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This article offers an ecocritical reading of Captain Cook's *Journals* written during his three circumnavigations. It focuses on the British imperial agenda of the politics of transplantation within the context of Pacific exploration and encounters with indigenous populations. The nature of transnational exchanges and contacts between members of the crews and Pacific islanders through collecting, planting and transplanting is reassessed in light of postcolonial and environmental studies.

Cet article propose une lecture écocritique des Journaux *du capitaine Cook écrits durant ses trois circumnavigations. Il met en lumière le programme impérial britannique de politique de transplantation à l'œuvre dans le contexte de l'exploration du Pacifique et des rencontres avec les populations indigènes. Les pratiques consistant à collectionner, planter et transplanter seront abordées à la lumière des études postcoloniales et environnementales pour réévaluer la nature des échanges et contacts transnationaux qui eurent lieu entre les équipages et les habitants du Pacifique.*

Anna Seward's *Elegy on Captain Cook*, published in London in 1780, has been analysed as a sentimental construct based on the heroic figure of Cook amidst the angst of savagery in the South Seas. In the *Elegy*, Seward opposes "human fiends" (l. 178) to Cook's courage and enlightening mission. The ecological aspects of Cook's voyages constitute a prominent feature in the poem and buttress the imperialistic ideology that accompanied these Pacific expeditions. Cook is presented as the bearer of civilisation bringing food to Polynesian islanders, in the form of seeds to plant and animals to farm, with a view to retrieving them from famine and even cannibalism:

> To these the Hero leads his living store,
> And pours new wonders, on th's uncultur'd shore
> The silky fleece, fair fruit, and golden grain;
> And future herds and harvests bless the plain.
> O'er the green soil his Kids exulting play,

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> And sounds his clarion the Bird of day;
> The downy Goose her ruffled bosom laves,
> Trims her white wing, and wantons in the waves;
> Stern moves the Bull along th' affrighted shores,
> And countless nations tremble as he roars. (Seward 101-10)

Capitalising on an erroneous retelling of the actual encounters with Polynesian islanders, the Georgic poem encapsulates the ideology of empire dressed in the appearance of benevolence and civilisation. Indeed, in the journal of his first voyage, Cook had noticed that the Maori practise of cannibalism was in no way related to a state of starvation, as the island was seen to be cultivated and fertile: "The soil both of the hills and vallies is light and sandy and very proper for produceing all kinds of roots but we saw only sweet Potatoes and Yamms among them; these they plant in little round hills, and have plantations of them containing several Acres neatly laid out and in good order" (Cook 82).[1] Be it as it may, the vision of wild savages waiting to be enlightened suited the heroic hagiography around the mythification of Captain Cook and cloaked the expeditions with charitable purposes.

Eighteenth-century European Pacific voyages, led by British and French fleets, such as Byron's, Carteret's and Wallis's expeditions and de Bougainville's voyage, combined scientific interests with political agendas aiming for the discovery of a Southern continent which, it was hoped, might lead to commercial exchanges with new nations and assert the pre-eminence of one Western nation over the others in the South Seas. In the wake of Spain's claim to the mastery of the Pacific Ocean, France and Britain had entered a competitive race for the discovery of new lands and new routes in the Pacific to secure commercial interests and possibly establish commercial monopolies with Pacific islanders. Imperial historians have focused on the naval strategies at work in the Pacific expeditions and on the race for territorial expansion from the end of the Seven Years' War onwards. Postcolonial critics have pointed out the colonial endeavours that lurked in the scientific missions led by Captain Cook, often describing a dual vision opposing colonial desires and brutality to the passive responses of Polynesians fallen victims to Western colonial appetites (see Obeyesekere, Sturma). Botany became the armed weapon of imperialism relying on science and the Western ideology of modernity.[2] Yet new strands in environmental studies offer a more nuanced perspective on Cook's voyages as the role of Pacific islanders has been reconsidered under a new light, seeing them as agents in the various contacts emerging from the successive voyages, especially ecological exchanges. In this essay, I use the term transplantation in both

1. All quotations and page numbers from Cook's journals are drawn from the Penguin edition. Original spelling is respected throughout.
2. For a similar argument about the European appropriation of native American medicinal plants in South America seen as a form of colonisation of and through foreign knowledge, see Boumediene.

its strict and broad sense to describe 1) attempts at planting new species and bringing new plants to a different part of the world and 2) as the metaphor of transposing and translating Pacific encounters and materials in Europe through collecting, cataloguing and more generally displaying.

Transplantation entailed the collection of exotic plants and fauna specimens during the voyages, which were brought back to Britain, and more largely to Europe, since scientific networks connected museums and scientific academies throughout Europe. Collecting, classifying and displaying acted as imperial instruments to measure the New World and try to understand it. If the collection of specimens and artefacts seems to have been based on the exchange of European "trifles" (such as nails and clothes) for precious indigenous objects, a new reassessment of the nature of the transnational exchanges taking place in those contact zones offers a different picture. I would like to reconsider those exchanges and confront imperialistic interpretations of Cook's voyages with ecocritical readings of the voyages which situate Indigenous knowledge of nature as a counter-discourse to Western colonial narratives.

