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978-1-108-07823-8 - The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe González to Easter Island, 1770–1:
Preceded by an Extract from Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen's Official Log of His Discovery
of and Visit to Easter Island

Edited by Bolton Glanvill Corney

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The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe González to Easter Island, 1770–1

In 1722, on Easter Sunday, Dutch explorer Jacob Roggeveen became the first European to visit the Polynesian island of Rapa Nui. He named it Easter Island. Decades later, concerned that the British intended to establish a Pacific base, the Spanish ordered an expedition to the South Pacific from Peru. Felipe González de Ahedo (1702–92) landed on Easter Island in November 1770 and claimed it for the Spanish crown. These English translations of the first-hand accounts from these two expeditions were prepared by the antiquarian and bibliophile Bolton Corney (1784–1870) and published for Hakluyt Society in 1908. The reports of the first European impressions of the enormous *moai* make clear their wonder at the mysterious monolithic statues, and their incredulity that the island inhabitants had the means to carve and move such structures. This illustrated work will be of interest to historians of early exploration in the Pacific.

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*Colossal figure of basaltic stone from EASTER ISLAND, known as
HOA-HAKA-NANA-IA.*

*Presented to the BRITISH MUSEUM in 1869, by Her Majesty
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IN THE SHIP OF THE LINE SAN LORENZO,
WITH THE FRIGATE SANTA ROSALIA IN COMPANY,
TO
EASTER ISLAND

IN 1770—I :

PRECEDED BY AN EXTRACT FROM
MYNHEER JACOB ROGGEVEEN'S OFFICIAL LOG
OF HIS DISCOVERY OF AND VISIT TO
EASTER ISLAND,
IN 1722.

TRANSCRIBED, TRANSLATED, AND EDITED
BY
BOLTON GLANVILL CORNEY,
Companion of the Imperial Service Order.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

By ADMIRAL SIR CYPRIAN BRIDGE, G.C.B.

This is now more than twenty years since I had the good fortune to make Dr Corney's acquaintance at Suva, the then recently established capital of our colony of Fiji. In 1896, when I was again serving on the Australian Station, Dr Corney accompanied me in my flag-ship on a voyage from Suva to Sydney. It was then that I, and indeed, all the officers and men of the ship, fully understood the keenness of the interest taken by him in the history of Pacific navigation and the enthusiastic manner in which he devoted himself to the study of it. Not many of those who heard it will have forgotten the lecture on the subject that we succeeded in inducing him to deliver to an audience of the officers and ship's company. The reason why he has paid me the compliment of asking me to contribute to this volume an introductory note, probably is that he knows that many years of my life were spent in navigating the Pacific Ocean and that I have landed upon more than a hundred South Sea Islands. My first acquaintance with them dates back to 1855 when, as a midshipman, I visited Honolulu—or as sailors then always called it—Wahoo, referring to the island on which it is situated.

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The least observant voyager in the Pacific must have been struck by the frequency with which Spanish and Dutch names appear on the chart of that ocean. Dr Corney is doing good service to the cause of geographical history and justice to the bold and enterprising navigators of an earlier time in once more reminding us of the work of exploration, amidst difficulties not easy to comprehend in these days, performed by the fine seamen of Spain and the Netherlands.

The trite saying, that history repeats itself, is once more exemplified in the volume now edited by Dr Corney. The commercial exclusiveness, which actuated Spain's policy in her American colonies, is well known and has been frequently dwelt upon. What was far less known is now clearly brought to light by the contents of the documents collected and translated by Dr Corney. This is the apprehension on the part of the Spanish colonial officials that some foreign state—notably England—was endeavouring to acquire in the South Seas what would now be called a naval station. Passages in the despatches of the Viceroy of Peru, Don Manuel de Amat, show that this apprehension was one of the principal causes of the voyage to Easter Island of Captain Don Felipe Gonzalez. The passages in question might, indeed, be substituted, with but little change, for the newspaper statements, with which we are so familiar in these days, as to the efforts of some one or other European continental state to get a "coaling station" in remote seas. It would be instructive to be told whether in the eighteenth century the British Admiralty was beset by as many amateur strategists recommending, regardless of war conditions or foreign complications, the seizure of some distant port for a station, as it was in the last years of the nineteenth. The amateur naval strategist is not usually a reticent person; and it is not impossible that such as existed in England in the eighteenth century had loquacity

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enough to permit a knowledge of their proposals to reach the Spanish government. Whether or not this led to the expedition of Don Felipe Gonzalez, that undertaking distinctly advanced geographical knowledge. It does not now seem much more antiquated than Wilkes'. Many of the facts recorded about the natives of Easter Island are still to be observed amongst their kinsmen in other islands. Their presence on the island named is one amongst the many proofs of the widely extended and mysterious migrations of the Polynesian race that meet the navigator in the South Seas.

Easter Island is one of the islands that I did not have the good fortune of visiting ; though I once passed not very far from it in a long voyage of eighty-one days from San Francisco to Valparaiso in 1856.

CYPRIAN A. G. BRIDGE.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE feature to which this volume of the Hakluyt Society's publications is chiefly intended to give prominence is the collection of Journals and Despatches it presents relating to a voyage conducted, in 1770, under instructions¹ issued by the Viceroy of Peru in obedience to a Royal Command², for the purpose of annexing a portion of land in the Eastern Pacific Ocean believed to lie about six hundred leagues west from the coast of Chile, in the latitude of Copiapo. The expedition which the Viceroy fitted out to accomplish this adventure comprised two vessels of the Royal Navy of Spain, the SAN LORENZO, ship of the line, of sixty-four guns³, under the command of Don Felipe Gonzalez, and the SANTA ROSALIA, frigate, of twenty-six guns, in charge of Don Antonio Domonte. The former officer was an elderly naval captain who had brought the same ship out from Cadiz to Callao earlier in the year; he was now appointed to take charge of the expedition, and became in fact its Commodore.

¹ These instructions were issued on Oct. 5, a copy of them was sent home to the Secretary of State for the Indies in the Viceroy's despatch n^o 363, but has not been found.

² The Royal Command was issued on Oct. 26, 1769, but this also has not been met with.

³ By some accounts she could mount seventy.

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The land they were instructed to search for, and explore, and annex to the dominions of the Spanish monarch, was that which had been reported by Edward Davis in 1687, and was still somewhat mystically designated the "Island of David." What they did find proved to be the same as *Padsch* or Easter Island—a name which had been bestowed upon it by Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen, who, in 1722, was the first European to definitely discover and set foot upon its shores. Pending a determination of its identity the Spaniards favoured its earlier designation, *Tierra de David*, or Davis's Land, of which more anon: and they carried with them instructions to rename it after their Sovereign, which they loyally obeyed, though its appellation of *San Carlos* has not survived.

That the circumstances attending this undertaking might now be made the more clear it has been judged useful to include in this volume a translation of Roggeveen's official log—in so far as it relates to his discovery and examination of Easter Island and its weird native possessors. All the narratives and correspondence herein brought to light are presented in the form of original translations now for the first time made available to the English general reader. For though the incidents ascribed to the Dutchman's visit gained early notoriety through the writings of his companions, and have continued to be widely known, such is by no means true of their commander's official version; while the accounts of the Spaniards' transactions have remained still more remote, and indeed obscured, from public view.

Two, if not three, accounts of Roggeveen's expedition were published soon after his return to Europe, from the pens of persons who sailed with him; and these constituted for more than a century all the information regarding the enterprise which was made known,—if we except some rather inaccessible particulars of the occurrences on his

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arrival at Java, as related in Du Bois' *Lives of the Governors-General of the Netherlands Indies*¹. Some details regarding these accounts are given in a subsequent page of the present volume, and a new and independent translation of a portion of the more reliable one, in so far as it deals with the visit to Easter Island, is presented as an Appendix. It was not until 1836, however, that the official log of the commander himself came to light; it was printed a couple of years afterwards at Middelburg, in the original Dutch, under the title *Dagverhaal der Ontdekkings-Reis van Mr Jacob Roggeveen*²; being edited from the autograph manuscript by a committee appointed by the Zeeland Association of Science, and published with the approval of the Minister for the Colonies. It is practically a sealed book to the generality of English readers; and down to the close of 1903 it did not find a place in the readers' catalogue at the British Museum.

The student who consults works of reference pretending to more than common merit will find the discovery of Easter Island attributed in some of them to the pilot Juan Fernandez; in others, to one Edward Davis, a buccaneering commander who, in 1687³, took his departure from one of the Galapagos Islands, in the good ship *Batchelor's Delight*, bound firstly to the island of Juan Fernandez mas a Tierra, and thence round the Horn to the West Indies.

It is further customary—it might be said almost universal—in the same class of books, to omit all mention of the expedition under Don Felipe Gonzalez, who was the first explorer to re-find Easter Island after the more widely known visit of Jacob Roggeveen to it eight and forty years before him.

¹ Du Bois, J. P. J.; *vide* Bibliography no. 8.

² Roggeveen, J., *Bibl.* no. 48.

³ Not 1686, as generally stated; *vide* Wafer, L., *Bibl.* no. 53.

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The claims of Juan Fernandez to the discovery of land which he is said to have described as “a very fertile and agreeable continent” depend upon hearsay evidence, and have generally been considered vague, and even untruthful¹. He is credited with concealing, for his own profit and that of his shipmates, the position of the land he or they reported; but this much appears from the statement preserved by Dr Arias, that the reputed discovery was made in the course of a voyage from Lima to Chile, in which the pilot stood off the land some forty degrees for a wind. There is nothing inconsistent in his having fallen in with Easter Island (and given an exaggerated description of its size and productions), since H.M.S. *Sulphur* under the command of Capt. Sir Edward Belcher in 1838, on quitting the Galapagos Islands bound for Callao, was carried to the vicinity of Easter Island by baffling airs and currents, and reached the longitude of 104° W. in latitude 22° S., in which situation she was actually nearer to Valparaiso than to her destination². The same may be said of Edward Davis's track and landfalls; but that the land seen by the crew of the *Batchelor's Delight* was the same Roggeveen met with thirty-five years later, and named *Padsch Eyland*, *i.e.* Easter Island, is after all only conjecture. Their identity, though repeatedly asserted, cannot be consistently maintained unless one is prepared to admit that, in so far as the range of high land described to the westward is concerned, the eyes of Davis and Wafer and the others of their crew were deceived by cloud-banks. The point has often been disputed, nay, denied, by competent critics: among whom are numbered such men as Cook, La Pérouse, Burney, Beechey, and Dalrymple; but, as a disquisition on hydrographic enigmas would overstep the

¹ *Papeles Tocantes a la Iglesia Española*. [Bibl. no. 28.]

² Belcher, E., Bibl. no. 7.

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limits of the editor's function in this volume, the reader who wishes to form a conclusion on this moot question is referred first to the original accounts hereinafter presented, next to the works of the authors just named, and finally to the modern Admiralty chart of the Pacific Ocean, Eastern part, Cape Horn to Cape Corrientes, Mexico (no. 3261). He should also not omit to read Claret de Fleurieu's *Examen Critique* appended to the narrative of the *Solide's* voyage by Étienne Marchand¹.

The true and original discoverers of Easter Island were of course the Polynesian founders of its race of native inhabitants; or possibly even an autochthonous people of remote antiquity, of whom we know nothing. The modern Easter Islanders' traditions relate that they landed on the northern side, in the bay or cove called Anakena; and anthropologists consider that their arrival must date back some seven centuries, at the lowest computation.

The purport of this volume is not to describe Easter Island or its inhabitants, but to make known to English readers the original accounts of its discovery by (1) Dutch and (2) Spanish explorers. For it has been many times "discovered," and half forgotten; and as often missed when sought for—a fact which is the less surprising when its exceptionally isolated situation and its small area are considered. There is, in fact, almost no foothold in the world (if we except the barely accessible antarctic lands) more remote from the ports of old world Powers than this arid and unfruitful spot.

In order that the correspondence and journals, of which translations follow, may be properly understood by the reader it is essential that he be acquainted with the *verbatim* accounts of Edward Davis's discovery, and they are therefore now quoted. They consist of two short statements

¹ Marchand, É., Bibl. no. 34.

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which were published a few years after the event ; the one by William Dampier, in his *New Voyage Round the World*, and the other by Lionel Wafer, in his *New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America...with remarkable occurrences in the South Sea and elsewhere*. Davis himself does not seem to have left any written record behind him, if indeed he ever kept any ; but Dampier's statement of Davis's oral report is in these words :

Captain *Davis* told me lately, That after his Departure from us at the Haven of *Rio Lexa* (as mentioned in the 8th chapter) he went after several Traverses, to the *Galapagoes*, and that standing thence Southward for Wind, to bring him about *Terra del Fuego* in the Lat. of 27 South, about 500 leagues from *Copayapo*, on the Coast of *Chili*, he saw a small sandy Island just by him ; and that they saw to the Westward of it a long Tract of pretty high Land, tending away toward the North West out of sight. This might probably be the coast of *Terra Australis Incognita*¹.

