

Viewing the Course of M^r. DAMPIERS Voyage Round it : From 1679, to 1691.



P E N G U I N



C L A S S I C S

WILLIAM DAMPIER

A NEW VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

A NEW VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

WILLIAM DAMPIER (c.1651–1715) was a pirate and adventurer who was (albeit for chaotic and unintended reasons) the first man to have circumnavigated the globe three times. *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), written from notes kept during his first long voyage, was a literary sensation (inspiring *Gulliver's Travels*) and the model for all the great British naturalists and explorers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His many wanderings took him from the Arctic to the South Pacific. He rescued Alexander Selkirk from his four years in the Juan Fernandez Islands (inspiring *Robinson Crusoe*). He died back in England, having had one final triumph in successfully piloting a small fleet in the Pacific to capture the treasure-filled 'Manila galleon'.

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WILLIAM DAMPIER

A New Voyage
Round the World

Edited and Introduced by
NICHOLAS THOMAS

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Chronology

- 1651 Dampier baptized on 5 September in East Coker, Somerset
- 1662 Death of Dampier's father
- 1668 Death of Dampier's mother
- 1669 Dampier apprenticed to a master mariner; voyages to France and Newfoundland
- 1671–2 Voyage to Bantam (Banten), Java, an East India Company base
- 1673 Naval service during the Third Dutch War, aboard HMS *Royal Prince*; Dampier becomes ill and returns to Somerset to recuperate
- 1674 Travels to Jamaica; works initially at the plantation of Sir William Helyar
- 1674–8 Engaged in trading voyages and cutting logwood in Campeche Bay; returns to England; marries Judith
- 1679 Returns to Jamaica; joins buccaneer squadron led by John Coxon, Bartholomew Sharp and Richard Sawkins
- 1680–81 Buccaneers cross the Isthmus and raid the Pacific coasts of Spanish America; Dampier parts company with Sharp and returns across the Isthmus, initially with the surgeon Lionel Wafer, who suffers an injury and is left behind; the detailed narrative of the *A New Voyage* begins at this point
- 1682 Dampier resident in Virginia
- 1683 Joins John Cook on a privateering voyage into the Pacific
- 1684–5 Following Cook's death, Dampier is under the command of the buccaneer Edward Davis, cruising and raiding Spanish shipping and settlements

- 1686–7 Dampier transfers to the *Cygnets* under Charles Swan and sails with him across the Pacific; following a period at Mindanao and conflict among the crew, the ship departs without Swan
- 1687–8 Cruising off Vietnam, the Philippines and Sulawesi; encounters with Aboriginal people in northern Australia; Dampier leaves the *Cygnets* at Nicobar and makes an open-boat voyage to Sumatra
- 1689–90 Dampier participates in trading voyages between India, China and Sulawesi; takes up employment as a gunner at the British fort at Bencouli
- 1691 Dampier returns to England, completing the ‘voyage’ described in this book
- 1695 Lionel Wafer publishes *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, probably an inspiration to Dampier, as was the English translation of Alexandre Exquemelin’s *Bucaniers of America*: the second volume of the London edition of 1685 was in effect a new book by Basil Ringrose, narrating the crossing of the Isthmus by those including Dampier under the command of Coxon, Sharp and Sawkins
- 1697 The London publisher James Knapton brings out Dampier’s *New Voyage Round the World*; Dampier appointed to a post in the Customs Office
- 1699 Publication of a supplementary volume to the *New Voyage: Voyages and Descriptions*, including accounts of Tonkin, Aceh, Campeche Bay and ‘a discourse on trade winds’; subsequent editions of the *New Voyage* incorporate this as a second volume
- 1699–1701 Dampier given the command of the *Roebuck* to explore Australian waters; reaches north Australia and New Britain; the unseaworthy vessel founders at Ascension Island on the voyage home
- 1702 Dampier court-martialled and found guilty on one count; dismissed from the navy
- 1703 Publication of *A Voyage to New Holland*; fifth edition of the *New Voyage*; Dampier becomes captain of the privateer the *St George*; unsuccessfully undertakes raids on Spanish

shipping; sails to the East Indies but is imprisoned at Batavia, returning to England in 1707

1707 Publication of *Captain Dampier's Vindication of His Voyage to the South-Seas in the Ship St George*, a response to William Funnell's critical narrative of the same voyage in his *Voyage Round the World* (also 1707)

1708–1711 Joins the successful privateering expedition of Woodes Rogers in the *Duke*

1709 Publication of *A Continuation of a Voyage to New Holland*, primarily describing island southeast Asia

1715 Dampier dies in early March, at the age of sixty-three

Introduction

William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World*, first published in 1697, belonged to a very old genre, but was a breathtakingly new book. Travel literature, and narratives of sea voyages in particular, had been around for centuries. Pre-eminent among anthologies was Richard Hakluyt's *Principle Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in the late sixteenth century. It consisted of three substantial volumes made up of the accounts of hundreds of expeditions. Many were comparatively brief, and provided little in the way of dedicated description of the territories or peoples with whom travellers came into contact. Dampier's *New Voyage*, in contrast, offered a bracingly vivid and exceptionally detailed account of places and events over a decade of adventure in the Caribbean, up and down the Pacific coasts of what was then Spanish America, in the islands of the Pacific and southeast Asia and on the passage home via the Cape of Good Hope.

Notoriously, travel narratives were unreliable. Many were marked by plagiarism and florid exaggeration. Others shaded into outright fictions, or provided generic cover for utopian tracts and for satire. Dampier committed sins of omission; and some of his judgements and reflections (upon Indigenous Australians, for example) speak the prejudices of his period, all too loudly. But his reader's sense is of visceral empiricism: the impression, at least, is of copious and largely unguarded reportage. Whereas most voyage narratives sought in one way or another to justify or celebrate the ventures they described, Dampier's was notable for the frankness of its account of

anarchic, mismanaged and largely unsuccessful buccaneering and merchant enterprise.

If Dampier's *New Voyage* was virtually unprecedented for its detail and candour, there was one respect in which the book's title was misleading. Readers might reasonably have anticipated the story of a single expedition, but the *New Voyage* in fact embraced an at times bewildering sequence of passages and cruises in different ships under different commanders, and notably also an overland journey across the Isthmus of Panama. Dampier had left England in 1679, but the detailed narrative covers the period from April 1681. Almost exactly five years later, at the end of March 1686, he left the Mexican coast with Captain Swan in the *Cygnets* to sail to the East Indies. Dampier's odyssey, and the book, finally concluded a further five years later, with his return to England in September 1691.