In this essay, I will use Cook's journals and other contemporaneous publications (such as Joseph Banks's journals and newspaper articles) to unearth the ambivalence between environmental and imperialistic concerns in the voyages and to examine the politics of transplantation in Britain and in Oceania. First, I will examine the centripetal nature of the politics of transplantation of *artificialia* and *naturalia* from the Pacific to Britain to read the imperialistic nature of Pacific expeditions. I will then look at the conflation of environmentalist interests and colonial agendas by examining the policy of transplantation (of seeds and animals) and looking at one case-study, the history of the breadfruit, a plant discovered during Cook's first expedition, which was to be shipped to the West Indies at the end of the century. Finally, I will discuss the agency of indigenous peoples in their decisions to adopt Western objects or acclimatise plants and animals. This last point will focus on the necessity to decentre the metropolitan vision in order to reach a more global reassessment of strategies of creolisation in the politics of transplantation.

Botanising, collecting and seizing the world: from display to spectacle

The writing of Cook's journals, but also of Banks's and Forster's, employed what Bernard Cohn terms the "investigative modality" (Cohn 6-10) whereby the scientific gaze interrogates the foreign landscape, its inhabitants and local flora and fauna, and surveys and collects information to generate truths. The accumulation of data answered a colonial purpose as the generalisation of knowledge increased power over other nations. In writing the Pacific, the geographical text and its visual representations, in the form of botanical and topographical drawings, landscape paintings and recreations on the stage allowed for the construction of what Nilanjana Mukherjee calls an "epistemological territory" (9). In

recording their observations and discovery, the naturalists and explorers were pursuing their attempt to unravel God's creation. The accumulation of specimens helped to map the geodiversity encountered and responded to the empirical demand of exact and minute observation of nature. In re-naming "Stingray Harbour Bay" "Botany Bay," Cook inscribed the goal of his scientific mission within the geography and mapping of the unknown New Holland, turning the void of *Terra Nullius* into decipherable texts. This new land became printed by the explorer, who also left his footprints there whilst describing and naming it, and offered a geography that became readable to British colonialists: "the great quantity of New Plants &c Mr Banks & Dr Solander collected in this place occasioned my giving it the name of Botany Bay" (Cook 129).

Displaying specimens back home was analogous to performing the Pacific, offering the spectacle of the Pacific without the islanders' presence. This lack would be filled when the second voyage brought Omai on board Captain Furneaux's ship back to England, to complete the performance of the Pacific. John O'Keeffe's pantomime *Omai or a Trip round the World* (1785), accompanied by the costumes and set décors designed by Philippe de Loutherbourg, used the evocative power of Webber's and Hodges's paintings to create panoramas of the Pacific on the stage, a mirror-image of the scientific, but nonetheless spectacular, displays that could be admired in the nearby private and public collections. The painted topographical panoramas of the pantomime were deemed "the attractions of an EXHIBITION in itself" in the *Public Advertiser* in December 1785. The spectacularisation of the Pacific carried imperialistic undertones, as has been shown by recent scholarship. According to David O'Quinn, the pantomime was part of this imperial movement, and read as a "translation into entertainment of ethnographic moments in which the European strangers confronted that otherness and in that description possessed them" (74).

The natural specimens and artefacts collected during the first voyage could be seen in public collections such as the British Museum and Sir Ashton Lever's *Holophusicon* but were also held by private collectors in their cabinets, in London and in the provinces. The Leverian Museum was located near Loutherbourg's workshop. It is believed Loutherbourg was able to model his costumes and settings designs after artefacts possibly seen at the *Holophusicon*. Discovering the South Seas material in various public and private collections or watching it on display and enacted in the performance of a pantomime raised a similar sense of wonder, since it invited the public to reconstruct the history of the voyages and of the islanders' exoticism. Experiencing material culture, examining landscape paintings or scenery onstage participated in a form of geotourism which allowed the public to seize an imagined world and master its reconstructed history. As Cook's first contemporary biographer, Andrew Kippis, explained, Tahiti "had opened new scenes for a poetical fancy to range in" (Kippis 510).

The development of natural history in the second half of the eighteenth century encouraged a form of imperialistic discourse about the discovery of the New World. Mary Louise Pratt has pointed out that natural history severed the organic link between a plant or an animal's origins and the more general history of the place that produced it, and aimed at categorising and labelling distinctly: "Natural history extracted specimens not only from their organic or ecological relations with each other, but also from their places in other peoples' economies, histories, social and symbolic systems" (Pratt 31). The transformation of indigenous plants into abstract categories allowed for an imaginative reconstruction of the history of the island or population or place that produced it or where it grew. In *The European Magazine and London Review* of 1782, Lever's collection at Leicester House was described as a show: "there is not one [spectacle] more worthy the attention of a curious and intelligent person than the Holophusicon" (*The European Magazine* 17). As its name indicates, the *Holophusicon* (literally "the whole of nature") aimed at offering, if not an exhaustive view of South Seas and North American Pacific materials, at least an extensive view of it, ordered in a scientific way, but still leaving space for the imagination to roam and reconstruct peoples and places encountered during Cook's expeditions. In the "Otaheite Room" were "numerous dresses, ornaments, idols, domestic utensils, &c. of the people in the newly discovered islands, which, to an active imagination, convey a forcible idea of them and their manners" (*The European Magazine* 20-21). In this passage, encyclopaedic knowledge is conveyed through material evocations. In the "Club Room," the visitors could admire the "warlike weapons of the several savage nations of America. […] curiously carved, and some require prodigious strength to be able to wield with agility" (*The European Magazine* 21). Here the figure of the absent warrior has to be mentally recreated by the visitor who is asked to reconstruct a human presence through his/her imagination. Similarly, the Sandwich Islands Room "expresses very strongly the character of the people" (*The European Magazine* 21). The author compares the visit to a form of travel, as if the visitor embarked on a journey through the world as he progresses through the various rooms. Observation is combined with the work of the imagination: "As [the beholder] proceeds, the objects before him make his active fancy travel from pole to pole through torrid and through frigid zones" (*The European Magazine* 21).

