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A Quest for Insularity:
Thomas Forrest's *Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Comparative Literature

by

Panida Lorlertratna

June 2012

Dissertation Committee:
Dr. Hendrik M. J. Maier, Chairperson
Dr. John N. Kim
Dr. Mariam B. Lam

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The Dissertation of Panida Lorlertratna is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Quest for Insularity:
Thomas Forrest's *Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*

by

Panida Lorlertratna

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Comparative Literature
University of California, Riverside, June 2012
Dr. Hendrik M. J. Maier, Chairperson

The research regards *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, written by Thomas Forrest (c.1729-c.1802), as a piece of eighteenth-century English travel writing on Southeast Asia. It proposes three reading directionalities for the travelogue, namely, horizontal, vertical and spherical readings, in order to underscore the flexibility of textual interpretation.

Horizontal reading entails a concatenation of events that turns the narrative text into chronologically sequenced segments without attempting to establish a relationship between the linguistic signs and their inherent meanings. Vertical reading configures the text in multiple layers of meanings as well as cultural and historical inferences, which interact with one another and require in-depth textual analysis. The reading approach does not look for hidden meanings; instead, it aims to base the generated meanings on the reader's background knowledge. Spherical reading conceptualizes the narrative text in a spherical shape, regarding Forrest's voyage account as a story line that travels in the form of a circle, and as a cultural production anchored in the realm of eighteenth-century English travel writing, with its distinctive literary conventions.

Additionally, the research considers Forrest's travel account as island writing by pointing out the parallel between the instability of meaning in a text such as *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* and the definitional precariousness of "island" that historically defies monolithic interpretation of scholars in cartography, geography and literary studies. By drawing the connection between three reading directionalities, travel writing and island writing, the research wishes to establish itself as an intersection of three academic branches, i.e., Comparative Literature, British Literature and Southeast Asian Studies.

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Introduction

Gazing into the star-studded night, hoping the acquired maps are accurate and the navigational tools reliable, wishing for favorable winds to take the vessel to a desirable destination, making sure there is an adequate supply of sago cakes, coconuts, fishing nets, potable water, iron bars, and red handkerchiefs, an English captain commands a ship manned mainly with Malay crew and often finds himself communicating and interacting with speakers of various languages and cultures, e.g., English, Dutch, Spanish, Malay, Magindano tongue, Papua tongue, and Chinese. Many of these exchanges are facilitated by the help of an interpreter; yet, it needs to be reminded that those who live in the East Indies[1] are able to converse in multiple languages.

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[1] *The East Indies* has been a problematic term, and related to *the Indies*, *East India*, and *India*. The Indies can refer to all the lands east of the Indus River, which is divided into: *India intra gangem* (all the lands lying between the Indus and the mouth of the Ganges, including the peninsula) and *India extra gangem* (all the lands further east, specifically Indochina and modern Indonesia). Meanwhile, *the East Indies* (or *East India*) is called *East* to distinguish it from *America*, which bears the name of the *West-Indies.* After Columbus landed on what he mistook as the Indies, the term "the Indies" was changed into *the East Indies*, or *East India*. The area subsumes the land from the eastern parts of the Persian Empire to the islands of Japan. *India* derived from the River Indus, or from the Hindows who were the ancient inhabitants, and from whom came the word *Indostan* and *Hindostan. India* covers the area between China to the east, Persia to the west, Tartary to the north, and the Indian Sea to the south. In the broadest sense, *the East Indies*, therefore, incorporates the land from the Indus to Japan, and all the islands in the Indian Ocean; in the narrowest sense, it refers to the islands in the Indian Ocean, excluding Ceylon, the Maldives, the Andamans and the Nicobars. For more details, see [Awnsham and John Churchill?], *The Compleat Geographer: or, the Chorography and Topography of All the Known Parts of the Earth*. 3rd ed. (London: 1709); [Champante and Whitrow?], *The Britannic Magazine* (London: 1794-1807); Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

A great deal about Thomas Forrest (c.1729-c.1802) has to be circumstantially established. First of all, it may be surmised that he is of Scottish background since there is no standardization of spelling Gaelic names in English. "Iain" and "John" are interchangeable, and so are "Alasdair" and "Alexander." "Forrest" is one of the spelling variations of "Forest," which is associated with the clan of "Forrester." It is possible that the Forrester clan is of Celtic druidic origin, founded by Sir Adam Forrester. Other associated names of the same clan with spelling variations include "Forster," "Foster" and "Foryster" (Grimble 11; Grant and Murison 155; Electric Scotland; Way and Squire 389).

Secondly, regarding his family and maritime career, Forrest seems to have served in the Royal Navy for some time, and to have been a midshipman in 1745. He probably left the service after the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) (Matthew and Harrison 20: 385), but did not join the Marine of the East India Company until 1751 (Forrest 1792, 132; Bassett 1969, 1).

He was in England in 1766-70 and probably married his wife, Esther, at this time. They left Gravesend as passengers on the *Prime* in January 1770 and reached Madras on 23 July 1770. Forrest then sailed to Bencoolen on another ship ahead of his family. His eldest son, Robert, was baptized at Fort St. George on 25 June 1771 (Bassett 1969, 4). His family presumably joined him at Fort Marlborough in Bencoolen.

Having joined the Marine of Fort Marlborough, he realized that had no prospect "but to sail in small vessels, on unprofitable voyages, under every hazard and disadvantage to which the climate of Bencoolen is well known to be subject." He, therefore, "welcomed the opportunity of a more independent role when John Herbert invited him to join the *Britannia*, which reached Benkulen in October 1772 with the staff to occupy Balambangan, the Company's prospective *entrepôt* off the north-west point of Borneo." The Balambangan project was the brainchild of Alexander Dalrymple, "former Deputy Secretary of the Madras presidency, who had explored the Sulu Archipelago in 1759-64 and concluded a series of treaties with the sultans of Sulu ceding Balambangan and north Borneo to the Company" (Bassett 1969, 6).[2]

His career, intermittently spent in the Company's service and in the country trade, took him around the East Indies, e.g., Sumatra, Java, the Malay Peninsula, Celebes, the Moluccas, New Guinea, Borneo, and the Philippines. His name was last mentioned in 1801 when his command of the *Nancy* took him from Fort Marlborough in Sumatra to Bengal.[3]

A list of Forrest's writings includes *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* (1779), *A Treatise on the Monsoons in East-India* (1783), *A Journal of the Esther Brig, from Bengal to Quedah, 1783* (1788), and *A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, lying on the east side of the Bay of Bengal* (1792).

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[2] Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808) joined the East India Company in 1752 and became deputy-secretary at Madras. He was active in the Sulu Archipelago in 1759-64, put forward the Balambangan project, but lost the command to John Herbert in 1771. He was later a member of the council at Madras (1775-7), hydrographer to the Company (1779), and first hydrographer to the Admiralty (1795-1808) (Bassett 1969, 19).

[3] George Tyler to Secretary Crommelin, Fort William, September 11th, 1801, cited in *Bengal Public Consultations*, September 17th, 1801, Range 5, vol. 25 (P/5/25). Tyler relates that in his hurry to depart from Fort Marlborough to Bengal, Forrest did not find out that the payment made to him for the pepper exceeded the amount of the pepper he actually delivered.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

As Forrest is engaged in cross-cultural communication, this research is indicative of an attempt to carry out multiple dialogues with diverse disciplines. Firstly, it aims to engage in a conversation with scholarship in eighteenth-century English travel literature by drawing upon the literary conventions and print culture of the period. This will, hopefully, bring attention to Thomas Forrest and this particular work, and integrate them into the domain of British literature.

Secondly, the research invariably interacts with scholarship in Southeast Asian studies. Forrest's voyage took place in insular Southeast Asia, i.e., Indonesia, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea, an area with a history of cultural diversity, local as well as European. It emerged as part of the global trade as early as the early seventeenth century. This necessitates mentionings of English colonialists and orientalists, and the presence of the Dutch and English East India Companies (VOC and EIC).

What I try to get across to scholars of Southeast Asia studies, especially historians, is that Forrest's voyage account is not merely a source of ethnographical and historical information of which its accuracy has been taken for granted. This text is more complicated than what it seems to be, which leads into another conversation between this research and Comparative Literature. It aims to examine how the reader coerces the text to yield meanings, how she interprets it. This calls for revisiting formalists and narratologists, such as Gérard Genette, M. M. Bakhtin, Roland Barthes, and Tzvetan Todorov, whose works help shape the discussion of travel writing as a genre and the formation of island writing as another genre that overlaps with travel writing.

Despite its ambitious plan, the researcher has succumbed to limitations of language knowledge and time. No sources in Dutch, Spanish or Malay are directly involved, except in the cases of some translated sections of sources in other languages Forrest obtained, which are considered secondary. Furthermore, the research focuses on one single book by Forrest, and does not include lengthy discussions of the other three publications.

A Treatise on the Monsoons in East-India (1783) is, of course, a treatise on the monsoon system while *A Journal of the Esther Brig, from Bengal to Quedah, 1783* (1788) provides information typically found in a ship's log with no detailed account of any particular place. *A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago, lying on the east side of the Bay of Bengal* (1792) comprises an eclectic collection of Forrest's writings: the journal of the voyage from Bengal to Mergui, accounts of the island of Jan Sylan (1784), of Atcheen (1762), of the island Celebes, a reprint of the treatise on the monsoons, a treatise on making ships and vessels more convenient for the transportation of passengers, and a treatise on making a map of the world. These works differ greatly in terms of forms and contents from *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, and do not constitute cohesive travel narratives which could otherwise be approached with the same strategies applied to the first book by Forrest.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

As Forrest explores the islands and the ocean, the reader explores the text. Taking into consideration the limitations and prerogatives, I navigate this particular text as a piece of travel writing, the kind of writing which thematizes human mobility. More importantly, it is regarded as a text that, on the conceptual level, travels in various directions, and, thus, calls for several reading strategies or directionalities that defy the monolithic signification of textual interpretation. The dynamics of reading keeps the text as open as the ocean, liberating, instead of constraining, the reader. It allows her to integrate cultural, intellectual and personal backgrounds and read endless meanings into it. Reading, in addition, yields fragmentary results; no homogeneous unit of meaning may derive from it. One reading strategy renders certain meanings that might not necessarily be congruous with those resulting from another.

This research proposes three reading directionalities for Forrest's *Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*: horizontal, vertical and spherical. These directionalities operate on the conceptual level, highlighting the dynamics of reading. Firstly, horizontal reading concatenates events in the narrative text in a chronological order, resulting in series or sequences comparable to line segments that do not necessarily constitute one continuous string of events. This reading strategy does not attempt to establish a relationship between linguistic signs and their inherent meanings, but only names and lists them in the proairetic order.

Secondly, vertical reading considers Forrest's travelogue as a narrative text consisting of multiple layers of meanings as well as cultural and historical inferences, one lying on top another on the subcutaneous level. Nonetheless, this reading strategy does not aim to look for hidden meanings. Instead, it wishes to generate meanings based on the reader's backgrounds.

Lastly, spherical reading delineates the circular or spherical shape of the narrative text on the conceptual level. Here, Forrest's voyage account is viewed as a narrative text which moves in a line and eventually loops back to where it starts. The text can also be regarded as a linguistic entity that is figuratively immersed in the realm of eighteenth-century English travel writing, with its distinctive literary conventions.

These three reading directionalities underscore the flexibility of textual interpretation. The dynamics of such a deceptively passive activity as reading is further magnified in the case of travel writing, a literary genre that thematizes mobility. The physical movement inherent in the act of traveling provides a point of departure which questions regarding the definition of "island" and "island writing" hinge upon. While the text of Forrest's work refuses to yield to monolithic interpretation, "island" has denied scholars simple definitions, either as a geographical entity or as a literary trope. Its meaning remains elusive as long as travel writing continues to defy generic classification.

Chapter 1

Horizontal Reading

Horizontal reading involves the linearization of Forrest's travel account. Spatially speaking, it is considered a written linguistic text in which one word follows another and one sentence follows another. Temporally speaking, it is regarded as a narrative text that spins out series or sequences of events (Bal 52). These sequences do not constitute a single continuously moving line, but segments of the chronological line or "lines of segmentarity" that progress along their own trajectories. Each linear segment is comparable to a rhizome, which, unlike roots, extends in all directions, ceaselessly establishing connections between semiotic chains. It never operates on either semantic or syntactic levels, sidestepping the relationship between linguistic signs and their meanings and that between the signs and the Chomskyan aborescent structure (Deleuze and Guattari 1988, 6-8; 15; 21). The series of events are indicated merely by being named and listed, unfolding the proairetic order which, as the result of an artifice of reading, rests on the empirical, rather than rational, basis (Barthes 1974, 19-20). Given the proairetic order, events in the same temporal segment progress on the empirical plain, manifesting, as neoclassical criticism maintains, the "prominent, uniform, and familiar aspects" of the world, eschewing the search for the Ideas in the transcendental realm (Abrams 38; 42).

It is necessary to differentiate a concatenation of events from what Mieke Bal (1985) defines as of *fabula* and *story*. The former is defined as "a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors"; the latter as “a fabula that is presented in a certain manner” (Bal 5). While a series of events has a potential to be logically and chronologically related, or to become a story, it requires the reader’s intervention before a narrative text can be presented in a certain manner. This intervention is referred to as *plotting*. Peter Brooks (1984) argues that *plot* is “the design and intention of narrative, what shapes a story and gives it a certain direction or intent of meaning.” In other words, it can be conceived as “the logic or perhaps the syntax of a certain kind of discourse, one that develops its propositions only through temporal sequence and progression.” Nonetheless, the intention or logic of a narrative text can come across to the reader only when she is engaged in the reading process. Here, Brooks places more emphasis on *plotting*, which is the dynamic aspect of narrative, the activity of shaping which “makes us read forward, seeking in the unfolding of the narrative a line of intention and a portent of design that hold the promise of progress toward meaning.” *Plotting*, therefore, constitutes a crucial part of the reading process whereby a meaning is generated by the reader (Brooks xi; xiii; 35). This intervention is termed as “the voice of reading” turning the reader into “an accomplice of the discourse,” which is “the only *positive* hero of the story” (Barthes 1974, 145; 151; emphasis in original).

Refraining from plotting, the horizontal reading requires that lines or line segments be grafted onto the narrative text stringing one event to the next, one point on the line to the following. However, in the nomadic world in which Forrest inhabits, the events/points seem to be subordinated to the line or the trajectory where by “[t]he dwelling is subordinated to the journey” (Deleuze and Guattari 1994, 478).

The instructions Forrest receives from the Chief and Council of Balambangan before the voyage provide guidelines for the drawing of a line from one event to another. Forrest's assignment and the tasks he needs to accomplish are converted into sequences of events taking place during the voyage. Each of them underlines the progress of the narrative. The instructions assume that he is acquainted with the wind pattern and the customs and manners of the area he is venturing into since the Council owns that:

> The knowledge you have acquired from experience of all the departments of marine business in general, to which you was trained from your earliest years, together with a competent share of commercial transactions in this quarter of the world, were sufficient inducements for the chief to accept of your offer to attend him on the expedition to Balambangan. (Forrest 1969, 3)

Forrest may have had to avoid any direct confrontation with the Dutch vessels as far as the search for spices is concerned since he must be aware of the monopoly of the spice trade by the Dutch Company, and of the trade in these items, which are surreptitiously obtained from the Dutch territories, and transported to Bencoolen, Rhio, and other places in the Straits of Malacca.

> The Molucca's being generally understood in Europe to be solely subject to the Dutch, joined to the invariable commands of our superiors, not to interfere where any other European nation is engaged, are motives sufficient for us to reject the application that has been made, or any other that we may receive hereafter, which we may esteem to have the least tendency towards creating a controversy between the two Companies. (Forrest 1969, 4)

Although operating under the Dutch radar, the Chief thinks there is still a chance to procure spices for the English Company since the conversations with Tuan Hadjee Cutchil have assured the Council that "cloves and nutmegs are produced in many places which the Dutch are, or affect to be, strangers to; where the inhabitants are not subject to any prince or potentate in alliance with, or tributary to them; and on islands, even where there are no people." The Chief further states that Tuan Hadjee has consented to embark with Forrest in a small country vessel. His account convinces the Chief of possible discoveries; therefore, there should be no delay in "researches into an object of the first magnitude, when it can be prosecuted with no heavy charge, and wears the prospect of terminating to the greatest national good." Furthermore, from Tuan Hadjee's report and from what Forrest has learned of others, he resolves to go beyond the islands of Waygiou, Mysol, Batanta and Salwatty, as far as the coast of New Guinea, "where surely the Dutch can have no exclusive pretensions" (Forrest 1969, 5; 6).

The choice of the vessel for the voyage plays a key role in the account as Forrest is "[s]ensible of the jealousy and watchfulness of the Dutch in the Molucca islands, near which it was necessary for me to pass on my way to New Guinea, no less than of the danger of navigating in narrow seas, in a vessel that drew much water, I prefer a small one of ten tons burthen" (Forrest 1969, 6).

Arguing against a larger vessel, Forrest maintains that in a large vessel the crew would have to be cautious when coming near land. The chiefly Malay crew he has "make bad sailors in square rigged vessels"; furthermore, "having never been accustomed to lie in an open road, or be in a harbour, without the indulgence of going on shore, they would not have had patience to remain on board, which even in a sloop of thirty tons, would have been necessary." However, "in a vessel no larger than thirty tons, with such a crew, I must have frequently run the risk of being wrecked, had I made free with the shore. This I was enabled to do boldly, in a boat of small burden, that rowed, and drew little water;

and, when she touched the ground, which often happened, part of the crew, by jumping overboard, could push her off again; and, when in harbour, every body had free access to the shore" (Forrest 1969, 6-7).

In addition to the questions of the crew and anchoring, he needs to take into consideration the problem of provisions because in a large vessel, he has to carry a great amount of provisions, which the settlement he sets out from cannot well afford; "besides, when at places that afforded provisions, in a vessel of any size at anchor, I must have sent ashore my boat, which would have been liable to insult. I have known many such things befall ships boats in Malay countries, where designing people, by a show of civility, entice the crew or commanding officers to be off their guard" (Forrest 1969, 7).

Finally, he settles with "a Sooloo boat, or prow, about ten tons burthen. Her keel was twenty-five foot long, and she had a kind of gallery built on each side, from stern to stern, projecting about thirty inches over each gunnel. Here sat the rowers, sometimes twenty in number. She overhung so much forward and abaft, that she was forty foot long. Her draft of water was generally three foot and a half." For the mast and sails, it "had for a mast an artillery triangle (gin or tripod) made of three stout bamboos, which could be struck with the greatest ease by three men. On this was hoisted a large four cornerd sail, called by the Malays, lyre tanjong (pointed sail), because the upper corner appears sharp or pointed. I fixed to her a foremast close foreward, and a bowsprit; and gave her a lateen, a three cornered sail. I also gave her a lateen mizzen." Later, Forrest covers the boat "almost entirely with the leaves of a certain Palm tree, called Nipa, such as those with which the natives cover houses on the south-west coast of Sumatra, and in almost all

Malay countries; in being a light kind of thatch, which keeps off sunshine and rain" (Forrest 1969, 8-10).

Given the instructions from the Company, events taking place during the voyage are sequenced in different orders, producing several lines which occasionally intersect with one another, resulting in delay, suspense or tension while bringing humans, maritime vessels and natural phenomena into contact with one another.

1.1 Social calls

The voyage account disperses a series of social calls that involve exchanges of information, presents, provisions and other necessities, and consumption of food and beverages. Readers find Forrest sailing from one island to another, meeting local chiefs, tradesmen, linguists, and unidentified individuals.

On Friday 11th November 1774, Forrest anchors at Cagayan Sooloo. Before meeting the Rajah of Cagayan Sooloo in the morning of November 12th, 1774, he prepares and brings along "a tea kettle, some tea and sugar candy – and he drank tea with me, furnishing tea pot and cups. I told him, tea was (*English punio Ciry*) English betel, alluding to the betel leaf, which all East Indians chew. He laughed, and said it was very good Ciry." Forrest later presents him with "a pocket compass, two pieces of coarse chintz, a little tea and sugar candy…In return, he gave me a goat, some fowls, fruits, &c." (Forrest 1969, 14-15).

On Thursday 17th November 1774, he meets Captain Smith of the Antelope, the Company's ship, and Mr. Corbet, the English resident at Sooloo. Perceiving Forrest does not have a small boat,

> [Captain Smith] very politely sent his to attend me; in which, after visiting him, Tuan Hadjee and I went on shore, and paid our respect to Mr. Corbet, the English resident, who received me with great civility, and entertained me at his house. I then went and paid my respects to the Sultan, whose name was Israel […] After dining with Mr. Corbet, in company with Captain Smith and his officers, I went and pay my compliments to Datoo Almoodine, the intended successor of Sultan Israel, who had no children. I also visited the Datoos Almilbahar the admiral, and Almilbadar the general. (Forrest 1969, 18-19)

Sailing from Duoblod, on Monday 21st November 1774, they run into a Sooloo fisherman in his small boat. A spontaneous conversation arises between them as Forrest asks the fisherman for a safe harbour. He is recommended to proceed to Tonkyl (Forrest 1969, 21).

With the help of cheering songs and little incentives, the ship rows past Tidore and Ternate, and reaches Batchian. Accompanied by Matthew, one of the servants, Tuan Hadjee gets ashore and visits his relative, the Sultan of Batchian. On Saturday 3rd December 1774, he returns with the Sultan's messenger carrying "a present of fowls, fruit, rice, &c. and about twenty pounds of cloves in a basket." The messenger's name is Tuan Bobo. In return, Forrest "presented him with a whole piece of English scarlet broad cloth, for the Sultan; and two pieces of gingham for himself. He "observed Tuan Hadjee sent most of the fine goods he had got from Mr. Herbert, at Balambangan, ashore at this place, by Tuan Bobo" (Forrest 1969, 46-47).

On the following day, preparing to sail to Waygiou, Forrest "saw a boat standing towards us, with a white flag." As Tuan Hadjee tells him that it is the Sultan of Batchian, Forrest goes ashore with Tuan Hadjee to pay respect to the Sultan who "sat under the shade of a covered canoe, that was hauled up, upon some boards laid across the gunnel; and, when I came within ten or twelve yards of him, he ran forwards and embraced me" (Forrest 1969, 48).

Stopping by Pulo Bally, Pulo Selang and Pulo Pisang, Forrest then reaches Pulo Gag on Sunday 11th December 1774. On the next day, at the mouth of the harbor,

> [W]e met a boat with four Papua men, and two women, which I hired to tow us out, there being little wind, and we therefore rowing at the same time. I observed the two women plied their paddles more than the men. Their hire was a red handkerchief. Having got out of the bay, we found a tide or current set strong to the northward: so we continued all night steering north east, thinking the tide set them to the southward. (Forrest 1969, 53-54)

Thereafter, Tuan Hadjee goes to Tomoguy and returns with Captain Mareca, who will be the linguist (interpreter) in New Guinea.[4] Having anchored safely at Tomoguy, Forrest hauls the ship ashore and starts the maintenance routine. On Tuesday 20th December 1774, two Synagees (certain chiefs) of the country pay them a visit.

> They wore long hair, were Mahometans, and held their title from the Sultan of Tidore. They behaved civilly, in expectation of presents, which I made them; Tuan Hadjee, to whom they paid great respect, telling me it was necessary […] To day, came in from Gibby several small prows or

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[4] "interpreter" did not exist in Early Modern English (1500-1700) as a job category. During the early period of the East India Company (1600-1640), a range of terms indicating "interpreter" with specific additions or restrictions were used. In the EIC material, *jurebasso* (or *jerry bassa*), a borrowing from Malay *jurubahāsa* literally meaning "language-master," occurs between 1613 and 1622. The first occurrence of *linguist* in the sense of "interpreter" is from 1610 (Kaislaniemi 61; 67; 69; Yule and Burnell 473-474; Murry et al. 8: 992).

> corocoros; for they are called by either name. I found it was expected I should make the masters small presents, which I thought prudent to do. (Forrest 1969, 60)

On December 27th, 1774 arrives a corocoro from Batchian, with two officers, i.e. Tuan Bobo and Tuan Assahan. They brought a letter from the Sultan to Tuan Hadjee, but none to Forrest. However,

> [T]hey brought me, with the Sultan's compliments, six baskets, about fifteen pounds each, of excellent sago bread, of a reddish colour, and six baskets of fine rice. The officers told me they had orders from the Sultan of Batchian to accompany me, withersoever I thought proper to go, to assist me with every thing in their power, and afterwards to proceed with me back to Balambangan. I kept them to drink tea with me in the evening. The vessel had eighteen men, besides the two officers, with two brass swivel guns, and many bows and arrows. (Forrest 1969, 62)

On Sunday 14th January 1775, some Papuans from the islands Aiou pay them a visit, bringing birds of paradise as presents. In return, Forrest offers them some calicoes. Upon their departure, he salutes them with one gun which is reciprocated. Subsequently, a fisherman brings a variety of fish, two of which are distinguished by the horns that project from between the eyes. "The horn was about four inches long, equal in length to the head. Altogether, the head was that of an unicorn: the people called it Een Raw, that is, the fish Raw. The skin was black, and the body might be twenty inches long: its tail was armed with two strong scythes on each side, with their points forward" (Forrest 1969, 83).

On the next day, the local chief (Moodo) pays a visit. He is accompanied by two wives, who had been taken at Amblou, a Dutch settlement, on an island near Amboyna, by the Papua people. Both "had long black hair, and were of the Malay colour; whereas every one I saw here, men and women, were Coffres. By one of these female captives, the Moodo had a little boy, who came along with them." The boy's mother "had a settled melancholy in her countenances; she spoke good Malay, and was cheared by the sight of Europeans. The other captive seemed more reconciled to her condition. I treated them with tea, and gave them a little to carry ashore with them; also some sugar candy, for which they were very thankful. I made them likewise presents of calicoes" (Forrest 1969, 84-85). Afterwards, the Papuans bring them a great deal of fish, turtles and turtle eggs. It is noted that "my Mahometans would not eat [turtle meat]; but they ate the eggs. The natives had a way of stuffing the guts of the turtle, with the yolks of its eggs. So filled, they rolled it up in a spiral form, and roasted it, or rather dried it over a slow fire; it proved than a long sausage. They also brought us limes and small lemons" (Forrest 1969, 86).

The ship later runs into a bad weather and eventually has to head towards to Dory Harbour on New Guinea, which they reach on Friday 27th January 1775. Then, "a boat with two Papua men, came on board, after having conversed a good deal with our linguists at a distance: satisfied we were friends, they hastened ashore, to tell, I suppose, the news." They seem friendly and make themselves at home. Forrest describes:

> all of them wore their hair bushed out so much round their heads, that its circumference measured about three foot, and were least, two and a half. In this they stuck their comb, consisting of four or five long diverging teeth, with which they now and then combed their frizzling locks, in a direction perpendicular from the head, as with a design to make it more bulky. They sometimes adorned their hair with feathers. The women had only their left ear pierced, in which they wore small brass rings. The hair of the women was bushed out also; but not quite so much as that of the men. (Forrest 1969, 95)

Staying at Dory Harbor for a few weeks, they leave on Saturday 19th February 1775, and anchor at Rawak Island on Friday 24th February 1775. Sailing past the islands of Bo and Popo, they reach the Kanary Islands, but do not see any inhabitants. Unable to obtain any provisions, Tuan Hadjee, and the Batchian officers, "strongly advised me to steer for the harbour of Ef-be, on Mysol island, which had a harbour behind it, and all of them had been there. I took their advice, as I had only one iron grapnel to trust to, and found that, among the Kanary islands, was no depending on wooden anchors, in sandy ground, with a current of any strength" (Forrest 1969, 130). While at Mysol, on Friday 17th March 1775, someone claiming to be a secretaris (a jerrytulis or writer) and two other people arrive, they inform Forrest that the governor of Banda has heard about some English vessels near Tomoguy and Waygiou. The captain offers them some presents and salutes them three guns at their departure (Forrest 1969, 132).

On Monday 20th March 1775, Forrest, Tuan Hadjee and Tuan Bobo visit Linty, a village about four miles away. They "dined with the gentlemen who had visited us on the 16th. They entertained us very genteelly […] Tuan Hadjee being with his friends (to whom he was liberal in making presents of broad cloth, &c. which I had advanced him on account of pay for his people) chose to stay all night, as did also Tuan Bobo and Tuan Bussora" (Forrest 1969, 133). Before they are about to leave Mysol, in the morning of March 31st, 1775, Tuan Hadjee is visited by the consort of the Rajah of Salwatty, "whose husband had lately been circumvented by the Dutch, and sent to the Cape of Good Hope. I also paid my respects to the lady, and made her a present. She was a well-looking woman, and had three female attendants. She presented Tuan Hadjee with a small corocoro; and from him I learnt the following account of her lord" (Forrest 1969, 147).

On Saturday 22nd April 1775, the Tartar Galley comes to anchor at Leron Harbour, between the islands Kabruang and Salibabo. In the afternoon, Forrest, Tuan Hadjee and two Batchian officers visit two Rajahs on Salibabo. He presents them two pieces of cloth called Tappies; therefore, they permit the villagers to sell provisions to him. On the next day, many small canoes come to trade. They buy "kalavansas, potatoes, some rice, and two goats, all very reasonable in their price, which we paid in coarse calicoes, red handkerchiefs, &c." (Forrest 1969, 160). Leaving Leron Harbor, they arrive at Serangani on April 29th, 1775. A similar scenario takes place. Tuan Hadjee goes ashore to fetch a pilot, "who carried us farther into the strait, that separates the islands, steering S. E. and brought us into nine foot water among rocks; however, we lay in a clean spot of sand, about thirty fathom wide, and got out two wooden anchors." Consequently, several canoes came on board, "from the more westerly island, with coco nuts and fowls; they proffered also for sale, some pieces of yellow wax, which I am told abounds in those parts. That island is partly cultivated, and is properly called Belk" (Forrest 1969, 164).

Moving closer to Mindanao, on May 3rd, 1775, the ship anchors in the bay of Sugud Boyan. Then arrive several boats, from a place called Tugis. The Mindanao people in those boats have known Tuan Hadjee and pay him great respect. "At his desire, I made them some small presents. In the night we passed a bluff head land, about a league N. W. of Tugis. On either side this head land, the natives said there was good anchorage. They informed me withall, that the same head land was being in one, with a sugar loaf hill just within it, leads at sea to a shoal, on which is only three fathom water, upon sand and rocks" (Forrest 1969, 166).

Two days later, on May 5th, 1775, Forrest arrives at Mindanao and is received by Rajah Moodo and Fakymolano, who seat him and the officers on European chairs. "Chocolate was presently served. After some little conversation, I told Rajah Moodo, that I had a letter from the chief of Balambangan for the Sultan, with a present, which I proposed to deliver that day. He said, it was very well, that his brother in law should accompany me thither; and immediately ordered the boats" (Forrest 1969, 208-209).

Throughout the stay on Mindanao, Forrest is decently treated by the local dignitaries. On May 10th, 1775, Rajah Moodo, with his father Fakymolano, "did me the honour of a visit; and presented me with a young bullock" (Forrest 1969, 212). On June 1st, 1775, he is "invited to sup at Rajah Moodo's with my two officers. On the table were about twenty china plates, which might be called small dishes, tolerably filled with fish, fowl, and roasted goat. Rajah Moodo sat by, did not eat with us; but drank chocolate, his usual supper. Next day the cold victuals were sent to my apartments" (Forrest 1969, 218).

In addition to receiving guests in his apartment, Forrest visits some locals as well. On July 7th, 1775, Subadan Watamama, Rajah Moodo's cousin, falls sick. Paying him a visit, Forrest "found him in the great hall, on a large bed, which seemed dressed up for show, and had a number of silk bolsters, embroidered with gold at the ends, some of which supported the patient. The hall was full of visitors, dispersed on the floor in companies of three and four together." Afterwards, he "sat down cross legged near the foot of the bed on a clean mat, and asked the patient how he did. He seemed to be very low and feverish. Fakymolano sat close by me, and asked me to prescribe for the invalid. I told him a purgative would be of service." Having drunk chocolate, he takes his leave, accompanied by Molano (Forrest 1969, 224-225).

On August 8th, 1775, Forrest accompanies Rajah Moodo in a much-awaited visit to the Sultan's palace. The Sultan sits on in the middle of the inner hall on the matted square area of the floor. Rajah Moodo is seated about eight feet from him, towards the door. The company "was ranged before the Sultan and Rajah Moodo, and on the latter's right hand, making two sides of the square above mentioned. The third side, being open, displayed afar the Sultana Myong, and some ladies sitting by the foot of the bed. Near the fourth side, a curtain of party coloured silk was dropt, the Sultan's back being towards it." Forrest is seated on Rajah Moodo's right hand, and next to him is the Spanish Envoy. Having spoken something "with a low voice, in the Magindano tongue to this assembly, consisting of about twenty persons, seated on mats, spread upon the floor," the Sultan says to Forrest , in Malay, "some what louder, Captain, you brought good fortune, when you arrived; there was darkness, now there is light. I perfectly understood his expression; and answered, Sir, I rejoice to hear such news" (Forrest 1969, 233-234).

While this meeting is well appreciated, Forrest is coerced into paying a visit to Datoo Topang. He feels compelled to stay for a cup of chocolate drink before excusing himself. While at the Datoo's, Forrest notices that "[o]f at least forty persons present, none were seated, but the Datoo, his lady, the [Spanish] Envoy, and myself, who filled four chairs, at a table" (Forrest 1969, 235-236). On Saturday 18th August 1775, while the Tartar Galley is being repaired, Rajah Moodo asks Forrest to visit Chartow's house, where Noe, Chartow's daughter and the Sultan's granddaughter, prepares herself for the teeth-filing ceremony, which he later observes. He is accompanied by his two officers; all of them are "immediately treated with chocolate and sweet cakes" (Forrest 1969, 240).

Afterwards, on Monday 20th August 1775, the Sultan invites Forrest and Lound, the gunner, to dinner. Upon their arrival, Rajah Moodo "took me by the hand, and desired me to sit down at one end, whilst my youngest officer, Mr. Laurence Lound, (Mr. Baxter being out of order) was desired to sit down at the other. Rajah Moodo said in his usual manner: "Eat heartily, Captain, and do not be ashamed;" while the Sultan, stroking me gently down the back, with his right hand, joined in exhortation: "Eat, Captain; what you do not eat, must all be sent home to you;" pointing to the floor, on one side of the table, where many salvers were covered with confections and sweet cakes." On the English table are several small dishes. They are provided with English flatware and assistance from the attendants whereas Rajah Moodo sits by himself at a table and is served with not as many dishes, and his son, Datoo Utu, also sits alone at a separate table (Forrest 1969, 242-243).

On Wednesday 22nd August 1775, Forrest witnesses a formal visit of Rajah Moodo's lady to the Sultana. She is followed by a retinue of a hundred and four women. Once the party lands on the river bank, about one hundred yards from the Sultan's palace,

> [all the women] cried out with a shrill voice, YOU, exactly as we pronounce it, drawn out for about four seconds. This was repeated three times, with an interval of about four seconds between the times. They then called out the monosyllable WE, precisely as we do, three times, and full as long as the former cry. To me it sounded, like a kind of howl, very disagreeable at first; but custom made it otherwise, as the two words, YOU and WE are terms, or rather sounds of salutation given at a distance to ladies of high rank, and repeated with some interval of pause, until they

> got into the abode of the visited. No man ever joins in the exclamation; now and then a cur in the streets howls in unison, to the no small entertainment of the audience. (Forrest 1969, 244)

On December 29th, 1775, Rajah Moodo sends over a young bullock as a new year's gift; he is also invited to the wedding ceremony on December 30th, 1775 between Rajah Moodo's eldest son Datoo Utu and Noe, granddaughter to the Sultan. A day before the marriage, there is a procession of presents from the bridegroom's father, to the Sultan's palace. Having learned that it is the custom to offer presents to Rajah Moodo on such occasions, he presented "about three yards of superfine broad cloth, which I had the pleasure of seeing move with the first offerings in the procession. I followed to the Sultan's, where the portion was sorting on the floor in the hall, and some clerks were taking an account of it" while "some presenting him with a palempore, another with a piece of chintz, and so on" (Forrest 1969, 284).

A week after the ceremony, on Monday 7th of January 1776, Forrest makes a private visit to Rajah Moodo, to the Sultan, and Fakymolano, for a permission to depart from Mindanao. This privacy "was for fear of the Sooloos, who were numerous in the river; and I suspected that Datoo Topang, their protector, thought I had slighted him" (Forrest 1969, 290). Rajah Moodo thus says, "Go to the Sultan; and, if he approves of your departure, desire him to write me a note, which you will bring yourself." Accordingly, Forrest visits the Sultan, and, "after thanking him for all his civilities, I begged to leave to sail: signifying also to him that Rajah Moodo wished me to depart privately, and without any firing of guns. He then wrote on a slip of paper, that he thought it was proper I should go, and go privately. To day I made Rajah Moodo a present of half a barrel of powder" (Forrest 1969, 289).

Finally on February 11th, 1776, Forrest comes within sight of the English settlement in Borneo. He then "saluted the factory with five guns, and had the same number returned. At seven o'clock went ashore, and waited on the resident, Mr. Jesse, who, by the kindness of his manner, made my short stay very agreeable." After having mended the sails, and acquired provisions and water, he sails on the 17th, "from the town of Borneo; but, at noon, the flood tide making, I came to an anchor" (Forrest 1969, 364). Afterwards, the ship proceeds to the settlement at Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen) where it is auctioned off.

1.2 Attempted dodgings: the Dutch and the Sooloos

Forrest is aware of the Dutch claim on the Moluccas and tries to avoid any encounter with the Dutch and their vessels. If he happens to meet them, he and the crew suddenly become very alert, put on their guard or even resort to disguise. A similar strategy is applied to the Sooloos who are "piratically inclined" (Forrest 1969, 301).

While at Tonkyl Island, instead of going ashore to buy provisions, Forrest buys fish and firewood from people who bring them in their boats for sale at a low price, "not choosing to trust my people on shore to cut it, as I perceived many armed men, of whom I was suspicious; and who calling out, endeavoured to persuade me, but to no purpose, to go into the harbor." Reflecting on this situation, he is afraid that "had I been cast away upon this island, the Sooloos might at least have plundered us" (Forrest 1969, 22).

On November 28th, 1774, rowing in the night, Tuan Hadjee is in high spirits cheering up the rowers with a certain song "not only to amuse and chear up the mind, but to give vigour to their motions in rowing." This is encouraged by Forrest, hoping "that we might soon get past the Dutch settlements of Ternate and Tidore. I gave also each man a red handkerchief for their encouragement. The current was much in our favour. To day we passed Ternate and Tidore, and at four P. M. were abreast of Macquian, having moderate weather, with northerly winds" (Forrest 1969, 27).

During the night of Thursday 1st December 1774, after Tuan Hadjee goes ashore to visit the Sultan of Batchian, Forrest "lay off in twelve fathom water, muddy ground; but, in the day I hauled close to the peninsula: I was then hid from the sea. This I did to avoid being seen by any Dutch cruiser in the offing, that might be passing this way" (Forrest 1969, 46). They plan to purchase an additional boat, but will not conduct any transaction from Batchian so as to avert attention. Nevertheless, on Saturday 8th January 1775, "came on board a canoe with six people, who had long hair, were dressed like Malays, and all spoke the Malay tongue. They belonged to a Dutch Chinese sloop, then in harbour, at a place called Ilkalio." These people have a conversation with Captain Mareca, the interpreter who will accompany Forrest to New Guinea, and leave him "some Cocoya mats, as a present. I suspected they were very curious and inquisitive with him, though they asked me no questions" (Forrest 1969, 76).

On Monday the 30th January 1775, the Jerry Bassa (linguist) of Mansingham, named Mambeway, comes on board and starts a conversation with Mapia the linguist purchased at Yowl. He precedes the Noquedah (commander) of the Tidore corocoro, who arrives on the following day. Forrest "treated him civilly, and presented him with a pocket compass and a palempore or counterpane" (Forrest 1969, 100-101).

During the stay on New Guinea, Forrest's presence attracts quite a few visits of the neighboring Dutch-controlled islands. On Tuesday 31st February 1775, a large prow comes in, "with Dutch colours flying. This put us on our guard; I found she came from Tidore: I then mustered fifty people, mostly armed with bows and arrows" (Forrest 1969, 101). Later on Wednesday 8th February 1775, a corocoro from the island Mysory arrives with a person who claims to come from the Rajah of Munsury. It seems "he had heard of a strange vessel's being at Dory. The corocoro went back in the evening, after promise to return. I presented the master with one piece of bastas for himself, and a bar of iron for the Rajah" (Forrest 1969, 104).

On Wednesday 22nd February 1775, Forrest finds himself in a dilemma of having to choose between avoiding any Dutch encounter and procuring much needed provisions. Tuan Hadjee owns that "it was hard to proceed in the attempt of weathering Morty, with so small a stock of provisions; and it was dangerous to put in any where on the east of Gilolo, where Dutch panchallangs and corocoros were constantly cruising, as no doubt, they had heard of us; and that Morty, where sago grew in abundance, had few, if any, inhabitants." He, therefore, advises Forrest to put into Rawak harbour, on the northeastern part of Waygiou, where provisions are certainly available. "Being fully sensible of the justness of what Tuan Hadjee said," he "immediately bore away for Rawak harbour, steering S. W. with the wind at E. N. E. and at noon we were in 00° 10' N. latitude" (Forrest 1969, 117).

On Saturday 3rd March 1775, they row out of Rawak Harbor. In the afternoon, they approach Pulo Een, as the sea bottom proves to be rocky and difficult to anchor, they decide to leave. Having rowed and attempted to sail northward, they, however, "made only a N. W. course, the current setting us strong to the southward. Finding it impossible to get the northward of Gilolo, without going near Patany Hook, where the Dutch have constant cruisers, either sloops, panchallangs, or corocoros, I bore away in the night." Hereafter, Forrest is "informed that the Dutch had got notice of our having repaired at Tomoguy" (Forrest 1969, 123; 125).

Unable to sail northward, they have to head south between the islands Gag and Gibby, to pass the islands of Bo and Popo, the Kanary Islands, and to finally anchor Ef-be Harbor on Mysol, an island near Ouby. One major concern is that the Dutch have a small fort on the west side of Ouby, and "keep there fast sailing corocoros always ready, to carry advice of whatever happens remarkable." Once Forrest asks Tuan Hadjee's opinion about "standing on with our starboard tacks, and fetching Ouby, where, under the lee of the island, we could row up along shore. His answer was, that we should certainly be discovered, that advice would be instantly sent to Amboyna, and the island Bouro, by small prows, and then we should be way-laid by armed corocoros, of which Amboyna always keeps many in readiness." Being in Ef-be harbour, not above fifty leagues from Amboyna, they have no other choice but to put their trust in "the fidelity of those we were amongst, that no advice of us would be sent to the Dutch, to whom they did not seem to be warmly affected, as they informed us of many severities, and even robberies, committed by their cruising panchallangs and corocoros; nor concealed the Papua people offending in their turn, with their bows and arrows."[5] However, on Monday 27th March 1775, a large boat from Tidore arrives at Mysol. On board are found "an Alsiez (Ensign)" and two other Malay soldiers. The boat, paddled with many men, enters the harbor, putting Forrest and his men on alert. The Ensign tells him that the Dutch have sent a sloop with Europeans to Gilolo in search of the English vessel. Before leaving, he is given a salute of one gun and a present (Forrest 1969, 144-146).

Afterwards, on March 31st, 1775, as the Tartar Galley is leaving Ef-be Harbour, Forrest sees a small prow heading from Ceram. This puts his crew on alert, but finally the prow steers away (Forrest 1969, 151). Ploughing his way northward again, Forrest has to anchor at Gibby, where many Dutch cruisers are said to be around. On Wednesday 12th April 1775, he sees two islands, "low and flat: the more northerly was the smaller. As I expected anchorage near them, and did not like to keep the sea with uncertain winds, in the tracks of Dutch cruisers. I promised a reward to twenty rowers, if I reached them.

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[5] This incident stands in contrast with an earlier one related in *Memoirs of a Malayan Family: written by themselves* (1830). According to *Kei Damáng*, or the superintendent, of Samangka (or Semangka Bay located to the south of Sumatra, Indonesia), which is under the control of the Dutch East India Company, Captain Thomas Forrest arrives "in an English two-masted vessel, from Bencoolen." He shows no sign of trying to avoid any encounter with the Dutch guards stationed there. He even asks the corporal named Raus for "the best spot for anchoring," and requests that he be "supplied with fowls, ducks, goats, and other articles of which he stood in need." Forrest stays at Samangka for ten days and then takes leave (Marsden 1830, 46-53).

This made them exert themselves, and at ten A. M. I got within four miles of the islands" (Forrest 1969, 155-156).

After having relied on avoidance tactics, Forrest eventually resorts to disguise. On Saturday 22nd April 1775, he hoists a Dutch flag and sails between the islands of Kabruang and Salibabo into Leron Harbor. He then sends the boat ashore as a Dutch one. Immediately after they have anchored, "came on board to question us, a blind Chinese, who spoke very good Malay. I presented him with a fathom of course chintz. In the afternoon, I went on shore in the corocoro with Tuan Hadjee, and the two Batchian officers, to visit the two Rajahs, so many being on Salibabo. I gave each a piece of Tappies, and they permitted the people of the village to sell us provisions" (Forrest 1969, 160).

Having left Mindanao, on January 11th, 1776, Forrest finds four prows with no flags between Lutangan and the mainland of Mindanao; when he approaches them, they try to sail and row away. Nevertheless, one of the smallest boats "stood after and spoke to us. They were Sooloo prows, and seemed to be working into the harbour of Kamaladan: I asked the master of the small prow that spoke to us, why the others ran away, and why they showed no colours; to which he made an evasive answer, not caring perhaps to own they were afraid" (Forrest 1969, 351).

