Charles Darwin as a young man, drawn by George Richmond in 1840.
To my godmother
NORA BARLOW
in the affectionate hope that I have
lived up to her standards
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The end papers show a track chart of the *Beagle*’s voyage from Captain FitzRoy’s *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty’s Ships Adventure and Beagle*, Vol. II, 1839
Introduction

The inception of the voyage of the Beagle, 1831–1836

In February 1830, Captain Robert FitzRoy RN, newly appointed to command HMS Beagle, was engaged on a survey of the western part of Tierra del Fuego in the neighbourhood of the Gilbert Islands. One of the principal obstacles that he encountered in carrying out his allotted task was the incorrigible tendency of the local inhabitants to steal anything on which they could lay their hands, including most exasperatingly the ship’s whale-boat. In an attempt to curb their thieving, he captured several of them as hostages, but this move failed to achieve its purpose, because the Fuegians preferred the retention of their booty to the release of their comrades. Thus it was that FitzRoy took on board the Beagle the Fuegians who were named Fuegia Basket, Boat Memory and York Minster, adding later the boy Jemmy Button, purchased for the price of a mother-of-pearl button in the Murray Narrow, further to the east. Becoming deeply interested in their welfare, FitzRoy then conceived the notion of taking them back to England to be educated for a while, and later returning them to Tierra del Fuego to pass on the benefits of civilization to their people.

In October 1830 the Beagle and Adventure arrived back in England, and FitzRoy set out to put his ideas into effect. Boat Memory died soon afterwards of smallpox, but with the aid of the Vicar of Walthamstow the other three began their schooling in English. In the summer of 1831, FitzRoy was summoned to present his Fuegians to the King and Queen, who expressed their gracious approval of his plans for them. However, the Lords of the Admiralty were, perhaps predictably, less than sympathetic with the proposal that the navy should undertake the responsibility of repatriating the three Fuegians, and FitzRoy was obliged to ask for twelve months’ leave of absence so that he could charter a boat at his own expense in order to return them to their native land. This leave was duly granted, but in the end did not have to be taken, because FitzRoy’s influential relatives were able to prevail on the Admiralty to reappoint him to the command of the Beagle, thus enabling him to combine his
somewhat eccentric scheme with the more readily acceptable objective of completing the survey of the coast of South America. In writing his daily journal for 24 January 1830, and concerned at finding substantial compass variations in the neighbourhood of the Fury and Magill Islands in the western part of Tierra del Fuego, FitzRoy had recorded:

There may be metal in many of the Fuegian mountains, and I much regret that no person in the vessel was skilled in mineralogy, or at all acquainted with geology. It is a pity that so good an opportunity of ascertaining the nature of the rocks and earths of these regions should have been almost lost. I could not avoid often thinking of the talent and experience required for such scientific researches, of which we were wholly destitute; and inwardly resolving that if ever I left England again on a similar expedition, I would endeavour to carry out a person qualified to examine the land; while the officers, and myself would attend to hydrography.¹

When the Beagle was recommissioned in 1831, FitzRoy followed up this resolution by proposing to the Hydrographer of the Navy, Captain Francis Beaufort, ‘that some well-educated and scientific person should be sought for who would willingly share such accommodation as I had to offer, in order to profit by the opportunity of visiting distant countries yet little known’.²