As Beth Fowkes Goggin has argued, botany became an instrument of power in colonial discourses: "as markers of elite status, cultural capital, and scientific expertise, tropical plants within these various botanic and horticultural discourses were also suggestive of British mastery over the globe's natural resources" (171). She identifies several strands in botanical knowledge, economic botany, scientific botany, interested in classification, horticulture (the realm of gardeners) and polite botany (Fowkes Goggin 174). In a letter to the Comte du Lauraguais dated 6 December

1771, Joseph Banks describes the useful collection of specimens in New Zealand and Tahiti that were deemed interesting for their botanical characteristics and for their economic potential, should they be cultivated in England. He refers to New Zealand hemp which was hoped to be used to make nautical rope and to the Tou tree (*cordia subcordata*) whose leaves, when crushed with berries of the banyan fig (*ficus tinctorial* or mati), were used by Polynesians to produce a red dye for painting tapa cloth. The economic benefits and technological perspectives of potentially transplanting Polynesian natural produce and techniques appear in the following passage:

> The number of natural productions discovered in this voyage is incredible; about one thousand species of plants that have not been at all described by any botanical author; five hundred of fishes; as many birds; with insects, sea and land, innumerable. With some of these very considerable oeconomical purposes may be answered; particularly with the fine dye of the Otaheitians, and the plant whereof the New Zealanders make their cloth, of both which we have brought over the seeds. (Banks 1771, 20)

As David Miller has demonstrated, Joseph Banks and more specifically his indefatigable passion for collecting *naturalia* and *artificialia* reflect the Latourian concept of a "center of calculation" ("*centre de calcul*") (Miller 23). Joseph Banks was at the centre of most of the circulation of specimens and samples, and of their cataloguing and classifying, not just in Britain but throughout Europe. As the dispersal of the collection from the first and successive voyages indicates, objects circulated and were sent to academic institutions and museums in Sweden (Gottinger), Dublin, Paris, and knowledge was shared and exchanged through scientific epistolary correspondence. The centralisation of information in the figure of Banks can also be extended to shed light on the link between collecting and Britain's imperial expansion. As Latour has underlined, collecting the natural world by gathering samples of seeds and specimens of animals allowed the newly-discovered world to be scaled down, understood and thus seized, or at least dominated by the centre. According to Latour, the systematic cataloguing of the world ultimately displayed in botanical gardens or at the British Museum shows a centralisation of knowledge in "centers of calculation," which resonated with imperial ideology.

This relation between two places, a periphery and a centre, between a centre of calculation and the objects under scrutiny testifies to the desire to classify, understand, decipher, define. In *Le Pouvoir des bibliothèques*, Latour uses the La Pérouse expedition as a paradigm to illustrate how centres of calculation, here France and Versailles, launched an expedition to map, chart and transform new, unfamiliar and exotic things into "immutable mobiles" such as maps and drawings. To illustrate his definition of information, Latour uses the example of the naturalist Pierre Sonnerat's drawings of his voyage to New Guinea, and insists

on the exercise of power at work in the way the naturalist draws and selects information when deciding what to draw and how to present what he sees. He begins with a self-portrait by Pierre Sonnerat in the latter's 1776 *Voyage à la Nouvelle-Guinée*. What is thus drawn, written about or taken back from a voyage becomes an inscription, and marks the transformation of the reality into processable data: "[p]artie d'un centre européen vers une périphérie tropicale, l'expédition qu'il sert trace, à travers l'espace-temps, un rapport très particulier qui va permettre au centre d'accumuler des connaissances sur un lieu qu'il ne pouvait se représenter jusqu'ici" (Latour 25). Latour underlines the spectacularisation of this process, where the exotic is being displayed in its most salient features so as to capture its difference: "le monde indigène doit se mettre en représentation afin d'être saisi par le mouvement de l'information" (Latour 25). This constitutes the disciplinary act by which power and domination can be exerted on foreign lands. Collections accompany maps in the organisation of total and global knowledge: "le premier négocie ce qu'il doit prélever dans le second afin de le tenir sous le regard et d'agir à distance sur lui" (Latour 25-26). Collecting, drawing, mapping and charting, together with keeping journals and logbooks, aimed at producing a network of Enlightenment knowledge which added its share to Western scientific knowledge and increased Western power and mastery over non-Western nations. Collecting and displaying at home, planting abroad: on each voyage to the Pacific, European sea captains were careful to plant European seeds into indigenous soil. As shall be seen in the next section, transplantation played a significant part in building the imperial project of European nations.

