

A Regional Guide to Books Published by The Hakluyt Society

THE SOUTHERN VOYAGES AND THE ANTARCTIC

Compiled by Bernard Stonehouse¹

This guide is arranged chronologically according to the date of the voyage concerned. It includes not only voyages that made a close encounter with the Antarctic mainland but also those that first confirmed the existence of a continuous southern ocean or set out to find an unknown ‘southern continent’.²

Book of the Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships that are in the World.
Translated and edited by Sir Clements Markham, 2nd series, 29, 1912.

The full title concludes: ‘written by a Spanish Franciscan in the middle of the XIV century, published for the first time with notes by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada in 1877.’ This volume is a translation from the Spanish text of 1877, with additional notes by editor Clements Markham. Believed to have been written between 1350 and 1360 by an unknown but well-travelled scholar, it attempts to catalogue all the world’s lands and centres of population known at that time, providing, as a curious but interesting bonus, their rulers’ heraldic devices in full colour. For students of travel and exploration in the southern oceans its main point of interest may arise simply from the slight and confused mentions afforded to the southern hemisphere and its oceans by an early Medieval work on geography.

For the northern hemisphere the book features references to settlements in Iceland, the Faroe Islands and northern Scandinavia, all personally visited by the author or recorded by other writers of acceptable credibility. Europe, Russia, China, the Mediterranean and Arabia are well covered, as are islands of the Atlantic Ocean north of the equator. African regions mentioned include modern Senegal, Sierra Leone and the Gulf of Guinea, and the Niger and Nile. The existence of a southern hemisphere is recognised, and ‘Rio del Oro’ (probably the Niger) was believed to be ‘a branch of the NILUS rising in the lofty mountains of the Antarctic Pole, where it is said, is the terrestrial paradise.’ Of a southern continent: ‘Wise men say that as far as the Antarctic Pole there is a great land forming a tenth part of the whole earth. When the sun is on the tropic of Capricorn, it is said, by the learned, to pass over the heads of the people of the Antipodes, who are black people burnt by the great heat of the sun.’

¹ Sadly, this was the last written work by Dr Stonehouse, who died peacefully on 12 November 2014. It was edited and completed with additional material by Glyn Williams and Ray Howgego in time for the final copy to receive Dr Stonehouse’s blessing just days before his death.

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.

***A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499.* Translated and edited by E. G. Ravenstein, 1st series, 99, 1898.**

The Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama is best known for his discovery, in a voyage of 1497–8, of a sea route to India via the Cape of Good Hope. The Cape itself had been discovered in earlier expeditions, but the voyage here described rounded the Cape and investigated the western Indian Ocean, providing new maritime access for Europeans to the spice trade of the East Indies. Although Da Gama's original reports have disappeared, Ravenstein presents a document that is 'the only available account written by a member of the expedition... the *Roteiro* or Journal, a translation of which forms the bulk of this volume.' The author is unknown, the translation being from an edition in the original Portuguese published in 1838.

Introductory material includes an appreciation of the importance of the voyage in providing an alternative to the hazardous and uncertain overland routes for spices through the Middle East. There is also a biography based on what little is known of Da Gama, and a comparison of the difficulties and achievements of the voyages of Da Gama, Magellan and Christopher Columbus. In this, Da Gama's voyage is highly rated for its enterprising approach to the Cape, involving a wide sweep across the Atlantic Ocean that made full use of the prevailing wind systems. The volume ends with appendices that include translation of letters, alternative accounts and analyses of the voyage, and notes and specifications of associated maps.

***The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, and his Viceroyalty. From the Lendas da India of Gaspar Correa. Accompanied by Original Documents.* Translated by Henry E. J. Stanley, 1st series, 42, 1869.**

Gaspar Correa wrote a history of early Portuguese involvement in India during the mid-sixteenth century, including valuable comment on the role of Vasco da Gama as both seaman and administrator. Almost three centuries later, in 1858, an edition published in Lisbon prompted H. E. J. Stanley to produce this volume, based on translations of Correa's manuscripts rather than of the published work, and selecting for special attention the travels and later administration of Vasco da Gama. The bulk of the volume is a detailed account of Da Gama's first voyage of 1497–9, in which his fleet doubled the Cape of Good Hope and made first visits to Mozambique, Mombasa and India. In this voyage Vasco made important contacts with native populations and the 'Moors' who were already trading with them. (For a later treatment of the first voyage see also E. G. Ravenstein's edition, first series, 99.) The second and third voyages receive shorter treatment, emphasizing the politics of Portuguese colonization rather than the navigation. The second voyage (1502–03) established Portugal's sovereignty over the countries visited. Correa's account of the third voyage (1504) starts with the installation of Da Gama as the second viceroy of India in the colony of Goa, and ends with his death on Christmas Eve of the same year, amid the pomp of a Portuguese imperial court.

***The Letters of Amerigo Vespucci and Other Documents illustrative of his Career.* Translated by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 90, 1894.**

This volume deals with the controversy surrounding Amerigo Vespucci (1451–1512), a Florentine-born merchant and ship's chandler who claimed to have discovered in 1497–8 the coast of a southern hemisphere continent that was later named America in his honour. Vespucci's claims were discredited by, among others, the near-contemporary historian Las Casas, but in 1865 M. F. de Varnhagen, an historian publishing in Lima, judged Vespucci's account as 'worthy of credit'. Markham disagrees, making clear his view that, although later appointed Chief Pilot of Spain, Vespucci was never more than 'a very clever landsman with a keen eye to his own interests'.

Vespucci in 1492 became an agent for the mercantile house of Medici in Cadiz, where he serviced the ships of Christopher Columbus and others for transatlantic voyages of discovery. In his late forties he joined them, possibly by investing and signing on as a supernumerary. He acquired the basic skills of navigation, but in letters to contemporaries represented himself as the pilot responsible for discoveries made on the voyages. His accounts are vague, seldom mentioning names of ships, captains, shipmates, or details of discoveries – all of which he promised to include later in a book that was never written.

Of four major voyages reported, only the third, made on behalf of King Don Manuel of Portugal, concerned the southern hemisphere. Three ships left Lisbon on 10 March 1501, sailed south first along the African coast, then steered southwestward for 67 days. On 17 August, 5 degrees south of the equator, they found land 'inhabited by people who were worse than animals', where they took in wood and water and lost one of their crew to cannibals. This is assumed to have been the coast of Brazil, marking the discovery of the new world to be named for Amerigo Vespucci.

The ships continued 750 leagues southwestward along a forested coast, then on 15 February 1502 struck southward. Seven weeks later they sighted new land 'along which we ran for nearly 20 leagues, and found it all a rocky coast, without any port or inhabitants'. Vespucci noted the cold to be 'so great that that no one in the fleet could endure it'. This land Varnhagen took to be South Georgia, a glaciated island later to be charted by James Cook. It seems unlikely, however, that even so superficial an observer as Vespucci would have failed to mention South Georgia's coastal glaciers and ice-covered mountains. The expedition turned north for a landfall at Sierra Leone, reaching Lisbon on 7 September 1502. Markham includes chapters from Las Casas, questioning or demolishing Vespucci's statements one by one, and leaving the reader in no doubt of his unreliability.

