THE MALASPINA EXPEDITION 1789–1794

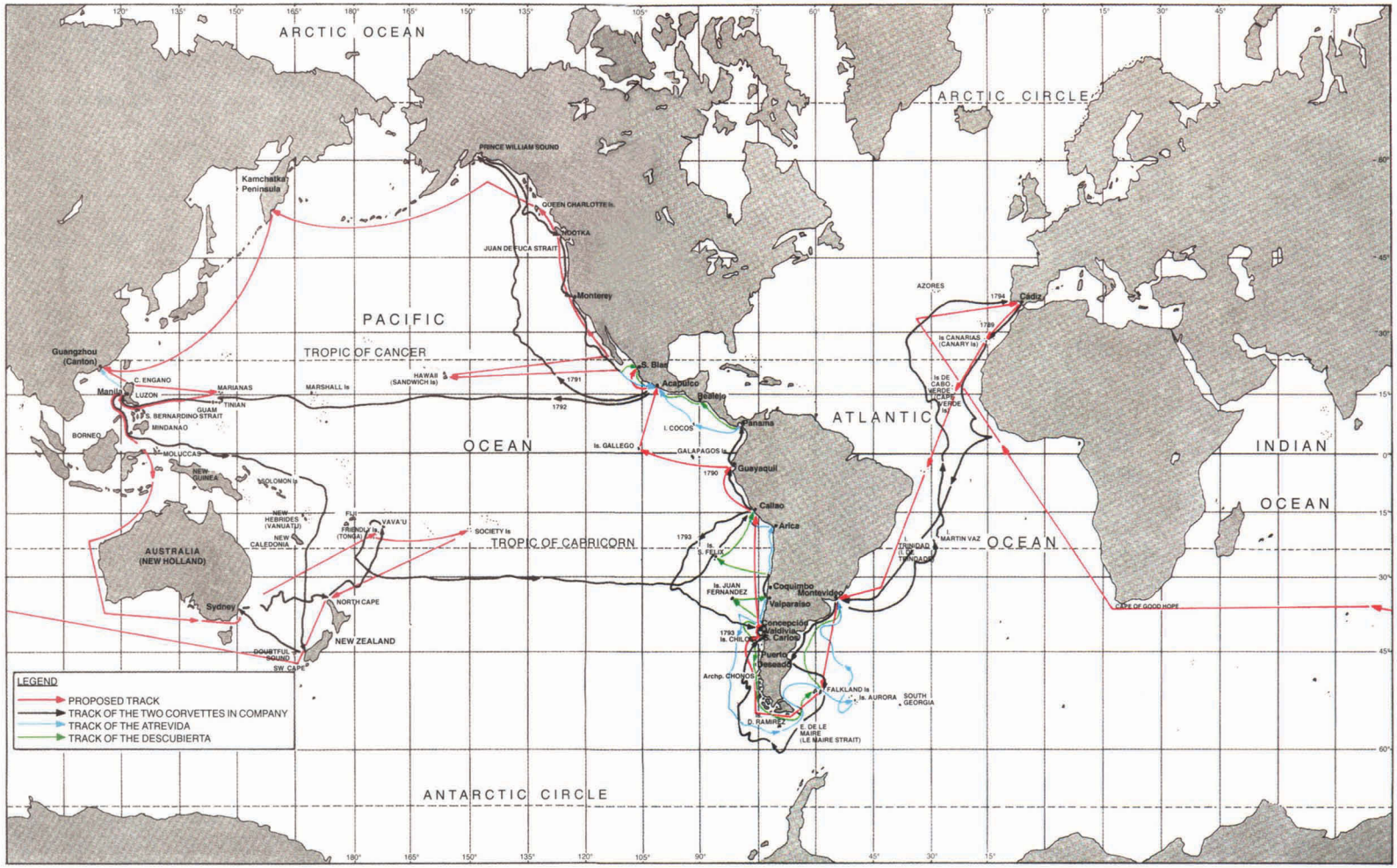
VOLUME I

CADIZ TO PANAMA

Edited by

ANDREW DAVID, FELIPE FERNANDEZ-ARMESTO,
CARLOS NOVI, GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

TRACKS OF THE MALASPINA EXPEDITION – PROPOSED AND ACTUAL 1789–1794



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1789-1794

VOLUME I
CADIZ TO PANAMA

THIRD SERIES
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Telephone: 01986 788359 Fax: 01986 788181 E-mail: office@hakluyt.com
Website: www.hakluyt.com

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The Hakluyt Society, c/o Map Library, The British Library, 96 Euston Road,
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Plate 1. Alejandro Malaspina in the uniform of a Brigadier de la Real Armada. Anon.
Museo Naval, Madrid

THE

MALASPINA EXPEDITION

1789–1794

Journal of the Voyage by
Alejandro Malaspina

VOLUME I

CADIZ TO PANAMA

Edited by

ANDREW DAVID, FELIPE FERNANDEZ-ARMESTO,
CARLOS NOVI, GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

Introduction by

DONALD C. CUTTER

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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

W. R. P. Bourne
J. S. Cummins
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†Eduardo Estrella
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JOINT FOREWORD

On 1 September 1794 Cádiz saw the safe return to their home port of the corvettes *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, commanded respectively by Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante. These officers of the Spanish Royal Navy had been entrusted five years earlier with a scientific and political expedition to the Pacific Ocean, and their return was celebrated as the culmination of the most ambitious voyage of exploration and surveying undertaken by Spain in the eighteenth century.

Most unfortunately, the sad circumstances which surrounded Malaspina's life soon after his return, as well as the political upheavals and economic impoverishment of Spain resulting from the prolonged wars of the period, prevented the immediate publication of Malaspina's *Diario del viaje* and that of the additional narratives, sailing directions, astronomical observations, physical descriptions and political reports drafted during those five years of almost ceaseless navigational activity. It was necessary to wait until 1824-7 for the first edition of the *Diario*, published in Russian at St Petersburg by Admiral Ivan (Adam) Fedorovich Kruzenshtern of the Imperial Russian Navy, and until 1885 for a Spanish edition by the distinguished mariner and historian, Pedro de Novo y Colson. Comprehensive publication of the massive documentation generated by the expedition was finally undertaken as a Museo Naval initiative in 1987, and it naturally included Malaspina's *Diario general del viaje*, printed in two volumes in 1990.

The importance of a work of such scope could not go unnoticed by the Council of the Hakluyt Society, known to Spanish scholars as the most prestigious of British institutions devoted to the publication for the benefit of the international community of voyages which have contributed historically to the advancement of our knowledge of the physical, political and human aspects of the world in which we live. Indeed, the idea for the publication in English of Malaspina's *Diario* in association with the Hakluyt Society was supported with such enthusiasm by successive Presidents of the Society, and by a team of generous contributors, that we are now able to submit this scholarly edition in the knowledge that English-language readers will appreciate at its true value the account of a Spanish maritime undertaking whose contribution to a better knowledge of the globe may deservedly be compared to the achievements of the contemporary expeditions commanded by Bougainville, Cook, La Pérouse and Vancouver of which we Europeans are legitimately proud.

José Ignacio González-Aller Hierro
Almirante Director del Museo Naval, Madrid (1991-2000)

The Hakluyt Society has been publishing accounts of voyages and travels since 1847, and among its volumes are translations of important narratives in languages other than English. Its second and fourth volumes were translations of early Spanish accounts of the Americas, and of the volumes published to date thirty-seven have been based on Spanish sources; but if the Society's edition of Malaspina's journal takes its place in a well-established tradition, in terms of size and importance it is a landmark in the history of Anglo-Spanish scholarly collaboration both in Europe and in the Americas. This edition would not have been possible without the enthusiastic help of several institutions and individuals. The Museo Naval gave permission to the Society to use the Museo Naval/Lunwerg publication of the *Diario general del viaje por Alejandro Malaspina* (Madrid, 1990), which formed Volume II of the multi-volume *La Expedición Malaspina 1789–1794* as its basic text; supplied reproductions of drawings, charts and other materials from its holdings free of all charges; and gave a grant towards initial editorial costs. The Museo de América and the Real Jardín Botánico also supplied reproductions of paintings and drawings free of all charges. Vital to the progress of this edition has been the support of the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, which gave a most generous grant towards the heavy translation and other costs of this edition. The Society is also deeply indebted to grants from Dr Alex Malaspina and the Lampadia Foundation. As President of the Society during the years when Volume I of its edition was being completed, I am aware of the unstinting help given by scholars, libraries and institutions in many countries. These will be acknowledged individually in the Preface and in the list of Contributing Editors; here I would like to thank them collectively on behalf of the Council of the Hakluyt Society. They have helped to make this edition a truly international enterprise.

