WILLIAM DAMPIER AND JAMES COOK: TWO WINDOWS INTO THE BRITISH ENLIGHTENED EXPLORATION OF THE CULTURES AND SOCIETIES OF THE PACIFIC

by

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ABSTRACT

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This study looks into the lives of two well-known British explorers and their own observations and interpretations of the Pacific societies and cultures that they encountered on their voyages. More specifically the study has attempted to reveal the similarities and divergences between these two British explorers and their respective interpretations of Pacific natives. Furthermore, the backdrop of Enlightenment thought is used to elucidate a better understanding of the encounters of the two very different societies of Western Europe and the Pacific world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Finally, this study is important in that it sheds light on the relevance of better understanding attitudes and assumptions held by European explorers during this era; this is especially significant considering the contemporary disdain of European imperialism.

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CHAPTER 1

WILLIAM DAMPIER, JAMES COOK, ENLIGHTENMENT, AND PACIFIC NATIVES

…to point out that Englishmen by 1800 undoubtedly knew more than their predecessors had known about non-European peoples is not necessarily to claim that they understood these peoples any better.

-- P.J. Marshall & Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: Perceptions of New Worlds in the Age of Enlightenment*

1.1 William Dampier and James Cook

William Dampier and James Cook both occupy pivotal positions within Europe's exploration of the Pacific. Though separated by three generations the two explorers covered much of the same territory and wrote about comparable locales. Each man's path to the 'office of explorer' was quite different. Dampier was first a buccaneer before being commissioned into the Royal Navy (which only lasted for one exploratory voyage), while Cook was a lifelong naval officer. The majority of Dampier's explorations were spent within the company of murderers and thieves, while Cook served alongside British officers and sailors at a time when the Royal Navy was near the zenith of its prestige. Dampier had his character called into question by the British Navy and was barred from ever commanding a ship again; nothing of the sort happened to Cook. Dampier willfully participated in piratical activities against colonial Spanish holdings, although, he would say in his journal that circumstances forced him into the situation.

Despite the major divergences of each man's career path, at certain points prominent connections emerge. Both were fascinated by the geography and ethnography of the Pacific and its peoples. Both spent much of their time writing and thinking about cultural encounters. It is especially fascinating that Dampier was able to write a journal, not to mention keep it safe,

while carousing abroad with pirates. Certainly, Cook was expected by the British Admiralty to keep a thorough record of events, especially nautical and cartographical information. Yet, a few readings into Cook's journals reveal a man who was not only writing with a sense of duty but also zeal.

1.2 Focus of Research

While the historiography of Cook is full in many respects, there still needs to be a further examination of Cook against a contemporary. The purpose of this study is to examine William Dampier's and James Cook's evaluation and interpretation of Pacific natives. By looking at Dampier's and Cook's respective writings, where the two explorers discussed the natives they encountered, I will attempt to elucidate their respective ethnographic world views: how they arrived at their conclusions and what might have caused a convergence or divergence in opinion. I will also seek to ascertain the influence of 'enlightened' thought upon each man in order to better understand their ethnographic worldview.

1.3 Historiography

The historiography of Cook is plentiful. In perusing the historical literature on Cook and his voyages of discovery, one finds that there are many avenues down which scholars have travelled in an attempt to better define the man and his work.[1] J.C. Beaglehole's three volume *Journals of Captain James Cook* published between 1955 and 1967 are the monumental work of the New Zealand scholar. Any Cook scholar inevitably begins with Beaglehole's *Journals*. Beaglehole's *Life of Captain James Cook*, Stanford University Press, 1974, is also a remarkable feat of scholarship and considered the authoritative monograph on Cook and his journeys.[2] However, Nicolas Thomas points out that Beaglehole's work, as erudite and valuable as it may

[1] Regarding the historiography of Cook: There are general works on discovery, ethnographic histories, scientific approaches to Cook (Cook as maritime scientist, etc.), literary approaches to Cook, perceptions of Cook, and an analysis on the legacy of Cook. There are also treatments of Cook as narrator and naturalist. There are even appraisals of English grammar based upon Cook's journals.
[2] John Gascoigne, *Captain Cook: Voyager Between Worlds*, (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), xv.

be, is still written in the "tradition of Cook idealization."[3] Thomas contends that (as of 2003) most Cook biographies relied on "maritime history" as their "frame." Furthermore, while Beaglehole was cognizant of the issues of cross-cultural encounter, they were primarily viewed by Beaglehole and many other Cook writers as taking "secondary importance" to navigational and geographical feats.[4] This is one reason why my approach to Cook is not focused on his cartographical or navigational accomplishments. These accomplishments have been thoroughly addressed by Cook scholars and my primary focus here is not navigation but cross-cultural encounters between the Pacific and European worlds. Nicolas Thomas' 2003 work, *Cook: The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook*, Walker & Company, follows the trend of focusing on the cross-cultural interactions. It was Thomas' desire to "broaden…[Cook's] horizons more radically, [by] moving outside the maritime history that has framed virtually all biographies to date."[5] John Gascoigne's 2007 work, *Captain Cook: Voyager Between Worlds*, Hambledon-Continuum, includes an examination of the variations in socio-sexual practices between the eighteenth-century Pacific world and Europe. My purpose in this thesis is not to focus primarily on the historiography in which authors have addressed Cook alone, but rather on works that treat the intersection of Cook, Pacific native culture, various Enlightenment influences and, ideally, William Dampier. I have especially focused on particular secondary works that have addressed the encounter of the European mindset with that of the eighteenth-century Pacific world.

The historical literature on Dampier is not as abundant as Cook's, which is quite surprising considering Dampier's important contribution to late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British exploration. Nevertheless, there have been a respectable number of

[3] Nicolas Thomas, *Cook: The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook*, (New York: Walker & Company, 2003), xxxvi.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

works on Dampier published over the last forty years.[6] What seems to be one of the key monographs on Dampier is Christopher Lloyd's *William Dampier,* Archon Books, 1966. This work is a good summary of Dampier's life and explorations, especially when you consider that there are very few monographs on Dampier available. What seems to be the primary contemporary monograph for Dampier is Diana and Michael Preston's *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind*, Walker & Company, 2004. This extensive work details Dampier's career on the sea and heralds Dampier's significant contribution (across many disciplines) to English perceptions of the Pacific world for the next one-hundred fifty years. Despite the voluminous historiography on James Cook and the less extensive contributions on William Dampier, I have come across only two works in print devoted solely to the comparison of Cook and Dampier, the first a 1988 article in *History Today* by Pacific history stalwart Glyndwr Williams,[7] the other a doctoral dissertation completed in 2005.[8] Williams' article describes the first encounters of the English with the natives of Australia. Specifically, Williams analyzes the apparent divergence in interpretations of the Australian aborigines by Dampier in 1688 and by Cook in 1770. Finally, I will also utilize the work of Stephen Turner.[9] His 1999 work in *Cultural Studies* deals with the influence of Cook and colonialism on New Zealand and the ongoing societal repercussions stemming from the European arrival in New Zealand.

1.4 Defining 'the Enlightenment'

Defining 'the Enlightenment' has been debatable since the eighteenth century itself when scholars had differing views on what 'Enlightenment' was. This discussion of the true 'definition' of 'the Enlightenment' persists today. Immanuel Kant, one of the principal voices of

[6]The discourses on Dampier have similar themes as some of the interpretations of Cook, referring to Dampier as: naturalist, hydrographer, scientist, and buccaneer.
[7]Glyndwr Williams, "The English and Aborigines First Contacts," *History Today* 38, no. 1 (January 1988): 33. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed January 5, 2011).
[8]Yohanes Hartadi, "Sailing Between Fact and Metaphor: an Allegorical Reading of the Journals of William Dampier and James Cook," (Thesis/dissertation: English, University of Melbourne, 2005).
[9] Stephen Turner, "A Legacy of Colonialism: The Uncivil Society of Aotearoa/New Zealand," *Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (July 1999): 408-422. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed July 20, 2011).

the latter Enlightenment, himself acknowledged that Enlightenment was not a static event but a growing "process."[10] However, Kant is often quoted as saying that Enlightenment is "man's release from his self incurred immaturity" to which historian Dorinda Outram adds as a paraphrase "by the use of his own reason, undistorted by prejudice and without the guidance of others."[11]

The philosophical contributions of such European luminaries as Diderot, Kant, and Hume to Enlightenment thinking are well known. However, it is now recognized that 'the Enlightenment' took place on every level of society, in various forms, and that it affected men and women, and non-Europeans and Europeans differently. There were also marked variations in its expression from nation to nation and region to region. Hence, the effect and extent of the Enlightenment was varied and diverse. The Enlightenment was experienced not only in Europe but on other lands with connections to Europe.[12]

Enlightenment thought was not uniform; neither did Enlightenment thinkers start from the same set of beliefs nor end at the same conclusions. What might have been considered progress for some Enlightenment thinkers might have been deemed regression by others. Some eighteenth-century discourses questioned just how 'enlightened' 'common citizens' should be or even could be.[13] This particular faction of Enlightenment censored discourse was rooted in the "tensions between public knowledge and religious faith and between new ways of thinking and established authority."[14]

Charles Withers notes that "Enlightenment began not as a definite "thing," or even as a chronological period, but as processes concerned with the central place of reason and of

[10] Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-2.
[11] Ibid., 2.
[12] Ibid., 13.
[13] Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 2.
[14] Ibid.

experience and experiment in understanding and improving human society."[15] Some eighteenth-century philosophers believed this social 'improvement' was obtained through "reason mediated through direct encounter and not blind faith in ancient authority."[16]

Some eighteenth-century thinkers contended that the same principles of scientific inquiry used in the investigation of the natural world could be applied to understanding and eventually improving society.[17] The societal improvement theme of certain Enlightenment writers is what some scholars consider to be the traditional understanding of 'the Enlightenment.' However, over the past four decades many scholars moved away from a core definition of an intellectually one-dimensional "Enlightenment" that proceeded from a select group of eighteenth-century philosophers and began to "focus more on its complex origins, multiple nature, and uneven social consequences."[18] This diverse body of literature regarding the Enlightenment has looked into such topics as, "the role of women, the place of science and medicine, sexual attitudes, race, and anthropology to name but a few."[19] As aforementioned it has become common within contemporary discourses to refer to 'the Enlightenment' not as a singular whole, but rather as a plurality of movements. This contemporary interpretation has resulted in referring to the period, by some scholars, in the plural as "enlightenments."[20]

1.5 Dampier and Cook's Writings and Enlightenment

What aspects of the Enlightenment are most central for an informed interpretation of Dampier's and Cook's writings? During the seventeenth century, Norman Hampson contends, the detection and analysis of native cultures through discovery caused the European worldview to reconcile itself with the new knowledge of the way of life of peoples thousands of miles from Europe, existing completely independent of European values and history. This 'realization'

[15] Withers, 2.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 3.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 4.

brought a supposed crisis of meaning between Europe and the rest of the world.[21] Dorinda Outram shows that during the eighteenth century a fascination with "*difference*" was occurring. Outram points out that encountering the "exotic" was by no means a new phenomenon to Europeans. Since the fifteenth century, Europeans had been hearing reports of previously unknown peoples. However, what makes the eighteenth-century experience different was the tendency to ask the questions, "What was it that defined a European as *different* from an 'exotic'?"[22] And "What was it to be European?"[23] The larger implication for these questions was the questioning of the very social and moral foundations of European society as the explorers brought back reports of the lifestyles of newly discovered Pacific natives. As I will show, this type of 'questioning' can be seen in the writings of Cook. With Dampier such questioning is not so apparent and thus may reveal that Dampier's time was more concerned with inquiry and fascination of the 'exotic' rather than the introverted questioning of European morals and society observed in the latter eighteenth century.

My inquiry will seek to draw examples from Dampier and Cook as well-seasoned and capable sea captains, explorers, and observers of much of the world. We could not expect for Cook or Dampier to delve into long treatises during their respective voyages, but, we can see glimpses of men who wrestled with intellectual questions that had bearing on the social conditions of their day and that would have an impact on those who would read their journals in the decades following their voyages; as a result, Dampier and Cook became, perhaps without intent, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cultural critics.

In regards to primary sources, the nature of Dampier's and Cook's journal writings, written during their voyages, contrasts with the philosophical treatises of the French luminaries. While some Enlightenment philosophers deliberately set out to make a statement about

[21] Norman Hampson, *The Enlightenment*, (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1968), 25.
[22] Ibid., 63-64.
[23] Ibid., 64.

'enlightened' ideas and their import for culture, Cook and Dampier were voyagers, first and foremost, and as such were not deliberately trying to influence society with their writings. Thus, the significance of each man's journal is more than nautical exploration; rather, they contain the words of two English explorers who revealed their own beliefs while living on the Ocean. These journal writings provide a glimpse into the ideas of explorers as opposed to those of the philosophers of the day. Enlightened philosophers set out to create their treatises with a specific intellectual statement to be made and thus their writings followed this intention, while, Dampier and Cook made their social, intellectual, and scientific observations as they were going about their day to day duties on board their respective vessels.

It is necessary to mention the limitations of researching the lives and influences of these two men, not to mention the great difficulty in being able to use precise language regarding the 'European Enlightenment.' Cook and Dampier did not refer to 'the Enlightenment,' nor did they know they were living in such an age. Certainly, they were aware of the advancements in technology and science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, yet their perception was likely not what we would like to imagine. As twenty-first-century observers, we might like to think that Cook and Dampier viewed their endeavors as great contributions to the advancement of humanity, but perception is not always reality.

I am confident that, despite the abundant research already accomplished, this paper will contribute something unique and valuable to the field. If, at the very least, this endeavor serves to raise new questions, then the project will have succeeded.

1.6 The Intellectual Climate of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

As the scientific advancements of the seventeenth century progressed, so did the philosophical sophistication of Europeans. There is a distinct relationship between the philosophical treatises of the eighteenth century and the scientific findings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As theories about laws of nature began to solidify among the thinking

European public, so too did ideas about how such laws might exist in society, government, and in human beings. Where there was once an emphasis on "the acquisition of social manners and sexual experience"[24] as a means to progress up the social structure, the scientific advancements of the seventeenth century started a trend where social status was gained through knowledge and understanding of the natural world and its operational laws. Furthermore, it was in the new found understanding of these natural laws that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europeans became more and more interested in the 'variations' of humans found throughout the world.[25] Nowhere were these 'variations' more apparent than in the published accounts of the seventeenth-and eighteenth-century explorers.

The seventeenth and eighteenth century both witnessed the growth of a vital connection between ocean exploration and science. Several scientific studies and pursuits were either carried out through the medium of exploration or as a direct result of ocean exploration. The connection between ocean exploration and science was not merely related to astronomy and geography. For Europe was also engaged in a great debate about the origins of mankind and about the foundations of European society itself. Philosophers sought to question the political and moral customs of Western Civilization, and one popular medium for this analysis was the study of native cultures 'discovered' in the Pacific. Some European theorists held the belief that Pacific culture was an untapped, unpolluted, example of the ideal existence of humanity. Perhaps within Pacific culture Europeans could discover a model on which to base an improved Western society.

Understanding Dampier and Cook's interpretation of Pacific native culture provides glimpses into the European perspective of non-Western culture during the Enlightenment. Contrary to popular belief not all Europeans held the notion that their culture was superior to

[24] Iain McCalman, Introduction for "Transformation and Explorations," in *The Enlightenment World*, ed. Martin Fitzpatrick et al (London: Routledge, 2004), 518.
[25] Ibid.

other non-Western cultures. While many, such as Charles de Brosses, promoted western superiority, others believed that non-Western native culture could reveal a more pure and idyllic mode of living. Furthermore, an understanding of Cook and Dampier's interpretation of Pacific native culture has the potential to shed light, or at least give impetus, to further study on the nature of European attitudes towards their own intrusion into native lands, looking at intrusion from the European point of view rather than the native's. Glyndwr Williams' contends that with the discovery of the New World a self-introspection manifested itself in Western society. As Europeans encountered and studied new societies they began to question the state of their own society.[26] A more focused understanding of Western attitudes towards intrusion into native cultures will offer a more balanced interpretation within the historiography of European contact with the Pacific.

