

Sailors, Savants, Naming: France and the Knowing of Oceania, 1756–1840

Bronwen Douglas

School of Archaeology and Anthropology, ANU College of Arts & Social Sciences,
The Australian National University, Australia
bronwen.douglas@anu.edu.au

Abstract

This paper addresses the tangled interplay of mariners' experiences and prevailing theory in the French mapping, naming and classification of places and people in what is usually called Oceania (here, spanning the south Pacific Islands, Australia, New Guinea and New Zealand). Europeans have known of this vast, mainly maritime zone, from the early 16th century as the 'fifth part of the world'. Over the next four centuries, it was mostly called the South Sea/Pacific Ocean or *Terra Australis/Océanie*. My main chronological focus is the classic era of French scientific voyaging under sail after 1750, bookended by the expeditions of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville and Jules Dumont d'Urville. I consider the creation, mutual appropriation and cross-fertilization of practical and abstract knowledges, their differential inscription in cartographic and written texts, and their uneven synthesis in 19th-century geographic and anthropological (or raciological) nomenclatures and classifications in France.

Keywords

Oceania, France, geography, anthropology, cartography, race

This paper is a history of the shifting entanglement of praxis and theory in the French mapping, naming and classification of places and people in what is usually called Oceania. It addresses varied ways in which the results of mariners' practical experience during the classic era of scientific voyaging between 1766 and 1840 were synthesized with prevailing geographic and anthropological theory and expressed differentially in French geographic and written materials. 'Oceania' here denotes the vast, mainly maritime zone encompassing the Pacific Islands, Australia, New Guinea and Aotearoa-New Zealand. From the mid-16th century, following the first Spanish trans-Pacific voyages in the 1520s, European cosmographers, geographers and cartographers imagined this space, still largely unknown to them, as the 'fifth part of the world' (e.g. Domeny de Rienzi 1836–1838; Gerritsz 1612; Mercator 1541; Plant 1793). They devised a range of oceanic, continental and insular toponyms to label it, eventually condensed as South Sea/Pacific Ocean or *Terra Australis/Océanie*.

The interplay of these practical and abstract knowledges occurred within the broad intellectual context of the late 18th-century science of man. Hardening belief in essential racial inequality challenged the ethnocentric dogma of essential human similitude that had long qualified distaste for perceived differences in religion, bodily appearance or lifestyle. In France from about 1800, the emergent discipline of anthropology, in collaboration with the spatial science of geography, was explicitly a science of race or raciology (Blanckaert 2003, 2004; Douglas 2008). This paradigmatic disciplinary

movement entailed a parallel conceptual and linguistic shift whereby nominalist terminology or strategies were subsumed by categorical (Douglas 2014: 10–16). In nominalist usage, travellers attached names—local ones if known—to places and people encountered. Cartographers reinscribed such place names in their maps while natural historians such as Buffon (1749) assembled names gleaned from travel literature into fuzzy catalogues of myriad 'varieties', 'nations', or 'races' of people. In contrast, categorical terminology in anthropology encompassed actual named human groupings within rigid, a priori hierarchies of essentialised, physically-determined 'races', 'types' or 'species'. Geographically, categorical strategies imposed a regional toponymy on an entire segment of the globe. The uneven emergence of categorical thinking in the French geography, anthropology and cartography of Oceania is an integrating theme of this paper.

Before 1756: Imagined geographies

Renaissance cartographers were committed to precise representation of places and their relationships, particularly in navigational charts, but absent or limited information licensed fancy, conjecture and abstraction. From the 1520s to the mid-18th century, classical cosmographic theory about the southern Antipodes, or Antichthon, was sporadically qualified by navigators' empirical testimony (Douglas 2010: 181–196; Wroth 1944). A late 17th-century map of 'La Mer du Sud dite autrement Mer Pacifique' (The South Sea otherwise known as Pacific Sea) by the royal geographer Pierre Duval (Figure 1) provides an early instance of the



Figure 1. P. Duval, *La Mer du Sud dite autrement Mer Pacifique* (Paris: l'Auteur, 1679), National Library of Australia, Map Rm 2919, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232137613>.

cartographic interplay of praxis and theory in France. This map blends a multilayered record of the practical products of more than 150 years of Spanish and Dutch Pacific voyaging with coastal outlines of a vast imagined southern continent. These long hypothesised *Terres Ant-Arctiques* or *Australes* (Antarctic or Southern Lands) were allegedly discovered in 1606 by the Spaniard Pedro Fernández de Quirós (1973), who fervently endorsed their reality.

1756–1804: Classifying regions

The fifth part of the world was spatially undifferentiated in European maps and nomenclatures before 1756. Its subsequent subdivision and naming were largely French initiatives. The Burgundian *littérateur*

Charles de Brosses (1756) proposed the first regional classification in that year, building a grand conceptual edifice on a sketchy empirical foundation drawn from the accounts of earlier voyagers. Like most French and British savants before the return of James Cook's second, myth-busting voyage in 1775, Brosses accepted the veracity of Quirós's account and its implied realisation of the ancient phantasm of *Terra Australis*—an 'immense continent of solid land south of Asia'. He did so in the face of practical demonstrations by the 16th-century Dutch navigators Willem Corneliszoon Schouten, Jacob Le Maire and Abel Janszoon Tasman of the shrinking space available to accommodate *Terra Australis* and the growing scepticism thereby fuelled in many cartographers (e.g., Goos 1668: [7], plate 1). Geographical theory and voyagers' praxis are at odds



Figure 2. G. Robert de Vaugondy, *Carte générale qui représente les mers des Indes, Pacifique, et Atlantique, et principalement le monde austral, divisé en Australasie, Polynésie et Magellanie, pour servir à l'Histoire des terres australes*, in [C. de Brosse], *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes ...*: vol. 2, plate 1 (Paris: Durand, 1756), detail, National Library of Australia, NK 6956 Map plate 1 (v. 2), <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-601843057>.

in Brosse's work since it also includes lengthy synopses of those same Dutch narratives (1756, I: 13–16, 349–420, 456–63).