Sarah Tyacke
President of the Hakluyt Society (1997-)

PREFACE

Among the voyages of exploration and surveying in the eighteenth century that of Alejandro Malaspina was remarkable in terms of its objectives and ambitions. Perhaps more than any other expedition of the period it represented the high ideals and scientific interests of the Enlightenment. In the last forty years the Hakluyt Society has published texts of some of the most significant Pacific voyages of the eighteenth century: John Byron, Philip Carteret, James Cook, Jean de Surville, Johann Reinhold Forster, George Vancouver, Jean François Galaup de la Pérouse, and (forthcoming) Louis Antoine de Bougainville. The Malaspina expedition remained the most serious gap in the Society's publications on the Pacific in this period, and for some years the Society was interested in publishing an English-language edition of his journal. The main obstacle in the way was the lack of a definitive Spanish text which could be used as the basis for such an edition. The publication of the Museo Naval/Lunwerg multi-volume edition of the *La Expedición Malaspina 1789–1794* (1987–99) has solved the problem, for Volume II (Parts 1, 2), *Diario general del viaje por Alejandro Malaspina*, published in 1990 under the editorship of Ricardo Cerezo Martínez, has as its main text Malaspina's autograph *Diario* or journal. This manuscript is held in two volumes in the Museo Naval (MSS 610, 423) and, supplemented by other documentation in MSS 92, 429 and 751, runs to approximately 450,000 words. It is distinct from two slightly later manuscript versions in the Museo Naval: one in three volumes (MSS 749, 750, 751), and a single-volume version (MS 753), which was edited by Pedro Novo y Colson and published at Madrid in 1885 under the title of *Viaje político científico alrededor del mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida*. This last version was also published by Ediciones el Museo Universal, Madrid, in 1984 under the editorship of Mercedes Palau, Aránzazu Zabala and Blanca Saíz with the title of *Viaje científico y político, a las costas del Mar Pacífico y a las Islas Marianas y Filipinas verificado en los años 1789, 90, 91, 92, 93 y 94 a bordo de las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida de la Marina Real, mandadas por los capitanes de navío D. Alejandro Malaspina y D. José F. Bustamante*. We have found the footnotes and biographical entries in this edition of much assistance.

The entries from February 1790 onwards in the version of the journal in MSS 610, 423 were divided into books and chapters by Malaspina. The editor of the 1990 Museo Naval/Lunwerg publication, inserted similar divisions in the earlier section of the journal from July 1789 to February 1790, and this has resulted in fourteen books containing seventy-four chapters in all, together with two appendices. That arrangement has been followed here, but in other ways this edition of Malaspina's journal differs in several respects from the Spanish edition of 1990. Dates which are represented there (as in the original) simply as numbers in the margin, have here been

extended and shown as headings in the text; while isolated sentences and parts of sentences have been brought together into paragraphs for easier reading. Our edition will be published over a period of time in three volumes, not two, and will have a considerable amount of extra material. In Volume I this includes an Introduction by Donald C. Cutter, a translation of Malaspina's own *Introducción*, and an appendix containing a selection of Malaspina's correspondence with the Ministro de Marina, Antonio Valdés y Bazán, during the period covered by the volume. Additionally, there are guides appropriate to an English-language edition. These include an essay by Carlos Novi on 'Translating Malaspina', a Spanish-English glossary of geographical terms, and notes on Spanish naval ranks, compass directions, and weights and measures. The text itself is fully annotated, with footnotes explaining technical terms, identifying persons and places, and adding information from other journals and documents on the voyage. An appendix by Andrew David explains Malaspina's surveying methods. A list of works cited in this volume will be found at the end of the text. A full bibliography together with an index to all three volumes will be included in Volume III. Much of the material used in this edition comes from the various volumes in the Museo Naval/Lunwerg edition, of which the most recent, the *Diario* of Malaspina's fellow commander, José Bustamante y Guerra, was published in 1999 under the editorship of Dolores Higueras Rodríguez. These volumes are cited in the footnotes to this volume, as well as many other works on Malaspina that reflect the growth – almost an explosion – of interest in the navigator and his voyage in recent years. Blanca Sáiz's *Bibliografía sobre Alejandro Malaspina* (Madrid, 1992) contains 1134 published items, and many more have appeared since. There is a Centro di Studi Malaspiniani 'Alessandro Malaspina' at Mulazzo in Italy under the directorship of Dario Manfredi; a whole series of Malaspina conferences have been held in recent years in Spain, Italy and Canada; and the worldwide academic interest in the voyage is shown in the list of Contributing Editors printed after the title-page of this volume. These are scholars who have freely given of their specialized knowledge and time to enable us to provide the annotations to this edition, and it is difficult to overestimate our debt to them. In Volume I the annotations on hydrography and astronomy have been supplied by Andrew David, with help from John Kendrick and Richard Campbell; while those on ornithology have been provided by Bill Bourne. The annotations on the many other subjects of interest in this volume have been mainly the responsibility of Felipe Fernández-Armesto, working with material supplied by Laurio Destéfani, the late Eduardo Estrella, Manuel Lucena Giraldo, Jorge Ortiz Sotelo, Juan Pimentel Igea, and Blanca Sáiz. The translation of Malaspina's text in this volume, which readers of Carlos Novi's piece on 'Translating Malaspina' will surmise was not a totally straightforward business, has been shared between several different translators. Here we would like to thank all of them: Edward Ewing, Sylvia Jamieson, Zoë Petersen, Paul Rankin and David Sutcliffe, together with Philip Grundy who was responsible for the overall revision of the translation.

In the joint Foreword to this volume the President of the Hakluyt Society has expressed the Society's gratitude to those institutions whose support has made this edition possible. As editors we would like here to thank those individuals in those and other institutions of learning whose help and advice have been so important to

the making of this edition. María Dolores Higueras Rodríguez at the Museo Naval and Mercedes Palau Baquero at the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores are in a sense its godparents: at every stage they have encouraged and helped it on its way. Their support was shown in a more personal way during the '150 Years of the Hakluyt Society' celebrated at the Museo Naval in December 1996, when many of the scholars involved in this edition gathered together. We should also like to thank Estado Español, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales y Científicas, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid; Doña Paz Cabello, Director of the Museo de América, Madrid, and María Pilar de San Pío Aladrén, Archivist of the Real Jardín Botánico, Madrid, for their kindness in supplying illustrations. We are grateful for the help we have received at different times from: María Victoria Ibáñez Montoya; Luisa Martín-Merás, Curator of Cartography at the Museo Naval; Nieves Amunátegui, Librarian of the Museo Naval; Hugo O'Donnell y Duque de Estrada, historian, for his generosity with his time, and his readiness to give advice; the present Director of the Instituto Hidrográfico de la Marina, Cádiz, Juan M. Nodar Criado, and his predecessor, José María Fernández de la Puente y Ferrera de Castro; the Director of the Servicio Hidrográfico y Oceanográfico de la Armada de Chile, Rafael Mackay Bäckler; Carlos Parra Merino and Sergio Carrasco Delgado of the Universidad de Concepción; Carlos Tromben of the Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia in Santiago de Chile; Enrique Trucco Delepine, Executive Director of the Liga Marítima de Chile in Valparaíso; Rosa Zeta de Pozo, University of Piura, Peru, who provided issues of the *Mercurio Peruano* with notices about the Malaspina expedition's visit to Peru; Alexei Postnikov (Institute of the History of Natural Sciences and Technology, the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow); Peter Barber (The British Library), and Ann Shirley. The Department of History at Queen Mary, University of London, has been generous in its provision of accommodation and other forms of support for much of the editorial work on this volume. Finally, the Society owes a special debt to Dámaso de Lario, who during his years as Cultural Counsellor at the Spanish Embassy, London, did much to secure the funding without which this edition would not have been possible.

Andrew David
Felipe Fernández-Armesto
Carlos Novi
Glyndwr Williams

EQUIVALENTS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SPANISH NAVAL RANKS

Ranks in the *Real Armada* correspond with those in the eighteenth-century British Royal Navy as follows:

Capitán General	Admiral
Teniente General	Vice Admiral
Jefe de Escuadra	Rear Admiral
Brigadier de Real Armada	Commodore
Capitán de navío	Post Captain
Capitán de fragata	Commander
Teniente de navío	Senior Lieutenant
Teniente de fragata	Junior Lieutenant
Alférez de navío	No exact equivalent
Alférez de fragata	No exact equivalent
Contador de fragata	Junior Paymaster and Purser
Capellán	Chaplain
Cirujano	Surgeon
Guardiamarina	Midshipman
Práctico	Pilot
Cartógrafo	Cartographer
Piloto	Master
Segundo piloto	Second master
Pilotín	Master's mate
Director de historia natural	Director of natural history
Botánico	Botanist
Pintor	Artist
Dibujante	Draughtsman
Guardián	Quartermaster

ABBREVIATIONS

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla
AMN	Archivo del Museo Naval, Madrid
AMNCN	Archivo del Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales, Madrid
ARJB	Archivo del Real Jardín Botánico, Madrid
UKHO	United Kingdom Hydrographic Office, Taunton

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Spanish terms which have a direct English equivalent have been translated into English; terms for which there does not appear to be a direct equivalent have not been translated.