Although the *New Voyage* was subsequently influential, and seen as a model for writers of maritime exploration such as Captain James Cook, the cruises Dampier participated in over this period were not scientifically motivated, nor were they official naval expeditions. Dampier seized opportunities to observe unfamiliar places, plants, animals and people, but had never been commissioned to do so. Rather, the context of his travel was a particular phase of the extended conflict among European powers. This was engendered by religious confrontation, issues of dynasty and succession and most notably also by struggles to control and profit from the lucrative extractive and trading systems that were sources of extraordinary wealth, over what could be seen as the first phases of modern colonial and mercantile globalization.¹

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spain dominated not only central America but also the Pacific coasts of the Americas, the Philippines and the trans-Pacific trade that linked them. Guam was the first Pacific island to be landed upon by a European (by Magellan in March 1521); it became a regular provisioning port for the Spanish in the 1560s; and it was the first Pacific island to be colonized, again by the Spanish, in 1668. The Pacific in the period has been described as a 'Spanish lake'. Intermittent war between England and Spain,

which also involved France and the Netherlands, reflected the competition to secure access to, and monopolize, east Asian markets and southeast Asian spices, and the contest around settlement and resource extraction from one end of the Americas to the other. There were several strands of English interest in the Pacific: for generations geographers speculated that a sea route across the top of north America, referred to as the 'Northwest Passage', might link the Atlantic and the Pacific and enable English traders to access Chinese ports, avoiding the long and difficult route around Cape Horn.

However, the triumph of Francis Drake in the *Golden Hind*, in seizing the enormous treasure of the 'Manila galleon' (which annually brought back, in silver, the proceeds of Spanish trade) likewise stimulated, for several generations of English adventurers, what in general proved a fantasy – that the rich mines and settlements of the Pacific coast of New Spain, and the ships that conveyed trade and currency between them and the East Indies, were ripe for plunder.² As the historian Glyndwr Williams has suggested, the English presence in the South Sea from the sixteenth century through to the mid-eighteenth was 'essentially parasitic'.³ With the major exception of Jamaica, captured from the Spanish in 1655 by Cromwell's troops, the English plantations in the Caribbean were small and peripheral compared to the vast extent of the Spanish Empire. While there was talk of establishing further rival colonies, and a hypothetical interest in establishing trade – which the Spanish resolutely monopolized – the mariners who ventured into the region were primarily driven by a piratical vision of vast wealth, and had no strategy other than to take whatever opportunities might be found to seize it.

The geographic focus of colonization, commerce and contest in Central and South America extended from the Caribbean to the Pacific coast, and is reflected in the terminology: the Gulf of Mexico was the 'North Sea' and the waters off the coastal settlements on the other side of the Isthmus the 'South Sea'. The Isthmus itself was referred to in the literature of the period as Darien, a corruption of a name in the Indigenous language of the Cueva. The Pacific Ocean was yet to be recognized as the vast but inhabited maritime realm that it actually was,

though Dampier's voyages began to extend English understandings of the region and its peoples, which were not further substantially enlarged until the voyages of Byron, Wallis and Cook in the 1760s and 1770s.

Towards the end of the 1670s, the buccaneers active in the Caribbean made a fresh push into the South Sea. The initiative appears to have been inadvertently triggered by Spanish traders whose letters were among papers captured from merchant vessels. They warned of a pressing danger, that the English might 'open a Door' into the South Sea, enabling them to prey upon settlements in western Mexico, Peru and Chile that were lightly defended, relative to the Caribbean ports and towns. The danger was heightened, it was considered, by growing disaffection among Indigenous peoples such as the Cuna, who might therefore provide guidance and hospitality to those perceived as enemies of Spain, en route overland.⁴

As Glyndwr Williams has observed, the buccaneering ventures were 'makeshift and improvised'.⁵ Raiders intended to, and usually succeeded in, capturing local boats and ships of varying usefulness once they reached the South Sea. But there were no friendly ports to which they could resort, to refit or resupply. They might venture out into the Pacific, to Juan Fernandez or the Galapagos to careen and repair vessels and to gather food locally available, but they were otherwise wholly dependent on raiding, to obtain or replace ships, and to obtain wood, water and provisions. They typically claimed the status of 'privateers', that is, they held official licences or commissions which supposedly authorized hostile action, but these were often of dubious authenticity. Their systems of command were moreover exceptional. Ships' captains were elected, they then nominated officers, but if events took an unfavourable turn, a popular vote among the crew at the time could and often did result in a commander's dismissal. Woodes Rogers was among those who complained that there was 'no distinction between the Captain and the Crew . . . the Officers having no Commission but what the Majority gave them, they were chang'd at every Caprice'.⁶

While notionally patriotic enterprises, the crews of buccaneer vessels were in fact made up of many nationalities – port

and ship communities long having been highly multicultural. They were also constantly being constituted and reconstituted, as vessels were seized and then abandoned or lost, or when ships temporarily joined forces to mount a particular action, but then went their own way. Whatever continuity of community may have built up over the course of a merchant or naval voyage was merely ephemeral among buccaneer crews. The difficulties engendered by fractiousness, poor leadership and the mixed and mutable constitution of crews were compounded by the lack of local navigational knowledge and accurate charts. Raiders frequently depended on Spanish captives, including captured pilots, for information regarding routes, locations and nearby vessels. Much of Spanish commerce was protected both by their enemies' ignorance of the region's geography and by the safety provided by many thousands of square miles of water. The inadequacy of English cartographic knowledge would in due course be ameliorated: one of the most notorious of buccaneers, Bartholomew Sharp, had the great fortune in July 1681 to seize a volume of manuscript charts and sailing directions, known as a Waggoner after an earlier Dutch compiler of such documents. But while the maps were in due course copied by English cartographers, it would be years before they were widely circulated, to the benefit of English naval and trading voyages.⁷

The buccaneer experience in the South Sea – summed up by Dampier as 'fatigues, hardships and losses' – motivated at first Ambrose Cowley and then Charles Swan to sail across the Pacific to try their luck in the East Indies. The second part of the book is a revelation of the observation and experience Dampier gained by throwing in his lot with Swan. He did well to do so, not only because of the rich materials he gained for what would be a successful book. By the later 1680s, it had become clear that the buccaneer project had failed. The potential spoils had been real, but were harder of access and better defended than had been recognized. In any case, from 1689 England and Spain were allies in war against France, and anything they further attempted would have counted as outright piracy.

*

William Dampier's early life is poorly documented. His date of birth is not known, though he was baptized on 5 September 1652, at East Coker in Somersetshire, some 30 kilometres from the Dorset coast (and known today mainly for its association with T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets*).⁸ His father died when he was about ten years old, and his mother when he was sixteen. They were tenant farmers, but evidently had the resources to send him to school, and he was taught writing and arithmetic. At the age of seventeen, he became an apprentice to a master-mariner who operated out of the nearby port of Weymouth, and sailed with him to both France and Newfoundland. In that period, the West Country was a vigorous base for trade in textiles among other commodities, but also the location for the ports that dominated the great Newfoundland cod fishery. Dampier later acknowledged his aversion to 'the rigours of that cold climate', or in any case cited that as his reason for quitting the apprenticeship.

In 1671, he joined as a common seaman an East India Company ship which sailed to the port and trading factory known as Bantam, now Banten, on the northwestern coast of Java. (It was slightly to the west of the Dutch port of Batavia, which in due course eclipsed it and grew into the modern Indonesian capital of Jakarta.) He returned to England around a year later, as the Anglo-Dutch war of 1672–4 was breaking out, joined the navy and took part in sea battles in late May and early June, before suffering some illness and taking leave ashore. He seems to have returned to East Coker, where he may have had a home among relatives or guardians, and soon afterwards agreed to go to Jamaica for William Helyar, lord of the manor of East Coker, sometime member of parliament, and joint owner with his brother Cary of the plantation of Bybrook, inland and west of Spanish Town and Kingston – and of the slaves that worked the plantation.⁹ By his early twenties, Dampier had thus already seen and experienced something of the continent of Europe, the north Atlantic, southeast Asia and the Caribbean.