Eventually, the ship reaches Mindanao in May 1775. Having spent over six months there, on January 8th, 1776, he prepares to leave. He thus seeks a private conversation with Rajah Moodo and asks for permission to depart. The reason for privacy is for fear of the Sooloos, “who were numerous in the river.” After the meeting, it is reported that two of Rajah Moodo’s soldiers are going to accompany him on a visit to Tukoran, where Rajah Moodo’s father-in-law lives. Forrest does not deny this (Forrest 1969, 289-290). To assure that he and the ship will not fall into the hands of the Sooloos while anchoring near their mainland, on Wednesday 17th January 1776, he “sent ashore to the island, and gave a fisherman to understand, that the vessel belonged to Magindano […] All night I was very uneasy, being upon an enemy’s lee shore. Had I fallen into their hands, they would certainly have kept me a long time amongst them, being jealous of my reception at Mindano” (Forrest 1969, 354-355).[6]

Without any hostile confrontation with the Dutch and the Sooloos, Forrest returns to Borneo in early February 1776; he then proceeds and reaches Bencoolen in late June 1776.

1.3 Spicy searches: cloves and nutmegs

On the spice mission from November 1774 – June 1776, when he has a chance to converse with the local inhabitants, Forrest never fails to ask them about the availability of spices on the islands he visits.

On November 16th, 1774, he finds some people from the island of Pangatarran and some Sooloo people, from whom he learns that there are, at Sooloo, two Molucca prows loaded with nutmegs and mace. At Tuan Hadjee’s suggestion, Forrest “resolved to go thither, as it was not out of our way, to endeavour to persuade the Noquedahs (commanders) to carry their nutmegs to Balambangan"; however, as he reaches there on the next day, "the Noquedah came on board, and informed me, that the other prow, after disposing of her cargoe, had sailed; he likewise told us, that he had sold, or at least bargained, for his nutmegs with the Sultan: there he declined going to Balambangan" (Forrest 1969, 17-18).

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[6] Forrest uses *Magindano* to refer to the Sultanate and *Mindano* to the name of the island. However, I use *Mindanao*, which is the current spelling.

On Saturday 3rd December 1774, Tuan Bobo, a messenger of the Sultan of Batchian, brings him "a present of fowls, fruit, rice, &c. and about twenty pounds of cloves in a basket." In return, Tuan Hadjee sends most of the fine goods he has got from Mr. Herbert. Afterwards, a basket of cloves from the Sultan will be lost when the Borneo corocoro capsizes near New Guinea due to bad weather (Forrest 1969, 46-47; 99).

On Sunday 4th December 1774, three people, who claim to be Rajahs on the island Ceram, come in a canoe. After a little conversation with them, "concerning that island, and other matters, in which they told me that cloves certainly grew on many parts of it, they went ashore to the island Bally" (Forrest 1969, 47). Proceeding to the harbor on Selang, on Wednesday 7th December 1774, he sends some people into the woods in search of clove trees, but none are found; however, they discover many tall nutmeg trees, but "[t]here was no fruit visible on the branches; but many old nutmegs were lying on the ground, and most of them had sprouted" (Forrest 1969, 51).

While staying on New Guinea, a window of opportunity opens. On January 29th, 1775, Forrest enquires the Papuans he meets about nutmegs. One of them says, "he would fetch some nutmegs from Mandury, a place to the eastward. I made him a small present; but saw no more of him" (Forrest 1969, 100). On Sunday 11th February 1775, his party goes to Manaswary Island and "searched for the nutmeg tree, as some Papua men said it grew there. We returned about sunset, without finding it" (Forrest 1969, 106).

On February 15th, 1775, they go to Manaswary and find a nutmeg tree about a mile from the landing spot. They "eagerly cut it down, and gathered about thirty or forty nuts; there were many upon it, but they were not ripe" while Tuan Hadjee and all the Molucca people assure it is the long kind of nutmeg, called Keyan. Soon, he finds many more nutmeg trees, and many young ones growing under their shade. He "picked above one hundred plants, which I put up in baskets, with earth round them; intending to carry them to Balambangan, whither I now proposed to return as fast as possible." Forrest does not forget to reward his crew with five pieces of cloth for finding the nutmeg tree (Forrest 1969, 108). Three days later, before leaving Dory Harbor, he "[t]ook up a good many nutmeg plants, and felled another nutmeg tree; the fruit was such as we had got before. Tuan Hadjee said it would be a month or six weeks ere the fruit would be fully ripe. He and the rest talked so much about its being of the right sort, tho' it was long, and not round, like the Dutch nutmeg, that I no longer doubted it" (Forrest 1969, 110-111).

Subsequently, during the stay on Mysol Island, Forrest owns, "it was natural for me to ask about the clove and nutmeg. I was assured that neither was produced on that island; but that cloves grew on some part of Ceram, the high mountains of which were to-day plainly to be seen; that the clove grew also on the island of Ouby, which we had more than once been in sight of" (Forrest 1969, 144).

At the Kanary Islands, on April 4th, 1775, the ship anchors near a creek on what he calls “Round Harbour.” From this creek “we went into the woods, and cut a new foremast and bowsprit of bintangle wood, which is light, yet strong, and of a colour like fir. Found abundance of ratans, many of which we cut for our use. We also searched for nutmegs and cloves, but found none” (Forrest 1969, 153).

The spice search hits a snag on May 17th, 1775, when some nutmeg plants, which Mr. Baxter has carefully preserved are taken out of his apartment by some of Tuan Hadjee’s followers, and presented to Rajah Moodo, in Tuan Hadjee’s name. Consequently, Mr. Baxter complains that he has given some cloth to one of Tuan Hadjee’s people for gathering them at Manaswary Island. Forrest “informed him it was a delicate affair, advising him to say nothing about it; and he followed my advice. – The nutmeg plants I had brought from New Guinea, having been touched by salt water, were spoiled: those, of which Mr. Baxter was thus deprived, were in better preservation. I saw them afterwards growing in the garden of Rajah Moodo” (Forrest 1969, 215).

1.4 Negotiating the sea and the winds

Sailing in the East Indies socializing and searching for spices and unclaimed islands, Forrest traverses a vast system of tides and winds that contribute to the progression and/or stagnation of the voyage.[7]

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[7] Forrest provides an elaborate account of the monsoons in *A Treatise on the Monsoons in East-India* (1783), explaining that:

On Sunday 20th November 1774, having left Sooloo, Forrest arrives at Duoblod, next to which lies a large hummock in the eastern direction. Attempting in vain to reach Tantaran, as it is called in Dalrymple's map, he realizes that the current and tide are "setting strong to the eastward, between it and two very small islands called Dippool, which lie south of it, and are shaped like sugar loaves; the one much larger than the other. I therefore bore away for a low island, lying farther east." The unsettled weather finally forces him to anchor among coral rocks (Forrest 1969, 21).

On Wednesday 23rd November 1774, the weather becomes less unruly with westerly winds. Reaching Tonkyl, they notice "many ripplings of currents, which I imputed to the monsoon's changing" (Forrest 1969, 24). Afterwards, on December 4th, 1774, the ship arrives at Pulo Bally and Forrest discovers that "[a]bout three leagues S. W. of Bally are some dangerous breakers, which I saw very high, as it was stormy this morning. About two in the afternoon, we weighed and stood on to the southward, the weather being moderate; but we found a large swell from the westward, and passed within the shoal which has been mentioned. The breakers were exceedingly high upon it" (Forrest 1969, 49).

> We have already ascribed the cause of the north-east monsoon to a kind of revolution in the atmosphere, from where the mountains of China and Tartary, of Tibet, of Pegu, Indostan, &c. being overcharged with vapours by the approach of the sun in summer, now, at his withdrawing south in winter, discharge the accumulated load […] The great body of water that begins to run in various directions, west, south, south-south-east, &c. according to the said gite of lands and islands, comes like a torrent between China and the Philippines, from the north-west part of the South Sea: for here only the Indian ocean is open to the north, as has been said. (Forrest 1783, 15-16)

After they arrive at Pulo Gag, on Wednesday 14th December 1774, Tuan Hadjee proceeds to Tomoguy and returns with Captain Mareca, who later frustrates Forrest with his suggestion of a bad anchoring spot, "when many safe harbours were near; and the darkness, when we anchored the night before, prevented my seeing the badness of our berth." Having got out of a dangerous situation with the help of the same person, Forrest "immediately made sail for a place called Manasuin, about two leagues from Tomoguy; and there I anchored in a smooth bay, in twelve fathom water, clean sandy ground" (Forrest 1969, 56).

On Tuesday 17th January 1775, Forrest has to deal with another incident of tempestuous sea. Anchoring at Aiou Baba, they experience "westerly winds with some rain, until afternoon; then N. E. winds with much rain." Thereafter, "the huge sea, without, broke its violence on the edge of the reef, with which this cluster of islands is surrounded. However, I became sensible when it was high water, by the vessel's pitching a little: at low water the sea was perfectly smooth, the depth nine foot. A rising and setting moon makes high water, and the spring tides rise five foot" (Forrest 1969, 86).

The aforementioned incidents of uncooperative sea and weather cannot compare with what happens a few days later, which will change the course of the voyage. Earlier, Tuan Hadjee expresses his aversion to sailing to New Guinea, and only yields to Forrest's request to visit some islands to the north of the mainland. However, as the ship approaches the island Abdon on Sunday 22nd January 1775, the wind starts blowing strongly from the northwest. Forrest loses sight of the other two boats. At six p.m. on the following day, it is "blowing very fresh, the vessel sprang a leak, and near three foot water got into her hold, before we could gain on her. We started water, and hove overboard whatever came to hand." Descrying the high mountains of New Guinea, Forrest thus capitalizes on the situation, and tells Tuan Hadjee that "there was an absolute necessity to bear away for Dory harbour on the coast of New Guinea; to which he made no objection. So we steered S. E. and E. S. E. for the island of Mysory, to the southward of which Tuan Hadjee told me, the harbour of Dory lay" (Forrest 1969, 91).

Forrest's stay on New Guinea, which lasts from 27th January – 19th February 1775, provides him a chance to learn more about the Papuans and the island. He wishes to stay longer, but the wind urges him to move on. On Thursday 16th February 1775, "unwilling to lose the fair winds, that had blown some time from the eastward, being also afraid of N. W. winds returning; against which it were imprudent to attempt, and impossible to work up the coast to Waygiou," he therefore prepares to leave Dory Harbor (Forrest 1969, 108).

Upon the departure, Forrest experiences more obstacles emerging from the weather condition. On February 19th, 1775, they "had squally, thick, and rainy weather, with westerly winds. The vessel was so uneasy, and pitched so much by a short sea, occasioned by the windward current, that she made a good deal of water. I wished to get into port again; but the current set us strongly to windward." Finally, the weather becomes fairer in the afternoon with "a light breeze at N. E. the current favouring us. At sunset, we were past the promontory of Dory, and the Beehive bore south; the Cape of Good Hope bore at the same time west, fifteen leagues. During the bad weather, I had the misfortune to have many papers wet, as the rain got almost every where" (Forrest 1969, 115-116).

Forrest plans to head west and northwest, round Gilolo, so as to return to Balambangan. Nevertheless, on March 6th, 1775, finding that the current setting strong to the southward, he gives up “the hope of getting round Gilolo” and heads south to Mysol (Forrest 1969, 127). On the way there, in the night of March 11th, 1775, “the tide or current favouring us, we drove up under Tapiola, * but I durst not venture to anchor near, as it was rocky. The tides and winds were uncertain near the island, and I could not anchor but among rocks, close on shore” (Forrest 1969, 128; asterisk in original).

Spending approximately two weeks on Mysol, Forrest departs on March 31st, 1775 and heads northward again. Stopping at the Kanary Islands and Salibabo, the ship gets into the bay of Sugud Boyan and then enters the Pelangy River of Mindanao. Soon, the flood tide “carried me abreast the Sultan’s. I anchored, and saluted with five guns, which were returned. I then instantly weighed […] the flood tide presently bringing me up to Coto Intang, I saluted with five guns; and these were also returned.” As the high tide brings the ship close to the shore, Forrest steps out and is welcomed to Mindanao by Datoo Bukkalyan, brother-in-law to Rajah Moodo. Later on the same day, the fresh southerly winds blow all day long, indicating that “the S. W. or rainy monsoon, was set in, and that he has “a prospect of staying among them many months, until the monsoon should shift for my return to Borneo” (Forrest 1969, 208-209; 211).

The monsoon clearly determines the length of his stay on Mindanao. On September 3rd, 1775, Forrest is informed that the Sultan, Fakymolano, Rajah Moodo, and all their relations, “had come to a resolution of granting the island Bunwoot to the English Company”; notwithstanding, he is unable to sail directly to Balambangan to relate the news to the Council. He chooses to stay, "[c]onsidering that the monsoon was far from being so turned as to enable me to sail direct thither to avoid the Sooloos" (Forrest 1969, 250). Eventually, from December 9th, 1775 onwards, "fine pleasant weather and generally N. E. winds" indicate that the northeast monsoon has set in, and it is time to depart. On the night of January 8th, 1776, Forrest "got over the bar of the Pelangy, accompanied by two of Rajah Moodo's soldiers" (Forrest 1969, 261-262; 350).

1.5 The Tartar on the oceanic steppes

Although the major characters in the story are Forrest and Tuan Hadjee, one can also argue that this is the story of the ship, its voyage, transformation and demise. Several times, some of her parts are lost; others have to be replaced or repaired.

Initially, Forrest chooses a prow of ten tons because the mainly Malay crew would not be patient to remain on a large vessel without feeling tempted to go on shore.[8] Additionally, a large vessel would require a stock of provisions which the settlement on Balambangan cannot afford. A small prow draws little water, enabling it to anchor in shallow waters (Forrest 1969, 6-7). Subsequently, Forrest "fixed to her a foremast close foreward, and a bowsprit; and gave her a lateen, a three cornered sail." He also installs a lateen mizzen and replaces the lyre tanjong (pointed sail) with a lateen sail, making the sails resemble those of the galleys in the Mediterranean (Forrest 1969, 9). It is named the *Tartar* Galley for the voyage.[9]

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[8] *Prow* "seems to have a double origin in European use; the Malayāl. *pāru*, 'a boat,' and the Island word (common to Malay, Javanese, and most languages of the Archipelago) *prāū* or *prāhū*. This is often specifically applied to a peculiar kind of galley, "Malay Prow," but Crawfurd defines it as "a general term for any vessel, but generally for small craft" (Yule and Burnell 733).

During the voyage, the ship undergoes a series of trials and tribulations, ranging from leakage to near shipwreck. On November 14th, 1774, as the northward breeze shifts to the westward, the canoe "broke loose; and, as it blew very fresh, we could not recover her" (Forrest 1969, 17). As a result, it becomes very inconvenient for the ship to anchor and for the crew to get ashore as the small size of the canoe would allow easier access to an island. On Friday 18th November 1774, two of the grapnels are lost (Forrest 1969, 20).

One time after another, the ship is hauled ashore for the bottom to be cleaned and freshly calked. On December 16th, 1774, the vessel is hauled on Tomoguy, where it is washed and cleaned on the inside. As the tide rises, it is hauled a little further. On the next day, Forrest sends "the people to cut wood for burning the coral rocks we had gathered, in order to make chenam (lime for mixing with oil to be put upon the vessel's bottom" (Forrest 1969, 59). More maintenance work is on the way. On December 23rd, 1774, staying on Waygiou, he "embraced an opportunity when it was fair, to calk the starboard side of the galley, above water." Three days later, "two gunnel planks, fifteen inches broad, the whole length of the vessel" are fixed (Forrest 1969, 61-62). Afterwards, he calks the starboard and the larboard sides of the vessel, paying them with lime, "mixed with water, in which certain leaves of trees had been steeped." He also purchases "from Captain Mareca an old prow, which I broke up for boards, to lay across the lower beams of the vessel for the people to sleep on." Additionally, the crew is "employed also in making attops, and covering the vessel with them, being resolved to get afloat as soon as possible" (Forrest 1969, 65).

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[9] *Galley* refers to "a kind of low flat-built vessel, furnished with one deck, and navigated with sails and oars, particularly in the Mediterranean" (Falconer n. pag.).

In parallel with the physical transformation, the ship witnesses another vessel joining her for a certain period of the voyage in order to finally part way. Since Tuan Hadjee argues that it is too risky to sail to New Guinea in one vessel, Forrest asks him to acquire another one, "a corocoro of eighteen foot keel, and eight foot beam […] She was manned with fourteen people" (Forrest 1969, 67). Earlier, a small new vessel is bought from Tuan Bussora "the Molucca man, whom I had engaged to go with me to the coast of New Guinea" (Forrest 1969, 65). Before the fleet resumes the voyage, Tuan Hadjee's prow is named the Banguey while Tuan Bussora's is named the Borneo (Forrest 1969, 67-68).[10]

At Waygiou, she is given a new foremast and a wooden anchor. Leaving Waygiou in January 1775, unfortunately, the ship faces an unexpected strong wind and "sprang a leak, and near three foot water got into her hold." The English crew "started water, and hove overboard whatever came to hand; sago, firewood, and our cooking place; also a great many iron hoops" (Forrest 1969, 85; 91). On January 25th, 1775, at Yowry Island, she is "anchored behind it in three and a half fathom water, with a wooden anchor, and made a rope fast to the shore of the island. We lay pretty smooth. At night, let go our iron grapnel, and soon after parted from our wooden anchor, the cable being cut by the rocks" (Forrest 1969, 93).

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[10] Forrest probably follows the generally accepted practice, which called for a consort ship to accompany the flag ship. This was essential because one ship could help the other in case of distress. James Cook's first expedition (1768-71) was the only one of this period comprising a single ship while Philip Carteret commanded the *Swallow* as a consort of the *Dolphin* under the command of Samuel Wallis (1766-1768) (Wallis 19-20).

On Sunday 23rd April 1775, the ship anchors at Salibabo Island. Lound the gunner is sent to examine a prow for sale about two miles off, to the northwest of Leron Harbour, because the galley is very leaky. Here, the Tartar Galley stands a chance of being replaced by a new one. However, Forrest decides against this since "we dreaded a rupture with the people of Leron, who began (we were told) to suspect our galley a Mindano piratical cruiser" (Forrest 1969, 161).

During the stay on Mindanao, on May 20th, 1775, as the ship is raised upon blocks, he examines her bottom, and, to his dismay, finds that much of it has been eaten by worms. Nevertheless, he "set about decking her, employing Chinese carpenters, at one Kangan (half a dollar) a day" (Forrest 1969, 216). Having her "tolerably repaired, having also painted her," on August 16th, 1775, he launches her, and "brought her abreast of my apartments, in the fort, where we rigged her as a schooner. Mr. Baxter, who was an excellent seaman, took pains to make her look very smart" (Forrest 1969, 240). One week later, on August 23rd, 1775, the Tartar Galley having been decked and fitted as a schooner.[11] Forrest works her "down the river against the S. W. wind, with the ebb tide, past Rajah Moodo's fort, and the Sultan's palace, and then sailed back before the wind: there were many spectators" (Forrest 1969, 246).

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[11] *Schooner* is used to call "a small vessel with two masts, whose main-sail and fore-sail are suspended from *gaffs* reaching from the mast towards the stern; and stretched out below by booms, whose foremost ends are hooked to an iron, which claps the mast so as to turn therein as upon an axis, when the after ends are swung from one side to the vessel to the other" (Falconer n. pag.).

Sailing from Mindanao, on January 12th, 1776, the crew keeps "working into Kamaladan harbour; at ten before noon saw a corocoro near us." Forrest sends Ishmael the Jerrybatoo on board. Surprisingly, it turns out to be the Banguey corocoro with Tuan Hadjee, and Tuan Bobo, one of the Batchian officers; they say they are bound to Samboangan. Ishmael tells him that "Tuan Hadjee would hardly believe I had been able to get the vessel decked and made into a schooner" (Forrest 1969, 352).

On February 17th, 1776, the sails of the Tartar Galley are mended in Borneo. But on the following day, the vessel "made more water than usual: she had sprung a leak on the starboard side, three streaks from the keel." On February 20th, 1776, three Buggess calkers are hired to calk the starboard side; they find out that the leak is as big as a large nail hole (Forrest 1969, 364-365). On March 31st, 1776, the ship is hauled ashore at Queda, where Forrest "shifted about three foot of bad plank on each side." By April 6th, 1776, having finished the reparation of the vessel, he "strongly invited my mate and gunner to continue with me; but they would not." On the following day, he sails, and, "on the thirteenth, arrived in Atcheen Road, where I found Thomas Palmer, Esquire, late third of Balambangan, in a sloop at anchor. We agreed to keep company to Bencoolen. I staid ashore at Atcheen, till the seventeenth, to recover my health, having been indisposed since I left Queda" (Forrest 1969, 386).

After a long and arduous voyage, the Tartar Galley is the only vessel left in the fleet. The Borneo capsizes in the storm before reaching New Guinea; the Banguey is given to Tuan Hadjee who is discharged from the Company's service. She is brought to Fort Marlborough by "a daring Malay […] in a very leaky condition; her bottom being entirely destroyed by worms. She was hauled ashore soon after her arrival, and we shall take the first opportunity of disposing of her at public sale. We cannot help expressing our surprise, that Captain Forrest should attempt a voyage he has completed in a vessel of so small a burden as ten tons" (Forrest 1969, 388).[12]

1.6 Navigating the tension

Noticeably, when the lines of events, traveling along different and probably opposite directions, intersect with one another, this results in tension Forrest has to handle during the voyage. As the ship is approaching the Moluccas, Tuan Hadjee tells Forrest that "it was highly imprudent to go to the coast of New Guinea, whither we were bound, being only one vessel; and that we ran the risk of being cut off by the Papuas. He said nothing of this at Balambangan." Forrest then proposes to sail to the north of Morty, which is located near the northern part of Gilolo, or Halamahera, the largest of the Moluccas, but Tuan Hadjee objects to this and, instead, suggests that they sail between Gilolo and Celebes (Sulawesi) to purchase and fit up another corocoro.[13] This route

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[12] The Tartar Galley is finally sold at a public auction by William Marsden for £ 9.7.6 (Bassett 1969, 16), and one can only wonder whether she will be broken up for boards as Forrest has done to another prow, or she will be repaired and renamed for another voyage.

[13] In one of the footnotes, Forrest writes:

> A corocoro is a vessel generally fitted with out riggers, having a high arched stem and stern, like the points of a half moon. They are used by the inhabitants of the Molucca islands chiefly, and the Dutch have fleets of them at Amboyna, which they employ as guarda costas. They have them from a very small size, to above ten tons burthen; and on the cross pieces which support the out-riggers, are often put fore and aft planks, on which

requires that they hurry past Tidore and Ternate to avoid encountering the Dutch vessels, but it also reveals Tuan Hadjee's strong inclination to visit Batchian, situated to the southwest of Gilolo (Forrest 1969, 23-24). While anchoring at Batchian, on Sunday 4th December 1774, three people, who claim that they are Rajahs on the island Ceram, arrive. Having told Forrest and Tuan Hadjee that "cloves certainly grew on many parts of it, they went ashore to the island Bally." They then agree to proceed to "the island of Waygiou, or somewhere near it, in order, as I had agreed with Tuan Hadjee, to purchase, and fit up a corocoro, to enable us to prosecute our voyage to New Guinea; for we thought Batchian was too near Ternate to do that business there" (Forrest 1969, 47).

Not wanting to waste more time, Forrest sends a boat to Salwatty to buy sago bread and other kinds of provisions, and starts calking the ship's starboard side. Nonetheless, the task is interrupted when one night his house is "robbed of some shirts, and other wearing apparel. My servant Matthew pursued the thief with a cutlass; but I was not displeased he did not catch him: Matthew being a lad of spirit, there might have been bloodshed." Three days later, the thief, a Papua Coffre, is brought to Captain Mareca's house. However, the stolen items are not returned and no punishment is inflicted on the perpetrator (Forrest 1969, 61-62).

Another conflict develops soon after. On Friday the 30th December, 1774, Forrest hires a Papua man to make a wooden anchor; and offers him a new Pulicat handkerchief

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> the people sit and paddle, beside those who sit in the vessel on each gunnel. In smooth water they can be paddled very fast, as many hands may be employed in different ranks or rows. They are steered with two commodores, (broad paddles) and not with[ou]t rudder. When they are high out of the water, they use oars, but, on the out riggers, they always use paddles. (Forrest 1969, 23)

in return. In the evening, “several Patany men, lately from Gibby, which island lies in their way from Patany to Tomoguy, assembled at my house, and, in a very bold manner, asked me for Betel money.” He refuses to immediately yield to their wishes, asking them to return the following morning. During the night, Forrest keeps “a good watch all night, not much liking the company I had got amongst.” However, on the next day, the wooden anchor is found lying on the ground, cut and defaced. He “instantly found out the man, who had got his shield in his hand, his lance, bow and arrows, and was preparing to set off in his boat, as on a journey; at the same time, he seemed to be very much displeased, and spoke angrily.” In order to appease his anger, Forrest “took him by the hand, and, pointing to the mangled anchor, laughed, saying, it would do very well. With much difficulty, I got him into my house, where I appeased his wrath, and gave him about ten times its value.” Meanwhile, Forrest discovers that the Batchian officers try to avoid discussing this situation. They fail to join him for breakfast as they used to, and prepare to launch their corocoro, intending to leave him to handle the matter on his own. Additionally, the father of the carpenter is offered “a half worn scarlet waistcoast, and a fathom of new scarlet broad cloth” as he helps “to appease his son’s wrath; but, though I never could learn the truth, I suspected the man set on to impose, or perhaps to pick a quarrel.” Consequently, he decides to walk around with loaded pistols, and has his crew do the same. Later, the Patany and Gibby men come over and Forrest presents them with Surat cloth and calicoe goods, and treats them with tea (Forrest 1969, 63-64).

Having purchased two additional corocoros and repaired the ship, Forrest is ready to leave for New Guinea. Yet, his voyage plan is further delayed when Tuan Assahan "asked me whither I was going; I told him, to Tanna Papua, and thence to Balambangan. He said, very seriously, as that was the case, he could not go with me." Furthermore, "one Mapalla, (son to a head man of Ceram) who belonged to her, cried out, that if the Batchian officers did not go with me, he would not." Forrest admits that he "really expected, from the reluctance Tuan Hadjee and the Batchian officers had lately shown of proceeding to New Guinea, that matters would turn out as they did. I was therefore on my guard, and that afternoon had a long conversation with Tuan Hadjee about our voyage," in which he claims that he cannot do anything to force his Batchian crew to comply with Forrest's or his order. Apparently acquiescent, Forrest complies with Tuan Hadjee's wish and says he has dropped all the thought of going to New Guinea. However, "[t]he seeming indifference which I put on at what had happened, led him, I believe, to imagine he might have every thing his own way; and, on his hinting that we had come a great distance, and, were we to return, it might not be amiss; at the same time, politely acknowledging, that I was commander, &c." Eventually, they agree to venture to some of the islands that lie to the northeast of Waygiou before returning to Balambangan (Forrest 1969, 70-72).

On Saturday 8th January 1775, another tension arises as six people arrive in a canoe. Belonging to a Dutch sloop, they "had long hair, were dressed like Malays, and all spoke the Malay tongue." Forrest feels concerned as they seem to be very curious and inquisitive with Captain Mareca whereas they ask Forrest no questions. He shows them "all manner of civility, but, to intimate that I was not alone, the Banguey corocoro, in which Tuan Hadjee was, being then about league to windward, I made a signal to speak with her; which she instantly observed, by bearing down. Tuan Hadjee had then some little conversation with the people in the canoe" (Forrest 1969, 76).

In addition to human interactions, natural phenomena can constitute tension as well. As the Tartar Galley is leaving Waygiou, the Borneo corocoro fires a gun as a signal of distress. Forrest decides to steer back, but finds it impossible to do so as the ship starts to water. The strong wind finally brings Forrest closer to New Guinea (Forrest 1969, 90-91). Finally, one of the objectives of the voyage is fulfilled. Forrest's stay on New Guinea, which lasts almost one month (27th January – 19th February 1775), provides him a chance to acquire knowledge about the Papuans, their culture, the nutmegs and cloves, and information on some of the islands that lay further to the east of the island which he does not get to visit.

Notwithstanding, misunderstandings can interrupt Forrest's assignment. One night comes a corocoro carrying a group of twenty Papuan men. They are looking for their wives and children, "who had taken to the woods, from the village of Ossy, when we were there." This sends quite an alarm towards "the large Papua tenement opposite which we lay." Tuan Hadjee wants Forrest to fire upon them, but he declines. Later in the morning, the matter "was cleared up, and they went away satisfied." Forrest adds that, " the Papuas did not like the Tidore men, who, I often observed, make free with the coco nuts from the trees" (Forrest 1969, 102).

Another misunderstanding develops on February 5th, 1775, when several Papuans offer to go to the hinterland to purchase provisions; thus, Forrest "advanced them ten pieces of Surat blue cloth, and one bar of iron" (Forrest 1969, 103). On February 16th, 1775, the continuously fair weather reminds him that it is time to leave. Since the Papuans have not returned, he, therefore "gave up to the Dory people, the debt of thirty pieces of surat cloth, and a bar of iron, with which I had trusted them" (Forrest 1969, 108). Yet, right before departing, he notices a sense of distrust as the children and adults who used to come around every day to sell fruits and fish disappear. Forrest takes the trouble of asking one Papuan man to explain to the other Papuans "the nature of my giving up the debt, and that no body would ever call upon the men of Dory for it. At the same time, I made him a Capitano, by giving him a frock and drawers of chintz, and firing off three guns, this being the Dutch ceremony. He returned to Dory very well pleased, and very vain of his dress." On February 18th, 1775, the Capitano linguist returns with "many boys and women, and two men from Dory, who brought us fish, plantains, kalavansas, &c. which were purchased from them as usual; all jealousies being removed last night" (Forrest 1969, 110-111).

Consequently, Forrest is satisfied to find that before sailing, "the people of Dory had an opportunity of being convinced, we intended them no harm; and that, by giving up the debt above mentioned, I did not mean to entrap them, or carry them off, as is sometimes done by the Mahometans of the Moluccas, who, I was told by Tuan Hadjee, fit out vessels with no other design" (Forrest 1969, 115).

On Saturday 22nd April 1775, the Tartar Galley comes to anchor at Leron Harbour, between the islands Kabruang and Salibabo. Yet, before presenting gifts to the Rajahs of Salibabo, Forrest learns that "the people of this island were at war with the inhabitants of Kabruang, the island opposite, and distant only five or six miles. I was shocked at landing, to see a man's head, lately cut off, hanging by the hair from a branch of a tree, under which we passed; the blood yet dropping from it on the sand." As a result, the incident somehow delays the routine of purchasing provisions from the villagers (Forrest 1969, 160).

Another tension occurs when Forreat reaches Mindanao. As the Tartar Galley enters the river, on Friday 5th May 1775, he has to decide between proceeding straight to Coto Intang, the residence of Rajah Moodo, the heir apparent to the Sultan of Maguindano, or to the Sultan's palace. What further complicates the decision lies in the news he receives from a Buggess Noquedah he has known at Balambangan. Having heard that the settlement at Balambangan is taken by the Soolos, Forrest senses an air of mystery and eventually lets the tide take him to Rajah Moodo's fort. He later admits that it is fortunate that he attaches himself to this local dignitary in the first place since Rajah Moodo demonstrates superior power to the Sultan (Forrest 1969, 207-208; 211).

During the stay in Mindanao, Forrest faces another dilemma similar to his arrival experience. Three days after his visit to the Sultan, he meets the Buggess Noquedah who asks him to visit Datoo Chartow, the Sultan's natural son. Afraid of giving offence to Rajah Moodo, he excuses himself since he is well aware that he is a stranger "to their manners and customs, and was unwilling to risk intercourse with persons of their rank, in whose company, I made no doubt, but a political topic would have been stated sooner or later, by adherent or dependant, in order to draw from me an answer, that might entangle me in the sequel; it requiring no penetration to perceive that, being idle, they were fond of politics, news, and every kind of small talk. They in general speak Malay; and what might have passed in conversation with Chartow or Topang, had I accepted of their invitations, which were frequent, would probably have been handed about with alterations, according to the fancy of the relater" (Forrest 1969, 210).

Soon after his arrival, the tension between him and Tuan Hadjee transpires, which Forrest ascribes to the news of the taking of Balambangan. In the afternoon of May 10th, 1775, "the Banguey corocoro arrived under Batchian colours. Abreast of Rajah Moodo's fort, the crew took the opportunity of playing with their paddles, throwing them up into the air, and catching them by their handles as they fell. When she was secured along side of the fort, I sent and caused English colours to be hoisted upon her; at which Tuan Hadjee looked displeased" (Forrest 1969, 212). Three days later, in the presence of Rajah Moodo and his father, Tuan Hadjee said, "in a slighting manner, that he was not at all obliged to the English Company, but that he had greatly assisted them." Forrest, in turn, corrected him, saying that Tuan Hadjee was "a Captain of Buggesses, in the English Company's service, and that as such, he had received pay. This visibly provoked him, but he durst not contradict me" (Forrest 1969, 213).

On May 15th, 1775, both parties agree to settle their accounts after Forrest discharges Tuan Hadjee's vassals. A major conflict arises over the ownership of the Banguey corocoro; Forrest claims half of the prow while Tuan Hadjee claims that he is entitled to the entire boat. Finally, Tuan Hadjee bursts out in anger, "*billa corocoro*, *tida mow bili*, *tida mow jual*, split the corocoro, I will neither buy nor sell." Forrest takes the opportunity to rebuke him for his rashness. Tuan Hadjee then gets up, and goes abruptly out of the hall without making the ordinary selam to show respect to Rajah Moodo and Fakymolano (Forrest 1969, 214).

One of the final tensions arises between Mr. Herbert and Forrest on January 30th, 1776 when he returns to Borneo. Arriving in Pelampan Harbor behind Pula Gaya, he goes ashore to Oran Caio Mahomed, the head of the village Inanan, to collect the money owed to him for a chest of opium he has sold twelve months earlier. Nevertheless, the headman notifies Forrest that Mr. Herbert, the late chief of Balambangan, has collected the debt on his way to Borneo as he is in distress for money, and that a new chief has replaced Mr. Herbert. On the following day, Forrest finds the Speedwell snow,[14] which is carrying Mr. Herbert to Madras, but he denies having receiving the money from Oran Caio Mahomed; as a result, Forrest leaves empty-handed (Forrest 1969, 360-361).

The return to Bencoolen is further delayed because Forrest needs to find the Mindanao officers at Abia so that he can send to Rajah Moodo what he owes, "being two hundred kangans." On February 3rd, 1776, Forrest fulfills his obligations, returning to Rajah Moodo about fifty per cent more than what he owes, rewarding the four Mindanao officers and soldiers, and sending four pieces of blue cloth to the Spanish writer, who has written out the grant of Bunwoot to the English, "being so exhausted, when I left that country, I could not reward him as I wished." In the meantime, the officers seem "very sensible of the trouble I had taken to find them out; as we parted very good friends" (Forrest 1969, 361-362).

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[14] *Snow* is generally the largest of all two-masted vessels employed by Europeans, and the most convenient for navigation. The sails and rigging on the main-mast and fore-mast of a snow, are exactly similar to those on the same masts in a ship; only that there is a small mast behind the main-mast of the former (Falconer n. pag.).

Forrest’s voyage on the Tartar Galley is far from successful. The island of Bunwoot is granted to the English but the wish “to establish a fort and warehouses” never materializes (Forrest 1969, 249). The search for spices results in an insubstantial amount of spices as some are appropriated and others spoiled by salt water. Forrest and Tuan Hadjee part from each other on bad terms. The life of the Tartar Galley ends miserably as she is eaten by worms and becomes unfit for sailing. As she finally retreats from the scene, Forrest will still have to negotiate with the winds and the sea and people who are affiliated with the East India Company. The tension with humans as well as natural agents will continue to occur as long as he chooses to remain in the maritime world of the East Indies.

Chapter 2

Vertical Reading

While Chapter 1 views the text of Forrest's travelogue as strings of events that progress horizontally towards the end, this chapter reads it along the vertical axis, establishing various textual layers as well as excavating cultural and historical references from the text. The difference between these two reading directionalities replicates that between Book I and Book II of the voyage account. Book I highlights physical movements of the captain and his ship gracing on the maritime expanse whereas Book II witnesses Forrest spend more time meticulously exploring certain islands and lingering on particularly intriguing topics, such as the history of Magindano and the birds of paradise.

2.1 Textual strata

One way to read *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* vertically is to notice that the text teems with the heterogeneous voices of the narrator, of other characters who accompany him on the vessel and encounter him among the island network, and of other textual sources or books the author has read. These voices derive from different professional and social backdrops. Some are local luminaries; others are low-ranked oarsmen. They have their own stories to relate, which are relayed in tandem with voices from other textual sources the author/narrator cites, most of which are travelogues and treatises.

Out of the stratification of textual layers emerges the multiplicity of voices, or "heteroglossia," voices that have been removed out of their original contexts, and brought into a "dialogized" relationship in the new textual environment. They are engaged in conversations that, consequently, refract the previous authors' intentions, yielding or resisting to the present author's significative purpose (Bakhtin 1981, 263; 288-290). The concept of dialogism in M. M. Bakhtin's "Discourse in the Novel" is later termed by Julia Kristeva as "intertextuality"; in the space of one given text, "several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another." Replacing the notion of intersubjectivity in Bakhtin's "dialogue" with that of "intertextuality," Kristeva integrates dimensions and directions into textual space, enabling it to be "read as at least double" (Kristeva 36-37; 65-66).

One may argue that each textual layer spreads out in a horizontal direction, but the layering effect may be achieved only when a cross-sectional view is taken into account, revealing the complexity of the text by bringing into relief the textual strata, which are comparable to aquifers, or underground layers of water-bearing permeable rock or unconsolidated materials, e.g., gravel, sand, silt, or clay, that transmit water to wells and springs (U. S. Geological Survey). These underground layers constitute a major source of groundwater Forrest and his crew depend upon. Several times, they set ashore in search of potable water. On October 3rd, 1775, for instance, once Forrest reaches the island of Bunwoot, he starts digging a well on the shore, through layers of "black mold and clay, mixed with stones." The well is soon filled with rainwater, but no spring is found (Forrest 1969, 253).

Water extracted from underground sources has travelled through several layers of porous rock and unconsolidated materials. They impart certain flavors and odors to the water, rendering it either palatable or unfit for consumption. On Sunday 11th March, 1775, for example, Forrest arrives at Tapiola. He digs "nine foot deep for water, closs [*sic*] to a rising ground, two hundred yards from the beach; but it was brackish, and not fit to drink." Afterwards, on Thursday 13th April, 1775, he goes ashore on Syang Island, and "[d]ug for water: some rain water which was sweet, ran off the surface into our wells" (Forrest 1969, 129; 157). The distinctive taste of groundwater is generated as it seeps through mineral-laden rock layers. Concurrently, the meaning of a text is created as the referential meaning percolates through multiple layers of discourses that gradually impart more nuances to the text. Regardless of the author's intention, the textual stratification has an "adulterating" or "contaminating" effect on the reading experience as the multi-tongued narrator's voice interacts in support of or in conflict with others, adding more depth to the text.

The opening chapter may help illustrate the vertical direction of textual layers in which Forrest states the intention of his voyage:

> Having good authority from the experience and inquiries of Mr. Dalrymple, to be assured that cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, pepper and clove bark, may with proper management be easily introduced into Balambangan, as some of those articles are produced in the Sooloo districts, and others in the adjacent islands, as the inclosed paper of inquiry, mentioned in a preceding paragraph, will show: the acquisition and cultivation of these valuable articles, must be specially recommended to the most diligent attention of the Chief and Council, as an object of the

> highest importance, with promises of a very favourable notice on our part, on it's being made apparent to us, that their endeavours for that purpose have been effectually and advantageously executed. These articles, if obtained, we particularly direct, shall be made part of our consignment to the China Council, until we see occasion to signify our further pleasure therein. (Forrest 1969, 1-2)

Addressing his readership, Forrest begins with his own formal voice, referring to the Honourable East India Company and its initiative to cultivate valuable spice trees, such as cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, and pepper, on the English settlement of Balambangan. The statement is verified by an official voice, an excerpt from the Court of Directors' letter to the Chief and Council of that place. Taken out of its context, the extract, of which the original purpose and addressees of the letter have been appropriated for a new objective, provides the author/narrator with an underlying sense of authority, which is later compounded with the footnote, "*See Dalrymple's plan for extending the commerce of the East India Company, 1769." The footnote probably refers to Alexander Dalrymple's *A Plan for Extending the Commerce of this Kingdom and of the East-India Company* (1769). It is noticeable that the Court of Directors' letter also mentions Dalrymple's "inclosed paper of inquiry." As Dalrymple was active in the Sulu Archipelago during the years 1759-64, and put forward the Balambangan project, the citation lends additional validation to both Forrest and the Court of Directors' statements.

The text continues with Forrest's narrative of his first meeting with Tuan Hadjee in August 1774 and his consultation with John Herbert. Forrest's proposal of "forwarding the honourable court's injunctions by the Britannia, as above related, to endeavour to obtain spices from parts which had no connexion with the Dutch settlements" is approved.

In order to justify his decision to embark on the mission in a small country vessel, the voice of the Chief and Council is incorporated:

> *Instructions from the Chief and Council of Balambangan, to Captain* Thomas Forrest.
>
> Sir,
>
> "The knowledge you have acquired from experience of all the departments of marine business in general, to which you was trained from your earliest years, together with a competent share of commercial transactions in this quarter of the world, were sufficient inducements for the chief to accept of your offer to attend him on the expedition to Balambangan. From the small number of servants, most of whom were unexperienced, he knew there would be sufficient field to display your talents, abstracted from the official business of those brought up in the regular line of service." (Forrest 1969, 3)

The letter dated October 12th, 1774, written at Balambangan, is signed by John Herbert, Edward Coles and Thomas Palmer (Forrest 1969, 6). It serves a purpose similar to the Court of Directors', claiming authority for the main narrator's voice, which subsequently asserts itself in his travel account. On Wednesday 30th November, 1774,

> [A]t sunrise, *we weighed and rowed out of this snug small harbour; we turned to the right, and entered the straits of Latalatta*, which divide the island Latalatta from the island Tappa […] *We lay to part of the night, and at daylight passed a rock within thirty yards of the island Mandioly*, like a pigeon-house in size and shape, with a bush two atop […] When the said pigeon-house rock bears north, or even long before that, the peninsula of Bissory, which forms the harbour, will shew itself as in the view. *Look out for the reef that lies off the peninsula to seaward, and giving it a reasonable birth, you may steer in eighteen, sixteen, and fourteen fathom muddy ground into the harbour. There you lie perfectly smooth in twelve fathom water: fresh water is to be got in a small river, the bar of which is smooth* […] (Forrest 1969, 29-30; emphasis added)

The mixing of pronouns in this excerpt is noticeable even though it is supposedly uttered by the main narrator. The voice splits into three persons: "we," "you" and "I."

The entry starts by relating what "we" have done. The narrative mode forms one textual layer, which is later overlaid with the description of the landscape, e.g., the breadths and lengths of the straits, the depth of the sea bottom and the shape of a little island like "an ordinary dwelling- house in size." The text alternates the two writing modes until it graduates into the imperative mode once it relates that the peninsula of Bissory "will shew itself as in the view." The sentence precedes others that start with "Look out," "you may steer" and "you lie." Here, the journal entry transforms itself into a navigation guideline, giving suggestions to future seamen. The entry wraps up with the descriptive mode; however, the scientific tone, evoked by the mentioning of the latitude and longitude coordinates, is undermined by the narrator's imaginative power that discerns "the Pigeon-House Rock" and "the Obtuse Cone." The shift in writing modes, hence, contributes to the generic admixture of travel writing.

While the majority of the text is composed of the English voices, it also incorporates the local voices, one of which is initiated in the description of sago cake, the main staple for the crew on the Tartar Galley.

> A sago cake, when hard, requires to be soaked in water, before it be eaten, it then softens and swells into a curd, like biscuit soaked; but, if eat without soaking (unless fresh from the oven) it feels disagreeable, like sand in the mouth.
>
> No wonder then, if agriculture be neglected in a country, where the labour of five men, in felling sago trees, beating the flour, and instantly baking the bread, will maintain a hundred. I must own my crew would have preferred rice; and when my small stock of rice, which I carried from Balambangan, was nearly expended, I have heard them grumble, and say, *nanti mankan roti Papua*, "we must soon eat Papua bread." But, as I took all opportunities of baking it fresh, being almost continually in port, they were very well contented. (Forrest 1969, 42)

The insertion of the grumble in another language, sandwiched between English sentences, allows another voice, in a less formal tone, to be heard, adding color and flavor to the text. A similar effect is achieved when the conflict between Tuan Hadjee and Forrest finally erupts on May 15th, 1775. The former claims full ownership of the Banguey corocoro whereas the latter lays down evidence of joint ownership, "the calicoes, &c. advanced by Tuan Hadjee and by me for her purchase and equipment, so neatly balanced, that half of her was adjudged mine" (Forrest 1969, 214). Settling the affair in Rajah Moodo's presence, Forrest wishes to reach a win-win solution. Nevertheless,

> Tuan Hadjee, by his looks, spoke his disappointment; and on, my telling him, he must either sell me his half, or purchase mine; whether he thought I meant to impose on him, or did not understand my proposal, for the first time, I observed him grow angry, which, considering in whose presence we were, doubly amazed me. Nay, he went so far as to say, to the amazement of every one, *billa corocoro*, *tida mow bili*, *tida mow jual*, split the corocoro, I will neither buy nor sell. (Forrest 1969, 214)

Removed out of its original linguistic context and translated into another language, Tuan Hadjee's utterance of indignation not only underscores the escalating tension between him and Forrest, but also highlights the latter's knowledge of the Malay tongue as he himself provides an English translation of the sentences. Fakymolano, for example, provides a geographical sketch of the banks of the Rivers of Pelangy and Tanantakka (Forrest 1969, 185-186). Moreover, the history of the Sultanate is "drawn from original records, in the possession of Fakymolano, elder brother to Paharadine the present Sultan, and father to Kybad Zachariel, the present Rajah Moodo; they are wrote in the Magindano tongue, and Arabic character. I took it down from Fakymolano's own mouth, who dictated in Malay" (Forrest 1969, 201). The self-accounts bring to mind the terms "autoethnography" and "autoethnographic expression"; either of the terms refers to "instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's terms. If ethnographic texts are a means by which Europeans represent to themselves their (usually subjugated) others, autoethnographic texts are texts the others construct in response to or in dialogue with those metropolitan representations" (Pratt 9). Whether the people of Magindano are viewed as "colonized subjects" is doubtful, but Forrest's reliance on other European sources on Magindano (through translation) undeniably paves the way for a dialogue between both the ethnographic and autoethnographic texts within his very own work.