The policy of transplantation

When arriving in Tahiti in June 1767, Captain Samuel Wallis, aboard *the Dolphin*, accompanied by Phillip Carteret aboard the storeship *HMS Swallow*, left animals and seeds as a thank-you gift for Purea. The Tahitian "queen" had been lavish with gifts of food and cloth and had offered her friendship to Wallis by making him a *taio*, thus establishing the Tahitian bond-friendship between him and her family. The crew left "two turkies, two geese, three Guinea hens, a cat big with kitten, some china, looking-glasses, glass bottles, shirts, needles, thread, cloth, ribands […] and about sixteen different sort of garden seeds, and a shovel […]" (Hawkesworth 249). Bougainville, like Wallis, sowed in the Hitia region with a view to making Tahiti a future colonial outpost that would be useful for future trade provisioning. They both sowed lemon and orange seeds, wheat, maize, beans, peas and lentils. When arriving in Tahiti, Cook also planted seeds, as Joseph Banks recorded in his journal for 10 May 1769: "Captn Cooke planted divers seeds which he had brought with him in a spot of ground turnd up for the purpose. They were all brought of Gordon of Mile End and sent in bottles seald up, whether

or no that method will succeed the event of the plantation will show."[3] Banks himself planted a garden in Tahiti. On 4 July 1769, he wrote down the following entry in his journal:

> I employed myself in planting a large quantity of the seeds of Water melons, Oranges, Lemons, limes etc. which I had brought from Rio de Janeiro; they were planted on both sides of the fort in as many varieties of soil as I could chuse. I have very little Doubt of the former especially coming to perfection as I have given away large quantities among the natives and planted also in the woods; they now continually ask me for seeds and have already shewd me melon plants of their raising which look perfectly well.

Cook's cultivation of indigenous land (perceived as "savage") became a recurrent *leitmotiv* in the posthumous mythification of the captain's figure and deeds. In Seward's *Elegy* quoted above, the biblical reference to the taming of nature is pervasive. As Seward explains, Cook's introduction of culture and agriculture among the Tahitians finds a reward in the moral benefits reaped by the natives:

> Now leads HUMANITY the destin'd way,
> Where all the Loves in Otaheite stray.
> To bid the Arts disclose their wond'rous pow'rs,
> To bid the Virtues consecrate the bow'rs,
> She gives her Hero to its blooming plain.
> Nor has he wander'd, has he bled in vain!
> His lips persuasive charm th'uncultur'd youth,
> Teach Wisdom lore, and point the path of Truth. (Seward 163-70)

The Tahitians are compared to uneducated and wild children, an image traditionally used by primitivist theories: thanks to Cook's act of transplantation of fauna and flora, the islanders are shown to have improved and engaged in moral development. Moral reformation is linked to scientific and technological development, as agriculture and farming are presented as the first stage towards progress. By contrast the Maori are depicted as blood-thirsty cannibals whom Cook's benevolence and feeding gifts of animals failed to enlighten, in a distorted vision of Cook's narration:

> On its 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 scowls with savage thirst of human blood! (Seward 87-94)

3. All references to Joseph Banks's Journal have been taken from the journal's online publication which can be found at the following URL address: http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0501141h.html#may1769 (last accessed 25/7/2020).

On top of the apparent civilising mission claimed by these expeditions and extolled in the poem, more pragmatic reasons explain this obsession with planting, present time and again in the journals. Successful transplantation meant that European nations would be less dependent on one another's hegemonic statuses when it came to the provision of foodstuffs. In Mauritius for instance, the French had successfully domesticated nutmeg, which freed them from the Dutch monopoly over this much-coveted spice in the Moluccas. Britain was similarly trying to transplant indigo, tea and other spices from East Asia. As Dulcie Powell reminds us, planting citrus fruit trees in Tahiti served a strategic goal, that of curing seamen of scurvy once they moored on the island to get supplies of fresh food and give rest to ailing crews (392). But it was not until 1795 that lime juice became the staple for British sailors to prevent scurvy. Medical imperatives conflated with the imperial ambitions of Britain, which sought to extend the power and reach of its navy globally. Tahiti became a strategic spot in the Pacific to conduct the imperial agenda.

Gananath Obeyesekere provides a postcolonial and anthropological reading of what he perceives as Cook's civilising process. He denounces the logic of imperialism behind the seemingly benevolent act of planting gardens:

> Cook is the civilizer, bringing a new vision of the world to the savage lands of the South Seas. This aspect of the civilizer's persona is expressed in a variety of powerful symbolic sequences pertaining to fertility and order. […] wherever he goes he plants English gardens. The act is primarily symbolic, supplanting the disorderly way of savage peoples with ordered landscapes on the English model. Pairs of domestic animals are carefully set loose, away from the depredations of unthinking savages, to *domesticate* a savage land. (Obeyesekere 12)

Obeyesekere is certainly right in analysing Cook's domestication of natural, native lands as a strong mark of colonial ideology, where the savage needs to be ordered and controlled. But we need to nuance this postcolonial appreciation of Cook's perception of Pacific islanders. A close reading of the journals reveals that Cook was able to acknowledge Pacific peoples' skills in agriculture, and their ability to order their own land and shape their native landscape without the help of Western seamen, as we shall see in his observations of the Tongans throughout his successive expeditions.

Pragmatic, maritime concerns were directly linked to the transfer of seeds and animals. Considered as useful outposts where fresh provisions and rest could be had for exhausted crews, these Pacific Islands were construed as strategic places where future crews would find appropriate and desired crops and animals for their own sustainability. The journals underline Cook's constant interest in finding new materials to repair the ship or fresh food for his crew. In New Caledonia, the discovered *Araucaria columnaris*, thereafter named "Cook pine," served as wood used by carpenters to rebuild ships' masts (Cook 390). Cook also showed

an obsession for transplanting animals and plants. The three journals abound in remarks about bringing live cattle on board the ships with a view to leaving them in New Zealand, the Society Islands and the Friendly Islands.