The Bybrook appointment proved awkward. Dampier had anticipated, or hoped for, administrative responsibility, but found that William Whaley, William Helyar's godson, who had assumed part-ownership after Cary Helyar's death, considered

him suitable only for a tradesman's role, and offered an indenture. Dampier refused and was soon dismissed; he in due course joined a voyage to Terminos Lagoon on 'Campeachy Bay', that is the Bay of Campeche, the great bight forming the southern part of the Gulf of Mexico, to the west of the Yucatan Peninsula. The coasts were rich in logwood (*Haematoxylum campechianum*), a tree highly valued in Europe for the dye which could be extracted from it. While the Spanish sought to monopolize the cutting and export of the wood, small groups of Dutch, French and English mariners established logging camps where they could. Some of these timber enterprises would coalesce into what became British Honduras, now Belize. This venture was disrupted by a hurricane, and Dampier joined in what he claimed were privateering voyages, and returned to England in 1678. During a brief period in his home country, he married. Judith, whose maiden name is not known, was said to have been in the service of the Duchess of Grafton and to have initially remained in her household when Dampier returned to the Caribbean in early 1679. His stated intention, as he explains at the beginning of the *New Voyage*, was to return to the logwood trade, but towards the end of that year he joined the buccaneers John Coxon, Richard Sawkins and Bartholomew Sharp. They initially attacked Porto Bello, northeast of Colón, Panama, but then 'opened the door' already referred to, marching overland to the Pacific coast and making an assault on the Spanish in the South Sea. For the remainder of the year 1680, they cruised, attacking coastal towns and sailing as far south as Chilean ports and the island of Juan Fernandez.

The buccaneer company then split and Dampier was among those who decided to return overland to the 'North Sea'. One of the book's most extraordinary passages, Dampier's account of the 23-day walk back across the Isthmus, is harrowing, if at points almost comic. The journey was marked by violent rain, illness, injury, shortages of food, difficulties with reluctant, though occasionally generous, local guides and sundry other misfortunes. He then cruised with privateers in the West Indies for somewhat over a year; between July 1682 and August 1683 he was primarily resident in Virginia; he joined the privateer

John Cook and sailed with him, first to the Cape Verd islands and then to west Africa. Dampier does not mention that Cook then seized a larger, better-armed Danish slave ship which, as the slaves were all women, was horrifyingly renamed the *Bachelor's Delight*. They proceeded south through the Strait of Le Maire into the Pacific; it is recorded that the women all died, one by one, of the extreme cold. The sailors, who had survived by drinking large quantities of brandy, found rest and refreshment at Juan Fernandez in March and April 1684, visited the Galapagos, then cruised up and down the coast, taking ships as opportunities arose. Cook soon died, and Dampier continued in the same vessel under the command of Edward Davis, who led joint privateering ventures with John Eaton and a number of others, including Charles Swan, in the *Cygnets*, who had arrived in the waters off Mexico in October 1684. In due course, Dampier transferred himself to the *Cygnets* and welcomed the opportunity, as has been noted, to join Swan in sailing across the Pacific. They left the coast of Mexico at the end of March 1686, reached Guam on 21 May and sailed on a month later to Mindanao in the Philippines, the ruler of which was thought to be hostile to the Spanish.

Swan's plan may have been to establish a settlement. The ship and crew in any case were welcomed by the Sultan, a good deal of trade and interaction took place, and the *Cygnets* and crew remained at Mindanao, some with money establishing themselves ashore, others without remaining on board, until the end of the year. Divisions emerged among the men and with Swan, who resisted proposals that they quit the place. Finally, in mid-January 1687, those on board at the time took the ship away, leaving the captain and some thirty-six men ashore, together with others who had previously deserted or run away. Dampier claimed subsequently, but not very plausibly, that he had no 'knowledge of the Plot'. Now under the command of John Reed, they cruised off Manila and took prizes, made a base for a period on Pulo Condore (Côn Son, off southern Vietnam) and in due course made their way south towards Timor. Dampier was 'sufficiently weary of this mad Crew' and hoped to find his way to some English trading post or settlement.

In early January 1688 they reached the coast of northern Australia. Over the better part of a week, Dampier had the chance to observe Aboriginal people, and was the first Englishman to do so. The ship was hauled ashore on a high tide and the hull cleaned; they then made their way into the Indian Ocean, and called at Nicobar, where Dampier, together with a few English, Portuguese and Malay companions, finally left the *Cygnets* and procured a local canoe, which they sailed and rowed, reaching the coast of Sumatra five days later, and after a period of rest, went on to the British trading post at Achin (Aceh), on the island's northern extremity. There Dampier based himself for a period, joining a series of trading voyages to Tonkin, the Malaccas and to Madras, before taking up a position at Bencouli (now Bengkulu City), an English fort on Sumatra's west coast, where he served as gunner for 'about five months'.

It was here that Dampier acquired a half-share in two enslaved people, a 'painted', that is, extensively tattooed, 'prince' named Jeoly and his mother, natives of Pulau Meangis, a small island southeast of Mindanao. Dampier's particular interest was aroused by Jeoly's account of his home's great abundance of spices, and he may have anticipated using the man to help him open a trade with what was apparently a small community of just thirty men and around a hundred women. Jeoly had been among slaves on Mindanao before being purchased by one Mr Moody, formerly a supercargo on the *Cygnets*, who in due course brought him to Bencouli. The mother died, and Jeoly too was ill; Dampier claimed that he 'tended him as carefully as if he had been my brother'. He became tired of the situation of gunner, sought discharge, and in January 1691 took Jeoly with him on to an East India Company ship, the *Defence*. Following involvement in naval battles with the French, they sailed to the Cape of Good Hope, arriving there in early April, and departed around 23 May. They called at Saint Helena for five or six days and reached England, anchoring in the Downs, off Deal in Kent, on 16 September 1691.

