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Revisiting the Rediviva : first mate Robert Haswell's account of the Columbia Rediviva's activities in China and on the return journey during the second voyage

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS of Lucinda Joy Herrick for
the Master of Arts in History presented November 3, 1989.

Title: Revisiting The Rediviva : First Mate Robert
Haswell's Account Of The Columbia Rediviva's
Activities In China And On The Return Journey
During The Second Voyage

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From 1787 to 1793 a group of Bostonians plied the sea
otter pelt trade between the northwestern coast of the
North American continent and Canton, China. By chance, in
May of 1792, their captain, Captain Robert Gray discovered
the Columbia River, thereby feeding the popular belief in a

transcontinental river and strengthening subsequent American claims to the Pacific Northwest.

Presented here is a previously unpublished portion of First Mate Robert Haswell's log of the second voyage. This portion spans the dates October 3, 1792 through May 26, 1793 and records the voyage from the completion of trade in the Pacific Northwest until the Columbia Rediviva's arrival in St. Helena. It has been lightly annotated and placed within the context of the subsequent use by statesmen and scholars of Columbia Rediviva records.

REVISITING THE REDIVIVA:
FIRST MATE ROBERT HASWELL'S ACCOUNT OF THE
COLUMBIA REDIVIVA'S ACTIVITIES IN CHINA AND ON
THE RETURN JOURNEY DURING THE SECOND VOYAGE

by
LUCINDA JOY HERRICK

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
in
HISTORY

Portland State University

1990

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DEDICATED TO

JANE PITKIN MARTYN ARCHIBALD

WHO REFUSED TO ACCEPT
"A MODERN EPIC OF A TIMEWORN THEME"
FOR SANDBURG'S "MAMIE"

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Columbia Rediviva's records are among the most thoroughly used ship's logs. In addition to historians studying the original documents, in 1941, the Massachusetts Historical Society published verbatim most of the known records of her two voyages to the Pacific Northwest: 1787-1790 and 1790-1793. The special treatment given to the Columbia Rediviva can best be explained by the significant role Captain Gray's discovery of the Columbia River played in the Anglo-American territorial disputes of 1818-1846.

Two documents have been missing from the Columbia Rediviva oeuvre of the second voyage, 1790-1793: Captain Gray's log of the second voyage and the bulk of Robert Haswell's record. A larger portion of Captain Gray's log than was previously thought to exist was recently discovered at the Library of Congress.¹ Until this fortunate event, it appeared that Captain Gray's official log of the Columbia Rediviva's second voyage had disappeared except for the portion documenting Gray's

¹ J.Richard Nokes, "Thrill of search ends in ship log's discovery," The Oregonian 29 July 1989: A2.

discovery of the Columbia River, currently housed at the University of Washington Library. Until recently, it was believed that the original of First Mate Robert Haswell's log of the same voyage had suffered the same fate. The two known versions of Haswell's log were a partial copy Hubert Howe Bancroft had made about 1879 for his collection and a composite copy housed at the Library of Congress. The Bancroft copy² covers the period August 14, 1791 through December 7, 1792. During this period Captain Gray and his crew traded on the Pacific Northwest coast with the Indians for sea otter pelts, lived for a winter on shore, discovered the Columbia River, and had dinner with Don Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish colonial governor at Nootka. When the Massachusetts Historical Society published the Columbia Rediviva documents, it used the Bancroft copy.

The Library of Congress copy is a composite written by Robert Haswell and Third Mate Owen Smith. Haswell covered the first part of the second voyage: Boston harbor, around the Horn, the first season's trading, and beginning to

² "My copy of Mr. Haswell's log begins on the 14th of August 1791, just before the ship arrived at what was called Hancock River, an indentation on the northern end of Queen Charlotte, or Washington Island." Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of the Northwest Coast 1543-1800, vol.27 of The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft (San Francisco: A.L.Bancroft & Co., Publ.,1884) 251; Source of the copy was Captain Haswell's daughter, Mrs. John J. Clarke of Roxbury, Massachusetts; Bancroft 27: 251n and 187n.

build the Adventure, the vessel he would captain during the next summer's trading season.³ Smith's portion of this fragment covers building the Adventure and the winter on shore.⁴ Charles Bulfinch gave the Haswell-Smith document to the State Department in 1841 when he requested compensation for land possibly purchased by officers of the Columbia Rediviva.⁵ The claim appears sporadically in Congressional records under Martha Gray, Captain Gray's destitute widow, until 1852 when the Senate passed to second reading a bill granting Oregon land to Martha Gray and others.⁶

In 1986 I came across a partial copy of Haswell's log of the second voyage in the Multnomah County Library's Rare Books Room. This copy is there because in 1896 a D. F. Sherman offered the Portland Library Association, governing body for the Multnomah County Library, Portland, Oregon, the opportunity to make a copy of Haswell's logs for both

³ September 28, 1790 - October 3, 1791.

⁴ October 4, 1791 - February 20, 1792.

⁵ University of Washington Libraries letter to the author, 19 February 1987.

⁶ 11 August 1852, Congressional Record, 32nd Cong., 1st sess., p.2169.

of his voyages on the Columbia Rediviva.⁷ The Portland Library Association hired Benjamin L. Eddy,⁸ a young lawyer, to make a typed copy of the log from the Columbia Rediviva's first voyage and a handwritten rendition of the form as well as the content of the second voyage's log. The Eddy copy of the first voyage matches the original as published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1941. The Eddy copy of the second voyage matches the Massachusetts Historical Society's publication of the Bancroft copy of circa 1879, with the exception that the Bancroft copy ends with December 7, 1792 and the Eddy copy carries through to the stay at St. Helena on May 26, 1793. The Eddy copy includes the Harbor Log for Canton Roads, the trip through Malaysia and around the Cape of Good Hope, a glimpse of the English convoy carrying Lord Macartney, on his way to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor, and the news at St. Helena that France and England were at war.

The Eddy copy begins on August 14, 1791 and ends on

⁷ The Minutes for the Portland Library Association show that Mr. Sherman received the logs from Col. Haswell C. Clarke, grandson of Robert Haswell. Col. Clarke was going to give the logs to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Multnomah County Library, letters to the author. 31 March and 21 April 1987. I do not know who Mr. Sherman was. The Oregon Historical Society has a handwritten copy made by B.L.Eddy in April 1896 of Haswell's log of the first voyage.

⁸ B.L.Eddy, 1865-1942, lived most of his life in Roseburg, Oregon. He was a state senator, 1917-1932, and a Circuit Court Judge, 1932-1942.

May 26, 1793. A page by page comparison of the Eddy copy and a microfilm of the MHS original verified that the Eddy copy is a true copy and that he did not include the portion of the voyage from September 28, 1790 through August 13, 1791 because the original, as given to him, did not include that portion. Between August 14 and October 3, 1791 Haswell must have been keeping two logs: the Library of Congress copy which he turned over to Smith to finish and the Massachusetts Historical Society copy. Using as precedent the Massachusetts Historical Society's 1941 publication of all but minor Columbia Rediviva records, I submit that presentation of the Canton to St. Helena portion of First Mate Robert Haswell's log of the second voyage as a master's level thesis is a worthwhile addition to the body of published information about the Columbia Rediviva.

After a thorough search of repositories for maritime history and Federalist period collections led me to conclude that the original was untraceable, I received a letter from Katherine H. Griffin, cataloguer for the Massachusetts Historical Society. She explained that the Massachusetts Historical Society catalogued the original in 1987. The Massachusetts Historical Society purchased the log in 1948 from Goodspeeds Rare Books, Boston. It had been placed there by the family when Rebecca Haswell

Hanson/Clarke Cummings (1859-1947) died.⁹ She was the daughter of Mary Lewist Clarke, who was Robert Haswell's granddaughter and the Mrs. John J. Clarke who gave the partial copy to Hubert H. Bancroft. Rebecca Haswell Hanson/Clarke Cummings' brother, Col. Haswell C. Clarke, gave the log to Mr. Sherman, who contacted the Portland Library Association about making a copy.

Presented here is the Eddy copy of 1896. Discrepancies between the Eddy copy and the MHS original are footnoted as are my contextual comments. The course and wind directions, included in the fourth and fifth columns, respectively, in the original and the Eddy copy have also been placed in the footnotes; this will make the text easier to read. Haswell's log is dry reading, dry enough to cause F.W. Howay not to print portions of it in the Massachusetts Historical Society's 1941 publication. Robert Haswell was a restrained man with more inclination to keep a dutiful account of the day's events than to embellish or extrapolate. His responsibilities as first mate also influenced his style for the first mate and the captain kept the official record. An accurate record of

⁹ Rebecca Haswell Hanson/Clarke Cummings' son is the poet e.e. cummings. Log's provenance based on conversation with Massachusetts Historical Society staff after staff checked the accession records. Visit by author, 1988.

wind direction, course and ship's position particularly for the new run from the Pacific Northwest to Canton via the Hawaiian Islands would have interested other navigators.

The reader should keep in mind that Haswell recorded each day on a separate page, with each page divided into six vertical columns. In the first column he recorded the hour, in the second two columns, the number of miles traveled in that hour, in the fourth column the ship's course, in the fifth column, the wind direction, and in the sixth column any remarks. The time and the mileage he recorded every hour; the rest he noted from two to twelve times in a twenty four hour period usually when the ship changed course. In this presentation, the wind directions and textual description have been as closely matched with the time notations as possible.¹⁰ Haswell's exceptions to this format, reflected in Eddy's copy, are the harbor logs. While in port, the practice of the day was to keep a prose account of the day's events, not to record the wind directions, and to record the time of day less frequently. I have replaced the degree symbol ($^{\circ}$) used by Haswell to denote the parallel, as in $54^{\circ} 40'$, with $\sim$ because of limited printing capability. I have also added periods at the end of sentences or entries and capitalized the first

¹⁰ See Appendix A for an example of the original and Eddy's format.

letter of a sentence.

Haswell's log reflects his perspective and position aboard ship. The most striking characteristic about Robert Haswell is his consummate professionalism. The recurrent phrase throughout Haswell's record is some variation of "Seamen and tradesmen employed in the nesecery duties of the Ship."¹¹ As the first mate, he was responsible for the "nesecery duties;" all records suggest that everything was always in readiness. When Haswell requested a transfer to Captain Gray's command during the first voyage, a request approved by Captain Kendrick, the evidence suggests that Kendrick's lack of professionalism was the impetus.¹² Haswell's attitude aided his career. He rose from third mate under Captain Kendrick in 1787 to Captain Gray's first mate for the second voyage. Upon his return to Boston with the Columbia Rediviva in 1793 he captained two vessels, spent two years as a first lieutenant in the United States Navy (1799-1801), and then, while captain of the merchant ship the Louisa, disappeared. He married Mary Cordis of Reading, Massachusetts; they produced two children, Mary

¹¹ Robert Haswell, entry for November 22, 1792, Log Book of the Ship Columbia, Eddy copy, Multnomah County Library, Portland, Oregon.

¹² Robert Haswell, entries for December 1787-January 1788, F.W. Howay, Voyages of the 'Columbia' to the Northwest Coast 1787-1790 and 1790-1793 The Massachusetts Historical Society Collections 79 (1941) 9-11.

and Rebecca Cordis.¹³

To elaborate on Haswell's record of events I turned to the records kept by the other officers: letters between the captain and the major shareholder Joseph Barrell, supercargo John Box Hoskins' narrative, and Fifth Mate John Boit's log. John Hoskins' narrative encompasses the period from the beginning of the voyage into March 1792. John Boit's log is the most complete currently published version for it starts with leaving Boston on September 28, 1790 and it stops on July 5, 1793 after leaving St. Helena for Boston. Both narrators were young, 22 and 16 years old respectively, and inexperienced. Hoskins was Joseph Barrell's supercargo or representative of the consortium designated to oversee the captain's trading behavior. He was the son of a deceased maritime merchant who had been a close friend of Joseph Barrell, principal investor in the Columbia Rediviva. Hoskins went on to become a merchant with activities in both Boston and France. His second wife was the sister of the powerful Philadelphia merchant Stephen Girard.¹⁴

John Boit's father was an importer who most likely educated his son at the Boston Latin School. An excellent navigator, upon returning to Boston at age nineteen he

 13 Howay xix-xx.

14 Howay, xx-xxii.

became captain of a Pacific Northwest sea otter vessel half owned by his brother-in-law. Though Boit tried the merchant end of the maritime trade, he must have preferred sailing for he spent most of his fifty-five years aboard ship.¹⁵ Hoskins and Boit's positions on the Columbia Rediviva left them at liberty to record what interested them. For both men it was people, with Hoskins concentrating on the Indians while Boit left a less detailed but broader account.

Two other pertinent pieces of background information concern the consortium which owned the Columbia Rediviva and the personality of Captain John Kendrick. The consortium, or shareholders, were friends who met regularly at the home of Thomas Bulfinch, M.D., of Boston. Thomas Bulfinch earned enough money to maintain his family in its genteel standard of living in spite of the Columbia Rediviva's poor financial return. He did not leave his son Charles enough to be financially independent.

The group of friends was reading Captain Cook's account of his exploratory voyage in 1776-1779 of the Pacific Northwest (published 1784) when Joseph Barrell suggested that the group purchase a ship and take advantage

15 Howay, xxii-xxiii.

of the sea otters Cook mentioned.¹⁶ As chief shareholder, with five shares and experience as owner of a countinghouse, Barrell became the manager of the enterprise. The correspondence between the owners and the captains was addressed to Barrell, and it was he who hired the Canton representatives and Hoskins as the supercargo. In addition to Thomas and Charles Bulfinch and Joseph Barrell, the initial shareholders were Samuel Brown, a prosperous Boston merchant, Captain Crowell Hatch of Cambridge, John Derby, an extremely successful shipowner from Salem and John M. Pintard, a New York merchant.¹⁷ For the second voyage Derby and Pintard's shares were purchased by Captain Gray, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. McLean.¹⁸ Howay placed the total investment for the second attempt at \$6,254, of which £1,519 10s was invested in the trading merchandise.¹⁹

John Kendrick's personality created a tense situation for everyone involved in the enterprise. Though a lifelong mariner, by all readings he found the magnitude of the work involved in the Pacific Northwest sea otter trade

¹⁶ Ellen Susan Bulfinch, The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch Architect (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press) 64.

¹⁷ Howay vi.

¹⁸ Howay viii.

¹⁹ Howay viii.

overwhelming. Success required sailing undauntedly around the Horn, socializing with the Indians only long enough to purchase the furs, obstinately wading through the quagmire of the Hong merchants' rules and customs, picking through the navigational nightmare of Malaysia, and braving the Cape of Good Hope. In addition, captains of this period lived with the constant fear of a crew incapacitated by scurvy.²⁰ During the first voyage Kendrick was the captain of the three-masted bark the Columbia Rediviva and commander of the two vessel endeavor. Gray was captain of the other, smaller vessel, the sloop²¹ the Lady Washington. Kendrick hesitated at the Horn and hugged the west coast of South America, thereby missing the first summer's trading season. After exchanging vessels with

²⁰ By the 1790s the medical and maritime worlds were beginning to understand the salutary effect on the human metabolism of foods rich in vitamin C, cleanliness and dry clothing. The recommendations of James Lind, doctor with the British Royal Navy, were used successfully by Capt. James Cook during his exploration of the Pacific Northwest and were accepted by the Admiralty in 1796. A. Grenfell Price, The Explorations of Captain James Cook In The Pacific As Told By Selections Of His Own Journals 1768-1779 (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971) 7; Charles Singer and E. Ashworth Underwood, A Short History of Medicine (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1962) 187. In both voyages the crew of the Columbia Rediviva, and in the first voyage of the Lady Washington contracted scurvy during the trip around the Horn; it was successfully treated upon landing in the Pacific Northwest with fresh vegetables. John Boit, entry for June 5, 1791 and John Hoskins, entries for June 5 & 6, 1791, Howay 369-370, 183-184.

²¹ A one-masted vessel.

Gray, Kendrick sent Gray to Canton with all the furs. Kendrick remained officially in the consortium's service, but he neither returned to Boston with the Lady Washington nor sent the owners any money from his sale of furs or his participation in the "country trade".²² Kendrick was killed in Hawaii in 1794. He is credited with founding the profitable Hawaiian sandalwood trade.²³

Kendrick's less than honorable business practices were not unusual for this time, but they led to Barrell placing Hoskins on board the Columbia Rediviva to watch Captain Gray and they caused a great deal of tension between Kendrick and the more forthright employees of the consortium whenever they came across each other.²⁴ Oddly

²² The "country trade" was the traditional trade between South Pacific islands and between the islands and the Asian mainland. Many Europeans engaged in this lucrative trade rather than in the trade between continents.

²³ F.W. Howay, "John Kendrick and his Sons," The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society 23 (December 1922): 284.

²⁴ This is not to say that everyone else connected with the Columbia Rediviva was beyond reproach. Gray consistently quoted lower prices in Canton and a smaller cargo than anyone else. It was the practice of the time, as was the acquisition of small amounts of valuable goods by the crew members. Given customary practice as described by Marcus Rediker in Between The Devil And The Deep Blue Sea (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 129-132, Hoskins was probably accurate when he wrote George Barrell explaining that Gray and Haswell had spoken of making a private profit from the voyage ("John Hoskins to Joseph Barrell," Howay, Voyages 482). The general wariness toward Captain Kendrick was most likely based on the magnitude of his duplicity, rather than on its sheer presence.

enough, Hoskins liked Kendrick, though why is unclear, since Kendrick stole a fully outfitted ship from his benefactor and father's friend.