Transplantation during the second voyage

During the second voyage, Cook left cattle in New Zealand and inspected the gardens planted by Furneaux: "[M]y intention was to leave them [a Ewe and a Ram] in this Country and at the same time I visited the different Gardens Captain Furneaux and his officers had planted with garden seeds roots &c all of which were in flourishing condition and if improved or taken care of by the natives might prove of great use to them" (Cook 271). The ideology of progress is perceptible in these lines where an authoritative Cook checks on the development of the plants sown during the former voyage. After the sheep died from eating a poisonous plant, Cook's farming project is brought to an end, to his deep regret: "thus all my fine hopes of stocking this Country with a breed of Sheep were blasted in a moment" (Cook 271). In New Zealand, Cook recorded his planting mission in his journal: "To day I employ'd in clearing and digging up ground on Motuara and planting it with wheat, Pease and other Pulse Carrots Parsnips and Straw berries" (272). He set himself the task of teaching the Maori how to cultivate non-indigenous vegetables, such as potatoes, turnips and carrots. He chose to acclimatise European species by giving them Maori names to show the similarity between European and native vegetables and create a sense of proximity and familiarity with non-native species for the Maori:

> I carried him [a Native] to the other of Captain Furneaux's gardens I explained to him as well as I could the nature of the Turnips, Carrots & parsnips roots together with Potatoes that will be of more use to them than all the other vegetables. I gave him a tolerable Idea of the Carrots and Parsnips by calling them Tara a root to which they bear some likeness and is known to the Natives. (Cook 272)

Cook and his followers were also responsible for introducing new species such as goats and pigs in New Zealand: "This Morning I went over to the East side of the Sound… there I put a shore two Goats male and female […]. Captain Furneaux had put a Shore in Cannibals Cove a Boar and a Breeding Sow so that we have reason to hope that in process of time this Country will be stocked with Goats and Hoggs" (Cook 273). Following the stadial history of human evolution, Cook judged Pacific peoples according to their aptitude in agriculture. The Tongans received particular praise in his journal. In Tongatapu in October 1773, Cook's observation of the Tongans' agricultural skills and their respect of nature offers the vision of a society that has risen from the first stages of primitivism:

> [N]ature, assisted by a little art, no were [*sic*] appears in a more flourishing state than at this isle. Men and nature seem to live harmoniously and man's imprints to fuse symbiotically with nature: I thought I was transported into one of the most fertile plains in Europe, here was not an inch of waste ground […] in many of the fences were planted fruit trees and the Cloth plant, these served as a support to them […] change of place altered not the sene [*sic*]. (Cook 306)

Here Cook delivers an admirative view of Tongan society, which is described as succeeding in working with the grain of nature, a comment which resonates with the British ideas on horticulture and the link between art and nature developed at the time in Europe. His survey of the land reminds him of "the most fertile plains in Europe," an impression that results in creating a proximity between the Tongans and the Europeans, and positions them at the intermediate stage in the stadial theory of the history of human evolution.

The third voyage: Noah's Ark

Before leaving England on his third voyage, Cook was provided by King George III with cattle and plants, and with poultry by Lord Bessborough: "Took on board a Bull, 2 Cows with their Calves & some sheep to carry to Otaheite with a quantity of Hay and Corn for their subsistence. These Cattle were put on board at His Majestys Command and expence with a view of stocking Otaheite and the Neighbouring Islands with these useful animals" (Cook 434). These were intended as gifts to Chiefs "to traffick and cultivate a friendship and an alliance with the Inhabitants of such new Countrys as we might meet with" (Cook 434). The journal of John Rickman (a member of the third expedition) is worth examining to understand the ways in which Cook planned and organised what could be called a "transplantation policy." Knowing that cattle would not easily bear the hardships of the long journey from Britain to the Pacific, Cook carefully bought animals at the Cape of Good Hope:

> 11th October 1776, at Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope, Purchased more cattle at the Cape. What remained for Capt. Cook to do when we arrived, was chiefly to purchase live cattle for presents to Erees in the South Sea; likewise live stock for the ship's use; these are always the last things provided, because it is found necessary to shorten, as much as possible, their continuance on board. He had already laid in sufficient store of beef, mutton, poultry, and greens for present use, and had contracted for a good quantity of salted beef and bread, to save what we had brought from England, as those articles are found to keep better than the beef and bread prepared at the Cape. Among the cattle purchased, were 2 young bulls, 2 heifers, 2 young stone-horses, 2 mares, 2 rams, several ewes and goats, and some rabbits and poultry; all of them intended for New Zealand, Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands, or other places where there was a prospect of their being suffered to breed. Some dogs, too, were purchased; cats we had in plenty. Stored with these, the

> Resolution resembled the Ark, in which all the animals that were to stock the little world to which he was bound were collected; and, with their provender, they occupied no small part of the ship's stowage. (Rickman 18)

The biblical reference to Noah's Ark testifies to the civilising mission claimed by the expedition. As Simon Schaffer has argued, the image of the ark evoked that of the archive, being "a reflection on the virtues of preservation of fragile specimens of life from hostile threat" and a "claim that the exhaustive collection was also a path to redemption through the reconstruction of creation" (156). Sometimes, Cook even forced the introduction of new animals against the inhabitants' consent or without their knowing, as was the case in Tasmania: "After they were gone I took the two Pigs a boar and a Sow and carried them about a mile within the woods at the head of the bay and there left them by the side of a fresh water brook" (Cook 447). The economic agenda of transplantation was nonetheless a priority since Tahiti and New Zealand were seen as victualling stations: "all of them [were] intended for New Zealand, Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, or any other place we might meet, where there was a prospect that the leaving of some of them might prove useful to posterity" (Cook 440).

