

Rüdiger Joppien and
Bernard Smith

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The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages

Volume Two
The Voyage of the
Resolution and
Adventure
1772-1775

with a
Descriptive Catalogue
of all known original drawings and paintings of
peoples, places, artefacts and events
and original engravings associated
with the Voyage

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3. The Two Ice-edge Cruises: December 1772–March 1773, November 1773–February 1774

These two sections of the voyage have been drawn together here, as it is not possible on the information available to attribute the drawings firmly to either one or other passage. Even 2.6, which an early inscription describes as a record of the taking in of ice on 4 January 1773, presents problems; the logs and journals do not record such an event on that day. It is possible that some if not all of the illustrations were made some time after the view or event recorded was experienced, though not necessarily after the voyage. The inclusion of a ship, and especially of both ships in one drawing, would indicate that many of the Antarctic views, if not all, were intended to be regarded as records of an event (in the way that a journal is a record of events) rather than views taken from a particular point at a particular time. Dr Isabel Stuebe has suggested that those which show both ships relate to the first cruise before the ships were separated, and those showing only the *Resolution* relate to the periods when the ships were separated. Following this suggestion we have placed the drawings in this section that depict the two ships first, followed by those that depict the *Resolution* only — without assuming Dr Stuebe's argument to be conclusive for all cases.¹

¹ Stuebe (1979) 138 (135-8).

The *Resolution* was in the Antarctic Ocean among the southern ice from 10 December 1772 to 6 March 1773, and again from 12 December 1773 to 3 February 1774. The *Adventure* was with her during the first ice-edge cruise until 9 February 1773, but not during the second. For the *Resolution* it was a combined period of five months. It is surprising therefore that so few visual records of these highly dramatic, arduous and taxing sections of the voyage have survived. We know only of five water-colours by Hodges, one by George Forster, a wash drawing by Isaac Smith in his log (2.12), and one by Peter Fannin, Master of the *Adventure* (2.13) — the last of which has the appearance of a recollection rather than a study made at the time.

It seems clear however that some drawings have been lost. For in Cook's manuscript journal in the Public Record Office (Adm 55/108) he refers on folio 17v to two views, doubtless drawn by Hodges, to illustrate a passage in which he describes the perils and horrifying beauty of the Antarctic icebergs, a passage in which he admirably exemplifies, though he had probably never read him, Burke's definition of sublime beauty:

the pieces which break from the large Islands are more dangerous then the Islands themselves, the latter are generally seen at a sufficient distance to give time to steer clear of them, whereas the others cannot be seen in the night or thick weather till they are under the Bows: great as these dangers are, they are now become so very familiar to us that the apprehensions they cause are never of long duration and are in some measure compencated by the very curious and romantick Views many of these Islands exhibit and which are greatly heightened by the foaming and dashing of the waves against them and into the several holes and caverns which are formed in the most of them, in short the whole exhibits a View which can only be discribed by the pence of an able painter and at once fills the mind with admiration and horror, the first is occasioned by the beautifullniss of the Picture and the latter by the danger attending it, for was a ship to fall aboard one of these large pieces of ice she would be dashed to pieces in a moment. (*Journals* II, 98-9)

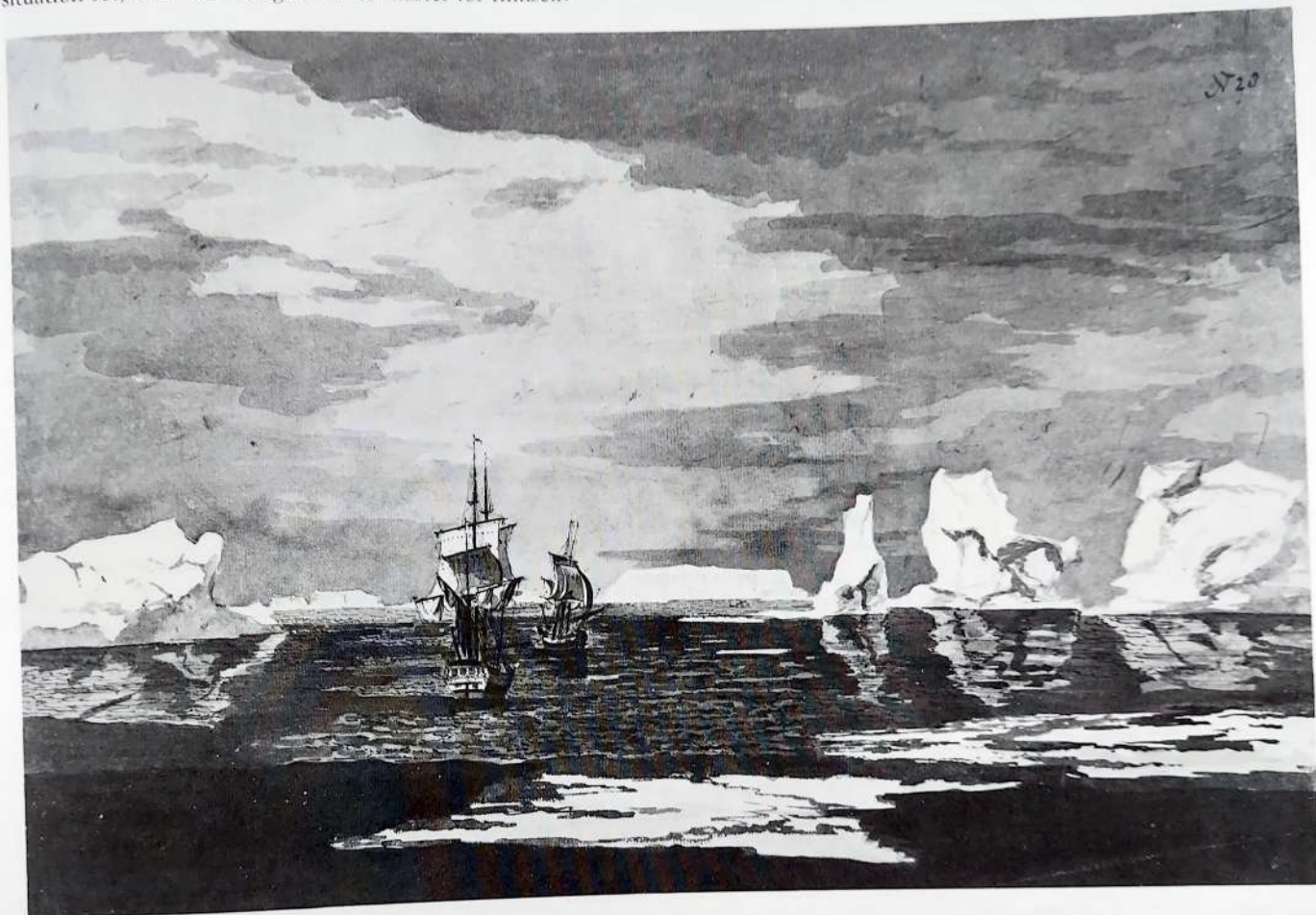
In editing the *Journals* Beaglehole did not mention the reference key †, which Cook, in his manuscript, placed after 'romantick Views'. The key refers to a marginal reference at the foot of the folio: 'See Views 1 and 2.' Similar references occur throughout the manuscript, none of which have been recorded by Beaglehole. The views referred to are not readily identified with extant views by Hodges, though their subject matter is sometimes similar; nor are views known at present to exist that bear reference numbers that can be collated with Cook's reference numbers. We must therefore assume that the drawings and views referred to by Cook have been lost.