Haswell disliked Kendrick from the beginning, enough to request a transfer from the larger Columbia Rediviva to the smaller Lady Washington. John Howel, who sailed under Kendrick and took care of Kendrick's affairs after his death, described Kendrick with this fitting allusion:

He was ruined by his appointment to the Columbia. Empires and fortunes broke on his sight. The paltry two-penny-objects of his expedition were swallowed up in the magnitude of his Gulliverian Views. North East America was on the Lilliputian, but he designed N.W.America to be on the Brobdignagian scale. Had you known him as well as I did, you would have sent some Glumdalclitch or other as nurse with him.²⁵

Two examples of Kendrick's inability to captain a venture of this magnitude are that he froze before attempting the Horn, and that he wanted to add a mast to the Lady Washington "without consider[ing] he had not cordage duck nor blocks suffisiant for the purpose".²⁶ Kendrick was

²⁵ "John Howel to Joseph Barrell," Howay, Voyages 493.

²⁶ Haswell, entries for December 1787-January 1788 and November 1788, Howay, Voyages 9-11 and 54. The conversion from sloop to brigantine had to wait.

possibly wise to support Haswell's request for a transfer for "support [for mutiny] usually coalesced around a particularly bold, daring and defiant member of the crew, often a minor officer who possessed the requisite skills for sailing the ship."²⁷ Haswell wrote during the wait on the southeastern coast of South America, "much discord (from what cause they arose I will not pretend to say) subsisted in our Ship ever since our departure from Boston, and they now prevailed to a more violent degree."²⁸ He loathed incompetency.

Chapters Three and Four of this thesis present the log. Chapter Two gives a brief synopsis of the journey from Boston to the culmination of trade with the Indians. The Bancroft copy of Haswell's log ends on December 7, 1792, but for the most part Howay chose not to publish it after October 3, 1792, because he felt that October 4 through December 7 were mostly wind directions and therefore extraneous. Wanting to present all of the trip from the Pacific Northwest, I begin my presentation of the Eddy copy in Chapter Three with October 3, 1792; I have noted when Howay presented a given day during that two month period and any discrepancies between the Bancroft/Howay/Massachusetts Historical Society and the

²⁷ Rediker 229.

²⁸ Haswell, entry for December 1787, Howay, Voyages 7.

Eddy copies. As stated previously, the reading is dry, but by making this portion available to researchers, they will have access to more complete documentation than is currently available. The presentation of as repetitive a document as Haswell's log is warranted when done sparingly because it gives a side of seafaring life which must be kept in mind to understand the activity. Logs provide the middle road between the more appealing aspects such as sea chanteys, scrimshaw, knotted artwork, and solitude, and the horrific side of illness, brutality, poor food, lack of privacy, entrapment and loneliness.

In no way is this presentation a definitive statement of the records of Columbia Rediviva, only of the content of the Eddy copy and the Haswell original. For the student of seafaring life, sailing courses, or the Pacific Northwest sea otter trade, access to this portion of Haswell's log should enhance the quality of her or his scholarship. For the student of labor history or the China trade, it will have use as documentation of the tedium and dangers of supplying consumer demand. The story of the Columbia Rediviva is first and foremost the story of capital's quest for wealth and labor's willingness to contract for wages. Beyond that, it is the story of trade: the Indians traded pelts for iron chisels, the Chinese traded sugar and tea for pelts, the ship's owners traded sugar and tea for money.

The consortium which owned the Columbia Rediviva was one of the first groups to supply the capital lost by the United States' successful break with the British mercantile system. They were some of the first Americans to provide work for the seafaring labor of Massachusetts. Though a financial failure, the effort helped establish Massachusetts' future economic base. In addition, Captain Gray's chance discovery of the Columbia River's mouth added immeasurably to the American argument for claim to the Pacific Northwest territory. It also fueled the popular belief in the River of the West, prompted Thomas Jefferson to organize the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806, and ultimately aided in American settlement.

In the concluding chapter I briefly summarize some historians' use of the Columbia Rediviva's records in their development of theories about the significance of maritime activity in the United States' development as a nation state and delineate largely unexplored areas of research suggested by the voyage.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

The Columbia Rediviva had only been at anchor at its home port of Boston for a few days before the owners began preparing for a second trip. It was already August. To be in the Pacific Northwest by the start of the sea otter pelt trading season in the spring, the officers and crew had to sail around Cape Horn before the winter seas became too rough.

Leaving on September 28, 1790, they reached Clioquot Harbor, Vancouver Island on June 5, 1791. The trip was largely uneventful by mariners' standards, key events being the loss of masts and sails during a "heavy squall"¹ and hunting fowl and hogs on the Falkland Islands.² The steady advance of scurvy was noted by both John Boit and John Hoskins, with both men commenting on Captain Gray's low standards of cleanliness and Hoskins stating that Gray should have gathered antiscorbutics on the west coast

¹ Boit, entry for December 11, 1790, Howay, Voyages 365.

² Hoskins, entries for January 1790, Howay, Voyages 174-175.

of South America.³ Prior to dropping anchor and establishing contact with the Indians, Captain Gray armed the Columbia Rediviva:

On the 12th of May, we mounted six four pounders on the quarter deck, four six pounders on the forecastle, and ten swisels in the stocks, on the stern and quarters; the armourers and gunners were, at this time, getting the small arms etca.⁴ in order, and preparing the ammunition.

Throughout the summer Gray traded for pelts. That winter the crew built a small vessel, the Adventure, and the next spring and summer Robert Haswell captained the Adventure, thereby giving the enterprise twice its buying opportunity. Robert Haswell was away buying pelts when Gray discovered the Columbia River in May 1792. That fall the Columbia Rediviva left the Pacific Northwest to sell the pelts to the Chinese. The Adventure Gray sold to Don Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish Governor at Nootka, who wanted it as a gift for the Viceroy of Mexico.

The most unusual events during the fifteen months the

3 Barrell explicitly forbade Gray to stop at any Spanish ports. When Gray was forced to drop anchor in Nootka Sound to repair the stem and keel, he had Hoskins write Barrell explaining the breach of orders. "Joseph Barrell's Instructions to Robert Gray," Howay, Voyages 444-445; "Robert Gray and John Hoskins to Joseph Barrell," Howay, Voyages 479-480.

⁴ Hoskins, entry for May 12, 1791, Howay, Voyages 181.

Columbia Rediviva was in the Pacific Northwest were Gray's exploration of the Columbia River⁵ and dinner with Governor Quadra. Exploring the Columbia River helped the United States substantiate its claim to the Pacific Northwest when the British and Americans began discussing where to place the border. Chapter Five will include some discussion of the role of the find in the territorial disputes.

Dinner with Governor Quadra was the social occasion of the trip. The Columbia Rediviva was in port at Nootka Sound for repairs to her damaged hull when the Governor invited the officers to dinner. Boit described the formal dinner:

Don Van Francisco De La Vondago, which was the name of the Governor, gave a grand entertainment at his house, at which all the Officers of the Fleet partook. fifty four persons sat down to Dinner, and the plates, which was solid silver, was shifted five times, which made 270 Plates. the Dishes, Knives and forks, and indeed evry thing else, was of Silver and always replaced with spare ones. There could be no mistake in this as they never carried the dirty plates or Dishes from the Hall where we dined (as I thought, on purpose to let us see the quantity ⁶ of plate used by Spaniards in South America).

⁵ Bruno Hecata (Bruno de Hezeta) discovered the mouth of the Columbia River in August 1775. Naming it Ensenada de la Nuestra Senora de Asuncion, Spanish maps show it as Entrada de Ezeta. Hecata and Quadra captained ships for the 1775 venture. W. Kaye Lamb, ed., The Voyage of George Vancouver 1791-1795 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984) 768n.

⁶ Boit, entry for July 29, 1792, Howay, Voyages 411.

Contrary to the implications of this gracious though ostentatious dinner, Spanish dominion was weakening. Yet the Spanish were still the acknowledged, though increasingly nominal, proprietors of the western half of the New World. Their situation had just begun to change at the end of the eighteenth century. The ships the Columbia Rediviva sighted and called reflected this change in the European maritime power relationship, for most vessels were British or American. They sighted Portuguese vessels in the South Atlantic, but in the Pacific, they sighted or heard of one French vessel, one French-Russian partnership, a bit of the Spanish (New Spain) Navy, but mostly British traders and naval explorers, including Captain Vancouver, and American whalers and China Trade vessels. Joseph Barrell's order that Captain Gray stay away from the Spanish strongholds probably reflected his concern over the relative weight of the different factions. Technically, Captain Gray was in Spanish territory. That he was armed complicated relations further.

Boit and Hoskins described the daily interaction between the crew of the Columbia Rediviva and the Indians. This interaction consisted of trade, hospitality and attacks. What precipitated the attacks is unclear, though it appears to have been a combination of mutual distrust and cultural misunderstandings. Coastal Indians were inundated with requests for pelts, so much so that they

distinguished between "Boston men" and "Kintshautsh" (King George men)⁷ and the national origins of the ships. Iron chisels were the item of greatest demand for this woodworking people, with copper, beads and other small decorative objects next. John Hoskins took advantage of the opportunity to observe the Indian at home and as a result left a particularly detailed description of Indian life. He observed their wide exposure to smallpox and syphilis, as well as their increasing sophistication as they learned the European and American wares and desire for pelts.

American prosperity depended upon maritime trade. By winning the Revolution, the United States lost its place in the British mercantile system. Since England had provided the distribution system, the capital, and the naval protection for American merchantmen, American maritime interests were at a loss for some critical commercial components after the Revolution.⁸ The consortium which owned the Columbia Rediviva was one of the first groups to assemble the capital necessary to attempt a venture of this

⁷ Samuel Eliot Morison, The Maritime History of Massachusetts (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1921) 53.

⁸ Oliver M. Dickerson, The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1963) 38-42; Oscar and Mary Handlin, Commonwealth: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy Massachusetts 1774-1861 (1947; Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1969) 57-61.

magnitude. Though a failure, it employed around thirty men per voyage and during the first voyage it contracted with the soon to be powerful middlemen trading company of Shaw & Randall.⁹ For the second voyage, the Columbia Rediviva's owners entered the world of international finance, contracting with Dutch and English firms for middleman services.¹⁰ The middlemen firms had offices at Macao and later at the treaty ports. Their employees understood how to effect trade with the Chinese and they could advance monies. At Manila, Java, and Goa they kept warehouse for storing European and Asian goods. Captain Gray wrote Joseph Barrell requesting that he arrange for Canton harbor clearance, something Barrell would do through a middleman.¹¹

Establishing and maintaining a place in the international market without British support became a constant challenge for Americans. To purchase manufactured goods, Americans had to find markets outside the British Empire and ways around the Navigation Acts for their staples of wheat, lumber, meat, salted cod, tobacco, rice, indigo and refined sugar products. The sea otter pelt,

⁹ "John Kendrick's Instructions to Robert Gray," Howay, Voyages 114-115.

¹⁰ "Joseph Barrell's Instructions to Robert Gray," Howay, Voyages 443-447.

¹¹ Howay, Voyages 467, 468.

being a new commodity, did not have a fixed place within the mercantile system, and therefore, could be exploited freely by anyone willing to risk the arduous trip to North America's northwestern coast. Bostonians, in particular, found the venture worthwhile: Massachusetts did not have a strong enough agricultural base to feed itself and had to import foodstuffs from the other states.¹² To do this, Massachusetts residents needed foreign goods such as tea and porcelain to trade for the money with which to purchase food.

The "Certificate of the Columbia's Cargo" suggests the magnitude of the endeavor:

These certify all whom it may concern, that Robert Gray, master and commander of the ship Columbia, burden two hundred and twelve 95th tons or thereabouts, navigated with thirty men, mounted with ten guns, has permission to depart from this port with the following articles, viz: Two thousand bricks, six chaldrons sea coals, one hundred and thirty-five barrels beef, sixty barrels pork, three hogsheads N.E. rum, two hogsheads W.I. rum, five hogsheads molasses, five barrels sugar, ten boxes chocolate, two hundred and twenty-eight pounds coffee, seventy-two pounds Bohea tea, six casks rice, twenty barrels flour, twenty-seven thousand pounds ship bread, six firkins butter, five hundred pounds cheese, thirty barrels tar, thirteen barrels pitch, thirty packages of merchandise, six tons bar iron, twenty hundred bar lead, fifteen hundred

¹² Handlin 59-61; Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976) 203.

pounds¹³ gunpowder, three hundred pounds small shot.

Even with all this they restocked water at every opportunity, lived off the land and sea whenever possible, and entirely refurbished the ship's stores in Canton.

The crew list is equally impressive and informative, indicating the skills needed to accomplish the endeavor. Officers consisted of the captain and five mates. The officers had two cabin boys. The clerk or supercargo acted as the owners' representative. The Columbia Rediviva left Boston with six seamen and three green hands. The craftsmen aboard consisted of a carpenter and his mate, a boatswain, a blacksmith, an armorer, a cooper, a sail maker, a tailor, a caulker, a painter, and two unspecified men who were most likely the furriers Haswell mentioned. In total, thirty men set sail from Boston bound for Canton via the Pacific Northwest.¹⁴

The following presentation of Eddy's copy of Haswell's log begins two years into the venture. The furs have been bought. They must only sell them in Canton and make their way home. On October 3, 1792 the crew is stocking the Columbia Rediviva for the more than 2000 miles to Hawaii and the next chance for water and fresh food.

¹³ Howay, Voyages 443.

¹⁴ Howay, Voyages 447.

CHAPTER III

THE LOG - PACIFIC NORTHWEST TO CHINA

The 3[d of October 1792]¹ we had light breezes² off the land and pleasant weather. Sent a party onshore to fill the remaining empty water casks which when compleeted consisted off 47 Hogsheads containing 5076 Gallons and 11 Gang casks containing 469. The total amount of water onboard was 5545 Gallons. Set the boat to a Distant beach for Sand. Unmoor'd³ ship and at 6 AM being compleetly reddy for sea we weighed and sailed out of Port Poverty with a Lively breeze at NE and pleasant weather. As we came out we met a canoe with a number of good Salmon which we purchaced for Chizzels. As soon as we were clear of the Harbour we hoisted in the boat and made all sail unbent the cables stowed the anchors unstocked the sheet anchor and took it onboard struck the guns below secured the Spars and

¹ Original: October penciled in over Sept. Haswell in Howay: basically the same. Next entry October 29. Boit in Howay: included that crew received a full allowance of grog. Throughout his journal Boit included longitude as well as latitude. His and Haswell's calculations are close; differences should be addressed by an experienced navigator. Boit's next entry, October 28.

² Winds NE

³ Original: unmoored.

stanchined betwixt Deacks At noon I observed in Latd 48.25
 No⁴ Tatooches Island⁵ bearing East 4 Leagues. Much Joy was
 expressed by all the crew on our safe Departure. [Crew]
 appearing happy to be once more turned towards their native
 countrey even tho' its distance is so great. The N East
 End of Owhyhee⁶ bore N 41 W. Distance 2270 Miles. Owhyhee
 Lat 20° No. Long 155° W. & Tatooches Island Lat 48° 19' N
 124.0 W.⁷

Thursday October 4th 1792 1[PM].⁸ Fresh breezes and
 pleasant weather. Tatooches Island bears East 12 Miles.
 4[PM] All hands neseceriely employed. Moderate breeze and

⁴ North

⁵ South point of entrance into the Strait of Juan de
 Fuca. Now it is called Tatoosh Island.

⁶ Hawaii

⁷ Haswell would have known Hawaii's location from
 Captain Cook's account. He knew the Columbia Rediviva's
 from his sextant reading. Since the sextant reading was
 taken at noon, when the sun was directly above, the
 mariner's day began at noon and not at midnight. Basil W.
 Bathe, The Visual Encyclopedic of Nautical Terms Under Sail
 (NY: Crown Publishers Inc., 1978) 15.04. The sextant was
 invented in the second half of the eighteenth century to
 record the altitude of celestial objects. Once the
 altitude was known, the sky could be compared to sky charts
 and sun tables containing latitudes. The altitude was the
 distance between the horizon and a celestial body. The
 measurement was recorded in degrees and the instrument was
 positioned with mirrors. When the sun shone on the first
 mirror, it reflected onto the second mirror, and then into
 the eye piece; the navigator had his reading. Bathe 15.09.

⁸ Courses SWB[y]So[uth]. Winds NEBN.

pleasant. All sail out. 8[PM]⁹ 10[PM]¹⁰ Midnight clear
 pleasant weather. 2[AM]¹¹ 4[AM]¹² Set topgallant Steering
 sails and Mizzen topgallant sail. Set up the Mizzen topmast
 and topgallant Rigging forward aft. 8[AM].¹³ The Carpenter
 making a main topmast. Sail maker making a topmast
 Steerings[sail]. 11[AM]¹⁴ Noon pleasant weather. Latd
 Observed 47° 26' No. Owhyhee bears S 40° 30' W. Distant
 2180 Miles. 89 Miles pr¹⁵ Log.¹⁶

Friday Oct 5th 1792 1[PM]¹⁷ Moderate breezes and

 9 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNE.