***The First Voyage Round the World, by Magellan. Translated from the Accounts of Pigafetta, and other Contemporary Writers.* By Lord Stanley of Alderley, 1st series, 52, 1874.**

In 1518 King Charles V of Spain gave Fernão Magalhães command of a fleet of five ships to find a westward route via southern South America to the 'Spice Islands' (the Moluccas of the East Indies). Magalhães (c.1480–1521), a Portuguese soldier and colonial administrator, had long served his own king, but transferred his allegiance and adopted the Spanish name Fernando de Magallanes, known to English speakers as Ferdinand Magellan. He sailed from Seville in August 1519. In 1520 the five ships wintered in Port St Julian, on the east coast of

Patagonia, where Magellan dealt firmly with a mutiny. With the return of spring the fleet continued southward. The *Santiago* was wrecked during a storm, but on 21 October the remaining ships entered a wide, promising channel. This soon narrowed and split confusingly between islands, making progress difficult against the prevailing westerly winds. In just over five weeks they worked their way through the strait that now bears Magellan's name, emerging into the Pacific Ocean on 28 November 1520.

During the passage the *San Antonio* became separated from the rest of the fleet and returned home. The three ships that completed the passage turned north along the west coast of South America, then east toward the Indies, in a harrowing voyage dominated by hunger, thirst and scurvy. They reached the Mariana Islands in early March 1521, and in April discovered the islands later to be called the Philippines, where an agreement between Magellan and the native rulers secured the group for Christianity and Spanish domination. On 27 April 1521 Magellan was killed in a fracas with natives. The voyage continued under Juan Sebastián Elcano. As many of the seamen and officers had been lost, *Concepcion*, one of the remaining ships, was destroyed, and the *Trinidad* remained in the Philippines for overhaul and refitting. Only the *Vittoria*, under the command of Elcano, completed the circumnavigation. While crossing the Indian Ocean westward in March 1522 they discovered the uninhabited island later to be called New Amsterdam.

This volume includes a life of Magellan, details of his instructions for the voyage, and a further six contemporary accounts of this first circumnavigation.

Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan. Translated and edited by Sir Clements Markham, 2nd series, 28, 1911.

Markham's introduction lists six earlier Hakluyt Society volumes concerning early voyages to the Strait of Magellan, which clearly became an important waterway for both merchant and military shipping from its discovery onward. To justify a seventh volume he comments: 'Several other voyages in the same direction remained to be edited, and it is the object of the present volume to supply the members of the Hakluyt Society with the means of acquiring a knowledge of some of these.' His contribution is a volume of translations of Spanish documents that throw light on early users of the Strait, in particular their encounters with the two basic problems relating to its discovery – (a) the difficulties experienced by sailing ships attempting to travel east–west in a narrow passage against prevailing westerly winds, and (b) the difficulty of identifying the western end of the passage among a maze of almost identical forested islands. The volume starts with five separate accounts relating to the second voyage through the Strait in 1524–6 by the fleet of Comendador García Jofre de Loáisa (Loaysa), whose main objective, echoing that of Magellan, was to secure for Spain the Moluccas or Spice Islands. These include the first truly practical, professional guide to navigation of the Strait (lacking in the accounts from Magellan's voyage) by the pilot Martín de Uriarte. There follow accounts of an ill-fated voyage by Simón de Alcazaba in 1534–5 (an early attempt to colonise southern Patagonia that ended in failure); a note from an expedition sent by the bishop of Plasencia under Alonso de Camargo, 1539–41; an utterly disastrous first west-to-east passage by Juan Ladrillero in 1557 (an attempted colonisation from which only three members survived); and a reconnaissance by Bartolomé and Gonzalo de Nodal in 1618–19.

The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1568. Translated from Original Spanish Manuscripts. Edited by Lord Amherst of Hackney and Basil Thomson, 2 volumes, 2nd series, 7 and 8, 1901.

By the late sixteenth century Spanish ships were becoming an increasingly common sight in the North Pacific, the sailor-monk Andrés de Urdaneta having pioneered the west to east crossing in 1565. But of the South Sea below the equator almost nothing was known. An immense unseen void stretching from the coast of South America to the shipping lanes of the Indian Ocean, it became a convenient resting place for lands of myth and fable: the legendary Incan ‘Isles of Gold’; the curiously persistent but strictly hypothetical continent of Terra Australis; the lands of the Amazons; even the wildly misplaced site of King Solomon’s mines. So certain were ‘men well versed in mathematics’ of a ‘great unknown southern continent’, its lost souls eager for godly enlightenment, its riches ripe for the picking by a future generation of conquistadors, that in 1567 the viceroy of Peru ordered an expedition to locate this imaginary land. Sidelining others who sought prestige from the new discovery, he placed it all in the hands of his nephew, the visionary Galician seaman Álvaro de Mendaña.

Mendaña sailed from Callao in November 1567 with two ships and 150 men, but by mid-January it was obvious that the men of mathematics had been mistaken, and that no elusive continent or fabled islands awaited discovery. Short of drinking water, adrift in an endless sea with little notion of precisely where he was, Mendaña directed the expedition towards New Guinea, another land for which extravagant claims had been made. This too he failed to find, instead stumbling upon an archipelago where in desperation he sought the riches and mineral resources that would have restored face to the luckless enterprise. Although finding none, he alluringly christened the archipelago the ‘Isles of Solomon’, thereby associating the distant mines of Ophir with the ‘Isles of Gold.’ The fearful homeward passage, which landed the near derelict ships on the coast of California, did little to deflect Mendaña from his mission, but it would be twenty-five years before he could try again. In 1595 he sailed with four ships and 600 colonists and soldiers, only to lose himself in the vastness of the Pacific and eventually make landfall on the island of Santa Cruz, some way short of his destination. Afflicted by disease and hostile natives, the colonists separated into warring factions. Mendaña died of malaria, but his formidable wife rallied the survivors and with the help of the pilot Pedro Fernández de Quirós (see below) led them to the Philippines.

The first volume includes translations of four narratives, two of them by or attributed to Mendaña’s companions, Hernando Gallego and Pedro Sarmiento. The second volume includes the 250-page account of the voyage by Gomez Catoira, the ‘chief purser and custodian of objects for barter’, together with a brief account from an anonymous manuscript, and another related by ‘an Indian named Chepo’ to Captain Francisco de Cadres.

The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake; being his next voyage to that to Nombre de Dios. Collated with an unpublished manuscript of Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the expedition. Edited by William Sandys Wright Vaux, 1st series, 16, 1854 (1855).

Undisguised hostility ranged between the subjects of Queen Elizabeth of England and those of King Philip of Spain. In earlier voyages to the West Indies and Caribbean Sea, Drake had fallen foul of Spanish colonial officials. His circumnavigation of 1577–80, a privateering voyage authorised by the Queen, included not only an investigation of the possibility of

occupying the bleak lands between Rio de la Plata and Cape Horn, but also a determined element of revenge against Spanish authority in South America. Leaving England in December 1577 in the 100-ton *Pelican*, with a fleet of four attendant ships, Drake reached the coast of Brazil on 5 April 1578 and entered the Strait of Magellan on 20 August. After a remarkably easy 17-day passage through the strait, his ship (now re-named *Golden Hind*) proceeded alone to raid settlements and shipping almost as far north as Panama.

Continuing northward, he explored the coast for an eastward passage back to the Atlantic Ocean, reaching 48°N before returning to claim what is now central California for his Queen. From July 1579 he swept west and south toward Celebes, the Philippines and Java. Crossing the Indian Ocean, he headed home via the Cape of Good Hope to land at Plymouth in early November 1580 with a considerable fortune in stolen gold, silver and gems.

This volume is based on an account of the expedition published in a small, limited edition some 48 years later by Francis Fletcher, who had served as chaplain aboard Drake's flagships. To it are added footnotes based on notes by Fletcher in a British Museum manuscript – probably material that the author was unable to include in the original publication. There are also five appendices of miscellaneous contemporary material. Of these the third is an abstract of the voyage from the Strait of Magellan westward, a useful addition to Fletcher's somewhat rambling account. The fifth appendix contains five extracts relating to the Drake and the voyage, drawn from Hakluyt's *Principal Voyages*. Zelia Nuttall's *New light on Drake* (below) provides alternative views of Drake and his activities, chiefly from Spanish viewpoints.

