of Banks, but also English and European systems and modes of behavior, a critique that will continue throughout the text.

The epistle makes use of Hawkesworth's parallel structures to further its critique. It reads:

There to yon plain Oorattoa came;
And paid just honors to Opano's name. (10)
Three scarlet races her tall attendants bore,
And gently spread them on the winding shore;
Graceful she mov'd, and with majestic ease,
Pull'd up her petticoats above her knees'
Then thrice turn's round with measured steps and slow,
Proud the curved arches of her bum to show.*

Here Tirabaow-diea dar'd to prove,
The impetuous transports of Toopuah's love.
Scarce twelve short years the wanton maid had seen,
The youth was six foot high, or more I ween.** (11)

In recounting these incidents, the author cites in a footnote Hawkesworth's account of the scene of disrobing that occurred on May 12th, which I have discussed. Like Hawkesworth, he brings together this scene with that of the public sexual act at point venus: "Here Tirabaow-diea dar'd to prove, / The impetuous transports of Toopuah's love. / Scarce twelve short years the wanton maid had seen, / The youth was six foot high, or more I ween." Both of these moments are elaborated upon in the text of the epistle and in the footnotes. The first instance of disrobing places the women's garments in European terms, referring to them as "petticoats," and elaborates on the scene by discussing the woman's tattoos, "the curv'd arches of her bum." The footnote to this scene further comments on the tattoos, which were of special appeal to the popular imagination, again citing Hawkesworth: "The part on which these ornaments are lavished is the breech; this in both sexes is covered with a deep black, above which arches are drawn one over another. these arches are their pride, and are shown with great ostentation" (4). In the footnote to the description of the point venus scene, the author, referring to Hawkesworth, states that

the translator intended to have suppressed all passages of this nature, which might offend the chaste ear of a British reader. But as Doctor Hawkesworth's very luscious descriptions have been considered rather as fallies of his prurient imagination, than the transactions of real life, he thought it a piece of justice due to that great man to authenticate his narrative. (4)

This note refers to the scandalous and, in many ways, inauthentic nature of Hawkesworth's narrative and to its critical reception. The epistle, here, moves beyond its

critique of Banks and the society consuming the narratives of Pacific voyages and critiques the narrative responsible for inciting the public interest in the sensational aspects of the voyages, the very interest that prompted this satirical work in the first place.

The epistle continues throughout to poke fun at Banks's botanical and amorous interests and to cite Hawkesworth. The author writes:

Oft I have wish'd, for such you love, that I
Were metamorphos'd to some curious fly;
Beyond the main I'd speed my eager way,
And but around you all the live-long day.
Now would I not be some umbrageous tree,
That shades they grot, and vegetate for thee;
At thy approach I'd all my flowers expand,
And weave my wanton foliage round thy hand. (12)

This section evokes popular satirical images of Banks which were circulating after the first voyage. Prints, like Matthew Darly's "The Botanic Macaroni,"^{xcvii} reflect the imagery of this passage and capture the essence of critiques of Banks's botanical pursuits in the Pacific. A following section continues the critique of Banks's rumored amorous affair with Oberea and broadens that critique to include the follies and vanities of English women:

Think not I covet what you riches call,
Your houses, land, estates—I scorn them all.
I *crave no jointure of five hundred skins,
Now twice as many pounds to buy my pins;
Nor yet shall I the tardy fates reproach,
Pant for the lozenge on my lacker'd coach;
Or waste the produce of your dating will,
At sordid Loo, or Dowager Quadrille. (13)

The footnote to this passage reads: "It is surprising that Oberea should be so well acquainted with the manners of Great Britain; but as she appears to have had such fine

parts, we may easily imagine that she did not fail to profit by her frequent conversations with Mr. Banks” (13). This section is, thus, not only a critique of the fanciful excesses and pursuits of women (buying pins and playing Loo), but it is particularly a critique of the class which produced both them and Banks. As the footnote states, Oberea would have learned of these aspects of British culture from her time with him, and these frivolous notions were what Banks was able to provide her with through their “frequent conversations.”

The epistle ends with a final critique of Banks and of Hawkesworth’s depiction of the Tahitians. The passage reads: “Yet think at least my copious * tears you see, / And spare one thought from Botany for me” (15). This is followed by the footnote: “The people of Otaheite are remarkable for their fine feelings, which generally produce a copious effusion of tears upon every affecting occasion. See Dr. Hawkesworth” (15). The epistle again alludes to the popular critiques of Banks’s botanical pursuits,^{xcviii} while the footnote cites and critiques the tendency of Hawkesworth’s account to portray the Tahitians through a lens of excessive sensibility. This footnote, however, can also be seen as a critique of the cult of sensibility sweeping through British culture at that time, resulting in an affected manner of behavior here perceived as excessive and problematic to the same degree as Banks’s botanical pursuits.

This epistle was followed by “An Epistle from Mr. Banks, Voyager, Monster-Hunter, and Amoroso, to Oberea Queen of Otaheite.”^{xcix} This second epistle, according to David Fausett, excused Banks’s conduct alluded to in the previous satirical piece “on the grounds of misunderstandings of culture” (*Images of the Antipodes* 180). The

introduction to the second epistle turns Banks into the “hero” of the tale (3). The author/editor of this epistle takes issue with the previous epistle’s claim that the language of Otaheite is more noble than English, pointing out especially that the “Irish” editor of the previous epistle was incorrect in his judgement. He claims that “English is more noble than the most noble, even that of the newly-discovered island in the Southern Pacific Ocean” (3). This epistle is particularly critical of the sensational aspects of Hawkesworth’s account. Referring back to the infamous disrobing scene in Hawkesworth, the author, posing as Banks, writes:

While, as she turns her painted bum* to view,
With fronts unblushing, in the public view,
They search each crevice with a curious eye**,
To find exotics—where they never lie.
O shame! were we, great George, thy gallant crew,
And had we—damn it—nothing else to do,
But turn thy great design to filthy farce,
And search for wonders on an Indian’s a---?
But then to print our tale! O curse the thought!
Curse those who sold,--a blush for those who bought.
Fine tales for misses!—charming table-talk!
Delightful too in each meandering walk,
Through Britain’s ample plains!—The lustful ‘squire
With ease may quench his unsubdu’d desire:--
One page of Hawkesworth, in the cool retreat,
Fires the bright maid with more mortal heat;
She sinks at one into her lover’s arms,
Nor deems it vice to prostitute her charms!
“I’ll do,” cries she, “what Queen’s have done before”
And sinks, from principle, a common whore. (13)

This passage, again, brings together the scenes from Hawkesworth of the disrobing and the public sexual acts of point venus. It develops its biting attack based upon, not the facts of the voyage account, but the parallel structures employed by Hawkesworth, citing his text in the footnotes to the passage in a manner similar to the citations in the previous

epistle. This passage directly critiques the moral standards of the English, a critique which not only applies to the men charmed by the women of Otaheite, but also, as depicted in *Bowman* which I will soon discuss, to the women who would be so willingly corrupted by reading of these sensational encounters. In this instance, the satirical work of fiction draws upon the “official” account of the exotic, specifically the liberties taken in that account, to construct a direct critique of moral behavior at home. The encounters of Cook’s voyage become, again, a means for the imagination to launch into a journey of discovery, in this case, one of a sexually curious nature; they also, ultimately, are a means of critiquing that very flight of fancy, taken by those who experienced the encounter either in person or through the written account. The epistle, then, implicates the women reading of the encounter at home in the same manner as it does the men observing it in person. Above all, Hawkesworth’s narrative is charged with the crime of corrupting the public, as the epistle curses “those who sold” the narrative.

Fancy and Fictional Critique

The text of *Bowman* builds upon the sensational aspects of the Cook voyages, turning the various incidents, like with the second Banks epistle, into a critique of British and European society. Each place Bowman visits on his imaginary voyage becomes a means of reflecting upon English manners and customs. *Bowman* levels a critique most especially against the culture of luxury in English society, showing polish and indulgence to be the root of corruption. Bowman’s time with the Luxo-voluptans most clearly exemplifies the text’s critique of “taste” in British culture. After his arrival among the Luxo-voluptans, Bowman learns that the people pride themselves on their sense of taste,

their palate. This experience, on one level, is fitting with the various heightened senses of the people he has encountered, such as the Olfactarians with their heightened sense of smell and the people of Auditante with their well-tuned aural senses. His discovery of Luxo-voluptans' sensory gifts, however, is immediately met with speculation. The Merchant Moragow tells Bowman that "the Luxo-voluptans pretended their sense of taste, or palate, was naturally formed more sensible of agreeable impressions than other nations. That even their philosophers were of that opinion, but for his part he believed it a vitiated taste, become from long habit a kind of second nature" (135). The "taste" of the Luxo-voluptans is, then, immediately connected with their role as a commercial power in the southern hemisphere: "From their extensive dominions in the southern hemisphere, continued he (Moragow), and immense commerce, they had it in their power to indulge that vitiated taste, by ransacking half the globe for choice viands, the finest flavoured wines, and the most poignant sauces to gratify their appetite" (135). Corruption, then, through indulgence is intimately connected with global commerce, the source of the nation's luxury.

The text continues to critique the Luxo-voluptans' habit of acquiring goods, like herbs (equated with tea) from great distances across the sea, so that even the most common servant can indulge in such luxuries at meal time (135). Upon hearing of the Luxo-voluptans love for rich and exotic foods, Bowman asks another Merchant, Nicophange, if such indulgences affect their health. Nicophange replies in the affirmative, then proceeds to list the various ailments their "taste" in food brings on, including gout and "many other painful disorders, which make their lives miserable" (136). Here, the text contains an

original footnote, alluding to Milton's *Paradise Lost* (xi. line 253): "while they pervert pure nature's healthful rules / To loathsome sickness." This line, which describes the effects of overindulgence on humanity, equates the bodily corruption and sickness brought on by the Luxo-voluptans' indulgence with moral corruption and decay.

Bowman's critiques of Luxo-volupto are not limited to that of food, drink, and bodily health. His most memorable critique in this land is of the sexual mores of its inhabitants. Upon setting out one evening with a local man named Bonaris, Bowman notices that the women of Luxo-volupto have an outstanding and peculiar aspect to their physical appearance: "Good God! said I (Bowman), to Bonaris; have the women wings in this country?" (138). Bowman had noticed that the women walking around town had wings sprouting from the tops of their heads. Those on the head, however, Bonaris reassures him are "of little importance" (138). Bonaris then explains to Bowman that there are other types of wings had by both sexes "of the greatest consequence" (138). He then describes the origin of the wings as emerging from "an unbounded indulgence in voluptuousness" (138). Bonaris tells Bowman that the heightened sense of taste among his people is accompanied by a heightened sense of touch or Feeling (138). This has led to sexual corruption and has resulted in "a pair of wings sprouting from every woman's shoulders, immediately after a failure in chastity; and from every man's, who has seduced a young maiden, or married woman" (139). The wings increase or decrease in size, depending on the reoccurrence or repentance of the sin. Bonaris tells Bowman that most women try to hide their wings under their clothes, except for the "Alae-putas," or "winged whores," who flaunt their wings publicly and without shame (139). Their wings

are even used, in cases of laziness, for flight to “woo” and capture lovers/prey (140). The wings on women’s heads, however, are “only a sign of dissipation, or violent passion for public places” (139). The women with these wings having “made their feathers appear so elegant by their manner of shaping, staining, and dressing them” have caused the wings “to become so much the fashion; that all other women of any genteel station are obliged to imitate them, and wear false ones” (141). The winged-women of Luxo-volupto are clearly meant to satirize the women of England and Europe, caught up in the fad for “big hair.”^c With the discussion of overt sexuality among the Alae-putas, especially their seeking out men as prey, the author is clearly also drawing upon the sensational stories of women in Tahiti emerging out of Cook’s first voyage, further promoted by Hawkesworth’s account.

Corruption in Bowman’s travel account, is linked to excessive consumption. Excess and luxury present opportunities for excessive consumption, like that of the debtors in Miro-vilante (literally translated “flying wonder,” 120). The debt of these people is met by Bowman’s friend, Moreveres, with similar astonishment to Bowman’s encounter with winged women: “Good God! ... how shocking to humanity that is!” (158). Reading vice and excessive consumption as a shock to humanity places the corruption of Luxo-volupto, mirroring the corruption of English society, on the scale of other “shocks to humanity” reported from Cook’s voyages, namely, cannibalism.^{ci} While, *Bowman*^{cii} which appeared during Cook’s third voyage, takes as its starting point Cook’s second voyage, it builds upon a particularly sensational aspect of that voyage: the Grass Cove incident. This incident of cannibalism, covered in papers and voyage accounts,^{ciii} and

even communicated in a letter from Joseph Banks to his sister, Sarah Sophia (“ten of the Adventure’s people have been eaten and roasted by our friends in New Zealand.” Joseph Banks Letters to Sarah Sophia, 93.08), characterized the second voyage in a manner similar to the way the accounts of Tahitian sexuality had characterized the popular understanding of the first.

Bowman begins by giving reason why he was not listed in the official log of men who had been aboard the cutter sent to Grass Cove (59). This, like the opening letter, gives the account a sense of authenticity and, by drawing on the official log of the voyage, gives Bowman authority as a seaman, one of Cook’s men, in recounting the fantastical events that follow. He relates that he walked into the woods in search of game, after having been separated from his group. After having been “carried further” than he had intended by his “sport,” Bowman is alarmed to hear a musket shot. After setting off immediately and “running full speed to their (his crewmates) assistance,” he hears a “horrid scream . . . which could only come from the savages; and seemed not of distress, but victory” (59). Upon hearing the scream, Bowman moved more cautiously, making “self-preservation” his duty (59). Upon arriving at the scene, he makes a similar exclamation of horror to that made upon seeing both the women of Luxo-volupto and the debtors at Miro-vilante: “good God! what a horrid spectacle appeared!” He follows up this exclamation with a description of the scene: “all our men lying dead on the place, and surrounded by some hundreds of savages, of both sexes and of all ages” (59). Bowman continues to describe the events in a manner that correlates with the accounts offered by Lieutenant James King, Captain Tobias Furneaux, and Lieutenant James Burney^{civ}: “But how shall I relate

the horrid feats which was prepared for that multitude? the fire was kindled and the mangled limbs of my poor countrymen and shipmates, were put on it to broil for their unnatural repast; nay even some parts I saw devoured. I could stand it no longer, horror seized me! my whole frame was in the most dreadful tremor!” (59).^{cv} Bowman staggers away from the “vile scene,” leaving his readers, ultimately with less detailed description than that offered by either Burney or Furneaux, both of whom describe the severed hand, tattooed with the initials T.H. for Thomas Hill, and the head of Captain Furneaux’s servant.^{cvi}

In his account, Bowman incorporates both the trend of viewing cannibalism as a cultural difference and as a source of horror. Though Bowman initially responds to the scene with dread, he later reconsiders his position and states, “had I been born in that part of New Zealand, I most certainly should have been a cannibal” (62). This echoes Cook’s comment about the people of New Zealand, “Notwithstanding they are cannibals they are naturally of a good disposition and have not a little humanity.”^{cvii} The response to cannibalism, on both fronts, serves to affirm and reaffirm the viewer/reader’s own humanity, first through shock and horror, and secondly by respectful distance and cultural empathy. Cannibalism, in Bowman’s account, is connected to later forms of excessive consumption and corruption he encounters, which ultimately cause him to reflect upon his own culture.

The “shocking scene,” of cannibalism Bowman says is “ever present” to his “imagination” (60). This statement affirms the role of the imagination in the experience (either directly or textually) of such encounters. With this statement, Bowman places

himself alongside the numerous readers of such accounts. The “shocking” and “ever present” scene is the starting point for Bowman’s own fantastic journey, as well as for that of the readers’. It is the scene from which Bowman embarks on a critique of English society, from which philosophers of the time often began a critique of civilization and morality,^{cviii} and from which the reader could construct a sensational understanding of a Pacific, characterized not only by the sensuality of the first voyage, but now by the savagery of the New Zealand cannibal. Through bringing the most sensational aspect of the official accounts of the second voyage into a fictional world, the author of *Bowman* does overtly the work of exaggeration and elaboration that Hawkesworth performed under the guise of a more factually-oriented genre. This text, then, comments upon the very claims held to authority by specific genres, especially when attempting to communicate to the public events as fantastical and exotic as cannibalism.

The text also critiques, through the various moments of encounter it constructs, a curiosity about other cultures that inevitably finds itself steeped in both misreading and violence. In his initial encounter with the Taupinierans, Bowman “imagines” them to be children because of their small size (68). Because he “imagines” them to be and misreads them as children, Bowman goes “boldly up to them” and asks them where they live (68). Significantly, he asks this question in the Otaheite language,^{ciix} thus demonstrating another level of misreading in assuming that they are connected with or share the same tongue as the Tahitians. As the Taupinierans respond to his question by running off, Bowman continues, “Both my curiosity and my interest were so much concerned, to know who they were, that I resolved to try if the report of my fuse, would intimidate

them enough to stop their flight” (68). Bowman’s use of the rifle is then reminiscent of Cook’s practice of firing above the heads of the natives: “I fired it up in the air, upon which they all fell down, and lay without motion, thinking no doubt they were killed” (68). Knowing Hawkesworth’s commentary on this practice, however, causes us to see this instance in a more critical light: “when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect.”

This moment sets the tone for Bowman’s encounter with the Taupinierans, or mole people: curiosity quickly leads to violence. Bowman’s “curiosity” leads him to the home of some of the inhabitants, which was strangely dark (69). Listening to the inhabitants eat in the darkness, then retreating back into the fresh air, Bowman’s tone changes to that of disgust with the people he has encountered: “For what society could I have with such stupid and nasty animals? whose language seemed to differ little, from the simple and uniform sounds, with which nature has endued many brutes; and whose habitations were not to be endured by a human creature, bred in decency and cleanliness” (69-70).

Following this declaration, Bowman decides to enter one of the inhabitant’s homes, hoping to find aid in acquiring shelter. Because he wishes to be out of the inhabitants’ shelter as quickly as possible, he rouses one of them from sleep and drags him out into the sunlight (70). Bowman’s actions then take the form of a more scientific observation and experimentation:

When he was in the light, what first drew my attention was his face; which, though of the human form, had some resemblance to a hog; like caricature drawings I had seen. He had a thick bushy beard, and (dirt excepted) was as naked as when he came into the world. No tattooings nor ear or nose ornaments, these people being too sluggish, to have any vanity of that sort. After having satisfied my curiosity, with regard to his form, I made signs to him, that I wanted a cave to sleep in; but he took not the least

notice of them, either by word or gesture; nor had frequent repetitions of those and others, any more effect upon him. Suspecting then that he was still asleep, I spoke loud, but not in a threatening tone: this affected him and convinced me he was awake. After this I tried all the means I could think of, to make him go along with me, but without success. This appearing the effects of sulkiness, I took him by the hand and forced him on; but though he followed, it was like a blind man who depends entirely on his guide. Being much surprised at this phenomenon, I examined his eyes; and to my great surprise, found they resembled those of a mole, more than of a human creature. This discovery seemed to account for the blindness of these people in full light, and their clear-sightedness in the dark; but it was so much out of the common course of nature, that I knew not how to credit it, and therefore left it for further examination. (70,72)

Both the situation and the language of this moment between Bowman and the Taupinieran illustrate a passionate curiosity that takes a violent turn in order to satisfy its desires. The language used to describe the Taupinieran's appearance in the light bears similarities to the descriptions of indigenous peoples in a number of accounts of exploration and encounter.^{cx} When the "creature" fails to immediately satisfy Bowman's desires, his voice grows louder, though certainly "not threatening." Though, it would seem the very act of invading this individual's home, pulling him out into the sunlight, and yelling at him in a foreign tongue would be considered threatening enough. After being "convinced he was awake," Bowman's actions become increasingly aggressive, as he "forces" the Taupinieran on, portraying him, all-the-while, as dependent upon himself "like a blind man" upon his guide. This scene of violent coercion ends in a final observation about the native inhabitant: that his eyes "resemble that of a mole." This scene illustrates the connection between a scientifically-minded curiosity and violence in moments of encounter. In bringing these two aspects of exploration together, *Bowman* highlights their relationship and creates, in the reader's mind, a parallel circumstance, similar to those of Hawkesworth, from which a critical perspective can be taken.