On his return to England, Dampier struggled financially, and was soon obliged to sell his share in Jeoly, who was publicly

exhibited and represented in a famous broadsheet – possibly the first broadly accurate representation of east Asian or Oceanic tattooing to appear in print in the West – but who died within a year of smallpox.¹⁰ The period between 1691 and 1697 has been referred to one of ‘missing years’ in Dampier’s biography, though he is known to have participated in an expedition of four ships commanded by Admiral O’Byrne which sought official support to open trade with Spanish settlements in the West Indies, but failed to obtain it. Dampier was among those subsequently engaged in litigation, seeking unsuccessfully to recover unpaid wages.¹¹

It is unfortunate that these years are poorly documented, since it was over this period that Dampier turned towards writing. He was most likely inspired by the success of compendia such as Exquemelin’s *Bucaniers of America*, which first appeared in 1684 and was swiftly republished; the second edition included the narrative by Basil Ringrose of the 1680–81 foray into the South Sea led by Bartholomew Sharp, in which Dampier had participated. The notion that producing a book might be lucrative would serve Dampier better than had the thirst for Spanish gold, but he was evidently also stimulated by awareness of the interest in mariners’ observations among fellows of the Royal Society. Though most distinguished over the period for mathematics, astronomy and physics, the Society also advocated the advancement of natural history, geography and what would later be called anthropology. In 1662, Robert Boyle set out ‘Directions for Sea-men’, calling for detailed reports of observations made over the course of distant voyages. Similar sets of instructions included, most importantly, a pamphlet by the antiquarian and geologist John Woodward entitled *Brief Instructions for Making Observations in All Parts of the World* (1696).¹² It consisted of twenty pages of guidance as to what should be noted at sea, ‘upon the sea-shores’ and at land. An appendix which dealt with the observation of native peoples was followed by notes on the preparation of specimens and finally a guide to instruments and supplies useful to the scientifically minded traveller.

Woodward and Dampier were clearly acquainted, perhaps

even at the time already friends; Dampier in due course sold or gave a range of specimens to the naturalist, which include the very first artefacts collected by any European from Pacific peoples, which remain documented and extant today, part of Woodward's collection, preserved in the Sedgwick Museum of Earth Sciences in Cambridge.¹³ When they became acquainted is unclear, but the affinities between the wide-ranging interests implied by Woodward's 'brief instructions' and the very diverse, but also 'particular' description that Dampier's book would offer are notable.

Woodward called for observation of physical circumstances, ranging from currents and winds to the rate of evaporation in different places; of minerals, plant and animal life; the physical characteristics of people; and also their customs and beliefs:

3. Enquire into their *Traditions* concerning the *Creation of the World*, the *universal Deluge*, the *People* from whom they are descended and the *Country* from which they *Originally came* . . .

5. Get an account of their *Laws* and *civil Government*: their *Language*, their *Learning*, their *Letters* . . .¹⁴

There is an extant draft of the *New Voyage* in the hand of a copyist, but with revisions by Dampier, among the manuscript collections of Sir Hans Sloane, secretary to the Royal Society, whose bequest led to the foundation of the British Museum. The draft implies that Dampier initially conceived of a narrative more similar to the records of buccaneer adventure already published. However, the journals he kept throughout his travels – and took trouble to preserve, under adverse circumstances – may have included notes on a wide range of subjects. He must in any case have possessed a remarkable memory for detail and circumstance. Woodward's general prescription was that the traveller should 'In brief, take notice of every observable natural *Occurrence*, throughout the whole *Voyage*, and this too in as *full* and circumstantial a *manner* as may be'. In the Preface to his book, Dampier overtly embraced such instructions, 'Choosing to be more particular than might be needful'; 'my chief Care hath been to be as particular as was

consistent with my intended brevity, in setting down such Observables as I met with'. Stating, with some justification, that he had spent time in regions rarely visited by Europeans, he felt he might 'without vanity encourage the Reader to expect many things wholly new to him, and many others more fully described than he may have seen elsewhere'. This was at once to fairly describe his book – of which a substantial proportion was dedicated to very 'particular' descriptive passages, ranging over diverse physical, natural and human topics – but it was also to gamble on the appeal of the kind of book that Woodward's tract called for. Hence Dampier's dedication to Charles Montague, the President of the Royal Society, was not only the conventional entreaty for some form of patronage, it was also an advertisement for the kind of extensive and 'particular' book he offered.

An affirmative review in the Society's journal, the *Philosophical Transactions*, suggests that that the dedication had been welcomed. The writer noted that Dampier had visited many places 'scarce described in any Voyages and for the most part unknown to English Navigators . . . so he was the more diligent in his Observations, and the more particular in his Descriptions of their Situations, Soyls, Products, &c . . . His Style is very Intelligible and Expressive.'¹⁵ This was as good a notice as a writer could have hoped to receive, in the pre-eminent journal of scientific record, and resonated with wider success.

It was probably an expression of Montague's patronage that Dampier was soon afterwards appointed to a salaried position as a customs agent. In 1697 or early 1698, Montague also introduced him to the Earl of Orford, First Lord of the Admiralty, to whom he proposed a voyage of exploration focused on the Australian landmass, until then essentially unknown to Europeans. In due course Dampier was appointed to command the *Roebuck*, which departed England in January 1699 and reached the Australian coast's western extremity, at Shark Bay, just over 25 degrees south, on 6 August. Dampier collected botanical and other specimens, followed the coast north and proceeded to investigate waters around Timor and to the north of New Guinea. He encountered people in southern New Britain, though

interactions were primarily hostile. The poor condition of the ship led to the expedition being curtailed; participants were fortunate that the vessel got them as far as Ascension in the north Atlantic, where it foundered. The voyage might subsequently have been highly celebrated, had not the bulk of the specimens been lost, though Dampier was able to save his papers and some material. He and his men were picked up five weeks later by an East India Company ship, and he reached England in August 1701.

On his return he suffered a setback. An aggrieved lieutenant brought charges against him, and although Dampier was acquitted on two of three counts, he was found guilty of cruelty, his pay was forfeited, and he was dismissed from the navy. While taking time to complete a book (*A Voyage to New Holland*, 1703) he resumed privateering. Soon after the trial, the War of the Spanish Succession broke out, and Dampier was given command of the *St George*, which sailed from Ireland in September 1703. An attempt to seize the 'Manila galleon' in December 1704 failed, the crew subsequently split, both parties in due course proceeding in prizes to the East Indies. As Dampier never published a narrative of the voyage, the circumstances are obscure, but he apparently suffered imprisonment by the Dutch for a period, before returning to England in 1707. Though fifty-five years old, he was soon recruited to the post of pilot (described by his early twentieth-century editor, John Masefield, as 'honourable', and 'by no means a sign of destitution') under Woodes Rogers. This voyage was atypically better managed, and more successful than any of Dampier's previous privateering ventures. The ship returned to England with booty worth some £170,000 in October 1711. This, it is assumed, was Dampier's last voyage; he took up residence in the City of London and died there in March 1715, at the age of about sixty-three. Of the years from 1669, when he sailed first, to his presumed retirement from the sea forty-two years later, he was away from England for around thirty years and probably for more. No other writer of the period had travelled so extensively, and had such an extraordinary range of his experience of the colonial worlds then in the making.