Brosse (1756, I: 76–80) partitioned the 'unknown austral world' into three geographical regions and invented the enduring neologisms *Australasie* (Australasia) and *Polynésie* (Polynesia) to name two of them. However, with human taxonomy still suspect in the mid-18th century, he made no attempt to classify their 'many different peoples' and there is no racial element in his topographical terminology. Brosse's Australasia—from Latin *australis* (southern)—is a mostly conjectural land mass 'south of Asia', purportedly substantiated in scattered sightings of actual places in New Holland (Australia), New Guinea and New Britain, as well as New Zealand which was much later rezoned to Polynesia on racial grounds. Similarly, Polynesia, meaning 'multiplicity of islands'—from Greek *poly-* (many) and *nēsos* (island)—clearly differentiates space rather than people since it encompasses 'everything contained in the vast Pacific Ocean', a zone Brosse knew was 'populated by inhabitants of different colours'. A supporting map drawn by the royal geographer Gilles Robert de Vaugondy (Figure 2) is geographically more empirical and generally less fanciful than the treatise it illustrates. He barely hinted at the possibility of

a southern continent and named Brosse's regions without delimiting them.

A half century later, successive scientific voyages—inaugurated by those of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville in 1766–1769 and Cook in 1768–1771—had generated profuse empirical information about the fifth part of the world, enabling the Scottish littérateur John Pinkerton (1802, II: 432–436, 464–467) to propose exact demarcations for Brosse's regions. In several English editions and a French translation (1804) of his *Modern Geography*, he computed Australasia's boundaries to incorporate the islands 'circumjacent' to New Holland, as far east as the New Hebrides and New Zealand, but assigned Fiji to Polynesia. He formalised physical criteria implicit in Brosse's nomenclature by invoking a 'characteristic feature' in each case: island 'size' in Australasia and 'innumerable small islands' in Polynesia. However, Pinkerton's written precision is not matched in Aaron Arrowsmith's (1802; 1804) illustrative maps of 'Pacific Islands' and 'Grand Océan' in which, again, the regions are named but not defined.

1804–1815: Classifying races

A stark disjunction between overly theorised writings and austere pragmatic maps characterises the

literature on Oceania produced by savants in France between 1804 and 1815. Specifically, written texts on Oceanic geography and anthropology are increasingly categorical and racialised whereas maps do not mark regional divisions and lack racial inflection (Douglas 2011: 2–10).

The disconnect between written and visual is patent in the highly influential publications of the Danish-French savant Conrad Malte-Brun, principal author of a sixteen-volume world geography purportedly grounded empirically in the ‘exact and novel’ information published by ‘geographers, naturalists, voyagers and statisticians of the most enlightened nations’ (Mentelle and Malte-Brun 1803–1805). However, Pinkerton’s French publisher Jean-Gabriel Dentu (1811) accused Malte-Brun of significant plagiarism from the works of other geographers, including Pinkerton. At the end of the first volume, Malte-Brun (1803: 541–552) sketched one of the earliest global racial classifications, which he expanded in detail in subsequent volumes. His taxonomy makes skin colour, hair and bodily structure the key racial differentiae and is littered with invidious discriminations. Predictably, he located ‘the most beautiful shapes and the finest blood ... of all human races’ in certain European races. Within the *Grand-Océan* (Great-Ocean), he sharply distinguished the *Race Noire* (black race) from the *race basanée* (tanned race), in space as well as physically and morally. He peopled New Guinea, New Holland and the Solomon Islands with ‘men as black as the negroes of Africa’, negatively stereotyped with ‘thick’ lips, ‘flat’ nose and ‘wool instead of hair’. In contrast, a ‘very fine race of men’, ‘often whiter than the Spaniards’, with an ‘attractive face’ and a ‘tall, robust build’, inhabited the ‘most eastern part’ of the Pacific Ocean, stretching from the Sandwich Islands (Hawai’i) to New Zealand.

A significant section of volume 12 of this work spans ‘the fifth part of the world’ (Malte-Brun 1804). Avowedly encouraged by contemporary scholarly ‘interest’, Malte-Brun proposed a novel ‘geographical organization’ based, he claimed, on his reading of nearly 80 voyage narratives. The ‘ancient name *Terres-Australes*’ is jettisoned in favour of the significant innovation *Océanique* (Oceanica). Brosses’s dual regional geography is replaced by a nominalist table of 16 sub-groups, either archipelagos or larger lands with contiguous islands. The cardinal toponym Australasia is abandoned while the topographic toponym Polynesia is limited to the ‘small islands of the South Sea’, divided at the equator into ‘north’ and ‘south’ sectors ‘inhabited by the same race’ (Malte-Brun 1804: vii–viii, 361–3, 463, 473).

In contrast to this relatively nominalist geography, Malte-Brun’s umbrella toponym Oceanica is

categorically racialised from the outset. His earlier descriptors ‘black race’ and ‘tanned race’ are supplanted by the taxons *Nègres océaniques* (Oceanic Negroes) and *race polynésienne* (Polynesian race). As occupants of the Sandwich Islands and New Zealand, Malte-Brun’s racial Polynesians extend far beyond his geographical north and south Polynesias (Malte-Brun 1804: 473–4). A decade later, in a 200-page section devoted to Oceanica in his magnum opus on ‘universal geography’, Malte-Brun (1813: 225–422) further developed his racial opposition of ‘the Polynesians’ and ‘the Oceanic Negroes’ by tracing it to two ancestral ‘stocks’, ‘very distinct, as much by their physiognomy as by their language’. He positioned the Oceanic Negroes at ‘the last degree of the savage state’ and thought they might ‘originate in this part of the world’ (Malte-Brun 1813: 229, 244–5, 247, 253). This insinuation of autochthony gave credence to the once heterodox but now increasingly plausible idea that human diversity was primordial and organic—the racial doctrine later labelled polygenism (Douglas 2008: 47–53).