Captain Beaufort proceeded to consult a friend, George Peacock of Trinity College, Cambridge, for the name of an appropriate candidate, and the post was first offered by Peacock to the Rev. Leonard Jenyns, Vicar of Swaffham Bulbeck. However, Jenyns felt unable to desert his parish, and Peacock therefore turned for further advice to Professor John Stevens Henslow, Professor of Botany and previously of Mineralogy in the University, a leading light in its scientific life who kept open house where undergraduates and senior members could mix. One such undergraduate was Charles Darwin, who through his passionate interest in beetle-collecting had become a close friend of Henslow’s, and was known in university circles as ‘the man who walks with Henslow’.³ Darwin had recently been persuaded by Henslow to remedy at the hands of Professor Adam Sedgwick the distaste for geology which he had acquired through the dullness of the lectures in the subject that he had previously attended at Edinburgh University, and was at the time accompanying Sedgwick on a brief geological field trip to North Wales.
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So it came about through this somewhat haphazard chain of events that CD found awaiting him at home on 29 August 1831 the fateful letters from Peacock and Henslow suggesting that he should accompany FitzRoy as the Beagle’s naturalist and geologist. His immediate reaction was to accept the offer, but his father felt that it would be ‘a useless undertaking’ most unsuitable to his chosen profession as a clergyman. However, Robert Darwin qualified his opposition by adding, as CD recorded in his Autobiography, ‘If you can find any man of common sense, who advises you to go, I will give my consent’. The following day, CD rode over to visit his Wedgwood cousins at Maer, and found a strong supporter in his uncle and future father-in-law Josiah Wedgwood II, who at once provided a detailed list of arguments setting Robert’s misgivings at rest. Paternal opposition was gracefully withdrawn, and on 1 September 1831 CD wrote to Captain Beaufort ‘with my acceptance of the offer of going with Capt. FitzRoy’.  

The Beagle Diary

Once installed on board the Beagle, CD embarked on the manuscript recording his daily activities throughout the voyage of which this volume is a transcript. He generally referred to it as his ‘Journal’, but it will be entitled here The Beagle Diary, in order to avoid confusion with the publications for which it eventually provided the principal source of material. The text has previously been transcribed and edited by Nora Barlow, and appeared as Charles Darwin’s Diary of the Voyage of H.M.S. ‘Beagle’, the first of her many notable contributions to Darwin scholarship. This new version corrects a small number of unimportant errors in the earlier edition, and endeavours to conform with the standards of preserving the original punctuation and spelling that have been set by the editors of The Correspondence of Charles Darwin. In order to prepare it, I have mainly used the excellent facsimile of the manuscript that was produced by Genesis Publications in 1979, with reference to the original at Down House in order to check up on certain points of detail.

The manuscript was written throughout in ink on gatherings of paper making pages 20 by 25 cm in size, faintly lined and with a red marginal line. An impressive feature is the manner in which the lay-out adopted by CD for the first entry dated 24 October 1831 was retained almost unchanged through 751 written pages to the final one of 7 November 1836. Each entry opens with the day of the month, and for the first fresh entry on a new page the month itself is given as well. The year and place
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appear at the top of the page as running headings. A similar lay-out has been retained in the transcript, except that the month is shown only when it changes, and appears instead in the running heading. For the first few months, Mondays are often indicated, and later some but not all Sundays. The pages are numbered top left, and this original pagination is indicated throughout the transcript between vertical lines. Between pp. 15 and 109 of the manuscript, CD has written only on the odd-numbered pages, while on what should be p. 554 he has mistakenly put 534 and continued without correcting his mistake. As a result, the total number of pages of writing is 751 rather than the figure of 779 shown on the final page. His handwriting is almost invariably clear and legible, and despite his complaints (see p. xvii) about the difficulty of composing such a narrative, there are astonishingly few revisions to the sentences that would appear to have been made at the actual time of writing, and thus with no change in ink or pen. The majority of the corrections to the manuscript were evidently made at a later stage, when sections of it were being prepared for publication.

The diary was normally written up only during periods spent on board the Beagle, or in a house on shore, and did not accompany CD on most of his excursions inland. Hence although the text always reads as though it was written within a short while of the events described, there are several instances on the occasions of his long journeys on horseback in Patagonia and Chile where many weeks elapsed before the diary could be brought up to date. This is proved by references at several points to occurrences that actually took place long after the date of the entry. Thus in the entry for 4/7 September 1833 he refers to the finding of a horse’s tooth at St Fé Bajada, which he did not in fact visit until 10 October, five weeks later. Between the entries for 30 December 1835 and 12 January 1836 there is a note dated February in brackets, suggesting that once again he was catching up with his writing after a gap of a month or more. And there is an even longer gap of some three and a half months between the occasion on 26 March 1835 where he describes being bitten by the Benchuca bug at a village near Mendoza and then mentions ‘one which I caught at Iquiquí’, and the Beagle’s actual arrival at Iquique on 13 July 1835.