The corruption of vice and violence that follows the rise of cultures of luxury and curiosity are, in *Bowman*, the result of contact and commerce created through voyages like that of Cook. Bowman's travels are then used as a means for launching into a critique of his own home. For instance, as he walks through the city when among the Luxo-voluptans, he notes that the degree of luxury in which the average individual lived, riding along in carriages, "confounded all ranks and degrees of life" (137). However, amidst this array of finery, "there were such numbers of beggars pestering every body who walked, that I could not tell what to make of such a medley" (137). Bowman then continues: "Perhaps, if I had known the capital of my own country (England) a little better, my surprise would not have been so great" (137). The novel, thus, not only takes part in larger cultural debates over luxury and corruption, but also in a literary tradition of critical satire and travel. Its connection of indulgence and luxury to corruption on a global scale echoes the works of Johnathan Swift and Tobias Smollett, who in the voice of Matther Bramble of *Humphry Clinker*, describes the indulgence of society in places such as Bath.

While Lance Bertelsen claims that this novel is a "fictional dramatization of stadial history, inspired by Cook's voyages and with direct connections to the Scottish Enlightenment" (13), I see the text also playing upon the popular and often sensational understanding of the Pacific and contributing to the circulation of ideas about the relationship between the science of exploration and the imagination, as well as the role of fiction within that relationship. Sarah Tindal Kareem contends that fictional works like *Gulliver's Travels* (and, similarly, *Bowman*) actively work to produce wonder through

their structures. She identifies two defamiliarizing techniques through which the novel accomplishes this task: one that exposes the gap between cause and effect and defamiliarizes the process of coming to conclusions, and another that juxtaposes fact and fiction and defamiliarizes the act of reading itself (156). Kareem claims that this process of defamiliarizing leads readers to assert autonomy as producers and not merely passive consumers of illusion (157). *Bowman* is a text engaged in this process of drawing its readers into an active and productive pattern of reading. Through its initial claims at factual accuracy in its introductory letter, to its engagement with accounts of cannibalism on the second Cook voyage, *Bowman* both contributes to the production of illusions about the South Pacific and encourages its readers to take part in those productions, seeing their own behavior reflected in the fictional encounters on *Bowman*'s imaginary voyage. *Bowman*'s engagement with wonder and, more specifically, with fancy, plays an active role in developing the popular understanding of exploration.

Bowman works in conjunction with the official goals and accounts of the voyage, but, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by its genre, completes the journey Cook had set out on by locating the Great Southern Continent. The secret instructions from the Admiralty read: "If you discover Cape Circumcision, you are to satisfy yourself whether it is part of that Southern Continent which has so much engaged the attention of Geographers and former Navigators, or Part of an Island" (*Secret Instructions for Capt Cook, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop Resolution*, 26 June 1772).^{cxii} The instructions then continue to direct Cook, if he indeed finds the continent, to explore it thoroughly, mapping its terrain and observing the "Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the

Natives or Inhabitants.” He is also to befriend them, while always remaining “on guard against any Accident,” taking “possession of convenient Situations in the Country in the Name of the King of Great Britain” with “consent of the Natives” (*Secret Instructions for Capt Cook, Commander of His Majesty’s Sloop Resolution*, 26 June 1772). If no Natives were found on the continent, Cook was to “take possession of it for His Majesty by setting up proper Marks and Inscriptions as the first Discoverers and Possessors.” Thus were Cook’s instructions, and though he ultimately went far enough south to satisfy his belief that no such continent existed, Bowman’s narrative picks up where Cook’s journey left off.

Bowman concludes his narrative: “Thus have I, without any expence to my country, discovered the hitherto supposed, but much doubted of, Great Southern Continent. A fifth division of this Terraqueous Glove, of no inconsiderable magnitude; being (by the best information I could obtain) at least as large as Europe” (181). He then states that he hopes his countrymen don’t use him as poorly as the Spaniards did Columbus and that they will be grateful enough to name the land after him; “Bowmania” is his suggested title (181). The fact that *Bowman* ends on this imagined discovery is significant in that it builds upon a lengthy tradition of the Great Southern Continent as the extent of navigable possibility.^{cxii} Alexander Dalrymple’s *An Account of the Discoveries Made in the South Pacifick Ocean, Previous to 1764*, proposes that there is “more than probably another Continent . . . extending from about 30 degrees S. towards the Pole.”^{cxiii} Dalrymple continues with his claim that the presence of this continent would make sense in the order and distribution of land across the globe because it would help to “maintain the

equilibrium necessary to the earth's motion" (*An Account of the Discoveries Made in the South Pacifick Ocean, Previous to 1764*). The Continent itself then brings together attempts at scientific reasoning (the balance of landmass and the Earth's motion) with the far reaches of the imagination. *Bowman* plays with this relationship, illustrating the unique function of fiction within exploration literature; fiction can draw upon both the "science" of the presence of the Great Southern Continent and upon the possibilities of the imagination, yielding a discovery that the science of navigation failed to offer.^{cxiv}

This places *Bowman* within the tradition of the imaginary voyage and illustrates the important function of fiction and fancy within the science of exploration. Considering fiction written alongside the accounts of the Cook voyages in conjunction with the famous *Voyages Imaginaires*, *The Surprising Adventures of Baron Munchausen*, reveals a similar obsession with truth, or with the marvelous being accepted as truth.

Munchausen begins with an address to The Public, similar to the letter at the opening of *Bowman*. The text reads: "Having heard for the first time, that my adventures have been doubted, and looked upon as jokes, I feel bound to come forward and vindicate my character *for veracity*, by paying three shillings at the Mansion House of this great city for the affidavits hereto appended" (xxxix). The said affidavit, signed at The City of London, reads:

We, the undersigned, as true believers in the profit, do most solemnly affirm, that all the adventures of Baron Munchausen, in whatever country they may lie, are positive and simple facts. And, as we have been believed, whose adventures are tenfold more wonderful, so do we hope all true believers will give him their full faith and credence.
(xl)

It is then signed by Gulliver, Sinbad, and Aladdin. This address to The Public, like that in *Bowman*, plays with the idea of the opening of such accounts as those of Hawkesworth, addressing the public and the likes of Cook and Banks in order to claim authority over the veracity of the narrative. While *Munchausen* is obviously more farcical in its decision to draw upon fictional characters in the affidavit, it nonetheless illustrates a tradition in which *Bowman* is also taking part. Comparing the letter which I discussed at this chapter's opening with this address, however, reveals the ways that *Bowman's* imaginary voyage is itself set apart in its relationship to prominent figures of authority in the scientific world and the world of exploration; *Bowman*, through these relationships, does not only construct a satire of the structure of voyage accounts, but it does so in such a way that causes us to question the function of truth, authority, and reality in the genre itself, highlighting the advantages fiction offers to the official and the satirical alike.

Through examining these various literary responses to the Cook voyages, it is clear that fancy plays a vital role in the public's understanding of the Pacific. Fancy, however, even in this instance, is not entirely flighty, surface-oriented, or uncritical. Fancy, within the context of the literary responses to the Cook voyages, is rooted in the "factual accounts" of the voyage which pave the way for a critical examination of the effects of global exploration and commerce. Fancy also plays a role in establishing the narrator as "adopted citizen of the Southern Hemisphere." This relationship in *Bowman* is the result of a fanciful account and is ultimately an imagined relationship; this, nevertheless, reveals many of the relationships constructed in such narratives and their resulting legacies to be imagined. According to Thomas, Cook's voyages had failed only in the

sense of attempting to find a rumored object, an object of fancy, be it the Great Southern Continent, or the Northwest Passage (the object of the third voyage) (374). Fancy, then played a key role in spurring the concrete efforts and experiences of the Pacific voyages. Looking, finally, to Anna Seward's 1780 "Elegy on Captain Cook," we can see the ways that Romantic poetry begins to manifest the relationships and legacies constructed by both official and fictional accounts of the Cook voyages. This poetic response also reveals the manner in which the public's understanding of the Pacific was deeply dependent upon, not a "flight of fancy," but a fancy rooted in the notion of the authority and veracity of the official, fictional, and popular narratives of the Cook voyages.

The Romantic Legacy of Cook

Seward's "Elegy," like other works discussed in this chapter, draws heavily on narratives and accounts of the Cook voyages. Throughout the poem, Seward includes footnotes, referencing passages from Cook's journals and from accounts of the voyage. Some footnotes provide descriptions of the landscape and of the unique plant and animal life of the islands. In line 66 of the poem, as she writes about the ship making its way through ice, "The floating fragments of the frozen bed," she makes note that the "floating fragments" refers to the passage: "In the course of the last twenty-four hours, we passed through several fields of broken ice; they were in general narrow, but of considerable extent. In one part the pieces of ice were so close, that the ship had much difficulty to *thread* them." She continues in line 72 to describe the icy landscape amid the waves as a "vast ruin." The footnote to this line reads: "The breaking of one of these

immense mountains of ice, and the prodigious noise it made, is particularly described in Cook's second voyage to the south Pole.”

Line 144 mentions one of the most famous and unique animals to have entered the popular imagination after the Cook voyages: the kangaroo. The note to this line reads: “*A playful Kangaroo* .-- The kangaroo is an animal peculiar to those climates. It is perpetually jumping along on its hind legs, its fore legs being too short to be used in the manner of quadrupeds.” This note, with its attention to the kangaroo’s “playfulness,” especially caters to the way that the public would likely imagine the animal. Sydney Parkinson drew the first European drawing of kangaroo in 1770, and it was considered the voyage’s “most famous natural discovery” (Thomas 122). Line 139 contains a footnote that describes New Zealand’s “vegetable silk”: “In New-Zealand is a flag of which the natives make their nets and cordage. The fibres of this vegetable are longer and stronger than our hemp and flax; and some, manufactured in London, is as white and glossy as fine silk . This valuable vegetable will probably grow in our climate.” The mention that the vegetable was both “valuable” and would “probably grow in our climate” is central to the sort of imperial mindset toward botany that Banks advocated. Both the mention of the kangaroo and the New Zealand plant life reflect a mode of thinking about the Pacific world as a place of imaginative (even playful) and economic potential.

As the poem continues, other footnotes address ceremonies and practices particular to the South Pacific. Lines 85-100 describe certain ceremonies particular to New Zealand:

And now antarctic Zealand's drear domain
Frowns, and o'erhangs th' inhospitable main.
On it's chill beach this dove of human-kind
For his long-wand'ring foot short rest shall find,

Bear to the coast the olive-branch in vain,
And quit on wearied wing the hostile plain .---
With jealous low'r the frowning natives view
The stately vessel , and th' advent'rous crew;
Nor fear the brave, nor emulate the good,
But scowl with savage thirst of human blood!
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;
Fann'd in full confidence the friendly flame,
Join'd plighted hands, and name exchang'd for name. (85-100)

The footnote to line 89 reads: “To carry a green branch in the hand on landing, is a pacific signal, universally understood by all the islanders in the South Seas.” This practice, Seward notes, was futile in New Zealand, seemingly undercutting the universality of the symbol mentioned in the note. As the note to line 100 reads, however, some islanders extended friendship to Cook and his men: “The exchange of names is a pledge of amity among these islanders, and was frequently proposed by them to Captain Cook and his people; so also is the joining noses.” Interestingly, here, Seward includes footnotes for two ceremonies of peace and friendship, recorded as being practiced by the peoples of the Pacific. She does not, however, include a note elaborating upon the “savage thirst of human blood!” mentioned in line 94. This is obviously referencing the incidents of cannibalism recorded on and sensationalized by work about the second voyage.

Seward, later in the poem, includes a note alluding to the sensational accounts of sexual practices in Tahiti recorded on the first voyage. Her note, however, turns those initial sensational accounts into a narrative of progress that places Cook at the center of observing increasingly chastened and civilized behavior among the women of Otaheite.

The note to line 171 reads: “*Chastn'd love*.--- Captain Cook observes, in his second voyage, that the women of Otaheite were grown more modest, and that the barbarous practice of destroying their children was lessened.” This note follows the poem’s praise of Cook for prompting these positive changes among the women of Otaheite; he is the “Hero” whose persuasive words have charmed “th’ uncultur’d youth” (163-170).

Throughout the poem, Seward, in making Cook into a hero of Humanity, draws from both narratives of the voyages and from the popular understanding of his various encounters, even as depicted in satirical accounts. In a footnote to line 194, alluding to Cook’s “Morai,” she writes:

The Morai is a kind of funeral altar, which the people of Otaheite raise to the memory of their deceased friends. They bring to it a daily tribute of fruits, flowers, and the plumage of birds. The chief mourner wanders around it in a state of apparent distraction, shrieking furiously, and striking at intervals a shark's tooth into her head. All people fly her, as she aims at wounding not only herself, but others.

This note draws clearly from accounts of mourning on Cook’s first voyage, which included visual depictions of the Morai.^{cxv} Seward, like Williams, whose poem, “The Morai,” I will discuss in the next chapter, draws attention to this ritual of death in the Pacific. In this portion of the poem, however, Seward mixes this image with narratives of the voyages and with a popular understanding of certain characters, like Omai and Oberea,^{cxvi} derived from more sensational and satirical accounts:

Gay Eden of the south, thy tribute pay,
And raise, in pomp of woe, thy Cook's Morai !
Bid mild Omiah bring his choicest stores,
The juicy fruits , and the luxuriant flow'rs ;
Bring the bright plumes , that drink the torrid ray,
And strew each lavish spoil on Cook's Morai !
Come, Oberea, hapless fair-one! come,
With piercing shrieks bewail thy Hero's doom! ---

She comes!---she gazes round with dire survey!---
 Oh! fly the mourner on her frantic way.
 See! see! the pointed ivory wounds that head ,
 Where late the Loves impurpled roses spread;
 Now stain'd with gore, her raven-tresses flow,
 In ruthless negligence of mad'ning woe;
 Loud she laments!---and long the Nymph shall stray
 With wild unequal step round Cook's Morai ! (193-208)

While Omai is mentioned as a key mourner at Cook's funeral altar, Oberea is the more interesting character in this sequence. Taking the place of the women described in Banks's account of South Seas mourning rituals,^{cxvii} she becomes simultaneously a figure from the narrative account and the character from popular satire, mourning her lover. Here, Cook has replaced the role Banks played in the popular literature.

Through drawing upon the accounts, both fictional and factual, of the voyages, Seward illustrates the way that fancy is at work in her construction of the legend and celebrity of Captain Cook. Fancy, essential for the construction of the larger-than-life legacy of Cook, must first draw meaningfully and materially from the archive of literature surrounding his voyages. Seward does this in a manner that highlights the role of the factual, the fictional, the scientific, and the sensational, equally, in building a foundation from which her fancy was able to shape, through the poem, a Hero of epic proportions. Seward constructed a Hero of Humanity who was, even more so, a literary hero of the imagination:

It was Humanity !---on coasts unknown,
 The shiv'ring natives of the frozen zone,
 And the swart Indian, as he faintly strays
 "Where Cancer reddens in the solar blaze,"
 She bade him seek;---on each inclement shore
 Plant the rich seeds of her exhaustless store;
 Unite the savage hearts, and hostile hands,

In the firm compact of her gentle bands ;
Strew her soft comforts o'er the barren plain ,
Sing her sweet lays , and consecrate her fane. (31-40)

As Alan Frost contends, “James Cook played a central part in the evolution of the Romantic imagination because, like his Renaissance counterparts before him, he brought report of a New World at an apposite moment in imaginative history” (91). While his New World was not the *Terra Australis* which he sought, “its imaginative impact was no less massive for this” (Frost 91). While Frost examines a number of reasons for the appeal of the Pacific to the imagination,^{cxviii} it is most important to note his stance that the appeal of the Pacific to the popular imagination was not like is much supposed, inspired wholly by Enlightenment thinking and the appeal of the noble savage, but, is more in line with the Romantic rejection of such notions, with the imaginative move toward the recognition of difference which, Frost contends, “led directly to Romanticism” (92). The information Cook provided, both geographical and human in nature, fueled the imaginations of Romantic poets, like Wordsworth and Coleridge, who “each formulated a theoretical place for travel literature in their poetic endeavor” (Frost 93). For these poets and “for their age, Cook was central to the new imaginative prospects” (Frost 96).^{cxix}

Chapter 4:

Fancy and the Romantic Poetic Imaginings of the Pacific

How does what I have demonstrated about fancy's associations with the material and literary representations of Pacific exploration culture in the previous chapters alter or further develop our understanding of the Romantic imagination, specifically Coleridge's definition of fancy as a flighty, mechanical, or lesser form of the creative imagination? To answer this question, I will now look to a number of examples from Romantic poetry, reading representations of the Pacific and fancy itself through a lens shaped by the nature of the imagination present in the various aspects of Pacific exploration culture explored in this dissertation. Returning to Coleridge's definition of fancy discussed in the introduction (the "passive" or "mechanical" form of the imagination, working in "fixities" and "ready-made materials"), I will propose here, not that Coleridge's definition of fancy is inherently wrong, but that fancy can be more meaningfully understood within the context of Pacific exploration, by taking into consideration what the material and literary culture produced around the Cook voyages has shown us about fancy's relationship to indigeneity, to innovation and female collecting, and to narrative and critique. The workings of fancy within these contexts can be seen in the poetry of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charlotte Smith, Lord Byron, and Helen Maria Williams. With the female poets, in particular, Smith and Williams, we see the development of the relationship of fancy to subjectivity, to perceptions of reality, especially to the darker, transformed, realities of exploration. My work with fancy, here, draws not only from Coleridge, but from other scholars who have more recently recuperated fancy and its role

in Romantic poetry.^{cxx} I look especially to the work of Julie Ellison who connects fancy to sensibility, arguing for fancy's connection to femininity and its capacity for moral critique (244), qualities which will resonate with my readings of Smith and Williams' poetic references to Tahiti. Ellison establishes the perspective on Coleridge's definition that I wish to take in envisioning fancy as "agent of poetic action" and linked to historical change (244, 240). While Ellison argues, however, that fancy "treats experience as matter that can be manipulated but not transformed" (228), I will explore in this chapter the complicated transformative, critical, and creative power of fancy within the context of Pacific exploration.

Coleridge's *Mariner*: Pacific Exploration and the Material Imagination

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner"^{cxxi} is a work deeply connected to the Cook voyages. As Bernard Smith contends in his seminal work on the subject, the course of the voyage of the Ancient Mariner was "determined to a large extent by Coleridge's recollections of accounts of Cook's second voyage" (117). According to Smith, Coleridge's contact with William Wales, who was the astronomer and meteorologist on the *Resolution*, during his time at Christ's Hospital would likely have inspired the poet's use of imagery in the "Mariner." In addition to reading the works of Georg and J.R. Forster^{cxxii} and the accounts of the voyages of Cook, Wallis, and Byron, Coleridge was exposed to Wales's stories of his time at sea with Cook (Smith 124). According to Smith, Wales's influence on Coleridge can be seen in the poet's love for Mathematics and in the very construction of Coleridge's line of critical inquiry: "reason assisted by the stimulus of the Imagination" (Smith 125). Smith contends that

much of Coleridge's interest in "clouds and stars" can be traced to Wales's own writing on atmospheric phenomena (128).

