

WILLIAM ROBERT
BROUGHTON'S VOYAGE OF
DISCOVERY TO THE
NORTH PACIFIC
1795–1798

Andrew David,
Introduction by Barry Gough



THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

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WILLIAM ROBERT BROUGHTON'S
VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY TO THE NORTH PACIFIC
1795-1798

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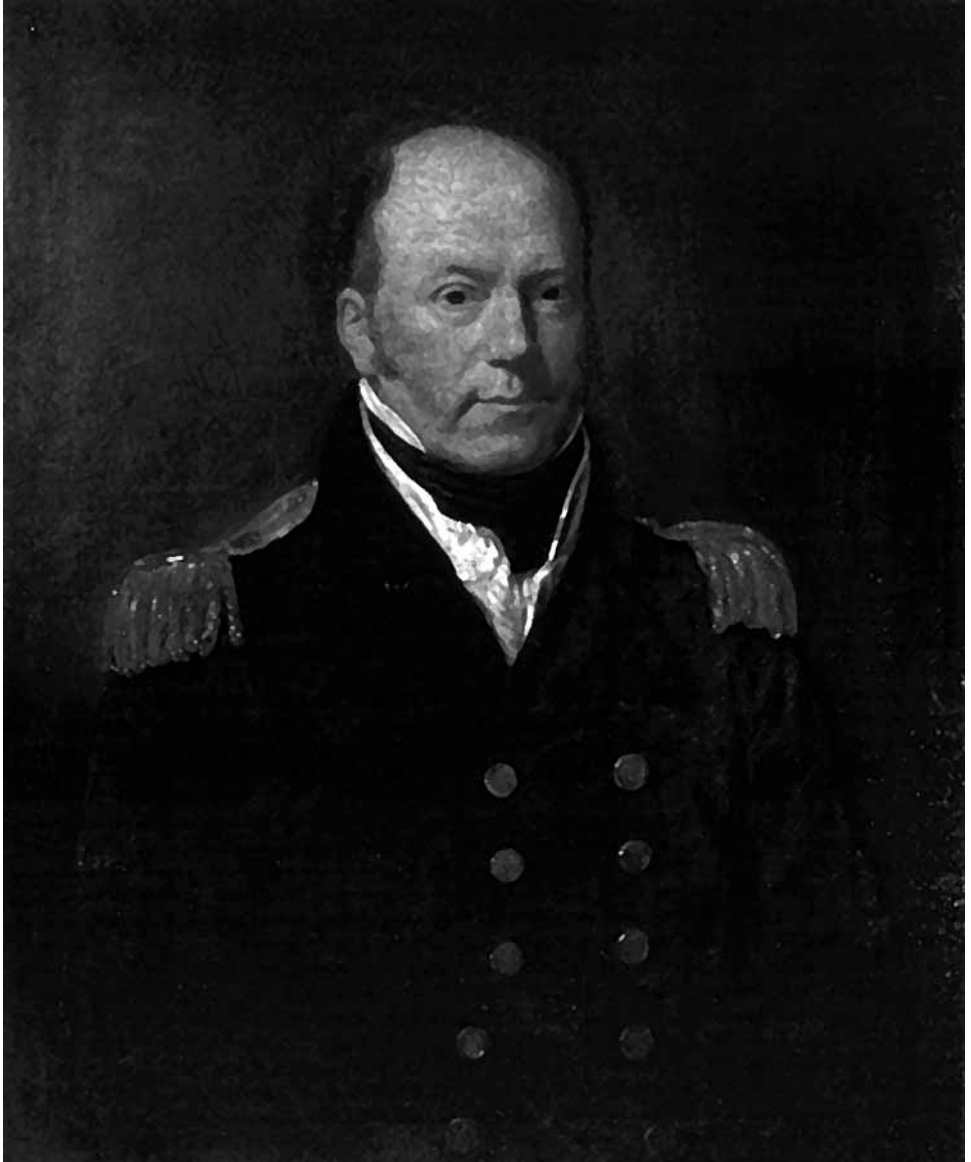
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For Stephen Easton, died 31 December 2009.
For many years printing adviser and devoted friend of the Hakluyt Society,
and its Vice-President for the years 2002–2007.
In affectionate remembrance.



William Robert Broughton by an unidentified artist.
Photograph courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

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Edited by
ANDREW DAVID

With an Introduction by
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Ye Southern, stormy and deserted seas,
Where scarce a vessel tries th' uncertain breeze,
Far from his home my wand'ring Brother braves
Your hidden rocks, and unfrequented waves; ...

And does, unmov'd, your lonely depths explore
Where never human voice was heard before.

Where, more expos'd to storms, the billows roll,
Nor genial climes their boist'rous rage control,
Where hardy firs their gloomy shadows cast
O'er the dark waves, and brave the northern blast,
Mid shelter'd coves, and far retiring bays,
the bartering sailor Nootka's land delays.

From *A Poem on a Voyage of Discovery undertaken by a Brother of the Author's, with other Sonnets, &c.* London, 1792. The anonymous author was Brian Broughton, Fellow of New College, Oxford, and the date of publication shows that it relates to his brother's voyage with Vancouver and not his subsequent one in command of the *Providence*.

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Deciphering the Text

Broughton's writing and those of his amanuenses is usually easy to read, although in a number of places his exact spelling has been difficult to determine. Where uncertainties exist, modern spelling has been adopted, otherwise his spelling, however idiosyncratic, has been followed. The principal difficulties have been to determine whether certain words start with a capital letter or not and whether past participles of verbs in his text end with '...ed', '...d' or simply '...d' as was common practice at the time of the voyage. The spelling of proper names has also posed a number of problems as Broughton's spelling is inconsistent and often differs from other sources. Where it has been difficult to decipher his actual spelling, that given in the published *Voyage* has often been helpful. Deciphering the exact spelling of some of the other words has been a minor problem; for instance it has been unclear whether Broughton spelled enclosed with an initial 'e' or as inclosed with an initial 'i' or whether he used both spellings indiscriminately. For consistency the modern spelling has been adopted.

There are numerous abbreviations used throughout the journal. Except for inter-cardinal bearings such as NW and standard forms such as Mr, these have been expanded in accordance with Hakluyt Society rules, the missing words being given in italics. Exceptionally words which are routinely abbreviated, such as till for until or bro't for brought, have not been expanded. Punctuation is very inconsistent and often missing. Where necessary this has been supplied in order for the text to make sense. This has been particularly the case with Crosley's letters to Nevil Maskelyne reproduced in Appendix I. The use of capital letters is also inconsistent and sometimes it is difficult to decide which letters are in capitals and which are not. Long sentences have been broken down into more manageable lengths, usually by substituting full stops for semicolons, starting each new sentence with a capital letter. Proper names are also given initial capital letters where necessary, but other words which Broughton has started with initial capital letters have not been amended in accordance with Hakluyt Society editorial policy, except prepositions, pronouns, and definite and indefinite articles. Only words whose nautical meanings are not given in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* are explained in appropriate footnotes.

Toponymy

The spelling of modern place names is taken from Admiralty Sailing Directions and charts since they contain many more names than are found in modern atlases such as *The Times Atlas*. Thus Russian place names have been transliterated according to the system approved by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use and the US Board on Geographic Names. Japanese place names, however, pose a problem since no single system has been established by the Japanese for national use. Their Post Office uses the

Modified Hepburn System, which is the system used by British and American Government agencies. On the other hand, the Japanese Hydrographic Office uses a system known as Kokuteisiki. In consequence the spelling of Japanese place names used in this volume differs from names used in *The Times Atlas*, which is based on a different system of transliteration. In addition, the UK Hydrographic Office has now been forced to modify its spelling of Japanese names both on its charts and in Admiralty Sailing Directions since, through international agreements, it has started to publish facsimiles of Japanese charts in its Admiralty series, on which Japanese names have been transcribed into English spelling, omitting all diacritical marks. Thus Kūyshū is now rendered as Kyushu and Tōkyō as Tokyo. The spelling of Chinese names also poses a problem as the former Modified Wade-Giles System of transliteration has been replaced by the Pinyin System in which a name such as Peking has become Beijing and Macao has become Macau. However, certain place names in the former Portuguese colony of Macao, as in the former British colony of Hong Kong, have not yet been changed. Another problem arises in the names of the south-westernmost of the Kurile Islands, since these islands are administered by Russia but claimed by Japan. Where appropriate the Russian names of features in this area are given in footnotes, followed by their names in Japanese when known.

Days and Dates

Broughton has been inconsistent in setting out the day of the week and the dates, sometimes setting them above the day concerned and sometimes in the margin. The actual day of the week is sometimes indicated by the astronomical symbol for the sun, moon and planets, which are also used for the day of the week. Thus ☉ = Sunday and ☾ = Monday, and so on. For consistency the day, date and month are given in bold at the head of each entry ranged hard left.

Marginalia

Entries mainly for variation and occasionally for astronomical observations, entered either in the margin or on the otherwise blank verso pages have been transferred to the main text between square brackets. Where these are given in tabular form this has entailed slight adjustments to accommodate them.

Maps

The track of the *Providence* shown on the various sketch maps is approximate as sufficient reliance could not be placed on their depiction on the charts in the published *Voyage*, nor on the geographical positions given in the journal.

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GLOSSARY

Chinese (C), Japanese (J), Korean (K) and Russian (R) geographical terms used in this volume. Japanese geographical terms used in *The Times Atlas*, which differ slightly from those used in this volume due to a different system of transliteration, are given in brackets. Chinese geographical terms include both Pinyin and Wade-Giles systems of transliteration.