Wafer's account is in rather more detail, and has the greater merit of being written by an eye-witness ; for the author sailed with Davis in the capacity of surgeon's mate, after parting company with Captain Swan in the *Cygnnet*, with whom went Dampier to the East Indies, in 1685. It runs thus :

Accordingly we went thence again for the Southward, intending to touch no where till we came to the Island of *Juan Fernandez* ...[here follows a striking description of the shock of earthquake they felt in lat. 12°30' S. about 150 leagues from the Peruvian coastline ; being the same by which Callao suffered inundation and partial destruction in 1687]...We steered South and by East half Easterly, until we came to the Latitude of 27 Deg. 20 Min. S. when about two Hours before Day we fell in with a small, low sandy Island, and heard a great roaring noise, like that of the Sea beating upon its shore, right ahead of the Ship. Whereupon the Sailors, fearing to fall foul upon the Shore before Day, desired the Captain to put the Ship about, and to stand off till Day appeared,

¹ Dampier, Bibl. no. 18.

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to which the Captain gave his consent. So we plied off till Day and then stood in again with the Land; which proved to be a small flat Island, without the guard of any Rocks. We stood in within a quarter of a Mile of the Shore, and could see it plainly; for 'twas a clear Morning, not foggy nor hazy. To the Westward, about 12 Leagues by Judgment, we saw a range of high Land, which we took to be Islands, for there were several Partitions in the Prospect. This land seemed to reach about fourteen or sixteen Leagues in a Range, and there came thence great Flocks of Fowls. I, and many more of our Men, would have made this Land, and have gone ashore on it; but the Captain would not permit us. The small Island bears from *Capayafo* almost due East [*sic*] five hundred Leagues; and from the Gallapago's, under the Line, six hundred Leagues¹.

The clue afforded by the printed accounts of Davis's land, which Lionel Wafer and Dampier thus made public, clearly forms the basis of one part of the Articles of Instruction issued to Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen—whose expedition made under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company now claims attention—in 1722². Those Articles were “Secret and Confidential”; and when the bundle of papers which contained the official Journal was found, as presently to be described, in 1836, the Instructions were missing from the packet. But the evidence in the text of the Journal makes it quite plain (and the instructions supplied to the captains of his three ships confirm this) that one of the prime objects of Roggeveen's voyage was the

¹ Wafer, *Bibl.* no. 53. By the light of subsequent discoveries, and an improved knowledge of ocean currents, it appears probable that the “small, low sandy island” seen by Wafer was in reality the atoll “discovered” in 1797 by Capt. Wilson of the ship *Duff*, in lat. 23° 20' S. long. 134° 28' W., and named by him Crescent Island. The “range of high land” seen to the westward would in such case be the peaks of the Gambier Group, corresponding very closely to the bearing and distance quoted in the description. Crescent Island is only 3½ miles long, and nowhere elevated more than 25 feet above the sea level.

² An edition of Wafer's book was published at the Hague in Dutch, in 1698—1700; and one of Dampier's in German at Leipzig in 1702.

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discovery of the supposed *Terra Australis Incognita*, to which Davis's reputed landfall was believed to be the key, and that he was directed to search for it in the position assigned by Wafer and Dampier, five hundred leagues due West from Copiapo.

It was a few years only after the peace of Europe had been restored by the Treaty of Utrecht that the expedition despatched by the Dutch West India Company under the command of Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen sailed from the Texel on its voyage of discovery and circumnavigation. This commander was the first European to visit Easter Island, and to bring home a knowledge of its position and of its inhabitants. His remaining two ships (for one had been lost) were confiscated on his arrival at Batavia, where also he and his officers and crews were put under arrest and sent home to Holland, as he was considered to have infringed the monopoly belonging to the Dutch East India Company by navigating to a port within the Indonesian waters defined by its Charter. This injustice was subsequently righted by the law courts of the Hague; but one result of the process was that the official records of the expedition, which had already been confiscated at Batavia with the ships, were either impounded or secreted; and its events first gained general publicity through an anonymous scribe, whose account was printed in 1728 at Dordt under the title of *Tweejarige Reize romdom de Waereld*¹. The writer, whose identity has never been revealed but who appears to have been one of the persons embarked in the expedition, brought notoriety—if not ridicule—upon himself, and some discredit upon the whole undertaking, by the fanciful and palpable fictions with which he interspersed his rather illiterate narrative. A second edition of his book was nevertheless published, also at Dordt, in 1758; and a

¹ *i.e.* Two years Journey round the World.

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third at Amsterdam in 1774. All these editions are in *quarto*.

Another and better account was written in German by Carl Friederich Behrens, who sailed in Roggeveen's ship the *Arend*, in command of the marines on board, with the rank of Serjeant-Major. It presents a much more sober and trustworthy account of the voyage, and bears evidence of its author having been a man of some education and social status, and an experienced traveller. His work first appeared at Frankfurt and Leipzig, in 1737, *duodecimo*, and bears the title Carl Friederich Behrens' *Reise durch die Süd-Länder und um die Welt*¹. It was reprinted two years later at the author's own expense, by Joh. Georg Monath at Leipzig in the same form, but with the title slightly altered, being *Der wohlversüchte Süd-Länder, das ist: ausführliche Reise-Beschreibung um die Welt von Carl Friederich Behrens*². Both editions contain a portrait of Behrens and a track chart of the voyage.

A paraphrase of this in French also appeared in the same year (1739), at the Hague, somewhat amplified and improved, which bibliographers are wont to ascribe to Behrens' own labour; but the evidence that he himself was the translator appears inconclusive. The account it presents is perhaps the best of these various relations; and its title is *Histoire de l'Expédition de Trois Vaisseaux, &c., &c., Par Monsieur de B. La Haye MD.CC.XXXIX. Aux Dépens de la Compagnie*³. It is in two small volumes, generally bound together, 12mo.

Both the above writer's narratives have been many times translated and reprinted, in more or less mutilated or abridged form; and are to be met with in various historical

¹ Behrens, Bibl. no. 6.

² See Appendix I. to the present volume.

³ Monsieur de B., Bibl. no. 38.

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collections of voyages and travels—to wit, Harris and Campbell, the Abbé Prévost, De Brosses, Callander, Dalrymple, *The World Displayed*, *Nederlandsche Reizen*, Burney, and perhaps others.

There appears also to exist a rare and very brief account of the expedition which the present Editor has not seen, and which is catalogued—

“*Kort en Nauwkeurig Verhaal van de Reize door Drie Schepen in't, Jaar 1721.....om eenige tot nog onbekende Landen, omtrent de Zuid-Zee gelegen....*,” small 4to, pp. 15, calf (rare)¹ *Amsterdam 1727*.

but this is nowhere referred to in the general accounts.

These together constituted, until some seventy years ago, the sum of the evidence upon which the history of Jacob Roggeveen's discovery of Easter Island rested: and it was not unnatural that a desire for some more authoritative record should take possession of the minds of Dutch geographers and students of literature. Thus it was that about the year 1820 Heer J. van Wijk, of Kampen (a small town situated on the banks of the Yssel three or four miles above its *débouchement* in the Zuyder Zee), embarked in a systematic search for any official journal of the expedition that might still exist. Invoking the assistance of the Batavian Society, Heer van Wijk, after several years' unremitting labour, at length succeeded in meeting with official documentary evidence to the effect that a journal under Roggeveen's own hand, as also two of his shipmasters', together with the original Articles of Instruction and many other papers, had been forwarded by the Government of the Netherlands Indies to the Presidential Council at Amsterdam; and a copy also to Middelburg, in Zeeland.

¹ *i.e.* Short and Exact Account of the Voyage of Three Ships in the year 1721...towards hitherto unknown Lands, situated in the South Sea.

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Encouraged by this piece of information Heer van Wijk addressed himself to H.E. the Minister for the Colonies, Baron van den Bosch, whose powerful influence he succeeded in securing. His Excellency soon afterwards informed Heer van Wijk, however, that although he had caused a thorough search to be made among the archives of the old East India Company it had not been crowned with the desired success. Nevertheless, in case the second copy might exist in the archives of the Company's Chamber at Middelburg, of which the custodian was Heer P. Pous, this gentleman was invited to undertake a similar quest, and, in the event of the journal being there met with, to send it to His Excellency. Although the first efforts of Heer Pous were unavailing, the Minister directed him to nevertheless persevere and spare no pains for the attainment of the desired object, if possible; but his endeavours still proved fruitless. Heer van Wijk now appealed to all such persons as might have any acquaintance with tracts concerning this voyage, or who might privately possess either originals or copies of such, to be so good as to communicate with him, and thus render a substantial service to science besides contributing perhaps to their country's renown, and to place him in a position to defend so meritorious, and by Claret de Fleurieu so greatly misapprehended, a son of the Fatherland; and to confirm his discoveries as belonging to Netherlandish enterprise. However hopeless a stage the matter may then have appeared to be at, the journal of Jacob Roggeveen's expedition was nevertheless found; for Heer Pous, after having fruitlessly searched through the more extensive collection of East Indian archives, now lighted upon it by sheer chance in those of the old West India Company. He communicated his success to the members of the Zeeland Association of Science, at their meeting held on the 7th of December 1836; stating that he had, a few days previously, while

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looking for a document relating to Surinam, unexpectedly come across a bundle of papers docketed "Papers touching the confiscated West Indian ships *Arend* and *Thienhoven* dated the 30th of November, 1722."

In this manner all that had been so long looked for by Heer van Wijk and his associates was realised, and more by accident than by design; for the bundle proved to contain not merely the commander's autograph journal, but all the instructions, invoices, and other papers relating to the voyage, excepting the official instructions addressed to Roggeveen himself as commander in charge of the expedition. To cut a long story short, the Zeeland Association appointed a committee to undertake the editing of the journal as already mentioned at page xvii of this Introduction; the gentlemen to whom this task was entrusted decided that the original text should be given to the public without amendment, except in regard to mis-spelling or obvious errors of script by which, in a very few places, the sense was obscured. The result of these labours was the publication at Middelburg, in the year 1831, by the Zeeland Association of Science and with the approval of the Minister for the Colonies, of the *Dagverhaal der Ontdekkings-Reis van Mr Jacob Roggeveen* (Journal of the Voyage of Discovery by Mynheer Jacob Roggeveen). This volume was extremely well turned out, being edited with great care and good judgment, and remains an ornament to geographical literature, on whose account a high tribute of praise is due to the members of the Association by whom it was given to the world.

The above account of the finding of Roggeveen's journal is gathered, for the most part, from the *Voorberigt* (Introduction) by which it is prefaced in the printed volume, and from the *Konst- en Letterbode* 1836, no. 3.

The translation which is here given reproduces (without abridgement) the whole of the portion relating to Easter

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Island, and comprises the history of the expedition during the first fortnight of the month of April, 1722. The longitude quoted is calculated East about from the Peak of Tenerife, as shown and stated on the chart which accompanies the printed *Dagverhaal*.

The voyage of Don Felipe Gonzalez was undertaken by direction of His Catholic Majesty Don Carlos III, with the object of forestalling the suspected designs of the English, or of any other foreign nation, towards establishing for themselves colonies or naval bases in the Eastern Pacific—a remote tract of ocean which had long been the aim of Spanish ambitions, but which was beginning at the period in question to become better known than of yore, through the explorations of Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, M. de Bougainville, and, a little later, Lieut. Cook.

Some further light is thrown upon the motives by which the Court of Spain was impelled in stretching out its arm towards Polynesia, by the accounts herein gathered, from official sources, of the breakdown of M. de Surville's misguided venture in quest of Davis's Isle. It was that *fasco* that determined the destination of the *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalia*, if it did not actually give rise to their despatch: but the incentives to some step of the kind had been incubating in the Spanish mind ever since the days of Mendaña and Quiros, and the process had been more recently stimulated by the losses inflicted by Commodore Anson, the capture of Manila¹ in 1762 by a British

¹ At the close of 1761, in consequence of the British Ambassador at Madrid having been refused any answer in reference to the engagement entered into between the French (with whom we were then at war) and Spanish Courts, a continuance of diplomatic relations between the Governments became impossible; and the offence thus given being considered by our Ministers as an unfriendly act on the part of Spain, a few days later the state of war was proclaimed.—*Vide* Calendar of Home Office Papers, *anno* 1761, no. 409: the Earl of Egremont to the Lords of the Admiralty. [Bibl. no. 27.]

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squadron under Admiral Cornish and General Draper, and the misgivings to which Commodore Byron's achievements in H.M.S. *Dolphin* and *Tamar* gave rise.

But to gain a full appreciation of the influences by which, in the eighteenth century, the representatives of the Spanish rule in South America were actuated in regulating restrictions on trade and protecting their maritime commerce one must not merely consider the aggressions and competition to which their colonial settlements and shipping had continually been exposed, but one must give weight to the course of political events in Europe itself. The key to the enterprise which had already for two centuries been displayed by the more advanced and intelligent European nations, in pushing their emissaries westward into the Pacific Ocean, was the desire to find a short way to the riches of the Orient. But for a wish to reach Cathay by sailing westwards across the Atlantic Columbus would never have discovered the West Indies, Cabot might have confined his wanderings to known seas, Vespucci and Magalhaens would, in all probability, have remained quietly in home waters. The achievements of Bartolomeo Diaz and of Vasco da Gama were remarkable; but the length and difficulties of the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope opposed a barrier to the profits expected, and an eager spirit of competition no doubt afforded further stimulus to enterprising navigators to search out a shorter and more convenient route to the East Indian Seas.