In direct connection to Cook, it seems the very description of Coleridge's "Mariner" draws from the general outline of Cook's second voyage (Smith 131): "How a Ship having passed the Line was driven by storms to the cold Country towards the South Pole; and how from thence she made her course to the tropical Latitude of the Great Pacific Ocean; and of the strange things that befell; and in what manner the Ancyent Mariner came back to his own Country." The ship's voyage into "mist and snow," its experiences of ice, of atmospheric and geographical phenomena, bear striking similarity to accounts of the voyage of the *Resolution* (Smith 132-34). Even Coleridge's use of the albatross has its origins in accounts of the Cook voyage (Smith 136-7); the morality behind the shooting of the bird was, according to Smith, connected to larger moral questions surrounding Cook's second voyage, questions which were especially focused around acts of cannibalism encountered in New Zealand (Smith 138), a subject which I have discussed extensively in chapter 3.

Matthias Rudolph, complicating Smith's argument, contends that, rather than Cook, the most influential text for the "Mariner" was likely George Shevlocke's 1726 *A Voyage Around the World*. Rudolph reads the "Mariner" as mirroring Cook's voyages less in terms of its actual geographical movement and more in terms of its "discovery" of Terra Australis Incognita, an unmappable "discovery" that marked no new territory on the map but that "seamlessly leads to its entirely imaginary event" (192). The Mariner's discovery

of “the silent sea” re-works Cook’s discovery and brings together the two narratives of the ship’s voyage into the unknown and of the mariner’s moral character (195-96).

Both Rudolph and Smith establish connections between Cook’s voyages and their influence on the imagination in “Mariner.”^{cxixiii} Smith takes issue with previous studies of Coleridge by Livingstone Lowes that “begin with words and end with words” (Smith 150). He argues that Coleridge’s creation of the “Mariner” should not be over-intellectualized, but should be seen as the very material result of encounters on Cook’s second voyage, which were shared with Coleridge through Wales at Christ’s Hospital (Smith 151). These events, according to Smith, “established centres of interest in Coleridge’s mind” that directed his later reading and “gave coherence to his recollections” (151). The critical history of the “Mariner” is split between scholars who would argue that it is a poem not meant to be read in terms of symbolism or allegory, and scholars who would read the poem in a highly metaphorical manner.^{cxixiv} Smith’s move to establish the poem’s connections to the literature, and I would contend, also the material visual culture of the Pacific, situates the poem within a school of thought that values the historical and geographical contexts of the period in which the poem was produced: contexts that include the literary and material productions of Pacific exploration and the devastating realities of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Fancy is ultimately able to bring together the value of both the metaphorical and material realities in interpreting the poem through its relationship to the experience (both real and mediated) of exploration.

While Smith mentions the relationship between the recollections of accounts of Pacific exploration and Coleridge’s understanding of memory and the distinction between

Fancy and the Imagination (152), he does not really delve into the ways that Coleridge's recollections of the Pacific voyage accounts are connected to the particular sort of imagination that fancy represents within the constructs of the popular representations of voyages in the Pacific. It is these connections between accounts of Cook's second voyage, Coleridge's imagery in "Mariner,"^{cxxv} and the nature of fancy that I will establish here. Fancy, throughout the poems I will discuss in this chapter, bears differing relationships to reality and meaningfully reflects on the experiences and products of Pacific exploration.

"Mariner" is a work that explores the relationship of fancy to material and metaphorical surface and to the hold of those surfaces on readers of accounts of the Pacific. Much like with the visual, literary, and theatrical representations of Omai's indigeneity discussed in the first chapter, the attention paid to the texture and spectacle of the surface of the eye in the "Mariner" reflects attempts made in accounts of the Pacific to capture the imagination. At the poem's outset, the Mariner holds the wedding guest, first with his "skinny hand" (9), and, when that fails, with his "glittering eye" (13). The Mariner's eye, as we learn in the poem's notations, holds the guest "spell-bound." More importantly, though, the "glittering eye" becomes a physical manifestation of the poem's ability to hold the imagination of the listener/reader. The eye,^{cxxvi} an image recurring throughout the poem with different descriptors, uniquely works as a mode of imaginative representation; the emphasis on the surface of the eye throughout the poem appeals to notions of fancy, while its ability to hold the listener captive appeals to a notion of the

imagination within popular culture, specifically the manner in which descriptions of exotic locations like Tahiti held the minds of the public.

Visual depictions of the Pacific and Pacific peoples have been the subject of scopic, often fetishistic fascination. While Ann Salmond's work details the history of mythological and sexualized representation of the women of Tahiti,^{cxvii} a return to Harriet Guest's work discussed in the first chapter can be useful in placing the role of the "eye" in Coleridge's poem within the context of the Pacific visual representation.^{cxviii} As Guest notes, artists like William Hodges painted the Pacific islanders from a distance, a move connected to the particular desire to view the islands and their people as objects of philosophical reflection (*Empire, Barbarism, and Civilization* 3). Scenes unfold as a landscape, with Tahitian women bathing barely visible in the foreground of the image (see Fig. 4.1). As the visual depiction of Pacific islanders becomes more engaged with the individual, as in the case of visual representations of Omai discussed in chapter 1, we see the individual, drawing the viewers gaze, as the subject. The overwhelming size of Omai in the portrait by Reynolds, for example, displays the oft-fetishized qualities of the Pacific, such as the tapa and the tattoos, but in a way that is strikingly different from the portrayal of the buttocks tattoos of the bathing women in the Hodges painting. While the women and their tattoos become a part of the overwhelming beauty of Hodges' landscape, a part of the whole, Omai stands out as a subject, the brilliance of the folds of the tapa draping his body creates a landscape all its own, highlighting his princely appearance and his famed tattoos.

Considering the prevalence and significance of such representations of the Pacific in popular culture provides a way for us to read Coleridge's "eye," as captured by the visual culture surrounding Pacific representation. These visual images hold the reader captivated and stir the imagination, prompting re-telling and re-imagining; the Mariner enacts this process of visual captivation, both held by his own mind's eye at the memory of the visual dynamics of his voyage, and intent to hold captive the mind's eye of the Wedding Guest, subject to both hearing and visualizing his tale. As Salmond writes of the visual depictions of contact in the Pacific, "Although Europe discovered Tahiti during the Age of Reason, fantasy was far from dead, and the worlds that came together in these meetings were as much imaginative as real" (*Aphrodite's Island* 21). In the symbol of the "eye" and in the poem's depiction throughout of both metaphor and the material experience of the realities of exploration, fancy comes into play; it is fancy that bridges the gaps between the metaphorical and the material, and between imaginative vision of the Pacific and its real consequences.

Matthias Rudolph contends that the poem both engages with and critiques Discovery (185). The critique of Discovery is leveled at not only maritime exploration, but also literature and criticism (185). Rudolph writes, "The question of discovery in the Rime concerns not just the Mariner's discovery of the silent sea, but also the question of how the Rime represents discovery and what it is the Rime discovers (which is not necessarily the same thing the Mariner discovers)" (186). Within this schema of representation, the "eye" becomes the central symbol. Rudolph contends that an issue in representing discovery within the poem lies in the multiple layers of information and the blurring of

distinctions and boundaries between the various versions of the narrative; these blurred layers of narration, however, are united by the eye, as it recurs throughout the poem. “Glittering,” “bright,” “stony,” and “glazed,” the eye’s many surfaces are used to demonstrate the hold of the Mariner over the wedding guest and the hold of the Mariner’s imagination over them both. The Mariner “stops” and “holds” the wedding guest with his “glittering eye” (3, 13). As the Mariner’s story progresses and he describes to the wedding guest a period of life-in-death, it is the Mariner’s “glittering eye” and the color of his hand that the wedding guest indicates as the sources of his fear: “I fear thee and thy glittering eye, / and thy skinny hand so brown” (229-30).^{cxxix} The Mariner’s eye is “bright,” as the wedding guest listens to his tale, as he “cannot choose but hear,” though he “beats his breast” in resistance (18-20, 37-40). As the narrative progresses, we meet other sets of eyes: those of the sailors and the dead. These eyes are “glazed” (144, 146) and “stony” (437); from them emanates a curse, that has hold of the Mariner (216, 261). The “glazed” and “stony” eyes of the dead men have their own hold over the Mariner’s imagination and his telling of the story. The “stony” eyes that “in the Moon did glitter” (437-8) keep the Mariner from drawing his eyes from theirs or “turn[ing] them up to pray” (441-2). The eyes, glittering as the Mariner’s eyes glitter before the wedding guest, keep his mind from wandering from what is immediately before him, preventing it from soaring to heaven or contemplating its surroundings.

The emphasis on the surface of the eye plays with fancy’s association with surface, as we have seen with the discussion of Omai in Chapter 1, as well as with its materiality;^{cxxx} however, the capability of the surfaces of the eye to hold the Mariner’s and the wedding

guest's minds in place, so to speak, seems opposed to fancy's flighty nature. The eye, with its various eye-catching surfaces, holding the wedding guest and the Mariner, seems to complicate Coleridge's notion of fancy as passive or mechanical, as "the ape" and "counterfeitor of memory" (*Biographia Literaria* Conclusion). Both the Mariner and the wedding guest are made subject to fancy's workings, to the spectral and atmospheric phenomena experienced by the Mariner, and, secondhand, by the wedding guest, who leaves the narrative "forlorn," a "sadder and a wiser man" (624-5). Both the Mariner and the wedding guest emerge from their forced flight of fancy transformed by the experience, which would seem to indicate the workings, not of fancy, but of a "vital" and transformative Imagination (*Biographia Literaria* Ch. XIII). The emphasis on the surface of the eye and the narrative's reliance upon the Cook voyage accounts, however, draws this into question.

Returning to the well-researched conclusions of Smith, that Coleridge did in fact draw much of the imagery from accounts of Cook's voyage on the *Resolution*, the fantastic elements of the tale seem rather built from "ready made materials" (*Biographia Literaria* Ch. XIII). Rather than being passive, as fancy is thought to be, however, the poem shows Fancy's creative abilities. Coleridge writes:

Fancy, on the contrary, has no other counters to play with, but fixities and definites. The Fancy is indeed no other than a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space; while it is blended with, and modified by that empirical phenomenon of the will, which we express by the word choice. But equally with the ordinary memory the Fancy must receive all its materials ready made from the law of association. (Ch. XIII)

Fancy draws from memory of what has been previously read about the Cook voyages and places that memory in the narrative outside of time and space (*Biographia Literaria* Ch.

XIII), in the realm of the fantastic, where dead men come to life with “stony” and “glittering” eyes. The narrative is a product of fancy, of this sort of reproduction of remembered material, but its transformative power and its hold on the reader/listener complicates fancy’s presumed passivity. From the material and literary productions of the Cook voyages, Coleridge actively creates something new; he draws from the phenomenal descriptions of the voyage to the Pacific to build a fantastic tale from which neither the Mariner nor the wedding guest can turn away. Fancy is not “the ape,” merely regurgitating the information from the Cook accounts; fancy creates a spectral world from those accounts, building upon reality and playing upon the effects of Pacific narratives in the imaginations of the public.

The eye’s ability to “hold” the reader through this story of the Pacific connects with the public’s fascination with Tahiti, with the ways the real location was met with fantastic transformation. We see this with the success of Hawkesworth’s account discussed in my previous chapter, as well as with stories like *Hildebrand Bowman*. “Mariner,” thus, exemplifies a fanciful imagination rooted in accounts of Pacific exploration. It speaks to the legacy of Pacific encounter in Romantic poetry and its role in shaping the depiction of the imagination and the experience of the reader.

Smith’s Tahiti: Fancy as the Foundation for Perspective

Turning now to Charlotte Smith’s “Beachy Head,” I will examine the ways that references to physical locations in the Pacific, like Tahiti, relied upon a public imagination formed out of an understanding of Pacific accounts. This reliance results in the creation of an imaginative mode within the poem that further complicates our

understanding of fancy. Returning to Ellison's work on fancy, we can see with Smith the ways that this mode of the imagination is connected to both female creativity and to "the capacity for reflection and moral critique" (244). Fancy provides a perspective on the flaws of historical change and action in time, spurring a process of interiorization and elevating perspective (240).

Fancy is at the heart of the public's understanding of the Pacific; it has shaped that understanding, as I've demonstrated throughout this dissertation. It becomes increasingly complex, however, when we consider the way that Smith is relying on this fanciful understanding as a basis for being able to critique the practices of sailors and indigenous people in the Pacific. Understanding Tahiti in fanciful terms as another Eden is essential to understanding the real corruption of Tahitian health and welfare by Europeans during this period of encounter. Fancy does not take flight in Smith's poem, but within the constructs of Pacific encounter, fancy lays the groundwork for a deeper understanding of the reality and effects of that encounter.

"Beachy Head" is Smith's response to Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" (Labbe 19).^{cxxxix} From the vantage point of Beachy Head, Smith's eye and imagination wander, exploring foreign lands, observing the lives of individuals, the fates of characters, and contemplating the movements of history.^{cxxxix} She examines the concepts of happiness, of solitude, of dream and of memory in a narrowing focus, from the vastness of the ocean to the minuteness of sea-shells. According to Jaqueline Labbe, Smith establishes in "Beachy Head" "a poetic self who manipulates public perceptions of gender and behaviour" (19).^{cxxxix} Within this poem, according to Labbe, Smith presents a more "assertive,

authoritative persona,” as she “preserves a persona reliant on a multiplied sense of self” (143).

In contemplating the fate of one of the poem’s embodied speakers, the visionary, who holds fast to “phantoms of unreal delight, visions of fond delirium” (649-50), Smith enters into a meaningful description of Tahiti:

The visionary, nursing dreams like these,
Is not indeed unhappy. Summer woods
Wave over him, and whisper as they wave,
Some future blessings he may yet enjoy.
And as above him sail the silver clouds,
He follows them in thought to distant climes,
Where, far from the cold policy of this,

Dividing him from her he fondly loves,
He, in some island of the southern sea,
May haply build his cane-constructed bower
Beneath the bread-fruit, or aspiring palm,
With long green foliage rippling in the gale.
Oh! let him cherish his ideal bliss—
For what is life, when Hope has ceas'd to strew
Her fragile flowers along its thorny way?
And sad and gloomy are his days, who lives
Of Hope abandon'd! (655-670)

As Labbe argues, “Beachy Head” is a poem that “embodies a hybrid poetry, where facts are grafted onto verse, where history takes on different guises depending on its placement” (161). Smith creates here a vision of Tahiti very much in line with images and illustrations produced by William Hodges and others, which were included in popular accounts of Cook’s voyages. Tahiti in this passage, with its palms, bread-fruit trees, and other foliage, with the visionary in his “cane-constructed bower,” follows its depiction as an Eden before the Fall.

Looking to the illustration of Tahiti by Hodges on Cook's second voyage (see Fig. 4.1), we can see in the rosy hues, the palms blowing in the breeze, and the tattooed bathing beauties in the foreground, a visual depiction of this Earthly paradise. Bernard Smith contends that a number of Hodges' illustrations show Hodges mingling "the memories of his feelings on location" with "his empirical vision" (*Imagining* 72). These very "imaginative recastings" of the Pacific were attacked in a manner similar to the attacks on Hawkesworth's account of Cook's first voyage (Smith *Imagining* 72). As Smith writes, "Hodges aspired to the production of an alternative dream—of Tahiti as a tropical paradise of sunshine and sensuous, liberated women—even more beautiful, more tempting than Italy" (*Imagining* 132). In this way, Hodges' illustrations added to the visions of the public imagination, already-fueled by the account of Hawkesworth (Smith *Imagining* 132). Hodges, however, was forced to temper the vision of Tahiti to prevent too strong an association with the liberties advocated by French radicals; therefore, we can see also in this painting a shrouded corpse on a platform in the background (Smith *Imagining* 132). Hodges, thus, introduces the reality of death into the image of paradise, a move we will see repeated in the work of Smith and Williams.

Charlotte Smith draws from these fanciful constructions of Tahiti in the popular imagination to illustrate her visionary's seemingly escapist fantasies. These dreams, however, do not leave him unhappy; the Tahiti constructed by Fancy in Smith's poem has substance and purpose: it instills hope in the dreamer, "strews flowers along its [life's] thorny ways." In the following section, Smith provides a description of what one's life might look like without such dreams:

Just beneath the rock
Where Beachy overpeers the channel wave,
Within a cavern mined by wintry tides
Dwelt one, who long disgusted with the world
And all its ways, appear'd to suffer life

Rather than live; the soul-reviving gale,
Fanning the bean-field, or the thymy heath,
Had not for many summers breathed on him;
And nothing mark'd to him the season's change,
Save that more gently rose the placid sea,
And that the birds which winter on the coast
Gave place to other migrants; save that the fog,
Hovering no more above the beetling cliffs
Betray'd not then the little careless sheep
On the brink grazing, while their headlong fall
Near the lone Hermit's flint-surrounded home,
Claim'd unavailing pity; for his heart
Was feelingly alive to all that breath'd;
And outraged as he was, in sanguine youth,
By human crimes, he still acutely felt
For human misery. (671-691)

The Hermit “suffers life,” having closed himself off to the world before him, yet he is alive to human suffering. This passage, following from the passage on Tahiti, seems to suggest that fancy itself can breed compassion. The Hermit, though void of the hopeful dreams of the visionary and separated from the world, is still able to feel “for human misery.” Fancy, in terms of Tahiti, offers a hopeful escape that adds pleasure to life; fancy, for the Hermit, takes a different form. The outrage felt at “human crimes” in his youth seems to remain ever before him, much like the horrifying scene of cannibalism in *Bowman* remains forever before the narrator’s mind. Through Fancy, the experience of horrifying events seems to mechanically replay itself. For the Hermit, however, this is not a passive experience, but it is an experience that creates a bond with other sufferers, one

that leads him in the following stanza to rescue mariners in distress from the raging sea (710-707).

For Smith, then, Fancy lays the foundations for action. This takes the form of critique within “Beachy Head,” as she uses the fanciful ideal of Tahiti as Earthly paradise as a vantage point from which to critique value systems on both sides of the Pacific. The note she includes alongside the passage referencing Tahiti reads:

An allusion to the visionary delights of the newly discovered islands (Polynesia, particularly Tahiti),^{cxxxiv} where it was first believed men lived in a state of simplicity and happiness; but where, as later enquiries have ascertained, that the exemption from toil, which the fertility of the country gives them, produces the grossest vices; and a degree of corruption that late navigators think will end in the extirpation of the whole people in a few years.

Here Smith engages with the reality of the political corruption,^{cxxxv} as well as, possibly, the disease spreading throughout the Pacific islands as a result of contact with Europeans. The “vices” she refers to may be alluding to passages like this from Cook’s journal of the first voyage regarding the Arreoyo:^{cxxxvi}

One amusement or custom more I must mention, though I confess I do not expect to be believed, it is founded upon a Custom so inhuman and contrary to the Principles of human nature. It is this: that more than one half of the better sort of the inhabitants have enter'd into a resolution of injoying free liberty in Love, without being Troubled or disturbed by its consequences. These mix and Cohabit together with the utmost freedom, and the Children who are so unfortunate as to be thus begot are smother'd at the Moment of their Birth; many of these People contract intimacies and live together as man and wife for years, in the course of which the Children that are born are destroy'd. They are so far from concealing it that they look upon it as a branch of freedom upon which they Value themselves. They are called Arreoyo, and have meetings among themselves, where the men amuse themselves with Wrestling, etc., and the Women in dancing the indecent dance before-mentioned, in the course of which they give full Liberty to their desires, but I believe keep up to the appearance of decency. I never see one of these meetings; Dr. Monkhouse saw part of one, enough to make him give Credit to what we had been told. Both sexes express the most indecent ideas in conversation without the least emotion, and they delight in such conversation beyond any other. Chastity, indeed, is but little valued, especially among

the middle people—if a Wife is found guilty of a breach of it her only punishment is a beating from her husband. The Men will very readily offer the Young Women to Strangers, even their own Daughters, and think it very strange if you refuse them; but this is done merely for the sake of gain. (*Cook Journal During His First Voyage Round the World*)

While the practices Cook describes were part of the arioi way of life, this instance in Cook's journal would easily fall in with other accounts of Tahitian sexual practice (often misinterpreted), all sensational in the public's imagination. Such practices may have been read by Smith and others as resulting from the "idleness" of living in an Earthly paradise. When stating that such idleness has led to "a degree of corruption that late navigators think will end in the extirpation of the whole people in a few years," Smith, in addition to alluding to the political corruption Georg Forster predicted would arise from the growing inequality in Tahiti, may also be referring to the spreading of venereal disease through contact with Europeans. It is not merely the "idleness" and "vice" of the peoples of the Pacific that have led to devastation, but it is also clearly the problems resulting from contact, the corruption that occurred in many forms; the notion of the Earthly paradise both drove the desire for heightened contact and facilitated its demise.