*

Dampier's *New Voyage Round the World* is complex from both the perspective of its composition and that of its subsequent publication history. It is clear that Dampier wrote extensively during his travels, but no manuscript journals or records are known to be extant. The document in the British Library (Sloane MS 3236) has been referred to as a 'journal' and can be called one, in the sense that it takes the form of a day-to-day narrative, but is certainly a retrospective composition: many passages incorporate information that Dampier could only have obtained some time after events described, he uses phrases such as 'at that time', and interpolates more general information at points he judged it relevant.¹⁶

This is not to say that the manuscript is at all polished. While it bears a relationship to the published work, the draft is less than half the length of the book, and though the narratives broadly correspond, the order of particular passages is substantially changed. In the section dealing with events of late May, 1685, it reads:

The 24 day Captain Davis sent a Canoa with 10 hands to (F) Chepelo [Chepillo] to try to gett a Prisoner which they accomplished and returned again the next day

These prisoners informed us that the fleet was certainly at sea and it was wispered that they were or had ben at Lavelia and were expected there every day and for that reason no Canoa was suffered to come over to the Ilands for Plaintaines which had made every thing soe deare in Panama that the people were almost starved and that they ventured their necks by it

The note (F) was linked with a marginal amplification: 'this being an Iland full of plantaines & other fruit was of great supporte to the pore of panama who live most on plantaines therefore a liqley place to get a prisoner.' The passage in the *New Voyage* reads:

From Pacheque we sent 2 Canoas to the Island Chepelio, in hopes to get a Prisoner there. The 25th day our Canoas return'd from Chepelio, with three Prisoners which they took there:

They were Sea-men belonging to Panama, who said that Provision was so scarce and dear there, that the poor were almost starved; being hindered by us from those common and daily supplies of Plantains, which they did formerly enjoy from the Islands; especially from those two of Chepelio and Tabago [Taboga]: That the President of Panama has strictly ordered, that none should adventure to any of the Islands for Plantains: but necessity had obliged them to trespass against the President's Order. They farther reported, that the Fleet from Lima was expected every day . . .

There are minor inconsistencies: was one canoe sent or were two? Some small points of detail, such as the number of men in the hostage-taking party, are also lost between the manuscript and the revision. But detail is also added, and there is a considerable gain in clarity and fluency. It has thus been suggested that Dampier benefited from the assistance of a more accomplished writer, such as his sometime companion the surgeon Lionel Wafer, or a man of letters whose acquaintance he may have made through scientific contacts or through his publisher, James Knapton. As important as this polishing was considerable expansion of the book's descriptive passages. In the draft, much of the geographic information is of the sort of potential value to navigators: 'From Camora to Chacoca is five leagues this is a good anchoring place but deep water and from thence it is but leags to Arica'. Such observations extend here and there to the commodities in circulation in particular places, or the nature of agriculture in their vicinity. But the *New Voyage* decisively enlarges the scope of observation beyond the immediate interests of ship captains, privateers or prospective merchants. Indeed it is so fully responsive to the Royal Society's interest in the description of anything and everything that guidance, if not an actual editorial contribution, on the part of someone such as John Woodward appears very probable. Yet much of the detail that is added could only have come from Dampier: he was certainly fully involved in the revision and composition of the published work.

Hence the book describes the marine mammals known as

manatee (*Trichechus manatus*), their habits, the manner in which Indigenous people caught them, their quality as food and the uses of their skin; the cocoa tree and its cultivation; both the tortoises and sea-turtles of the Galapagos; and an extraordinary range of other plants and animals. In the section dealing with the period at the Cape of Good Hope, now Cape Town, he refers to there being ‘a very beautiful sort of wild Ass in this Country, whose body is curiously striped with equal Lists of white and black’, that is, a zebra. His account of Australian Aboriginal people was notoriously unsympathetic, finding them ‘the miserablest People in the world’, and detailing an extended series of absences: they had no houses, no clothes, no ‘Instruments to catch great Fish’, no iron, even seemingly little in the way of food. Dampier’s assessment of the people as physically unattractive broadly exemplifies prejudices of the period, though he was writing over a century before pseudo-scientific racism poisonously energized associations between characteristics such as skin colour and a hierarchy of supposed advancement and human worth. Yet the account remains important and revealing, an indication of the extent to which travellers and writers of his period simply lacked the capacity to recognize Indigenous modes of subsistence and sociality. There was at this time no propensity to idealize the simplicity, or lack of wants, which Enlightenment writers – and even James Cook, some seventy years later – took to characterize ‘primitive’ life. Elsewhere, Dampier is perhaps unexpectedly affirmative about Indigenous achievements, considering the Chamorro of Guam ‘ingenious beyond any People in making Boats’, and elsewhere is sceptical with respect to longstanding stereotypes, doubting the existence of cannibalism.

Reading Dampier alongside Sir John Narborough’s *Account of Several Late Voyages and Discoveries*, published just three years earlier, makes the success of the *New Voyage* entirely understandable. The book published under Narborough’s name (in part another anthology, including expeditions in north Atlantic waters) ostensibly offered new knowledge, but lacked both the engaging drama of Dampier’s narrative and the vivid description of unfamiliar creatures, people, places

and activities. There is no information regarding the numbers of copies sold, but the first printing must have sold out, as the *New Voyage* went into a second edition in the same year. It was regularly republished over the succeeding twenty years. At the time the book was written, Dampier expected to include a number of appendices: there are numerous cross-references to his 'Chapter of Winds'. Knapton may have held this back for commercial reasons, seeing the potential for a succeeding volume. In any case, it did appear, with other supplementary narratives, as a second volume in 1699. Both volumes were further republished with Dampier's *Voyage to New Holland*, which had first appeared in 1703, and other works incorporating the narratives of Lionel Wafer and others. It was a major influence on two canonical works of English literature, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Though the principal inspiration for Crusoe was Alexander Selkirk, who was rescued during the later voyage led by Woodes Rogers, the story of 'William', the Moskito Indian who had similarly been marooned on the same island, and improvised fishing, hunting and other instruments before being found and taken off in March 1684, is related in the *New Voyage* and certainly also informed Defoe's novel. The book was also cited by Addison in both the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, and was clearly otherwise widely read. It was among the books on board the *Endeavour* when it departed England in 1768, was evidently consulted by both Cook and Joseph Banks, and was referred to in the published narrative of the voyage.¹⁷

The sense in which Dampier was powerfully original in his context is underscored by the association with Defoe. In a classic 1957 study, *The Rise of the Novel*, Ian Watt argued that the new genre was closely associated with the philosophical realism of Descartes and Locke, of which 'the general temper' was 'critical, anti-traditional and innovating; its method has been the study of the particulars of experience by the individual investigator, who, ideally at least, is free from the body of past assumptions and traditional beliefs.'¹⁸ Watt's influential and much-debated thesis was that, relative to the epic or fable, the novel was the 'form of literature' which most fully reflected those modern, individualist

and innovating approaches to the world. Yet those orientations were equally and profoundly constitutive of the voyage narrative, a story of individual experience and empirical observation, which promised, and in Dampier's case successfully and abundantly delivered, knowledge that was new. This is not to propose that Dampier was in some sense the originator of the kind of 'particular' narrative that in Defoe's hands advanced the literary form of the novel. But it does strengthen the case for the importance of *A New Voyage Round the World*. Dampier's remarkable capacities as an observer turned this account of his voyages into a vehicle for a dramatic personal history, marked by misadventure rather than heroism, and also for 'inexhaustable' wealth – not in the form of gold, but of fresh observation. A report from maritime battlefields over global commerce and colonization in the seventeenth century, the book remains fresh and engaging at a time when globalization and commerce remain formative of contemporary life, and equally contentious.

