

the many subtle ways in which indigenous people could be convinced of the superiority of Europeans. By 1777 he could cut corners brutally if the occasion arose. There is a sense of disillusion, of a loss of hope. On the first voyage, rather in the spirit of Morton's 'Hints' he had expressed an admiration for the simple life of the Australian aborigines, 'far . . . happier than we Europeans'.³¹ And on the second, in Queen Charlotte Sound, he expressed a fear that his very contact with the Maori, since his first voyage, had degraded them: 'Such are the consequences of a commerce with Europeans and what is still more to our Shame civilised Christians, we debauch their Morals already too prone to vice and we interduce among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew and which serves only to disturb that happy tranquillity they and their fore Fathers had in joy'd'.³² Yet on the third voyage, with his horses, cows, bulls and goats, etc. he was still playing the role of an official philanthropist of the Enlightenment seeking to raise Pacific people from their savage state to a higher level of civilisation. Did the growing realisation of the contradiction between the philanthropist role he was required to play and his actual experience make him increasingly cynical and brutalise his behaviour? By the third voyage he had become convinced that he and other European voyagers were bringing venereal and other diseases to the Pacific. In such cases of guilt it is not unusual to blame the victims. In Queen Charlotte Sound he wrote into his journal, 'A connection with Women I allow because I cannot prevent it . . . more men are betrayed than saved by having connection with their women, and how can it be otherwise sence all their View are selfish without the least mixture of regard or attachment whatever . . .'³³

The point I wish to make is this. Cook, in his lifetime had absorbed enough of the hopes and expectancies of the Enlightenment to become aware by his third voyage that his mission to the Pacific involved him in a profound and unresolvable contradiction. In order to treat native peoples in the enlightened way that Morton had exhorted and to survive he had to establish markets among people who possessed little if any notions of a market economy. The alternative was to use force from the beginning as the Spaniards and Portuguese had done, and eighteenth-century Englishmen prided themselves that they could behave more humanely than Spaniards.

There was nothing new about the working methods used for establishing more or less humane contact with primitive people, even when they were, as the ancient Greeks said, stubborn. You began by gifting. The Greeks had borne gifts all the way down the Red Sea Coast to the fish-eaters and others of the Arabian seas.³⁴ It was the acknowledged way of expanding a commercial empire. And if you wanted wood, water and fresh food at each new landfall on a long voyage, without immediately resorting to violence, there was no other