

A Regional Guide to Books Published by The Hakluyt Society

THE PACIFIC OCEAN

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Introduction

As late as the middle of the eighteenth century Europe's knowledge of the Pacific basin, covering almost one-third of the earth's surface, was sketchy and incomplete. The situation was transformed when a spectacular surge of seaborne exploration – British, French and Spanish – resulted in the exploration and mapping of previously unknown areas of the great ocean. Left unqualified, this statement would give a misleading impression of the nature of that 'discovery'. Long before Magellan's ships entered the Pacific in 1520 through the strait that still bears his name, the ocean's 25,000 or so islands had been subjected to a steady process of exploration, migration and settlement by the ocean's own inhabitants.

For Europeans Magellan's voyage, the first to be included here, was startling. 'No other single voyage has ever added so much to the dimension of the world', Oskar Spate has written, for the tracks of Magellan's two ships revealed the daunting immensity of the Pacific, where a voyage of almost four months sailing was marked by the sighting of only two specks of uninhabited land. In the decades after Magellan's voyage the 'Spice Islands' (the Moluccas) were assigned to Portugal, while Spanish activity in the north Pacific was centred on the Philippines, where galleons left Manila to follow the longest unbroken trading route in the world on their way to collect silver from Acapulco. In South America Pizarro's conquest of Peru brought under Spanish control a region facing directly out into the south Pacific, and in the second half of the sixteenth century expeditions left Peru to search for new lands in the unexplored reaches of the ocean. In 1567 Alvaro de Mendaña found a group of islands that were to be named the 'Yslas de Salomon', the fabled Solomon Islands. Ten years later an unexpected interloper entered 'The Spanish Lake' in the person of Francis Drake, whose circumnavigation of 1577–80 was a remarkable achievement of seamanship and willpower. He was followed by less successful English predators: Edward Fenton, Thomas Cavendish, and Richard Hawkins. All these voyages have Hakluyt Society volumes except Cavendish's. A final flurry of Spanish oceanic exploration produced numerous casualties among the region's Polynesian inhabitants. In 1595 Mendaña failed to find the islands he had discovered almost thirty years earlier, although he made a first (and bloody) European landing in the Marquesas. On his death he was succeeded by his Portuguese pilot, Pedro de Quirós, who in 1605 commanded another expedition that discovered Espiritu Santo in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu), while his consort vessel negotiated Torres Strait, separating Australia and New Guinea.

The rest of the seventeenth century saw few major voyages of Pacific exploration, and the Hakluyt Society has published only two volumes relating to this period: the Dutch voyages of Joris van Speilbergen and Jacob Le Maire in 1614–17, and near the end of the

¹With help from Andrew David and Alan Frost.

century Lionel Wafer's account of his adventures and misadventures among the buccaneers who operated along the coasts of Chile and Peru.

The situation in 1750 differed little from that of a hundred years earlier. The immensity of the ocean, problems in finding longitude, the threats of scurvy and mutiny, and the constraints of wind and current, posed formidable obstacles to methodical exploration. A few routes had been traced on the maps, but none showed the complex pattern of island groups, or provided evidence of whether the south Pacific contained a huge, fertile continent – 'Terra Australis Incognita'. The ending of the Seven Years War (1756–63), ominously the first European conflict of truly global dimensions, was followed by a series of British, French and Spanish discovery expeditions to the Pacific, motivated by strategic, commercial and scientific considerations. No fewer than thirty Hakluyt Society volumes are devoted to these voyages. Commodore John Byron's circumnavigation of 1764–6 was a disappointment, for he made few discoveries of note. By contrast, on a follow-up expedition, Samuel Wallis discovered Tahiti, while Philip Carteret in the consort vessel crossed the Pacific farther south than any other navigator had done. A year after Wallis's landing French vessels commanded by Louis Antoine de Bougainville also reached Tahiti before sailing west to prove the insular nature of Quirós's Espiritu Santo. Despite these additions to European knowledge, little progress had been made to solve the crucial issue of the existence or otherwise of a southern continent. This, and much else was to be the work of James Cook, whose first voyage charted the outlines of New Zealand, the east coast of Australia, and Torres Strait. Cook's achievement was thrown into sharper relief by the disastrous French voyage of Jean de Surville, whose scurvy-ridden ship passed probably within thirty miles of Cook's *Endeavour* off the coast of New Zealand. On his second voyage Cook became the first seaman to cross the Antarctic Circle before locating and describing a host of previously unknown islands in the south Pacific. Supplementing Cook's journal was that kept by the learned German scientist on the voyage, Johann Reinhold Forster.

Alarmed by reports of British and French activity in the south Pacific the Spanish authorities in Peru attempted to establish control of Tahiti. By 1776 these efforts had petered out, but the reports sent to the Viceroy of Peru provided plentiful information about Tahiti and its Polynesian inhabitants in this early period of European contact. In Mexico Spanish concerns about Russian incursions in the north Pacific led to Bodega's reconnaissance expedition along the northwest coast in 1775, three years before Cook's arrival on the coast. Cook's final voyage was to search for the Northwest Passage (see Hakluyt Regional Guide: The Arctic), and although he failed in this he made the major European discovery of the Hawaiian Islands.

On his three voyages Cook had established the salient features of the Pacific. Much remained to be done, but in the way of defining detail rather than in solving fundamental geographical problems. The first of the new wave of discovery voyages intended to complement and rival those of Cook was that of La Pérouse, but it ended in disaster when the ships were wrecked in the third year of their ambitious voyage. A revival of Spanish interest in the Pacific came with the expedition of Alejandro Malaspina, which except in the north Pacific was a voyage of survey and report on existing colonies rather than a search for new lands. Finally, the voyages of Vancouver and Broughton aimed to follow Cook's track in the north Pacific and to chart those coastal stretches he had been unable to survey in detail. Vancouver's winter stays in Hawai'i also led to an abortive attempt to establish British authority over the islands.

Explorers in the Pacific were followed by traders, whalers and missionaries. Among the early trading ventures was that of Charles Bishop, who visited the Pacific islands and the coasts of Australia and America, while the Welsh missionary John Davies wrote a history of the Tahitian missionary establishment from its founding in 1799 to 1830. In the early decades of the nineteenth century the Royal Navy's exploration efforts were directed towards finding the Northwest Passage, but the journal of Lieutenant Peard on the voyage of HMS *Blossom* to Bering Strait in 1825–8 called at various islands in the Pacific, including Tahiti, Pitcairn Island, and the Hawaiian Islands. Among the new arrivals on the Pacific coast north of Mexico were the Russians, moving south from their Alaskan posts. In 1812 the Russian-American Company established a post at Fort Ross in California which became the hub of Russian California until its abandonment in the 1840s.

Reference and General Works

- Beaglehole, J. C., *The Exploration of the Pacific* (London, 1966).
 Howe, Kerry, *Where the Waves Fall: A new South Sea Islands history* (North Sydney, 1984).
 Howgego, Raymond John, *Encyclopedia of Exploration to 1800* (Potts Point, NSW, 2003).
 Robin Inglis, *Historical Dictionary of the Discovery and Exploration of the Northwest Coast of America* (Lanham, Maryland, Toronto, Plymouth, 2008).
 Max Quanchi and John Robson, *Historical Dictionary of the Discovery and Exploration of the Pacific Islands* (Lanham, Maryland, Toronto, Plymouth, 2005).
 Spate, O. H. K., *The Pacific since Magellan*, Vol. I: *The Spanish Lake* (Canberra, 1979); Vol. II: *Monopolists and Freebooters* (London and Canberra, 1983); Vol. III: *Paradise Found and Lost* (Oxford, 1988).

The guide is arranged chronologically according to the date of the voyage concerned.²

The First Voyage Round the World, by Magellan. Translated, with Notes and an Introduction by Lord Stanley of Alderley, 1st series, 52, 1874.

As Europeans in the early sixteenth century slowly became aware of a great continent across the Atlantic, they also became aware that between the unexpected landmass and Asia lay an ocean, though one of unknown dimensions. The first European expedition to cross that ocean, and to give it a name, was Magellan's (1519–22). His was a discovery to rival Columbus's but unlike his predecessor he did not survive to give his own account of his epic voyage. This volume, though outdated in some ways, was the first to bring together in English the main accounts of the voyage. It includes the first published if second-hand account of the voyage, by Maximilian of Transylvania (in 1525), Antonio Pigafetta's 'graphic and candid diary... bursting with botanical, linguistic and anthropological detail', and several shorter accounts and log-books by pilots, named and unnamed, on the voyage. The substantial editorial Introduction, unusually, makes no attempt to summarise the voyage, but concentrates on the early career of Fernão de Magalhães (English: Ferdinand Magellan), Portuguese-born, with

² All books reviewed in this guide were published by the Hakluyt Society at London unless otherwise stated. Dates shown in brackets are those of the issue year, where these differ from the imprint or publication year.

experience of Portuguese service in the Indian Ocean, and on his complicated negotiations with the Spanish crown before he entered the service of Spain.

In 1519 Magellan was appointed captain-general of a Spanish fleet of five vessels ordered to sail into the South Atlantic, there to search for an entrance somewhere near the tip of South America that would take ships into the South Sea and across to the Spice Islands by a route that lay outside Portuguese control. The name given to the little fleet, 'Armada de Molucca', revealed its main destination. Most of the accounts pay considerable attention to the turbulent events of the first year of the voyage before Magellan reached the Pacific. He faced a serious mutiny during a wintering at Port St Julian in Patagonia, while Pigafetta began the long saga of the Patagonian giants when he described natives 'so big that the head of one of our men of a mean stature came but to his waist'.

Not far south of Port St Julian Magellan found a gap in the desolate coastline in lat. 52°30'S. This was the entrance to the tortuous, 560-kilometre strait that still bears his name. Battling against squalls, desertions and shipwreck, Magellan got through in thirty-seven days to reach the placid waters of an ocean that he (or his chronicler) named the Pacific. Picking up the southeast trade winds, the three remaining vessels followed a slanting route across the ocean. The journal entries for the next fifteen weeks as they sailed across trackless waters are brief, for there was nothing to break the monotony except the pangs of hunger, the onset of scurvy, and two uninhabited islands. As Pigafetta complained, in the end they ate leather straps from the rigging and 'old biscuit reduced to powder, and full of grubs, and stinking from the dirt that the rats had made on it.' Nineteen men died and others were incapacitated before the ships reached Guam in the north Pacific in March 1521 after an oceanic crossing of seven thousand miles. It was an epoch-making achievement, for Magellan had revealed the immensity of the Pacific Ocean and in doing so had shown that Ptolemy and his successors had miscalculated the proportions of the globe, a huge underestimate helpful to Columbus's plans thirty years earlier. Together, the cosmographers' errors had drastically shrunk the earth. In modern terms, Columbus's Japan would be in the position of the Virgin Islands.

There was more to come, including Magellan's death in the Philippines, for the voyage was only half completed, but the Pacific leg was done. The remaining ship, the *Victoria*, reached Seville in September 1522 with a cargo of spices and eighteen survivors. There was one further surprise. As the ships touched at the Cape Verde Islands on the way home, Pigafetta wrote that they were told by the Portuguese inhabitants 'that it was Thursday, which was a great cause of wondering to us, since with us it was only Wednesday.'

Further Reading

Bergreen, Laurence, *Over the Edge of the World: Magellan's Terrifying Circumnavigation of the Globe* (New York, 2003), with a helpful 'Note on Sources'.

The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1568. Edited by Lord Amherst and Basil Thomson, 2nd series, 7 & 8, 1901.

This edition begins with the intriguing sentence: 'The Solomon Islands, the most important and the most remote of the large groups of the Pacific, were the first to be discovered, and the last to be explored.' The Introduction goes on to say that 'there is nothing in the history of maritime discovery so strange as the story of how the Isles of Solomon were discovered, lost, and found again'. These two volumes tell the first part of that story as it describes how the

Spaniards in Peru, influenced by tales of Solomon's golden land of Ophir, of Marco Polo's 'Beach', and of a great southern continent, hoped for discovery on a grand scale in the ocean to the west.

On 19 November 1567 two ships, the *Los Reyes* and the *Todos Santos*, under the general command of Mendaña, left Callao in Peru in search of those lands. This edition contains six accounts of varying length describing the events that followed: that of Hernan Gallego, chief pilot; an account either written by, or written in the interests of, Pedro Sarmiento, captain of the *Todos Santos*; two narratives in Mendaña's name; an anonymous account; and an account by Gomez Catoira, chief purser. The first and last of these accounts are the most important, Gallego's in terms of navigational information, and Catoira's as an overall description of events, including the inland expeditions made on several of the islands. It should be noted that at the time when this edition was being prepared, little more was known of the interior of the islands than in Mendaña's time, and the editors were reliant on the local knowledge of C. M. Woodford, Solomon Islands Deputy High Commissioner, for many of the footnotes.