It was with this object that Magalhaens' voyage, during which he discovered and passed through the Straits which bear his name, was undertaken. He was followed by others, of whom more or less fragmentary and unreliable records exist; but the first systematic survey of the Straits after Magalhaens' time was made at the instance of one of the early Viceroys of Peru, in 1579, by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa. He sailed from Callao, and accomplished his

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mission with success ; but on arriving in Spain he imprudently recommended the establishment of a fortified post and industrial settlement within the Narrows, with the object of intercepting the advance of foreign ships by the Straits, which at that period afforded the only known western route into the Pacific—or South Sea, as it was then termed. Although the Duke of Alba advised against the adoption of so wild and infeasible a project, Sarmiento's proposals received the assent of King Felipe II, who appointed him Governor of the new colony *in posse*. He accordingly put to sea, early in 1581, with a fleet of no less than twenty-three vessels, carrying 3,500 men (it is said) and a number of women ; besides 500 seasoned Walloon troops who were escorting a new Governor to Chile by this opportunity. The expedition met with a series of disasters ; but three vessels, Sarmiento being on board one of them, eventually reached the Straits and disembarked a hundred families, in all about four hundred persons, and built a fort, which they provisioned for eight months, and called *San Felipe* after the King.

Sarmiento himself was soon afterwards captured by one of Sir Walter Raleigh's squadron, when visiting Rio de Janeiro for supplies ; and in January, 1587, Sir Thomas Cavendish rescued the last survivor of the colony, and aptly designated it Port Famine, by which name its site is still known to navigators and marked on the charts.

About the same time the exploits of Sir Francis Drake in the South Sea, and some few years later the activity shown by the Dutch in despatching expeditions through Magalhaens Straits, awakened a considerable degree of anxiety in the mind of the Spanish monarch, towards whom our own nation and the people of the United Provinces bore no friendly feeling, even when they were not on terms of actual warfare. By the Declaration of Independence, in 1581, the latter had renounced allegiance to Spain, and

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launched their new constitution under the gifted administration of William the Silent. The Hollanders, indeed, were about this time beginning to take a principal place among the seafaring peoples of the world. They were born with a genius for commerce; and, bred as they were amidst the estuaries and lagoons of their half-submerged Netherlands, they grew up to be expert seamen and developed into patient and plodding navigators. It was, therefore, no more than natural that, on hearing of the successes of Portuguese and Spanish enterprise in the New World and in the East Indies, the merchants and adventurers of the Low Countries should desire to compete with their European neighbours, especially since they had become their enemies at home.

Thus in 1598, within a week of each other, two expeditions of five and four ships respectively sailed from the Maas with the avowed purpose of despoiling Spanish commerce, whilst endeavouring at the same time to find the much sought Western route to the Spice Islands by following the track of Magalhaens, Jofre de Loaysa, Sebastian del Cano, Alonzo de Salazar, and their survivors. The first of these expeditions was commanded by Jacob Mahu; but he died shortly after the start, and the leadership devolved on one Simon de Cordes, who himself succumbed off Callao. He was succeeded by his brother Balthazar, and the ship under his command ravaged the West coast of South America for a time with varying success, passing thence across the Pacific and eventually reaching the Moluccas, where she was confiscated by the Portuguese and her commander sent, a prisoner, to Malacca. Another of the squadron got as far as Japan, and there laid the foundation of a lucrative monopoly in trade which the Dutch held for many years; but her people never returned to Europe. A third ship's company, under Sibald de Weert, after suffering deplorable hardships from tempest,

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cold, and famine, returned from Tierra del Fuego to Holland; adding to the outlying N.W. group of the Falkland Islands one of the many names by which they have from time to time been distinguished—the “Sibaldines.” A fourth vessel surrendered to the Spanish forces at Valparaiso; and the fifth disappeared.

The second expedition, designed for a similar object, was even more unfortunate in the event; although the only ship belonging to it which ever returned to Europe, the *Eendracht*, commanded by Olivier van Noort, was the first Dutch vessel to circumnavigate the world. She arrived back at Amsterdam in 1601.

A dozen years later another small squadron was fitted out by the Dutch East India Company of merchants, the command of which was entrusted to Joris van Spilbergen. Its intention was to operate against Spanish commerce on the coasts of Chile and Peru, and from thence to sail Westwards to the company's factories in the East Indies.

The voyage of Schouten and Le Maire, undertaken in 1615–17, was conceived in a more peaceful spirit, and was entirely a commercial and honourable venture on the part of its promoters, who were private citizens of Amsterdam. Schouten was the first navigator to find a way into the South Sea without having to face the perils and delays of Magalhaens' Strait; and it was his achievement in discovering a passage between Staten Land and Tierra del Fuego, and so rounding the island cape which he named *van Hoorn* (after his port of departure in the Zuyder Zee) which so impressed the Spanish authorities that Don Bartolomé Garcia de Nodal, accompanied by his brother Gonzalo, was immediately afterwards despatched by them to explore the open ocean south of Tierra del Fuego, in the very year of Schouten's return to Europe.

The Hollanders, while attaching great importance to their legitimate East Indian trade, were, however, no less

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alive to the possibilities of plundering their competitors by adopting the Western, or Magalhaenic, route to the Orient ; and in 1623, not very many months after the expiration of the truce with Spain, a squadron of eleven ships was fitted out by the Dutch Government, and called the Nassau Fleet. The command was entrusted to Jacob l'Hermite, a Fleming, and great things were expected of the commission ; but it effected little or nothing of that which was intended in the way of hostilities against Spain's dominions and shipping in the South Sea, although five years later the memorable capture of the West Indian treasure fleet by Admiral Hein took place.

An interval, somewhat blank in the history of Dutch operations in the waters of the Spanish main, then occurred until five-and-twenty years after the discoveries of Le Maire and Schouten had been made generally known, when the Dutch West India Company despatched a vessel under the command of Hendrik Brouwer to cruise in the South Sea. Sailing from the Texel in 1642—the same year in which Tasman set out from Batavia and discovered Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand—Brouwer was the first to settle the small extent and unimportance of Staten Land, which, until then, had been generally believed to project indefinitely eastwards across the South Atlantic.

In 1669, at the bidding of our own king Charles the Second, Sir John Narborough was commissioned by the Duke of York, in the ship *Sweepstakes* with the *Batchelor*, flute, in company, to explore Patagonian waters, including Magalhaens Straits and the west coast archipelagoes, to study their natural features and products, and to conciliate and cultivate a trade with the Indians of Chile, who were believed to be enemies to the Spanish yoke. His instructions specifically forbade him to in any way injure or give umbrage to the Spanish settlers ; but the very nature of his enterprise could not fail to do that much, and the

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reception he met with at Valdivia, though peacefully disposed himself, showed plainly how much the colonists of that nation distrusted, and were ready to resent, the intrusion of any foreign ship in the waters of their territory.

At this period the reign of terror created by the Buccaneers or Filibusters had begun, and the exploits of these gentry kept the Spanish authorities ever on the watch for corsairs and raiding parties from one end of the coast to the other. In Europe advantage was taken of declarations of war by or against His Most Catholic Majesty to authorise the fitting out of privateers and the issue of letters of marque to armed vessels, whether of England or of France, whose commanders seldom knew nor cared when peace had been restored between the Governments; and who, while making the Spanish galleons and treasure ships their chief objective, were by no means loth to pillage (if they felt themselves strong enough) any unfortunate settlement or local craft they might chance to fall in with along the coast.

At the close of the century two French expeditions sailed from La Rochelle to explore the Straits and carry fire and sword into the enemy's preserves in the South Sea; and a few years later quite a number of vessels from Saint Malo passed that way on their voyage to China, owing to the East Indian route being rendered unsafe by English and Dutch cruisers during the war of the Spanish Succession.

The seventeenth century was consequently one of general unrest, and at times turmoil, in the Eastern Pacific; and the Government of Spain laboured under a weight of anxiety for the protection of its colonies, which were of paramount importance to the mother country as sources of

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revenue: and of their commerce—which was a national monopoly of the strictest kind. The Viceregency had long been instituted at Lima; and the *Audiencia*, or advisory Council of judges appointed. Some discerning and high-minded dignitaries, both of Church and State, had been sent out from the Court of Madrid in the hope of mitigating the evils and oppression incidental to military rule. But the all pervading policy of trade monopoly and ultra-protection offered a permanent and alluring mark for contraband competition, and continued to excite the cupidity of those roving smugglers and other lawless adventurers who then abounded on both sides of the isthmus of Panama and infested both land and sea. This monopoly was of so exclusive a kind, and was clung to with such tenacity, that although the Treaty of Utrecht, by which the war of the Austrian Succession was terminated in 1713, left Spain much reduced in power and considerably injured in regard to her South American interests, it was only with difficulty that England obtained permission for a single British bottom (not exceeding 500 tons burthen) to make one voyage annually, as a matter of right, to the Spanish possessions in the South Sea. This concession was included in the terms of the *Asiento* granted by Spain to England in connection with the above-named pact.

The monopoly vested chiefly in the merchants of Seville, whose influence dominated the fairs periodically held at Puertobello¹, by which Peru as well as Mexico was supplied with European goods at prices entirely regulated by them. Even Buenos Ayres, their own national possession, was jealously cut out of competition with the Puertobello

¹ A town and harbour on the north side of the isthmus of Panama, now decayed and supplanted by Aspinwall. Spanish goods and manufactures used to be disembarked here and conveyed across to Panama for further distribution to Mexico and Peru, the Lima merchants being in touch with the exporters at Seville and sharing in the monopoly.

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market ; all commercial intercourse between the Rio de la Plata and other colonies of Spain in the same hemisphere being prohibited, under severe penalties, and strenuously and effectually opposed by the Chambers of Commerce¹ of Seville and of Lima.

Such a policy could not fail to give rise to much contraband traffic ; and adventurers of our own nation by sea, as well as the Portuguese on the inland water-ways of their neighbouring settlements in Brazil and Paraguay, were neither slow nor too scrupulous to profit by it.

“The local authorities,” wrote Sir Woodbine Parish, who, prior to 1831, had access to most of the surviving archives of Buenos Ayres and the La Plata Provinces, “appear to have had neither the will nor the power to put down a trade which supplied the most pressing wants of the colony, and the profits of which were shared by native capitalists. If they did occasionally make a show of exercising their right to visit ships, it was an empty threat little heeded by men who were looked upon with almost as much dread as the buccaneers who had so long been the terror of all that part of the world....The main object of Spain's solicitude was the acquisition of riches in the shape of the precious metals ; and the policy of her Ministers in hampering ordinary trade by arbitrary and vexatious imposts and restrictions was persisted in until at least the middle of the eighteenth century².”

And so it came about that Spain, in 1739, attempting to check the wholesale smuggling inseparable from her policy, by means of her *guarda costas*, was brought into collision with the British Government over the affair of “Jenkins' ear.” It was the war which then broke out that

¹ *Consulados*.

² Parish, W., Bibl. no. 43. (Sir Woodbine Parish was for many years British Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Ayres.)

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led to the capture of Puertobello by Admiral Vernon, and gave rise to the famous expedition under Commodore George Anson, a commander whose name has an important bearing on the subject of this volume. For it was largely in consequence of the publication of the "Observations and Directions for facilitating the Passage of our future Cruisers round Cape *Horn*," to which the ninth chapter of Book I of the narrative¹ of Anson's voyage is devoted, that the attention of the Spanish Government was more pointedly than ever drawn to the vulnerability of its dominions in the South Sea, and the Viceroy was moved to take more rigorous precautions against encroachments by foreign traders and colonising Powers.

In the interior of the country the prevailing condition was one of insecurity and suspicion. The native race of Peru had been crushed, by the fall of the Incas, into seeming submission. Its clans were dispirited and broken, but the embers of their forefathers' mettle still smouldered in the people, and the Spaniards, while tacitly contemning them, found cause, nevertheless, for continuing those harsh measures of subjugation to which the usages and untutored ethics of the times forsooth gave warrant. The provincial administration was generally corrupt: so that to the evils of class legislation and the burthen of unfair taxing were added the crudities of one-sided justice, and the exactions of a grasping and dishonest officialdom. The dogmatism of the Jesuits had restricted political progress, whilst the ills of priestcraft, against which the labours of many conscientious and devoted members of the Religious Orders were inadequate to countervail, served to keep replenished the cup of bitterness. These abuses culminated in the terrors of the Inquisition. It is no matter for surprise that, under such conditions, the Viceroy

¹ Walter, R., *Bibl.* no. 54.

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bore their responsibilities with disquietude and left no possible measures unconsidered for rendering their sovereignty secure.