However, the maps in the atlases illustrating Malte-Brun’s geographies of Oceanica are at odds with both his toponymic schema and his racial hierarchy. Neither Oceanica, nor the twin Polynesias, nor race are mentioned or insinuated in Jean-Baptiste Poirson’s (1804) map of the ‘Grand Océan’, dated 1802, which parsimoniously differentiates only named archipelagos. *Océanique* does not appear in a published map until 1810, in a preliminary atlas to Malte-Brun’s ‘universal geography’. But this map by Pierre Lapie (Figure 3) remains a utilitarian nominalist compilation of existing geographical knowledge, has no racial implications and lacks classificatory toponyms: Polynesia does not feature and *Océanique* is limited to the cartouche. Reprinting that map in an extended atlas, Lapie (1812) added maps of Oceanica’s western, central, and eastern segments. Yet Polynesia is again absent while the implied regional division is entirely spatial and cardinal, with no hint of races.

1815–1832: Mapping regions

The Restoration era in France saw not only the resumption of scientific voyages to the Pacific in 1817, but also growing interest, system and exactitude in the cartography of the fifth part of the world, spearheaded by the royal geographer Adrien-Hubert Brué. As a young midshipman with Nicolas Baudin in 1801–1803, Brué was a junior contributor to the practical field of Pacific marine cartography, as celebrated in voyage atlases compiled by the hydrographer Charles-François Beautemps-Beaupré (1807) and Brué’s shipmate Louis de Freycinet (1811, 1812, 1826). Thus, drilled in empirical precision and very widely read, Brué further refined the accuracy of his maps by drawing them



Figure 3. P.M. Lapie, *Océanique*, in C. Malte-Brun, *Précis de la géographie universelle, ou description de toutes les parties du monde, sur un plan nouveau, d'après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe ... Collection de cartes géographiques ...* [plate 19] (Paris: F. Buisson, 1810), National Library of Australia, Map T 841, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232610435>.

directly on copper plates. In his *Grand atlas universel* (1816), he transformed French cartography of the fifth part of the world by amending Malte-Brun's master toponym *Océanique* to *Océanie* (Oceania) and by materialising Brosses' regional synthesis in the actual graphic structure of his maps, rather than simply in words—the first French cartographer to do so.¹ In six plates devoted to Oceania, Brué (1816: plates 36–41) used hatched lines to demarcate three great regions: the *Grand archipel d'Asie* (Great Asian Archipelago), *Australasie* and *Polynésie*. Their purely spatial parameters, devoid of any racial considerations, are underscored by the line which limits Australasia to the very large land masses of New Holland, New Guinea and New Zealand. By passing very close to the north coast of New Guinea, this line positions *all* the Pacific Islands within Polynesia (Figure 4). Brué's Polynesia, thus, encompasses several western archipelagos inhabited

by Malte-Brun's Oceanic Negroes, which Pinkerton had located in Australasia on the basis of size.

The cartographic criterion of the relative magnitude of land masses or islands is strikingly denoted in two novel regional toponyms inscribed by the Florentine cartographer Bartolomeo Borghi (1826) on a map of 'Oceania' first published in 1819. Borghi relabelled Brosses' Polynesia as *Polinesia ovvero Micronesia* (Polynesia or rather Micronesia) and replaced Australasia with the explicitly topographic *Meganesia* (large islands), evidently enfolding the East Indies, New Holland, New Guinea, New Britain, New Caledonia and New Zealand. If *Meganesia* was an ephemeral term until reinvented by some modern scientists, Borghi's *Micronesia*—from Greek *mikros* (small)—was a portentous innovation, soon to be normalised in French cartography and eventually in global geopolitics.

¹ The earliest graphic regionalisation of the fifth part of the world I have found is in a late eighteenth-century German map by the geographer Johann Traugott Plant (1793).

In the second edition of his magnum opus *Atlas universel de géographie physique, politique, ancienne & moderne*, Brué