Foreign term	Language	English meaning
a, ak	K	mountain
am	K	rock
bando	K	peninsula
banka	R	shoal, bank
bong	K	mountain peak
bukhta	R	bay, inlet
chau	C	island
chia	C	cape, bluff
chiao	C	creek, rock, reef, shoal, islet, cape, point
chon	K	river
chou	C	island
dan	K	cape, point
dao	C	island
do	K	island, islands
gawa	J	river
gora	R	mountain, hill
guba	R	gulf, bay, inlet
gunto	J	island group
hae	K	gulf
hana	J	cape, point
hang	K	harbour, point, cape
hanto	J	peninsula
hsi	C	west, mountain, stream
iwa	J	rock
jiang	C	river
jiao	C	point, cape, reef
kaikyo	J	strait
kawa	J	river
kang	C	hill
ko	J	harbour, port
kok	C	headland
kundo	K	archipelago

liedao	C	group of islands
liman	R	estuary
mal	K	point, cape
man	K	bay
men	C	channel, strait
misaki	J	cape, point
more	R	sea
mori	J	forest, wood
mys	R	cape, point, headland
nos	R	headland
ostrov(a)	R	island(s)
pando	K	peninsula
pi	C	cape
port	R	port
proliv	R	strait
reka	R	river
retto	J	chain of islands
reyd	R	roadstead
saki (zaki)	J	cape, point
san	J	mountain
san	K	mountain, hill
se	J	bank, islet, reef, shoal
shan	C	mountain, hill
shar	R	strait, channel
shima (jima)	J	island
shio	J	current
sho	J	bank, reef, shoal
shuidao	C	channel
shoto	J	archipelago
su	J	bank
sudo	K	strait
suido	J	strait, channel
tai	C	big, great, large
take	J	hill, mountain
tao	C	island
to	J	island, islet
tou	C	cape, headland, point
vulkan	R	volcano
wan	C	bay, gulf
wan	J	bay
yama	J	mountain
yo	K	rock
yolto	K	island chain
yu/yü	C	island, islet
zalive	R	gulf, bay, inlet
zhou	C	shoal, islet

ABBREVIATIONS

ADM	Admiralty papers either in The National Archives or in the National Maritime Museum
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
CUL	Cambridge University Library
NMM	National Maritime Museum, Greenwich
RGO	Royal Greenwich Observatory, Board of Longitude Papers
RUSI	Royal United Services Institute Papers, held in the National Maritime Museum
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
UKHO	The United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, Taunton

INTRODUCTION

Barry Gough

1. Background to the Voyage

The voyage of discovery that is the subject of this book was the last of the Royal Navy's exploring voyages to the Pacific Ocean in the eighteenth century. As such it was the culmination of a British national effort that had included the expeditions of John Byron, Samuel Wallis, Philip Carteret, James Cook and George Vancouver. Each of these expeditions had significant objectives. Initially the Admiralty merely intended Broughton to rejoin Vancouver and, on 31 December 1793, he was ordered by the Admiralty to receive on board the astronomer John Crosley for passage to Nootka Sound to join Vancouver's *Discovery*, as a replacement for William Gooch,¹ who had been murdered in Oahu on his way to join Vancouver. Meanwhile final negotiations were taking place in Madrid to settle the Nootka Sound dispute,² culminating in the signing on 11 January 1794 of the Third Nootka Sound Convention. As a result Broughton was ordered to carry dispatches for Vancouver from the Duke of Portland, one of His Majesty's Secretaries of State, dated 11 September 1794.³ These no doubt included copies of the Third Nootka Sound Convention, as well as informing Vancouver that Lieutenant Thomas Pearce of the Marines had been appointed as the British commissioner to implement this final convention and that Pearce had already sailed to carry out his assignment. On 3 October 1794 the Admiralty also furnished Broughton with copies for himself and Vancouver of a treaty of alliance signed on 25 May 1793 between Spain and Great Britain.⁴ The Admiralty clearly expected Broughton to rejoin Vancouver and to assist him to complete the survey of the north-west coast of America. However, his instructions – which he is known to have received on 4 October 1793 – do not appear to have survived.⁵ According to Broughton, these directed him that, should he fail to meet Vancouver, he 'should survey the southern coast of the south-west part of South America, upon the idea that Captain Vancouver, who had similar orders, would not be able to fulfill them'.⁶ In the event, having heard in Hawaii that

¹ TNA, ADM 2/125, pp. 247–8.

² In 1789 the Spanish established a garrison on Nootka Island in Nootka Sound and stationed there the frigate *Princesa*, under the command of Estéban José Martínez, in order to forestall a possible Russian settlement. Unknown to the Spanish, British vessels were already using Nootka Sound as a base for trading for sea otter pelts. Shortly after his arrival Martínez seized several British ships, including the *Argonaut*, commanded by James Colnett, and the *Princess Royal*. When news of their seizure reached London, the British fleet was mobilized and war with Spain was only averted by the eventual release of the two ships and the signing of the First Nootka Sound Convention in 1790. A Second Nootka Convention was signed in 1793, which still did not resolve the dispute.

³ TNA, ADM 12/62, cut 38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ADM 3/114, pp. 78–78v.

⁵ The editors, over a period of two decades, have ransacked every possible file of naval and state papers, and of those who conducted or implemented policy, in search of Broughton's instruction but, sadly, without success.

⁶ W. R. Broughton, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*, London, 1804, p. 64.

Vancouver had sailed for England and that he had called at Valparaíso on his way home, Broughton assumed that Vancouver had been able to comply with this instruction. The field was therefore left to Broughton, in the unique circumstances that he found himself, to determine what his next assignment ought to be.

After consulting his officers, he decided to explore the northern part of Japan and the waters of north-east Asia. Just as one explorer benefited from the work of his predecessors so did Broughton from those who had gone before. Thus Broughton's voyage also had political and scientific objectives. Each succeeding expedition added new details to the chart and increased European knowledge of this vast oceanic space and littoral, and brought or sent home new appreciations of places previously little known in the islands and shores of the Pacific. It was in regard to the north-west Pacific, and to the coasts of Tartary, Japan, Korea and China, that Broughton made his contribution to geographical knowledge. In so doing he established for himself a notable place in the annals of British naval hydrography and more generally in the history of exploration.¹ By determining and verifying by astronomical observations the main features of the Asiatic shore and islands, especially with regard to longitude, he delineated the size of the North Pacific Ocean and established the distances between North America and north-east Asia.

Broughton's voyage therefore signified a shift in British hydrographic inquiry from one side of the North Pacific to the other. Here, on the coasts of north-east Asia, a great European power, Russia, had long established a foothold. In 1689, by the Treaty of Nerchinsk, Russia and Imperial China had agreed on the former's most southerly extension or limit, along the Amur River.² Russia also had long had an interest in the Japanese islands, and the question of the insularity of Sakhalin was still undecided in Europe at the time of Broughton's voyage. Similarly, and a decade before Broughton, the French naval officer Jean-François de Galaup de la Pérouse had made his own examination of this puzzling matter. La Pérouse never returned to France, his ships having been wrecked on Vanikoro, one of the Santa Cruz Islands in the South Pacific, and literally lost to history until the early nineteenth century. Details of his geographical discoveries, which had been sent back to Paris in September 1787 from Petropavlovsk, were apparently not known to Broughton, though if they were (and it seems unlikely) Broughton gives no hints.³

¹ G. S. Ritchie, *The Admiralty Chart: British Naval Hydrography in the Nineteenth Century* (new edn, with an introductory essay by Andrew David), Edinburgh, 1995. See also James E. Hoare, 'Captain Broughton, HMS *Providence* (and her Tender) and his Voyage to the Pacific 1794–8', *Asian Affairs*, 31, 3 (October 2000), pp. 303–12; another with the same title, *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies*, 7 (2000), pp. 49–60, and 'Captain Broughton, HMS *Providence* (and her Tender) and Japan 1794–98' in J. E. Hoare, ed., *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Vol. 3, Folkestone, Japan Library, 1999, pp. 1–12, 353.

² This treaty was signed after a military altercation. It is the opinion of one scholar that neither China nor Russia had well thought out policies as to the future of the Amur River. The driving force seems to have been China's demands for commercial control. The treaty is printed in Frank A. Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641–1850: An Account of the Earliest and Later Expeditions made by the Russians along the Pacific Coast of Asia and North America; Including some Related Expeditions to the Arctic Regions*, Cleveland, 1914, pp. 290–93. A subsequent treaty, Kiakta 1727, designed to renew the existing peace arrangements, laid down the rules for Russia–China trade at that location and that location only. This is printed in Basil Dmytryshyn, E. A. P. Crownhart-Vaughan, and Thomas Vaughan, eds and trans., *Russian Penetration of the North Pacific Ocean to Siberia and Russian America, 1700–1797: Three Centuries of Russian Eastward Expansion*, Vol. 2: *A Documentary Record*, Portland, Oreg., 1988, pp. 70–78.

³ The official account of the voyage was published in Paris in 1797 by M. L. A. Millet-Mureau, with an English translation published as *A Voyage Round the World, Performed in the Years 1785... 1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe, under the Command of J. F. G. de la Pérouse*, 2 vols and atlas, London, 1799. For a general description of the voyage, see John Dunmore, *The Journal of Jean-François de Galaup de la Pérouse 1785–1788*, 2 vols, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser. 179–80, London, 1994, 1, pp. cli–cxcii.