10 Courses SWBSo. Winds ENE.

11 Courses SWBSo. Winds North.

12 Courses SWBSo. Winds NWBNo.

13 Courses SWBSo. Winds NW.

14 Courses West. Winds Variable.

15 per

16 Each hour Haswell recorded the distance traveled in
 that hour; this was fundamental to navigating by Dead
 Reckoning (D.R.). Dead reckoning is achieved by
 "calculation of the ship's position by consideration of the
 distances logged and courses steered, allowing for current,
 leeway and so on." Bathe 15.01.

17 Courses SWBSo. Winds NW.

pleasant weather. 2[PM]¹⁸ 3[PM] Set Steeringsails. 4[PM]¹⁹
 5 PM in Royals and topgallant steering [sails]. Squally.
 Shortened and made sail occasionally. 11[PM]²⁰ 12[AM]²¹
 Midnight Squally with Drizzling rain. 1[AM]²² 3[AM]²³
 4[AM] Variation pr Az. 16° 17' Et. ²⁴ 5[AM]²⁵ 6[AM] At [6
 AM] Set topgallant steering sails. Caried away the fore
 topmast steering sail yard. Seamen and tradesmen employed
 in their various departments. Noon pleasant. Latd Obsd
 46° 5' No. 105 [miles] Distance pr Log.

 18 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNW.

19 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNBW.

20 Courses SWBSo. Winds WBN.

21 Courses SSW. Wind WBN.

22 Courses SWBSo. Winds WNW.

23 Courses SWBSo. Winds Variable.

24 Azimuthal readings permitting Haswell to navigate
 accurately to Hawaii without longitudinal readings. See
 Chapter III, 56n for description.

25 Courses SWBSo. Winds WNW.

Saturday October 6th 1792. 1[PM]²⁶ Light breezes and pleasant. At 3 PM in fore topmast Steering sail. 4[PM]²⁷ 7[PM]²⁸ At 9[PM]²⁹ tacked Ship to the Westward. 10[PM]³⁰ 1/2 past 11 in Mizen topgalantsail. Midnight pleasant. At 1 AM Squally in topgalantsails and Light Staysails. 2[AM]³¹ 3[AM]³² At 7 AM took a reef in each topsail and hauled down the Jib. Sent down topgallant yards and double reefed topsails. Noon strong gales and drizzling Rain. No Latd Observed. 59 Miles Dist. pr Log.

Monday October 7th 1792.³³ 1[PM]³⁴ Fresh gales and Squally. Reefed topsails and sent down topgallant yards. Squally. 3[PM]³⁵ Close reefed the topsails and in Mizen

26 Courses SWBSo. Winds WBN.

27 Courses SSW Winds West

28 Courses SEt.

29 Courses SEBE. Winds SBW.

30 Courses WSW. Winds South.

31 Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.

32 Courses WSW. Winds South.

33 Actually Sunday. Haswell corrects himself on Thursday, October 11, 1792.

34 Courses SWBW1/2W. Winds S1/2 Et.

35 Courses W 1/2 So. Winds SBW1/2W.

D[itt]o. At 4 PM wore Ship to the Eastward. 5[PM]³⁶ 7[PM]³⁷
 At 1/2 past 7 Shook two reefs out of the topsails. Set the
 middle and mizen top staysails and Jib. 9[PM]³⁸ 11[PM]³⁹
 Midnight pleasant. 1[AM]⁴⁰ 3[AM]⁴¹ 5[AM]⁴² At 1/2 past 5
 AM squally in middle and mizen topmast Staysails. 7[AM]⁴³
 8[AM]⁴⁴ At 11 Tacked Ship to the Westward. Sail maker
 employed mending the topgallantsails. 12[PM]⁴⁵ Noon fresh
 breeze and clear. Latitude Obsd 45~ 29' N. 55 Miles Dist
 pr Log.

- 36. Courses SEBSO. Winds SWBSO.
- 37 Courses SWBSO. Winds WBNO.
- 38 Courses SSW. Winds West.
- 39 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.
- 40 Courses SSEt. Winds SW.
- 41 Courses SEBS. Winds SWBSO.
- 42 Courses ESEt. Winds South.
- 43 Courses EBSO. Winds SBEt.
- 44 Courses ESEt. Winds South.
- 45 Courses SWBW. Winds SBEt.

Tuesday October 8th 1792. Fresh gales and Squalley. At 1 PM⁴⁶ single reefed the topsails and down Jib. 2[PM]⁴⁷ At 3[PM]⁴⁸ close reefed the topsails and stowed the main topmast Staysail. 5[PM]⁴⁹ At 1/2 past 5 in mizen topsail. 6[PM]⁵⁰ At 1/4 past 6 wore Ship to the Eastward. 7 [PM]⁵¹ 8[PM]⁵² Midnight Fresh gales and clear. 3 [AM]⁵³ 4[AM]⁵⁴ At 6 AM⁵⁵ Set the Mizen topsail & let one reef out of the

46 Courses SWBW. Winds SBEt.

47 Courses SW. Winds SSEt.

48 Courses SWBW. Winds SBE.

49 Courses WSW. Winds South.

50 Courses West. Winds SSW.

51 Courses SEt. Winds SSW.

52 Courses ESE. Winds South.

53 Courses South. Winds WSW.

54 Courses SBEt. Winds SWBW.

55 Courses SSEt. Winds SW.

Main topsail. 7[AM]⁵⁶ Variation pr amplitude 14~ 37' Et.
 9[AM]⁵⁷ 10[AM] The Breeze more moderate. Made more sail.
 11[AM]⁵⁸ Noon Fresh gale and clear weather. Latitude Obsd
 44~ 51' N. 83 Miles Distance p Log. Owhyhee bears S 42~ W.
 Distance 2010 Miles.

⁵⁶ Courses SB Et. Winds SWBW. Scientists, mathematicians, and craftsmen made tremendous advances in navigational instruments between 1750 and 1850. Accurate navigation requires knowing where the ship is. This in turn requires precise timekeeping devices, celestial body positional readers, and skill with spherical trigonometry. In 1730 John Hadley, Fellow of the Royal Society of Astronomers, scholarly organization connected with the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, founded 1675, invented the octant. The octant, and its improvement, the sextant, measures the angle between a ship and a celestial body. John Harrison finished his first sea clock (known as H.1) in 1735. The Board of Longitude, committee of the British Parliament, tested H.4 in 1762 and 1764. Because a chronometer durable enough for sea use and precise enough to be useful was very expensive, few ships carried one until the 1850s. The Columbia Rediviva's cargo and expenditure lists record no navigational devices at all, though they obviously carried a sextant and a compass and since John Boit recorded some longitudes, he quite possibly had a copy of The Nautical Almanac. The compass of this period was also temperamental and not well developed until the mid-to-late nineteenth century. In addition to the technological obstructions to eighteenth century navigation, the navigator had to overcome the period's understanding of trigonometry. Latitude or one's position north or south of the equator were worked out by the Portuguese and Spanish and by the 1700s maps showed accurate latitudes. Longitude or one's position east or west required four hours of spherical trigonometry and an accurate timekeeping device. In 1767 Nevil Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal, published The Nautical Almanac using Gottingen Professor Tobias Mayer's lunar prediction tables. Entire footnote based on Bathe.

⁵⁷ Courses SSE. Winds SW.

⁵⁸ Courses SB Et. Winds SWBW.

Wednesday Octr 9, 1792 1[PM]⁵⁹ Squalley with frequent showers of rain. At 3 PM⁶⁰ in Main topmast staysail. 5[PM]⁶¹ At 1/4 past 5 double reefed the topsails & at 6 close reefed them. 8[PM]⁶² 11[PM]⁶³ Midnight Squalley with lightning in the N.E. Quarter. 3[AM]⁶⁴ At 1/2 past 3 Set the maintopmast stay sail out all reefs of the topsails and up topgallantyards. Sailmakers employed mending the sails. Unbent the mainsail to repair and bent another. 5[AM]⁶⁵ 6[AM]⁶⁶ 7[AM] Seamen employed working of Junk. Smiths at ships iron work. 9[AM]⁶⁷ 11[AM]⁶⁸ Noon light breezes with a large swell from the northward. Lat'd Observed 43~ 40' N. 66 Miles Distance p Log.

 59 Courses S1/2Et. Winds SWBW1/2W.

60 Courses South. Winds WSW.

61 Courses S1/2W. Winds WBS1/2S.

62 Courses South. Winds WSW.

63 Courses SSW. Winds West.

64 Courses SWBSo. Winds WBN.

65 Courses SSW. Winds West.

66 Course SWBSo. Winds WBN.

67 Courses SBW. Winds WBS.

68 Courses SSW. Winds West.

Thursday Octr 10th 1792. 1[PM]⁶⁹ Light breezes and pleasant. All hands employed in various ships duties. 5[PM]⁷⁰ Winds variable with a very large swell from the N.W. quarter. Midnight⁷¹ light breezes inclining to a calm. 1[AM]⁷² At 2 AM⁷³ Set the fore topmast Steering sail and Mizen topgallantsails and Royals with the starbord topgallant Steering sails.⁷⁴ Set up the fore and main topmast rigging and fore Rigging. Found the main top gallantmast sprung so bad as to render it quite unsurvisable. People employed geting a new top gallantmast from betwist decks. Carpenters making a main and mizen topmast. Sail makers on the old Sails. Smiths making a pair of grainz. Noon pleasant weather. Lat'd Observed 43° 5' No. 41 Miles Distance.

⁶⁹ Courses SSW. Wind West.

⁷⁰ Courses SWBSo. Wind WBN.

⁷¹ Wind Variable

⁷² Courses SWBS Wind WBN.

⁷³ Courses SWBS. Wind WNW.

⁷⁴ Haswell's lack of punctuation makes it impossible to determine at what time the rest of this day's activities took place. He recorded that at 4 AM the course was still SWBS and the winds had shifted to NWBN, that at 8 AM the course was unchanged and the winds were NNW, and that at 11 AM the winds were WNW with an unchanged course.

Thursday October 11th 1792 1 [PM] ⁷⁵ Moderate breeze with clear pleasant weather. Employed Siting up the Rigging. At 5 PM ⁷⁶ in fore topmast Steering sail. Variation pr Ampd 13~ 7' Et. 6[PM] ⁷⁷ 7[PM] ⁷⁸ At 1/2 past 7 Shortened sail. 9[PM] ⁷⁹ 11[PM] ⁸⁰ At 1/2 past 11 Single reefed the topsails. Midnight fresh gale and Cloudy. 1[AM] ⁸¹ At 1/2 past 3 double reefed the topsails down main topmast staysail. 5[AM] ⁸² At 7⁸³ Sent up the main topgallant mast and Crossed the yard out 2 Reef of the Main topsail. 8[AM] Shook one Reef out of the fore topsail and set the main topmast staysail. 10[AM] Seamen employed knotting yarns. Lat. Obsd 41~ 18' No. 106 Miles pr Log.

-
- ⁷⁵ Courses SSW Winds West.
 - ⁷⁶ Courses SBW1/2W Winds W1/2So.
 - ⁷⁷ Courses SBW. Winds WBS.
 - ⁷⁸ Courses SBW1/2W. Winds W1/2So.
 - ⁷⁹ Courses SSW. Winds West.
 - ⁸⁰ Courses SBW. Winds WBS.
 - ⁸¹ Courses South. Winds WSW.
 - ⁸² Courses SWW. Winds NW.
 - ⁸³ Courses SWBS. Winds NW1/2No.

Friday October 12th 1792 Fresh gale and pleasant. At 1 PM⁸⁴ Set the topgallantsails. At 8 [PM] in topgallant sail and main topmast staysail. 10 [PM]⁸⁵ At 11 Set the Main topmast staysail. Midnight⁸⁶ Fresh breeze and clear weather. At 3 AM⁸⁷ out Reef of the main topsail. 4[AM]⁸⁸ At 6 down Staysails and up mainsail. At 8⁸⁹ Set Topmast Steering sails. At 9 Set lower and topgallant Ditto.⁹⁰ Seamen employed working Junk and Middle stitching the sails. Sail maker employed repairing the old main topg't. Smiths at Iron work for the Ships uce. Latd Observed 39° 41' N. 140 Miles Distance.

Saturday October 13th 1792 1[PM]⁹¹ Fresh breezes and Cloudy all these 24 hours. All hands employed in various Ships duties. 8[PM]⁹² 10[PM]⁹³ Midnight a large following

84 Courses SWBS. Winds NNW.

85 Courses SW. Winds NNE.

86 Courses SW. Winds NB Et.

87 Winds NEt.

88 Winds NEBN.

89 Courses SWBS. Winds NEBN.

90 Topgallant steeringsails.

91 Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBN.

92 Courses SWBSo. Winds North.

93 Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBNo.

sea. At 3 A.M. Squally. 5[AM]⁹⁴ 8[AM]⁹⁵ 9[AM]⁹⁶ Noon fresh breeze and pleasant. Latitude Observed 37° 58' No. 135 Miles pr Log.

Sunday October 14th 1792. 1[PM]⁹⁷ Fresh breeze and pleasant. All sail out. Squally shor[te]ned⁹⁸ sail at 7[PM]. Midnight fresh breeze and pleas[an]t. At 6 AM Set all Sail. Noon pleasant but Cloudy. No observation.⁹⁹ Owhyhee NEpartS45W. Distance 1355 Miles or 451 Le[a]g[ues]. 135 Miles Distance p Log.

Monday October 15th 1792 1[PM]¹⁰⁰ Fresh breeze and Cloudy. All sail out. At 5 in topgallant Steeringsails. At 7 PM¹⁰¹ in all Steering sails. 9[PM]¹⁰² Midnight¹⁰³ cloudy. 9[AM]¹⁰⁴ Noon hazey. All sail set. Seamen

 94 Winds North.

95 Courses SWBSo. Winds NBet.

96 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNet.

97 Courses SSW. Winds NNet.

98 Original: shored.

99 As the previous days' accounts reflect, Haswell customarily measured the vessel's latitude at noon. This day the clouds hampered that activity.

100 Courses SSW. Winds NNet.

101 Courses SSW. Winds NNet.

102 Courses SSW. Winds North.

103 Courses SSW. Winds NNE.

104 Courses SSW. Winds Variable.

Seamen emp[loye]d knoting yarns spining spunyarn & Sawing Boards. Lat Observed 34~ 50' No. 91 Miles pr Log.

Tuesday October 16th 1792. 1[PM]¹⁰⁵ Moderate breeze and variable. 2[PM]¹⁰⁶ 3[PM]¹⁰⁷ 4[PM]¹⁰⁸ 6[PM] Variable with small showers of rain. 8[PM] Variation pr Az 11~ 58' Et. Midnight Pleasant. 11[AM]¹⁰⁹ Noon¹¹⁰ pleasant. Seamen employed Making points and Gaskits. Varnished the sides. Carpenters employed making a mizen topmast. Lat Obsd 34~ 8' No.

Wednesday October 17th 1792 1[PM]¹¹¹ Pleasant weather. Seamen and tradesmen variously employed. 3[PM]¹¹² 5[PM] Saw a tropic Bird. 6[PM] ¹¹³ Midnight pleasant. 3[AM]¹¹⁴ Variation pr Azth 11~ 46' Et. 6[AM]¹¹⁵

105 Courses SSW. Winds West.

106 Courses SBE. Winds SWBW.

107 Courses SBW1/2W. Winds W1/2So.

108 Courses SSW. Winds NNEt.

109 Courses WSW. Winds South.

110 Courses SBW. Winds ENEt.

111 Courses SBW. Winds NBEt.

112 Courses SBW. Winds NE.

113 Courses SBW. Winds NBEt.

114 Courses SBW. Winds EBS.

115 Courses SBW. Winds EBNo.

10[AM]¹¹⁶ Noon pleasant. People employed mak[ing] points and Gaskits. Carpenters making topmasts. Latitd Obsd 32° 58' No. 69 Miles Dist p Log.

Thursday October 18th 1792. 1[PM]¹¹⁷ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. All hands nesseceryly employed. 3[PM]¹¹⁸ 4[PM]¹¹⁹ At 1/2 past 5 in topgallant Steering sails & Royals. 11[PM]¹²⁰ At 1/2 past 11 in topmast Steering sails. Saw a flying fish. Midnight Cloudy with small rain. 1[AM]¹²¹ 2[AM]¹²² 3[AM]¹²³ 4[AM] Set all the Light sails. 7[AM]¹²⁴ 8[AM]¹²⁵ 9 [AM] Seamen Sail makers Sawyers Carpenters Smiths and furiers employed as usual. 11[AM]¹²⁶ Noon¹²⁷ pleasant. Saw a tropic bird. Latd Obsd 32° 0' No. 69 Miles Dist p Log.

¹¹⁶ Courses SBW. Winds East.

¹¹⁷ Courses SBW. Winds EBSO.

¹¹⁸ Courses SWBSO. Winds EBSO.

¹¹⁹ Courses SBW. Winds EBSO.

¹²⁰ Courses SSW. Winds SEt.

¹²¹ Courses SBW. Winds SEBEt.

¹²² Courses SSW. Winds SEBEt.

¹²³ Courses SBW. Winds Variable.

¹²⁴ Courses SSW. Winds SEt.

¹²⁵ Courses SBW. Winds SEBEt.

¹²⁶ Courses SBW1/2W. Winds ESEt.

¹²⁷ Courses SBW. Winds SEBEt.