Before the account of Magindano comes to a close, François Valentijn's account of the island, from his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* ("Old and New East-India"), is provided. It may have been added while Forrest was preparing the manuscript for publication. The English translation was probably done by Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672 –1733), Fellow of the Royal Society (FRS), a Swiss scholar from Zürich, who translated the account of the cinnamon tree in Ceylon written to Albertus Seba, a chemist in Amsterdam. In regard to the death of Captain Charles Swan in 1690, Valentijn is quoted as stating that:

> "If there is gold, it is very rare, not has any been seen since the year 1687, and what appeared then, is likely to have come by means of some English, who robbed the Spaniards in the South Sea, and came thither with Captain Swan, and the celebrated Dampier. The Sultan and others having murdered Swan, used his gold in ornaments for their weapons, which induced the Dutch to think that gold was the produce of the island." (Forrest 1969, 306)

Valentijn further describes the local attitude toward the English and the Dutch:

> Let this exaggerated account be what it may, […] it is certain, that when our people went thither in 1694, the Sultan, his brother, and the admiral, told them, that the English had some time before asked leave to erect a fort, to secure their trade, and for which they had offered to pay four thousand six dollars yearly, but they were flatly denied, in like manner as the Dutch were in 1689: wherefore I think Dampier must have been misled. (Forrest 1969, 307)

Valentijn probably refers to William Dampier's *New Voyage Round the World* (1697), which provides the exploits of Charles Swan and Edward Davis. John Masefield relates in "The Voyage of the *Cygnet*" that, in 1683-84, to open up a trade with Peru and Chili, some London merchants subscribed a large sum of money to fit a ship, the *Cygnet*, for the voyage, and chose a mariner named Charles Swan, or Swann, for her command. Instead of establishing trade relations with the Spanish-Americans, after having met Captain Edward Davis, "a buccaneer of fame," by October 1684, Captain Swan had become a buccaneer as well. Both sailed up to Rio Lejo, on the western coast of Mexico. The crew having plundered and burned the town, Davis and Swan separated. According to Dampier, Swan planned to intercept the Spanish galleon which made an annual trip from Manila to Acapulco, but, due to bad timing, he missed the chance. Consequently, Swan proposed that the *Cygnet* cruise to Manila. At the end of March 1686, they departed from Cape Corrientes and arrived to Mindano on July 18th, 1686. Swan intended to establish a spice trade with the local inhabitants, but it did not materialize. To make matters worse, his crew became mutinous and deserted Swan and other thirty-six men.

The Rajah "kept Captain Swan for a little while, and then caused him to be upset from a canoe into the river, and stabbed as he strove to swim ashore" (Masefield 105-123).

Nonetheless, in an attempt to correct this (mis)understanding among readers, Forrest ends the chapter with this final note:

> I cannot leave Mindano, without acquainting the reader, that the Sultan Paharadine told me, his father had assured him, Captain Swan was drowned accidentally, by a boat's oversetting; and that his Jerrytulis (clerk) swam safe ashore; as did the crew, (Mindanoers) with the loss of their cloaths and arms. (Forrest 1969, 309)

In addition to the discrepancy between indigenous and European views in the above quotations, the voyage account discloses two or more nonnative opinions which do not necessarily correspond with one another. In light of the political status of Magindano, Forrest opines that, "[t]he island of Magindano may be about 800 miles round; as large as the kingdom of Ireland. The Spaniards, though they have subdued the north coast of the island, never conquered the whole." According to a Spanish source, cited as "Le Recapitulada, lib. 6. Dalrymple's Proofs, p.28.," Magindano is "an island *adjacent* to the Philippines" (Forrest 1969, 174; emphasis in original). However, in "*Histoire Générale de l'Asie*, p. 909.," D'Avitay, a sixteenth-century French author, explicitly says "Mindano is not a Philippine island" (Forrest 1969, 175).

The presence of contradictory comments underlines the multiplicity of voices within one single text of travel writing. Recapitulating the aquifer image, I would argue that the competing voices can be depicted as separate layers of rock. The resultant meaning, i.e., the contradiction, conjured when they are read together, is comparable to the groundwater, to which flavors, odors or colors have been imparted, as it travels through the rock layers. This can only happen because each layer is permeable, allowing the liquid to percolate.

2.2 Cultural encoding

In addition to textual stratification, the reading experience of Forrest's voyage account may be enriched when cultural and historical references are taken into consideration. These references are comparable to the cultural codes (the Voice of Science) stated to indicate "a science or a body of knowledge […] without going so far as to construct (or reconstruct) the culture they express" (Barthes 1974, 20). Referring to Tzvetan Todorov's "Les categories du récit littéraire" (*Communications* 8, 1966), Barthes maintains that:

> To understand a narrative is not merely to follow the unfolding of the story, it is also to recognize its construction in 'storeys', to project the horizontal concatenations of the narrative 'thread' on to an implicitly vertical axis; to read (to listen to) a narrative is not merely to move from one word to the next, it is also to move from one level to the next…meaning is not 'at the end' of the narrative, it runs across it. (Barthes 1977, 87)

The following sections start with quotations from Forrest's work in order to demonstrate how cultural and historical references are generated in a vertical reading; hence, cultural encoding, instead of decoding. These quotations are not sequenced in the order as they appear in the travelogue. The reader allows herself to randomly jump from one topic to the next as if she were a sailor hopping from one island to another in an arbitrary manner.

2.2.1 The noble savage scaling the ladder of civilization in the golden age

> So far the inhabitants of the globe, in low latitudes, may be justly considered as happily situated; something like what is said of the golden age, they may live almost without labour. But certain evils, in a great measure, counterbalance this seeming happiness: the faculties of the mind are blunted, and the body is so enervated by indolence, that these petty states are subject to be overcome, by what Europeans would call a very despicable enemy, as they know nothing of the polity of great societies. (Forrest 1969, 45)

The above comment is provided after Forrest provides an account of the sago tree that grows in abundance in the Moluccas and New Guinea. Furthermore, he compares the sago tree to the bread fruit, the main staple of the inhabitants of Otaheite (Tahiti) as related by Johann Reinhold Forster (1729-1798), and gives his computation of the number of sago trees the inhabitants may subsist on.

The concept of the golden age, which was circulating in eighteenth-century England, called either the age of reason or the Enlightenment, is ascribable to Hesiod's *Works and Days*, a basic source of Greco-Roman literature, in which the author recounts four accounts of a felicitous state for mortals: the metallic races, the race of heroes, the pre-Promethean race, and the race of just men. Among the metallic races is the golden race which enjoys eternal youth, feasting and freedom from toil. They live like gods under the rule of Cronus, where "the earth spontaneously produced abundant quantities of food." When death arrives, they are overcome by sleep and become pure spirits as Zeus's guardians of mortals (Johnston 16-19).[15] The idea was later refashioned by Virgil in the

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[15] The other metallic races include the silver race, which is created anew by gods on Olympus. Thereafter, they become sorrowful because of their foolishness. Due to destructive arrogance, they refuse to offer sacrifices to the gods, and are eventually

Eclogues, whereby there is a possibility of recurrence for the golden race. In Hesiod's metallic myth, the golden race, once terminated, is replaced by inferior races. In the *Eclogues*, by contrast, the golden age is followed by a period of deterioration. Nonetheless, out of the harsh condition which results from such deterioration "develops another hardy race of mortals which, given the proper circumstances and leader, has the possibility of building a new state of felicity, a new golden age." In the Fourth Eclogue, a golden age consistent with Hesiod's is envisioned, an age particularly characterized by freedom from toil. "It is this feature which makes it supremely desirable, and at the same time supremely unattainable" (Johnston 8-9; 43).[16]

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destroyed, and turned into blessed spirits of the underworld. The bronze race is created by Zeus. Having hard heart, they love violence and eat flesh rather than bread. They are finally destroyed by their own kind, and sent to Hades. The iron race is wretched, knowing labor and sorrow by day. They will eventually be destroyed by Zeus. The race of heroes is added to the tradition to account for Greek history by Hesiod. Created by Zeus, this divine race is characterized by nobility and justice. Part of them is destroyed by war while the rest is physically translated to the Isles of the Blessed. The pre-Promethean race is "free from ills and hard toil and heavy sicknesses which bring the Fates upon men" (Johnston 16-19).

[16] An English translation of the Fourth Eclogue by J. W. Mackail (1950) partly reads:

> But on thee, O boy, untilled shall Earth first pour childish gifts, wandering ivy-tendrils and foxglove, and colocasia mingled with the laughing acanthus: untended shall the she-goats bring home their milk-swoln udders, nor shall huge lions alarm the herds: unbidden thy cradle shall break into wooing blossom […] Thereafter, when now strengthening age hath wrought thee into man, the very voyager shall cease out of the sea, nor the sailing pine exchange her merchandise: all lands shall bear all things, the ground shall not suffer the mattock, nor the vine the pruning-hook; now likewise the strong ploughman shall loose his bulls from the yoke. Neither shall wool learn to counterfeit changing hues, but the ram in the meadow himself shall dye his fleece now with soft glowing sea-purple, now with yellow saffron; native scarlet shall clothe the lambs at their pasturage. (Vergilius Maro 274-275)

Ironically, in Forrest's travelogue, the desirability of the freedom from toil becomes suggestive of idleness, which translates into laziness. Two incidents may be discussed to illustrate the point. While staying on New Guinea, the Malay crew relate that the Papua inhabitants often lurk in the forest and attack unwary travelers with their arrows. However, the English captain suspects that the statement is made out sheer idleness on their part. They are not willing to make any inland excursion, and make up the story "to indulge their own laziness, or perhaps their timidity" (Forrest 1969, 79-80). Furthermore, during his stay in Magindano, Forrest comments that he is a stranger to this sultanate, and prefers not to entangle himself in local politics as "being idle, they [the local inhabitants] were fond of politics, news, and every kind of small talk" (Forrest 1969, 210).

A possible cure for indolence resides in agriculture (See Patricia Johnston later on p. 67). To leave a piece of land uninhabited and uncultivated sounds preposterous. Forrest shows his admiration for the inhabitants on the densely populated island of Sooloo as they "study agriculture more than do those of the adjacent islands, already mentioned, where land may be deemed of no value." Rice is planted, but the crop cannot be depended on due unpredictable rainfall. They therefore "cultivate many roots, the Spanish, or sweet potatoe, the clody, or St. Hillano yam, the China yam, both red and white; sending to Mindano for what rice they consume" (Forrest 1969, 322-323). Having years of sailing experiences in the East Indies, Forrest is fully aware that wherever he finds people, he should find provisions (Forrest 1969, 8). He thus manages to sow seeds on a few islands he visits, wishing that they will grow and provide food to future English sailors. On Tuesday 7th February 1775, for instance, after having built a shed-house on the shore, he sows mustard seeds on New Guinea (Forrest 1969, 103).

Thereafter, on October 11th, 1775, he sows many different seeds on the island of Bunwoot, such as "Calalu, Papas, wild sage, and many Jack and Kanary seeds" because on the island, "the hogs are numerous, but have no gardens, or rice fields to feed in" (Forrest 1969, 260; 257). The incident takes place after the island is granted to the English, and may be considered an act of claiming ownership as land is valued only when human labor is invested in it. The concept resonates with Locke's; in *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (1690), he maintains that God created the earth for men for their benefit, and it is unthinkable for the earth to remain "common and uncultivated." It is meant for "the industrious and rational" to make use of. Locke further contends that the "labour" of man's body and the "work" of his hands are his "unquestionable property." As he puts his labor in cultivating a piece of land, "he hath mixed his labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property." It is, therefore, his labor "which puts the greatest part of value upon land, without which it would scarcely be worth anything; it is to that we owe the greatest part of all its useful products" (Locke 130; 137).

The benevolence of human labor is extolled in the *Georgics*, a later work by Virgil, as well. Patricia Johnston argues (1980) that contrary to the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics* recognizes the potential of agrarian skills to produce a happier existence. At the heart of the myth of the golden age is an attitude which places a high value upon freedom from toil and, conversely, which regards toil, particularly agricultural toil, as an inevitable burden for the human race. Another current attitude, however, recognizes agriculture as the basis of the civilized society. Virgil, consequently, reconciles and merges these two attitudes in the *Georgics* when he conceives of the golden age as agricultural (Johnston 47-48; 62).

It is noteworthy that both Hesiod and Virgil's myth of the golden age emphasizes the relatively simple and isolated modes of existence which preclude the possibility of social or commercial intercourse that might disrupt the idyllic situations (Johnston 18-19). Nevertheless, in Forrest's world, isolation from strangers, which is associated with the island image and helps sustain simple social models, seems irrelevant. To serve the East India Company and to cater to increasingly sophisticated tastes of the British nation, an embarkation to the east of the Moluccas is deemed necessary. The mission, driven by the search for spices and other locally unavailable goods, e.g., sea slugs, opium, and birds' nests, leads the English crew into social and commercial interaction with the Dutch and the Spaniards; the Indians, Chinese, Malays, Papuans, etc., and, thus, characterizes English activities in insular Southeast Asia.

Moreover, Forrest remarks that those living off the abundance of the tropics may live without labor; consequently, "the faculties of the mind are blunted." Indolence as an inferior characteristic of the inhabitants of the Moluccas in particular is therefore responsible for their inability to "maintain their independence against Europeans" (Forrest 1969, 45). But, if the desire for "perpetual summer" (Forrest 1969, 324) lies at the hearts of Forrest and fellow humans, why does the state of abundance that purportedly brings happiness have an adverse effect on the tropic population? This presents an opportunity for reflection on Locke's concept of property, which holds that as men put their labor in cultivating pieces of land, they become their property. Reading along these lines, it is inferable that Forrest echoes Locke's preference for the state of abundance that is achieved through physical and mental efforts to its natural and effortlessly obtained counterpart. It probably explains why "freedom from toil" in the tropics is considered idleness whereas Forrest allows himself to while away his time at leisure hours. He, for example, offers to play a German flute in Rajah Moodo's presence, and the account of the island Gilolo is told by Tuan Hadjee to Forrest "at leizure hours during the voyage" (Forrest 1969, 297; 31).

It is clear that in *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, the myth of the golden age is recast in the eighteenth-century concept of the scale of civilization. The optimum living condition portrayed in the classic literature dovetails into idleness, part of the "moral character" or the index of human civilization that differentiates one race from another. The index includes the physical appearance, living condition, religion and intellectual capacity, all of which are determined by the physical environment, government and economy.

According to Forrest, the inhabitants of the Moluccas are divided into "two sorts, the long hair'd Moors, of a copper colour, like Malays in every respect; and the mopheaded Papuas." However, many of the Papuas "turn Mussulmen, and then cut off their bushy locks, or at least comb them down as straight as they can." Among them is the Hujamat, who carries Tuan Hadjee from Gag to Tomoguy. As a proselyte, he is regarded as "a very civil man" whereas his son, who did not embrace Islam, was viewed as “a savage indeed, and wore his bushy locks” (Forrest 1969, 68). Inferably, the Malays who practice Islam and are properly attired belong to one of the civil races.

Afterwards, in his account of Tulour, or Tanna Labu, Forrest lists the numbers of inhabitants on the shore of the island as given by Datoo Woodine, who is employed by Fakymolano to keep a register (Forrest 1969, 314-315).

Pampang	containing	200 inhabitants.	Mannaka	70
Sabay		200	Marahi	70
Carangan		300	Kiamma	40
Malla River		200	Malla	100
Issang		200	Anyam	100
Andolang		200	Karangug	60
Bulud		100	Tavrong	100
Mamang		200	Bataruma	40
Bamboon		400	Neampai	150
[…]				
			Males who wear breeches	9730

It is noticeable that the final phrase, “Males who wear breeches” resonates with the classificatory system used by Europeans to portray the Amerindians. Their cultural difference and ambiguous existence “introduced chaos into the order of things such as the Europeans imagined in their own cosmogony, moral code, and ideas on the origin or man.” The doubts about their humanity was later dispelled after Paul III issued the papal bull, *Sublimus Deus*, in 1537, stating that the Amerindians were men and thus creatures of God, capable of understanding the Catholic faith. The papal bull, in effect, defended their right to property against the plundering carried out by the conquistadors. They were “men with a soul and a mind,” but “men *without* God, *without* law, and *without* breeches” (Bucher 198-199; 143-44; emphasis in original).

Later, in “Of Cannibals” (1562), Michel de Montaigne mentions three of the savages from Brazil who visited the royal palace at Rouen, where the late King Charles IX stayed. They were given an audience, and “shown our ways, our splendor, the aspect of a fine city.” Through an interpreter, the narrator “had a very long talk with one of them,” but the interpreter “followed my meaning so badly, and who was so hindered by his stupidity in taking in my ideas, that I could get hardly any satisfaction from the man […] All this is not too bad – but what’s the use? They don’t wear breeches” (Montaigne 193).

Afterwards, Forrest mentions the Idaan, an indigenous people of Borneo and Balambangan, who, according to Dalrymple, do not have a religion, but, by their laws, murder, theft and adultery are punishable by death, and monogamy is practiced. Forrest reckons that Dalrymple’s “scheme of civilizing them could be carried into effect, but that our religion [Christianity] could be easily introduced among them” (Forrest 1969, 370-71) (See Adam Smith later on p. 73). He also describes a “savage piratical people, called Oran Tedong, or Tiroon,” who live in the northeastern part of Borneo. Their “barbarity” is attributable to their having “no revealed religion, Jewish or Christian, Mahometan or Jentoo.” The Moors “despise them for Barbarisms” because they would maim their captives or leave them on a little sandy island (Forrest 1969, 374-375).

The terms “barbarity,” “Barbarisms,” “civilizing,” and “savage” echo the concept of natural philosophy, which claimed to establish a universal knowledge of practically everything on and above the earth’s surface. Upon this premise, models of human progress are proposed that project a unilinear progression towards a better and happier life for all races. They range from the living condition to the economy and the forms of government, all poised to eventual prosperity. While Forrest does not explicitly ascribe the Malays' civility to the surroundings, the Amerindians' cultural inferiority was attributable to the environment they lived in.

The differences between the Europeans and the Ameridians have been extensively discussed by several thinkers of the eighteenth century. In *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu attempts to show how the prosperity and happiness of a society depend upon its law and type of government, and how these themselves are influenced by history, geography and climate. He maintains that there are three "species" of government, namely, republican, monarchial, and despotic. A republican government is that in which the people possess the supreme power; a monarchial government, that in which a single person governs by established laws; a despotic government, that in which a single person governs without law or rule (Montesquieu 1748, cited in Hyland et al. 152; 164-165). Simultaneously, Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon provided scientific support for the hereditary differences in his multi-volume *Histoire naturelle* (1749-88), which later became the standard *Natural History* of the enlightenment (Munck 188).[17]

Concurretly, in *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* (1758), David Hume holds that "physical causes" partially determine national characters. They include "those qualities of the air and climate, which are supposed to work insensibly on the temper, by altering the tone and habit of the body, and giving a particular complexion, which, though reflection and reason may sometimes overcome it, will yet prevail among the generality of mankind, and have an influence on their manners" (Hume 1985, 198).

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[17] Georges-Louis Leclerc, Count de Buffon (1707-1788) was a French naturalist, and encyclopedic author.

Thereafter, Jean-Jacques Rousseau explains in *The Social Contract* (1762) that barren and uncultivated lands are inhabited by savages or barbarous peoples as "men's labor brings in no more than the exact minimum necessary to subsistence" while lands that produce a moderate surplus of product over labor are suitable for free people. Lands of which the soil is abundant and fertile and brings a great product for a little labor call for monarchial government, "in order that the surplus of superfluities among the subjects may be consumed by the luxury of the prince: for it is better for this excess to be absorbed by the government than dissipated among the individuals" (Rousseau 1762, cited in Jacob 198).

Subsequently, Adam Smith expounds in *Lectures on Jurisprudence*[18] that there are four distinct states which mankind passes through respectively: the Age of Hunters, the Age of Shepherds, the Age of Agriculture, and the Age of Commerce. The age of hunters is applicable to a group of ten to twelve people living on an uninhabited island. They support themselves by gathering wild fruits, catching fish and hunting for wild animals. As the population grows, it would be necessary for them to breed animals for future consumption. Thus is ushered in the age of shepherds, exemplified by the Tartars and the Arabs. These "savage nations" have no notion of cultivating the land.[19] As the number of the people multiply, they would naturally turn to tending the soil to produce food, and gradually advance in to the age of agriculture. Eventually, when the population level allows them to specialize in producing particular kinds of commodities which will be exchanged for other necessities, the age of commerce arrives. This is applicable to European nations, where "we [the British] send to France our cloths, iron work, and other trinkets and get in exchange their wines. To Spain and Portugall we send our superfluous corn and bring from thence the Spanish and Portuguese wines." The ultimate stage embodied in the age of commerce thus arises when flocks and herds, grain and other commodities are plentiful, when "superflous products" are exchanged, when "a society has done all in its power towards its ease and convenience" (Smith 1978, 14-16).

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[18] *Lectures on Jurisprudence* were notes taken from Smith's early lectures, plus an early draft of *The Wealth of Nations*, published as part of the 1976 Glasgow Edition of the works and correspondence of Smith.

In fact, the linearity of human improvement inherent in European models of prosperity can find its root in Judeo-Christian theology that views time as linear, with a series of events unfolding in a unique sequence under God's eye, from the Creation to the Day of Judgment whereas some ancient cultures viewed time as cyclic, with sequences of events repeating themselves over and over. The linear view of time has had a profound and lasting influence on Western thought, and may have paved the way for the idea of "progress" (Falk 5; 94-95). Notwithstanding, one should be reminded that the models of prosperity were created after the English and other Europeans set foot on foreign lands.

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[19] However, an anomaly emerges when the North American Indians are taken into consideration as they are also regarded as a savage nation, but manage to "plant few stalks of Indian corn at the back of their huts." Smith holds that this can hardly be called agriculture since the corn "does not make any considerable part of their food; it serves only as a seasoning or something to give a relish to their common food; the flesh of those animals they have caught in the chase" (Smith 1978, 15).

What had been heard and read about the alien landscape and its inhabitants in travel writing, e.g., the Amerindians in Theodore De Bry's *Great Voyages* and the Papuans in Forrest's voyage account, would find its way into the eighteenth-century moral philosophy.

Unfortunately, the idea of linear progression is beleaguered with self-contradictoriness. The effect of abundance on the moral character may not be universally or simultaneously experienced, especially for savages. Even though all human races reside within the same planetary sphere, they are placed at different places along the unidirectional scale of civilization, the line that stretches from time immemorial to eternity. The sense of belatedness is inevitable for savages as they can never catch up with the European whites. In their representation of distant societies and cultures as primitive or inferior versions of contemporary European nations, many *philosophes* clearly expressed a belief in their own society's modernity and superiority and the legitimacy of change. To some writers, such as Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803), "the 'other' societies and cultures of the past and present were at least as strange and exotic as they were familiar." However, in the work of many *philosophes*, e.g., Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson and John Millar, "who were committed to the idea that human nature was fundamentally unchanging, there was a tendency to gloss over or dismiss the 'otherness' of distant peoples." Instead of using race, color and religion to explain the diversity of societies, Smith, for instance, classified each society according to its dominant mode of subsistence. Forming part of what became known as the "four-stage theory," Smith's ideas portrayed all humans as being primarily motivated by "archetypal selfish and acquisitive desires, notwithstanding all the differences in beliefs and circumstances" (Hyland et al. 180-181).

In *A Voyage to New Guine, and the Moluccas*, although Forrest's attitude towards people living in the low latitudes might not be favorable, he still treats his Malay crew and the inhabitants of the islands he visits with respect. This behavior is ascribable to his need for local help during the voyage, whether these people wear breeches or not.

2.2.2 English and Scottish Enlightenment

> As to the character of the inhabitants of those places, east of where we lay, I have the greatest *reason* to think it was fierce and hostile, that they are numerous, and have a vast many prows: at the same time, they are said to deal honestly with the Chinese, who trade with them, and advance them goods for several months before the returns are made. They trim and adorn their hair, but bore the nose, and wear ear-rings like the mop headed people of Dory (Forrest 1969, 113; emphasis added).

Forrest published his travelogue in the late-eighteenth century, within the period later termed the Age of Enlightenment. Commonly found are the words "knowledge," "observations" and "reason," which are attributable to a cluster of ideas belonging to the intellectual movement of the period. However, Forrest never uses the term "Enlightenment" in his work. *The Oxford English Dictionary* dates the term to the year 1865 when it was first found, probably introduced into English from the German *Aufklärung*, in the title of Immanuel Kant's essay, *Was ist Aufklärung?* (1784).[20] Kant states in his essay that, "Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to use one's own understanding without the guidance of another. This immaturity is self-incurred if its cause is not lack of understanding, but lack of resolution and courage to use it without the guidance of another."

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[20] *Aufklärung* in German, *Lumières* in French, *Ilustración* in Spanish, and *Illuminismo* in Italian (Broadie 1997, 6-7).

There are some debates surrounding the Enlightenment whether it was a unified intellectual movement that swept across Europe. Roy Porter argues that the Enlightenment should not be treated as "systems of socially disembodied ideas" emphasizing how these ideas functioned and were deployed in various situations across Europe (Porter 1981, vii). While the Enlightenment in France is best known due to "its tension between conservatives and *philosophes*," and "its impact upon other European countries," it has been contended that the characteristics of the French Enlightenment were observable earlier in England, e.g., the faith in reason and a liberal political theory (See also A. Wilson 16-17). Additionally, in *The Sovereignty of Reason: The Defense of Rationality in the Early English Enlightenment* (1996), Frederick C. Beiser attributes England's claim to be the birthplace of the Enlightenment to four factors, i.e., the rise of the new natural philosophy, brought about by the advocacy of Francis Bacon, the discoveries of Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton, and the founding of the Royal Society; deism and natural religion; the development of liberal political ideas, such as natural rights, tolerance, and majority rule, which became widespread after the Glorious Revolution (1689); the emergence of freethinking, which became common at the close of the seventeenth century in the wake of the deism controversy and the Toleration Act of 1689, which removed civil penalties for dissent (Beiser 6).

Despite the intellectual influences of English thinkers, e.g., freethinking, empiricism and utilitarianism, many historians "debar England from scholars' Enlightenment maps," partly because England did not produce systematic theorizing generally considered to be the touchstone of Enlightenment (Porter 1981, 5). Porter further elaborates in *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (2000) that *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (1951), Ernst Cassirer's seminal attempt to establish the Enlightenment pantheon, dismisses English thinkers. The neglect influenced his successors. Leonard Marsak's anthology *The Enlightenment* (1972) and James Schmidt's *What Is Enlightenment?* (1996), for instance, do not include substantial discussions of English thinkers. In the meantime, in referring to Georgian Britain, literary historians have often opted for the label "Augustan," partly because the term "age of reason" has been thought to suggest a "winter of the imagination." Even after the phrase "the Enlightenment" entered English usage until the mid-Victorian era, it continues to denote a pejorative tone. The 1973 edition of *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as denoting "shallow and pretentious intellectualism, unreasonable contempt for authority and tradition, etc., applied *esp*. to the spirit and aims of the French philosophers of the 18th c." Thereafter, in 1976, the term "English Enlightenment" would sound "jarring and incongruous" (Porter 2000, 4-5).

According to the aforementioned studies, the intellectual movement in seventeenth-century England was the watershed of those elsewhere, one of which is the "Scottish Enlightenment." The term was coined in 1900 by William Robert Scott, referring to "the diffusion of philosophic ideas in Scotland and the encouragement of speculative tastes among the men of culture of the generation" following that of Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) (Broadie 2003, 3). However, to agree with Porter that there is no feature unique to the English Enlightenment (Porter 1981, 4), and by extension, to the Scottish Enlightenment, is too presumptuous. By the time Forrest started his works, Scotland had become part of Great Britain for over seventy years. The Treaty of Union unified the Scottish Parliament with the English counterpart in 1707. Nevertheless, it still allowed the Scots to retain their own legal system and their own form of church administration and doctrine (Berry 9). In parallel to the political situation, the social and cultural atmosphere in Scotland revealed English influences, and yet maintained its distinctive characteristics, attributed to its closer links with the Continent. As the traditional task of the Scottish universities was to turn out ministers of religion, until the eighteenth century Scottish lawyers were educated abroad, especially at the Dutch universities of Leiden and Utrecht whereas medical education was moribund (Berry 9; 15).

Among major Scottish thinkers of the Enlightenment are David Hume (1711-1776) and Adam Smith (1723-1790), whose echoes and influences began to penetrate the salons and classrooms of England, France, Germany, Italy and America during the second half of the eighteenth century (Phillipson 19-20). Hume was one of the Scots who were at the forefront in adopting Newton's framework. To him, the orderliness of the Newtonian cosmos manifests itself in nature as well as in humans (Berry 4-5). He regards human beings as part of nature; as a result, human nature can possibly be investigated in "a scientific spirit," or through the methods of the natural sciences (Broadie 1997, 31).

One case in point lies in *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, in which Hume propagates the benefits of causal explanation. To him,

> Nothing requires greater nicety, in our enquiries concerning human affairs, than to distinguish exactly what is owing to *chance*, and what proceeds from *causes*; nor is there any subject, in which an author is more liable to deceive himself by false subtilties and refinements. To say, that any event is derived from chance, cuts short all farther enquiry concerning it, and leaves the writer in the same state of ignorance with the rest of mankind. But when the event is supposed to proceed from certain and stable causes, he may then display his ingenuity, in assigning these causes; and as a man of any subtilty can never be at a loss in this particular, he has thereby an opportunity of swelling his volumes, and discovering his profound knowledge, in observing what escapes the vulgar and ignorant. (Hume, *Essays* 111)

By seeking causal explanation, instead of leaving it to chance, one can reduce "the diversity of institutions to some intelligible pattern," transforming multiplicity into uniformity (Berry 70-71). Therefore, Forrest may have felt the need to explain why he decided to dismiss Captain Mareca even though he had earlier engaged him as the interpreter. On Sunday 22nd January 1775,

> I dismissed Captain Mareca, and his three servants: he seemed very glad to get back to his family, especially as I rewarded him with ten bars of iron, and various piece goods. The reason I parted with him was, I had bought from the Moodo, a Mulatto, who spoke Malay and the Papua tongue: he was called Mapia. I suspected also a jealousy between Mareca and Tuan Hadjee, who, immediately on the captain's leaving the galley, came on board with his baggage. (Forrest 1969, 88)

Despite this method of rationalization, the "stickiness" of institutions, i.e., habit and custom, is often more decisive in shaping behavior than reason (Berry 7). In the billiard ball episode in *An Abstract of a Treatise of Human Nature* (1740), one expects that the second ball will move when hit by the first ball. Hume argues that this prediction results from one’s belief in natural order, an order that is “nothing but the effects of custom on imagination” (Berry 58).

In addition to the belief in habit and custom, another characteristic which sets the Scottish Enlightenment apart from the English antecedent derives from its closer ties with the Continent, especially France. This is exemplified in Hume’s treatise on national characters. He attributes them to *moral* causes, instead of *physical* causes. By moral causes, he means “all circumstances, which are fitted to work on the mind as motives or reasons, and which render a peculiar set of manners habitual to us. Of this kind are, the nature of the government, the revolutions of public affairs, the plenty or penury in which the people live, the situation of the nation with regard to its neighbours, and such like circumstances.” By physical causes, he means “those qualities of the air and climate, which are supposed to work insensibly on the temper, by altering the tone and habit of the body, and giving a particular complexion, which, though reflection and reason may sometimes overcome it, will yet prevail among the generality of mankind, and have an influence on their manners” (Hume, *Essays* 198).

The reference to climate as one of the physical causes resonates with Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Laws*, which was published in 1748, only a little before Hume’s *National Characters* in that same year. Montesquieu’s argument postulates a direct relationship between climate or air, as causes, and social institutions or national character and human behavior, as effects. Nevertheless, it is obvious that Hume rejects this argument (Berry 79-80).

Probably aware of the significance of the physical and moral causes, in Chapter XII of Book II of his travelogue, Forrest describes the general character of the people of Magindano and their neighbors, commonly known by the name of Oran Illanon. Both are described as "very piratically inclined" (Forrest 1969, 301). Later in Chapter XVII of Book II, the account of the northern part of Borneo is presented. The climate reminds him of Ceylon. The island is "watered by noble rivers," including the Passir. It has "many commodious harbours" in Maludo Bay, produces a variey of tropical fruits, such as "the madang, like a great custard apple, and the balono, like a large mango." The local inhabitnats include the Idaan and Maroots, who live in on the high mountain of Keeneebaloo, raise pigs and eat pork, practice human sacrifice, and decorate their houses with human sculls and teeth whereas Oran Badjoo, a kind of itinerant fishermen, live mainly in small covered boats, on the coasts of Borneo and Celebes, and adjacent islands. The Mahometans, however, live most by the seaside and at the mouths of rivers (Forrest 1969, 367-375).

Notwithstanding some concepts ascribable to the Enlightenment, to retroactively label them as English or Scottish is highly questionable since the terms "Enlightenment" and "Scottish Enlightenment" were coined well into the end of the nineteenth century.

2.2.3 Living in equitability

> Many of those Synagees who visited me, were no better than sturdy beggars; but paid great respect to Tuan Hadjee, on account of the pilgrimage he had made. He seemed to court this respect, and I was careful always to support him in it, as we lived on the best terms. He had his own servants to cook for him, and attend him at Captain Mareca's,

> whilst I lived in an opposite house. We generally drank tea or coffee once a day in company; though we seldom ate together: and, upon the whole, I found him (whatever he might be in his heart) perfectly well bred, and a most agreeable companion. (Forrest 1969, 68-69)

Noticeably throughout the voyage, Forrest relies on the locals for his survival; moreover, the relationship between the English and the Malay is based on mutual respect. When Tuan Hadjee seems reluctant to accompany Forrest to New Guinea, he has no choice but to defer to his decision. He tells him that he has dropped the thought of going to New Guinea, but "begged of him to accompany me to some of the islands that lie to the N. E. of Waygiou, near which we were, and about which he had talked so much at Balambangan; in order that we might have at least something to say on our return. This pleased him, and he consented with a good grace" (Forrest 1969, 71-2).

Furthermore, as Forrest makes it quite clear that he wants to avoid a direct confrontation with the Dutch, the cooperation of the local inhabitants enables him accomplish this. Staying at Mysol in March 1775, he is informed that there is a Dutch fort on Ouby in the west, and there are readily armed prows in Amboyna to the south. Sailing in these waters is extremely dangerous because the galley will be waylaid. However, in Ef-be Harbour, not above fifty leagues from Amboyna, "we trusted to the fidelity of those we were amongst, that no advice of us would be sent to the Dutch, to whom they did not seem to be warmly affected, as they informed us of many severities, and even robberies, committed by their cruising panchallangs and corocoros" (Forrest 1969, 144-5).

Additionally, Forrest takes an initiative to blend himself into the Malay World. First of all, he speaks the Malay tongue. Secondly, he tries to observe and follow the local social manners. On August 8th, 1775, Rajah Moodo visits the Sultan of Magindano.

Forrest is among the assembly, and out his respect, "I left my shoes at the door; as did the Spanish Envoy. I had lately been accustomed to do so at Rajah Moodo's; but it was never required of me. They, who walk with slippers, always leave them without, when they are to sit down" (Forrest 1969, 234). Lastly, he avoids offending his Muslim crew by not bringing or eating pork on board. At Dory Harbour, on Friday 27th January, 1775, he buys pieces of wild hog from some Papuans, which "I avoided carrying on board the galley, but dressed and eat it ashore, unwilling to give offence to the crew" (Forrest 1969, 97).

One possible explanation for the civil treatment of the local inhabitants is offered by Holden Furber in *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800* (1976). He argues that "Europeans' views of their position vis-à-vis the Asian society around them were far from clear-cut. They were by no means everywhere in a privileged status […] In the mid eighteenth century, the idea that the lowliest European was the superior of the most cultivated Asian as well as of the lowliest coolie had not yet become firmly rooted" (321-322). The European empires of conquest had not been envisioned. In relating to the Asian world, the English, along with the Dutch, French, and Danes, found that their Portuguese predecessors had adapted themselves to local methods of doing business and conducting diplomatic relations. The newcomers found it necessary to follow suit. A "creole" form of the Portuguese language, for example, was adopted to carry out conversations between Europeans and Asian; it was already the accepted language for diplomatic negotiations and the "lingua franca" of commerce from the Red Sea to Canton. English did not become the dominant language until 1825. As a result, most of the commercial transactions between the Europeans and the Asians were defined by an idea of equality and mutual respect (Furber 1976, 298-299; 310-312). This was not the age of conquest, but "the Age of Partnership."[21]

2.2.4 Malayness

> Having so far prosecuted the voyage, before I conclude this chapter, I could wish to say something of the nature of the winds and currents in low latitudes, east of Atcheen Head; which may be termed in general as far as the Moluccas, a Malay region – The Malay tongue, soft and easily learnt, being understood and spoken all along the coast of the islands, which in the map occupy this vast space. (Forrest 1969, 168)

One frequently used term in Forrest's account is "Malay." Initially, he refers to Gilolo (Halamahera) as "a Malay country," of which the northern part is well inhabited (Forrest 1969, 34). It is considered part of "a Malay region," which stretches from "east of Atcheen Head" to "as far as the Moluccas" (Forrest 1969, 168). One may wonder what the distinctive characteristics of this vast space are. They might include the landscape, with "too much wood, or too much long grass, called Lallang, and sometimes tall reeds, &c." as "almost universally the case in Malay countries," making it difficult for the traveler to walk on (Forrest 1969, 79-80).

The region can possibly boast of its own customs, whereby the people are particularly "dressed like Malays" (Forrest 1969, 76), and "never suffer their beards to grow, plucking out with pincers the hairs as they first begin to sprout." Additionally, there is a special game of football, "a kind of spherical basket about the size of a man's head, made of split rattans. About ten or twelve persons make a ring, and toss the ball from one to another: sometimes they kick it with the foot, sometimes hit it with the palm of the hand, sometimes with the shoulder, and often with the knee; keeping it up as long as they can." Their favorite pastime is cock-fighting, "as it is universally is the eastward of Atcheen-head among the Malays." In light of dietary habits, they are "moderate in eating and drinking, and delicate in the choice of the best and finest rice, as East Indians generally are." Forrest notices that Rajah Moodo has boiled rice, boiled pumpkin and dried or salted fish for dinner. "Neither did he drink any thing after it, but water; then, rincng his mouth and washing his hands. Such temperature is universal amongst Malays. They have their salt in lumps, like loaf sugar, which at meals they stamp on their rice every now and then, as a person stamps a letter" (Forrest 1969, 300).

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[21] The term is used in Blair B. Kling and M. N. Pearson, eds., *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia Before Dominion* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1979).

Nevertheless, if the Moluccas are part of the Malay region, why does Forrest differentiate the Malays from the Moors, the Javanese and the Molucca people as far as the cheering songs for rowers are concerned? He relates that:

> The Moors, in what is called country ships in East India, have also their chearing songs; at work in hoisting, or in their boats a rowing. The Javans and Molucca people have theirs. Those of the Malays are drawling and insipid. In Europe the French provençals have their song: it is the reverse of lively. The Mangaio is brisk, the Malabar tender. The Greeks and Romans had their Celeusma or chearing song. (Forrest 1969, 305)

The term "Malay" also refers to the language (tongue),[22] which is "soft and easily learnt, being understood and spoken all along the coast of the islands, which in the map occupy this vast space" (Forrest 1969, 168). Simultaneously, it is used in relation to the racial identity (colour),[23] as in the case of the people of Kabruang and Salibabo, who are "of the Malay colour," and those living in the Sultanate of Magindano, whose "persons are rather slim, but genteelly made. Though not athletic, they can exert great strength upon occasion" (Forrest 1969, 161; 300). They obviously differ from the Papua men, who "had their frizzled black locks sticking out a great way from their heads, and were as black as African Coffres" (Forrest 1969, 60).[24]

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[22] *Tongue* may refer to "[t]he speech or language of a people or race; also, that of a particular class or locality, a dialect" (Murray et al. 18: 222) while *language* can mean "[t]he whole body of words and of methods of combination of words used by a nation, people, or race; a 'tongue'" (Murray et al. 8: 634).

Furthermore, it should be reminded that Islam (or Mahometanism) is not considered unique to the region as "the Mahometans, who came to the Moluccas from parts of farther west"; while there are "Mahometan Malays," many of the Papuans also convert to Islam and then "cut off their bushy locks, or at least comb them down as straight as they can." Hujamat, who carried Tuan Hadjee from Gag to Tomoguy, is "a proselyte of this kind […] His son the carpenter was a savage indeed, and wore his bushy locks" (Forrest 1969, 68; 170). Yet, it is noteworthy that the term "Mahometan" is used interchangeably with "Mussulman" and "Moor."[25] Once, Forrest relates that Tuan Hadjee's ancestors are "Mussulmen priests" from Mecca; therefore, as a descendant from the "great prophet (Nabbi) Mahomet," he is shown great respect. In the meantime, while staying in Spanish Magindano, he notices that "[o]n each bastion of the fort, is a large Spanish bell, with a rattan made fast to the clapper. Two centinels watch all night at each bell, and toll three strokes about every ten minutes, each bell answering regularly round to the first. A Mindano Moor, and a Bisayan Christian, are always put together to watch" (Forrest 1969, 69; 183).

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[23] In *The Oxford English Dictionary*, one definition of *colour* is "[t]he hue of the darker (as distinguished from the 'white') varieties of mankind; often in phrase, *a person* (*man*, etc.) *of colour*: in America, esp. a person of negro blood" (Murray et al. 3: 499). This term brings to mind the word *race*, which can refer to "[a] group of persons, animals, or plants, connected by common descent or origin," or "[o]ne of the great divisions of mankind, having certain physical peculiarities in common" Nonetheless, there is no generally accepted classification among anthropologists (Murray et al. 13: 69). In the meantime, *nation* can refer to "[a]n extensive aggregate of persons, so closely associated with each other by common descent, language, or history, as to form a distinct race or people, usually organized as a separate political state and occupying a definite territory." However, the following note points out that, in early examples of sentences containing the term *nation*, "the racial idea is usually stronger than the political; in recent use the notion of political unity and independence is more prominent" (Murray et al. 10: 231).

[24] In *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (1512-1515), the hinterland of Tulang Bawang is ruled by a king who is 'a heathen or *Cafre*' (Pires 158-9). Armanda Cortesão, the editor, also points out that the term derived from "the Arab *kafir*, 'unfaithful or unbeliever', meaning any person not Mohammedan" (Pires 142, n. 1). Later, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms* (1886) explains, under the entry "**CAFFER, CAFFRE, COFFREE**, &c., n. p.," that "the Arabs applied this to Pagan negroes, among others"; therefore, "the Portuguese at an early date took it up in this sense, and our countrymen from them." The meaning has narrowed down to "the black tribes of South Africa, whom we now call, or till recently did call, **Caffres**. It was also applied in the Philippine Islands to the Papuas of N. Guinea, and the Alfuras of the Moluccas, brought into the slave-market" (Yule and Burnell 1968, 140-141; emphasis in original).

The unique characteristics of the Malays and the Malay region have posed a persistently tantalizing question since the eighteenth century. British orientalists, e.g., William Marsden, John Crawfurd and Alfred Russel Wallace, have tried to provide a clear definition of the term "Malay."[26] In *The History of Sumatra* (1811), Marsden owns that the true Malays originated in the ancient kingdom of Menangkabau on the island of Sumatra (41) whereas a twentieth-century historian believes that they originally inhabited the Malay Peninsula (Roff 1-2). In *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries* (1856), Crawfurd maintains that "Mâlayu is no doubt the name of the original tribe or nation, and its source is as obscure and untraceable as those of Jawa, Javanese, Sunda, Sundanese, Wugi, Bugis, and many others. We need not, indeed, go further than our own language for a name as obscure for Angle as applied to ourselves, our country and our language is as difficult to trace as Mâlayu applied to those of the Malays" (251).

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[25] *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (1512-1515) mentions that most of the kings on the island of Sumatra "are Moors and some are heathens" (Pires 137).

[26] William Marsden (1754-1836), (FRS 1783), British Orientalist whom Forrest had known while both were in the East Indies (Marsden 1838, 45; The Royal Society, "List of Fellows of the Royal Society, 1660-2007").
John Crawfurd (1783-1868), a Scottish physician, whose career with the East India Company started in 1803 when he served under Lord Minto in Penang. He served as a Resident of Java from 1811-1817 and of Singapore in 1823. His diplomatic missions took him to Siam and Cochin-China in 1821-1822 and to Burma in 1826 (Stephen and Lee 5: 60-61).