1.7 Late Seventeenth- to Early Eighteenth-Century Pacific Exploration

During the early eighteenth century, European knowledge of the Arctic, Antarctic, and Pacific Ocean, then often synonymously called the South Sea, was still largely geographically ambiguous. While the Antarctic was still a practically unseen southern continent, the Arctic was repeatedly visited for its assumed potential to hold a shorter ocean route from the North Atlantic into the Pacific. Subsequently, however, the greatest amount of attention received by these three relatively unknown regions was turned towards the Pacific.[27] By the end of the seventeenth century literary representations of the mystery and economical potential of the South Seas began to flourish in England. Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift were two primary authors of such works. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries saw what Daniel

[26] Glyndwr Williams, "Seamen and Philosophers in the South Seas in the Age of Captain Cook," in *Science, Empire and the European Exploration of the Pacific,* ed. Tony Ballantyne, (Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2004), 277.
[27] Daniel Baugh, "Seapower and Science: the Motives for Pacific Exploration," In *Background to Discovery: Pacific Exploration from Dampier to Cook*, 1-55, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. ed. Derek Howse), 1.

Baugh describes as a "quasi-scientific curiosity" regarding the Pacific Ocean.[28] William Dampier's writings are often credited for magnifying the potential of the South Seas. Dampier's first South Sea journal was published in 1697. Some English observers focused especially on the "commercial and strategic" gain which the exploration of the South Seas was predicted to birth.[29] Furthermore, in the early eighteenth century "curiosity and enthusiasm" for the South Seas began to spread. Yet, despite the fervor in England surrounding the South Seas in the first half of the eighteenth century only four major Pacific voyages from European nations occurred.[30]

With the development and overseas expansion of the maritime powers of Europe came a dramatic change to the perception of Europeans towards "the wider world."[31] Before Europeans sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to India, traversed the Atlantic to the Americas, and before Magellan and his crew crossed the unknown Pacific, they had only imaginative ideas of what lay across the world's oceans.[32] What is more, even with the Pacific voyages of the sixteenth century the Pacific remained largely unknown to Europeans until Dampier's time. This explains the fascination of the English with Dampier's journals.

In Baugh's estimation there were, generally speaking, three periods of European Pacific exploration: 1510-1640's, 1640's-1760, and 1760-1800. (According to Ronald Love we must be aware of the limitations of dividing history into neat epochs, which gives the impression of "sudden cataclysmic change."[33] At the same time to go towards the other extreme would serve to hide "irrefutable facts and discernable movements of signal importance.)"[34] Love himself describes the first epoch this way:

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[28] Baugh, 2.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ronald S. Love, *Maritime Exploration in the Age of Discovery, 1415-1800*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2006), xiv.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., xv.
[34] Ibid.

> From the outset, Pacific exploration was driven by the usual search for gold, God, and glory, but with one additional lure: the widespread belief since ancient times in the existence of a great southern continent, originally called the Antipodes…at the bottom of the globe.[35]

More relevant to the explorations of Dampier as an Englishman is that from the time of "Drake, Cavendish, and Richard Hawkins in the late sixteenth century, the western coasts of Spanish America were left undisturbed by English seamen until Charles II's reign."[36] Then, in 1669, the *Sweepstakes* commanded by John Narborough left England for the eastern Pacific with orders from the Duke of York (future James II) to explore the region and attempt to "'lay the foundations of a Trade there.'"[37] Narborough returned to England in 1671 having accomplished little from an economic/trade standpoint; however, Narborough became the first to sail through the Straits of Magellan from both east and west and his map of the straits was commonly used by seamen over the next several decades.[38] After Narborough, English governmental attention to the South Seas quieted; yet, as reports from the adventures of buccaneers in the South Seas reached England, a new wave of interest began to emerge.[39]

However, while Dampier's travels occurred during the second period, it is important to note that Dampier's journals profoundly influenced the third period of European exploration, to which James Cook belonged. In seeking to understand the intention of European exploration, Baugh contends that, in general, many of the early explorers (1510-1640's) were often primarily motivated by a desire for financial gain. This 'financial focus' is sometimes contrasted with the era of Cook when there appears to have been a "purer" motive of scientific knowledge of the world.[40] However, this contention of a purely philanthropic motive should be critiqued by

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[35] Love, 87.
[36] Glyndwr Williams, "The Inexhaustible Fountain of Gold: English Projects and Ventures in the South Seas, 1670-1750" (p.27-53) in *Buccaneers, Explorers and Settlers: British Enterprise and Encounters in the Pacific, 1670-1800*, (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), I. 28.
[37] Williams, "The Inexhaustible Fountain of Gold," 28.
[38] Ibid., 28-29.
[39] Ibid., 30.
[40] Baugh, 3-4.

pointing out that such motives are first of all hard to truly establish, and second, that no one descriptor can categorize an entire epoch. Furthermore, as Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith, and Nicholas Thomas have shown, there is a common belief within modern discourse that the foundational motivation for Great Britain's South Pacific explorations, both during and after Cook's time, was not scientific but rather to support the financial aspirations of the British Empire.[41]

Also, for a broad understanding only, the middle period, of which Dampier was a part, seems to have had a mixture of both motives of financial gain and curiosity. In reality it appears that Dampier's era was more akin to the first period in the desire for lucre, yet there was an element that was influenced by the scientific advancements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which sought to understand and articulate discoveries in the Pacific, even while plundering Spanish assets.

There were three primary forces which drove the European exploration of the Pacific. The first, which applies from the 1500's into the time of Cook's voyages, was the European implementation of *terra nullius* in the Pacific. *Terra nullius* was an ancient Roman concept which held that lands without an 'organized political government' were essentially vacant, despite the presence of a human population. Of course whether they considered the land which was 'discovered' to have a form of 'government' similar to that of European states was a matter of interpretation on the part of the European explorer. Here we see the seeds for European imperialism being planted. According to Baugh, this first movement towards imperialism has a history dating back, at least, to the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494.[42] The second motivating force, which took root by the late seventeenth century, just as Dampier's fame was growing, was a "widespread public appreciation of the role and importance of seapower."[43] The third impetus to

[41] Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith, and Nicholas Thomas, eds. *Exploration & Exchange: A South Seas Anthology: 1680-1900,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), xvi.
[42] Baugh, 5.
[43] Ibid.

European exploration, which was seen most prominently from the second half of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century (during Cook's time), was the high value placed upon the field of science, yet, not only science in and of itself, but also the potential ascribed to science in promoting a knowledge of the world that could eventually lead to the dominance of one nation or people over another. Therefore, as the issue of global politics rose in importance, so too did the European Powers' interest in the potential of scientific exploration to elevate the stature of a nation and a people.[44]

European Pacific exploration often receives cursory attention in many histories of the 'Age of Discovery.' It mentions only Magellan and Drake, but then leaps forward to the time of Cook when motives for exploration supposedly shifted from desire for lucre to a desire for cartographic, geographic, and scientific knowledge. As a consequence, this survey approach to Pacific exploration leaves approximately two-hundred years of European exploration in the Pacific unannounced. [45] Love suggests one reason for the two-hundred year silence may be that most histories have generally believed the 'interim' period to have lacked the backing of European states and to have been carried on in an "unsystematic" nature by men of questionable character. Another answer may lie with the faultiness of "periodization" and the fact that the interim Pacific explorers do not seem to fit neatly within the 'Age of Discovery' or the 'Second Age of Discovery' which occurred during the Enlightenment.[46] Regardless of the perceived general silence of many histories of the interim period, Love points out that voyages continued in great numbers from several European powers after Magellan. These voyages, of which Dampier's are a primary example, "vastly expand[ed] geographic knowledge of the world either by accident or by design."[47] It is also important to emphasize that European exploration

[44] Baugh, 5.
[45] Love, 85.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid, 86.

of the Pacific was in fact a total European effort and not that of two or three persons, or one nation alone.[48]

The first European power to monopolize the Pacific was Spain. When Balboa saw the Pacific in 1513, he declared that the Ocean and its islands belonged to Spain exclusively. After the voyage of Magellan and his crew, Spain began to consolidate its power on both sides of the Pacific. Motivations for Spain's explorations ranged from the religious to the geographical and to what is likely the most accurate: the trade and commerce in both American and Asian natural resources and goods. Spain developed bases of operation at Manila in the Philippines, at Navidad and Acapulco in Mexico, and in South America at Payta and Callao in Peru. These locations were the bases of operation from which the Spanish sought to expand their exploration of the South Pacific.[49] "By 1542" Spain had "claimed, or controlled directly, the whole west coast of the Americas from Cape Mendocino in present day California to the Strait of Magellan."[50] Furthermore, during the sixteenth century Spain claimed to have the singular right of ownership and passage of the Pacific Ocean from the Philippines to the southern tip of South America at Cape Horn. In 1571 the Spanish established the famed Manila-to-Acapulco route to "trade in Chinese silks and porcelains for American silver." [51] The trade route would last for almost two-hundred years.[52] Finally, being burdened by the financing of its empire on the Continent and acknowledging the difficulty of preserving a monopoly on the Pacific, Spain's government decided on a general policy of "conservatism" in order to protect the cherished and vital transport of bullion from South America to Spain.[53] Since much of the silver from South America was being used to facilitate the trade between the Asian market and New Spain, the "Manila [route] appeared to be diverting the all-important silver flow away from the mother

[48] Love, 86
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., 89.
[51] Ibid., 91.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Baugh, 8.

country."[54] This reserved stance resulted in a weakening of Spain's Pacific monopoly in the seventeenth century and opened the door for other western European nations, such as the Dutch and the English to enter the 'Spanish Lake.'

The Dutch began to make their mark on the Pacific during the early seventeenth century, gaining ground in the Indonesian archipelago. The Dutch were also the first Europeans to show interest in Australia, or the Southland as it was then called. (Australia was a common destination for Dampier and Cook and often served as the setting for some of the two explorer's more interesting cultural encounters). By 1645 the Dutch decided not to pursue any further serious exploration of the Pacific. The same type of conservatism that aided the decline of the Spanish in the Pacific also motivated the Dutch to be content with their bases in India, Taiwan, and Japan. Hence, the Dutch eventually abandoned any serious exploration of Australia or of the South Seas. Economic and political strains in Holland and a desire to prevent any further discoveries in the Pacific that the French or the English could take advantage of persuaded the Dutch to be content with the spice trade in the East Indies.[55]

From the 1640's to the 1760's the general decline in European exploration of the Pacific is attributed to two dominant factors. First, England and France were engaged in tumultuous political battles at home throughout the seventeenth century. This fact combined with each nation's attention to empire building in North America served to weaken any serious attempts at Pacific exploration during this period. Other important factors that contributed to the letup of European Pacific exploration during this period were geographical and logistical obstacles. The immensity of the Pacific and the distance from Europe to the South Seas served to temporarily dim interests. Another key aspect was that prior to the 1760's sea explorers could not

[54] Baugh, 8.
[55] Ibid., 12.

consistently determine longitude, and this was a crucial element for navigators crossing the vast Pacific who needed to locate and relocate suitable islands for refreshing men and supplies.[56]

The English often tried to avoid Spanish islands and ports. Despite Spain and Holland's diminished interest in Pacific trade, the sheer vastness of the Pacific and England's domestic distractions made any opposition by Dutch and Spanish forces all the more difficult to deal with. This was a primary motivation for attempting to find a Northwest Passage into the Pacific, besides avoiding the very long and even more dangerous circumnavigation of Cape Horn. The Dutch also caused their fair share of hindrances for English Pacific exploration. Dampier himself experienced a cold and defensive posture from the Dutch at Timor in 1699 due to the Dutch War, and this while William III was head of both Holland and England.[57]

Since the English could not find legitimate and peaceable means for entering the commercial trade of the Pacific, "their navigational research [turned] to predatory rather than commercial purposes."[58] The tendency of English buccaneers to board Spanish ships and steal Pacific sea charts is one example of this. As English cartographical prowess in the Pacific increased, they were emboldened to tread on what was once considered Spain's dominion. Dampier's career occurred throughout this period and included conflicts with Spanish forces. Baugh points out that Dampier's buccaneering exemplifies the benefits which the English gained from such exploits. This type of 'commerce' was acknowledged in an account by an English privateer, Edward Cooke. Cooke's achievements included sacking Guayaquil (present day Ecuador) and a Spanish galleon travelling from Manila to Acapulco. Cooke said that these exploits were, "Principally intended to reap the Advantages of the South-Sea Trade."[59] However, England did not gain any serious benefit from the actions of the privateers or buccaneers during this period.

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[56] Baugh, 15.
[57] Ibid., 15-16.
[58] Ibid., 21.
[59] Ibid.

Until about 1759, despite several conflicts with Spain in the first half of the eighteenth century, the overall strategy of British diplomacy was to have congenial relations with Spain. However, when Spain sided with France in the Seven Years War, British policy towards the Spanish and, as a corollary, the Pacific, dramatically changed.[60]

1.8 Latter Eighteenth-Century Exploration

In the eighteenth century European interest in non-Europeans surged dramatically and became much more varied and detailed. There were two primary ways in which these assumptions came forth. The first was through the observations of what the explorers had written down in their journals and published for the reading public. The second was when Europeans, which sometimes included the explorers themselves, developed "Utopian theories" based on the accounts of the explorers.[61] One major source of utopian speculations stemmed from the observations of explorers in the Pacific. More specifically, these theories were aiming to find an applicable model for European society and to explain some of the unknown questions about the history of the world.[62]

The age of eighteenth-century Pacific exploration is surrounded by several scientific and geographical themes. Late eighteenth-century Pacific exploration had at its core a mission not only to discover new land, but also to discover links in the chain of life theory of which contemporary philosophy had become so enamored. J.C. Beaglehole, the longtime authority on James Cook, contended that the voyages of discovery were as concerned with making new advancements in discovering the origins of man as they were with finding the supposed Southern Continent.[63]

The student of the Cook voyages of discovery must understand the scientific and philosophical context within which the voyages occurred. Cook was one of a number of

[60] Baugh, 24-27.
[61] McCalman, 518.
[62] Ibid.
[63] J.C. Beaglehole, "Eighteenth Century Science and the Voyages of Discovery," ed. Tony Ballantyne, In *Science, Empire and the European Exploration of the Pacific* (Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 2004), 76-91.

eighteenth-century explorers who were canvassing the globe for the sake of scientific knowledge. For example, La Condamine travelled to Peru in 1735 and Maurpertuis went to Lapland in 1736 to "measure the arc of a meridian at different latitudes."[64] (The Paris Academy of Science sent these two scientists in order to clarify the eighteenth-century debate over the true shape of the globe. The debate emerged between advocates of Cassini's theory that the globe was more elongated and proponents of Newton's theory that the globe was flattened at the poles).[65] Further examples include: the travels of Vitus Bering to the Pacific Northwest in the early 1740's and the 'Dutch Physicians' natural history inquiries in the East Indies. All of these voyages were cast in the same mold as Cook's later voyages. Joseph Banks, the primary scientific observer on Cook's *Endeavor* voyage, referred to these earlier scientific journeys several times in his writings. [66]

There was a strong scientific competition between France and England in the 1760's. The French sent out a scientific expedition before the English sent Cook. In 1766 Bougainville left for the Pacific with an astronomer, Veron, and a naturalist, Commerson on board. In fact while Diderot and Voltaire were debating the finer points of political and social structure, Veron and Commerson were aiming for some pivotal discoveries of their own. The first and, likely for navigation, the most important, was "the problem of longitude." Ocean navigators had long been able to ascertain their latitude with relative certainty; however, accurate longitude was not possible until the late eighteenth century through the invention and implementation of the chronometer. Inaccurate longitude played havoc with ocean navigators, often a particular island would be reported at a certain latitude and longitude only for a ship to discover that the said island was nowhere to be found. This was especially hazardous in the vast Pacific. Reportedly,

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[64] Beaglehole, 76.
[65] Mary Terrall, "Representing the Earth's Shape: The Polemics Surrounding Maupertuis's Expedition to Lapland,"
Isis Vol. 83, No. 2 (Jun., 1992), pp. 218-237 Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of *The History of Science Society* Article Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/234505 (accessed June 14, 2011), 218-219.
[66] Beaglehole, 76.