Friday October 19th 1792. 1[PM]¹²⁸ Moderate breezes and pleasant weather. Set Steeringsails. All Hands employed about nesecery Jobs. 2[PM]¹²⁹ 3[PM]¹³⁰ 4[PM]¹³¹ 7[PM]¹³² 9[PM]¹³³ Midnight pleasant. At 1/2 past 2 Squalley with Rain. In Steering sails Down topgallantsails & Staysails. 5[AM]¹³⁴ At 7 Set the Bunch & tacked ship. 8[AM]¹³⁵ 9[AM]¹³⁶ At 10 AM Wore Ship to the Southward. 11[AM]¹³⁷ Noon Pleasant. Latd Observed 31~ 46' No. 37 Miles Distance p Log.

Saturday October 20th 1792. 1[PM]¹³⁸ Gentle breeze and pleasant weather. All hands neseceryly employed. At 2 AM[sic] Set ye fore topmast steering sail. 3[PM]¹³⁹

- 128 Courses SBW. Winds SEBEt.
- 129 Courses SBW. Winds EBS.
- 130 Courses SSW. Winds SEt.
- 131 Courses SWBSo. Winds SEt.
- 132 Courses SSW. Winds EBS.
- 133 Courses SSW. Winds SEBEt.
- 134 Courses SBW. Winds D[ittol], i.e. SEBEt.
- 135 Courses W1/2No. Winds SSW1/2W.
- 136 Courses NW. Winds Variable.
- 137 Courses South. Winds WSW.
- 138 Courses South. Winds WSW.
- 139 Courses SSW. Winds West.

7[PM]¹⁴⁰ Midnight a lively breeze and pleasant weather.
 5[AM] Set topmast & lower Steering sails. 8[AM] Set
 topgallant steeringsails & Royals. 9[AM]¹⁴¹ 10[AM] People
 diligently employed. Ditto weather at Noon. Latd Observed
 30° 2' No. 119 Miles Dist p Log.

Sunday October 21st 1792. 1[PM]¹⁴² Lively breeze and
 pleasant weather. 4[PM] Variation 9° 59' E. 5[PM]
 Porpoises playing about the Ship. At 10 in topgallant
 Steering sails. At 11 in Lower Steeringsail. Midnight¹⁴³
 fresh breeze and Cloudy. At 1/2 past 1 AM Set all sail.
 4[AM] Variation by Azmeth 10° 1' Et. At 9 Set the Larbord
 Lower Steering sail. Noon pleasant. Latd Observed 28° 9'
 No. 141 Miles distance p Log.

Monday October 22, 1792. 1[PM]¹⁴⁴ Moderate breeze and
 pleasant. 11[PM]¹⁴⁵ Midnight Cloudy. Noon Cloudy. All

140 Courses SSW. Winds WBN.

141 Courses SSW. Winds NNW.

142 Courses SSW. Winds Variable from NW to NE.

143 Courses SSW. Winds WNW.

144 Courses SSW. Winds NW.

145 Courses SSW. Winds NNE.

hands diligently employed. All sail out. Latitude Obsd 26~ 24' No. 131 Miles pr Log.

October Tuesday 23d 92. 1[PM]¹⁴⁶ Moderate breeze and pleasant. 5[PM] Variation pr Azth 7~ 30' Et. 8[PM]¹⁴⁷ Midnight¹⁴⁸ Cloudy. 6[AM]¹⁴⁹ 8[AM]¹⁵⁰ Noon pleasant with a lively breeze. Latd Obsd 24~ 58' No. 118 Miles Distance.

Wednesday Octr 24th 1792. 1[PM]¹⁵¹ Fresh breeze and pleasant. Got out a new Jibboom and up mizen topmast. 8[PM]¹⁵² 10[PM]¹⁵³ 11[PM]¹⁵⁴ Midnight wind all round the Compass. ¹⁵⁵ Up Ma[i]nsail in Light sails down Jib and

146 Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBEt.

147 Courses SWBSo. Winds ESEt.

148 Courses SWBSo. Winds SEBEt.

149 Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBNo.

150 Courses SWBSo. Winds ENE.

151 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNEt.

152 Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBNo.

153 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNEt.

154 Courses SWBSo. Winds ENEt.

155 Winds Variable.

Stays'ls. 1[AM]¹⁵⁶ 2-4 [AM]¹⁵⁷ 5[AM]¹⁵⁸ At 6 A.M. set the
 royals and Fore topmast steeringsail. At 8¹⁵⁹ in Do.¹⁶⁰
 10[AM]¹⁶¹ Squalley. Made sail and took it in occas'ly.
 Noon Fresh breeze and flying Clouds. Lat'd Observed 23~ 48'
 No. 107 Miles Dist pr Log.

 156 Winds Calm.

157 Courses Calm.

158 Courses Calm. Winds SSEt.

159 Courses SW.

160 In royals and fore topmast steering sail.

161 Courses SWBSo. Winds SEBEt.

Thursday October 25th 1792. 1[PM]¹⁶² Fresh breeze and pleasant. At 5 in Steeringsails. 7[PM]¹⁶³ Midnight fresh breeze and flying Clouds. 4[AM] Squalley. Up mainsail and Spand and down topgallantsails. At 6¹⁶⁴ Set Royals topmast Lower & topgallant Steering sails fore & aft. Noon pleasant with a Lively breeze. Seamen and artificers¹⁶⁵ variously Em[ploy]'d. Latd Obsd 21~ 51' No. 155 Miles p Log. Owhyhee S 74~ 30' W. 439 Miles Dist.

Friday October 26th 92 1[PM]¹⁶⁶ Fresh trade and pleasant weather. People employed as usual. 3[PM]¹⁶⁷ 6[PM]¹⁶⁸ Variation pr Azth 6~ 27' Et. At 10 PM Took in the topgallant Steeringsails and Royals. In Mizzen topgallent sail. 11[PM]¹⁶⁹ Midnight a lively breeze and agreeable weather. At 6 AM set all sail. Variation pr Azth 6[~] 31['] Et. 9[AM]¹⁷⁰ Smiths employed Straping new brest Back stay blocks. Latd Obsd 20~ 12' No. 161 Miles p Log.

162 Courses SWBSo. Winds SET.

163 Courses SWBSo. Winds SEBE.

164 Winds EBSO.

165 Tradesmen/craftsmen.

166 Courses SW. Winds ENET.

167 Winds NEBE.

168 Winds ENET.

169 Courses SW. Winds NEBE.

170 Courses SWBW. Winds ENET.

Saturday October 27th 1792. 1[PM]¹⁷¹ Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. 5[PM]¹⁷² 9[PM]¹⁷³ Midnight pleasant. 3[AM]¹⁷⁴ 6[AM] Hoisted up the Guns and moun'd them. 11[AM]¹⁷⁵ Bent Cables. Noon pleasant. Armourers employed cleaning small arms. Latd Obsd 20~ 11' No. 129 Miles Dist p Log. N.E. end of Owhyhee West 146 Miles.

Sunday October 27th 1792¹⁷⁶ 1[PM]¹⁷⁷ Moderate breeze and Clear weather. Midnight D[itt]o weather. At 4 Saw a Brig to the westward. It is the Phenix Duffin from Nootka bound to Macao. I saw onboard of her Lieut Medge Captain Vancouvers Chief Officer.¹⁷⁸ 5[AM]¹⁷⁹ 9[AM]¹⁸⁰ 11[AM]¹⁸¹

171 Courses WBSO. Winds EBNo.

172 Courses W1/2So.

173 Courses W1/2So. Winds ENEt.

174 Courses W1/2So. Winds NBEt.

175 Courses W1/2So. Winds NEt.

176 Actually October 28, 1792. Boit: similar entry though explained a little about Lieutenant Medge.

177 Courses W1/2So. Winds NW.

178 Carrying news to London that the transfer of Nootka from Spanish to British control had been unsuccessful and that Quadra and Vancouver, respectively, agreed to let their governments discuss it further.

179 Courses WBSO. Winds NBEt.

180 Courses SWBW.

181 Courses SWBW.

12[PM]¹⁸² Latd Obsd 20° 3' No. 110 Miles pr Log.

Monday Octr 29th 92.¹⁸³ 1[PM]¹⁸⁴ Moderate breez and exceeding pleas't weather. At 6 PM saw the Island of Owhyhee bearing W 1/2 So; distance 20 Leagues. At 9 Squalley in Light sails. Midnight clear pleasant weather. 2[AM]¹⁸⁵ At 6 the NW part of Owhyhee bore W 1/2 No. 10[AM]¹⁸⁶ All hands employed cleaning small arms. Noon pleasant. Lat Obsd 20° 7' No. 115 Miles pr Log.

182 Courses W1/2So.

183 Boit: similar entry.

184 Courses West. Winds NNEt.

185 Courses West. Winds North.

186 Courses WBN0. Winds NBEt.

[STOP IN HAWAII]¹⁸⁷

29th¹⁸⁸ Fresh breeze and pleasant. At 3 PM hove too off the N.E. part of the Island and purchased 11 hogs with a considerable quantity of potatoes¹⁸⁹ At 6 PM the N.W. end of Owhyhee bore WBSO. At 7 we hauled our wind to stand off and on the night. At Midnight Squalley with Rain.

30th¹⁹⁰ Fresh gale and Squalley. At 4 AM the Brig Phenex passed in shore of us. At 6 bore away for the westward. At 7 Rounded too and purchased a few hogs and then made Sail for Tocyahyah bay.¹⁹¹ Where we arrived at 11 AM, but it blew exceeding hard and Captain Gray

187 Called a harbor log. For the account of activities during a stop at a land mass, a much more narrative style was employed than for the account kept while undersail. It was not necessarily kept every day and in it were recorded fewer times and no wind directions or courses.

188 Haswell in Howay: basically the same. Boit: included brief description of Hawaiians and watercraft throughout stop.

189 Captain Cook received the same helpful response from the Hawaiians in 1778. The potatoes were sweet potatoes and yams.

190 Haswell in Howay: basically same.

191 Kawaihae Bay, Hawaii.

supposing it would prevent us from obtaining a supply of pork was anxious to bear away for Wahos.¹⁹² This I dissuaded him from [with] all that lay in my power and as the ship drew into the bay the water became more smooth and the wind less violent and we were soon thronged with a vast number of canoes plentifully stocked with hogs and potatoes. At noon the extreems of Owhyhee bore from SSEt to NE distance from the Land about 4 miles. We were visited by no Chief of any consequence and by no person I could recollect ever to have seen before. At 2 PM having onboard ninety hogs a number of water and musk melons Squashes plantons bread frute and Sugar Cane with a Small quantity of Potatoes. We bore away for Onehow¹⁹³ to furnish ourselves with a stock of yams for our sea stock Sea Stoars. At 6 the west end of Taharoah bore WNW 6 Leagues. Latter part Squalley.

192 Oahu.

193 Niihau.

At 5 AM on the 31st¹⁹⁴ set all sail and hauled more to the northward. At 1/2 past 8 AM in steering sails and Royals. Rani bore North.¹⁹⁵ At 1/2 past 11 in topgallentsails and staysails. Noon Cloudy. Stretched in to the Leeward of Wyatittee bay.¹⁹⁶ The west end of Wahhoo bore WNW 3 Leagues. Wyatittee Bay is in Latt [blank] north and Long.[blank] West. In the afternoon we coasted the South side of Wahoo. At 6 PM the west end bore NWBNo Distance 3 Leages and shaped our Course for Attoi.¹⁹⁷ Very squalley with Rain.

At 3 AM on the 1 of November¹⁹⁸ we saw the Island of Attoi bearing WBN 1/2 No 2 Leagues distant. At 5 Reefed and hove too. Main topsail to the Mast to wate for day light. At 7 wore and made sail for Onewhow. At 3 PM we rounded the SW bluff and endeavored to beat up to the anchoring place but in this we were disapointed and we were neseseated to Lay off and on till the morning. Blowing exceeding hard. At Daylight the wind was on shore. Several canoes came off of whom were purchaced a

194 Haswell in Howay: basically same.

195 Lanai.

196 Waikiki Bay, Oahu.

197 Kauai.

198 Haswell in Howay: basically the same. Next entry, December 3.

considerable number of yams. At noon Captain Gray judging it not Safe to anchor as the winds were so variable. We made Sail for Macao taking our Dep[artu]r[e] from Lat 21~ 59' No. and Long. 160~ 15' W.

Saturday November 3d 1792 Pleasant weather with a heavy swell. At 1 PM made sail for Chinaea. The anchoring place bearing EBNo 2 Leagues Dist. Unbent the Cables and stowed the anchors. Set up the topmast Riging fore and aft. 2[PM]¹⁹⁹ 4[PM]²⁰⁰ 7[PM]²⁰¹ At 9 Set the Jib and staysails. Midnight moderate breeze and flying Clouds. At 5 AM Set Steering sails fore and aft. 8[AM]²⁰² Seamen employed in the nesecery repairs of the Rigging. Noon a Lively breeze and Light Rain. Lat Obsd 21~ 4' No. 115 Miles p Log.

Sunday November 4th 1792.²⁰³ 1[PM]²⁰⁴ Light breeze and

199 Courses WBSO. Winds NEt.

200 Courses SWBW.

201 Winds East.

202 Courses SW. Winds NEt.

203 Boit's next entry November 13.

204 Courses SW. Winds NEBEt.

pleasant weather. 5[PM] Killed and salted 7 Hogs.²⁰⁵ At 7²⁰⁶ in Steeringsails. Midnight Lively breeze and pleasant Weather. Set Steeringsails. 4[AM]²⁰⁷ At 6 AM²⁰⁸ Squalley with Rain in Steeringsails Royals & topgallentsails. Set Steeringsails. 8[AM]²⁰⁹ 11[AM]²¹⁰ Noon Cloudy. Latd Obsd 19° 58' No. 135 Miles p Log.

Monday November 5th 1792 1[PM]²¹¹ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Killed and salted 10 hogs. Midnight pleasant. All sail out. At 2 AM²¹² Squalley with light Showers of Rain. In Royals and topg[allan]t Steeringsails. At 6 Set the topgallant Steeringsails & Royals. Noon exceeding pleasant. Latd Obsd 18° 47' No. 113 Miles p Log.

Tuesday November 6th 1792. 1[PM]²¹³ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. 5[PM] In topgallant Steering sails & Royals. Midnight Pleasant. At 2 AM Squalley. At 3 Set the Light Sails. The Slings of the Main Yard having parted we

 205 Boit: seventeen hogs and description of salting methods.

206 Courses SW. Winds EBNo.

207 Courses SW. Winds ENEt.

208 Courses WSW. Winds SEt.

209 Courses SW. Winds SEt.

210 Courses SW. Winds SSEt.

211 Courses SW. Winds ENEt.

212 Courses SW. Winds NEt.

213 Courses SW. Winds NEt.

hung the yard by the geers and Repaired them. People employed breaking out in the after hold. Noon Stiddy breeze and light showers of Rain. Latitude Observed 17° 29' No. 129 Miles Distance p Log.

Wednesday November 7th 1792. 1 [PM] ²¹⁴ Lively breeze and pleasant weather. All hands neseceriely employed. Midnight D[itt]o Weather. Variation pr Azmeth 8° 58' Et. Unbent the foretopmast staysail to repair & Sent down the fore topgallant yard to Refit the Rigging and Repair the Sail. Noon Exceeding pleasant Weather. Latd Obsd 16° 20' No. 125 Miles pr Log.

Thursday November 8th 1792. 1[PM] ²¹⁵ Lively breeze and pleasant weather. Midnight fresh breeze and frequent Showers of Rain. At 4 Squalley in Royals. 6[AM] Took in the maintopmast Steeringsail to Repair. Set the Royals. Filed new Catharpings and set up the fore Rigging. Noon a lively breeze and slight showers of Rain. Latd Obsd 15° 47' No. 147 [Miles].

Friday November 9th 1792 1[PM] ²¹⁶ Fresh breeze and Squalley with Rain. All hands neseceriely employed. Midnight Pleasant. Fresh breeze and pleasant. Repaired the

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- 214 Courses SW. Winds NEt.
 - 215 Courses WSW. Winds ENEt.
 - 216 Courses WBSO. Winds ENEt.

fore and main topmast Staysails. Seamen employed in the
 nesecery Repairs aft Rigging. Latitude Obsd 15~ 47' No. 153
 Miles p Log.

Saturday November 10th 1792 1[PM]²¹⁷ Fresh breezes and
 flying Clouds. Seamen variously employed overhauling the
 blocks & Rigging. Midnight fresh breeze and Clear. [In]
 Royals topg steeringsails with every other sail that would
 Draw set. 7[AM]²¹⁸ 9[AM] Set all sail on the foremast and
 took all in from the mainmast to Repair the Rigging &
 Sails. Noon Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. Latd Obsd
 15~ 47' No. 161 Miles pr Log.

Sunday November 11th 1792 1[PM]²¹⁹ Fresh breeze and
 pleasant weather. Midnight D[itt]o Weather with Fresh
 Wind. 8[AM] Squalley with Rain. Noon fresh breeze with
 flying Clouds. Latd Obsd 15~ 43' No. 160 Miles p Log.

Monday November 12th 1792. 1[PM]²²⁰ Lively breeze and
 agreable weather with all sail set. 5[PM] Seamen
 neseceriely employed. At 7 PM in Royals and topgallant
 steering sails. Midnight fresh breeze and flying Clouds.

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- 217 Courses WBSO. Winds EBNo.
 - 218 Winds NEt.
 - 219 Original: Courses WBSO. Winds ENEt.
 - 220 Courses WBSO. Winds ENEt.