At Eua in Tonga, Cook "put a shore at this island […] a Ram and two Ewes of the Cape breed" (Cook 489). Admiring the landscape of the island, in particular the neatly-organised plantations, Cook imagines himself as the provider of future provisions for seamen and the inhabitants of the Friendly islands: "Whilst I was viewing these delightfull spots, I could not help flattering my self with the idea that some future Navigator may from the very same station behould these Medows stocked with Cattle, the English have planted at these islands" (Cook 489). Following here the Crusoean paradigm of the Englishman taming the wilderness, Cook the adventurer and navigator prides himself on taming and improving the island with farming and adds a patriotic note to the scene. In Tahiti, Cook unveils the nationalist ambition at the heart of the civilising process through agriculture and farming:

> The Bull, the Horse and Mare and Sheep I put a shore at Matavai. And now found my self lightened of a very heavy burden, the trouble and vexation that attended the bringing these Animals thus far is hardly to be conceived. But the satisfaction I felt in having been so fortunate as to fulfil His Majesty's design in sending such useful Animals to two worthy Nations sufficiently recompenced me for the many anxious hours I had on their account. (Cook 499)

When a goat went missing in Eimeo, Cook's fury over failing to accomplish his imperial mission led him to order the burning of houses and war canoes: "the loss of this Goat would have been nothing if it had not interfered with my views of Stocking other islands with these Animals" (Cook 514). In the process of "domesticating the tropics," to use Beth Tobin's words, Cook was anglicising places, planting a flag and a sense of Englishness on the landscape. Omai himself was used as

a vehicle for the efficient transfer of plants and animals. Cook entrusted him with pigs: "I also gave him a boar and two sows of the English breed" (Cook 524). The crew also planted a garden for him around his newly-built house. Assessing the "value" of Omai's return to Tahiti in terms of British interests, Cook dismissed the latter's ability to transmit ideas of British culture to Tahitian society, and reduced him to a mediating function, that of being the recipient of successful British transplantation:

> We are therefore not to expect that Omai will be able to interduce many of our arts and customs amongst them or much improve those they have got, I think however he will endeavour to bring to perfection the fruits &ca we planted which will be no small acquisition. But the greatest benefit these islands will receive from Omais travels will be in the Animals that have been left upon them, which probably they never would have got had he not come to England. (Cook 525)

The logic of maritime expansion and the power of the navy is clearly exposed: "when these multiplies [*sic*] of which I think there is little doubt, they will equal, if not exceed any place in the known World for provisions" (Cook 525). The movement of transplantation of native European seeds to the Pacific was accompanied by another transplantation movement from the Pacific to the West Indies. The case of the Tahitian breadfruit stands as a compelling example of environmental considerations in colonial agendas. The story of the Tahitian breadfruit's travel from Tahiti to Jamaica reveals the global impact of Cook's voyages on the economies not just of Britain but of its West Indian colonies.

The voyage of the breadfruit: a case of global transplantation

When arriving in Tahiti, the crew noted the abundance of breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*) and the apparent ease with which its inhabitants got hold of it. Its particular flavour and its nourishing value were responsible for the fruit's global history and successful transplantation. During and after the War of American independence, embargos were implemented on American provisions in West Indian British colonies. The scarcity of food, owing to bad weather, together with hurricanes and high winds, which led to the destruction of crops, created new situations of famine in the colonies. In this context, British planters in the Caribbean were eager to reduce their dependence on the imports of American wheat and rice and were interested in finding cheaper produce to feed their slaves. A solution was to search for plants that could resist harsh climates, would give a high yield at a cheap cost and would be easy to cultivate (Newell 145-7). Breadfruit appeared as a potential solution to the dire state of planters and their slaves on the islands of St Vincent and Jamaica. The breadfruit tree could grow in an unfavourable climate, unperturbed by high winds, and was of particular interest to Caribbean planters as it could be harvested nine months a year. In the mid-1770s, the idea of

transplanting breadfruit from Polynesia to the Caribbean was discussed in political and scientific circles, within the context of the preparations for Cook's third voyage to the Pacific. Joseph Banks supported the project of transplantation which was delayed, however, to the last decade of the eighteenth century and was not undertaken by Cook's third voyage.