NOTES

1. The most insightful and scholarly account of the period and of Dampier's context in it is Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), particularly chapters 3–5; to which this edition and Introduction are deeply indebted.
2. For a scintillating overview, see O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific Since Magellan*, 3 vols. (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1979–89), especially volume 1, *The Spanish Lake*.
3. Williams, *The Great South Sea*, p. xiii.
4. Williams, *The Great South Sea*, p. 84.
5. Williams, *The Great South Sea*, pp. 82–3.
6. Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (London, 1712), p. xvii.
7. Basil Ringrose's expansion of the Waggoner was published as Derek Howse and Norman J. W. Thrower (eds.), *A Buccaneer's Atlas: Basil Ringrose's South Sea Waggoner* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
8. John Masefield, later poet laureate, included a short biographical sketch of Dampier in his two-volume edition of *Dampier's*

- Voyages*, 2 vols. (London: E. Grant Richards, 1906). The only very informative sources are Dampier's own books, hence information is very sparse for the periods he did not describe. The most recent accounts are Diana and Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind: The Life of William Dampier* (London: Doubleday, 2004), and (with an Australian perspective) Adrian Mitchell, *Dampier's Monkey: The South Seas Voyages of William Dampier* (Mile End, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2010).
9. J. Harry Bennett, 'Cary Helyar: merchant and planter of seventeenth-century Jamaica', *William and Mary Quarterly* 21 (1964), pp. 53–76.
 10. Jeoly has been extensively discussed in histories of tattooing and of the exhibition of Indigenous people, particularly those with exotic adornment, in the West. See e.g. Nicholas Thomas, Anna Cole and Bronwen Douglas (eds.), *Tattoo: Bodies, Art and Exchange in the Pacific and the West* (London: Reaktion, 2005), pp. 32–4; fig. 17 is the broadsheet.
 11. J. H. Baer, 'William Dampier at the crossroads: new light on the "missing years", 1691–1697', *International Journal of Maritime History* 8 (1996), pp. 97–117.
 12. Both the buccaneer precursors and Royal Society texts and their influence on Dampier are discussed by Williams, *The Great South Sea*, ch. 4; Woodward's *Brief Instructions* are attributed by Williams to Robert Southwell, who was a vice-president of the Royal Society and in fact only authorized their printing.
 13. David Price, 'John Woodward and a surviving British geological collection from the early eighteenth century', *Journal of the History of Collections* 1 (1989), pp. 79–85. The Dampier artefacts are reproduced and discussed in Nicholas Thomas, Julie Adams, Billie Lythberg, Maia Nuku and Amiria Salmond (eds.), *Artefacts of Encounter: Cook's Voyages, Colonial Collecting and Museum Histories* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2016), pp. 29–31.
 14. John Woodward, *Brief Instructions for Making Observations in All Parts of the World* (London: Richard Wilkin, 1696), p. 9.
 15. Anonymous review, *Philosophical Transactions* 19 (1695–7), pp. 426–33.
 16. The relationship between the MS and the book has been discussed by a number of scholars including Philip Edwards, Glyn Williams and Andrew Mitchell. There is no fully edited, scholarly edition, but Mitchell's *Dampier's Monkey* incorporates a valuable transcription.

17. It has also been suggested that John Locke referred to and cited Dampier's voyage. He may well have read it, and it is discussed in *The Whole History of Navigation*, an introduction to a celebrated, often republished collection assembled by Awnsham and John Churchill. This text was included in nineteenth-century editions of Locke's works but is not now attributed to him. See Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith and Nicholas Thomas (eds.), *Exploration and Exchange: A South Seas Anthology, 1680–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 9–10.
18. Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), pp. 12–13.

Further Reading

- Anon, 'An account of A New Voyage Round the World by William Dampier', *Philosophical Transactions* 19 (1696–7), pp. 426–433.
- Barnes, Geraldine, 'Curiosity, wonder and William Dampier's painted prince', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 6 (2006), pp. 31–50.
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- Thell, Anne M., *Minds in Motion: Imagining Empiricism in Eighteenth Century British Travel* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2017).
- Williams, Glyndwr, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters, 1570–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).
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Timeline of A New Voyage Round the World

- 1679 Departs England for Jamaica 'at the beginning of the year', in the *Loyal Merchant*; arrives in April
- 1679 Around Christmas joins the buccaneers Sawkins, Sharp and Coxon; participates in a raid on Portobello
- 1680 April: lands with them and crosses the Isthmus of Panama; spends the remainder of the year raiding on the Peruvian coast
- 1681 April: parts company with Sharp and travels overland back across the Isthmus
- 1681 June: joins a group of French and English privateers, cruising and raiding in the Caribbean
- 1682 July: sails to Virginia; resident there for some thirteen months
- 1683 August: sails from Virginia in the *Revenge* under the command of the privateer John Cook, bound for the South Seas; participates in the seizure of a Danish slave ship renamed the *Bachelor's Delight*
- 1684 February: passes Cape Horn and sails into the Pacific
- 1684 March: arrives at Juan Fernandez
- 1684 April: in company with John Eaton, visits the Galapagos, engages in cruising and raiding along the coasts of Chile and Peru; Cook dies in July; Dampier continues under the command of Edward Davis; Eaton and Davis joined by Captain Charles Swan in the *Cygnets* in October
- 1685 May: squadron of ten ships under Davis's command fails to seize the Spanish fleet off Panama

- 1685 On 25 August, Davis and Swan part company; Dampier joins Swan, wanting to 'get some knowledge' of the northern parts of Mexico, and with a view to sailing to the East Indies
- 1686 February: unsuccessful raid on Santa Pecaque, now Sentispac, Mexico; fifty-four buccaneers including Basil Ringrose killed; Swan withdraws to Baja California
- 1686 On 31 March, the *Cygnat* leaves the coast of Mexico; arrives off Guam on 21 May
- 1686 On 2 June, departs Guam; arrives Mindanao 21 June; resident there until January
- 1687 Following discontent among the crew, a party under the command of John Reed takes the *Cygnat* and departs Mindanao on 14 January, leaving Swan and others behind. Dampier is on board, but afterwards claims ignorance of 'the plot'
- 1687 Cruising off the coasts of Vietnam and China; visits islands off Formosa, and to the north of Philippines; sails south to Sulawesi and to Timor
- 1688 In early January, sights the coast of northern Australia; encounters with Aboriginal people over 5–12 January; reaches Nicobar in early May; Dampier leaves the *Cygnat*, which departs for India; with three other Europeans and four Malaysians from Aceh, departs Nicobar in a canoe on 15 May; reaches Sumatra on 20 May; sails on to Aceh in early June
- 1688 From July to September 1689, Dampier participates in trading voyages under Captain Welden of the *Curtana* to Sulawesi, China and Madras, where he stays for some five months
- 1690 In July Dampier returns from India to Sumatra and enters the employment of the governor at the fort at Bencouli as a gunner; here he purchases the 'painted prince' Jeoly and his mother, slaves from Pulau Meangis in the southern Philippines
- 1691 In January Dampier surreptitiously leaves his employment and joins the *Defence*, an East India Company ship commanded by Captain Heath

1691 Arrives at the Cape of Good Hope in early April; departs 23 May; calls at Saint Helena in late June; reaches the Downs, the anchorage off Deal in Kent, on 16 September, having been away from England for twelve years and nine months