Spanish terms which have been translated into English

braza	5·48 feet = one fathom
cable	one-tenth of a sea mile = one cable
cuartillo	0·9 pints = one pint
legua	three sea miles = one league
milla	the internationally accepted unit of distance at sea, one-sixtieth of a degree of latitude = one [sea or nautical] mile
nudo	the internationally accepted unit of speed at sea of one sea mile an hour = one knot
pie	0·91 feet = one foot
pulgada	0·91 of an inch = one inch
línea	one-twelth of a *pulgada* = one line (an obsolete English term for one-twelfth of an inch)

Spanish terms which have not been translated

arroba	approximately 25 lbs
codo	18 to 22 inches
toesa	approximately 6·4 feet – the French *toise*
quintal	approximately 102 lbs
vara	approximately 3 feet

18TH-CENTURY SPANISH COMPASS DIRECTIONS AND ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS

Spanish	*English*	*Spanish*	*English*
N¼NE	NbyE	S¼SW	SbyW
NE¼N	NEbyN	SW¼S	SWbyS
NE¼E	NEbyE	SW¼W	SWbyW
E¼NE	EbyN	W¼SW	WbyS
E¼SE	EbyS	W¼NW	WbyN
SE¼E	SEbyE	NW¼W	NWbyW
SE¼S	SEbyS	NW¼N	NWbyN
S¼SE	SbyE	N¼NW	NbyW

SPANISH-ENGLISH GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHICAL TERMS USED IN THIS WORK

Spanish word	*English meaning*	*Spanish word*	*English meaning*
alto(s)	height/heights	*golfo*	gulf
archipiélago	archipelago	*isla*	island
arena	sand	*islote*	small island, islet
arrecife	reef	*islita*	small island, islet
arroyo	stream	*lengua*	tongue
bahía	bay	*monte*	mountain
bajo	shoal	*morro*	headland, bluff
banco	bank	*morrito*	small headland
batería	battery	*nuevo/a*	new
boca	mouth	*pan de azúcar*	sugar loaf
bodega	warehouse	*piedra*	rock, stone
cabo	cape	*playa*	beach
caleta	cove	*península*	peninsula
camino	road	*promontorio*	promontory, headland
canal	channel	*pueblo*	town, village
casa	house	*puerto*	port
castillo	castle	*punta*	point
cerro	hill	*quebrada*	gorge, ravine
cerrillo, cerrito	small hill, hillock	*río*	river
cordillera	mountain range, especially the Andes	*roca*	rock
		sierra	mountain range
ciudad	city	*silla*	saddle
ciudadela	citadel	*teta*	nipple, pap, breast
ensenada	bay	*tierra*	land
estrecho	strait	*torre*	tower
estero	creek, inlet	*vigía*	lookout
farallón	small needle-shaped rock	*volcán*	volcano

TRANSLATING MALASPINA

Carlos Novi

The original text

The original of the *Diario* or journal here translated into English is Alejandro Malaspina's holograph manuscript (AMN MS 610 and MS 423), to which an appendix of five folios on the veracity of Ferrer Maldonado's 1588 voyage is inserted between Books V and VI. Malaspina's own *Introducción* comes from a separate manuscript (AMN MS 753).[1] Since working directly from these manuscripts was impracticable, the master original adopted was an electronic copy of the printed version of the *Diario* published in 1990 by the Museo Naval.[2] This made it imperative for the editors and the translating team to take into account the possibility of transcription lapses or errors in the Spanish printed text used in lieu of the manuscript original. In the event the deficiencies fell into four main categories: errors detected in the original text; errors of transcription; printing errors in the published version; and interpretative errors (misreadings) made by the Spanish transcribers.

An added difficulty arose from the graphic presentation of MS 610 adopted by the Museo Naval in its publication. This point requires clarification. In a effort to provide readers of the Spanish text with a fair 'view' of the original manuscript, the Museo Naval editors included in the printed version all those parts of the manuscript that had been deleted by Malaspina. The unusual circumstances in which the author of the narrative had to work are worth recalling. During the fourteen months that elapsed between his return to Cádiz (21 September 1794) and his sudden arrest in the night of 23 November 1795, Malaspina does not seem to have had adequate time to put into order the mass of documents related to the expedition and proceed calmly from a first draft to a final fair copy. The holograph manuscript is not the neat affair that might have been produced by a well-chosen amanuensis. By design, this material deficiency has been faithfully reflected in the Museo Naval publication. All the author's deletions are shown in the text within quotation marks and accompanied by a footnote confirming 'deleted in the original'. In establishing the Hakluyt Society's English text a decision had to be taken regarding this convention. The option of leaving untranslated all passages deleted by Malaspina was discarded for two reasons. Firstly, many corrections were matters of form which in any case had to be taken care

[1] See below, pp. lxxviii–xcviii.

[2] Ricardo Cerezo Martínez, ed., *La Expedición Malaspina 1789–1794*, Tomo II: *Diario general del viaje por Alejandro Malaspina*, 2 parts, Madrid, 1990.

of in translation. Secondly, there was often in the 'deleted' portions substantive information which could usefully be incorporated in the English text without in any way distorting the intention of the passage in question. Therefore, the complete Spanish original has been treated as 'a whole' to be translated, while editors saw that duplications or redundant passages were suitably eliminated. This convention was subordinated to the general assumption that English-speaking scholars who might wish to study the English narrative with its Spanish original at hand must find that both texts are parallel.

Conventions and methodology

The eighteenth-century Spanish original has been rendered into modern English avoiding the use of strident anachronisms. The aim has been to preserve as much of the character, style and general flavour of the original as possible while ensuring accuracy and consistency throughout the English text. This has been achieved, hopefully, through a systematic but subtle use of the 'one-to-one' rule in the choice of words, i.e. the avoidance of synonyms if the author does not resort to them, while respecting the idiomatic conventions of both languages. To this end an electronic Spanish-English glossary of technical terms and idiomatic expressions was compiled as part of the translating exercise. All members of the translating team have had access to the same historical marine dictionaries[1] and to updated copies of the electronic glossary. Its entries (over 1,000) are led by a headword and include numerous examples taken from the Spanish original with their agreed English translation. Special collocations and textual references are easily accessed. Since virtually all entries result from difficulties encountered by individual translators in the course of their work, the glossary complements general and technical dictionaries, and serves as a record of translations and idioms already used in other parts of a lengthy text. For specific subjects agreed bilingual lists of nautical instruments, ranks, boats, birds, plants, sea states, wind scales etc. have been compiled.

Linguistic difficulties

An immediate hurdle encountered by English translators in handling a faithful transcript of the eighteenth-century manuscript is the fact that in those days Spanish spelling had not yet been standardized. Erratic spelling as well as archaic forms of capitalization and punctuation made reading difficult, to say the least. For instance a common Spanish nautical term like *varada*, for 'grounding', is hardly recognizable if spelled *barrada*. Obsolete spelling, unusual scrawl and the use of abbreviation in the manuscript could and did cause confusion. For example, since the word *Estrecho* in a particular passage of the printed version did not make sense, the authentic text had to be checked. Verification showed that this particular word is in fact abbreviated as *Estr°* in the manuscript. Yet it had been transcribed in full as Estrecho (= Strait) certainly a possibility in isolation, but making no geographic or hydrographic sense in the context. By interpreting *Estr°* as the abbreviation of *Estremo* (i.e., spelling 'Extremo' with

[1] Timoteo O'Scanlan, *Diccionario marítimo español*, Madrid, 1831 (Museo Naval facsimile, 1974) and Juan José Martínez Espinosa, *Diccionario marino español-inglés/inglés español*, Madrid, 1849 (Editorial Naval facsimile, 1989).

an *s* instead of *x* in eighteenth-century phonetic spelling) it became possible to convert two geographic features nowhere to be found on the relevant chart into the two 'extremities' of an island.

Another problem that the translators have faced is the lack of consistency in the spelling of proper names. A place name, for example, might have several different spellings in the manuscript. One reason for these inconsistences is the number of different reports that Malaspina was using as he composed his journal, and the lack of time that he had to prepare a fair copy. More often than not, these matters would be settled at the hydrographic office when the detailed charts were engraved, but Malaspina's journal did not reach that stage. In this edition, when faced with variant spellings of a proper name, we have accepted the one we feel is the most authoritative, and silently amended the others to agree. As far as place names are concerned, we have used as our authority contemporary Spanish charts, while we have taken our modern spellings from the latest *Admiralty Sailing Directions*.

Readers of sea voyage accounts will be familiar with the peculiar features of this type of literature, particularly when they include extracts from logbooks and records of scientific observations. Malaspina's journal abundantly reflects the great wealth of tradition preserved in the Spanish seafaring language for which there is, naturally, an equally rich English tradition. This has required familiarization with a considerable diversity of scientific jargons, relating both to the substantive description of matters observed and to the operative aspects of the act of observation, such as the handling of instruments like chronometers and the adoption of particular procedures, for example to measure a base for surveying purposes. One may find the term pendulum in any dictionary, but the idiomatic manner of expressing its uses has to be found elsewhere. The accuracy of meaning in the mariner's vocabulary is inextricably linked to the proper choice of terms. So every line of the journal's English translation has been checked meticulously against the Spanish original by a Spanish-speaking editor and then checked by one or more English-speaking counterparts. Only after full agreement on both sides of the linguistic divide was the text allowed to go as approved for further stylistic revision.