While CD was travelling on shore, he kept brief pencil notes in a series of pocket books of which eighteen concerned mainly with details of his travels together with general field notes on geology and natural history are preserved at Down House, except for one that has been lost but was microfilmed in the 1970s. Extracts from some of them were published by Nora Barlow in Charles Darwin and the Voyage of the Beagle, and for some of his
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early excursions, the pocket book entries are full of detail, and as in the
example quoted in footnote 2 for 8 April 1832, did not require much
elaboration when written up for the diary. During the following two
months when he lived at Botafogo, he wrote very little in his pocket book,
and presumably recorded his activities immediately in the diary. Later
pocket book entries vary in the fullness with which place names and other
minutiae were recorded, and particularly for the last and longest of his
South American expeditions from Valparaíso to Copiapó between 27
April and 4 July 1835, CD appears to have relied on his memory to a
considerable extent when producing the account for each successive day
in the diary.

The writing of the diary did not at first come easily. On 2 April 1832 CD
wrote to Caroline Darwin:

I am looking forward with great interest for letters, but with very
little pleasure to answering them. — It is very odd, what a
difficult job I find this same writing letters to be. — I suppose it is
partly owing to my writing everything in my journal: but chiefly
to the number of subjects; which is so bewildering that I am
generally at a loss either how to begin or end a sentence. And this
all hands must allow to be an objection. — ¹¹

Three weeks later, he told her:

I send in a packet, my commonplace Journal. — I have taken a fit
of disgust with it & want to get it out of my sight, any of you that
like may read it. — a great deal is absolutely childish: Remember
however this, that it is written solely to make me remember this
voyage, & that it is not a record of facts but of my thoughts. — &
in excuse recollect how tired I generally am when writing it. —
. . . Be sure you mention the receiving of my journal, as anyhow
to me it will [be] of considerable future interest as it [is] an exact
record of all my first impressions, & such a set of vivid ones they
have been, must make this period of my life always one of
interest to myself. — If you speak quite sincerely, — I should be
glad to have your criticisms. Only recollect the above mentioned
apologies. — ¹²

The first response came from Catherine Darwin on 25 July 1832, when
she wrote encouragingly:

I cannot tell you how interesting and entertaining we find your
letters and Journal, and what great joy it gives all the house
when we have such happy accounts of you in every way . . . If
you wish to have my Criticisms, I must say I think your descrit-
tions most excellent, and gave me most lively pleasure in reading them . . . Susan read the Journal aloud to Papa, who was interested, and liked it very much. They want to see it at Maer, but we do not know whether you would choose that, and must wait till we hear from you, whether we may or not. It shall be kept most carefully for you. —³¹

On 5 July 1832 CD wrote to Catherine Darwin: ‘My journal is going on better, but I find it inconvenient having sent the first first part home on account of dates—²⁴ On 3 November 1832 he reported to Caroline Darwin:

Although my letters do not tell much of my proceedings I continue steadily writing the journal; in proof of which the number on the page now is 250. — . . . I am glad the journal arrived safe; as for showing it, I leave that entirely in your hands. — I suspect the first part is abominably childish, if so do not send it to Maer. — Also, do not send it by the Coach, (it may appear ridiculous to you) but I would as soon loose a piece of my memory as it. — I feel it is of such consequence to my preserving a just recollection of the different places we visit. — When I get another opportunity I will send some more. —²⁵

Writing again to Catherine from Maldonado on 14 July 1833, CD notified her that he had sent home another instalment (apparently the second) of his diary, but added: ‘The journal latterly has not been flourishing, for there is nothing to write about in these well-known-uninteresting countries. —²⁶ Caroline Darwin responded on 28 October 1833 with the criticism for which he had asked, when she wrote:

I am very doubtful whether it is not peri in me to criticize, using merely my own judgement, for no one else of the family have yet read this last part—but I will say just what I think—I mean as to your style. I thought in the first part (of this last journal) that you had, probably from reading so much of Humboldt, got his phraseology & occasionally made use of the kind of flowery french expressions which he uses, instead of your own simple straight forward & far more agreeable style. I have no doubt you have without perceiving it got to embody your ideas in his poetical language & from his being a foreigner it does not sound unnatural in him— Remember, this criticism only applies to parts of your journal, the greatest part I liked exceedingly & could find no fault, & all of it I had the greatest pleasure in reading. —²⁷
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The other comments from his sisters were uniformly complimentary, except that Susan found fault with his spelling.\textsuperscript{18}