At 5 AM²²¹ Set all sail. 6[AM] Carpenters repairing the
pinnacle. 7[AM]²²² 8[AM] Noon Squalley with Light Showers of
rain. Latd Obsd 15~ 45' North. 170 Miles p Log.

Tuesday November 13th 1792²²³ 1[PM]²²⁴ Fresh breeze
and light rain. Squalls. 6[PM] Variation pr Azth 13~ 23'
Et. 10[PM] In steering sails top gallants. Midnight Fresh
breeze. 7[AM] Set topgallant Steering sails and Royals.
Sent Down the Mizen topgt yard and unbent the mizen
topsail. Noon pleasant. Sailmaker employed Repairing the
Mizen topsail & the Carpr on the Pinnacle. Seamen on the
nesecery Repairs of the Rigging. Latd Obsd 15~ 49' No. 159
Miles pr Log.

Wednesday November 14th 92 1[PM]²²⁵ Lively breeze and
pleasant weather. Seamen employed in the nesecery repairs
of the Rigging. Midnight Pleasant with flying Clouds. Noon
exceeding pleasant weather. Latitude Obsd 15~ 55' No. 145
Miles p Log.

221 Courses WBSO. Winds NEBE.

222 Courses WBSO. Winds East.

223 Boit: included crew cleaning furs. Next entry
November 24.

224 Courses WBSO. Winds ENEt.

225 Courses WBSO. Winds ENEt.

November Thursday 15th 1792 1[PM]²²⁶ Moderate breeze and pleasant. 10[PM]²²⁷ Midnight Pleasant. 7[AM]²²⁸ Noon Ditto Weather. All sail set night & Day. Latd Obsd 15° 47'. 146 Miles p Log.

Friday November 16th 1792 1[PM]²²⁹ Fresh breeze and following sea. Seamen employed about the Rigging. Midnight pleasant. 10[AM] Carpenters employed Repairing the pinnace. Latd Observed 15° 44' N. 145 Miles p Log.

Saturday November 17th 1792 1[PM]²³⁰ Lively breeze and a following Sea. 8[PM]²³¹ 9 [PM] Lightning in the SE Quarter. Midnight Fresh breeze and flying Clouds. Noon D[itt]o W[eathe]r. Latd Obsd 15° 40' N. Jinean²³² bears S 88.30 W. Distance 1334 Miles. 157 Miles Dist p Log.

Sunday November 18th 1792 1[PM]²³³ Fresh breeze and pleasant. Seamen empd on the nesecery duties of the Ship. At 9 Squalley in Steering sails. Midnight, Squalley with Light showers of Rain. 5[AM] Set Steering sails. Noon

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- 226 Courses WBSO. Winds ENEt.
 - 227 Courses WBSO. Winds EBNo.
 - 228 Winds NEt.
 - 229 Courses WBSO. Winds NEBEt.
 - 230 Courses WBSO. Winds NEBEt.
 - 231 Winds NEt.
 - 232 New Guinea.
 - 233 Courses WBSO. Winds NEBEt.

hazy. Latitude Obsd 15~ 37' No. Jinean S 88~30'W.
Distance 1186 Miles. 148 Miles Dist p Log.

Monday November 19th 1792 1[PM]²³⁴ Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. 3[PM]²³⁵ 8[PM] Squalley. In topgallant steering sails and royals. Midnight Squalley. 5[AM]²³⁶ 6[AM]²³⁷ Set the Royals and topgallant steeringsails. 9[AM] Carpenter employed Repairing the pinnace and Longboat. Noon Lively breeze and flying Clouds. Latd Observed 15~ 31' No. 139 Miles Dist p Log.

tuesday November 20th 92 1[PM]²³⁸ Fresh breeze with light Squalls of rain. 6[PM] Squalley. In Steeringsails Royals Staysails and Spanker. Heavy Showers of Rain. Down Jib. Midnight²³⁹ Cloudy with sharp Lightning in the S.W. Quarter. At 2 A.M. squalley with Thunder Lightning and Rain. 8[AM]²⁴⁰ At 10 Squalley. Set the Topmast steer'gs. At 11 set Lower D[itto].²⁴¹ Noon Rainey. No Latitd Obsd pr account 15~ 31' No. Jinean bears S 88 30 W. Dist. 898

234 Courses WBSO. Winds NEBEt.

235 Winds EBNo.

236 Courses WBSO. Winds SEBE1/2E.

237 Courses WBSO. Winds East.

238 Courses WBSO. Winds SSEt.

239 Winds from East to SSEt

240 Winds SEt.

241 Lower mast steeringsails.

Miles. 150 Miles p Log.

Wednesday November 21 1[PM]²⁴² Fresh breeze with squalls of Rain. 4[PM]²⁴³ 10[PM]²⁴⁴ Midnight Lively breeze and flying Clouds. All sail set. 1[PM]²⁴⁵ Noon pleasant. Latd Obs 15.40. 141 [Miles].

Thursday November 22d 92 1[PM]²⁴⁶ Gentle breeze and pleasant Weather. 7[PM] Having carried away the fore topmast trussel trees we struck the fore topmast to Repair them. 9[PM]²⁴⁷ Midnight moderate & pleasant. 7[AM] Seamen and tradesmen employed in the nesecery duties of the Ship. Noon Showers of Rain. Latd Obsd 15. 26 So. 135 Miles pr Log.

Friday November 23d 1792 1[PM]²⁴⁸ Moderate breeze and light showers of Rain. Swayed up the fore topmast and Set the topsail and Looser Steering sails. Midnight Light Showers of Rain. Porpoises playing about the ship. At 1

242 Courses WBSO. Winds SEt.

243 Courses WBSO. Winds ESEt.

244 Courses WBSO. Winds SEBEt.

245 Winds SSEt.

246 Courses WBSO. Winds SEBEt.

247 Courses WBSO. Winds EBNo.

248 Courses W1/2SO. Winds EBNo.

A.M. squalley in T.G.Steerings²⁴⁹ 2[AM]²⁵⁰ 3[PM]²⁵¹ At 6
 A.M. set all Sail. 9[AM]²⁵² Noon pleasant. Latd Obsd 15~
 30' N. Jinean bears S 88~ W. Dist. 483 Miles 161 Leagues pr
 Lord Ansons Longd.²⁵³ 139 Miles p Log.

Saturday November 24th 92²⁵⁴ 1[PM]²⁵⁵ Fresh breeze and
 pleasant weather. 6[PM] Porpoises. Midnight Moderate
 breeze & Clear. 3[AM] Variation pr Azth 9~ 56' Et. Noon
 Pleasant maney birds on the wing. Latitude 15~ 50'. Jinean

 249 Topgallant steering sails.

250 Courses W1/2So. Winds ESEt.

251 Winds East.

252 Courses West.

253 Lord Anson from 1741 to 1744 acted as a privateer
 for England against Spain. Leaving England with six
 warships, two supply ships, and 2,000 men, he returned with
 one ship, 145 men and £480,000 taken from a Spanish
 galleon. For this Lord Anson was promoted from commodore
 to admiral and made a peer of the realm. Jean Randier, Men
 And Ships Around Cape Horn 1616-1939, (New York: David
 McKay Company, Inc., 1969) 74-80.

254 Boit: similar information. Next entry November 29.

255 Courses West. Winds East.

bears S 61 W. Dist 105 Miles pr Mr Dicsons Longd.²⁵⁶ 126
Miles pr Log.

Sunday November 25 1792 1[PM]²⁵⁷ Moderate breeze and
pleasant. 4[PM] Boobies flying about the Ship. Midnight
Clear and exceeding pleast. All Sail set. Noon Ditto
Weather. Latitd Obsd 15° 49' No. 133 Miles p Log.

²⁵⁶ George Dixon, English captain, sailed around the world with stops in the Pacific Northwest, 1785-1788. The account of his voyage was published in 1789; Haswell either purchased it during the month the Columbia Rediviva was in Boston, or was given a copy while in Nootka Sound. Captain Dixon recommended that the British government establish a settlement at Queen Charlette's Island for exploitation of the sea otter trade; "Letter and Memorandum From Capt. George Dixon to Sir Joseph Banks Regarding the Fur Trade on the Northwest Coast, A.D. 1789," (California State Library: White Knight Press, 1941).

²⁵⁷ Courses West. Winds EBNo.

Monday November 26th 92 1[PM]²⁵⁸ Pleasant with all Sail set. 6[PM]²⁵⁹ Caught two boobies.²⁶⁰ 7[PM]²⁶¹ Midnight pleasant with flying Clouds. Fresh breeze with a large swell from the N.E. Quarter. Latitude Obsd 16° 9' No. 158 Miles p Log.

Tuesday November 27th 1792 1[PM]²⁶² Fresh breeze and pleasant with all sail set. Sent up a new mizn topgallant yard and Set the sail. At 1/2 past 9 PM in topgallant Steeringsails & Royals. Midnight Ditto Weather. At 5 AM in Mizen topgallentsail. Set up the Bowsprit shrouds and bobstay. Noon fresh gale and Squalley. Latitude Obsd 16° 38' No. Botel tobago Stima N.71°30'W. 361 Leagues. 167 Miles p Log.

Wednesday Novr 28th 1792 1[PM]²⁶³ Squalley. Set up the Mizen top mast Rigging and Reefed the Mizen topsail. At 5 PM in fore topgallentsail and fore topmast

258 Courses West. Winds ENEt.

259 Courses West. Winds E1/2No.

260 Time of this event is unclear.

261 Winds EBNo.

262 Courses WBNo. Winds NEt.

263 Courses WBNo. Winds NEt.

Steeringsail. 10[PM]²⁶⁴ 12[AM] Stiff breeze and pleasant.
 In M.T.G.Sail.²⁶⁵ 6[AM] Set up the topmast and topgallent
 Riging fore and aft. 10[AM] Seamen employed in the
 nesecery Repairs of the Rigging. Carpenters Making a Mast
 for the Longboat. Noon fresh Gale & pleas W[eathe]r. Latd
 Obsd 17° 28' No. 180 Miles p Log.

Thursday Novr 29th 1792²⁶⁶ 1[PM]²⁶⁷ Fresh breeze and
 pleasant. 4[PM] Variation pr Azth and Ampd 7° 12' Et. 7[PM]
 Squalley. In Steering sails and top Sails. Reefed the Mizen
 topsail. More Moderate and Clear. Set all Sail. 8[PM]²⁶⁸
 Midnight fresh breeze and flying Clouds. 1[AM]²⁶⁹ 10[AM]²⁷⁰
 Noon pleasant. Seamen variously empd. Locker on the
 labber Deck. Latitd Obsd 18° 18' N. 176 Miles p Log.

Friday Novr. 30th 1792. 1[PM]²⁷¹ Moderate breeze and

²⁶⁴ Winds NNEt.

²⁶⁵ Mizen topgallant sail.

²⁶⁶ Boit: similar information. Next entry December 3.

²⁶⁷ Courses WBNo. Winds NNE.

²⁶⁸ Courses WBNo. Winds ENEt.

²⁶⁹ Courses WBNo. Winds NET.

²⁷⁰ Courses WBNo. Winds EBNo.

²⁷¹ Courses WBNo. Winds ENEt.

pleasant W[eathe]r. 5[PM]²⁷² Midnight, Light breeze and variable. 2[AM]²⁷³ 3[AM]²⁷⁴ In Light sails. 4[AM] Set topgt Sails. 5[AM]²⁷⁵ 6[AM]²⁷⁶ 7[AM]²⁷⁷ 9[AM]²⁷⁸ 10[AM]²⁷⁹ Noon Squalley. Latd Obsd 18° 37' No. 92 Miles p Log.

Saturday Novr-1 Decr 1792 Noon, Fresh breeze and Squalley. In topgallent Sails and Light Steeringsails. The gale increesing. We close reefed our topsails. 1[PM]²⁸⁰ 3[PM]²⁸¹ Midnight Strong gail and Clear weather. At 8 in fore topsail. Noon Squalley. No observation.²⁸² 84 Miles p Log.

Sunday Decr 2nd 1792. 1[PM]²⁸³ Fresh gale attended with frequent showers of Rain.

272 Courses WNW. Winds ENEt.

273 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

274 Courses WNW. Winds North.

275 Courses WBNo. Winds NBW.

276 Courses West. Wind NNW.

277 Courses WBSO. Winds NWBNo.

278 Courses West. Winds NNW.

279 Courses WBNo. Winds NWBNo.

280 Courses WNW. Winds North.

281 Courses NWBW. Winds NBEt.

282 Presumably because of the weather.

283 Courses NWBW1/2W. Winds NBEt.

5[PM]²⁸⁴ 8[PM]²⁸⁵ 10[PM]²⁸⁶ Midnight Strong gale and Large Sea. Ship Laboured exceedingly. 1[AM]²⁸⁷ At 5 More moderate. Set the fore and mizen topsails. 6 [AM]²⁸⁸ At 8 Shook a reef out of the fore and main topsail. Fresh gale and pleasant. Latd 19~ 11' North. 78 Miles p Log.

Monday Decr 3d 1792.²⁸⁹ 1[PM]²⁹⁰ Fresh breeze and Clear weather. 3[PM]²⁹¹ 6[PM]²⁹² Midnight, D[itt]o.²⁹³ At 9 AM Saw one of the Bashees²⁹⁴ bearing WNW 10 Leagues distance and Soon I saw a number more. 10[AM]²⁹⁵ At Noon Gratton Island bore SSW 4 Leagues Distance. Grafton Isle Latd 20~ 20' No. Long 121~ 40' Et. Latd Obsd 20~ 27' No. 133 Miles p Log.

284 Courses NNW1/2W. Winds N1/2W.

285 Courses NBW. Winds North

286 Courses NW. Winds NNEt.

287 Courses WNW. Winds North.

288 Courses NWBW. Winds NBet.

289 Boit: similar information.

290 Courses NWBW. Winds NBet.

291 Courses NW. Winds NNEt.

292 Courses NW. Winds NEt.

293 Ditto weather, i.e. fresh breeze and clear.

294 The Columbia Rediviva will pass through the Bashi Islands between the Philippines and Taiwan to Macao.

295 Courses NNW.

Tuesday Decr 4th 1792.²⁹⁶ 1[PM]²⁹⁷ Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. At 2 PM Saw a continuation of the Chain of Islands extending so far to the N.E. that with the wind as it now it we could not weather them and to pass between them appeared dangerous but as that passage between Monmouth and Grafton Islands appeared the most eligible thither we Directed our Course. At this time the extreems of the Groop of the Bashees bore from NW to SSEt. 4[PM]²⁹⁸ 5[PM]²⁹⁹ At 6 PM³⁰⁰ we passed betwixt the Islands and doubled pretty nigh Grafton and Luffed³⁰¹ close under the lee of Orringe Isle and stood to the NE under easey Sail. We saw maney fiers on the Islands but saw no Natives, for it was dark before we passed the Channel. 7[PM]³⁰² 8[PM]³⁰³ 9[PM]³⁰⁴ At Daylight made all sail. Saw the Isle of Formoosa bearing NBW 1/2 W.

²⁹⁶ Haswell in Howay: basically the same. Last published entry. Boit: similar information. Recorded steadily through February 8, 1793 and departure from Canton.

²⁹⁷ Courses NWBNo. Winds NEBNo.

²⁹⁸ Courses West. Winds NEt.

²⁹⁹ Courses WBSO.

³⁰⁰ Courses WSW.

³⁰¹ Haswell in Howay: "sailed".

³⁰² Courses WBSO.

³⁰³ Courses WBNo.

³⁰⁴ Courses NW.

9[AM]³⁰⁵ At Noon the South End of Formoosa bore EBNo
Distance 14 Leags. Latd Obsd 21~ 33' No. 151 Miles pr Log.

Wednesday Decr 5th 1792 1[PM]³⁰⁶ Moderate breeze and
pleasant. Bent a new main topsail. 5[PM]³⁰⁷ Variation pr
Azth 2~ W. 6[PM]³⁰⁸ Midnight moderate breeze and hazey.
7[AM]³⁰⁹ At 8 Set the topgallantsails & Light Staysails.
Took the anchors in and pudding them. Latd Obsd 22~ 28'
North. 82 Miles p Log.

Thursday Decr 6th 1792. 1[PM]³¹⁰ Fresh breeze and
hazey. Set up the top gallant Rigging fore and aft. Got
the anchors on the bows and bent the Cables. 9[PM]³¹¹
11[PM]³¹² Midnight Light breeze and Hazey. Sounded got
bottom with 20 f[atho]m white sand.

305 Courses NWBW. Winds NEtBNo.

306 Courses NWBN. Winds NNEt.

307 Courses WNW.

308 Courses NWBW.

309 Courses WNW. Winds NBEt.

310 Courses WBNo. Winds North.

311 Courses West.

312 Courses West. Winds NNEt.

1[AM]³¹³ At 4 AM Sounded 27 f[atho]m Black and White Sand. Saw the main Continent of China extend from NNEt to WSW. 6[AM]³¹⁴ At 8 Sounded 23 f[atho]m Black and White with green Ocze. Mounted the guns. Stocked the Sheet Anchor. Latd Obsd 22° 22' No. 161 Miles p Log. Pedro Branca bears West distance 40 Miles.