A curious and rewarding example of lexical investigation arose in connection with the proper designation of one of the types of boat included in the complement of boats carried by the corvettes. In the Spanish original the word *bombo* is used. Yet, in accordance with the best Spanish marine dictionaries this term would not be acceptable as descriptive of any of the regulation boats carried by naval vessels. It is generally defined as 'a flat-bottomed boat of shallow draught used for working cargo and for crossing shoal water'. But contextual uses of *bombo* in the Spanish narrative suggested that this was the second boat in each of the corvettes. The matter was studied in Madrid by looking through the contemporary documents relating to the building of the two corvettes and their equipment. The search was rewarding. Two documents were found which showed that the *bombo*, with that designation, was included in the list of the corvettes complement of boats.[1] It would appear that this is the first time

[1] These are: (1) Doc 18 of AMN, MS 426, f. 54, concerned with the fitting out of the corvettes and their boats (Cádiz 1789), particularly revealing because the *embarcaciones menores* are listed with their respective names (*lancha*, *bote*, *bombo*, *botecillo* and *chinchorro*). (2) AMN, MS Doc 92*bis*, ff. 79–80 which relates to the period of refitting at San Blas mentioned in the *Diario* (12 April 1791). In it the term

the word *bombo* has been used in this context, possibly an innovative idea of Malaspina and Bustamante.

The linguistic idiosyncracies of Malaspina

Anyone reading Malaspina in Spanish, let alone attempting to translate his writings, will soon discover that his prose, particularly in his moments of esoteric rumination, is difficult to digest. The combination of ingredients that made up his practical use and knowledge of the Spanish language merits, therefore, special consideration. Born and bred in Italy, Malaspina was twenty when he entered the Spanish Navy. He was forty when the expedition returned to base in 1794. By the time he received his momentous commission his command of the Spanish language must have been more than adequate. On his aptitude for the job the Secretary of State for the Navy was convincing: 'his knowledge, birth, noble personality and elegance of manners, proud bearing, affability, resolute character and social gifts made him the first in our navy and a unique choice for that commission'.[1] Although co-signed by Bustamante, the plan for a voyage submitted to Antonio Valdés bears the unmistakable characteristics of Malaspina's style of drafting. There is no denying that the nautical parts of the journal are written with ease and professional competence, though he may be less *castizo*[2] in his philosophical extemporizations. The question is whether Italian was impinging on his command of Spanish or whether his manner of writing was attributable to his character and extraordinary personality.[3] Paradoxically, the deceptive similarity of the two languages involved[4] may be part of the problem. This similarity is apt quickly to erode the command of the mother tongue for an Italian fully immersed in an all-Spanish environment, as midshipman Ali Ponzoni[5] experienced just fourteen months after his arrival at Cádiz. Even Malaspina, with false modesty perhaps, hinted at such an erosion in writing to one of his correspondents at the height of his Spanish naval career.[6]

Undoubtedly, the native tongue is bound to brand an individual linguistically for life, but that need not be a negative factor. It has been suggested recently that 'a poor command of the Castilian language' by the author was to be blamed for a number of obscure passages found in an Italian version of the memorandum written by

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bombo, used three times, obviously refers to the second boat but is treated as distinct from the first *bote* by the Arsenal's master shipwright since it deserves its own separate mention in the listings of the volume of timber (5 quintals) used for its repair.

[1] Quoted by Cerezo in *Diario por Malaspina*, Pt. 1, p. 16, from Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, 'Una causa de estado', *Revista contemporánea*, t. XXXI, vol. IV, February 1881, p. 409.

[2] Linguistically pure-blooded.

[3] See John Kendrick, *Alejandro Malaspina – Portrait of a Visionary*, Montreal and Kingston, 1991.

[4] There are a number of recurrent Italianisms in the *Diario*, such as the use of *ocurrir* as meaning 'to need'; *sistemar* in lieu of *arreglar*; *destruir* for *cancelar*. They are real booby-traps for the unwary translator, but they are irritants rather than problems.

[5] 'You won't believe it but I have so forgotten the Italian language that I can hardly write a letter in Italian', Ali Ponzoni to Ramón Ximénez, Letter 4, from Isla de León (27 November 1788). Italian original in Dario Manfredi, *Alessandro Malaspina e Fabio Ala Ponzone – Lettere dal Vecchio e Nuovo Mondo (1788–1803)*. Bologna, 1999, p. 146 (henceforth Manfredi, *Lettere*).

[6] Writing to Gherardo Rangoni from Acapulco (19 March 1791) '... and the rare chances to practice our sweet language may by now have badly affected the clarity and full expression of my thinking'. Italian original in ibid., p. 247.

Malaspina on the need of peace between Spain and France.[1] This rather dim view may be a cautious explanation by the Italian translator. Malaspina himself has left us in no doubt about his sense of harassment while in the process of drafting the *Diario* in less than ideal conditions. The dramatic circumstances in which that memorandum was written could well be blamed for lapses in drafting or some inappropriate use of terms.[2] This is not to say that translating Malaspina is a suitable task for the uninitiated. As already noted, his style was at best unusual. In his narrative Malaspina jumps without warning from the forbidding tints of a cloud formation and the prescription of down-to-earth sailing directions to the convoluted philosophical abstractions of an enlightened thinker. Having just recorded with telegraphic formality a daily entry in the logbook he may be moved to sentimental strictures as he faces the inexplicable actions of a lowly sailor. These lurches have demanded on the part of translators sudden shifts of register and sensitive changes of mood. But their greatest difficulty has been the need to render into intelligible vernacular English Malaspina's bizarre brand of classicism. When untethered by naval convention and scientific protocol his discourse becomes rich in lapidary sentencing and long-winded periods often preceded by a dreaded ablative absolute, a sure sign of an imminent syntactical labyrinth and a welter of subordinate clauses. The only safe course left to the translator is to proceed with the strictest application of grammatical and logical analysis and search for verb, subject and predicates as with a Latin text. A Latinist, Father Manuel Gil,[3] whose choice as a writer to help draft his journal Malaspina came to regret,[4] is probably objective enough. 'With the exoticism of some of his ideas and, worse still, the words he used to express them – for the truth is that he had not mastered the Spanish language with the perfection that he was persuaded he had – he had come to create a language of his own of which the least one can say is that it was quite extraordinary. We even used to imitate him in his presence, just for fun, resorting to his own high-flown mannerisms ... which reflected extravagant political thinking'.[5]

Publication

Publication and dissemination were implied in Malaspina's plan for a scientific and political voyage to the outer limits of the Spanish empire and beyond.[6] Publication of the results of the expedition was one of the aims stated in his introduction to the journal of his voyage, this time extolling the benefits of public debate for the Spanish nation and for Spain's reputation in the world.[7] It is reasonable to presume that if his

[1] *Sull'arresto di Alessandro Malaspina: vecchie certezze e nuove ipotesi* (Appendix: *Riflessioni relative alla pace della Spagna con la Francia*) p. 211, in R. Giura Longo and P. Rossi, *Con Malaspina nei mare del sud*, Bari, 1999.

[2] While Malaspina was trying to order his papers for the narrative he was negotiating who was to cover the publication expenses and was also involved in producing a peace plan with France. See letter to Paolo Greppi from Aranjuez (17 February 1795) in Manfredi, *Lettere*, pp. 333–6.

[3] At the proposal of Malaspina, by virtue of a Royal Order issued at San Ildefonso on 26 July 1795, the Reverend Father Manuel Gil was given the task of drafting and editing the outcome of the voyage.

[4] He used to call him 'le citoyen noir': Pedro Novo y Colson ed., *Viaje político-científico alrededor del mundo por corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida ... desde 1789 a 1794*, Madrid, 1885, introducción histórica, p. XV.

[5] Ibid.

[6] See 'Plan for a Scientific and Political Voyage Around the World', pp. 312–15 below.

[7] See p. lxxxi below.

narrative was to be made available to the world, Malaspina must have also entertained the thought of having his journal translated into other languages. Tragically, this never happened in his lifetime. We know, with the benefit of hindsight, that the proper time to discuss such a project never came. But it causes no surprise to learn that the Italian-born Spanish navigator, Latin scholar, and keen user of the French language, actually spent much of his sixth and, in the event, last year at the prison castle of San Anton in La Coruña translating from French into Spanish a philosophical essay that had been awarded a French Academy prize in 1755.[1] Significantly, Malaspina prefaced his own translation with a discussion on the substantive aspects of the translator's job. From his experience translations of French texts into Spanish rarely reflected accurately the spirit of the original. Each language, he argued, mirrors the soul of a given people. He was referring to what modern linguists have called the 'transcultural transfer' factor in translating. If a translator is not to betray the author's intent he must seek to produce in the reader's target language an equivalent response to that intended by the author in the source language. This is in substance what a dedicated team of translators and the Society's editors have endeavoured to achieve. It is with a sense of restitution owed to the unfortunate Malaspina that his Journal is now offered to an English-speaking readership.