Writing to Catherine Darwin in July 1834, CD replied:

I am much pleased to hear my Father likes my Journal: as is easy to be seen I have taken too little pains with it. — My geological notes & descriptions of animals I treat with far more attention: from knowing so little of Natural History, when I left England, I am constantly in doubt whether these will have any value. — . . . Thank Granny for her purse & tell her I plead guilty to some of her [spelling corrections], but the others are certainly only accidental errors. — Moreover I am much obliged for Caroline\'s criticisms (see how good I am becoming!) they are perfectly just, I even felt aware of the faults she points out, when writing my journal. — 19

Setting aside his misgivings, however, CD continued to keep his diary up to date with meticulous care and attention to detail. There were few significant references to it in his correspondence with his sisters until on 29 April 1836, when the number on the page had reached 725, he wrote to Caroline Darwin from Mauritius:

Whilst we are at sea, & the weather is fine, my time passes smoothly, because I am very busy. My occupation consists in rearranging old geological notes: the rearrangement generally consists in totally rewriting them. I am just now beginning to discover the difficulty of expressing one\'s ideas on paper. As long as it consists solely of description it is pretty easy; but where reasoning comes into play, to make a proper connection, a clearness & a moderate fluency, is to me, as I have said, a difficulty of which I had no idea, — I am in high spirits about my geology. — & even aspire to the hope that my observations will be considered of some utility by real geologists . . . The Captain is daily becoming a happier man, he now looks forward with cheerfulness to the work which is before him. He, like myself, is busy all day in writing, but instead of geology, it is the account of the Voyage. I sometimes fear his 'Book' will be rather diffuse, but in most other respects it certainly will be good: his style is very simple & excellent. He has proposed to me, to join him in publishing the account, that is, for him to have the disposal & arranging of my journal & to mingle it with his own. Of course I have said I am perfectly willing, if he wants materials; or thinks the chit-chat details of my journal are any ways worth publish-
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He has read over the part I have on board, & likes it. — I shall be anxious to hear your opinions, for it is a most dangerous task, in these days, to publish accounts of parts of the world which have so frequently been visited. It is a rare piece of good fortune for me, that of the many errant (in ships) Naturalists, there have been few or rather no geologists. I shall enter the field unopposed. — I assure you I look forward with no little anxiety to the time when Henslow, putting on a grave face, shall decide on the merits of my notes. If he shakes his head in a disapproving manner: I shall then know that I had better at once give up science, for science will have given up me. — For I have worked with every grain of energy I possess. —

The publication of the Journal of Researches

Once back in England, CD’s immediate concern was to place his collections of specimens in expert hands for classification, but this done he turned to the question of the publication of his diary. On 7 December 1836 he wrote to Caroline Darwin from London:

> My plans have, since being here, become more perplexed, with respect to the Journal part. I am becoming rather inclined to the plan of mixing up long passages with Capt FitzRoy. D’ Holland looked over a few pages, and evidently thought that it would not be worth while to publish it alone, as it would be partly going over the same ground with the Captain. The little D’ talked much good sense, and, what was far more surprising much sincerity. I shall go on with the geology and let the journal take care of itself.

However, members of CD’s family were unhappy both with Dr Holland’s judgement and with FitzRoy’s suggestion of joint authorship. On 17 December 1836 Emma Wedgwood, CD’s future wife, wrote to Fanny Wedgwood, her sister-in-law:

> Catherine tells me they are very anxious to have your and Hensleigh’s real opinion of Charles’s journal. I am convinced Dr Holland is mistaken if he thinks it not worth publishing. I don’t believe he is any judge as to what is amusing or interesting. Cath. does not approve of its being mixed up with Capt. FitzRoy’s, and wants it to be put altogether by itself in an Appendix.
This view was reinforced when Hensleigh Wedgwood wrote to CD three days later:

In short there is more variety and a greater number of interesting portions than in 99,100ths of the travels that are published. I should not have the least doubt of it’s success & I think the less it is mixed up with the Captains the better. If D’Holland read your journey from the Rio Negro & thought it would not do for publication it only affects my opinion of his taste & not the least in the world the merits of the thing itself. I liked your account of Keeling island, but your theory of the lagoon islands seemed to us not quite clearly enough explained.  

