

Portraying Otherness - The Representation of Tasmania in the late eighteenth century (1791-1794)

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Introduction

On the morning of the 29th September 1791 the restless sails of *La Recherche* and *L'Espérance* began slowly to billow at the gentle pace of the eastern winds. This was the long awaited sign that the last French scientific expedition of the eighteenth century was just about to set sail in the direction of far more exotic waters than those engulfing the harbour of Brest.

Appointed by the king Louis XVI, Antoine-Raymond-Joseph Bruny D'Entrecasteaux (1737-1793) would be for the next three years (1791-1794) the commander in chief of a scientific expedition. Besides the scientific responsibilities, D'Entrecasteaux was also involved in the rescue mission of another French expedition that disappeared soon after its departure from the harbour of Sidney, Australia, in June 1788. The lost expedition was under the command of Jean François Galaup de Lapérouse (1741-1788).

In addition to having responsibilities for the officers and crew, D'Entrecasteaux was also responsible for a team of *specialists* who were previously selected by two of the most influential scientific academies in Europe; the Royal Academy of Sciences and the Royal Academy of Medicine both situated in Paris. The team of specialists were naturalists, astronomers, hydrographers, surgeons, gardeners and artists.

Jacques Julien Houtou de Labillardière (1755-1834) was by far the most industrious of all the scientists in D'Entrecasteaux' expedition. He made important discoveries especially in the area of Zoology and Botany, leaving valuable records of his voyage such as journals, scientific reports and illustrations. Furthermore he became the first European to describe the Australian flora in *Nova Hollandiae Plantarum Specimen* (1804). Besides his scientific work, Labillardière was an excellent writer. His travel account, *Relation du voyage à la recherche de La Pérouse*¹, is outstanding proof of his writing skills. His style abounds in rich and dramatic descriptions of natural phenomena epitomising a blooming Romantic sensibility towards Nature. Simultaneously with the publication of his travel accounts, Labillardière released an Atlas lavishly illustrated with zoological, botanical, anthropological and ethnographic drawings, some of which were sketched by Labillardière himself². However, it was Nicholas Piron, the artist of the expedition that drew the majority of the visual work.

This article will focus on a series of five illustrations drawn by Piron between the 8th and the 13th of February 1793. Piron's illustrations represent the Lyluequonny (or Palawa) people living in Baie des Roches, nowadays called Rocky Bay, in the southeast of the island of Tasmania (Australia). The illustration work comprises of two portraits, *Man from Cape Diemen* (Ill. 1) and *Child from Cape Diemen* (Ill. 2), two group portraits, namely *Natives from Cape Diemen preparing their meal* (Ill. 3), and *Natives Fishing at Cape Diemen* (Ill. 4), and last but not least a ¾ portrait, *Woman from Cape Diemen* (Ill. 5).

The objective of the present article is to enlighten how travellers and particularly Labillardière and Piron transformed simple drawings into scientific illustrations. By stressing the importance of the scientific traveller's contact with unknown people and cultures, this article will discuss in which terms the *exotic* collided or not with the travel artist's struggle for objectivity. Furthermore the discussion of the theoretical, practical and cultural strategies used by the artist Piron in his portrayal of Tasmanian aborigines and Tasmanian nature at the end of the eighteenth century will endeavour to bring to light

the challenging mechanisms at work in the wake of the secularisation of Otherness by means of scientific illustrations and travel.

Theorising otherness

The team of specialists, including the artist Piron, received a set of instructions. While the instructions for the study of Geography and Natural History were compiled in somewhat explicit terms, the instructions concerning the artists' work lacked any practical strategies; No advice had been given whatsoever about the method in which artists should approach people and nature. The instructions only suggested that drawing people, artefacts and ceremonies as well as relevant geographic and strategic places should be done according to what the artist *exactly saw*².

Approaching Others

The Atlas edited by Labillardière has a total of twenty illustrations. Fourteen of these illustrations, represent individual female and male portraits, and focus mainly on anthropological details. The remaining six illustrations represent different groups. Here the artist focuses primarily on cultural practices. Contrary to the representation of cultural traditions, the anthropological studies are illustrated with no background or foreground. By removing any excess of information like exotic settings, the artist brings automatically the viewer's attention to the motif. There is no need for palm trees or exotic animals, if the topic to be studied is a female from New Zealand or an aborigine from Australia.