[1] Manfredi, *Lettere*, p. 101, n. 209; the full title of this translation is given as *Discurso del Padre Guenard jesuita sobre la questión "en que consiste el carácter de la filosofía" según los consejos de San Pablo en la Epístola a los Romanos. Cap. XII VIII. "Non plus sapere quam oportet sapere". Premiado por la Academia Francesa en 1755, traducido a el idioma castellano por D. Alexandro Malaspina.*

INTRODUCTION

Donald C. Cutter

The white city of Cádiz was sparkling in late July's sunshine and its ancient harbour was particularly active because Spain's greatest scientific expedition was about to depart. It was the culmination of eight months of intensive preparation for a planned round-the-world voyage of two new naval corvettes manned by the finest available crews. Though different in character, this major undertaking was intended to equal or surpass the three well-publicized voyages of Captain James Cook. Now it was Spain's turn, and at 9 o'clock in the morning of 30 July 1789 preparations ceased and the voyage began.

It is tempting even after the lapse of two centuries to compare this Spanish voyage commanded by Alejandro Malaspina[1] with those of Cook or the contemporary French scientific explorer Jean François de Galaup, Comte de la Pérouse, especially since Malaspina and his consort vessel commander, José Bustamante y Guerra, had initially indicated that the scientific aspects of the expedition would be modelled on those of the British and French navigators. But from the beginning there were differences, which had been included in the original 'Plan' of the voyage,[2] although these were probably overlooked in the excitement of the moment. Some of these differences are noted later, but the most significant is evident from the outset. The Malaspina voyage was more than an expedition of scientific exploration, for it had another important, perhaps overriding, purpose – that of imperial inspection. This included making a series of detailed reports on various parts of the far-flung Spanish overseas empire, with emphasis on southern South America and on the Pacific Ocean ports of the Americas. Malaspina's instructions to gather information about the geography and economies of these regions implied the making of recommendations for the improvement of unsatisfactory conditions. As a result, more than half the time of the Malaspina expedition was spent in the role of imperial inspection, and to this its commanding officer devoted himself wholeheartedly.

While acting as investigators in settled areas, the expedition members had the great advantage of access to the experience and knowledge of local informants, as well as

[1] Malaspina's name is frequently misspelled in the documentation, appearing as Malespina, Mala Espina, and even as Malaspiña. After arrival in Spain he used the Spanish spelling of his given name, Alejandro, rather than the Italian spelling Alessandro, but never followed the Spanish practice of adding a maternal surname, nor was one ever applied to him as a second *apellido*.

[2] See pp. 312–15 below.

unlimited access to regional archives and map collections. This did not mean that original scientific investigation was neglected, for the naval visitors had resources and equipment unavailable to local residents. In addition, Malaspina made exceptionally detailed reports, an ability he had developed in his earlier career, but which he applied with enthusiasm during the long voyage. Malaspina and Bustamante were not only captains of their vessels, but were commanders of the entire expedition force. There was no division between the military and scientific contingents except as regards the nature of the work expected and accomplished. The only civilians aboard were the artists, the naturalists, and six stowaways who escaped detection at the time of departure (four on the *Descubierta*, two on the *Atrevida*). Save only for royal or ministerial changes to the original orders, the expedition was under the overall command of Malaspina.

Although in time the scientific exploring expedition that sailed from Cádiz in late July 1789 became known as Malaspina's, in concept, preparation and overall plan it was a joint project proposed by fellow officers of equal rank, Malaspina and Bustamante. Yet naval protocol required one captain to serve as commanding officer, and that officer was bound to be Malaspina, senior by two years. Because of this seniority, his capacity for putting his thoughts and plans in writing, and the preponderance of surviving manuscripts in his hand, the older officer took the lead. He also had the advantage of his close personal connection with the Ministro de Marina, Antonio Valdés y Bazán. In general terms Malaspina had greater responsibility for the scientific aspects of the voyage, whereas Bustamante was was more concerned with the handling of the vessels. But there was never any sharp division between them, and any such separation of duties seems relative. On the other hand there is no evidence that even before Malaspina's fall that he expected to share authorship and publication duties with the officer who had earlier been his co-petitioner. Once the voyage was over, it was Malaspina who was busy turning the mass of documentation into a form suitable for publication, whereas Bustamante was destined for return to regular naval duties (and later to important overseas military and civil government responsibilities). With Malaspina's fall and disgrace, it was decided that his name should not be mentioned in publications relating either to the main voyage or to the subsidiary exploring efforts. Instead, with only a few inadvertent exceptions, the singular term 'expedition commander', or the plural form 'commanders of the expedition', were substituted for the personal names of Malaspina and even of Bustamante in drafts being prepared for publication. The elimination of both names is noticeable in 1802 when the journal of the subsidiary expedition involving the sloops *Sutil* and *Mexicana* was published.[1]

In the enthusiasm of recent Malaspina scholarship it is sometimes overlooked that the expedition was a major royal effort supported and carried out by the Spanish navy, not the singular achievement of the foreign-born Malaspina. He was born on 5 November 1754 in Mulazzo, Lunigiana, in northwest Italy, of a Parmesan mother of noble lineage and a Lunigianian father, Carlo Morello Malaspina, Marchese of Mulazzo. The latter was reportedly more progressive than his many cousins and relatives who were among the declining lesser nobility of a feudalistic rural area. The Italian biographer of Malaspina, who takes a rather romantic view of the explorer,

[1] *Relación del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana en el año de 1792*, Madrid, 1802.

credits him with having been destined to compensate for the mediocrity into which the family had fallen some years earlier.[1] As the third son of a minor noble, Alejandro was not likely to inherit the family lands or title, so, typically, in his youth he was prepared for an alternative career. To avail his family of important connections, in 1762 Malaspina's father took them to Palermo where his wife's uncle was Viceroy of Sicily. The young Malaspina was only seven years old when he left his native Lunigiana, and at his new destination lived and studied in the protective shadow of the viceregal court for three years. Through family connections, Alejandro was next sent for further study to the Pontificio Collegio Pio Clementino (or Collegio Clementino) where he enrolled on 15 May 1765. There he continued his education for the next seven years, and to this period Malaspina owed much of his future interest in linguistics, geography and physical science. At the Collegio Malaspina first wrote research papers, one of which survives as his earliest known work, *Theses ex Phisica Generali* (1771). It was also at this prestigious school that he met some fellow students who would become important figures in late eighteenth-century Europe.[2]

By 1773 Alejandro Malaspina's formal education was over, and it was time to choose his future career. Contrary to family desires, he had earlier decided against a religious calling. Instead he chose to enter the military, with a preference for the Spanish naval service, a career to which his family background facilitated access; but before any active duty in the Spanish navy Malaspina followed the precedent of his relatives and went to nearby Malta to become a member of the Order of St John whose headquarters were on that island. The military brotherhood of Malta had its own small navy, and in it Malaspina had his first sea experience and also made his first brief visit to Spain. On 18 November 1774 he entered the Spanish navy as a midshipman. His prior period of service as a member of the Order of St John perhaps explains why in less than two months Malaspina was advanced to the rank of *alférez de fragata*,[3] and so missed most of a midshipman's normal training. Certainly at this time and later Malaspina's foreign background did nothing to affect his career adversely. Regardless of his place of birth, Malaspina became a highly successful officer in the Spanish navy, ready to lead in 1789 an expedition that was strictly Spanish and that was to reflect national skills and ambitions.

For his part, Bustamante has until recently only had a meagre share in the interest surrounding Malaspina and the great voyage.[4] No writer has made any comparison between Cook and Bustamante, or indeed between Malaspina and Bustamante, whose life lacks the melodramatic elements of his colleague's. Born on 1 April 1759 at

[1] Dario Manfredi, director of the Centro di Studi Malaspiniani, Mulazzo, and author of a sympathetic biography, 'Alejandro Malaspina. Una biografia', in Blanca Sáiz, ed., *Alejandro Malaspina: La América imposible*, Madrid, 1994, pp. 19–133.

[2] Among these was Federico Gravina, later to become Capitán General in the Spanish Navy, and to command the Spanish fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar. Among other fellow students were two future cardinals, a general, an admiral, and an ambassador.

[3] For a list of ranks in the Spanish Navy see p. xx above.

[4] Bustamante's journal of the voyage from 30 July to 21 May 1792 has now been published: María Dolores Higueras Rodríguez, ed., *La expedición Malaspina 1789–1794*, Tomo IX: *Diario general del viaje corbeta Atrevida por José Bustamante y Guerra*, Madrid, 1999. It includes a biographical sketch of Bustamante by the editor at pp. 14–19.

Ontaneda in Spain's northern Santander province, Bustamante enlisted at the age of eleven as a midshipman in the Spanish naval department of El Ferrol in Galicia. His first appointment at sea came on 22 March 1773, when he was a month short of his fourteenth birthday. While still a youth saw action in several battles, and became an *alférez de fragata* when only fifteen. His early career included a voyage to the Americas, and then to the Philippines, Later he was wounded in action, taken prisoner by the British, and after his release saw action both at the siege of Gibraltar, and in a battle against Admiral Richard Howe's fleet at the entrance to the Strait of Gibraltar in 1782. A year later he was placed in charge of a shipment of mercury to Veracruz in New Spain, and on the return trip carried safely to Cádiz an immense cargo of bullion. This transAtlantic round trip gained him promotion to *capitán de fragata* in 1784, the same year in which he was inducted into the prestigious knighthood Order of Santiago. By the time he joined with Malaspina in 1788 in drawing up the 'Plan' for a major scientific expedition, Bustamante was a seasoned naval officer, although he had not yet reached his thirtieth birthday.