On 7 February 1568 after a gruelling voyage in which the crews came near to mutiny, the ships reached Santa Ysabel, the largest Pacific island yet sighted by Europeans. It marked the beginning of a six-month stay in what would become known as the Solomon Islands. With the help of an open-decked brigantine built from local timber, Mendaña's men explored the coasts of the neighbouring islands of Guadalcanal, Malaita, San Cristobal and Florida. Relations with the islanders followed a predictable pattern: friendly at first, then deteriorating after mutual misunderstandings, and finally violent. Mendaña did his best to keep relations good, out of self-interest if nothing else, but his subordinates were not so accommodating. Pedro de Sarmiento, in particular, proved a dissenting and disruptive presence. Food soon ran short, tales of gold came to nothing, and in August a council of all members of the expedition rejected Mendaña's proposal that they should sail farther south, and voted to return home. After a harrowing return voyage by way of Baja California the ships reached Callao in September 1569 after an absence of almost two years and the loss of about a third of their crews.

An important part of the story remained. Relying on dead reckoning, Hernan Gallego underestimated the westward drift of the Pacific Ocean Current, and the result was a colossal error in the placing of the Solomon Islands on the map. Gallego calculated the run from Callao to the Roncador Reef just off the Solomons to be 1638 Iberian leagues or 5242 nautical miles; in reality the distance is 7309 nautical miles. The error amounted to a twenty-eight percentage underestimate of the distance covered. It was the beginning of a confusion about the location, identity and even existence of the Solomons that took more than two hundred years to resolve.

Further reading

Jack-Hinton, Colin, *The Search for the Islands of Solomon 1567–1838* (Oxford, 1969).

***The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake.* Edited by William Sandys Wright Vaux, 1st series, 16, 1854 (1855).**

The first English circumnavigation, by Francis Drake in 1577–80, has long been a subject of interest and controversy. Motives for the voyage, Drake's course, and the location and significance of his landing place on the Californian coast, have all been subjects of intense scholarly discussion. Drake's own journal has disappeared, so the main document in this volume, *The World Encompassed*, based on the journal kept by Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the expedition, and published by Drake's nephew in 1628, is of prime importance. In this edition the book's text is presented with extensive footnotes taken from manuscript notes kept by Fletcher, although these finish at the island of Mocha off the coast of Chile and do not cover the main part of the Pacific section of the voyage.

The editorial introduction is largely given over to the events surrounding the trial and execution of Thomas Doughty at Port St Julian in the south Atlantic, and appendices I and IV also relate to this event. The introduction was written well before the discovery of vital documents concerning the voyage, including a partial copy of Drake's draft instructions, so has little useful to say about the motives for the voyage. Drake sailed from Plymouth in late 1577 with five vessels. By the time that he reached the Strait of Magellan he had only three. His passage through the strait was swift (sixteen days) if hazardous, but then he was blown far south to the region of Cape Horn. Fletcher was at his best describing the fury of the storm: 'the winds were such as if the bowels of the earth had set all at libertie, or as if all the clouds under heaven had been called together to lay their force upon that one place'. When the storm subsided, Drake's ship, the (renamed) *Golden Hind*, was alone. As he sailed north along the coasts of Chile and Peru Drake had the advantage of surprise, described by Fletcher in the action in which a treasure galleon sailing from Lima to Panama was taken. 'Heavy and slow sayling' because of the weight of gold and silver on board, it was virtually unarmed, and offered no resistance.

Two more prizes were taken, and then Drake had to decide on the safest route home. What followed is baffling. In the end he sailed west across the Pacific and Indian Ocean to return via the Cape of Good Hope, as Magellan's men had done almost sixty years earlier. But before that he had sailed three thousand miles north, possibly looking for the entrance of the Northwest Passage. How far north he sailed is uncertain. Fletcher has him turning back in latitude 48°N, in conditions of unbearable cold (in June and July). If this is a puzzle, still more so is the location of the port on the Californian coast where he stayed for five weeks, resting, repairing and replenishing. Encouraged, Fletcher wrote, by the local Indians (probably the Coastal Miwok) Drake took possession of the land in the name of the Queen, and for centuries English maps showed it as 'New Albion'. From the Californian coast Drake sailed for 68 days west across the ocean without sighting land, before passing through the Moluccas and into the Indian Ocean, and home. It was an astonishing achievement of seamanship and determination.

Drake's own map, like his journal, has not survived, but this edition includes one of the key maps of the voyage, the so-called Drake Broadside Map by Jodocus Hondius, c.1595. Additional documents are contained in the appendices. Especially relevant to the Pacific section of the voyage are a brief abstract of the voyage (Appendix III), the published narratives by Hakluyt (Appendix V, documents 1 and 2), and the account of the captured Portuguese, pilot, Nuño da Silva (Appendix V (documents 3 and 5).

***New Light on Drake / A Collection of Documents relating to his Voyage of Circumnavigation, 1577-1580.* Translated and edited by Zelia Nuttall, 2nd series, 34, 1914.**

This is a hugely important volume that forms a landmark in terms of studies of Francis Drake's circumnavigation. Containing translations of no fewer than 65 Spanish documents it is an especially valuable collection given the disappearance of Drake's own journal and maps, and the consequent reliance on later published accounts (see immediately above). Some of the editor's transcriptions, translations and editorial notes have been challenged, but the volume still remains an essential one.

The edition begins with the testimony of English captives in Spanish hands, notably John Oxenham and John Drake, Francis Drake's young cousin who sailed on his circumnavigation and was later captured. The narrative of Pedro Gamboa de Sarmiento describes his pursuit of Drake in the South Sea. Eight Spanish documents detail the defensive measures to be taken against Drake. The depositions of fifteen Spanish prisoners, together with the experiences of five others noted by Sarmiento, describe their treatment by Drake. Eight documents report on Drake's raid on Guatulco, a small port southeast of Acapulco, while five others detail the experiences of prisoners released then.

Then follows a long section of the edition devoted to the fortunes and misfortunes of Nuña da Silva, the Portuguese pilot whose ship was captured by Drake off the Cape Verde Islands, and who spent fifteen months on Drake's ship until his release at Guatulco. The logbook he kept while with Drake is printed here, while thirty documents deal with his trial for heresy by the Inquisition. These include his description of life on board the *Golden Hind*. Further Spanish documents refer to the pilot after his release. Final sections have nine Spanish reports on Drake's voyage sent to Philip II, while another four contain Spanish charges of cruelty against Drake.

The volume's illustrations include reproduction of several maps relating to the voyage (most also included in *The World Encompassed* above) and facsimiles of various documents connected with the voyage.

Further Reading

Kelsey, Harry, *Sir Francis Drake; the Queen's Pirate* (New Haven, 1998).

Thrower, Norman J. W., ed., *Sir Francis Drake and the Famous Voyage, 1577-1580* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984).

***The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knt., in his Voyage into the South Sea in the Year 1593. Reprinted from the Edition of 1622.* Edited by C. R. Drinkwater Bethune, 1st series, 1, 1847.**

This text of Richard Hawkins's *Observations* was issued as the Hakluyt Society's first volume in 1847. It was reprinted with a longer introduction, fuller footnotes and additional documents in 1877. Readers are therefore referred to the entry on that volume, immediately below.

***The Hawkins' Voyages during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, and James I.* Edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 57, 1878 (1877).**

The main document in this collection describing the exploits of the Hawkins family is the *Observations* of Richard Hawkins (c.1560–1622) on his voyage in 1593 to the South Sea. Son of the redoubtable Sir John, Richard Hawkins was an experienced seaman who had commanded a small vessel with Drake in the Caribbean and a Queen's ship in the Armada campaign. In 1593 he proposed a Pacific voyage whose object was 'to make a perfect discovery of all those parts where I shall arrive, as well known as unknowne...' Unpublicized was Hawkins' intention to raid Spanish settlements. In a difficult passage through the Strait of Magellan his consort vessel deserted, and only the *Daintie* sailed along the coasts of Chile and Peru, raiding Spanish ports and shipping as she headed north. After several attempts by the Spaniards to intercept Hawkins had failed, he was trapped in the Bay of Atacannes (in modern Ecuador) where he battled against superior Spanish forces for three days, losing three-quarters of his crew dead or wounded. At first resisting pleas from his officers to surrender – 'Came we into the South Sea to put out flags of truce...white rags?' – Hawkins, wounded in six places, eventually accepted Spanish terms. After eight years in prison he returned to England in 1602.

Twenty years later his *Observations* on the voyage were published, taking the story up to the time of his capture. The text as published here has an editorial introduction and additional annotations to the edition of 1847 (above). Among these is a lengthy footnote (p. 142n.) on scurvy. The text has information on Spanish ports along the coasts of Chile and Peru, but also hints on how to conduct an oceanic voyage with details on the care of firearms, the various ways of stopping a leak, the importance of carrying spares, and the various tasks of the officers and specialist crew members. Among its specific recommendations was a summer passage – November to January – through the Strait of Magellan.

One other document is of relevance to Hawkins' Pacific voyage, a Spanish account of the bloody engagement in the Bay of Atacannes, written by Christobal Suarez de Figueroa in 1614. Also included is a set of fragmentary journal entries by William Hawkins relating to Edward Fenton's disastrous voyage of 1582.

Richard Hawkins died as his book was passing through the press in 1622, so he was never able to write the second part of his *Observations* dealing with his experiences in Spanish prisons in Peru and Spain.

Further reading

Williamson, James A., ed., *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins* (London, 1933), with a valuable editorial introduction.

***The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606.* Edited by Sir Clements Markham. 2nd series, 14 & 15, 1904.**

After Mendaña's expedition of 1567–8 which reached the Solomon Islands (see *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendaña* above) the navigator was thwarted in his hopes of a swift return to the area to found a new Spanish colony and perhaps discover the great southern continent. Not until 1595 did he sail west from Callao, in command of an expedition of four ships and four hundred people that became a byword for dissension,

violence and horror. The Solomon Islands were never found, although the ships touched at the Marquesas before reaching Santa Cruz (Ndeni), more than 200 miles short of the nearest island in the Solomon group. At both landfalls there was much indiscriminate killing of the local inhabitants, an ominous beginning to the relationship between Europe and Polynesia. Mendaña, sick and broken, died on Santa Cruz in October 1595, and the expedition's Chief Pilot, the Portuguese navigator, Pedro de Quirós, carried the survivors to Manila in the one remaining ship.

Volume I of this edition contains two documents relating to the voyage. The first is Quirós's narrative of the voyage, written with some extra literary flourishes by his secretary, Luis de Belmonte Bermudez, and here rearranged in 37 chapters. The second is a much briefer account of the expedition written officially by Quirós for Antonio de Morga, Governor of the Philippines.

Quirós inherited the mantle of Mendaña and pressed for a further expedition to discover the southern continent. It was 1605 before two ships (the second commanded by Luis Vaz de Torres) and a launch sailed from Callao. That it was continent and not islands for which Quirós was searching was shown by his sailing away from the location of Santa Cruz in quest of a great land reported to the southeast. In May 1606 he came to a high, mountainous land, in reality the largest island in the group later named the New Hebrides (Vanuatu). The search, he thought, was over, as he named the new land *Australia del Espiritu Santo* – the first not a variant on Australia, the Austral or South Land, but a tribute of Austria, of which Philip III was Archduke. Quirós claimed possession of 'all these parts of the south as far as the Pole', but his attempt to found 'New Jerusalem' ended in violence, abandonment of the site, and a dispirited retreat to New Spain. Meanwhile, Torres in the consort vessel reached the Moluccas and then Manila by way of the strait between Australia and New Guinea that now bears his name.

Volume I of this edition concludes with the most important account of Quirós's voyage, again written by Belmonte de Bermudez. Volume II begins with an account of the voyage by the expedition's Chief Pilot, Gaspar de Lega, based on his ship's log, and valuable mainly for its nautical detail. It is followed by an account written by a Franciscan friar, Juan de Torquemada, who met Quirós in Mexico on his return, and gained considerable insight into his actions. A letter from Torres to the King reported on his separate voyage, and claimed that Quirós had deliberately abandoned him at *Espiritu Santo* – he 'sailed at one hour past midnight, without any notice given to us, and without making any signal'. Legends signed by Diego de Prado y Tobar and dated 1614 on four maps of the expedition's discoveries follow. A series of appendices deal with the aftermath of the voyage. On his return to Spain Quirós bombarded the King and officials with memorials (about 70 in all) urging renewal of the quest for a great and wealthy southern continent. Three of these are printed here, including the Eighth Memorial of 1610 which was followed by Dutch, French and English editions. The remaining appendices deal mainly with legal and political matters concerning Quirós's claims. They include a memorial from Fernando de Castro, who married Mendaña's widow, two letters hostile to Quirós from Diego de Prado y Tobar, who sailed on the return voyage with Torres, and accused Quirós of being 'a liar and a fraud'; notes from the Council of the Indies on Quirós's memorials; and finally a memorial from a Chilean lawyer, Juan Luis Arias, with a fabricated account of the discovery of the southern continent by Juan Fernandez.