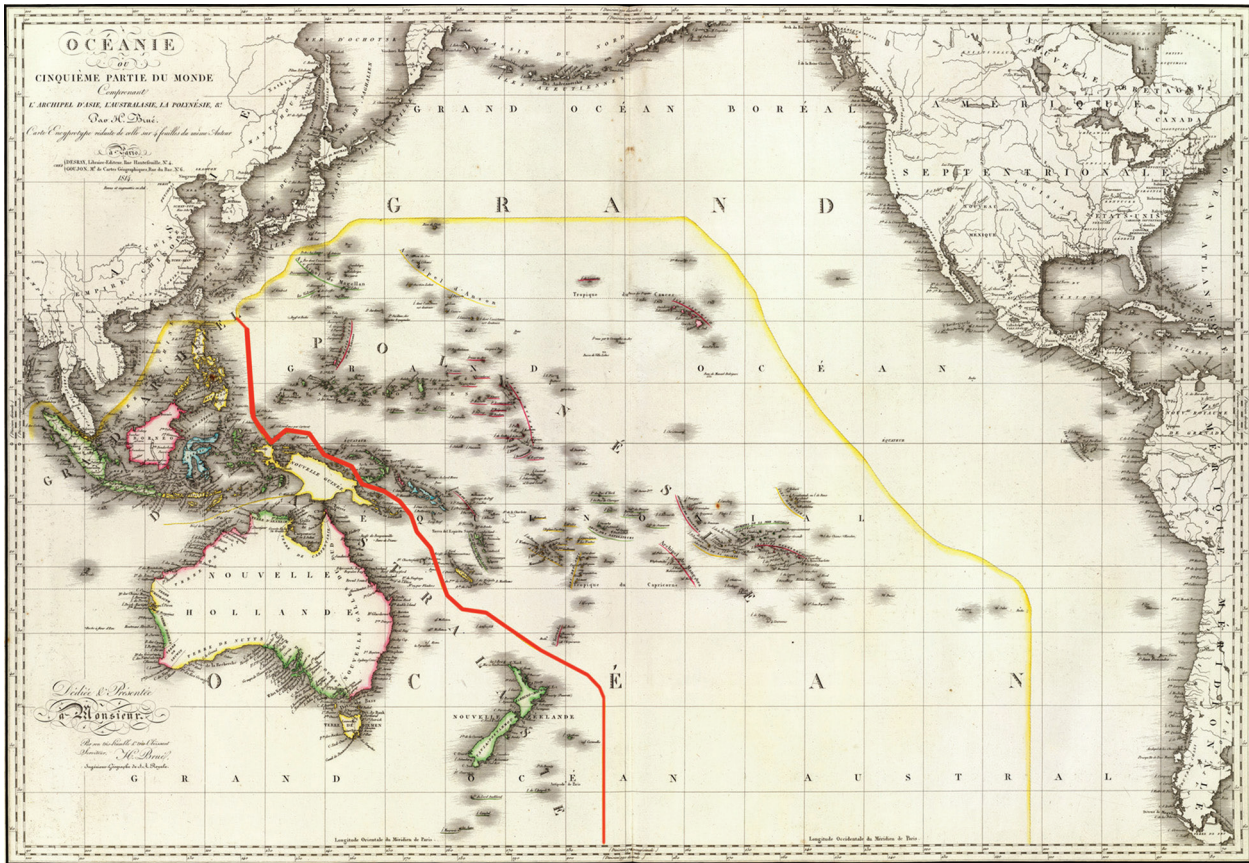


Figure 4. A.-H. Brué, *Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde* comprenant l'Archipel d'Asie, l'Australasie, la Polynésie, &.^a ..., in *Grand atlas universel, ou collection de cartes encyprotypes, générales et détaillées des cinq parties du monde*: plate 36 (2nd edition, Paris: Desray, 1816) (line enhanced), David Rumsey Map Collection, 4614044, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q=4614044>.

(1828: plates 47–50) himself modified Brosses' schema in a new map of 'l'Océanie' condensed from three new regional maps of the *Grand Archipel d'Asie*, *Australie* (Australia)—abbreviated from *Australasie*—and *Polynésie*. Australia's boundary with Polynesia is now realigned north and east so as to group within Australia all the land masses and large islands of the western Pacific, leaving only Fiji in Polynesia (Figure 5), as Pinkerton had done verbally. In a pragmatic gesture to achieve 'the largest possible scale', Brué's *Carte particulière de la Polynésie* (1828: plate 50) splits the region at the Equator into southern and northern segments, reminiscent of Malte-Brun's twin Polynésias but without his racial connotations.

In detailed text boxes on each of these maps, Brué acknowledged the work of numerous voyagers and cartographers, but none more generously than the 'important atlas' of the Pacific Ocean published in Russian and French editions by the initial Russian circumnavigator Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1824–1826, 1824–1827a). Krusenstern's atlas, the first devoted exclusively to the Pacific, is an empirical triumph distilled

from his own Oceanic experience and deep familiarity with his predecessors' work. Purely nominalist in design, content and nomenclature, and without a breath of regionalisation, the atlas is supplemented by 'hydrographic memoirs' (1824–1827b), which provide critical syntheses of island and coastal coordinates and shifting European toponymy. Krusenstern's interwoven visual and written productions served as templates for subsequent hydrographers and in wider global cartography for much of the 19th century.

Dumont d'Urville, 1832: Racial geography

The disjunction between racialised French writings on Oceania and spatialised French maps was dramatically closed in 1832 when Jules Dumont d'Urville (1832), a highly experienced navigator who had twice voyaged in Oceania and would do so again, published linked geographical and racial taxonomies, illustrated by a radically novel map of 'Océanie' (Figure 6). In the process, he synthesised elements from earlier toponymic and racial classifications with his own innovations. Dumont d'Urville formalised Malte-Brun's division of Polynesia