As far as the outside world was concerned, the scientific motivation for the voyage was emphasized. The Enlightenment goal of advancement of knowledge provided an attractive rationale for the heavy royal Spanish expenditure involved, and for the deployment overseas of a select group of officers on board a pair of specially-constructed vessels with chosen crews. It also provided a fitting motive for asking assistance and gaining information from other European countries that might well have been unwilling to assist a military tour of inspection.[1] That such a major expedition was entrusted to the Spanish navy, long in the forefront of voyages of exploration, is not surprising since 'the Navy as an institution and the great mariner scientists of the period were the prime movers behind the great scientific movement of the Enlightenment in Spain and of its European character.'[2] As Alexander von Humboldt later pointed out, no European government invested more heavily in scientific research in the late eighteenth century than that of Spain. The expedition was a feat of Spanish science, and essentially one of the Navy. Among the fields to be investigated, the most important was that of hydrography with emphasis on cartography, with the many astronomical observations forming the basis of these activities.

It is doubtful whether any of the inner circle at the Ministerio de Marina in Madrid felt that exploration, rather than inspection of the empire, was the primary aim of the expedition. Amid their solicitude for Spain's old and exposed empire, and the increased threat of foreign challenges, royal advisers would have placed defence of Spanish possessions ahead of contributions to mankind. It was evident that a largely unfortified colonial coastline thousands of miles long was badly in need of better charts and maps, and that a naval exploring expedition carrying on board expert chart-makers, men of recent training and experience, would be of immense benefit

[1] For institutions and individuals consulted in France, Italy and Britain see María Dolores Higueras Rodríguez, 'The Malaspina Expedition (1789–1794): A Venture of the Spanish Enlightenment', in *Spanish Pacific from Magellan to Malaspina*, Madrid, 1988, pp. 147–63. Full listings are in María Dolores Higueras Rodríguez, ed., *Catálogo crítico de los documentos de la Expedición Malaspina en el Museo Naval*, III, Madrid, 1987, Appendix, 'Fuentes documentales utilizadas por la Expedición Malaspina'.

[2] Higueras, 'The Malaspina Expedition', p. 147.

to such regions. Besides the stated objectives of the expedition, there were secret tasks of a more sensitive nature. These included the preparation of comprehensive reports on the new Russian settlements in northern latitudes, and on the rumoured English settlements in that quarter and in the southwest Pacific. Thus Alaska, Nootka Sound and Botany Bay were regions of special interest. As it turned out, although the expedition's work was conscientiously accomplished, neither scientific nor imperial goals were well served by the final results of the Malaspina voyage, but it was not for lack of effort in the coming months as time was divided between scientific study and the more utilitarian duties outlined in the final instructions.

Some clarification of motives can be gained from the letter written by Malaspina and Bustamante on 10 September 1788 to the Ministro de Marina, Antonio Valdés y Bazán.[1] With exceptional brevity (considering Malaspina's inclination to verbosity), the letter introduced the projected voyage, and while outlining the contributions which the expedition would provide for the scientific world, quickly moved to additional motives for royal consideration. The first of these was to make much-needed charts of the farthest reaches of America and thereby permit the drawing up of sailing directions for the guidance of Spanish mariners. Beyond this task was the need to investigate the political and economic status of the Spanish colonies in the Americas, relative to the mother country and to foreign nations. This would include the trade situation, defensive and offensive capacity, the adequacy of ports and shipbuilding facilities, resources needed for further development, a survey of natural resources, and an analysis of the colonial system of government. It was this last, to which Malaspina devoted much of his time and attention, that eventually brought a premature end to his career. Finally, it is difficult to see how these grandiose objectives could have been crammed into the three years initially proposed for the expedition.

The outline of the voyage called for departure from Cádiz on 1 July 1789, with Montevideo the first port of call. After investigation and resupplying there, the ships were to visit first the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), and then Bahía del Bueno Suceso inside the Estrecho de Le Maire as a preliminary to rounding Cabo de Hornos (Cape Horn). Once on the Pacific side of South America the ships were to follow the coast from Cabo Victoria northward via the Archipíelago de los Chonos to the large Chilean offshore island of Chiloé. Arrival there was scheduled for the end of 1789. The whole of 1790 was to be devoted to a reconnaissance of the west coast from Chiloé in the south to San Blas in Mexico. Lima and Acapulco were to be important stops on the way north, while a search for the Islas del Gallego (thought to lie far to the west of the Galapagos Islands) plus an extended visit by members of the expedition to Mexico City, were also proposed. From Acapulco 1791 would begin with a three-month reconnaissance of the Hawaian Islands, followed by a visit to the coast of 'California', which was to be traced almost endlessly for more than 3500 miles northwestward as far as the ice of Bering Strait. At that point the ships would cross the Pacific Ocean at its shortest distance between America and Asia, and call at Kamchatka. The Asiatic phase of the voyage would continue with a visit to Canton (now Guangzhou), where it was felt that the furs traded in the Pacific North-west could be

[1] See pp. 311–12 below for the text of this letter.

sold advantageously. From Canton the vessels would sail by way of northern Luzon in the Philippines to the Marianas, and back to Manila via the San Bernardino Strait, following the route used for more than two centuries by the Manila galleon. A long stay at Manila, capital of the Philippines, was to be followed by a short stay at Mindanao before the ships passed between the Celebes (now Sulawesi) and the Moluccas until they reached the northern coast of Australia. This they would trace westward to the Indian Ocean, and then follow the coastline of the southern continent more than halfway round the continent to Botany Bay. From there the ships would call at Tonga and the Îles de la Société, both visited by Spanish navigators in the 1770s and 1780s. In October or November 1792, the height of the southern hemisphere's summer, the coasts of New Zealand would be followed from north to south. From that last point of exploration, the ships were to skirt Australia, cross the Indian Ocean by established sailing routes, round the Cape of Good Hope, and sail back to Cádiz with an estimated date of arrival of April or May 1793.

This elaborate itinerary underwent many minor alterations and some major changes, the most radical of which was indicated in a letter from Malaspina to Valdés on 15 September 1790 that resulted in the expedition not being involved in a round-the-world voyage after all, even though it was long referred to as such.[1] If a journal entry by Malaspina on 30 November 1789 represents his feelings at that time, he had given up the idea of a circumnavigation long before his letter to Valdés.[2] Rather, the expedition followed a more southerly track on both its outward and homeward Pacific crossings than originally laid down, and left out visits to Hawaii and elsewhere. It then repeated (in the opposite direction) the first ten months of the voyage between Cádiz and Callao, revisiting several of the places touched on during the outward voyage. For reasons that were not foreseen at first, and others that emerged from changing world affairs, the total time spent from departure until the return of the ships to Cádiz was sixty-two months, almost a year and a half longer than originally anticipated.

It is uncertain whether the original 'Plan' or any of the subsequent documentation ever received any serious study from the reigning monarch, Carlos III. Submission of the project came close to the time of his death and therefore near the date of succession to the throne of his son, Carlos IV. Although the change of kings brought no immediate turnover in royal ministers and advisers it eventually proved to be an unfortunate factor in the months that followed the return of the Malaspina expedition. Carlos III had been a farsighted, energetic king, one in touch with the ideas of the Enlightenment and an exemplar of benevolent despotism, although he had not reigned without some opposition. His successor was in no way similar and soon fell under the influence of his principal minister, Manuel Godoy, who viewed the French Revolution with great alarm and resisted any governmental change felt to jeopardize the King's position, or anything that smacked of progress. If Godoy and Malaspina were on the same track of promoting Spain's welfare, they were going in different directions, one regressive and the other progressive. For Malaspina the long-term

[1] See p. 322 below.
[2] See p. 80 below.

consequences were disastrous. After a secret trial he was stripped of his rank and distinctions, and spent almost half of the rest of his life in prison. Of the expedition's records and collections some were scattered and many were impounded and left largely unpublished, unstudied, and almost totally forgotten for a century.

The brevity of the 'Plan' presented by Malaspina and Bustamante suggests that its approval was a foregone conclusion, and that there must be elsewhere substantial supporting documentation spelling out the project in more detail. This assumption would seem to be supported by the fact that within five weeks of initial composition of a document originating in Cádiz, the project received royal approval nearly 350 miles away in Aranjuez, and was almost immediately ready for implementation. This allowed little time for consideration of the implications of the 'Plan', and suggests that the King's approval was purely formal. Although there is no positive evidence, it seems likely that the proposal never advanced further than the desk of the Ministro de Marina, Antonio Valdés, who was not only in great favour with Carlos III, but who also held Malaspina in high regard (possibly because both were members of the Order of St John). It was from Valdés that on 14 October 1788 Malaspina received news that the plan had received royal approval.[1] Exactly two months later Carlos III died, but the project did not suffer any delay from the succession of his son, Carlos IV.