Clements Markham's translations of these documents have been criticised, both for errors and for partiality, and where translations of the same material are included in Celsus Kelly's edition (see below) they should be preferred.

Further Reading

Camino, Mercedes Maroto, *Producing the Pacific: Maps and Narratives of Spanish Exploration (1567-1606)* (Amsterdam and New York, 2005), especially Chap. 2 'Failure and Futility in the Voyages of Mendaña and Quirós'.

Sanz, Carlos, ed., *Australia: Su Descubrimiento y Denominación* (Madrid, 1973); a collection of facsimile reprints of the various versions of Quirós's *Eighth Memorial*.

***New Light on the Discovery of Australia as Revealed by the Journal of Captain Don Diego de Prado y Tovar.* Edited by Henry N. Stevens and translated by George F. Barwick, 2nd series, 64, 1930 (1929).**

Much of the material in this edition will be considered in the Hakluyt Society's Regional Guide to Australia; here comments will be confined to the Pacific leg of the voyage. The main importance of the edition is the inclusion of a newly-discovered document from the Quirós expedition of 1605–6, the *Relación* of Diego de Prado y Tovar (pp. 81–205). This adds an important dimension to Clements Markham's edition of *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros* (see immediately above). There Prado was described as 'the malignant enemy' of Quirós, and it is true that in his narrative Prado on occasion is highly critical of Quirós. In mid-January 1606 on the outward voyage from Callao, for example, Prado claimed that Quirós ignored the decision of the ship's council to investigate land thought to lie nearby. 'I told him [Quirós] how badly he had acted, reproaching him as a man of little knowledge... And what he answered me was, that he knew what he was doing.' In his defence of Prado, Stevens relies on the *Relación* to claim that Prado switched ships from Quirós's to Torres' in anticipation of a mutiny on the former at Espiritu Santo, and after the separation of the ships became (by virtue of sealed orders) Chief of the Expedition, with Torres merely acting as his navigating captain. So the title of the *Relación* ran that Quirós's discovery had been completed by 'Captain Don Diego de Prado... with the help of Captain Luis Baez de Torres'. Credit for discovering Torres Strait on the homeward voyage should therefore go to Prado, and he must 'be placed in the ranks of the great navigators'. It should be said that this interpretation has been convincingly challenged by other historians: see Further Reading and Kelly, ed., *La Australia del Espiritu Santo*, below.

The edition concludes with new translations of several documents included in Markham's edition: report of the Council of State to the King, 25 September 1608, on Quirós's voyage, together with Torres' letter of 12 July 1607; two letters sent by Prado from Goa in 1613; and legends on four Prado maps.

Further Reading

Hilder, Brett, *The Voyage of Torres* (St Lucia, 1980).

Jack-Hinton, Colin, *The Search for the Islands of Solomon 1567-1838* (Oxford, 1969).

La Austrialia del Espiritu Santo / The Journal of Fray Martin de Munilla O.F.M. and other documents relating to the Voyage of Pedro Fernández de Quirós to the South Sea (1605-1606) and the Franciscan missionary plan (1617-1627). Translated and edited by Celsus Kelly, with other contributions by G. S. Parsonson, 2nd series, 126 & 127, Cambridge, 1966 (1964).

Celsus Kelly's edition provides an essential supplement to the Markham and Stevens editions of the voyages of Mendaña and Quirós-Torres (see immediately above), in that it prints a selection from 600 newly discovered documents relating to those voyages. These challenge or throw fresh light on several of the conclusions of the earlier editions: for example, on the motives of those taking part in the expedition; on the track through the Tuamotus; on the alleged mutiny on Quirós's ship off Espiritu Santo; on the circumstances under which the ships of Quirós and Torres became separated; and on the later negotiations between Quirós and Spanish officialdom for a new colonising expedition. These and other issues are examined in an Introduction of 133 pages, as well as in the comprehensive footnotes accompanying the documents which are a feature of this edition. The Introduction includes a section by G. S. Parsonson on 'The islands and their peoples'.

After the Introduction the remainder of Volume I is devoted to the journal of Fray Martín de Munilla who, until his illness and death on the homeward leg, kept a daily record of Quirós's voyage. On an expedition mired in controversy Munilla was, the editor notes, 'an independent witness, not aligning himself with party factions, and he presents events objectively, impartially, and with studied accuracy'. Volume II begins with the *Sumario breve* of Juan de Iturbe, overseer and accountant on the voyage, which the editor sees as showing him in a more positive light than Markham did. Iturbe's *Summario breve* has a straightforward explanation of the objectives of Quirós's voyage – 'to discover the mainland a thousand leagues or a little more from Peru and at a similar distance from New Spain in the region of the Marquesas Islands.' A series of notes and memorials from Spain, Rome, and Peru deal with the negotiations and preparations for the expedition. Minutes of council meetings on the return voyage reveal the discussions about the courses to be taken. Next come documents dealing with Quirós's arrival in New Spain after the end of the voyage: they include two reports by the Viceroy and the important 'Interrogatory' of Quirós, which contains his defence of his actions and the evidence of ten witnesses. Four documents concern Torres's voyage from Espiritu Santo to Manila, including a contemporary summary of Torres' own 'confused account'. A series of documents describe Quirós's efforts in Spain to gain agreement for a new expedition. A final document contains the 1623 missionary plan of Fray Juan de Silva for 'the Austral Lands'. Appendix I lists the ships' companies, and Appendix II has a note on island identifications in Melanesia by G. S. Parsonson.

The edition contains reproductions of several contemporary maps and sketches, including the only known map drawn by Quirós, dated 1598.

Further Reading

Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific: Maps and Narratives of Spanish Exploration, 1567-1606* (Amsterdam and New York, 2005).

***The East and West Indian Mirror, Being an Account of Joris van Speilbergen's Voyage Round the World (1614-1617) and the Australian Navigations of Jacob le Maire.* Edited and translated by John A. J. de Villiers, 2nd series, 2, 1906.**

The two journals printed here are translations of those published in the Dutch edition of 1619. The Introduction deals mainly with the authorship of the journals, the first being ascribed to Van Spilbergen himself, the second of unknown authorship. All the illustrations are reproduced from the 1619 edition – 21 plates from Van Spilbergen's voyage, four from Le Maire's.

In terms of discovery, Van Spilbergen's voyage is the less interesting of the two, for it was fitted out by the Dutch States-General as a predatory raid on Spanish possessions and trade in the South Sea. Leaving Texel in August 1614 with six vessels, Van Spilbergen, an experienced naval commander in the war against Spain, negotiated the Strait of Magellan and entered the Pacific in May 1615. A series of raids and skirmishes followed until Van Spilbergen left the coasts of New Spain to sail across the Pacific and home. At Batavia (Jakarta) he encountered Le Maire's ship, but the journal-keeper of his voyage was sceptical of Le Maire's claims of a major discovery. 'On a voyage of such long duration they had with this vessel discovered no unknown nation, no countries of fresh intercourse, nor anything that might be for the common weal; although they claimed to have found a passage shorter than the common one, yet this was without any probability.'

The contemporaneous voyage of Jacob le Maire and Isaac Schouten was an unofficial Dutch venture that sought to evade the monopoly rights of the VOC by sailing into the Pacific from the east. Only in mid-Atlantic were the crews of the two ships called together by Le Maire and Schouten, who 'read out before all of us the aim of our voyage, which was that we should try to get by a way other than the Strait of Magellanes into the South Sea in order to discover the certain new countries in the south where it was thought great wealth could be got'. To reinforce the latter point, there was a public reading of Quirós's Eighth Memorial. In January 1616 the remaining ship sailed through the strait between Tierra del Fuego and Staten Island, round Cape Horn and into the South Sea. In time it would become the normal route rather than that through the tortuous Strait of Magellan. In May the expedition reached the northern fringes of the Tongan group (the first Europeans to do so), and here and at the Horne Islands the Dutch recorded their first impressions of the Polynesians as well as killing many. At Batavia the ship was seized by the VOC, and Schouten and Le Maire were sent home. Le Maire died on the homeward voyage, but it was his name that was given to the newly-discovered strait.

Further Reading

Spate, O. K. H., *Monopolists and Freebooters* (London and Canberra, 1983), Chap. 1: 'The Dutch Irruption'.

***A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America by Lionel Wafer...* Edited by L. E. Elliot Joyce, 2nd series, 73, 1934 (1933).**

A notable gap in the Hakluyt Society publications is the series of voyages to the South Sea by buccaneers and privateers between the 1680s and the 1720s. The journals of Bartholomew Sharp, William Dampier, Woodes Rogers, George Shelvocke and others have been published

in modern editions elsewhere. An exception, if only a partial one, is the record of his experiences first published in 1699 by Lionel Wafer, barber-surgeon with the buccaneers in Dampier's time, as *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*. The version published in this volume is the second edition of 1704, which contained 'An Additional Account' of the natural history of the Darien region.

Wafer sailed twice to the South Sea, first with Captain Edmund Cook in 1679–81. With Dampier and others, he was making his way back to the Caribbean overland across the Isthmus of Panama when he was injured in a gunpowder explosion and had to be left behind. He spent four months among the Cuna Indians of southeast Panama before rejoining the buccaneers, and his description of their lifestyle has remained of value to anthropologists until the present day.

In his book Wafer gave more detail of his second buccaneering voyage to the South Sea, most of the time with Captain Edward Davis, although he admitted that he did not keep a journal. His account has two points of special interest: one of the earliest descriptions of Antarctic icebergs, and a reference to the sighting of the mysterious 'Davis Land'. On Christmas Day 1687, near Cape Horn and sailing back into the Atlantic, Wafer wrote that 'we met several Islands of Ice; which at first seemed to be real Land. Some of them seemed be a League or two in length, and none not above half a mile. The biggest... about 4 or 500 feet high.' Then, in his own *New Voyage* of 1699 Dampier described how Davis, sailing south from the Galapagos Islands earlier in 1687 saw in latitude 27°S a small sandy island, and west of it 'a long Tract of pretty high Land... This might probably be the Coast of Terra Australis Incognita'. Wafer's account in his book published in the same year added first-hand detail. Twelve leagues west of the small island 'We saw a range of high Land, which we took to be Islands, for there were several Partitions in the Prospect. The Land seem'd to reach about 14 or 16 Leagues in a Range... I and many more of our Men would have made this Land, and gone ashore at it, but the Captain would not permit us.' Three-quarters of a century later navigators were still searching for the elusive 'Davis Land'.

Byron's Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766. Edited by Robert E. Gallagher, 2nd Series, 122, Cambridge, 1964 (1962).

Commodore John Byron's voyage to the Pacific was the first in the new era of oceanic exploration that followed the ending of the Seven Years War (1756–63). It was a false start because despite the Admiralty's instructions to search for the unknown southern continent before turning north to Drake's New Albion and Byron's assurance that he would cross the Pacific 'by a new track', he followed the customary route west-north-west from the Strait of Magellan and made few discoveries of note. His belated rediscovery and annexation of the Falkland Islands in the south Atlantic had a political rather than a geographical significance, and that he completed his circumnavigation in less than two years showed his limitations as an explorer. Byron's voyage also differed from most of those that followed in that neither his vessel, the copper-sheathed sloop *Dolphin*, nor the accompanying *Tamar*, carried any scientists or astronomers on board, and his sailing orders included no instructions to bring home the products of any new lands discovered.

An authorized account of his voyage had to wait until the publication of Hawkesworth's collection in 1773, and it was a disappointing affair. Byron had touched on the northern fringes of the Tuamotus, but had not sighted the main part of the archipelago,

and had missed the Society Islands altogether. His attitude towards the islanders was incurious, at times contemptuous. Active, naked and nimble is about as far as his journal takes us in describing them. Not only had he sailed too far north to follow his instructions to search for extensive southern lands, but he also rejected that part of his instructions that ordered him to sail into the north Pacific to look for the entrance of the Northwest Passage. 'Our Ships are too much disabled', he wrote. The editorial Introduction analyses Byron's disappointing performance, stressing his desire to find the Solomon Islands as a prime reason for his course in the Pacific. A later and more favourable interpretation of the voyage has been put forward by Randolph Cock, who quotes a contemporary assessment that Byron's voyage had been 'a desperate one, he having neither charts, maps, or authentic directions for governing himself by'. A significant indirect result of the voyage was Byron's conviction that south of his track lay 'a Continent of Great Extent never yet Explored or seen'.

The main part (127 pages) of the Society's text is taken up with the Admiralty's copy of Byron's original journal, which only came into the public domain in 1957. This valuable document is printed here in full, minus the alterations, stylistic and otherwise, made by Hawkesworth, in the editor's words, 'a self-appointed expert in anthropology'. It is followed by a series of appendices relating to Byron's actions in the south Atlantic and to the controversy over the 'Patagonian Giants'. These will be considered in the Hakluyt Society's regional guide to the Atlantic.