Bougainville's voyage was the first "on which longitudes were consistently found by astronomical means."[67] Consistent longitudes are a major difference between the voyages of Cook and those of Dampier.

A transit of Venus was to occur in 1769 and an international scientific interest focused on the date of the transit. The next opportunity to see Venus cross the Sun would be in 1874. What might be seen as a link between the time of Cook and the time of Dampier was a proclamation made by Edmund Halley to the Royal Society in 1716, one year after Dampier's passing. Halley urged a large number of astronomers to disperse throughout the globe to observe the transit. The great scientific fervor surrounding this event casts light on the scientific fervor behind Cook's voyages. Not only does this give us a glimpse into the observational nature of Cook's time but also Dampier's, for Halley's proclamation was, chronologically speaking, much closer to Dampier's explorations.

La Condamine and Maurpertuis, by their observations, had solidified Newton's theory of the true shape of the globe: "the shape of the earth was finally set, as Newton had imagined, as a revolution ellipsoid flattened at its poles."[68] In 1769 an equally pressing matter among European scientists was to determine the distance of the Sun from the Earth. The method for this estimation of distance was the evaluation of the transit of Venus. The scientists ultimately hoped to extrapolate from this estimation and calculate the size of the Universe.[69] However, when a transit occurred in 1761 navigators and astronomers still could not accurately determine longitude. Yet, it remained necessary to determine longitude in order to calculate the distance to the Sun. For the 1769 transit there were about one-hundred-fifty observers in numerous locales around the globe from at least nine different European nations among which France held the highest number of participants. But, where was the ideal location to observe the

[67] Beaglehole, 77.
[68] Carlos de San Antonio Gómez, "The Shape of the Earth: Expedition to Measure a Degree of the Meridian Arc in the Viceroyalty of Peru: 1735-1744," *Revista de EGA*, (October 2007, 224-228), Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost (accessed June 14, 2011), 228.
[69] Beaglehole, 78.

transit? The English scientists were informed by Nevil Maskelyne. For forty-six years Maskelyne was Astronomer Royal at the Royal Observatory in London. Maskelyne presented the concept of calculating longitude by lunar distances to British sailors.[70] Maskelyne advised that a southern sight would best be situated in the South Pacific more or less surrounded by the Marqueses and Tonga. In 1767 HMS *Dolphin,* commanded by Samuel Wallis, became the first European ship to land at Tahiti. After its "discovery" Tahiti was deemed an ideal location to observe the transit. Tahiti's location was precisely determined, by longitude and latitude, and Cook along with Joseph Banks were sent by the British Admiralty to observe the transit.[71]

Interestingly, Cook and the accompanying scientists differed in their observations of the transit; as a result, a number of estimates cropped up among European scientists for the distance of the Earth to the Sun, the smallest estimate being 87,890,780 miles and the highest being 108,984,560 miles. Clearly, these calculations did not result in the exactness which the scientific community had hoped for.[72] Of course this lack of astronomical success did not rob the voyage of all its accomplishments. Joseph Banks collected approximately eight hundred specimens of "new plants," in addition to Solander's descriptions of animal life discovered on the voyage. [73]

But the transit of Venus of 1769 was not the only motivating factor for Cook's first voyage. A great debate on the supposed existence of a vast Southern Continent had been ongoing dating back to classical Greece. The idea, first proposed by Ptolemy, was that there must have been a large mass of land on the southern portion of the globe to counterbalance the globe as it rotated. This hypothesis is what Beaglehole referred to as "a classical architecture of geography."[74]

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[70] 2010. "Nevil Maskelyne." *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th Edition* 1. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed September 7, 2011).
[71] Beaglehole, 79.
[72] Ibid., 80.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid., 81.

Since the 1500's various seamen had claimed to sight the fabled land. Many eighteenth-century geographers and sailors still claimed the massive continent existed. The lure for such a continent was not only fodder for geographers to toss about but it was also a potential boon to the sea trade of the European nations crossing the Pacific. However, Cook's second voyage in the *Resolution* crushed the hopes of finding a large habitable southern continent.[75]

Finally, in the 1770's there was still an ongoing debate about the existence of a Northwest Passage connecting the North Pacific to the North Atlantic. This debate was also surrounded by a hydrographic debate on the true composition of the Arctic Ocean. Some Europeans believed that fresh water rivers existed in the Arctic. Furthermore, they contended that it was possible that navigable pathways might be found to sail straight from the North Atlantic across the pole and into the North Pacific via the Bering Strait. This theory would of course erase the geographic obstacle of the North American landmass and exponentially decrease sailing time. Nevertheless, Cook's third voyage (1776-1779), erased any hope of such a passage existing and the hope of a navigable passage through North America was laid to rest.[76]

The British Admiralty gave Cook other technological instructions as well. One such instruction, as recorded by Beaglehole, was given by the Commissioners of Longitude:

> to observe the variation of the compass and of the dipping needle, as studies in terrestrial magnetism, to observe the thermometer and barometer, and the saltness[sic] and temperature of the sea and the movement of the tides and to keep exhaustive records, as well, of course, as a miscellany of astronomical work and looking after the chronometers and the astronomical clock.[77]

[75] Beaglehole, 82.
[76] Ibid., 82-83.
[77] Ibid., 86.

So far the interests expounded have been primarily nautical, astronomical, or meteorological in nature. However, these scientific categories were accompanied by numerous other branches of eighteenth-century scientific study. Some of these categories included: “Mineralogy, Chemistry, Mechanics, and various branches of Natural Philosophy.”[78] This list is recorded in the journal of Captain Cook.

[78] Beaglehole, 86.

CHAPTER 2

WILLIAM DAMPIER

2.1 An English Observer in the Pacific

With the advent of the philosophical advancements of the seventeenth century there arose a new breed of explorers, men who not only sought to explore and 'conquer' the globe, but men who sought to understand it. When taking a panoramic look at the well known English explorers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a strong case can be made that William Dampier was the first English 'enlightened' explorer. Diana and Michael Preston summarize Dampier's position within English exploration history this way:

> Dampier was the only major [English] maritime explorer between Francis Drake and his fellow adventurers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and James Cook and his fellow naval expeditions in the mid-to late eighteenth century. [Dampier] uniquely bridged those two eras, fusing the piratical plundering and derring-do of the former with the scientific inquiry and meticulous chart and record keeping of the latter.[79]

William Dampier was the first Englishman to sail around the globe three times. Dampier was among the first Englishmen to see Australia; Captain Cook was among the first Englishman to see Australia's east coast. In fact it was Dampier's detailed and intricate maps that Cook would later utilize during his own voyages. However, the company that Dampier travelled with differed widely from that of James Cook. Much of Dampier's time at sea was spent within the company of pirates; in fact, an intriguing aspect of Dampier was that he maintained his intellectual and observational zeal even while carousing with 'the criminals of the sea.' English exploration of the Pacific before the middle part of the eighteenth century was largely focused on accessing

[79] Diana Preston and Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind: Explorer, Naturalist, and Buccaneer: The Life of William Dampier*, (New York: Walker & Company, 2004), 5-6.

the wealth of the Spanish empire.[80] "Until the mid-eighteenth century it was this motive, rather than any disinterested zeal for exploration, which sent English ships into the South Seas."[81] Since England's motivation for pre-1750 Pacific exploration was to exploit precious metals, it is likely that most explorers, who were often pirates, were focused on the accumulation of wealth and not intellectual observation. However, as Glyndwr Williams has shown, there were other pirate-explorers, besides Dampier, who exhibited their intellectual prowess in the writing of their journals while going about their 'business,' men such as Basil Ringrose and Lionel Wafer. Furthermore, Dampier was not exceptional in terms of a buccaneer keeping a journal, since Williams has also pointed out that "many…[buccaneers] managed to keep journals."[82] Nevertheless, Williams does contend that some of Dampier's writings reveal a greater interest in the study of society "than that of the general run of his buccaneer companions."[83]

While Dampier may not have been the only intellectually minded English pirate-explorer of his time, it is evident from his writings that he was devoted to observation and description. For example: While travelling in Southeast Asia, in present day Vietnam, Dampier walked many miles while fighting dysentery just to get a closer look at the land and its culture. This is remarkable because Dampier had just returned from travelling through the exact same territory by riverboat! Dampier was an indefatigable journeyman travelling "more than 200,000 miles in his lifetime."[84]

One primary influence on Dampier's contemporaries was that his and other buccaneer's journals increased the English appetite for travel literature. The popularity of which would last for the next century.[85] A corollary of the popularity of Dampier's published work, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 1697, was that it was included multiple times in "the vast folio collections of

[80] Williams, "The Inexhaustible Fountain of Gold," 27.
[81] Ibid., 28.
[82] Ibid., 31.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Preston, 324.
[85] Christopher Lloyd, *William Dampier,* (Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1966), 67.

voyages" that would greatly influence explorations in the latter part of the eighteenth century.[86] By then Dampier had already gained the reputation of a sage among previous Pacific explorers. However, Dampier's status did not merely proceed from his navigational prowess. His journals and publications were also referred to by literary giants including: Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and even Charles Darwin. Swift used Dampier's writings as material for *Gulliver's Travels*. Swift drew out strong anti-imperialism messages from Dampier's journal and used much of Dampier's journeys for the adventures of Gulliver, closely following Dampier's description of Australian aborigines.[87] During the *Beagle* voyage Darwin often gleaned insight from Dampier's observations.[88]

Eventually, Dampier was invited to speak before the Royal Society regarding the observations made during his voyages. Sir Hans Sloane, Secretary of the Royal Society, was also an acquaintance of Dampier's. Sloane used Dampier's journals for a collection in the British Museum.[89] Dampier's success from the published account of his first circumnavigation, *A New Voyage Round the World,* resulted in several other avenues of prominence. Nevertheless, Dampier's effect on contemporaries was not always 'beneficial.' He was asked to sit on a commission for the Council of Trade and to advise a Scottish plan to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, in Central America.[90] According to Christopher Lloyd, Dampier must receive part of the blame for the failing of this enterprise. Dampier had reported to the committee that five-hundred men could establish and maintain a colony on the Isthmus, but, apparently, Dampier failed to realize the vast difference between the physical endurance of buccaneers versus that of fresh colonists.[91] Lloyd goes on to add that much of the influence of the buccaneer's reports during this era was to have a largely negative impact in relation to hasty

[86] Lloyd, 67.
[87] Ibid., 70.
[88] Ibid., 5.
[89] Ibid., 69.
[90] Ibid., 68-69.
[91] Ibid., 68.

financial schemes created by European businessmen trying to capitalize on the sudden excitement over the South Seas.[92]

2.2 Dampier's Coming of Age in Late Seventeenth-Century England

William Dampier was born in 1651 in East Coker, Somerset County, in the west of England. Dampier's parents were tenant farmers for an English nobleman, Colonel William Helyar. Dampier received his educational grounding at a Latin grammar school and further schooling in writing and arithmetic. In early modern England "the position of tenants and laborers became increasingly vulnerable."[93] Mark Netzloff notes that "…more than half the population of small tenant farmers in England [lost the] security of land tenure and protection from eviction."[94] An escape from the seventeenth-century English countryside was provided after both of his parents died and William was "apprenticed to a shipmaster in Weymouth."[95] It was this opportunity to become a sailor that introduced Dampier to "…the liberating possibilities made available to England's laboring classes through travel and colonial migration."[96] By the age of twenty-two Dampier had sailed to Newfoundland and the East Indies and served in the Royal Navy during the Third Dutch War.

Dampier began to make his voyages as a new wave of philosophy was sweeping over the Western world. As the end of the seventeenth century approached, developments in European thinking had "transformed the character and purpose of the traditional aristocratic Grand Tour."[97] The Grand Tour had once exemplified a journey that would introduce young nobles to the polite customs and the 'romantic virtues' of European culture. It was these 'social assets' that young nobles would look to as a means to prepare themselves for societal success. However, after the scientific advancements of the seventeenth century and the influence of

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[92] Lloyd, 67.
[93] Mark Netzloff, *England's Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 12.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Preston, 23.
[96] Netzloff, 5.
[97] McCalman, 518.

particular elements of Enlightenment thinking, what was once considered social assets darkened in comparison with the acquisition of philosophical prowess gained through exposure to the centers of learning and by traveling farther abroad. That Dampier was on the cusp of a new age of enlightened exploration is evidenced in the fact that the eighteenth century witnessed more "accounts of newly discovered places and cultures" [98] than any other previous century. The eighteenth century also saw the budding of the idea that world travel was an integral part of true enlightened education, gathering world knowledge by experience instead of through "second-hand knowledge."[99] To this end Dampier was most intent; from his writings, it is apparent that he was supremely concerned with investigating and interpreting what he encountered. In the opening dedication of Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* (addressed to Charles Mountague, then president of the Royal Society) Dampier admitted that he was personally interested in exploring due to a, "hearty Zeal for the promoting of useful knowledge, and of anything that may never so remotely tend to my Countries advantage."[100]

2.3 Dampier and British Perceptions of the South Seas During the Seventeenth Century

Other factors influenced 'enlightened' explorers such as Dampier besides the desire to acquire knowledge. Dennis Reinhartz reveals that Dampier was part of a "group of English intellectual entrepreneurs"[101] that sought to influence British perceptions of and policy towards the South Seas during the late seventeenth century. Members in this group, led by Herman Moll, included Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Woodes Rogers, and William Dampier. Common themes among the men in this elite circle were cartography, literature, advancement of

[98] Dorrinda Outram, "Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Enlightenment," in *The Enlightenment World*, ed. Martin Fitzpatrick et al., (London: Routledge, 2004), 560.
[99] Ibid., 561.
[100] Sir Albert Gray, ed. *A New Voyage Round the World by William Dampier,* (N. Israel/Amsterdam/New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 1.
[101] Dennis Reinhartz, "Shared Vision: Herman Moll and his Circle and the Great South Sea," in *Science, Empire and the European Exploration of the Pacific* ed. Tony Ballantyne (Aldershot: Ashgate, Variorum, 2004) 44.

knowledge and economic gain.[102] The British saw the South Seas as a new market for commerce and trade, and the buccaneers were the vanguard of this vast region. "[P]iracy could show the way to the eventual British domination of the South Seas through further exploration and trade and colonization."[103] Dampier's significance for British policy is that he helped to shape perceptions of the South Pacific and its great potential for profit. How did this happen? Moll would take Dampier's already extensive journal writings and elaborate and expand on them.[104] Reinhartz summarizes the attitude of Moll, Dampier and the other men of 'the circle:' "[They] saw it as incumbent on themselves individually and collectively to stimulate and promote British interests in the South Sea and elsewhere toward the end of the common prosperity of their country and its people."[105]

2.4 The Journeys of William Dampier

William Dampier's circumnavigations consist of three periods of time: his first and longest series of 1679-1691, then 1703-1707, and finally 1708-1711. The first series of voyages occurred over a period of twelve years and had Dampier on board several different ships in order to complete his circumnavigation. Here we see one of the most obvious divergences between Cook's and Dampier's voyages. Cook completed his first and second circumnavigation on one ship. Additionally, Cook's first circumnavigation took only three years, 1768-1771.