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 volume of over 440 text pages, in the editor's words, 'constitutes an appropriate complement to *Drake's World Encompassed* edited by W. S. W. Vaux and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1854.' The 'new light' illustrates Francis Drake as perceived by the South American colonists whom he terrorised, based on Spanish documents that the editor discovered in both New World and European archives. The volume includes translations of some sixty-five such documents. Part I, headed 'Testimony of English captives in America', includes accounts of the voyage by Francis's cousin John Drake and three former shipmates under inquisition in Lima, Peru. Part II is the testimony of the Spanish administrator Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa on 'what the corsair Fransisco [i.e. Drake] did and the robberies he committed on the coasts of Chile and Peru'. Part III is a set of eight official Spanish documents concerning Drake's activities along the coast of South America and the protective measures taken against his return, plus an appendix noting twenty-three further accounts not included in this volume but available in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. Parts IV, V and VI include depositions by Spanish prisoners taken by Drake, and official reports on Drake's activities in Guatulco. Part VII is a translation of the log kept by the Portuguese pilot Nuno da Silva, whom Drake captured off the Cape Verde Islands and released to the Spanish authorities in Guatulco. Parts VIII, IX and X are documents concerning da Silva's examination by his new captors and his ultimate return to Spain. Parts XI, XII and XIII include reports to King Philip II of Spain, Spanish charges of piracy, cruelty and homicide

levelled against Drake, and a refutation of the charges signed by forty-nine members of his company.

***The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator.* Edited by Albert Hastings Markham, 1st series, 59a, 1880 (1878).**

The Map of the World, A.D. 1600, called by Shakspeare “the new map, with the augmentation of the Indies”. To illustrate the Voyages of John Davis. With notes by C. H. Coote, 1st series, 59b, 1880.

Markham’s account is taken verbatim from the third volume of Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations*. The editor introduces John Davis as one who ‘more than any other, united the qualities of a daring adventurer with those of a skilful pilot and a scientific navigator’. Better known for his northern exploits (as the discoverer, for example, of Davis Strait between Greenland and Canada), Davis commanded a single notable voyage into the southern oceans as captain of the *Desire*, one of a fleet of five ships under overall command of Thomas Cavendish (also known as Candish). Cavendish had circumnavigated the world in a successful and profitable privateering voyage of 1586–8. In the voyage described here he intended to make a further fortune at the expense of Portuguese and Spanish colonists on both the east and west coasts of South America.

Leaving England in 1591, his fleet crossed the Atlantic to raid several Brazilian settlements before entering the Strait of Magellan, where the *Desire* and her accompanying bark *Black Pinnace* lost contact with their companions in thick fog. In this account the chapter entitled ‘The last voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish, etc.’ tells the dismal story of the expedition as seen by Davis from the deck of the *Desire*. Davis’s single success of note – beyond bringing a small ship safely through appalling conditions – was to find himself in August 1594 within sight of ‘certaine Isles never before discovered, fifty leagues north-east off The Streights’ – almost certainly the first recorded sighting of the Falkland Islands, which weather conditions prevented him from examining further. The volume concludes with two more of Davis’s professional publications – ‘*The Worlde’s Hydrographical Description*’ and ‘*The First Booke of the Seaman’s Secrets*’ – which contribute no less than the journal to the sum of knowledge of sixteenth-century navigation and seamanship, and on which much of Davis’s reputation rests.

Coote’s contribution is a 16-page booklet, separately bound, and in many libraries shelved for safety among other maps, separate from Markham’s text. It shows the ‘new’ map published shortly after this voyage, with notes by the editor on Davis’s voyages both north and south.

***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.**

Descendant of a family of distinguished sea captains and privateers, Richard Hawkins (c.1560–1622) saw service against the Spanish Armada in 1588. In 1593 he planned a voyage of exploration in his ship *Repentence* (later renamed *Daintie*), ‘to be made for the Ilands of

Japan, of the Phillippinas, and Molucas, the kingdoms of China, and East Indies, by way of the Straites of Magelan, and the South Seas'. This in fact became a privateering voyage, encouraged by Queen Elizabeth, to raid Spanish settlements in South America. He left London in April 1593, and in the following year, after raiding Valparaíso and engaging in several sea scuffles, was wounded and captured off Peru. He was imprisoned, first in South America and later in Spain, to be released on payment of a ransom in 1602. Hawkins's book, based on the voyage but including other reminders of an adventurous life, appeared in a limited edition some twenty years later, shortly after his death. Admiral Burney, in his *History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas* (see bibliography) writes that it 'might with propriety have been entitled a book of good counsel; many of his observations being unconnected with the voyage he is relating, but his digressions are ingenious and entertaining, and they frequently contain useful or curious information.' Observations include notes on trees, sharks, whales, trade winds, scurvy, the Strait of Magellan, and a possible sighting in 1594 of the Falklands Islands, which he named 'Hawkins Maidenland' after his Queen. For a later edition of this narrative, together with accounts of voyages by earlier members of the Hawkins family, see 1st series, 57, 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).**

This substantial volume is based on a revised edition of the first-ever Hakluyt Society publication, *The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, K^{nt} in his Voyage into the South Sea in the Year 1593, etc.*, edited by Capt. C. R. Drinkwater Bethune from a published text of 1622. By 1878 Bethune's volume was out of print, and Markham took the opportunity not only to revise it, but to include with it previously unpublished letters and manuscripts and printed reports on 'the naval enterprises of the great Elizabethan navigators of the name of Hawkins'.

They were indeed an enterprising family of west-country sea-captains and merchants, who made and lost fortunes from slave-running, buccaneering, fighting, trading, and both local and national politics. William Hawkins (or Hawkyns), founder of the clan, was a sea-captain who made trading voyages to Guinea and Brazil. Based in Plymouth, he became both mayor of his home town and three times its member of Parliament. He died in 1554, leaving sons William and John, both of whom followed his example. Young William (who died in 1589) traded mainly in the West Indies; John (1532–95) initiated the slave trade between Africa and the West Indies; and both fought with Drake against the Spanish armada in 1588. John was knighted for his services and became prominent in the establishment of the Elizabethan Royal Navy. His son Richard (c.1560–1622) maintained the family tradition, sailing with his uncle William in the West Indies trade, raiding the Spanish possessions in the Caribbean with Drake, and commanding his own ship against the Armada. In 1593 he undertook the voyage to the Pacific Ocean described in his 'Observations', discovering 'Hawkins Maidenland' (the Falkland Islands) in 1594, and suffering capture and imprisonment in Peru and Spain. Markham's edition includes alternative accounts of the action in which he was taken, and documents relating to his further career. (He was, for example, among the founders of the East India Company). There are also narratives of the voyages of Sir Richard Hawkins's grandfather William, of his father Sir John Hawkins, and

of a later cousin William Hawkins, from manuscripts and printed editions, all of which are more relevant to other Hakluyt Society regional guides.

La Austrialia del Espíritu Santo. The Journal of Fray Martín 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, 2 vols, 2nd series, 126 and 127, 1966 (1964).