Friday Decr 7th 1792. 1[PM]³¹⁵ Pleasant. Got the Sheet anchor on the bows. At 7 PM in Royals and at 8 shortened Sail to Stand off and on for the night. 9[PM]³¹⁶ Midnight Sounded 20 f[atho]m white sand. Saw the Coast of China extending from NNW to WSW. 1[AM]³¹⁷ 3[AM]³¹⁸ 5[AM]³¹⁹ At 1/2 past 5 Saw Pedro Branca bearing west distance 1/4 of a mile. Divers fishing boats about the Ship.³²⁰ Made all sail. 6[AM]³²¹ 7[AM]³²² Noon Light breeze and pleasant. The G. Lema bore WSW 3 or 4 Leagues. Lattd Obsd 22° 8'

³¹³ Courses WSW. Winds NEt.

³¹⁴ Courses West.

³¹⁵ Courses West. Winds NEt.

³¹⁶ Courses EBSO. Winds NEBNo.

³¹⁷ Courses NW. Winds NNEt.

³¹⁸ Courses NNW. Winds NEt.

³¹⁹ Courses West.

³²⁰ Boit: hundreds of fishing boats in sight.

³²¹ Courses WBSO.

³²² Courses WSW.

North. 97 Miles p Log.

At 1/2 past 5 PM [Saturday December 8, 1792] we agreed with a Pilot to carey the Ship to Macao Roads for 25 Doll[a]r. About 11 the wind grew light and the tide against us and it was Dark. We Anchored in 14 fm Water over a bottom of Mud with the Small bower. Midnight Squalley with Rain. N.B. 36 hours in this Days work to commence the harbour Log.

[CANTON HARBOR LOG]

Decr 8th 1792 Light breeze ³²³ and pleasant. At 1/2 past 5 AM being day light we weighed and anchored in Macao Roads.³²⁴ At 1/2 past 8 with the small bower in 4 fm water the Citty of Macao bearing S 88 W Distance 3 Leagues. The outwardmost of the nine Islands NBE 3 Leagues.

323 Winds ENEt.

324 "Roads" were an area outside the breakwater where ships dropped anchor waiting for a free dock or permission to dock. They were not specific to China.

Hoisted out the pinnace and Cap. Gray and Mr. Hoskins went onshore.³²⁵ Seamen and others employed about the Rigging. Carpenter and Colker employed about the Longboat. Smiths making the nesecery Iron work for the boats. At 6 the pinnace Returned from Macao.

Decr 9th 1792 Moderate breeze³²⁶ and Cloudy. At 5[AM] ashore to Macao. 5 Seamen came onboard as passengers to Canton. At 11 AM a Chinese boat came alongside to hoom we delivered 21 pickle of Iron and 15 Muskets.³²⁷ At Noon Captain Gray in the pinnace Returned.³²⁸ 1/2 past 12 a pilot came onboard to carey the ship to Canton. At 1/2 past 1 PM weighed and came to sail with a leeding breeze. At 8[PM] Calm. Latter part [of the evening] light breeze.

³²⁵ The Emperor required that foreigners have permission before being anywhere in China other than Macao. He enforced strict regulations on how long, how many and what sex could be in Canton, the only city open to "barbarians." An example of Chinese restrictiveness is contained in English ambassador Lord Macartney's requests of 1793. Macartney requested that the officers have the privilege of walking for exercise while in Canton and permission to house sick crew members on shore. The first was permitted by petition twice a month at one specific place; the second was denied. Lo-Shu Fu, ed. and trans., A Documentary Chronicle of Sino-Western Relations 1644-1820 (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1966) 329.

³²⁶ Winds East, Calm, and ENEt.

³²⁷ Boit: two Europeans in a Macao boat bought the iron; no mention of the muskets.

³²⁸ Boit: Gray reported that the Lady Washington was demasted in a typhone and that Captain Kendrick was repairing it in Lark's Bay off Macao.

Decr 10th 1792 Light breeze³²⁹ and Cloudy. At 1/2 past 1 AM came to Lintin bearing SSEt on Lintin bar.³³⁰ At 7 Weighed and came to sail beating up the river. At 11 anchored. The Boca Tigris³³¹ bearing NNW. At 1/2 past 5 PM weighed & Single Reefed ye Topsails. Beat up within 2 miles of the Boca with a fresh breeze and Clear weather.

[December 11, 1792] Lively breeze³³² and pleasant weather. Had to wate for a chop³³³ or liberty from the Mandareen before we could proseed through the boca Tigris. When this great mans permission arrived we we[sic] weighed and beat up within three miles of the Ships at Second bar. We found riding here 11 Sail of outward bound Ships. The Pilot did not think it prudent to weigh in the night.

In the morning of the 12th [of December 1792] we weighed and beat up the River at 3 PM anchored and moored at

329 Winds NNEt.

330 Small island in the mouth of the Pearl River.

331 Channel running up the middle of the Pearl River to Canton.

332 Winds NNEt.

333 Literally a seal. In this case one issued by the Hong merchants. Hong means factory or warehouse. The Hong merchants were twelve government officials who handled all trade with Europeans; they became both very rich and heavily in debt. For examples of Hong indebtedness, see Fu 317-319 and 334-335.

Wampoa.³³⁴ Found riding here 6 Sail of American Vesels.³³⁵

[December 12-22, 1792.] But it seemed tho' we were forgot by all our American friends for not one person onboard had a line from that Quarter.³³⁶ We now found furs had reduced in their value exceedingly and the best skins would not fetch twenty dollers each.³³⁷ This was a haulback to our expectations. However no great difficulty was found in procuring a security merchant.³³⁸ Another Job was before us [as] our ship is exceedingly leaky and of

³³⁴ Winds Variable. Whampoa, barely down river from Canton.

³³⁶ Letters were entrusted to any ship going in the right direction. When the message was important it would sometimes be duplicated and placed on different ships.

³³⁷ Boit: received on the average \$45 per sea otter pelt for a total of \$90,000, plus the money from the land pelts. Expenses at Canton totaled 7000 Spanish dollars, an amount Boit found frightening.

³³⁸ A Chinese non-official, often aligned with a specific Hong merchant, the security merchant was legally responsible for his foreign client's good behavior. It is unclear whether the person Haswell called the security merchant and the one he called the "compradore" or "comacery" were the same individual. They could have been connected with the same Hong or not. Canton business practices are poorly documented and shifted depending on the political and economic strength of those involved. Imperial governmental records are of little help because the gap between Imperial edict and reality was too great; local records should be more useful but for the most part have not been explored by sinologists.

course it was nesecery to have a bank shall³³⁹ to land everything in the ship. The money was advanced to the Compradore³⁴⁰ for this purpose and he no sooner became posed of the property than he eloped and we saw no more of him. It was a considerable time before the Ship was furnished with another Comacery. On the 22 [December 1792] we sent part of our Cargo up to Canton consisting of 979 Sea otter Skins and 116 Coatsacks and several thousand Land furs of various sorts.

The caulkers & carpenters were employed in the nesecery repairs of the Ship. The 25 [December 1792] the Nancy & hunter sailed for New York. On the 26 [December 1792] Captain Wall of the Ship Duck of Beaughclough gave Captain Gray half his Bankshall³⁴¹ and we began to land our Stoars &c with all posable expedition.

On the 30th a chop³⁴² came down from Canton to take the remainder of our cargo. Delivered to them a considerble

339 A storage shed on land. One of the things a security merchant would arrange.

340 Boit placed the order of hiring in reverse, believing if they had hired the security merchant first, he would have prevented the compradore from stealing his \$250 fee.

341 Boit: paid proprietors of Dutch Island beach \$150.

342 The official seal became associated with its wielder, the Hong merchant. The "chop" picking up the cargo was probably not a Hong merchant, but an employee of one.

quantity of Iron Cloathing &c and all the furs³⁴³ 768 Sea Otter skins besides 175 inferior peces and a considerable number of Land furs. The business of clearing the ship lasted till the 8th January [1793] when we hauled on the Ground at Francis Island. We having a number of Caulkers employed thoroughly caulked and Repaired the starborde side of ye bottom. Healed the Ship and Caulked the Larbord side of the Bottom and at midnight on the 9th we hauled off the Shoar.

The 10[th of January 1793] we moored abrest the Bankshall and the 11[th of January] was ocupied in Leveling the hold taking off the Ballest and taking out the Bowsheet³⁴⁴ to repair under it.

The 12[th of January 1793] we put in the bowsheet

³⁴³ Presumably the iron and possibly the clothing was of interest to the Chinese as an item of sale to fur traders for their use as a sale item to the Amerindian; nowhere have I found any indication that the Chinese purchased for their own use iron intended for the Pacific Northwest trade. The Chinese did purchase Western wool and cotton for the home market.

³⁴⁴ Bowsprit or figurehead?

[bowspret?] and a chop arrived from Canton. The 13th we discharged the Chop of 100 Chests of Sugar & 86 Boxes of China.³⁴⁵ Painters employed onboard the Ship. On the 14th three more Chops arrived from Canton Laden with tea and sugar.

On the 18[th] two more Chops arrived from Canton. Swayed up the topmasts and Set up the rigging.

Saturdy 19[th] Employed discharging the Chops of 170 Chests 100 half Chests & 120 Quarter Chests.³⁴⁶

[19-28 January, 1793] Employed prepairing for Sea. Sent the people up to Canton on Liberty.³⁴⁷ A boat constantly kept watering. On the 28th the Chow Chow Chop³⁴⁸ came down from Canton.

The 1 of Feby Captain Gray and Mr Hoskins came down from Canton.

³⁴⁵ American ceramics could in no way compete with those from China.

³⁴⁶ Boit: tea and nanken. Nanken is white porcelain with blue designs.

³⁴⁷ Shore leave. Boit: two days per crew member; officers by turn. Boit was amazed by the vigor and extent of the markets in residential Canton. As usual, Boit commented on the women: very few. Compare the practice as exhibited by the crew's behavior with the official position addressed on page 68n.

³⁴⁸ Chief chop. Probably a Hong merchant or what Haswell called a "Manderin," i.e., a government official.

The 3d [of February 1793] weighed and sailed for Boston. On the 6th we had in the night our Cable cut by the Chinees and we drifted onshore unobserved by the Officer of the watch, but we hauled off without recieving aney meterial damage. On Friday the 7th we took a fair wind and Stood down through the Boca Tigras. At noon Lintin bore S.E. 4 Leagues.

[END OF CANTON HARBOR LOG]

Friday February 8th 1793.³⁴⁹ Lively breeze and pleasant. At 4 PM the pilot left us bound to Macao. Stowed the Anchors. At 6 PM Macao bore NW B No 3 Leagues. 7[PM]³⁵⁰ At 1/2 past 8 it became Squalley in Steers[ails] and it soon reduced us to double reefed topsails. Handed the mainsail and Miz topsail. 9[PM]³⁵¹ 10[PM]³⁵² 11[PM]³⁵³ Midnight dark squalley weather. Close reefed the

 349 Boit: a steady but non-critical leak requiring constant pumping. Next entry February 18.

350 Courses SWBW. Winds NBET.

351 Courses South. Winds North.

352 Winds NNET.

353 Courses S1/2Et. Winds NEBNo.

topsails. 4[AM]³⁵⁴ The wind abated and we made more sail.
 5[AM]³⁵⁵ 6[AM]³⁵⁶ 7[AM]³⁵⁷ Noon Saw a Chinees Junk to
 Eastw[ar]d. Latitude Obsd 21~ 0' North. 64 Miles pr Log.

 354 Winds EBNNo.

355 Winds East.

356 Winds EBSO.

357 Winds ESEt.

CHAPTER IV

THE LOG - CHINA TO ST. HELENA

Saturday February 9th 1793 1[PM]¹ Gentle breeze and pleasant weather. Saw two Chinees Junk. 4[PM]² 5[PM]³ 7[PM]⁴ 8[PM]⁵ 9[PM]⁶ 11[PM]⁷ Midnight Pleasant. 3[AM]⁸ 4[AM] Variation pr Az 1° 45' West. 5[AM]⁹ 7[AM]¹⁰ 9[AM]¹¹ At 11 AM tacked Ship to the Eastd. 12[PM]¹² Latitude Obsd 19° 59' North. 75 Miles pr Log.

-
- 1 Courses SWBW. Winds ESEt.
 - 2 Courses SBW1/2W. Winds SEBEt.
 - 3 Courses SSW. Winds ESEt.
 - 4 Courses SBW.
 - 5 Courses SSW.
 - 6 Courses SBW. Winds SEBEt.
 - 7 Courses SSW. Winds SEt.
 - 8 Courses SSW1/2W. Winds SE1/2So.
 - 9 Courses SWBSo. Winds SSE1/2Et.
 - 10 Courses SW1/2So.
 - 11 Courses SWBW.
 - 12 Courses E1/2No. Winds SSE1/2Et.

Sunday February ye 10 1793. 1[PM]¹³ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Saw a Junk to the SE Quarter. 5[PM]¹⁴ Variation pr amp. 3' W. 8[PM]¹⁵ 11[PM]¹⁶ Midnight pleasant. 1[AM]¹⁷ 2[AM]¹⁸ 3[AM]¹⁹ 6[AM]²⁰ 7[AM]²¹ 8[AM]²² 9[AM]²³ 10[AM]²⁴ 11[AM]²⁵ Noon²⁶ Cloudy. All Sail out. Latitude Obsd 19~ 40' North. 55 Miles p Log.

Monday February 11th 1793 Calm and pleasant. Seamen employed on various ships dutes. At 5 a light breeze and

-
- 13 Courses EBSol/2S. Winds SBE1/2So.
 - 14 Courses ESEt. Winds South.
 - 15 Courses SEBE1/2Et. Winds SBW.
 - 16 Courses SEBEt. Winds SBW.
 - 17 Courses SET. Winds Variable.
 - 18 Courses ESEt. Winds Variable.
 - 19 Courses EBSO. Winds Variable.
 - 20 Courses EBSO.
 - 21 Courses ESEt.
 - 22 Courses EBSO. Winds SBEt.
 - 23 Courses SEBEt. Winds SBEt.
 - 24 Courses SET. Winds SSW.
 - 25 Courses SEBSO. Winds SWBSO.
 - 26 Courses SEBSO. Winds Calm.

sprung up from the Eastward. 6[AM]²⁷ 7[PM]²⁸ 8[PM]²⁹
 Midnight³⁰ Lively breeze and pleasant Weather. 1[AM]³¹
 5[AM]³² 7[AM]³³ 8[AM]³⁴ Noon Pleasant. Latitude Observed
 18~ 37' No. 64 Miles p Log.

Tuesday February 12th 1793. 1[PM]³⁵ Fresh breeze and
 clear weather. 2[PM]³⁶ 5[PM]³⁷ 7[PM]³⁸ 9[PM]³⁹ Midnight
 moderate & pleasant. 7[AM] Variation pr Azmeths 0~ 48' W.
 Set up the topmast Rigging fore & Aft. 10[AM] Caried away
 the main topgt yard. in the Slings. Noon clear pleasant
 w[eathe]r Latitude Obsd 17~ 29' No. 75 Miles p Log.

²⁷ Course EBN. Winds Variable.

²⁸ Course SBW. Winds ESEt.

²⁹ Course S1/2W. Winds SEBE1/2 Et.

³⁰ Course S1/4Et.

³¹ Course South.

³² Course S1/2Et. Winds ESE1/2Et.

³³ Course South. Winds SSEt.

³⁴ Course SBW. Winds SEBEt.

³⁵ Courses SBW. Winds EBNo.

³⁶ Courses SSW. Winds SEt.

³⁷ Courses SBW. Winds SEBEt.

³⁸ Courses SBW1/2W.

³⁹ Courses SSW. Winds SEt.

Wednesday Feb[ruar]y 13th 93 1[PM]⁴⁰ Moderate breeze and pleasant. Seam[e]n employed on the nesecery dutes of the Ship. 2[PM]⁴¹ 5[PM]⁴² 6[PM]⁴³ At 8 PM⁴⁴ tacked Ship to the Northward. 9[PM]⁴⁵ At 10 PM⁴⁶ tacked to the Southward. 11[PM]⁴⁷ Midnight⁴⁸ Pleasant. 1[AM] In main topgallantsail. 6[AM]⁴⁹ At 7 AM⁵⁰ Set ye topgallantsails. 11[AM]⁵¹ 12[PM]⁵² Latitude Obsd 16~ 37' No. 84 Miles p Log.

- 40 Courses SSW. Winds SEt.
- 41 Courses SBW. Winds SEBEt.
- 42 Courses SBEt.
- 43 Courses SSE. Winds East.
- 44 Courses SBEt.
- 45 Courses NBEt. Winds EBNo.
- 46 Courses NBW. Winds NEBEt.
- 47 Courses SEt. Winds NNEt.
- 48 Courses SEBEt. Winds NEBEt.
- 49 Courses SEBEt. Winds NEBEt.
- 50 Courses SEBSO. Winds NEBEt.
- 51 Courses SSEt. Winds ENEt.
- 52 Courses South.

Thursday Febr'y 14th 93 1[PM]⁵³ Lively breeze and pleasant weather. Seamen employed in the nesecery duties of the Ship. 2[PM]⁵⁴ 8[PM]⁵⁵ 9[PM]⁵⁶ 11[PM] Moderate breeze and pleasant. 1[AM] Sounded no bottom with 150 f[athc]m. At 5 AM Sounded got no ground with 120 f[athc]m of Line. 7[AM]⁵⁷ Noon Pleasant. Latd Obsd 15~ 1' No. 121 Miles p Log.

