

way. So you had to establish markets, at the side of the ship, or on the beaches, as in Webber's fine painting of the market Cook established at Nomuka, in Tonga ('The Harbour at Annamooka', British Library).

To establish one's peaceful intentions one began by gifting. The nature of gifting was more deeply embedded in primitive survival economies than the nature of property or the nature of a free market. So Cook took with him on his third voyage thousands of articles from Matthew Boulton's factory Soho in Birmingham; axes, chisels, saws, metal buttons, beads, mirrors etc., as presents, and for trading.<sup>35</sup> The year Cook sailed (1776) was the year in which the principles of free trade, of the universal benefits of an international market economy was given its classic expression in Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, and it is of passing interest to note that the same publishers, Strahan and Cadell, published the official account of Cook's Second Voyage a year later. As I mentioned in another context Cook was Adam Smith's first and perhaps greatest global agent.<sup>36</sup> He opened a new third of the world to free enterprise.

Smith, the theorist of perfect competition, argued that market prices established themselves by the natural laws of supply and demand; if there was any control at all exercised by this beautifully delicate mechanism it was best described as wrought by 'an invisible hand'.<sup>37</sup> But Smith drew his conclusions primarily from a study of developed market economies that had been in existence in Europe from ancient times. Cook, the practical man, had the grave problem of insisting upon the rules and conventions where they did not exist or existed at the fringe rather than the centre of the primitive polity. There were of course markets in the Pacific before Cook, but at various stages of development, from the complete non-existence of the concept among the natives of Van Diemen's Land<sup>38</sup> to the astute Indians of Nootka Sound, of whom Cook wrote in chagrin on one occasion that it seemed that 'there was not a blade of grass that did not possess a separate owner'.<sup>39</sup>

So in the Pacific Cook had to play at being, as best he could, Adam Smith's God. If the laws of property essential to a free market economy were transgressed and a goat stolen an act of the god must descend upon the whole community. If a law is not understood as a natural law the best thing to do, if you possess the power of a god, is to make it seem like one.

What I would suggest then is that Cook on his third voyage became increasingly aware in his grand role as Enlightenment Man that he was involved in contradictions that he could not resolve. He had come to the Pacific to spread the blessings and advantages of civilised Europe. What the locals most wanted was the ironware that for so many centuries had made Europe powerful, what Cook's young sailors wanted even more than they wanted fresh food was the bodies of the native