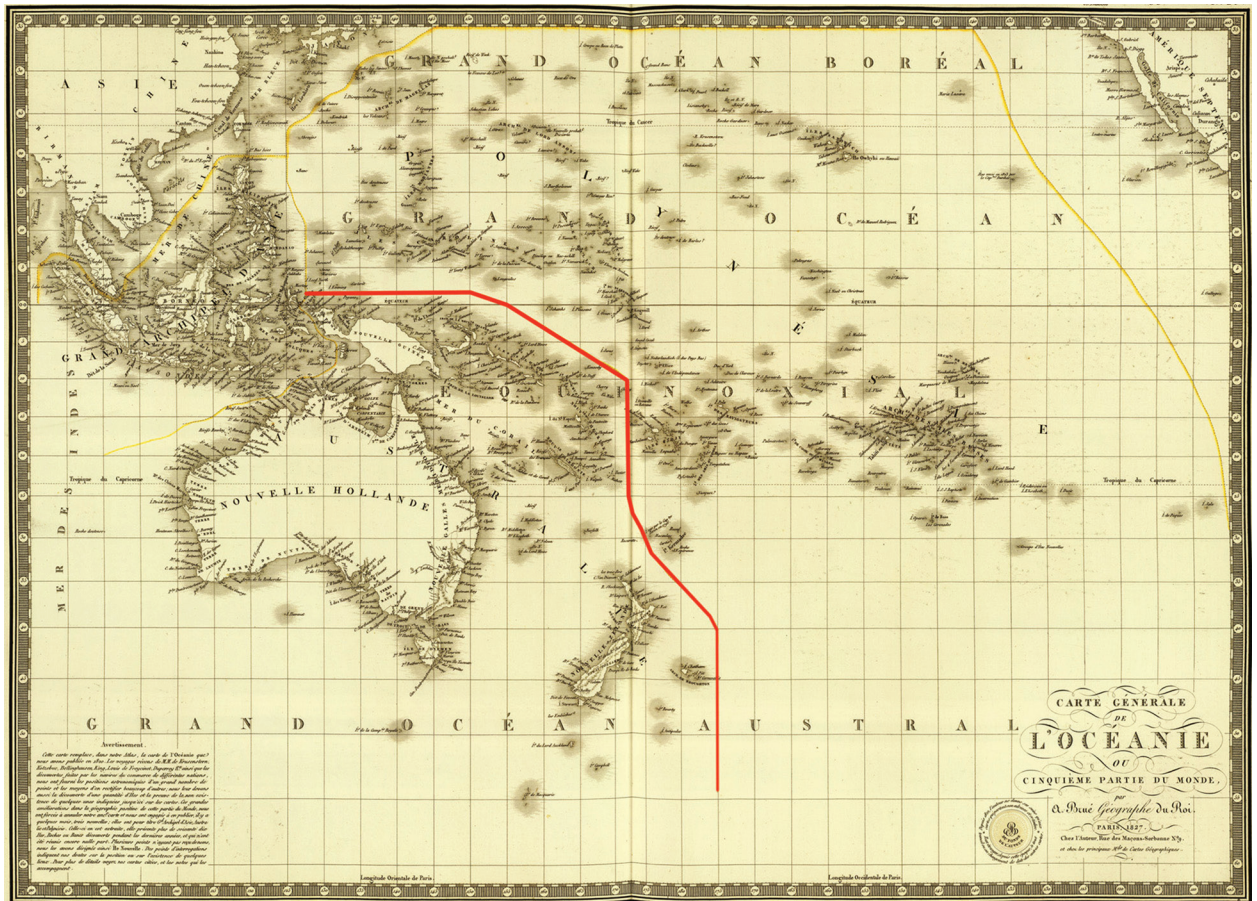


Figure 5. A.-H. Brué, *Carte générale de l'Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde ...*, in *Atlas universel de géographie physique, politique, ancienne & moderne contenant les cartes générales et particulières de toutes les parties du monde ...*: plate 47 (2nd edition, Paris: l'Auteur et Ch^{les}. Piquet, 1828) (line enhanced), David Rumsey Map Collection, 0096047, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY-8~1~33948~1170101>.

by applying the term *Micronésie* (Micronesia)—Borghi's Italian invention—to the northern segment and limiting *Polynésie* to the southern. Both are incorporated within a racialised regional triumvirate *Polynésie*, *Micronésie* and *Mélanésie* (Melanesia). The third term was a neologism derived from Greek *melas* (black) to label 'the homeland of the black Oceanian race', otherwise *les Mélanésiens* (the Melanesians). On explicitly racist grounds, Dumont d'Urville drew the line between Polynesia and Melanesia to pass west of New Zealand, thereby relocated in Polynesia, and east of Fiji, thereby reassigned to Melanesia.

There was a potent experiential dimension in Dumont d'Urville's (1832: 3–4, 11–15, 19) profoundly derogatory representation of 'the Melanesians' as the 'true natives' of Oceania, lacking government, laws, or religion, the women 'still more hideous than the men', and all 'very inferior' to supposedly conquering Polynesian and Micronesian immigrants. His value-ridden dichotomy of 'the Melanesians' and 'the Polynesians' as 'two truly distinct races' was not a simple reflex of prevailing

contemporary racial attitudes. It was also in part a product of his own direct encounters with Indigenous people in Oceania, particularly the very diverse relations he experienced in 1828 at the neighbouring islands of Tikopia and Vanikoro, in modern Solomon Islands. Whereas the Tikopians (classed racially as Polynesian) adopted a strategy of welcome and cooperation that enchanted Dumont d'Urville, he was intimidated and infuriated by the equally strategic aggression of the inhabitants of Vanikoro (classed racially as Melanesian). These two communities epitomise his opposed racial types (Douglas 2014: 233–51). Yet, as in most such racial systems, *all* Pacific Islanders 'naturally' ranked below the 'white' race. It was, Dumont d'Urville (1832: 19–20) reasoned, a 'law of nature' resulting from 'organic differences' in the 'intellectual faculties' of the diverse races that 'the black must obey' the 'yellow', 'or disappear', while the white 'must dominate' both the others, even when numerically inferior. This familiar formula was at once a reflex of ongoing global colonisation by Europe and a blueprint for its imminent extension across still uncolonised areas.