It is particularly regrettable that so few Antarctic drawings by Hodges have survived, for those that survive are among the most interesting he made on the voyage. All are in

monochrome and possess the freshness of work done on location; but they may have been developed, as suggested above, from simpler studies.

Hodges here achieves strikingly original effects, with no known precedents to guide him. He sets down a general impression by means of broad, fluent washes of umber and indian ink, darkening the forewater in order to create the vivid effect of low raking northern sunlight, striking upon the icebergs and the sails of the ships. In one water-colour the two vessels are shown embayed between icebergs and field ice (plate 14, 2.9); in another, the curious shapes of the icebergs are reflected in the sea, and from the sea into their cavernous holes (2.6). The treatment of water is masterly; long flattened strokes of a reed pen for a quiet sea; an agitated calligraphy of line and wash to suggest wave motion; a much broader massing of light and shade to indicate the rise and fall of the ocean swell. These were visual problems that the situation set, and that Hodges had to master for himself.

PLATE 14
William Hodges, [*The Resolution and Adventure among Icebergs*], c.1772-4.
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. (2.9)



It is odd that such original and dramatic drawings were not used by Hodges, so far as we know, to develop finished work in oils either during the voyage or back home in England. The engraving by Pouncy catches some of the spirit and excitement of this time among the ice (plate 15), but it focuses upon the adventure of collecting ice for water, not upon those visual effects which excited Hodges's attention. It is strange too that Cook did not seek for his own published account of the voyage a visual record of that highly important moment in his life on 30 January 1774 when he was blocked at 71° 10' south latitude by ice from penetrating further south.

I who had Ambition not only to go farther than any one had done before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption as it in some measure relieved us, at least shortned the dangers and hardships inseparable with the Navigation of the Southern Polar Regions . . .²

One can only assume that Hodges did not think that the ice of the Antarctic Ocean was a suitable subject for a major painting. It is important to remember in this regard that the cultivation of a taste even for Alpine subjects had at this time barely begun.³ This comparative lack of interest in the Antarctic as a possible subject for art provides a clue to Hodges's

² Cook, *Journals* II, 323.

³ The taste for Swiss Alpine landscape was popularized by J. L. Aberli (1723-86), painter and engraver of Berne and the first master of John Webber, Cook's artist on his third voyage. Aberli's designs for *Die Eisgebirge des Schweizerlandes* (1760) by the naturalist G. S. Gruner inaugurated the vogue for studies of Swiss Alpine scenery. See F. C. Lonchamp, *J.-L. Aberli (Paris and Lausanne, 1927)* 31-2; and A. Wilton, *William Pars, Journey through the Alps*, Zurich, 1979.



PLATE 15
The Ice Islands, seen the 9th of Jan.^{ry} 1773.
 Engraving by B. T. Pouncy after a
 drawing by Hodges. Cook (1777) II, pl.
 XXX (fp. 36).

⁴ Hodges to Hayley, London, 27 April
 1793, holograph letter, Alexander
 Turnbull Library, Wellington.

sensibility. He is not a true early romantic; at most, as we shall see, he could cast a romantic glow over a picturesque or classical composition. In such cases he yields to proto-romantic sentiment, but at heart he was a naturalist. As he put it years later to his friend Hayley, 'I have sometimes secretly quarrelled with the World for allowing me the Character of a man of Genius in the display of fanciful representations than that of accurate observations.'⁴ This misunderstanding of the true thrust of his work has persisted to the present day. Certainly the exotic character of his subject-matter helped to nourish romantic sensibility in Europe, but Hodges did not seek out the strange and unfamiliar for its own sake, even in Polynesia. His concern is with translating his perceptions into graphic form; if they are in need of an artistic structure to support them, he normally turns to a picturesque or a classical base. The locus of his development as an artist lies between the co-ordinates of classicism, and its eighteenth-century variants, and naturalism. Admittedly there is a nascent romantic streak in Hodges, best seen, as we shall see, in his work at Dusky Bay, but it is skin deep, most probably acquired through his association with George Forster.