In a letter to Philip Yorke, Lord Hardwicke, (dated 9 December 1775), the trustee of the British Museum Daniel Wray considered the benefits of a third voyage to the Pacific. The scientific goal of the missions (to collect new specimens) is discussed from a political perspective of transplantation that would give Britain pre-eminence over its European rivals. The suggestion of transplanting the breadfruit across the globe is part of the colonial ambition of securing the wealth and well-being of British colonies in the West Indies:

> [W]e have already received some fine shews of animals, and beautiful, as well as rare birds, from Mr. Forster. The collection will be ample: Nature, History, habits, utensils, arms &c.: It will be a monument of British, and successful navigation in those unknown Seas. […] A single ship is to be sent with Omai, and with such provisions of plants, and of animals, as may be useful to our tropical allies. We shall bring in return the bread-tree for our West Indies, and St Helena. (Wray 154)

Of note here is the creolisation of Omai who, after his stay in England, appeared as a potential English ambassador in Tahiti. After having tasted a sample of British culture, he was sent back from the centre to the Tahitian periphery, with a view, it was hoped, to commending Britain in his country, which would lead to the creation of alliances between Britain and the Society Islands.

In 1775, John Ellis dedicated a pamphlet to Lord Sandwich to ask for a transplantation of the breadfruit as "a most necessary and pleasant article of subsistence to many" and asserts that it "must be easily cultivated in our West Indian islands." In the introduction to *A Description of the Mangostan and the Breadfruit*, he claims that the breadfruit "would be extremely beneficial to the Inhabitants of our West India Islands […] all ranks of inhabitant, especially to the Negroes" (Ellis 11), and that "it affords a great deal of nourishment, and is very satisfying, therefore proper for hard-working people" (Ellis 13). Following the promising benefits of cultivating breadfruit in the Caribbean, the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures offered a premium to anyone who would bring the breadfruit back from Tahiti with a view to transplanting it to the West Indies. Cook's third voyage was not simply a scientific expedition but was fostered by mercantile ambitions. The success of the project was achieved by Captain Bligh on a voyage undertaken onboard *The Providence*, after the failure of his notorious first journey that ended up with *The Bounty*'s crew's mutiny. The Society awarded Bligh the premium in 1793, as recorded in 1794:

> As the several navigators to the South Sea had unanimously spoken in the highest terms, in commendation of the Bread-fruit produced in the islands of that immense ocean, the Society, so long since as the year 1777, offered a premium for the introduction of that fruit into the islands of the West-Indies, subject to the Crown of Great Britain; and at length their wishes have been happily gratified by the persevering attention of Captain William Bligh […] and the western world put in possession of what will hereafter secure to that part of the globe an inexhaustible fund of good, palatable, and wholesome food […]. (*Transactions of the Society* xii-xiii)

Indigenous decision-making

If many writers have underlined the colonial and imperial gestures of introducing animals in foreign lands of the south seas, others such as Jennifer Newell have noted that transplantation was induced by a system of encounters based on exchanges, such as bartering. She proposes to study what she terms "ecological exchanges" as "an exchange of species […] which has the capacity to impact, however slightly, the ecosystems those species are entering or leaving" (Newell 8). Transplantation was far from being imposed on islanders who controlled the traffic of animals and plants. As Newell reminds us, Pacific islanders were responsible for the preservation of flora and fauna, just as much as they contributed to the extinction of species and soil erosion: "there is nothing essential in indigenous communities that renders them environmentally enlightened" (Newell 9). One of the dangers of essentialism would be to lend credibility to a form of primitivism.

Several examples of ecological encounters testify to the islanders' agency in these cross-cultural exchanges and reveal that a close reading of their reactions allows for a reassessment of the distribution of power, too often analysed in terms of a dichotomy between an all-encompassing metropolitan centre directing operations and the periphery. Among the species that were incorporated into Tahitian ecology, we can name European cats, dogs and pigs. Cats served as pets, helped get rid of rats and were offered as gifts. In 1774, Cook noted that he "furnished" the islanders with "a Stock of Catts [...] no less than twenty" (Cook 111). Not all plants brought from Europe were acclimatised by Tahitians, but oranges, lemons, watermelons, pineapples and guava were among the species adopted and cultivated on Tahitian soil after European introduction. But the pomelo, a variety of citrus tree, was not particularly esteemed by the islanders and as a consequence, was not properly cultivated, as Captain Bligh noted on April 1792 when pomelo lemons were brought unripe to him: "Mr Nelson in 1789 had planted three [Shaddocks] trees that are now loaded with fruit: the natives do not value them" (qtd in Powell 392).

The exchange of gifts or the result of what Cook calls trading (or more appropriately bartering) also led islanders to discover the use of iron and

objects previously unknown to them. The passion for collecting exotic artefacts was not solely reserved to Europeans: "they shew'd a great inclination to pick our pockets" (Cook 41). During the third voyage, the chief Kabourah "on seeing a portrait of one of his countrymen hanging up in the cabbin, […] desired to be drawn, and sat till Mr Webber had finished without the least restraint" (Cook 456). The interest in clothing was especially high in Tahiti and in Tonga. European cotton and other fabrics marked a strong difference with tapa cloth. Cotton fabrics were more labour effective than tapa and sparked curiosity: the people [of Tonga] in June 1774 "took in exchange [of their goods] small Nails and Pieces of any kind of Cloth. I believe before they went away they striped the most of our people of the few Clothes the Otaheite Ladies had left them for the Passion for Curiosities was as great as ever" (Cook 371). The disappearance of Munkhouse's snuff box, Cook's stockings, Banks's coat and trousers, Solander's "spy glass" (41) and the Quadrant during the first voyage are testaments to the existence of an indigenous appetite for curiosities.