In April 1674 Dampier sailed from England to Jamaica with a vague verbal agreement to work for his father's former landlord, Squire Helyar, on the squire's Jamaican plantation, *Bybrook*. At this time Jamaica was a key English foothold in the Caribbean. Dampier was under the impression that he was intended to be a type of 'accountant-reporter' as to the conditions of the plantation. However, it was very common at that time for men to be forcibly taken from the

[102] Reinhartz, 44.
[103] Ibid., 46.
[104] Ibid., 47.
[105] Ibid., 52.

streets of London onto ships heading to the colonies and then into compulsory servitude. Even though Helyar had agreed to let William work for a period of time, in exchange for Helyar's provisions, Dampier was almost indentured by two connivers at the harbor. However, he managed to escape this end through heated objection, the support of other passengers, and the eventual involvement of customs officials. In Dampier's desire to gain passage as a free man rather than as an indentured servant, he managed to convince the ship's captain, John Kent, to allow him to work his way as a seaman, which according to contemporary English law would require the captain to release Dampier as a free man when he arrived in Jamaica.[106] It is clear that young Dampier was unwilling to live out his days as a pawn to the baronial culture of the seventeenth-century English countryside or, as I will show next, the colonial caste system across the Atlantic.

Squire Helyar's godson, William Whaley, was the plantation manager at *Bybrook* and he had no intention of allowing Dampier to report anything back to Helyar. For several months the two men were at odds with each other because Whaley wanted to consign Dampier to the position of sugar boiler. Dampier temporarily agreed to the position and signed indentures. Yet, Dampier considered such a position an insult to his true potential and abandoned the plantation in January 1675, only six weeks after signing indentures. By July 1675, despite having little money, Dampier found his way onto a ship manned by a group of 'logwooders' who were heading to the Bay of Campeachy, located on the southern end of the Gulf of Mexico.[107] It seems that at the Bay of Campeachy Dampier began to record some of his first natural, meteorological, and cultural observations. Dampier carefully described the armadillo; he also wrote about alligators, spiders, snakes, and monkeys. He described the man-of-war birds and the booby. Dampier also began to describe the natives he encountered around the Bay of Campeachy. Dampier gave these natives a favorable description. He called them, "a very

[106] Preston, 21-24.
[107] Ibid., 28-32.

harmless sort of people; kind to any strangers; and even to the Spaniards, by whom they are so much kept under, that they are worse than slaves."[108] The event which likely caused Dampier to leave the Bay of Campeachy was also an event for which scientists later credit Dampier's description as the first of its kind. A hurricane landed on the coast of the bay in June 1676, and though Dampier barely escaped with his life, his detailed account of the incident was the, "first accurate description of this phenomenon."[109] The hurricane also served another purpose in the life of Dampier. It had decimated all of his profits in logwooding and destroyed his tools and equipment. Faced with the stark reality of his destitution and wanting more than anything to avoid indentured servitude, Dampier decided to join a group of "privateers," although, they were in fact buccaneers. Furthermore, Dampier wanted to explain in his book the nature of his decision to accompany these "privateers." He said that he had no other choice when considering his dismal financial state. He also tried to make a case that he was not a true pirate but merely along for the ride.[110] Albert Gray contends that Dampier "had little heart in the business"[111] of piracy, although he willingly participated. Furthermore, Gray points out that Dampier stopped his career of piracy eight years into his first circumnavigation; when Dampier could no longer stand the presence of his 'companions,' he took a canoe and left his shipmates in the Nicobar Islands.[112] After reading Dampier's own thoughts in his book, it does appear that over time he grew more regretful for his actions of piracy and for choosing the company of pirates. He claimed to "abhor" the other pirate's drunken binges.[113] Furthermore, it is quite noticeable that Dampier rarely mentions actual acts of piracy, especially his participation in those acts. He mostly spoke in brief general terms, and when he did write of any 'action' he called their predations "Business" or a similar descriptor.

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[108] Preston, 44.
[109] Ibid., 43.
[110] Ibid., 44.
[111] Gray, xxix.
[112] Ibid., xxvii.
[113] William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, ed. by Sir Albert Gray, (N.Israel/Amsterdam/New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 252.

According to Albert Gray, Dampier's first series of voyages was not intended at the outset to be a circumnavigation. In fact Dampier had not entertained the idea of circumnavigation until about half way around the globe. Yet, we should not be surprised at this fact, for Dampier had already demonstrated a keen longing for travel and exploration. This was not a voyage on a single ship but a combination of approximately twelve ships over a period of twelve years. At this time a continuous voyage round the world could have been completed in about two years.[114]

Dampier's original plan was to return to the Bay of Campeachy; however, for reasons not entirely known, he decided to stay in Jamaica for a time. During this stay in Jamaica Dampier was informed of a trade opportunity among the Moskito Indians of Central America, in present day Nicaragua. On the surface, it appears that this venture was to be another trade outlet for Dampier's fortune building; however, it seems that Dampier had more in mind than loading his coffers, for the area he was travelling to was a well-known location for pirates. In all likelihood Dampier expected to meet up with the infamous "traders" of the seventeenth-century Caribbean.[115] The Caribbean provided plentiful opportunities for English pirates to prey upon Spanish ships loaded with treasure travelling between Cartagena and Havana.[116]

From there Dampier went to the Isthmus of Panama and hiked with a group of pirates across the isthmus to the Pacific. Finally, Dampier found his way on board the *Bachelors Delight*, captained by John Cook. When the *Bachelors Delight* rounded Cape Horn it was driven far south by a storm, all the way to 60.3 S latitude reached on February 14, 1684. Dampier was very proud that this was the farthest south any recorded ship had yet to sail.[117] Interestingly enough, a similar comment would be repeated by Cook some ninety years later

[114] Gray, xiii.
[115] Preston, 52-53.
[116] Ibid., 25.
[117] Lloyd, 44.

when he crossed the Antarctic Circle for the first time.[118] After rounding the Cape, Dampier and the men of the *Bachelors Delight* made their way to Juan Fernandez Island. Dampier's journal includes a written account of finding a Moskito native and the exchange between the marooned Moskito and another Moskito Indian, Robin, who was on board Dampier's ship.[119]

Around 1685 Dampier left the *Bachelors Delight* to join Captain Swan on board the *Cygnet*. Dampier and Swan decided to cross the Pacific. Up until that time the only other English explorers to circumnavigate the globe were Drake and Cavendish. Dampier would also have liked to discover the west entrance to the 'Northwest Passage.' Dampier parted with Davis to join Swan because of his driving desire to experience new lands.[120] Swan and Dampier left the Mexican coast on March 31, 1686, with two ships, the *Cygnet* and a "barque under captain Teat."[121] Dampier and Swan had to convince a reluctant crew that they would have sufficient supplies to complete the voyage across the vast Pacific. Swan and Dampier told the crew that if the Spanish ships of the sixteenth century could survive the journey then their newer vessels could also make the voyage. The crew finally consented, and they arrived in Guam fifty-one days after leaving Mexico. They calculated 7,323 miles for their trek across the Pacific and upon their arrival in Guam had three days rations remaining, which consisted of a half-pint of maize a day.[122]

2.5 The Context of 'Race' and 'Civility' in Early Modern England

Before I evaluate Dampier's observations of Pacific natives, some background on the precursors for the modern understanding of 'race' and the early modern usages of 'civility' will be helpful. The concept of race-as we have it today-was not embedded in European vocabulary until the nineteenth century. However, as early as the sixteenth century a categorization

[118] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, vol. 2. ed., J.C. Beaglehole. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1961), 80.
[119] Lloyd, 48.
[120] Ibid., 53.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid., 54.

process began which was rooted in social class and eventually mingled with concepts of "race."[123] For example, late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century metropolitan England was often viewed as a different realm, both socially and "racially," from Wales, Cornwall, or Ireland. Mark Netzloff notes that this melding of the categorization of class and race stemmed from changes in Britain's economic system and the resulting vagrancy "problem" within England. As those of lower economic status could not find worthwhile employment and thus a "legitimate" place within the accepted English social protocol, the metropolitan English elite began to negatively categorize and eventually 'racialize' other sub-cultures like the Irish and Welsh.[124] These derogatory classifications resulted in disparaging discourses that, for example, referred to the Welsh as "Indians."[125] Michel Foucault notes that, "discourses of race emerged out of an early modern context of "social war," a process wherein the social struggle between classes was [eventually] reinscribed as a conflict between distinct 'races.'"[126]

The uses and definitions of the early modern terms 'civil' and 'civility' were multifaceted.[127] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Jennifer Richards notes, the "term 'civil' was synonymous with orderly and accommodating manners, but it could also be used to describe metropolitan, commercial, expansionist and self-consciously technological societies."[128] In the early modern period "the adjectives 'civil' and 'barbarous' did not have a fixed affiliation. They were as interchangeable then as now. Many European writers discovered incivility within their own nation, and civility [outside] its boundaries."[129]Hence, a seventeenth-century explorer like Dampier could in one moment refer to his English countrymen as 'civilized' and then in another call them 'uncivilized.' Likewise, he could in one sense refer to Pacific

[123] Mark Netzloff, *England's Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism*, (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 1-4.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 3.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Jennifer Richards, ed, *Early Modern Civil Discourses* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 15.
[128] Ibid., 1.
[129] Ibid., 8-9.

natives as ‘civil’ and others as ‘uncivil.’ Depending on the context of an explorer’s comments the term ‘civil’ or ‘civility’ might mean anything from polite manners to a commercially advanced and sophisticated metropolitan society.[130]

Richards also points out that “in the eighteenth century there emerged a new ‘social psychology’ which held that commercial exchange ‘evoked passions and refined them into manners.’ ”[131] This particular idea is likely reflected in one of Dampier’s usages of ‘civility’ when he said, “the more Trade, the more Civility.”[132] Furthermore, many of Dampier’s readers and potential investors were eagerly waiting for motivation and justification for including the South Pacific world into the English trading matrix.[133]

2.6 Dampier’s Observations of Pacific Natives

One of the places that Dampier and his shipmates spent significant time during their stay in the western Pacific was the island of Mindanao, which is located in the present day Philippines. Dampier made elaborate comments on the natives of Mindanao. Here Dampier describes the Mindanayans by their, “colour, strength, and stature”[134] and by their religion, “Mahometanism.”[135] Describing native cultures in terms of their physical appearance and religion was a common theme for Dampier. While not the only tribe on the island, Dampier asserts that the Mindanayans were the most powerful and numerous. Furthermore, he contended they were the most “civil” due to the fact that they engaged in trading with “other Nations” outside of the island itself.[136] Here we see that Dampier closely linked trade with ‘civility,’ as he also did in his description of the Malays he wrote about in a supplement to his first voyage:

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[130] Richards, 8-9.
[131] Ibid., 1.
[132] William Dampier, *Voyages and Discoveries*, ed., Clennell Wilkinson (N. Israel/Amsterdam/New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 45.
[133] Reinhartz, 43-52.
[134] William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 222.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.

> The more Trade, the more Civility; and on the contrary, the less Trade the more Barbarity and Inhumanity. For Trade has a strong Influence upon all People, who have found the sweet of it, bringing with it so many of the Conveniencies[sic] of Life as it does.[137]

Dampier's description of the physical characteristics of the Mindanayans reveals his Eurocentric mindset. Dampier was very detailed in his descriptions of their bodies, "small Limbs, Straight Bodies, and little Heads."[138] Dampier had both positive and negative words for their intellect, physical abilities, and work ethic: "They are indued with good natural Wits, are ingenious, nimble, and active, when they are minded; but generally very lazy and thievish, and will not work except forced by Hunger."[139] The next comment by Dampier is quite revealing of his perception of the majority of natives he has encountered: "This laziness is natural to most Indians; but these People's laziness seems rather to proceed not so much from their natural Inclinations, as from the Severity of their Prince of whom they stand in awe:"[140] Here we can see that the 'Protestant Work Ethic' had likely been instilled in Dampier's personal philosophy. Certainly, this shows an Anglicized interpretation as Dampier measured "Indian" society's work ethic based upon the work ethic of Europeans and, more specifically, to that of England's. Moreover, Dampier erred in making a vast generalization about "most Indians." It should be pointed out that Dampier tempered his indictment of the Mindanayan's "laziness" with an apparent justification: their products and goods were stolen from them by the governing authority, or 'Prince,' so they therefore lacked a true motivation for diligence. Furthermore, the fact that Dampier did attempt to justify the apparent "laziness" of the Mindanayans shows that he was not blindly looking for reasons to demean their culture, but rather he was trying to give a fairly balanced interpretation to the readers in England, however flawed it may have been.

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[137] Dampier, *Voyages and Discoveries*, 45.
[138] Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 223.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.

Dampier's account of the Mindanayans is not relegated to their physical appearance and work ethic however, he also commented on their hospitality and character:

> They are generally proud…They are civil enough to Strangers, and will easily be acquainted with them, and entertain them with great freedom; but they are implacable to their Enemies, and very revengeful if they are injured, frequently poisoning secretly those that have affronted them.[141]

This concept of 'civility' comes up often in Dampier's accounts. In another account he wrote about the natives on the Bashee Islands in Southeast Asia and made a clear distinction that there were island natives who were 'civil' and others who were not.[142] Often Dampier's pronouncement of the 'civility' of a certain people group was either based on their engagement in trade with outside nations or mannerisms and hospitality.

It does seem that Dampier believed that the relative 'civility' of the Mindanayans could improve with experience and education: "but these people have not the Art of managing this Trade [tobacco] to their best advantage, as the Spaniards have at Manila."[143] This is important for understanding Dampier's perception of the Mindanayans; for if Dampier believed that they could improve their trade capabilities, he also likely believed that their apparent 'civility' was the result of environment and preference rather than race. On a second point, Dampier would later comment that the Mindanayans were "very desirous"[144] of trade and that he would have liked to establish a settlement among them because such a settlement would benefit both Mindanayan and English interests. Moreover, it would provide a better way of life for himself as opposed to pirating. This reveals that Dampier recognized that he himself was not in the most admirable of social positions, and more importantly, that he saw trade as a way for both himself and the Mindanayans to improve the quality of their life.

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[141] Dampier, 223.
[142] Ibid., 307.
[143] Ibid., 228.
[144] Ibid., 238.

Another significant concept in Dampier's native interpretations is that of social class. While Dampier did not use this exact terminology, he did use the word, "Quality" as in "the Quality of these two Persons."[145] Here Dampier was commenting that he and the other Englishmen on the ship did not know about the high social status of Raja Laut during his first visit with the buccaneers in the bay near Mindanao. (Raja Laut was second-in-command of the Mindanayan kingdom, but the buccaneers referred to him as 'General'). Otherwise, Dampier said, they should have shot off the cannons when Raja Laut left the presence of the ship.[146] In the context of this comment Dampier is not speaking of moral character or physical appearance, but rather of social class. Dampier was open to ascribing high social status to people of other races. Hence, racial attributes alone were not the sole criteria that Dampier used to evaluate social status and the inherent value of natives.

Unlike Cook, Dampier makes no pronouncement regarding the perceived sexual morality or immorality of these natives. When Dampier commented that the "Mindanao Men have many Wives"[147] he left it at that without interjecting a moral verdict, as Cook did upon the Maori in New Zealand. Another example of Dampier's non-genetic epistemology is his reaction to Raja Laut. Dampier praised Laut's intelligence and took notice that Laut could speak and write in Spanish.[148] Furthermore, Dampier also seemed impressed that Laut had a wide knowledge regarding "the Customs of other Nations, and by Spanish Books has some Knowledge of Europe."[149] Here we see that Dampier is measuring Laut's 'intelligence' by his knowledge of the outside world and its customs, and not by Laut's assigned racial category. This particular episode also reveals that by the late seventeenth century even English buccaneers were appreciating the importance of globalization.

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[145] Dampier, 241.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid., 229.
[148] Ibid., 230.
[149] Ibid.

While globalization is a twenty-first-century term, it is interesting to note that in examining Dampier's journal he and the Englishmen accompanying him were not opposed to allowing cultural interchanges. After giving a description of Raja Laut's devout observance of Islamic traditions, Dampier revealed that he, Captain Swan, and the other Englishmen participated in an Islamic-Mindanayan ritual when Raja Laut's son was circumcised on *Ramadan*. Raja Laut asked Captain Swan and his men to participate in a type of pageant/parade during the ritual; their part was to march with the other Mindanayans participating in the parade, which they did. Following the 'parade' the Englishmen helped to launch some fireworks. Finally, the buccaneers ended the ritual by watching some Mindanayan women dance before them, the General, and the Sultan. Surprisingly, on another occasion some of the buccaneers that could dance English-style dances performed before Raja Laut, who seemed to thoroughly enjoy the performance.