For exercises in knight errantry, those with all the romance of a chivalric fantasy and trappings of a Quixotic burlesque, nothing approaches the voyage of Pedro Fernández de Quirós. This gifted Portuguese pilot had conducted galleons to the Indies and had brought the pitiful survivors of Álvaro de Mendaña's expedition to safety in the Philippines (see above). But his unhappy experiences under Mendaña served only to fire a determination to return to the South Sea, to succeed where Mendaña had failed, and to locate that elusive 'Southern Continent' where lost souls cried out for salvation. Finding little favour with the Peruvian authorities, he went directly to Rome, and armed with the patronage of the pope and a fragment of the True Cross, Quirós sailed from Callao in December 1605 with three ships, 300 men and ten friars. His strategy, to ensure nothing was missed, was to zig-zag in a general southwesterly direction, then, if nothing were found, to make for the Santa Cruz Islands. However, his pertinacity in perceiving the expedition as a moral crusade, his prohibition of gambling, swearing and blaspheming aboard ship, brought his long-suffering crew to the verge of mutiny.

Finding nothing but a handful of diminutive atolls, hunger and thirst afflicting his crews, Quirós turned his ships northwest and in May 1606 alighted on a populous island of forests and rolling planes in the archipelago known now as Vanuatu. Satisfied that this was the heavenly Arcady promised to him by the Almighty, he took possession in the name of God and King Philip of Spain, naming it Austrialia del Espíritu Santo, the subtly embedded 'i' recalling Philip's descendancy from the house of Austria. A settlement of New Jerusalem was established beside a river called the Jordan. Every member of the crew was created a Knight of the Holy Ghost, a new order of chivalry, and ordered to wear its insignia on their breasts. But steadily it dawned on the ailing Quirós that his treasured continent was just another Pacific island, and by June all three ships were back at sea. In circumstances that remain forever unclear, Quirós became separated from the fleet and found his way back to Mexico, then to Spain where he spent his last seven years in privation, battling for recognition against a barrage of chastisement.

After a lengthy and exhaustive introduction, Celsus Kelly devotes the remaining pages of his first volume to the journal of Martín de Munilla, 'chaplain and vicar' of the fleet and commissary of the Franciscan friars in the Quirós expedition. The second volume includes a translation of the complementary journal, or *Sumario*, of Juan de Iturbe, appointed 'overseer' and 'accountant' by the viceroy of Peru, together with every other known document relating to the preparations, despatch and results of the voyage, and Quirós's reception on his return to Spain.

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. Translated and edited by John A. J. de Villiers, 2nd series, 18, 1906.

These journals of two Dutch voyages, independent though marginally linked, were originally published together in a Dutch edition of 1619. From that edition came translations into French, Latin and English, abstracts and abridgements, all of which introduced errors. This edition is translated from the original Dutch publication. The titles may mislead modern eyes: van Speilbergen's 'Indian' covered what later became the East Indies, which he approached by Magellan's westerly route from Europe, and Le Maire's 'Australian' implied only 'southern'. Thus both accounts are of voyages to Dutch East India company possessions by way of the southwestern Atlantic Ocean – van Speilbergen's through the Strait of Magellan, Le Maire's by an alternative westerly route discovered purposely to avoid the Strait.

In 1614 Joris van Speilbergen, a Flemish captain employed by the company, commanded a fleet of six vessels 'to sail through the Magelanes Strait and the Southern Sea to India' – essentially a voyage to report on and strengthen Dutch commercial and governmental influences in the East Indies. Between January and early May 1615 he made a successful passage along the coasts of Brazil and Patagonia and through the Strait of Magellan. Thereafter the fleet proceeded along the west coast of the Americas to California, battling with Spanish ships and raiding settlements. They crossed the Pacific to the Ladrões and Philippine Islands, then to the Moluccas and Java. Arriving in Jakarta in early September 1660, van Speilbergen reported in to the offices of the Dutch governor-general and the Company, and also met Jacob Le Maire, a fellow countryman in serious trouble.

The Dutch East India Company at that time held exclusive Dutch rights to use the Strait of Magellan. In 1615 leading merchants in the Dutch town of Hoorn sought to break the Company's monopoly by finding an alternative route westward to the Indies. Le Maire, a son of one of the merchants, commanded two ships, the *Eendracht* and *Hoorn*, on a voyage to investigate the seas south of Tierra del Fuego, where Drake had been blown by contrary winds in 1578. Le Maire sailed from Texel in mid-June 1615 and reached southern Patagonia in December. At Port Desire the smaller ship *Hoorn* was accidentally destroyed by fire. Continuing alone, the *Eendracht* passed through a north–south strait off the eastern end of Tierra del Fuego (now the Strait of Le Maire), and turned west along the southern coast of the island. On 31 January 1616 he identified the southernmost point of land (actually a small islet off the coast), naming it Cape of Hoorn to honour their lost ship and the expedition's home town. The voyage continued north to the Juan Fernández islands, then westward across the Pacific Ocean to the Cocos Islands, New Guinea and Java.

In Jakarta Le Maire's ship and goods were sequestered by an official of the Company, in the belief that the ship had passed illicitly through the Strait of Magellan. Van Speilbergen too appears to have doubted Le Maire's story of finding a new passage. However, given the responsibility of taking Le Maire and members of the *Eendracht*'s crew back to the Netherlands, he may later have discussed matters with his passenger and changed his view. Le Maire died on board on 22 December 1616, and van Speilbergen accounted him 'a man endowed with remarkable knowledge and experience in matters of navigation'.

Both journals, but especially van Speilbergen's, include additional notes and reports on the politics of rival Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and British interests in the spice-producing

East Indies. Both are illustrated with naïve but informative ‘bird’s eye views’ of the places visited.

***The Three Voyages of Edmond Halley in the Paramore 1698–1701.* Edited by Norman J. W. Throver, 2 vols, 2nd series, 156 and 157, 1982.** (Volume 2 is a separate pocket-bound portfolio of facsimiles of Halley’s Atlantic and Channel charts without accompanying text).

Edmond Halley (1656–1742) was a physicist with interests in astronomy, mathematics, meteorology, tides, and terrestrial magnetism, in particular the practical application of these disciplines to maritime navigation. Soon after leaving Oxford in 1676, from a base on the South Atlantic island of St Helena, he compiled a first star catalogue of the southern hemisphere, recording also weather, magnetic and pendulum observations. In 1680 he first observed the large comet that today bears his name. In 1683 he published *A Theory of the Variation of the Magnetical Compass*, and in 1691 a paper on the possibility of measuring the distance between earth and the sun by observing transits of Venus across the sun. At about the same time he proposed a series of oceanic voyages to measure variations of the magnetic compass.

Though in his travels he had never previously commanded a ship, in 1696 he was given command of HMS *Paramore*, a small naval vessel, on a voyage to measure magnetic variation in the northern Atlantic Ocean. Starting in October 1698, he made a circuit lasting 8½ months from London to Madeira and the Cape Verde Islands, then to Paraíba (Brazil), north to Antigua and back to London. Despite difficulties with the crew, due in part to his lack of naval experience, but rather more to the hostility of some of the officers, the voyage yielded promising scientific results. A second voyage, from September 1699 and lasting almost a year, included a sweep into the southern Atlantic Ocean that took him almost as far south as South Georgia. From these two voyages Halley was able to publish a first chart of magnetic variation covering the whole of the Atlantic Ocean. His third voyage, from mid-June to mid-October 1701, was restricted to the English Channel. This volume includes notes on Halley’s career, day-by-day accounts of the three voyages from manuscripts in the British Library, and over 100 contemporary documents arising from or relating to the voyages.

***Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóia to the Straits of Magellan.* Translated and edited by Clements R. Markham, 1st series, 91, 1895 (1894).**

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was a captain in the service of the king of Spain, and in Markham’s view ‘one of the most eminent Spanish scientific navigators of the sixteenth century’. Following Drake’s piratical raids on the west coast of South America in 1558, Sarmiento was instructed to establish fortified settlements in the Strait of Magellan. After making a first reconnaissance and full survey of the Strait in 1579, he returned to Spain to report to King Philip II and assemble materials and personnel for the settlements. In Seville he recruited some 400 soldiers and settlers, embarking them in a fleet of warships and transports. This volume includes Sarmiento’s reports of establishing two settlements, ‘Nombre de Jesus’ and ‘Don Felipe’, on what appeared to be hospitable shores of the strait, fortified against attacks from unfriendly natives ashore, and capable of halting hostile ships in

the channel. Arriving in summer, the settlers took advantage of plentiful seals, seabirds and fish, and began clearing the ground for both firewood and crops.

Sarmiento left to return to Spain to report progress, but his ship was taken by a British privateer. He was held as a hostage, then imprisoned first in Britain, later in France, for a total of over six years. Meanwhile the settlements and their unfortunate inhabitants, though far from self-supporting, appear to have been forgotten by both the South American and homeland administrations. When the British privateer Thomas Cavendish passed through the Strait in January 1587 only fourteen of the original 400 settlers had survived. The volume contains several versions of the story translated from Spanish and edited with footnotes. The final section is an account of one survivor, made before a notary, concerning the chronic mismanagement and ultimate fate of the settlements.

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

In 1764 Captain The Hon. John Byron RN was appointed to command the frigate HMS *Dolphin*, with instructions to proceed to the East Indies where he would take up the appointment of area commander-in-chief of naval ships and vessels. These instructions were a subterfuge: the true purpose of the voyage was to take possession of 'Pepys's Island' (reported to lie in lat. 47° to 48°S some 80 leagues east of South America) or failing that, of the Falkland Islands; to explore the southern ocean west of Cape Horn, then head north to seek a northern passage back to the Atlantic Ocean – all in the interests of establishing British trade routes, and in strict secrecy to avoid Spanish and French rivalry. As a midshipman in Anson's disastrous voyage of 1740–44 Byron had endured shipwreck in southern Patagonia, and was regarded as competent to meet the hazards of high latitudes at either end of the world.

Accompanied by the smaller frigate HMS *Tamar*, Byron left England in July 1764. The ships sailed south down the South American coast to restock with wood and water at Port Desire, then headed eastward to the Falkland Islands, where in January 1765 he took possession and left a small settlement at Port Egmont, unaware of a French settlement already established in Port Saint-Louis. Choosing not to search eastward for Pepys's Island, he returned briefly to Port Desire, then entered the Strait of Magellan to meet and re-victual from a naval store ship. The *Dolphin* and *Tamar* emerged from the western end of the strait in early April, and headed north to the Juan Fernández Islands. By this time Byron judged his ships unfit for the planned voyage northward along the west coast of the Americas, so continued northwestward across the mid-latitude Pacific Ocean, discovering only a few previously unrecorded islands before returning to Britain via the Cape of Good Hope. Though unremarkable in itself, this voyage marked the start of a decade of southern ocean exploration by Royal Navy ships, culminating in the voyages of Captain James Cook.

The Discovery of Tahiti. A Journal of the Second Voyage of H.M.S. Dolphin Round the World, under the Command of Captain Wallis, R.N., in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768. Written by her Master George Robertson. Edited by Hugh Carrington, 2nd series, 98, 1948.

Readers of Helen Wallis's account of Carteret's voyage round the world (2nd series 124 and 125) may wonder what happened to Capt. Samuel Wallis in HMS *Dolphin* after their unceremonious parting in April 1768 at the western end of the Strait of Magellan. This volume answers the question. Wallis, the senior officer whom Carteret was under orders to accompany, continued alone in a successful voyage in which he discovered Tahiti, and returned to England almost a year earlier than Carteret.

Carrington's account of the *Dolphin's* voyage is based upon the journal of George Robertson, the sailing master, written from June 1766 when he joined his ship in the Thames, to August 1767 off the mid-Pacific island of Uea (formerly Wallis Island). Thereafter the ship continued westward to the Cape of Good Hope, and came to anchor in the Thames on 20 May 1768. The *Dolphin's* outward voyage from England to South America was uneventful, though with progress constantly marred by the slowness and unseaworthy condition of her sadly mis-named companion HMS *Swallow*. Between 18 December 1766 and 11 April 1767 the two ships shared what is possibly the longest and most hazardous recorded passage of the Strait of Magellan – an ordeal that Robertson describes with un-fussing detail and professional confidence. This volume, published shortly after the editor's death in 1947, is refreshingly free of footnotes, and well served by a long introduction and nine appendices detailing the technicalities of anchors, rigging, compasses, and other matters relevant to this and other contemporary voyages. Why did Wallis abandon Carteret on the threshold of the Pacific Ocean, without stopping to explain? Appendix F details the circumstances, freeing Wallis from any possible charges of breaches of duty or courtesy.

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

Captain Philip Carteret left the Downs on 11 August 1766 in the sloop *Swallow*, as consort to the larger, faster and better-equipped ship *Dolphin* under the command of Capt. Samuel Wallis. Wallis's secret orders, disclosed to Carteret in Madeira, were to proceed first to Port Egmont, the newly-established colony on the Falkland Islands, then to round Cape Horn or pass through the Strait of Magellan ('as you shall find most convenient') and seek the land 'of great extent' that was believed to lie in the southern Pacific Ocean between Cape Horn and New Zealand – a task that Carteret believed far beyond the capacity of his small, ill-founded and ill-equipped ship.

The *Dolphin* and *Swallow* entered the strait on 17 December. Carteret's journal records a nightmare passage taking almost four months, at the end of which the *Dolphin* disappeared. In Carteret's view, on emerging from the strait, Wallis had taken advantage of the *Dolphin's* speed to abandon his consort and proceed alone. The rest of Carteret's journal concerns his long voyage westward across the Pacific on the southern fringe of the trade winds. He found no new land except the minute Pitcairn Island, but he encountered a deal of bad weather and hardship, including scurvy, acute shortage of fresh water, and a battle with natives on the island of Santa Cruz in which eight of his men were wounded, four

subsequently dying. After a long, conscientious but unremarkable return through the East Indies, Carteret reached England on 20 March 1769. Wallis had returned some ten months earlier from a more successful and less hazardous voyage in which he discovered Tahiti; for a full account see 2nd series, 98.

***The Pacific Journal of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, 1767–1768.* Edited by John Dunmore, 3rd series, 9, 2002.**

The Seven Years War (1756–63) left France bankrupt and stripped of colonial possessions. Louis de Bougainville, a French naval officer who had fought in Canada during the conflict, convinced his government that French expeditions should explore the world for strategically placed territories that other powers had not yet claimed. In 1763 he had set up a colony of expatriated French-Canadians on the Iles Malouines – a group named for the French fishing port of St Malo – where the settlers had taken refuge, but which Britain called the Falkland Islands. His expedition of 1767, undertaken with government support, was planned as a two-year voyage to China via the South Seas, and to explore the Pacific in a further search for unadopted territories.

Dunmore's edition is based on Bougainville's original shipboard journal, with some seventy pages of editorial notes and introductory material, and six appendices including extracts of journals by other participants in the voyage. Bougainville sailed from Brest on 5 December 1766 in the frigate *Boudeuse*, making a long but uneventful crossing to Montevideo and Buenos Aires. There in late March and April his first commitment was to surrender his Malouines colony to the Spanish authorities, a decision forced on him by the French government in response to pressure from Spain. Other events, including the late arrival of the storeship *Etoile* which was to accompany him, delayed him in South America for a further six months, and it was not until mid-November that the ships could leave for the Pacific Ocean.