Further Reading

Cock, Randolph, 'Precursors of Cook: The Voyages of the *Dolphin*, 1764–68', *Mariner's Mirror*, 85, February 1999, pp. 30–52.

The Discovery of Tahiti / A Journal of the Second Voyage of H.M.S. Dolphin Round the World... Written by her Master, George Robertson. Edited by Hugh Carrington, 2nd series, 98, 1948.

Byron's voyage was followed by an expedition with more specific instructions as far as the great southern continent was concerned, for Captain Samuel Wallis was told that 'there is reason to believe that Lands, or Islands of great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European Power may be found in the Southern Hemisphere... in Climates adapted to the product of Commodities usefull in Commerce'. Wallis sailed in the *Dolphin*, accompanied by Lieutenant Philip Carteret in the *Swallow* (see next entry). Wallis's journal of the voyage was edited and printed by Hawkesworth in his *Voyages of 1773*. This volume contains the livelier journal of George Robertson, master of the *Dolphin*, in which he described 'his fears and anxieties, his hopes and joys in simple language and in perfect freedom'.

After a torturous three-month passage through the Strait of Magellan, Wallis became separated from the slower consort vessel, probably on purpose. He showed little initiative in his track across the Pacific, but it was marked by a chance discovery that had a huge intellectual and emotional impact, for in June 1767 the *Dolphin*'s crew sighted the high peaks of Tahiti. Farther south an even more exciting prospect came into view, for Robertson described seeing tops of mountains up to sixty miles away that he was persuaded was part of 'the long wishd for Southern Continent, which has been often talkd of, but neaver before seen by any Europeans'. It is worth noting, as the editor points out, that Robertson's was the only one of the eighteen journals kept on board to mention this sighting.

Robertson went on to give an exuberant description of the newly-discovered island: ‘The most beautiful appearance its possible to imagin... the most populoss country I ever saw, the whole shore side was lined with men women and children.’ Almost inevitably it seemed, thieving began, stones were thrown, and then cannon fired, and Tahitians killed, in their dozens and scores. After further encounters relations settled down, and trade began. Provisions were plentiful, and so it seemed were women and girls, nubile, garlanded and welcoming. In laconic fashion Robertson described the first of those meetings between seamen and young Polynesian women that were to stamp an erotic imprint on Europe’s image of Tahiti and the South Seas. The sight ‘made all our men madly fond of the shore, even the sicke who had been on the Doctors list for some weeks before’. On less personal matters Robertson also had comments to make during the *Dolphin*’s five-week stay: on the origin of the islanders, on the revelation ‘that there is both justice, and property in this happy island’, and much more.

The final section of Robertson’s journal, ‘Towards Old England’, contains his plans for further exploration of the Pacific – Wallis had sailed without any attempt to find the continental land the master thought he had sighted. The journal finishes at Wallis Island in the western Pacific, nine months before the return to England where knowledge of his voyage was passed on to Cook before he sailed on the *Endeavour*. The edition concludes with appendices on a variety of matters: the anchors and rigging of the *Dolphin*, Dr Knight’s Compass, Anson’s voyage, the Falkland Islands, Carteret’s voyage in the *Swallow*, ‘Davis Land’, the Polynesian islands, and the origin of venereal disease in Tahiti.

Further Reading

Edwards, Philip, *The Story of the Voyage: Sea-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994).

Salmond, Anne, *Aphrodite’s Island: The European Discovery of Tahiti* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2009).

Carteret’s Voyage Round the World 1766-1769. Edited by Helen Wallis, 2nd series, 124 & 125, Cambridge, 1965 (1963).

In August 1766 Lt. Philip Carteret, who had sailed on Byron’s circumnavigation, received his sailing orders to accompany Captain Wallis to the south Pacific (see entry above). His vessel, the ill-named *Swallow*, he described in his journal as ‘above 30 years old, and one of the worst, if not the very worst of her kind; in his majesty’s Navy’. This journal is printed in full in the first volume of this edition. The document’s history is interesting and unusual. Carteret’s original journal was handed over to Dr Hawkesworth to be used by him in his three-volume *Voyages*, published in 1773, but Carteret was so incensed by what he saw as the editor’s omissions and misrepresentations that he wrote his own account of the voyage. In it he described an agonisingly slow passage of 119 days through the Strait of Magellan, only to find that as the *Swallow* reached the Pacific Wallis ‘deserted me, without settling any plan of future operation, or appointing a place where we might rejoin.’ Furthermore, Wallis had neglected to send on board the *Swallow* the trade goods so important in establishing good relations with the native peoples.

In these circumstances Carteret’s decision to follow his instructions says much for his determination and sense of duty. Following a course farther south than that of any previous

navigator (including Wallis), Carteret made considerable inroads into the supposed southern continent. He discovered the tiny and remote island of Pitcairn, recognised the Santa Cruz of Mendaña, and reached, without identifying them, the long-lost Solomon Islands. On his voyage out of the Pacific Carteret found that Dampier's New Britain was in fact three islands. With forty men sick, he had little option but to head for Dutch East Indies, where he was detained for nine months. A final irritant came in the south Atlantic when a weatherbeaten French ship 'shot by us as if we had been at Anchor'. It was Bougainville in *La Boudeuse*.

Part I in the second volume of the edition contains 114 documents arranged in sections: preparations for the voyage; voyage to the Pacific; voyage across the Pacific; transactions with the Dutch (the longest section); and the voyage home. The main documents in the Pacific section are Carteret's 'Remarks' at Egmont Island (Santa Cruz), Bougainville's discovery of a Carteret plaque at English Cove (New Ireland), Carteret's 'Remarks' on the navigation of St George's Channel (between New Britain and New Ireland), and Carteret's 'Remarks' on his visit to Mindanao, Oct. –Nov. 1767.

Part II has an editorial summary of the 'Results of the Voyage', dealing with the reaction to Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, and documents on Carteret's later career.

Further Reading

J. L. Abbott, *John Hawkesworth: Eighteenth-Century Man of Letters* (Madison, 1982).

The Pacific Journal of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville 1767-1768. Translated and edited by John Dunmore, 3rd series, 9, 2002.

In December 1767, more than a year after Wallis and Carteret sailed for the Falkland Islands and the Pacific, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville left Rochefort in the frigate *Boudeuse* for similar destinations. His expedition was a far more brilliant affair than the British venture. The nobility was well represented among the officers, while Bougainville, aristocrat, soldier, diplomat, was a figure of European renown. And sailing on the expedition, in the storeship *Étoile*, were scientists – the astronomer Pierre-Antoine Véron and the naturalist Philibert de Commerson.

Bougainville's voyage was among the best-known of all the Pacific discovery voyages of the period, for his best-selling account was published in 1771, with a revised edition and an English translation in 1772, while Commerson's ecstatic remarks on Tahiti were in print within a few months of the expedition's return in the spring of 1769. A different kind of publicity came with the revelation that Commerson's assistant, Jean Baret, was a woman, Jeanne, who on her eventual return to France became the first woman known to have sailed round the world. However, despite all the comment and controversy, Bougainville's original shipboard journal remained unpublished until 1977, and was not available in English until its translation in this edition, together with translated extracts from other journals on the voyage. The texts are prefaced by a sixty-page Introduction, together with a useful note on the differences between French and English naval titles, measurements, currency, and navigational practices.

Bougainville called first at the Falklands, where both France and Britain had established outposts, to formalise the handing over of the islands to Spain. Then after a stormy, two-month passage through the Strait of Magellan, he entered the Pacific in early 1768. Once in the Pacific the ships followed a northwest course, passing the Tuamotus but

not landing. In early April came the highlight of the voyage when the ships sighted and landed at Tahiti. Unaware that Wallis had landed there the previous year, Bougainville assumed that he and his crews were the island's first European visitors, and his reactions and those of Commerson played a crucial role in establishing the long-lasting romantic image of Tahiti. Inevitably, the rest of the voyage was more low-key, though some important discoveries were made as the ships sailed west from Tahiti, through the Samoan group and the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) before turning away from the Great Barrier Reef and reaching the Solomon Islands, two hundred years after their first sighting by Alvaro de Mendaña, although Commerson failed to make the connection. After sailing through the Dutch East Indies the ships returned to Rochefort in the spring of 1769 to complete the first French circumnavigation.

The Appendices contain translated extracts from several of the other shipboard journals, kept by Jean-Louis Caro, second-in-command of the *Étoile*; François Vivez, surgeon of the *Étoile*; C. F. P. Fesche, a volunteer on the *Boudeuse*, whose journal has annotations by Commerson; and the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, passenger on the *Boudeuse*. The final appendix consists of documents written by Commerson describing New Cythera (Tahiti), the New Hebrides, and New Britain. Together, these extracts help to present a multi-dimensional perspective of the voyage, for they supplement and sometimes contradict the account of the commanding officer.

Further Reading

Dunmore, John, *Storms and Dreams: The Life of Louis de Bougainville* (Fairbanks, AK, 2007).

Taillemite, Étienne, ed., *Bougainville et ses compagnons autour du monde* (2 vols, Paris, 1977).

***The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771.* Edited by J. C. Beaglehole, Extra series, 34a, 1955. Reprinted with addenda and corrigenda, 1968.**

The importance of Cook's first Pacific voyage is reflected in the size of this volume, almost 900 pages, with 45 illustrations and maps. This edition begins with a general introduction that examines the course of Pacific exploration before Cook, followed by an introduction to the first voyage that includes a note on Polynesian history, together with sections on the text and on the manuscript, printed and graphic records. The version of Cook's journal published here is his holograph journal, the Canberra MS, accompanied by extracts and annotations from three other versions: the Mitchell MS, the Greenwich MS and the Admiralty MS. It is a characteristic of Beaglehole's editions of all three of Cook's voyages that the main text is supplemented by extensive annotations, some explanatory in nature, others quoting alternative source material.

The voyage was a collaborative venture by the Admiralty and the Royal Society, and its first objective was to observe the transit of Venus at the newly-discovered island of Tahiti. On the *Endeavour*, a slow-sailing but sturdy and capacious collier, were the naturalists Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, secretary and draughtsman Herman Spöring, and the artists Alexander Buchan and Sydney Parkinson. These supernumeraries showed that the voyage was of a different nature from those of Byron and Wallis, but Cook's secret

instructions revealed a link with Wallis's expedition in particular when he was ordered to sail south from Tahiti to search for the southern continent.

From Tahiti Cook reached latitude 40°S without sighting land. He then turned west to New Zealand, whose coasts he mapped in a little over six months by means of a superb running survey. He crossed the Tasman Sea to the uncharted east coast of Australia, where he had a narrow escape from shipwreck on the Great Barrier Reef. On the homeward voyage he sailed through Torres Strait to settle the question of whether Australia and New Guinea were separated. This feat of detailed exploration was carried out without the loss of a single man from scurvy, though the *Endeavour* lost a third of her crew from other diseases, most of them at the notorious fever spot of Batavia (Jakarta). Cook's account of his voyage was merged with that of Banks and published in edited form by John Hawkesworth in his *Voyages* of 1773. No version of Cook's journals from his first voyage was published in anything like its original form until Admiral Wharton's edition of 1893. The edition concludes with appendices running to 180 pages.

Appendix I: Cook's reports on the voyage.

Appendix II: Royal Society documents including Lord Morton's 'Hints' to the commander of the expedition.

Appendix III: various drafts by Cook not included in the main text.

Appendix IV: extracts from an anonymous journal and from the journals of Robert Molyneux and W. B. Monkhouse.

Appendix V: a list of the *Endeavour's* company.

Appendix VI: a calendar of documents, mostly to and from the Admiralty and the Navy Board relating to the voyage.

Appendix VI: newspaper reports on the voyage.

Further Reading

Beaglehole, J. C., ed., *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771* (Sydney, 1962).

Robson, John, ed., *The Captain Cook Encyclopedia* (London, 2004).

The Charts and Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages. Vol. I, The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771. Chief Editor Andrew David; Assistant Editors for the Views: Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith. Extra Series, 43, 1988.

An Introduction of fifty pages with 17 plates is preceded by a frontispiece of a full-colour reproduction of the 'lost' portrait of Cook by William Hodges, with the inscription, 'Capt. [sic] James Cook of the Endeavour'. The Introduction includes Cook's hydrographic instructions for the voyage, sections on his early career and on his *Endeavour* surveys and early career, biographical entries on the surveyors and artists (including Tupaia), and details of the publication of the charts and coastal views. It concludes with select bibliographical references, a descriptive inventory of collections, and general comments on the Descriptive Catalogue.

The main part of the volume is a Descriptive Catalogue containing reproductions of 312 charts and coastal views arranged in chronological order, and accompanied by extensive editorial notes. They are arranged by region: Tenerife; the coast of Brazil; Rio de Janeiro; Tierra del Fuego; followed by the sections with the most relevant material for this Guide – Tahiti and Moorea; the Society Islands; New Zealand; the east coast of Australia; and Batavia

(Jakarta). For many of the charts and coastal views the manuscript and engraved versions are shown alongside each other so that a direct comparison can be made. The volume concludes with seven drawings by Sydney Parkinson of the *Endeavour* and its boats.