Such, it may be said, were the conditions which for a century and a half preceded the accession of Don MANUEL DE AMAT Y JUNIENT to the Viceroyalty of Peru with Chile and the La Plata provinces, in the year 1761; and which existed, though in a less acute degree perhaps, at the time when M. de Surville's ship the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* arrived unexpectedly at Callao. Don Manuel de Amat was a man of strength and will: he came of an ancient and distinguished Catalan family, whose founder in Spain was a knight in the army of Charles Martel, and a contemporary of Pelayo¹; and his ancestry had included knights of the Holy Order of St John of Rhodes and Malta. His brother Don José was created Marqués de Castelnell by Felipe V; and he was connected with the families of the Conde de Aranda and other high nobles and ecclesiastics². His education had been such as to develop and encourage autocratic ideals. He had adopted a military career, and during eleven years was almost constantly employed on active service, taking part in seven battles in the field, five sieges, two blockades, and a great number of minor actions and skirmishes. He had gained distinction for his prowess in the wars in Africa, where he served five years; he had commanded with credit the famous regiment of dragoons of Sagunto. While still in the prime of life he was appointed Governor of Chile, to which country he journeyed by the route of Buenos Ayres, and thence overland to Valparaiso, assuming there the

¹ A.D. 732.

² Piferrer, F., Bibl. no. 47.

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Presidential office in December, 1755. During his Governorship he formed several towns, regulated the troops, organised a militia, restrained the natives, and secured the defences of the country by constructing or improving fortifications.

On being appointed Viceroy of Peru he proceeded thither from Valparaiso by sea, and made his entry into Lima on the 21st of December, 1761. As a resolute soldier, the Viceroy Amat at times resorted to measures of a somewhat drastic nature; but notwithstanding the arbitrary trend of his character, he knew how to make many friends, thus acquiring a degree of social influence in Lima to which other dictators had not attained. His dominant passion for all things appertaining to arms met with a wide field for its indulgence when the war¹ broke out between Spain and the united forces of Great Britain and Portugal, in the year of his accession, over the question of the *pacte de famille* between the Bourbon kings².

¹ In the *Annual Register* (Vol. v, anno 1762) there occurs the following extract from a memorial addressed by the Spanish Ambassador (Don Joseph Torrero), and the Minister Plenipotentiary of France (M. Jacques Bernard O'Dun), at the court of Lisbon, dated March 16th, 1762, to the King of Portugal, through his Secretary of State, Dom Luiz da Cunha. It serves to show the tension existing at that time between the nations on the subject of maritime supremacy, and was in fact an overture from France and Spain to Portugal to join them against England—against whom war had already been declared (*vide* footnote, p. xxvii). This was firmly and indignantly refused by Portugal, as England's ancient ally; and involved that gallant kingdom in a war against Spain and France accordingly.

"The two sovereigns of France and Spain, being obliged to support a war against the English, have found it proper and necessary to establish several mutual and reciprocal obligations between them; and to take other indispensable measures to curb the pride of the British nation; which, by an ambitious project to become despotic over the sea, and consequently over all maritime commerce, pretends to keep dependent the possessions of other Powers in the New World, in order to introduce themselves there either by an underhand usurpation or by conquest."

These events were, however, shortly afterwards followed by the preliminary feelers thrown out by bankrupt and despairing France for peace, which led to the negotiations terminating in the Treaty signed at Paris and Hubertsburg in February, 1763, by which the Seven Years' War was brought to a close.

² Mendiburu, M. de, Bibl. no. 35.

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A digression now becomes necessary, for the purpose of recounting the occurrences in connection with the settlement of the Falkland Islands, which had begun to be looked upon by England, France, and Spain, each independently, as desirable sentinels or outposts on the main route to and from the Pacific. The purpose of Sir John Narborough's expedition, a hundred years before, has already been alluded to (p. xxxii); and the compiler of the history of Anson's voyage therein affirms that "it appeared by the precautions and fears of the Spaniards that they were fully convinced of the practicability of the scheme Sir John Narborough had been sent to execute, and extremely alarmed with the apprehension of its consequences¹." These words afford a key to the spirit which animated the Viceroy at Lima, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, and the Ministers at the Court of their Sovereign, when the news of Commodore the Hon. John Byron became bruited abroad. This officer had spent much care in examining the Magalhaenic seas, and amongst other things had explored, early in 1765, a portion of the Falkland Group, in pursuance of official instructions based on the advice of Anson, who recommended them as the best halfway house for ships bound round the Horn to refresh at.

The design had been deemed by the Admiralty of so significant a nature that it was not communicated to the crews of Byron's ships until they resumed their voyage after putting in at Rio de Janeiro to refresh. In the month of January, 1765, Byron landed, with Captain Mouat of the *Tamar*, at the Falklands (or *Malvinas*, as they were called in Spanish²), and ceremoniously took possession of

¹ Walter, R., Bibl. no. 54.

² From the French *Malouines*, so called after the visits of several ships of that nation hailing from St Malo. American whalers corrupted this into "Maloons," and spoke of the two principal islands as the Eastern Maloon and Western Maloon.

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all the islands of the group in the name of the Crown of Great Britain; calling the whole His Majesty's Isles and hoisting a Union Jack in signification thereof. "They were very merry on the occasion, a large bowl of arrack punch being carried on shore, out of which they drank several loyal toasts¹,"—gaily ignorant of the fact that M. de Bougainville had conducted a similar rite on behalf of the King of France nine months before them², and that Spain vigorously claimed the islands as hers, asserting that they formed an integral part of her American dominions, on a principle which, as administered more recently by the Government of the United States, has crystallised into what is now known as the doctrine of Monroe.

Spain, indeed, protested so firmly against the existence of a French settlement in the Falklands that the Duc de Choiseul deputed M. de Bougainville himself to hand over his establishment to Spanish control, but it was arranged that that officer should receive a large sum of money for it in compensation of his private disbursements. Its situation was where the modern Port Stanley is, and de Bougainville had called it Port Louis. The Spaniards now occupied it under the name of Puerto de la Soledad, after the frigate commissioned to take it over and resettle it with a Spanish force.

The bay selected by Commodore Byron was about eighty miles farther to the northward and westward, and was named by him Port Egmont; and a small British naval post was installed there, which remained unknown to the Spaniards until the month of November, 1769. Its discovery took both parties by surprise, and culminated locally, some six months later, in the eviction of our people by a vastly superior force sent for the purpose by Don

¹ Bibl. no. 11 (Anon.).

² Pernetty, A. J., Bibl. no. 45; and Goepp et Cordier, Bibl. no. 24

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Antonio-Maria de Bucarelli y Ursua, Governor of Buenos Ayres—an act which once more brought England and Spain into acute political conflict and led them to the very brink of war. War, indeed, was only averted by an unexpected side issue—the downfall of France's Minister, the Duc de Choiseul, occurring opportunely at that particular time through the influence of Madame du Barry over Louis XVII. By this means Spain lost the support of France, whose King was pacifically inclined, though his Minister had been otherwise.

These occurrences were taking place during the very period when the case of M. de Surville's ship was causing worries to the Viceroy at Lima; and when, prompted partly by that alarm, but chiefly in consequence of the events reviewed in the context, the expedition under Don Felipe Gonzalez was being promoted. The Viceroy, who stood in the relation of a senior officer to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, was kept duly informed by the latter of the Falkland Islands *impasse*; and it was in great measure to prevent the recurrence of such a risk that the proposal to effectually occupy stations off the Chilian or Western Patagonian seaboard, to form strategic counter-posts on that side of the Straits and of Cape Horn, was evolved. It must not be supposed, therefore, that because a general peace was proclaimed after the termination of the Seven Years' War¹, and the abuse of fire and sword suspended, the tranquillity of Europe was in reality restored. Both France and Spain, in fact, continued to watch with jealous and somewhat petulant minds the rising prosperity of the British colonies; while the predominance of our naval power, and their loss of the oversea territories those nations had

¹ By the Treaty of Paris and Hubertsburg.

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been compelled to surrender, afforded an enduring grievance which rankled in the minds of the Bourbon sovereigns and their Ministers, and continued to disturb the contentment of their subjects.

Thus they were impelled not only by the *animus futuri anxius*, but by an *animus quod perdidit optans*; and the natural jealousy of Spain, with the greater part of her vast and rich colonial possessions still to lose, and the assaults of buccaneers and other foreign forces comparatively fresh in memory, was consequently not permitted to diminish, but stimulated her rather to maintain that rivalry in which we find a key to the course of action exhibited in this volume. It was a like feeling which had led to the occupation of the Falkland Islands by M. de Bougainville, who, having served in the defence of Canada as aide-de-camp to the Marquis de Montcalm, set himself the task of striking out a line by which his country might derive some compensation for the loss of that possession, by the discovery and acquisition of new lands in the Southern seas. The narrative of Commodore Anson's voyage, which had been published some twenty years before and translated into French, is credited with having led M. de Bougainville's attention to the Falklands, as it did that of our own Government; and, through the medium of Bougainville's and Byron's expeditions, that also of Spain.

Bearing all these considerations in mind, and trained by his masterful Genoese Minister, the Marqués de Grimaldi¹,

¹ The Marqués de Grimaldi was Dⁿ Jerónimo, Minister of State, who succeeded Dⁿ Ricardo Wall in that dignity. He was the second son of an illustrious family of Genoa; and was at first destined for the Church. But, coming to Madrid on a mission from his own Republic, his fine presence and cultured manners obtained for him the patronage of the Marqués de Ensenada, through which he procured admission to the Diplomatic Service of the King of Spain; and was employed at the legations of Vienna, Hanover, Stockholm, the Hague, and then Paris. There he became so intimate a friend of the Duc de Choiseul that his frequent and confidential correspondence with that Minister aroused the jealousy of the Marquis de Ossun, who was at that time

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to give ear to the promptings of an active colonial policy, King Carlos readily assented to a suggestion for the effective occupation of David's Island (as it was still called), and of other oceanic vantage points, the securement of which His Catholic Majesty claimed to be a prerogative of his sovereignty over Spanish America. In complying with the Royal command the Viceroy of Peru selected for this expedition the two ships of war already named. Their officers were ordered to refind the small island and the tract of coastline reported to have been sighted in 1687 by Edward Davis, the buccaneer; and to identify it, if it should turn out to be the same, with Roggeveen's later discovery. The instructions, as already stated, included a warrant for taking possession of the country in the King's name; and the whole commission was not to end until the outlying island of La Madre de Dios¹ and other possible sheltering or refreshing stations for foreign ships, off the inhospitable coasts of Southern Chile and Patagonia, had been investigated.

The circumstances of the Spaniards' voyage to Easter Island are but little known to most students—especially to

French Ambassador at Madrid and considered himself and his office thereby slighted. This alliance was the basis of a great dislike towards Great Britain, on the part of the two friends, against whose maritime ascendancy they were eager to strike by every possible opportunity: without being over scrupulous or particular as to the measures they employed in that endeavour. It was at this time that the *impasse* between Great Britain and Spain in connection with the occupation of the Falkland Islands reached its most acute stage; for not only the Governor of Buenos Ayres (who was himself of Italian origin), but also the Viceroy of Peru, recognised very fully the importance of those islands as a half-way post for vessels bound round or from the Horn to refresh and refit at. But Choiseul and Grimaldi's desire for war was by no means generally shared by the French, nor even by the people of Spain, where it was expedient for many reasons that peace should be maintained; and, on the dismissal of Choiseul from power in 1770, Grimaldi found himself constrained to abandon his combative designs and to yield to the firmness of the British Government.—The Spanish account of these transactions may be consulted in D^{na} Carlos Calvo's *Coleccion completa de los Tratados*, etc.; Paris, 1862. [Bibl. no. 13.]

¹ In lat. 50° S., long. 75° W.

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those of this country. Something, indeed, was furtively communicated about them through an officer of M. de Surville's ship, the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, whose detention at Callao was still going on at the time of Gonzalez's return to that port; and a few other references to the voyage have from time to time been made public from various sources and in various ways. But the Government of Spain had political and economic reasons for guarding the subject in confidence, and, instead of allowing their achievement to gain a place among the records of national events, they consigned the documentary evidence on which it rested to the Keeper of the Archives, in whose custody it found a repose which was not disturbed until the subject had lost its significance and lapsed into oblivion.

On these matters coming recently to my notice I felt not only that they should prove worthy of public interest, but that Don Felipe's renown as a successful explorer called for vindication, however tardy it might be, by whomsoever should chance to exhume his history.

An examination of such well-known and reliable authorities as the works of Cook and of La Pérouse had thrown very little light upon the expedition, though there are brief allusions to it in the volumes of both those writers. Cook "was informed" before he sailed from England on his second voyage round the world "that a Spanish ship had visited this isle in 1769. Some signs of it were seen among the people now about us; one man had a pretty good broad-brimmed European hat on; another had a gregio jacket; and another a red silk handkerchief. They also seemed to know the use of a musquet, and to stand in much awe of it; but this they probably learnt from Roggewein, who if we are to believe the authors of that voyage, left them sufficient tokens¹."

¹ Cook, *Bibl.* no 16; Vol. 1, p. 279 (3rd edit.).

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The official instructions to La Pérouse state, “Les Espagnols ont touché à l’île de Pâque, le 16 Novembre 1770, et l’ont nommée *île San-Carlos* ou *Saint-Charles*. On joint à la collection des cartes remises à M. DE LA PÉROUSE, le plan que les vaisseaux d’Espagne ont fait lever de cette île, dont leurs chaloupes ont fait le tour¹.”

Dalrymple’s letter to Dr Hawkesworth comes much nearer to the mark, the communication it contains in the postscript in reference to Easter Island being obviously an epitome of one of the journals of this voyage, which must have been written at the time of the arrival of the two ships at Chiloe. It is here produced, translated anew.