The matter was quickly settled when FitzRoy himself wrote to CD on 30 December 1836: ‘While in London a few days since I consulted M’ Broderip about Capt King’s Journal. He recommended a joint publication such as is sketched in the accompanying paper. One volume might be for King—another for you—and a third for me. The profits if any, to be divided into three equal portions. — What think you of such a plan? —’

CD at once set to work on the preparation of his volume. In August 1837 he was able to send the first proofs to Henslow for criticism, and on 4 November he wrote to his mentor:

If I live till I am eighty years old I shall not cease to marvel at finding myself an author: in the summer, before I started, if anyone had told me I should have been an angel by this time, I should have thought it an equal improbability. This marvellous transformation is all owing to you. — . . . I sat the other evening gazing in silent admiration at the first page of my own volume, when I received it from the printers!

In November 1837 difficulties arose when FitzRoy took sudden and quite unjustified offence at what he regarded as CD’s failure to make proper acknowledgement of the help of his shipmates, but this was soon resolved, and by the end of February 1838 both CD’s and King’s volumes had been printed, while FitzRoy proceeded more slowly with his own.

On 1 April 1838 CD was able to report to Susan Darwin:

The Captain is going on very well, — that is for a man who has the most consummate skill in looking at everything and every body in a perverted manner. — He is working very hard at his book, which I suppose will really be out in June. I looked over a few pages of Captain King’s Journal: I was absolutely forced against all love of truth to tell the Captain that I supposed it was very
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good, but in honest reality no pudding for little school-boys ever
was so heavy. — It abounds with Natural History of a very trashy
nature. — I trust the Captain’s own volume will be better. — 28

August 1839 finally saw the publication under the imprint of Henry
Colburn of the Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty’s Ships
Adventure and Beagle between the Years 1826 and 1836, describing their
Examination of the southern Shores of South America, and the Beagle’s Circum-
navigation of the Globe. Volume I was by Captain King, and Volume II and
an Appendix by Captain FitzRoy, while Volume III was sub-titled ‘Journal
and Remarks. 1832–1836. By Charles Darwin, Esq., M.A.’ In order to
provide illustrations for Vols. I and II, FitzRoy obtained from Augustus
Earle and Conrad Martens a series of watercolours of various places
visited by the Beagle, several of which have been reproduced in The Beagle
Record. These were then engraved by T. Landseer, S. Bull and others, and
some are reproduced here. Volume III was not illustrated. The demand
for CD’s volume immediately exceeded that for the other two, and before
the end of the year Colburn brought out a separate second impression
with the title changed to Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural
History of the Countries visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle round the
World, under the Command of Capt. FitzRoy, R.N. A third issue appeared in
1840. In 1845 CD made extensive revisions to the text, and the order of the
wording of the title was changed to become Journal of Researches into the
Natural History and Geology . . . . The copyright was sold for £150 to John
Murray, and it appeared with a dozen illustrations as Vol. XII of his
Colonial and Home Library. This is the familiar edition of the Journal of
Researches, which has since been reprinted many times without further
alteration, and has been translated into many languages. Of it, CD wrote:
‘The success of this my first literary child always tickles my vanity more
than that of any of my other works.’ 29

In order to arrive at a text suitable for publication, CD chose to adhere
to a geographical rather than a strictly chronological unity, and confined
to single chapters his accounts of places such as Tierra del Fuego and the
Falkland Islands that were visited by the Beagle twice at an interval of a
year or more. Although many of the entries in the original diary appeared
in print as they stood, about one third were omitted altogether from the
published version, and others were somewhat abridged. A considerable
amount of scientific material was then added, drawn by CD from the
extensive notes on geology, zoology, ornithology and botany, again
based on jottings in the little pocket books, that he had entered up
separately. In the end, only about half of the 182,000 words in the
manuscript diary were incorporated in the *Journal of Researches*, the final length of which was 223,000 words. The picture given in the present volume of CD's share in the voyage of the *Beagle* hence preserves the continuity that he sacrificed to some extent in his better known work, and constitutes an account of his daily activities that is matchless in its immediacy and vivid descriptiveness.