Broughton faced a similar circumstance to that of La Pérouse – the perennial occupational hazard of hydrographers – of losing his ship to an unknown danger. But great foresight, and the experience of British discoverers, notably Cook, had pointed to the wisdom of having two surveying vessels working together. Broughton lost his command, the *Providence*, but providentially, he lived to tell the tale through his foresight in purchasing a small schooner in Macau to act as a tender. This vessel, which has its own interesting history (see below), became the means of the survival of the *Providence's* ship's company – itself a harrowing tale of sailing in distant and hitherto uncharted seas – which one day will be properly recognized as one of the classics of sailing heroics in the face of near disaster. The American maritime fur-trader turned historian, William Sturgis, reflecting on the hazards of sailing the Pacific on discovery, wrote in 1846, 'Nearly all the early and distinguished navigators, who discovered and explored the northern regions of the Pacific, met the fate that too often awaits the pioneers in bold and hazardous undertakings, and found a premature death, by violence or disaster, or disease brought on by incessant toil and exposure.'¹ The experience of La Pérouse has already been recounted. What of some of the others? Bering died of scurvy on Ostrov Beringa or Bering Island; Cook was killed at Kealakekua Bay; Charles Clerke succumbed to tuberculosis in the Bering Sea; the American fur-trader John Kendrick was accidentally killed at Honolulu; and Kendrick's second son, Solomon, was killed after the piracy of his vessel by Haida in the Queen Charlotte Islands.² Against these examples of misfortune stand William Broughton and George Vancouver, who both completed their long and hazardous voyages, though not without incident. Their lives are inextricably related in the historical record and the annals of North Pacific discoveries.

As in many respects Broughton's voyage can be regarded as an extension of Vancouver's voyage, it seems appropriate to briefly relate the reasons that led to Vancouver sending Broughton, then the commanding officer of the *Chatham*, back to London on 12 January 1793, from Monterey. In September 1792, Vancouver, who had been appointed the British commissioner to implement the First Nootka Sound Convention signed in 1790, had reached an impasse in his negotiations in Nootka Sound with the Spanish commissioner, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, over the restoration of British rights there, in accordance with the terms of this convention. The relations between the two were most cordial but difficult with regard to substance and interpretation. In all his negotiations with Bodega, Vancouver was aided by Broughton, who had an excellent command of the French language in which most of the negotiations appear to have taken place. Vancouver could not agree with the Spanish interpretation of the terms of the convention. In particular, he refused to accept the Spanish position regarding the extent of land the Spaniards had seized from the John Meares syndicate in 1789. He wisely wrote to London requesting further instructions. For this purpose, in September 1792, he sent Lieutenant Zachary Mudge of the *Discovery* to London in the Macao-registered brig *Fenis and St Joseph*, by way of Canton and the Cape of Good Hope. Meanwhile, in August of that year, the storeship *Daedalus* arrived at Nootka, fresh from the Hawaiian Islands, bringing supplies to Vancouver but also carrying the sad news of the tragic and senseless killing at Waimea Bay, in Oahu, of Lieutenant Richard Hergest,

¹ 'The Northwest Fur Trade by the Hon. William Sturgis,' *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, 14 (1846); reprinted in Briton C. Busch and Barry M. Gough, eds, *Fur Traders from New England: The Boston Men in the North Pacific, 1787–1800: The Narratives of William Dane Phelps, William Sturgis and James Gilchrist Swan*, Spokane, Wash., 1997, p. 91.

² For other examples and additional details, see *ibid.*, pp. 91–2 and p. 91n.

Vancouver's close friend, and the astronomer William Gooch. The latter had been sent out under instructions from the Board of Longitude to cooperate with Vancouver in scientific discoveries.¹ Gooch's death deprived Vancouver of an astronomer, and a new one therefore had to be sent out in the next possible ship. (This was John Crosley, who subsequently sailed with Broughton.) However, when Vancouver reached Monterey in November 1792, he was informed by Bodega, who had preceded him there, that the latter had received intelligence from Madrid, which suggested that Spain and Great Britain had reached agreement with respect to the territories at Nootka.²

As a result, Vancouver decided to send Broughton, who was privy to all the transactions in Nootka, to London to clarify matters, taking with him dispatches and copies of the Spanish charts, which he had been given by Bodega, so that the new negotiations would not again founder for lack of information. Vancouver also suggested indirectly that the Admiralty should send out another vessel to assist him – or to complete his mission – and he also suggested, strongly, that if one were to be sent, Lieutenant Broughton should command her.³

Bodega offered to take Broughton with him to the Spanish naval base at San Blas and to arrange for him to travel across New Spain (Mexico) to Vera Cruz on the Gulf of Mexico. Bodega therefore wrote from Monterey to Viceroy Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco y Horcacitas, the second Conde de Revillagigedo, in Mexico City, requesting the necessary passport for Broughton to cross New Spain.⁴ Broughton and Bodega left Monterey on 12 January 1793 in the Spanish brigantine *Activa*, reaching San Blas on 1 February. Revillagigedo, however, was unhappy to be revealing the weaknesses of New Spain to one of Spain's traditional enemies, but was unwilling to repudiate the actions of his commissioner. His solution was to instruct Bodega to appoint a trustworthy person to accompany Broughton.⁵ Bodega therefore instructed the naturalist José Mariano Moziño to accompany Broughton as far as Mexico City.⁶ The passport arrived at San Blas on 14 February and the following day Broughton set off for Mexico City accompanied by Moziño, whom he had met at Nootka.⁷ Broughton and Moziño reached Mexico City on 8 March, where Broughton met Revillagigedo. Broughton continued his journey on 23 March, accompanied this time by Teniente de Fragata Secundino Salamanca y Humara, who was also known to Broughton as Salamanca and had served in the schooner *Sutil* during the joint Anglo-Spanish survey in Doubtful Sound in 1792. On reaching Vera Cruz, they had to wait for over a fortnight for Capitán de Fragata Cayetano Valdés y Flores, who was also well known to Broughton, as he was the commanding officer of the schooner *Mexicana* during the joint Anglo-Spanish survey referred to above. They sailed for Havana on 17 April in the Spanish frigate *Minerva*, where

¹ The voyage of the *Daedalus* has yet to be fully examined as to its historical importance. Aspects of it are dealt with in Greg Denning, *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology*, Melbourne, 1995.

² W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *George Vancouver, A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser. 163–6, 4 vols, London, 1984, 2, pp. 728–9.

³ Vancouver to Philip Stephens, 13 January 1793: TNA, ADM 1/2629, ff. 49–50v; quoted in full in Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, IV, pp. 1582–3.

⁴ Bodega to Revillagigedo, 30 December 1792; AHN, Estado 4290 and AGN, Historia 70, cuaderno 25, f. 3.

⁵ Revillagigedo to Bodega, 7 February 1793; AGN Historia 70, cuaderno 25, f. 17.

⁶ Freeman Tovell, *At the Far Reaches of Empire: The Life of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra*, Vancouver, 2008, pp. 277–81.

⁷ For an account of Moziño's activities and observations at Nootka see Iris H. Wilson Engstrand, trans. and ed., *Noticias de Nutka: An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792 by José Mariano Moziño*, Seattle, 1970.

the three transferred to a Spanish brig, reaching Cadiz about six weeks later.¹ From there Broughton made his way first to Madrid² and then to London, where he was able to deliver Vancouver's dispatches to the Admiralty on 16 July 1793³ only two months later than Mudge. Broughton was thus able to give the British ministry further details of what had transpired at Nootka Sound and on the Pacific Coast of North America.⁴ There is no proof, as has been claimed,⁵ that he later returned to Madrid as part of the British delegation to give advice to the British ambassador and plenipotentiary in the preliminaries leading to the negotiation of the Third Nootka Sound Convention that finally ended the Nootka Sound controversy and specified the respective rights and limitations of the two powers in that vicinity. But it can be safely said that he gave advice, for it was eagerly awaited by senior members of the British cabinet, W. W. Grenville and Henry Dundas, that helped shape such demands and responses that that administration pressed on the Spanish government through the British ambassador to Madrid. However, it seems as though news of Vancouver's difficulties had already reached London, possibly via Madrid, as a Second Nootka Convention had been signed on 12 February 1793. During the time these negotiations were taking place a treaty of alliance and trade between Spain and Great Britain was also being discussed. The execution of Louis XVI and its accompanying excesses brought the traditional enemies towards an adjustment of their differences and a treaty was signed on 25 May 1793, which was ratified by both governments a few weeks later.⁶ This treaty facilitated a final settlement with Spain over the Nootka Sound dispute and Lord St Helens, British Ambassador in Madrid, was again charged with the task of negotiating with Spain. No doubt Broughton, on passing through Madrid, had been able to give the Ambassador valuable advice of someone who had personal knowledge of what had taken place between Vancouver and Bodega and the difficulties they had encountered in implementing the 1790 convention.⁷ Eventually, after difficult negotiations, the Third Nootka Convention was signed in Madrid on 11 January 1794.⁸

On 3 October 1794, following a meeting of the Board of Admiralty, attended by the Earl of Chatham, Lord Arden, Admiral Affleck and Sir Charles Middleton, the following minute was recorded:

The Board having early in the month of May 1793 receiv'd by Lieutenant Mudge, a Letter from Captain Vancouver of the Discovery Sloop of the 21st September, 1792, accompanied with a Journal of his Proceedings and Copy of the Correspondence between Señor Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega

¹ Broughton does not note the exact date of his arrival at Cadiz in his journal, but it was probably during the last week in May. For a full account of his journey across New Spain and his voyage to Cadiz, see Appendix VI.

² In a letter to Vancouver, Conde Revillagigedo reported Broughton's safe arrival in Madrid; Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, IV, p. 1417.

³ *Ibid.*, 4, p. 1582 and TNA, ADM 1/2629.

⁴ Grenville to H. Dundas, 10 June 1793, TNA, CO 5/187, copy in BC Archives, GR 329, p. 120. This document makes clear that a company of Marines was being raised, with final orders being given in that same month, for an occupation of Nootka if Spain did not accede to British demands. Broughton's arrival, and news, allowed the more pacific course, and by January 1794 the British finally got all that they had demanded in principle.

⁵ William Ray Manning, 'The Nootka Sound Controversy', *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1904*, Washington, 1905, pp. 469–71.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 468. See also p. 39 below.

⁷ It seems unlikely that Broughton was sent back to Madrid as suggested in Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, I, p. 109.