(Translated from the Spanish version preserved among the MSS. in the British Museum [Eg. 902, f. 159]. Before printed as a postscript to Dalrymple’s published letter to Dr Hawkesworth².)

They write from Chiloe that H.M. ship of the line the *San Lorenzo*, under the command of Snr. Dn. Felipe Gonzalez, arrived in that harbour on the 15th of December 1770, on her return from the Island of David, having sailed from Callao on the 10th of October with the frigate *La Rosalia*, and arrived at that Island the 16th of November; and say that it is some 12 to 15 leagues in circumference; it is not very high.

Its natives number about 3000 of both sexes. They are a people of mild disposition, but great thieves. The men are thickly bearded, tall, well set up, white and ruddy. They keep their fire underground, and it seems that they have some superstition against removing it; this was observed when any of our people wanted to light their tobacco.

They have no weapons but staves and stones, and hold artillery in great dread. They are attracted by everything that is red, and are indifferent towards any other colour whatsoever. Those of which they make use are a sort of red ochre, chalk-white,

¹ La Pérouse, Bibl. no. 46.

² Dalrymple, Bibl. no. 17.

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and yellow, with which they paint the face and body. They go nude, and cover their parts with a piece of netting made apparently of cotton and cleverly woven; and they make wraps of the same.

Their dwellings are below ground, having a very cramped doorway, and some huts of Straw with the same. The soil is very stony, and there were no trees seen except some figs¹, cotton, and shrubs. Their food is of white Gourds, plantains, sweet potatoes², yams, and other Roots of that description; there are many Springs as well of good water, as of some there are of bad; no birds were seen other than a few hens like those of Europe, and when they wish to cook these they put hot stones inside the body until they are fit to be eaten. There is not much fish on the seacoast, there are only some shell-fish and small fish.

They have many Statues of rude form, these are of a single block of stone, and of colossal figure, since they are 20 yards (*varas*) and more in height, and others of three which they keep in front of their Burial places.

The Island has no Harbour anywhere, only a Cove for Launches and small Boats. Its greatest length is about 6 Leagues, and runs from East to West, and it is at this end that three crosses were set up in position on three similar hillocks, making known by this sign that they took possession of it in the King's name, and on this account they call it now *Sn. Carios*, the which is situated in 27° 6' lat. South, and 368° 19' long³ from the meridian of Tenerife.

There is no good anchorage in all its circuit and the bottom is of the worst description, since in less than 48 hours they had two cables chafed through. Their stay there was no more than five days, at the end of which they went in search of the land sketched on the charts in 38 deg. which they did not find, and then proceeded to Chiloe.

David's Island is about 600 leagues distant from Callao, and about the same from the mainland of Chile.

Other similar letters, written at the same period, exist; though they have not hitherto been printed. A specimen of one of these is however now translated from a MS. copy

¹ *Higueras*, *i.e.* figs, meaning bananas.

² *Camotes*, a word used in the Philippine Islands, meaning the *Kumala*, or sweet potato.

³ Clearly a copyist's error for 268° 19'.

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in the British Museum¹ and forms Appendix III to this volume. It bears neither signature nor superscription, and its writer has not been identified.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* makes no mention of Gonzalez's voyage; *La Grande Encyclopédie* dismisses it in the following curt sentence—"En 1770 don Phillippe Gonzalés prit possession de l'île de Pâques au nom du roi d'Espagne." The *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Annual Register* record nothing about it. But turning to the London newspapers of the day, files of which are preserved among the collections at the Guildhall Library, the following short account is worthy of notice. It occurs in *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, no. 2249, on page 529 of the issue for Nov. 29 to Dec. 2, 1771.

Naples, October 10.

David Island was always judged to be farther than it is from Callao. It is now ascertained to be but 605 leagues from that port, and 680 leagues from Chili. The *St Laurent* man-of-war and *Rosalía* frigate sailed from Callao the 10th of September 1770 and appeared off that Island the 16th of October following. Their approach did not seem to inspire the inhabitants with either fear or uneasiness. Their first principle is, that all men are brothers, and therefore there is no reason to be afraid of each other; Several of them jumped into the water and swam to meet the ships, offering fruits, poultry etc. and even their cloaths, which are very ordinary, and seem to be formed of the herbs and fruits of the country. After visiting David Island, the Commandant took possession of it in the name of the King of Spain, with all the military formalities that tend to command respect from his new subjects. A cross was immediately erected to perpetuate the memory of that event and the island was named Saint Charles.

David Island has scarce 1000 inhabitants; their disposition is perfectly mild, but their height and strength render them fit for the strongest exercises; they are unacquainted with metals and

¹ Sp. MSS. Eg. 902, no. 15; fol. 127.

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riches, which people think they want, and consequently arts are but little cultivated among them; they have no arms nor cutting instruments, and as they are ready to part with anything they are possessed of, they as readily take anything that gives them pleasure. Men born in rude and savage climates are naturally of a ferocious disposition. A fertile soil, which leaves nothing for the inhabitants to wish for, softens their manners, and inclines them to humanity. This is, without doubt, the cause of the sweet disposition of the inhabitants of David Island; they have poultry in great plenty, and enjoy those products of the earth which require little culture; they live in caves and grottoes under ground; and worship stone statues of a gigantic size.

The same announcement appeared in the *London Chronicle* for 1771, no. 2335, p. 526, Nov. 28 to Nov. 30; and in the *St James's Chronicle* of even date, no. 1680. Something more was learned from a perusal of Claret de Fleurieu's *Examen Critique du Voyage de Roggeveen*, contained in the account of Marchand's voyage in the ship *Solide* (vol. III.)¹; of which the following passage is pertinent to the subject of the Spanish expedition—

Dès l'année 1770, c'est-à-dire, avant les Voyages de COOK et de LA PÉROUSE, les Espagnols avoient retrouvé l'île de PÂQUES; mais nous serions encore à savoir quel a été le résultat de leur visite, si une Notice *dérobée* ne nous l'eût fait connoître; je dis dérobée, car la politique mystérieuse et exclusive de l'Espagne permet toujours fort tard que ses Découvertes maritimes soient tirées de l'oubli où elles sont plongées en naissant. On a donc su qu'en 1770, un Vaisseau de 70 canons et une frégate de 36, armement suffisant pour subjuguier tous les Archipels du *Grand Océan*, mais peu propre à en faire la recherche, avoient été expédiés du *Callao* de *Lima* pour un Voyage de Découvertes; et que, le 16 Novembre, ils avoient rencontré, loin de toute Terre connue, une île habitée, assez fertile, de 14 à 15 lieues de circonférence; qu'ils avoient mis à terre 350 hommes de troupes et quelques gens de mer bien armés; que s'étant avancés dans l'intérieur de l'île

¹ Marchand, E., Bibl. no. 34.

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jusqu'à près de trois lieues, ils avoient élevé trois croix sur trois monticules, et qu'après un *Te Deum* chanté en grande pompe, après trois décharges de mousqueterie et trois salves d'artillerie, ils avoient pris possession de l'île au nom de sa Majesté Catholique, DON CARLOS TERSERO [*sic*]. Les Espagnols imposèrent à cet île le nom de SAN CARLOS; mais on doit croire que, s'ils n'eussent pas ignoré que, depuis longtemps elle étoit connue, ils eussent respecté et conservé le nom de Pâques, quoiqu'il eut été donné à l'île par un Amiral hérétique. Quoiqu'il en soit, ils levèrent un Plan de l'île SAN CARLOS, qui diffère peu de celui que le capitaine Cook nous a donné de l'île de Pâques; et ils conclurent de leurs Observations, et de l'Estime de leur Route rapportée à la Longitude de Lima, que la Pointe Orientale de l'île, au large de laquelle ils avoient ancré, est située à 27 deg. 6 min. de Latitude Sud, et à 268° 19' de Longitude, Méridien de TENERIFE, ou 110° 41' à l'Occident de PARIS.

But these and several minor references to the voyage of the *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalia* afforded merely fragmentary evidence, and proved quite inadequate for the construction of a connected narrative of the expedition. Moerenhout, who had the advantage of living and sailing among the islands of Eastern Polynesia, and not infrequently visited Chile and Peru as well, completely ignores the expedition of Gonzalez in treating of the "history" of Easter Island¹. The late Sir Woodbine Parish, an author whose knowledge of South American affairs, acquired during his official residence in Buenos Ayres, was as sound as it was extensive, curiously omits all mention of Gonzalez's voyage, while giving an outline of the events which led to its being undertaken². And so does Justin Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History of America*; though all these authors allude to the voyage of Don Domingo Boenechea.

¹ Moerenhout, Bibl. no. 36.

² Parish, W., Bibl. no. 43.

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For these reasons I deemed it best to go to the fountain-head for trustworthy information and documentary records; and, an opportunity to embark on such an enterprise occurring in 1903, I revisited Spain and followed up the quest. By a succession of incidents more fortunate than I had dared to hope for, among which the cordial and disinterested attention proffered to me by Spanish officials, naval officers, and other gentlemen, claims my most sincere acknowledgement, my search for original information was rewarded beyond expectation; and the materials, being pieced together, have been judged to afford a sufficiently circumstantial narrative of a notable, yet little known, historical event to merit the attention of the Hakluyt Society.

One of the first clues met with was a memorandum in the Hydrographic Office of the Navy, at Madrid, to whose archives I was, by direction of Señor Don Joaquin Sanchez de Toca, courteously accorded the freest access, with permission to copy, translate, and publish. This memorandum¹ describes the islands of the Society and Paumotu groups as known to the Spanish naval authorities between the years 1769 and 1776; and contains the following passage—

In the year 1769 the English commander Viron², in the voyage which he made round the world, examined several islands in the Pacific Ocean (which he entered by way of the Straits of Magallanes) whose position he withheld from publication in the printed

¹ *Astronomia y otros Asuntos*, vol. v (ed. 2). [Bibl. no. 5.]

² This refers to the Hon. John Byron, whose voyage of circumnavigation in H.M.S.S. *Dolphin* and *Tamar* extended from 1764 to 1766, however, not 1769. His examination of islands in the Pacific Ocean took place in 1765. He was the same officer who, as a midshipman, had suffered shipwreck, near the western exit of Magalhaens Straits, in the *Wager*, and having published a narrative of that disaster. His name was well known to the Spanish Government.

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account of his voyage which was translated into Spanish in 1769¹; and, in my opinion, it was that reservation which in the following year 1770, there being then several ships of war in the port of Callao, caused the *Sⁿ Lorenzo* under the command of Dn Felipe Gonzalez, and the frigate *S^{ta} Rosalia* under Dn Antonio Domonte to be despatched with the view of finding out whether the English (as was presumed likely) had established themselves in any part of America, or in any of the islands to the westward of it, in the course of which expedition the island of David, to which they gave the name of *Sⁿ Carlos*, was examined. And, having proceeded to the port of Chiloe and searched with smaller vessels some 200 leagues along the coast to the southward of that port without having verified the expectation of meeting with any foreign settlement, they returned to port.

The memorandum bears neither signature nor date; but, from internal evidence, it appears probable that it was drafted at Lima from journals and reports which had come to notice there, and that it was completed in 1776, since a portion of it deals with discoveries and explorations which were made in the latter part of 1775. As Don Jorge Juan died in 1773, and Don Julian de Arriaga on the 28th of February, 1776, it could not have been compiled by either of those hydrographers.

Roggeveen's achievements proved barren of results to Dutch enterprise; and the island, so far from being revisited by ships of that nation, lay *perdu* and forgotten once more for a space of forty years. In 1765 it was unsuccessfully searched for as Davis's Land by Commodore Byron, in H.M.S. *Dolphin*: and again, two years later, by Captain Carteret in the *Swallow*. M. de Bougainville next applied himself to find Davis's Land, in February, 1768, only a few months after Carteret's passing;

¹ This printed account of Byron's voyage must have been the one issued in 1767, anonymously. It is entitled "A Voyage round the World in his Majesty's Ship the *Dolphin*, commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron. By an Officer on board the said Ship. London, 1767."

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but he also failed, and he seems not to have suspected that Roggeveen's discovery and Davis's Land might be one and the same. All these commanders subsequently called at Batavia to water, provision, and refit their ships; and opportunities were thus afforded for exaggerated and garbled stories of their adventures to gain currency.

It was just at this time that an extraordinary report reached the ears of certain officials of the French Government in Bengal, who were fitting out a vessel for the Indonesian trade, to the effect that a rich and fruitful island had been discovered by an English ship in the South Sea¹. It was stated to lie some seven hundred leagues off the Peruvian coast, in the latitude West of Copiapo, between the 27th and 28th parallels. This position agreed pretty closely with the account given by Davis to Dampier, and recorded by Lionel Wafer, as hereinbefore cited. It seems probable that this was but the old story rehabilitated and that it was jumbled up with the rumours of Captain Wallis's discovery of Tahiti—then quite a new and remarkable event. But the means by which it reached India at the particular time in question do not appear to have been revealed to the public; at least we have no generally known record of them. And it is singular that the interest in it should suddenly have become aroused to the pitch of diverting a richly laden ship from her intended

¹ The Editor has had no opportunity of examining the French East India Company's records of the period in question; but it appears most probable that the vessel here referred to was H.M.S. *Dolphin*, in which Captain the Hon. John Byron essayed to find Easter Island in May, 1765. The same frigate again visited these seas in 1767 under the command of Captain Wallis, when that officer discovered Tahiti. He passed on to Batavia in January, 1768, and took his departure from that roadstead for the Cape of Good Hope on his homeward voyage, nine months before M. de Bougainville. Accounts of the remarkable visit to Tahiti of the *Dolphin* would naturally leak out at Batavia and be carried thence to India, either direct, or by way of the Isle de France and so by outward-bound French ships to Pondicherry and Calcutta.