Their passage through the Strait of Magellan took a wearying two months. With over half his allotted time gone, Bougainville decided not to attempt visiting China, but instead to concentrate on discoveries in the central Pacific Ocean. The major part of the voyage is more relevant to other Hakluyt Society regional guides. Continuing westward via the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, the East Indies and the Indian Ocean, he returned to France on 16 March 1769.

***The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery.* Edited by J. C. Beaglehole.**

Volume 1. *The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768–1771.* Extra series, 34a, 1955 (reprinted, with addenda and corrigenda, 1968).

***Charts & Views Drawn by Cook and his Officers and Reproduced from the Original Manuscripts.* Edited by R. A. Skelton, Extra series, 34b, 1955** (second edition 1969). An accompanying portfolio of 58 loose maps, charts, plans, profiles, views and other illustrations.

Volume 2. *The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure 1772–1775.* Extra series, 35, 1961 (reprinted, with addenda and corrigenda, 1969).

Volume 3, part 1. *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776–1780.* Extra series, 36a, 1967.

Volume 3, part 2. *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776–1780. Extra series, 36b, 1967.* (A separate pamphlet, *Cook and the Russians*, consisting of six documents translated from Russian sources, edited by J. C. Beaglehole, was published in 1973 as an addendum to this volume).

Volume 4. *The Life of Captain James Cook* by J. C. Beaglehole. Extra series, 37, 1974. (First separately published by A. and C. Black, 1974, then for the Hakluyt Society).

These Hakluyt Society volumes rather confusingly dwell in five blue-bound tomes, a portfolio, and a slim pamphlet. Between them they constitute an unmatched account of the life, times and achievements of the celebrated English navigator and explorer. The introduction to Volume 1 points out that previous accounts of Cook's three major voyages of discovery, based on his own journals and published in his lifetime or shortly after, all bear the stigma of selective editing. Though Cook was a shrewd and accurate observer whose style plainly reflects the man, 'his own record of his voyages has never till now been faithfully printed from the manuscripts written in his hand.' This edition is Beaglehole's remedy, based on three surviving holograph journals, accompanied generously by Admiralty instructions, letters, journals by Cook's shipmates, maps, artwork and other wide-ranging but relevant background information.

Volume 1 deals with Cook's first voyage into the southern oceans, ostensibly to support a transit of Venus expedition, but also to seek the elusive unknown continent in the southern hemisphere. In this voyage Cook surveyed much of the New Zealand coast, and explored mid-latitudes sufficiently to conclude that no unknown landmass lay within them.

Volume 2 covers the second voyage south, in which Cook, still in search of *Terre Australis Incognita*, circumnavigated in higher latitudes, twice crossed the Antarctic Circle, and penetrated the pack ice to latitude 71°10'S. There, unknowingly touching the fringe of an ice-covered continent, he concluded that 'the ice extended quite to the pole.' This voyage also features in 2nd series, 152–155, the journal of the *Resolution*'s naturalist Johann Reinhold Forster.

Volume 3 covers Cook's third voyage which, centred on the Pacific Ocean, explored high northern latitudes in an attempt to discover a sea passage from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic. Parts 1 and 2 of this volume are substantial tomes. Part 3, published six years later, is by comparison a thin and easily overlooked pamphlet concerning the expedition's visit to Kamchatka, based on Russian material that was not previously known to the editor.

Volume 4 is the definitive biography of Cook, based largely on his own and contemporary documents – a fitting conclusion to John Beaglehole's monumental study.

The Hakluyt Society's coverage of Cook's voyages does not end at this point: readers are also referred to the three splendid volumes of *Charts & Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages* edited by Andrew David and others (below).

***The Charts and Coastal Views of Captain Cook's Voyages.* Chief editor Andrew David; assistant editors Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith. The Hakluyt Society in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities, 3 vols, Extra series 43, 44 and 46, 1988, 1992 and 1997.**

Volume I: *The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768–1771.*

An Introduction of fifty pages with seventeen plates (together with a frontispiece of a full-colour reproduction of the 'lost' portrait of Cook by William Hodges, with the misleading inscription, 'Captⁿ. James Cook of the Endeavour') includes Cook's hydrographic instructions for the voyage, sections on his early career and on his *Endeavour* surveys and coastal views, 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 which contains 312 charts and coastal views of the *Endeavour* voyage arranged in chronological order and accompanied by extensive editorial notes. They are divided by region: Tenerife, the coast of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, Tierra del Fuego (29 January to 10 April 1769, pp. 47–70, the section 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 surveys 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 her boats.

Volume II: *The Voyage of the Resolution and Adventure 1772–1775.*

An Introduction of eighty-five pages with forty plates (together with a full-colour frontispiece of the 1776 portrait of Cook by Nathaniel Dance) 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 surveys and coastal views, the scientific results of the voyage, other surveyors, artists and draughtsmen, the use of colour, 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. Three appendixes 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 Bayly for the voyage.

The main part of the volume is a Descriptive Catalogue which contains 267 charts and coastal views of the voyage, arranged in chronological order, and accompanied by extensive editorial notes. They are divided by region. The sections of relevance to this guide are Charts of the Southern Hemisphere, 1772–5 (pp. 45–62), followed by Charts and Coastal Views of Cape Town to Tasmania and New Zealand (23 November 1772 to 26 March 1773; pp. 63–98), Tierra del Fuego (17 December to 4 January 1775; pp. 291–306), South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands (16 January to 3 February 1775; pp. 307–322). 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.

Volume III: *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776–1780.*

An extensive Introduction of more than a hundred pages together with forty-six plates (and a full-colour frontispiece of John Webber's portrait of Cook) has sections on the expedition's astronomical, survey and navigational instruments, the surveys 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 and the publication of the charts and coastal views, select bibliographical references and a descriptive inventory of collections. The Introduction concludes with appendices on the Board of Longitude's instructions to William Bayly, the foreword to Bayly's 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.

The main part of the volume is a Descriptive Catalogue which contains the charts and coastal views of the voyage arranged in chronological order, and accompanied by extensive editorial notes. The section of relevance to this guide covers the Prince Edward, Marion and Kerguelen Islands, 12–30 December 1776 (pp. 7-30). 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 Resolution Journal of Johann Reinhold Forster 1772–1775.* Edited by Michael E. Hoare, 4 vols, 2nd series, 152, 153, 154 and 155, 1982.**

These four slim volumes, all issued in 1982, publish (in the words of the editor's preface) 'the most recently discovered – and perhaps the last – of the unknown journals kept by any of the principals of Cook's voyages'. Hoare's first volume introduces Forster, a German cleric, zoologist and polymath, and George, his artist son, and details how they came to be appointed as naturalists on James Cook's second voyage of circumnavigation.

The journal begins in London in May 1772, two months before the start of the voyage, with Forster's own account of the circumstances leading to his appointment. Volume 1 takes HMS *Resolution* and *Adventure* only as far as Cape Town, which they reached in mid-November. Volume 2 continues the voyage southward into the pack ice, then across the Antarctic Circle to the fringes of Antarctica itself. From there the ships headed eastward across the Indian Ocean to reach Dusky Bay, New Zealand in late March 1773, and the Society Islands in September 1773. Volume 3 continues the story through the mid-Pacific islands. Volume 4, covering the final year of the voyage, tells of the *Resolution's* eastward sweep from New Zealand to Cape Horn and Staten Island, and Cook's discoveries in early 1775 of South Georgia and the southern South Sandwich Islands. The *Resolution* returned to Cape Town on 22 March, and to England in July 1775. Hoare's edition records how, often in acute discomfort, the Forsters worked assiduously to collect and record biological specimens and phenomena, thoroughly justifying the presence of dedicated naturalists aboard a naval exploring expedition.