Later, in his classification of the races of man in *Malay Archipelago* (1893), Wallace states that "[t]wo very strongly contrasted races inhabit the archipelago – the Malays, occupying almost exclusively the larger western half of it, and the Papuans, whose headquarters are New Guinea and several of the adjacent islands." Wallace further divides the Malays into "four great, and a few minor semi-civilized tribes, and a number of others who may be termed savages." The first four consist of the Malays proper, the Javanese, the Bugis, the Tagalas in the Philippine Islands. The savage Malays are "the Dyaks of Borneo; the Battaks and other wild tribes of Sumatra; the Jakuns of the Malay

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Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913), (FRS), a British naturalist and expert on biogeography or the geographical distribution of biodiversity over space and time. He is best known for having evolved a theory of the origin of species through natural selection independently of Charles Darwin. In *Malay Archipelago* (1869), he divided the Archipelago into a western group of islands (Borneo and Bali), whose zoological affinities are Asiatic, and an eastern group (Celebes and Lombok), with Australian links. These two groups are divided by a narrow belt known as Wallace's Line, which runs through the Lombok Strait (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica* 12: 466-467).

Peninsula; the aborigines of Northern Celebes, of the Sula Islands, and of part of Buru" (445-446).

In *Kerajaan: Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule* (1982), A. C. Milner coins the term "Malay-ness" to refer to "a vague […] awareness of a cultural unity, a sense of belonging not only to group such as the village or state, but also to a wider, Malay, community" (9). In the region, where people travel from one island to another, migrate from the hinterland to the coastal areas, and move from one sultanate in order to resettle in another, identity shift plays an important role in the human survival. Oftentimes, one finds it necessary to learn a new language, adopt new practices, or even embrace a new belief. On the one hand, "being Malay" can mean "to possess a cultural and social passport, providing potential access to the commerce of the diaspora networks and the political advantages of a respected lineage" (Sutherland 102). On the other hand, "to become Malay" may refer to "to adopt, in its broadest sense, a culture, a distinct manner of behaviour and thought" (Milner 1982, 11).

The orientalists' are attempts "imbued with an Enlightenment view that peoples should be scientifically classified, much as Carolus Linnaeus and Charles Darwin classified the natural world" (Reid 10). Nonetheless, as the region brims with ethnic diversity, or what one scholar calls "demographic immaturity" (Tarling 1963, 2-5), later scholars have acknowledged the elusiveness of the term, which cannot and will never be pinned down to a certain time period, location, or group of people.[27] If one can either *be* or *become* Malay, where does the center of Malayness lie? Where is the epicenter of this cultural quintessence that exudes magnetic power, attracting those in the peripheries who would like to become part of the same network? And if it is possible to *become* a Malay, is it also possible to *unbecome* one?

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[27] For more discussions on Malayness, see Timothy P. Barnard, ed., *Contesting Malayness: Malay Identity Across Boundaries* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, National University of Singapore, 2004); Timothy P. Barnard, *Multiple Centers of*

2.2.5 Fish heads in the cabinet: explorers, collectors and curators

On Thursday 12th January, 1775, Forrest writes:

> A fisherman amongst various fish, brought me two, of which the heads were remarkable, by a horn that projected from between their eyes. The horn was about four inches long, equal in length to the head. Altogether, the head was that of an unicorn: the people called it Een Raw, that is, the fish Raw. The skin was black, and the body might be twenty inches long: its tail was armed with two strong scythes on each side, with their points forward.*

His footnote further relates that he has managed to preserve the heads of these two fish, which "are now in the Museum of Charles Boddam, Esquire" (Forrest 1969, 84), who served as one of the directors of the East India Company in the years 1769, 1772, 1773, 1774-5, 1777-80, and 1782-4. He died in December 1784 (C. H. and D. Philips 327).

Authority: Society and Environment in Siak and Eastern Sumatra, 1674-1827 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2003); Tony Day, *Fluid Iron: State Formation in Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Hendrik M. J. Maier, *We Are Playing Relatives: A Survey of Malay Writing* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004); A. C. Milner, *Kerajaan: Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule* (Tucson, Arizona: Published for the Association for Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press, 1982); A. C. Milner, *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya: Contesting Nationalism and the Expansion of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995); A.C. Milner, *The Malays* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008); William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

Notably, Forrest was one of many sources of collectibles and exhibits, i.e., explorers, merchants and overseas settlers who provided exotic and precious specimens to European collectors, including Cortés, who brought looted temple treasures to his sovereign in 1519 (MacGregor 2007, 51). In France, François I's royal collections were enriched by "objects of ethnographical interest" brought back by early explorers of the New World, including Jacques Cartier (1491-1557) (Mauriès 55). On the other hand, home collectors who did not get to travel built their collections by circulating an appeal to those who did. For instance, James Petiver (*c.*1663-1718), the London apothecary who was well-known for his collections of specimens from the East Indies and the New World, circulated the following statement:

> I humbly entreat that all practitioners in Physick, Sea-Surgeons or other curious persons who travel into foreign countries will be pleased to make collections for me of whatever plants, shells, insects etc they small meet with, preserving them according to directions that I have made so easy as the meanest capacity is able to perform, the which I am ready to give to such as shall desire them. (MacGregor 1985, 156)

The practice of collecting and keeping objects in a specifically designated place in order to be examined and displayed is traceable to the Medieval Period, when sacred treasures were housed in the cabinets and chambers of Christian churches, and royal and aristocratic families throughout Europe, "long predate the posited beginnings of museums in the Renaissance." Julius von Schlosser's seminal study *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance* (1908) draws a parallels between the church treasures and the princely hoards, regarding them as "collections endowed with a special aura, whose magical or supernatural powers," allowed them to be "brought out and displayed to the common gaze only occasionally, just as princes and collectors permitted access to their collections only for brief visits." In the transition "from the religious to the secular, from the public (but restricted) treasures of the church to the private (and guarded) treasures of princes" resides, as von Schlosser maintains, "the origins of the culture of curiosity." At the heart of the culture lay the intention to define, discover and possess the rare and the unique, and at the same time, to inscribe them within a special setting which would instill in them layers of meaning" (Mauriès 23-25).

The term "cabinet of art and curiosities" was used to designate an enclosed space, often rather cramped and sometimes hidden away, characterized by its singular use and scholarly array of objects which were brought together primarily to be studied rather than to put on display. In fourteenth-century France, the precursors of these cabinets were termed *estudes*, and in late-fifteenth-century Italy they became known as *studioli*. In around 1550, the word *Kunstkammer* ("chamber of art") appeared in German, to be joined afterwards by *Wunderkammer* ("chamber of marvels") and *Schatzkammer* ("chamber of treasures"). These chambers in princely palaces were distinguished by "the modesty of their dimensions […] the private and secluded nature of their position within these residences, the richness of their decoration, and the dual nature of the objects contained within them: items symbolizing intellectual striving on the one hand, and works of art and curiosities on the other, with the major – but not exclusive – theme being provided by objects from antiquity; the whole being for the private enjoyment and enlightenment of the prince and his inner circle of friends" (Mauriès 51-52).

The history of cabinets of curiosities began with the notion of a correspondence between man and nature, between the microcosm and macrocosm. The desire to establish a continuity between art and nature, the desire to exhaust every aspect of the real world, and to contain it within a finite space, was denied by the tension between the system of organization and the eclecticism of the amassed objects, which lies at the heart of the cult of curiosities (Mauriès 43; 51). The space within the cabinets of curiosities was largely allocated according to an unchanging formula. With every corner and niche filled to overflowing, and every surface studded from floor to ceiling with precious and rare objects, this was a private space, "requiring a formal introduction in the ritual form of the visit" and "a display ceremony in which the cult of the object was celebrated, and its history, its origins and its fabulous genealogy were unveiled to the faithful in a form of ecstatic communion" (Mauriès 66).

The most notable cabinet were the *studiolo* of Francesco I de' Medici (1541-87) within the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence and the *Kuntskammer* established by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (1528-79) at Munich. While the Florentine cabinet was "bereft of windows, light flooded the Munich *Kunstkammer* from all sides; while Francesco sought solitude in his cabinet, in Munich visitors gained access with tolerable ease" (MacGregor 2007, 13). What started amongst the Italian nobility spread both geographically and socially, so that by mid-sixteenth century establishing a museum had become a pan-European courtly activity. The ostentatious courtly consumption demonstrated by the cabinets of curiosities was employed as an important form of princely political propaganda (Arnold 14).

By the mid-sixteenth century, the practice of forming cabinets was already widespread in educated society. The princely collections in Europe were overshadowed by the collections of scholars and connoisseurs from the merchant classes. In many cases, upon the death of the royal and aristocratic owners, their private collections were bought by the scholarly and bourgeois collectors (Mauriès 148; 182). Inadvertently, these individuals responded to an ideal given by Petrarch in his *De vita solitaria*, in which the virtues of a life dedicated to solitary scholarship were extolled with an eloquence that would raise it to the level of an essential attribute of the complete Renaissance man." Among the cabinets formed by individual scholars and to a lesser extent by academic institutions, many collections were dedicated to analyzing aspects of the real world instead of merely reflecting it symbolically; therefore, the physical ambience was necessarily adapted to serve these particular needs (MacGregor 2007, 12; 19).

In *Gesta Grayorum, or, the History of the High and Mighty Prince, Prince Henry of Purpoole* (1594), a play by Francis Bacon, the Second Councellor advising the Study of Philosophy proposes four material aids to benefit philosophical study. The first is a collection of "*Books of worth, be they ancient or modern, printed on Manuscript,* European *or of the other Parts, of one or other Language*." Second is a spacious garden, "*wherein whatsoever Plant, the Sun of divers Climates, out of the Earth of divers Moulds, either wild, or by the Culture of Man brought forth, may be, with that Care that appertaineth to the good prospering thereof, set and cherished.*" The garden is to house all rare beasts and birds, with two adjoining lakes, one containing freshwater fish, the other saltwater fish, so that the garden may be regarded "*a Model of Universal Nature made private*." The third is:

> *A goodly, huge Cabinet, wherein whatsoever the Hand of Man by exquisite Art or Engine, hath made rare in Stuff, Form, or Motion,*

> *whatsoever Singularity, Chance, and the Shuffle of things hath produced, whatsoever Nature has wrought in things that want Life, and may be kept, shall be sorted and included. The fourth, Such a Still-house so furnished with Mills, Instruments, Furnaces, and Vessels, as may be a Palace fit for a Philosopher's Stone. Thus when your Excellency shall have added depth of Knowledge to the fineness of Spirits, and greatness of your Power, then indeed shall you lay a* Trismegistus*; and then, when all other Miracles and Wonders shall cease, by reason that you shall have discovered their natural Causes, your self shall be left the only Miracle and Wonder of the World*. (Bacon 34-35; italicization in original)

The Prince, in other words, suggests the establishment of a library, a combined garden, zoo and aquarium, a laboratory or still house and a museum as places of scientific inquiry and investigation, as "workshops for the foundational production of factual evidence" (Arnold 22-23).

In the cabinets of ordinary citizens across Europe, to some degree, ownership of a collection was itself a sign of financial success and social standing of its begetter. In the meantime, some of the most remarkable private collections were also characterized by a purposefulness that stretched beyond that of mere personal gratification. Well represented among the bourgeois collectors were apothecaries who formed the single most numerous professional category, challenged only by the physicians (MacGregor 2007, 21-22). The apothecary Albertus Seba (1665-1736) was one of them. He bought assiduously from East Indiamen, ships chartered by the Dutch East India Company, returning to Amsterdam while soliciting specimens from contacts scattered from the Americas to Batavia. Shrewd business practice enabled him to sell on duplicate specimens at much higher prices than he had paid for them, allowing him to build up a collection of *naturalia*. In 1717 he sold his entire collection to Peter the Great and immediately began assembling another. He was a member of a number of learned societies, and in 1728 was elected to the Royal Society in London. He published *Thesaurus*, of which the first part (dealing primarily with plants, quadruped and birds) appeared in 1734 and the second part (mostly taken up by serpents) was published the following year. An avid collector of shells, Seba published *Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri*, III in 1758 as well (MacGregor 2007, 32; 304; 137).

In Chapter XV of Book II of *Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, Forrest provides an account of the cinnamon tree in Ceylon written by the Dutch Chief Inspector of the cinnamon trade and addressed to Seba, who also gives an additional account:

> Having some years ago, bought out of the East India Company's warehouses at Amsterdam, a considerable quantity of cinnamon leaves, or *folia malabathri*, packed up in large chests, I happened to find in one of them, the flowers of the cinnamon, as big as the Italian bean flowers, and of a blue colour. I chanced likewise to meet with the fruit; but could not find any in the other chests.
>
> In 1722, and 1723, I bought of the same company, the oil which is expressed from the fruit of the cinnamon tree; as also that which is boiled out of it, which is of a very good consistence, and white, and is by the East India Company called cinnamon wax: for the king of Candia causes candles to be made of it, which, for their agreeable scent, are burnt only by himself, and at his court […]. (Forrest 1969, 346)

The earliest example of curiosity cabinets of private citizens in sixteenth-century England is that of Walter (later Sir Walter) Cope (?1553-1614). In the first half of the seventeenth century, the most significant English collection was founded by John Tradescant the elder (*d.*1638) (MacGregor 2007, 29). While the opportunity for collecting in Cope's case arose during his voyage to the Indies, it came to Tradescant in the form of several visits to the Continent, a number of which were to the Low Countries and to France and were principally concerned with the purchase of plants for the gardens of his various employers, Robert Cecil, the first Earl of Salisbury, Robert's son William, Edward Lord Wotton, George Villiers, the first Duke of Buckingham, and finally Charles I's wife Henrietta Maria. Among the places visited on one of these occasions in 1611 was Leiden, where the cabinet of the Anatomy School may well have provided a further inspiration for "The Ark," the famous collection which Tradescant was later to found at Lambeth (MacGregor 1985, 149; Arnold 19). In 1656, his son John Tradescant the younger compiled the catalogue *Musæum Tradescantianum* in collaboration with Elias Ashmole (1617-92).

The collection was divided into two major categories, i.e., the natural and the artificial. The first category is "sub-divided into birds, four-footed beasts, fishes, shell creatures, insects, minerals and outlandish fruits" whereas the second major category "comprised utensils, household items, habits, instruments of war, rare curiosities of art, and coins and medals […] cameos and intaglios, surgeons' implements made from the points of needles, a cherry stone holding 120 tortoiseshell combs, a nest of fifty-two wooden cups turned within each other, Egyptian, Roman and other antiquities, oriental calligraphy, American featherwork, and other ethnological material from every corner of the known world" (MacGregor 1985, 151).

Subsequently, Ashmole was to inherit the collection, expanding it with items he had himself collected before offering it as a gift to the University of Oxford. This would later become the founding collection of the Ashomolean Museum in 1683 (Mauriès 142; 145). Like the Ashmolean, the Royal Society's collection had its origins in a private cabinet. Early in 1666 the Society purchased a substantial private cabinet of Robert Hubert (Anglicized in the Society's minutes as "Mr Hubbard"). By 1681 the collection had been swollen by gifts to between two and three times the size of Hubert's cabinet. With limited resources at its disposal, the Royal Society could never afford sufficient staff to look after the collection properly, which was initially under the care of Robert Hooke, the Society's curator of experiments and professor of geometry at Gresham College. When the Society moved to Somerset House in 1779, the collection was offered to the British Museum, "ostensibly because of lack of space but in fact probably because it was by now apparent that a museum was more of a burden that the asset which it had appeared to be in the 1660s" (Hunter 163-167).

Perceptibly, the development of a more dynamic role of the cabinet of curiosities led inevitably to the erosion of its essentially private nature. In an unprecedented manner, possession of a reputable cabinet came to serve a social function, allowing a collector to interact far beyond his socially allotted station. It brought royalty and nobility to the homes of ordinary citizens. The list of visitors to the house of Sir Walter Cope included the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania and King Christian IV of Denmark (MacGregor 2007, 64; 66). Tradescant also used his museum as a tool for social elevation. He was typical of a number of individuals from the lower nobility and upper ranks of the "middling sort" who, during the middle of the seventeenth century, formed a series of significant collections, e.g., John Aubrey (1626-97), the antiquarian and writer on the cult of curiosities, Thomas Browne (1605-82), physician and essayist, and John Evelyn (1620-1706), collector, traveller and historian (Arnold 19).

Nevertheless, the Tradescants differed from every collector then known of in England in the general accessibility of their collection. In addition to the distinguished visitors were the ordinary people who flocked to see the collection for a fee – seemingly sixpence (MacGregor 1985, 150). The cabinet of curiosities eventually outgrew its secluded origins in the scholar's study and developed into an important site for social interaction, "a meeting place where men and women, high-born and commoners, erudite and casually pleasure-seeking, could all rub shoulders." Subsequently, the cabinet was carried into entirely new territory, "leaving behind its universalist agenda and pursuing instead a whole series of more narrowly drawn goals in which different categories of museum objects were collected, interrogated and displayed according to criteria that remained largely unknown to the *curieux* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (MacGregor 2007, 69).

The second half of the seventeenth century had seen the founding in England of a number of collections whose scientific purpose was fundamental from the outset and which reached a position of some maturity by the early 1700s. The collection with the most glorious destiny, was that of Sir Hans Sloane, begun in his years as a medical student in London and in France. It was tremendously enlarged during nearly two years' service in Jamaica as personal physician to the Duke of Albermarle. In 1696 Sloane published a list of plants found growing in Jamaica, to be followed in 1707 by the first volume of his *Natural History* of the island (the second volume was not to appear until 1725). Sloane's collection was expanded by inheritance and by the wholesale purchase of other collections as they came on the market. Following his death, it was acquired by the nation as part of the founding collection of the British Museum in 1753.

In a sense, Sloane's museum represented the ultimate expression of the approach to natural history that had its roots in the first generation of the fellowship of the Royal Society (which Sloane served for almost half a century successively as Secretary and as President). Among the visitors was a young Swede, Carl Linné (1707-78), known to posterity by the latinized form of his name, Carolus Linnaeus, who was appalled by the outmoded organization of Sloane's collection (MacGregor 2007, 121-122). In order to bring some order to the natural collections, the Trustees of the British Museum employed Daniel Carl Solander (1733-82), a former pupil of Linnaeus himself, to reorganize them according to the Linnaean system. However, the reform of the collection was left unaccomplished by the time of Solander's premature death (MacGregor 2007, 124-125).

One of the principal rivals of the British Museum was France's Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. Its origins stretch back to the year 1635 when Louis XIII acquired a property in the Faubourg Saint-Victor in Paris in order to establish a Jardin Royal des Plantes Médicinales. The physic garden and its cabinet were intended primarily for the education of apothecaries and physicians, and were accessible to the public. The Cabinet du Jardin des Plantes came to function as the repository for all kinds of curiosities brought back by ambassadors, explorers and others travelling abroad on official business. After the death of Guy Crescent Fagon, the King's principal physician, in 1718, the garden and the cabinet were separated. The garden became simply the Jardin du Roi and was realigned on the natural sciences and chemistry while the cabinet formed the basis of the Cabinet du Roi, which was given the title of the Cabinet d'Histoire Naturelle in 1729. A decade later Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-88) was appointed its director. In the course of the following forty years, Buffon doubled the size of the garden and greatly enriched the cabinet. His major cataloguing project developed into *Histoire naturelle*, *générale et particulière* (1749-1804) in forty-four volumes (MacGregor 2007, 37-38; 122).

From the emergence of princely cabinets in the fifteenth century to the institutionalization of museums in the eighteenth century, the practice of collecting specimens has undergone a variety of social and intellectual movements. Acquiring objects became increasingly based on discrete commercial transactions and the interchange of property, rather than on earlier patterns of gift-giving and systems of favour. Consequently, not only the practice of gathering curiosities, but also the very idea of what a museum *was*, came increasingly to be characterized by a spirit of philosophical inquiry (Arnold 21). Furthermore, the developing practice of forming systematic collections of specimens was indissolubly linked with novel methodological developments, namely "the greatly enhanced premiums placed on original observation and on personal familiarity with the material under investigation." The establishment of extensive and stable collections was a crucial requirement for "the emergence of natural history as a formal discipline with a sound taxonomic basis" (MacGregor 2007, 120).

The concept of the cabinet of curiosities began to change when differences became more important than correspondences. The cult of curiosities was "a cult of summation, of the sum total of things, of juxtaposition and addition repeated *ad infinitum*." On the other hand, the Age of Enlightenment places itself "firmly on the side of universality, of a hierarchical world view, and of an assumption of the validity of the broader categories of reason.” Within the context of this new structure of reality, it became necessary to sort and arrange according to a new scale of values. First, the confusion of *naturalia* and *artificialia* was to be abandoned and works of art were to be separated from works of science. Next, a distinction was to be drawn within the category of works of art, between major and minor works, and between fine and decorative art, “the latter being a superior form of craftsmanship distinguished by the excellence and virtuoso skill of its execution” (Mauriès 185; 189; 194).

In the meantime, relocating a collection from a private home to an institutional building gave it a different sense of purpose and radically changed the meaning of its contents. Established in the closets, studies or cabinets of Renaissance princes and nobility, and, later, of wealthy merchants, physicians and the like, Europe’s very first museums had been defined in terms of private domestic spaces, reserved for personal study and contemplation. The act of putting the museum in an entirely separate building, however, suggested a bold cultural gesture of allowing objects “to be inspected and manipulated in order to produce knowledge” (Arnold 25-26).

2.2.6 The Royal Society

On Thursday 12th January 1775, while the Tartar Galley is within the vicinity of Waygiou Island, a fisherman brings him two remarkable-looking fish, known by the name “Een Raw.” In the footnote, Forrest adds that “Mr Banks found the same kind of fish on the coast of New Holland, of which he did me the favour to show me a print" (Forrest 1969, 84).

The above message hints at Forrest's acquaintance with Joseph Banks, a leading patron of natural philosophers of the day. This is evidenced by an incident before March 1781, when Forrest was invited to the residence of Banks, who had been elected the President of the Royal Society in 1778, probably because his "curious voyage to New Guinea, in the Tartar galley, and thence become known to the patron of scientific discovery" (Marsden 1838, 45). At Banks's breakfast table, he mingled with members of the Royal Society and men of science, including Daniel Charles Solander (1736-82), Nevil Maskelyne (1732-1811), James Rennell (1742-1830), Alexander Dalrymple (1737-1808), Sir Charles Blagden (1748-1820), Sir William Herschel (1738-1822),[28] and William Marsden. Forrest may have not regarded himself as one of those explorers who embarked on scientific expeditions; however, the organizational structure inherent in the

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[28] Daniel Charles Solander (1736-82), FRS (1758), DCL (Oxford) (1771), was a pupil of Linnaeus, accompanied Banks on the *Endeavour* in 1768-71 and became keeper of the Natural History Department at the British Museum in 1773.
Nevil Maskelyne (1732-1811), FRS (1758), Astronomer Royal (1765), DD (Cantab) (1777) introduced the method of determining longitude by lunar observation in 1763 and began to publish the *Nautical Almanac* in 1766.
James Rennell (1742-1830) served in the Royal Navy and East India Company Marine until 1764, when he was commissioned in the Bengal Engineers and appointed the surveyor-general of the Company's possessions in Bengal. He returned to England in 1777 after being wounded on survey, published his *Bengal Atlas* in 1779 and was elected FRS in 1781. In later life, he was acknowledged the leading geographer of his day.
Sir Charles Blagden (1748-1820), physician and chemist, was interested particularly in the cooling of water below freezing point. He was elected Secretary of the Royal Society in 1784.
Sir William Herschel (1738-1822), an astronomer and musician, who discovered Uranus in 1781 and became Court Astronomer to George III in 1782. He was elected to the Royal Society in 1781 and was knighted in 1816 (Bassett 1969, 19).

Royal Society in the late-eighteenth century deserves some discussion. It is revealed in how one became a member, and progressed up the organizational ladder.

The Royal Society set off as a group of natural philosophers who began meeting in the mid-1640s to discuss the new philosophy of promoting knowledge of the natural world through observation and experiment, which we now call science. They "had begun to feel that the explanations of natural phenomena offered by traditional authority no longer met their needs; they were seeking a surer guidance; they desired to measure, to weigh and to control the conditions among which they lived, and, as Bacon wrote, 'to extend more widely the limits of the power and the greatness of man' " (Lyons 1). In 1662, the Society was permitted by Royal Charter to publish and the first two books it produced were John Evelyn's *Sylva* and Robert Hooke's *Micrographia*. In the second Royal Charter of 1663, the Society is referred to as "The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge." The Society found accommodation at Gresham College, and rapidly began to acquire a library and a repository or museum of specimens of scientific interest. After the Fire of 1666, it moved for some years to Arundel House, London home of the Dukes of Norfolk. It was not until 1710, under the Presidency of Isaac Newton, that the Society acquired its own home, two houses in Crane Court, off the Strand. In 1665, the first issue of *Philosophical Transactions*, the world's first scientific journal, was edited by Henry Oldenburg, the Society's Secretary. The Society took over publication some years later and *Philosophical Transactions* is now the oldest scientific journal in continuous publication (The Royal Society, "History").

From the beginning, Fellows of the Society had to be elected, although the criteria for election were vague and the vast majority of the Fellowship was not professional scientists. According to Sir Henry Lyons (1968), the only qualification demanded of those who joined this company was that "they should be zealous supporters of the 'new philosophy'; political opinions carried no special weight [...] Socially they were drawn mainly from the professional classes and not infrequently from the skilled craftsmen of those days" (17). Some of the Fellows would be elected to form Councils and to take charge of administrative duties, e.g., Secretaries, Clerk and Treasurer. On March 6th, 1661, Sir Robert Moray was chosen the first President. In 1802, William Marsden, an Orientalist, became the Treasurer, replacing S. Wegg, an antiquarian (Lyons 26; 200).

In 1731, a new rule was established, requiring that each candidate for election be proposed in writing and this written certificate be signed by those who supported his candidature. When Joseph Banks became President in 1778, nevertheless, he was in favour of maintaining a mixture among the Fellowship of working scientists and wealthy amateurs who might become their patrons as "the expense of its administration was causing difficulties that members of the nobility and of the well-to-do classes were admitted in any number" (Lyons 17). This view grew less popular in the first half of the nineteenth century and in 1847 the Society decided that in the future Fellows would be elected solely on the merit of their scientific work (The Royal Society, "History").

It was Banks's background and how he ran the Society that sheds some light on Forrest's acquaintance with him and other natural philosophers (See also *A Brief Memoir of the Life and Writings of William Marsden*, 1838). Banks was a wealthy landowner and an ardent naturalist who was ready to finance scientific expeditions as well as to take part in them. He was willing to undergo the risks and discomforts of foreign explorations which were inseparable from them. He had been a member of an expedition to Newfoundland where he had made considerable collections, and later had accompanied James Cook on his first voyage (1768-71) when Banks had paid for all the expenses of the staff and equipment necessary for "carrying out botanical and other biological investigations" (Lyons 197). Moreover, he entertained generously at his house in Soho Square which he had bought in 1777. Here, he gave weekly receptions at which "all were welcome and free to inspect his exceptionally complete library of works on natural science and his collections; they heard the latest scientific news, and the accounts of travellers who had lately returned from foreign lands." He also invited many of his friends, among whom were men of science and travellers or explorers who had returned from their journeys, to breakfast with him. In his study, he discussed with them their experiences and heard their news to more advantage than was possible at the evening receptions (Lyons 197; 200).

It was one of these occasions upon which Forrest had an opportunity to socialize with men of science. Thereafter, Forrest kept in touch with Banks and later enjoyed the patronage of Dalrymple, but "most of these men were a scientific *coterie* and a strata of English society to which his New Guinea background gave him probably only a limited and fortuitous access. Forrest was a working seaman, not a gentleman of independent means" (Bassett 1969, 19). He never had an opportunity to establish a friendship with men of science as William Herschel did. On one of the moon observation nights in Bath, the musician from Hanover perchance met Dr. Watson, a physician and son of Sir William Watson, the Royal Society's official Secretary. Having successfully assembled "his first five-foot reflector telescope, with a home-made metal speculum mirror of six-inch diameter," Herschel discovered a new 'Comet' in early March 1781. He would name it after the Hanoverian king, "Georgium Sidus" ("George Star"), but it eventually became known to European astronomers as Uranus. The discovery was acknowledged by Nevil Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal. His paper titled "An Account of a Comet" was read at the Royal Society on 26 April 1781, and was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in June 1781. In May 1781, Herschel was taken to London to meet Watson, senior, Maskelyne, Alexander Aubert, the wealthy Deptford astronomer, and Banks. This was the first meeting with the inner circle of British astronomers. His success reached its zenith when Banks presented him with the Copley Gold Medal for the best work in any scientific field during the year 1781, and when he was appointed the King's Personal Astronomer at Windsor (See Holmes 60-124 for details).

2.3 Hierarchies of humans and knowledge

This section discusses the human relationships in *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas*. The dynamism inherent in the rapport between Forrest and his crew, the history of Magindano and the power hierarchy in the English East India Company arguably operates in a vertical direction whereby one echelon is seen interacting with another above or below it. Concurrently, the formation of knowledge rests upon its hierarchical structure as it organizes specimens into arbitrarily designated categories, one stacked on top of another in the confinement of neatly arranged lists.

2.3.1 On board the Tartar Galley

List of the Crew of the Tartar Galley

CAPTAIN THOMAS FORREST,	Commander.
David Baxter,	Mate.
Laurence Lound,	Gunner.
William Hunt,	Passenger to Sooloo. Left at Sooloo
Ishamel Tuan Hadjee,	Pilot.
Tuan Imum,	Helmsmen.
Ishamel Jerrybattoo,	
Matthew,	Steward.
Jaffier,	Serang. Boatswain.
Saban,	Seamen.
Marudo,	
Abdaraman,	
Dya,	
Andrew,	
George,	
Mungary,	
Diego,	
Jacob,	
Rum Johny,	
Gibalu,	
Panjang,	Cook. *
Strap,	Boy.

* He died at Magindano – being the only person I lost during the voyage.

(Forrest 1969, 11)

The hierarchy on the English vessel is evidenced in the List of the Crew. At the highest rung stands Thomas Forrest (Commander),[29] followed by David Baxter (Mate),[30]

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[29] The use of the term COMMAND "implies the rank and power of an officer who has the management of a ship of war, of whatever kind, under twenty guns, as sloops of war,

Laurence Lound (Gunner),[31] and William Hunt (Passenger to Sooloo). It is noticeable that the Englishmen are placed before the locals, who are headed by Ishmael Tuan Hadjee (Pilot).[32] Under him are Tuan Imum and Ishmael Jerrybattoo (Helmsmen),[33] Matthew (Steward),[34] Jaffier (Serang/Boatswain),[35] eleven seamen,[36] Panjang (Cook), and Strap (Boy).[37]

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armed ships, or bomb-vessels. He is intitled *master* and *commander*, *capitaine du petit état*, and ranks with a major in the king's army" (Falconer, COMMAND, n.pag.).

[30] MATE *of a merchant-ship* refers to "the officer who commands in the absence of the master thereof, and shares the duty with him at sea; being charged with every thing that regards the internal management of the ship, the directing her course, and the government of her crew.

The number of mates allowed to ships of war and merchantmen is always in proportion to the size of the vessel. Thus a first-rate man of war has six mates, and an East-Indiaman the same number; a frigate of 20 guns, and a small merchant-ship, have only one mate in each: and the intermediate ships have a greater or smaller number, according to their several sizes, or to the services on which they are employed" (Falconer, MATE, n.pag.).

[31] GUNNER refers to "an officer appointed to take charge of the artillery and ammunition aboard; to observe that the former are always kept in order, and properly fitted with tackles and other furniture" (Falconer, GUNNER, n.pag.).

[32] PILOT refers to "the person charged with the direction of a ship's course, on, or near the sea-coast, and into the roads, bays, rivers, havens, &c. within his respective district" (Falconer, PILOT, n.pag.).

[33] HELM is "a long and flat piece of timber, or an assemblage of several pieces, suspended along the hind part of a ship's sternpost, where it turns upon hinges to the right or left, serving to direct the course of the vessel, as the tail of a fish guides the body" (Falconer, HELM, n.pag.).

[34] STEWARD is responsible for distributing "the different pieces of provisions to the officers and crew; for which purpose he is furnished with a mate, and proper assistants" (Falconer, STEWARD, n.pag.).

[35] BOATSWAIN refers to the officer who is in charge of "the boats, sails, rigging, colours, anchors, and cables" (Falconer, BOATSWAIN, n.pag.).

From the list, it may be deduced that Forrest is capable of making important decisions during the voyage. Notwithstanding, oftentimes Tuan Hadjee is the one who calls shots. As a local assistant, he gives several practical advices. On Monday 12th March, 1775, for instance, the crew find themselves among the Kanary islands. As the islands are uninhabited, no provision may be acquired. Tuan Hadjee, and the Batchian officers, therefore, "strongly advised me to steer for the harbour of Ef-be, on Mysol island, which had a harbour behind it; and all of them had been there" (Forrest 1969, 130). A pivotal incident that reveals Tuan Hadjee's upper hand transpires when he shows a strong objection against sailing to New Guinea. Therefore, on Tuesday 22nd November, 1774, he tells Forrest that "it was highly imprudent to go to the coast of New Guinea, whither we were bound, being only one vessel; and that we ran the risk of being cut off by the Papuas." This causes the local crew to protest against continuing the journey without him. Eventually, Forrest has to yield to Tuan Hadjee's wish, only to be overridden when a strong wind makes it inevitable for them to head for Dory Harbour (Forrest 1969, 23; 70-72; 91).

In addition to his leading role, Tuan Hadjee is shown great respect because his ancestors "were of the Serifs that came from Mecca, and gave kings to those parts," and he has made a pilgrimage to Mecca. Therefore, on Tuesday 20th December 1774, two Synagees (certain chiefs), who hold their title from the Sultan of Tidore, "behave[d]

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[36] SEAMAN is "a mariner or person trained in the exercise of fixing the machinery of a ship, and applying it to the purposes of navigation" (Falconer, SEAMAN, n.pag.).

[37] The definition of "Boy" is not found in Falconer's *Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (1784).

civilly" toward him (Forrest 1969, 8; 69; 60). It is quite remarkable that his journey to a distant place (Mecca), along with the experiences gained from it, places him on a higher status over others. A similar case is that of the "high priest of Sooloo" whom Forrest claims to have met in 1773. He is a Turk who "had travelled a good deal in Europe, and was a very intelligent man. I presented him with a map of the world, which pleased him mightily […] When he spoke of Constantinople, he called it Roma" (Forrest 1969, 331).

In such cases, the prestige hinges upon the intersection of spatial horizontality and social verticality. The knowledge obtained from a faraway land elevates Tuan Hadjee and the high priest above the local inhabitants. The former's pilgrimage and the latter's place of origin arguably constitute "esoteric knowledge," i.e., "knowledge of the unusual, the exceptional, the extraordinary; knowledge of things that in some way or another lie beyond the familiar everyday world," including "'foreign' elements from geographically distant places, whether it be knowledge of the customs or sacred texts of foreign peoples, recognition of the contributions of foreign scholars and culture heroes, or the acquisition of rare and powerful wonders from legendary or cosmologically potent distances." The sense of esotericism derives from "perceptions of geographical space and distance that accord cosmologically symbolic significance to such realms and thereby identifies them as appropriate subjects for specialists in matters of sacred or at least supernatural distance" (Helms 13; 18-19). However, in the case of the English sea captain, it remains dubious whether England commands any "cosmologically symbolic significance" among the local inhabitants even though the Sultan of Batchian claims that Forrest is the first Englishman he has ever seen (Forrest 1969, 46). After all, for them, England, unlike Mecca or Constantinople, is not regarded as a holy site.

2.3.2 Arboreal genealogy

Another facet of human hierarchy is manifest in the family tree of the Sultanate of Magindano. Plate No. 22 (between pp. 236-237) depicts the founding fathers at the bottom. They are the three Serifs from Mecca, three brothers who establish the ruling houses of Magindano (Selangan), Borneo and Gilolo. Their descendants are placed further on top of one another. In effect, the first rulers form the foundation or roots while the later generations constitute the trunk and the branches. Ostensibly, the ruling house of Magindano is represented as the central root. According to Fakymolano, Rajah Moodo's father, who provides Forrest with the historical account, Serif Alli was the first Mahometan prince who came from Mecca to Magindano. He then "married a daughter of the last king of the royal line, and on this marriage founded his title to the crown." The other two Serifs founded the ruling houses of Borneo and Gilolo. All the princes assumed the title of Sultan. Afterwards, their family lines had become interrelated as a result of intermarriage. A princess of Borneo was married to one of the Magindano ruling house; one of the Gilolo house was married to Abdaraman of Magindano. However, the ruler of Sooloo, in Fakymolano's opinion, did not merit the title of Sultan since the forefathers had been only Pangarans, who occupied a status deemed inferior to that of Sultans. Yet, "Bonsoo, the ruler of Sooloo, Pangaran of Sooloo, had two children; a daughter (Potely) by a wife and a son (Bakhol) by a concubine. Bakhol, the bastard, robbed his sister of her right, declared independence from Magindano, and assumed the title of Sultan, his forefathers having been only Pangarans of Sooloo" (Forrest 1969, 201-2).

Again, the superior position was validated through the three Serifs' association with a distant and foreign land. The three princes derived their power from "lands and peoples outside society," which thus "legitimize[s] the origins of ruling houses." Mecca epitomizes the "civilizational center" (Helms 132; 134; 137), and the Serifs arrived to the Malay World, imbued with the authority of distant knowledge. Hence, their status as the local elites was established.

The power hierarchy in the court is substantiated in the courtly etiquette Forrest has witnessed and experienced. On August 8th, 1775, he is coerced into paying a visit to Datoo Topang. He feels compelled to stay for chocolate drink before excusing himself. While at the Datoo's, Forrest notices that "[o]f at least forty persons present, none were seated, but the Datoo, his lady, the [Spanish] Envoy, and myself, who filled four chairs, at a table" (Forrest 1969, 235-236). Earlier on the same date, he visits the Sultan's palace. The following is the seating pattern described by him as follows:

> The Sultan sat on the ground, in the inner hall, filling the center of a square, well spred with mats. Rajah Moodo was seated about eight foot from him, towards the door. The company was ranged before the Sultan and Rajah Moodo, and on the latter's right hand, making two sides of the square above mentioned. The third side, being open, displayed afar the Sultana Myong, and some ladies sitting by the foot of the bed. Near the fourth side, a curtain of party coloured silk was dropt, the Sultan's back being towards it. I had the honour of being seated on Rajah Moodo's right hand, and next to me sat the Spanish Envoy. (Forrest 1969, 233)

2.3.3 The East India Company (EIC)

TO THE
COURT OF DIRECTORS
OF THE HONOURABLE
EAST INDIA COMPANY.

Gentlemen,

Having early devoted myself to your service, and been many years employed in it abroad, I cannot but feel myself peculiarly interested in the prosperity of this great Company, whose approbation has been the ambition of my life.

[…]

How I have by kind Providence been enabled to do this, I here submit to the candor of the Honourable Company: nor could the reward, on which I rely, be claimed before the specification of the Service. In the whole, I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,
LONDON Your most obedient,
February 1st, 1779.
As most devoted Servant,
THOMAS FORREST

(Forrest 1969, iv-v)

The organizational ladder within the English East India Company is partially revealed in Forrest's voyage account. Additionally, the intramural correspondences, such as letters and court minutes, may be singled out to highlight the chain of command in the organization. Right from the beginning of the text, Forrest dedicates the voyage account to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company. Referring to himself as "Your most obedient" and "most devoted Servant," the English captain wishes to demonstrate his loyalty to the Company by retracing his employment history back to the year 1770 when the Directors confers "upon me, by a special commission, the command of your marine, on the West-coast of Sumatra, I repaired thither, with the zeal such confidence must inspire, and in the hope of opportunity to prove myself not quite unworthy of it." In order to prove his worthiness, he decides to embark on a dangerous voyage when Mr. Herbert, the Chief of the English settlement on Balambangan "communicated to me your orders for exploring Islands to the eastward, and proposed to me the honor of executing the arduous task" in exchange of the opportunity to profit from the command of the Britannia, "vacant by the death of Capt. Wilmot" (Forrest 1969, iii-iv).

Later in Book I, Chapter I, Forrest quotes the instructions he has received from the Chief and Council of Balambangan on October 12th, 1774, which underline the responsibility of those living in English settlements, who take care of the Company's business on a day-to-day basis. John Herbert, Edward Coles and Thomas Palmer, whose names appear at the end of the letter, are the ones who make decisions on fine details regarding the voyage to eastward islands, which are approved by the Court of Directors. They have chosen Forrest because of "[t]he knowledge you have acquired from experience of all the departments of marine business in general, to which you was trained from your earliest years, together with a competent share of commercial transactions in this quarter of the world" (Forrest 1969, 3).

The comparison of the dedication to the Court of Directors and the instructions from the Chief and Council of Balambangan reveals that Forrest works more closely with the Chief and Council of Balambangan, and they, thus, have a better idea of his qualification. Meanwhile, the Court of Directors operates from London, and, thus, needs to be reminded of what transpires in the East Indies. But it should be stressed that the identification of the English East India Company is not one of a static organization. From its inception, the Company had to "adapt and reinvent itself in response to changing external circumstances at home and abroad." Its chronology reveals that from 1600 onwards the Company went through several phases of development, "all of which saw profound change in terms of both institutional reorganization and the nature of its relationships with the Crown or State." These phases serve as a reminder that the term "East India Company" actually refers to a number of quite different meanings and associations.

The first phase dates from its founding on the last day of 1600 until 1613, during which "the Company's trade was based upon the funding of separate voyages to the east. Thereafter, three successive joint-stock ventures were consolidated by the Cromwell regime's endorsement of the creation of a permanent joint stock." The second phase develops when a 'new' Company was founded in 1698, resulting in the rivalry between two East India Companies. This continued until a merger was effected between 1702 and 1709, creating "the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." From the time of the merger until the 1750s, or the third phase, the United Company successfully expanded its overseas commerce and became "firmly embedded at the heart of the British State and the system of public credit." The fourth period, between 1756 and 1765, "saw military and political advances transform the Company's position in Bengal, a process that prompted metropolitan concerns and anxieties." It culminated in the Regulating Act of 1773,[38] which resulted from the parliamentary reform and regulation of the Company at home and abroad during the 1770s and 1780s." The Regulating Act is considered the high point of the fifth period. The sixth period, between 1793 and 1833, saw mounting pressure from free traders; as a result, the Company then gradually lost its commercial privileges, transforming, in its last twenty-five years, into "an agency charged with purely administrative and military duties in India" (H. V. Bowen 24-26).

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[38] Ever since Robert Clive's administration, the Company had been operated at a loss and been in debts. Finally, the Court of Directors finally decided to suspend dividend payments, and apply to the Government for a £1 million loan. The Government summoned the Parliament, forming the Secret Committee that would put out the necessary legislative proposals. The final bill, proposed by Lord North, was meant to

The discussion of the EIC currently focuses only on the late eighteenth century, during which the Company was administered from London by the Court of Proprietors, or the General Court, and the Court of Directors, consisting of twenty-four members. The Court of Proprietors represented the stockholders and held quarterly meetings, of which the purpose was to "rubber-stamp policy decisions, approve the dividend, and elect the directors from a previously agreed list" (H. V. Bowen 29-30; Keay 365-66). Meanwhile, the Court of Directors held weekly meetings, approving or disapproving of reimbursements and disbursements of the Company's funds, and enlisting or dismissing the Company's servants. However, these decisions were reached based on the Committees' recommendations.

On May 23rd, 1777, for instance, the Committee of Shipping, having considered Forrest's request to be paid "the balance of his Account of Disbursements for the Tartar Galley," suspended the reimbursement. However, the Committee, "having consulted the Company's Solicitor on the occasion are of opinion that it would be highly improper to admit at present the authenticity of his Accounts, but as Capt. Forrest has represented he is in distress for Money, they recommend that he be advanced the Sum of £800 on an

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allow the participation of the Government in the administration of the Company in India (Keay 384-85).

express Stipulation that it shall be without prejudice to the Question, and on his giving Security to take it on Account, if the matter in dispute shall be determined in his favor, and if against him then to refund it to the Company" (East India Company, B/93, f.113).

Thereafter, on November 20th, 1777, the same Committee considered Forrest's request for the expense of engraving the plans and views to be included in his voyage account. They resolved that "the Request of Captain Thomas Forrest for the Court's being at the Expence of engraving the Plans and Views intended to be published with the account of his Voyage in the Tartar Galley, be not complied with but that the Court do subscribe for 25 Copies of this Work at the rate of 2 Guineas for each Copy" (East India Company, B/93, f.417).

While the Courts of Directors deliberated from London, many of the English merchants journeyed to the other side of the planet and established several trading centers, known as "factories," including Bombay,[39] Madras (Fort St. George), Calcutta (Fort William),[40] and Bencoolen (Fort Marlborough). The East India Company appointed a council of traders at each of these factories to manage the Company's affairs. Each bureaucracy was known as a "presidency" because the governing council was headed by a president (Edney 1997, 4). The English settlement at Bencoolen was, therefore, administered by the President and Councillors while the one on Balambangan was operated by Chief and Councillors. Each presidency conducted the daily business at the

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[39] The Company's headquarters moved from Surat on the western coast of the subcontinent to Bombay (Mumbai) on the Coromandel Coast on the east in 1687.

[40] In 1773, when the Presidency of Bengal (Calcutta) was established, Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India, who would oversee all the presidencies and settlements.

Council's discretion. However, their decisions could be overruled by the Court of Directors.