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destination, altering her cargo to specially serve the demands, as her charterers believed, of the newly found Elysium, and determining her armament and equipment as a privateer. Such was, however, the case, and the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* was accordingly fitted out in the Hugli mainly at the cost of MM. Law de Lauriston, Chevalier, and de Surville himself¹. As the voyage was to be one of risk and

¹ Jean François de Surville was born at Mauritius in 1717 and went to sea in the service of the French East India Company, from whom he received a commission as Ensign when twenty-three years of age, being appointed to a post in the *Dauphin*. After that voyage he was taken prisoner by the English; but in 1784 he again went to sea, in the *Duc de Chartres*, bound for Bourbon and the Isle de France. He had shown a great talent in mathematics and navigation, as well as much activity and zeal; and in 1756 he was promoted to Captain, just at a time when war was imminent. He therefore received command of the *Duc d'Orleans* of 64 guns, with brevet rank as a Captain in the Royal Navy of France for that Commission. He proceeded to the Isle de France, and thence with troops to Pondicherry; returning to Port Louis, where his ship joined a squadron under the Comte d'Ache, who was at that time Commander-in-Chief of the French naval forces in the East. For services rendered in that and the following year de Surville received high commendation; and after several brushes with the British fleet in Indian seas (in one of which his brother, who commanded the *Centaur*, a 70-gun ship, was killed) he was awarded the Cross of St Louis, sent out from France by Royal favour. After several vicissitudes, during which he commanded the *Centaur* and subsequently the *Fortune*, of 64 guns, Capt. de Surville was now appointed Flag Captain to the new Admiral de Saint Georges (the Comte d'Ache having returned to France), in which capacity he served until the end of the war; and returning to France with a crazy ship full of troops he showed much tact and resolution in taking care of them off the African coast and succeeded in not losing a single man.

Pondicherry being ceded after the Peace to France, M. Law was appointed to be Governor there; and to M. de Surville was entrusted the honour of conveying him to the possession, he receiving at the same time a dormant commission to take over the Colony and to act as Governor of it in the case of M. Law's decease. After this he seems to have found it difficult to remain inactive, and employed, like M. de Bougainville, a great part of his private means, under the assistance and patronage of the Duc de Choiseul, then Minister, to build and fit out a vessel of 32 guns, at Nantes, in the desire to employ his time during the peace in making discoveries or explorations useful to navigation and French commerce; and to reimburse himself, out of any profits the voyage might bring forth, for the very considerable advances he had been obliged to make.

M. Law and M. Chevalier, in India, feeling reliance in his loyalty, courage, and talents, associated themselves with M. de Surville in this

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uncertainty she was supplied with twenty-six twelve-pounders and six smaller guns, and provisioned for three years. At the last moment a detachment of twenty-four Indian marines was embarked, under the command of a Captain of Grenadiers. That the atmosphere of mystery by which she was surrounded at the time of fitting out, and again when she terminated her voyage at Callao, as will be presently related, may be sufficiently accounted for, the narrative of one of her officers¹ who kept a journal is here quoted:—

As the story of the voyage of this ship, called the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, becomes of interest only from the moment of her fitting out for a voyage of discovery, events up to that point will be passed over in silence.

MM. Law, Chevalier, and de Surville, who were the owners, at first intended her for trading between one East Indian possession and another; but they changed their plans when news of the discovery by an English ship of an island in the South Seas became spread abroad. So much of this circumstance as came to their knowledge was of so extraordinary a nature that it deserved their fullest attention; and therefore, looking at the affair from the point of view of public policy, they no longer hesitated as to the sort of equipment to be provided, in order to forestall the English in case these should be wishing to undertake a second voyage for the purpose of assuming possession of this island.

No doubt impulsiveness and love of the marvellous—sentiments common enough with persons who follow the sea—had their influence in leading the owners to conceive an inflated

enterprise and placed the conduct of it entirely in his hands. It was to this ship, the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, and the rash and extraordinary project on which her commander embarked in her, that the narrative now alludes. The above outline relating to M. de Surville's career is gathered in part from the *Histoire Abrégée de la Mer du Sud* (Bibl. no. 9) by M. de la Borde, who begins by effusively observing that a navigator who has carried to the tomb the esteem of all Europe may well claim the tribute of a few tears with which to moisten his ashes.

¹ M. Pierre de Monneron, who accompanied de Surville; and subsequently sailed under La Pérouse in the *Boussole*, in the capacity of *Capitaine du Génie*, principal scientist or "engineer."

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notion of the profits they divined in the story of this island ; yet it was natural, even after making ample allowance for exaggeration, that they should believe it richer than other countries from the fact that its situation is about seven hundred leagues to the Westward of the coast of Peru, in the latitude of from 27° to 28° , which is that of Copiapo, from whence the Spaniards draw immense wealth in bullion¹. An enterprise of this kind might nevertheless involve many risks, and one could not but take the most prudent precautions for keeping the secret. The expenses must necessarily be very considerable ; the owners therefore placed a rich lading on board their vessel in order to assure themselves against loss, one calculated to bring in sufficient profits from which, even if disposed of at ordinary prices, to reimburse themselves for the advances which such an outfit demanded.....

The ship *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* had been built scarcely a year when the project of this extensive equipment was conceived. She was thereupon armed throughout, and provisioned for three years ; in fact, during five months of preparation nothing was neglected for putting her, and also her crew, into a condition to undergo any kind of exigency.....

It being essential that the real object of the expedition should be concealed, it was given out in India that a trade with Manila, China, and Batavia was all that was contemplated ; but such extensive preparations as were made appeared useless for any ordinary voyage, and could not but presage something out of the common in view ; the Captain alone knew the secret of the project and the reason for the equipment ; and those of the ship's people who believed themselves better informed found occasion more than once, later on, to verify the falsity of their conjectures.

M. de Surville accordingly took command, and sailed from the Hugli on the 3rd of March 1769. After calling at Yanon and Masulipatam, to complete her lading, the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* proceeded to Pondicherry, where she arrived on the 5th of May ; and from whence she took her final departure on the 2nd of June of the same year, on

¹ This reasoning shows a speculative mind, but is more bold than logical.

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a voyage which proved as ruinous for the principals in the speculation as it was lamentable for the persons embarked in the vessel. The reader who wishes to follow the fortunes of M. de Surville and his crew should consult the pages of Fleurieu or La Borde; to detail them here would be foreign to the subject in hand. But it is necessary to state that after suffering many delays through adverse weather, scurvy, and the lack of sound provisions, they were forced to bear up for the South American continent, with the loss of many of their men, short of water, and the ship badly storm-beaten. When in 109° of longitude West of Paris, M. de Surville studied to reach the latitude of 28° or 27° S., which would have brought him towards the cynosure of his ambition and the destination to which by his instructions he was bound; but, meeting with contrary winds in those regions, and being in the last extremity of distress through the recurrence of scurvy and lack of fresh water, he was forced to give up the design. On the 24th of March, 1770, they sighted the islands of Juan Fernandez, and found themselves 180 leagues farther East than their reckoning indicated. From this point they steered a northerly course in order to make the Peruvian coast, which, finally, they succeeded in doing on the 5th of April near the island of San Galan. On the morning of the 8th signals were made and guns fired to attract attention; but no person ventured off from the shore. The events which followed, and which an hour later witnessed the doom of M. de Surville to a watery grave, are described by M. de Monneron; but it is more to the point that the thread of the narrative should here be taken up by the Spanish authorities; and the first document to claim mention in the history is a letter written by the parish priest of Chilca, the village opposite which the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* lay signalling, and off whose beach the French commander met his death.

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The letter itself is not extant, or, if it is, may possibly be among the Viceregal papers preserved at Lima. But the Viceroy states, in his official review of the occurrences during his administration¹, compiled for the information and guidance of his successor, that

the parish priest of Chilca, in the Province of Cañete, eleven leagues distant from this capital [meaning Lima] wrote me a letter dated the 7th of April, 1770, acquainting me with the appearance at sundown of a ship on that coast, which had fired two guns when the morning dawned. On which, the Indians went down to the beach and observed a small boat beating towards the shore, and which at last delivered a despatch intended for the Higher Government; the sailor stating that she was a French vessel, and that her captain, M. Sourbille [*sic*], had met with a fatal disaster together with three companions who had sprung into the boat along with him.

In the despatches assistance was requested of me for relieving the straits to which the vessel was reduced through lack of men and the scorbutic condition of the few surviving ones, including at the same time, as a plea, the fact that she had sailed from the town and port of Ponticheri in the East Indies, on the Coromandel coast, under a commission from the Governor, M. Lasi de Loriston [*sic*].

Bearing in mind H.M.'s Royal Command of the 3rd of December 1767...I immediately directed by executive order that the King's galiot should proceed with provisions and suitable refreshments, and accompanied by fifty armed men and sailors. I also arranged that Capt. Prévoste should go by land to the village of Chilca with a picket of soldiers and help of the same kind; but with a warning that no trading of any sort should be permitted with the said ship, which arrived on the 10th of the month in the harbour of El Callao, her second Captain, M. Guillermo Labè, begging for such assistance as might serve to relieve the distressful condition to which they found themselves reduced.

The Viceroy's despatch, N^o 305, to the Secretary of State for the Indies, written shortly after this event,

¹ Amat, M. de, Bibl. no. 1.

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describes it in more detail than the above extract; and gives some particulars of the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste's* ill-fortune. It has a significant bearing on the evident anxiety displayed by the Viceroy in regard to the possible occupation of Easter Island by a foreign Power; and, as it has not been published before, it is here included.

[DESPATCH

from the Viceroy of Peru to Don Julian de Arriaga,
Secretary of State for the Indies.]

N° 305.

Most Excellent Señor,

Reporting the arrival on the coast of a French ship named the *San Juan Batista*, which had sailed from the port of Pondichery on the Coromandel coast of East India; and giving an account of the arrangements he has made and is still making for conducting the official enquiry, which he proposes to institute in due course.

I bring to your Excellency's notice, in order that you may be good enough to acquaint His Majesty therewith, that on Palm Sunday, the 8th inst., at six o'clock in the morning, information reached me to the effect that the native Headmen [*Indios Alcaldes*] of the village of Chilca, a harbour some fourteen leagues to windward of Callao, had arrived, bringing with them a man of their own colour whom they stated to be the survivor of four or five who were cast away, in their sight, at that part of the coast, in consequence of the small skiff in which they came from their ship having capsized in the surf. They observed also the ship, a short distance off the land, making signals of urgent distress by repeatedly firing guns.

Suspended from his neck, the seaman produced a bottle in good preservation, containing certain papers. On my examining these, which were written in the French language, I learned that the vessel was named the *San*

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Juan Batista, of French nationality, and had come from the settlements which that nation possesses on the coasts of Bengal; and that, having sailed from the port of Pondichery situated on the Coromandel coast, she had occupied many months in following various courses and tracks in search of New Guinea, New Zealand, and other islands. Eventually she had reached the latitude of 27° S., the ship being severely battered; and the crew, exhausted by scurvy, having lost about half their number, while the survivors were prostrated by illness and debility. Owing to the wretched condition they were in, and to having no more than a single anchor remaining, through having lost the others at various roadsteads they had touched at *en route*, the officers resolved to make for these coasts; and it was in consequence of the helpless state of the men that the Captain himself proceeded for the shore with three or four of the strongest of the seamen remaining to him, in order to beg for assistance and for permission to enter the port. When, however, they had landed the man who conveyed the letters, they were so unfortunate, in returning towards the ship, as to get their boat capsized through the roughness of the sea, the Captain and two of the men who accompanied him perishing within sight of the *Alcaldes*.

The papers contained in the bottle comprised a letter signed by Mons. Sourbill, which, as I have stated, was the name of the Captain, in which he referred at length to the exigencies of the situation he found himself in, and begged for assistance and permission to bring his ship into harbour; another, a letter of recommendation on behalf of the expedition, to the Governor of Manila; and, finally, a memorandum of the consultation held on board by his officers in the latitude already mentioned, for the purpose of deciding what port they should make for, in which the pressing necessity they were in to get to port was stated in great detail. Accompanying this last document were

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sundry clauses of their Orders, together with a copy of a passport issued by the Governor and Council of the East India Company, whose head-quarters are at one of the ports of Bengal.