***The Journal of Jean-François de Galaup de la Pérouse 1785–1788.* Translated and edited by John Dunmore, 2 vols, 2nd series, 179 and 180, 1994–5.**

Following James Cook's widely publicized voyages of 1768–80, France decided to support a similar voyage of geographical and scientific discovery, concentrating where possible on

areas of the Pacific Ocean that Cook had for various reasons missed. In command was Jean-Francois de Galaup de La Pérouse, a distinguished naval officer, heading a team of hydrographers, scientists, artists and others whose reports would bring both credit and commercial advantage to France.

The expedition's two ships, *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, left Brest in July 1785, on routine courses to the Pacific via Brazil, Patagonia and Cape Horn. In the Pacific Ocean they headed northward to Easter Island, Hawai'i, the northwest coast of America, China, the Philippines, Formosa, Korea and Kamchatka. From there they travelled south, reaching Botany Bay, New South Wales, in January 1788. After a stay of two months they set off on a journey that would take them northeastward among the Pacific Islands. No more was heard of them, and their fate remained unknown until, some forty year later, wreckage of the two ships was found on Vanikoro, an island in the Solomon group.

Fortunately La Pérouse had sent copies of his detailed and highly informative journals, together with maps and charts, back to France from Russia: a record that was edited for publication in France in 1797. This edition by J. Dunmore centres on the journal, but like all other Hakluyt Society publications the volume includes extensive background information on the preliminaries, the circumstances of the voyage and the consequences, all of which place La Pérouse's voyage firmly in its late-eighteenth-century context. The passage southward along the coast of South America, through the Le Maire Strait, and round the Horn may barely justify the inclusion of La Pérouse's voyage in a southern oceans guide, and much more about it will be found in other guides. However, almost uniquely, and in contrast to other harrowing accounts, this part of the voyage occupied only a few days, with minimal hardship, and in almost perfect weather.

***The Malaspina Expedition 1789–1794. The Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina.* Edited by Andrew David, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, Carlos Novi and Glyndwr Williams, 3 vols, 3rd series, 8, 11 and 13, 2001, 2003 and 2004.**

In 1788 Alejandro Malaspina and Jose Bustamante, two officers of the Spanish navy, planned a voyage to survey and inspect Spanish territories in the Americas and Philippine Islands, with the joint aims of providing reliable hydrographic charts and reporting on the political, economic and defensive state of the colonies. The Ministry of Marine provided two newly-built corvettes, *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, with up-to-date hydrographic equipment and a team of scientists and artists. The voyage started in Cadiz in July 1789 and extended over five years, returning to the same port on 20 September 1794. Much of this three-volume account, based mainly on Malaspina's journal, is concerned with events in the tropical, temperate and northern Pacific Ocean, reaching beyond 60°N on the coast of present-day Alaska. These aspects of the expedition – an enterprise comparable in scope and professional competence with the voyages of James Cook – are more relevant to other Hakluyt Society regional guides.

However, Volume 1 provides a valuable Introduction by Donald C. Cutter, and an account of the outward voyage to Montevideo, Puerto Deseado (Port Desire), exploration below Cape Horn to latitude 60°S, and a survey of settlements visited along the west coast of southern South America. Volume 3 concerns the return journey in which, southward from Callao, the *Descubierta* stayed close to the west coast, while the *Atrevida* proceeded independently to survey East Falkland Island. Bustamante surveyed especially Puerto de la

Soledad (Berkeley Sound), reporting critically though constructively on the small convict settlement administered from Buenos Aires. Later in the month he searched for the ‘Aurora Islands’, which were believed to lie southeast of the Falklands. He recorded a number of possible sightings within a field of icebergs, but the existence of the islands remained doubtful, and they later disappeared from the charts. The ships met again in Montevideo in early-to-mid February, where war with Britain required them to wait three months while a convoy formed round them. They left finally on 21 June 1795 for a slow and uneventful return to Cadiz.

All three volumes report minutely on the hydrographic work, but both captains clearly also took considerable interest in the political and social aspects of colonial life which they had undertaken to survey. Volume 3 also contains details of the ships, officers and crews, and of the surveying instruments and books used. There is a further discussion of the expedition in the published version of Andrew David’s 1999 Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture (see bibliography).

***George Vancouver: A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World 1791-1795.* Edited by W. Kaye Lamb, 4 vols, 2nd series, 163, 164, 165 and 166, 1984.**

George Vancouver, an officer of the Royal Navy who had served as a midshipman with James Cook, left England on 1 April 1791 on a voyage of discovery and hydrographic survey. During the next three and a half years the voyage would take him via the Cape of Good Hope to the southwestern coast of Australia, then into the central and Pacific Ocean, and northward along the coast of North America from Mexico to Alaska.

This four-volume work is based on an annotated version of Vancouver’s own journal, which he published in three volumes in 1798. To the journal is added much editorial material by W. K. Lamb, notably an extensive introduction in Volume 1 and ten appendices in Volume 4. Though the work is concerned mainly with surveys north of the equator (more relevant to other Hakluyt Society regional guides), Volume 4 includes an account of the homeward voyage southward along the coast of South America from March 1794. Vancouver’s two ships, HMS *Discovery* and *Chatham*, desperately unfit for service after three years at sea, called at Valparaíso to seek essential repairs to masts and spars. The Spanish authorities received them with courtesy and helped so far as they could, allowing the crews a welcome rest and for many to recover from scurvy. Meanwhile Vancouver made an overland journey to Santiago to pay his respects to the governor of Chile, recording in his journal details of the settlements and conditions of the inhabitants. From there the ships continued slowly southward, plagued by blustery weather that ravaged rotting sails and rigging, and delays allowing the slower *Chatham* to catch up with the *Discovery*. After a late-season rounding of Cape Horn and a slow return passage up the Atlantic to St Helena, they arrived back in England on 20 October 1794.

***The Discovery of the South Shetland Islands. The Voyage of the Brig Williams, 1819–1820 and the Journal of Midshipman C.W. Poynter.* Edited by R. J. Campbell, 3rd series, 4, 2000.**

The South Shetland Islands, a group of heavily-glaciated islands lying on the northern flank of Antarctic Peninsula, were discovered on 19 February 1819 by a merchant captain, William Smith, during a voyage in the brig *Williams* from Buenos Aires and Montevideo to Valparaíso. Taking an unusually wide sweep southward to find favourable winds, he noted an appearance of land in 62°S, 60°W. In Valparaíso he reported his find to the senior British naval officer, Captain Shirreff, who thought it likely to be a sighting of icebergs and took no action. On the return voyage to Montevideo in winter Smith tried to revisit the position, but found his way blocked by floating ice. In an October east–west voyage Smith confirmed his find, followed some 150 miles of coast, and sent a boat ashore to claim ‘New South Britain’ for King George III. This convinced Shirreff, who reported the discovery to the Admiralty and hired Smith’s brig to take a naval survey team south for a thorough survey.

In command was William Bransfield, a Master RN and experienced hydrographer. The team included three midshipmen, of whom one, Charles Wittet Poynter, had sufficient seniority to serve as Bransfield’s mate and second-in-command. Campbell’s volume is based on an edited version of Poynter’s journal (recently discovered in New Zealand), but includes a wealth of additional information on related topics – including nineteenth-century Antarctic exploration and shipping in the southern South American area, methods of navigation and survey, accounts of Smith’s three voyages, and alternative accounts of Bransfield’s voyage based on contemporary news reports. Also included are notes on three expeditions by sealers (who had already learnt of the discovery, probably in the bars of Valparaíso, and were harvesting seal skins and oil in the 1819–20 season), and comments by other contemporary authorities on the geographical, political and commercial significance of Smith’s discovery.