On November 26th, 1772, the President and Council of Bencoolen acknowledged having received the Court of Directors's appointment of Mr. John Herbert on the expedition to Balambangan. Herbert arrived on October 12th, 1772, and asked that the Presidency of Bencoolen "would Spare Messrs. Edward Coles, Thomas Palmer and John Jesse to proceed with them on the Expedition, as likewise Mr. Ambross Carthy Surgeon, and Captain Thomas Forrest which We accordingly did" (East India Company, G/35/14, paragraphs 70-72).

Nevertheless, on December 10th, 1773, the President and Council at Fort Marlborough received a letter from the Court of Directors, disapproving of "the Removal of several of our Servants from the West Coast Presidency to Balambangan, and have accordingly directed Our Chief and Council, immediately on the receipt of Our Orders the Eagle, to return to their respective Stations Messrs. Coles, Palmer, Jesse and Fawssett and all other from Bencoolen or any of the other Presidencies exceeding the Establishment fixed by Our Orders of the 12th June 1771 by the Britannia." Furthermore, the Court of Directors ordered Forrest to return to "his Station of Senior Captain in the Marine on the Fort Marlborough Establishment and ~~as we entertain a favorable opinion of him~~ it is Our pleasure that he be immediately promoted to the Command of the Largest Ship employed under your Presidency not only from the favorable Opinion we entertain of his Merits & Abilities but on account of the Station he holds as ~~Senior Captain~~

Commanding Officer on Your Establishment" (East India Company, G/35/33, paragraphs 27-28; strikethrough in original).

Typically, the President or Governor spent most of his time in the consultation room and in the warehouses, inspecting and checking the country goods, preparing the annual cargoes, and receiving goods from Europe. A secondary duty was maintaining order in the factory and negotiating with the local powers. Next to the Governor came the Councillors, consisting of senior merchants arranged in order of seniority. Together with the Governor, they formed the governing body and with the other senior merchants the aristocracy of the settlement. Each man had risen through the ranks of Writer, Factor, Junior and Senior Merchant to this place in the Council by seniority, and "owed his promotion to the Directors and not to the Governor" (Spear 6-7). P. J. Marshall relates in *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (1976) that by the eighteenth century most servants going out to India on their first appointment were young men with the rank of Writer. In 1751 "the qualifications for a Writer were formally fixed at a minimum age of sixteenth with proof being required that the boy had been through 'a regular course of arithmetick and merchants' accounts'." The Company continued, however, from time to time to appoint more senior men to Bengal as Factors, but such appointments finally ceased in the 1770s" (10).

2.3.4 Hierarchy of knowledge

> *List of the Articles that generally compose the Cargo of a Chinese Junk, of which Two come annually from Amoy to Sooloo, and pass to the eastward of Paragoa.*[41]

		Cost in China, in Dollars.	Sell for at Sooloo.
2000	Galangs (salvers of brass) seven to a pecul,	40	70
100	Peculs iron, in small pieces, like Bengal iron	4	8
	Sugar candy, a quantity, per pecul	7	10
50	Raw silk ditto	400	600
3000	Pieces black kowsongs, a kind of nankeen, per piece	0 ¼	1
5000	Pieces kompow, white strong linen	0 ¼	1
500	Kangans, 25 in a bundle, called gandangs, per gandang	7	10
	[…]		

Besides tea, cutlery, and other hard ware, brass ware, gongs, beads of all colours, like swan shot – fire works, &c. &c.

(Forrest 1969, 325)

According to the letter from the Chief and Council of Balambangan to Forrest, he is assigned the command of the expedition to New Guinea partly because of the knowledge he has acquired "from experience of all the departments of marine business in general." Meanwhile, Mr. Herbert, the Chief of Balambangan, chooses Tuan Hadjee to accompany Forrest on the mission because he has been in the Dutch employment and gained "an accurate knowledge of the Molucca islands" (Forrest 1969, 2-3). In his travel account, the knowledge Forrest has accumulated during the journey is oftentimes deployed along vertical lines in the forms of lists and tables.

Listing items in a Chinese junk in his account of the Island Sooloo, Forrest provides an inventory of merchandise from Amoy to Sooloo, and vice versa, as shown above. Noticeably, the items that do not constitute amounts substantial enough to deserve places on the list are relegated to the bottom, e.g., tea, cutlery and brassware. The reader would never know what items are omitted as they are considered inconsequential.

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[41] This is an approximate reproduction of the list. It is also applied to lists and tables that are displayed thereafter.

The list above is one of the several found in the travel account, which arguably demonstrates that Forrest's formation and representation of knowledge resonates with the taxonomy utilized by natural historians in the eighteenth century. Content with visual observation, natural history is undergirded with a new way of connecting what the eye sees and the discourse that represents it, of reducing the distance between the two "so as to bring language as close as possible to the observing gaze, and the things observed as close possible to words" (Foucault 1994, 131-132).

Nonetheless, the act of observing is conducted within a particular system or structure. To Linnaeus, to see things systematically relies on four variables, i.e., "the form of the elements, the quantity of those elements, the manner in which they are distributed in space in relation to each other, and the relative magnitude of each element." The quantity and magnitude can be defined by means of counting or measuring, and, thus, expressed in numbers. The form and distribution, on the other hand, are described by means of identification with geometrical figures or by analogies (Foucault 1994, 134-135). Within these relatively limited groups of characteristics, identities and distinctions can be established and things are placed in certain groups based on resemblances or differences. "To know what properly appertains to one individual" is, thus, "to have before one the classification of – or the possibility of classifying – all others" Any resemblances or differences not related to one of the four variables are considered irrelevant. The system is “arbitrary in its basis, since it deliberately ignores all differences and all identities not related to the selected structure” (Foucault 1994, 139-140; 144).

Other lists in Forrest’s travelogue that manifest the structural arbitrariness include the lists of inhabitants on Mindanao, the word lists in the Magindano and Papua tongues, and the categories of the birds of paradise. The numbers of inhabitants on the bank of Lake Lano, for instance, are listed in respect of their territories (Forrest 1969, 276):

Names of the Sultans and Rajahs on the Banks of the Lano, and near it,
with the Number of Inhabitants in their respective Territories.
(S. means Sultan; R. Rajah)

	Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
Taraka	10,000 Sultan.	Tugaia	300 R.
Ballat	1,000 S.	Marantow	700 S.
Ramuin	8,000 S.	Sawir	500 R.
Didagun	10,000 S.	Masia	400 R.
Poallas	5,000 S.	Mimbaly	500 R.
Bunsayan	10,000 S.	Byang	1,000 S.
[…]			
	Total number of Inhabitants,		61,300

Furthermore, the numbers of inhabitants on the shore of Tulour, or Tanna Labu, as given by Datoo Woodine, are listed in columns as well (Forrest 1969, 315):

Pampang	containing	200 inhabitants.	Mannaka	70
Sabay		200	Marahi	70
Carangan		300	Kiamma	40
Malla River		200	Malla	100
Issang		200	Anyam	100
Andolang		200	Karangug	60
Bulud		100	Tavrong	100
Mamang		200	Bataruma	40
Bamboon		400	Neampai	150
[…]				
			Males who wear breeches	9730

The above population counts demonstrate how humans, especially men, are numerically accounted for. In the case of Tulour, they are part of a register Datoo Woodine keeps for tax purposes. No individuation is necessary as these people, like currencies, exist as numbers that are ready to be dispensed with.

In the meantime, knowledge of languages is presented in similar ways. The vocabularies of the Magindano and Papua tongues finish off the knowledge Forrest has gathered during his journey (Forrest 1969, 389):

A
VOCABULARY
OF THE
MAGINDANO TONGUE
The Vowel A is pronounced open as in the Word Bal.

English.	*Magindano.*	*English.*	*Magindano.*
ABAFT	OLINAN	Ambitious	Mabangol
Above	Depulo	Another	Lain
About	Malipulug	Ankle	Bubun
Abhor	Maligish	Angel	Malaycet
Able	Patut	Angle, to fish	Bunet
Ability	Capattan	Angle, point	Tukka
[…]			

The vocabulary list displays English words in the left column and the Magindano counterparts in the right one. Observably, the English language governs the content in the table, which is organized in the order of the English, not Magindano, alphabet. The neatly constructed tabulation, moreover, belies the elusiveness of words as linguistic units, oversimplifying the meaning and usage of each lexical item. According to the vocabulary list, “Revolution” thus equals “Malembul” (Forrest 1969, 396). The suggested one-to-one relationship between one word in one language to its counterpart in the other elides the nuance specific to the word. A similar configuration characterizes the list of Papua words:

A Few PAPPUA WORDS.*

English.	*Papua.*	*English.*	*Papua.*
God	Wat	Sagoe	Bariam
Devil	Sytan	Baked Sagoe	Kium
Yes	I-o	Gold	Bulowan
No	Roba	Silver	Plat
I	Iya	Copper	Ganetra
[…]			

Forrest claims that the word list is unfortunately short because a list of many words has been lost in the bad weather while crossing the China Sea. Otherwise, it "would be more complete" (Forrest 1969, 400).

On Monday 20th March, 1775, having purchased some dead birds of Paradise from the village of Linty on Mysol Island, Forrest continues with Valentijn's account of the birds, of which one section lists down six species, namely (Forrest 1969, 135):

1. The great bird of Paradise from Aroo.
2. The little bird of Paradise from Papua.
3. 4. Two different birds of Paradise, which are black.
5. The white bird of Paradise.
6. The unknown black bird of Paradise.
7. And the little king's bird, which may rank among them.

Even though the birds are classified into seven kinds, a problem arises in distinguishing the third species from the fourth. The account states that, "[t]he large black bird of paradise is brought without wings or legs for sale; so that of this species it is difficult to give an exact description. Its figure, when stuffed, is narrow and round, but stretched in length to the extent of four spans" whereas there is another type of birds of paradise, "whose plumage is equal in length, but thinner in body, black above, and without any remarkable gloss; not having those shining peacock feathers, which are found on the greater species" (Forrest 1969, 139-140). It is, therefore, still unclear whether these two birds belong to the same type since the third category is established, based on only one specimen. Additionally, the last species also poses a classificatory dilemma as some naturalists, e.g., Linnaeus and Buffon, count it as a species of the birds of paradise whereas Valentijn regards it as a totally different kind of birds (Forrest 1969, 141).

It is noteworthy that the deployment of knowledge in a hierarchized form is redolent of the Linnaean tabulation that emerged in the eighteenth century. The Swedish naturalist's taxonomic hierarchy is characterized by rank-based classification, whereby each rank subsumes under it less general categories. The concept is best illustrated by the outline of the animal kingdom (*Regnum animale*) in the first edition of *Systema Naturae* (1735).

Under the system, individuals and items are grouped under (sub)headings indicative of pre-determined categories. As a result, items in the cargo of a Chinese junk from Amoy to Sooloo are inventoried only when they maintain monetary value (in dollars). Words in the Magindano tongue are listed in the vocabulary as long as their counterparts in English exist. The deployment of knowledge in lists and tables constitutes a feat of spatial prioritization and distortion. The heading at the top of each column governs the enumerated contents below. The items are corseted within vertical rows, partitioned by perpendiculars. They are stacked, one on top of another, even though they may not be related. The word "Turnip" sits above "Two" merely because they are placed in an English alphabetical order (Forrest 1969, 398). What does not fit in is eventually left at the bottom rung of “&c.” or regarded as “the monster and fossil,” which is taxonomically unassignable (Foucault 1994, 157).

Linnaean taxonomy is later overshadowed by the binomial nomenclature. In *Philosophia Botanica* (1751), Linnaeus elaborates that botany rests upon the two-fold foundation of arrangement and nomenclature. “ARRANGEMENT demonstrates the divisions and connections of the vegetables; and it is either *theoretical*, establishing classes, orders, and genera; or *practical*, establishing species and varieties” whereas “NOMENCLATURE, the second foundation of botany, after the arrangement has been done, should first of all apply the names” (Linnaeus 2003, 111; 169). The initiation of binomial nomenclature in botany is attributed to Linnaeus, whereby the scientific name of each plant consists of the genus name and the species name, formed out of Latin or a Latinized version of words from other languages. *Coffea arabica* (coffee) consists of the genus name *Coffea*, which derived from an Arabic word *qahwah*, and the species name *arabica*.

Michel Foucault points out the conceptual differences between Linnaeus and Buffon in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1994). On the one hand, it may be argued, all living beings can possibly be accommodated within a taxonomy. On the other hand, they are too numerous and various to be placed within a rigid framework. Thus are revealed two fundamentally opposing opinions, “a ‘fixism’ that is content to classify the beings of nature in a permanent tabulation, and a sort of ‘evolutionism’ that is supposed to believe in an immemorial history of nature and in a deep-rooted, onward urge of all beings throughout its continuity” (Foucault 1994, 149-

150). In “The Buffon-Linnaeus Controversy,” Phillip R. Sloan (1976) explains Buffon’s criticisms of Linnaean systematics in *Histoire naturelle* (1749), pointing out three lines of argument. Firstly, “all systematic arrangements of organisms by essential characters into a hierarchy of classes give not the order of nature, as Linnaeus presumed, but only an arbitrary order imposed by the mind.” Secondly, “assuming that a hierarchy of abstract concepts could apply to a world containing only concrete individuals” is a fundamental philosophical error. Lastly, “all man’s knowledge is knowledge of and through relations and not of real essences or essential causes […] the most “natural” order that could be followed for arranging the animals in the *Histoire naturelle* is in terms of their degree of relation to man” (Sloan 359-360). Nevertheless, William Thomas Stearn (1957) has earlier defended the Linnaean “Sexual System” in the *Systema Naturae*, 12th ed. (1767), claiming that Linnaeus was fully aware that the system was an artificial one. As its purpose was “to enable botanists to determine plants without having a teacher at hand, it brought together plants which, though agreeing in the number of their stamens and pistils,” still differ in many other particulars. Linnaeus, in fact, “sought for a natural system more expressive of their true affinities, a system based on the relationship between all parts” (Stearn 34).

While the linearization and verticalization of the reading approach in Chapters 1 and 2 are emblematic of attempts to impose order on the narrative text, the next chapter will try to reveal the convolutedness of Forrest’s voyage account that necessitates further textual unraveling.

Chapter 3

Spherical Reading

This chapter considers a reading strategy of *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* that portrays the circular/spherical shape of the text on a conceptual level. First of all, Forrest's voyage account can be considered a narrative text, or a written discourse which relates a series of events. The series progresses in a linear direction, but has a tendency to backtrack to earlier events, to skip forward to future events and eventually to loop back to where it begins. Furthermore, the text can be regarded as a cultural production that is enwrapped in the figurative sphere of eighteenth-century English travel writing, a realm with distinctive literary conventions and production practices constituting a genre which consequently mediates textual reception and interpretation.

3.1 Textual loops: story time v. narrative time

Earlier in Chapter 1, horizontal reading grafts a line onto the chain of events that actually happened during Forrest's voyage; this line shall be called *actual time*. Nonetheless, several dimensions of time are discernible in the text. In addition to actual time, there are also *writing time* and *reading time*, or the time taken by the author and the reader to complete the writing and reading processes, respectively. It is hardly possible to determine whether the writing and reading progress in straight lines, whether the writer and the reader start from the first event of the series and continue onto the final event as found in the text. Another two dimensions of time are *story time* and *narrative time*, which are the focus of this section.

In *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (1980), Gérard Genette distinguishes the word *narrative* under three distinct notions: the narrative text, or the oral or written discourse that relates a series of events; the succession of events that are the subjects of this discourse; the act of narrating itself. His analysis of narrative discourse implies a study of relationships: the relationship between a discourse and the events that it recounts (narrative in its second meaning), and the relationship between the same discourse and the act that produces it (narrative in its third meaning). As narrative, "it lives by its relationship to the story that it recounts; as discourse it lives by its relationship to the narrating that utters it" (Genette 1980, 25-29).

As a written discourse, Forrest's narrative takes up space on paper pages, and yet it is a space connected to the temporal dimension of the series of logically and chronologically related events it tells, or the story (Bal 5). The characteristics of a narrative, or narrativity, allows time to be transcribed in such a way that integrates the spatial and temporal dimensions. In Forrest's case, story time is distinguishable from narrative time, two strands that at some points parallel, and at others diverge from each other. The former is "the temporal *order* of succession of the events in the story"; the latter is "the pseudo-temporal order of their arrangement in the narrative" (Genette 1980, 35). The concatenation of events in *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* allows one to imagine time as a line as Galileo and Newton did, to attach labels to various events to indicate where they occur on that timeline. This mental picture is "a much more static view, and we use language differently when we describe events from such a perspective" (Falk 145).[42] This effect is achieved as Forrest observes the literary conventions by providing dates in the margin, which constitute temporal reference points for transpiring events and incidents. But these dates merely give an illusion of chronological order since they can actually be used to manipulate time, delaying, freezing, and fast-forwarding it.

From December 3th, 1775 to December 29th, 1775, for example, time whizzes by. Forrest relates:

> I arrived from Bunwoot at Coto Intang, on the third December, as has been said. On the 5th I was a good deal out of order. The vessel wanting to be freshly calked, a clean bottom, and some other repairs, before we attempted to return to Borneo […] by the 19th, compleated her bottom. On the 21st, I crossed to Bunwoot in the boat; and on the 22d, we hauled off the ground […] on the 25th I entered Tetyan harbour […] I saluted the Illano Rajah of Balabagan, with three guns; he returned as many. In the afternoon, I paid him a visit, and returned on board in the evening. On the 27th, I returned to Mindano […] Next day I crossed through many winding creeks to Ampuyon, on the banks of the river Tamantakka, to visit a Serif, who lived there, allied by marriage to the Sultan. (Forrest 1969, 283-284)

Observably, a period of over four weeks is covered within two pages of Book II, Chapter IX. Forrest finishes the maintenance work of the Tartar Galley on Bunwoot Island, visits the Illano Rajah of Balabagan and a Serif, related to the Sultan of Magindano.

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[42] The British philosopher John McTaggart (1866-1925) calls these two ways of thinking about time the "A series" and the "B series." The A series is simply the everyday notion of time in terms of past, present, and future; it is sometimes called the "tensed" view of time. Any event can be located in time with respect to the A series when the speaker states how long ago the event happened – or how long we must wait until it happens. The B series, in contrast, refers to fixed labels that we attach to specific moments in time – 5:00 p.m. GMT on June 30, 2009, for example. (This is sometimes called the "tenseless" view of time.) Events described in terms of the B series can be marked "earlier than" or "later than" each other – but "now" never enters into it (Falk 146).

Afterwards, time gradually slows down, only to come to a standstill in January 1776. Approximately sixty pages (pp.290-349) are devoted to relating the characteristics of Rajah Moodo, the general characteristics of the Mindanoers and Illanos, the variety of snakes in Magindano, Valentijn's account of Magindano, a general account of the Sooloos, and finally an account of the cinnamon tree in Ceylon, by Albertus Seba, a druggist at Amsterdam.

Time resumes its snail pace between February 27th - 29th, 1776. At the end of Book II, Chapter XVI, Forrest is found leaving Balambangan. Chapters XVII and XVIII ("XVIII" and "XIX" are typos) provide a general account of northern Borneo. On the 29th of February 1776, "winds from the N. E. the first part of the day, and, then from the S. E. Steered out between Two-Mast island, and the small island S. W. of, and near Labuan…" (Forrest 1969, 365-385). Eventually, time hastens to the end of the story when March – June 1776 passes by in one paragraph:

> Whilst in this harbour [Atcheen], I found the Tartar Galley so bad; that I resolved, with all my people, to quit her. Mr. Palmer, having many servants and others on board of his sloop, one of them, a daring Malay, undertook to get her navigated to Fort Marlbro', putting on board of her four horses out of his sloop's hold. As I resolved to accept his kind invitation to go with him to Fort Marlbro' in his sloop, which was stout and strong, I was glad the horses were to be dismissed. I arrived the latter end of June, with my people, whom I paid off and discharged. (Forrest 1969, 388)

The above excerpts underscore the temporal movement in reverse relation to real space. More space or pages means time slows down, and vice versa. As the narrator busies himself with the task of spinning the yarn, it is not necessarily drawn out in a straight line. For some, narrative time is "dialogic." The telling of the story always entails "an encounter between at least two temporalities: between narrative's deployment of its special temporal properties and privileges (elasticities of language) on the one hand, and on the other the time (duration, sequence) of the evens narrated" (Sherman x). The dialogue between narrative time and story time arguably depicts the two temporalities as two parallel lines simultaneously moving in the same direction towards the ending. However, it may be contended that story time progresses in a unilinear direction whereas narrative time, particularly in Forrest's text, sometimes gradually moves forward, suddenly loops backward, and jumps forward, weaving itself into a ball, just like the "spherical basket about the size of a man's head, made of split ratans" played by the local inhabitants of Magindano (Forrest 1969, 300).

Simultaneously, the narrative can be viewed not only as a series of events, that are placed one after another like a rosary, but also as events nested in one after another, as if they were a set of boxes/brackets. The "first narrative," or the major discourse, constitutes the outermost box, in which temporally second narratives are placed. The embedding of retrospection and anticipation, or *analepsis* and *prolepsis* (Genette 1980, 48; 40), in the main narrative is echoed in *Gödel, Escher, Bach: An Eternal Golden Braid* (1989). Douglas Hofstadter explicates mental representations of situations by imagining them as frames nested within each other:

> Imagine a large collection of chests of drawers. When you choose a chest, you have a frame, and the drawer holes are places where "subframes" can be attached. But subframes are themselves chests of drawers. How can you stick a whole chest of drawers into the slot for a single drawer in another chest of drawers? Easy: you shrink and distort the second chest, since, after all, this is all mental, not physical. Now in the outer frame, there may be several different drawer slots that need to be filled; then you may need to fill slots in some of the inner chests of drawers (or subframes).

> This can go on, recursively […] The theory of representing knowledge in frames relies on the idea that the world consists of quasi-closed subsystems, each of which can serve as a context for others without being too disrupted, or creating too much disruption […] (Hofstadter 644-645).

In "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives" (1977), Barthes contends that "from the point of view of narrative, what we call time does not exist, or at least only exists functionally, as an element of a semiotic system. Time belongs not to discourse strictly speaking but to the referent; both narrative and language know only a semiotic time, 'true' time being a 'realist', referential illusion" (98-99). Meanwhile, Charles J. Fillmore argues in *Lectures on Deixis* (1997) that time is unidirectional, endorsing the relationship between "the world" which remains the same and moves through time while time passes by. The metaphor, therefore, allows one to think of time as movement (Fillmore 45). He further distinguishes the *encoding time*, or the time at which the message is sent, from the *decoding time*, or the time at which the message is received. The former is comparable to the writing time whereas the latter may be equated with the reading time. These two coding times come together under *time deixis* and are pivotal in "identifying a particular time as coinciding with, being close to, or being contained in the same larger unit as, the moment of speech." Fillmore also points to a need to distinguish "the time during which the utterance as a whole is being produced" from "the precise time at which the deictic time word is being uttered" (Fillmore 61; 67-68). In the case of *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, the writing took place over an extended period of time, not within a brief moment; as a result, the moment each temporal marker, or deictic time word, was used constituted a linkage between the time earlier than (past), coinciding with (present), or later than (future), and the writing time, all of which together are situated on one unidirectional line of movement.

Notwithstanding, the reading time, not the writing time, of Forrest's travel account is the topic of discussion here; more importantly, there is a hiatus of over two hundred years between the act of writing and the act of reading. In the meantime, the reader has to be reminded that story time moves in a chronological order whereas narrative time does not. The narrative circuit in the travelogue is brought into relief with the two types of markers. One is temporal markers that place the narrator at the deictic center, *pointing to* the "present," but then turns to the "past" or the "future," only to come back to the "present"; the other type is narrative markers that highlight the telling, reminding readers of the narrativity of the text. They highlight the fact that narrative text is an artifice, and, thus, remains subjected to the narrator's skills and techniques. The reader is, for instance, constantly notified when the narrator switches from first-hand information to secondary or tertiary sources.

The first type of markers make readers aware that "[w]hen we talk about what has already happened, what's happening now, and what may yet happen, we build up a mental picture of these events relative to the moment we're currently experiencing" (Falk 145). March 1775, for instance, finds Forrest proceeding from the Kanary Islands to the Island of Mysol. Nonetheless, the narrator refers *back* to that time period, relating that "[d]uring my stay at Mysol, it was natural for me to ask about the clove and nutmeg. I was assured that neither was produced on that island" (Forrest 1969, 144). Subsequently, in May 1775, he gives an account of the saltpeter cave along with a geographical sketch of places on the banks of the rivers Pelangy and Tamantakka given by Tuan Fakymolano in Book II, Chapter II:

> At Tapidan, a river sets off to the right from the Tamantakka. Having mounted it about half a mile, we found running into it a small brook of a sky blue colour, with a very offensive smell and taste. This brook comes from the hill, where opens the Saltpetre Cave. After paddling up about a mile, I left it on the right, and entered another brook of common fresh water. This with some difficulty (it being very shallow) brought me to the foot of the hill. (Forrest 1969, 187)

The report on the saltpeter cave is provided even before Forrest will actually meet the Sultan of Magindano, Rajah Moodo and Fakymolano, *and* before January 4th, 1776, when he treks to the saltpeter cave, which has been "already described" (Forrest 1969, 288; emphasis added).

A similar narrative looping occurs during the same time-freeze period of May 1775, during which Forrest refers to the "[u]nexpected reconciliation…between the Sultan's and Rajah Moodo's family; *which shall, in its place, be related*" (Forrest 1969, 211; emphasis added). This is an adumbration of the incident on August 7th, 1775, when the Sultan is said to be very ill. Rajah Moodo, thus, decides to pay him a visit, giving Forrest "distant hints, that this was a device of the Sultan's to make up matters" (Forrest 1969, 230). Upon arrival to the Sultan's hall, the English captain observes that:

> The Sultan sat on the ground, in the inner hall, filling the center of a square, well spred with mats. Rajah Moodo was seated about eight foot from him, towards the door. The company was ranged before the Sultan and Rajah Moodo […] After the Sultan had spoke something, with a low voice, in the Magindano tongue to this assembly, consisting of about twenty persons, seated on mats, spread upon the floor, he said to me, in Malay, somewhat louder, Captain, you brought good fortune, when you arrived; there was darkness, now there is light. I perfectly understood his expression; and answered, Sir, I rejoice to hear such news. (Forrest 1969, 233-234)

The narrative seems to be jumping forward and reverting back to the “present” as long as the narrator does not forget to mention something, which is the case on January 8th, 1776, when Forrest prepares the crew to leave Magindano, and suddenly realizes that he “forgot to mention a circumstance, that happened soon after my arrival at Mindano,” regarding two slaves who “had been taken by Datoo Uku, on board Mr. Cole’s schooner, ran away from the Datoo’s house, came to Coto Intang, and claimed my protection” (Forrest 1969, 295-296).

Uncannily, the narrative loops resonate with musical loops, exemplified by the “Strange Loop” phenomenon, whereby “moving upwards (or downwards) through the levels of some hierarchical system, we unexpectedly find ourselves right back where we started” (Hofstadter 10). Another instance of musical loops in *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* lies in the journal of a Mangaio prow by Datoo Malsalla, brother in law to Rajah Moodo, in which a cheering song for Magindano rowers is given.

MAGINDANO MANGAIO SONG.
CHORUS.

E, asi, magia,	Chear up – hurrah!
Umi apan magia,	Chear up – hurray!
Ejondon tasalinow:	Let’s gain the ocean far away:
Ejondon tasalinow.	Let’s gain the ocean far away.

First Man.

Elyka pulo mawatten,	Behold yon island afar,
Marakel sura sahan;	What fishes abound in its main;
Elyka pulo mawatten,	Behold yon island afar,
Makauma magean.	Haste, haste, and the fishes obtain.

CHORUS REPEATED.
Second Man.

Masikoon sainggud Capez,	Fast by the Capezine land,
Mapia Castila babaye,	Castilian dames you will find:
Makohat saingud Capez,	My lads, for Capezine land,
Dumanyon kito panamaye.	Pull, pull, with the whole of your mind.

The song starts with the lyrics for the chorus, followed by that of the first man. It returns to the chorus, which is suggested by “CHORUS REPEATED,” and continues with the second man (Forrest 1969, 304).

As a matter of fact, the deployment of the temporal deictic center is not unique to Forrest’s narrative. It is also peculiar to the Umeda people in central New Guinea. Citing anthropologist Alfred Gell’s research, Dan Falk (2009) states that the indigenous people divide the seasons into wet and dry seasons. They do not track months and do not know how many months are in a year. The Umeda lack weekly markets or a day of rest. However, they do count days, measuring out seven distinct days relative to “*today*” and referring to a particular day as:

> the day before the day before yesterday
> the day before yesterday
> yesterday
> today
> tomorrow
> the day after tomorrow
> the day after the day after tomorrow

“In the Umea ‘week,’” observes Gell, “today, so to speak, is always Wednesday” (Falk 85).

As the first type of markers performs the task of pointing, the other type foregrounds the telling, reminding readers of the narrativity of the text. To illustrate the point, Book II, Chapter III provides a description of the coast of Magindano, especially Sugud Harbour. Forrest describes:

> The hill of Pollock is peaked, but is not above two hundred foot high. Behind it is the noble harbour of Sugud or Pollock. The word Sugud means harbour, and it is so called by way of eminence. There can hardly be a better, as is obvious from the chart accompanying this account, made from the information of my two officers, who were in it, myself having been sick at the time: as also from the chart published by Mr. Dalrymple. (Forrest 1969, 190)

Forrest hastens to inform readers that the information and the accompanying chart that derives from the survey come from two of his officers as he himself has been ill, and is incapable of the task (Forrest 1969, 190). As the chapter progresses, Forrest offers Fakymolano's account of Magindano, but then makes sure to clarify that the account of Kamaladan Harbour is his own (Forrest 1969, 194-195). A similar discursive practice is deployed when, on November 9th, 1775, he allows David Baxter to visit the gold mine in the hinterland of Magindano and write a report. Afterwards, in Book II, Chapter IX, Forrest announces:

> I now give Mr. David Baxter's account of his journey.
>
> "At eight in the morning, of *Wednesday* the 22d of *November*, I set out from Tubuan, accompanied by Papinshan, a person whom Rajah Moodo had ordered to attend us to go to the gold mine: there were three attendants besides.
>
> "After walking up the valley of Tubuan, about ten miles, we struck off S. E. to a small river, up which we proceeded three or four miles. We then all bathes. We afterwards turned to the left up a hill called Tebangen; about half way up, we reached some Haraforas houses […] About two o'clock we pursued our journey up the remainder of the hill, which was high and steep. Four miles on the other side, we got to the houses, where we were to stay all night; and these I reckon twenty miles from Tubuan. (Forrest 1969, 264-265)

The illustrated use of dates, temporal markers and narrative highlighters establishes the discrepancy between story time and narrative time. While story time progresses in a linear direction, narrative time can move forward and backward at various speeds. However, the interdependence of these two temporalities featured by the three discursive devices constitutes part of the conventions of eighteenth-century English travel writing.

3.2 Literary conventions of eighteenth-century English travel writing: "voyage" as genre

Another spherical approach to Forrest's travel account entails situating it within the literary sphere of eighteenth-century English travel writing. One major question is how one may read eighteenth-century English travel writing, particularly Forrest's account: as historical records, as autobiographies, as ethnographical studies, as navigational tracts, as fictional narratives, etc. Its flexibility and openness to other forms of text defies generic boundaries. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that a genre, whether literary or not, is nothing other than "the historically attested codification of discursive properties." And because genres exist as an institution, they function as "horizons of expectation" for readers and as "modes of writing" for authors. Moreover, genres are "the meeting place between general poetics and event-based literary history," between "modes, registers, styles, or even forms, manners, and so on" and "trend, school, movement, or, in another sense of the word, "style" (Todorov 1990, 18-20).

It would be thus impossible to presume that a system of genres can lay claim to ancientness and to an appearance of being eternal and self-evident. In *Genre in Discourse* (1992), Genette traces the triad of genres to the Platonic division of narrative into three modes – pure narration, mixed narration (as in Homer) and dramatic imitation, which was later recast in the Aristotelian modes of lyrical, dramatic and epic. The ancient division did not involve any diachronic dimension, or any indication of higher value; nor did it include any thematic elements (Genette 1992, 2; 38; 62). On the contrary, in the romantic and postromantic division "lies the essential difference of status between genres and modes: genres are properly literary categories, whereas modes are categories that belong to linguistics, or (more exactly) to what we now call *pragmatics*." Lyric, epic and drama are now "no longer as modes of verbal enunciation that precede and are external to any literary definition but, rather, as kinds of *archigenres*" which overarch a certain number of genres that are apparently phenomena of culture and history, but still "involve a thematic element that eludes purely formal or linguistic description" (Genette 1992, 65).

In the case of Forrest's work, first of all, the title starts with "voyage," a term widely used by other writers of travel accounts, such as George Anson's *Voyage Round the World in the Years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV* (1748) and James Cook's *Voyage towards the South Pole, and Round the World* (1777). Another common term is "journal" as used in James Boswell'z *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1786) and Forrest's *Journal of the Esther Brig, from Bengal to Quedah, 1783* (1788).

Generally, critics tend to divide their studies of eighteenth-century English travel writing into two categories, namely, fiction and non-fiction. Nevertheless, one of the salient characteristics of the genre, not unlike others, resides in its resistance to classification. Charles Batten (1978) argues that the sense of literary genre was central to the eighteenth century, deriving from a sense of decorum that governed each literary form.

In other words, "authors could accomplish certain objectives in one kind of literature which they scarcely could achieve in another." However, generic conventions "shifted as new authors cast about for novelty within the traditional forms," confirming the absence of invariable literary strictures. In 1771, for instance, Abraham Rees[43] defined "Voyages and Travels" as "a species of instruction, which is generally acceptable and amusing; they gratify that love of novelty and variety, which is natural to the human mind." Three years later, John Langhorne[44] referred to them as "a particular species of entertainment." By the end of the century, Arthur Young's *Travels in France During the Years 1787, 1788 and 1789* (1793)[45] distinguished between "a register of the journey" and "a description of the results of the trip." The former reads like a diary; the latter falls into the form of essays on distinct subjects (Batten 32).

Placing both events and general accounts within the diurnal form, the author conforms to the literary conventions of the century that witnesses a struggle between two competing forms: one that caters to a craving for copious and well-organized information, and the other that establishes a chronological order of events during the age that experiences a burgeoning of time-telling devices. The journal format found in volumes whose titles began with a *Voyage* (or *Journey*, or *Tour*) coincides with eighteenth-century England's central innovation in and preoccupation with the technology of timekeeping.

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[43] Abraham Rees (1743-1825) (FRS 1786) was a Welsh minister and cyclopædist, who compiled *Rees's Cyclopaedia* in 45 volumes (Stephen and Lee 16: 840).

[44] John Langhorne (1735-1779) was an English poet and clergyman, best known for his work on translating Plutarch's *Lives*.

[45] Arthur Young (1741-1820) was an English agriculturist and author of *Travel in France* (Stephen and Lee 21: 1272).

The preoccupation, which culminated in the project for calculating the longitude by chronometry, enacts as textual form “a structure of incremental time” (Sherman 162). Having traveled together through Scotland in the fall of 1773, Samuel Johnson and James Boswell recorded their experiences in two distinct forms. In *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775), Johnson resorts to headings that replicate those of map whereas the headings in Boswell’s *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1785) reproduce those of the calendar (Sherman 207).

In the meantime, Forrest’s voyage account embodies an attempt to reconcile these two textual forms. He adheres to the form of dated days as found in ship’s logs, and yet he wishes to bestow upon readers a detailed account of the travelled places, upholding the scientific explorer’s spirit befitting Joseph Banks, the dedicatee of one of his illustrations. His account of Mindanao starts with the island’s location and shape:

> The island extends from the latitude of 5º 40’ to 9º 55’ N. and from the longitude of 119º 30’ to 125º E. It is of a triangular form, having three remarkable capes or promontories; one, near Samboangan, where the Spaniards have their chief settlement, to the westward; Cape Augustine or Pandagitan, to the eastward; and Suligow to the northward. (Forrest 1969, 174)

The account then ambles through the geographical division in relation to three political domains, i.e., the Sultan of Magindano, the Illanos and the Spaniards; the local dialects; the customs and manners which subsumes the arts of vessel building, embroidery, goldsmithery, blacksmithery, and popular pastimes:

> The arts are in no kind of forwardness here. The women understand plain work: the better sort are much given to embroidery, which they execute pretty well, with gold thread, on the ends of such pillow as we have seen adorning their beds. They have also a way of disfiguring fine Pulicat handkerchiefs with sorry imitations of flowers. Their most useful art is

> vessel building, which they perform by dowling the planks one upon the other, so as never to require calking. They then fit the timbers, the beams going without, and, as it were, clasping the planks, like vessels called Burrs in Bengal river […] They have goldsmiths, who make filigree buttons, earings, &c pretty well, but not near so well as Malays generally do on Sumatra and Java. Their blacksmiths are incapable of making any thing that requires more ingenuity than a common nail. (Forrest 1969, 298-299)

On the island of Bunwoot, the writer discusses its circumference and shape, local vegetation, flora and fauna:

> The island Bunwoot is about eighteen miles round: its greatest breadth lies towards the S. W. and its opposite end tapers towards the N. E. till, at that extremity, it is not above half a mile across.
>
> The island is almost entirely covered with tall timber, free from underwood, except that in some places are ratans, creeping along the ground, and a certain plant (byonos) which resembles a vine. It creeps also along the ground, and twists about large trees: the largest part of the stem is about the size of a man's leg […] Here grow a kind of rose wood, called narra, many dammer trees, and the tree that produces the gum, called curuang.
>
> Towards the N. W. side of Bunwoot, are many mangrove trees, extending, however, only in a ship along the shore, with a few clumps like islands […]. (Forrest 1969, 256)

Embedding the essay form within the diurnal format, the "voyage," as a genre of travel writing, determines the function of Forrest's work and the reader's expectation. During eighteenth-century England, one particular challenge to travel writing resided in its truthfulness. How did the travel writer prove that he had been to the places he claimed he had, or that he had seen what he claimed he had? For some critics, those who sought to produce new, empirically grounded knowledge about the world operated on the basis that travel made truth; nevertheless, "geographical knowledge was reliable and truthful precisely because it was determined by direct experience, direct observation, and direct recording. For those, however, who did not or could not directly engage with other parts of the world through mapping, travel, or trade, what was recounted to them by others was only a presumed geographical truth that had to be taken on trust" (Ogborn and Withers 19).

Noticeably, Forrest's observations of the islands in the aforementioned account remarkably resonate with the guidelines propounded by Fellow of the Royal Society Robert Boyle in *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country Drawn out for the Use of Travellers and Navigators* (published posthumously in 1692). In this manual, navigators traveling to remote places are suggested to make observations. First, the longitude and latitude of the place should be reckoned. Second, the climate is noted, including the temperature and humidity. Third, the salinity level of the sea water and the currents and tides, the width of the river are to be considered. Fourth, regarding the earth itself, the following should be observed:

> What are its Dimensions, Situation, East, West, South or North, its Figure, its Plains, Hills or Valleys, their Extent, the highth of the Hills, either in respect of the neighbouring Valleys, or the Level of the Sea […].
>
> As for the local inhabitants, Boyle suggests that:
>
> The Inhabitants themselves are to be consider'd, both Natives and Strangers, that have been long settled there; particularly their Stature, Shape, Features, Strength, Ingenuity, Dyet, Inclination, that seem not due to Education […] The Products External are Plants, Trees, Fruits, etc. with the Peculiarities observable in them […] What Animals, Terrestrial or Volatile, or Insects of all sorts, they produce […] By the Internal Production of the Earth are to be understood here, things procreated in the Bowels of the Earth […] Under these are comprehended Metals, Minerals, Stones Precious or Common, and how these Beds lye in reference to North or South, &c. […] To these General Articles of Enquiries (saith their Proposer) should be added Enquiries about Traditions, concerning all particular things relating to that Country, as either peculiar to it, or at least uncommon elsewhere. (Boyle 1-10)

Forrest's travel account apparently makes use of a particular discursive device that proclaims the text's objective (read scientific) value, as codified by Boyle. When he is incapable of making observations on his own and has to rely on local informants, they are treated as if they were themselves mechanical instruments. Their information is prefaced "with the same statements which preface the use of instruments and which affirm the quality and worth of the instrument" (Edney 51). This is exemplified in Book II, Chapter IV, in which Fakymolano's historical account of Magindano is prefaced as follows:

> The following short account of the history of Magindano, is drawn from original records, in the possession of Fakymolano, elder brother of Paharadine the present Sultan, and father to Kybad Zachariel, the present Rajah Moodo; they are wrote in the Magindano tongue, and Arabic character. I took it down from Fakymolano's own mouth, who dictated in Malay. (Forrest 1969, 201)

The aforementioned discursive practices arguably reveal the development of modern scientific vision that goes in tandem with the development of a utilitarian prose style traceable to the scientific academies of the seventeenth century and to their linguistic reforms. They, in effect, accentuate an attempt to textualize the *scientific gaze*, whereby the observer "looks at, not over, that which he explores. The eye is intently engaged by the aggressive identity of a particular object with respect to which the beholder takes up a position. Viewers seize things differently when they focus on objects than when they automatically glide over them" (Stafford 34; 40).

The scientific gaze, Matthew H. Edney (1997) maintains, is one of the two principal gazes the British employed in the geographical construction of India; the other being the picturesque gaze codified by William Gilpin (1724–1804), the English landscape artist who wrote *An Essay upon Prints* (1768), *Observations on the River Wye, and Several Parts of South Wales, etc. Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty; made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (1789) and *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape* (1792). The picturesque in ruins and wild scenery is intended for each landscape to elicit emotional responses from the observer. What marks any objects as picturesque, according to Gilpin, resides in the "roughness," as related to the "surfaces of bodies," and the "ruggedness," of their delineation. Both are observable "in the outline, and bark of a tree, as in the rude summit, and craggy sides of a mountain." The picturesque is sought in natural landscape, "among all the ingredients of landscape – trees – rocks – broken-grounds – woods – rivers – lakes – plains – vallies – mountains – and distances" (Gilpin 1792, 7-8). The ruins are depicted to elicit the "pleasing melancholy" while "wild scenery and mountains could be expected to impress on the beholder the "agreeable horror" of the sublime, especially when mountains were drawn from a low perspective so as to increase their bulk and imposing character. Both ruins and wild scenery were rough, never smooth, so that the artist could employ a free and bold touch in contrasting colors and tones, all to achieve the desired aesthetic effect" (Edney 58).

Nonetheless, Forrest barely resorts to the picturesque view in his travel account, mentioning the term twice, in his description of Offak Harbour on the north of Waygiou and the island Ef-be. The beginning of Book I, Chapter VII partly reads:

> As I had the satisfaction of finding all the people contented and in good humour, I took the opportunity of visiting and surveying part of this spacious harbour […] The view of some of the hills on the left hand, going into Offak harbour, is not only pictureskue from without, but from within

> the harbour, as they are not overloaded with wood. On the contrary, there were many clear spots covered with grass, and some appearing barren, even gave pleasure, as they promised ease in travelling that way: for it is almost universally the case in Malay countries, that too much wood, or too much long grass, called Lalang, and sometimes tall reeds, &c. disappoint the traveller: he cannot walk on, far less gain a summit, not very distant, or so much as the brow of a hill, which, seen from on board his vessel, perhaps appears close by. (Forrest 1969, 79-80)

Later, in the middle of Book I, ChapterX, Forrest writes:

> The island Eff-be cannot well be passed unperceived, by the pictureskue views of certain isles that lie opposite. The most particular is a small island I call the Crown, which must be kept on the right hand, and bears from the west part of Ef-be where is the entrance into the harbour, W. by S. four miles: keep the islands X and Y in one, which is the leading cross mark direction into the harbour. Entering, you leave in the passage, a shaggy small island on the left, with a reef that runs off it. Borrow upon Ef-be island, keeping the lead a going: at the entrance the channel is about a quarter of a mile broad, with twelve and fourteen fathom water. (Forrest 1969, 131)

The picturesque view is demonstrated in the view of Dory Harbour (Forrest 1969, between iv-v). Here, the billowy clouds and the smooth mountains constitute the background whereas roughness is introduced in the form of tropical forest in the middle ground on the left. Situated in the middle is the bay with an islet in the far end. Further to the front are two piers and the Tartar Galley. On the shore, to the left, is a little shed-house, which serves as a visual guildeline to the silhouette of two local inhabitants on the raised foreground. Observably, the effect of light in the background graduating into shade in the foreground enriches the picture as it enhances the rough edges of the objects (Gilpin 1792, 20). The interplay of light and shade and the composition engenders a sense of harmony.

The discursive practices deployed by the scientific and picturesque gazes in Forrest's work have, as a result, determined its reception. During his lifetime, Forrest may have seen his name mentioned in some review articles, including William Mavor's *Historical account of the most celebrated voyages, travels, and discoveries, from the time of Columbus to the present period* (1796-97) and David Rivers's *Literary memoirs of living authors of Great Britain, arranged according to an alphabetical catalogue ... and including a list of their works, with occasional opinions upon their literary character.* (1798). Mavor provides a digest of the account for potential readers (97-151) while Rivers refers to Forrest as "A Captain in the East India Service, and author of "A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas form Balambangan," published in 1779, in one volume quarto: a Treatise on the Monsoons in India, published in 1783: and a Voyage from Calcutta, to the Mergui Archipelago, published in 1792, in one volume quarto, in which the above treatise was republished" (192). These mentions have therefore informed the posthumous reception of the account, establishing it as a source of cultural and historical information mined by later writers and historians of Southeast Asia.