⁸ For full Spanish texts of the three conventions see Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543–1819*, New Haven and London, 1973, pp. 544–8, and for the English texts see Manning, 'The Nootka Sound Controversy', pp. 454–6 and 467–70.

y Quadra and himself; and on the 16th of July following and another Letter from him by Lieutenant (now Captain) Broughton of the 13th of January, with the Journals, Charts and Drawings which accompanied it, giving a more detailed account of his Proceedings in execution of the Service on which he had been employed, Resolved that he be acquainted that their Lordships entirely approve of his Proceedings, and transmitted to Mr Secretary Dundas copies of the said Letters with their Inclosures for His Majesty's Information and Commands; the result of which will be communicated to him in the Pacquet from His Grace the Duke of Portland, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, with which Captain Broughton is charged and by whom he will receive their Lordships order for his further Proceedings ...

A Treaty between His Britannic Majesty and the King of Spain having been signed the 25th of May 1793; Resolved that Printed Copies thereof be sent to Captain Vancouver of the Discovery Sloop at Nootka Sound, and to Captain Broughton of the Providence Sloop at Spithead for their Information and Guidance.¹

Meanwhile, Lieutenant Thomas Pearce of the Marines, who had previously served under William Bligh in the *Providence* during the latter's second breadfruit voyage, 1791–3, had been appointed British commissioner to implement the Third Nootka Convention in place of Vancouver. He left England in the late summer of 1794 and travelled to Nootka on board Spanish vessels by way of La Coruna, Cadiz, Havana, and Vera Cruz, from where he travelled overland to Mexico City, which he reached on 30 November. He sailed from San Blas on 13 January 1795 on board the Spanish frigate *Activa* to Monterey, where he was joined by Brigadier General José Manuel de Alava, the Spanish commissioner, reaching Nootka Sound on 16 March, where a brief ceremony took place.² On 25 April 1795, Pearce wrote to Philip Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, from Tepic informing him of his proceedings at Nootka.³ Pearce also wrote to Secretary of State, the Duke of Portland, on the same date, which was published in the *London Gazette* No. 13813 (12–15 September 1795). Since Pearce had left England before Broughton had sailed, he was able to inform Alava that the *Providence* was bound for Nootka, enabling them both to leave letters with Maquinna for Broughton.⁴

2. Broughton and Vancouver

William Robert Broughton was born on 22 March 1762, son of Charles Broughton, a gentleman of Hammersmith in the county of Middlesex. Sadly, little is known of his childhood or family. His later connections were with the church, the navy and army, and with the gentry of Cheshire. His brother, the Revd Brian Broughton, five years his junior, was for a time

¹ TNA, ADM 3/114, ff. 78–78v.

² Manning, 'Nootka Sound Controversy', pp. 281–478. Pearce's correspondence, along with almost all other lieutenants' correspondence, appears to have been destroyed in the reorganization of the Admiralty Record Office in 1808–9. However, incoming letters from Pearce dated between 6 July and 27 December 1794 are noted in the *Admiralty Digest* for that year; TNA, ADM 12/61. A copy of his letter of 27 December 1794, reporting his arrival in San Blas and his intention of sailing to Monterey to meet Brigadier General José Manuel de Alava is held in TNA, HO 28/19, f.248, and a copy of his full report to Philip Stephens from Tepic, dated 25 April 1795, reporting their proceedings at Nootka is held in TNA, HO 28/20, ff. 192–3. A copy of his report to the Duke of Portland of the same date is reprinted in the *London Gazette*, No. 13813, 12–15 September, 1795.

³ Copy in TNA, HO 28/20, ff. 192–3.

⁴ Cook, *Flood Tide*, pp. 421–3, 426 and Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, I, pp. 186–7. Little is known of Pearce's subsequent career. He was promoted to captain on 9 May 1795 and placed on half-pay in 1801.

a Fellow of New College, Oxford.¹ Broughton probably went to sea as a volunteer first class, and thus was destined for the quarterdeck. As a midshipman he served on the North American Station during the American War of Independence and was taken prisoner during an action at Boston. As a lieutenant he served in the *Burford* and fought in actions between Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes and the French Commodore Chevalier Pierre-André de Suffren in the Indian Ocean.

On 28 December 1790, aged 28, Broughton was appointed in command of the brig *Chatham* to take part in Vancouver's expedition. His appointment to the *Chatham* was not as a result of any request that Vancouver might have made. It may, however, have been owed to Captain John Knight, under whom Broughton had served in the *Harlem* during the American War of Independence and again in the *Victory* during the 'Spanish Armament', when the British fleet was mobilized on 30 April 1790 due to deteriorating relations with Spain following the seizure of two British merchantmen in Nootka Sound. Knight was a prolific 'amateur' surveyor and Broughton may have learned his surveying skills from him. In any event, once on the north-west coast of North America this was soon to change as he made an impressive entry into this line of work. On 23 November 1791 Broughton discovered a cluster of small islets and rocks, which he named Knight's Islands after his former captain. They were sighted again the following day by Vancouver, who named them The Snares, by which they are now known. A few days later, on 29 November, Broughton was the European discoverer of an island to the east of New Zealand's South Island, which he named Chatham Island in honour of the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Chatham. Broughton and several of his officers landed in an effort to establish friendly relations with the local inhabitants, the Moriori, but a clash occurred in which one of the Moriori was killed. Broughton made some useful ethnographic observations and produced a sketch survey of the south side of the island.² In May 1792, on the north-west coast, Broughton examined a cluster of islands, now known as the San Juan Archipelago, lying east of Haro Strait and west of Rosario Strait, and bounded on the south by the Strait of Juan de Fuca and on the north by the Strait of Georgia.³ In October of that same year he explored the Columbia River for about one hundred miles upstream from the river bar and entrance, making an outstanding contribution to the exploration and charting of that river, as Vancouver attested.⁴ Near the upriver extremity of his navigation, at

¹ Brian Broughton was baptized on 29 June 1766 at Hammersmith, the son of Charles Broughton of that borough. After attending Winchester School he matriculated at New College, Oxford, on 29 April 1785 at the age of 18, becoming a fellow in 1787, which at the time was automatic after two years' study. He resigned his fellowship in 1812, by which time he had gained his MA, having been presented with the rectory of Long Ditton, Surrey. He died on 8 January 1838. He was the author of a poem titled 'Copse Hill Grove' and also *Poetical Reflections in North Wales* in 1801 with six aquatint views as well as his anonymous lengthy elegiac, *A Poem on a Voyage of Discovery, undertaken by a Brother of the Author, with other Sonnets, &c.*, London, 1792.

² Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, I, pp. 63, 380–83, 387–8. See also Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges between Maori and Europeans 1773–1815*, Auckland, 1997, pp. 195–204.

³ J. Neilson Barry, ed., 'Broughton's Log of a Reconnaissance of the San Juan Islands in 1792', *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 21, 1 (January 1930), pp. 55–60. See also Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, IV, 1558–63, and Richard W. Blumenthal, ed., *With Vancouver In Inland Washington Waters: Journals of 12 Crewmen, April–June 1792*, Jefferson, N.C., 2007, pp. 109–39. This last contains his rough journal, 28 April–25 June 1792, and the San Juan examination, 18–25 May 1792.

⁴ Broughton's own account of his Columbia River examination has not survived. But Vancouver is known to have used it when compiling the account of his voyage, which is printed in Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, II, pp. 747–70. See also, Andrew David, 'John Sherriff of the Columbia, 1792: an Account of William Broughton's Exploration of the Columbia River', *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 83, 2 (1992), pp. 53–9.

Possession Point, he claimed the river and surrounding territory for His Majesty King George III. Broughton's 'zeal and exertions' in the Columbia River exploration won Vancouver's approval,¹ for this was difficult and hazardous work. Broughton had acquitted himself well in all his naval service to date and Vancouver also came to trust Broughton's diplomatic skills. During the voyage, Broughton had become familiar with the Spanish empire and officials in the Western Hemisphere and, from his experiences afloat and ashore with the Spanish, may have had, in addition to his fluency in French and, in the circumstances, a basic and most useful command of the Spanish language.

3. Broughton and Bodega

During the various social and diplomatic encounters in Nootka Sound Broughton was on excellent terms with Bodega and later, on the voyage from Monterey to San Blas, they became firm friends. Before the two parted in San Blas, Bodega commissioned Broughton, should he return to the north-west, to buy for him in London four dozen shirts 'of the finest trim' and a number of nautical instruments, including an Arnold chronometer (No. 56), a small pocket chronometer (Earnshaw No. 2), a Ramsden sextant 'with three telescopes', a thermometer, a glass 'to determine distances at sea', and an artificial horizon.² On his return to London, Broughton purchased these items for his Spanish friend. They cost Broughton £250 and, in enclosing the bill, he assured Bodega that 'the instruments were the finest in England'. The Arnold box chronometer cost £84, the pocket chronometer £47:15:6, the Ramsden sextant £19:9:0, the artificial horizon £2:12:0 and the shirts £78:4:6. As had been arranged, a cousin of Bodega, Pedro de la Quadra, living in Cadiz, paid the bill with 22,640 pesos.³ Broughton took these items with him in the *Providence*, but, on learning that Bodega had died on 26 March 1794, aged forty-nine,⁴ on reaching Monterey in June 1796, he handed them to the governor Don Diego Borica. The governor then sent them by the first available vessel to Francisco Hijosa, the comisario in San Blas, where the instruments were stored in the royal warehouse on the orders of Viceroy Revillagigedo. As Freeman Tovell points out, 'As the file ends there, it will never be known what happened to either these elegant shirts or the nautical instruments, but it takes no stretch of the imagination to assume that the Spanish navy appropriated them for its own use'.⁵

4. Broughton and the *Providence*

Broughton was appointed in command of the *Providence* on 3 October 1793 and promoted to Commander. His immediate duty was to prepare her for sea and to see that all necessary repairs were satisfactorily completed, that provisions and stores were received and stowed correctly, and that her guns and ammunition were embarked – in short, to see that all the necessary details were attended to for a long voyage to distant seas and extensive sailing.