Friday Febr'y 15th 1793 1[PM]⁵⁸ Lively breeze and pleasant weather. Sailmaker employed on a new topmast Steeringsail. 9[PM]⁵⁹ Midnight Pleasant. All Sail set. Long pr [sic] Dist. 112~ 18' Et. 9[AM] Moderate breeze and pleasant. Sailmaker on the Lower Steering sails. Noon Pleasant. Latd Obsd 14~ 2' No. 96 Miles p Log.

Saturday Feby 16th 1793 1[PM]⁶⁰ Lively breeze and pleasant W[eathe]r. Midnight moderate breeze and clear

53 Courses SSEt. Winds NEBEt.

54 Winds E1/2No.

55 Courses SSEt. Winds ENEt.

56 Courses South. Winds NWBNo.

57 Courses SW. Winds NEBEt.

58 Courses SW. Winds ENEt.

59 Winds NEt.

60 Courses SW. Winds NEt.

weather. Handed the fore top gallantsail. 8[AM]⁶¹ Noon Pleasant with flying Clouds. Latitude Obs. 12° 50' No. 101 Miles p Log.

Sunday Feby 17th 93 1[PM]⁶² Moderate breeze and pleast Weather. All sail out. Seamen employed on various Ships duties. 6[PM]⁶³ Midnight fresh breeze & Cloudy. 1/2 past 12 Squalley. In Light Sails. At 3[AM] Set Do.⁶⁴ 8[AM]⁶⁵ Noon pleasant Weather. Puto Sapata⁶⁶ S 63 W; Dist 162 Miles. Latitd Obsd 11° 10' No. 120 Miles p Log.

Monday Feby 18th 1793.⁶⁷ 1[PM]⁶⁸ Lively breeze and pleasant Weather. People employed on various Ships duties.

⁶¹ Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBNo.

⁶² Courses SWBSo. Winds NEt.

⁶³ Winds NNEt.

⁶⁴ Ditto, i.e in light sails.

⁶⁵ Courses WBSO.

⁶⁶ For the next section, through the Straits of Sunda between Sumatra and Java, Haswell referred to the islands using terms dating at least to the sixteenth century. Puto is a corrupted form of the Malay/Indonesian word Pulo meaning island.

⁶⁷ Boit: similar information. Next entry February 22.

⁶⁸ Courses SWBSo. Winds NEt.

At 6 Saw North East Island bearing West. Hauled up South. In Steering sails and Royals. 8[PM]⁶⁹ Midnight Pleasant. 1[AM]⁷⁰ Saw a small Island Situated to the WNW of Pulo Sapata. Hauled our wind to the East and saw Pulo Sapata bearing SEBSO 2 Leagues. Tacked and stood to the Nd untill 4 AM when we tacked and Stood to the Eastward. 5[AM]⁷¹ 6[AM]⁷² At 8 passed between Pulo Sapata and nine Dangerous Ledges to the westward. 9[AM]⁷³ 11[AM]⁷⁴ At noon pleasant Weather with all Sail out. Po Condore S 69 30 W; Dist 159 Miles Latd Obsd 9~ 44' No. Longd Obsd 109~ 13' E pr [sun and moon] Dist. 108 Miles p Log.

Tuesday Feby 19th 93 1[PM]⁷⁵ Lively breeze and pleasant weather. 7[PM]⁷⁶ At 8 Sounded 45 f[atho]m gray sand. 9[PM]⁷⁷ Midnight Pleasant. At 6 AM made all Sail. 7[AM]⁷⁸

⁶⁹ Courses South.

⁷⁰ Courses NNW. Winds NEt.

⁷¹ Courses ESEt. Winds NEt.

⁷² Courses SEt. Winds ENEt.

⁷³ Courses SSEt.

⁷⁴ Courses WSW. Winds ENEt.

⁷⁵ Courses WSW. Winds NEt.

⁷⁶ Courses SWBW. Winds NEBEt.

⁷⁷ Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBEt.

⁷⁸ Courses SWBW.

At 9 Sounded 26 f[atho]m Redish Sand. 10[AM]⁷⁹ 11[AM]⁸⁰
 Noon Pleasant. People employed Cleaning Small arms and
 making carterages. Latit Obsd 8~ 4' No. 10 Miles Sc[ul]th
 Obs [sic]. 126 [Miles].

Wednesday Feby 20th 1793. 1[PM]⁸¹ Moderate breeze and
 pleasant W[eathe]r. 8[PM]⁸² 1/2 past 11 Sounded 28 f[atho]m
 Redish Sand &c broaken Shells. Midnight pleasant weather
 with all Sail Set. 8[AM]⁸³ Noon Sounded 32 f[atho]m Redish
 Sand. Pleasant with a moderate Breeze. Latd Obsd 6~ 6' No.
 124 Miles pr Log. Pulo Aroe S 32 W, 254 Miles.

Thursday Feby 21st 93 1[PM]⁸⁴ Light breeze and
 pleasant weather. All hands employed Cleaning Small arms.
 Midnight D[itt]o Weather. 3[AM] Variation pr Azth 1~ 18'
 Et. Seamen employed knoting yarns and Spining spunyarn.
 Noon Pleasant. Sounded 45 f[atho]m Mud'y. Latitude Obsd 4~
 26' No. Pulo Timon S 44 W. Distance 135 Mi. 96 Miles p Log.

 79 Courses SBW.

80 Courses SSW. Winds ENEt.

81 Courses SSW. Winds East.

82 Courses SSW. Winds NEt.

83 Courses SSW. Winds ENEt.

84 Courses SSW. Winds ENEt.

Friday Feby 22 93.⁸⁵ 1[PM]⁸⁶ Moderate breeze and pleasant.
 Seamen employed working Junk. 8[PM]⁸⁷ Midnight Pleasant.
 Sounded 36 fm mud. 1[AM]⁸⁸ 8[AM]⁸⁹ At 1/2 past 10 A.M. saw
 Puto Timon bearing WSW 13 Leagues, Puto Passang SW and Puto
 Aor SSW. Porpoise playing about the Ship. 11[AM]⁹⁰ Noon⁹¹
 Puto Aor bore SBW 1/2 W & the Northwardmost extreem of Pulo
 Timon bore WBNo. Long pr [sun and moon] 104~ 45' E. Latd
 Obsd 2~ 51' N. 87 Miles p Log.

Saturday Feby 23d 1793. Pleasant. At 1[PM]⁹² Sounded
 35 fm mud. At 6 PM Puto Passang Bore WNW and Puto Aor WBSO
 6 Leagues. Midnight Pleasant. 3[AM] The surfice of the
 water was observed to be couvered with a thick scum and

⁸⁵ Boit: similar information.

⁸⁶ Courses SSW. Winds ENEt.

⁸⁷ Courses SSW. Winds NEBEt.

⁸⁸ Courses SSW. Winds Variable.

⁸⁹ Courses SSW. Winds NNEt.

⁹⁰ Courses South.

⁹¹ Courses SSEt.

⁹² Courses SSEt. Winds NEt.

Rockweed. 8[AM]⁹³ Noon Pleasant with a lively breeze. Latd Obsd 0° 52' No. The north entra. of Banca Straits S 2 W. 172 Miles. 106 Miles pr Log.

Sunday Feby 24th 1793⁹⁴ 1[PM]⁹⁵ Light breezes and pleasant weather. 7[PM]⁹⁶ 9[PM]⁹⁷ Midnight Sounded 22 fm. 1[AM]⁹⁸ 6[AM]⁹⁹ At 8 AM¹⁰⁰ Saw Puto Tya bearing WSW 5 Leagues distance. 9[AM]¹⁰¹ At 10[AM]¹⁰² Saw the 7 Islands bearing SSEt 6 Leagues. 10[AM]¹⁰³ At noon Puto Taya bore WNW 5 Leagues, and Monapin hill by calculation bears S 3° Et. Dis 64 M. Sounded in 14 fm Water. Latitude 0° 50' South. Longitude 105° 13' Et. 95 Miles p Log.

93 Courses SSEt. Winds NNEt.

94 Boit: similar information through March 7.

95 Courses SSEt. Winds NET.

96 Courses South. Winds North.

97 Courses SBW.

98 Courses SBW1/2W. Winds NBEt.

99 Courses SBW1/2W. Winds NBEt.

100 Courses SWBSo. Winds ESEt.

101 Courses SW.

102 Courses SSW.

103 Courses SSW.

Monday Feby 25th 1793.¹⁰⁴ 1[PM]¹⁰⁵ Lively breeze and pleasant weather. 6[PM]¹⁰⁶ At 8 PM¹⁰⁷ Shortned Sail and hauled our wind to the westward. 9 [PM]¹⁰⁸ Midnight pleasant. 1 [AM]¹⁰⁹ At 3¹¹⁰ wore Ship to the eastward. At 6 AM¹¹¹ Saw Monapin hill bearing SB Et. 7[AM]¹¹² 8[AM]¹¹³ 9[AM]¹¹⁴ 10[AM]¹¹⁵ 11[AM]¹¹⁶ Squalley with very heavy showers of rain. At noon¹¹⁷ Monapin hill bore E 1/2 No. Thick cloudy weather. No observation. Latitude 2° 0'

¹⁰⁴ For February 25-28, Haswell included the water depth as a separate entry. Their extreme concern with the depth of the water reflected the dangers of passing through the Malaysian Archipelago. The soundings ranged from 4 1/2 fathoms between Sumatra and Lucapata to 23 fathoms while rounding Monapin hill. Most of the area had 8-14 fathoms of water. For the full list, see Appendix B. Boit: less detailed.

¹⁰⁵ Courses SSW. Winds NNW.

¹⁰⁶ Courses SBW 1/2 W.

¹⁰⁷ Courses NNBW 1/2 W. Winds WNBW.

¹⁰⁸ Winds NNEt.

¹⁰⁹ Courses WNW. Winds North.

¹¹⁰ Courses ENEt.

¹¹¹ Courses NEBEt.

¹¹² Courses SBW.

¹¹³ Courses SSW.

¹¹⁴ Courses SSEt.

¹¹⁵ Courses SB Et.

¹¹⁶ Courses SEBSO.

¹¹⁷ Courses SB Et.

South. [Longitude] 105 5' Et. 82 Miles Distance.

Wednesday Feby 27¹¹⁸ 1[PM]¹¹⁹ Gentle breezes and pleasant. A number of Malay proas in sight. Passed a Malay vessel that lay abreast of first point. At 1 PM¹²⁰ Lucapata bore SEBEt distance 3 Leagues. Kept the mid channel between the Sumatra Shore and Lucapata. At 8 Lucapata bore EBNo. 9[PM]¹²¹ 10[PM]¹²² Midnight pleasant. 1[AM]¹²³ At daylight

118 Should read Feby 26.

119 Courses SEBSO. Winds NWBNo.

120 Haswell recorded the courses and wind directions throughout the afternoon. One cannot tell precisely the correlation between the time, the directions and the tricky maneuver of getting through this stretch of Malaysia. The directions were: 3[PM] Winds North. 5[PM] Courses SBEt. 7[PM] Courses South.

121 Courses SBEt. Winds NBW.

122 Winds NW.

123 Courses SSEt. Winds NBEt.

the Land was out of sight and our Depth of water was 14 f[atho]m. 5[AM]¹²⁴ 6[AM]¹²⁵ Sailmaker mending Sails and the Seamen making points. 8[AM]¹²⁶ 9[AM]¹²⁷ 12[PM]¹²⁸ Latitude Obsd 4~ 21' South. Long In 105~ 5' Et. 94 Miles p Log.

Tuesday Feby 26th 1793¹²⁹ 1[PM]¹³⁰ Light breeze and cloudy. At 2 PM shoaled our water from 14 to 3. Very sudenly hauled to the Southward and soon deepened the bearings of Monapin hill [which] at the time was NNW 2

124 Winds WNW.

125 Winds NW.

126 Courses SB Et. Winds West.

127 Courses South. Winds North.

128 Winds WNW.

129 Should read Feby 27th.

130 Courses SSEt. Winds NNW.

Leagues. 3[PM]¹³¹ 4[PM]¹³² 5[PM]¹³³ 6[PM]¹³⁴ 7[PM]¹³⁵ At 8 PM the tide [was] setting us too nigh the Sumatra Shore. We anchored in 8 1/2 f[atho]m water. 9[PM]¹³⁶ 10[PM] - 6[AM] At anchor. Squalley with rain the 3 point bearing ESEt 2 Leagues. At 6 AM weighed with a Strong current setting to the eastward. 7[AM]¹³⁷ At noon first point bore SBE and the Ship was situated about 4 Miles South of Second point. Latd Obsd 2~ 42' So. Longd in 105~ 40' Et. 51 Miles p Log.

Thursday Feby 28th 1[PM]¹³⁸ Moderate breeze and Pleasant weath[er]. Sailmaker employed making topmast steeringsail. 3[PM]¹³⁹ 4[PM]¹⁴⁰ At 1/2 past 5 PM, very Squalley with thick rainy weather. At 7 Still more squaley. Anchored with the Small bower in 14 fm wa[te]r with a current Setting two knots to the Southward. 7[PM] - 6[AM] At Anchor. Midnight heavy rain with Thunder and Sharp

¹³¹ Courses SEt.

¹³² Courses SEBEt. Winds NNEt.

¹³³ Courses EBSO.

¹³⁴ Courses ESEt. Winds NEt.

¹³⁵ Courses SEt. Winds NEt.

¹³⁶ Courses SEBEt.

¹³⁷ Courses EBSO. Winds NBE.

¹³⁸ Courses SWBSO. Winds NW.

¹³⁹ Winds NNEt.

¹⁴⁰ Courses SBEt. Winds SWBW.

Lightning. At 6 AM Cloudy. Saw a Ship to the NW Standing to the eastward. 7[AM]¹⁴¹ Weighed and stood on a wind to ye NW. Saw the Land to the W.S.W. which we suppose to be outer Island. 9[AM]¹⁴² At 11¹⁴³ tacked and stood to the Southwd. Seamen and tradesmen on their various duties. Latitude Obsd 4~ 39' Sou[th]. [Per sun] Longd 105~ 45' - 105~ 45' East. 42 Miles p Log. The Sisters bears SWBW 7 Leagues.

Friday March 1st 1793. 1[PM]¹⁴⁴ Moderate breeze and pleasant weath[er]. 3[PM]¹⁴⁵ 4[PM]¹⁴⁶ 5[PM]¹⁴⁷ At 1/2 past 5 Saw the Land bearing from the WNW to SSW. Allso saw ye Sisters bearing South. At 1/2 past 6 PM came too with ye Small bower in 9 f[atho]m water. 7[PM] - 6[AM]¹⁴⁸ Winds variable. At 6 AM¹⁴⁹ got under way. At 8 the Sisters bore SBW 1/2 W distance 4 Leagues and the Sumatra Shore from NWBW

141 Courses NWBN. Winds WSW.

142 Courses NWBNo.

143 Courses SBW1/2W. Winds WBSO.

144 Courses NWBNo. Winds WBSO.

145 Courses NBW.

146 Courses SWBW. Winds Tackship.

147 Courses WSW.

148 At Anchor.

149 Courses SSW.

to SSW. At noon the Southwardmost of the Sisters bore SBEt 2 Miles. Latitd Obsd 5° 2' So. 28 Miles p Log.

Saturday March 2d 1793 1[PM]¹⁵⁰ Moderate breeze and exceeding hot Sultrey weather with heavy Showers of Rain thunder and lightning. 3[PM]¹⁵¹ 5[PM]¹⁵² 6[PM]¹⁵³ 7[PM]¹⁵⁴ At 1/2 past 7 PM came too with the small bower in 12 fm water mud. North Island bearing SWBSo. 9[PM] - 5[AM]¹⁵⁵ Ligely breeze and pleasant weather. At 6 AM¹⁵⁶ weighed and came to Sail with a light breeze at N.W. 7[PM]¹⁵⁷ 9 [AM]¹⁵⁸ At Noon Saw two Ship at anchor in North Island and two Sail in the N.W. Quarter. Latd Obsd 5° 25' South. 29 1/2 Miles Distance.

150 Courses SW1/2W.

151 Courses SSW. Winds NNEt.

152 Courses SSEt. Winds East.

153 Courses SSW. Winds West.

154 Courses SSEt. Winds SW.

155 At Anchor.

156 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

157 Courses SWBW. [Depth] 14 f[atho]m.

158 Courses SW.

[NORTH ISLAND HARBOR LOG]

Sunday March 3d 1793. Mary[sic] Remarks. Moderate breeze and cloudy weather with frequent showers of rain. At 1/2 past 5 PM came too with the small bower in 15 fm water. Class Classens Island bearing WBSO 2 miles distance. The two Ships in the roads hoisted English coulers and we could desern that one of them was a line of Battle Ship. All the night the breeze was light at SW. At 4 AM weighed and came to Sail beating into the roads. At 5 AM the Lions boat came onboard to inquire from whence we came and whare bound. Inform'd us the Ships we Saw in the road were the Lion, Sir Erasmus Goar, Commander, and the Hindostan, Captain MacIntosh escorting Lord MacCartney, the British

Embassador to the Court of Pekin.¹⁵⁹ They had been in the roads 3 days were 5 months from England and are to sail today for Batavia¹⁶⁰ and will return to this place in 15 days. Captain Macintosh came onboard before we anchored and informed us he had spoke Captain Coolidge and Capt Ingraham on the 1[st] of the month in the mouth of the Straits of Sunda and had purchased his Brig which was to be delivered to him at North Island and the commander and people to be returned onboard Captain Coolidge at Tamerin Island. Hoisted out all our boats and dispatched them after water. Lord Macartney intrusted us with dispatches for England to be sent by way of St Helena.¹⁶¹ At 1 PM the Lion

 159 Lord Macartney's audience with Ch'ien-lung, Emperor of China, demonstrated the depth of cultural misunderstanding between the East and West. Ch'ien-lung took the Imperial view that the ambassador from George III, King of England, was an occasion to pay the obsequious tribute expected from an insignificant barbarous hinterland to the Emperor of the only civilized people. Macartney viewed himself as the ambassador from one powerful ruler to another. Whether his refusal to kowtow, or fully prostrate himself, before the Emperor, rendered his trip unproductive is questionable since two years later the Dutch ambassador performed the kowtow and still did not receive any trade concessions. Macartney received a banquet, and the Emperor gave him gifts and a letter for George III. George III gave Ch'ien-lung a planetarium in addition to other gifts. Fu 325-336.