Early in the nineteenth century, John Crawfurd mentions Forrest's account in some of the footnotes in *History of the India Archipelago* (1820) regarding, for instance, the architecture of "the negroes of New Guinea" and "a long eulogy on sago bread." Discussing the architecture in the Indian Archipelago, Crawfurd remarks that:

> An example of the variety of their dwelling is afforded in the extraordinary structures of the negroes of New Guinea, of which Forrest gives the following account: - "We anchored, about four in the afternoon, close to one of their great houses, which is built on posts, fixed several yards below low water mark; so that the tenement is always above the water; a long stage, supported by posts, going from it to the land, just at

> high water mark. The tenement contains many families, who live in cabins on each side of a wide common hall, that goes through the middle of it, and has two doors, one opening to the stage towards the land; the other on a large stage towards the sea, supported likewise by posts, in rather deeper water than those that support the tenement […] " – *Forrest's Voyage*, pp. 95, 96. (Crawfurd 1967, 157-158)

Subsequently, comparing the inferior quality of sago with the superior quality of rice, Crawfurd notes that:

> Forrest, after a long eulogy on sago bread, makes the following acknowledgement: "I must own my crew would have preferred rice, and when my small stock which I carried from *Balambangan*, was near expended, I have heard them grumble and say, 'We must soon eat Papua bread.'" – *Forrest's Voyage to New Guinea*. Forrest's men consisted chiefly of Malays, natives of western portion of the Archipelago. (Forrest 1969, 42, cited in Crawfurd 1967, 392)

Later in the twentieth century, Nicholas Tarling's *Sulu and Sabah: A Study of British Policy Towards the Philippines and North Borneo from the Late Eighteenth Century* (1978) cites Forrest's comparative account of the Borneans and the Sulus:

> In the eighteenth century Thomas Forrest was to comment: 'The Borneans have the character of a sensible, steady people, and are said to have much primitive strictness and simplicity of manners: they detest the Sulus, who are gay and agreeable in private life, but restless as a state, and stick at nothing to promote their ambition.' (Forrest 1969, 384, cited in Tarling 1978, 6)

One scholarly work that quotes liberally from Forrest's book is James Francis Warren's *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity* (2002). He refers to the published accounts of Dampier, Dalrymple and Forrest as they provide an inside detailed account of the seafaring people in the Mindanao-Sulu area. Warren treats Forrest's as an ethnographical work, frequently citing the account of the Magindanao and Iranun to support his statement. For instance, he argues, the Iranun, as clients of Maguindanao, waged war against the Dutch in Sulawesi. In the 1770s, "their prahus with renegade guides to direct them made raids on Amurang, on Menado, and on Kema. From Forrest we know that some of these forays involved the family of Sultan Pahar un-Din of Cotabato:

> On the 31st of [July] 1775, came in a large prow belonging to Datoo Malfalla, Raja Moodo's brother-in-law, from a cruise on the coast of Celebes. She had engaged a Dutch sloop, and was about to board her, when the Dutch set fire to their vessel, and took to their boat, notwithstanding the fire, the attackers boarded her, and saved two brass swivel guns…this vessel brought to Mindanao about seventy slaves." (Forrest 1969, 228, cited in Warren 67)

According to Warren, "[t]he maritime raiding activities which forged the economic and political might of the Sulu state in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were based upon a series of highly specialized sailing craft." On the afternoon of 11th November 1774, Forrest was able to identify the boat he saw at anchor in a harbor on the island of Cagayan de Sulu. He discovered "in the roadstead at the southwest side of the island a crowded *prahu* with four brass swivel guns (*lantaka*) to which a continuous stream of canoes was ferrying back and forth from the shore. An hour later, he dropped anchor close to the vessel, and recognized her to be:

> A Mangaio prow, or armed vessel that goes acruising, generally amongst the Philippine islands, called Bisayan. She was not above four tons burthen, looked very smart, having a gallery fore and aft for the rowers to sit on, as we had; having also the tripod mast and lyre tanjong, and mounting four brass swivel guns, called rantackers, carrying each a four ouce ball. She belonged to the Rajah of the island. (Forrest 1969, 13-14, cited in Warren 238-240)

A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas has thus far never been considered a production of a "literary character," worthy of a literary study that examines how it operates as a narrative text as well as travel writing.

3.3 Circumnavigating the text: eighteenth-century English travel writing and its print culture

In addition to the discursive practice inherent in the narrative text, readers of Forrest's account are guided by a heterogeneous group of practices and discourses that mediate a reading experience, such as titles, signs of authorship, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, notes, intertitles, epilogues, and the like. These are collectively referred to as paratextual elements; they surround the text, "precisely in order to *present* it, in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*, to ensure the text's presence in the world, its "reception" and consumption in the form (nowadays, at least) of a book." The paratext forms a *threshold*, or an "undefined zone" between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world's discourse about the text)" (Genette 1997, 1-2).

The textual threshold is comparable to the coral reefs that surround several islands Forrest surveys. They define their physical characteristics, accentuating the islands' submerged yet treacherous boundaries. On Sunday 20th November 1774, for instance, having left Cagayan Soolo, the Tartar Galley sails in the easterly direction, and reaches

Duobold, “an island with a large hummoc or hillock upon it.” As the weather becomes stormy, they bear further east, and reach a small island at eight o’clock. It is surrounded with coral rocks, yet Forrest “came to amongst them, with a wooden anchor, in three fathom water, the weather looking very unsettled, and the wind blowing fresh at N. N. W.” (Forrest 1969, 21). Afterwards, on October 1st, 1775, surveying the island of Bunwoot, which has been granted to the English, he sails round the north and northwestern parts, and has “pretty regular soundings within less than a mile of the reef of coral rocks that stretches from the north end of it. Saw two spots of coral rocks off the outside of the island, with three fathom water on them. Fine weather, with regular land and sea breezes. At noon, ran into a creek among the coral rocks off the north end of Bunwoot” (Forrest 1969, 253).

Skirting around Forrest’s text and scrutinizing the paratextual elements of his voyage account, I hoped to gain a better understanding of the book production scene in which the author operated as well as the criticisms he may have received in light of his literary output. This section will discuss the format, frontispiece, title page, dedications, introduction, preface, table of contents (and intertitles), including index, footnotes, illustrations, directions for the bookbinder, and the epitext. It is noteworthy that Genette omits three aspects of paratextuality, i.e., “*translation*, particularly when the author is collaboratively engaged in the process; the issuing of the text in *serialized form*; and the inclusion of *illustrations*, especially those supplied by the author” (Macksey xx-xxi). Nonetheless, the illustrations in *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* prove to be quite intriguing. Some complement the textual description; others contradict it. While

Plates 1 and 4, for instance, are provided to illustrate the Tartar Galley and a typical corocoro, the views of Dory Harbour and Ouby Island (Plate 5) unwittingly serve as a contrast to the actual circumstances under which Forrest finds himself (Forrest 1969, between 34-35, 64-65, iv-v, and 86-87).

Plate 5 depicts a view of Ouby Island from Freshwater Bay on Batchian Island, with two local inhabitants in the foreground. One is maneuvering a small boat with an oar while the other is harvesting a giant mollusk on firm ground nearby. The exquisitely prepared picture creates a sense of visual orderliness. Each island is precisely placed in a tranquil environment in which the Papuans live peacefully. They ironically belie tumultuous conditions the ship crews undergo when they face strong winds and dangerous breakers, as well as the trepidation of these natives, "who seemed afraid of coming amongst the Mahometans" (Forrest 1969, 49; 56; 65). In the meantime, the plate of "View of Dory Harbour" displays the beautiful and peaceful view of Dory Harbour while the entry dated Friday 3rd February 1775 records a commotion on one night when a group of Papuan men arrive, looking for their wives and children, "who had taken to the woods, from the village of Offy, when we were there, and after we had left it, afraid, not only of us, but of the Tidore people" (Forrest 1969, 102). Ironically, the illustrations contradict the actual situations, defusing the tension presented in the written text.

3.3.1 Format

There are at least four editions of *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*. The first edition was published in Dublin in 1779. The octavo-sized volume (folded four times, hence eight leaves, or sixteen pages per sheet) includes four copper plates, illustrating the general map, and view of Dory Harbour; people of New Guinea and their boats; people of Moa, Jamna, other adjacent islands, together with one of their boats; and a Magindano marriage. It is considered a medium-sized book. The second edition was issued in London in the same year. Its quarto-sized volume (folded twice, hence four leaves, or eight pages per sheet), a large-sized book, contains thirty copper plates, including maps, sketches, plans, musical notes, tables, and diagrams. The third edition of a similar dimension was published in London in 1780. The latest edition was published in 1969. It is a facsimile reproduction of the 1780 edition with an introduction by D. K. Bassett. Additionally, its non-electronic form offers easier access than the 1779 and 1780 editions, which are stored in an electronic database. Recently, Gale ECCO has made the digital copies of the eighteenth-century originals available in print.

Large formats, such as quarto-sized volumes, were reserved for “trade edition” while medium formats, such as octavo-sized volumes, were for “pocket edition.” The contrast between trade and pocket editions “has much more to do with the old distinction between books bound in a stiff material and books bound in a flexible material – which has been perpetuated in English-speaking countries in the distinction between hardcover and paperback.” The “pocket edition” is simply the republication at a low price of old or recent works that have first undergone the commercial test of the trade edition, and has become "an instrument of "culture," an instrument, in other words, for constituting and, naturally, disseminating a relatively permanent collection of works *ipso facto* sanctioned as "classics" (Genette 1997, 19-20).

The scenario may not be applicable to Forrest's work because it actually worked in the opposite direction. The travelogue was initially issued in a medium size, and later in a large size. The author was certainly aware of the joint publication in both cities since his handwritten dedication to "William Marsden Esqr. from the Author" appeared on the title page of the Dublin copy found in the Marsden Collection at the School of Oriental and African Studies Library, University of London.

It should be reminded that the eighteenth century is the watershed period for "the question of literary property" in Britain, where the world's first copyright statute, the Statute of Anne or the Copyright Act, was enacted in 1709 (Rose 4). The Copyright distinguished rights in texts from rights in material objects, and its historical emergence is related to printing technology. While a manuscript could be produced by one man with a pen and a supply of parchment, printing an edition of a book "required a much more substantial investment of capital than the production of a manuscript, and it resulted not in a single precious object, which often would have been commissioned in advance, but in multiple copies that had to be distributed over time. Printers needed assurance that they would be able to recoup their investment, and so some system of trade regulation was necessary if printing was to flourish" (Rose 9).

Until 1709, the Stationers' Company had enjoyed the monopoly granted in 1557 during the reign of Mary I, which expired in 1695. Under the Licensing Act, the Company's members would buy manuscripts from authors and would have a perpetual monopoly on the printing of the work. Authors themselves were members of the company and could not therefore legally publish their own works, and were not given royalties for books that sold well. After the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695, the London booksellers were especially concerned of "piracy at home and cheap reprints from abroad. "In 1703 and again in 1706 they petitioned Parliament for redress from this local piracy, and the Copyright Act of 1709 was the result" (Pollard 69).

After 1709, "the representation of the author as a creator who is entitled to profit from his intellectual labor came into being through a blending of literary and legal discourses in the context of the contest over perpetual copyright. The literary-property struggle generated a body of texts – parliamentary records, pamphlets, and legal reports – in which aesthetic and legal questions are often indistinguishable" (Rose 6). What was novel about the statute was that it constituted the author as well as the bookseller "as a person with legal standing." After 1709, an author could go to court "in pursuit of his rights as the proprietor of his works" (Rose 49).

In Ireland, the King's Printer's patent, which lasted in theory from 1604 to 1732, a monopoly of the entire trade of the country, was given to one man instead of to a company of stationers, a company made up of many individuals competing against one another (Pollard 1). In the meantime, the English Copyright Act of 1709, which mandated that "[t]he author of a book already printed or the bookseller who had bought his copy should have the exclusive right of publication for twenty-one years," and that "[t]he author of a book not yet published should have the sole liberty of printing it for fourteen years from its publication and for an additional fourteen years if he were still alive," failed to mention Ireland. This offered the Irish booksellers an opportunity to reprint London editions and sell them in Ireland as well as in abroad for much less (Cole 1). After several years of agitation from the London booksellers, an act was passed in 1739 "prohibiting the Importation of Books reprinted Abroad and first composed or written, and printed in Great Britain." Although the law made the Irish reprints "subject to seizure in British ports by agents of the Commissioners of Excise," some Irish exports continued (Cole 3).

However, not all Irish reprints were unauthorized. Some Irish booksellers arranged joint publication with the copyright holder, normally the London publisher, under which the book was printed in Dublin and some copies were issued in London (Cole 13; Pollard 95). The typical Irish edition was well below a thousand copies and probably closer to five hundred, roughly similar in size to the London editions that most of them reprinted (Cole 17-18). Even without the reprints, "the Irish market was of great importance to the English, and the high import figures prove this mutual dependence with no shadow of doubt. Objections to Irish reprints of their copy did not stop London booksellers from selling all they could in Ireland" (Pollard 90).

Furthermore, although the Irish reprint trade claimed to be interested primarily in supplying cheap reprints to Ireland's "poor and untutored masses," its clientele in Ireland itself was mainly "the landed and professional classes," a small and relatively elite audience. This is attributable to the high illiteracy among the Roman Catholic majority, who, "consisting largely of tenant farmers and farm laborers were excluded by the penal laws from any regular and systematic schooling." Additionally, some of these farm workers were not illiterate but read and wrote Irish rather than English (Cole 14; 16; 21). Nonetheless, the circumstances started to change after the Acts of Union in 1800, the two complementary acts that united the Kingdom of Great Britain with the Kingdom of Ireland; therefore, the extension of British copyright law to Ireland in 1801 would bring the Irish reprint trade to an end (Cole 21).

3.3.2 Frontispiece

The focal point of the frontispiece is the author's portrait which takes up most of the space. It depicts him sitting at a desk, with a map or chart, probably of the area he has explored, lying in front of him. In the background are three ships, one of which looks similar to the Tartar Galley shown in Plate 1 (Forrest 1969, between 34 and 35). Below the portrait is found his coat of arms in an oval shape, divided into halves, each of which contains three trees, offering a hint at the writer's family name. A bird is seen perching at the top; at the bottom of the coat of arms is a Latin motto: "ET VIRET IN UNDIS." [46] To

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[46] This may be translated as "And he thrives among the waves." It resonates with Poem XVI in Book II of Ovid's *Amores*, first published in 16 BCE. The first ten lines describe the poet's home in Sulmo, in the valley of Paeligni in southern Italy:

> Pars me Sulmo tenet Paeligni tertia ruris,
> parva, sed irriguis ora salubris acquis.
> sol licet admoto tellurem sidere findat

the right of the coat of arms is a phrase, "Ætat 50. Midn . in the Navy in 1745," meaning the portrait supposedly shows him at the age of 50, and states that he had become a midshipman in the Navy in 1745.

Obviously, the frontispiece portrait makes a bold statement about the author, presenting Forrest as a mariner with a well-established professional background and a good command of his expertise. Furthermore, as a feature of English book production that emerged in the seventeenth century, usually within a masonry frame, frequently accompanied by a Greek or Latin inscription, it offers a likeness of the book's author, "a miniature surrogate of the book's absent author, a small private fetish that the book buyer could take home along with the text." Due the high cost of a copper-plate engraving at the front of a work, frontispiece portraits were "almost exclusively found in the collected works of established writers, editions of classical authors, and, occasionally, high-profile biographies, histories, or travel narratives" (Barchas 21-22). Featuring a travel narrative

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> et micet Icarii stella proterva canis,
> arva pererrantur Paeligna liquentibus undis,
> et viret in tenero fertilis herba solo […] (cited in Boyd 54)

A.D. Melville's translation in Ovid's *Love Poems* (1990) partially reads:

> I'm at Sulmo, here in Pelignian country;
> It's small, but healthy with its channelled streams.
> Even when the Dog-star shimmers in high summer,
> And the sun cracks the soil with burning beams,
>
> Clear waters wander through the fields of Sulmo;
> The ground is soft, the grass is lush and green.
> The land is good for corn, for vines far better,
> And olives here and there are often seen,
> And where brooks glide along through water-meadows
> On soft wet soil the fresh sward spreads a screen. (Ovid 1990, 49)

in a large-sized volume, Forrest's can be considered a serious work as it fits a certain profile that deserves a relatively elaborate treatment on the frontispiece. Concurrently, one needs to be reminded that publishers and authors in the eighteenth century rarely controlled the outside covers of their books. Readers predominantly purchased works unbound and had them bound or rebound in their own preferred style, often to match the rest of their library (Barchas 14). That probably explains "Directions for the Book-Binder" on the last page.

3.3.3 Title page

The entire book title shown on the title page is "A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas, from Balambangan: Including An Account of Magindano, Sooloo, and other Islands; and Illustrated with Thirty Copperplates: Performed in the Tartar Galley, Belonging to the Honourable East India Company, During the Years 1774, 1775, and 1776, by Captain Thomas Forrest. To Which Is Added, A Vocabulary of the Magindano Tongue." It is noteworthy that the title takes up more than half of the unframed central space, and the author's name is incorporated into it. In fact, long titles were very common in those days. They did not only name books, but also summarized or explained them because it was the only place where the book had an opportunity to identify and publicize itself (Barchas 65). This also applies to long intertitles in the table of contents which practically summarize the chapters.

Below the book title is an epigraph, a Latin quotation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Vol. 4:

> IGNOTIS ERRARE LOCIS, IGNOTA VIDERE
> LITTORA GAUDEBAT, STUDIO MINUENTE LABOREM.
> OVID. MET. IV. 294.

The presence of a Latin motto in Forrest's coat of arms as well as a Latin inscription on the title page arguably suggests the eighteenth-century book industry's strategies to authorize and gentrify print, in literary works and in the area of science. Robert Hooke places lines from Horace on the title page of *Micrographia* (1667). Epigraph usage is so widespread that Henry Fielding in *The Author's Farce* (1730) pokes fun at the practice (Barchas 85).

The Latin motto is probably a quotation from Book IV of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. However, a little but important change may have been purposefully made so that the Latin quotation would fit into a new context since the word *littora* ("shores") replaces *flumina* ("rivers") in the original:

> ignotis errare locis, ignota videre
> *flumina* gaudebat, studio minuente laborem. (Ovid 1984, 140; emphasis added)

The Latin sentence appearing on the title page would, therefore, translate as:

> as he ventured forth to explore the unknown; the sight of new places,
> new *shores*, enthralled him, excitement taking the pain out of travel.

Meanwhile, David Raeburn's translation of these two lines in Ovid's *Metamorphoses: A New Verse Translation* (2004) reads:

> as he ventured forth to explore the unknown; the sight of new places,
> new *rivers*, enthralled him, excitement taking the pain out of travel.
> (145; emphasis added)

Next is the phrase stating that this is the second edition, accompanied by an index, preceding the information regarding the locations of the printers and booksellers, and the publication date in Roman numerals. This edition was printed in 1780 by G. Scott, and sold by four booksellers: J. Robson on New Bond Street, J. Donaldson on the Strand, G. Robinson on Paternoster-Row, and J. Bell in Edinburgh. The publishing information allowed readers to locate the nearest vendors from whom a copy may be purchased. Despite the absence of proper address numbers, most of the locations, nevertheless, resided within a well-defined publishing district that offers little chance of getting lost. The New Bond Street, the Strand and Paternoster-Row were situated in the district called Cheapside west, once crowded with bookstalls and print houses. These imprints were mere embellishments, oftentimes allowing publishers and booksellers to associate themselves with "references to churches or other citadels of respectability," such as, St. Paul's Churchyard. But when an imprint to a novel directed readers to a tavern or a coffee house, the title page aimed at a lowbrow popular audience. For example, the 1724 imprint on Eliza Haywood's *A Spy Upon the Conjurer* was "Sold by Mr. CAMPBELL at the *Green-Hatch* in *Buckingham-Court*, *Whitehall*; and at BURTON'S Coffee House, *Charing Cross*." Later in the century, the 1768 publication of William Donaldson's novel *Sapskull* boasts in the imprint that it can be purchased near a tavern: "Printed for J. Williams, No. 38, next the *Mitre Tavern*, *Fleet-Street*" (Barchas 71-72).

3.3.4 Dedication

The content of the dedication justifies the voyage and the publication of the travel account. Written in the form of a letter, called the *dedicatory epistle*, it offered Forrest an opportunity to speak highly of the Company as well as himself. When, in the year 1770, he was assigned the command of the Company's ship, on the West-coast of Sumatra, he thus "repaired thither, with the zeal such confidence must inspire, and in the hope of opportunity to prove myself not quite unworthy of it" (Forrest 1969, iv). But most importantly, the dedication constituted the writer's source of income in periods when literature was not really regarded as a profession and when the practice of giving the author rights to a percentage of the sales was almost entirely unknown, the other three being the direct sale of several dozen author's copies, the lump-sum sale of the work to the bookseller and the payment by the piece for a defined project like the *Encyclopédie*, which yielded Diderot a life annuity (Genette 1997, 118-119).

In Forrest's case, the subsidy of the printing was not easily obtained. Initially, the authenticity of his travel account had to be affirmed. According to the Court Minutes dated May 23rd, 1777, having consulted the Company's Solicitor, the Committee of Shipping "are of opinion that it would be highly improper to admit at present the authenticity of his Accounts, but as Capt. Forrest has represented he is in distress for Money, they recommend that he be advanced the Sum of £800" (C.M., Vol. 86, f. 113, B/93). Afterwards, on October 21st, 1778, the Court denied him any further sum of advanced money he had earlier requested, probably for the cost of printing his account which was in the press (C.M., Vol. 87, f. 286, B/94). Eventually, on November 26th, 1777, the Court of Directors decided to "subscribe for 25 Copies of this Work at the rate of 2 Guineas for each Copy," but refused to pay for "the Expence of engraving the Plans and Views intended to be published with the account of his Voyage in the Tartar Galley." On December 9th, 1777, Forrest notified the Court that his voyage account "printed with their permission will be ready for publication on the 5th of January next" (C.M., Vol. 86, ff. 417 and 393, B/93).

Without the Company's financial support for the engravings, the first edition published in Dublin in 1779 does not include any copper plates although the title page and the Directions for Placing the Plates indicate that four copper plates are in place. Meanwhile, the two London editions have thirty plates. Noticeably, while the voyage account is dedicated to the Court of Directors, three particular engravings are dedicated to three separate individuals. In the upper-right corner of the general map is a dedicatory statement: "In Testimony of Esteem and Regard for his great Maritime Abilities, To Sir William James Bart, Deputy Chairman of the Honourable E. India Company, This Map is Inscribed by his most humble servant, Thomas Forrest." Under the view of Dory Harbour is printed, "In Testimony of Esteem & Regard to Joseph Banks Esq; President of the Royal Society, Who thirsting after Knowledge, left the Enjoyment of Opulence and Ease, to sail round the World. This View of Dory Harbour on New Guinea, is inscribed by his most humble servt., Thos. Forrest." The engraving of the view of Ouby Island on Plate 5 is dedicated to "William Aldersey Esq; President of the Board of Trade in Bengall."

These dedicatory statements were possibly inscribed after the dedicatees had agreed to compensate for the cost of engraving.

3.3.5 Introduction and preface

In the introduction, the author proffers a sort of literary review, relating and commenting on a great variety of European sources on New Guinea and its neighboring islands. The great names of navigators, such as, Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón (late 1400 – 1529), who is said to have discovered New Guinea in 1527, William Dampier (1651-1715), noted for his charts and maps of the coastlines of New Guinea, produced after his voyage in the *Roebuck* in 1699, and Captain Philip Carteret (1733-1796), the English officer in the Royal Navy who sailed around the world in 1764 and 1766, imply Forrest's wish to juxtapose himself with renowned scientific explorers. After the introduction is the table of contents. Then, readers are ushered into the first chapter of the text. Initially, one may be intrigued by the absence of a preface which would explicate the intention of the voyage; however, I later realize that Book I, Chapter I, serves that purpose. The intitle, "*Intention of the Voyage – Sailing Orders – Reasons for undertaking it in a small Vessel – Description of the Tartar Galley – and List of the Crew*," clearly states that the chapter discusses the "how" and "why" of the publication.

3.3.6 Index and footnotes

Previously Chapter 2 views the lists of crew, population census, vocabulary, and word lists in a vertical direction. In this chapter, I would like to treat these lists, particularly the vocabulary of Magindano tongue and the index, as paratextual elements which contribute to the generic definition of Forrest's voyage account, especially because these are the only two alphabetized lists. Surprisingly, this type of lists is found not only in non-fiction works. In each edition of Samuel Richardson's *History of Sir Charles Grandison* (1754), printed under the author's supervision, the index is approximately one hundred pages long and occupies roughly one quarter of the text's final volume of the total of six volumes. Given the high cost of paper, the length of the index signals the importance attached to it.

Nonetheless, more examples of indexes can be located in non-fiction works since they were associated with the historical compendium and the scientific reference text. They also appeared as "standard features of the collected works of classical writers, collected periodicals, scientific manuals, guide books, travelogues, and, of course, the Bible" (Barchas 200; 211). To Roger D. Lund (1998), "the index and its related forms – dictionaries, concordances, digests, translations, and compendia – serve as convenient symbols for the transformation of "ancient" knowledge into modern forms of information" as they were designed to make information more accessible even to those of "the meanest capacity" (21; 33). The index was mostly presented in an alphabetical order, reflecting an arbitrary and modern strategy of knowledge organization, and signaling the rise of specialization and professionalism as well as the democratization of knowledge. This necessitated new lists of technical terms conspicuously located in the footnotes, evidencing the practice of textual scholarship (Lund 28; 36-39).

Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the footnote had assumed increasing importance among classical scholars, but by the eighteenth century the footnote became a standard procedure. On the one hand, it is considered a kind of marketing tool designed to add a touch of erudition to an otherwise humdrum operation (Lund 38). On the other, footnotes-filled pages like those found in Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788) play a significant role in a serious historical work (Grafton 98; 101-103). Reading along these lines, Forrest' deployment of indexes and footnotes may have suggested not only the author's need to follow the literary conventions, but also his intention to place his work on the same par with other scholarly-oriented accounts of traveling experiences.

3.3.7 Epitext

Thus far, I have discussed paratextual elements located around the text of within the same volume of Forrest's voyage account, which are collectively called *peritext*. But the other type of paratextual elements is found outside the book, hence *epitext* (Genette 1997, 4-5). This is further divided into the public epitext and the private epitext. The former, addressed to the public, is defined as "any paratextual element not materially appended to the text within the same volume but circulating, as it were, freely, in a virtually limitless physical and social space." The latter refers to the epitext of which the author addresses a real person, "whose personality is important to the communication at hand" (Genette 1997, 344; 371).

The epitext surrounding *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas* might pose a classificatory problem. For instance, the Court Minutes, which constitute a bulk of the East India Company's records, were originally taken during meetings, but were not meant to be circulated freely in the public space. They only became accessible once they were housed in the national archive. Additionally, what William Marsden allegedly wrote on some of the blank pages in his 1780 copy of *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* is highly questionable. On three of them were inscribed what he claimed to be "Translation of a Letter written [by Tuan Hadjee] in the Malay language, to Mr. John Herbert, late Chief of Balambangan." He signed and dated the letter in 1788. Nevertheless, the credibility of the letter's content, let alone the existence of the letter in the Malay version, remains in doubt. Furthermore, in the upper-right corner of the title was found the name of "John Marsden," presumably William's younger brother, who, at the age of twenty-two, arrived to Bencoolen on July 3rd 1765, and began his career with the East India Company as a Writer, as verified by the Factory Records (S.F.R., Vol. 12, f.181, G/35/12).

The letter was supposedly addressed by Tuan Hadjee to John Herbert, and here it was "copied" onto William Marsden's copy of Forrest's work that may have subsequently been handed down to his younger brother. How is this supposed to be read? If this is a private epitext, to whom was it addressed? Can it be considered a sort of "gossiping" between two siblings since the letter's content gives an unflattering account of the book's author? Tuan Hadjee reportedly wrote:

> Much uneasiness has arisen by the ill conduct of Captain Forrest towards me. It was his endeavour to bend me this way & that, according to his caprice; treating me as a servant, altho' I am equal in consideration with the Sultan of Bachaan. In the second place, the sultan of Bachaan ordered two envoys to accompany & conduct us, & they sailed with us in a Koro-koro (spices & boat), together with thirty men. Captain Forrest had engaged with me to allow Pay to these people, but as soon as we arrived at Meng-endanon, he refused to give it to them. Moreover, Captain Forrest destroyed many scores of Nutmeg plants.

The epitext which Marsden intended to make public was his memoir. Part of it relates an event on one morning of March 1781, when he paid a visit to Joseph Banks at his residence. In one part of his memoir, Marsden relates that:

> As it respected myself and my objects of pursuit, the most important introduction, and which tended materially to influence the character of my future life, was that to Mr. (afterwards, in March 1781, Sir Joseph) Banks, the distinguished President of the Royal Society. His acquaintance had long been an object of my ambition, and it was decided by the offer of Capt. Thomas Forrest, whom I had known abroad, to accompany me to his house. This latter gentleman had lately published the account of his curious voyage to New Guinea, in the Tartar galley, and thence become known to the patron of scientific discovery. (Marsden 1838, 44-45)

It should be kept in mind that the memoir was based on notes from his correspondence, addressed to particular individuals, and finally edited by his wife Elizabeth W. Marsden. Meanwhile, D. K. Bassett's introduction to the 1969 edition of Forrest's work can be considered a truly public epitext. Basing his research largely on India Office Records, Bassett reconstructs Forrest's biography with scholarly commentary. Yet, this introduction is placed within the volume, creating another threshold of interpretation, and thus necessitating a further discussion of the 1969 publication context.

As the Tartar Galley sets sail, the captain and his crew wish against all odds that they will make it back to the starting point. Except Panjang, the cook who dies at Magindano, they depart from Borneo to the Moluccas, New Guinea, Magindano, and safely return to where it all begins. Not unlike the sailing route of the ship, the narrative text flows out of the tip of his pen, and finally comes back to the embryonic moment when the desire to tell the story takes shape. Coincidentally, the act of examining those elements that surround the text is reminiscent of the sailor's routine of circumnavigating an island, measuring the sea bottoms, locating a proper anchoring spot before deciding to step onto the terrestrial terrain. In the meantime, locating the text in the sphere of eighteenth-century English literary conventions and print culture has imparted an enduring awareness of the author's connection with other European writers and of the East Indies as being part of the planet in the age of exploration.

The Tartar Galley does not stay in Balambangan, but sails further to the next destination in Fort Marlborough. Due to the "very leaky condition; her bottom being entirely destroyed by worms," it is hauled ashore and eventually sold at a public auction by William Marsden for £9.7.6 (Bassett 16). This might be the final destiny for the ten-ton burden; it is definitely not for Captain Forrest. He continues to roam the sea to "the eastward of Atcheen-head." But for how long? The answer might be blowing in the monsoon, that keeps shifting and causes those always living in their boats to shift "to leeward, for the sake of fine weather, as the Tartars in Asia shift their tents for the sake of enjoying perpetual summer" (Forrest 1969, 300; 372).

Chapter 4

Island Writing

This chapter views *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* as island writing, a kind of writing that thematizes transitoriness of the term “island” in geographical, human and literary perspectives. As a geographical condition, an island is defined in relation to other geographical landscapes, such as other islands, continents, the sea, and the shore. As a literary trope, island functions as a metaphor whose distinctiveness is constituted in conjunction with other tropes of oceanic writing, namely, the sea, the ship and the shore.

This discursive practice echos the argument in Richard H. Grove’s *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (1995), which maintains that a whole genre of popular literature on islands developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly after about 1620. During the seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries, the island genre, like travel literature in general, attained global reference and perception. No longer perceived merely as a paradise, the island became the “metaphor for a much more fundamental questioning of the nature of existence, societies and the self and consequently for fictional or experimental constructions of new societies and analyses of old ones” The island was, for instance, used as a convenient vehicle for religious dissent and reformism as well as Utopianism (Grove 225).

In the meantime, the geographical insularity is applicable to humans, such as sailors and islanders, each of which is, like an island, isolated from, and, yet, still depends on others for his survivial and self-identity. Lastly, Forrest's travelogue is metaphorized as an island; it is a literary work that share some characteristics of eighteenth-century English travel writing.

4.1 Island as a geographical reality

Geographically speaking, *island* is "a piece of land completely surrounded by water" (Murray et al. 8: 110). It is defined in distinction from other geographical entities, such as *continent*, "the main land, as distinguished from islands, islets, or peninsulas" and oceans (Murray et al. 3: 823). However, in terms of size, categorizing Australia or Greenland proves to be problematic as they are considered *island-continent*, "a large island, approaching the size of the continent, or large enough to contain several states" (Murray et al. 8: 111). Moreover, one cannot be reminded often enough that islands and continents result from ongoing geological activities whereby a spatial entity hinges upon a temporal variable. The lands which are now called the British Isles were once "a broad promontory of the Continental land mass, an Oceanside peninsula of the Peninsula." In the course of the seventh or sixth millennium B.C., rendered unstable by the retreating ice, and partly by the rising levels of warmer seas, the Oceanside peninsula started to tilt and was finally transformed into a group of offshore islands (Davies 7-8). While the British Isles are considered an example of *continental islands* as they have been "separated from continents of which they are but detached fragments," the islands that constitute the Philippines and Indonesia exemplify *oceanic islands*, which "have originated in the ocean and have never formed part of a continent or any large mass of land" (Wallace 1975, 242).

4.1.1 Girdling, shaping and naming islands

It is noteworthy that the relative ease with which an island can be "mentally circumscribed" may be attributed to the characteristic description of islands (Grove 32). What matters resides in its shape and its circumference. According to *Description of Ceylon* (1978), a partial English rendition of François Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* ("Old and New East-India")[47] by Sinnappah Arasaratnam, the shape of the island is "like a large ham, for which reason our people have named the Fort of Cays, situated near Jaffanapatnam, not improperly Hammenhiel, after the shape of the island at that place" because "Hammenhiel" is a Dutch word, meaning "heel of a ham" (Valentijn 102). Subsequently, the four small islands to the north of Trinkenemale, a port city on the east coast of Ceylon, are described as "each 3 or 4 miles in circumference" (Valentijn 135).

Once the island is circled by a sailor and a writer, it is considered visually and discursively appropriated. The voyager's mission is considered completed, and he can thus set sail to another island and repeat the process. One instance may be found in William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* (1698). The English privateer-cumnavigator relates his journey from Guam to the Philippines, during which he decides to shelter from the westerly monsoon at Mindanao and procure provisions because it is conveniently located on the way to the East-Indies.

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[47] François Valentijn (1666–1727), a Dutch minister, wrote *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1724–26), a massive work of five parts published in eight volumes, after having spent sixteen years in the East Indies.

> This Island was therefore thought to be a convenient place for us to go to; for besides that, it was in our way to the East-Indies, which we had resolved to visit; and that the Westerly Monsoon was at hand, which would oblige us to shelter somewhere in a short time, and that we could not expect good Harbours in a better place than in so large an island as *Mindanao.* (305-6)

As the easterly winds begin to blow again in October, it is time to bid farewell and the writer is able to conclude that, "Thus much concerning the nature state of *Mindanao*" (Dampier 323).

The Tartar Galley is often found rounding islands as a surveying strategy. On Sunday 15th January, 1775, for instance, Forrest "went round Aiou Baba in the pilot's boat, and found it about five miles in compass […] To day Tuan Hadjee visited the Moodo. On my return from the circuit of the island, I found him finely dressed, with a number of attendants" (Forrest 1969, 84). During his stay at Magindano, on October 1st, 1775, he sails around the north end of Bunwoot, "and along the N. W. or outer side of the island: had pretty regular soundings within less than a mile of the reef of coral rocks that stretches from the north end of it." About two weeks later, Forrest circles around the same island and "found its circumference about seventeen or eighteen miles" (Forrest 1969, 253; 255). Thereafter, on October 14th, 1775, "came over from Tetyan harbour, a person who called himself brother to the Rajah of Balambangan: I presented him with a pocket compass. Next day, the 15th, I went with him round the island, and found its circumference about seventeen or eighteen miles" (Forrest 1969, 254-255).

Observably, the concept of a space, such as an island, can only be formulated by means of rounding, an activity which takes place in time. On the other hand, the concept of time is brought into relief when it is used as a reference for determining spatial distance. Anchoring in the Offak Harbour on the island of Waygiou, on Sunday 22nd January 1775, Forrest, thus, tells one of the locals that he is in search of the islands of Fan, "which I was informed lay about twelve hours sail to the N. E. of where we were" (Forrest 1969, 88). The intersection of space and time, apparent in travel writing, is further enhanced in Forrest's travelogue as it is approached via three reading directionalities, i.e., horizontal, vertical and spherical readings. These strategies draw upon the spatial dimensions of the text that are in turn defined by the intervention of the temporal counterparts.

In addition to being circumnavigable, the island's peculiar shape, resulting from the coordination of width or length (horizontality) and height (verticality), renders it recognizable from the distance. On Wednesday 30th November, 1774, for example, the Tartar Galley "passed a rock within thirty yards of the island Mandioly, like a pigeon-house in size and shape, with a bush two atop. We left it on the left hand, as we steered into the harbour of Bissory. When the said pigeon-house rock bears north, or even long before that, the peninsula of Bissory, which forms the harbour, will shew itself as in the view" (Forrest 1969, 29).

On Monday 12th March, 1775, the English vessel approaches Mysol Island. The following is how he describes what he sees:

> [T]he west point of Mysol, which from its shape I name the Dolphin's Nose […] the island of Mysol is of middling height, with a pretty bold

> coast; farther down towards Ef-be island, near the shore, are some rocks and small islands, without which one must steer. To one parcel of those rocks I have given the name of Cat and Kittens. Another single rock I have called the Sloop Rock, being like a sloop under sail. Onward, about four miles short of Ef-be island, is a hill, which I call from like reason, the Beehive […] The island Ef-be cannot well be passed unperceived, by the picturesque views of certain islets that lie opposite. The most particular is a small island I call the Crown, which must be kept on the right hand, and bears from the west part of Ef-be, where is the entrance into the harbour. (Forrest 1969, 130-131)

It is noteworthy that stating the positions of the ship or islands in relation to the latitude and longitude lends itself well to the "scientific" feel of the travel account. However, referring to islands in terms of the shapes they conjure in the traveller's mind may not. Assigning non-geometric shapes to what he sees opens up Forrest's "objective" outlook for questioning. In one of his later works, Forrest himself admits that the shape of an island changes as the reference point (the position of the observer) changes. In *A Journal of the Esther Brig, from Bengal to Quedah, 1783* (1788), he remarks that oftentimes he names islands "according to *striking appearances* and *figures*; So the *NW*, *SE*, and *So. Humps* are expressive of their respective relative situations, and all three, as appear in the *Views*, are in figure much alike, but what I mean by a *Hump*, alluding to what grows on the *shoulders* of *Surat Oxen*, many only properly be called so, when the *Island* is seen in a certain attitude, in other attitudes it may, with equal propriety, be called the *Haycock*, the *Sugar Loaf*, &c. as the *outline* continually differs, the *three* forementioned *Humps* are very similar, in size and shape and height" (18; emphasis in original).

In regard to his island naming practice, William Marsden opines in *Memoirs of a Malayan Family: written by themselves* (1830) that Forrest "was a man of enterprise in his profession, and a ready draughtsman, but not always quite careful enough to distinguish (as Alexander Dalrymple the great hydrographer used to observe) between what he actually saw and what he imagined to exist" (51 n. 1). Nevertheless, shape is not the single attribute on which Forrest's practice of island naming depends. Plants or harvests found in abundance offer potential island names. On Tuesday 29th November, 1774, having passed a cluster of five small islands named the Giaritcha's, Forrest and his crew arrive at Tappa Island and "off the said north-west part of Tappa, are three small isles, or large rocks, about twenty-five foot high, with some bushes upon them. I was told that those rocks have some caves which produce birds nests. I therefore call them the Bird-Nest islands, as none of Tuan Hadjee's people could give me their proper names." Thereafter, on Wednesday 7th December, 1774, coasting along the island of Batchian, Forrest comes upon the westernmost point of Labuhat, "being then shut in with what I call Attop Point, as many nipa or attop trees grow there" (Forrest 1969, 28; 51).

Furthermore, Forrest names islands after his acquaintances. In *A Journal of the Esther Brig, from Bengal to Quedah, 1783*, he explains that "amongst a multiplicity of *Islands*, to which, in order to speak with precision, it is necessary to give names"; therefore, he has named "many in remembrance of Friends whom I Honor and Respect," such as Macpherson's Strait and Banks's Island. A harbour is named after Warren Hastings as well (Forrest 1788, 18; 10-11; 24).[48] Earlier, in the preface, Dalrymple comments that “The *Country Names* of *Places*, being so desirable for the *precision* of *Geographic History*, I have thought it best to omit the many names of European Individuals, which Capt. *Forrest* has applied to the various Islands he saw: and to substitute letters of reference to a List, wherein the names, Capt. *Forrest* has assigned will appear for the elucidation of his Journal” (iv; emphasis in original). In light of the comment, the names Forrest gives to islands do not reflect “the *precision* of *Geographic History*,” and, thus, are omitted.

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[48] John Macpherson (1745-1821), a Scottish administrator in India, was the acting Governor-General of India from 1785 to 1786.
Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), an English naturalist, botanist and patron of the natural sciences, took part in Captain James Cook's first great voyage (1768–1771).
Warren Hastings (1732-1818) was the first Governor-General of India, from 1773-1785.

4.1.2 Archipelagic network

While an island can be rather easily circumscribed and circumnavigated, it usually never stands alone in the ocean. In the account of his second voyage (1772-5), James Cook, using New Zealand as his base in his futile search of the south continent, heads to Otaheite, one of the Society Isles. At this point, the island’s position is adjusted. Yet, it is still placed in reference to Point Venus, which he had visited in his first voyage in 1769, and Greenwich.

> To what hath been said of the geography of these isles, in the narrative of my former voyage, I shall now only add, that we found the latitude of Oaiti-piha bay, in Otaheite, to be 17° 46’ 28” South, and the longitude 0° 21’ 25 1/2” East from Point Venus; or 149° 13’ 24” West from Greenwich. The difference both of latitude and longitude, between Point Venus and Oaiti-piha, is greater than I supposed it to be. (Cook 1777, 188)

In *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas*, the Tartar Galley sails from Balambangan, an English trading post on the island of Borneo to Dory Harbour, New Guinea, stopping at several islands in the Philippines, and the Moluccas. Forrest resorts to sailing from one island to another in the ocean, instead of going in a straight line. Sometimes, an island would be chosen as the base from which the ship's crew carry out their duties. It serves as one of the hubs throughout the entire voyage, dispatching or attracting people to and from the neighboring islands. As a result, there is a possibility of returning to the same island during one particular leg or later legs of the voyage.

To illustrate the point, from Thursday 1st December 1774 to Tuesday 24th January 1775, the Tartar Galley sails from Bissory Harbour of Batchian Island, one of the Moluccas, to Dory Harbour in northern New Guinea. Batchian Island and Tomoguy Island, a small island near Waygiou Island, are featured in this leg (cf. Plate 1 General Map, depicting Forrest's sailing routes). During the layover at the Moluccas, the ship is anchored within the vicinity of Batchian, an island lying to the southwest of Gilolo (Halamahera). It is located behind a small isle called Pulo Bally. "The channel between it and the opposite shore of Batchian is about five miles wide." Near Pulo Bally is another small island called Siao. Meanwhile, on the southwest point of Batchian is a long low point, which Forrest calls Flat Point. From there, he can see Ouby Island, and Pulo Tappa to the south (Forrest 1969, 49). On Tuesday 6th December, the galley sails to Selang Island, situated to the south of Batchian. According to Forrest, Selang "forms two harbours with the main land; and outer and an inner harbour. There is no danger in running into either, but what is plainly seen. I would advise to keep near the island" (Forrest 1969, 50).

On Thursday 8th December, the next leg of the journey begins. The Tartar Galley departs from the harbour of Selang, heading towards Waygiou Island, located to the northwest of New Guinea. The ship passes Pulo Dammer and the islands of Gorongo. Further on, Pulo Pisang can be descried next to two islands called Liliola and Tapiola. The crew can “then see the high land of Ceram” in the very distant south. In the morning of Saturday 10th December, Pulo Bo and Pulo Popo are sighted in the southeast (Forrest 1969, 52). On the following day, Forrest reaches Pulo Gag, an island to the west of Waygiou. Nearby are the islands of Gibby and Doif. He spends one day in the harbor of Gag before proceeding to the island of Tomoguy, which lies near the two islands of Batang Pally. It is at Tomoguy where the galley is hauled ashore for a major renovation that will last almost one month. From Tomoguy, a prow is sent to Salwatty Island, to the southeast, to purchase provisions. On Tuesday 20th December arrive some people, who, Tuan Hadjee claims, are Synagees (certain chiefs), having received their title from the Sultan of Tidore, an island in the Moluccas. Later, several prows from Gibby bring Papuans with “their frizzled black locks sticking out a great way from their heads, and were as black as African Coffres” (Forrest 1969, 60). Their purpose is to trade. On Saturday 31st December, more prows come from Warjow Island, which lies in the north east part of the island Waygiou. “On board of them were only Papua people, who seemed afraid of coming amongst the Mahometans” (Forrest 1969, 65).

As the ship travels, so do news and merchandise. This is made possible because islands constitute a cluster of lands among which people gather and interact with one another. The majority of the transactions during Forrest’s voyage center on procuring provisions. Even though the English captain tries to avoid any encounter with the Dutch, he always makes sure that any island he approaches is inhabited since the absence of inhabitants translates as lack of provisions. Quite a few incidents show that Forrest heavily relies on the network of the locals for basic human needs. During the stay in New Guinea, for instance, the crew depend on Tuan Bussora, from Batchian Island, who "daily supplied us with small fish, like sprats, he being very expert in casting the net: which fish broiled, with fresh baked sago bread, and a dish of tea, were our breakfast" (Forrest 1969, 114). In addition, on Wednesday the 22nd February 1775, Tuan Hadjee advises Forrest to head for Rawak Harbour, on the northeastern part of Waygiou as there is a good chance of obtaining foods while he suggests against Morty Island, where sago grow in abundance, but there are very few inhabitants to harvest it (Forrest 1969, 117). Subsequently, on Sunday the 4th March, 1775, as the Tartar Galley continues its way to the islands Bo and Popo, several Papua boats approach to trade with the crew. Forrest manages to buy dried fish and sago bread. Furthermore, with "*the assistance of the country people*, we this evening filled most of our water jars, intending to put immediately to sea, as the wind was fair" (Forrest 1969, 124-5; emphasis added).