Note on the Text

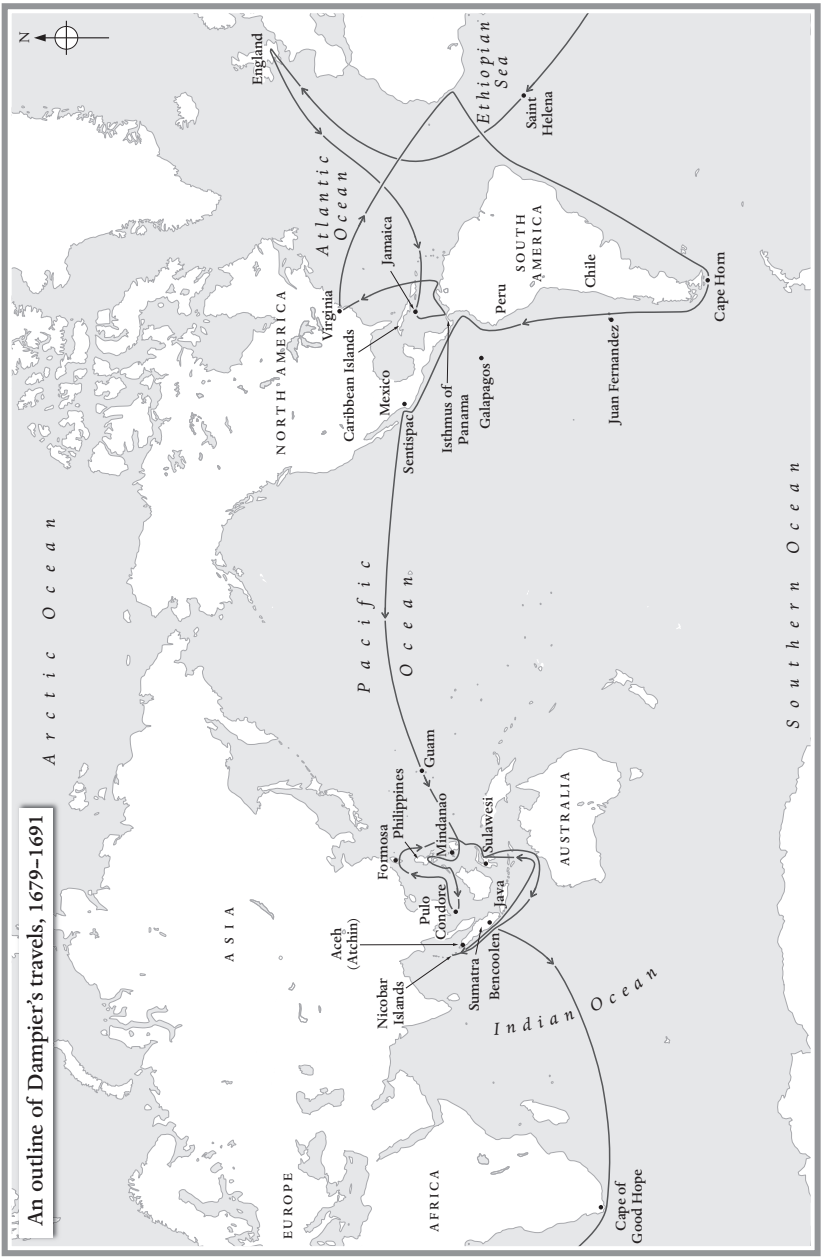
Early editions of Dampier's *New Voyage Round the World* do not vary notably, except in the sense that the book was progressively enlarged through the addition of new narratives forming a second and then a third volume; and in the minor respect that errata noted in the first three editions were not fully corrected until the fourth printing. This edition is based on the sixth edition, published in 1717.

The extensive use in the early editions of italics for nouns and names has not been reproduced in this edition, but Dampier's capitalization, spelling and punctuation have otherwise been preserved. The place names in the text are Dampier's; modern equivalents for key locations are given in endnotes.

Given the encyclopedic nature of Dampier's interests, there is almost unlimited scope for annotating a book of this kind. The approach here has been to provide basic identifications and points of information, rather than more wide-ranging commentary. On some points, I have been indebted to John Masefield's two-volume edition of *Dampier's Voyages* (1906), which remains valuable.

Dampier's strictly descriptive observations upon the non-European peoples he encountered are, in so far as can be assessed, sound in the literal sense that he reported what he saw. His inferences and opinions needless to say reflect the limitations of European cross-cultural understanding of the time, which preceded the relativism and the celebration of the 'noble savage' associated with Enlightenment thinkers fifty years after his death.

Nicholas Thomas, 2020



An outline of Dampier's travels, 1679-1691

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES MOUNTAGUE, Esq.

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY, ONE OF THE
LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF THE TREASURY, ETC.

Sir,

May it please you to Pardon the Boldness of a Stranger to your Person, if upon the encouragement of Common Fame, he presumes so much upon your Candor, as to lay before you this Account of his Travels. As the Scene of them is not only Remote, but for the most part little frequented also, so there may be some Things in them New even to you; and some possibly, not altogether unuseful to the Publick: And that just Veneration which the World pays, as to your General Worth, so especially to that Zeal for the Advancement of Knowledge, and the interest of your Country, which you express upon all Occasions, gives you a particular Right to whatever may any way tend to the promoting these Interests, as an Offering due to your Merit. I have not so much of the Vanity of a Traveller, as to be fond of telling Stories, especially of this kind; nor can I think this plain Piece of mine, deserves a place among your more Curious Collections: much less have I the Arrogance to use your Name by way of Patronage for the too obvious Faults, both of the Author and the Work. Yet dare I avow, according to my narrow Sphere and poor Abilities, a hearty Zeal for the promoting of useful Knowledge, and of any thing that may never so remotely tend to my Countries Advantage: And I must own an Ambition of transmitting to the Publick through your Hands, these Essays I have made toward those great Ends, of which you are so deservedly esteemed the Patron. This hath been my Design in this Publication, being desirous to bring in my Gleanings here and there in Remote Regions, to that general Magazine, of the Knowledge of Foreign Parts, which the

Royal Society thought you most worthy the Custody of, when they chose you for their President: and if in perusing these Papers, your Goodness shall so far distinguish the Experience of the Author from his Faults, as to judge him capable of serving his Country, either immediately, or by serving you, he will endeavour by some real Proofs to shew himself,

Sir

Your Most Faithful,

Devoted, Humble Servant,

W. DAMPIER.

THE PREFACE

Before the Reader proceed any further in the perusal of this Work, I must bespeak a little of his Patience here, to take along with him this short account of it. It is composed of a mixt Relation of Places and Actions, in the same order of time in which they occurred: for which end I kept a Journal of every Days Observations.