¹ Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, II, p. 747.

² Tovell, *Far Reaches of Empire*, pp. 333–4, quoting AGN, Californias 37, ff. 179–185v.

³ Broughton to Bodega, in French from London, 28 July 1793, AGI, Estado, legajo 39.

⁴ Tovell, *Far Reaches of Empire*, p. 329.

⁵ *Ibid.*

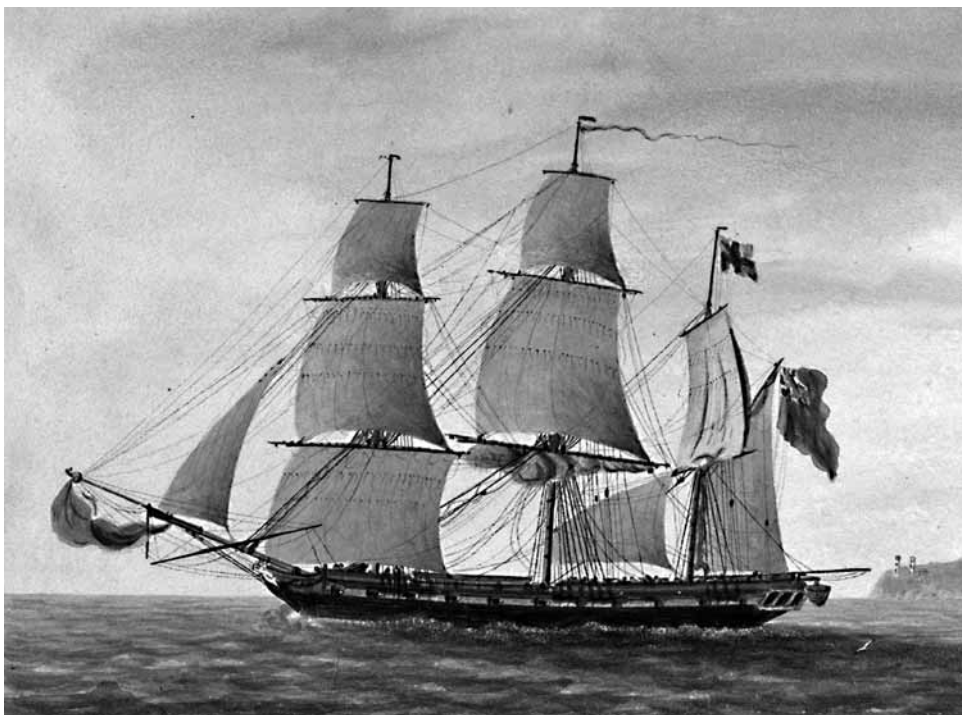


Figure 1. The *Providence* (detail), from a watercolour by George Tobin, c. 1791.
 Photograph courtesy of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

The *Providence*, mounting 12 guns, was the ninth Royal Navy vessel of the name. Having originally been intended for the West India trade, she had been bought on the slip by the Navy Board from Mr Perry's at Blackwall in 1791 to replace the *Bounty*, lost in the mutiny, for a further attempt to carry breadfruit from Tahiti to the West Indies, again under William Bligh.¹ She proved to be, as Bligh had discovered, highly suitable for distant voyaging. She was not, as some authorities state, a small vessel. Measuring 406 tons, she was a little larger than Vancouver's *Discovery*. Her measurements were: 107 feet 10¼ inches overall (89 feet 6 inches on the waterline), 29 inches 2½ inches beam, and 12 feet 3¼ inches keel to rail. Her draft was 16 feet 6 inches.² Bligh described her as a superior ship of her class, with three decks. The *Providence* under Bligh had reached St Vincent on 23 January 1793, where over 500 plants were landed; the rest were unloaded at Jamaica. She then sailed for England. The *Providence* arrived at Deptford in the River Thames on 6 August in company with the *Assistance* under Nathaniel Portlock, another veteran of Cook's voyages and of the north-west coast of America. A month later Bligh made a final entry in his log: 'This voyage has terminated with success, without accident, or a moment's separation of the two

¹ For details of Bligh's successful voyage see Douglas Oliver, *Return to Tahiti: Bligh's Second Breadfruit Voyage*, Melbourne, 1988.

² David Lyon, *The Sailing Navy List: All the Ships of the Royal Navy – Built, Purchased and Captured – 1688–1860*, London, 1993, p. 234.

ships.¹ On paying off, the *Providence* was turned over to the Dockyard officers and was soon taken in hand for another mission, unconnected with the war with France that had commenced in February 1793. The war had, in fact, delayed the return of the *Providence* and *Assistance* to England. These same circumstances obliged merchant vessels and warships bound from United Kingdom ports to sail in convoy, and later this also delayed Broughton, making a possible rendezvous with Vancouver all the more unlikely.

On 3 October 1793 Broughton was appointed in command of the *Providence*,² then being refitted in Woolwich, with Zachary Mudge as his First Lieutenant. The following day Broughton was instructed that the dockyard had been ordered that the *Providence* was to be fitted and stored for a voyage to remote parts, manned with 100 men, and victualled for twelve months, with all species of provisions. Broughton was to cause the utmost dispatch to be used in getting her ready for the above service and, having done so, he was to fall down to Galleon's Reach to take in guns and gunner's stores, after which he was to repair to the Nore for further orders.³ Broughton received further instructions on 29 November, which amended the *Providence's* complement to 115.⁴ On 23 September 1794 Broughton was also ordered to take out a number of seamen for the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* to complete their complements,⁵ but as he only gives the number of officers and crew embarked on board the *Providence* as 115,⁶ these additional seamen may have already been embarked. On 31 December 1793 Broughton received orders to receive on board Mr John Crosley, as well as his servant and baggage. Crosley, 'being appointed by the Board of Longitude to make Astronomical Observations in a Voyage to Nootka Sound and elsewhere,'⁷ joined the *Providence* the following day.⁸ As Broughton's tasks would have included taking out provisions and supplies to Captain Vancouver and further carrying on the extensive survey, the *Providence* had to be fully stowed. On 9 January 1794 the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty wrote to the Commissioners for taking Care of Sick and Wounded Seamen that

Captain Broughton, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop Providence, who is going on a voyage to remote Parts, having requested that she may be supplied with the undermentioned Articles for the use of her Company during the said voyage, viz.

Portable Soup	1500 pounds
Pulvis Antimonialis	30
Elixir of Vitriol	36
Rob of Oranges & Lemons	42
Bark Rendered [<i>word indistinct but likely Rendered</i>] ⁹	One hundred weight

You are hereby required and directed to cause the said sloop, which is now at Woolwich, to be supplied therewith accordingly, with all the dispatch ...¹⁰

¹ Oliver, *Return to Tahiti*, p. 257.

² TNA, ADM 6/24, f. 270v.

³ *Ibid.*, ADM 2/124, pp. 506–7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ADM 2/125, pp. 167–8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ADM 2/126, minute dated 23 September 1794.

⁶ Broughton, *Voyage*, p. xvi.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ADM 2/125, pp. 247–8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ADM 36/13497.

⁹ Bark of the Cinchona tree, which when rendered produces quinine; used as a febrifuge and tonic. Also known as Peruvian or Jesuits' bark.

¹⁰ Admiralty to Sick and Hurt Board, 9 January 1794, NMM, ADM E/45. Fresh lemons were acknowledged to be the best antiscorbutic, but the demand for chests of lemon or of lemon juice exceeded available supply. For discussion of the issues of the day, see Brian Vale, 'The Conquest of Scurvy in the Royal Navy 1793–1800: A Challenge to Current Orthodoxy', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 94, 2 (May 2008), pp. 160–75.

These were medicines, including antiscorbutics, supplied for the voyage as a counter to the ravages of scurvy. (In any event, no mention of scurvy during this voyage appears in Broughton's narrative nor in any report by John Floud, the surgeon.) It may be pointed out, however, that even though James Lind, in 1745, had determined, by experiment, that the use of oranges and lemons was the most effective antiscorbutic – he tried all sorts of items and concoctions including elixir of vitriol three times a day on an empty stomach, vinegar ditto, assorted gruels and potions, the bigness of a nutmeg, and, not least, an electuary of garlic, mustard seed, radish and balsam of Peru and gum myrrh in barley water acidulated with tamarinds – it was not until Sir Gilbert Blane became a Commissioner of Sick and Wounded in 1795, that a standard issue of citrus fruits to all ships became general.¹

5. The Voyage from England to Macau

If Broughton kept a journal for the early part of the voyage as far as Tahiti, it has not survived. Nor has the *Providence's* log for the same period. The published account of the voyage, which contains a number of errors and omissions, must therefore have been based on various missing documents. Consequently, it is the principal source for this part of the voyage. It has, however, been possible to supplement this, partly from two logs covering the period from 24 January 1794 to 24 January 1795 kept by William Chapman, the ship's Master and, of less value, a log kept by Lieutenant James Giles Vashon between 14 January and 6 October 1795. Letters from John Crosley, the astronomer, to Nevil Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, contain additional information for this part of the voyage.²

On 18 February 1794 the *Providence* dropped down river to Galleon's Reach to embark her guns and gunner's stores, where she remained until the 28th when she moved to Gravesend, as being a better place than Woolwich to obtain seamen. Here she remained between 1 and 30 March, when, still short of seamen, she proceeded to the Nore, where volunteers were received from the *Sandwich*, flagship of Vice-Admiral John Dalrymple, to complete her complement. Thus the crew were all volunteers, except one who joined later in Plymouth, having been sent on board the flagship there by the civil power and from thence to the *Providence*.³ On 16 April Broughton was instructed to proceed to Spithead without loss of time and to remain there until further orders.⁴ Sailing from the Nore, as escort to a convoy of merchant ships, the voyage started inauspiciously when on 23 April the pilot ran the *Providence* aground on the Brake Sand.⁵ Broughton laid out a kedge anchor and hove her off. After briefly anchoring in the Downs, Broughton continued on to Spithead, where he anchored on 28 April. On 8 May the *Providence* moored alongside Dockyard Wharf in Portsmouth and two days later she was taken into dock where five copper sheets were replaced on her starboard side. While in Portsmouth, William Bayly, formerly one of the astronomers on Cook's second voyage and

¹ J. Lind, *A Treatise on the Scurvy*, 3rd edn, London, 1772, pp. 144–50. Lind's account is also printed in John Hattendorf, R. J. B. Knight, A. W. H. Pearsall, N. A. M. Rodger and Geoffrey Till, eds, *British Naval Documents 1204–1960*, The Navy Records Society, 1993, pp. 523–4.