Smith's engagement with both the real and the imagined Tahiti allows us to see a relationship between fancy, history and the goals of exploration.^{cxxxvii} Smith sets up corruption in the note alongside the visionary's dreams of Tahiti that provide hope. Her note and its critique rely upon the Tahiti of popular imagining but undercut the notion that such an Earthly paradise can exist within reality. The dreams of the Pacific, then, when read alongside the note, lend naturally to the sort of world the Hermit envisions. Paradise is exchanged for the horrific crimes of humanity: the spread of corruption and

disease among the people of the Pacific. Fancy, however, plays a substantial role in providing the material for both critique and for action. Without the Tahiti of the imagination, the resonance of the horrors of corruption and devastation would be muted. The juxtaposition of the real with the desire for the hope of the imagined allows the horrors of the devastation to play before the mind's eye; like the Hermit, Smith's readers are left contemplating the horrific crimes humanity wreaked upon the paradise of the Pacific.

Fancy in "Beachy Head" is active and produces material, historically-valuable, and life-sustaining results. It is fancy that initially goes forth, prompting the poem's movement and contemplation of the location's geological history:^{cxviii}

On thy stupendous summit, rock sublime!
That o'er the channel rear'd, half way at sea
The mariner at early morning hails,
I would recline; while Fancy should go forth,
And represent the strange and awful hour
Of vast concussion; when the Omnipotent
Stretch'd forth his arm, and rent the solid hills,
Bidding the impetuous main flood rush between

The rifted shores, and from the continent
Eternally divided this green isle. (1-10)

It is Fancy that "represents" the division of the "isle" from the continent. Fancy must not only reach back in time, but it must also look, as the day ends and the sun sets on a world of natural beauty but where "Man, for such gaudes and baubles, violate[s] / The sacred freedom of his fellow man" (58-59), to visions of inspiration:

Thither aspiring Fancy fondly soars,

Wandering sublime thro' visionary vales,
Where bright pavilions rise, and trophies, fann'd

By airs celestial; and adorn'd with wreaths
Of flowers that bloom amid elysian bowers. (85-89)

Fancy soars to the glories of the classical period and, then, returns with the onset of night to the lives of fishermen, returning from their daily task (100-103), where, from the harbor, with the help of Memory, the imagination alights on the violent history of the place. Memory and fancy contemplate Beachy Head's connection to the invasion of the Normans and other menacing conquests:

And bid recording Memory unfold
Her scroll voluminous bid her retrace
The period, when from Neustria's hostile shore
The Norman launch'd his galleys, and the bay
O'er which that mass of ruin frowns even now
In vain and sullen menace, then received
The new invaders; a proud martial race,
Of Scandinavia the undaunted sons,
Whom Dogon, Fier-a-bras, and Humfroi led
To conquest: while Trinacria to their power
Yielded her wheaten garland; and when thou,

Parthenope ! within thy fertile bay
Receiv'd the victors
In the mailed ranks
Of Normans landing on the British coast
Rode Taillefer; and with astounding voice
Thunder'd the war song daring Roland sang
First in the fierce contention: vainly brave,
One not inglorious struggle England made
But failing, saw the Saxon heptarchy
Finish for ever. Then the holy pile,
Yet seen upon the field of conquest, rose,
Where to appease heaven's wrath for so much blood,
The conqueror bade unceasing prayers ascend,
And requiems for the slayers and the slain.
But let not modern Gallia form from hence

Presumptuous hopes, that ever thou again,
Queen of the isles! shalt crouch to foreign arms. (119-145)

Fancy allows the poet to contemplate not only the natural beauty of this landscape, but also the very real, uglier aspects of its history of conquest and war.

As the poem progresses, fancy is shown to capture not only the breathtaking, sweeping views the poet remembers, but also the minute observation of elements of the landscape's natural history.

Ah! hills so early loved! in fancy still
I breathe your pure keen air; and still behold
Those widely spreading views, mocking alike
The Poet and the Painter's utmost art.

And still, observing objects more minute,
Wondering remark the strange and foreign forms
Of sea-shells; with the pale calcareous soil
Mingled, and seeming of resembling substance.
Tho' surely the blue Ocean (from the heights
Where the downs westward trend, but dimly seen)
Here never roll'd its surge. Does Nature then
Mimic, in wanton mood, fantastic shapes
Of bivalves, and in wreathed volutes, that cling
To the dark sea-rock of the wat'ry world?
Or did this range of chalky mountains, once
Form a vast bason, where the Ocean waves
Swell'd fathomless? What time these fossil shells,
Buoy'd on their native element, were thrown
Among the imbedding calx: when the huge hill
Its giant bulk heaved, and in strange ferment

Grew up a guardian barrier, 'twixt the sea
And the green level of the sylvan weald. (368-389)

Fancy is able to bring the vastness of the “hills so early loved,” the “widely spreading views” that defy even the talent of the Poet and Painter to accurately convey, together with the particular and minute observation of the smallest seashells. Fancy, here, has the power, in its flightiness, to move quickly from the contemplation of the remembered landscape to the study of “fossil shells” that mysteriously line the cliffs of Beachy Head.

Fancy allows the poet to examine and question the presence of the shells, then to dream of a past where the land she knows so well was covered in water.

Fancy brings these two important perspectives together in the poem and is responsible for the poet's ability to examine her feelings on the natural history of the landscape and, ultimately, to launch into a critique of the foundation for and usefulness of Science in the life of the common man.^{cxxxix}

Ah! very vain is Science' proudest boast,
And but a little light its flame yet lends
To its most ardent votaries; since from whence
These fossil forms are seen, is but conjecture,
Food for vague theories, or vain dispute,
While to his daily task the peasant goes,
Unheeding such inquiry; with no care
But that the kindly change of sun and shower,
Fit for his toil the earth he cultivates.
As little recks the herdsman of the hill,
Who on some turfy knoll, idly reclined,
Watches his wether flock; that deep beneath
Rest the remains of men, of whom is left

No traces in the records of mankind,
Save what these half obliterated mounds
And half fill'd trenches doubtfully impart
To some lone antiquary; who on times remote,
Since which two thousand years have roll'd away,
Loves to contemplate. He perhaps may trace,
Or fancy he can trace, the oblong square
Where the mail'd legions, under Claudius, rear'd,
The rampire, or excavated fossé delved;
What time the huge unwieldy Elephant
Auxiliary reluctant, hither led,
From Afric's forest glooms and tawny sands,
First felt the Northern blast, and his vast frame
Sunk useless; whence in after ages found,
The wondering hinds, on those enormous bones
Gaz'd; and in giants dwelling on the hills
Believed and marvell'd (390-419)

While the peasant and the herdsman's lives exist upon the very surfaces that could reveal such marvelous pasts, it is the "lone antiquary" who "loves to contemplate," "to trace," or "fancy he can trace" the history of the place in the "half obliterated mounds." While "vague theories" and "vain disputes" of science might not affect the day to day activities of those who look to the earth as the source of their livelihood, the antiquary who inquires further of the very ground upon which he treads is launched, by fancy, into contemplation of both the historical and the fantastic: the "mail'd legions of Claudius," and the "unwieldy Elephant," enough to make one "Believe and marvel."

Just before Smith brings in Tahiti, in her initial descriptions of "the lonely man," "The Shepherd of the Hill," "the hermit,"^{exl} she alludes to the relationship of Fancy to Hope and to the material world:

Yet otherwhile it seem'd as if young Hope
Her flattering pencil gave to Fancy's hand,
And in his wanderings, rear'd to sooth his soul
Ideal bowers of pleasure--Then, of Solitude
And of his hermit life, still more enamour'd,
His home was in the forest; and wild fruits

And bread sustain'd him. (556-562)

The hermit is sustained in his wanderings equally by a fancy fueled by hope and by the "wild fruits / And bread" of his forest home. Just as the fruit, the bread, and the forest provide what is necessary for the hermit to sustain life in his isolated surroundings, so fancy sustains the life of his mind and spirit through turning his surroundings into sources of hope, solace, and pleasure.

Throughout "Beachy Head," Smith's use of fancy shows it to be, not an "ape" or a "mechanical" process of the roaming mind, but a meaningful source of inspiration.

Interestingly, as Ivan Ortiz points out, even in Smith's sonnet, "To Fancy," we can see the "tension" at work "between thinking about fancy as a fictionalizing medium and as a sensory organ of dynamic geographic vision" (255). This continues to play out in the tension between Tahiti as fictional paradise and Tahiti as a place plagued by potential corruption and the realities of contact with Europeans. Fancy offers dual perspective, prompts extended contemplation, and sustains life. Not just a secondary or lesser imaginative form, fancy in Smith's poem draws on the things remembered, the "hills so early loved!", and allows the poet to consider remembered locations and objects from a variety of viewpoints that could not co-exist in reality. Fancy draws from reality and returns to reality, but, in the process, creates something new: a creative and material experience of the past and present, of vastness and minuteness, of reality and visions of possibility. Smith's dealings with fancy, both in terms of Tahiti and also in its varying appearances throughout the poem, show it to be a function of the imagination that draws repeatedly from the worlds of exploration, of science, and of natural history in order to offer the reader new modes of thinking about the natural landscape and one's place in the world. Fancy helps to navigate the movement between the poet's subjectivity and the outside world, to bridge the gap between the poet and reader as spectators of historical change, placing them both amid the unfolding scenes and opening up the possibility for critique.

Byron's "The Island": The Mutiny on the Bounty as a Flight of Fancy

Turning to Byron's poem, "The Island or, Christian and His Comrades," we are presented with a Romantic heroic version of the mutiny on the Bounty. In advertising the

poem, Byron claims to have drawn from two main works: *A Narrative of the Mutiny on board H.M.S. Bounty, and the Subsequent Voyage of . . . the Ship's Boat from Tafoa, on the Friendly Islands, to Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the East Indies, written by Lieutenant William Blight, 1790*; and *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, Compiled and Arranged from the Extensive Communications of Mr. William Mariner*, by John Martin, 1817. In the Preface to John Barrow's later factual account of the mutiny, *The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H.M.S. Bounty: Its Cause and Consequences*, he writes of the people of the Pacific, like many before him, as Eden before the Fall. He states, "The discovery of this happy people, as unexpected as it was accidental, and all that regards their condition and history, partake so much of the romantic, as to render the story not ill adapted for an epic poem" (x). He then goes on to state how Lord Byron had written such a work, "but by blending two incongruous storied, and leaving both of them imperfect, and by mixing up fact with fiction" (x). He regards this attempt by Byron as "less felicitous than usual; for beautiful as many passages in his 'Island' are, in a region where every tree, and flower, and fountain breathe poetry, yet as a whole the poem is feeble and deficient in dramatic effect" (x). Barrow, thus, begins his chapter on Otaheite with passages from the "Island" that describe the region that so "breathes poetry":

The Gentle Island, and the genial soil,
 The friendly hearts, the feasts without a toil,
 The courteous manners, but from nature caught,
 The wealth unhoarded, and the love unbought, (Canto I, part VI)

The bread-tree, which, without the ploughshare, yields,
 The unrep'd harvest of unfurrow'd fields,
 and bakes its unadulterated loaves

Without a furnace in unpurchased groves,
And flings off famine from its fertile breast,
A priceless market for the gathering guest. (Canto II, part XI)

In pulling out these passages describing Tahiti, Barrow perpetuates the fanciful notions of the Pacific that had captured the public's imaginations before beginning his own insistently fact-based record of the mutiny on the *Bounty*. He recognizes through these passages what Byron had done well in his poem, depicting the beauty of Tahiti, a beauty which naturally lent itself to poetry. His criticisms of Byron, however, are founded in terms of dramatic effect, if that is what we are looking for in the account of the mutiny.

Thinking further about Barrow's criticism that Byron "mixed up fact and fiction," I'd like to suggest, based upon my readings of other literary works about the Cook voyages and the Pacific in the previous chapter, that we look at this poem as responding to a manner of thinking about accounts of the Pacific that inherently blended the two. Even Barrow seems to blend the two in regard to Otaheite, when he includes Byron's verse. While Byron's poem might fail, then, in terms of its "dramatic effect," perhaps it illustrates something about the relationship between the events of the mutiny and the popular imaginings of the Pacific that sparked those events. Looking closely at the descriptions of the mutiny in "The Island," it becomes clear that Byron hasn't merely chosen to tell the story of what had happened, but has shown the ways that the mutiny was itself a flight of fancy.

From its outset, the mutiny is depicted by Byron in terms of the power of the Pacific to enchant. The leader of the mutiny is framed as "the self-elected Chief" (I.VI). As the "melancholy crew" awaits their "Chief," they are seemingly transformed from mutineers

into islanders by their faithfulness to the mutiny (I.VII.). The mutineers, upon committing their crime, cry, “Huzza! for Otaheite!” (I.VI.). Byron follows up their cry by commenting, “How strange such shouts from sons of Mutiny!” (I.VI.). These lines appear just before the opening passage from Barrow’s chapter: “The gentle island, and the genial soil. . .” The passage used by Barrow appears in a different light, when considered in its full context, preceded by the mutineers cheering for Otaheite, and followed by the lines: “Could these have charms for rudest sea-boys, driven / Before the mast by every wind of heaven?” (I.VI.) Byron isn’t just presenting the beautiful vision of Tahiti that Barrow sees in the poem; he is presenting that vision in terms of its direct effect on the mutineers. It is the vision of Tahiti, its charms, that drive the “sea boys” in their mutiny, in their desire for “repose” on the island of Otaheite (I.VI.). The hold of Tahiti on the imagination transforms their mutiny into an act of allegiance to the island that has such hold of their imaginations.

As the poem progresses, the mutineers are depicted as transformed by their time on the island. The sailors’ mutiny not only results in the experience of Tahiti as a plentiful paradise, but it also can be seen as the result of popular depictions of Tahiti as such. The initial relationship between the mutineers and the people of the island is one characterized by mutual wonder:

The white man landed!—need the rest be told?
The New World stretched its dusk hand to the Old;
Each was to each a marvel, and the tie
Of wonder warmed better sympathy. (I.IXI)

The mutineers experience the bounty and the repose of the South Seas: “The chace, the race, the liberty to roam, / The soil where every cottage showed a home / . . . The healthy

slumber earned by sportive toil (II.XI). They are free to enjoy “The Cava Feast, the Yam, the Cocoa’s root, / Which bears at once the cup, the milk, and fruit” (II.XI.), to experience “A priceless market,” along with the “airy joys of social solitudes” (II.XI). These luxuries “Tamed each wanderer to the sympathies / Of those who were more happy, if less wise,” and “Did more than Europe’s discipline had done, And civilized Civilization’s son!” (II.XI). This section surrounds the second portion of the passage introducing Barrow’s chapter on Otaheite, which sets up the fanciful vision of Otaheite as a place of freedom and plenty (“The Bread-tree, which, without the ploughshare yields...”). This bounty that transforms the mutineers, that civilizes them in a way the “discipline” of Europe never could, clearly reflects the Tahiti of popular imagining, the Tahiti reflected in the opening of Barrow’s chapter, and the Tahiti which drove the sailors to mutiny in their desire for it.

Byron depicts Fancy as fundamental to nature in both Europe and the Pacific. He paints the mutineer, Torquil’s, love for the Island in terms of his initial love of nature in the British Isles:

He who first met the Highland’s swelling blue
Will love each peak that shows a kindred hue,
Hail in each crag a friend’s familiar face,
and clasp the mountain in his Mind’s embrace. (II.XII.)

After a description of the beauties of the various sites Torquil had known and loved at home, across the Ocean, he continues:

Forgive me Phoebus! That my fancy strayed;
The North and Nature taught me to adore
Your scenes sublime, from those beloved before. (II.XII)

The mutineers' desire for and embrace of the beauty of Tahiti is, thus, depicted in a manner akin to fancy, as having resulted from memory of past sublime experiences. For the mutineers in Tahiti, fancy takes the familiar memory and alights on a new plane, driving the transformation of the mutineers in the new landscape in a manner that apparently had not been possible in the sublime landscapes of Europe. The sublimity of the Pacific, found in the experience of "love which maketh all things fond and fair," of "youth which makes one rainbow of the air," and of: "The mutual beauty, which the sternest feel," continues to transform Torquil:

No more thundering memory of the flight
Wrapped his weaned bossom in its dark delight;
No more irksome restlessness of Rest
Disturbed him like the eagles in her nest,
...
His heart was tamed to that voluptuous state,
At once Elysian and effeminate. (II.XIII)

It is not only the spirit that is transformed in Tahiti, but it is also the physical appearance of the mutineers. The description of Ben Bunting captures the way that the mutineer's body also became thoroughly engaged in and transformed by this flight of fancy. Ben Bunting's appearance^{cxli} illustrates the mutineer's participation in the freedoms offered by the Pacific that transform his sailor's uniform and European body into the fancied image of the beachcomber:^{cxlii}

Through the approaching darkness of the wood
A human figure broke the solitude,
Fantastically, it may be, arrayed,
A seaman in a savage masquerade;
...
Our sailor's jacket, though in ragged trim,
His constant pipe, which never yet burned dim,
His foremast air, and somewhat rolling gait,

Like his dear vessel, spoke his former state;
 But then a sort of kerchief round his head,
 Not over tightly bound, nor nicely spread;
 And, 'stead of trowsers (ah! too early torn!
 For even the mildest woods will have their thorn)
 A curious sort of somewhat scanty mat
 Now served for inexpressibles and hat;
 His naked feet and neck, and sunburnt face,
 Perchance might suit alike with either race.
 His arms were all his own, our Europe's growth,
 Which two worlds bless for civilising both;
 The musket swung behind his shoulders broad,
 And somewhat stooped by his marine abode,
 But brawny as the boar's; and hung beneath
 His cutlass drooped, unconscious of a sheath,
 Or lost or worn away; his pistols were
 Linked to his belt, a matrimonial pair—
 (Let not this metaphor appear a scoff,
 Though one missed fire, the other would go off);
 These, with a bayonet, not so free from rust
 As when the arm-chest held its brighter trust,
 Completed his accoutrements, as Night
 Surveyed him in his garb heteroclite. (II.XX)

He is a “seaman in a savage masquerade.” His ensemble includes, still, his sailor’s jacket and pipe, though in sad state. His skin and “naked feet and neck,” in their sunburnt and uncovered state, “might suit alike with either race.” In addition to his sailor’s jacket, the objects in his possession, like his pistols, musket and bayonet, are reminders of his mutiny. As possessions he no longer needs on the plentiful and free paradise of Tahiti, they have been transformed, just like his skin and his clothing: one pistol now misfires and the bayonet has succumbed to rust.