The Expedition of the St Jean-Baptiste to the Pacific 1769-1770. Translated and edited by John Dunmore, 2nd series, 158, 1981.

While Cook was in the Pacific on his first voyage his path was crossed by a very different expedition, the privately financed Breton venture led by Jean de Surville in the *St Jean-Baptiste*. Sailing from Bengal, Surville hoped to combine exploration with commercial gain. Although his instructions have not survived, the Frenchman was clearly influenced by reports of Wallis's discovery of Tahiti, and by garbled reports from the late seventeenth century of the existence of the mysterious Davis Land, thought to be the outlier of the great southern continent (see above entry: *A New Voyage... by Lionel Wafer*). With his ship laden with trade goods from India and Ceylon, ranging from spices to Bengal cloth, Surville would have hoped to find commercial possibilities in the unknown lands of the south Pacific; if these did not materialise then a swing north to Manila or Canton was the likeliest possibility.

That part of the voyage from the Philippines to the south Pacific and New Zealand, and then east to the coast of South America, is described in the sections published here of the journals of Surville and his second-in-command, Guillaume Labé. They are, as the editor points out, shipboard logs rather than literary narratives, but together they provide a comprehensive account of the voyage and its problems. Not the least of these was the tense relationship between Surville and Labé. On his track southeast from the Philippines Surville passed through the Solomon Islands, and although he did not identify them with the group discovered by Mendaña in 1568 his sighting provided important evidence on the islands' location for later geographers.

In December 1769 the *St Jean-Baptiste* reached the northern tip of New Zealand, and at one stage was probably within thirty miles of Cook's *Endeavour*. The expedition stayed a month in the vicinity of Doubtless Bay, where both Surville and Labé struggled to come to terms with Maori culture in the period before European contact. With the ship in poor condition and many of the crew dead from scurvy, Surville decided to make the 5000-mile crossing to the coast of South America. Of the 177 men who made the Pacific part of the voyage, 103 died, most from scurvy. With its death toll of 60% the Surville expedition registered one of the worst health records in the Pacific since Anson's voyage thirty years earlier; and the journals provide ample evidence of the two commanders' misunderstandings about the causes and prevention of scurvy.

Off the coast of Peru in April 1770 Surville was drowned as he tried to get ashore, and the *St Jean-Baptiste* was detained by the Spanish authorities for three years before it was allowed to sail for France, its once-valuable cargo ruined. There would be no published account of the voyage to match those of Cook and Bougainville, and until this edition its importance was much underrated. Four appendices contain Labé's description of the death of Surville; a list of the ship's company; an investigation into the probability of the first Mass held in New Zealand; and a brief note on scurvy.

Further Reading

Salmond, Anne, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772* (Auckland, 1991).

The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe Gonzalez... to Easter Island in 1770-1. Translated and edited by Bolton Glanvill Corney, 2nd series, 13, 1908 (1903).

The arrival of the *St Jean-Baptiste* in Peru had one unexpected result: the dispatch of a Spanish expedition from Callao to search for the mysterious ‘David’s Land’ [Davis Land] somewhere in the ocean to the west which was thought to be one of the objects of the Surville expedition. Knowledge of British voyages from Byron’s onwards increased Spanish fears, and in October 1770 two ships left Callao, the *San Lorenzo* (64 guns) and the *Santa Rosalia* (26 guns) under the command of Don Felipe González y Haedo. They were, in the words of the Viceroy of Peru, ‘to search for the Island of David, and to examine others in the South Sea and off the coasts of Chiloe whereat the English might have established themselves.’

In order to set the expedition in context, the editor of this volume includes the sections of the journals of Roggeveen and Behrens describing the discovery of Easter Island by Roggeveen’s Dutch expedition in 1722. But the important documents are the three journals from the 1770 voyage kept by González, Don Juan de Hervé, First Pilot of the *San Lorenzo*, and Don Francisco Antonio de Agüero y Infanzon, First Pilot of the *Santa Rosalia*, accompanied by numerous reports and dispatches to and from Peru and Spain. There is much repetition in these, but occasional lighter moments, as when the Secretary of State for the Indies refers to ‘the Voyage round the world recently performed by the English Astronomers Solander and Banks’, more commonly known as Cook’s first voyage.

The journal kept by commanding officer Don Felipe González is a disappointingly sparse record of the six-day stay on Easter Island, or as he named it, ‘the island of San Carlos, vulgarly called David’s’. More interesting are the accompanying documents: instructions to the landing parties, their reports, and details of the act of possession carried out on the island, together with hieroglyphic inscriptions made by the chiefs, supposedly in approval.

Hervé’s journal is another uninformative affair, with only a brief mention of the ‘huge blocks of stone in the shape of the human figure. They are some twelve yards in height, and I think they are their idols.’ Antonio’s journal, by contrast, is full and detailed. He was particularly interested in the great statues, for ‘we have ascertained that what we took for shrubs of a pyramidal form are in reality statues or images of the idols which the natives worship’. Then follows a first-hand description of them, their size and shape, their possible function, and finally some comments wondering how these colossal figures were made and erected. His account was fuller than anything from Roggeveen’s voyage.

The four appendices contain little of interest, concluding with Lieut. Peard’s journal of HMS *Blossom*’s call at Easter Island in 1825 (see *To the Pacific and Arctic with Beechey* below).

Further Reading: See next entry.

***The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain during the Years 1772-1776.* Translated and edited by Bolton Glanvill Corney, 2nd series, 32, 36 & 43, 1913, 1915, 1919 (1918).**

The voyage of González to Easter Island was followed by further reconnaissance voyages west from Peru as Spanish anxieties grew about British intentions, in particular, in the Pacific. This 3-volume edition deals with the brief and often overlooked burst of Spanish expansion in the early 1770s that centred on Tahiti.

Volume I begins with a long series of dispatches, instructions and reports between the Secretary of State for the Indies (Julian de Arriaga), the Viceroy of Peru (Manuel de Amat y Jument), and the Spanish ambassador in London, Prince Fieschi de Masserano, concerning foreign incursions into the Pacific and plans for a Spanish expedition from Callao. The documents make clear Spanish concerns about the island newly discovered by the British, and its relation to ‘David’s Land’ [Davis Land]. In October 1771 Arriaga introduced some clarity into the matter when he referred to Cook ‘arriving at the island to which Captain Wallace [Wallis] four years ago gave the name “George’s Island”, they found that the natives called it *Otaheite*’. In September 1772 the frigate *Aguila* left Callao commanded by an elderly, much-respected naval officer, Domingo de Boenechea, with two Franciscan friars on board. The key documents relating to the voyage are the Viceroy’s instructions to Boenechea, running to fifteen closely-printed pages, followed by the captain’s journal recording his voyage from Callao, the amicable stay of a month in Tahiti and the return voyage as far as Valparaiso, carrying four young Tahitians. The journal has a detailed description of Tahiti and its inhabitants, and includes a short Tahitian vocabulary. It is followed by a report by Juan de Hervé, master of the *Aguila*, on the information about their island obtained from the young Tahitians on board. A final document by Juan de Lángara in Spain recommended sending missionaries to Tahiti, but argued against a settlement.

The Introduction to Volume II assesses the original discoveries among the Pacific islands made on the *Aguila*’s three voyages to Tahiti, and then describes the leading personalities encountered by the Spaniards on the island (the ‘overlords’, as the editor described them). The volume continues with further documents relating to the 1772 voyage, including the readable journal of Lieut. Raymundo Bonacorsi, and an account by Fr. Joseph Amich. Also included is a fuller Tahitian vocabulary than that mentioned above, accompanied by a list of one hundred questions to be put to the Tahitians. Some of the questions were more pointed than others – for example, ‘Learn how many Islanders the English killed’.

The volume then examines the second voyage, in 1774–5, of the *Aguila*, accompanied by the storeship *Júpiter*. After the usual documents to and from the Viceroy, this section features two journals: that of Lieut. Comdr. Thomás Gayangos (who took over command of the *Aguila* after Boenechea’s death in January 1775), and that of the master of the storeship, José de Andía y Varela, who recorded his own individual impressions of Tahiti. It also includes letters and diaries of the two friars reporting their arrival and first days on Tahiti. Of considerable interest is ‘Information obtained from the most trustworthy Indians of eminence in the Island of Amat [Tahiti]’ about the neighbouring islands and the visits of the British. Also printed is the ‘Convention’ of Hatutira, 5 January 1775, by which Spain claimed possession of Tahiti, the third European nation to do so within a few years. A final summary by Amat reveals the disappointing outcome of the voyage to Tahiti.

The volume finishes with fourteen Supplementary Papers, mostly dealing with English reports on Tahiti, but with three Spanish and one French (the latter by Philibert Commerson).

Volume III is devoted mainly to the fascinating ‘Daily Narrative’ of Máximo Rodríguez for 1774–5, which runs to two hundred pages of print. Máximo had served as a young marine on the *Aguila*’s 1772 voyage to Tahiti, and was chosen by the Viceroy to act as interpreter and general helper to the two Franciscan friars who went to the island in 1774 to establish a mission. His narrative, as the editor remarks, is ‘a document of simple domestic interest’. It relates the story of a frustrating year in which the two friars proved hopelessly incapable at their task. Their behaviour to Máximo left much to be desired, and they often treated him as a servant rather than as an essential part of the mission. The religious mission came to an inglorious end in November 1774 when the friars abandoned their post and returned to Peru in the *Aguila*.

A happier feature of the ‘Narrative’ is Máximo’s relationship with the young *ari’i* Vehiatua II, whose death towards the end of the year was witnessed by Máximo. From Tu, a more senior and better-known *ari’i* because of his role in Cook’s visits to Tahiti, Máximo acquired a remarkable polished black bowl, described at length here by the editor, who was responsible for its rediscovery and identification in 1912. This section concludes with a memorial in 1788 from Máximo to the then Viceroy reminding him of his services to the Crown, and the difficulties under which as a twenty-year-old he wrote his daily account, ‘being at time obliged to write it in pencil, at others to resort to some makeshift ink that he prepared in secret, because of I wot not what grudge and suspicions entertained by his companions against what he might write.’

The volume concludes with a glossary and four ‘Supplementary Documents’, all dating from the nineteenth century: a brief description of Máximo’s narrative from the *Calcutta Gazette* of 26 October 1826; extracts from William Ellis’s *Polynesian Researches*; extracts from Emile de Bovis, *Etat de la Société Taïtienne*; extracts from J.-A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux Isles du Grand Océan*.

Further Reading

Camino, Mercedes Maroto, *Exploring the Explorers: Spaniards in Oceania 1519-1794* (Manchester, 2008), especially chap. 4: ‘Spanish Voyages to the Pacific 1770-94’.

Salmond, Anne, *Aphrodite’s Island: The European Discovery of Tahiti* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2009), especially chaps 11, 15–17.

The Journals of Captain James Cook... The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure 1772-1775. Edited by J. C. Beaglehole, Extra series, 35, 1961. Reprinted with addenda and corrigenda, 1969.

In 1772 Cook left England to search once more for the great southern continent, carrying on board chronometers, one of which was Kendall’s copy of John Harrison’s masterpiece, his fourth marine timekeeper. Cook’s second Pacific expedition was arguably the most perfect of seaborne voyages of discovery. In his three years away he disposed of the imagined southern continent, reached nearer the South Pole than any man before him, and touched on a multitude of lands – New Zealand and Tahiti again, and for the first time Easter Island (still contemplated as ‘Davis Land’), the Marquesas, Tonga, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides

(Quirós's *Espiritu Santo*) and South Georgia. In doing so he confirmed, corrected or located many of the uncertain discoveries of earlier explorers that had brought so much confusion to the map of the Pacific. In high latitudes, he crossed and recrossed the Antarctic Circle, reaching latitude 71°10'S. before being stopped by the ice barrier which encircles the immense continent of the south. This was not the fertile land of the theorists' dreams, but in Cook's words, 'a Country doomed by Nature never once to feel the warmth of the Sun's rays, but to lie forever buried under everlasting snow and ice.'

After an Introduction of almost a hundred pages describing the voyage from its preparations to its return, the editor explains at length how he selected Cook's text from several different versions of his journal and log. The text as printed here is a composite one, in the editor's words, 'as close to Cook as possible'. This section is followed by a note on other journals and logs; printed accounts of the voyage, including Cook's *A Voyage towards the South Pole*; and the graphic records. Prominent among the latter are the paintings of William Hodges, well represented in the volume's 82 illustrations and maps (all in black-and-white). As in Volume I the footnotes are extensive, many of them containing alternative wordings by Cook, or extracts from journals kept by other members of the expedition.