By removing any excess of information and thus reducing the symbolic aspects of the visual work, Piron under the strict influence of his mentor Labillardière created a new style of portraying exotic individuals. While earlier French ethnographic drawings were often ornamented with native apparel and artefacts so as to emphasise the exotic, the work of Piron focused on specific physical details and artefacts. The reason to this improvement, as I shall demonstrate, is that Labillardière and Piron drew experience from the study of the illustrations made by British artists travelling with James Cook (1728-1779).

Many editions were beautifully illustrated such as J.C. Beaglehole's *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks* (1784) and *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1785) based on James Cook's journals. One of the most popular books in France on Cook's travels was John Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyages* (1773). Labillardière and Piron had access to the illustrated travel accounts of authors such like Hawkesworth, Beaglehole and Cook and consequently access to the illustrations of three famous British artists, namely Sydney Parkinson (1745-1771), William Hodges (1744-1797) and John Webber (1750-1793), who travelled in Cook's first, second and third voyages respectively. We know for a fact, that the works of Cook were carried aboard *La Recherche* and *l'Espérance*, since both Labillardière and D'Entrecasteaux make several references to James Cook.⁴

There is an event described in Labillardière's travel account that establishes for once and all the fact that Piron was well acquainted with at least Hawkesworth's and Beaglehole's works; During his second stay in Tasmania (January 1793), Piron asked to the surprise of both the crew and the amusement of the natives, that his body be covered with charcoal. Piron's wish was almost immediately granted; the natives grasped a piece of charcoal and, according to Labillardière, transformed the artist into a New Hollander.⁵ A similar episode was also reported in Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyages* (1773)⁶ and in Beaglehole's *The Endeavour Journal* (1784)⁷.

I argue that it is no coincidence that Piron replicated this episode. In fact, I am strongly convinced that both Labillardière and Piron had consulted the illustrations found in the works of Hawkesworth, Beaglehole and Cook, since there are important similarities between the drawings sketched by Piron, and those of John Webber and Sydney Parkinson. For example, in January 1777 Webber drew a portrait of a Tasmanian female in a $\frac{3}{4}$ figure carrying her child in her back⁸. Between the 8th and the 13th February 1793, Piron sketched a similar motif (Ill. 5). Although I do not claim that the artist had copied directly from Webber's work, both Labillardière and Piron were undeniably inspired by the British painter's motif and technique.

Portraying otherness

First described by the Dutch explorer Abel Janszoon Tasman (1603-1659) in 1648, Tasmania remained during the eighteenth century well secluded from the French savants' inspecting gaze. Only one French expedition commanded by Marion du Fresne in 1772 had, although rather superficially, described Tasmania. Consequently, for the team of savants, and particularly for Labillardière and Piron, the anchoring at Port du Nord was a unique chance to consolidate their names in the exploration of Tasmania.

D'Entrecasteaux' expedition visited Tasmania twice. The first time was in April 1792 and the second time in February 1793. During the first visit the Aborigines did not make any effort whatsoever to interact with the French expedition. On the contrary! The natives sought refuge each time they saw any members of the expedition. Truth be told, the only evidence that the French expedition had in April 1792 of the Aborigines' existence was an abandoned fireplace, remnants of shellfish left in a haste and an empty hut. Finally, with the second visit to the island, 21 January to 27 February 1793, the expedition met for the first time a group of natives.

An idyllic safe haven in the gardens of Oceania

The social and political tumult raised by the Revolution in France (1789) might have made the life on board of *La Recherche* and *L'Espérance* seem as a rather privileged place to be. Then, when the expedition arrived in Tasmania, and witnessed a society whose members lived in a state of freedom and self-sufficiency, it might have been like Heaven really was a place on Earth. At least this seemed to be the message that Labillardière and D'Entrecasteaux wanted to bring back to France!

In my view, the key to understanding the political and scientific ethics behind D'Entrecasteaux' expedition, is articulated in Piron's illustrations of Tasmania and in particular *Natives of Cape Diemen preparing their meal* (Ill. 3). To the untrained eye, the illustration represents a group of Tasmanian Aborigines interacting with members of the French expedition in a peaceful and welcoming environment. An examination of both D'Entrecasteaux' and Labillardière's travel accounts confirms that Piron matched the composition of his drawing with the captain's and the naturalist's own views on the Tasmanian society. For example Labillardière displayed great admiration for the Aborigines, due to the gentle methods in which Tasmanians raised their children. During the three-week stay in Rocky Bay neither Labillardière nor D'Entrecasteaux witnessed any form of punishment or violence towards children. In fact at the time of the expedition's first visit to Tasmania in 1792, D'Entrecasteaux had expressed his concern about the fierce nature of the Tasmanian Aborigines, whom he had never met, but believed to be nothing less than cannibals. One year later, in 1793, D'Entrecasteaux had completely changed his opinion: The Tasmanian society was now a perfect school of Nature in which enlightened Europeans should be more than keen to attend⁹.