In these circumstances, and bearing in mind the tenour of the Royal Commands of December 13 of '64 and November 9 of '67, I gave immediate effect to such arrangements as I judged suitable, both by sea and by land, calculated as much for the sake of rendering prompt assistance to those needing it as with a view to forestall any contraband trafficking which might be attempted under the cloak of distress. In the course of giving effect to my orders the Captain's body was found, and suitably interred, without either of the others' being met with. At the same time, succour was sent to the ship in the way of refreshments, and she was assisted to an anchorage at a fair distance from the shore, in a position quite apart from the regular packets, and those of Spain, lying in the roadstead. I directed Lieutenant Colonel don Demetrio Egan, with fifteen grenadiers of the Guard, to immediately repair on board the ship, and this instruction was carried out the moment she arrived, while still under canvas and before the anchor was let go. My purpose was that, after fulfilling the obligations of humanity towards the officers and ship's complement—a service entrusted to the Royal officer on duty and the *Guarda Maior* of Callao, in accordance with separate instructions which I issued to the three—not even the value of a needle should be permitted to quit the ship nor be received on board under any pretext whatsoever, and that, to this end, they should prohibit all persons, without distinction of rank, quality, or sex from approaching or holding communication with those on board of her. I directed that the sick be transferred to the village of Bellavista, where I ordered hospital accommodation to be provided for them in the house which

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belonged to the banished Religious Orders [*regulares expatriados*], taking all possible precautions during their conveyance thither, and providing them with treatment, all good offices and medicines; notwithstanding which ten or twelve of them succumbed, and many others barely became convalescent. I allowed the officers such amount of clothing as was necessary for their use, and then closed up the hatchways, sleeping berths, and cabins, under seal in conformity with the Regulations relating to ships arriving from "foreign," and having collected the Orders, invoices, logs, manifest, and other documents, these were put in hand to be translated with a view to furnish materials for instituting an official enquiry with all due formalities. And, by consent of the officers, and on their representation of the condition of the vessel, which was much damaged, she was submitted to survey without loss of time, and the necessary repairs taken in hand.

The principal feature which has, so far, been revealed from an examination of the papers, which are numerous, is that the vessel comes well stocked with Indian goods, and that the true or apparent object which the originators of the undertaking proposed to themselves—amidst an infinity of projects relating to the Philipines, Japan, China, and sundry islands, and other coasts, was to effect a settlement in some land supposed to have been discovered by *David*, an Englishman, in 1685, which is placed on the charts between the 25th and 28th degree of South latitude, lying East and West with Coquimbo and Copiapo in the vice-kingdom of Chile, some 500 or 600 leagues distant from that coast. They believed that very particular accounts were obtained of this place by another English vessel which had recently visited it, prior to taking her departure for the Cape of Good Hope, for which they say she was bound.

But as these objects and their outcome will be fully

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shown in the course of the official enquiry for which preparation is now being made with all the care the subject demands, and at which, by the Captain's and officers' request, counsel has been appointed to represent their interests, it is not yet possible to draw a safe conclusion in regard to the business, nor as to the measures which should be taken in virtue of it—which, however, I will not fail to communicate as soon as a convenient opportunity shall offer.

May our Lord preserve to Your Excellency many years of life. Lima, 20th of April, 1770.

Most Excellent Señor,

Your most humble, respectful, and faithful servant
 kisses Your Excellency's hand,

MANUEL DE AMAT.

To the Most Excellent Señor

Brother Don Julian de Arriaga,

Knight of Justice of the Order of St John of Malta.

The foregoing despatch was followed, four days later by another on the same general subject (N^o 307), but neither the original nor any copy of this could be found at the *Archivo*. That of the Viceroy numbered 396 therefore occupies the first place in the series of Royal Commands, Minutes, and Despatches which record the history of Gonzalez's expedition, and which, read with the journals of the Commodore and of the Chief Pilots of the Ship and the Frigate respectively, form the main body of the present volume, following the extract from Roggeveen's log.

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THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The incidents of the finding of the autograph MS. of Roggeveen's official log, more than a hundred years after it was impounded, have already been narrated in this volume. (pp. xxiv—xxvi.)

The logs or journals of the *San Lorenzo's* and *Santa Rosalia's* voyage herein presented are three in number. One of these is from the commodore's own hand, and occurs as an enclosure with his official report of arrival at the harbour of San Carlos, in the island of Chiloe, which he took occasion to send on from that place to the Secretary of State, and a copy of which was transmitted to Madrid under cover of the Viceroy's despatch no. 396, dated the 5th of February, 1771, also addressed to the Secretary of State Don Julian de Arriaga¹.

Don Felipe's letter dated the 28th of March following, in which he announced the completion of his commission and his arrival in Callao roads, is also given; together with further important despatches from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State. The originals of these despatches, and the copy of Don Felipe's log, from which the translation has been made, are preserved in the *Archivo General de Indias* in the old Lonja building at Seville, of which I was readily allowed the entry; but a second official copy was also consulted among the treasures of the *Real Academia*

¹ The copy of Gonzalez's report preserved in the library of the *Real Academia de la Historia* bears neither signature nor address. One may suppose it should have been sent to the Viceroy, but the copy in the *Archivo* is addressed to the Secretary of State. His later letter, dated March 28th and reporting his arrival at Callao, refers to the former as having been despatched overland by the courier to Buenos Ayres, and is also addressed to the Secretary of State. There can be no mistake about this as the *Archivo* document bears Don Felipe's autograph signature. Another copy must therefore have been sent to the Viceroy, from Chiloe; inasmuch as His Excellency forwarded it on before the return of the ships to Callao.

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de la Historia at Madrid, in whose library I worked, by kind permission of the Señor Don Cesáreo Fernandez Duro, during many pleasant weeks.

Another and fuller journal of the voyage was kept by Don Juan Hervé, a naval sub-lieutenant who occupied the position of first pilot in the *San Lorenzo*. He also constructed a chart of Easter Island from a running survey made by himself in the ship's launch, in which, accompanied by Lieut. Don Cayetano de Lángara and a midshipman and boat's crew, he circumnavigated it. The original Indian ink drawing of this chart I met with in duplicate, one copy being in the *Archivo General de Indias* and the other amongst a collection of miscellaneous plans and sketches in an old portfolio at the Hydrographic Office of the *Ministerio de la Marina*. The reproduction of it which accompanies this volume has been prepared from an admirable facsimile specially made for me by Don Guillermo de Federico y Villaroel, chief draughtsman, which is now in the Map-room of the British Museum. The translation of Hervé's journal hereinafter presented is made from two copies also preserved among the Archives in the Hydrographic Office. One of these is a certified copy of one which was in the possession of Don Domingo José Vazqués; a well-known commander and Pacific pilot, and corresponds word for word with a copy written in 1774 on board the frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*. The authorship is not asserted in the title, nor does it definitely appear from the internal evidence afforded by the journal alone; but it is vouched for at the end of the document in a *Nota* appended by Señor Baleato, and bearing his signature, dated at Lima in 1815. He ascribes it to Hervé on the authority of Don Domingo José Vazqués, above named; and a comparison of certain clauses in it with the accounts written by the two other officers sets aside all doubt as to the correctness of this conclusion.

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The third journal, which is the fullest and perhaps the best, is from the pen of Don Francisco Antonio de Agüera y Infanzon, who sailed as first pilot in the *Santa Rosalia*, with the rank of *Alferez de Fragata*, or sub-lieutenant; this combination of duties and titles would correspond nearly with the position formerly occupied in our own Navy by the "master." In translating this journal I have used the official copy filed in the *Archivo General de Indias*; but two other copies made from it in pursuance of the Royal Command dated January 1st, 1778, and attested by Don Manuel Josef de Ayala, are in the library of the *Real Academia de la Historia* at Madrid, and these were collated and found to be the same. This Ayala (a common and renowned name in South America) was at that date principal assistant Secretary and Keeper of the Archives in the *Despacho Universal de Indias*—the India and Colonial Office as we might term it—under His Excellency Don Josef de Galvez, Secretary of State. A fourth contemporary, or nearly contemporary, copy of Agüera's journal is in the Manuscripts Room of the British Museum. It is neatly written in a Spanish hand on paper of the same quality as the others, and bears a similar but not identical watermark.

It will be noticed that none of the journals include particulars of the homeward voyage from Chiloe to Callao de Lima, but Don Felipe's report of arrival (dated 28th of March, 1771) explains in a few sentences that he again sighted Easter Island during that traverse, though no other land was discovered.

The materials thus gathered proved, on examination, to comprise all the documents necessary for a study of the *San Lorenzo* and *Santa Rosalia's* expedition, excepting the Royal Command dated the 26th of October, 1769, on which the expedition was founded, and the Viceroy's despatch no. 363, which was written on the day the ships

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sailed from Callao announcing their departure and mission, and included a copy of His Excellency's Instructions to Commodore Gonzalez, which had been signed five days before. These were not found at the *Archivo*, and the Secretary assured me that they did not exist there. I also failed to meet with any copy of them elsewhere; but the time at my disposal did not allow of a prolonged search.

SHORT BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

The following particulars of the naval career of the officers have been gathered from the biographical work¹ of the late Admiral Francisco de Paula Pavia, the *Cronica Naval de España* by Don Jose Marcelino Travieso, and from studies made in the Hydrographic Office, and the Royal Naval Museum adjoining the *Ministerio de la Marina* at Madrid.

Don FELIPE GONZALEZ Y HAEDO was born at Santona; in the first or second year of the eighteenth century. His parents are referred to as worthy and respectable people, but poor in this world's goods. An early love of the sea was responsible for his choice of a profession, and after qualifying as a "pilot" in home waters he began, at the age of twenty-five years, to serve as an "aspirant" (as candidates were termed) for a position in the Royal *Armada*; and entered the service with an appointment to the *San Bernardo* in the grade of apprentice or cadet. Two years later he joined the *Santiago*, and by study and application to duty gained the good opinion of his superiors, and succeeded in passing the prescribed examination. In 1730 he was appointed to the *Aranzasu*, in which vessel he proceeded to Cartagena in the West Indies, and back to Cadiz. He was next employed in the Mediterranean; and, after

¹ Pavia, F. P. de, Bibl. no. 44.

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returning to Cadiz in 1736 joined the *Incendio*, bound for La Vera Cruz, whence he came back to Europe with the fleet under the Marqués de Torre Blanco. After much service in various seas he was promoted, in 1751, to the rank of junior lieutenant (*Teniente de Fragata*), and nine years later was given command of the *Arrogant*, frigate, to watch over eighteen vessels sheltering in the bay of Ferrol from the enemy's cruisers.

Subsequently, Don Felipe served in sundry ships of the line until he gained his promotion to Commander (*Capitan de Fragata*) which was not until 1766, by which time he was some sixty-four years of age. After another West Indian voyage he was sent in the *Firme* to hunt down certain piratical *xebeques* of Algiers which were hovering about Cape St Vincent; but, though he succeeded in sighting them, they managed to evade his pursuit by virtue of their superior speed and handiness.

In 1769 Don Felipe was appointed to the command of the fine ship *San Lorenzo*, pierced for sixty-four guns but able to mount seventy, which he commissioned at the Cadiz dockyard, and navigated to El Callao de Lima, carrying troops and military stores, and occupying more than six months on the voyage. It was shortly after his arrival there that he was selected by the Viceroy to conduct the expedition to take possession of "David's Land," and whilst so engaged the announcement of his promotion to Post Captain (*Capitan de Navio*) reached Lima. He subsequently took the ship home to Cadiz, in 1772, conveying treasure to the amount of 119,521 *pesos*, and he again made the Callao voyage out and home in 1774. In the year after that he commanded the *San Miguel*, ship of the line, forming one of the fleet under the famous Admiral Don Juan Francisco de Lángara, and in 1778 the King appointed him to the *San Isidoro*, of Gaston's squadron. Later, when commanding the *Serio*, this gallant and hardworking old

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sea-dog engaged and overpowered the British line-of-battle ship *Ardent*, of 74 guns; and took part in the action with Lord Howe's squadron off Gibraltar, after which, although his ship was badly battered and all but disabled, he contrived to get her safely into Cadiz, where she was paid off.

Promoted in 1782 to the rank of *Brigadier* or Commodore he made one more voyage to South America, in the *San Eugenio*, of which ship he took command in succession to his old Easter Island comrade Don Antonio Domonte, returning to Spain five years after that date to receive the substantive rank of Rear-Admiral (*Jefe de Escuadra*). But by this time his years and increasing infirmities compelled the old gentleman to give up active service afloat, though he continued to work in the Navy Office until his death, which took place in 1792 at the mellow age of ninety years, seventy-five of which, with but short intervals, had been spent on sea service.

Of the private life of Don ANTONIO DOMONTE little is on record. Born at Seville, he conceived at an early age a desire to serve in the navy; and obtained a nomination as midshipman in 1734, joining at Cadiz early in that year. He received promotion to a junior sub-lieutenancy in 1740, senior sub-lieutenant in 1747, junior lieutenant in 1751, and senior lieutenant in 1759. He served seven years in that rank, and next became a Commander, obtaining his Post Captaincy twelve days after he embarked in the *Santa Rosalia* on the expedition to Easter Island. Ten years later on he was promoted to "Brigadier" or Commodore, and in 1789 he became a Rear-Admiral. His younger days were chiefly spent in the Atlantic and Mediterranean ships, going both to South and North America. He was present at the engagement outside the Havana in 1748, between Admiral Knowles and Commodore Don Andrés Reggio; and, in 1762, when in

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command of a small frigate in the Mediterranean, he successfully beat off two Algerine *xebèques* of 30 guns, and inflicted great damage on them.