Although approval was granted for the voyage, many details remained to be settled, the most urgent of which was to decide on the vessels to be used. The plan called for two ships which would normally sail in consort, but which, when circumstances required, might sail separately on special missions, and this turned out on occasion to be the case on the long voyage. Ideally, two naval vessels sailing together on the same mission ought to have similar operating characteristics so that their speeds and responses could be predicted throughout the voyage.[2] Even so, to avoid problems when sailing long distances, it was necessary to establish rendezvous points in case of unplanned separations. For example, upon leaving Acapulco in December 1791 as the ships headed for the Orient, crossing an ocean with few intermediate landfalls, any one of which would have been hard to find, the rendezvous set by Malaspina was Agaña, the capital of Guam. If separated, the first ship to arrive would wait fifteen days and then continue to the next rendezvous at Cape Bojeador at the northwestern extremity of the main Philippine island of Luzon. As it turned out, the vessels did not become separated, and despite the ease with which Agaña was identified, the less established but more convenient port of Humatac was selected as the expedition's anchorage. An obvious bonus of having identical vessels in the hands of skilled navigators was that during the entire sixty-two month voyage in good weather and bad, in uncharted seas, and faced with many obstacles, not a single day was lost in one vessel searching for the other.

[1] See p. 315 below.

[2] Some scientific discovery expeditions made use of vessels with markedly different characteristics, one being essentially the exploring vessel and the other being used for support purposes. Others had a large and a small vessel, the latter to be used in areas where manoeuverability was of paramount importance, such as in detailed charting of coastal areas. For example, the plan for the near-contemporaneous voyage of Captain George Vancouver (1791-94) assumed that the close coastal work would be done by the small 131-ton tender, *Chatham*, rather than by the 330-ton *Discovery*. For this assumption, and the problems that followed, see 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, London, 1984, I, pp. 36-7.

When the time came to decide on the size, strength and capacity of the ships to be used for the voyage, there was a distinct difference of opinion between Valdés and the captains-designate. Considerations of economy suggested the adaptation of a *bombarda* (a small, mortar-throwing vessel), the *Santa Rosa de Lima*, and matching it with another to be built with the same characteristics. But Malaspina, supported by Bustamante, countered with a proposal for the construction of two state-of-the-art corvettes. Their opinion seems to have been endorsed by the King, who did not want anything to stand in the way of complete success for the expedition. Having vessels built especially for the expedition was felt to be one of Malaspina's great advantages over other contemporary explorers.

Capitán de Navío Tomás Muñoz, commandant of the naval shipyard of La Carraca in Bahía de Cádiz, and well-versed in the art of ship construction, was entrusted with the building of the vessels. The result was identical twin corvettes, christened *Santa Justa* and *Santa Rufina*. Almost immediately these names were dropped, and the vessels were soon sailing under designators more appropriate to their forthcoming mission. The command vessel became *Descubierta* (Discovery) and the consort *Atrevida* (Daring), commanded by Malaspina and Bustamante respectively. Each of these strong little vessels displaced 306 *toneladas*, with an overall length of 120 *pies* and a beam of 31 *pies*.[1] Depth of hold was 15 *pies* with a draught of 14 *pies* when laden. If finished as corvettes they would have carried twenty guns, but for the time being armament gave way to considerations of the special mission for which they had been constructed, bearing in mind that later conversion to normal fighting ships could be easily accomplished. But for the great expedition the corvettes had to serve as transportation, as living quarters for an extended period, as a laboratory and storehouse for specimens waiting to be shipped back to Spain, as a depository for stores, equipment and provisions, and as a workshop for the multiple functions of the expedition. Their slightly reduced firepower included fourteen 6-pounders and two 4-pounders, though they carried a further eight 6-pounders in the hold.

When building was completed only six months after laying the first keel, the corvettes were subjected to the customary but in this case extremely brief shakedown cruise. The vessels left harbour together on 5 July 1789 to test their handling characteristics. Muñoz and the famous Spanish naval officer and scientist, Teniente General de la Real Armada Antonio de Ulloa,[2] went on board the *Descubierta* with Malaspina, while other dignitaries accompanied Bustamante on board the *Atrevida*. Off to an early morning start, the two new naval vessels carried out joint exercises, combined drills, and individual manoeuvres. The result of the one-day trial cruise was that the corvettes proved both seaworthy and manoeuvrable, to Malaspina's great satisfaction. With the sea trials accomplished, the rest of July was spent in preparing for sea, receiving on board stores and additional personnel to bring each complement up to its authorized total of 102, and making final preparations including formal leave-taking.

[1] The Spanish *pie* = 0.91 feet. The Spanish *tonelada* was a measure of both displacement and carrying capacity, for which an English equivalent has been notoriously difficult to establish.

[2] See p. xciv below for a biographical sketch.

No expedition such as this stands alone in time or history. There were both distant and proximate precursors, but this is not the place for a treatise on man and exploration. More to the point were those voyages that shaped and gave focus to the Malaspina-Bustamante expedition. First of these was Malaspina's earlier circumnavigation as commanding officer of the Spanish naval vessel *Astrea* from 1786 to 1788, and although that voyage lacked the investigatory element of the 1789-1794 voyage it was Malaspina's training ground. It not only established the general goal of global navigation for the future, more prestigious expedition, but taught Malaspina useful logistical and nautical lessons that he was to apply on the later project. The voyage of the *Astrea* owed much of its *raison d'être* to Spain's newly-revived commercial interests in the Pacific, and was a joint venture between the navy and the Real Compañía de Filipinas. It was not scientific in nature, but one of its specific purposes was to study the logistics and duration of the outward and return routes from Spain to the Philippines going east or west. It also gave Malaspina an opportunity to visit much of the general area he later touched on during the 1789-1794 voyage, and in particular the coasts of Chile and Peru. An immediate foreign precursor to the Malaspina expedition was the voyage of La Pérouse that left France in August 1785, and had been last reported at Botany Bay in January 1788. The course of the French expedition was known in general outline to Malaspina, who attempted to discover more about its final outcome.[1] At several places where he stopped, particularly at those also visited by the French, Malaspina inquired about the activities of La Pérouse, whose reticence about his exploratory efforts was thought to be a cloak for French political and territorial designs. Malaspina made little headway in obtaining worthwhile information from those who had encountered the friendly but secretive Frenchman. La Pérouse was a good listener, but was reluctant to discuss his own activities. While in Chile in 1790 Malaspina took on board several deserters from La Pérouse's ships, but in view of their humble status they were able to shed little light on the motives of the French exploring expedition. Of greater importance as a precursor both through mutual interest in the Pacific and because of the publication in 1784 of the official account, was the third voyage of Captain James Cook.[2] Malaspina was familiar with all three of Cook's Pacific voyages, both from the published accounts, and possibly from stories passed by word of mouth, private letters of inquiry, and other means. A measure of Cook's importance to the Spanish expedition is obvious in the number of times that the British captain's name is found in the version of his *diario* or journal that Malaspina was preparing for publication. If we add to this, the frequent comparisons and incidental references in portions of the archival record that were never intended for publication, the references to Cook reach the hundreds. By contrast, La Pérouse is mentioned only occasionally, and seldom with the same precision that Malaspina could bring to bear on Cook's activities.

It had initially been expected that the most suitable crew members would be recruited from the northern Spanish regions of Galicia, Asturias and La Montaña,

[1] In April 1789 Valdés sent Malaspina a summary of La Pérouse's voyage from Manila to Kamchatka that the minister had obtained from Paris. See AMN, MS 278, f. 44.

[2] James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere*, London, 1784.

where it was felt there would be enough seamen inured to the hard life of prolonged voyaging. It had been decided that the crew members should be young men with nautical experience, with probably none over thirty-five years of age. The officers and scientific staff were not subject to a strict age limitation, but most of them were also young (though there was at least one exception, the botanist Luis Neé). Of the 168 crew members authorized for the two corvettes only seventy-two (including fifty-six able seamen and twelve landsmen[1]) were persuaded to join the first recruiting officer. Almost one hundred additional crew members had to be recruited later from the Cádiz area and from nearby parts of Andalusia. Even there, and despite appeals as far as the distant Naval Department of Cartagena on the Mediterranean coast, there was a noticeable scarcity of volunteers for so long a voyage.