The authentication and fictionalisation of exotic reality

Natives from Cape Diemen preparing their meal (Ill. 3) and *Natives Fishing in Cape Diemen* (Ill.4), were drawn between the 8th and the 13th February 1793. The composition is a combination of the most remarkable events of the encounter, or to be more exact an organised arrangement of the expedition's experience with the Tasmanian society that lived nearby the beach of Black Swan Lagoon in Recherche Bay, in southern Tasmania. Labillardière reports the first encounter with the Tasmanian natives, on the 8th of February 1793:

After having proceeded at least three kilometres, we thought we heard before us some human voices. Advancing a few paces, we renewed our attention, when suddenly, there issued from the same spot a cry formed by the union of several voices; and we soon perceived, through the trees, a great number of natives, most of whom seemed to be fishing on the banks of the lake¹⁰.

Since Labillardière and the rest of the group were unarmed they didn't attempt to meet the natives. They returned soon after with some muskets for fear that the Tasmanians proved to be violent. But the

Aborigines had no hostile intentions and the amiable understanding prevailed between the French and the Tasmanians. Most important however is the consistency of facts between Labillardière's account and Piron's illustrations. One can easily distinguish important activities and artefacts described by Labillardière and drawn by Piron. In Ill. 3, Piron draws the basket and water container (foreground) in great detail to highlight the truthfulness of the ethnographic items. Then, by laying emphasis on details like the officer's attire, giving the illustration a high degree of veracity, Piron reproduces, at least to some degree, the *reality* of the encounter and thus the *reality* of a remote place called Cape Diemen. In other words, Piron constructs his illustration as a perfect *mise-en-scène*, where each item has its own place and where each person plays a well-defined character.

The theatricality of Tasmania

In an exciting article about role-playing and the encounter between Europeans and Natives, the Australian historian Greg Denning has argued that there was an inherent agreement in how Europeans and Natives behaved towards each other. Denning, who names this phenomenon *theatricality*¹¹, suggests that while Europeans played the role of the explorer, Natives played the role of the explored. Even if I do not agree with Denning, when he argues that both Europeans and Natives were conscious of their own role-playing, as there is little evidence to support this, if none at all, when it comes to the Natives' realisation of playing the part of the *explored* during the encounter, I do believe that Denning's *theatricality* is an important tool to reveal hidden representations of encounters between Europeans and Native populations.

Piron's representation of the Aborigines is a perfect example of *theatricality*, by the simple fact that the artist organises his illustration according to pre-established roles. Both Ill. 3 and 4 are a perfect example of a disciplined composition organised around what I believe to be two well-structured settings representing the *theatricality* of Tasmania, namely Science and Equality. These two settings not only embody the ethics of the expedition's visit to Tasmania but even more important they are a reflection of the ideals of the French Revolution since Science and Equality were a pathway to improve the conditions of a Universal humankind (Progress).

Science

Beginning with the first setting, *Science*, there is no doubt that Labillardière to whom the illustrations were made wished to draw attention to the importance of the scientific investigation made in Tasmania. Science was unquestionably the pragmatic core of the whole expedition. Contrary to the humanitarian task, that is the rescue of Lapérouse, the scientific task relied mostly on the naturalists' skills. Consequently it was imperative to focus on the scientific task and the artist does this cunningly, by illustrating in great detail the naturalists' work and their findings.

The five illustrations shown in the present article are indisputably the result of three major encounters at Baie des Roches (Rocky Bay); in the first encounter that took place on the 8th of February 1793, the expedition met 42 natives. The second encounter happened the following day (9th of February) when the French expedition met once again with 19 of the 42 natives from the previous day. In the third major encounter, on the 11th of February 1793, Labillardière and his team run into a group of 48 natives¹². Studying attentively the five illustrations one recognises the individuals that are represented in the single portraits, which indicates that Piron was indeed studying each individual and not only drawing by memory. As an example the *Woman from Cape Diemen* (Ill. 5) reappears in Ill. 3.