For in the case of the Forsters, particularly young George, 18 when he embarked on the *Resolution*, ten years younger than Hodges, the new romantic sensibility is beginning to bite deeper. It was George who was responsible for the only truly romantic view of the Antarctic, indeed the only view drawn by anyone who travelled with Cook, that sought to combine observation with the fanciful, to unite the strange reality of the Antarctic with those emotions of fear and wonder which it aroused. This he did in the gouache painting, now in the Mitchell Library, entitled *Ice Islands with Ice Blink* (plate 16). It differs from Hodges's Antarctic paintings not only in medium — for Hodges did not employ gouache — but also in style. Forster's blue, yellow and white tones are not used by Hodges, and the painting lacks his crisp tonal distinctions. A comparison with George Forster's bird paintings leaves no doubt that the gouache is by his hand.

The painting is not wholly fanciful. It is the only painting made on any of the voyages to record vividly the phenomenon known as iceblink, first noticed on this voyage by William Wales on 16 December 1772.⁵ A few days later George Forster recorded in his journal:

We were certain of meeting with ice in any quarter where we perceived a strong reflexion of white on the skirts of the sky near the horizon. However the ice is not always entirely white, but often tinged, especially near the surface of the sea, with a most beautiful sapphire or rather berylline blue, evidently reflected from the water; this blue colour sometimes appeared twenty or thirty feet above the surface, and was there probably owing to some particles of sea

⁵ Wales, MS Journal, Mitchell Library, Library of New South Wales, Sydney, 16 December 1772.



water which had been dashed against the mass in tempestuous weather, and had penetrated into its interstices.⁶

It was this effect of colour that George Forster sought to convey in his painting. But it may also record a memory of an iceberg seen on 24 February 1773 and described by Wales as 'an old square castle, one end of which had fallen into Ruins, and it had a Hole quite through it whose roof so exactly resembled the Gothic arch of an old Postern Gateway that I believe it would have puzzled an Architect to have built it truer'.⁷ To these naturalistic elements George Forster added a touch of phantasy. The icebergs, he said, 'gave full scope to our imagination, which compared them to several known objects, by that means attempting to overcome the tediousness of our cruise'.⁸ The tall iceberg on the left of Forster's painting appears to be one that gave his imagination scope, for it has the appearance of a nude woman, clad in a shroud; and if the painting is inverted the blue rock to which the odd shape is precariously attached takes on the form of a man's head, of which the nose and one eye are clearly discernible. The moving cloud above the iceblink also takes on an anthropomorphic shape, like a memory of those figures of winds placed in the corners of old maps.

In this imaginative transformation of sensations to relieve 'the tediousness of our cruise' we may glimpse the possible influence of David Hartley's then widely current theory of association. In his *Observations of Man* (1749) Hartley argued that all knowledge was based upon sensations transmitted to the brain, which were there coalesced by association, a faculty that possessed a capacity rather like gravity for attraction. By association, sensations were linked and coalesced into ideas, theories, actions. If George Forster was responding to Hartley's theory, the link was probably through his father.⁹ J. R. Forster's life is closely linked with that of Joseph Priestley, whom he replaced in 1767 at the Warrington Academy as tutor in classics and modern languages. Both scholars held each other's work in the highest regard. But Priestley was also an ardent admirer of Hartley's work, and was responsible for an abridged edition of the *Observations of Man* in 1775. That was the year the *Resolution* returned and Forster renewed his contact with Priestley.¹⁰ It would be surprising in any case if a polymath like J. R. Forster was not aware of Hartley's theories.

PLATE 16

George Forster, [*Ice Islands with ice blink*], March 1773(?). Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. (2.10)

⁶ G. Forster (1777) I, 101.

⁷ Wales, MS Journal, entry for 23 February 1773. And note also G. Forster's description of a similar iceberg: 'we passed one of a great size, with a hollow in the middle, resembling a grotto or cavern, which was pierced through, and admitted light from the other side'. G. Forster (1777) I, 117.

⁸ *ibid.*, 117.

⁹ On Hartley and the romantic imagination see M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1953) 162-3 et al. Barbara Stafford cites *Ice Islands and Easter Island* engravings in Cook (1777) as exemplars of the significant change in aesthetic perception that occurred in the eighteenth century, by which 'the moderate, polished, complex artifact' lost ground to the 'gigantic, brute and simple forms of inchoate matter' Stafford (1976).

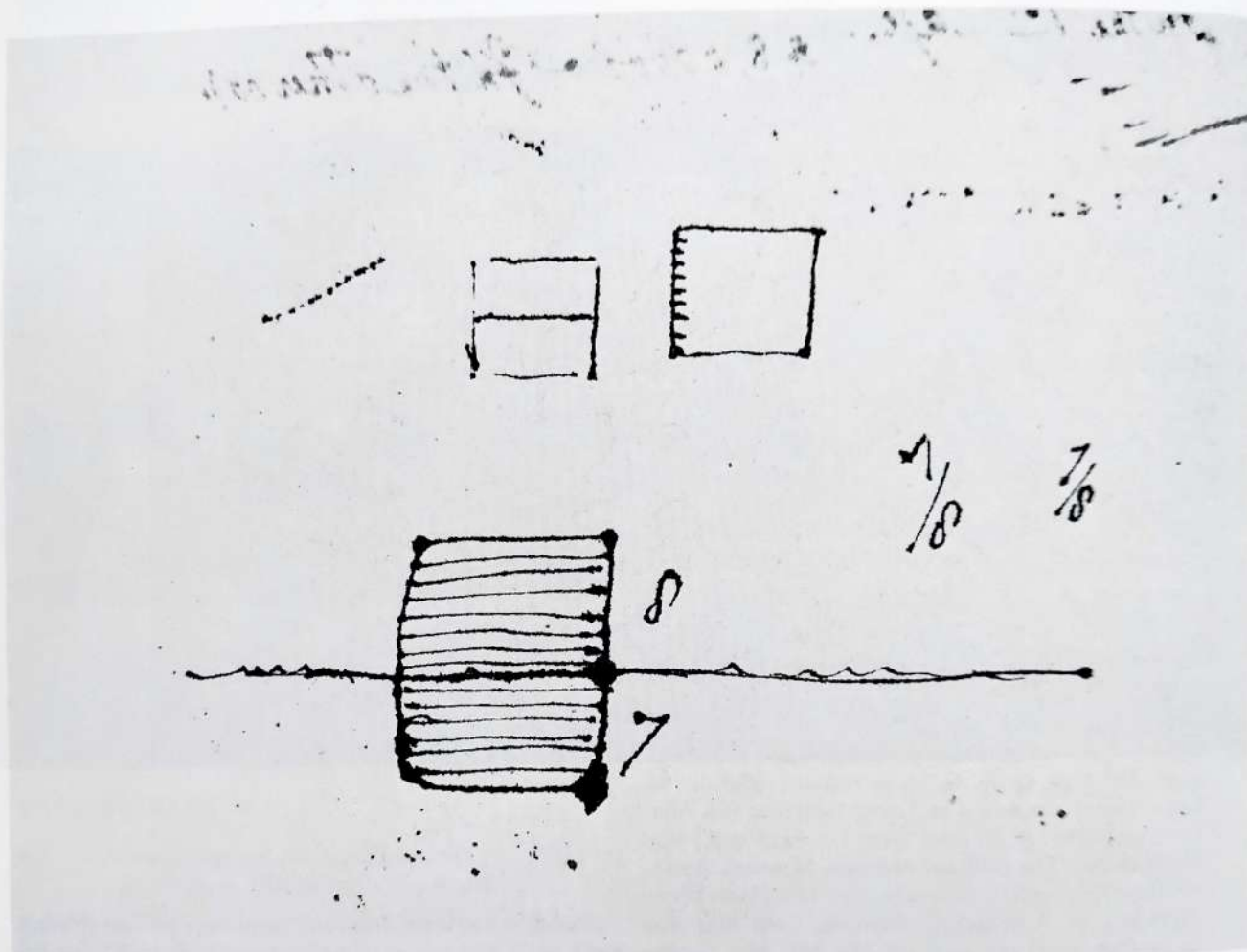
¹⁰ For Forster's relations with Priestley see M. E. Hoare, *The Tactless Philosopher: Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-98)*, (Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1976) 186-7 et al.