The mutineers’ flight of fancy has left them, in a very real sense, without a home when the navy returns for them:

The mutineers were crushed, dispersed, or ta’en,
 Or lived to deem the happiest were slain,

Few, few escaped, and these were hunted o'er
The isle they loved beyond their native shore.
No further home was theirs, it seemed on earth,
Once renegades to that which gave them birth. (III.I)

In fact, at the outset of their mutiny, the sailors are described as “new-born” (I.VI). This is in contrast to Captain Bligh, who is described shortly after as “sea-born,” as he floats off, set adrift by the mutineers (I.VII). The land of their birth becomes less relevant in the face of the Pacific paradise than their new birth as “heroes” in their pursuit of their fantasy of freedom and plenty on the island (I.VI).

As the remaining mutineers fight for their freedom, Torquil’s wound is described in terms that indicate that the greatest blow was not to his body but to his spirit: “Some paces further Torquil leaned his head / Against a bank, and spoke not, but he bled--/ Not mortally:--his worst wound was within” (III.IV). Death is preferable to the end of the fantasy, to the cessation of freedom. As Christian cries out, “For me, my lot is what I sought; to be, / In life or death, the fearless and free” (III.VI). This desire for the freedom to live out the lives that fancy had driven them to and transformed them through leads them to “fly,” rather than surrender. It is “more than Life or lives” that powers the speed of Torquil and his love, Neuha’s canoe (III.X).

Interestingly, the jump from Torquil and Neuha as fugitives to characters of legend and fantasy is not far. When they cannot be found, their disappearance is described in mythic terms. Torquil had “melted from them like spray” (IV.IV). He is called “the Pilgrim of the Deep,” and it is thought he had disappeared “following the Nereid” (IV.V):

Did they with Ocean’s sovereigns dwell,
And sound with Mermen the fantastic shell?
Did Neuha with the mermaids comb her hair

Flowing o'er ocean as it streamed in air? (IV.V)

The identity of the native islander, as represented by Neuha, is shown to be almost interchangeable with a fantastic identity as a creature of the seas:

Young Neuha plunged into the deep, and he
Followed: her track beneath her native sea
Was as a native's of the element,
So smoothly—bravely—brilliantly she went,
Leaving a streak of light behind her heel,
Which struck and flashed like an amphibious steel (IV.VI)

Neuha seems just as much a native of the ocean, a mermaid, as in the section previous, as she is a native of the island. Torquil, following her, is described as “the nursling of the northern seas” (IV.VI). They are later compared to a young Chief and his “Mermaid bride” (IV.IX). Their association with the mythological, with creatures of the sea, and Neuha’s interchangeability as a native of both sea and island, reinforces the identity of the Pacific islander, Neuha, as perceived in a fanciful manner by the European. Torquil, the mutineer’s identity, follows, being slowly transformed by his time among the Tahitians; he is yet but a newborn, a nursling, in this process, however.

Byron’s re-shaping of the story of the mutiny on the bounty comments upon the role of fancy in shaping real responses to the Pacific. While the title, “The Island, or Christian and His Comrades,” seems to imply that Christian will be central to the tale of the mutiny, Byron’s poem spends far more time on Torquil and his native bride, Neuha. They are, in fact, the two who survive in the end to live in the “infant world” of the Pacific (IV.XV). They are, also, the two who most clearly exemplify a life aligned with the Pacific of popular imaginings. Christian is described in terms of the Byronic hero. He is stoic and brave (III.IV). He is described as being “of a higher order,” “silent, sad, and savage” in mood,

and passionate (III.VI). While Christian, though described as a Chief, remains stoic and distant, set apart in a way, Torquil finds love on the island and is fully re-born into the life his fancy desired. Torquil's love story with Neuha embodies an existence that is not a far leap from more fantastic products of fancy. While Christian and the others die, Torquil and Neuha continue on in Paradise: Torquil is welcomed back on the island "as a son restored" (IV.XV).

Byron's mutineers are driven, not by a desire for power, but by a desire to possess the Pacific of their imaginings, to live on "the Island" among people described in terms of their fancy. The depictions of Tahiti that Byron captures in verse and that Barrow includes at the opening of his chapter on Otaheite play a significant role in driving the action of the poem, in its blending of fact and fiction, and in its depiction of a group of men, driven by the workings of their imaginations. This imagination draws from remembered tales and experiences of Pacific beauty and attempts to create a new Paradise, of which the mutineers are a part.

H.M. Williams "The Morai": Fancy and Death in the Pacific

Finally, Helen Maria Williams' poem, "The Morai, an Ode," is included in the Appendix to Andrew Kippis' *The Life of Captain James Cook*, 1788. Kippis writes of Williams' poem:

It is somewhat remarkable, that female poets have hitherto been the chief celebrators of captain Cook in this country. Perhaps a subject which would furnish materials for as rich a production as Cameon's *Lusiad*, and which would adorn the pen of a Hayler or a Cowper, may hereafter call forth the genius of some poet of the stronger sex. (510-11)

I've discussed this quote in my introduction, but I want to bring it back into focus here within the context of Williams' choice of subject and the manner in which she

establishes connections between the setting of the Morai in Otaheite and that of the Morai in the Hawaiian islands, the location of Cook's death.

Williams chose for the setting of her poem a Morai, a sacred temple where human sacrifices were held, a subject of a number of popular illustrations accompanying narratives of Cook's voyages to the Pacific. As Smith contends, it was with the Cook voyages that visual records of the Pacific were prioritized and recognized for their potential (*Imagining* 52). In constructing the Morai within the poem, Williams draws from these popular representations. I've included three representations of a Morai, published with the account of Cook's third voyage (see Fig. 4.2, Fig. 4.3, and Fig. 4.4). The first, Fig. 4.2, "A Human Sacrifice in a Morai in Otaheite" by John Webber shows Cook and some of his men looking upon the ceremonial sacrifice of the man in the center of the image. Cook looks concerned, as one of the men of Otaheite seems to be gesturing to the man and explaining something to Cook. In the background, a pile of skulls is visible, sitting atop a wall of stone. While this is the image of the Morai in Otaheite, where Williams sets the opening of the poem, her description seems to reflect, not this scene of sacrifice, but the drawings of the Morai in Atooi (Fig. 4.3 and 4.44). This Morai is on the Hawaiian island of Kauai, the place where Cook first established contact with these islands in 1778. He would die a year later at Kealakekua Bay in 1779. Williams describes the Morai:

Let the priest with pious care
Now the wasted relics bear,
Where the MORAI'S awful gloom
Shrouds the consecrated tomb.
Let the plantain lift its head;
Cherish'd emblem of the dead;

Slow, and solemn, o'er the grave
Let the twisted plumage wave,
Symbol hallow'd and divine
Of the god who guards the shrine.
Hark!--that shriek of strange despair
Never shall disturb the air;
Never, never shall it rise,
But for Nature's broken ties!--
Bright Crescent! that with lucid smile
Gild'st the MORAI'S lofty pile; (113-128)

This passage, though supposed to be describing the Morai at Otaheite, much more clearly reflects the images of the interior and exterior of the Morai at Atooi: the “lofty pile,” surrounded by the plantain and the twisted plumage. By depicting the Morai at Atooi, so linked to Cook’s death by its location, with the Morai at Otaheite, Williams connects the human sacrifice at Otaheite with the death of Cook, therefore making a striking choice in regard to the subject of her poem to be included in Kippis’s narrative.

In the Preface to his narrative, Kippis states:

A narrative of the Life of Captain Cook must principally consist of the voyages and discoveries he made, and the difficulties and dangers to which he was exposed. The private incidents concerning him, though collected with utmost diligence, can never compare, either in number or importance, with his public transactions. His public transactions are the things that mark the man, that display his mind and his character; and, therefore, they are the grand objects to which the attention of his biographer must be directed. (ix)

In relating the difficulties of what details to include and to what extent he should elaborate on matters “already sufficiently known,” Kippis determines that the proper approach is “to bring forward the things in which he [Cook] was personally concerned, and to pass slightly over other matters” (x). In this process, he determines the unavoidable necessity of introducing the “most striking circumstances which relate to the new countries and inhabitants that were visited by our great Navigator; since these

constitute a part of the knowledge and benefit derived from his undertakings” (x). He describes his narrative and the information as being “of the most authentic kind, and derived from the most respectable sources” (xii). After thanking his many sources, including Cook’s widow and the Earl of Sandwich, Kippis most especially thanks Joseph Banks and claims that the narrative has been submitted to him for approval (xiv). In Kippis’ preface, we can see at work a number of the characteristics seen in other writings on the Cook voyages, from Hawkesworth to *Bowman*. His desire to authenticate his narrative and to defend the accuracy of the information it conveys continues in the tradition of other narratives about Pacific exploration and encounter. I’d like to consider his comments here, however, in light of the poem by Helen Maria Williams he commissioned for the narrative.

In his final chapter on Cook’s legacy, Kippis writes:

It is not to the enlargement of natural knowledge only, that the effects arising from Captain Cook’s voyages are to be confined. another important object of study has been opened by them; and that is, the study of human nature, in situations various, interesting, and uncommon. The islands visited in the centre of the South Pacific Ocean, and the principal scenes of the operations of our discoverers, were untrodden ground. As the inhabitants, so far as could be observed, had continued, from their original settlement, unmixed with any different tribe; as they had been left entirely to their own powers for every art of life, and to their own remote traditions for every political or religious custom or institution; as they were uninformed by science, and unimproved by education they could not but afford many subjects of speculation to an inquisitive and philosophical mind. (497)

Kippis’ narrative, thus, indicates a mode of thinking about the Pacific, its islands, and its people as isolated and unexposed to the commercial and civilizing effects of global culture. Never mind the ways this ignores the inter-island travel and cosmopolitan nature of many Pacific peoples; here, Kippis demonstrates the perspective of the narrative to be one that

views the Pacific as a laboratory for observing the practices of “primitive” man and their responses to European encounter.

He then asks the question of what benefits or advantages have these discoveries provided to the discovered? (502) While seeming to admit that this is a murky issue, Kippis ultimately falls back on the “noble” nature of increasing knowledge and ameliorating the sufferings of the uncivilized that motivated Cook (503). He contends that the Cook voyages were the first step toward these peoples “improvement” (504). Kippis, thus, shows where his narrative falls in the tradition of portraying Cook and his mission as nobly responding to the call to bring science and agriculture to the “uncivilized,” for the “betterment” of humanity. This act he claims is commemorated in poetry like that of Hannah More and Miss Seward (505-7). He concludes this section by saying:

Captain Cook’s discoveries, among other effects, have opened new scenes for a poetical fancy to range in, and presented new images to the selection of genius and taste. The Morais, in particular, of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, afford a fine subject for the exercise of a plaintive muse. Such a muse hath seized upon the subject; and, at the same time has added another wreath to the memory of our navigator. I refer to a lady who hath already, in many passages of her “Peru,” in her “Ode on the Peace,” and, above all, in her “Irregular Fragment,” amply proved to the world, that she possesses not only talent of elegant and harmonious verification, but the spirit of true poetry. The poem, which I now have the pleasure of giving for the first time to the public, and which was written at my request, will be found in the Appendix. It is somewhat remarkable, that female poets have hitherto been the chief celebrators of captain Cook in this country. Perhaps a subject which would furnish materials for as rich a production as Cameon’s *Lusiad*, and which would adorn the pen of a Hayler or a Cowper, may hereafter call forth the genius of some poet of the stronger sex. (510-11)

While these comments speak to larger issues surrounding poetry and gender,^{cxliii} the observation that female poets were the ones chiefly celebrating Cook in their verse is, again, especially intriguing. While I’ve examined the work of Seward in the previous chapter and the writing of Smith on Tahiti in this chapter, I think Williams’ work,

commissioned by Kippis, offers an opportunity to better understand the ways that the female poet thought about the Cook voyages and Pacific culture.^{exliv}

In “The Morai, an Ode,” Williams blends cultures and places Cook’s death in terms of popular understandings of the culture surrounding death in the South Pacific. Following almost immediately from the images of Otaheite as a paradise, Williams takes a turn uncommon to writing about Tahiti and begins to contemplate death. She writes:

Yet, amid her fragrant bowers,
Where Spring, whose dewy fingers strew
O'er other lands some fleeting flowers,
Lives, in blossoms ever new;
Whence arose that shriek of pain?
Whence the tear that flows in vain?
Death! thy unrelenting hand
Bursts some transient, human band. (23-30)

Here, Williams presents a view of Tahiti that can be seen, in some ways, to build upon Smith’s note in “Beachy Head.” The paradise isn’t wholly what it seems; it isn’t the transformative place of new birth that Byron paints it to be. Williams’ Tahiti is, almost immediately in her poem, connected with death.

She continues, connecting this paradise, characterized now by death, to fancy:

What art thou, Death?--terrific shade,
In unpierc'd gloom array'd!--
Oft will daring Fancy stray
Far in the central wastes, where night
Divides no cheering hour with day,
And unnam'd horrors meet her sight;
There thy form she dimly sees,
And round the shape unfinish'd throws
All her frantic vision shews,
When numbing fears her spirit freeze.
But can mortal voice declare,
If Fancy paints thee as thou art?--
Thy aspect may a terror wear

Her pencil never shall impart;
The eye that once on thee shall gaze
No more its stiffen'd orb can raise;
The lips that could thy power reveal,
Shall lasting silence instant seal.
In vain the icy hand we fold,
In vain the breast with tears we steep,
The heart that shar'd each pang is cold,
The vacant eye no more can weep. (31-52)

Fancy, here, isn't creating the experience of the Pacific; rather, it is "straying" to cheerless wastes, to the icy, incomprehensible reality of mortality. Fancy, in the poem, has the power to "paint" death as it is. And, seemingly, in the process, to paint Tahiti in its grim reality. Rather than building a poetic vision of the paradise in need of civilizing that Kippis construes in his preface and final chapter, Williams is exposing a darker reality of the stories of contact in the Pacific. Both Williams and Smith draw the reader's attention beyond the vision of Pacific paradise. In her choice of the subject of the Morai, Williams is choosing a subject that does more than provide the foundations for the workings of the imagination, noted by Kippis. The subject's association with death speaks to larger issues surrounding not only the death of Cook, but also the death of the paradise of the reader's imaginations. The death of Cook marks a moment in which the devastating effects of contact can be seen to impact both the Pacific islanders and the Europeans.

Fancy not only exposes the reality but aids the poet and reader in understanding and acting appropriately in the face of the winding funeral procession that follows:

Sweet Fancy comes in sorrow's aid,
And bids the mourner lightly tread
Where th' insensate clay is laid;
Bids partial gloom the sod invest

By the mould'ring relics prest;
There lavish strews with sad delight,
Whate'er her consecrating power
Reveres, of herb or fruit, or flower,
And fondly weaves the various rite. (58-66)

Fancy instructs the mourner in reverence at the scene of death. Fancy allows the mourner to enter into a tradition foreign to his or her experience. While Byron's mutineers, through fancy, escape into the paradise of their imaginations, Williams' mourner applies fancy in order to come to terms with grave reality. She shows fancy to play a role, not only in imagining paradise in Tahiti, but, more importantly, in comprehending the consequences of the ways Tahiti has been imagined. Paradise cannot be disrupted without a very real human cost.

Williams then moves to apply the Pacific tradition of the Morai to Cook:

Where may she seek that proud MORAI ,
Whose dear memorial points the place
Where fell the friend of human race?
Ye lonely Isles, on Ocean's bound,
Ye bloom'd thro' Time's long flight unknown,
Till Cook the untrack'd billow past!
Till he along the surges cast
Philanthropy's connecting zone,
And spread her loveliest blessings round!--
Not like that murd'rous band he came,
Who stain'd with blood the new-found West;
Nor as, with unrelenting breast,
From BRITAIN'S free, enlightened land,
Her sons now seek ANGOLA'S strand,
The ties most sacred to unbind,--
To load with chains a brother's frame,
And plunge a dagger in the mind;
Mock the sharp anguish bleeding there
Of nature in her last despair!
Great COOK ! Ambition's lofty flame,
So oft directed to destroy,

Led thee to circle with thy name
The smile of love, and hope, and joy! (140-162)

In this turn, Williams also shifts the focus of the work to that of Kippis' narrative: painting Cook as a hero of humanity, much as he was in the work of Seward. Contrasting Cook with the "murd'rous band" who to the West, Williams paints Cook as a product of the Enlightenment, as a "friend of the human race," on a mission to better the lives of the people of the Pacific. Cook's Morai, though in physical description more clearly reflects the Morai of Atooi, in context reflects the Morai of Otaheite, the scene of human sacrifice. Williams paints Cook's death in Hawaii as a human sacrifice on the altar of civilization.

Applying the tradition of the Morai to the death of Cook, however, necessitates an act of fancy, both in terms of the cultural application and because of the absence of Cook's remains:

Sure, where the hero's ashes rest,
The nations late emerg'd from night
Still haste--with love's unwearied care,
That spot in lavish flowers is drest,
And fancy's dear, inventive rite
Still paid with fond observance there?--
Ah, no! around his fatal grave
No lavish flowers were ever strew'd,
No votive gift was ever laid--
His blood a savage shore bedew'd!
His mangled limbs, one hasty prayer,
One pious tear by friendship paid,
Were cast upon the raging wave!
Deep in the wild abyss he lies,
Far from the cherish'd scene of home;
Far, far from her whose faithful sighs
A husband's trackless course pursue;
Whose tender fancy loves to roam
With him o'er lands and oceans new;

And gilds with hope's deluding form
The gloomy pathway of the storm!
Yet, Cook! immortal wreathes are thine! (167-188)

Here, fancy is unable to perform its “dear, inventive rite,” implying that forms of mourning are driven by the fanciful imagination. Because Cook’s body was not recovered, his wife’s mourning is not limited to placing flowers at his grave; rather, her fancy allows her to “roam with him o’er lands and ocean’s new.” Through fancy, Cook’s death is able to be followed by more exploration and possibility. Cook’s body is neither confined to a Morai, nor to a churchyard; rather, his legacy is able to continue on, shaping anew the way the Pacific is imagined in European culture.

Williams’ discussion of death in the previous portions of the poem and her application of the tradition of the Morai to the mourning of Cook makes this work unique in the tradition of writing about Cook and his legacy. Cook may be portrayed in portions of the poem as the hero of humanity Kippis envisions, but not before Tahiti is first transformed in the imagination as a place stricken by death. The seamless blending of cultural mourning practice Williams performs, moving from the Morai to the grave, shows not only that the effects of Cook’s death span both Britain and the Pacific, but also that his life has opened up the possibility for fancy to envision that sort of reciprocity. The role of fancy throughout the poem, in aiding the contemplation of both mortality and cultural practice, shows it to be a form of the imagination of paramount importance to understanding Tahiti as more than an imagined paradise.

In her *Letters Written in France*, Williams writes:

To me, the land which these mighty magicians have suddenly covered with darkness, waving their evil wand, they have reared the dismal scaffold, have clotted the knife of the assassin with gore, have called forth the shriek of despair, and the agony of torture; to me, this land of desolation appeared drest in additional beauty beneath the genial smile of liberty. The woods seemed to cast a more refreshing shade, and the lawns to wear a brighter verdure, while the carols of freedom burst from the cottage of the peasant, and the voice of joy resounded on the hill, and in the valley. (147-48)

Painting the violent upheaval and permeating death of the French Revolution in sublime terms, as she does here and throughout her letters, Williams addresses larger Romantic aesthetic and political concerns. These concerns exist alongside her ever-present interest in discovery, marked by her own travels and her translations of the writing of explorers like Alexander von Humboldt. Seen within the context of her other work, “The Morai,” clearly continues these themes, transmuting the death of Cook into the sublime spectacle of human sacrifice and the progress of civilization.