4.2 Island as a chronotope: paradise in the age of discovery

An island's physical detachment from a continent has occupied a special place in the imaginative realm in which its varied meanings underline humans' affective ties with the material environment or *topophilia* (Tuan 93). These meanings mark the island with *chronotope*, the interconnectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature. With its representational power, time "becomes, in effect, palpable and visible; the chronotope makes narrative events concrete, makes them take on flesh, causes blood to flow in their veins" (Bakhtin 1981, 84-85; 250). The habitable world of the ancient Greeks, for example, was shaped like a disc, encircled by Oceanus (Carson 199-200). In the distant ocean was the home of the gods and of the departed spirits of heroes, called the Fortunate Isles or the Isles of the Blessed. Plutarch (ca. 46-120 AD.) described it as a place that provided heroes with unusual harvests thrice a year. By 1300, the classical Fortunate Isles came to be identified with the islands of St. Brendan (Tuan 119). In Judeo-Christian myth, the garden and rivers of Eden might be discovered on an island somewhere in the East. Known for its optimum living conditions, the Paradise Island had not been "discovered" until 1492. Within forty years, the New World, as "small delectable island-gardens," made an impact on the imagination of Renaissance men, opening up an opportunity to locate Gardens of Eden, Arcadias, Elysian Fields and Golden Ages in a geographical reality (Grove 3-4; 32). Thinking of Florida as an island, Juan Ponce de Leon (1474-1521), a Spanish explorer, thus, searched for the Fountain of Youth, following "the tradition of identifying enchantment with insularity" (Tuan 119).

In the age of exploration, scientific expeditions to the South Seas revived the fantasy of island Eden. Even though the voyages of Louis de Bougainville and James Cook reaffirmed the desirability of the paradise island, the island was dislodged from the biblical time, and planted into the secular time of discovery. Consequently, in the instructions from the Chief and Council of Balambangan that Forrest receives before the embarkation, the English captain is commended for his experience of marine business in the East Indies, and his "turn for discovery" (Forrest 1969, 3).

In addition to the paradisial image, a tropical island offers an escape. It proves an ideal place for Tommo and Toby, who abandon the whaling ship in Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846); Jim Hawkins, who starts to do foolish overly bold things in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883). Ironically, the insular environment dovetails into imprisonment. The travel of Bensalemites in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), for instance, is strictly regulated by the state. While Robinson Crusoe embraces the presence of Friday in his prior solitude, Ben Gunn, who has been marooned on the Treasure Island for years, is found on the verge of sanity. The sense of confinement is attributable to the association of the island with isolation. Deprived of an opportunity to contact the outside world, one feels trapped on a piece of land surrounded by water. This is exacerbated by the repetitiveness of island time that originates from lack of differentiation and a certain level of predictability in a controlled environment. This quality is represented both as alluring and oppressive in nineteenth-century sea narratives (Cohen 2006, 660).

In Forrest's voyage account, the repression is formulated around the limitation and prohibition of trade the Dutch impose on the inhabitants of the Moluccas and the neighboring islands. They curb all kinds of free and open trade from Ternate because "if this [trade] were not closely watched, and put under severe restrictions, it would soon affect their monopoly of the clove and nutmeg, the former of which they permit to be cultivated at Amboyna, and the latter at Banda only." Furthermore, the Dutch discourage the inhabitants of Gilolo from trading with Celebes, Bouro, Ooby, Ceram, Mysol, Salwatty, and other parts, by establishing regulations requiring that each vessel heading towards these islands to trade have a pass, which is expensive and must be renewed every year. The purpose is to "prevent their trading in spices, growing in abundance, in many retired spots of the large and woody island of Gilolo." Simultaneously, Chinese junks from China are not allowed to trade with Ternate whereas those from Macassar are not prohibited as it may be considered as the west frontier to the Moluccas. In effect, "the Dutch contrive to make Ternate as dependent as possible on Batavia, for what they want; and although, as I have said, the Sooloos send vessels to Ternate, no Dutch burgher, or Chinese inhabitant, can send a vessel to Sooloo" (Forrest 1969, 32; 37).

It is observable that as trade restriction is implemented by humans, it is facilitated by geographical condition. Since these islands, like others, are surrounded by sea, it is more convenient for the Dutch to patrol the coasts with their vessels. If the Sultan of Ternate or Tidore, for instance, "fits out a prow of any size, and it is suspected she is going to some distance; the Dutch will expect to know the place of her destination: and, if the Sultan says it is to the Buggess country, or to any distant place, for cloth or such merchandise, the reply will be, that the Company's warehouses contain every thing of that kind he can want, and all is at his service" (Forrest 1969, 35). Meanwhile, geographical reality plays an equally important role in determining the interaction between those living in the hinterland and the outsiders. During the stay in New Guinea, Tuan Hadjee and Tuan Bussora object to the idea of travelling inland to visit the Haraforas. Similarly, the Papuans seem unwilling to let the English and Malay crew to interact with the hinterlanders, who are "kept in ignorance by the Papuas." This inclination reminds Forrest of "the Malays at Nattal and Tappanooly, on Sumatra, not wishing to let Europeans have intercourse with the Batta people, where the gum Benjamin and camphire grow" (Forrest 1969, 109-110).

In the above cases, not unlike those depicted in Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) and Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627), the island has become a trap for those living on it. The coerced-but-limited connectivity deters them from reaching out to the outside world, depriving them of an opportunity to expand the human network. Raphael Hythloday relates that the travelling in *Utopia* is subject to strict control because contact with strangers will only bring out social and political discontent. Therefore, it is stipulated that "[n]o man goeth out alone, but a company is sent forth together with their prince's letters, which do testify that they have licence to go that journey, and prescribeth also the day of their return." Journeying without proper documentation is punished with bondage (More 68). In *New Atlantis*, King Salomana prohibits all citizens from any contact with foreigners for fear of negative consequences. Nevertheless, he only allows twelve "Merchants of Light" to sail into foreign countries, "who would bring us the books, and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts" (Bacon 183). The senses of confinement and repression arise out of the interplay between limited physical movement and unchanging conditions.

Apart from the sense of confinement, the island oftentimes signifies rebirth since island time "resets the historical clock to zero, enabling protagonists to establish their ideal society working from this new origin" (Cohen 2006, 659-660). In Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627) and Henry Neville's *The Isle of*

Pines (1668), the island's physical detachment allows the inhabitants a new beginning, a chance to build an idealized society. The Isle of Pines is isolated in terms of its geographical position. Similarly, Utopia and Bensalem are further distanced from the outside world by the actions of their respective founding fathers. King Utopus "turns what was a peninsula into an island, severing Utopia from the mainland in an action which has been read as a kind of birth fantasy; Solamona establishes laws forbidding the entry of strangers and restricting the travel of native Bensalemites, whose visits to other lands are henceforth strictly regulated by the state" (Bruce ix). Notably, J. C. Davis points out, in *Utopia and the Ideal Society: A Study of English Utopian Writing, 1516-1700* (1984), that in a utopic society, there is no change in humanity and nature. People are "as potentially transgressive as they are in the real world, their desires as potentially subversive to collective well-being" whereas "[t]he availability of material satisfactions is as limited as it is in reality." The utopian solution to the problems of reality is "to idealize neither man nor nature, but organization: the utopianist devises bureaucratic and institutional system in order to contain desire and transgression, and thus to apportion a limited supply of material satisfaction." In this respect, the utopia is a critique of dominant ideology, offering to its readers an imaginary or fictive solution to the social contradictions of its own time (Bruce ix-xv).

Discussing the utopian thought in the Western World, Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel (1979) explain that utopia can be considered from a number of points of view, i.e., as a specific geographical location; as a form of belles-lettres; as philosophico-moral treatises; as a new mythology. The principal elements are a shipwreck or chance landing on the shores of what turns out to be an ideal commonwealth, a return to Europe, and a report on what has been remarked. These are considered “proper utopias” by bibliographers. By the seventeenth century, utopia was no longer restricted to a speaking picture, a dramatic narrative portrayal of a way of life that is so essentially good. It could also embrace the underlying principles of an optimum society. When the discursive, argumentative utopia assumed a place alongside the speaking picture, the line between a utopian system and political and social theory often became shadowy. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, in a growing de-Christianized Europe, the means of reaching utopia was transformed from an adventure story or a ride of passage to Elysium into a question of political action.

While one may loosely refer to ancient and medieval works with some utopian content as utopias, the Western utopia is a creation of the world of Renaissance and the Reformation. The period of the latter part of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries recommended itself as a starting point because of the acquisition of the known visible world by the peoples of the peninsula of Europe, and the translation and printing of a large part of the Greek and Latin corpus of rationalist thinking, among others.

The two ancient beliefs that molded and nurtured the concept of Western utopia were the Judeo-Christian faith in a paradise created with the world and destined to endure beyond it, and the Hellenic myth of an ideal, beautiful city built by men for men without the assistance and often in defiance of the gods. But the relation of the utopian to the heavenly always remains problematic. The principal utopian concerns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were secular whereas Christian utopia was a feeble remnant (Manuel and Manuel 1-21).

The idealized condition of the island space occurs when it is restored to the putatively original state in time. It is traceable to the depiction of the Golden Age in Hellenic literature. Virgil's Fourth Eclogue depicts a simple mode of existence which precludes any commercial or social exchanges with the outside world. On the contrary, in *Problematic Shores: The Literature of Islands*, Diana Loxley (1990) concludes that the island discourse represents "the model cultural framework for the production of an idealised, sanitised account of European colonial history since their central impulse is to create a *tabula rasa* upon which they can erect their own story" (102). In this process of wish-fulfillment, the original human inhabitants are removed from their territory. Many times, the natives are relegated to secondary roles, e.g., Friday in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and the Typees in Melville's Polynesian novel. Meanwhile, after the grant of Bunwoot to the English, Forrest starts a survey of the island only to discover that it is not really deserted. On October 6th, 1775, he finds "in the wood some lime trees, and one jack tree full of fruit; but the property was claimed by a Badjoo fisherman, who kept his station near us, and daily supplied us with fish." In actuality, being deserted or uninhabited is an unfavorable condition of an island. A deserted island denotes its uninhabitability; hence, Forrest once makes a terse but true statement that, "wherever I found people, I should there find provisions" (Forrest 1969, 254; 8).

Nonetheless, it should be reminded that it is not the island that is separated from the continent; it is humans who find themselves separated from the world when on an island. In other words, the essence of the deserted island is “imaginary and not actual, mythological and not geographical.” As the relocation to a deserted island presupposes a prior attachment to a continent or another island, the mobility of those who begin anew underlines their capability to separate from as well as rejoin the continent. Paradoxically, “separating and creating are not mutually exclusive: one has to hold one’s own when one is separated, and had better be separate to create anew” (Deleuze 10; 12).

To a certain extent, detachment is not a state, but part of a process in natural, human and textual phenomena. Compared to the major land masses and the ocean basins that look pretty much as they have been throughout the greater part of geologic time, islands are “ephemeral, created today, destroyed tomorrow.” Most of them are the result of violent, explosive, earth-shaking eruptions. Ironically, a process seemingly so destructive, so catastrophic in nature, can result in an act of creation. One case in point is the eruption of Krakatoa, a small island in Sunda Strait, between Java and Sumatra in the Netherland Indies, on August 27th, 1883. After a series of eruptions that lasted two days, “the island that had stood 1400 feet above the sea had become a cavity a thousand feet below sea level. Only along one edge of the former crater did a remnant of the island remain.” Although Krakatoa’s was the most violent eruption that the modern world had witnessed, it seemed to have been the product of an even greater one. Evidence shows that an immense volcano once stood where the waters of Sunda Strait now lie. “In some remote period, a titanic explosion blew it away, leaving only its base represented by a broken ring of islands. The largest of these was Krakatoa, which, in its own demise, carried away what was left of the original crater ring. But in 1929 a new volcanic island arose in this place – Anak Krakatoa, Child of Krakatoa" (Carson 83-87).

As the ground upon which the meaning of insularity turns out to be shaky, the definition of the term "island" implies a condition devoid of fixedness and immobility, a condition peculiar to travel. The transitory nature of travel as well as the meaning ascribable to "island" has a destabilizing effect that can displace centers as well as peripheries. Reading along these lines, the Malay Archipelago, along with the Caribbeans, may be considered a "meta-archipelago" as it has "the virtue of having neither a boundary nor a center" (Benítez-Rojo 4). The absence of hard-and-fast boundaries as well as unalterable allegiance is more than obvious in Forrest's voyage account. It is exemplified in the case of Magindano whose political control proves problematic. According to Fakymolano, the Spaniards "have subdued the north coast of the island, never conquered the whole." Nonetheless, they sometimes treated it as part of the Philippines, "to enlarge their own dominions." But D'Avitay, who wrote *Histoire General de l'Asie*, "says expressly, Mindano is not a Philippine island"; it is "an island *adjacent* to the Philippines" (Forrest 1969, 174-175; emphasis in original). In regard to the local inhabitants of Mindano and its neighbours, the Magindanoers and the Illanos have been unable to settle the boundary between them. Once a dispute arose over the claim on a large fish with valuable teeth. The creature having been "cast ashore in the Illano districts, near Pulo Ebus, there arose a dispute, who should have the teeth: but the Mindanoers carried it. This has already been hinted" (Forrest 1969, 272).

Even though a dead fish cannot choose to whom it wants to belong, local inhabitants of the Moluccas, who are alive and well, can. They can decide for whom they want to work, with whom they want to establish a relationship. At the beginning of the account, Forrest relates that he first met one Ishamael Tuan Hadjee, “who having been long employed there by the Dutch, had gained an accurate knowledge of the Molucca islands; and having also been to the eastward of them, beyond Pitt’s Straits, as far as the coast of New Guinea” (Forrest 1969, 2). Mr. Herbert, the Chief of Balambangan, has enlisted his service for this particular mission, hoping that he would be of a great help to the English. However, Tuan Hadjee’s decision could have incurred rancor on the part of the Dutch as Forrest once observes during the stay among the Kanary Islands. On April 6th, 1775, while sounding about Clump Island, he notices that “Tuan Hadjee and Tuan Bussora seemed much afraid of meeting with the Dutch” (Forrest 1969, 153). Hereafter, after the disagreement over the ownership of a corocoro, Tuan Hadjee decides to leave Forrest and sets out on his own.

4.3 The surrounding sea

Mobility, inherent in travel and island, may also be identified with other tropes in oceanic writing. In “The Chronotopes of the Sea,” basing her argument on Mikhail Bakhtin’s notion of the chronotope to characterize the poetic dimension of the literary representation of space, Margaret Cohen (2006) proposes that there are six waterside chronotopes across the history of the English and French literary traditions that date back to the novel's prehistory in antique forms, which are "(1) *blue water*, the open sea; (2) *brown water*, the murky depths of the river; (3) *white water*, when bodies of water are riled up into extreme natural danger; (4) *the island*, land entirely surrounded by water; (5) *the shore*, a zone of contact between land and sea; and (6) *the ship*, an unstable piece of terra firma that propels humans across the sea's inhospitable territory." She also argues that, as a chronotope, the sea is experienced as movement, "as a vector conjoining spatial and temporal coordinates" (Cohen 2006, 647-649).

At sea, the act of laying out a ship's track on a chart by using positions determined on successive days of sailing underlined the connection between time and space. The nautical mile, "spatially equivalent to one minute of latitude, is also the basis of the knot, a measure of speed in elapsed time" (Foulke 9). Until late in the eighteenth century European navigators calculated their position by deduced or dead reckoning, measuring the number of miles they had sailed a particular course by combining time and speed. Fortunately, the invention of reliable chronometers made navigation more precise by interlocking measurements of time and space in a more sophisticated way. "Before the era of electronic global position systems, to find longitude one had to have a precise reading of the time at Greenwich, England. Then to get an accurate fix of the ship's position, one added a spatial measurement by taking the altitude of the sun at noon or of a star at dawn or dusk" (Foulke 9-10). These are the procedures Forrest has to carry out. Part of his journal records the locations and circumferences of islands as well as the ship's bearings. At one o'clock, on December 11th, 1774, "Pulo Gag bore from N. half E. to N. E. by N. about four leagues distant. Another island, in appearance, as high as Gag, bore N. W. by N. half N. about ten leagues distant this we found afterwards to be Gibby." And on January 26th, 1775, the island Yowry is sighted. It "may be about three quarters of a mile in compass. Latitude 00º 15' S. longitude 130º 45' E." (Forrest 1969, 53; 94).

Despite the imaginary gridlines of latitude and longitude that crisscross the watery expanse, the ocean refuses to yield to human footprints. What happens on the sea disappears without a trace (Blumenberg 58; Peck 13). Its amorphousness defines the shapes of continents and islands alike. The sea, writes Strabo (ca. 63 BC.-ca. 24 AD.), a Greek philosopher, "gives the earth its outline and its shape, fashioning gulfs, the high seas, straits, and equally isthmuses, peninsulas and capes." Georg Forster, a naturalist who accompanied Cook on his second voyage, attributed tedium to the sea, believing that islands owed much of their special appeal to contrast with the prior experience of listlessness over the empty seas (Tuan 119). Paradoxically, it is reminiscent of the repetitiveness of island time discussed earlier. The sense of boredom ascribed to a space, either the island or the sea, is intertwined with the temporal factor of immutability.

Notwithstanding the sense of constancy the ocean bespeaks, the variable mood in its unchanging essence, manifested in the winds, can propel and impede seafarers (Foulke 26). The absence of wind, or a calm, is "more fatal to a ship than the severest tempest, because if the ship is tight and in good condition, she may sustain the latter without much injury; whereas in a long calm, the provision and water may be entirely consumed, without any opportunity of obtaining a fresh supply" (Falconer n. pag.). On the contrary, a storm translates into calamity which Forrest experiences first-hand before the emergency landing on New Guinea. Favorable winds are to be harnessed, and not to be missed. Therefore, on March 5th, 1775, after a brief stopover at two clusters of islands, Bo and Popo, he decides to continue the voyage. Even though the islands, "which have a good many inhabitants, can supply plenty of coco nuts, salt and dried fish," the English captain is unwilling to lose the wind (Forrest 1969, 125-126). Subsequently, he has to stay on Magindano for many months, "until the monsoon should shift for my return to Borneo, whither I heard the English had retired, after quitting Balambangan: for had I pretended to encounter the monsoon, I should, in all probability, have been obliged to put into Sooloo. Various, therefore, was my ground of circumspection; particularly, when I understood the jealousies and heartburnings among them" (Forrest 1969, 211). Knowing and harnessing the wind power constitutes part of the mariner's survival skills.

In addition to the senses of chaos and danger it portends, the sea has been vested with historically and ideologically inflected meanings. In earlier sea stories of classical and medieval literature, a sense of fear and the evil of the sea predominate. The sea voyage is frightening, and embarked upon with reluctance (Peck 14-15). "Nowhere does Homer say that Ulysses really loves the sea; it is, symbolically, the longing for the shores of Ithaca that leads him to set sail […] In ancient epics, the shore keeps alive the dream of a fixed abode prescribed by the gods or provides the focus for the hope of return" (Corbin 12). Thereafter, the sea takes on a new meaning, "sometimes interpreted as a symbol of Purgatory, like a crossing that provides the sinner assailed by the punitive storm with an opportunity to repent and return to the straight and narrow path" (Corbin 9). The potential of oceanic redemption is discernible as early as in the Elizabethan era. It is in Shakespeare's plays, e.g., *Pericles* (1608), *The Winter's Tale* (1611) and *The Tempest*

(1611), that a move away from the negative associations of the sea is seen. It is a change that reflects a deeper change in English life at this time. Going to sea in these plays means death that leads to rebirth (Peck 15).

In the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, the association of the sea with enterprise emerges out of a new sense of the skills of navigation and the spirit of discovery. Sea voyage narratives are given new levels of meaning and new formal emphases. Most significantly, “a symbolic journey on an evil and dangerous sea began to be reconceived as an opportunity: for personal advance and enrichment, for adventure and discovery and for the development of trade.” In Richard Hakluyt’s *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1584, “the emphasis alters from a mysterious and unknown world beyond the seas to a world that is, increasingly, known, explored and mapped.” As the eighteenth century is ushered in, the English not only know the world but increasingly feel they are the masters of the world (Peck 15-16). Man is driven to cross the high seas, to go beyond the boundary of his natural needs. Shipwreck is thus “the price that must be paid in order to avoid that complete calming of the sea winds that would make all worldly commerce impossible” (Blumenberg 28-29). Noticeably, such a nautical disaster epitomizes the failure of human attempts to control the unruly nature of the sea.

4.4 Ship as a moving island

Oddly enough, some aforementioned attributes of the island and the sea are replicated in the ship. The sense of confinement, for example, does not restrict itself to the island. The ship also signifies repression and loss of freedom that arise from the repetitiveness of life on board. The isolation of the ship constitutes a self-contained world in which "seafarers have time on their hands, and they spend much of it standing watch – literally watching the interaction of ship, wind, and sea while waiting for something, or nothing, to happen" (Foulke 8-9). Forrest and his crew must have gone through a similar routine of rowing, anchoring, weighing, sounding the sea bottoms, and caulking the ship's bottom. To some critics, the routinization of the work on board proved to be a decisive transformation for late nineteenth-century maritime world. It was an ongoing process that occurred across centuries and that accelerated after John Harrison perfected the marine chronometer permitting the calculation of longitude at sea in 1759. As navigation became more accurate, mariners continued to fill in information completing the charts of all the world's oceans. With the supersession of sail by steam in the mid-nineteenth century, routinization was accomplished (Cohen 2010, 9-10). Ironically, the success in the organization of maritime activities rendered them largely predictable and tedious.

Additionally, the senses of confinement and repression originate in a rigid hierarchy that marks life on board. The ship may be viewed as a mini-state, a microcosm of the society, where "[t]he need for risk-taking is set against the need for regulation and control; the need for aggression and individual freedom is set against the need to respect individual liberties" (Peck 5). The strict discipline is justified as necessitated by the hostile environment of the sea, where everyone must sacrifice comfort, ego, personality, and even life "for the welfare of all under the surveillance of a leader vested with supreme authority" (Cohen 2006, 663-664). The harshness of life on board and the danger of seafaring may have driven the crew to seek a soft life ashore; thus, two of James Cook's men "succumbed to the lure of staying in Tahiti" (Foulke 105). Forrest may be well aware of the need for discipline when he chooses his crew members before the voyage starts. He brings along only two Englishmen because if "I carried many Europeans with me, quarrels might arise between them and the Malays, who cannot (unless indeed properly trained) be supposed subject to discipline, according to our ideas of it" (Forrest 1969, 7-8). Nonetheless, with only two Europeans, Forrest seems to have lost the command to Tuan Hadjee, who makes sure that the Malay crew do not comply with his wish for sailing to New Guinea. While Forrest is the official commander of the embarkation per the order of the East India Company, and the Sultan of Batchian tells him in the letter that his officers and corocoro should accompany Forrest wherever he goes, it is Tuan Hadjee who actually decides whether to enforce these orders (Forrest 1969, 70-71).

The destabilized social hierarchy on the ship probably results from the physical instability on the vessel, which is a real place without a real locality, or a *heterotopia*. Although *utopias* are unreal spaces, sites with no real locality, they are "sites that represent society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down." On the contrary, heterotopias are “counter-sites,” “outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality.” While utopias “afford consolation,” heterotopias “are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that” (Foucault 1986, 24; 1994, xviii). In other words, heterotopias, as forms of spatial representation, come into being as the interaction between representational and nonrepresentational practices. It occurs when the presence of a nonrepresentational element “enables heterotopias to question and contest all other spaces” (Casarino 12).

Heterotopias, as described by Michel Foucault in “Of Other Spaces” (1986), can take varied forms, which can be classified into two main categories, i.e., crisis heterotopias and heterotopias of deviation. The former are “privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc.” The latter include “those in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed,” such as rest homes and psychiatric hospitals, and retirement homes. A heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. The traditional garden of the Persians was, for instance, a sacred space that was supposed to bring together inside its rectangle four parts representing the four parts of the world,” signifying a sort of microcosm. There are also heterotopias that are linked to slices of time. While libraries and museums are accumulating time, enclosing in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, fairgrounds and vacation villages are linked to time in “its flowing transitory, precarious aspect.” Heterotopias “always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. Either the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purification, as in Scandinavian saunas. Lastly, heterotopias have a function in relation to all the space that remains, unfolding between two extreme poles. On the one hand, they “create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned,” as in brothels. On the other hand, they create “another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled,” as in colonies. Yet, to Foucault, the boat as a floating piece of space, is “a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that, from port to port, from tack to tack.” From the sixteenth century until the present, the ship has not only been “the great instrument of economic development,” but also “the greatest reserve of the imagination. The ship is the heterotopia *par excellence*. In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates” (Foucault 1986, 24-27).

Afterwards, Cesare Casarino recasts the concept of heterotopias in *Modernity at Sea: Melville, Marx, Conrad in Crisis* (2002), suggesting that the sea narratives of the late-nineteenth century were articulated largely according to three distinct forms of narrative structure: the exotic picaresque, the *Bildungsroman* of the sea, and the modernist sea narrative. He relates these three forms to Raymond Williams’s categories of residual, dominant, and emergent formations, respectively. The eighteenth-century antecedents of the exotic picaresque include Daniel Defoe's *Captain Singleton* (1720), Tobias Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1748), and Captain Cook's journals and travelogues. The form was revived in the nineteenth century under the guise of the sea adventure novel. This kind of narrative, filled with a sense of awe and wonder for faraway, exotic, colonized, or colonizable lands and peoples, is grafted onto an episodic narrative structure that runs from one adventure to the next; for example, Frederick Marryat's *Peter Simple* (1833), James Fenimore Cooper's *The Red Rover* (1827), Herman Melville's *Typee* (1846) and *Omoo* (1847), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886). The *Bildungsroman* of the sea often features a young and innocent hero who has gone through a rite of passage in the form of a voyage through exotic or unfamiliar landscapes. That is why the *Bildungsroman* of the sea "frequently needed the exotic picaresque in order to unfold, even if only to reject it." This is best exemplified by works such as Melville's *Redburn* (1849), Marryat's *Peter Simple*, Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* (1855), Rudyard Kipling's *Captains Courageous* (1897), and Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* (1840). The exotic picaresque and the *Bildungsroman* of the sea are understood as residual and dominant, respectively. Because both operated within preexisting narrative traditions, they usually constituted the sea voyage and the world of the ship as no more than convenient backdrops and colorful literary devices. Nonetheless, the emergent form of the modernist sea narrative is structured around "what remains marginal and underdeveloped in the exotic picaresque and in the *Bildungsroman* of the sea, namely, the sea voyage and the world of the ship." Focusing on Melville's *Redburn*, *White-Jacket* (1850), and *Moby-Dick* (1851), as well as Conrad's *The Nigger of the "Narcissus"* (1897), Casarino "turns the emergent form of the modernist sea narrative into a representation-producing machine for the turbulent transitions from mercantile capitalism into industrial capitalism, into a laboratory for the conceptualization of a world system that was increasingly arduous to visualize, the more multiple, interconnected, and global it became" (Casarino 7-10).

As a matter of fact, Forrest might as well be regarded as a heterotopian, a person living in a heterotopia. As a mariner, he expresses his curiosity for all kinds of ships by measuring the vessels he chances to come upon. On May 23rd, 1775, at sunrise, he finds many Illanon Mangaio prows in Tubug harbour. Later in the afternoon, when the harbor is dry, he then measures one of them, and "found her only four foot broad, three and a half foot deep, and forty-two foot long, she had outriggers, mounted six brass rantackers, and had thirty men" (Forrest 1969, 217). Later, on July 31st, 1775, comes in a large prow belonging to Datoo Malfalla, Rajah Moodo's brother in law, from a cruise on the coast of Celebes. After being hauled upon the shore, Forrest, out of curiosity, measures the vessel:

> She was from stern to tafferel 91 foot 6 inches, in breadth 26 foot, and in depth 8 foot 3 inches. Her stern and bow overhung very much what may be called her keel. She steered with two commoodies or rudders, had ninety men, and could row with forty oars, or upwards, of a side, on two banks. The manner was this: the twenty upper beams, that went from gunnel to gunnel, projected at least five foot on each side. On those projecting beams were laid pieces of split cane, which formed a gallery on each side the vessel for her whole length; and her two ranks of rowers sat on each side, equally near the surface of the water, the two men abreast having full room for their oars, which are far from lying horizontally, but incline much downwards. (Forrest 1969, 228)

Noticeably, as a heterotopia, the main vessel in Forrest's voyage eludes categorization. Originally, a Sooloo prow of ten tons burden is purchased. Later, the sails undergo some modification so that they "resembled those of the galleys in the Mediterranean." He then names her the Tartar Galley after the nomadic tribe in the Russian steppe. During his stay in Magindano, however, he "decked her, and turned her into a schooner" (Forrest 1969, 9-10). The vessel's mercurial identity is not restricted to its physical structure; it is also revealed in the switching of flags. On April 22nd, 1775, sailing between the islands of Kabruang and Salibabo, into the harbor of Leron, the captain "had since morning hoisted Dutch colours, and sent the boat ashore as a Dutch one. Immediately after we had anchored, came on board to question us, a blind Chinese, who spoke very good Malay […] In the afternoon I went on shore in the corocoro with Tuan Hadjee, and the two Batchian officers, to visit the two Rajahs, so many being on Salibabo" (Forrest 1969, 160). Well aware of the frequency of the Dutch patrol which purposefully deters commercial activities of other Europeans in the area, Forrest, in effect, decides to fake the ship's "identification card." Conspicuously, the vessel's transformations, which turn one place into different places, hence, heterotopia, occur at different times of the voyage, revealing the vessel's chronotopic feature.

Foucault's concept of a ship as a heterotopia (1967) was preceded by that of the *Narrenschiff* ("Ship of Fools"), the image of an endlessly wandering vessel carrying madmen or fools. Dating back to the Middle Ages, the *Narrenschiff* is a literary composition that became the subject of satire in *The Ship of Fools* (*Das Narrenschiff* in German; *Stultifera Navis* in Latin), published in 1494 by Sebastian Brant (1457-1521), a humanist from Basel, Switzerland. The book, originally written in German verse, consists of 112 chapters, each depicting some type of fool. It is noted for including the woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), a famous engraver from Nuremberg, Germany. In fact, the distinction between fools and wise men is traceable to the Bible and ancient Greek and Roman literature. Furthermore, the erring are referred to as fools in German as early as the twelfth century (Zeydel 8-9).

In history, the idea of placing "careless livers, rakes, drinkers, and the like" together upon a ship was widespread from Holland to Austria before Brant's time. The most famous of such ships was actually said to have started on a cross-country journey from Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) (Zeydel 12-13). Subsequently, the existence of the *Narrenschiff* was affirmed. The towns in Europe drove madmen outside their limits. They were either allowed to wander in the open countryside, or entrusted to a group of merchants and pilgrims. In the latter case, the ship conveyed the insane cargo from harbor to harbor (Foucault 1988, 7-8). Discussing the emergence of the lunatic asylum during the Renaissance in *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (1964; 1988), Foucault argues that navigation delivers the passengers on the Ship of Fools to the uncertainty of fate. They are perpetually kept at the point of passage, confined in the interior of the exterior. The land which they will come to is unknown; so is the land which they come from (Foucault 1988, 10-11).

As far as the Tartar Galley is concerned, it is doubted that insane persons are entrusted to the ship's captain. Nonetheless, there is a record of Forrest's own folly in *Memoirs of a Malayan Family: written by themselves* (1830). Marsden remarks that:

> His manners were eccentric in a high degree, and many entertaining stories of his adventures amongst the natives were current in India; such, for instance, as the following: Having advanced some way from the shore, in an island where he touched, and finding the people disposed to be troublesome or hostile, he quietly took out his german flute, and having adjusted it, began to play an air of Correlli, which surprised, amused, and caused them to suspend their designs, whilst he, keeping his face towards them, gradually retreated to the place where he had left his boat's crew. (Marsden 1830, 51)

The type of fools portrayed in Brant's that is closest to Forrest's folly is probably "Of Serenading at Night." This chapter depicts those "gallants":

> Who walk the streets and would entrance
> The girls, to whom they're very sweet,
> And wend their way from street to street,
> While playing lutes for all to hear
> At doors from which a girl may peer,
> And do not from the street go dashing
> Until a night-pot's dregs come splashing,
> Or till a rock has struck their pate.
> The pleasure's never very great,
> Since wintry blasts may nip his nose
> Who late at night a-courting goes
> With lute, song, piping, boisterous thumping,
> In lumber yards o'er timber jumping,
>
> Priests, students, laity hell-bent,
> They hum a fool's accompaniment. (Brant 206-207)

In Forrest's case, however, his intention is not to court women, but to defuse the tension between him and the hostile islanders. On another occasion, Forrest engages in this musical whim as part of his social skills. On Thursday 9th February 1775, during his stay at Dory Harbour, he retires to a large tenement where a group of local women are making mats in the common hall. Upon hearing two of them humming a tune, he brings out his german flute and starts playing. He then asks one of them to sing, which she does. "The air she sung was very melodious, and of a species much superior to Malay airs in general." He gives her a fathom of blue bastas as a compliment, and, later, asks another one to sing, but she refuses. Therefore, he gives her nothing (Forrest 1969, 104-105).

4.5 Hauling up the shore

Another literary trope of sea voyage narratives, closely related to the island, is the shore, which is inextricably tied to the sea. The sea level is unstable, continually rising and falling, making it impossible to determine where exactly the land ends and the sea begins. At high tides, the sea encroaches upon the land, narrowing and threatening the shore area. At low tides, on the contrary, the sea recedes, leaving a comfortable space on the shore. The ever-fluctuating shore, always in imminent danger of the sea, is regarded as a contact zone, comparable to the chronotope of the road, where random encounters of "representatives of all social classes, estates, religions, nationalities, ages" underscore a spatial-temporal intersection (Bakhtin 1981, 243).

On December 4th, 1774, while sailing around Batchian, Forrest sees a boat with a white flag. Tuan Hadjee having informed him that it belongs to the Sultan of Batchian, he sails to "regain the island." Afterwards, he "went ashore with Tuan Hadjee, to pay my respects to the Sultan of Batchian. He sat under the shade of a covered canoe, that was hauled up, on some boards laid across the gunnel; and, when I came within ten or twelve yards of him, he ran forwards and embraced me […] I found I was the first Englishman Sultan of Batchian had ever seen" (Forrest 1969, 47-48).

An encounter on the shore is not necessarily carried out on such friendly terms. On December 30th, 1774, after the Tartar Galley is hauled ashore on Tomoguy Island for maintenance, Forrest hires a Papua man to make a wooden anchor, giving him a new Pulicat handkerchief as an advanced payment. As the evening comes, several men from Gibby Island, which is situated between Patany to Tomoguy, assemble at his house, and blatantly ask him for "betel money." Having gathered Tuan Hadjee, Tuan Bussora and another person who has agreed to accompany them to New Guinea, Forrest assures them that he will give them presents on the following day. The next day arrives, and he discovers the wooden anchor lying on the ground, cut and defaced, and the hired Papua man fuming. Forrest appeases his anger by remunerating him ten times of the anchor's value. Meanwhile, the Batchian officers look very grave, and seem reluctant to discuss the issue (Forrest 1969, 63-64).

The incident discussed above illustrates that the shore is a zone where boundaries are tested, mixing danger and desire, a zone of mutability. "As a liminal zone, the shore bears some relation to blue water, with its disorder and affinity for monsters that cross the boundary between species. On blue water, however, monstrous creatures like great white whales and cut-throat pirates flourish, while the shore is a place where the boundaries are tested, only to be affirmed rather than dissolved" (Cohen 2006, 661-662). For example, the Tartar Galley frequently stops at inhabited islands to acquire provisions, or uninhabited ones to get water and woods, but Forrest knows too well that catering to the basic needs can leave the crew vulnerable to surprise attacks. Once he is told that near Offak harbour, "the Papuan inhabitants hereabouts, often lurked in secret places, and shot arrows at the unwary traveller" (Forrest 1969, 80). The story may be told out of the Malay crew's laziness and timidity; yet, when it comes to the "piratically inclined" inhabitants of Magindano, one can never be too cautious. They fit out very small and narrow vessels as cruisers, carrying no ballast. Hiding "among rocks, islands, or in the woods, up some creek," they "detach small sampans, or canoes, to surprise what they can ashore, or afloat, and bring to the capital vessel; which goes home, when she has got a sufficient cargo of slaves and plunder" (Forrest 1969, 301-302). In some cases, the shore has an alluring power toward the crew who spend grueling days on the sea. Forrest once comments on his Malay crew that they make bad sailors in square rigged vessels because "having never been accustomed to lie in an open road, or be in a harbour, without the indulgence of going on shore, they would not have had patience to remain on board" (Forrest 1969, 6).

4.6 Islanded islanders

The island not only functions as a literary trope in oceanic writing, but may also be employed to discuss human relationships. As humans have been inscribing meanings onto the island, they themselves can be considered as "islands" as well. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) defines *insular* as "Pertaining to islanders; esp. having the characteristic traits of the inhabitants of an island (e.g. of Great Britain); cut off from intercourse with other nations, isolated; self-contained; narrow or prejudiced in feelings, ideas, or manners" (Murray et al. 7: 1055). Furthermore, in *Moby-Dick*, Melville writes:

> The same, I say, because in all these cases the native American liberally provides the brains, the rest of the world as generously supplying the muscles. No small number of these whaling seamen belong to the Azores, where the outward bound Nantucket whalers frequently touch to augment their crews from the hardy peasants of those rocky shores. In like manner, the Greenland whalers sailing out of Hull or London, put in at the Shetland Islands, to receive the full complement of their crew. Upon the passage homewards, they drop them there again. How it is, there is no telling, but Islanders seem to make the best whalemen. They were nearly all Islanders in the Pequod, *Isolatoes* too, I call such, not acknowledging the common continent of men, but each *Isolato* living on a separate continent of his own. Yet now, federated along one keel, what a set these Isolatoes were! (122-123)

The above quotations display attempts to engraft insularity, a geographical feature, onto the human and national characteristics, echoing Winston Churchill's when he coined the term "the Island Race," in his *History of the English Speaking Peoples* (1956), to describe the inhabitants of Britain from the Celtic society to the Norman Conquest. Despite "the polyphonic mixtures of tribes and cultures that made up early British society" and the role of Roman imperialism in "laying the foundations of modern civilization among the "wild barbarians" of the island, Churchill nonetheless upheld the primacy of Anglo-Saxon blood and custom in producing the distinctive "island race" that would one day stamp its imprint on the globe" (K. Wilson 2003, 54).

Notwithstanding, Englishness, or Britishness, has never enjoyed a definitionally smooth ride in its history. It is "culturally and historically conditioned, always in the making, never made." Stereotypes of national character often combine "all-but antithetical qualities." In Sir John Fortescues' *Governance of England* (1467), for instance, the English are represented as "a nation of meat-eaters, even, according to some, 'gluttons', a people who lived plentifully while on the other side of the Channel there was a nation who starved.” In Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), and still influential in the eighteenth century, “the English suffered from ‘morbid melancholy’, a hereditary malady which some attributed to the climate, and some to a national deficiency in milk. Suicide was thought of in the eighteenth century as ‘the English disease’, which, according to Dr. Cheyne’s medical treatise published in 1733, was attributed to “the ‘moisture’ of the air, the ‘Variableness’ of the weather, the ‘Rankness’ of the soil, the ‘Richness and Heaviness’ of the food, and, not least, ‘the *Inactivity* and *sedentary* occupations of the better sort.” Paradoxically, the “‘wholesomeness’ of the English climate was a well-worn theme of the philosophers and economists of the eighteenth century, following in the steps of Montesquieu and relating the genius of the country to its geography, […] promoting ‘courage’ where those in warmer climes (as a Scottish Enlightenment writer put it) were ‘indolent and effeminate’” (Samuel 22; 10).

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, insularity did not seem to have constituted part of the national character. The islander’s identity of the English and the British had to be invented and re-invented. Discussing the forging of the British Nation between the Act of Union in 1707 and the beginning of the Victorian Age in 1837, Linda Colley (1992) maintains that Britishness did not emerge by way of “an integration and homogenisation of disparate cultures. Instead, Britishness was superimposed over an array of internal differences in response to contact with the Other, and above all in response to conflict with the Other,” namely, a succession of wars with France (6-7). The islandness of England was re-discovered as a formative force within British and English history. The global expansion of the British trade, arms, colonies and claims, as wells as an increase in the disseminated images of tropical island paradises in travel literature, forced English people to re-think their own past, “to stress the ways in which their nation was unique, culturally as well as topographically” (K. Wilson 2003, 5). Nevertheless, it should be reminded that the Empire was:

> the frontier of the nation, the place where, under the pressure of contact and exchange, boundaries deemed crucial to national identity – white and black, civilized and savage, law and vengeance – were blurred, dissolved or rendered impossible to uphold…a space disrupting comfortable binary oppositions about insiders and outsiders posted by eighteenth-century European intellectuals to make sense of the wider world. West/Orient, white/black, free/slave, masculine/effeminate, parents/children, social/natural, home/abroad, are some of the oppositions that are visibly undone by the products of empire itself: the mulatto, the free black and the Eurasian, the indentured servant and the imported or extirpated “native,” the Creole and the métis as much as sugar and tobacco give embodied form to the permeability and instability of national and hemispheric boundaries and to the fact of cultural miscegenation. (K. Wilson 2003, 17)

Hailing from the British Isles, Forrest can legitimately be regarded as an isolato. However, spending most of his life living in the Malay world, on the peripheries, away from the headquarters of the East India Company in London, he cannot afford to isolate himself from other Europeans and local inhabitants. His career requires that he interact with people across languages, cultures and ethnicities, adjusting himself as he sails on. He learns the commonly used language and takes care to adapt to local practices. Visiting the sick Subadan Watamama on July 7th, 1775, he observes that many of the visitors “had their feet washed at the bottom of the steps, by a person pouring water on them, whilst they rubbed one foot against the other. This struck me a little; so I pulled off my shoes at the door. I then picked my way among the several companies, and went stooping with my right hand almost to the ground, as is their custom, to avoid treading on their clothes”

(Forrest 224). The display of civility arguably qualifies him as a nomad who develops an extraordinary conception of habit. For land nomads, a tent is all that is needed. For a sea nomad, a boat is what he relies on (Deleuze and Guattari 1994, 104-105). He inhabits a place for a certain period, only to pack up his belongings and to set sail when the monsoon comes around. He feels comfortable enough among strangers, but refuses to settle down on a particular town or island, constantly connecting with and disconnecting from people. During the sea voyage, his insular characteristics have to be frequently switched on and off, possibly generating and perpetuating an internal conflict that forces him to continually move from one island to another.

4.7 Island in an ocean of travel writings

While mariners are always on the move, the meaning of island refuses to be pinned down. Likewise, island writing does not yield easily to classification, and yet is not easily detached from other texts. *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas* may be considered a unique literary work; still, it conspicuously shares some features of the eighteenth-century English travel writing, opening up to the multiplicity of genres and voices that intersect with one another within one single text. Superficially, it is redolent of the concise, conventional layout of the ship's log, with records of various categories of information, e.g., the ship's position, weather and sea conditions, and major events on board like punishment, death, or any endangerment of the ship. At the same time, it employs the format of voyage journals, with records of personal impressions and all the defining characteristics of narratives, including plot and “remarkable occurrences” (Foulke 74). The chimerical nature of the text makes it impossible to impose a generic distinction as the remarkable occurrences would become a prominent feature of maritime narratives, “useful for mariners and enjoyed by those who read overseas voyage literature for entertainment” while the details of navigational observation would provide “state-of-the-art information for the benefit of collectivity that subsequent navigators would absorb and test” (Cohen 2010, 23-24; 35-36).

Uncannily, “a condition of deracination and cultural disorientation” peculiar to travel manifests itself in the form of travel narratives (Neill 4). It has been argued that the formation of knowledge derived its structures from science and natural history. Characterized by ideologically constructed “well-fenced, absolute, and universal self-other and same-other oppositions,” it imposed spatial order by means of the definite demarcation lines and the symbolism of geometric shape, “enclosing, naming, and ‘rationalising’ geographical space on a planet-wide scale.” It eventually found its representational practices in the textual patterns of signification and narrative authority, such as “the type of narrative voice the travel writer chooses, as well as in the textual and figurative structure, and in the motifs, images, and metaphors that circulate in the text.” As a result, “the tension between the order of imperial form and the disorder of mobility implicit in travel is suspended, under erasure if you will. Certain effects of mobility are present, but imperial form demands that these are resolved through a narrative authority that replicates the authority of imperial order” (Smethurst 4-7).