THE TWO ICE-EDGE CRUISES

December 1772 to March 1773
November 1773 to February 1774

2.5—2.13

The drawings associated with the two ice-edge cruises have been brought together since it is not possible to distinguish with certainty on which cruise a drawing was executed.



JOHANN REINHOLD FORSTER

2.5 [Diagram of an iceberg, indicating height above sea level] [Dec 1772]
pen and ink, page size $8 \times 5 \frac{9}{16}$: 203×141 .

'the Ice was 204 feet above water: now it is generally proved, that Ice swimming in water is $\frac{7}{8}$ of its height under water, consequently the Mass of this Mountain of Ice must have been 1400 feet under water which is almost incredible'. J. R. Forster (1982) II, 193, 11 December 1772.

The correct proportion is nine-tenths beneath the water. Forster's diagram depicts an iceberg floating eight-fifteenths out of water!

Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, J. R. Forster's Journal. MS germ. quart. 223. opp f. 18.



WILLIAM HODGES

- 2.6 The Resolution & Adventure 4 Jan 1773 Taking
in Ice for Water. Lat 61S. [Jan 1773]
wash and water-colour, 15 × 21½ : 380 × 545.

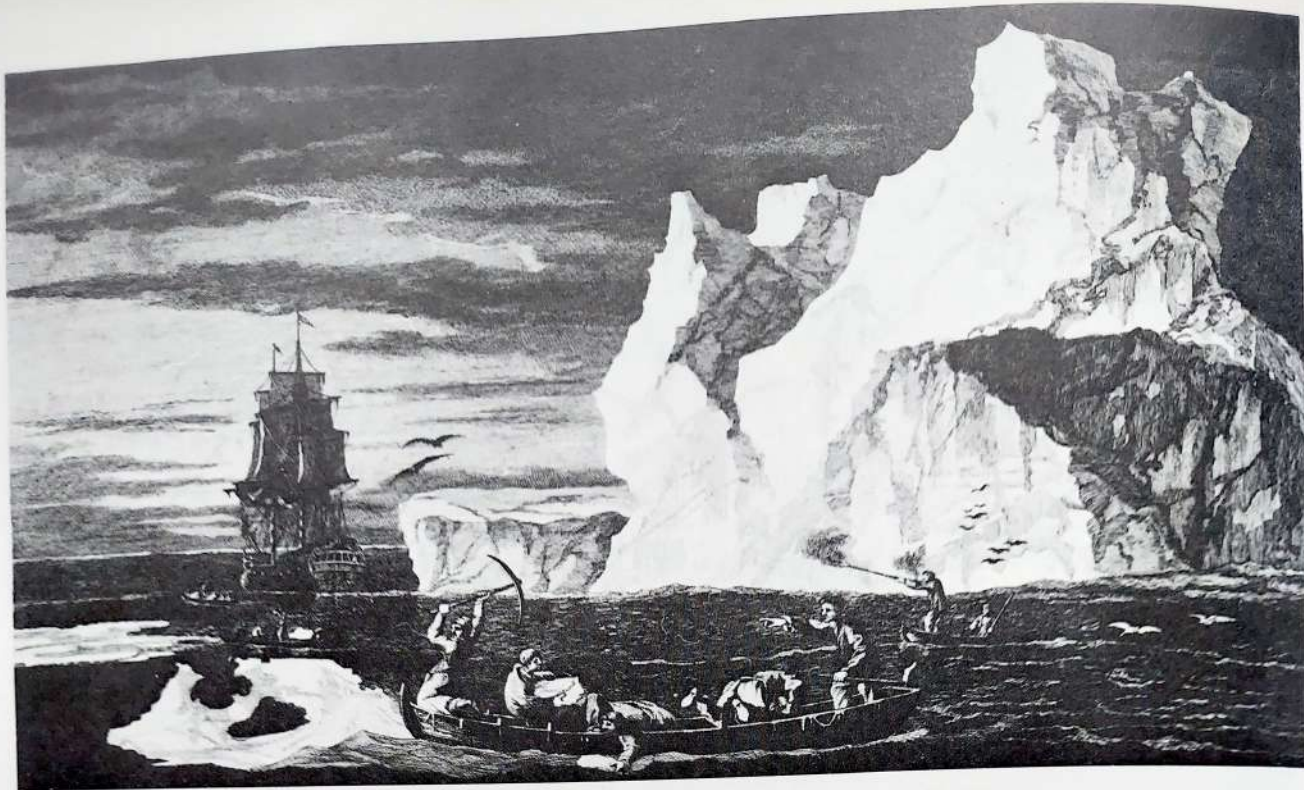
Title as above (l.l.) and inscribed 'W. Hodges' (l.r.) in ink on mount below drawing in Frederick Bennett's hand; and numbered 'N26' at top right of sheet, probably in Isaac Smith's hand.