To further break down Dampier's concept of 'civility' it would help to analyze a particular passage were Dampier described two events that took place relatively close to one another. The first was when he observed the Mindanayan manner of crime and punishment: A Mindanayan man had committed some offense and he was stripped naked and forced to remain in the sweltering sun all day long, tied to a post. Dampier summarized by writing, "I did never see any put to Death; but I believe they are barbarous enough in it."[150] Not very long after this event, Dampier described a meeting between Captain Swan and the Sultan in which Dampier referred to Captain Swan as "being dismiss'd from the Sultan, with abundance of Civility."[151] This particular excerpt provides a glimpse into a situation in which Dampier revealed at least one way that he perceived of 'barbarity' and 'civility.'

Raja Laut also made judgments about class; during the incident of the English dancers he noticed that one of the buccaneers was wearing an impressive suit and Laut assumed that

[150] Dampier, 243.
[151] Ibid.

the man, John Thacker, was of "noble Extraction."[152] After another Englishman told Laut that this was indeed the case, Laut began to give preferential treatment to all other Englishmen who had higher quality clothes. The fact of the matter was that John Thacker was not a noble at all and this really attracted the ire of Captain Swan who began to mistreat Thacker after the incident.

Dampier also revealed that the Englishmen took Mindanayan women as their romantic partners, called 'Pagallies,' and also other Mindanayan "Women-Servants, whom they hired of their Masters for Concubines."[153] Dampier himself did not disclose whether or not he had a Mindanayan female partner, but he implied that he did not. Dampier also did not make any moral pronouncements regarding the morality of the buccaneer's sexual relations with the Mindanayan women, whereas Cook did in his estimation of his crew's relations with the Maori women in New Zealand. Dampier observed that Raja Laut always took his wives, children, and possessions with him as he travelled around the island.[154] Obviously, this behavior of Laut caught Dampier's interest. Dampier's curiosity here is not surprising since Dampier left his newlywed bride, after only a few weeks of marriage, to travel the globe for twelve years.

Dampier makes some fascinating remarks about conversations that occurred between Raja Laut's wives and the English buccaneers regarding the customs of the English and "a thousand Questions" regarding English women. The Mindanayan women were quite curious about life in England and even had a dispute amongst themselves about whether it was appropriate for the King of England to have only one wife. Raja Laut's wives were shocked that the King of England had only one wife. Dampier also mentions that, through his and the other men's discussion with the General's wives, they became "acquainted with [Mindanayan] Customs and Privileges."[155] This episode is also intriguing in its revelation that the English

[152] Dampier, 246.
[153] Ibid., 248.
[154] Ibid., 249.
[155] Ibid., 250.

buccaneers were able to spend sufficient time with Raja Laut's wives to obtain such an exchange of cultural data. Raja Laut was not present during these discussions; however, he did have men from his personal guard who monitored his women and children while he was gone. This interchange caused a tremendous stir between the General's many wives; the disclosure of English monarchial customs caused the Mindanayan harem to re-evaluate their own position and function in Mindanayan society.

From Mindanao, Dampier and the sailors of the *Cygnet* travelled to Pulo Condore Island, off the coast of present day Cambodia. Here Dampier revealed the practice of the Pulo Condorese to offer their women to the sailors as a means to ensure peaceful relations between the islanders and foreigners. Dampier asserted that this practice was common around the East Indies and in Africa.[156] Again, Dampier recorded no moral judgment, as Cook did, regarding this custom.

At another nearby island, Pulo Ubi, Dampier encountered two foreign ships. One of the ships was from Champa. The other ship appears to have hailed from another locale. Dampier was quite fascinated and impressed with the crew from Champa: "They were of the Idolaters, Natives of Champa, and some of the briskest, most sociable, without Fearfulness or Shyness, and the most neat and dexterous about their Shipping, of any such I have met with in all my Travels."[157] As I mentioned there was a second boat with this ship from Champa. The only comments Dampier made about this ship and crew is that they "came from the River of Cambodia."[158] Dampier's lack of a description of the Cambodians here and his obvious engrossment with the sailors from "Champa" is interesting. Dampier exhibited much of the interpreting criteria that he used in evaluating natives of the Pacific and Southeast Asia. This incident partially reveals the value Dampier placed on various cultural attributes. In the case of

[156] Dampier, 268-269.
[157] Ibid., 272.
[158] Ibid.

the crew and ship from Champa, Dampier noted their practice of worship as a means to identify them as "Idolaters." Other key attributes utilized by Dampier included their work ethic, "brisk, neat and dexterous about their shipping" and their personality traits "most sociable, without Fearfulness or Shyness." These interpretations show that Dampier likely frowned upon fearful and shy people as well as inept and lazy people. Furthermore, much of the native's apparent 'value' was placed on their manner of working and how they related socially to the English.

Dampier gave a very insightful description of the natives on the Bashee Islands where he visited in 1687. Though he was not impressed by the apparent simplicity of their clothing, Dampier described the islanders this way: "they are in their Persons a very neat cleanly People, both Men and Women: And they are withal the quietest and civilest [sic] People that I did ever meet with. I could never perceive them to be angry with one another."[159] Once again, Dampier's interpretation of native society exposes much about his own social worldview, a few sentences after referring to the Bashee natives as 'civil' he would declare them to be among the "wild Nations."[160] Dampier possessed a separate 'compartment of categorization' based on the social mannerisms and personality traits of these natives. His pronouncement that they were "wild," it seems, was based on island infrastructure and not on social behaviors or personality traits. In fact Dampier called these natives the most 'civil' people he had ever met. Therefore, Dampier's positive impression of Pacific natives was often based more on individual personality traits and group social behaviors than on a society's apparent wealth and infrastructure.

[159] Dampier, 293.
[160] Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

JAMES COOK

3.1 Cook's Background

James Cook was born in 1728 in the small Yorkshire village of Great Ayton. According to Cook's baptismal registry his father was recorded as a "day labourer."[161] Later, Cook's father became an "overseer" on an estate in Great Ayton. Cook was raised in the Cleveland district of the North Riding region of Yorkshire. This particular region of Yorkshire was highly agricultural. Cleveland is surrounded by the North Sea on its eastern border, the River Tees on the north, and the foothills of the Pennines to the west. The topography surrounding Cleveland resulted in problematic overland travel in and out of the area. Cleveland had a strong presence of Scandinavian descendants during Cook's day. Nicolas Thomas notes that the Scandinavian heritage and isolated geographical nature of Cleveland "strengthened the self-contained character" of this part of England.[162]

Cook's pre-navy education consisted of primary classes, from the age of eight to twelve, at the Postgate School in Great Ayton. His classes there consisted of learning to "read and write with facility and…some basic mathematical knowledge, which he later built on to good effect in the merchant and Royal Navy."[163] In 1746 at the age of seventeen Cook was apprenticed to a ship-owner, John Walker, in the Cleveland coastal town of Whitby. During the eighteenth century Whitby was increasingly used as a multi-purpose seaport and shipbuilding center, "providing a fleet and other maritime skills to meet the needs of national industries,

[161] Gascoigne, 5.
[162] Ibid., 3.
[163] Ibid., 11.

whether coal, whaling or the transportation of soldiers and convicts."[164] It was the opportunity to apprentice at Whitby that shifted Cook from the agricultural focus of Great Ayton to the seafaring world of the North Sea.[165] Cook remained an apprentice for three years. He would have received practical hands-on training in seamanship and, during the winter season when the North Sea was often stormy, academic instruction in the art of ocean navigation.[166] After the apprenticeship Cook lived with the Walkers for six more years during his stays between voyages on the North Sea.

Walker was a Quaker, and during the middle part of the eighteenth century it was customary for an apprentice like Cook to be bound by the rules of the Walker business and the Walker home. Part of Walkers contract with Cook included the admonition of avoiding "dice, cards or bowls, not to haunt taverns or playhouses, not to commit fornication, and not to contract matrimony."[167] These would have been formative years for Cook's moral outlook and it is interesting to consider how Walker's Quakerism could have affected Cook's moral stance on the Maori-English interactions. The influence that Walker had on Cook is evidenced by the fact that Cook sent intricate reports of his latter ocean journeys back to Walker.[168] According to John Gascoigne it was under the tutelage of Walker that Cook "acquired his grounding as a seaman and much of the personal discipline that made him an effective leader of men."[169]

After sailing on trade ships in the North Sea for about eleven years Cook was offered command of one of Walker's vessels, the *Friendship*.[170] Instead of beginning a career as a merchant captain Cook opted to join the Royal Navy in 1755 when, at the age of twenty-seven, Cook enlisted as a seaman. Beaglehole points out the curiosity of Cook's decision to join the

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[164] Gascoigne, 15.
[165] Ibid., 14.
[166] Ibid., 17.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.
[170] J.C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974), 14.

Royal Navy as a seaman rather than take command of a merchant vessel.[171] Mid-eighteenth-century British navy ships were not the most hospitable places to be, to say the least. Death from disease was quite common and a significant number of seamen were forced onto British navy ships by press gangs. Furthermore, the prospect of rising up the chain of command from seaman to an officer was not common. In contrast to Royal Navy ships merchant ships had better conditions on board.[172]

Within a month of enlisting as a seaman Cook was promoted to master's mate. Cook was involved in several skirmishes with French ships and was given command of smaller vessels on various occasions, as he had earned the admiration of the captain. Within two years of enlisting Cook was promoted to the rank of master. During Cook's time master was a highly esteemed position and, though an enlisted man, Cook would have been given the vital and diverse responsibilities of "navigation…management…pilotage and harbour-work."[173] Promotion to master was attained by "warrant from the Navy Board" rather than by a "commission from the Admiralty" as in the case of an officer.[174] According to Beaglehole masters sometimes had nominal "formal education" and gained their expertise through "experience and…ability."[175] Furthermore, a master occupied an "inferior social position" to that of the officers of the day.[176] Nevertheless, masters were held in high regard by commissioned officers.

From late 1757 until 1768 Cook served in North America. He saw some naval action during the Seven Years War in and around Quebec. Here Cook's reputation as a surveyor grew and he developed navigational charts of Newfoundland that were published by Mount and

[171] Beaglehole, 15.
[172] Ibid., 17.
[173] Ibid., 26.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.

Page, the foremost London maritime publisher of the time.[177] As Cook's cartographical prowess increased so did his reputation. According to Nicolas Thomas, Cook's hydrographic work in Newfoundland was pivotal both in his own career and in solidifying Britain's knowledge of this region of Canada. Cook's cartographical expertise provided him with "deserved recognition in naval circles" and supplied much of the impetus for being chosen as the commander of the *Endeavor* voyage.[178] Cook was commissioned as a 1st Lieutenant only three months before leaving on the *Endeavor* voyage in August of 1768.[179]

Since the emphasis of my research is on Cook's interpretation of natives it is worthwhile to note that while in North America Cook did mention contacts with natives, yet, he did not "analyze" these meetings.[180] Of course, as a master Cook was not expected or trained to comment on ethnological details. At that stage of his career cartography and not ethnography was his focus, for, he "had spent the better part of his thirties engaged in exercises in measurement and applied geometry."[181] Before Cook's *Endeavor* voyage, any advanced learning he was exposed to was in the realms of mathematics, cartography, and navigation. Nevertheless, it was Cook's success in cartography and navigation that would eventually introduce him into the more subjective realm of eighteenth-century ethnography.

3.2 Philosophical Background to Cook's Voyages

From 1768 to 1778 Captain James Cook sailed much of the known and unknown world. His journeys comprised three separate voyages of discovery and exploration. These expeditions took place during the height of the Enlightenment; consequently, the observational vein of Enlightenment thought is reflected in the purposes of Cook's three historical voyages. While the perennial motives of power, wealth, and prestige were influential, Cook's journeys had a focus beyond national supremacy and world domination. This is apparent by the scientists

[177] Thomas, 4.
[178] Ibid., 8.
[179] Beaglehole, 134.
[180] Thomas, 6.
[181] Ibid., 8.

and artists who joined Cook on the ocean voyages, although, the sciences and arts can be used as instruments of control; in fact, "much post-colonial critique…postulates that the British exploration of the South Pacific was a deliberately conceived and executed imperial gambit."[182] 'Officially' the scientists and other intellectuals on board were assigned these positions to increase and promote knowledge of the world. However, many Enlightenment thinkers did not merely seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge alone, but for how that knowledge might improve society. This is a major difference between the 'Age of Discovery' during the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries and the scientific aims of discovery during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

For an adequate understanding of Cook's voyages it is crucial to understand the correlation between the scientific advancements of roughly the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century and 'the Enlightenment.' This understanding sheds light on the scientific pursuits of those natural philosophers on board Cook's vessels. John Henry points out that when eighteenth-century thinkers looked back at the accomplishments of the scientists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were-so far- not as concerned with the actual discoveries themselves as with the principles of scientific inquiry and the potential of those principles for, when applied to other realms of society, improving the social and political ills of eighteenth-century Europe.[183] With this in mind the seemingly mundane observations of the scientists on Cook's ships begin to rise to a grander scale. It was not only the minutia of information related to botany, for example, that was the crucial part of these voyages, instead, it was the possibility for such investigations to give clues for the improvement of eighteenth-century life.

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[182] Jonathan Lamb, Vanessa Smith, and Nicholas Thomas, eds., *Exploration & Exchange: A South Seas Anthology: 1680-1900,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), xvi.
[183] John Henry, "Science and the Coming of Enlightenment," in *The Enlightenment World*, ed. Martin Fitzpatrick et al (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2004), 10-25.

Henry contends that much of the historical literature conjoins the 'Scientific Revolution' with 'the Enlightenment' as the 'long eighteenth century' and that this historical rendering clouds the significance of the contribution of the scientific advancements of the seventeenth century and the significance of the increased acceptance of enlightened thought in the West during the eighteenth century.[184] Henry summarizes this point by stating that, "…the Scientific Revolution pointed the way to progress, and the new methodology of science became a major factor in the development of Enlightenment optimism."[185] Hence, it was held by some Enlightenment thinkers that "knowledge of the natural world, what we would call 'scientific knowledge,' should be seen as paradigmatic of all knowledge claims, and, if correctly pursued, would lead to the irresistible progress of mankind."[186] This "progress," it was hoped, would be attained in the "social and political" spheres of eighteenth-century Europe by the application of the scientific methods developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[187]

3.3 Cook's Scientific Journal Writings

As the captain of the ship Cook was primarily bound to matters of navigation, therefore, he did not spend the same amount of time giving evaluations of what was encountered as the German scientists, Johann and George Forster. The Forsters were the two primary scientists that accompanied Cook on his second voyage. Both men wrote an account of the voyage and their respective findings, however, history has remembered the son, George, more favorably than the father; although, Johann Forster still had an admirable reputation among European scholars of the day. Yet, after the voyage Johann had a falling out with the British Admiralty that negatively affected the remainder of his career and reputation.[188] According to M.E. Hoare "The

[184]Henry, 10.
[185] Ibid., 11.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid., 25.
[188] M. E. Hoare, "Johann Reinhold Forster: The Neglected 'Philosopher' of Cook's Second Voyage (1772-1775)"
The Journal of Pacific History, Vol. 2, (1967), pp. 215-224 Published by: Taylor & Francis, Ltd. Article Stable URL: http://libproxy.uta.edu:2055/stable/25167919 (accessed July 1, 2011), 215-217.

amount of material brought back by the Forsters certainly warranted some considerable publications on zoology, botany, ethnology and geography."[189]

Now Cook was not a philosopher by trade, as the Forsters, yet he did at times break away from the nautical entries and branch out into discussions about the nature of his voyages with comments on the composition of the Antarctic, New Zealand's geology and zoology, and meteorology. The potential significance of Cook's extended journal entries is abundant**.** First**,** by looking at Cook from a different perspective we can see him separate from his traditional image as seaman**.** This gives a more complete picture of Cook as an eighteenth-century thinker. Second, we can see an example of how enlightened ideas affected a member of the professional class who was not, by definition, a philosopher.