Conclusion: Romantic Fancy and the Pacific

Returning to the claims of Ortiz discussed in the introduction, we can see through the works discussed in this chapter, that fancy, though “wandering,” “exhibits geographic mobility” (254). This mobility, however, is especially tied to the geographic location of the South Pacific. In the treatment of the Pacific in these poems, we can see how “Romantic fancy helped reconstruct an image of what was in the mind’s eye, or reorganized the image into something new out of the sensory materials it collected according to the human passions” (Ortiz 256-7). That fancy is more than whimsical and fictionalizing; it is, in fact, “sensory” and “dynamic” (Ortiz 255). The Romantic poetry discussed in this chapter is engaged in a study of the imagination that privileges playing

with the boundaries of possibility, at the same time that it is bound to the tangible realities or interpretations of experience. We see this in the integration of accounts of Pacific exploration. In each instance, our understanding of both the Romantic imagination and of Coleridge's definition of fancy is expanded to encompass an imaginative potential that is fundamentally experiential in its nature and engages with the material and literary productions of Pacific exploration in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century culture.



Fig. 4.1. Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum Collections. William Hodges. *A View taken in the bay of Oaite Peha [Vaitepiha] Otaheite [Tahiti]*. BHC2396.



Fig. 4.2. Courtesy of The British Museum. *A Human Sacrifice in a Morai, in Otaheite*. After John Webber. Illustration to *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean...* 1784. 1868,0808.3152.



The Houses of the Morai, in the Atooi, in Atooi.

Fig. 4.3. Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum Collections. Edmund Scott after John Webber. *The Inside of the House, in the Morai, in Atooi*. PAI3910.



Fig. 4.4. Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum Collections. Daniel Lerpiniere after John Webber. *A Morai, in Atooi*. PAI3910.

Conclusion

Throughout this dissertation, I have made the case for expanding the ways we think about canonical Romanticism to include the material culture and literature surrounding Pacific exploration in the late eighteenth century. While certainly not the first to question the parameters of traditional, canonical Romanticism, I have built on the work of scholars of the Pacific, and of material and visual culture, in order to establish a clear connection between the popular culture surrounding the Cook voyages and later Romantic conceptions of the fanciful imagination.^{cxlv} These connections provide a perspective on the flighty, mechanical fancy that shows it to be complex and interwoven with global curiosity and contact, indigenous and gendered spectacle, and the material and literary legacies of the Cook voyages. These legacies are apparent in collections, prints, paintings, theatricals, narratives, works of fiction and satire, and, finally, Romantic poetry.

While scholars like Nigel Leask have made the connection between the Romantic imagination and India (*British Romantic Writers and the East*), and though both Keats and the Shelleys' connections to explorers like Mungo Park have been mentioned, in this dissertation, I have established Pacific exploration and its aftermath as foundational to the development of Romantic conceptions of the globe, the imagination, and the self. Fancy played a role in the production of the spectacle of the indigenous person in London, as we see in the various media representations of Mai. Sarah Sophia Banks demonstrates fancy in her organization of her scrapbook and, in this way, challenges homogenizing and imperially-driven conceptions of science and discovery. *The Travels of Hildebrand*

Bowman and other popular exploration fiction demonstrate fancy's critical role within the narratives of exploration in popular culture. Fancy, while perceived as superficial, is able to break down the dichotomy and hierarchy between types of knowing because it is the driving force behind exploration and spectacular, scientific experimentation. Through tracing the roots of Romantic fancy to the material culture of exploration, I have not only expanded our understanding of this imaginative form, but I have also destabilized canonical and patriarchal notions of the fanciful Romantic imagination, demonstrating the role that women and indigenous peoples played in constructing fancy as a material form of the imagination and as an imaginative practice rooted in destabilizing the very hierarchies and dichotomies the literary canon so often attempts to uphold.

Keats and Fancy

To illustrate some of these points one last time, I'd like to now turn to one canonical poet I have yet to discuss, John Keats.^{cxlvi} I will look briefly at Keats's poems "Ode to Fancy" and "Ode to a Nightingale," turning after to his notions of the role of fancy, understood within the context of the material culture of exploration and discovery, in constructing the identity of the poet. In "Ode to Fancy," Keats begins the poem by connecting fancy with movement, particularly with the sort of movement associated with exploration, with roaming and wandering. And, while I think the tendency would be to read this poem in terms of escapism with the following sections encouraging the reader to engage in fancy because "Summer's joys are spoilt by use" (10) and "Spring fades, as does its blossoming" (11-12), I am averse to this sort of dichotomous reading of Keats: a reading that would set up fancy and reality in opposition. I think Keats's use of fancy

here is more complex and, if we think about fancy as a material form of the imagination, this sort of dichotomy, the escapism of the poem becomes much more complicated. We can see that each “escape” that fancy provides from reality in this poem, is an escape that relies upon the senses. Fancy can “mix pleasures up like three fit wines in a cup” (37-38), but the reader must drink. Fancy can bring the sound of harvest carols near, but the reader must choose to engage and hear (40). Fancy can bring the buds of spring, but the reader must see and smell them (47-50). Ultimately, the reader must “break the mesh of fancy’s silken leash” (89-90), a strong sensual image that indicates that to engage in fancy is an action engaging materially the senses. Fancy can roam, but it will offer the reader no sense of freedom unless the material productions of the world have been first experienced, unless the reader chooses to engage the senses.

Like Smith and Williams, both of whom bring the notion of death into play within their poetic discussion of fancy, in Keats’s “Ode to a Nightingale,” fancy similarly fails as a means of escape. Like Bryon’s mutineers, Keats’s poet seeks to take a flight of fancy in Poesy, but he is only met with the desire for “easeful Death” (52). “Though the dull brain perplexes and retards” (34), fancy seems to offer relief at first; this relief, however, leaves the poet blind to all but the world created by the imagination. He cannot see the flowers at his feet (41); he must “guess each sweet / Wherewith the seasonable month endows / The grass, the thicket, and the fruit-tree wild” (43-45). But, this imaginative world quickly fades, as even within it, the violets are “fast fading” (47). The poet looked to fancy as a means of flight, as many looked to their imagined notions of the Pacific, but fancy leaps, as it does, into thoughts that bring the poet back to the real; fancy ultimately

provides the space for critical reflection on a world “where men sit and hear each other groan; / Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last gray hairs, / Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies; / Where but to think is to be full of sorrow / And leaden-eyed despairs” (24-28). It is important to note here, as well, that the poet’s initial flight of fancy in “Nightingale” was prompted by a material, visceral action: drinking. That longing for a “draught of vintage” (11) “for a beaker full of the warm South, / Full of the true, the blushful Hippocrene, / With beaded bubbles winking at the brim, / And purple-stained mouth” (15-18).

Keats’s Poetry, the Material Imagination, and the Scrapbook

Beyond providing a means for reading fancy in the context these two Odes, my work illustrating the material nature of fancy can be seen in the manner in which Keats viewed and interacted with the past in his poetry and other writings. I will take for example, here, the work of my second chapter on Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook for context when looking at Keats’s ideas about the individual author and literary tradition.

Scrapbooking as a practice brings disparate things together and creates a new context for information that supersedes the old or original context. As Garvey contends, scrapbooks allowed users to “save, manage, and reprocess information” (4). Scrapbooks were able to shape *new* and *personal* relationships to often historically and culturally impersonal events and figures. In a way, scrapbooks allowed the compiler to consume vast amounts of information, then digest and display that information in a manner reflective of personal taste and understanding. Garvey argues that scrapbooks undercut the idea that Romantic writing was produced by an “individual genius” through the

composition practice of engaging with multiple voices and perspectives and, ultimately, through writing with scissors: letting the many clippings be both the producer and product of the compiler/author's voice (37).

Much work on the Romantic poet John Keats reflects a similar sense of the dismantling of the "individual genius" in his poetry through his class background, his treatment of the canon, and the often-sensational content of his poetry. Keats's engagement with and revision of the literary canon, his materialization of the imagination through his focus on sensation and consumption, and his poetic theory of negative capability all deconstruct the spaces and things held sacred by a number of Romantic writers, as well as common perceptions of the Romantic poet. In his writing, Keats brings together disparate categories through a process that demonstrates the materiality of fancy within the Romantic construct of the imagination. A number of the poems and concepts critical to Keats's poetic vision demonstrate a similarity between his process of poetic construction and that of scrapbooking; they also illustrate a connection to the compiling and collecting vision of Sarah Sophia Banks through an engagement with conflicting concepts and materiality.

Keats's poems, "Lines on the Mermaid Tavern," and "If by Dull Rhymes Our English Must be Chain'd," demonstrate his engagement with poetry's past, with its sacred spaces, figures, and ideals. It is his material re-imagination of these that creates an entirely next context and which connects his work to both the process of "writing with scissors" and the imagination of Sarah Banks. "Line on the Mermaid Tavern" begins its satirical play on the sacred ideals of poetry with the address and question, "Souls of Poets dead and

gone, / What Elysium have ye known, / Happy field or mossy cavern, / Choicer than the Mermaid Tavern?" (1-4). Setting up the picturesque, mythic, or pastoral settings of traditional poetry against the Mermaid Tavern, essentially a local pub, plays with the notion of poetic setting. The proceeding lines continue to poke fun at this idea, dismantling the association of poetry and poetic inspiration with the heavenly (an association often constructed through reference to fine food and drink) by claiming that no "fruits of Paradise" could be "Sweeter than those dainty pies of venison" served at the Tavern (6-8). The second stanza completes the critique, as it tells the story of the host's sign-board flying away (14-15). This incident is recounted by "An astrologer's old quill," the story written on a "sheepskin" (16-17). The attention given to the medium here is significant, as it places the location of and inspiration provided by the Mermaid Tavern, satirically within a more ancient and sacred tradition of manuscript writing; the story being inscribed on vellum rather than paper particularly speaks to its history and its place among a tradition of literature meant to last the test of time. The following image of the poet in his "glory," beneath the sign for the Mermaid Tavern (18-19), reads like a vision or a dream, both popular forms of poetic representation. The poet, "Sipping beverage divine, / And pledging with contented smack / The Mermaid in the Zodiac" (20-22), references both the link between drinking the waters of poetic inspiration ("the blushful Hippocrene," referred to in Keats's later "Ode to a Nightingale") and the placement of the poem's location, the setting for poetic inspiration here, among the constellations, the monuments to the gods in the heavens. The Mermaid Tavern becomes a place of mythic proportions, of poetic inspiration worthy of the great poets of the past, present, and

future. Historically, the Mermaid Tavern had been a meeting place for great writers like Ben Johnson and John Donne, so though Keats sets up the poem with a satirical tone, his historical placement of the location and his treatment of the Tavern ultimately deconstruct the sense of sacredness surrounding both poetic landscapes and poetic inspiration. Written in 1819, this poem can be seen as an example of Keats's deconstruction and reconfiguration of these ideals, a process that recurs throughout his poetry.

"If By Dull Rhymes" addresses a related problem of fettering poetry to strict structural ideals of the past. The "dull rhymes" (1) inflicted upon fancy by such structures need to be reconsidered. Keats advocates, instead of falling simply in line with tradition, to reexamine the rhyme structures in play. "Let us find out, if we must be constrain'd, / Sandals more interwoven and complete / To fit the naked foot of poesy" (4-6). The language used to describe the process of creating these new sandals for the feet of poesy, Keats uses scientific language: "inspect the lyre, weigh the stress / Of every chord" (7-8). Ultimately, the Muse, fancy, through a new structure developed by this method, "will be bound with garlands of her own" (14). The poem's traditional sonnet structure works in tension with its content's critique of formal rigidity. In this poem, Keats not only advocates, as he does in "Mermaid Tavern," a breaking with tradition, but he also advocates a new structural poetic practice similar to that of scrapbooking: considering the old and scientifically measuring and trimming it to better fit the goals of the present, of the poem at hand. In this way, he outlines a practice that involves almost a clipping away

at traditional rhyme structures in order to place them in a new context and create a structure suited to each individual poem.

As it is in Sarah Sophia's scrapbook, fancy in Keats's poetry and writing brings together the sensational with other ways of knowing, from the scientific to the poetic. Fancy does this through an engagement with ephemeral materials, from food to newspaper clippings. Ultimately, reading Keats in relation to exploration culture, particularly to Sarah Banks and the scrapbooking culture surrounding the developing ideas toward science and the global at the end of the eighteenth century, allows for a reimagined approach to the role of fancy in his poetry, particularly as it is connected to the identity of the poet and the materiality of the imagination. In this way fancy can be seen, not as a lesser form of the imagination, as Coleridge would have us believe, but as a form essential to a poetic production anchored in the senses and in inventive interaction with the material world.

Beyond the Page

The way I have positioned fancy and its foundations through this dissertation provides a context for the way we read, study, and teach the literature and culture of the Romantic period. For one, this context has sparked an interest which I will pursue beyond this dissertation in digitization, haptic reading practices, and the extensive collections of Sarah Sophia Banks. To understand the ways that Sarah Sophia and her brother were engaging with and creating the material foundations of fancy after the Cook voyages requires a means to both access and interact with the material, visual, and literary culture of the time. Alongside my work on this dissertation, I have collaborated with a digital

scholarship librarian to create a digital platform to display aspects of Sarah Sophia's numismatic and ephemera collections.^{cxlvii} Using Omeka, a web-based, digital archiving technology, we have created an interactive map to showcase her coin collection and unique cataloguing strategies. We have also displayed aspects of her ballooning scrapbook with tools that allow the viewer to digitally turn its pages and to zoom in to see the details of the various prints. The goal with this project was to provide a means for an audience to have a more material relationship with Sarah Sophia's collection. With the pages from the scrapbook especially, we hope to encourage a haptic engagement with the fantastic contents of its pages, allowing the viewer/reader to experience the book in a manner more akin to the way Sarah Sophia and her visitors would have experienced it.

When teaching courses on the literature of the Romantic period, I begin with Pacific exploration. Through including examples of narrative, of pantomime, of fiction, of art, and of collections from the period just before the French Revolution, I illustrate for my students how interconnected these worlds were and how multimedia, multimodal, and multifarious our scholarly approach should be. These courses culminate in a final project that encourages students to utilize Omeka and other digital tools to create their own Romantic archives. Students create websites, slideshows, and videos that take a canonical Romantic text, like Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* or Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale," and provide material, visual, and literary context for the work. Drawing from any number of prints, letters, notes, paintings, and other literary works, students place the canonical work within a broader social and cultural context that expands the way we think about the relationship between the reader and the text and the relationship between the text and the

canon. These student archives ultimately show the imagination and fancy to be deeply connected to experience and to the products of popular culture.

Bon Voyage

Beyond setting up false and unproductive dichotomies between fancy and reality, the danger of forgetting fancy's materiality is that it can lead to a manifestation of vague notions of the other and exoticism when engaging in discussions of Global Romanticism and cultural encounter.^{cxlviii} Whether looking more closely at indigenous ship building, thinking about the material productions of women in response to a globally-curious popular culture, or re-thinking canonical Romantic poetry, bringing this material history into our discussions of Romanticism can have long-lasting effects on the ways that we read depictions of foreign places and indigenous people in texts influenced by the phenomenon of exploration.

Endnotes

ⁱ See Smith, “Coleridge’s Ancient Mariner and Cook’s Second Voyage,” and *Imagining the Pacific*.

ⁱⁱ For further reading on the expanding global consciousness of the eighteenth century, see Nussbaum, *The Global Eighteenth Century*, and Ogborn, *Global Lives*. Ogborn especially provides a useful example of a theoretical approach to global historical and geographical space that is multiple, diverse, and dynamic. For more on travel and its effects on Romantic thought, see Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East and Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing*. For more on the influence of science and exploration on Romantic ways of thinking about the world, see Fulford, Lee and Kitson, *Literature, Science and Exploration in the Romantic Era*.

ⁱⁱⁱ For a discussion of the effects of exploration, travel writing, and science on the growing British empire, see Pratt *Imperial Eyes*, Bewell, *Natures in Translation*, and Miller and Reill, *Visions of Empire*, Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*.

^{iv} For more on identity and conceptions of selfhood in the Pacific, see Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas*, and Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation*.

^v Barabara Stafford discusses the relationship between art, science, and exploration revealed through the visual imagery produced in travel accounts by Europeans. See also Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific*.

^{vi} For more recent work on fancy in the Romantic imagination, see Ortiz, “Fancy’s Eye,” and Ellison “The Politics of Fancy in the Age of Sensibility.”

^{vii} Mai-Lin Chang’s *British Romanticism and Human Interest*, for instance, looks at the genre of human interest, its relationship to sympathy and curiosity, and narrative; Chang looks to the margins of texts to better understand the Romantic relationship to human interest. Liz Bohls’s *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics*, demonstrates how Romanticism can be seen to emerge from the margins in aesthetics, developing on colonies of the South Seas and other products of exploration (12).

^{viii} For more on the imagination and its relationship to science, material culture, and collecting, see: Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*; Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches*, in which she discusses the influence of botany and the sciences on the poetry of Coleridge and Shelley (192); Cale and di Bello, *Illustrations, Optics, and Objects*, in which they connect visual experience and materiality, suggesting that such visual images rely upon a material imagination (11); and Pearce, who writes, “collections are sets of objects and like all other sets of objects they are an act of the imagination” (27).

^{ix} In the quote from Cook, a dichotomy is clearly set up between what is perceived to be the whimsical and superficial appeal of fancy and the more meaningful nature of custom. For Cook, custom is often applied to the traditional practices of the sailors, particularly as regards their treatment of the “natives.” Custom is also a term applied to practices of indigenous people, but often in order to support some sort of statement about their cultural practice. It becomes a term associated positively with the mild treatment of indigenous people and with the traditions of sailors on board the ships. At the same time, it is a term that carries varied meaning when associated with indigenous cultural practice: custom signifies both what seems to be ancient tradition and also what Cook and his men cannot begin to understand. Things could only “seem” or “appear” to be done by custom, and often Cook and his men admitted to being “utter strangers” to the customs of the people (*Cook I*).

^x For more on wonder and curiosity, see Barbara Benedict and Sarah Kareem. Benedict differentiates between the two concepts, stating that wonder “reverses the novelty it encounters,” while curiosity “seeks to explain it” (5). For Benedict curiosity is uniquely related to cultural ambition (23), to visuality (16), and to a sort of pleasure and self-indulgence (9). Benedict’s definition of curiosity in the eighteenth century, then, is very much related to spectacle in its peculiarly visual dimension, and its relationship to cultural and social ambition and indulgence. We can see curiosity and spectacle come together especially in accounts of exploration and experimentation like those of hot air ballooning ventures. Wonder in the eighteenth century “includes the interplay of marvel and curiosity” (Kareem 9). Sarah Kareem contends that wonder is both passive and active, as it encompasses a two-fold process: wonder *at* and wonder *about* (8). This seems to build upon an argument made by Lamb, who notes that that the eighteenth century brought about a change in the status of wonder from a “medium of meaning to an object of inquisition” (82). For Kareem, wonder in the eighteenth century is produced through reading (24), and it breaks down the dichotomy between the real and the marvelous through a series of literary techniques and processes (28). In a very Keatsian manner, wonder is connected to sensation, the pleasurable sensation of not knowing (Kareem 11,16). Wonder, by the latter part of the eighteenth century, shifted from a conduit of knowledge to an aesthetic end, a shift that can be seen in the use of wonder by Romantic poets like Keats (Kareem 37).

^{xi} See Golinski for more on the relationship between science and the public culture of spectacle in England during this period.

^{xii} See Rousseau’s discussion of the noble savage and natural man in Rousseau *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of Inequality Among Mankind*.

^{xiii} Spectacle will be examined from a number of angles throughout this dissertation: the indigenous spectacle of Mai, connected to his exoticism; the spectacle of the hot air balloon, the spectacle of gender in the flights of women in the balloon and the portrayal of female sexuality in Tahiti in narratives of the Cook voyages; and the spectacle of sexuality and death in the Pacific.