On 4 January 1773 there is no record in Cook's journal of taking in ice for water, and the latitude is given as 58°55'. However, on 9 January 1773, when in latitude 61°36', he writes: 'we hoisted out three Boats and took up as much as yeilded about 15 Tons of Fresh Water, the Adventure at the same time got about 8 or 9 and all this was done in 5 or 6 hours time; the pieces we took up and which had broke from the Main Island, were very hard and solid, and some of them too large to be handled so that we were obliged to break them with our Ice Axes before they could be taken into the Boats'. Cook, *Journals* II, 74. See also J. R. Forster (1982) II, 212-13.

Cook also records having taken up ice for water on 14 December 1772 (*Journals* II, 59).

ver: For another representation of a similar event, see 2.13.
ref: Cook, *Journals* II, pl. 15 (fp.64); Iredale (1925) 226-8, pl. p. 225; Smith (1950) 73, and (1960) 44, pl. 37; Rienits (1968) pl. p. 85; Murray-Oliver (1969) pl. 59 (col.); Beaglehole (1974) pl. 21 (fp.432); Stuebe (1979) 135 (70); Cook (1981) pl. I. (p. 119).

Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.
PXD11 N.26.



2.6A The Ice Islands, seen on the 9th of Jan.^{ry} 1773.
Engraved by B. T. Pouncy after the drawing from
nature by W. Hodges. Cook (1777) II, pl. XXX,
fp.36. [plate 15]