**Darwin and FitzRoy**

In conclusion, something needs to be said here about FitzRoy's motivation for taking a scientist with him to South America, and about his relations during the voyage with the scientist whom he chose as his companion, since on both questions unfortunate misconceptions have tended sometimes to arise.

It would surely have been one of the major ironies of scientific history had it really been the case, as was claimed by de Beer, Moorehead, Mellersh and others, that FitzRoy's basic purpose in including a naturalist in the complement of the *Beagle* was to establish the literal truth of the account of the Creation given in the first book of Genesis, for the ultimate outcome was precisely the reverse. However, as has already been seen (see p. xii), FitzRoy's original objective was the strictly practical one of having a trained geologist with him, and despite CD's somewhat limited experience in this field beforehand, he must have filled this role to FitzRoy's satisfaction. Moreover, although there is no doubt that FitzRoy was deeply distressed when, long afterwards, his geologist was revealed as the champion of evolutionary biology, he was on his own showing far from being a confirmed believer in the Bible at the actual time of the voyage. In the final chapter of Volume II of the *Narrative*, he wrote:

> While led away by sceptical ideas, and knowing extremely little of the Bible [my italics], one of my remarks to a friend, on crossing vast plains composed of rolled stones bedded in diluvial detritus some hundred feet in depth, was 'this could never have been effected by a forty days' flood,'—an expression plainly indicative of the turn of mind, and ignorance of Scripture. I was quite willing to disbelieve what I thought to be the Mosaic account, upon the evidence of a hasty glance, though knowing next to nothing of the record I doubted:—and I mention this particularly, because I have conversed with persons fond of geology, yet knowing no more of the Bible than I knew at that time.
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The friend in question was evidently CD, and the occasion was their expedition up the Rio Santa Cruz.

Elsewhere in the chapter, FitzRoy nevertheless attempted vigorously and at inordinate length to reconcile the biblical account of the Flood with the geological evidence. To some extent, he did try to face up to the facts, as for example when he wrote:

In crossing the Cordillera of the Andes Mr Darwin found petrified trees, embedded in sandstone, six or seven thousand feet above the level of the sea: and at twelve or thirteen thousand feet above sea-level he found fossil sea-shells, limestone, sandstone, and a conglomerate in which were pebbles of ‘the rock with shells.’ Above the sandstone in which the petrified trees were found, is a great bed, apparently about one thousand feet thick, of black augitic lava; and over this there are at least five grand alternations of such rocks, and aqueous sedimentary deposits, amounting in thickness to several thousand feet. These wonderful alternations of the consequences of fire and flood, are, to me, indubitable proofs of that tremendous catastrophe which alone could have caused them;— of that awful combination of water and volcanic agency which is shadowed forth to our minds by the expression ‘the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.’

But many of his other arguments were palpably absurd. These passages were, however, written early in 1839, by which time, following his marriage soon after the return of the Beagle to England, FitzRoy had undergone a religious conversion, and had become a convinced fundamentalist. There can be no doubt whatever that he did not hold such extreme views when in 1831 he invited CD to sail with him. It was CD rather than FitzRoy who afterwards recalled that: ‘Whilst on board the Beagle I was quite orthodox, and I remember being heartily laughed at by several of the officers (though themselves orthodox) for quoting the Bible as an unanswerable authority on some point of morality.’