^{xiv} See also, Thomas, *Tattoo*, and *Entangled Objects*, McCormick, *Omai*, and Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas*.

^{xv} For scholarship on Joseph Banks, see Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment*, Juterczenka, “Beyond the ‘common Centre of we discoverers,’” and other presentations from *Joseph Banks: Science, Culture and Exploration, 1743-1820*. The Royal Society, 14 September, 2017.

^{xvi} See British Museum Collections Online: C.1.2221-2241.
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1674372&partId=1&searchText=Omai&page=1

^{xvii} For more on scrapbooking, print, culture, and the documentation of social life, see Garvey, *Writing with Scissors*, Russell, “Sarah Sophia Banks’s Private Theatricals,” and Leis, “Cutting, Arranging, and Pasting.”

^{xviii} Sarah Sophia’s collection is an important example of a collection of ephemera, as well as a significant collection made by a woman. For more on ephemera collecting, see Hubbard “Trade Cards in 18th-Century Consumer Culture,” King, “Lasting but a Day,” Leis, “Ephemeral Histories,” and McDowell, “Of Grubs and Other Insects. For more on female and Romantic collecting, see Sloboda, “Porcelain and Natural History in the Duchess of Portland’s Museum,” Phillips, *The Scientific Lady*, Pascoe, *The Hummingbird Cabinet*, Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches*, and Eger, “Paper Trails and Eloquent Objects.”

^{xix} Shelley, Mary. *The Last Man*. 1st Ed. London, 1826. The Project Gutenberg Ebook; Shelley, Percy Bysshe. "Sonnet: To A Balloon Laden with Knowledge." *The Esdaile Notebook*. In *Shelley and His Circle*, Vol. IV. Ed. Kenneth N. Cameron. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

^{xx} See Gascoigne, *Science in the Service of Empire*.

^{xxi} see Binney, "The Authority of Entertainment."

^{xxii} see Thomas, *Cook: The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain Cook*, and Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island and The Trial of the Cannibal Dog*.

^{xxiii} see Bertelsen introduction to *Bowman*.

^{xxiv} In *Letters Written in France*, Williams tackles important questions regarding Romantic aesthetics, gender, and ideology. Her work is particularly in contrast to that of Edmund Burke, both his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* and the *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. In addition to critiquing Burke's anti-Revolutionary stance, Williams transforms his notions of the masculine, awe-inspiring sublime and the feminine, pleasing, beautiful; her writing associates the sublime with, not terror, but with "beauty and harmony," deconstructing the ideas set up by Burke and other male philosophers (*Letters Written in France*, 46).

^{xxv} Richard Semmens claims, "Pantomimes were operatic, borrowing the Italian singing style, but with a delivery in the English language, without recourse to the castrato voice. They shared with masquerades the intoxicating allure of misbehavior, deception, and even sexual excess. And they weaved magic into elaborate stage tricks and inventive use of machinery, designed to surprise its audiences in ever more adventurous ways" (145).

^{xxvi} According to Semmens, pantomimes were importantly also connected to other forms of entertainment, like the print culture of satire (175).

^{xxvii} Upon looking back at the history of musical theatre on the continent and tracing its path to England, the importance of machines and scenery to the spectacle of the pantomime is made quite clear. These important aspects of the production were present historically even before 1620 and often involved: characters descending on clouds, sudden transformations, rotating stages, and the use of fireworks, canon fire and other "machine effects" to stage fantastic battles, sea monster attacks, or the descent of gods from on high (see Powell).

^{xxviii} Dening also notes that Louthembourg's technological brilliance included "re-creating the latest technological advance—the flying balloon, invented only two years before—to help audiences sense they were seeing history as it happened" (*Mr. Bligh's Bad Language* 271). The inclusion of the balloon links the technology of the pantomime to the science and spectacle of ballooning, discussed in my next chapter.

^{xxix} see Winter, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet*.

^{xxx} *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* 24 December, 1785 writes that the pantomime was, with each additional night, "more correctly performed"; *The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* 22 December, 1785 also notes "additions" to the pantomime in subsequent performances and the increasing "expertise" of the engineers in managing the scenery.

^{xxx} According to Agnew, Burney was the first to transcribe samples of Polynesian music (“Encounter Music” 193).

^{xxx} O’Quinn also contends that this pantomime spent much time on the portrayal of the decay of British society in the metropole (76). O’Quinn states, “the conventions of pantomime are deployed in an innovative fashion to offer both a critique of vice in the metropole and a consolidation of virtue in the figure of Captain Cook” (76). The Pacific as a source of social critique is a point I will develop further later in this chapter and in the next.

^{xxx} I discuss this image further in chapter 4.

^{xxx} see *Omai the Prince who Never Was*.

^{xxx} Denning’s reading of the pantomime as a performance in which “mood and meaning” were “reduced to simplicities” reflects on the simplification of this imagined relationship between London and the South Seas. Denning contends that the natives in the pantomime were portrayed as being “more quaint than threateningly different” (*Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language* 275). This is seen particularly in “the Mad Prophet’s quiet put-down of the new ‘King’ Omai’s power in fifty red feathers, four hundred pigs, and twenty thumping women” (*Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language* 275). For Denning, this moment illustrates the reduction and trivialization of Mai’s kingdom, a move problematic in the fact that the audience was “meant to be convinced that it was watching something authentic because it was technologically brilliant and scientific” (*Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language* 275).

^{xxx} see McCormick, *Omai: Pacific Envoy*, “The Voyage of the H.M.S. *Adventure*” and “Mai and the European Discovery of Tahiti”; James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook: I The Voyage of the Endeavor 1768-1771*, and II *The Voyages of the Resolution and the Adventure 1772-1775*; Joseph Banks, *Endeavour Journals of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771*.

^{xxx} For more on this image, see McCormick, *Omai: Pacific Envoy*, 317-18; Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific*; O’Quinn, *Staging Governance*.

^{xxx} see Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World*.

^{xxx} The history of spectacle involves strong visual elements and includes theatre, public events, and even public executions (Cowart xv).

^{xl} See Rousseau’s discussion of the noble savage and natural man in Rousseau *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of Inequality Among Mankind*. In this sense, Omai became a site for testing out progress and Tahiti became quintessential to Enlightenment thinking

^{xli} This is a point built up further in the work of Paul Keen on the relationship between serious scientific endeavors and the unstable foundations of fashion in the eighteenth century. See Paul Keen, *Literature, Commerce, and the Spectacle of Modernity, 1750-1800*. Cambridge UP, 2012.

^{xlii} see Barbara Benedict, *Curiosity*: explores curiosity as a form of cultural ambition that manifests itself, at times, in an act of performance. Curiosity leads to indulgence in spectacle, as well as the performance of spectacle when the curious becomes the curiosity. Fulford, Lee and Kitson contend that Omai, as much as he was an object of curiosity for Joseph Banks and English society, was also a curious discoverer himself.

^{xliii} Mai’s collecting places him within a tradition of Polynesian collecting of European goods. Newell

contends that Polynesian collections “extended (a king or leader’s) bodily presence and displayed his ability to ensure the prosperity of the island” (75). For instance, Hawaiian chief Kamehameha “used both Hawaiian and European garments in his collection to create the image of mastery he desired, each bearing meanings that resonated with his local audience” (75). Newell argues, “Polynesians, as a rule, were as anxious to collect European things as Europeans were to collect theirs. Furthermore, it was the willingness to barter away their own things in return for European goods that made European collecting of ‘curiosities’ possible” (75). Even after Mai’s death, “his collection of English objects was kept together” (Newell 80).

^{xliv} *Joseph Banks: Science, Culture and Exploration: 1743-1820*

^{xlv} For more on “balloonomania,” see Paul Keen, *Literature, Commerce, and the Spectacle of Modernity, 1750-1800*, (Cambridge UP, 2012). Keen reads the spectacle of ballooning as representative of the growing instability of cultural and intellectual exchange and is interested in the place of spectacle in discussions of scientific progress and serious scientific endeavor. He claims that balloons reflected the public’s fascination with its own ability to be fascinated (43).

^{xlvi} Sarah Sophia’s coin collection has been critically reviewed and discussed by Catherine Eagleton and R.J. Eaglen and can be seen to demonstrate a unique orientation to the global and a tangible relationship to the Americas and to global exploration through currency. Her collection of coinage from the colonies, as well as currency given to her by Scottish explorer Mungo Park, serve as prime examples of this. According to Eagleton, Banks’s arrangement of the coinage according to the authority behind the issue of the coin, rather than the location of the issue demonstrates a unique engagement and systematic ordering of the “natural, social and political world,” making her collection more taxonomically in line with that of her brother than many originally believed (see “Collecting African Money in Georgian London”). The material connection to Britain’s empire in Banks’s collection can also be seen in her cataloguing of theatricals across England, Ireland and India, as discussed by Gillian Russell, who joins Leis in writing on Sarah Banks’s ephemera of fashionable life, claiming that her collection of ephemera “emulates Linnaean principles applied to social life” (see “Archiving of Fashionable Life”). Much of Banks’s 30,000-object collection, split between the British Library, British Museum, and Royal Mint Museum, however, remains unexplored.

^{xlvii} BL L.R.301. h.3, “A Collection of broadsides, cuttings from newspapers, engravings, etc., of various dates, formed by Miss Sarah Sophia Banks. Volume 3: Balloons, sights, exhibitions, remarkable characters: Katterfelto the Monster,” *Victorian Popular Culture, Adam Matthew Digital* (electronic resource).

^{xlviii} For more on the relationship between the hot air balloon and the imagination, see Ivan Ortiz, “Fancy’s Eye: Poetic Vision and the Romantic Air Balloon,” *SiR* vol. 56 (2017): 253-284. Ortiz “investigates the shifting nature of fancy as a consequence of its entanglement in public discourse about the air balloon,” and argues that the balloon “helped consolidate fancy’s most signature qualities as a distinct Romantic faculty and aesthetic” (255).

^{xlix} According to Tim Fulford, Debbie Lee, and Peter Kitson, *Literature, Science and Exploration in the Romantic Era: Bodies of Knowledge*, (Cambridge UP, 2004), Joseph Banks’s collection was constructed to create bodies of knowledge to aid in the imperial quest (11).

¹ According to Leis, Sarah Sophia “used the practice of collecting and display of her collection as a way of participating in dynamic intellectual and social circles” (“Cutting, Arranging, and Pasting” 128). In this way, Sarah Sophia “strategically created a supporting role for herself in her brother’s career,” as can be seen in the overlapping interests between the two siblings’ collections in terms of their “materiality, methodology, organization, and storage” (Leis “Cutting, Arranging, and Pasting” 129). Leis notes that Daniel Solander referred to Sarah Sophia as “mistress of the house” at 32 Soho Square, where both the

siblings' collections were housed (Leis "Cutting, Arranging" 130), illustrating Sarah Sophia's significant role in the curation and keeping of Joseph Banks's famed collections, as well as the complimentary potential of her own collections.

^{li} Leis also notes, "In its fragmented format, its emphasis on entertainment, and its rejection of chronology, Sarah Sophia's collection presents viewers with an alternative view of history, challenging traditional methods of thinking and learning about subjects such as the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars" ("Ephemeral Histories" 196), or, in this case, the "balloon-o-mania" of the late eighteenth-century.

^{lii} Interestingly, Joseph Banks's botanical ventures are the subject of a recent fantastical podcast, *The Mysterious Secrets of Uncle Bertie's Botanarium*, starring Jemaine Clement and produced by HOWL. In this series, Banks is depicted as a fanciful aristocrat with a passion for botany and the illicit pleasures it provides.

^{liii} For more on this subject, see Chapter 3.

^{liv} see Joseph Banks, *Endeavour Journals*.

^{lv} Sarah Sophia's scrapbook stands out against her brother's state of remaining relatively unpublished. Anna Agnarsdóttir argues that Joseph Banks was in fact more published than we often perceive him to be, noting sixty publications, the papers he lent to others and possibly published via others. While Joseph Banks published in practical and not scientific journals, a practice which speaks to his role as a public figure and the dissemination of knowledge in such a way that blurred the public vs. scientific or private, theoretical was of knowing (Hannah Wills), Sarah Sophia engaged in a form of publication entirely built from the published works of others, revealing a unique perspective on the perception of curiosity and scientific spectacle within the popular imagination. Sunne Juterczenka notes that, for Joseph, the "public" meant his wealthy peers; for Sarah Sophia, however, though her audience may have been similar to that of her brother, her interest in the public clearly moves beyond his elite circle in subject matter. We see this with the subject matter of her collections, particularly her scrapbook on ballooning and "other curiosities." Gascoigne claims that even though Joseph Banks didn't publish his *Endeavor* journal during his lifetime, the collection in his home proved a tangible material space for critical inquiry into scientific discovery (9). This statement not only speaks to the importance of materiality in understanding science in the period as providing a space for both inquiry and sociability, but it also gestures toward the space of his home, curated by his sister, as a space of material connection between the domestic and the masculine quest for discovery.

^{lvi} Sarah Sophia's collecting strategies are discussed at length by Arlene Leis, in "Cutting, Arranging, and Pasting: Sarah Sophia Banks as Collector," *Early Modern Women* 9.1 (2014), 127-140; as well as in her works mentioned above.

^{lvii} The Duchess of Portland's collection, in its materiality and connections to Banks, Cook, and other men of science, bears similarities to the collections of Sarah Sophia. According to Stacey Sloboda in her article, "Porcelain and Natural History in the Duchess of Portland's Museum" appearing in *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43.4 (2010): 455-472, the Duchess of Portland's collection was a "visual profusion of curious objects" (455). Like the Banks's collections, Portland's collection mingled the natural and the artificial and created a spectacle of scientific objects in a manner that embodied the integration of the two in Sarah Sophia's collection. Her collection, much like Sarah Sophia's, combined the categorical strategies of a specialist and the qualities of decoration, entertainment, and delight associated with the amateur (Sloboda 459), displaying curiosity on both the levels of intellect and aesthetics (Sloboda 460). For more on female science and collecting see Fara, *Pandora's Breeches* and Elizabeth Eger, "Paper Trails and Eloquent Objects: Bluestocking Friendship and Material Culture," *Parergon* 26.2 (2009): 109-138.

^{lviii} See Leis, “Cutting, Arranging, and Pasting,” 128, 129; see also Susan Pearce *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, (London: Routledge, 1995): to understand collections like that of Sarah Sophia Banks is to understand social life as a whole (3).

^{lix} see Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance*.

^{lx} Siobhan Carroll’s work, *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850*, (Pennsylvania, U Penn, 2015), considers the role of fancy and the imagination in the drive to understand and occupy spaces like the poles and the atmosphere. According to Carroll, the atmosphere, in particular, became a space for writers to “examine Britain’s relationship to a cosmopolitan world unimpressed by Britain’s naval power” (16).

^{lxi} Trade card collecting was what M. Berg and H. Clifford have called a “particularly British passion” (152). Trade cards “offered the retailer the opportunity to educate his or her public, making the new familiar and therefore accessible” (Berg and Clifford 156). Trade cards taught customers “how to appreciate new inventions” and promoted “manufacturing and invention, with the spectacle and tourism of shops’ products and manufacturing process” (Berg and Clifford 158). According to Philippa Hubbard, trade cards were characterized by movement between people and across spaces (31). As such, they were a unique form of advertisement that promoted sociality and a sense of privilege among consumers.

^{lxii} Garvey contends that those in “positions of relative powerlessness used their scrapbooks to make a place for themselves and their communities by finding, sifting, analyzing, and recirculating writing that mattered to them;” scrapbooks show “how national and world events entered into people’s understanding and feelings” (4).

^{lxiii} Sarah Sophia’s scrapbook was also a key example of ephemeral collecting. Ephemeral collecting worked against traditional hierarchies of high and low culture, of subject and object (Potvin and Myzalev 2). According to Todd Gernes, assembling books of ephemera allowed “ordinary people” to create “meaning, art, and history” (107). Gernes claims, “Compilers of assembled books (like scrapbooks) transformed the everyday prose of the object world into poetry, infusing domestic artifacts with historicity, familiarity, and selfhood” (109). Collections, like that Sarah Sophia Banks, transcend mere accumulation by virtue of their “cultural complexity and incompleteness” (109). In addition to the practice of trade card collecting, which Hubbard claims “complicated the traditional categorization of trade cards as ‘ephemera’” by “highlighting the longevity of trade cards in social life” (44), scrapbooking also complicated the understanding of objects as ephemeral through the practice of collection, compilation, and preservation. The scrapbook represents a material exchange between physical objects and those of the imagination (*Illustrations, Optics, and Objects* 3). Leis contends that Sarah Sophia’s arrangement of her collection occurred in the moment and attests to the “massive scale” of ephemera in eighteenth-century Britain (“Cutting, Arranging” 132, 183). Sarah Sophia’s collection collection, therefore, demonstrates the importance of print culture in “shaping the social experience of historical events like the revolutionary or Napoleonic wars” (Leis “Ephemeral Histories” 185), and her “Collection of scraps challenges the notion of permanence often associated with historical commemoration” (Leis “Ephemeral Histories” 185). For more on ephemera collecting, see Linda King (33), Paula McDowell (54, 61).

^{lxiv} The scrapbook represents a material exchange between physical objects and those of the imagination (*Illustrations, Optics, and Objects* 3). It demonstrates the way that print culture in shaping social experience (Leis “Ephemeral Histories” 185).

^{lxv} Sarah Sophia's scrapbook is also an example of Romantic collecting. Judith Pascoe's work on the subject of romantic collecting interrogates any assumed connection between Romantic collecting and imperial endeavors. She points out, instead, female collectors like Queen Charlotte, noting that collecting could serve as a means of escape and reinvention (22). Pascoe reads collected objects as points for 'imaginative take-off' (16); as such, these collected objects form the basis for a deeply material imaginative schema. By looking to commonplace books (connected in many ways to scrapbooks), Pascoe illustrates that "a clear division between fact and fiction, science and mythology, had not yet come to exist in the first part of the nineteenth century," as such books, like scrapbooks, brought together science and factual narrative with sensational stories and scientific and Romantic poetry (142). One commonplace book in particular, belonging to Mary Anning, began with the poem by Byron, "January 22nd, 1824: On this day I complete my thirty-sixth year" (Pascoe 142). The title of the poem presents a Byron who interested Anning, a "self-mythologizing" Byron, in whom Anning "saw her collecting practice as a means of exalting herself and of pushing the boundaries of female experience" (Pascoe 143). Such a reading could also be applied to the scrapbooks of Sarah Sophia, particularly her ballooning scrapbook, with its interest in female aerial travel that pushes at these very boundaries. Like Anning, Sarah Sophia appreciated both an object's scientific use and its aesthetic appeal (Pascoe 152), an appreciation that finds a most suitable object in the hot air balloon. As material objects formed from the tangible productions of surrounding culture and the imagination, Sarah Sophia's and the Huntington's ballooning scrapbooks help us to read history in a haptic manner that allows for the emergence of new experience through a practice of collecting that engages the body and the imagination in a material process of history-making characterized by heterogeneity and curiosity (Gernes 117).

^{lxvi} Anna Catalani and Susan Pearce, "Particular Thanks and Obligations: The Communications Made by Women to the society of Antiquaries Between 1776 and 1837, and Their Significance," 256.

^{lxvii} Patricia Phillips notes in *The Scientific Lady: A Social History of Women's Scientific Interests, 1520-1918* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), that ephemeral literature was "expected to reinforce a basic scientific literacy in women" (78).

^{lxviii} The *Lady's Magazine* was intended to be a "very serious journal which took up important issues," such as "women's education... biographies of famous women intellectuals... articles on ornithology and exploration" (Phillips 119).