There is no testimony in how Piron did his first sketches of the Aborigines since, as already stated, no journal has been found. Therefore it is impossible for us to know, what kind of approach Piron had in mind in order to represent the natives. We also need to take into consideration the fact that Piron's drawings have been altered by the influence of Labillardière and the work and the imagination of the engravers. Still the illustrations provide significant information for us to identify Piron's technique. For example Piron clearly had different intentions while drawing the two group portraits and the three individual ones. In the group portraits Piron brings to attention the cultural details of the encounter while in illustration 1, 2 and 5, Piron focus on the features of the natives'

body. Drawn on the 8th of February 1793, the portraits reveal important physical and cultural aspects of the natives from Rocky Bay. The men are portrayed with coiled hair and beards, three rows of short scars and a row of three long vertical scars on the shoulders and one row of long vertical scars on the chest and marks of scarification on the abdominal region (Ill. 1). The child is represented with a significant projection of the upper jaw, and is described by Labillardière who suggests that this so called anomaly falls into proportion in adulthood (Ill. 2). Last but not least, the Tasmanian woman carrying an infant is portrayed wearing a kangaroo skin (wallaby), with three rows of short vertical scars on the shoulders and long vertical and horizontal lines on the abdomen (Ill. 5). In this light Piron's illustrations mediate between practical and theoretical knowledge since the artist depicts both what he sees of interesting and what Labillardière needs – since the illustrations are used by the naturalist who draws on them to make theoretic assumptions. Labillardière relies on Piron's work since he suggests that the examples drawn by the artist give a far more correct idea of the representation of the natives than a written description will ever do¹³. In this light Piron's illustrations serve first and foremost important essential functions; they support the text and convey the content of Labillardière's account with accuracy.

The two group portraits, (Ill. 3 and 4), document two actual encounters that took place on the 8th and the 11th of February 1793 between the natives and the French expedition¹⁴. It was during these two encounters that Labillardière and Piron had the possibility to interact, study and sketch the natural and cultural environment of the Aborigines. At first glance Piron's drawing (Ill. 3) shows a naturalist observing a native in a fight, while an officer whose hat indicates high rank seems to be touching the arm of another native. These were indeed common experiments carried out by sailors so as to test the muscular strength of indigenous peoples. The experiment was in absolute conformity with the directive § 6 of the scientific instructions, originally written in 1785 by the Royal Society of Medicine of Paris to Lapérouse's expedition and then given, following the expedition's disappearance, to D'Entrecasteaux and particularly to Labillardière in 1791¹⁵.

More important however is the manner in which Piron portrayed the natives' body and posture and the way in which the Tasmanians interacted with each other. The viewer senses the tranquillity surrounding the composition as if the French expedition was no intruder but a well-integrated element of the Tasmanian culture (Ill. 4). Predictably one also finds the educator-apprentice-theme, common to most illustrations of encounters between European expeditions and Natives, as it is shown by the naturalist who demonstrates the use of a knife to a Tasmanian and by the naturalist who is "interviewing" a native woman, possibly learning Tasmanian expressions since there is a vocabulary of 104 Tasmanian words in Labillardière's account.

However when studying the two group portraits (Ill. 3 and 4) it is evident that Labillardière's ambition was to render the reality of Tasmania as scientific as possible; a close study of the first illustration shows important data like the basket and water container, the use of fireplaces to grill seafood, the way in which women sat down with one leg hiding their genitalia, and the habit of using a coronet of longer hair in a closely cropped head. The same can be said of the second illustration (Ill. 4) where the women are drawn fishing while the men rest at the shore with their children. A scene that is described in great detail by Labillardière and might have been most likely requested by the naturalist as well. This second illustration portrays the expedition's encounter on the 11th of February 1793, with 48 natives (10 men, 14 women and 24 children), in the outskirts of Rocky Bay. Labillardière reports, not without some astonishment, how the women diving twice as long as the expedition's best divers provided their men and children with big lobsters, ear shells and other shellfish. Coming out of the water to warm themselves, these brave women, who Labillardière describes as incapable of remaining idle, broiled shellfish giving the best parts to the men and children, before diving again and again¹⁶. In this context Tasmania played an important role in the work of Labillardière. Since his arrival in Tasmania, it became clear for him how imperative it was to document both textually and pictorially the natives' nature and their cultural practices so as to establish the scientific authority of his work on this field. Therefore Labillardière had to prioritise individual portraits to give his work an important scientific role, and in consequence distance himself from a tradition that was mostly concerned in emphasising the European role overseas than describing scientifically foreign nature, people and cultures.