Having disposed of the myth that the voyage was punctuated by quarrels on this particular issue between CD and his Captain, what of their true relations with one another? They can never have been entirely smooth, for it is abundantly clear not only that FitzRoy had a somewhat violent temper, but also that he had manic-depressive tendencies which in the end led to his suicide; and for the two men to have shared extremely cramped quarters on board ship for nearly five years in all weathers must have imposed exceptional strains. Concluding a dispassionate account of
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FitzRoy’s personal qualities, CD wrote many years later: ‘His character was in several respects one of the most noble which I have ever known, though tarnished by grave blemishes.’ It would be quite wrong, however, to paint too black a picture of FitzRoy’s faults. There is no indication at all of the occurrence of sustained disagreements with him in any of CD’s letters home nor in this diary, and one cannot read the letters exchanged between them during the voyage, without receiving the impression that for the bulk of the time they remained on the most cordial terms, with real quarrels that were remarkably few and far between. The final word should remain with CD, when on 20 February 1840 he wrote to FitzRoy:

However others may look back to the Beagle voyage, now that the small disagreeable parts are well nigh forgotten, I think it far the most fortunate circumstance in my life that the chance afforded by your offer of taking a naturalist fell on me. — I often have the most vivid and delightful pictures of what I saw on board pass before my eyes. — These recollections & what I learnt in Natural History I would not exchange for twice ten thousand a year.

Endnotes to Introduction

1 See Narrative 1: 385.
2 See Narrative 2: 18.
3 See Autobiography p. 64.
4 See Correspondence 1: 135–6.
8 There are 51 gatherings altogether, of which 44 consist of 8 leaves (16 pages), while the seven others consist of 1 leaf (pp. 1–2), 14 (pp. 3–30), 6 (pp. 141–52), 7 (pp. 393–406), 3 (pp. 407–12), 16 (pp. 584–615) and 4 (pp. 777–84) leaves.
9 For a complete list of CD’s Beagle records see Appendix II in Correspondence 1: 545–8.
11 See Correspondence 1: 219.
12 See Correspondence 1: 226–7.
13 See Correspondence 1: 253.
14 See Correspondence 1: 246–7.
15 See Correspondence 1: 276–9.
16 See Correspondence 1: 314.
17 See Correspondence 1: 345.
18 Susan wrote: ‘there is one part of your Journal as your Granny [CD’s name for her] I
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shall take in hand namely several little errors in orthography of which I shall send you
a list that you may profit by my lectures tho’ the world is between us. — so here goes. —
right according to sense

loose, landscape, highest
profil, cannibal
peaceful, quarrel

lose, landscape, highest
profile, cannibal, peaceable
quarrel. — I daresay these errors
are the effect of haste, but as
your Granny it is my duty to
point them out. —’

See Correspondence 1: 366.
20 See Correspondence 1: 495-6.
21 See Correspondence 1: 524.
22 See Correspondence 1: 526.
23 See Correspondence 1: 530.
24 See Correspondence 1: 535.
25 See Correspondence 2: 53-4.
26 See Correspondence 2: 57-9.
27 See Correspondence 2: 75-6.
28 See Correspondence 2: 80-1.
1968.
33 See Narrative 2: 698-9.
34 Quoted from p. 28 of Extracts from Letters addressed to Professor Henslow by C. Darwin,
Esq., read at a Meeting of the Society on the 16th of November 1835. Printed for distribution
among the Members of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, 1 December 1835.
36 See Autobiography p. 85.
37 See Autobiography pp. 72-6.
38 See Correspondence 1: 326, 334–6, 406-7.
39 See Correspondence 2: 254-6.
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My greatest indebtedness is to the editors of the *Correspondence*, on whom I have drawn heavily for their listing in their Appendix II to Volume I of Darwin’s *Beagle* records and in their Appendix IV to Volume 1 of the books on board the *Beagle*, for much helpful material in their footnotes, and in preparation of the Biographical Register. My thanks are also due to the following for help and advice in different ways on a variety of points: Dr Arturo Amos, Silvia Aramayo, Professor Duccio Bonavia, Professor Carlos Chagas, Dr Gordon Chancellor, Paul Downham, Dr Ian Forster, Dr Patricio Garrahan, Peter Gauthrey, Natalie Goodall, Randal Keynes, Dr Simon Keynes, Dr David Kohn, Edgar Krebs, Professor Aristides Leão, Professor Carlos Monge, Dr Luis Rinaldini, David Scrase, David Stanbury, Dr David Stoddart, Professor Rudolf Trümpy, Mrs Margaret Twinn. Not least, I owe a great deal to my wife for her forbearance, help and encouragement at all times.
Note on editorial policy