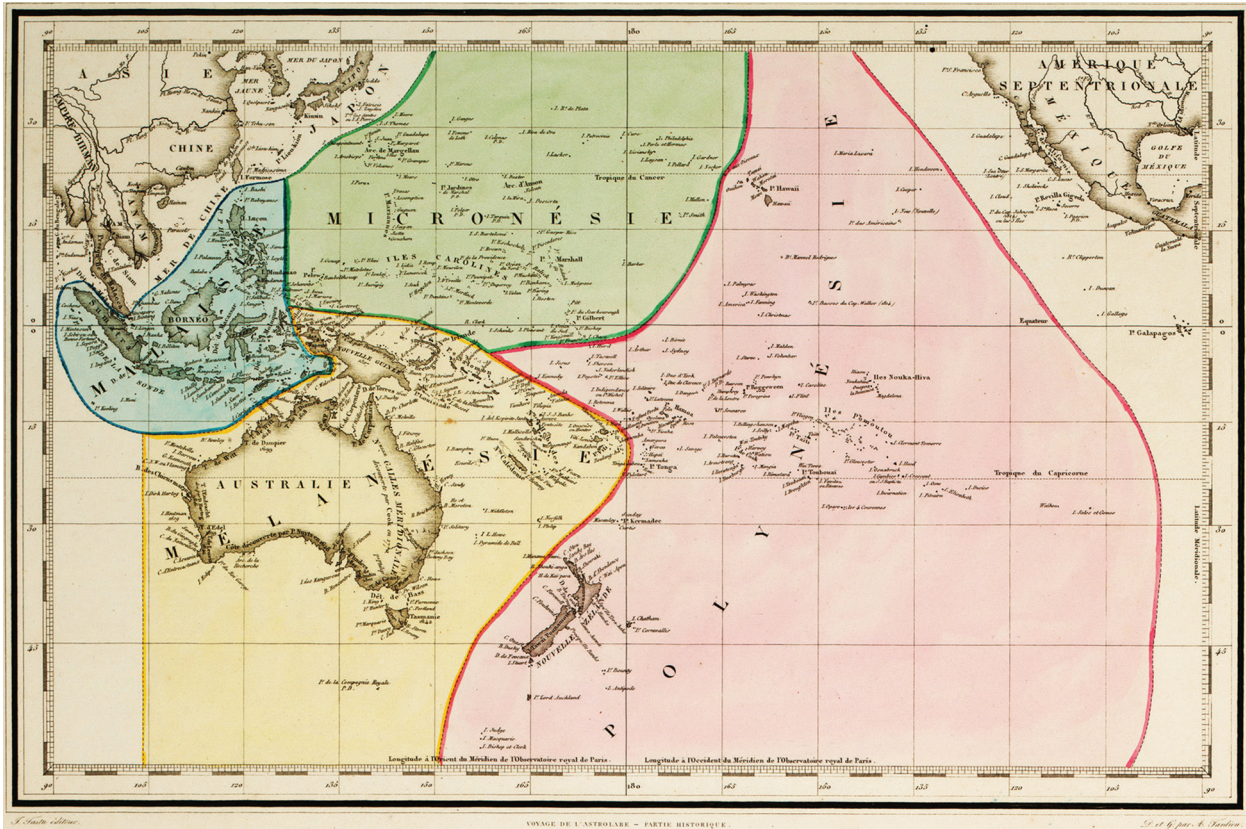


Figure 6. A. Tardieu, Carte pour l'intelligence du mémoire de M. le capitaine d'Urville sur les îles du grand océan (Océanie), in J. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté par ordre du Roi pendant les années 1826-1827-1828-1829 ... Atlas [historique]: map [1]* (Paris: J. Tastu, 1833 [1832]). National Library of Australia, MAP NK 2456/73, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230622715>.

Dumont d'Urville's seminal map, archetype for the arrogant racialisation of Oceania in French and ultimately global cartography, also gives ironic graphic expression to a paradoxical reality—that in the mid-19th century much of Oceania remained Indigenous space where local rulers, elites and communities held sway, exercising significant control over itinerant explorers, whalers, traders and beachcombers, as well as resident Christian missionaries. Unevenly inscribed with dates and place names denoting European maritime 'discoveries', the map bears few traces of European colonialism, apart from Batavia, Manila and Port Jackson (Sydney). Dumont d'Urville's racial regions, delimited by thick hatched lines and embodied in bold slabs of colour, subtly signify the ongoing ubiquity of Indigenous presence. He must in practice have known this to be the case, from reiterated personal experience as hydrographer, naturalist and commander on naval expeditions in Oceania. There is further irony that Dumont d'Urville's lasting reputation as cartographer should be condensed into a single atypical map that belies his major professional contribution to charting a part of the world still little surveyed in the 1820s (Dumont d'Urville 1833; Vincendon-Dumoulin 1847).

Conclusion

This paper has probed the creation, mutual appropriation and cross-fertilisation of practical and abstract knowledges about Oceania and their varied synthesis in the nomenclatures and classifications of 19th-century geography and anthropology in France. Weaving through the discussion is the integrating theme of nominalist or categorical usages and their differential expression in cartographic and written materials. Two examples from the literature of scientific voyaging illuminate a dramatic shift in enunciatory strategies across the period considered. In 1767, Bougainville (1977: 317–18) whimsically idealised Tahiti as *la Nouvelle-Cythère* (Aphrodite's island), in categorical celebration of the inhabitants' gracious conduct, the young women's sexual complaisance and the mild climate. In his contemporary journal, he collectivised the people as *les Indiens* (the Indians), a contemporary synonym for 'native'. Instructed that *Taiti* was the island's name by the Tahitian Ahutoru, who accompanied the expedition back to France, Bougainville (1771: 209, 227) adopted that name in his published narrative and referred to the inhabitants by extension as *Taitiens*. Both words entered

global cartographic and anthropological lexicons. By contrast, Dumont d'Urville's (1832) ground-breaking schema absorbs the empirical geographical entity *Taïti* within the abstract region *Polynésie*, which is in turn subsumed as an element in the quadripartite higher-level abstraction *Océanie* = {*Polynésie, Micronésie, Malaisie, Mélanésie*}; each term is equally reified. The Tahitians simply vanish from this system, collapsed as an unnamed component of *les Polynésiens*, one of two divisions of *la race cuivrée* (the copper-coloured race), which occupied the geographical abstractions *Polynésie* and *Micronésie*.

Dumont d'Urville's racialised regional toponyms Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia were normalised in French cartography from the year of their publication. They became the international standard in the 20th century and remain so. However, the route from French invention to global geopolitics was not straightforward. Minimalist 19th-century British mapmakers often omitted regional names or favoured Brosse's geographical terms Australasia and Polynesia, as did those in the United States. Dumont d'Urville's toponyms hardly feature in British or US maps until late in the century. In contrast, German cartographers used them regularly after 1850 while Russian atlases relied on Brosse's terminology, qualified after 1840 by Dumont d'Urville's alternative. With minor modifications, his tripartite raciology of Pacific Islanders as Polynesians, Micronesians and Melanesians permeated global racial or ethnic terminology from the late 19th century, though national trajectories were again diverse (Douglas 2011: 15–21; 2014: 7, 15–16). More recently, these categories have been naturalised in modern Indigenous usages, sparking robust academic debate on their geographic, racial or disciplinary appropriateness (e.g., Clark 2003; Douglas 1979; Green 1991; Lawson 2013; Thomas 1989, 1997: 133–155).