² See Appendix I.

³ This was Patrick Sherry who died on 6 June 1796; Broughton, *Voyage*, p. 60.

⁴ TNA, ADM 2/125, p. 518.

⁵ A small drying bank on the western side of the Gull Stream, the channel between the Kentish coast and the Goodwin Sands.

the astronomer on his third, but now headmaster of the Royal Naval Academy, rated the *Providence's* chronometers. It seems likely that they were sent to him previously by the Board of Longitude for that purpose. The following day the *Providence* undocked and anchored once more in Spithead, where she remained until 10 September when she moved to St Helens, the fleet anchorage in the SE approaches to Portsmouth, NNE of Bembridge Point, the eastern extremity of the Isle of Wight.

It was not until 4 October 1794 that Broughton received his orders, which were secret, with an additional one to put himself under the command of Captain Drury in HMS *Trusty* and to proceed to sea with his convoy, bound for the Mediterranean. Broughton was to keep in company with Drury as long as their routes were the same.¹ The convoy, escorted by the *Polyphemus*, *Providence*, *Saturn*, *Fury* and *Trusty*, left St Helens on 21 October but when the wind changed to south the following morning the convoy and escort bore up for Tor Bay, where they remained at anchor until 25 October, when they were able to resume their voyage down channel.² Off the Lizard they spoke with the frigate *Artois* with the captured French frigate *La Révolutionnaire* in tow.³ On 28 October, when well to the west of the Isles of Scilly, in 7°20'W, a severe gale was encountered and the convoy became dispersed. Drury then made the signal to make for the nearest port. Broughton looked into Falmouth, but with no signs of the *Trusty*, he continued on to Plymouth, where he anchored in Cawsand Bay on 30 October.

Broughton was detained in Plymouth until 29 January 1795 when Admiral Parker⁴ flying his flag in the *Raisnable* made signal to sail. On 15 February a favourable north wind enabled more than 400 sail to get under way and proceed to sea, where the fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Howe was waiting to escort them down channel. On 19 February, well clear of the French coast, Admiral Howe's fleet parted company and the convoy separated into various components, the *Providence* continuing for the time being with Admiral Parker's West India fleet until 1 March, when that too parted company. This left the *Providence*, *Reliance*, *Supply* and the frigate *Iris*, with her convoy, to continue in company. On 6 March the four ships anchored off Santa Cruz in Tenerife to obtain fresh provisions and water ship. On 8 March the *Iris* and her convoy sailed for the Cape Coast and on the 13th the *Providence*, *Reliance* and *Supply* sailed in company bound for Rio de Janeiro. On 20 March Ilha de Santo Antão, the NW island of Ilhas do Cabo Verde, was sighted and on 22 April Ilha da Trindade, enabling the position of this isolated island to be verified. On 2 May they passed Cabo Frio and on the 5th Broughton anchored in the entrance to Rio de Janeiro, moving the following day to an anchorage within the harbour, north of Ilhas da Cobras, where he was joined by the *Reliance* and *Supply*.

¹ Broughton, *Voyage*, p. 4. As stated earlier, Broughton's secret instructions do not appear to have survived.

² TNA, ADM 52/3292/9 and 10 and Crosley to Maskelyne, 18 November 1794, in Appendix I, pp. 228–30. There is no mention of Tor Bay in Broughton, *Voyage*, p. 4.

³ *La Révolutionnaire*, a 44-gun French frigate, commanded by Henri-Alexandre Thévénard, was intercepted by a British squadron on 21 October 1794, about 30 miles west of Ushant. The superior sailing of the 38-gun frigate *Artois*, Captain Edmund Nagle, enabled her singly to bring the French frigate to action; she defended herself with great gallantry, but struck her colours to the *Artois* when the rest of the British squadron closed in; William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain*, 6 vols, London, 1837, 1, p. 211. *La Révolutionnaire* was taken into the Royal Navy with the same name and was eventually broken up in 1822.

⁴ Admiral Sir Hyde Parker (1739–1807), who was going to the West Indies to take over as commander-in-chief, Jamaica, 1796–1800. He was commander-in-chief of the British fleet at the first Battle of Copenhagen in 1801 and is chiefly remembered for the signal he sent to Nelson to leave off the action, which Nelson is said to have ignored by lifting his telescope to his blind eye.

Broughton spent eighteen days in Rio de Janeiro, during which the rigging was overhauled and the decks recaulked. The ship's company were constantly supplied with fresh provisions, and wine was purchased at a reasonable rate. The Portuguese authorities were, however, very suspicious and the three ships were watched by guard-boats day and night. Broughton took the opportunity of calling on Captain John Hunter on board the *Reliance*, who was returning to New South Wales to take up his appointment as Governor in succession to Arthur Phillip. Together they called on the Portuguese Governor, the only time that Broughton went ashore. Crosley, however, was allowed to land on Ilha das Enxadas to rate the chronometers and to fix its position. Matthew Flinders, who was senior master's mate on board the *Reliance*, also landed on the island to take similar astronomical observations.¹

On 24 May Broughton set sail alone as the *Reliance* and the *Supply* were not ready to proceed. As he intended to round Van Diemen's Land and then cross the Pacific from west to east due to the lateness of the season,² Broughton took with him Hunter's orders for Port Jackson.³ Broughton first set a course for Gough Island, named after Captain Charles Gough of the East India Company ship *Richmond*, who had sighted it on 3 March 1732,⁴ in order to fix its position. The island had been discovered by Gonçalo Alvarez in 1505 and laid down on a Portuguese chart of 1519.⁵ The island was one of several in the South Atlantic which were to have been examined by Captain Henry Roberts in the *Discovery* for their suitability as a base for future operations.⁶ Broughton's visit to the island may have been a belated fulfilment of this objective. Gough Island was sighted on 10 June in poor visibility. Broughton remained off the lee of the island overnight in the hope of landing, but the weather, particularly a very heavy swell, made this impossible. Some indifferent observations placed the island in 40°19'S, 9°27'W, considerably different from the position of 40°3'S, 2°30'W, as it was laid down in all the charts and books they had on board, as noted by Crosley.⁷

From Gough Island Broughton set a course to pass south of the Cape of Good Hope and then south of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), which was sighted on 2 August. Broughton had hoped to examine the unknown area between Furneaux Islands and Cape Howe, but contrary winds prevented this and carried the *Providence* north of Sydney. In consequence, Broughton entered Port Stephens, just north of the present day city of Newcastle, which he surveyed with Crosley's assistance (see Fig. 3 on p. 12). Providence Bay, extending seven miles north of Yacaaba Head, the NE entrance point of Port Stephens, and Broughton Islands situated eight miles NE of Yacaaba Head, commemorate his visit. Here he encountered four convicts who had escaped from Sydney in 1790 in a four-oared boat, but had got

¹ Geoffrey Ingleton, *Matthew Flinders: Navigator and Chartmaker*, Guildford, Surrey, and Alphington, Victoria, 1986, p. 23. In 1801–3 Flinders, in command of the *Investigator*, went on to carry out an important survey of Australia.

² Broughton may have been given discretionary powers in his secret orders.

³ Broughton, *Voyage*, p. 12. The contents of these orders is not known.

⁴ James Horsburgh, *Directions for Sailing to the East Indies*, 2 parts, London, 1809, I, p. 62.

⁵ Robert Headland, *Chronological List of Antarctic Expeditions & Related Historical Events*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 53 & 69.

⁶ In 1789 Secretary of State William Wyndham Grenville proposed sending an expedition to examine certain islands in the South Atlantic, including Gough Island. The *Discovery*, commanded by Henry Roberts, was prepared for this expedition with Archibald Menzies to be appointed as surgeon and naturalist. However, when war seemed possible over the Nootka Sound crisis the expedition was abandoned and the *Discovery* was sent to the north-east Pacific, commanded by George Vancouver instead; TNA, HO 28/6, ff. 304–12, and ADM 1/4153, f. 43; David Mackay, *In the Wake of Cook*, Beckenham, Kent, 1985, pp. 42–5.

⁷ Crosley to Maskelyne, 6 October 1795, CUL, RGO, 14/68, ff. 98–104.

no further than Port Stephens. They came willingly on board and were taken back to Sydney to complete their sentences.

Broughton finally reached Sydney on 27 August where he handed over Captain Hunter's orders to Major Paterson, the acting governor. During their stay there, due to the constant bad weather encountered during the run from Rio de Janeiro, it was found necessary to recaulk, refit the ship and overhaul the rigging. Crosley took the opportunity to set up his observatory tent on Bennelong Point, to rate the chronometers, in the same spot where Malaspina and his officers had set up their observatory two years earlier.¹ The seine was hauled daily to provide fresh fish for the ship's company and, by permission of Major Paterson, a boat was sent daily to Garden Island for fresh vegetables, which were grown there for the town, free from the unwanted attentions of the local fauna. On 8 September the *Reliance* and the *Supply* arrived, having been 97 days from Rio de Janeiro.