As far as possible, my aim has been to adopt the practices laid down and explained in full by the editors of *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin*, though I am very conscious that I have not always achieved the same high standards. Thus CD’s own spelling, idiosyncratic though it may be for certain words – *broad*, *throughly*, *until*, *neighbourhood*, *yacht*, *monotonous*, are some of them – has been retained throughout, even where the mistake is a clear slip of the pen. Where there is doubt, and there is no difficulty in deciding what CD’s exact intention should have been, for example in the case of adding the final *s* to the plural of a noun, I have generally given him the benefit of it. Similarly, where it is hard to decide whether a word starts with a lower case or capital letter, I have used a capital in the cases of proper names and places. His abbreviations appear as nearly as possible as they are written, with ‘&’ almost invariably used in place of ‘and’ during the first years of the voyage, but less so in its last few months. In other instances where, as Sulloway has shown (see *Journal of the History of Biology* 16: 361–90, 1983), useful information for dating purposes may be derived from a systematic study of CD’s spelling habits, it should be noted that some of his mistakes were evidently put right only after the end of the voyage. In such cases I have shown the final corrected spelling, and reference has to be made to the original manuscript or the facsimile to see what was actually written.

CD’s somewhat erratic punctuation has in the main been respected, and I have restored the numerous dashes that were cut out in Nora Barlow’s edition. However, an awkward problem is raised in this respect by the many dots that might either be regarded merely as ‘pen rests’, or taken as commas or full stops. I have tried to deal with the frequent uncertainties that thus arise either by omitting these dots, or by showing them as appropriate punctuation marks, in accordance with modern usage and the sense of the passage concerned. In doing this, my decisions have often been rather arbitrary, although in general erring on the side of helping the reader. The extracts quoted from the field notes preserved at Down House have been treated in the same fashion.
In order to avoid confusion with editorial footnotes, some of the marginal notes added by CD himself have been incorporated in brackets in the text, and identified as Note in margin. Marginal notes in another hand, any of CD’s notes that seem to require an explanation, and those which do not fit in at an obvious point, have been dealt with in footnotes, as have all revisions to the text that materially affect its meaning. It is important in this connexion to appreciate that the manuscript Diary is not the exact document that was forwarded by CD to his family in instalments from South America, or brought back with him in 1836. It provided CD with the backbone of the account of the voyage that he gave in his Journal of Researches, and the majority of the revisions to the text and the marginal notes were probably made in 1837 while he was editing it for publication. Although in theory it might be possible to discriminate between corrections made at the time of writing without a change in ink or pen, and those made later, it would not be at all easy. The transcript presented here represents the final text embodying all CD’s corrections, whenever they were made. In the many places where the order of the wording was revised within a sentence with no significant alteration in the information conveyed, the final version appears without comment. Wherever whole sentences or parts of them were deleted, this is recorded in a footnote. All the changes have been listed in ‘Alteration Notes’ similar to those appearing in The Correspondence of Charles Darwin, which have been deposited in the Cambridge University Library for use by anyone wishing to consult them, but in view of the public availability of the facsimile for detailed study, are not included here.

The basic layout of the manuscript diary has been slightly modified in that for the daily entries, the month is given as well as the day of the month only when it changes, but is shown with the year as a running heading at the top of the page along with the place. CD’s original paragraphing has been respected throughout, except that wherever a date in the margin or body of the text indicates the start of a different day, a fresh entry is begun. The pagination of the manuscript is shown by the numbers between vertical lines, thus [00].

Words underlined once by CD are shown in italics, and those underlined twice in bold type. His own round brackets are retained, while editorial interpolations of obviously missing words or letters are shown within square brackets. The rather few words that are illegible are so marked.
Principal sources of references

Narrative 1
Narrative of the surveying voyages of His Majesty’s Ships Adventure and Beagle, between the years 1826 and 1836, describing their examination of the southern shores of South America, and the Beagle’s circumnavigation of the globe. Volume I. Proceedings of the first expedition, 1826–1830, under the command of Captain P. Parker King, R.N., F.R.S. Henry Colburn, London, 1839.

Narrative 2

Journal of Researches


Zoology 1

Zoology 2
Principal sources of references

Autobiography

CD and the Voyage

Beagle Record

Correspondence 1

Correspondence 2