A series of appendices follows the main text, and add greatly to our knowledge of the voyage.

Appendix I: Cook's letters and reports about the voyage, mostly to the Admiralty, but two to Tobias Furneaux, captain of the *Discovery*; one to Joseph Banks; two to John Walker, Cook's former Whitby master; and two to the French naval officer, Latouche-Tréville.

Appendix II: The controversy over the *Resolution*; letters and reports by Banks, the Navy Board; Palliser; Sandwich; and Cook concerning Banks' objections to the *Resolution* and his withdrawal from the voyage.

Appendix III: The Board of Longitude and the Voyage. Minutes of the Board concerning the voyage, including list of instruments to be taken, and instructions to William Wales.

Appendix IV: Extracts from Officers' Records: Furneaux's narrative; Burney's log (both these including the massacre at Grass Cove); Clerke's log; Pickersgill's journal.

Appendix V: journal of William Wales, almost a hundred closely-printed pages.

Appendix VI: 'The Antarctic Muse', a song composed by a member of Cook's crew.

Appendix VII: The Ships' Companies.

Appendix VIII: Calendar of Documents relating to the voyage.

In total, the volume runs to almost 1200 pages.

Further Reading

Gascoigne, John, *Captain Cook: Voyager Between Worlds* (London, 2007).

Thomas, Nicholas, *Discoveries: The Voyages of Captain Cook* (London, 2003).

The Charts and Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages. Vol. II, The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure 1772-1775. Chief Editor Andrew David; Assistant Editors for the Views: Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, Extra series, 44, 1992.

An Introduction of 85 pages with forty plates is preceded by a full-colour frontispiece of the 1775 portrait of Cook by Nathaniel Dance. The Introduction includes Cook's proposals for making further discoveries in the South Seas, his instructions, Banks's preparations for the

voyage, the officers and scientists, the surveying and navigational instruments, analysis of the charts and coastal views, the scientific results of the voyage, other surveyors, artists and draughtsmen, the use of colour, and the publication of the charts and coastal views. It concludes with select bibliographical references, a descriptive inventory of collections, and general comments on the Descriptive Catalogue.

The main part of the volume is a Descriptive Catalogue which contains 267 charts and coastal views, arranged in chronological order, and accompanied by extensive editorial notes. They are arranged by region. The sections of relevance to this Guide are charts of the Southern Hemisphere, followed by charts and coastal views of Cape Town to Tasmania and New Zealand, Tierra del Fuego, South Georgia and the Sandwich Islands. For many of the charts and coastal surveys the manuscript and engraved versions are shown alongside each other so that direct comparisons can be made.

The volume concludes with four unidentified views from the voyage, none of them of relevance to this Guide. Three appendices contain extracts from the Board of Longitude's instructions to William Wales; a postscript to Wales's log; and a list of the astronomical instruments supplied to Wales and his fellow astronomer William Bayly.

The Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772-1775. Edited by Michael E. Hoare, 2nd series, 152, 153, 154 & 155, 1982.

The discovery in the early 1970s in the Prussian State Library, Berlin, of Johann Reinhold Forster's *Resolution* journal marked a watershed moment in Cook studies. Together with his talented son, George, Forster had joined Cook's second Pacific expedition following the precipitate withdrawal of Joseph Banks and his entourage. At the age of forty-two, Forster was a man of prodigious learning. With his knowledge of philology, zoology, ornithology, botany, ethnology, mineralogy, geography and history, and his reputed familiarity with seventeen languages, he was, in Linnaeus's words, 'a natural-born scientist'. Unfortunately, he was prickly in his personal relationships, and his defects were magnified in the close quarters of the *Resolution*, so much so that J. C. Beaglehole described him as 'one of the Admiralty's vast mistakes. From first to last on the voyage, and afterwards, he was an incubus'.

Forster's journal, a frank, uninhibited record written in English, puts his side of the story as he struggled with life in the unfamiliar and harsh environment of a naval vessel. It is full of complaints about the cramped living conditions he and his son endured, the attitude of many crew members, and Cook's lack of interest in natural history. Whatever the problems, the two Forsters continued collecting and observing. For an ungainly man, unused to physical exertion and suffering from rheumatism, the elder Forster showed commendable dedication in his collecting activities. One example from many in his journal must suffice. On Tahiti in April 1774 he climbed the steep hills inland from Matavai Bay in heavy rain accompanied only by a Tahitian youth carrying the plant box. After a night's rest he continued to climb, with the youth refusing to accompany him, but on the slippery slopes 'fell down & hurt my thigh in such a manner that I was near fainting for pain'. He had suffered a rupture that would trouble him for years to come, but he was delighted that he had found eight new plants.

In all, the Forsters collected 330 plants, of which 220 were new to science, 104 birds, half of them aquatic, and 74 fishes unknown to science. They also obtained more than five hundred ethnographic objects or 'artificial curiosities'. After their return, both Forsters

produced books. In 1777 *A Voyage round the World* by George was published, clearly written with frequent reference to his father's daily journal, while 1778 saw the publication of Johann Reinhold's *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World*, an impressive survey of the philosophical implications of the voyage.

The elder Forster's journal is prefaced here with an Introduction of 122 pages divided into sections: biographical details of 'The Pre-Voyage Forster'; 'The Voyage'; 'The Journal and Associated Manuscripts'; and 'The Science and its Records'. The text is accompanied by extensive editorial annotations, many of them botanical or ornithological. It includes a number of drawings by George Forster, ranging from Polynesian weapons and one of the stone images of Easter Island to individual birds and plants. Appendix I contains a list by Phyllis Edwards of George Forster's plant drawings in the British Museum (Natural History). Appendix II contains a brief memorandum (in French) by Johann Reinhold Forster to various European correspondents, 'Note relativement aux Curiosités Artificielles qu'on a rapportées de la Mer du Sud'.

Further Reading

Forster, George, *A Voyage Round the World*, edited by Nicholas Thomas, Oliver Berghof and Jennifer Newell, 2 vols (Honolulu, 2000).

Forster, Johann Reinhold, *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World*, edited by Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest and Michael Dettelbach (Honolulu, 1996).

Hoare, Michael E., *The Tactless Philosopher: Johann Reinhold Forster 1729-1798* (Melbourne, 1976).

Four Travel Journals: The Americas, Antarctica and Africa, 1775-1874: 'The 1775 Journal of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra'. Translated and edited by Herbert K. Beals, 3rd series, 18, 2007 (2006).

Anxious about possible incursions by Russia or Britain onto the northwest coast of America, a region claimed by Spain, although neither explored nor settled, the Viceroy of New Spain, Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, sent a series of exploring expeditions north from San Blas, Mexico, in the 1770s. The editor's 70-page Introduction tells the story of these expeditions after summarising earlier Spanish explorations in the north Pacific.

First was the voyage of the *Santiago* commanded by Juan Pérez in 1774, instructed to explore the coast as far north as 60°N. In the event, he turned back five degrees short, anchoring as he did so off the coast at a spot later to become famous as Nootka Sound. The next year Bucareli sent the *Santiago* north again, commanded by Bruno de Hezeta, and accompanied by the schooner *Sonora*, commanded by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. Bodega's journal is printed here, and relates a heroic voyage along a dangerous, fogbound coast in a tiny, 40-foot craft intended only for local excursions. While Hezeta in the *Santiago* turned back because of sickness among the crew, sighting the mouth of the Columbia River on the return voyage, Bodega kept north. His journal is a frank affair, as shown by his refusal to follow the example of Hezeta in turning back off the southern tip of Vancouver Island. Successive entries made the same point: 'Since the labours I have endured are, I expect, essential in all sea voyaging, especially for ships of discovery, they must be accepted with conformity and fortitude... it would be an inappropriate rebuff to my spirit to abandon the mission without what is to me a grave reason impeding it... [although] the crew is small,

the majority in weakened health and weary after four months of voyaging, it appears agreeable to me to put ourselves at risk in whatever way, until the sick cannot summon any more strength.' In latitude 58°N. Bucareli became the first Spanish navigator to reach Alaska. He was also the first to land on the northwest coast, at Bucareli Bay on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island. He anticipated Cook by sailing along long stretches of the northwest coast three years before the famous British explorer, while the chart of his voyage, though interspersed with gaps where he was out of sight of land, was the first realistic representation of the shape and trend of the northwest coast.

Appendix I contains an extract from the journal of Francisco Antonio Mourelle describing a violent encounter between the crew of the *Sonora* and Indians of the Quinault River region in modern Washington State

Appendix II has details of the dimensions, rigging and equipment of the *Sonora*.

Further Reading

Tovell, Freeman M., *At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra* (Vancouver and Toronto, 2008).

***The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780.* Edited by J. C. Beaglehole, Extra Series, 2 parts, 36a & 36b, Cambridge, 1967.**

Part 1 of this monumental edition (comprising a total of more than 1800 pages, including a 220-page Introduction) has as its centrepiece Cook's manuscript journal of his third voyage up to 17 January 1779. It finishes, mysteriously, four weeks before his death on Hawai'i. It is significantly different from the authorized version edited by Canon John Douglas and published in 1784. The gaps in Cook's narrative are filled here by passages from the journals of Captain Charles Clerke and Lieut. James King. After Clerke's death off Kamchatka in August 1779 the journals of Lieut. James Burney, Thomas Edgar, master of the *Discovery*, and able seaman George Gilbert, complete the story of the voyage. The discovery since the publication of this edition of James King's 'running journal' enables the story of the voyage from 22 August 1779 (at Kamchatka) to 12 April 1780 (arrival at the Cape of Good Hope) to be told in more detail – see next entry below.

Part 2 contains the personal journals of ship's surgeons William Anderson and David Samwell, together with long extracts from the journals of Clerke, Burney, Edgar, King, and Lieut. John Williamson. The edition concludes with a brief note by quartermaster Alexander Home on Cook as a dietician, and the usual list of the ships' companies and calendar of documents relating to the voyage. Throughout the edition the text is annotated with extensive footnotes.

The story of the expedition's search for the Northwest Passage in the summers of 1778 and 1779 is told in the Hakluyt Society Regional Guide to the Arctic, and will not be repeated here. The need to return 'Mai (brought to England by Furneaux on Cook's second voyage), and Cook's inclination to use familiar stopping-places, meant that the approach to the northwest coast of America was to take the ships through the south Pacific once more. Again, the ships called at Queen Charlotte Sound in New Zealand before heading to the Tongan Islands, which Cook had briefly visited on his second voyage. Despite a much longer stay he was still perplexed by the intricacies of a system in which secular and religious

authority were at once separated and linked. From the Tongan group Cook sailed to Tahiti, where he discovered that the Spaniards had been and gone.

In following the uncharted route from the Society Islands to the northwest coast of America the expedition made the important discovery of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands in January 1778, where a year later Cook wintered after his arduous season on the northwest coast. There, on 14 February 1779, he was killed in a fracas at Kealahou Bay on the 'Big Island' of Hawaii. The circumstances of the event, beginning with Cook's tumultuous welcome before the changed atmosphere on his forced return to the bay, are covered in detail in the journals and footnotes of this edition, and in the editorial Introduction. Since its writing in the 1960s the controversy surrounding Cook's death has reached new dimensions in the scholarly literature on the subject.

Further Reading

Obeyeskere, Gananath, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton and Chichester, 1992).

Sahlins, Marshall, *How 'Natives' Think – about Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago and London, 1993).

Williams, Glyn, *The Death of Captain Cook: A Hero Made and Unmade* (London and Cambridge, MA, 2008).

The Charts and Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages. Vol. III: The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780. Chief Editor Andrew David; Assistant Editors for the Views: Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith, Extra series, 46, 1997.

An Introduction of more than a hundred pages together with 46 plates is preceded by a full-colour frontispiece of a portrait of Cook by John Webber. It has analytical sections on the expedition's astronomical, survey and navigational instruments, the charts and coastal views made on the voyage, the scientific results of the voyage, biographical entries on the surveyors, artists and draughtsmen, the use of colour on charts and coastal views, the publication of the charts and coastal views, and a descriptive inventory of the worldwide collection of charts and coastal views. The Introduction concludes with appendices containing the Board of Longitude's instructions to William Bayly, Bayly's foreword to his journal, the instruments supplied to Cook and Bayly, James King's memorandum on his navigational and astronomical procedures, and a list of Board of Longitude papers for this and other discovery expeditions.

The main part of the volume is a Descriptive Catalogue which contains more than two hundred charts and coastal views of the voyage in chronological order. These are arranged by region. The sections of relevance to this Guide are Tasmania and New Zealand, general charts of the Pacific, the Cook Islands, Tonga and Tubuai, Tahiti and the Society Islands, Christmas Island, first visit to Hawaii, the North Pacific, second visit to Hawaii. For many of the charts and coastal views the manuscript and printed versions are shown alongside each other so that a direct comparison can be made.