Before the first voyage[190] Cook remarked on ship and men and then turned his attention briefly to the various intellectuals who would accompany him on the voyage: Joseph Banks and Solander, who as Cook stated would, "prosecute their discoveries in Natural History and Botany and other usefull knowlidge [sic]."[191] Here we get a small yet insightful glimpse into Cook's own thoughts on the purposes of the scientific study to be pursued during the first voyage. Namely, that this scientific research was "usefull" for the betterment of society. Here Cook revealed one of the core beliefs of Enlightenment thought: that philosophy and criticism should not exist for their own sake but for the advancement of society. Peter Gay notes that this 'advancement' meant, "…improving, and, if necessary, even inventing, sciences of man. [Enlightenment thinkers'] work in psychology, sociology, political economy, had this practical aim: these were disciplines that, once mastered, would help to make humanity freer, richer, [and] more civilized than before."[192]

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[189] Hoare, 216.
[190] My study of Cook focuses primarily on his second voyage, with brief references to the first voyage.
[191] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, vol.2, ed. J. C. Beaglehole (Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1961), 4.
[192] Peter Gay, "The Making of the Enlightenment Mind," in *The Enlightenment: A Comprehensive Anthology,* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 19.

In reading Cook's comments on the preparations for the second voyage there is no sense of Cook seeing his voyage as an epic undertaking, he did not romanticize the long journey ahead. Rather, Cook focused his journal introduction on a discussion of who would be coming on the voyage, meaning, of course, those who had 'status' in society. Cook, as most sea captains likely did, focused on the practical aspects of his journey: the weight of the ship, how many men it would carry, and the number of guns on board. He did likewise for his companion ship the *Adventure* piloted by Captain Tobias Furneaux (Cook insisted, after the *Endeavor* was damaged on the first voyage, that a companion ship accompany him on the second voyage). Cook did spend a significant amount of ink giving a detailed list of the type of food taken on board and gave special attention to the foods that were believed to combat scurvy. It is evident from Cook's entry that he was well acquainted with contemporary literature on the prevention of scurvy.

In examining Cook's remarks before embarkation it becomes clear that he was a man very much engaged in his work. He did not give any comment about the context of his voyage within English society, nor of its relevance to the contemporary scientific community. Why did Cook withhold remarks regarding the scientific value of the voyage? His focus was primarily on the practical means by which he would care for his ship and his men and take them safely back to England. It is likely that Cook did not have extra time to digress into philosophical conjecture. He seemed to have sufficient time to remark on the pertinent aspects of the ship's preparations and on the men who would accompany him. Could he not have spent a few minutes showing the importance of the voyage that lay before him and its significance for the Western world? Perhaps this reveals something about the worldview of Cook. He was a sea captain and his trade was not words but the sea and the ship he commanded.

3.4 Cook's Scientific Writings and their Significance for Eighteenth-Century Science and Enlightenment

Before evaluating Cook's ethnographic writings, I will give a summary of some of Cook's scientific observations. This will give an adequate perspective of Cook's other interests at sea and thereby enable us to better understand how Cook reasoned about and interpreted what he encountered.

On January 17, 1773, during Cook's second voyage, the *Resolution* crossed the Antarctic Circle at 66 degrees and 30 minutes southern latitude. Cook's log contains the same type of nautical writing expressed on other more routine days, except one sentence exclaiming, "…and [we] are undoubtedly the first and only Ship that ever cross'd that line."[193] The air in which Cook pronounced this fact shows his sense of accomplishment. The statement also reveals the fact that Cook was well acquainted with all previously recorded European voyages of exploration in the South Seas. (It should be mentioned that Cook's 'accomplishment' was only the first known crossing of the Antarctic Circle, there could have been a whaler or trade ship that, either forced by storms or by purpose, could have crossed the line; as in the case of the much more important whaler and seal hunter discoveries in the Arctic before the appearance of "official" explorers). However, his lack of elaboration on such a momentous feat raises the question of Cook's perspective on this day. At the same time the absence of commentary could very well have been practical, navigating the icy waters of the Antarctic would have left Cook little time to digress.

In examining Cook's journal entry taken on January 29-30, 1774[194] it is evident that his mind was engaged in describing the day's events. On this day the *Resolution* attained the farthest southern latitude of any other known ship at the time, 71 degrees and 10 minutes. Here the crew of the *Resolution* encountered a large field of pack ice as far as the eye could see.

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[193] Cook, 80.

[194] This is one year after the first crossing of the Antarctic Circle. Cook would travel to the tropics during the winter months and return to the south during the following summer.

Cook hypothesized that this stretch of ice likely extended to the South Pole. Cook determined that it was highly unwise to attempt to go any further south. Finally, the famous navigator revealed his personal aspiration and intention. He stated that he desired to "go farther than anyone had done before, as far as it was possible for man to go."[195] Even more revealing is when Cook admitted that it was "Ambition" that led him to this endeavor. He also made sure any subsequent questioning of his decision to turn around would be null and void.

James Cook may not fit neatly into the category of a scientist or a philosopher but his primary stations in life as navigator and cartographer were certainly sources of core knowledge during the eighteenth century, especially for new information about the world. While he may not have spent exorbitant amounts of ink on philosophical conjecture, he did contribute to the knowledge of the eighteenth century in a dramatic way. This helps to remind us that philosophers and scientists were not the sole sources of knowledge and insight during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

This being said, Cook did exhibit qualities that revealed an interest in scientific study. He apparently enjoyed discussing these scientific matters with the scientists on board his ships. After all this only seems natural, with so many months and years on the open sea confined to small quarters such exchanges were quite likely and unavoidable. Cook actually matched wits with Johann Forster on the *Resolution* while off the shore of the Cape of Good Hope in October of 1772. The ship was off the coast at night when they observed the phenomenon of phosphorescence on the surface of the water. Cook discussed this occurrence with Forster telling him that Dr. Solander and Dr. Banks, on the *Endeavor* journey, believed the mysterious glow to be caused by "sea Insects."[196] Forster communicated to Cook that he was not convinced of this hypothesis. In enlightened spirit the seemingly non-scientific sea captain offered his travelling scientist the chance to prove his doubts. He ordered some of the men to

[195] Cook, 323.
[196] Ibid., 48.

lower buckets into the water and have the contents brought up for inspection. It was noted by Cook that the ocean water was full of "an enumerable quantity of small globular Insects,"[197] Upon further examination Forster acquiesced to Bank's and Solander's hypothesis. Hence, Cook played the role of intermediary between these famous scientists.

During the eighteenth century there was a sense of 'unity in purpose' among enlightened scientists. When the *Resolution* docked at Cape Town Cook was impelled by Forster to allow the Swedish scientist, Anders Sparrman, to join them on the voyage. Here we see that Cook was willing to work with Forster and allow him this new companion. It does seem that Forster had to spend some time convincing Cook. Cook noted in his journal that Forster, "strongly importuned me to take [Sparrman] onboard"[198] he remarked further, "I at last consented." [199] Cook also mentioned that Forster covered the expenses for Sparrman. This episode shows how enlightened scientists from different regions collaborated and saw the value of harnessing the collective knowledge of the scientific community.

Another interesting aspect of Cook's voyages is discerning the difference between the mindset of Cook and the scientists on his ship. At times what appeared to Cook as an ordinary event is interpreted by the accompanying scientists and other "gentleman" as an ordeal. In January 1773 while in the Antarctic Cook's men gathered chunks of ice for the purpose of extracting water from the icebergs. Some men commented on the difficulty of getting the ice and Sparrman and Forster both commented on the reaction some men had with the drinking of the cold water (swelling in the throat). However, Cook made no such comments in his journal.[200] Whether this is a result of Cook not having the time or the interest is difficult to determine.

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[197] Cook, 48.
[198] Ibid., 51.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid., 74-75.

A few days after extracting water from the sea ice Cook begins to question the freezing point of the Antarctic waters. The Resolution sent down a thermometer 100 fathoms. They found that the temperature of the water was 32 degrees and that it rose to 36 after exposure to the air. Cook then began to ask at what point the sea freezes and what happens to the salt after the water becomes ice, because, as Cook noted, "all the Ice we meet with yields Water perfectly sweet and fresh."[201] Two years later in February of 1775 Cook gave a much more detailed answer to his curiosity about the nature of the Antarctic Ocean.[202] It seems these two extra years of exposure to the scientists on board had increased Cook's propensity to evaluate things scientifically. Cook hypothesized that as you proceed closer to the pole the Antarctic waters become more and more frozen with ice. He thought that this happened because of less wind and an increase of snow fall, comparing this to similar occurrences in the Baltic, the St. Lawrence Seaway, and the Straits of Belle Isle. Furthermore, Cook believed that it may not have been the sea water itself that freezes but as the ocean is calm snow will fall and freeze on the top layer and form a sheet of ice on which more snowfall in winter will increase the coverage of ice.[203]

After this speculation Cook began to elaborate much more on the nature of the Antarctic. Here the aforementioned philosophical silence of Cook began to disappear. Now Cook entered into more digressions about the potential and the value of the Antarctic. Again, it is plausible that several years at sea with a variety of intellectuals had stirred within Cook a greater interest for scientific observation and reflection. This is potentially evidenced by the fact that Cook's philosophical entries increased in size as time passed.[204] He described the Antarctic as, "Lands doomed by nature to everlasting frigidness and never once to feel the warmth of the Sun's rays, whose horrible and savage aspect I have no words to describe; such are the lands

[201] Cook, 77.
[202] Ibid., 645-646.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid., 74-77 & 645-646.

we have discovered."[205] Cook continued by saying that the lands further to the south were likely much "worse" and invited someone else to take up that expedition. In Cook's estimation any further exploration to the south of his own voyages would not be productive for posterity.

Cook also showed an interest in geology and naturalism. A few days after Cook's initial meeting with the Maori in New Zealand he decided to take Mr. Hodges, the ship's artist, to a waterfall. Cook made an attempt at describing the falls but admitted that Mr. Hodges painting would be the best representation of the sight. In Cook's description of the falls the geological interests of Cook came forth. He declared that of the numerous stones at the base of the falls, "none…appeared to contain either Minerals or Mitals[sic], nevertheless I brought away specimans[sic] of every sort as the whole country, that is the rocky part of it, seems to be made up of these sort of stones and no other."[206] Perhaps Cook had obtained an interest in geological pursuits from the Forsters or Banks, or he took the time to describe and transport these rocks for the benefit of future colonies in this region of New Zealand. With oceanic commerce and trade being a major concern of the British Empire in the late eighteenth century certainly such matters were on Cook's mind. Moreover, the instructions given to Cook by the Admiralty advised him to seek the benefits of trade and commerce for the Empire.

There was still a part of Cook's actions that revealed a desire for adventure and discovery. He seemed to enjoy these types of day excursions, and even though he was not the principal expert on any of the scientific excursions he still played a vital role as the administrator of them. A surprising, and likely little known, activity of Cook was his function in wildlife management. Towards the end of April 1773 Cook purposely decided to leave five geese (Cook acquired these geese as the Cape of Good Hope) at a place called Goose Cove on the south island. Cook reckoned that there were not natives nearby who would hunt the geese and he speculated that the new feathered colonists would quickly increase their numbers. Most

[205] Cook, 646.
[206] Ibid., 119.

likely Cook was leaving these geese so that future British colonists could have a ready supply of game. Cook showed himself to be acquainted with the works of Thomas Pennant, a contemporary British Zoologist, when a member of his excursion shot a White Heron. Cook recorded that the bird closely resembled the description made by Pennant in his *British Zoology (1766)*.[207] Beaglehole believes that this book was likely taken on the ship by the Forster's or Anderson, revealing a tendency of Cook to browse among the libraries of his travelling scientists. In the same vein of work, this time botanical in nature, Cook decided to plant several seeds on the banks of a cove where he and his men had previously had a campfire. Cook questioned the likelihood of the plants survival but admitted it was the best location available.

In both of the preceding examples of Cook's attempts to influence the future natural environment, we see a vision of James Cook not held in popular imagination. Once again Cook's actions reveal his broad enlightened interests and his desire to profit future expeditions and colonies. These instances point to a sea captain who was responsible for more than navigation and cartography alone. Furthermore, the vision of Cook as an 'inquisitive navigator' with a variety of intellectual interests helps to better position Cook within his time and to give a more accurate picture of the age in which he lived. It is conceivable that if Cook was not so confined to the responsibilities of navigator he would have spent more time discussing the natives, the wildlife, and the plant life he encountered.

After leaving Dusky Sound Cook wrote a general description of the land and its contents. Of course Cook's attention to detail also had negative consequences. Cook revealed the numerous seals that lived in and around the southern island, mentioning their usefulness for the ship and for the men as food. Less than twenty years later British incursions into Dusky Sound, New Zealand began from Sydney. By 1830 the seal population was decimated from the

[207] Cook, 126-127.

southern coast and islands.[208] Unfortunately, Cook's attention to wildlife had yet to contain a conservationist element. Besides the remarks about the seals Cook went into great detail about various birds that inhabit Dusky Sound. Cook also gave a detailed recipe for making beer from the leaves of the spruce tree. A few days later the Resolution encountered "Water Spouts." Cook seems fascinated by this phenomenon (Cook actually wanted to fire a cannonball into the spout, for he had heard reports that this could disrupt the spout) and writes skillfully regarding the nature of these spouts. Again, Cook revealed his enlightened reading habits in that he referenced William Falconer's *A New and Universal Dictionary of the Marine (1769).*[209] This reference again confirms Cook's desire to be informed and up to date regarding the knowledge of his day.

3.5 Cook's Observations of Pacific Natives

After the first foray into the Antarctic Cook directed the Resolution toward the south island of New Zealand at which they arrived on March 25, 1773. The Resolution and her crew stayed in New Zealand until early May. During their stay they spent much of their time close to the vicinity of Dusky Sound on the south island. In examining the record of Cook's actions during his time on New Zealand it is evident that Cook exhibited many other qualities besides that of navigator. Granted, matters of navigation were often on his mind and seen in his actions, nevertheless, Cook had many other hats that he could wear. One such incident revealed Cook in the role of a cultural mediator. George Forster gave a vivid account of the meeting between Cook and a Maori man. The Maori was at first extremely wary of Cook and showed visible signs of being afraid. George Forster wrote, "Cook coming up to him, took hold of his hand, and embraced him, touching the man's nose with his own, which is their mode of salutation."[210] This image of Cook as a warm-hearted friend to the Maori seems contrary to his

[208] Cook, 135.
[209] Ibid., 142.
[210] Ibid., 116.

station of dignified ship captain. Certainly, Cook realized the importance of needing the help of the native population and was willing to do what was necessary to win their favor; however, one can't help but see the sincerity in the gestures of the famous navigator. This event also showed that Cook was advancing in his knowledge of the Maori and was cognizant of some of their social customs.

About two weeks later a similar encounter occurred between Cook and a different group of natives. Cook, the two Forsters, Hodges, and Lieutenant Cooper went on an excursion to explore the bay they were in. After spending the night on the shore of the bay they saw some natives standing on the other side of the shore. Cook rowed the boat toward them and due to the depth of the water he had to wade out to the natives. Cook approached with two men and the natives moved back. Then Cook decided to proceed alone. As he did the natives moved closer to him but motioned with their hands for Cook's men to stay back. Beaglehole believed that this was likely the same event referred to by Elliot in his Memoirs; in his entry Elliot described Cook as, "uncommonly Cool, Humane, and Patient."[211] Moreover, Elliot described the manner in which Cook dealt with other situations such as these. According to Elliot, Cook would have several trinkets with him such as hatchets, knives, and beads. He would then proceed closer to the natives in slow measure tossing the items to the Maori. Eventually, the natives approached Cook, convinced of his good intentions and character. One of these particular Maori laid down his spear, as both were armed, and picked up a plant of some type and handed Cook the opposite end. The Maori man then proceeded to recite some kind of oath and during long pauses Cook would interject his own proclamation. Cook did not understand a word the man said and did not record in his journal what he said to the Maori, but Cook's sincere participation in the ceremony gained the trust of the Maori. After this ritual the Maori man placed his cloak on the back of Cook and the other natives came out to greet Cook's

[211] Cook, 124.

men.[212] One interpretation of this event is to see Cook's role as an intermediary between cultures; although, Cook was no exception here, since early-modern times many European explorers were forced into similar roles. Nevertheless, on this second voyage Cook displayed ample social skills and a willingness to interact with people of other cultures on their own terms. Once again we see that although Cook was a lifetime navigator and man of the sea he possessed other abilities that made many more contributions to the voyages besides navigation and cartography alone.