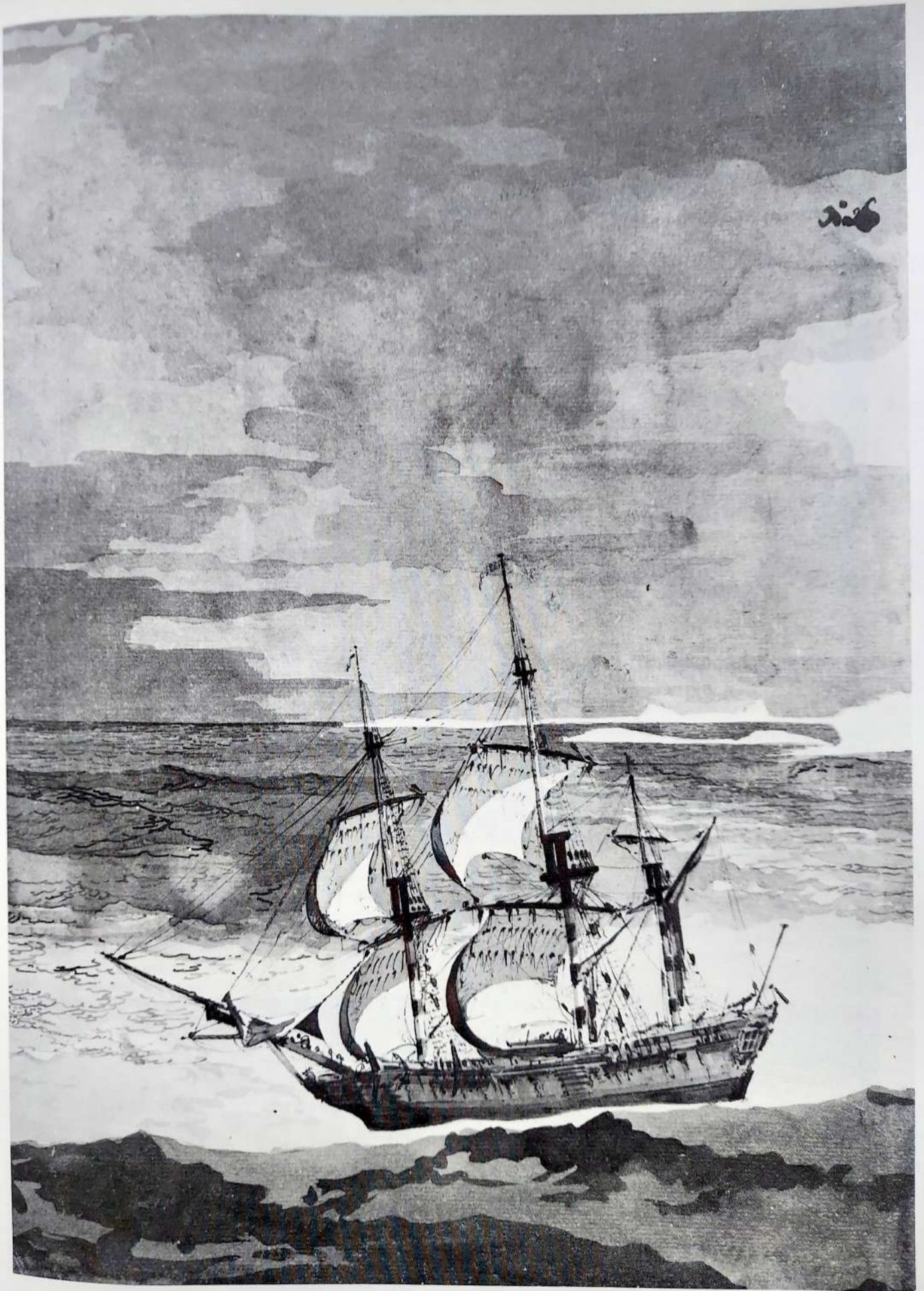
WILLIAM HODGES

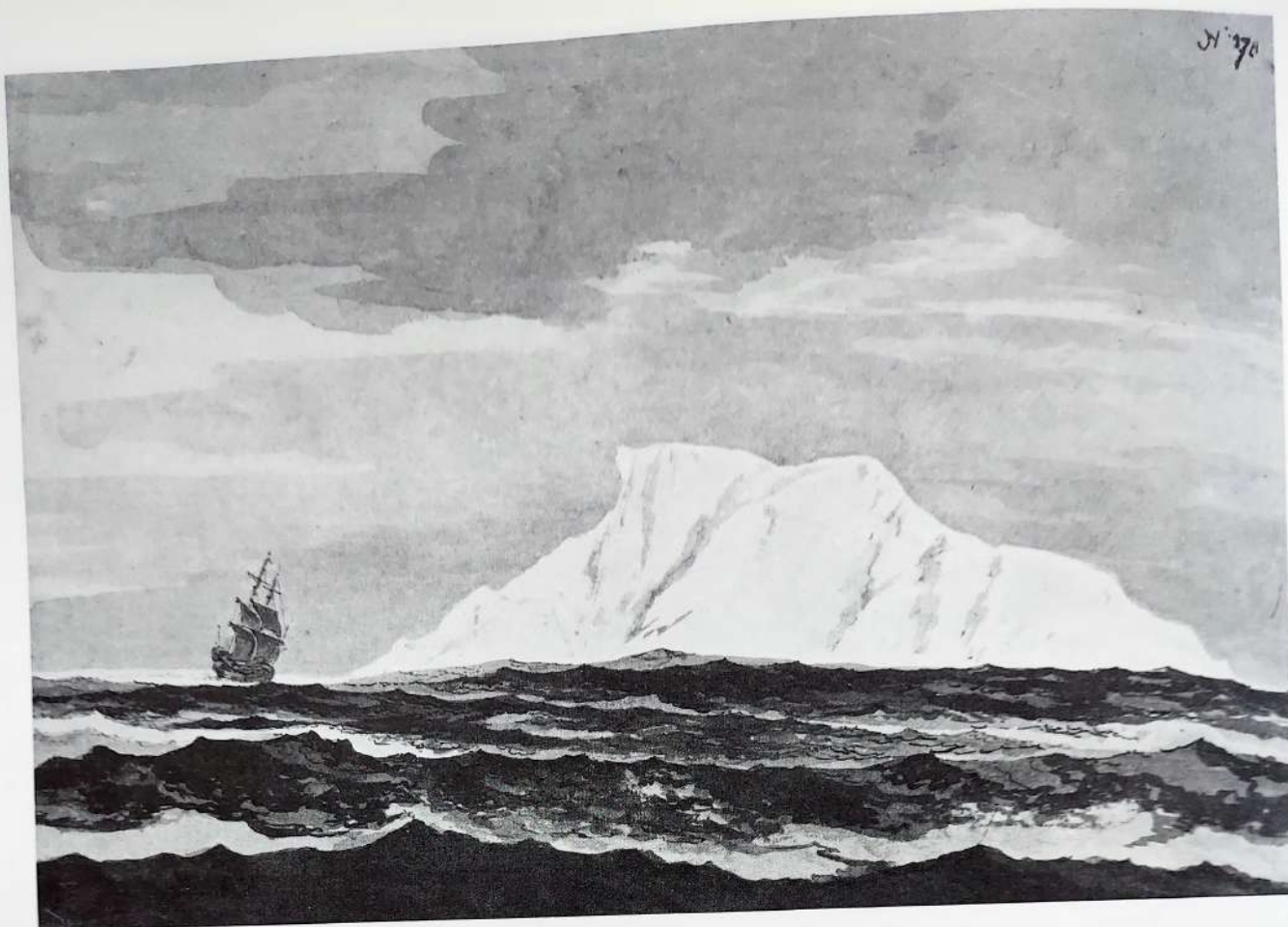
- 2.7 Ice Islands [1773-4]
wash and water-colour, 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 12 : 429 × 305.

Title as above (l.l.) and inscribed 'W. Hodges' (l.r.) in ink on
mount below drawing in Frederick Bennett's hand; a blotted in-
distinct number (2?) on sheet (u.r.) probably in Isaac Smith's
hand.

ref: Cook, *Journals* II, pl. 16 (fp.64), where titled 'Resolution
in a stream of pack-ice'; Stuebe (1979) 138 (75).

Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.
PXD11 N.27.





WILLIAM HODGES

2.8 [The *Resolution* passing a Tabular Iceberg] [1773-4]
wash and water-colour, $12\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{5}{8}$: 324×472 .

Inscribed 'Ice Island' (l.l.) and 'W. Hodges' (l.r.) in ink on mount below drawing in Frederick Bennett's hand; and 'N 27A' on the sheet (u.r.), the '27' probably in Isaac Smith's hand, the 'A' in a later hand.

Dr Stuebe has suggested that 'the drawing may date from the second ice-edge cruise . . . of 1773-74 after the two ships were separated'. Stuebe (1979) 138 (74).

ref: Cook, *Journals* II, pl. 17 (fp. 64); Rienits (1968) pl. p. 87; Begg (1969) pl. 164; Stuebe (1979) 137-8 (74).

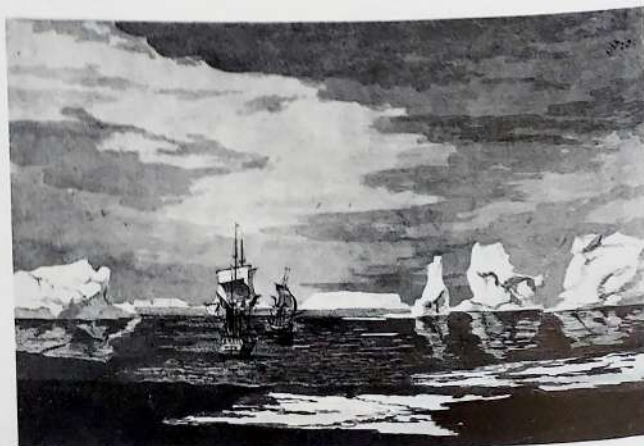
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.
PXD11 N.27a.