On the morning of 13 October Broughton got under way, bound for Tahiti. After an uneventful passage, taking them north of New Zealand, Broughton entered Matavai Bay on 29 November. The following morning, when warping the ship into a better anchorage, an iron stocked anchor was swept up, which had formerly belonged to the *Bounty* and had been abandoned when the mutineers had cut her cables when making their final departure from Tahiti. The observatory tent was set up on Point Venus to enable Crosley to rate the chronometers, but the surf breaking on the shore caused the ground to tremble so much that observations were impossible. It is to be regretted that the only surviving account of occurrences ashore is the statement that 'The natives afforded us every assistance in our various pursuits, and amply supplied us with provisions and vegetables.'² On 10 December Broughton weighed anchor and at noon he hove to in order to hoist the boats and to take leave of their friends, which included Pomare, his wife 'Itia, his two brothers Teri'irere and Vaetua and the high priest Ha'amanemane. On their departure the Tahitians were saluted with a four-gun salute. A course was then set for Hawaii, possibly to obtain information about Vancouver. On 16 December a small uncharted island was sighted, which Broughton thought was a new discovery. He therefore named it Carolina Island in compliment to the daughter of Sir P. Stephens of the Admiralty.³ It was, however, not a new discovery, having been sighted by Quiros in 1606, who named it San Bernardo, and it had possibly been discovered by Magellan in 1521.⁴ The daughter's name was in fact Caroline and the island is now named Caroline Island on charts and maps.

The island of Hawaii was sighted on 1 January 1796, but on approaching land the trade wind was lost. Nevertheless several canoes came alongside, with pigs and vegetables. On the 2nd a vessel was sighted under sail to the NW, which the natives informed Broughton was an English brig. It was in fact the schooner *Prince William Henry*, Captain William Wake.⁵ Broughton subsequently purchased this schooner in Macau on 29 December 1796; see p. 107 below. Light and variable winds at first prevented Broughton reaching Kealakekua Bay. He

¹ Andrew David, Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Carlos Novi and Glyndwr Williams, eds, *The Malaspina Expedition, 1789–1794: The Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina*, 3 vols, The Hakluyt Society, ser. 3, nos 8, 11, 13, London, 2001–2004, III, pp. 78–9.

² Broughton, *Voyage*, p. 26. Broughton's surviving journal starts on their departure from Tahiti.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴ Andrew Sharp, *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 5–6.

⁵ Michael Roe, ed., *The Journal and Letters of Captain Charles Bishop on the North-West Coast of America, in the Pacific and in New South Wales*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd ser. 131, Cambridge, 1967, p. 135.

therefore sent an officer inshore in the pinnace to obtain information about Vancouver from an American vessel at anchor in the bay. This was the *Lady Washington*, Captain Roger (or Robert) Simpson. Broughton had encountered her a few years earlier when he was in command of the *Chatham*, and the *Lady Washington* was commanded by John Kendrick. Simpson was able to pass on information he learned from the English brig that the *Discovery* and *Chatham* had sailed for England from Valparaíso in July or August 1795.

Broughton spent seven weeks in the Hawaiian Islands, presumably to avoid arriving at Nootka during the depth of winter. The observatory was landed and set up in a field adjacent to the morai, where Vancouver had set up his observatory, for Crosley to obtain fresh rates for the chronometers. No difficulties were encountered such as Cook had faced. John Young, principal agent of Kamehameha and a seasoned friend of the English, offered assistance with canoes and food. Kamehameha himself, the most powerful chief in the island of Hawaii, was absent on a raiding party to an adjacent island in his quest to bring all the Hawaiian Islands under his control. The ship's company was permitted shore leave, something which the cautious Vancouver would not have allowed. In the circumstances, no objection to shore leave could be raised. Of immediate concern, however, was that since crossing the equator the *Providence* had made from two to four inches of water per hour and the opportunity was taken to unstow the holds and heel the ship in an attempt to find the cause, but without success. Many fine things were said of Vancouver by the Hawaiians, and the cattle that he had left were sighted. Broughton gave a pair of goats, some geese and ducks. Mudge gave the Hawaiians his pigeons.

On 1 February 1796 Broughton made his departure from the bay, leaving the *Lady Washington* at anchor. Two days later he anchored off the island of Maui, opposite the village of Lahaina, but few provisions could be obtained there. So on the 6th Broughton got under way again and on the 7th anchored in Waikiki Bay, now called Mamala Bay, on the south coast of Oahu, just to the west of Diamond Head. Here Kamehameha came on board. He seemed to be engrossed in completing the sailing vessel *Britannia* which Vancouver had put in hand for him, and in forcibly extending his rule to the neighbouring islands, contrary to Vancouver's advice. Broughton learned from him that the Hawaiians executed for the murder of Hergest and Gooch in Oahu during Vancouver's visit were not in fact the culprits but had merely been nominated for that part to appease Vancouver. Broughton anchored briefly off a harbour called Fair Haven, now identified as Honolulu, in order to survey it, but his survey has not survived. On 16 February Broughton anchored off Waimea, on the south coast of Kauai, finding the island at war. In spite of this, they received an abundance of vegetables and forty hogs. Broughton attempted to mediate between the warring parties, but without success and so he set sail for the adjacent island of Niihau, anchoring there on 19 February. The following day some fresh provisions were obtained, but, with the weather deteriorating, Broughton got under way and on 22 February set a course for Nootka Sound. At noon on 25 February Broughton altered course to the west to run down the longitude of an island called Donna Maria Lajara, laid down on Arrowsmith's 1794 'Map of the World' and said to have been discovered in 1781. With no sight of land in its supposed position and after running down 5° of longitude, Broughton abandoned his search and altered course once more to the north. A large swell from the SE quarter obliged them to pump out the ship every two hours.

On 15 March land was sighted and the following evening Broughton anchored in the entrance to Nootka Sound amidst showers of hail, sleet and snow. The land lay under a blanket of snow, presenting to Broughton's eye a desolate appearance. Next morning Broughton sent Mudge in a well-armed boat into Friendly Cove for intelligence. He returned

at noon with the news that there were no ships in the cove and that the spot where the Spanish settlement had been was now occupied by an extensive native village. Since Lieutenant Thomas Pearce, who had been appointed as the British Commissioner to implement the Third Nootka Convention, had left England several months before Broughton received his secret instructions, they could well have included orders for him to confirm that the Spanish had not reoccupied the sound. On the 17th, with a favourable sea breeze, Broughton entered the sound and anchored two miles NNE of Friendly Cove. Here the principal chief Maquinna and another chief, Clupananutch, brought off to the ship several letters dated March 1795 at Nootka, almost a year earlier. These were from Lieutenant Pearce and Brigadier General Alava informing Broughton of the abandonment of Nootka Sound in accordance with the agreement reached between the two Courts. From the letters Broughton learned that Vancouver had sailed from Monterey for England in December 1794, and that the Nootka controversy had been settled at last. Any fears that the natives, known to be numerous, might pose a difficulty proved false.¹

The leak having increased on the way north, it had now become imperative to find and repair it, for which an examination of the hull was essential. As this was the season of heavy weather a snug spot, well protected from high winds and heavy seas, was required. Broughton therefore decided to proceed to Marvinas Bay, situated on the west side of Cook Channel, about four or five miles north of Friendly Cove, where a suitable site was found between an islet and Nootka Island, where the ship was made steady by hawsers. Nearby the beach was found to be convenient for laying the ship on shore and, accordingly, the *Providence* was moved there. The sails were unbent and the yards and topmasts struck. Next, tents were erected alongside and the holds were cleared of provisions and landed, together with the anchors, cables and guns. The *Providence* was then hauled on shore, but it was not possible to find the leak. On 10 April a vessel was seen in the offing, which proved to be the *Lady Washington*, which had put into Nootka Sound to repair her leaks. A few days later she moored alongside the *Providence*, enabling all the spirits, slops and perishable stores to be put on board her. Next a wharf was built adjacent to the *Providence*. She was then heaved down to reveal the port side as far as the garboard strake² when it was discovered that 14 feet of false keel had been carried away and that a copper bolt which was meant to secure the strake to the floor timbers was missing. Only the copper sheathing had prevented the uninterrupted inflow of water. Meanwhile the carpenters were employed sheathing the *Lady Washington* and making other repairs. On completion of the repairs, the sloop had to be cleaned throughout and then dried with fires before reloading could be carried out. As pointed out by Admiral Ritchie, the episode seemed to have been regarded by Broughton as a minor inconvenience and to have been a remarkable example of the efforts expended by seamen in those days and of the ingenuity that officers and men on detached service had to exercise.³

On 16 May the *Providence* was warped out of Marvinas Bay and a light breeze carried her down to Friendly Cove. On 21 May, with a light land breeze, Broughton made his departure. In a letter to the Admiralty Broughton says that they had been supplied by the natives with venison, fish and vegetables, and that they had parted with Maquinna on the friendliest terms,

¹ According to Warren Cook, Broughton 'was disappointed that he had come halfway around the world on a wild goose chase'; Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 427. However, this is unsubstantiated from anything Broughton has written.

² The first range of planks laid upon a ship's bottom, next to the keel.

³ Ritchie, *Admiralty Chart*, p. 67.

adding that no vessel of any nation had been in the Sound since the Spaniards quitted it.¹ Broughton next anchored briefly in Neah Bay, known to the Spanish as Nuñez Gaona, on the southern shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. There for four months in 1792 the Spanish had kept a frigate in the port and had set up a rough establishment ashore, before it was found to be unsuitable as an alternative to Nootka Sound and so was abandoned. In his secret orders Broughton may have been instructed to confirm that it too had been abandoned. Broughton found it afforded good anchorage, with plenty of wood and water.² With nothing to detain him, Broughton spent just one day there, before shaping a course south towards Monterey, where he hoped to get further intelligence of Vancouver.