The volume concludes with general charts covering all three of Cook's voyages; three unidentified views from the third voyage; a supplement to the three voyages describing charts and drawings not previously included; and addenda and corrigenda for the three voyages. The

final document is James King's 'running journal' of the voyage from Kamchatka to the Cape of Good Hope, accompanied by five illustrations.

The Journal of Jean-François de Galaup de la Pérouse 1785-1788. Translated and edited by John Dunmore, 2nd series, 179 & 180, 1994, 1995.

The French naval expedition commanded by the Comte de la Pérouse reflected both the spirit of scientific enquiry of the Enlightenment, and the great-power rivalries of the period. Its contingent of fifteen scientists – astronomers, naturalists, physicists, mineralogists, meteorologists – was the largest yet taken on a Pacific discovery voyage, intended to be the 'replique française' to Cook's voyages. It ended in disaster with the disappearance of La Pérouse's two ships sometime in 1788, and although an account of the voyage was published in 1797 by an army officer, M. L. A. Milet-Mureau, it was a poor substitute for La Pérouse's own journal. Successive instalments of this had been sent back to France at various stages of the voyage, but later disappeared. In 1977 Catherine Gaziello discovered the journal in the Archives Nationales in Paris. It was published (in its original French) in 1985; and for the first time in English in this edition.

The lengthy editorial Introduction of 230 pages covers all aspects of the voyage: the background; the Northwest Passage; the participants; the ships; the instructions; the voyage; La Pérouse at Botany Bay; the noble savage; the search for La Pérouse, and the achievements of the voyage.

The *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* reached the Pacific by way of Cape Horn in early 1786, and sailed for the northwest coast of America, making brief stops at Easter Island and the Hawaiian Islands en route. That part of the voyage concerned with the search for a Northwest Passage along the Alaskan coast is discussed in the Hakluyt Society Regional Guide to the Arctic. From Alaska the ships sailed south to California and then across the Pacific to Macau, the Philippines, and the coasts of northeast Asia where the expedition carried out valuable survey work. At Kamchatka La Pérouse received instructions to sail the length of the Pacific to the coast of eastern Australia, where the British were reported to be planning a settlement at Botany Bay. In December 1787 the ships reached the Samoan Islands where in an attack by the islanders twelve men were killed, including De Langle, captain of the *Astrolabe*, and twenty wounded. With the crews shaken and depressed, and the ships short-handed, La Pérouse headed for Botany Bay, reaching there in January 1788 a few days after the arrival of the First Fleet. The French were at Botany Bay for six weeks, but little is known about their stay; for soon after his arrival La Pérouse had handed over his journal and dispatches for transmission to Europe. The *Boussole* and *Astrolabe* left Botany Bay on 10 March and disappeared into what one of La Pérouse's biographers has called 'forty years of oblivion'.

Efforts to find the lost expedition came to nothing, until in 1827 an Irish trader, Peter Dillon, discovered on Vanikoro in the Santa Cruz group relics from the French ships which, the islanders told him, had been wrecked on the reefs. Since then, divers on the site have found more objects, including anchors, cannon and a ship's bell. What had disappeared beyond possibility of reclamation was the bulk of the collections and observations made by the scientists on the voyage.

The edition concludes with a series of appendices.

Appendix I: ninety pages of correspondence from La Pérouse and other officers to Charles Claret de Fleurieu, Minister of the Marine.

Appendix II: the muster rolls of the two ships.

Appendix III: an essay on the death of Father Receveur at Botany Bay.

Appendix IV: monuments erected in honour of La Pérouse.

Further Reading

Dunmore, John, *Where Fate Beckons: The Life of Jean-François de la Pérouse* (Fairbanks, AK, 2007).

Dunmore, John and Maurice de Brossard, eds., *Le Voyage de Lapérouse, 1785-1788* (Paris, 1985).

Gaziello, Catherine, *L'Expédition de Lapérouse 1785-1788: réplique française aux voyages de Cook* (Paris, 1984).

***The Malaspina Expedition 1789-1794: Journal of the Voyage of Alejandro Malaspina.* Edited by Andrew David, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Carlos Novi and Glyndwr Williams, 2nd series, 8, 11 & 13, 2001, 2003, 2004.**

The well-equipped expedition commanded by Alejandro Malaspina that left Cádiz for the Pacific in July 1789 was intended to reassert the tradition of Spanish voyaging in the *Mar del Sur* which had faded from view in the glare of publicity that had accompanied the voyages of Cook and his contemporaries. As Malaspina commented, it would not be a voyage of discovery in the traditional sense. With its contingent of scientists and artists it represented at one level the philosophical and scientific interests of the Enlightenment, at another a determination to investigate the political and economic state of Spain's sprawling Pacific empire. If its instructions were carried out in full, it would be the most ambitious Pacific voyage yet.

Malaspina's disgrace and trial after his return prevented the immediate publication of his journal or *Diario del viaje*. Its first publication was, oddly, a Russian edition in instalments in 1825–7, but there was no Spanish edition until 1885, when Pedro de Novo y Colson published a single-volume edition of the journal. Not until 1990 was Malaspina's autograph *Diario* published under the editorship of Ricardo Cerezo Martínez. It is this edition which has been translated here to form the first English-language version of Malaspina's journal. It is prefaced by a piece by Carlos Novi on 'Translating Malaspina' and an Introduction by Donald C. Cutter.

Volume I describes the voyage 'Cádiz to Panama' along known coasts. Because of this the expedition followed a rather different cycle of activity from that of its British and French predecessors. The corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida* spent sixty per cent of their time in or near known harbours, and so were at sea for only forty per cent of their time – a sharp contrast to Cook's seventy per cent of his time on his second voyage. One advantage of this was that the expedition was able to carry out detailed survey work on land, while the naturalists and artists had time for their work. The volume concludes with two appendices. Appendix I contains the letters exchanged between Malaspina and Minister of the Marine, Antonio Váldes y Bazán, including the important 'Plan for a Scientific and Political Voyage Around the World' drawn up by Malaspina and his fellow commander, José Bustamante y Guerra. Appendix II is by Andrew David on 'Malaspina's Survey Methods'. The volume contains 36 illustrations and contemporary maps, together with nine modern sketch maps.

Volume II, 'Panama to the Philippines', begins with further survey work along Spanish American territories as far north as Acapulco. An interesting table printed by Malaspina in this section of his journal shows that, twenty months into the voyage, 143 men had been lost from the expedition, most through desertion, out of an original total of 204 men. The stay at Acapulco marked the end of the first stage of the voyage in which the corvettes sailed along coasts ruled and settled by Spain. From the Mexican coast northwards the expedition would be venturing into little-known waters, as it followed new orders from Madrid to sail to latitude 60°N in search of the Strait of Anian or Northwest Passage. For this see the Hakluyt Society Regional Guide to the Arctic.

By the end of 1791 as Malaspina sailed once more from Acapulco after his unsuccessful venture into Alaskan waters he had finished the main part of his mission. His expedition had produced charts of long stretches of the coasts of Spanish America, established the exact locations of the main ports, carried out numerous scientific experiments, collected vast numbers of natural history specimens, and observed native peoples from Patagonia to Alaska. But in terms of distance and time the voyage was only half completed. There was the long run west across the Pacific by way of Guam to be made before the ships turned south. The latter part of this volume is taken up with Malaspina's nine-month stay in the Philippines, while Bustamante in the *Atrevida* visited Macau on the coast of China to carry out gravitational observations. The volume contains 44 contemporary maps, together with seven modern sketch maps.

Volume III 'Manila to Cádiz' was translated by Sylvia Jamieson who also translated much of the previous two volumes. It begins with the corvettes following a vast semicircular tack into the Pacific, with a brief call at the South Island of New Zealand, and a month's stay at Port Jackson (Sydney) where Malaspina carried out some discreet espionage and wrote a memoir warning of the threat the new British colony might pose to Spanish interests in Peru. From Port Jackson the ships sailed to Vava'u, the northernmost group of islands in the Tongan archipelago. There he carried out his second act of possession on the voyage (the first had been at Yakutat Bay, Alaska). The ten-day stay at Vava'u had more in common with the previous voyages of the Cook era than any other part of the voyage, and the remarks by Malaspina and Bustamante could have been taken from the pages of Hawkesworth or Bougainville.

The rest of the voyage was an anticlimax. Malaspina was in poor health, desertions continued, there were hints of mutiny, and war with France threatened the safety of the lightly-armed corvettes. They returned to Cádiz in September 1794, having been away for five years and two months. What followed was a disaster for Malaspina and his proposed seven-volume account of the expedition as he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in the Castillo de San Antón for treasonable activities. An expedition which had set new standards in terms of hydrographic, astronomical and natural history observations slipped from sight, and Alejandro Malaspina was for long the forgotten man among the Pacific navigators of the late eighteenth century.

Of the relevant appendices in Volume III, Appendix 2 by Carlos Novi, 'The Road to San Antón' describes the fall of Malaspina; Appendix 3 by José Ignacio González-Aller Hierro lists the officers and supernumeraries on the expedition, while in Appendix 4 he describes the *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*. In Appendix 5 Andrew David describes the surveying and navigational instruments supplied to the expedition. In Appendix 6 María Dolores Higuera Rodríguez describes the manuscript sources for the expedition. The volume

contains 38 illustrations and contemporary maps, together with six modern sketch maps. The volume concludes with a cumulative index for all three volumes compiled by Richard Campbell.

Further Reading

David, Andrew, *The Voyage of Alejandro Malaspina to the Pacific 1789-1794*. Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture, 1999

Kendrick, John, *Alejandro Malaspina: Portrait of a Visionary* (Montreal, 1991).

***George Vancouver / A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World 1791-1795*. Edited by W. Kaye Lamb, 2nd series, 163, 164, 165 & 166, 1984.**

This multi-volume edition of George Vancouver's voyage prints the journal he wrote for publication with the help of his brother, John, after he returned to England in 1795. It was published in 1798 in three volumes accompanied by a folio atlas of charts and views a few months after his death, followed in 1801 by a six-volume edition. Vancouver's original journal seems not to have survived. The published journal is a comprehensive account of a voyage by the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* that aimed to complete Cook's partial survey of the northwest coast of America (for this section of the voyage see the Hakluyt Society Regional Guide to the Arctic).

The edition is prefaced by a book-length Introduction of almost 300 pages, while the text of the journal is supplemented by editorial annotations that give extensive quotations from other journals kept on the voyage. Among these is the journal kept by Lieut. Peter Puget of the *Discovery*, and that written after the voyage for intended publication (which never materialised) by the naturalist Alexander Menzies. Other journals drawn on by the editor include those of Lieut. William Broughton (commander of the *Chatham*), and ships' masters Thomas Manby and James Johnstone.

Volume I contains the Introduction and the voyage from February 1791 to January 1792. The ships entered the Pacific by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Australia, making the important discovery of King George Sound, before calling at Dusky Sound where they stayed three weeks. From New Zealand they headed to Tahiti where during a four-week stay Vancouver reflected on the changes in island society since his last visit with Cook fourteen years earlier.

Volume II deals with the voyage from January to December 1792, and describes the voyage from the Society Islands to the northwest coast of America by way of the Hawaiian group. Vancouver stayed at several of the islands for two weeks before heading for the coast of Upper California and then sailing north for a season of survey work along the northwest coast and diplomatic negotiations at Nootka. On the voyage south Broughton in the *Chatham* negotiated the hazardous entrance of the Columbia River and sailed a hundred miles upstream, making the first reliable chart of the river's lower reaches. Vancouver's journal also describes the deaths of Lieut. Richard Hergest of the storeship *Daedalus*, and astronomer William Gooch, at Ohau in the Hawaiian Islands.

Volume III begins with Vancouver's second stay in the Hawaiian Islands. His description of them is more 'lively and informative' than his writings on the northwest coast. Vancouver reached Hawai'i on 12 February 1793 and spent six weeks in the islands, replenishing the ships. He had two other objects in mind: finding and punishing the

murderers of Hergest and Gooch, and negotiating a peace between the warring islands with a view to establishing closer links with Britain. Vancouver left the Hawaiian Islands on 30 March 1793, and after an arduous surveying season on the northwest coast sailed to California where he charted the coast as far south as latitude 30°S. Once again, the ships spent part of the winter (from 8 January to 15 March 1794) in the Hawaiian Islands, most of the time on Hawai'i itself. The outstanding feature of this final stay in the islands was the negotiated cession of Hawai'i to Britain, a mysterious affair which seems not to have been communicated by Vancouver to the home government and which had no permanent results. The volume closes with the return to the northwest coast for the final survey season.

Volume IV has details of the survey of the Alaskan coast, the final call at Nootka and the homeward voyage by way of Valparaiso and Cape Horn. The volume concludes with a series of appendices, the longest of which contains a selection from Vancouver's correspondence and dispatches during the voyage. Others contain letters by Menzies, Joseph Whidby and Thomas Manby, often critical of Vancouver, and a table listing the performance of the chronometers during the voyage.