Equality

The work of Labillardière and Piron in Tasmania illustrates the very essence of the antipodal encounter; at the one hand the expedition in Tasmania was imbued with the enticing atmosphere surrounding each and every voyage to the shores of the Southernmost Land. At the other hand Tasmania was the home of a society where the inverted social roles of the Natives (women as nurturers and men as caretakers) seemed not to disturb the supposed and pre-established order of Nature!

For Labillardière Tasmania was an atypical experience, although an experience that was used in a strategic way, encouraging distinct political views other than the conventional ideas reigning in France. As a result Piron's drawings manifest a romantic understanding of the family core; they are the epitome of a harmonious society. By drawing women diving for fresh food while the men take care of the children, the artist was portraying a scene that was unthinkable in France - that is an antipodal view of society. In this view the Tasmanians lived in a world without inequity, since even the most vulnerable members seemed to play important and well-defined roles. For instance it's worth noticing how Piron portrays the two children in Ill. 3: while the first infant begs his mother for food, the second infant offers food to his mother. The message issuing from Piron's drawings is that Tasmanian society was based on equality. The Aborigines' culture was therefore the paradigm of a perfect society. However, of all the illustrations there is no one that surpasses *Woman from Cape Diemen* (Ill.5) in significance.

The Marianne from Van Diemen's Land

Woman from Cape Diemen is no ordinary illustration. It is difficult to stay indifferent to the young woman's presence against the paper's pastiness. The body's nudity and the pallid tone of her skin add to the portrait an intense otherworldly atmosphere, which becomes even more evident if one notices the serenity and contentment that Piron portrays in her face. The inspiration to this illustration is indubitably taken from the antique statues of Greek love goddesses, hence the body's striking resemblance to the one carved on the statue of Medicis' Aphrodite. Such a practice was not uncommon, since students in the eighteenth century trained their skills on the Greek and Roman statues that were exhibited in most European Academies of Fine Arts. The softness of the mother's body adds to the picture a powerful touch, tempting and soothing even the most skilful observer. Obviously Piron was adjusting the Tasmanian woman into neo-classical archetypes of beauty. For hadn't Piron replicated the tattoos that Tasmanians carved into their bodies or sketched the woman's short and frizzed hair, one could easily imagine her descending from the ancient Arcadian plains rather than from a distant culture strewn on the shores of Oceania.

Contrary to earlier European illustrations of indigenous people, there is no bewilderment whatsoever. Piron did not depict a savage or a primitive woman, but foremost a human being. The expression of joy and warmth in the mother's gaze directed towards her child materialises the woman's humane sensibility. The viewer's attraction to the Tasmanian woman radiates from her natural grace and not from her unveiled genitalia. There is no suggestion of eroticism much less of sexuality. The tranquillity in the child and mother's expression is essential here. The Tasmanian woman symbolises love, affection and last but not least the powerful communion between mother and child.

From an ideological point of view the French Republican principles were established around the idea of the family unit. Women's place and purpose in life was centred on an unyielding household, on marriage and on motherhood. All scrupulously controlled by a powerful patriarch. Such principles were not uncommon for European women in the late Enlightenment. However they became problematical within the French political context, since French politicians were insisting on the universality of human rights, while depriving women of these same rights. On one side the Republic was bestowing man of various breed and social descent with civil privileges. On the other side women were being relentlessly deprived of their social and juridical position. Women's social privileges were extremely precarious. Female citizens were first of all reproductive organisms, their status increasing if and only if they were able to generate strong sons whom one day would not only fight for but also carry out the noble ideals of the French Revolution¹⁷.

If this representation is in some way embedded in a Republican ideology, this same ideology is of an all-new orientation, by the fact that the Tasmanian mother and child emulate a more compassionate idea of Humanity. There is no anxiety much less fear in the woman's face. Therefore I am convinced that Labillardière was trying to articulate a whole new message to France, namely Hope. Through the young Tasmanian woman and child, Labillardière was making a powerful yet unspoken statement namely, that even in the most remote places on Earth, it was possible to find societies living in a state of harmony and most importantly freedom. The Tasmanian woman becomes from this perspective the archetype of Marianne, although the Tasmanian Marianne is more peaceful and content than its civilised counterpart. *Woman from Cap Diemen* (Ill. 5) symbolises, in my view, not only the regeneration of Men but, and this is central, the regeneration of Humankind. There can be but Hope for future generations. Even if hope was to be found in remote places, safe from the hostile France.