References

- Arrowsmith, A. 1802. Pacific Ocean, in J. Pinkerton, *Modern Geography ...*, vol. 2, facing 493. London: Cadell and Davies and Longman and Rees. National Library of Australia, Map T 67. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232540645>.
- Arrowsmith, A. 1804. Grand Océan, in J. Pinkerton, *Géographie moderne ... Atlas*, plate 30. Paris: Dentu. National Library of Australia, Map T 68. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232540755>.
- Beautemps-Beaupré, C-F. 1807. *Atlas du voyage de Bruny-Dentrecasteaux ... fait par ordre du gouvernement en 1791, 1792 et 1793 ...* Paris: Dépôt Général des Cartes et Plans de la Marine et des Colonies. National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 82. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230810006>.
- Blanckaert, C. 2003. Les conditions d'émergence de la science des races au début du XIX^e siècle, in S. Moussa (ed.), *L'idée de "race" dans les sciences humaines et la littérature (XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles)*: 133–149. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Blanckaert, C. 2004. Géographie et anthropologie: une rencontre nécessaire (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècle). *Ethnologie française* 34 (4): 661–669.
- Borghi, A.B. 1826 [1819]. Oceania sulla proiezione di Mercatore. Firenze: s.n. National Library of Australia, MAP RM 598. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231283733>.
- Bougainville, L.-A. de. 1771. *Voyage autour du monde par la frégate du roi la Boudeuse et la flûte l'Etoile en 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769*. Paris: Saillant & Nyon.
- Bougainville, L.-A. de. 1977. Journal de Bougainville commandant de la Boudeuse, in E. Taillemite (ed.), *Bougainville et ses compagnons autour du monde 1766-1769*: vol. 1, 141–497. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.
- [Brosses, C. de]. 1756. *Histoire des navigations aux terres australes contenant ce que l'on sçait des mœurs & des productions des contrées découvertes jusqu'à ce jour ...*, 2 vols. Paris: Durand.
- Brué, A.-H. 1816 [1815]. *Grand atlas universel, ou collection de cartes encyclopytiques, générales et détaillées des cinq parties du monde*. 2nd edition. Paris: Desray. David Rumsey Map Collection. http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q=pub_title=%22Grand%20atlas%20universel.
- Brué, A.-H. 1828. *Atlas universel de géographie physique, politique, ancienne & moderne contenant les cartes générales et particulières de toutes les parties du monde: rédigé conformément aux progrès de la science pour servir à l'intelligence de l'histoire, de la géographie et des voyages*. 2nd edition. Paris: l'Auteur et Ch^{les}. Piquet. David Rumsey Map Collection. <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/all/who/A.+Brue/what/World+Atlas>.
- Buffon, G.-L. Leclerc, comte de. 1749. Histoire naturelle de l'homme: variétés dans l'espèce humaine, in *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière*: vol. 3: 371–530. Paris: Imprimerie royale.
- Clark, G. (ed.) 2003. *Dumont d'Urville's Divisions of Oceania: Fundamental Precincts or Arbitrary Constructs? special issue, Journal of Pacific History* 38 (2). N.B. This reference is to the entire special issue, not just Clark's introduction (which is entitled 'Dumont d'Urville's Oceania').
- Dentu, J.-G. 1811. *Moyen de parvenir en littérature, ou mémoire à consulter, sur une question de propriété littéraire, dans lequel on prouve que le sieur Malte-Brun, se disant géographe danois, a copié littéralement une grande partie des œuvres de M. Gosselin, ainsi que de celles de MM. Lacroix, Walckenaer, Pinkerton, Puissant, etc., etc., et les a fait imprimer et débiter sous son nom ...* Paris: Dentu.
- Domeny de Rienzi, G.L. 1836–1838. *Océanie ou cinquième partie du monde: revue géographique et ethnographique de la Malaisie, de la Micronésie, de la Polynésie et de la Mélanésie, offrant les résultats des voyages et des*