Further Reading

Anderson, Bern, *Surveyor of the Sea: The Life and Voyages of Captain George Vancouver* (Seattle, 1960).

Naish, John M., *The Interwoven Lives of George Vancouver, Archibald Menzies, Joseph Whidbey, and Peter Puget* (Lewiston/Queenston, Lampeter, 1996).

***The Journal and Letters of Captain Charles Bishop on the North-West Coast of America, in the Pacific and in New South Wales 1794-1799.* Edited by Michael Roe, 2nd series, 131, Cambridge, 1967 (1966).**

The volume contains the journals and other documents written by Charles Bishop, captain of two trading vessels, the *Ruby* and the *Nautilus*, engaged in the sea-otter trade on the northwest coast of America. On the *Ruby*'s voyage into the Pacific it called at Easter Island in March 1795 and Bishop left his impressions of a short stay there. The main part of his journal describes his months on the northwest coast, where his experiences as a trader among the Haida, Chinook and other peoples of the coast make an intriguing comparison with the near-contemporary discovery expeditions of Vancouver and Malaspina. From 'New Albion', as he continued to call the region, Bishop sailed to the Hawaiian Islands. Because of shortage of provisions on shore he stayed only eight days in the islands, but long enough to give a description, inaccurate in places, of the war for dominance being waged by paramount chief Kamehameha. The section on the *Ruby*'s voyage concludes with memoranda relating to the vessel's trading activities, mostly in Macau and Canton.

The second section of the volume contains memoranda relating to Bishop's trading activities in the *Nautilus* from 1796 to 1799, including stays in Macau, Kamchatka, Tahiti and Port Jackson. The documents include lists of the ship's provisions, trade goods and crew's wages, together with details of the taking on board at Tahiti of eleven disillusioned LMS missionaries and their families.

Further reading

Hainsworth, D. R., *The Sydney Traders: Simeon Lord and his Contemporaries, 1788-1821* (Melbourne, 1981).

The History of the Tahitian Mission 1799-1830 / Written by John Davies. Edited by C. W. Newbury, 2nd series, 116, Cambridge, 1961 (1959).

By the end of the eighteenth century the novelty of the earlier ecstatic discoveries in the Pacific had faded. The islands were changing fast under the impact of European firearms, alcohol and diseases, but no government accepted responsibility for the actions of its subjects in that remote region. The only intervention came from the missionaries, committed to protecting those whose souls might be saved. Foremost in the battle was the London Missionary Society, founded in 1795, which the next year sent the *Duff* to the Pacific with twenty-nine missionaries, eighteen of them to be landed on Tahiti, best known of the islands. Most were of humble origin, with only limited education – ‘Godly Men who understand Mechanic Arts’, in the Society’s words. By 1800 only five of the original eighteen remained on Tahiti, but over the years they steadily grew in numbers and strength, aided by their good fortune in supporting Pomare II who after a period of fluctuating fortunes and a flight to Moorea, eventually gained control of the whole of Tahiti. By 1820 most Tahitians had followed their king and converted, in nominal terms at least, to Christianity; and in time many became literate. However, opposition to the monarchy grew after the death of Pomare II in 1821, while growing French influence led to the island becoming a French protectorate in 1842.

This story is told by John Davies, a Welsh-born LMS missionary who arrived in Tahiti in 1801 and except for a brief spell in New South Wales, remained there for fifty years. His final version of the text was completed between 1827 and 1831, written as he put it because ‘the misrepresentations, or misstatements both of friends and enemies, call for a faithful record of facts’. For a variety of reasons, Davies never sent his history to London for publication by the Society, and this is its first publication. The first five chapters describing the early history of Tahiti and the arrival of the missionaries have been omitted here because they were not based on Davies’s own experiences. These relate to the thirty years after his arrival in Tahiti, a time when the influence of the missionaries reached its height. In Kerry Howe’s words, ‘Far from being simple tradesmen content to preach the gospel to the heathen, missionaries over the years had to become deeply involved in the high politics of the island.’

The editorial Epilogue contains a history of the Tahitian mission from 1830 to 1860. It also includes supplementary papers from the missionaries’ correspondence. The volume concludes with Appendix I ‘Origins and Genealogy of the Pomare Family’ and Appendix II ‘A Note on Missionary Codes of Law’. It contains twenty illustrations and maps together with a pull-out reproduction of a map of Tahiti made by William Wilson (first mate of the *Duff*) in 1797, based on Cook’s chart of 1769, and showing for the first time the main political divisions on the island.

Further Reading

Gunson, Niel, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860* (Melbourne, 1978).

***The Journal of William Lockerby / Sandalwood Trader in the Fijian Islands during the Years 1808-1809.* Edited by Everard Im Thurn and Leonard C. Wharton, 2nd series, 52, 1925 (1922).**

This volume contains a variety of documents relating to the first arrivals of European and American traders in the Fiji Islands in the early nineteenth century. The Introduction describes the occasional sightings of the islands by explorers from the voyage of Tasman (1643) onwards, but notes that knowledge of the group was fragmentary at best until the discovery of sandalwood on Vanua Levu by traders working out of Sydney. It was an article of especial value in China where it was burned on altars and over the bodies of the deceased.

From 1804 for about ten years there was a boom in the sandalwood trade, and among the vessels visiting the islands was the *Jenny*, a Boston trader whose first mate was the Scot William Lockerby. The main document printed in this edition is his journal of his adventures and misadventures in the Fijian Islands. His original journal has disappeared, but the version printed here is a copy in his own hand, addressed to his parents. It describes how in 1808 he and six sailors were left ashore on Mbua, where he spent nine months. An attempt to leave in the *Jenny*'s strengthened boat was interrupted by the arrival of another trading vessel, and by Lockerby's unwilling involvement in ferocious native wars. Eventually, he left the islands in another trader in June 1809 bound for China.

His time in the islands was spent in the coastal areas, so he had no knowledge of the hill-country tribes. As far as the coastal peoples were concerned he left graphic descriptions of their warfare, their cannibalism, widow-burning, killing of the old, and much else. This edition contains a series of 'Postscripts' by Lockerby giving further details of much that is mentioned in his journal.

The edition concludes with a variety of miscellaneous texts: a narrative by the American trader, Samuel Patterson, of his sufferings after the wreck of his ship in the islands in 1808; an account of the LMS missionaries who were put ashore from the *Hibernia* on a small islet between November 1809 and January 1810 while their vessel was being repaired – taken from John Davies's unpublished 'History' (but see above entry); and Captain Richard Siddons's narrative of his Fijian experiences between 1809 and 1815. Appendix A contains extracts relating to Fiji from periodicals dated 1804 to 1815.

Further Reading

Schürtz, Alobert J., 'A Note on William Lockerby's Fiji Manuscript', *Journal of Pacific History*, 13, 1978, pp. 115–16.

Shineberg, Dorothy. *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-west Pacific* (Melbourne, 1967).

***To the Pacific and Arctic with Beechey: The Journal of Lieutenant George Peard of H.M.S. 'Blossom' 1825-1828.* Edited by Barry M. Gough, 2nd series, 143, Cambridge, 1973 (1972).**

The voyage of Captain Frederick Beechey in the sloop HMS *Blossom* was part of a continuing effort after the Napoleonic Wars to discover the Northwest Passage – see the entry in the Hakluyt Society Regional Guide to the Arctic. The journal kept by George Peard, First

Lieutenant of the *Blossom*, describes the sloop's voyage north across the Pacific to Alaska, and is an important supplement to Beechey's published *Narrative*.

Beechey carried out valuable survey work on his way north after rounding Cape Horn, as illustrated by the sketch map here showing his track and place-names through the south Pacific islands from Pitcairn to Tahiti. Peard's journal has a first-hand account of an abortive attempt at Easter Island 'to effect a landing and come to a friendly understanding with the Inhabitants'. Pitcairn offered a warmer welcome, and Peard's journal entries of an eighteen-day stay there in December 1825 contain significant information about the *Bounty* mutiny, obtained from that event's sole survivor on the island, Alexander Smith (alias John Adams). After sighting and surveying dozens of other islands, Beechey arrived at Tahiti in March 1826. Peard's description of the islanders was less admiring than that of many of the earlier European visitors – 'a cheerful, contented indolent set of Beings, whose positive Virtues are only to be met with in the Missionary Reports'. In much the same vein was his reaction to an audience in Hawai'i with Kamehameha III, who received the *Blossom*'s officers 'on his throne ie, an Armchair varnished red; his Attendants standing around, and on heaps of Mats lay some females of the Royal family, lulled to sleep by the grunting of the Hogs.' Peard has further descriptions of Hawai'i on a return visit in the spring of 1827, together with reports on the expedition's calls at San Francisco and other ports in California.

Missing from Peard's informal record is much comment on the scientific (especially natural history) and hydrographic achievements of the voyage; for those we have to rely on Beechey's published account, and on the specialist works listed in the Introduction to this volume.

Further Reading

Beechey, Frederick William, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait... in the Years 1825, 26, 27, 28* (2 vols, London, 1831).

***Russian California, 1806-1860: A History in Documents.* Edited by James R. Gibson and Alexei A. Istomin, with assistance of Valery A. Tishkov. Translated by James R. Gibson, 3rd Series, 26 & 27, 2014.**

This edition breaks new ground for the Hakluyt Society both in its subject matter and in its involvement of Russian scholars. The two weighty volumes, 1187 pages in all, contain 492 documents dealing with the establishment and operation of the Russian settlement in California in the first half of the nineteenth century. The originals of all the documents are in Russian, and few have been printed before. The edition begins with a lengthy Introduction describing the founding and history of the settlement from the time of the Russian advance into Alta California to the Russian withdrawal. This is followed by nine sections in each of which the selected documents are prefaced by a short introduction.

Part I, 'The Russian Advance to Spanish California, 1806-1812', includes a first-hand report by Count Nicolay Rezanov, one of the leaders of the Russian-American Company (RAC), of the first voyage to Alta California by a Russian ship, the *Yumona*, in 1806. Other documents deal with plans for the establishment of a settlement on the New Albion-Alta California frontier, originally intended as a base for hunting the California sea otter.

Part II, 'The Formation of Russian California, 1812-1821', contains documents describing the early years of the settlement (known officially as Ross Counter) under the

leadership of Ivan Kuskov. Among the seventy documents in this section are several on Russian-Spanish relations, and two censuses of the new colony's inhabitants.

Part III, 'Russian California and Relations with Mexican California, 1822-1824', deals with the awkward period for Ross Counter of Mexican independence. In the colony the RAC hoped that an emphasis on farming would lead to it becoming a granary for Russian America and the Russian Far East.

Part IV, 'Schemes for Bolstering, Expanding and Delimiting Russian California, 1824-1825', relates to 'a crucial moment' in the history of the settlement, marked by an Indian (Chumash) uprising and a strengthening of pro-Mexican forces. Russia's conventions with Britain and the United States fixed the frontiers of Russian Alaska, but left open the question of Ross.

Part V, 'The Development of Russian California and Relations with Mexican California, 1825-1830', reveals the uncertainty about the position of the RAC at home. For Ross, documents include official instructions from the RAC, many of which deal with the colony's problems of grain-growing as well as relations with Mexican California.

Part VI, 'The Expansion of Russian California and Relations with Mexican California, 1830-1835', deals with the expansionist policies of Governor Ferdinand Wrangell, and includes details of his visit to Ross in 1833 and his important report of April 1834, 'About a Survey of the Settlement of Ross'.

Part VII, 'Attempts to Settle the Territorial Disagreements with Mexico, 1833-1837' details the efforts of Wrangell, acting as plenipotentiary of the RAC, to secure agreement with the Mexican government for the recognition of Russian California, and its agreement to the expansion of Ross into the warmer interior. These efforts failed, mainly because of Russia's reluctance to recognise the young Mexican republic.

Part VIII 'The Final Efforts to Expand Russian California, 1836-1839' covers the attempts of the new colonial governor, Ivan Kupreyanov, to improve agriculture at Ross, expand its fertile lands, and encourage immigration. It includes documents relating to Kupreyanov's visit to Ross in 1838.

Part IX 'The Sale of Ross Counter and the Problem of Payment, 1838-1860' prints the key documents from 1838-9 in which the RAC decided to abandon Ross Counter, a decision rubber-stamped by Emperor Nicholas I. The process was to be a long and difficult one. There were problems in finding a buyer for livestock and immoveable property, and when one was found in the person of John Augustus Sutter, a Swiss-born landowner on the Sacramento River, he delayed making payments. Ross Counter had effectively been abandoned by the end of 1841, but Sutter's debt was not settled until 1852.

These brief summaries do scant justice to the comprehensive nature of the documentary collection, and the care with which they have been translated and annotated. The edition is accompanied by 28 colour plates, 25 illustrations in the text, and four line maps.

Further Reading

Gibson, James R., *California Through Russian Eyes 1806-1848* (Norman, OK, 2013).