In the Description of Places, their Produce, &c. I have endeavoured to give what satisfaction I could to my Countrymen; tho' possibly to the describing several things that may have been much better accounted for by others: Choosing to be more particular than might be needful, with respect to the intelligent Reader, rather than to omit what I thought might tend to the Information of Persons no less sensible and inquisitive, tho' not so Learned or Experienced. For which reason, my chief Care hath been to be as particular as was consistent with my intended brevity, in setting down such Observables as I met with. Nor have I given my self any great trouble since my Return, to compare my Discoveries with those of others: The rather, because, should it so happen that I have described some places, or things which others have done before me, yet in different Accounts, even of the same things, it can hardly be but there will be some new Light afforded by each of them. But after all, considering that the main of this Voyage hath its Scene laid in long Tracts of the Remoter Parts, both of the East and West Indies, some of which very seldom visited by Englishmen, and others as rarely by any Europeans, I may without vanity encourage the Reader to expect many things wholly new to him, and many others more fully described than he

may have seen elsewhere; for which not only in this Voyage, tho' it self of many years continuance, but also several former long and distant Voyages, have qualified me.

As for the Actions of the Company among whom I made the greatest part of this Voyage, a Thread of which I have carried on thro' it, 'tis not to divert the Reader with them that I mention them, much less that I take any pleasure in relating them: but for methods sake, and for the Readers satisfaction; who could not so well acquiesce in my Description of Places, &c. without knowing the particular Traverses I made among them; nor in these, without an Account of the Concomitant Circumstances: Besides, that I would not prejudice the Truth and Sincerity of my Relation, tho' by Omissions only. And as for the Traverses themselves, they make for the Readers advantage, how little soever for mine; since thereby I have been the better inabled to gratify his Curiosity; as one who rambles about a Country can give usually a better account of it, than a Carrier who jogs on to his Inn, without ever going out of his Road.

As to my Stile, it cannot be expected, that a Seaman should affect Politeness; for were I able to do it, yet I think I should be little solicitous about it, in a work of this Nature. I have frequently indeed, divested my self of Sea Phrases, to gratify the Land Reader; for which the Seamen will hardly forgive me: And yet, possibly, I shall not seem Complaisant enough to the other; because I still retain the use of so many Sea-terms. I confess I have not been at all scrupulous in this matter, either as to the one or the other of these; for I am perswaded, that if what I say be intelligible, it matters not greatly in what words it is express'd.

For the same reason I have not been curious as to the spelling of the Names of Places, Plants, Fruits, Animals, &c. which in any of these remoter parts are given at the pleasure of Travellers, and vary according to their different Humours: Neither have I confined my self to such Names as are given by Learned Authors, or so much as enquired after many of them. I write for my Countrymen; and have therefore, for the most part, used such names as are familiar to our English Seamen, and those of our Colonies abroad, yet without neglecting others that occur'd. As it might suffice me to have given such Names

and Descriptions as I could; I shall leave to those of more leisure and opportunity the trouble of comparing these with those which other Authors have assigned.

The Reader will find as he goes along, some References to an Appendix, which I once designed to this Book; as to a Chapter about the Winds in different parts of the World; to a Description of the Bay of Campeachy in the West Indies, where I lived long in a former Voyage; and to a particular Chorographical Description of all the South Sea Coast of America, partly from a Spanish MS, and partly from my own and other Travellers Observations, besides those contained in this Book.¹ But such an Appendix would have swelled it too unreasonably; and therefore I chose rather to publish it hereafter by its self, as opportunity shall serve. And the same must be said also as to a particular Voyage from Achin in the Isle of Sumatra, to Tonquin, Malacca, &c. which should have been inserted as part of this General one; but it would have been too long, and therefore omitting it for the present, I have carried on this, next way from Sumatra to England; and so made the Tour of the World correspondent to the Title.

For the better apprehending the Course of the Voyage, and the Situation of the Places mentioned in it, I have caused several Maps to be engraven, and some particular Draughts of my own Composure. Among them, there is in the Map of the American Isthmus, a new Scheme of the adjoining Bay of Panama and its Islands, which to some may seem superfluous after that which Mr Ringrose hath published in the History of the Buccaneers; and which he offers as a very exact Draught. I must needs disagree with him in that, and doubt not but this which I here publish will be found more agreeable to that Bay, by one who shall have opportunity to examine it; for it is a contraction of a larger Map which I took from several Stations in the Bay it self. The Reader may judge how well I was able to do it, by my several Traverses about it, mentioned in this Book; those, particularly, which are described in the 7th Chapter, which I have caused to be marked out with a pricked Line; as the Course of my Voyage is generally in all the Maps, for the Readers more easy tracing it.

I have nothing more to add, but that there are here and there some mistakes made, as to expression, and the like, which will need a favourable Correction as they occur upon Reading. For instance, the Log of Wood lying out at some distance from Sides of the Boats described at Guam, and parallel to their Keel, which for distinctions sake I have called the little Boat, might more clearly and properly have been called the side Log, or by some such Name; for though fashioned at the Bottom and Ends Boat-wise, yet is not hollow at top, but solid throughout. In other places also I may not have express'd my self so fully as I ought: But any considerable Omission, that I shall recollect or be inform'd of, I shall endeavour to make up in those Accounts I have yet to publish; and for any Faults, I leave the Reader to the joint use of his Judgment and Candour.

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- VIII. He proceeds along the Mexican Coast to the Keys of Quibo, Rea Lejo, and the Harbour of Guatulco. (p. 185)

- IX. He coasts along to Acapula, Petaplan, Estapa, Colima, Sallagua, Cape Corrientes; thence to the Isles of Chametly, Bay of Valderas, Isles of Pontique, other Isles of Chametly; Massaclan, Rosario, R. Saint Jago, Santa Pecaque, Isles of Santa Maria, Valderas, and Cape Corrientes again. (p. 206)
- X. He stands over the Southern Ocean for the East Indies, and arrives at Guam, one of the Ladrone Isles. (p. 239)
- XI. His arrival at Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands: and of its Natural State. (p. 259)
- XII. The Political State of Mindanao. (p. 274)
- XIII. Occurrences during the Author's stay at Mindanao. (p. 291)
- XIV. He departs towards Manila, in the Isle of Luconie; touching at Bat Island, and the Isle of Mindora, and leaving Luconia, he goes to Pulo Condore, on the Coast of Cambodia, to Pulo Uby, in the Bay of Siam, and to Pulo Condore again. (p. 315)
- XV. He goes to the I. of St John on the Coast of China, to the Isles Piscadores near Formosa; and the Bashee, or 5 Islands, between Formosa and Luconia, called Orange, Monmouth, Grafton, Bashee, and Goat Isles. (p. 336)
- XVI. He Coasts along the East side of Luconia, Mindanao, and other of the Philippines: and touching at the I. Celebes, and Callasung in the I. of Bouton, he arrives at New-Holland. (p. 366)
- XVII. He goes thence, touches at the I. Triste, and another; and steering along the West Coast of Sumatra, arrives at the I. of Nicobar, where he stays ashore, and the Ship departs. (p. 390)
- XVIII. He stands over from thence in an open Boat to Passange Jonca; and thence to Achin; and after several

Traverses comes to Bencouli, all on the I. of Sumatra.
(p. 406)

XIX. He ships himself for England, and arrives at the Cape of Good Hope. (p. 430)

XX. His departure thence to the I. Santa Hellena, and Arrival in the Downs. (p. 442)