After visiting Callao and accomplishing his cruise to Easter Island and Chiloe in the *Santa Rosalia* he is next heard of in command of a 70-gun ship, the *Oriente*, forming one of Admiral Castejon's squadron in the expedition against Algiers in 1775, where he saw some service. In 1779, when commanding the *San Eugenio*, ship of the line, he formed one of the combined Spanish and French fleet of sixty-eight vessels, under Admiral Don Luis de Cordova and the Comte d'Orbilliers, which blockaded the English Channel and captured the British *Ardent* of 74 guns. On returning to Cadiz he joined Lángara's fleet in the Mediterranean and Atlantic, still in the *San Eugenio*, and in 1780 took part in the renowned combat near Gibraltar (off Cape *Santa Maria*) in which Admiral Rodney defeated his gallant antagonist and took him prisoner. The *San Eugenio* was among the captured; but, a prize crew being put on board, she was subsequently retaken by her own people and got safely into Cadiz. Don Antonio then again joined Don Luis de Cordova, and was present at the capture of a British convoy of fifty-five sail, which he escorted into Cadiz Bay. After that he took part in the siege of Gibraltar, and in the defeat of his squadron by Admiral Lord Howe off the entrance to the Straits on the 22nd of October, 1782. He gave up service afloat in the following year, and after fifty years spent in the service of his country, remained ashore until his death, which occurred in 1792.

The Bailio Fray don JULIAN DE ARRIAGA Y RIVERA was a high official appointed by King Ferdinand VI in 1754 to be Secretary of State for the Navy, and also the Indies, by which term all the Spanish colonies and possessions abroad were included. He began his career as a junior

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sub-lieutenant in the navy, in 1728, and sailed in the fleet of the Marqués de Marz to South America, returning to Cadiz two years later. He received a step in 1731, another in 1732, and a third in 1733, by which he became then a senior lieutenant. He saw some active service off Algiers, and was employed in the Atlantic and Mediterranean for a while; after which he went to the Falkland Islands, Valparaiso, and Callao, returning to Cadiz before his next commission, which was to North America and the West Indies. In 1739 he was promoted to *Capitan de Fragata*, or Commander, and in 1745 became a Post Captain. In 1748 he commanded a division, in the *America*; and next went to the West Indies again and Cartagena (S.A.) until 1751. In that year he received the substantive rank of Commodore, and was appointed Governor and Captain-General of Venezuela. Twelve months later he returned to Cadiz, to be Superintendent of the Dockyard and Naval Establishments there, and President of the West India House, in which position he remained until appointed to the Cabinet, as mentioned above, where he succeeded the well known Marqués de Ensenada. He was also promoted to the rank of Admiral; and King Carlos III, on coming to the throne, confirmed him in these offices, which he continued to hold until his death, early in 1776.

Don Julian was nearly the victim of an intrigue on the part of the Marqués de Grimaldi, who wished to re-induct the Marqués de Ensenada in order that he might receive his support and co-operation in bringing about the fall of the Marqués de Esquilache—who held the portfolio for War and the Treasury—but the King refused to be a party to these designs, and Arriaga retained his post.

He is said to have been an active chief; and, if his naval training had made him unswerving in matters of discipline, his natural tendencies left him at least a merciful

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judge in questions of dispute, and especially humane in regard to punishments.

He was strongly impressed with the inadequacy of the Spanish navy to cope with the fleets of Great Britain in the wars of 1762 and later, when his country was drawn into a quarrel originally France's. He therefore stirred up the activity of the dockyards, especially at Cartagena—which was at that period the principal naval centre in Spain, and where an Englishman (Edward Bryant) held the post of Chief Constructor. He regulated the work of all the naval yards and arsenals, introduced into the service a new system of *galeotas* or bomb vessels, and established fixed rules for the construction and armament of ships of the line, which represented Spanish ideas and methods as distinguished from the French or British practice previously in vogue. He regulated the complements of ships, their marine artillery, stores, and equipment; and established special batteries for training the gunners, navigation colleges for officers of merchant shipping, and many other useful institutions relating to seamanship and maritime commerce. He insisted that the uniform and clothing of the men of the navy, in every rank, should be woven exclusively from materials furnished in the country itself, to the exclusion of imported products. He made successful efforts for the repression of piracy on the Algerian coasts; and even took into consideration improvements for the status and pay of the army. It was under his administration, in fact, that the old-fashioned and cumbrous *esponton* or lance was replaced by the musket, and the halberd given up for the bayonet. At Cartagena the docks, quays, hospital, and prison were built by his direction; and no less than thirty-three ships of the line (including the *Santissima Trinidad*, 140 guns, of Nelson fame), eleven frigates, eight *xebèques*, and a great number of small craft were launched from the naval yards of the nation during Don Julian's tenure of office as Secretary of State.

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Among the reverses suffered by the navy which caused him much chagrin, though, having seen a good deal of foreign countries and of Britain's strength on the high seas he was by no means optimistic or over sanguine, were the capitulation of Manila to General Draper and Admiral Cornish, and the capture of Havana by our West Indian fleet under Admiral Pocock.

Don Julian de Arriaga was a Bailio, or Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St John of Malta, a Privy Councillor, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to His Majesty. He was succeeded in office as Secretary of State for the Department of the Indies by Don José Galvez; and of the Navy by Admiral the Marqués Gonzalez de Castejon. He died near Madrid on February 28th, 1776.

Don VICENTE HEZETA was born of a good Biscayan family at Bilbao, and entered the navy as a midshipman at Cadiz in 1751. By 1770 he had attained the rank of senior lieutenant, in which he figures in the voyage to Easter Island, though it seems not quite clear which of the two vessels he belonged to. It was seven years after that that he gained promotion to Commander; but he rose to be Commodore in 1802, and Rear-Admiral in 1809. He had returned to Spain after his visit to Easter Island, serving mostly in the West Indies and Mediterranean until he joined Admiral Lángara's squadron in the latter sea, where he took part in the Toulon affair. On his retirement from active service he withdrew into Murcia (joining the national party against the French in 1808), where he died from illness in 1815 at the age of eighty years, sixty-four of which had been spent on service.

Don ANTONIO DE CORDOVA Y LASSO, whose career was one of constant and hard service, was born at Seville, and came of a family which had contributed many members to the navy for generations past. He joined at Cadiz, with a nomination as midshipman, in 1755, and served in several different ships on the home and Mediterranean stations,

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taking part in several single actions with Algerian corsairs and smuggling craft. He next sailed to the Havana in the fleet of Don Gutierrez de Hevia, on that officer receiving the marquisate del Real Transporte in recognition of having safely conveyed King Carlos III and the rest of the Royal Family in his ship the *Fenix*, from Naples to Barcelona. After that, he had several more encounters with Algerine corsairs and saw much service in the Atlantic. Being promoted in 1767 to senior sub-lieutenant he joined the *Santa Rosalia*, frigate, in that rank at Cadiz when she left for Callao; and proceeded later in her on her voyage to Easter Island as consort to the *San Lorenzo*, in which ship he returned to Europe in 1772, being by then a junior lieutenant.

Three years subsequently he was commander of the frigate *Santa Maria de la Cabeza* during her exploring and surveying voyage in the waters of the Terra Magellanica; and after that he had charge of the store-ships *Santa Casilda* and *Santa Eulalia* on a similar errand, his narrative of which expeditions forms a printed volume well known to bibliographers and students of geographical discovery¹. Later on he commanded the three-decker *Reina Luisa* for five years, became a Rear-Admiral in 1802; and died in his native Andalusian city nine years afterwards.

Born at Lagroño and destined from childhood for the naval profession Don PEDRO DE OBREGON entered the service as a midshipman at Cadiz in 1767; and, after his elementary studies and a short voyage to the Canary Islands and back, with troops and stores, joined the *San Lorenzo* and proceeded in her to Callao. His name figures in the documents relating to the act of possession of Easter Island in 1770 as a Passed Midshipman [*Guardia marina*

¹ Bibl. no. 55.

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havitado]: he returned to Spain in 1774 in the *Liebre* frigate. In 1780, while in command of the store-ship *San Pio* on his way back from the Havana, he fought and captured the British privateer or armed merchantman *Nancy*. Later on he was present in the *Septentrion*, of Don Luis de Cordova's squadron, at the taking of the British *Ardent*, of 74 guns: as well as at the siege of Gibraltar, and the battle with Admiral Viscount Howe off Tarifa in 1782. Ten years later he commanded the three-decker *San Hermengildo* before Toulon under Lángara in concert with Admiral Hood. In 1794 he was sub-inspector of naval stores at Ferrol yard, and was promoted to Rear-Admiral in the following year. He next commanded a squadron of four ships of the line, two frigates, and a brig, hoisting his pennant in the *San Fernando* of 90 guns; and made a very successful voyage from Ferrol to the Canary Islands and back. He became a Vice-Admiral in 1805 and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the dockyards and arsenal at Ferrol. Then came his *débâcle*, for, on the place falling into the hands of the French under Marshal Ney, Don Pedro, refusing to leave it, accepted service in his same position under the enemy—whom he is stated to have next betrayed to his own nation. His resignation and withdrawal from Spain was the only course open to him; and he fled. He was deprived of his rank, however, and his goods were sequestrated by order of the Regency.

THE SHIPS.

From an extract of the log kept by Lieutenant Don Pedro Autran de la Torre¹, who went out to Callao in the *San Lorenzo* from Europe, it appears that she was a *navio*,

¹ *Diarios, C 3°, Tomo I*, pp. 59–62, and 168, MS.; in the Archives of the Hydrographic Office of the Navy, Madrid. Bibl. no. 19 a.

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or ship of the line, pierced for 64 guns but able to mount 70 if needed. She proceeded from Cadiz on November the 8th, 1769, under the command of Captain Don Felipe Gonzalez, carrying troops and stores for Callao, where she arrived after a protracted and unfortunate voyage on May the 21st, 1770. She had, at that time, no less than five hundred and ninety men on the sick list with scurvy; and she had lost sixty-three others by death, having occupied 194 days on the passage. The same commander subsequently took her home, carrying treasure to the amount of 119,521P, and she arrived at Cadiz on the 1st of June, 1772, with only ten men sick. In a report from the Viceroy to the King it appears that a 64-gun ship should carry, on the Peruvian station, in 1776, a complement of officers, petty officers, seamen, marines, and dependents, to the number of 479 souls¹.

The *Santa Rosalia* was a frigate, and therefore of considerably smaller tonnage and armament than her consort, but no doubt a swifter sailer. She carried from 26 to 30 guns. Few particulars of her career have been found available, and owing to other frigates of the same name having been built at no very distant time from her own active service, some ambiguity of meaning attaches to such references as were met with. But it is pretty clear that she was one of several vessels built at Cartagena or Cadiz, from designs by Edward Bryant, an English naval constructor who was induced to quit his occupation at Gravesend and accept employment under the Spanish Government, as did several others about the same time². Several very beautiful models of Spanish ships of war of the period may be seen in the Royal Naval Museum at Madrid, adjoining the *Ministerio de la Marina*; especially

¹ Amat, M. de, Bibl. no. 1.

² Pavia, F. P. de, Bibl. no. 44, and Charnock, J., Bibl. no. 15.

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attractive is the frigate *Flora*, in Room VII. N° 64 in the same room is catalogued as the *Santa Rosalia*, of 30 guns; but this model, which is in frame only, represents a frigate of some forty years' later date bearing the same name. The *San Lorenzo's* consort returned from Callao to Cadiz in 1772, carrying treasure to the amount of 200,000P¹.

A 26-gun frigate carried, in those days, a complement of 267 persons, of whom six held military or combatant rank, two were Surgeons, two Chaplains, one a Paymaster, and four were "pilots" or navigating officers. Able seamen numbered 60, ordinary seamen 58, boys 10, marines 41, and marine artillery-men 46. The rest were petty officers and idlers. One is rated as *sangrador*, "phlebotomist¹."

I cannot refrain from recording here an expression of the obligation I feel under to His Excellency the Rt Hon. Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, P.C., G.C.M.G., &c., by whose courtesy and kindly interest I was placed in personal communication with the Spanish naval authorities, and was made to feel more like a welcome guest than a somewhat diffident pryer into state papers. I have already mentioned the Señor Don Joachin Sanchez de Toca, Minister for the Navy, who was so good as to afford me every facility I wished for research among the archives of the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty at Madrid; the readiness with which His Excellency granted me this permission was most gratifying and useful.

To Mr and Mrs Bernhard Whishaw, of Seville, I am indebted for having kindly paved the way for me at the *Archivo General de Indias* when I was about to revisit the Andalusian capital; and during a residence there of several

¹ Amat, M. de, Bibl. no. 1.

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weeks my creature comforts were watched over, and my spare moments made the more agreeable, by the hospitality and sustained attention I received from that gentleman and his gifted wife.

My gratitude would seem ill-proportioned did I not also seize this opportunity to acknowledge the timely and able assistance afforded me by Sister May C. Anderson, R.R.C., who, in circumstances of peculiar difficulty—and without laying aside her onerous and responsible professional duties—came generously to the rescue. By much patient typewriting, and wearisome proof-reading, during weeks and months of trouble caused me by ailing eyesight, she has contributed materially to abridge delays which, but for her charitable help, would have become more than provoking.

B. G. C.