WILLIAM HODGES

2.9 [The *Resolution* and *Adventure* among Icebergs] [plate 14] [1772-3]
wash and water-colour, $14\frac{1}{2} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$: 367×546 .

Inscribed 'Ice Islands' (l.l.) and 'W. Hodges' (l.r.) in ink on mount below drawing in Frederick Bennett's hand; and 'N28' in ink (u.r.) on the sheet, probably in Isaac Smith's hand. There is a faint pencil inscription along the lower edge of the folio: 'Different Ice Islands seen [?] between [?] 54.00 — [and slightly above] 60.0'. It has been cut in trimming the edge.

Dr Stuebe suggests that the drawing was executed between December 1772 and February 1773 as both the *Resolution* and *Adventure* are included. Stuebe (1979) 136 (72).



ref: Cook, *Journals* II, pl. 18 (fp. 64); Rienits (1969) pl. p. 86;
Begg (1969) pl. 120 (col.).

Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.
PXD11 N.28.

GEORGE FORSTER

2.10 [Ice Islands with ice blink] [plate 16] [1772-3]
gouache, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$: 350×545 .

Inscribed 'Ice Islands' in ink on mount below drawing in Frederick Bennett's hand; 'N.30' in ink (u.r.) on sheet, probably in Isaac Smith's hand.

Previously attributed to Hodges. The attribution to George Forster is based upon the drawings by Forster of natural-history subjects, in the British Museum (National History), many of which are technically and stylistically similar. Dr Stuebe has suggested that Hodges may have collaborated with Forster. Stuebe (1979) 137 (73).

'The shapes of these large frozen masses, were frequently singularly ruinous, and so far picturesque enough; among them we passed one of a great size, with a hollow in the middle, resembling a grotto or cavern, which was pierced through, and admitted the light from the other side. Some had the appearance of a spire or steeple; and many others gave full scope to our imagination, which compared them to several known objects, by that means attempting to overcome the tediousness of our cruize' G. Forster (1777) I, 117, 17 March 1773.

'The horizon was bright & cast a kind of whitish reflexion on the Sky, which we observed as a mark of the approach of Ice, for the same phaenomenon was observed as often as we fell in with solid Field Ice.' J. R. Forster (1982), II, 216-17.

ref: Cook, *Journals* II, 98-9, pl. 19 (fp. 64); Sparrman (1944) 25; Smith (1950) 73-4, pl. 18b. and (1960) 44, pl. 38 where attributed to Hodges; Begg and Begg (1968) pl. 14 fp. 65 in col.

Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.
PXD11 N.30.

WILLIAM HODGES

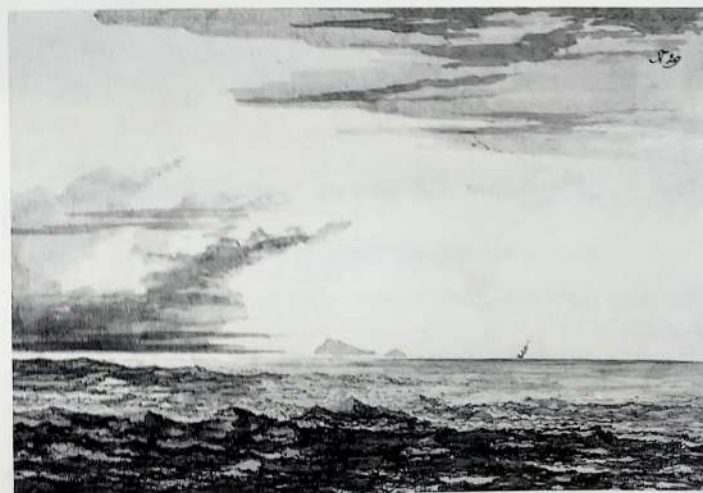
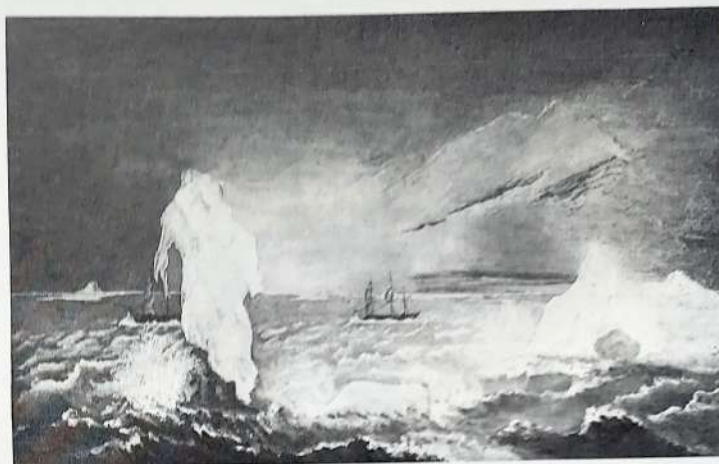
2.11 Ice Islands [1773-4]
wash and water-colour, $10\frac{5}{8} \times 15$: 270×380 .

Title as above (l.l.) and 'W. Hodges' (l.r.) in ink on mount below drawing in Frederick Bennett's hand; 'N 29' in ink on sheet (u.r.), probably in Isaac Smith's hand with 'Ice Islands' written above faintly, and the traces of Hodges's signature.

The single ship may indicate that the drawing is to be associated with the second ice-edge cruise. Stuebe (1979) 138 (74).

ref: Smith (1960) 44, pl. 36; Stuebe (1979) 138 (76).

Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.
PDX11 N.29.