Making his way south, and into warmer temperatures, Broughton sighted Point Reyes, the conspicuous promontory forming the western entrance point of Drakes Bay, on 4 June. Sounding as they passed the point, Broughton entered the bay and anchored in 15 fathoms, 1½ miles offshore. 'With two boats we explored the shore, where I conceive the place is in which Sir Francis Drake anchored 1579.'³ Vancouver's earlier identification of Drakes Bay, which he visited on 14 November 1792, had been based entirely on Spanish authorities, probably as a result of discussions he had with Bodega, Alcalá-Galiano and Valdés at Nootka. In the face of bad weather and heavy seas, Vancouver had thought it prudent not to enter and examine this renowned anchorage and, accordingly, he continued on to San Francisco.⁴ Broughton, by contrast, was able to examine the bay more closely and would have pressed his investigations further inshore, beyond a remarkable sandy patch, except for surf breaking across the bar to Drakes Estero.⁵ He noted that the bay afforded good shelter, except in easterly winds. Deer were seen on the hills and in the valleys, and communications were made with the natives on the shore. The surf prevented a landing, but a sailor swam ashore with knives, trinkets and other items as presents.

Broughton then continued to the south, past the Farallon Islands, without sighting either them or the entrance to San Francisco Bay on account of haze. On 6 June he entered Monterey Bay, where he moored ship after saluting the Spanish fort with eleven guns, which was returned with an equal number. Here he met a reception similar to that accorded to Vancouver in Monterey by José Joaquín de Arrillaga in 1793. The governor, Don Diego Borica, a colonel of cavalry, was coldly civil and would only meet absolutely essential needs. There was no social intercourse. Broughton handed over to the Governor, for Bodega's executor, the four dozen shirts and the various nautical instruments, including two chronometers he had bought for 'my late much valued and lamented friend'.⁶ The governor, however, would not allow the British to erect the observatory ashore for Crosley to rate the ship's own chronometers. Nor were they allowed to ride or walk into the country. Borica did, however,

¹ Broughton to E. Nepean, 15 June 1796, UKHO, OD 177.

² On 2 October 1792, Vancouver, at Nootka Sound, was told by Fidalgo, in command of the *Princesa*, freshly arrived from Neah Bay, that the bay had been abandoned by the Spanish because the location had been found exposed to the weather, and that the anchorage was very bad because of its rocky bottom; Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, II, p. 684. Broughton, however, found safe anchorage here; see p. 47.

³ Broughton, *Voyage*, p. 59. Point Reyes lighthouse is in 37°59'36"N, 123°1'21"W.

⁴ Lamb, *Vancouver's Voyage*, II, p. 701.

⁵ An indication of the breakers at the bar of Drakes Estero is shown on the US Coast Guard Chart of 1860, printed in Samuel E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, A.D. 1492–1616*, New York, 1974, p. 675. Also James F. Imray, *North Pacific Pilot, Part I. North America (West Coast)*, 4th ed., London, 1885, f.p. 234.

⁶ For full details of these items and their eventual fate, see p. xxviii above.

agree to forward a letter from Broughton to the Admiralty, giving an account of his proceedings so far, but it does not appear to have reached London, although a duplicate copy was brought back by Mudge when he was sent home from Macau in June 1797. Broughton's original letter may have suffered the same fate as a letter Mudge wrote to his patron John Stuart, First Marquess of Bute, Ambassador to the Court of Spain. Mudge's letter gave details of the voyage so far and an account of Bute's son, Lord George Stuart, who was a midshipman on board the *Providence*. By the time this letter reached Madrid, Bute had been recalled and the letter was deposited in the Archivo General de Indias.¹

Broughton could not have known that the Spanish, under orders of the Viceroy of New Spain, the Marqués de Branciforte, who had replaced Revillagigedo, had decided to send a warship north to Bucarelli Bay, in present day Alaska, to look for any suspicious foreign activities. This was the *Sutil*, commanded by José Tobar y Tamáriz, but due to bad weather she only got as far as Nootka, where nothing suspicious was encountered. The intention of this voyage is not quite clear, except to pre-empt any attempt that the British might make to reoccupy Nootka. The *Sutil* left San Blas on 16 March 1796, three months before Broughton reached Monterey. Branciforte would have known that Broughton was returning to the north-west coast, but it seems likely that the first news that he was on the coast would have been when he heard of his arrival at Monterey. There were other factors leading to Broughton's frosty reception by Borica. These were the years of renewed Anglo-Spanish tension, despite the British government making all efforts to avoid giving provocation to Spain after the outbreak of war with France. In August 1796 an alliance between Madrid and Paris was arranged and a month later Spain declared war on Britain, one of the justifications being that the British had abused the First Nootka Convention and that British vessels were carrying on contraband trade on the coasts of Peru and Chile.²

The time had come for Broughton to decide on his future proceedings. Broughton wrote in his journal at this juncture, 'My orders from the Admiralty were, that I should survey the southern coast of the south-west part of South America, upon the idea that Captain Vancouver, who had similar orders, would not be able to fulfil them. But as I now had certain intelligence that he had left this port eighteen months before, and that both the ships, *Discovery* and *Chatham*, under his command, were in good condition, I had not the smallest doubt of his ability to comply with his instructions.'³ In view of this, Broughton decided that his future proceedings depended on his own discretion 'in such a manner as might be deemed eligible for the improvement of geography and navigation.'⁴ He therefore ordered his officers to give their opinions in writing how this could best be achieved. He was delighted to discover that their opinions coincided with his own, namely to survey the coast of Asia commencing at the island of Sakhalin and ending at the Nanking River (that is, the Yangtze or Chang Jiang). It was also his intention to complete the survey of the adjacent islands, namely the Kuriles, and those of Jesso and Japan (that is, Hokkaido and Honshu), left unfinished in Cook's third voyage. In so doing the limits of both continents of America and Asia would be known and the knowledge of the North Pacific Ocean would be complete. Broughton also gives his reasons in the preface to the published account of his voyage, 'It should be remembered that,

¹ AGI, Estado, 39, N.14.8 (5). For a copy of this letter see Appendix I.

² Cook, *Flood Tide*, p. 425.

³ See pp. 245–50 below. Broughton was of course unaware that the *Discovery's* damaged mainmast had forced Vancouver to abandon this survey.

⁴ See p. 50 below.

in the third volume of Cooke's last work, Captain King observes that the navigation of the sea between Japan and China afforded the largest field for discovery: and the survey of this unknown part of the North Pacific Ocean was particularly recommended by the Honourable Daines Barrington in his *Miscellanies*.¹ The Hon. Daines Barrington, KC, was an eminent English judge and a fellow of the Royal Society of London, who used his influential position to promote maritime exploration, especially towards finding the long-sought Northwest Passage. On 17 February 1774 he laid before the Royal Society a plan for a voyage to attempt to find a passage from the Pacific, which led to the dispatch in 1776 of James Cook in command of the *Discovery* and *Resolution* on the third of his great voyages. In 1781 Barrington published his influential collection of essays, simply entitled *Miscellanies*,² with the aim of promoting the completion of the work of exploration left undone at the conclusion of Cook's third voyage. In the preface to his essay 'The Possibility of Approaching the North Pole Discussed' he wrote that 'The Coast of Corea, the Northern part of Japan, and the Lequieux Islands, should also be explored'.³ Another reason put forward by Broughton for his decision to cross the Pacific to survey parts of the coasts of Asia was that so far Crosley had not had any opportunities of complying with his instructions from the Board of Longitude in making observations and ascertaining the positions of unknown places,⁴ since the *Providence's* voyage so far had followed Vancouver's tracks.

Broughton was thus bound for an area where British mariners and British merchant interests, including the East India Company, had great expectations and hopes of opening trade.⁵ A hint of what would develop in the future occurred a few years earlier, when James Colnett, in the merchant ship *Argonaut*, had sailed from Macau in 1791 to trade with Japan and Korea only to meet Japanese resistance to any open trade. In addition, Korean trade prospects were a chimera. Colnett's opinion was that 'all Nations improve by commerce which I have every reason to believe will soon be extended to Corea and Japon where a great Call for furs will happen ... an Embassy to Japon might open that trade much sooner than is believed'.⁶ Colnett's pioneering voyage would presage other attempts, and safe navigation in those seas necessitated the survey work that Broughton was about to undertake and the drafting of plans that would become the charts of the future.⁷ As Colnett knew, the existing charts were faulty and unreliable. The London merchant adventurer Richard Cadman Etches, principal in the King George's Sound Company, was correct when he told the presiding genius of British science and discovery, Sir Joseph Banks, on 19 May 1792, 'I cannot but observe that the Island[s] in the Archipelago of Japan are very

¹ Broughton, *Voyage*, p. iv.

² Daines Barrington, *Miscellanies*, London, 1781. For details of his life and influence, see entry in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ Barrington, *Miscellanies*, p. vii.

⁴ See p. 251 below.

⁵ James Cook, Captain John Blankett, Alexander Dalrymple, Daines Barrington, John Henry Cox, John Meares and Lord Macartney were all proponents of opening trade with Japan, the main hope being to use the outer islands as a means of breaching Japanese officialdom and resistance, Robert J. King, "'The long wish'd for object' – Opening the Trade to Japan, 1785–1795', *The Northern Mariner/le marin du nord*, 20, 1 (January 2010), pp. 1–34.

⁶ James Colnett, 'A Voyage for Whaling and Discovery Round C. Horn to the Pacific Oceans made under Protection of the Rt. Hon. Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Performed in the Merchant Ship Rattler by J. Colnett, Lieutenant in the R.N., 1793–1794', BL, Add. MS 30,369, f. 251.

⁷ TNA, ADM 55/142. See also F. W. Howay, ed., *The Journal of Captain James Colnett Aboard the Argonaut from April 26, 1789 to Nov. 3, 1791*, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1940.