Upon leaving New Zealand Cook recorded some revealing thoughts about his perception of the Maori in the vicinity. He commented on their small numbers and their isolation into family groups. Cook questioned this isolationism, hypothesizing that it was due to this particular tribe of Maori having conflicts with other Maori clans, otherwise, "why do they not form themselves into some society a thing not only natural to Man, but is even observed by the brute creation."[213] Here Cook's ethnocentrism becomes evident; these Maori were in a society, just not the kind of society that Cook envisioned. Here we are reminded that while Cook tried to maintain amicable relations with the natives there remained the ever present European tendency to orchestrate a civilization different from their own. Furthermore, some eighteenth-century westerners were engaged in a debate about the nature of society and government. Therefore, it is likely that these debates were on Cook's mind, especially after spending so much time with intellectuals like Banks, Solander, and the Forsters. Yet Cook did not, in this instance, evaluate the Maori culture in terms of how their way of life could address some of the social and political issues facing Great Britain during the late eighteenth century. Cook failed to draw out the beneficial aspects of Maori culture that could be applied to the European paradigm.

[212] Cook, 124-125.
[213] Ibid., 134.

On June 3-4, 1773, Cook made an extensive entry into his journal. After discussing the present dealings with the natives and the pertinent nautical information for New Zealand, Cook delves into a manner of discussion quite different from any other up to that point in the voyage. Cook began to observe the moral condition of the New Zealand natives. This socio-cultural commentary by Cook seems contrary to the perception one gains of Cook from that of popular culture (particularly regarding his tarnished image in the Hawaiian Islands). It is normally assumed that Cook is primarily concerned with the sea and its exploration, but after examining this entry by Cook a different picture of the famous navigator appears. Cook's entry laments the sexual immorality that had arisen in New Zealand since the Endeavor landed there on Cook's first voyage. Cook once thought that the Maori women were, "more chaste than the generality of Indian Women."[214] Cook adds that the Maori men were willing to allow their wives and daughters to sell themselves for, "a spike nail or any other thing [the men] value."[215] Cook's conclusion was that European contact with the natives of the Pacific had done more harm than good. According to the penitent captain, "we debauch their Morals already too prone to vice and we interduce [sic] among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew."[216] Cook held some romantic beliefs, also held by other eighteenth-century Europeans, that the pre-European Pacific was more idyllic.

Cook made a valid and enlightened assertion when he compared the case of the Pacific islanders with that of the Native Americans, as Cook put it, "in the whole extent of America."[217] Cook held the opinion that the European settlement of the Americas was to the detriment of the native population. Likewise, he said that the European contact with the Pacific natives had the same effect. This observation seems contrary to the image of explorers like Cook portrayed by

[214] Cook, 174.
[215] Ibid., 175.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid.

some scholars, such as Stephen Turner,[218] who concludes that men such as Cook did not have a true concern for the natives of newly explored lands; believing that their primary concern was with dominating natives and exploiting them. (I will address Stephen Turner's view of Cook in the analysis of the following chapter). However, with the previous evidences of Cook's sentiments we can see that he was regretting his intrusion into Pacific society. This observation of Cook sets the most famous navigator of the eighteenth century in quite a different light. Cook is often remembered for his tragic death in Hawaii that resulted from a skirmish with natives. Moreover, Cook's reputation around the Pacific has been varied. But, whatever the causes of that fateful day in Hawaii, one cannot deny the strong sentiment present in Cook's thoughts on this particular day in New Zealand.

Glyndwr Williams describes the intellectual environment that could have given impetus to Cook's thoughts on the subject of society and morality. Williams' points out that with the discovery of the New World a self-introspection manifested in Western society. As Europeans encountered and studied new societies they began to question the state of their own society. This introspection was of course shaped and molded by the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment. The question ultimately posed asked whether "primitive" societies were more moral than contemporary European societies.[219] This line of reasoning is quite evident in Cook's appraisal of the morality of the Maori during his visit in 1773. Moreover, the setting of the South Pacific islands represented an 'undisturbed paradise,' more so than the Americas or Africa. Therefore, any conclusions drawn from this 'idyllic' setting would have a deeper connection back to the ages of old, because the Pacific islanders had, presumably, less contact with more 'advanced' cultures. As such, in studying Pacific culture the philosopher of the

[218] Stephen Turner, "A Legacy of Colonialism: The Uncivil Society of Aotearoa/New Zealand," *Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (July 1999): 408-422. *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed July 20, 2011).
[219] Glyndwr Williams, "Seamen and Philosophers in the South Seas in the Age of Captain Cook," in *Science, Empire and the European Exploration of the Pacific,* ed. Tony Ballantyne (Hampshire, Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2004), 277.

eighteenth century could, hypothetically, make a better judgment between the moral conditions of early societies versus that of eighteenth-century Europe.[220] A primary example of this type of idyllic philosophy was exemplified in the writings of Rousseau in the 1750's and Diderot in the 1770's. Rousseau painted a picture of " 'civilisation' as inherently corrupting."[221] While Diderot contended that the "closer to nature" people were, the happier they would be, he assumed that being "closer to nature" also meant being closer "to the origin of the world" and therefore a closer representation of the virtues of classical times.[222]

To what extent did the contemporary socio-cultural debate influence Cook's interpretation of the Maori on this particular day? It is difficult to determine. Cook made no obvious reference to Diderot or Rousseau. Up to that point in the voyage he had not revealed much regarding philosophical trends of the day. However, even if Cook does not reveal this overtly he does reveal it secondarily by his writing on the sexual morality of the Maori.

Williams also mentions the impact of English and French intellectuals such as John Campbell and Charles de Brosses. Thinkers such as these encouraged Europeans to capitalize on the earlier voyages, not solely to understand the world more scientifically, but to profit from it commercially. However, the understanding of the geography of the Pacific around 1760 was minimal and likewise the understanding of its people. In contrast to Cook's realization de Brosses believed that European interaction with the Pacific peoples would benefit the natives just as much as the Europeans:

> We must also remember how much they would profit, by adopting our ideas of a regular and well-ordered society; their minds would be opened, and formed, their savage manners softened: In short, those nations would become men, who have just now nothing human but their figure.[223]

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[220] Williams, "Seaman and Philosophers," 278.
[221] Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment*, (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 66.
[222] Ibid., 67.
[223] Williams, 279.

Certainly, this kind of thinking is Eurocentric and prejudiced; however, de Brosses likely said this from the sincere belief of the day that less developed cultures needed the 'enlightened' ideas of the more developed European nations in order to 'progress.' Cook certainly exhibited this type of thinking in his own comments on the island natives; yet, Cook seemed to be more 'enlightened' in realizing that despite what appeared to be European advantages the Pacific peoples had advantages of their own. Cook had an advantage over de Brosses in that Cook could observe the Pacific peoples first hand. Additionally, Cook had the benefit of multiple visits to many islands over the course of several years. He witnessed the impact of European contact on the South Pacific, and to an extent he lamented it.

As Cook would later discover his lament was not welcome in some publishing circles. Other Europeans, like De Brosses, wanted to perpetuate the idealization of the European 'enlightening' effect on the peoples of the Pacific, even after hearing some of Cook's negative reports. One published version of Cook's journals, *A Voyage toward the South Pole,* London, 1777*,* altered some of Cook's comments on the cross-cultural sexual encounters between the Maori and the English sailors. The editor, John Douglas, removed or altered certain passages that appeared morally reprehensible for 'polite' eighteenth-century readers. If some readers assumed they had a copy of Cook's journals, word for word, they were unfortunately mistaken. Eventually, "The passage on sexual traffic was deleted completely, as it was in virtually all reprints and abridgments published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."[224] An especially noteworthy deletion was Cook's negative evaluation of the moral impact of Europeans in the Pacific, "such are the consequences of a commerce with Europeans and what is still more to our Shame."[225] One has to wonder what the effect would have been on

[224] Thomas, xxvii.
[225] Ibid.

eighteenth-century Europe had they read the entirety of Cook's evaluation, especially considering that "Cook's *Journals…* became European best sellers."[226]

3.6 Cook's Legacy

In conclusion, Cook was more than a voyager determined to explore the world. His thinking was occupied by more than ocean navigation and cartography. Undoubtedly, these endeavors formed the frame of most of Cook's professional life, yet, he allowed himself to dwell upon the deeper meaning of the societies and lands he encountered. Cook reflected on and wrote about native culture and on how European culture had influenced the natives. He participated in scientific experiments and initiated day excursions for the purpose of learning more about the land he was exploring, and to allow the intellectuals on board his ships the opportunity to do the same. It also seems that just as the luminaries of the Enlightenment benefited by literary and verbal exchange, so did Cook benefit from the time he spent with the host of intellectuals that accompanied him on his voyages of discovery.

Not only did Cook explore the sea, but he also appreciated and valued learning and culture. Furthermore, his estimation of the significance of his own civilization, however high, did not cloud his ability to see the significance of Pacific civilization. Cook was willing to admit that the European effect upon the Pacific world was not always pleasant and was sometimes shameful. Cook succeeded in exploring and mapping vast stretches of the earth's surface and in recording his actions and that of his crew while exploring the world's oceans.

[226] Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 64.

CHAPTER 4

WILLIAM DAMPIER AND JAMES COOK:
TWO ENGLISH WINDOWS INTO PACIFIC CULTURES

In the twenty-first century, perspectives abound regarding the importance of multicultural awareness, especially in relation to the increasing impact of globalization on the nations of the world and the societies within them. At the heart of multiculturalism is an attempt to interpret and reconcile what are considered the unique and disparate identities of peoples of the world. According to Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern, much of the current British historical discourse has focused on the shaping of identities, as opposed to a strict historiographical adherence to "class, gender and nation."[227] Instead contemporary British trends have tilted toward "social construction and imagination."[228] This trend towards the significance of the construction of identities has challenged the traditional approaches of "political, social and economic history."[229] Considering the new focus on identities, an assessment on the impressions and thoughts of Dampier and Cook towards both their own identity and that of Pacific native's gains significance. Since these two men helped to usher in an age of British colonialism in the Pacific, (a zone of contact in which a multiplicity of identities would collide), it is beneficial to understand what their own beliefs were regarding the European intrusion into the Pacific world.

Dampier's published works brought major attention from the elite of England's scientific and literary communities and fostered continued interest in the exploration and exploitation of the South Pacific. Not all of Dampier's effect should be seen as a negative from the standpoint

[227]Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern, eds., *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 3.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.

of colonialism, since Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels,* which was based on Dampier's writings, issued forth an anti-imperialist message. Cook's explorations of Australia and New Zealand laid the foundation for British colonialism to take root in both locations. It would only be a few short years after Cook's initial exploration of New Zealand and Australia that English colonists arrived and began to make the English mark upon the Pacific world.

Whatever philosophical or ethical viewpoints one holds regarding British colonization and eventual imperialistic activities in the Pacific, it stands to reason that understanding two of the Empire's most prominent vanguards will grant a better understanding of the nature of certain European attitudes towards native cultures and their occupation and eventual subjugation. Granted, this evaluation of Dampier and Cook only reflects the thoughts of two men, hardly justifying any claims to a general understanding of "European" or even an "English viewpoint" on Pacific culture and colonization. Yet, at the same time, these two men were products of their own culture and belief systems, and as such interpreted and reasoned with similar sensibilities and mentalities which were held by many of their European counterparts. So, while the purpose of this study is not to elucidate a complete understanding of British philosophy on the natives of the Pacific, I have sought to understand the perceptions and interpretations of two of the most famous and influential forerunners of British Pacific colonialism. For it was through the literature stemming from the voyages of William Dampier and James Cook that many Europeans gained their own perceptions of the Pacific and its peoples.

Before I present my final contentions I want to include some of Glyndwr Williams' observations from his 1988 article in *History Today* which discussed both Dampier's and Cook's first contact and description of the Australian Aborigines. According to Williams, Dampier's first description of the inhabitants of western Australia strongly influenced a century of European thinking about the natives of Australia. Dampier's demeaning and unflattering words which described the Aborigines gave Europeans a biased picture of the natives of the unexplored

continent. Although, it should be noted that according to Williams, Dampier's first version of the native encounter did not include such a "derogatory" account; rather this shorter manuscript account, "was both more dispassionate and more accurate in its observations of the Aborigines."[230]

Williams then presents Cook's discourse on the Aborigines. Cook landed on the eastern coast of Australia in April of 1770, some eighty years after Dampier landed on the west coast in 1688. As Williams' shows, Cook had a vastly different perspective to offer than Dampier. Interestingly, while Cook acknowledged the scarcity of goods and clothing, he commented that the Aborigines, "may appear to some to be the most wretched people upon Earth, but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans" because they lived "in a Tranquility which is not disturb'd by the Inequality of Condition: The Earth and Sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for life."[231] Cook's allusion to "the most wretched people upon Earth" was likely an intentional blow to the account published from Dampier's report of the Aborigines. Williams does not bring up the fact that Dampier's and Cook's first encounters were on opposite sides of the continent and that this could be part of the reason for the difference in interpretation.

Williams goes on to assert that Cook's positive interpretation of the native Australians showed Cook to be, "ahead of his time."[232] Williams contends that Cook was unique in that he went against the contemporary impulse towards "ethnocentrism." Furthermore, Williams believes Cook's interpretation of the Aborigines to be 'exceptional' in that Cook envisioned the Aborigine's lifestyle and appearance through the lens of the Australian "physical environment." Hence, Williams' presumes that Cook was able to rise above the standard Eurocentric viewpoint

[230] Glyndwr Williams, "The English and Aborigines First Contacts," *History Today*, (Jan. 1988, Vol. 38 Issue 1, pp. 33-39), 34.
[231] Ibid., 35. (Here Williams is directly quoting Cook's journal).
[232] Ibid.

of his day and evaluate the native Australians in their own "context."[233] Surprisingly, Cook's thoughts, recorded in his journals, were not published in full until the end of the nineteenth century, which left the eighteenth-century European world with the more degrading and biased views that the English publishers wanted to portray.[234] It is likely that this derogatory portrayal was politically motivated so that the English could justify the settling of Australia in terms of *Terra Nullius.* Williams' rendering of Dampier and Cook reveals the importance of the two explorers' published accounts of Pacific natives, both in terms of contemporary ethnography and future colonization.

4.1 Dampier's Practicality and Cook's Morality

Dampier and Cook appear to have marginally differed in the effect of European influence upon Pacific natives. This moderate variance is revealed in three primary topics: morality, the effects of commerce, and class harmony. I have placed my arguments within the context of Williams's observations. In his article Williams focused on Dampier's and Cook's opinions from Australia; however, my research has presented new locations for comparison. I have compared Dampier's observations in the Malay Archipelago with Cook's observations in New Zealand. However, I have also drawn a few points from the two explorers' comments on other locales, including Australia.

In an effort to understand the mentality of Dampier and Cook I have looked at certain instances where each man wrote about the condition of life for the natives he encountered or how he felt the European 'Pacific intrusion' would impact the natives contacted. According to the evidences of the previous chapters it seems to be a reasonable contention that Cook was a more reluctant foreign intruder than Dampier. In certain instances we see Cook regretting the European presence in the Pacific. Dampier seemed to focus primarily on what positive benefits

[233] Williams, 35.
[234] Ibid.

the Europeans could have on the Pacific peoples, while still admitting the possibility of future "oppression" from a trade with Europe.