- découvertes de l'auteur et de ses devanciers, ainsi que ses nouvelles classifications et divisions de ces contrées: 3 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot frères.
- Douglas, B. 1979. Rank, Power, Authority: a Reassessment of Traditional Leadership in South Pacific Societies. *Journal of Pacific History* 14 (1): 2–27.
- Douglas, B. 2008. Climate to Crania: Science and the Racialization of Human Difference, in B. Douglas and C. Ballard (eds), *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*: 33–96. Canberra: ANU E Press.
- Douglas, B. 2010. Terra Australis to Oceania: Racial Geography in the 'Fifth Part of the World'. *Journal of Pacific History* 45 (2): 179–210.
- Douglas, B. 2011. Geography, Raciology, and the Naming of Oceania, 1750-1900. *Globe* 69: 1–28.
- Douglas, B. 2014. *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania 1511-1850*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dumont d'Urville, J. 1832. Sur les îles du grand Océan. *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* 17 (105): 1–21.
- Dumont d'Urville, Jules. 1833. *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe exécuté pendant les années 1826-1827-1828-1829 ... Atlas [hydrographique]*. Paris: J. Tastu. National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 113. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230833374>.
- Freycinet, L. de. 1811. *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes. Historique. Atlas, deuxième partie*. Paris: [Imprimerie impériale]. National Library of Australia, MAP RaA 1, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-raa1>.
- Freycinet, L. de. 1812. *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes ... pendant les années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, & 1804. Partie navigation et géographie. Atlas*. Paris: s.n. National Library of Australia, MAP RaA 2. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230973504>.
- Freycinet, L. de. 1826. *Voyage autour du monde, entrepris par ordre du roi, ... exécuté sur les corvettes de S.M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820 ... Navigation et hydrographie. Atlas*. Paris: Pillet aîné. National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 260.
- Gerritsz, H. (ed.) 1612. *Descriptio ac delineatio geographica detectionis freti, sive, transitus ad occasum, suprâ terras Americanas in Chinam atq[ue] Iaponem ducturi, recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo: item, narratio ser.^{mo} regi Hispaniæ facta, super tractu, in quinta orbis terrarum parte, cui Australiæ incognitæ nomen est, recens detecto, per capitaneum Petrum Fernandez de Quir ... Amsterodami: Hesselij Gerardi*.
- Goos, P. 1668 [1666]. *The Sea-Atlas or the Watter-World, wherein are Described all the Sea Coasts of the Knowne World, very usefull and necessary for all Shipmasters, Pilots and Seamen, and allso for Marchants and Others*. Amsterdam: P. Goos.
- Green, R.C. 1991. Near and Remote Oceania – Disestablishing 'Melanesia' in Culture History, in A. Pawley (ed.), *Man and a Half: Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in Honour of Ralph Bulmer*: 491–502. Auckland: Polynesian Society.
- Krusenstern, A.J. von. 1824–1826. *Атлас Южнаго Моря [Atlas of the South Sea]*, 2 vols. St Petersburg: s.n. National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 298.
- Krusenstern, A.J. von. 1824–1827a. *Atlas de l'Océan pacifique*, 2 vols. St Petersburg: s.n. National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 100.
- Krusenstern, A.J. von. 1824–1827b. *Recueil de mémoires hydrographiques, pour servir d'analyse et d'explication à l'Atlas de l'Océan Pacifique*, 2 vols. Saint-Petersbourg: s.n.
- Lapie, P.M. 1810. Océanique, in C. Malte-Brun, *Précis de la géographie universelle ... Collection de cartes géographiques ...*, [plate 19]. Paris: F. Buisson. National Library of Australia, MAP T 841. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232610435>.
- Lapie, P.M. 1812. Océanique; Océanique occidentale; Océanique centrale; Océanique orientale, in *Atlas complet du précis de la géographie universelle de M. Malte-Brun ...*, plates 60–63. Paris: F. Buisson. David Rumsey Map Collection, 2631065–2631068. <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/view/search?q=Malte-Brun+1812>.
- Lawson, S. 2013. 'Melanesia': the History and Politics of an Idea, *Journal of Pacific History* 48 (1): 1–22.
- Malte-Brun, C. 1804. Avis au lecteur; L'Océanique: cinquième partie du monde, in E. Mentelle and C. Malte-Brun, *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde ...*: vol. 12, v–viii, 359–626. Paris: H. Tardieu et Laporte.
- Malte-Brun, C. 1803. Géographie générale, mathématique et physique, in E. Mentelle and C. Malte-Brun, *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde ...*: vol. 1 : 151–552. Paris: H. Tardieu et Laporte.
- Malte-Brun, C. 1813. *Description de l'Inde, de l'Océanique et de l'Afrique septentrionale*, vol. 4 of *Précis de la géographie universelle, ou description de toutes les parties du monde, sur un plan nouveau, d'après les grandes divisions naturelles du globe ...* Paris: F. Buisson.
- Mentelle, E. and C. Malte-Brun 1803–1805. *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde: rédigée d'après ce qui a été publié d'exact et de nouveau par les géographes, les naturalistes, les voyageurs et les auteurs de statistique des nations les plus éclairées*, 16 vols. Paris: H. Tardieu et Laporte.
- Mercator, G. 1541. Polus antarcticus, in [Terrestrial Globe]. Louanij: Gerardus Mercator. Cambridge, MA: Map Collection, Harvard University, <http://hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/maps/exhibits/mercator/main.html>.
- Pinkerton, J. 1802. *Modern Geography: A Description of the Empires, Kingdoms, States, and Colonies; with the Oceans, Seas, and Isles; in all Parts of the World, including the Most Recent Discoveries, and Political Alterations, digested on a New Plan*, 2 vols. London: T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies and T.N. Longman and O. Rees.

- Pinkerton, J. 1804. *Géographie moderne, rédigée sur un nouveau plan ou description historique, politique, civile et naturelle des empires, royaumes, états et leurs colonies; avec celle des mers et des îles de toutes les parties du monde ...*, tr. and ed. C.-A. Walkenaer, 6 vols and atlas. Paris: Dentu.
- Plant, J.T. 1793. Karte des Fünften Welttheils Polynesiens oder Inselwelt, in *Handbuch einer vollständigen Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte Polynesiens oder des fünften Erdtheils ...*: vol. 1. Leipzig: Wilhelm Heinsius.
- Canberra: National Library of Australia, MAP RM 4271, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-232449743>.
- Poirson, J.-B. 1804. Carte réduite du Grand Océan: partie méridionale, in E. Mentelle, C. Malte-Brun, and J.-B. Poirson, *Géographie mathématique, physique et politique de toutes les parties du monde ... Atlas*, plate 25. Paris: H. Tardieu and Laporte. David Rumsey Map Collection, 12100054.jp2, <http://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~289937~90068479>.
- Quirós, P.F. de. 1973 [1610]. *Relacion de un memorial que ha presentado a su Magestad el Capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quir, sobre la poblacion y descubrimiento de la quarta parte del mundo, Australia incognita ...* Pamplona: Carlos de Labayen. In C. Sanz (ed.), *Australia su descubrimiento y denominación: con la reproducción facsimil del memorial número 8 de Quirós en español original, y en las diversas traducciones contemporáneas*: 37–44. Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores.
- Thomas, N. 1989. The Force of Ethnology: Origins and Significance of the Melanesia/Polynesia Division. *Current Anthropology* 30 (1): 27–41.
- Thomas, N. 1997. *In Oceania: Visions Artifacts, Histories*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Vincendon-Dumoulin, C.-A.. 1847. *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l'Océanie ... sur les corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée ... pendant les années 1837-1838-1839-1840 sous le commandement de M. J. Dumont-d'Urville ... Atlas hydrographique*. [Paris]: Dépôt-général de la Marine. National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 127.
- Wroth, L.C. 1944. The Early Cartography of the Pacific. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 38 (2): 87–268.