Each corvette's complement of 102 included fourteen officers and two staff members: the captain, three senior and three junior officers, the Chief of Charts and Maps and the Director of Natural History (both with Malaspina on board the *Descubierta*), a midshipman, chaplain, paymaster, surgeon, two *pilotines* (equivalent to master's mates in the British navy), and an artist. The *Atrevida* had in lieu of the Chief of Charts and Maps and the Director of Natural History a *piloto* (equivalent to master in the British navy), a botanist and an artist. Each corvette had fourteen petty officers (*oficiales de mar*), fifteen marines (*tropa de marina*), four marine gunners (*tropa de brigada*), fifteen able seamen (*artilleros de mar*), ten landsmen or apprentice seamen (*grumetes*), and eight servants (*criados*) who were assigned to various duties such as cabin boy, orderly, or page.[2]

Selection of officers was not a difficult process, since Malaspina and Bustamante were given a free hand in their choice and already had in mind the men they wanted. They were a select group, with specialities in the theory and practice of astronomy, cartography, hydrography, and natural science. When the expedition leaders were permitted considerable latitude in their choice, they picked men with whom they had served on board ship on hydrographic surveys or on regular naval duties, or in some cases those who had impressed them at the midshipmen's school in Cádiz (Real Compañía de Guardias Marinas) or at the nearby and recently established Escuela de Altos Estudios del Observatorio Astronómico (School of Advanced Studies of the Astronomical Observatory). Several of the officers chosen for the expedition, as well as Malaspina himself, had been involved in a large-scale charting project of Spain headed by the respected naval hydrographer, Don Vicente Tofiño de San Miguel.[3] As

[1] Landsman: a person aboard a ship who had not previously been to sea.

[2] See pp. xcvii–viii below for Malaspina's crew lists, which give the individual names of the officers and staff.

[3] This major hydrographic project embraced the entire Iberian peninsula and resulted in the *Atlas marítimo de España*, the first official charting. It began under the direction of Vicente Tofiño in 1783. His survey methods were used by the Malaspina expedition for good reasons, for Malaspina and five of his officers had worked with him. As early as 1778, Alcalá-Galiano had been with Tofiño in the Portuguese Azores, served with him again in 1784, and finally in 1787 was on a Tofiño-led party in Asturias and Vizcaya. Salamanca was also with Tofiño in the Azores. Bauzá served with the great cartographer on the coasts of Portugal and Galicia in 1786; and Espinosa was with him in 1783-84 in the *Santa María Magdalena*. Vernacci spent a tour of duty with the cartographical project. Most important of all, Malaspina was with Tofiño in 1785 and 1787 (on board the *Vivo* along with Alcalá-Galiano). The latter had also served under Antonio de Córdoba y Lazo in the *Santa María de la Cabeza* during a surveying voyage in 1785-86 to the Estrecho de Magallanes.

Plate 2. Real Colegio de Guardamarinas de Cádiz, 1850. Museo Naval, Madrid

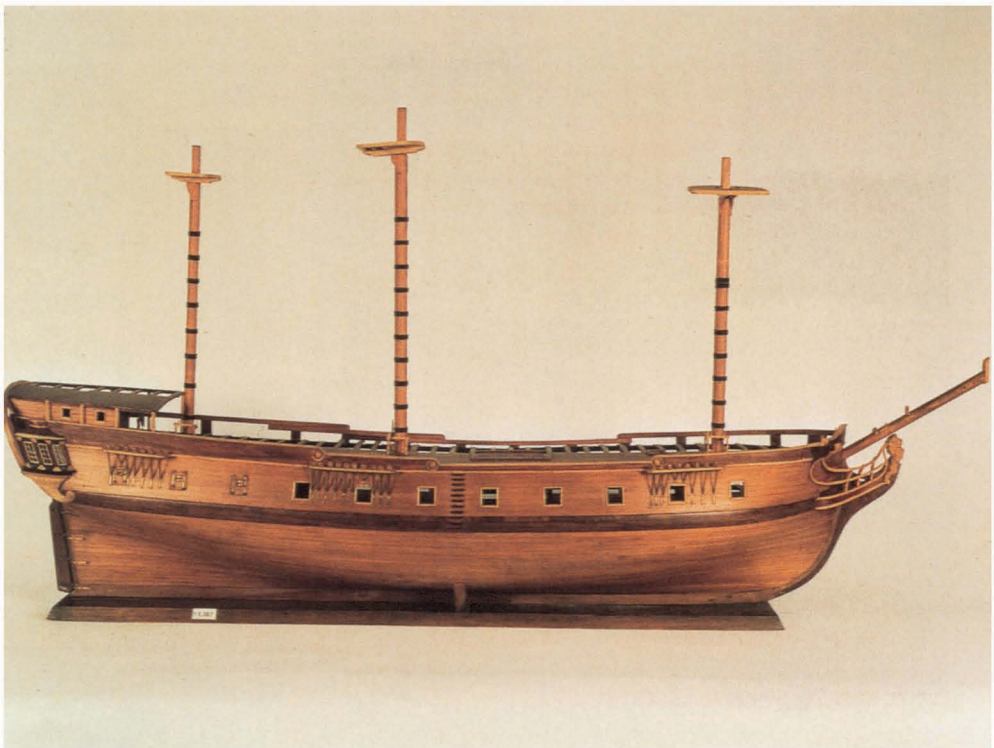

Plate 3. Model of the *Descubierta*, by Pedro Sansó Juan, 1967. Museo Naval, Madrid

a result they had gained just the type of practical surveying and charting experience that would be needed on the forthcoming voyage. A key appointment was that of Felipe Bauzá y Cañas, born in Mallorca, who became Chief of Charts and Maps, in a sense the expedition's geographer. He was not previously known as a scientist, but had worked his way up from humble birth as son of a bricklayer, via the Pilotage Corps, to commissioned officer in the Spanish navy. At the time of his recruitment Bauzá was a teacher of fortification and drawing at the naval school in Cádiz, from which he was given leave of absence. During the voyage, besides his custody of charts and maps, he continued to exercise his chart-making ability, and occasionally turned his hand to artistic representations. While on board the *Descubierta* he also kept an account of the voyage.[1] After the voyage Bauzá became conservator and custodian of much of the surviving Malaspina expedition material. In later life he was promoted to *capitán de navio*, but became involved in political affairs and spent the last ten years of his life in exile in England, where he died in 1834. Among the accounts kept by the other officers that written by Bustamante's first officer on the *Atrevida*, Antonio de Tova Arredondo, has material not found elsewhere but remained undiscovered for

[1] 'Diario del viaje alrededor del mundo desde la salida de Cádiz hasta Puerto Jackson', in AMN, MS 479, ff.1-112.

Plate 4. Felipe Bauzá, shown in naval uniform. Anon. Museo Naval, Madrid

almost 150 years.[1] With an interest in indigenous culture in Patagonia, Chiloé, Port Mulgrave, Nootka and Tonga, his manuscript is of exceptional value. Interspersed among observations which a later generation would class as anthropological, Tova presented comments on the history and geography of the various areas visited. A careful study of his account ranks him as one of the expedition's best natural scientists, even though his initial appointment was based on his reputation in ship handling.

In line with Carlos III's strong preference for Spanish citizens, several foreign candidates were rejected for the role of botanist, though as a last resort the Bohemian-born Tadeo Haenke was engaged. The King had antipathy even towards *criollos*, that is Spanish subjects born in the New World, for only two important members of the party were *criollos*, rather than native-born Spaniards. They were the head of the natural history effort, Teniente Coronel Antonio Pineda, born in Guatemala; and Alférez de Navío Francisco Viana, a native of the corvettes' first port of call, Montevideo. Both were children of Peninsular parents who at the time of their birth were serving on tours of duty in the Americas. Of the two, Antonio Pineda played a more important role as head of the three branches of natural history, and his sudden death of apoplexy at Badoc in the Philippine Islands while on an inland excursion was a severe loss to the expedition and was grieved by all. His death was commemorated by a burial mausoleum in Manila with a fitting inscription, but his work, which fell in some measure to his brother, Alférez de Navío Arcadio Pineda, was never brought to full fruition. One of Viana's greatest contributions was to keep an account of the expedition. This was published rather obscurely in Uruguay in 1849, considerably in advance of the official account, and is the first published account in Spanish of the complete Malaspina expedition.[2] Among the junior officers was a midshipman, Jacobo Murphy, born in Cádiz of Irish parents. He was an asset when proficiency in English was needed, although several officers were known to have rudimentary knowledge for reading and elementary conversation. Murphy's value became most obvious during the expedition's call at Port Jackson, New South Wales, in March and April 1793, by which time he had been promoted to *alférez de fragata*.

Tadeo Haenke joined the expedition after a whole series of adventures and misadventures. The young scientist in his late twenties agreed to join the expedition from his home in Vienna, virtually at the last minute because several previous nominees for the position had disappointed the Spanish government. Haenke had been trained in the universities of Prague and Vienna, and was ideally suited for participation in the great expedition, being highly recommended by persons of status in his field of specialization. Having signed his contract, Haenke packed his considerable personal belongings and scientific gear and started as soon as possible for the departure point of Cádiz, where he arrived on the proper date, but just two hours too late for the

[1] His account was published by Lorenzo Sanfeliú Ortiz, ed., *62 meses a bordo: La expedición Malaspina según el diario de Antonio de Tova y Arredondo*, Madrid, 1943, 1988.

[2] Or almost the complete expedition; the last entry is at Montevideo on 14 February 1794. The book has two title-pages, giving different end-dates for the journal. The first title, with correct dates, reads *Diario del viage explorador de las corbetas españolas Descubierta y Atrevida, en los años de 1789 á 1794, llevado por el Teniente de Navio D. Francisco Javier de Viana*, Cerrito de la Victoria, 1849. Viana's jounal was republished in Montevideo in 1958.