ISAAC SMITH

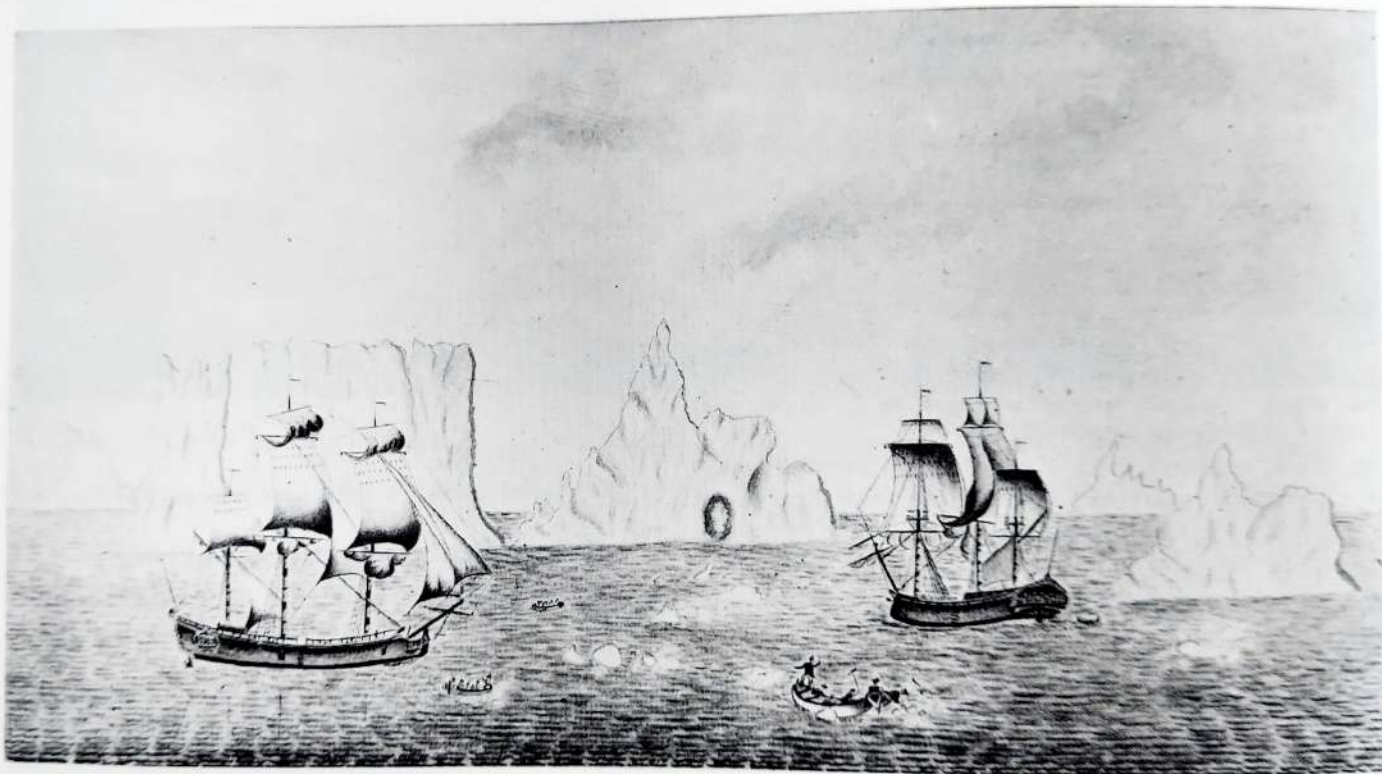
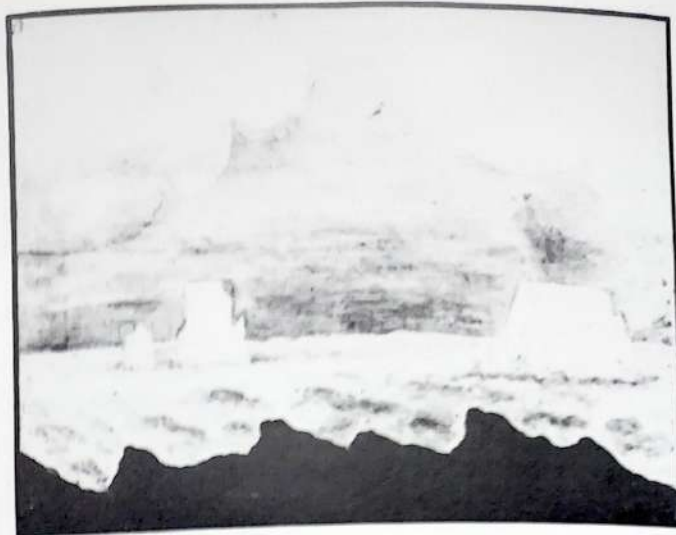
2.12 [Ice Islands]

[Mar 1773]

wash and water-colour, $6 \times 7 : 152 \times 173$.

Isaac Smith's log on *Resolution* for 3 March 1773 is illustrated with this view, and he records: 'Mod. & hazey: Pass'd 2 Islands of Ice'. The drawing reveals the stylistic influence of Hodges.

Public Record Office, London. Adm 55/105, f66^v.



PETER FANNIN

2.13 [*Resolution and Adventure* among ice islands]

[1772-3]

pen, wash and water-colour, $8 \times 14\frac{1}{2} : 203 \times 368$.

The large iceberg in the centre may be the same depicted at right in 2.10.

Similar in style to 'The Rocks of Martinvas' (BM Add. MS 15500.21) and 'Island of Trinidad' (BM Add. MS 15500.22), not included in this catalogue. Fannin presumably executed these drawings on another voyage. Depicting the first ice-edge cruise with men collecting ice. Compare 2.6. But probably drawn after the event.

In 'Draughts & Remarks of Coasts, Harbours, etc. by Pet: Fannin, Master [*Adventure*] in his Voyage round the Globe 1772, 1773 & 1774.'

Naval Library, Ministry of Defence — Navy, London. Vz 11/55.