***The Voyage of Captain Bellingshausen to the Antarctic Seas 1819–1821. Translated from the Russian.* Edited by Frank Debenham, 2 vols, Cambridge, 2nd series, 91 and 92, 1945.³**

Often erroneously referred to as Bellingshausen’s journal, this is rather a narrative, first published in two volumes in 1831,⁴ compiled from Bellingshausen’s own and other journals, logbooks and other documents, none of which survive. In fact Bellingshausen’s manuscript journal was so carelessly edited by several hands before publication that Mikhail Lazarev, who commanded the second ship *Mirny*, later complained about this treatment in a letter now in the Russian Naval Archives. The work was first translated into English during World War I but lay forgotten until the Russian scholar Edward Bullough corrected its faults and executed a new translation, completing it in 1924. With Bullough’s permission, Debenham had the translation reviewed by N. Volkov, who was a descendant of Lazarev, and also approached the Russian Admiralty with a view to studying the original documents. The

³ This article substantially corrected, with thanks, by Rip Bulkeley, author of *Bellingshausen & the Russian Antarctic Expedition, 1819-21*, 2014.

⁴ *Dvukratnyia izyskaniya v yuzhnom ledovitom okeanie i plavanie vokrug svieta, v prodolzhenii 1819, 20 i 21 godov: sovershennyia na shliupakh Vostokie i Mirnom, pod nachalstvom Kapitana Bellingsgauzena, Komandira shliupa Vostoka. Shliupom Mirnym nachalstvoval Leitenant Lazarev*, St Petersburg, 1831, 2 vols.

Russians agreed, but the journals could not be found, leaving Debenham to make what he could of the disparate styles and contributions of the various editors and translators.

The books record the progress of a Russian naval expedition that, some fifty years after Cook's voyages, set out on a similar but complementary exploration into the southern oceans. The introduction to the first volume outlines the origins and early naval career of Faddei Faddeyevich Bellingshausen (1778–1852), a Baltic German officer in the Russian Navy, who in 1819 took command of two sloops, *Vostok* and *Mirny*, with instructions 'to carry out a voyage of discovery in the high southern latitudes, and to circumnavigate the ice-belt of the southern Polar Circle'. The intention was to visit areas that Cook had been unable to reach, and add to surveys that he had been unable to complete. Fully equipped with copies of Cook's charts and navigational notes, the two ships left Kronstadt on 4 July 1819 for visits first to London, then to the southern Atlantic Ocean. Bellingshausen added first to Cook's surveys of South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, then headed further south into the loose pack ice. Like Cook, Bellingshausen sailed as far south as the ice allowed and then skirted the ice fields east-about, probing south wherever possible. Debenham was the first to point out that in February 1820 Bellingshausen probably saw ice-cliffs of what was later recognized as the coast of Antarctica. When forced to break off by the onset of winter the squadron refitted at Sydney and then spent two months exploring New Zealand and the South Pacific islands.

In October the expedition left Sydney again, paid a brief visit to Macquarie Island, then continued south and east along the ice edge. By January 1821 they were south of Cape Horn, where they discovered Peter I Island and Alexander I Coast, both named for Russian tsars. Running north to the recently-discovered South Shetland Islands (see 3rd series, 4, below), Bellingshausen met the young Nathaniel Palmer, an American sealer who had conducted an extensive reconnaissance of the area. From there they headed north for a return visit to Rio de Janeiro, then to Lisbon and home to Kronstadt, which they reached on 24 July 1821.

The voyage was remarkable for its excellent health record due to crew conditions and diet (the two ships lost only one man to disease), for the precision of its navigation, and for the quality of Bellingshausen's reporting. The text includes the expedition's four sets of orders plus information about the ships, their crews, and preparations for the voyage. Though there were no naturalists on board, artists provided good illustrations of wildlife. There are maps in back pockets of both volumes.

Four Travel Journals. The Americas, Antarctica and Africa 1775–1874. Edited by Herbert K. Beals, R. J. Campbell, Ann Savours, Anita McConnell and Roy Bridges, 3rd series, 18, 2007.

Of this volume's four parts, only the second and third directly concern travel and exploration in the southern oceans. Part 1, which describes an early Spanish expedition to the west coast of North America, is here mentioned briefly because the editor's introduction includes notes on the Spanish navy, and Iberian/British relationships in both North and South America, that students of southern maritime history might find useful. Part 4, telling how the body of the explorer David Livingstone was carried from northern Zambia to London, is summarised in the Hakluyt Society regional guide to Africa.

Part 1: ‘The 1775 Journal of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra’. Edited by Herbert K. Beals.

Juan Francisco, a junior Spanish naval officer stationed in Mexico, in March 1775 unexpectedly found himself in command of a schooner, the *Sonora*, on a mission to survey Spanish possessions along the Pacific coast of North America. This journal, translated from eighteenth-century Spanish, tells a harrowing story of an ill-conceived voyage in two poorly-matched and inadequately provisioned ships, charged with the task of penetrating unknown waters to 65°N. The relevance of this work to southern ocean studies lies in Beals’s introduction, which provides background information on eighteenth-century Spanish naval, geographical and navigational terminology, and a summary of Spanish, Portuguese and British maritime relationships following the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas.

Part 2: ‘The Journal of HMS *Beagle* in the Strait of Magellan by Pringle Stokes, Commander RN, 1827’. Edited by R. J. Campbell.

In 1826 Captain Phillip Parker King in HM Survey Vessel *Adventure*, and Captain Pringle Stokes in HMS *Beagle*, were instructed to survey the southern tip of South America from the River Plate in the east to the island of Chiloe in the west – an operation that would occupy several years and include a definitive survey of the Strait of Magellan. This account is an edited and annotated version of Stoke’s journal, written for Captain King, his superior officer, describing his survey of the western end of the Strait between 5 January and 10 March 1827, and detailing the difficulties of operating a sailing ship in a narrow and tortuous channel against almost constantly hostile winds. Stokes was well informed on the works and reports of his predecessors, and interested in the natural history of his surroundings. His work contributed to Admiralty charts that remained in use for well over a century. Campbell’s editorial matter includes a valuable ‘Hydrographic history of Estrecho de Magallanes (Strait of Magellan)’, summarising the voyages that contributed to knowledge of the strait from Magellan’s discovery onward.

Part 3: ‘Journal kept by Midshipman Joseph Henry Kay during the Voyage of HMS *Chanticleer*, 1828–1831’. Edited by Ann Savours and Anita McConnell.

In 1828 Captain Henry Foster, in the Royal Navy barque HMS *Chanticleer*, undertook a voyage of scientific research in ‘Equatorial, Middle and Southern latitudes’ of the Atlantic Ocean, from 10°N to the fringes of the pack ice zone. The main objective, defined by scientists of the Royal Society of London, was to use standard pendulums to discover the laws underlying variations in gravity at different points of earth’s surface, from which it was hoped would be determined the true shape of the planet. Other objectives included investigations into terrestrial magnetism, astronomy and meteorology, all concerned with improving navigation and chartwork. Henry Kay, a fourteen-year-old midshipman, quickly grasped the principles both of scientific observation and travel reporting. His ‘Private Journal’, maintained as a significant component of his training, covers only the first part of the voyage, including visits to Patagonia, Staten Island, and Deception Island in the recently-discovered ‘New South Shetland Islands’. He gives a lively account of day-to-day life in a naval survey ship, with notes on excursions ashore, encounters with wildlife and American sealers, and helping Foster with the scientific observations. The editors’ introductory material

adds biographic details of Kay, Foster and other officers, and outlines the scientific programme and its outcome.