As Nicholas Thomas has noted, the curiosity for artefacts from Europe had principally an ornamental or useful function (Thomas 103-107). His reassessment of early encounters claims that islanders did not "[welcome] colonialism but that the early phases of their entanglement were grounded in local and political agendas, rather than naïveté" (Thomas 88). The acquisition of scissors, for instance, helped women create new patterns in cloths; likewise, the introduction of iron contributed to changing the materials used to make adzes, which usually were made in wood and stone. These tools made digging easier, which explains why islanders were eager to ask for new tools to be crafted at the forge, as Cook noted during the first voyage: "Since the Natives have Seen the Forge at work they have frequently brought pieces of Iron to be made into one sort of Tools or other" (Cook 51). Curiosity was thus accompanied by a desire for useful objects, and not only decorative ones: "the Iron and iron tools daily in use at the Armourers Forge are temptations that these people cannot possibly withstand" (Cook 52). On one occasion when Cook received one Tahitian chief named Tootaha, he recorded the latter's thirst for curious objects as he rummaged through the captain's cabin:

> Tootaha was desireous of seeing into every Chest and Drawer that was in the Cabbin. I satisfied his curiosity so far as to open most of those that belong'd to me, he saw several things he took a fancy to and collected them together, but at last cast his eye upon the Adze I had from Mr Stephens that was made in imitation of one of their Stone Adzes or axes, the moment he lay his hands upon it he of his own accord put away every thing he had got before […]. (Cook 48)

The iron adze combines the pleasure of novelty with a sense of the familiar: it is an object Tootaha already knows since it is a replica of a Tahitian adze, but it is made with iron, and will prove useful while also

appearing exotic. As such, it becomes Tootaha's ultimate object of desire. Among useful "things," a mention of feathers must be made, as they carried religious significance among islanders. The case of red feathers, believed to have divine powers, is a good example of the interest not just in European curiosities but in things coming from other islands. Red feathers were highly coveted in Tahiti, as Cook explains after refilling his stock on the island of Amsterdam (Tongatapu):

> When we were at Amsterdam, among other Curiosities we Collected some red parrot Feathers which were highly Valued by these people; When this came to be known in the isle all the Principal people of both Sex endeavour'd by every means in their power to Ingratiate themselves into our favour in order to obtain these Valuable Jewels by bring[ing] us Hogs and every other thing the island produced and generally for Tiyo (Friendship) but they always took care to let us know that Oora (red Feathers) were to be part of the return we were to make. (Cook 345)

The Maori likewise preferred Tahitian tapa cloth to Western clothes: "our people giving them George Island Cloth for theirs, for they had little else to dispose of. […] [they] prefer'd the Cloth we had got at the Islands to English Cloth" (Cook 79). The ability to discriminate between the natural species and animals they wished to cultivate and domesticate, and the choice of tools which are deemed useful for daily labour contradicts Cook's final observation on the immobility of the Tahitians in the course of progress, a classical way to justify colonisation in the eyes of imperial believers in the ideology of stadial history: "this kind of indifferency is the true Character of his Nation, Europeans have visited them at times for these ten years past, yet we find neither new arts nor improvements in the old, nor have they copied after us in any one thing" (Cook 525).

Analysing the ideology and practices of transplantation between Europe and the Pacific islands by taking in the multi-directional movements of the transfers of plants and animals allows for a green postcolonial interpretation of Cook's voyages. In *Green Imperialism*, Richard Grove has convincingly demonstrated that the perception of Tahiti evolved in Georg Forster's journal, from a romantic vision to a more realistic understanding of the island's ecosystem. When he arrived on the island, the naturalist only saw the idyllic landscape of Nouvelle Cythère, indebted to Bougainville and Commerson's descriptions that he had read. But as he discovered the island, he saw the trace of human agency in nature by noting cultivation and irrigation on the land. This more accurate perception of the Tahitians' interaction with their natural environment led Forster to ethnological considerations on Tahiti as an organised society, based upon empirical data, and contributed to an evolution of its perception, from Eden on earth to a socially organised entity (Grove 318-25). During his brief stay in Tahiti, Wallis had also found out that the inhabitants used irrigation systems and cultivated fruit trees.

The meeting of ecocritical and postcolonial studies opens up new ways in which to think of imperialism and colonialism in connection with the environmental impact of the intrusion of Europeans on Pacific land, and with the interactions, both human and natural, that ensued from these repeated contacts. The global acclimatising practices that the history of the breadfruit bears witness to, on its voyage from the Pacific ocean to the Caribbean sea, show the ways in which colonial history is entangled with environmental history, and that Pacific contacts can be directly linked to the history of slavery in conjunction with climatology. Anti-abolitionist politics lurked in the botany of empire of which breadfruit was but one example. As Elizabeth DeLoughrey reminds us, the transplantation of breadfruit was "a drastic act of these planters to avert a growing critique of slavery through a 'benevolent' and 'humanitarian' use of colonial science to improve the diet of their slaves" (2). It led to transformations of the local landscapes and ecologies of the Caribbean and the Pacific Oceans, a result of an imperial project of globalising arboriculture for specific economic and political reasons. "Greening" postcolonial interpretive schemes also allows for a consideration of the active role of indigenous populations in their ecological interactions with Europeans. In giving ecocritical attention to Cook's journal, I have suggested that the obsession with surveying the landscape and fashioning foreign indigenous lands by planting and transferring animals reveals an imperial ideology but also points to strategies of indigenous resistance and accommodation in the Pacific.

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