^{lxix} Luisa Calé and Adriana Craciun, "The Disorder of Things," *ECS* 45. 1 (2011): 1-13; quote appears on 6.

^{lxx} see *The Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 1 July, 1785; 5 July, 1785.

^{lxxi} *General Advertiser*, 30 June, 1785, Burney 17th and 18th century Newspapers Collection.

^{lxxii} See, for example, Caspar David Friedrich's famous painting *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog*, 1817, for a Romantic manifestation of the masculine sublime.

^{lxxiii} For an example of the satirical accounts of Joseph Banks circulating after the first Cook voyage, see "An Epistle from Mr. Banks, Voyager, Monster-Hunter, and Amoroso to Oberea, Queen of Otaheite," (London, 1773), Eighteenth-Century Collections Online.

^{lxxiv} See Carington Bowles, "An exact representation of Mr. Lunardi's New Balloon as it ascended with himself 13 May 1785," British Museum Collections Online.

^{lxxv} Mrs. Sage touches on these concerns of the male aeronaut in her expression of concern for Lunardi and the costs and pressures of the delayed balloon flight.

^{lxxvi} “Aerostatic Figures,” *Scientific American Supplement* 58 (July-Dec., 1904): 24103, Google Books, <https://books.google.com/books?id=oes5AQAAAJ&pg=PA24103&lpg=PA24103&dq=Aerial+Nymph+buisses&source=bl&ots=aO7Hnl0yN5#v=onepage&q=Aerial%20Nymph%20buisses&f=false>

^{lxxvii} Michelle Hetherington, “The mirror of folly.”

^{lxxviii} The Huntington has very little information on the scrapbook, but I've been able to trace it to an auction sale at the Walpole Galleries on 4, November, 1921, where it was purchased by Rosenbach, who seems to have been acting as an agent for Huntington. According to the information I was able to attain from the Rosenbach curators, he made a number of purchases at that sale, totaling \$244. Their accounts receivable records and sales books indicate that Huntington paid \$33 for the scrapbook on November 8, 1941 (\$30 +10% commission of \$3). None of the correspondence between Rosenbach and Huntington during that period mention the scrapbook, however. The auction catalogue, held at the Grolier Club, where the auction catalog from that particular sale is held, indicate that the scrapbook contains content from “1780 to 1850,” showing its reach far into the nineteenth century and supporting my reading of the contents as being more invested in looking back upon and collecting a history of ballooning

^{lxxix} A.V. Seaton’s work on thanatourism lays the foundation for the sort of fascination with the spectacle of ballooning disasters and the collection of relics from such disasters occurring in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Seaton’s analysis of Waterloo illustrates the way that looting and sightseeing became symbiotically connected to the disasters and war in this period (132). Similarly, Stuart Semmel explains how such tourism and collecting went hand in hand (12). He writes that the epistemological foundation for tourism and collecting can be found in the notion that physically confronting and interacting with “historical relics and landscapes” would provide a higher sense of awareness than any “written text or geographical representation” (13). Connected to this is also the extreme idea that artifacts might offer a “communion with the fallen” and that history, like nature, could overwhelm the viewer with sublimity (13). Semmel traces relics from Waterloo that had politically sympathetic, moral and poetic appeal; such relics had certain transcendent qualities (25-26). This can also be said about the relics found in the Huntington scrapbook and other such relics of ballooning disasters.

^{lxxx} Judith Pascoe contends that a cult of relic collecting surrounding Percy Shelley began with the story of Trelawny reaching into Shelley’s funeral pyre and snatching his heart from the flames (2). According to the story, the heart was handed over to Mary Shelley who kept it pressed in a copy of Shelley’s poem, “Adonais,” in a desk until her death when it was found by her unsuspecting family. Pascoe claims that such Romantic collecting resulted from a “desire to possess material vestiges of the dead” (3). The famous Lord Nelson’s body, for instance, was pickled after his death and returned to England intact (Pascoe 3).

^{lxxxii} For more on the relationship between the fancy of poetry and the fancy of ballooning, see Ivan Ortiz’s article, “Fancy’s Eye: Poetic Vision and the Romantic Air Balloon.”

^{lxxxiii} Paul Keen reads the spectacle of ballooning as representative of the growing instability of cultural and intellectual exchange and is interested in the place of spectacle in discussions of scientific progress and serious scientific endeavor. He claims that balloons reflected the public’s fascination with its own ability to be fascinated (43).

^{lxxxiiii} Forster is also the author of *A Voyage Round the World*, which details his observations of the peoples encountered on the second of Cook’s voyages.

^{lxxxiv} For a more detailed account of The Monster, see Shoemaker, 275-299.

^{lxxxv} This connection is also explored in the earlier work of MacLaren, who draws the focus onto the author and the various cultural influences the author of the exploration narrative is responding to and which are, thus, shaping the narrative.

^{lxxxvi} Here, we see an instance of citing Cook in terms of Enlightenment thinking about the indigenous Other, a connection between Cook and the philosophies of the Enlightenment that we have also seen echoed in the discussion of Omai in Chapter 1.

^{lxxxvii} See Rousseau

^{lxxxviii} See Forster *Observations*.

^{lxxxix} For examples of Pacific voyaging culture, explore the Pacific Cultures Collection of Te Papa Tongarewa.

^{xc} A rumor which, interestingly, also circulated around the death of Keats.

^{xc} See Roy.

^{xcii} See Lamb, Stafford, Smith, and Leask.

^{xciii} Thomas offers an alternative reading of this scene. He contends that in Uratua's stripping and presenting Banks with bark cloth, she wasn't revealing genitalia but her buttocks tattoos (69), the result of a painful ritual surrounding puberty and "understood to dispel the dangerous and contagious sacredness that every human body was charged with at birth" (69). This was the tapu, both sacred and threatening: "Tattooing sealed up the person and made him or her safe from others and for others." The "ritual Banks witnessed revealed that the woman was a "mature social actor and an appropriate person to barter with. It was not a sexual invitation," but Banks took it as such and as a sign that they were in a place of "luxuriant sensuality" (69).

^{xciv} As with the manner in which he catalogues indigenous tattooing alongside clothing. He then uses this ordering to make general statements about indigenous people, like the Marquesan tattoos being dictated "more by fancy than by custom." See Chapter 1 for more on this subject.

^{xcv} see Hawkesworth 2, 142-145 for an extended commentary on and critique of the measures taken to preserve the dead in Europe, inspired by the observation of the Tahitian custom of keeping their dead above ground.

^{xcvi} For more on the background of this satirical text, see Roderick.

^{xcvii} See discussion of this print in Chapter 2.

^{xcviii} For more on this, see Chapter 2.

^{xcix} For more on the background of this satirical text, see Roderick.

^c For more on this subject, see my discussion of the macaroni hairstyles in Chapter 2.

^{ci} Nicholas Thomas writes on cannibalism and the second voyage: the mariners were preoccupied with cannibalism as part of the definition of the savage and also what the English public wanted to hear (104). The passage on cannibalism in Banks's journal is the only instant in the journal where he goes so far as to transcribe or recall an interview in order to document a circumstance (106). Tupaia sought not only to confirm or disconfirm but to censure the practice (106). The Maori's affirmation of cannibalism can be seen as an assertion that they lived their lives as they chose (107). Cook's response to cannibalism was categorical instead of taking the "custom" to define savagery. He uses "the customary" character of it to "exempt the Maori of savagery" (107); his impression was not shaped by cannibalism. For more on the meaning of cannibalism in terms of Romantic ideas of the human body, see Kitson.

^{cii} For a more extensive summary of the novel, see Faussett, 167-179.

^{ciii} See *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 16 July, 1774. See also "Appendix A: The Grass Cove Incident," *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*.

^{civ} See "Appendix A: The Grass Cove Incident," *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*.

^{cv} Compare with Burney, appendix IV, 749-52, who also looks on the scene "with horror" and describes himself as "stupefied on the spot"

^{cvi} See Captain Tobias Furneaux, appendix IV, 743-44.

^{cvii} See James Cook, *A Voyage towards the South Pole, and Round the World*, 1:126-28, 2: 158-60. See also "Appendix B: Descriptions of Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific," *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*.

^{cviii} See "Appendix C: Cannibals," *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*.

^{cix} This move also places Bowman's account within the tradition of fascination with Tahiti and the Otaheite tongue that we have seen in the previous satirical epistles connected with Banks.

^{cx} See Appendices B2 and D6, *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*.

^{cxii} *Journals of Captain Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Vol. 2: The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure 1772-1775*, clxvii-clxviii. See also "Appendix G: The Great Southern Continent," *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*.

^{cxiii} Thomas further discusses the genuine plausibility that the southern continent possessed in the 1760s, 19.

^{cxiiii} See Dalrymple, iii-iv, x, xiii, 88-90, 96-98. See also "Appendix G: The Great Southern Continent," *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*.

^{cxv} Thomas notes that S.T. Coleridge was inspired by accounts of Cook's voyages in his writing of the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (411). This is a subject I will discuss further in Chapter 4.

^{cxvi} For more on the popular understanding and depictions of the Morai, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 4.

^{cxvii} For more on Seward's depiction of Oberea, particularly her connection to Wallis and the *Dolphin*, see Roderick, 68-69.

^{cxvii} See Banks, “Manners and Customs of South Sea Islands, 1769,” in which he describes the Morai (or marai), and the women’s custom of “striking a shark’s tooth several times into the crown of her head” in grief.

^{cxviii} See Frost, 92.

^{cxix} For an extended discussion of the ways that the writings of these poets reflect their interest in Cook, see Frost, 95-98. See also the beginning of Chapter 4.

^{cxx} For more on fancy, see Ortiz, “Fancy’s Eye,” and Robinson, *Unfettered Poetry*. For more on the relationship of the poetic imagination to history, see Goodman, *Georgic Modernity and British Romanticism*. See also Engell, *The Creative Imagination*, for more on the creation of the imagination within the context of discovery and science in the eighteenth century.

^{cxixi} For more on the history of the text of the poem, its revisions, and its public reception, see Jerome McGann, “The Meaning of the Ancient Mariner.” McGann contends that, for Coleridge, the poem “illustrates a special theory of the historical interpretation of texts” (50). The operation of this theory is seen in the poem’s illustration of the “continuity of meaning between cultural phenomena” that was diverse and seemingly disparate (51). McGann argues that Coleridge’s re-presentation of an “evidently mediated text” both fostered the driving idea of an unlimited number of textual readings and tethered the poem to “its own hermeneutic ideology, to a certain sort of reading” (57). While McGann does not address the Cook voyages in his discussion of the “variety of culturally and historically mediated material” Coleridge presents us with in the poem, it clearly falls under the sort of material that would have been valued by Coleridge in the construction of the poem; like the religious, historical, and mythological symbols throughout the poem, the events of Cook voyages also become symbols of meaning.

^{cxixii} For more on Forster’s influence on the “Mariner,” see Arnd Bohm, “Georg Forster’s *A Voyage Round the World* as a Source for the ‘Rime of the Ancient Mariner’: A Reconsideration.” Bohm claims that the “combination of important elements such as the philosophical commentary upon the expedition, the theme of interaction with nature, and the specific details—birds, ice, shining sea, illness—makes as good a case as can be made circumstantially for the presence of one text in another” (376).

^{cxixiii} In addition to the claims of Smith and Rudolph I am working with here, Ken McGoogan’s work, *Ancient Mariner: The Arctic Adventures of Samuel Hearne, the Sailor Who Inspired Coleridge’s Masterpiece*, makes a convincing case for the influence of Hearne’s voyage on “Mariner.”

^{cxixiv} See McGann’s essay for more on the critical history of the “Mariner.”

^{cxixv} The imagery in the “Mariner” and its relationship to the imagination is a subject of critical debate, and critics, like A.C. Swanepool tend to view the imagery as representative of larger philosophical movements which Coleridge may be influencing/influenced by. These arguments, however, tend to rely upon the supernatural, fantastic, and imaginative nature of Coleridge’s imagery (see 199-200). Though Swanepool articulates the relationship between the familiar and the unfamiliar in “Coleridge’s Transcendental Imagination: The Seascape beyond the Senses in ‘The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,’” consideration of the influence of accounts of Cook’s voyages on Coleridge’s imagery provides us with a broader view of the imagination in the context of the real. In this regard, the work of Patrick J. Keane is important in establishing the historical resonance of “Mariner” in terms of both the slave trade and the French Revolution. Keane does this, in part, through establishing connections between Coleridge’s “Mariner” and *Robinson Crusoe*.

^{cxxvi} The eye has been read by Anne Williams in terms of the symbolic. She contends that the poem is less about the creative imagination than it is about the “creation of the imagination” (1115). She reads the imagination as “defensive” (1124) and her reading of the ever-present symbolism of the eye is connected to the creation of the self and the link between “vision and death” (1125). The eye is part of a larger discussion of symbolism in the work of Coleridge: McGann contends that the symbol is meaningful only in its ability to convey meaning; J. Robert Barth argues that “the imagination and the symbol cannot be separated,” and, in this unity, they “retain their power to touch and move us” (6). As Barth argues, for Coleridge, “the symbol is an idea; it is bodies forth in the senses” (136). In the symbol, reason and understanding “work together under the direction of the imagination” (136). Romanticism, in this way, is not merely a subjective way of feeling but also of knowing (138).

^{cxxvii} see Salmond, *Aphrodite’s Island*.

^{cxxviii} Barbara Stafford examines visual representations of travel in the 18th and 19th centuries, exploring the many facets of the relationship of travel to scientific empiricism and discovery and the manner in which this relationship is made manifest in visual art.

^{cxxix} The skinny hand is also a recurring image throughout the poem; its pairing here with the glittering eye and the emphasis on the color of its skin places it within the developing surface imagery of the poem.

^{cxxx} Jasmine Jagger, examines Coleridge’s views on the relationship between the imagination and bodily health and the medical relationship between Coleridge and Wordsworth. Her work further complicates readings of Coleridge’s writing on the imagination and establishes a sense of the material connection Coleridge created between his imagination and his body through poems like “Dejection: An Ode.”

^{cxxxi} Smith’s comment in line 346, that she had been an “early worshipper at nature’s shrine,” suggests that, perhaps, she had arrived at these imaginative, poetic conclusions before Wordsworth, who portrays himself in such terms in *Tintern Abbey*. Smith, then, may be able to provide a clearer view of the imagination, using her “flights of fancy,” as in “Beachy Head,” to explore the material remains, productions, and consequences of history.

^{cxxxii} Theresa Kelley writes that “Beachy Head” is both “historically ambitious” and “attentive to natural history” (286). She contends that this poem is critical to understanding “how gender and poetic ambition constitute a productive arena of conflict within Romantic poetics” (286). In “Beachy Head,” Smith moves between macro and micro levels in her point of view (288, see also Siegfried Kracauer, *History: The Last Things Before the Last*, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1969, pp. 118–19). Kelley ultimately contends that the gender of the poet is not central to the difficulty of the poem; rather, it is the difficulty of “writing history when its records and concerns work at so many discordant levels” (290).

^{cxxxiii} According to Jaqueline Labbe, “Smith’s personae offer, not a new version of the idealist, but its original” (3). Smith “problematiz[es] gender itself,” particularly as it is presented in the Romantic idealism of Wordsworth, and “shows an engagement with gender to the point that the separating labels of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ themselves come under scrutiny” (Labbe 3). For more on Romanticism and gender, about the ways women wrote about their experiences of gender, see Anne Mellor.

^{cxxxiv} The parenthetical here that places the critique in Tahiti specifically is from Stuart Curran’s editorial note to this edition.

^{cxxxv} The possibility of political corruption occurring in Tahiti due to the growing state of inequality was addressed by Georg Forster in his *A Voyage Round the World*.

^{cxv} For historical and ethnographical accounts of Cook's encounters in the Pacific, see Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog*, and Nicholas Thomas, *The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook*. For more on the history of contact and of the European fascination with Tahiti, see Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*.

^{cxvi} The goals of exploration can also be seen as connected to gender, to masculinity. Smith, as a female poet, offers a different version of the Romantic idealist in this scenario.

^{cxvii} The relationship between geological history and poetics is explored by a number of scholars. Anne Wallace examines the relationship of the small objects of geological history in the poem, the sea shell fossils, to the picturesque and the sublime. Kevis Goodman contends that Smith finds "contemporary theories of the earth. . . imaginatively compelling" (986). In her geological surroundings, she finds the model for poetics that "can hold together the particular phenomena of individual experience and the totality that structures them," opening up for us a new understanding of Romantic poetic form (987).

^{cxviii} Goodman elaborates further on this passage, claiming that these lines aren't an indication of any hostility toward science on the part of Smith; rather, he sees Smith's curiosity sparked throughout the poem by the imaginative potential and possibilities of geological science (995). Goodman focuses on Smith's use of the word "conjecture," its history within the Scottish Enlightenment, and its use to bridge the gap between observable and unobservable phenomena, from "particulars, to phenomena one could not see, and thence to systemic knowledge" (995). Goodman claims that Smith applies the meaning of "conjecture" in both her poem's subject and format, bringing together heterogeneous objects, accurately described, and collected within the poem (996-7).

^{cxix} Kari Lokke, in contrasting Smith's hermit to similar characters in the works of Wollstonecraft, Wordsworth, and Coleridge, demonstrates that Smith's hermit is unique in his placement "beyond the sensuous pleasures and the healing influence of phenomenal nature," which were still available to both the forest hermit (line 631) and the visionary (line 655). The final hermit's altruism in saving shipwrecked sailors from the rocks "challenges the self-absorption of the solitary poet recluse who precedes him in the poem" (41). Lokke demonstrates that Smith's hermit is, thus, set apart from those of Wordsworth and Coleridge.

^{cx} Ben's appearance echoes that of Robinson Crusoe, especially in illustrations like those of Thomas Stothard (1782, 1790) and George Cruikshank (1831). See "Robinson Crusoe discovers the print of a man's foot," *The Victorian Web*, <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/illustration/stothard/15.html>

^{cxvi} For more on the shifting identity of the European on the beaches of the Pacific, see Dening, especially "Ships and Men" (95-128) and "Beachcombers" (129- 161). Beachcombers, similar to these mutineers, were "strangers in their new society, and scandals to their old. . . On the beach they were no longer the sailors, the husbands, or even the men that those [former] roles made" (129). Dening describes their life on the beach as a sort of experiment (129).

^{cxvii} For more on gender difference in the eighteenth century and how a woman's gender affected the reception of her work, see Harriet Guest, "Eighteenth-Century Femininity."

^{cxviii} This poem's inclusion in the narrative of Cook's life precedes Williams' translation of the work of a later famous explorer, Alexander von Humboldt (1814-1827). Paula Yurss Lasanta claims in this translation that she defends the idea that "emotions do not invalidate the author's accuracy," and that she makes her own contributions apparent (58-59). We see this emotion at work in Williams' poem for Kippis, in which the emotion and mourning that permeates the Pacific sharpens our perception of the realities of contact.

^{exlv} For scholarship on the Cook voyages and how they shaped public conceptions of the Pacific, see Fulford, Lee and Kitson, Gascoigne, Guest, Salmond, and Thomas, *Cook*. For further reading on visual culture and the imagination, see Smith, Stafford, and Calé and Di Bello. For more on the role of material and print culture in shaping public knowledge and identity, see Craciun and Schaffer, Keen, and Thomas, *Entangled Objects*.

^{exlvi} For more on Keats, materiality in Romantic poetry, and the imagination, see Bate, Dickstein, Ellis, Goellnicht, Gittings, Lau, Levinson, Ricks, and Taylor.

^{exlvii} visit sarahsophiabanks.com

^{exlviii} for more on conceptions of the global and identity in this period, see Nussbaum and Ogborn.

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