However, the textual orderliness cannot be facilely sustained in Forrest's travel account. The transgressiveness of travel and travel writing reveals itself when the text is studied in light of islandness. A reading of his work demonstrates the protean nature of the term "island" in geological and literary senses. As a geographical reality, an island exists in relation to other islands and continents, and is also defined by the sea and the shore. Its position shifts in relation to the ship once bearing and seismic activities are taken into account.[49] As a literary trope, it defies scholarly endeavors to unravel the mysterious motley of meanings. Simultaneously, the insular environment can be transferred to an individual or a group of people who view themselves as islanders. Each may be metaphorized as an island, but he cannot remain indefinitely cut off from others. He relies on fellow humans, at least, for physical survival in a long and arduous voyage, at most, as argued by historians, for defining his identity. The island he inhabits features as a hub around which human activities revolve, prominently in a larger archipelagic network. Concurrently, the unruly nature of the island and islanders replicates itself in island writing, such as *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas*, which also embodies a struggle between an attempt to achieve textual orderliness and a resistance to generic demarcation. After all, transitoriness will continue to inhabit the geographical, human and textual realms of island writing as long as worms still threaten to destroy the ship's bottom, which requires constant hauling, cleaning and caulking.

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[49] According to a geophysicist with the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), the powerful earthquake of 8.9 magnitude on the Richter scale, that hit the east coast of Japan in March 2011, appeared to have moved Honshu Island by eight feet (2.4 meters) and shifted the Earth's axis (Voigt).

4.8 Locating and identifying islands: Thomas Forrest's voyage of rediscovery

As the Tartar Galley sails with two other prows, namely, the Banguey and the Borneo, among the archipelago, some crucial navigational questions arise. How does the sea captain locate himself? What methods or tools are employed to tell him where he is and where he is heading? How does he figure out what island he sees? Does he rely on previously drawn maps or local informants to guide his path?

One way of locating the ship is remaining within sight of the base island. For instance, he sails along the coast of Batchian Island during the stopover at the Moluccas. Another way to locate himself is noticing what islands he sees and/or passes. From Flat Point, to the southwest of Batchian, he sees the islands of Ouby and Tappa. Furthermore, from the hill of Tomoguy, he can see, in the southwest, the islands of Batanta and Famiay (Forrest 1969, 49; 58).

Another common navigational technique, called bearing, proves somewhat reliable. Basically, a bearing is the direction of an object from one's own vessel. In navigation, bearing may also refer to "an arch of the horizon, intercepted between the nearest meridian and any distant object, either discovered by the eye," or by the compass (Falconer n.pag.). In Forrest's account, in the morning of Sunday 11th December, 1774, for instance, "several small islands, flat and low, bore from E. by N. to E. S. E. they were about four in number; one in particular called Piamis, with a pointed peak, might be three or four hundred foot high. At noon, Pulo Gag bore N. N. E. five or six leagues." The bearing changes as the ship moves closer to Pulo Gag. In the afternoon, another bearing is measured. Now, Pulo Gag "bore from N. half E. to N. E. by N. about four leagues distant" (Forrest 1969, 53).

The fourth possible way of locating the ship is by determining the difference of latitude and longitude, the imaginary lines between two places. Contributive to this information is an awareness of the Earth's spherical shape upon which are mapped the imaginary gridlines that curve around in horizontal and vertical circles. According to Forrest, Bissory Harbour "lies in latitude 00° 18' south, and longitude 123° 40' east" while Tomoguy "lies in latitude 00° 15' S. and longitude 127° 4' E." (Forrest 1969, 30; 58). As a matter of fact, latitude and longitude is part of the information in the ship log that contributes to the scientific status of a sea narrative. In *The Pacific Journal of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, 1767-1768* (2002), John Dunmore argues that the publication of narratives by George Anson, Lord Byron, and James Cook, which included their shipboard journals, were considered "more 'serious' and more scientifically presented," constituting a significant contribution to the exploration of the Pacific. Meanwhile, Louis Antoine de Bougainville's *Voyage autour du monde* (1771), the French admiral and explorer's original published narrative, "helped to ensure his place among France's major historical figures." Nevertheless, it "did not establish quite so firmly his renown among geographers and scientists" because it did not include the original shipboard journal of the Pacific voyage of 1767-8. These original documents remained buried in the vaults of the Archives Nationales, and were first published in 1977 as *Bougainville et ses compagnons autour du monde 1766-9* (Preface, ix; Introduction, lxxii-lxxiii).

Conspicuously, the mentioning of latitude and longitude creates a serious overtone in Forrest's voyage account. Pulo Gag, for instance, is an island of middling height, located, in latitude 00° 18' south, and longitude 126° 40' east (Forrest 1969, 54). The angular measurements of both geographical coordinates undergird the spherical shape of the planet.[50] As far as latitude is concerned, the observation of the angle of a celestial body above the horizon, or "altitude," in Forrest's travel account, aims to locate the ship in relation to the latitude, or the sun's azimuth. In astronomy, gunnery, navigation, and other fields, *altitude* and *azimuth* refer to "two coordinates describing the position of an object above the Earth. Altitude is expressed as angular elevation (up to 90°) above the horizon. Azimuth, in astronomical measurement, is the number of degrees clockwise from due south (usually) to the object's vertical circle (i.e., a great circle through the object and the zenith). For non-astronomical purposes, azimuth (for bearing) is generally measured clockwise from due north" (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica* 1:

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[50] Actually, the shape of the Earth is that of an oblate spheroid. The centrifugal force of the Earth's rotation makes the planet bulge at the Equator, and flattens the poles (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica* 4: 320). Raymond H. Ramsay argues in *No Longer on the Map: Discovering Places That Never Were* (1972) that the ancient Greeks may not have known the world to be round, but they had the reasons for supposing it to be so. In addition to having arrived at a relatively accurate estimate of its circumference, they "distinguished between the *ge*, the terrestrial globe, and the *oikoumene*, the known world, "the world" in the sense that it was the scene of human affairs." Since the known world made up only about one quarter of the globe's surface, and the Greco-Roman geographers reasoned the world would not stay upright if there had not been nearly equal land masses in the other quarters for physical balance. It is commonly assumed that medieval scholars believed the world to be flat, until Columbus advanced the radical idea of a spherical earth. Nonetheless, Aristotle, the preeminent scientific authority in medieval culture, accepted the rotundity of the earth, and geography as taught in all medieval universities assumed that the earth was a globe. Concurrently, "the ceremonial orb that Holy Roman Emperors held on state occasions was regarded as a symbol of their claim to authority over the entire earth" (Ramsay 22-24; 27-28).

301). In his travelogue, Forrest does not mention what instruments are used, but there are two moments when he misses this routine. Leaving Cagayan Sooloo, on November 14th, 1774, at 4 P. M. "there being little wind, we rowed with all our oars, which were eighteen; and, at three in the morning we had some severe squalls, followed by heavy rain. Our course to day was E. by N. It being cloudy, we had no observation" (Forrest 1969, 17). Afterwards, on Sunday 9th April, 1775, leaving Kanary Island, he "sailed at ten. Wind S. W. steered N. W. resolving to go round Morty. Having a severe head-ake, I could not observe. We found the current set to the northward. About sunset we passed between the islands of Bo and Popo" (Forrest 1969, 154).

The terms *latitude* and *longitude*, which mean respectively breadth and length, derived from the ancient Greek notion that the habitable part of the Earth is broader in the east-west direction than it is in the north-south direction. The *latitude* of a place is its angular distance north or south of the equator. It is equivalent to an arc of the meridian between the equator and the parallel of latitude through the place. All places which have the same latitude lie on a small circle which is parallel to the plane of the equator. These circles are known as *parallels of latitude*. It appears that Hipparchus (c. 190 BC – c. 120 BC), a Greek astrologer, astronomer, geographer, and mathematician of the Hellenistic period, was the first to suggest that parallels of latitude on world maps should be projected at regular intervals. The Earth's surface was divided by ancient geographers into twenty-four climatic zones in each of the northern and southern hemispheres (Cotter 123-124; 127-129).

Early modern instruments used to measure the latitude included the quadrant which came into widespread use around 1450. It was a popular instrument with the Portuguese exploring southward along the coast of Africa. Columbus used one on his first voyage to the New World, as did Ferdinand Magellan when he found his way along the east coast of South America. The mariner's quadrant was derived from the astrologer's quadrant, and its use at sea can be traced back at least as far as the thirteenth century. Another celestial navigation instrument was the astrolabe. The earliest suggestion of the use of an astrolabe at sea comes from Majorcan pilots at the end of the thirteenth century. Almost one-third of all the known mariner's astrolabes were made in Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The popularity of these instruments spread to Spain, the Netherlands, and England through the last half of the sixteenth century. The English master instrument makers John Dollond and Edward Nairne each produced astrolabes as late as the third quarter of the eighteenth century, but astrolabes were no longer popular with the English or the Dutch after about 1700. The next step in the evolution of celestial navigation instruments was the development of the cross-staff, which was followed by Davis quadrant, named after Captain John Davis, who invented it during his voyage in search of the Northwest Passage; it was described in his *Seaman's Secrets* (1595). In 1666, Robert Hooke conceived a new instrument, to be later called an octant, which could achieve the same result of a quadrant by reflecting the image of the celestial body into the line of sight with a mirror while simultaneously viewing the horizon directly. This way the navigator did not have to look at two places at once. However, there is no record that it was ever tested at sea. The credit of invention, however, rested with John

Hadley (1682-1744), an English mathematician. The octant is the precursor to the sextant, a doubly reflecting instrument, designed by Sir Isaac Newton. The idea was presented to the Royal Society in 1699, but was forgotten or simply ignored. In 1731, the idea reappeared when Hadley presented a paper describing two models of a doubly reflecting instrument (Ifland 5-7; 12-13; 15).

On the other hand, the *longitude* of a place is a measure of the angle contained between the plane of the meridian of the place and that of a standard meridian from which longitudes are measured east or west. The reference meridian commonly used is that of Greenwich, so that the meridian and its antipodal meridian divide the Earth into the eastern and western hemispheres in much the same way as the equator divides the Earth into the northern and southern hemispheres.

There are two principal methods by which the longitude of a terrestrial position, east or west of a given meridian, may be found. One is an astronomical method; the other is mechanical. The astronomical method of finding longitude involves the use of a predicted time of an astronomical event, such as an eclipse or occultation, the predicted time being given for a particular datum meridian. If the local time of the event may be found, the longitude of the place east or west of the reference meridian may also be found by comparing the local and predicted times. One of the remarkable observations was that made by astronomer Edmund Halley (1656-1742) in 1719. Based on the observation of an eclipse made at sea, he concluded that the Cape of Good Hope lies 11° east of London. The mechanical method of finding longitude involves the use of a timepiece. If the rate of gaining or losing is known, and if the error of the timepiece on the time at some datum or prime meridian is also known, the correct standard time may be found. This, compared with the local time of any given moment, will give a measure of the local longitude east or west of the standard meridian (Cotter 180-181).

In order to prevent further maritime disasters attributable to errors in finding position at sea, the British Parliament passed in 1714 "an Act 'For providing a Publick Reward for such Person or Persons as shall discover the Longitude at Sea'." The Board of Longitude was established, and the maximum prize of £20,000 would be granted to the first person to demonstrate a practical method for determining the longitude of a ship at sea. The solution came in the form of the marine clock or chronometer crafted by John Harrison, an English clockmaker from Yorkshire who settled down in London. In 1729, he attempted a marine clock. After six years, his first chronometer was completed in 1735, and in 1736 it was tested on a voyage to Lisbon and back when the ship's captain commended its usefulness. In the following year the Board of Longitude granted Harrison an amount of money towards further research, and he completed two more clocks in 1739 and 1741. In 1761, a watch-type timepiece, Chronometer No. 4, was first tested on a voyage to the West Indies and back, conveying a Governor to Jamaica. The second trial took place in 1764, taking the chronometer to Barbados and back. Afterwards, the Board of Longitude commissioned another clock-maker, Larkum Kendall, to make a facsimile of Harrison's fourth chronometer. This model was carried by Captain Cook on board the *Resolution* in 1772, and proved immensely valuable (Taylor 253; 259-262).

In *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, Forrest does not mention any use of chronometer during the mission. Nevertheless, there is a record of his purchase of chronometer for a later voyage from Bengal to Quedah in 1783. According to the Court Minutes, on June 23rd, 1780, the Committee of Shipping resolved to appoint Captain Thomas Forrest the command of the *Lively Brig*.[51] Afterwards, on August 16th, 1780, Forrest's letter was read, in which he recommended "that one of Arnold's Timekeepers for determining the Longitude may be put on board."[52] This request was discharged from the Committee of Shipping to the Secretary, and "the Purchase of a Time Piece for the said Vessel" was approved, on September 26th, 1780, and charged in Forrest's "Account of Disbursements"

4.8.1 Armchair geographers and "collections of voyages"

Despite establishing the latitude and longitude, Forrest still needs to consult previously drawn maps or charts he brings along so as to identify islands and to verify the previously obtained information. For instance, on Sunday 20th November 1774, he passes

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[51] *Brig* or *brigantine* refers to a merchant-ship with two masts. Among English seamen, this kind of vessel is distinguished by a main-sail set nearly in the plane of the keel. The "foremost edge of the main-sail is fastened in different places to hoops which encircle the main-mast, and slide up and down it as the sail is hoisted or lowered" (Falconer n. pag.).

[52] John Arnold (1736-1799), the clockmaker who competed with Thomas Earnshaw 1749-1829) to improve and simplify marine chronometers after John Harrison's pioneering work of making a mechanical timekeeper in 1759. Both "claimed to have invented the new spring-detent escapement in the 1780s. In the end, it was Earnshaw's design that became standard issue. Arnold's chronometer was used on George Vancouver's 1791 voyage with the Discovery and the Chatham. As well as finding longitude, it was used to survey the Pacific coastline of North America. In 1831, Earnshaw's chronometer was issued to the Beagle for Charles Darwin and Captain Robert Fitzroy's momentous voyage of discovery to the South Pacific" (*Timekeeping at Sea, 1714-1960s*).

Duobold Island, and next to it, “in an east direction, is an island with a large hummoc or hillock upon it; it is called Tantaran in Mr. Dalrymple’s map” (Forrest 1969, 21).

Notwithstanding the previously mentioned techniques of locating and identifying islands, there was always a possibility of misidentifying or misrecognizing islands in the age of exploration and discovery. Although oceanic expeditions undeniably led to major discoveries, “discovery is not an instantaneous result of physical encounters so much as a series of adjustments between preconceptions and direct experience that does not match them.” Knowledge obtained in previous encounters partly constitutes a foundation for the outcome of later encounters, and leads to a “discovery.” The discovery of Australia, for instance, was begun when Dutch voyagers heading for Java stumbled onto the west coast and when Tasman reached Tasmania in the early seventeenth century. It continued when Cook followed the east coast from Botany Bay to the Torres Strait in the late eighteenth century. The geographical concepts that would connect such observations were lacking, leading many to argue that there was no genuine discovery until the idea of another new continent began to form (Foulke 68). In a similar vein, by summarizing a series of relevant European accounts, Forrest hopes to contribute to a centuries-long process of the discovery of New Guinea. In doing so, he complies with the instructions he receives from the Chief and Council of Balambangan commanding him to record all the details so that “your voyage may have a very good effect towards the improvement of navigation. You must therefore be as accurate as possible, in laying down all shoals, &c. as well as explicit in your remarks and observations. Charts and drawings thereof must be taken, minutely marking every thing that may conduce to the above purpose” (Forrest 1969, 5-

6). This probably explains why, on January 25th, 1775, he hastens to correct himself when he realizes that what he mistakes to be Schouten's island is in fact part of the main land of New Guinea (Forrest 1969, 92-93).

In the introduction of *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas*, Forrest lists European discoveries regarding New Guinea and the surrounding islands/lands in a chronological order. He first mentions Antonio Ambieu, and Francis Serrano, the Portuguese who made the first discovery of Tanna Papua in 1511. Later in 1527, Alvaro de Saavedra[53] discovered the island and named it "New Guinea" as it was "opposite on the globe to Guinea in Africa." In 1528, it was seen by Antonio Urdanetta[54] (Forrest 1969, v). In 1543, Ruy Lopez de Lobos[55] sent a ship commanded by Ortes de Rotha from Tidore to New Spain. The ship's captain sailed to the coast of "Os Papuas," but did not realize that Saavedra had been there before him. He called it New Guinea, "from the frizled locks of the inhabitants: for the memory of Saavedra's voyage was almost lost" (Forrest 1969, v-vi).

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[53] Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón (late 1400 – 1529) was one of the European explorers in the Pacific Ocean. In October 1527, he and Hernán Cortés sailed from New Spain in three ships, crossed the South Sea, sailed the northern coast of New Guinea, which was named *Isla del Oro*.

[54] Andrés de Urdaneta (1508-1568) was a Spanish explorer who accompanied Garcia Jofre de Loaysa on the second sailing expedition around the world when he was 17 years old. On this 1525 trip, only one ship of the original seven survived. Urdaneta found a sailing route from the Phillipines to Mexico in 1565. This route was extensively used by the Manila galleons until 1821, when the Spanish rule in Mexico ended.

[55] Ruy López de Villalobos (1500 –1546) was a Spanish explorer who sailed the Pacific from Mexico to establish a permanent foothold for Spain in the East Indies, which was near the Line of Demarcation between Spain and Portugal according to the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529. Villalobos gave the Philippines their name, after calling them *Islas Filipinas* in honor of his king Philip II of Spain.

In 1616, Schouten and le Maire[56] came to the coast of New Guinea, and sent their boat for sound. She was attacked by the local inhabitants who threw stones and darts at the boat. They were obliged to retreat, but after having "killed ten of the assailants, took three more, and four canoes." They destroyed the canoes, and "ransomed two of the three prisoners for a hog and a bunch of plantains. Next day, they got another hog for some nails and trinkets. On the 28th, a handsome large canoe came on board, with twenty-one persons, who admired the ship much, and brought betel nut and lime. These called themselves Papuas, and did not offer to exchange the third prisoner: upon which they put him ashore" (Forrest 1969, viii). In 1642, after sailing round New Holland, and so discovering it to be an island, Abel Tasman,[57] "returned by New Britain and New Guinea. He then passed a burning mountain, in the latitude of 5˚ 04' S. and afterwards got refreshments from the island Jama, which lies a little to the east of Moa" (Forrest 1969, ix). In 1699, Captain Dampier, in the *Roebuck*, "touched no where on the coast of New Guinea, but sailed near several islands close by New Britain, Wishart's island, Matthias, and Squally Island; also Slinger's Islands, whence he was insulted with vollies of stone" (Forrest 1969, x).

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[56] Willem Cornelisz Schouten (c. 1567 – 1625) and Jacob Le Maire (c. 1585- 1616) were Dutch explorers whose 1615-16 expedition discovered a new route, the Drake Passage, around the southern tip of South America, connecting the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. The Drake Passage was longer but much simpler than the established passage through the Strait of Magellan. Schouten gave the southernmost tip of America the name Cape Horn (Dutch: Kaap Hoorn). He followed the north coasts of New Ireland and New Guinea and visited adjacent islands, including what became known as the Schouten Islands (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica* 10: 537).

[57] Abel Janszoon Tasman (1603 –1659) was the Dutch explorer who discovered Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land), New Zealand, Tonga, and the Fiji Islands. On his first voyage (1642-43) in the service of the Dutch East India Company, Tasman explored the Indian Ocean, Australasia, and the southern Pacific; on his second voyage (1644) he traveled in Australia and the South Pacific (*The New Encyclopædia Britannica* 11: 570).

In 1722, "Commodore Roggewein"[58] coasted the north part of New Guinea and touched at the islands Moa and Arimo, where he dealt with 200 canoes of provisions. "He then passed by what he clusters in the name of the Thousand Islands; where, he says, the inhabitants had their heads covered with think curled wool, and were called Papuas. Some of them had a bit of stick piercing the gristle of the nose, as I remarked in a slave who was brought to Dory, to be sold" (Forrest 1969, xi). In 1770, Captain Cook sailed to the south of New Guinea, through the Endeavour strait, "where, by his account, the land is low. He had no friendly intercourse with the inhabitants" (Forrest 1969, xii). Lastly, Forrest refers to Monsieur Sonnerat,[59] who, "in his *Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée*, lately published, went no further east than the island Gibby, near Patany Hook, on Gilolo" (Forrest 1969, xii).

Noticeably, instead of giving quotations from actual accounts of voyages carried out by explorers and navigators, Forrest mainly relies on several "collections of voyages" compiled by geographers in affirming the existence and location of New Guinea. “De Bry, fol. 34” (Forrest 1969, v), for instance, refers to Theodorus de Bry (1528–1598), an engraver and editor who traveled around Europe, starting from the city of Liège to Strasbourg, Antwerp, London, and Frankfurt, where he settled. De Bry created a large number of engraved illustrations for his books. Most of his books were based on first-hand observations by explorers, even though De Bry himself, acting as a recorder of information, never visited the Americas.

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[58] Jacob Roggeveen (1659 - 1729) was a Dutch explorer who was sent to find Terra Australis, but he instead came across Easter Island by chance. His Journal was published in Dutch by the Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen under the title *Daagverhaal der ontdekkings-reis van Mr. Jacob Roggeveen in de jaren 1721 en 1722* (Middelburge, 1838), and again by the Linschoten-Vereeniging in a volume entitled *De reis van Mr. Jacob Roggveen*, edited by F. F. Mulert (The Hague, 1911), with reproductions of relevant archives (Sharp 13-14).

[59] Pierre Sonnerat (1748 –1814) was a French naturalist and explorer. Sonnerat was the nephew of the botanist Pierre Poivre. He made several voyages to Southeast Asia, visiting the Philippines and Moluccas between 1769 and 1772, and India and China from 1774 to 1781. His books included *Voyage à la Nouvelle-Guinée* (1776) and *Voyage aux Indes orientales et à la Chine, fait depuis 1774 jusqu'à 1781* (1782).

In the meantime, Forrest also resorts to *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien, 1579-1592* (Travel account of the voyage of the sailor Jan Huyghen van Linschoten to the Portuguese East India) (1596). An English edition of the *Itinerario* was published in London in 1598, entitled *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten his Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies*. Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611) was a Dutch traveler and historian. He is credited with copying classified Portuguese nautical maps thus enabling the passage to the East Indies to be opened to the English and the Dutch. This allowed the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company to break the sixteenth-century monopoly enjoyed by the Portuguese on trade with the East Indies (See Tiele for details).

Two often cited English compilers are Richard Hakluyt (c. 1552 or 1553 –1616) and John Harris. Hakluyt is principally remembered for his efforts in promoting and supporting the settlement of North America by the English through his works, including *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582) and *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoueries of the English Nation* (1599[-1600]).

Harris is known for his *Navigantium Atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca, Or, A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1705).

However, the most highly regarded is Alexander Dalrymple, "to whose researches and surveys navigation is deeply indebted, by collating Dampier's map of New Guinea, with what sketches are found in Herrera, and in the collection of voyages by de Bry, has evinced, that Dampier's New Britain and Solomon's islands are the same (Forrest 1969, vi-vii). Dalrymple's *Historical Collections of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean* (1770-1771) comprises two volumes. The first one covers the Spanish discoveries whereas the second one relates the Dutch expeditions.

Additionally, Forrest mentions some French collections, such as "*Histoire des voyages*, par l'Abbe Prévot, tome 42 de l'edit. in-douze" (Forrest v) and *Histoire des navigations aux terres Australes* (1756). The former refers to *Histoire générale des voyages*, which was started by Antoine François Prévost (1697-1763), usually known simply as the Abbé Prévost, a French author and novelist. It would be continued by other writers and would comprise 15 volumes and take more than a decade to finish (1746-1759). In the meantime, *Histoire des navigations aux terres Australes* (1756) was written by Charles de Brosses (1709 –1777), who authored numerous academic papers on topics concerning ancient history, philology and linguistics. *Histoire des navigations aux terres Australes* offers a complete digest of all known voyages to the Southern seas. It proved extremely useful to James Cook with respect to the discovery of Australia in 1770.

While the use of secondary sources rather than primary sources underscores Forrest's editorial process, these compendia were viewed with skepticism by James Cook.

In the September 7th, 1770 entry of his journals during the first voyage in 1768-71, Cook is steering between New Holland (Australia) and New Guinea, which, "according to the Chart is laid down about 20 or 25 Leagues from the coast of New Holland; but we saw nothing, by which I conclude that it is wrong laid down." This does not seem to surprise him, but leads to his criticism of the widely available collections of voyage accounts. The inaccuracy of the charts should not be blamed, but:

> the Compilers and Publishers, who publish to the world the rude Sketches of the Navigator as Accurate surveys, without telling what authority they have for so doing; for were they to do this we should then be as good or better judge than they, and know where to depend upon the Charts, and where not. Neither can I clear Seamen of this fault; among the few I have known who are Capable of drawing a Chart or Sketch of a Sea Coast I have generally, nay, almost always, observed them run into this error. I have known them lay down the line of a Coast they have never seen, and put down Soundings where they never have sounded; and, after all, are so fond of their performances as to pass the whole off as Sterling under the Title of a Survey Plan, etc. (Cook 1968, 336-337)

Cook's critical approach towards the collections of voyages is directed to everyone involved in their production, i.e., the compilers and the navigators. It highlights his empirical method as the foundation of geography. According to him, a good voyage account, including sea charts, is based on what is actually seen by seamen not by what is conjectured. This attitude towards geography and cartography is emphasized by Bougainville in his *Voyage autour du monde* (1771, 183-4). In March 1768 Bougainville, sailing along the latitude of the Tuamotu Archipelago, became convinced that Quiros's continent did not exist.[60] Although numerous islands seemed to suggest the existence of a

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[60] Pedro Fernandes de Quiros (1565-1614) was a Portuguese navigator best known for his involvement with the Spanish voyages of discovery in the Pacific Ocean. In 1595, he

continent, yet he added, “la Géographie est une science de faits; on n’y peut rien donner dans son cabinet à l’esprit de systême, sans risquer les plus grandes erreurs qui souvent ensuite ne se corrigent qu’aux dépens des navigateurs” (cited in Wallis, “Editorial” 54).[61]

In view of Forrest’s travel account, Dalrymple’s erroneous speculation is repeated in the introduction to *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas* (Forrest vii). He conjectures that Solomon Islands discovered by Mendaña and Quiros in 1595 are the same as New Britain discovered by Dampier (Dalrymple 46). In this case, previously obtained information that found its way into compendiums of knowledge can still be challenged.

4.8.2 Seeing is knowing: the myth of discovery

While Cook and Bougainville point out that expeditions which relied on information obtained during prior voyages and later published in travel accounts could not rule out the possibility of cartographical blunders and navigational mishaps, one

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joined Alvaro Mendaña de Neyra (1542-1595) in the voyage in search of Terra Australis. They discovered a group of islands that would later be named the Solomon Islands.

[61] Urs Bitterli provides an English translation in *Cultures in Conflict* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1989), 159-160:

> I agree that it is difficult to imagine such a large number of low-lying islands and half-submerged pieces of land without assuming the existence of a nearby continent. But geography is a science of facts; if one yields to the systematizing impulse while sitting in one’s study, one risks falling into the greatest errors, which sometimes can be corrected at the cost of sailors’ lives. (cited in Mackay 1999, 101)

might argue that explorers should have depended on their own sight. Nevertheless, the ability to see is questionable as demonstrated in Forrest's sighting of Schouten's Island. On January 25th, 1775, he writes:

> At three in the afternoon we could discern the Cape of Good Hope to the westward, bearing W. by N. half N and a certain bluff land to the eastward […] Immediately after, I saw land of middling height appear like an island, bearing E. by S. I concluded this was Schouten's island. Tuan Hadjee asserting that it was, and that to gain Dory harbor, we must steer round the forementioned Bluff Land, but, *luckily, before night, I perceived the land I took to be Schouten's island, to be part of the main land of New Guinea; that the Bluff Head already mentioned was a hill resembling a bee-hive, and it joined to the land I have eroneously called Schouten's island*, by a low neck covered with tree of equal height, excepting one clump in the middle of the neck, which is higher than the rest. (Forrest 1969, 92-93; emphasis added)

Forrest's mistake is understandable once a similar error committed by William Dampier during his first circumnavigation is taken into consideration. In 1686, the privateer *Cygnet*, carrying Captain Charles Swan and him, reached Luconia, part of the Philippines. Dampier's account relates that:

> There are about 12 or 14 more large Islands lying to the Southward of *Luconia*; most of which, as I said before, are inhabited by the *Spaniards* […] The Island *St. John* and *Mindanao* are the Southermost of all these Islands, and are the only Islands in all this Range that are not subject to the *Spaniards*.
>
> *St. Johns* Island is on the East side of the *Mindanao*, and distant from it 2 or 4 leagues. It is in lat. about 7 or 8 North. This Island is in length about 38 leagues, stretching N.N.W. and S.S.E. and it is in breadth about 24 leagues, in the middle of the Island. (Dampier 308-309)

As a matter of fact, Dampier's mistake arose from a "persistent cartographical error." Since 1574, St. John's (or San Juan) had been marked as a large island off the east coast of Mindanao. The origin of this error lay in Espinosa's displacement of the islands of San Juan (also called San Antonio) during his 1522 voyage in the *Trinidad*.

Consequently, Friar Santistéban of Villalobos's expedition, 1542, wrote of Mindanao, San Juan and San Antonio as if they were adjacent islands, and described how he sailed between them. It may seem strange that this non-existent "San Juan" should survive the observations of many navigators; nevertheless, its survival arose from "the common mistake of seeing peninsulas as islands, and bays as straits. Almost from the beginning the irregular shape of Mindanao had caused confusion among navigators and cartographers" (Wallis, "Editor's Note A" 361-362).

Dampier's error of "seeing" Mindanao as two, instead of one, islands was partly responsible for Philip Carteret's mistake during his voyage on the *Swallow*, which had earlier separated from the *Dolphin* of Captain Samuel Wallis in 1767. "Crossing Davao Gulf to the southern point of Mindanao, Tinaca Point, Carteret anchored on 2 November 1767 in a small cove, 'Deceitful Bay' (Balangonan Cove), to the east of the point […] As he left Mindanao, he warned future navigators about the inaccuracies in Dampier's description. The fault might lie, he suggested, in printer's errors" (Wallis, "Editorial" 74).

In addition to the disadvantage of horizontal viewing from the ship, cartographical blunders could also be ascribed to the geographical myths that maintained a tenacious grip on the imagination of European explorers. One standing out among them is *Terra Australis*, which dated back to Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia*, published in the second century A.D. In the reprints of it in 1477 and thereafter appeared "a map showing land, running between east Africa and a southward extension of south-east Asia, inscribed *Terra incognita* (unknown Land). After the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope and traversed the Indian Ocean, a southern continent further to the south appeared in numbers of maps. Thus in a map by Oronce Finé dated 1531, it was drawn with the name *Terra Australis* (Southern Land)" (Sharp 7-8). This myth, compounded with the belief that "a continent lay to the south whenever they were in the lee of a coral archipelago which stopped the swell" (Wallis, "Editorial" 56 n.1), resulted in a series of futile searches for the Southern Continent.

Subsequently, in the southwest Pacific lay "Australia del Espiritu Santo" ("the southern land of the Holy Spirit"), said to have been discovered for the Spaniards by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros in 1606. Some cartographers (for example Bellin) identified it with the unknown east coast of New Holland (Australia); others (like Green, 1753) drew it more non-committally as a stretch of coastline about 10° west of and 15° north of New Zealand" (Wallis, "Editorial" 6). In *A New Voyage Round the World*, Dampier owns that " 'tis owing to the neglect of this easy way that all that vast Tract of *Terra Australis* which bounds the South Sea is yet undiscovered: those that cross that Sea seeming to design some business on the *Peruvian* or *Mexican* Coast, and so leaving that at a distance" (Dampier 352). Belief in the continent in the 1750s and 1760s remained unshaken until Cook sailed around New Zealand in 1770 and ruled out its existence.

Interestingly, the knowledge about an island is based on observations that involve the acts of seeing, measuring and circumnavigating. They underscore attempts to fixate it visually and discursively, connecting an object to the eye and to the discourse. The observer is to be satisfied with seeing things systematically in the Linnaean fashion or by four variables, i.e., the form of the elements, the quantity of those elements, the manner in which they are distributed in space in relation to each other, and the relative magnitude of each element. While number and magnitude can be expressed in quantitative terms, forms and arrangements have to be described "either by identification with geometrical figures, or by analogies that must all be 'of the utmost clarity'." As a result, in natural history, the sense of sight takes precedence over the other senses, becoming the sense by which proof is established and analysis conducted. Unmistakably, "the blind man in the eighteenth century can perfectly well be a geometrician, but he cannot be a naturalist" (Foucault 1994, 131-135).

4.8.3 Rediscovery as reaffirmation

As seeing was problematized by the persistence of cartographical, geographical and navigational myths and errors, could the seafarer possibly depend on multiple sightings of the same land or island to reaffirm or deny its existence and location? The discovery and rediscoveries might be the answer to the explorer's dilemma. One case in point resides in "David's Land." Belief in its existence had never been strong, but "it had nagged away in the mind of geographers, linked as it was to the elusive Southern Continent" (Dunmore 51).

It all started with the reputed Pacific discovery made by Edward Davis, an English buccaneer who commanded the ship *Batchelor's Delight* in 1687. He was accompanied by Lionel Wafer, a Welsh who sailed in the capacity of surgeon's mate. Two accounts of Davis's discovery are extant. *New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America . . . with remarkable occurrences in the South Sea and elsewhere* was written by Wafer; the other by Dampier, who had sailed with Davis previously, received a verbal account of the discovery from Davis, and recorded it in *A New Voyage Round the World* (1698) (Sharp 6).

As Davis himself does not seem to have left any written record behind, Wafer's is in rather more detail, and has the greater merit of being an eye-witness's account. After parting company with Captain Swan in the *Cygnet*, with whom went Dampier to the East Indies, in 1685, Wafer and Davis sailed southward and arrived at the island of Juan Fernandez. Having waited until daybreak, the sailors landed upon the shore. The morning was clear, neither foggy nor hazy. Then:

> To the Westward, about 12 Leagues by Judgment, we saw a range of high Land, which we took to be Islands, for there were several Partitions in the Prospect. This land seemed to reach about fourteen or sixteen Leagues in a Range, and there came thence great Flocks of Fowls. I, and many more of our Men, would have made this Land, and have gone ashore on it; but the Captain would not permit us. The small Island bears from *Capayapo* almost due East five hundred Leagues; and from the Gallapago's, under the Line, six hundred Leagues. (cited in Corney xx-xxi)

According to Dampier, Davis said that, after parting at Ria Lexa, he went, "after several Traverses to the *Gallapagoes*, and that standing thence Southward for Wind, to bring him about *Terra del Fuego*, in the Lat. of 27 South, about 500 leagues from *Copayapo*, on the Coast of *Chili*, he saw a small sandy Island just by him; and that they saw to the Westward of it a long tract of pretty high Land, tending away toward the North West out of sight. This might probably be the Coast of *Terra Australis Incognita*" (Dampier 352).

Later in 1721, Jacob Roggeveen made a proposal to the Dutch West India Company for a voyage to the still unknown part of the Pacific Ocean within the boundaries defined in the Company's charter. Even though the Company's formal instructions to Roggeveen as Commander are not extant, statements in his Journal make it clear that "his main tasks were to search in the South Sea for 'Davis's Land', reputedly in latitude 27 ½˚ S., about 600 German miles west from Copiapo in Chile, and further west for the land which Willem Schouten in 1616 had surmised lay to the south of an area of smooth water in about latitude 15˚ S." (Sharp 5).

In April 1722, estimating the ship's location at the southern latitude of "27 degrees 4 minutes, and the longitude 266 degrees 31 minutes," Roggeveen and his crew approached a land to a small distance off. However,

> [W]e saw clearly that *the description of the sandy and low island* (both by Capn. William Dampier, following the account and testimony of Capn. Davis, and by the diarist Lionel Wafer, whose journal of this and other discoveries the said Dampier by printing has made world-renowned, and included as a distinguished adornment in his own book, comprising all his land and sea journeys) *was not in the least similar to our observation*, further, that it likewise could not be that land that the said discoverers testify had been seen 14 to 16 miles from them, and stretched beyond their sight, being a succession of high land, and concerning which the said Dampier judges and deems it to be the point of the unknown Southland. (Roggeveen 92; emphasis added)

Having made a comparison between the descriptions provided by Wafer and Dampier and what appeared in front of them, the captain and his crew came to a conclusion that this was not David's Land. They later named it the Paasch Island, because it was discovered on Easter Day (Roggeveen 89).

Philip Carteret, in 1767, made an attempt to find David's Land by sailing towards Juan Fernandez before veering west to pass south of Easter Island. At the same time Wallis was sailing some twenty degrees further west and then veering westward to pass north of Easter Island. Having "cut off a mighty slice of the south-east Pacific," they sighted no continent or land of any kind. A few many months later, Bougainville "traversed the same area in search of the fabled land and saw nothing." Next came the voyage of Jean de Surville and Guillaume Labé on the *St Jean-Baptiste* in 1769-1770. Heading from India towards the Pacific Ocean, Surville was given a series of instructions which included forestalling the English in the search for David's Land. Having eventually realized that they could waste no more time looking for it, Surville made for South America. Tragically, on April 4th, 1770, he drowned off Chilca, a small town of the South American coast. Labé took over the command of the ship and sailed to Callao (Dunmore 34-35; 44-45).

The arrival of the *St Jean-Baptiste* in Callao sparked off a further expedition in search of the elusive island. The Spanish should have been satisfied with the French reports on their futile search since the *St Jean-Baptiste* had sailed much further south than Carteret, Wallis or Bougainville; "they had crossed in latitudes east of New Zealand where no one at the time, not even Cook, had ever penetrated, and thus eliminated the possibility of a continental Davis Land from vast tracts of uncharted ocean. It seemed pointless to spend more time and money on further investigations" (Dunmore 51-52).

Nevertheless, the Viceroy of Peru launched another expedition with "the purpose of annexing a portion of land in the Eastern Pacific Ocean believed to lie about six hundred leagues west from the coast of Chile, in the latitude of Copiapo." It comprised two vessels, the *San Lorenzo*, under the command of Don Felipe Gonzalez, and the *Santa Rosalia*, in charge of Don Antonio Domonte (Corney xv). On November 15th, 1770, Gonzalez saw an island which he named “San Carlos, vulgarly called David’s” (Gonzalez 38-39). On November 20th, 1770, a ceremony was performed for the official possession of the island. The native inhabitants “have acknowledged with many demonstrations of pleasure and rejoicing. And in testimony of so happy a success three crosses have, by their consent, been erected on the hill which is at the N. E. extremity of the island; and the name of *S*^{n} *Carlos* has been bestowed upon the said island, in the presence of the native inhabitants assembled to the number of 800, and of all the officers, crew, and ship’s company” (Gonzalez 49).

Although the island was renamed San Carlos, Gonzalez, on Wednesday the 21st November 1770, started “heading W., with a light breeze at E. S. E., in order to place myself in 260˚ 20’, which is the longitude in which the Dutch chart lays down another island with the same name of David, in order to be assured as to whether there are two, or one only” (Gonzalez 39-40). No other land was found and the ship returned to Peru. Nonetheless, Gonzalez’s statement underscores the hauntingly ambiguous location of “David’s Land.”

After his return by March 28th, 1771, Labé was shown the charts and reports of the *San Lorenzo*, and was told David’s Land had been rediscovered. But he “rejected all suggestions that it could be anything but Easter Island.” After Roggeveen’s account of Easter Island was compared with Gonzalez’s, it was concluded that “the so-called San Carlos Island of Gonzalez was not the mysterious Davis Land but Easter Island.” Finally, thanks to a series of discovery and rediscoveries, the myth of David's Land died out (Dunmore 52-53).[62]

The elusiveness of David's Land lay in its location in the Pacific Ocean, where islands are scattered over the vast watery expanse. However, the difficulty in physically and discursively circumscribing the island of New Guinea arose from its approximation to New Holland (Australia). Despite several sightings by European explorers, it remained uncertain whether they were two separate lands or they formed one continuous piece of land because New Guinea had been approached from various directions. However, Cook was able to clear up the matter. He gave credit to the Spanish and Dutch maps which he found "tolerable good." Finally, he was able to "put this wholy out of dispute" even though he claimed "no other Merit than the Clearing up of a doubtful point" (Cook 1968, 335). He sailed through a strait later named after his ship the *Endeavour*. On August 28th, 1770, the ship "steer'd North in order to make the land of New Guinea; from the time of our making sail until noon the depth of Water gradually decreased from 17 to 12 fathoms, a stony and shelly bottom. We were now by Observation in the Latitude of 8° 52' S., which is in the same Parallel as the Southern parts of New Guinea as it is laid down in the Charts" (Cook 1968, 329).

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[62] Subsequent discoveries and an improved knowledge of ocean currents have revealed that the "small, low sandy island" seen by Wafer was probably "the atoll "discovered" in 1797 by Capt. Wilson of the ship *Duff*, in lat. 23° 20' S. long. 134° 28' W., and named by him Crescent Island." The "range of high land" seen to the westward would be "the peaks of the Gambier Group, corresponding very closely to the bearing and distance quoted in the description. Crescent Island is only 3 ½ miles long, and nowhere elevated more than 25 feet above the sea level" (Corney xxi n.1).

Forrest may not have been the first European to have sighted New Guinea, but the publication of his account arguably reaffirmed the existence and location of the island. The first discovery by Antonio Ambieu and Francis Serrano in 1511 merely began the formation of Tanna Papua in the European imagination. The inchoate concept of this land would gradually be shaped and reshaped by subsequent rediscoveries. Information regarding latitudes and longitudes would be adjusted as well as corrected. Ethnographical surveys of the inhabitants would be carried out. Goods would change hands. New languages and habits would be picked up. And eventually, New Guinea may no longer be inhabited by cannibals. What remarkably differentiated Forrest's voyage from previous ones was the accompaniment of an interpreter and non-Europeans. Up until then, no European had had "friendly intercourse" with the Papuans. Both Dampier and Cook experienced hostile reception before and upon landing (Forrest 1969, xii; x).

Despite the hospitable receptions in Batchian, New Guinea and Mindanao, Forrest could not afford to stay indefinitely at any particular place as he was required to accomplish the Company's mission by searching for sources of cloves and nutmegs outside the Dutch control or on uninhabited islands, and for possible future sites of English settlements further in the east. Eventually, he returned to Fort Marlborough, the English settlement on Sumatra, where he parted with the Tartar Galley. But was he happy to be reunited with his family in Bencoolen? Once, he taught the wife of Rajah Moodo to sing a Malay song he learned at Fort Marlborough, supposedly composed by a late governor. The song conveyed the complaint of an impatient lover:

Ambo jugo burra bansi bansi,
      Dudu debowa batang,
Ambo jugo, ma nanti, nanti,
      Manapo tidado datang.

I play on a pipe, a pipe,
      Repos'd beneath a tree;
I play; but the time's not ripe;
      Why don't you come to me? (Forrest 1969, 297)

While teaching this song, could Forrest possibly be thinking of his wife who was eagerly awaiting his return? The answer may have been positive; yet, they had to resign to the fact that Forrest would perpetually be on a mission. Subsequently, his plan to survey the area from the Andamans to the Mergui Archipelago would be approved by Governor-General Warren Hastings in June 1783 (Bassett 1969, 20). Afterwards, in 1793, although no longer in the Company's employment, he was allowed to return to India as a "Free Mariner" or independent seafarer living in the Company's settlements (Bassett 1969, 21-22), the arrangement that would keep him occupied in the maritime world of the East Indies.

As the voyage on the Tartar Galley came to an end in 1776, Forrest may have eventually realized that he could not entirely considered it a success. He made a great deal of observations and produced charts and sketches of islands and harbors that would contribute to navigational improvement. He also compiled a remarkable ethnographical report on the island of Mindanao. Nonetheless, the search for spices yielded a disappointing amount of cloves and nutmegs while the quest for an island as a potential site for English settlement failed to bear any fruit. The island of Bunwoot, granted by the

Sultan of Magindano to the English, turned out to be already inhabited; the settlement plan never materialized.

As a seafarer, Forrest would continue to embark on one voyage after another, searching for the tantalizing island that would quench his thirst for insularity. As a reader, I embarked on a textual voyage, navigating Forrest's travel account while looking for a singular textual interpretation that would distinguish this piece of travel writing from others. However, it was a futile search for the island of ultimate meaning. Finally, I had to resign to the fragmentedness and mutability of reading and textual interpretation. By considering *A Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas* as island writing, I implicitly challenged reading as an attempt to constitute and stabilize the meaning(s) of Forrest's narrative text via the three reading directionalities, thus, revealing its various dimensions. The horizontalization of the travel account by means of concatenating events turned the text into segments or strings which intersected with one another and, therefore, generated tension Forrest had to negotiate during the voyage. Subsequently, the vertical reading viewed the text as several layers of texts that interacted with one another, refracting the original intentions of the authors and creating a new meaning within a new context. This reading approach also depicted human relationships and the formation of knowledge in a hierarchical structure, where by echelons of individuals and specimens rested on top of one another along the vertical axis. Additionally, the vertical reading proposed cultural and historical inferences based on the reader's background knowledge. Lastly, the spherical reading configured the text in the shape of a circle or sphere, portraying the narrative as a loop which progressed in a linear fashion but finally circled back to where it started. Furthermore, this reading directionality regarded Forrest's voyage account as a cultural production within the sphere of eighteenth-century English travel writing characterized by distinctive literary conventions and publication practices.

Ironically, these reading approaches did not occur chronologically, but simultaneously. The division of the discussion into three separate chapters is indicative of an attempt to impose order on the arbitrary and unpredictable process of reading. In the meantime, the definition and conceptualization of "island" remains elusive. As a geographical reality, an island cannot be absolutely distinguished from a continent and other geographical landscapes whereas its function as a literary trope can never be fixated, especially when other tropes of oceanic writing – the sea, the shore, the ship, and islanders – are taken into consideration.

Unfortunately, the textual voyage was doomed to failure as the singular meaning of Forrest's travelogue eventually slipped out of my hand. Nevertheless, this narrative text will continue to lure future readers to embark on a new quest for its quintessential meaning as the only way to perpetually enliven itself.

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