The first theme on which Dampier and Cook seem to diverge is that of morality. Dampier's lack of a moral pronouncement or judgment regarding the socio-sexual practices between the English pirates and the Mindanayans reveals that, for Dampier, this behavior was quite normal and expected. [235] Conversely, when Cook visited New Zealand he demonstrated his contempt for his crew's sexual behavior with the Maori women. Cook's conclusion was that European contact with the natives of the Pacific had done the natives more harm than good.[236] Cook revealed an underlying belief that Pacific Island natives possessed a pristine moral status, due to their being less 'polluted' by the progress of 'civilized' nations.

The second theme on which Dampier and Cook seem to have little similarity is that of the effect European contact would have on Pacific society. When Dampier was writing about his visit to Mindanao, he contended that the Mindanayans were "civil" due to the fact that they had commerce with "other Nations" outside of the island itself.[237] Here we see that Dampier associated trade with 'civility.' In Dampier's close association of trade with civility he makes a significant break with Cook's beliefs on the subject. As Williams has pointed out, when Cook wrote about the 'less civilized' condition of the Australian Aborigines he did not see this as a negative but a positive condition. Furthermore, Williams has suggested that when Cook made his statement regarding the Aborigines he was, in essence, making "an indictment [on] the Society from which he came."[238] This statement is quite significant, for it reveals that some eighteenth-century European explorers did not necessarily adhere to an exceptional view of Europe's society or culture. This as I will show, is in direct contradiction with Stephen Turner's anti-Cook standpoint.

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[235] Dampier, 248.
[236] Cook, 175.
[237] Dampier, 222.
[238] Williams, "Seamen & Philosophers," 287.

Therefore, my first contention is summarized in this: Dampier's opinion on the effect of European contact upon Pacific natives was based more on trade. While, Cook appears to have had a more ethically based opinion on the effect of European contact and ultimately was a more reluctant imperialist. Cook lamented European intrusion into native life due to the immorality imposed upon the Maori of New Zealand; yet, as Dampier wrote about the sexual escapades of his shipmates, he seemed not at all disturbed by the behavior nor did he reveal any concern for its effect on the island's society. When Dampier did focus on issues of potential European domination being a negative, it appears to have been from the standpoint of trade and commerce and not morality. Furthermore, Dampier appeared to believe that the goods and services that trade provided would increase the quality of life of the Malays; yet, Cook insisted that since the Aborigines did not struggle with an inequality of goods, as in Europe, the Aborigines had a more harmonious existence. Therefore, Cook hinted that by increasing the interaction between Europeans and Pacific Islanders, Europeans would bring a moral decline to Pacific culture. Dampier reasoned that by Europeans introducing trade among the Pacific natives their quality of life would likely increase and that the natives would enjoy the benefits of trade. Nonetheless, he did qualify his belief by adding that economic "oppression" was possible and that the natives might have been happier without the luxuries of trade.

How did Dampier and Cook's own grappling with 'indigenous' peoples compare to that of other eighteenth-century Britons? According to Daunton and Halpern there was a major push from within Britain to address the perceived moral depravity of both lower-class Britons and to convert natives within the Empire to Christianity. In 1701 the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* was formed in order to facilitate the conversion of 'indigenous' peoples, and in 1698 the *Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge* was formed to address the perceived immorality and lack of religious education among the 'poor' in Britain. Daunton and

Halpern suggest that these 'Societies' considered both the British poor and the natives within the Empire to inhabit "similar moral space."[239]

Yet, while Dampier's voyages occurred during the creation of both of the above 'Societies,' his concern was not the ethical choices of Pacific natives. Instead, Dampier focused more on the practical benefits of trade with Europe, revealing the ideal that by increasing products and consumerism, Pacific culture would likely benefit and 'progress.' Having several decades for the moralistic movement in Britain to take hold, Cook revealed quite a different perspective. Still, Cook's writings about the Maori did not appear to exhibit an expectation of conversion to Christianity nor any sense of this mission. Rather, he disclosed a deep regret for European intrusion (at least from a moral standpoint) into Pacific culture. Cook presented a personal outlook which contended that Pacific Islanders would have been better off without the influence of Europe. This understanding of Cook is significant because there is an assumption that Cook, and many other European explorers, were indifferent towards the natives they encountered. Furthermore, this supposition paints a picture of Cook as a mechanical agent of European progress at the expense of native societies. This negative portrayal of Cook is still being promulgated by Turner regarding the relationship between European decedents in New Zealand and the Maori decedents.[240] Furthermore, Turner shows a common tendency to generalize and group all enlightened explorers as though they all had the same personal philosophy regarding Pacific exploration, in his words:

[239] Daunton, 4.
[240] Turner, 409.

> contact with Europeans, it was believed, would bring primitive peoples out of the state of nature, and help them advance towards civilization. The basic creed was sufficient for sailors and settlers.[241]
> Cook remains a founding father for British colonies, a culture-hero, bringing the virtues of European civilization to the South Pacific. Europeans did not just bring modern technology and materials; they imagined that their arrival was also a moral advance for the peoples of the Pacific.[242]

Certainly, many European philosophers and sailors did accept such a "creed;" however, to imply that all explorers, including Cook, unthinkingly imbibed this dogma is inaccurate; it also shows a naïve belief that explorers like Cook and Dampier were intellectually one-dimensional. Furthermore, Cook's regret-filled comments regarding the Maori give at least a plausible argument that Cook did not always think that Europeans were helping to "morally advance"[243] Pacific Civilization. As mentioned before, regarding the English sailors influence on the Maori, Cook stated: "we debauch their Morals".[244] Nevertheless, my contention should not convey the idea that British imperialistic activities in the Pacific were either ethical or justified. My intention is to give a more balanced view into Cook's personal sentiments on his explorations. Hopefully, it will serve as a reminder that historical figures cannot always be described by simplistic characterizations.

Considering the topic of Europeans trying to glean new ideas from Pacific culture, it appears that Cook did see something applicable to the European social paradigm, while Dampier perceived primarily the advantage of trade. As Williams has observed, Cook himself saw a great lesson in the unpretentious lifestyle of the Aborigines of Australia.[245] Cook put forth an idea that echoed the class struggles of eighteenth-century Europe: Since the Aborigines appeared to live with equal resources it avoided the class wars that result from an unequal distribution of resources. Again, I contend that this reveals a Cook who did not always see

[241] Turner, 409.
[242] Ibid., 417.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Cook, 175.
[245] Williams, "The English and Aborigines," 35.

himself as the bearer of a superior social model, as Turner has suggested. Turner insinuates that Cook came proudly across the Pacific to deposit the social and cultural grandeur of Europe upon the Pacific culture.[246] However, the instances that I have pointed to reveal that Cook likely had less confidence in the supremacy of his own culture's social model. At the very least Cook was both attentive to and critical of Europe's social failures, even when compared with Aboriginal life.

Now, when Dampier evaluated the benefits of the Philippines he did not focus on any negative aspect of European society, except the aforementioned potential economic "oppression" of a European controlled trade. Nevertheless, he still envisioned a potential commercial market that could benefit both himself and the natives of Mindanao. What is interesting about Dampier's lack of a comparison with English society is the class from which Dampier came. Being the son of tenant farmers and being indentured after his arrival in Jamaica, Dampier understood firsthand the imbalances and cruelty of the class structure in England. In fact Dampier did everything he could to avoid being indentured and he admitted that he would much rather go the way of a pirate than be subjected to the drudgery of servitude. This fact makes it all the more intriguing that Dampier did not compare England's elitist social structure with that of Mindanao. I will contend, therefore, that Dampier was much more focused on financial gain and trade then on matter of social ethics. However, Dampier did exhibit the ability to be critical of what he perceived to be intolerable, namely, the behavior of his fellow pirates and their drunken binges. Nevertheless, this situation aside, it appears that Dampier was more morally adaptable to native culture than Cook. As mentioned before Dampier did not seem to object to the sexual relations of his shipmates with the Mindanayan women, while Cook strongly objected to his sailor's sexual interactions with the Maori. Hence, it is plausible to

[246] Turner, 409.

contend that, when matched with Dampier, Cook showed an inclination to protect the moral social structure of the Pacific Natives.

4.2 Possible Factors that Influenced the Interactions between Pacific Islanders and Dampier and Cook

What other factors were influencing Cook and Dampier during each of their respective stays among Pacific natives? One distinction between New Zealand and the Philippines is that New Zealand was remote and isolated from much of the outside world, while the Philippines had heavy contact with outsiders, like the Spanish, before Dampier ever arrived. This variation in 'sea-traffic' could have certainly affected the dynamics of the interactions between Dampier and the Mindanayans and between Cook and the Maori. The Mindanayans were already engaged in cross-cultural trade and, in this respect, a society more closely related to England than the isolated Maori. This could explain why Dampier was allowed to live among the Mindanayans for an extended period.

One obvious difference between Cook and Dampier is that Cook was the commander of a British navy ship and much involved in day-to-day duties that Dampier did not have to contend with while in Mindanao. Also, Cook was required to act within the guidelines of navy officer protocol, while Dampier had less constraint from official authority figures. Dampier was under the authority of Captain Swan, however, Swan's piratical guidelines were broader and more fluid than the Royal Navy's.

It should also be noted that the respective social class to which Cook and Dampier belonged (and from which Dampier was trying to escape) obviously influenced their respective worldviews. Cook was financially stable and in a position of social prestige by the time of his visit to New Zealand on his second voyage. At the time of Dampier's first exploration into the Malay Archipelago he was still quite young, financially unstable, and as far as prestige is concerned he was known only by his family, friends, and shipmates.

4.3 A "Society of Nations"

Dan Edelstein in, *The Enlightenment: a Genealogy*, points out that the modern understanding of 'society' originates from elements of enlightened philosophy, beginning as early as the sixteenth century. Edelstein speaks of a "…newfound importance of "society" in the narrative of the Enlightenment…" which "…opened up a private space, which developed its own set of (moral) laws, determined by society."[247] By the time that Dampier landed on Mindanao in the 1680's this type of philosophy was present in Europe. Dampier could have been seeking to establish his own standard of morality apart from the perceived restrictiveness of traditional Christian teaching from which enlightened philosophy sought to break away.[248] Meanwhile, Cook could be seen as hailing from the traditional moralistic camp that sought to protect much of the ethical doctrines of the Church. At the same time Cook did not believe that his own culture's social template was necessarily one to mimic.

Like the seventeenth-century trend towards society defining its own mores apart from government, so, Dampier could have been seeking to construct his own reality, or "society," apart from the control of an oppressive English upper class. Dampier's participation in the Muslim ceremonies on Mindanao is a possible example of this. Hence, as the understanding of 'society' was undergoing a transformation in Europe, so also Dampier and Cook saw how their own society interacted with that of the Pacific. Yet, it is quite apparent that neither Cook nor Dampier saw themselves as becoming one with Pacific culture, especially Cook. Even when Dampier would observe the customs and participate with the natives, he did so as one who was observing from 'outside' the culture…he never 'became a Mindanayan.' Likewise, Cook's concern for the Maori was tainted with a sense of parochialism, which Schlereth contends was something that a true 'cosmopolitan' sought to avoid.[249] Cook seemed to relate with the Maori

[247] Dan Edelstein, *The Enlightenment: A Genealogy,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 33.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Thomas J. Schlereth, *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought,* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), xi.

from an emotional distance. However, Dampier appears to have been better able to connect relationally with the Mindanayans. He participated in native ceremonies, had long detailed discussions with the Sultan's wives, and had Malaysians as shipmates and castaways. Cook did engage in ceremonies of greetings in New Zealand but this appears to be the extent of the interaction and its primary purpose was to secure peace. So, while Cook appeared to have held a more morally based concern for the Maori, Dampier seems to have related to the Mindanayans on a more personal level.

4.4 Cook's Parochialism & Dampier's Cosmopolitanism

I have shown that Cook and Dampier both had a distinctive idea of what they considered was 'morally ethical' treatment towards the Pacific natives. While much has been written on the Enlightenment's rejection of traditional religious thought, Robert Louden reminds us that even some of the most renowned Enlightenment philosophers advocated a morally centered religious system as opposed to a theologically centered religion.[250] Certainly, in Cook's remorse over the "debauched morals" of the Maori we can see this kind of thinking being utilized. In fact Immanuel Kant's ideas about enlightened morality were presented in *Lectures on Pedagogy* in 1776,[251] just four years after Cook's landing in New Zealand. Therefore, Cook seems to have been in line with segments of the moralistic philosophies present in Europe during the latter part of the eighteenth century. I have also shown that Dampier, on the other hand, did not seem to display the same intensity of ethical feeling, at least in the realm of sexual morality. However, he did show, despite his station in life as a pirate, that he held certain behaviors, such as drunkenness, unreasonableness, and laziness in low esteem. Dampier's lack of concern for the socio-sexual practices between English pirates and the Mindanayans also seems to correlate with a morally lax attitude among lower class Britons in the latter

[250] Robert B. Louden, *The World We Want: How and Why the Ideals of the Enlightenment Still Elude Us* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 20.
[251] Ibid., 21.

seventeenth century, before the influence of the religious Societies[252] of the early eighteenth century had taken root.[253]

Nevertheless, Dampier's apparent lower standard of morality should not imply that he was less 'cosmopolitan' than Cook, at least by the enlightened definition of the term. According to Schlereth enlightened cosmopolitanism was defined as:

> …an attitude of mind that attempted to transcend chauvinistic national loyalties or parochial prejudices in its intellectual interests and pursuits. In the ideal, the "cosmopolite," or "citizen of the world," sought to be identified by an interest in, a familiarity with, or appreciation of many parts and peoples of the world; he wished to be distinguished by a readiness to borrow from other lands or civilizations in the formation of his intellectual, cultural, and artistic patterns.[254]

This definition of enlightened 'cosmopolitanism' helps to bring this assessment of Cook and Dampier into focus by helping us to examine the overall impression we have of both men's perception of Pacific natives. At its most basic level, this thesis is about both men's private thoughts regarding their intrusion into the Pacific. The overall impression of European imperialism is more often perceived through the lens of the acts of nations; here I have sought to focus on the thoughts of two individuals. European imperialism has been given much treatment by the historiography of the last several decades and in some sense cosmopolitanism can be seen as the antithesis to imperialism.

In summation I contend that despite Cook's apparent higher standard of morality, Cook displayed a lower level of cosmopolitanism than Dampier. Dampier allowed himself to have a greater personal connection with the Mindanayans than Cook did with the Maori. While Dampier was certainly capable of racist remarks, as in the case of the Aborigines noted by Glyndwr Williams, he still had a sense of being willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with the natives he encountered and experience life with them. James Cook typified a kind of

[252] Daunton, 4.
[253] These Societies were described earlier in this chapter.
[254] Schlereth, xi.

enlightened and sympathetic parochialism. Yet, Cook still did not believe that his culture was socially superior to that of the Maori, and he revealed a desire that British society could in some ways model the balance and harmony afforded by a classless Aborigine social structure. In short, Cook's exposures to newly discovered societies caused him to question and analyze his own society and the values by which it was governed. While, Dampier's immersion in Pacific culture caused him to look towards ways to promote commerce between the two cultures, while at the same time following his curiosity and demonstrating a keen desire to understand Pacific native society by observing a multitude of facets about Pacific native culture.

It is unfortunate that Cook did not appropriate a more cosmopolitan spirit. Cook's 'regretful parochialism' did not prevent him from pursuing a more aggressive path with the Hawaiians on his third voyage, which led to his eventual death in 1779 by an unnecessary cultural conflict. If a more open-minded view of different societies and cultures had been pursued, perhaps modern European imperialism would have been less…dominating. Perhaps, the economic and political oppression eventually suffered by many former European colonies could have been prevented. Nevertheless, such admittedly idealistic outcomes could only be possible in a world where people value community over commerce.

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