Powerful tools: concluding remarks

European academics described too often the savage with conflicting words; strong or degenerated, sex driven or impotent; ingenuous or subtle, irritable or serene, and so on and so on. A child of nature in the word's most portentous meaning that is with no future but the present and selfishly surviving as the only goal in life. With the representation of Tasmanian aboriginals, Labillardière searched for new and more scientific approaches, even if such strategies were nevertheless profoundly rooted in traditional European styles of representing foreign individuals and cultures. As a result of the encounter with the aboriginals from Rocky Bay, Labillardière humanised the representation of primitive societies. In this light the Tasmanian society does not share earlier representations of savagery. On the contrary, the observer identifies almost immediately with Piron's drawings creating a familiarity with a so distant people. With Labillardière, the Tasmanian savage became a Human, an individual capable of expressing self-respect, strength and even power. Yet, by brushing up the savage with such virtues or qualities, the naturalist was in addition trying to idealise exotic cultures. Furthermore the artist's inspiration in James Cook's travel artists, particularly Webber and Parkinson, is reflected through out his material where Neo-classical influences are evident. Traditional allusions to Greek and Roman art illustrate the normalisation of the Other's physical and psychological characteristics. But the representation of Tasmanian aboriginals reveals an awareness regarding the factuality of the natives' reality and for that reason the work possess great documentary value. Labillardière uses the illustrations to better document the historical and the scientific narrative of his own work; from the description of artefacts and anatomical characteristics such as abnormalities to the description of cultural activities, the illustration material underpins the work of Labillardière. Before Labillardière, travel illustration in France was considered a minor appendix to the text and was often used to improve the oddity of the exotic or as means of propaganda. With Labillardière travel illustration finds its place within science and as a result becomes a scientific tool. A powerful tool used to expand the comprehension and the knowledge of what the traveller could not describe and explain by words alone - a powerful tool to organise and domesticate Otherness. From being a source of aesthetic delight or entertainment, travel illustration became pure and simple an important source of knowledge. And it is precisely here that Labillardière and Piron's value and innovative contribution lies.

¹ Labillardière(a), Jacques Julien Houtou de. *Relation du voyage à la recherche de La Pérouse*, Paris, chez H. J. Jansen, 1800.

² Labillardière (b), Jacques Julien Houtou de, *Atlas pour servir à la relation du voyage à la recherche de La Pérouse*, Paris, chez H. J. Jansen, Imprimeur-Libraire, 1800.

³ Brander, Elsa, *På sporet af den anden. Om andethedens tilsynkomst i 1700-tallets videnskabelige opdagelsesrejser*. Aalborg Universitet, 2004, p. 173.

⁴ *ibid.*, II, p. 112.

⁵ *ibid.*, II, pp. 43-44.

⁶ Hawkesworth, John, *An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of His present Maj. for making discoveries in the southern hemisphere, and successively performed by comm. Byron, capt. Wallis, capt. Carteret, and capt. Cook in the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour*, London, 1773, p. 146.

⁷ Beaglehole, J.C., *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771*. Edited by J.C. Beaglehole. The Trustees of The Public Library of New South Wales in Association with Angus and Robertson. Vol. 1-2. Sydney, Halstead Press, 1963, I, p. 288.

⁸ Cook, James, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*. Printed by H. Hughs and T. Cadell, in the Strand, Cook 1785, p. 7.

⁹ Rossel, Elisabeth Paul Edouard de, *Voyage de Dentrecasteaux, envoyé à la recherche de La Pérouse*. Publié par ordre de sa majesté l'empereur et roi, sous le ministère de S. E. Le Vice-Amiral Decrès, comte de l'Empire. Rédigé par M. de Rossel, Ancien Capitaine de vaisseau. A Paris, De l'Imprimerie Impériale, 1808, I, p. 234.

¹⁰ Labillardière, op. cit., II, pp. 27-28.

¹¹ Denning, Greg, "The Theatricality of Observing and Being Observed: Eighteenth-Century Europe "Discovers" the ? Century Pacific." In Schwartz, Stuart (ed.). *Implicit Understandings. Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 452.

¹² Labillardière(a), op. cit., II, pp. 28-62.

¹³ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 41-44.

¹⁵ Milet-Mureau, Marie Louis Antoine, *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde*. Publié conformément au décret du 22 Avril 1791, et Rédigé par M. L. A. Milet-Mureau, A Paris, De l'Imprimerie de la République, 1797, I, p. 183.

¹⁶ Labillardière (a), II, pp. 52-54.

¹⁷ Schiebinger, Londa, *Nature's Body. Sexual Politics and the Making of Modern Science*, Pandora, 1993, p. 179.