160 Jakarta, Java. Important Dutch port town, far enough outside the Chinese sphere of influence to give the Dutch East India Company autonomy.

161 St Helena was a major communications and restocking point. For the seaman's affection for the place, see Rediker 41.

and Hindostan Sailed for Batavia. By dusk in the evening we had completed our water and purchased a considerable quantity of Stock from the natives. Latter part Light breeze and clear weather tho all the day had been Squalley with Rain.

Monday March 4th 1793. Employed compleeting our stock of wood. At 8 AM two Dutch Ships¹⁶² arrived in the Roads. In the afternoon we had got off a suffishant Quantity of wood hoisted in our boats and prepaired for Sea. The Latter part was Calm.

[END OF HARBOR LOG]

Tuesday March 5th 1793. Calm and pleasant weather. A light breeze sprung up from the N.W. At 2 AM weigh'd and came to Sail. At 1/2 past 6 AM pass't between the Zepthon Island and the Stroom Rock. At 7 AM Squalley with rain. In topgallantsails Jib & Staysails. Reefed the topsails. Wore ship to the Westward. The wind soon abated. Made all sail. Tacked to the S.W. At noon Crockatoa bore S.S.W. 4 Miles and Tamerine Island NNEt 4 miles. Sounded in 20 fm water. Wind S.W.

Wednesday March 6th 93 1[PM]¹⁶³ Moderate breeze and

¹⁶² Boit: Dutch Guard of Coasters.

¹⁶³ Courses NB Et. Winds NWBW.

pleasant weather. 2[PM]¹⁶⁴ 4[PM]¹⁶⁵ 5[PM]¹⁶⁶ At 1/2 past 5
 tacked Ship to the Southwd. At 6 PM Crockatoa bore S 1/2 W
 5 Leagues distant. Sea Rock SSEt and the East point of
 Tamerin Island EBSO. 9[PM]¹⁶⁷ At 10 PM Tacked Ship to the
 S.W. beating to the Westward with the winds variable.
 11[PM]¹⁶⁸ Midnight Calm with heavy showers of Rain. At 1
 A.M.¹⁶⁹ Squally. Reefed the topsails. At 3 AM Saw
 Crockatoa and Tamerin Islands. Set the Courses & Staysails.
 9[AM]¹⁷⁰ Latter part light breezes and varia. 10[AM]¹⁷¹
 11[AM]¹⁷² Noon Pleasant.¹⁷³ Crockatoa bore E 1/2 So and
 Princes Island bore South. Latitude Obs 6° 4' So. 41 Miles
 p Log.

Thursday March 7th 1793¹⁷⁴ 1[PM]¹⁷⁵ Moderate breeze

 164 Courses NW. Winds WSW.

165 Courses NWBW. Winds SWBW.

166 Courses WNW. Winds SW.

167 Courses SSEt. Winds SW.

168 Courses SW. Winds NW.

169 Courses SSEt. Winds Calm.

170 Courses NW. Tacked Ship.

171 Courses WSW. Winds Variable.

172 Courses SW. Winds Variable.

173 Courses SSW. Winds Variable.

174 Boit: next entry April 4.

175 Courses SWBSo. Winds WBNo.

and Cloudy weather. At 2 PM in Royals and Steering sails.
 3[PM]¹⁷⁶ 4[PM]¹⁷⁷ Tacked ship to the westward. 5[PM]¹⁷⁸
 6[PM]¹⁷⁹ At 7 in main topgallantsail and tacked ship to the
 Southward. 8[PM]¹⁸⁰ 9[PM]¹⁸¹ At 1/2 past 9 tacked Ship to
 the northward. 10[PM]¹⁸² At 1/2 past 11 the wind took us
 aback. Tacked ship and stood to the Southwd. Double reefed
 the topsails. Midnight rainey disagreeable weather.
 1[AM]¹⁸³ 3[AM]¹⁸⁴ 7[AM]¹⁸⁵ At 8¹⁸⁶ Java Head bore SEBSO
 dis[tan]c[e] 5 Leagues. Stowed the anchors. Shook all the
 reefs out. Set topgallant sails Staysails & Steering
 sails. 11[AM]¹⁸⁷ At noon¹⁸⁸ Princes Island bore East and
 Java head bore ESE 5 Leagues.

- 176 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.
- 177 Courses WNW. Winds SW.
- 178 Courses NWBW. Winds SW.
- 179 Winds SWBW.
- 180 Courses SBEt. Winds SWBW.
- 181 Courses SEBSO. Winds SWBSO.
- 182 Courses West. Winds SSW.
- 183 Courses SWBW. Winds WNW.
- 184 Courses SSW. Winds WNW.
- 185 Courses SWBSO. Winds Variable.
- 186 Courses SWBSO. Winds NW.
- 187 Courses SSW. Winds WNW.
- 188 Courses SSW. Winds WBNo.

Latitd Obsd 6~ 35' So. 60 Miles p Log.

Friday March 8th 1793 Fresh breeze and pleasant. At 1 PM¹⁸⁹ squalley. 2[PM]¹⁹⁰ 3[PM]¹⁹¹ 4[PM]¹⁹² 5[PM]¹⁹³ At 6 PM¹⁹⁴ Java head bore EBNo 6 Leagues. 7[PM]¹⁹⁵ 8[PM]¹⁹⁶ At 9¹⁹⁷ Calm and at 10¹⁹⁸ wore ship to the Southward.

¹⁸⁹ Courses South. Winds WBSO.

¹⁹⁰ Courses SSW.

¹⁹¹ Courses SSEt. Winds SW.

¹⁹² Courses SESO. Winds SWBSO.

¹⁹³ Courses SSEt. Winds SW.

¹⁹⁴ Courses SBEt. Winds SWBW.

¹⁹⁵ Courses SEBSO. Winds SWBSO.

¹⁹⁶ Courses WBNo. Tacked Ship.

¹⁹⁷ Courses WNW.

¹⁹⁸ Courses WNW. Winds Calm.

11[AM]¹⁹⁹ Midnight Pleasant with flying clouds. 2[AM]²⁰⁰
 3[AM]²⁰¹ 6[AM]²⁰² Winds variable. 7[AM]²⁰³ 8[AM] Unbent
 the Cables. 10 [AM]²⁰⁴ 11 [AM]²⁰⁵ Noon²⁰⁶ Squalley. No
 observation. Christmas Island bears South 196 Miles
 Distance. Lat. Acct 7.14 So. 51 Miles Distance.

Saturday March 9th 1793 1[PM]²⁰⁷ 2[PM]²⁰⁸ Calm and
 Cloudy. 3[PM]²⁰⁹ 5[PM]²¹⁰ 7[PM]²¹¹ Rainey disagreeable
 weather. 9[PM]-12[AM]²¹² Midnight ditto Weather. 1[AM]²¹³
 2[AM]²¹⁴

- 199 Courses SSW. Winds West.
- 200 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.
- 201 Courses South. Winds WSW.
- 202 Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.
- 203 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.
- 204 Tacked Ship.
- 205 Courses SW. Winds Variable.
- 206 Courses West. Winds Variable.
- 207 Winds Calm.
- 208 Courses SEBSO. Winds SWBSO.
- 209 Courses SSEt. Winds SW.
- 210 Courses SEBSO. Winds Variable.
- 211 Courses WBNo. Winds Variable.
- 212 Courses WBNo. Winds Calm.
- 213 Courses WBNo.
- 214 Winds SW.

3[AM]²¹⁵ At 4 AM wore ship to the southward. 5[AM]²¹⁶
 7[AM]²¹⁷ At 8 AM saw a large Dutch ship to the SW. 9[AM]²¹⁸
 11[AM]²¹⁹ Noon Pleasant. Latitude Obsd 7° 55' South. 35
 Miles p Log.

Sunday March 10th 1793 1[PM]²²⁰ Moderate breeze and
 Squalley with Rain. At 2 PM²²¹ tacked ship. 3[PM]²²²
 4[PM]²²³ 6[PM]²²⁴ At 7 PM²²⁵ single reefed the topsails.
 9[PM]²²⁶ 11[PM]²²⁷ Midnight Squalley. 8[AM]²²⁸ Out all
 reefs and set

- 215 Courses WNW.
- 216 Courses WBN. Winds Variable.
- 217 Courses South. Winds Variable.
- 218 Courses SSW. Winds West.
- 219 Courses SWBS. Winds WBN.
- 220 Courses South. Winds WSW.
- 221 Courses SBW. Winds WBS.
- 222 Courses WBS. Winds SBW.
- 223 Courses WSW. Winds South.
- 224 Courses SBW. Winds WBS.
- 225 Courses SSW. Winds WNW.
- 226 Courses SBW. Winds WBS.
- 227 Courses SSW. Winds Variable.
- 228 Courses SBW. Winds WBS.

the topgallantsails and Royals. 10[AM]²²⁹ Noon squalley.
Shortned Sail. No observation. Latd pr Act 8° 54' So. 65
Miles Distance.

Monday March 11th 1793. 1[PM]²³⁰ Moderate breeze and
Cloudy weather. 4[PM]²³¹ 5[PM]²³² 7[PM]²³³ 8[PM]²³⁴ At
9²³⁵ Squalley in light sails. Midnight Rainey. 2[AM]²³⁶
3[AM]²³⁷ At 7 More pleasant. Made Sail. Employed
Clearing²³⁸ betwixt Deacks. 10[AM]²³⁹ 11[AM]²⁴⁰ Noon²⁴¹
moderate and Cloudy. Latd

229 Courses SSW. Winds WBNo.

230 Courses SSW. Winds WBNo.

231 Courses SSW. Winds NNEt.

232 Courses SSW. Winds NNW.

233 Courses SSW. Winds WBSO.

234 Courses SSW. Winds NW.

235 Courses SSW. Winds WNW.

236 Courses South.

237 Courses SSW. winds WBNo.

238 Original: Cleaning.

239 Courses South. Winds WSW.

240 Courses SSEt. Winds SW.

241 Courses SEBSO. Winds SWBSO.

Obsd 10~ 30'. Isle a France S 80~ W. Distance 3340 Miles.
55 [Miles].

Tuesday March 12th 1793 1[PM]²⁴² Moderate breezes and
Rainey disagreeable weather. 4[PM]²⁴³ 5[PM]²⁴⁴ At 1/2 past
8 in topgallantsails down Jib & Staysails up Courses and
single reefed the topsails. 10[PM]²⁴⁵ 11[PM] - 1[AM]²⁴⁶
Midnight Calm with heavy showers of rain. 2[AM]²⁴⁷
4[AM]²⁴⁸ 5[AM]²⁴⁹ At 1/2 past 6 AM tacked ship to the
Westd. 7[AM]²⁵⁰ 8[AM]²⁵¹ At 9[AM]²⁵² out reefs and made
Sail. Saw two Sail

242 Courses SB Et. Winds SWBW.

243 Courses SB Et. Winds Calm.

244 Courses SEB So. Winds SWB So.

245 Courses West. Winds all round the compass.

246 Courses Calm.

247 Courses WNW.

248 Courses SSEt.

249 Courses SEB So.

250 Courses WSW.

251 Courses West. Winds SSW.

252 Courses WB No. Winds SWB So.

on the North Quarter Standing to the westward. At 10²⁵³
 Set topgallantsails. 11[AM]²⁵⁴ Sailmaker employed on the
 maintopmast Staysail. Noon²⁵⁵ Cloudy with a fresh breeze.
 Isle a France S 77~ 30' W Distance. 2670 Miles. Latd Obsd
 10~ 32' South. 41 Miles Distance.

Wednesday March 13th 1793. Dark rainey weather. At 1
 [PM]²⁵⁶ tacked ship to the Southward. At 2 PM²⁵⁷ the Ships
 to the westward hoisted American Colours and we suppose
 them to be the Grand Turk and Hope Captains Collidge and
 Ingraham. 5[PM]²⁵⁸ At 6[PM]²⁵⁹ tacked Ship to the Westward.

-
- 253 Courses WNW. Winds SW.
 - 254 Courses EBSO. Winds SB Et.
 - 255 Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.
 - 256 Courses WBNo. Winds SWBSO.
 - 257 Courses SEBSO.
 - 258 Courses SEB Et. Winds SBW.
 - 259 Courses WBSO.

Midnight moderate breeze and pleasant weather. 7[AM]²⁶⁰
 Made all sail. 11[AM]²⁶¹ Noon fresh breeze and pleasant
 weather. Seamen employed on the repairs of the rigging.
 Sailmaker repairing the Maintopmast staysail. Latitd Obsd
 10~ 44' South. 93 Miles p Log.

Thursday March 14th 1793. 1[PM]²⁶² Fresh breeze and
 pleasant. Seamen and Sailmakers employed on their duties.
 At 5[PM]²⁶³ in topgallantsails and Staysails. At 1/2 past 7
 PM Single reefed the topsails. Midnight Pleasant. At 5[AM]
 out reefs and set topgallant sails. Variation Azth 3~ 47'
 Et. 8[AM]²⁶⁴ Set the light staysails. 11[AM]²⁶⁵ Bent the
 main topmast Staysail. Took in the light Sails. Noon Fresh
 breeze and pleasant. Latd Obsd 11~ 29' So. 102 Miles p
 Log.

260 Courses WSW. Winds SSEt.

261 Courses SWBW. Winds SSEt.

262 Courses SWBW1/2W. Winds SSEt.

263 Courses SWBW. Winds SEBSo.

264 Courses WSW. Winds SBEt.

265 Winds South.

Friday March 15th 1793. 1[PM]²⁶⁶ Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. In topgallantsails. At 6 Single Reefed the topsails. At 11 Wore Ship & Stood to the Eastward. Midnight²⁶⁷ Drizzling rain. 3[AM]²⁶⁸ 4[AM]²⁶⁹ At 5 AM out reefs set topgallantsails & Staysails. 7[AM] - 8[AM]²⁷⁰ 9[AM]²⁷¹ At 10 Set the royals and fore topmast steering. 11[AM]²⁷² Noon Pleasant Weather. Latd Obsd 11~ 47' Sou. 57 Miles p Log.

Saturday March 16th 1793 1[PM]²⁷³ Moderate breeze and a large swell. Unbent the fore sail and bent another. 6[PM]²⁷⁴ 8[PM]²⁷⁵ Midnight flying Clouds and a large swell. 11[AM]²⁷⁶ Noon pleasant with all Sail out. Latd Obsd 12~ 56' South. 84 Miles p Log.

266 Courses WSW. Winds SSEt.

267 Courses ESEt. Winds South.

268 Courses SEt. Winds Wore ship.

269 Courses WNW. Winds Variable.

270 Courses WNW. Winds Calm.

271 Courses South.

272 Courses SWBSo. Winds NWBW.

273 Courses SWBSo. Winds NW.

274 Winds NNW.

275 Courses SW. Winds NWBW.

276 Winds NEt.

Sunday March 17th 1793. 1[PM]²⁷⁷ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. At 6 Squalley with rain. 9[PM]²⁷⁸ At 10 P.M.²⁷⁹ in Steering sails. Midnight²⁸⁰ Squalley with rain. At 5 AM Set all sail. Sailmaker on the spare fore Sail. Squalley with a lively Trade. Maney flying Fish and bonitas about the Ship. Latd Obsd 13~ 37' South. 114 Miles Dist p Log.

Monday March 18th 1793. 1[PM]²⁸¹ Fresh gales and flying clouds. 2[PM]²⁸² Midnight D[itt]o Weather, with all Sail out. Noon Pleasant. Seamen employed in the nesecery duties of the Ship. Sailmaker on the fore Sail. Porpoises. Latitd Obsd 14~ 35' South. 156 Miles p Log.

Tuesday March 19th 1793 1[PM]²⁸³ Fresh breeze and hazy. 3[PM]²⁸⁴ At 8 PM in topgallant Steering sails and

²⁷⁷ Courses WSW. Winds NEt.

²⁷⁸ Courses WSW. Winds East.

²⁷⁹ Winds NEt.

²⁸⁰ Courses WSW. Winds ESEt.

²⁸¹ Courses WSW. Winds SEt.

²⁸² Winds ESEt.

²⁸³ Courses WBSO. Winds SEt.

²⁸⁴ Courses WBSO. Winds ESEt.

royals. Midnight lively breeze and pleasant. At 2 AM Squalley. In Steeringsails. At 1/2 past 5 AM Set all Sail. Noon lively breeze and hazey. Sailmakers on the Fore Sail. Latd Obsd 15~ 5' Sou. 165 Miles Dist p Log.

Wednesday March 20th 1[PM]²⁸⁵ Lively breeze and very agreeable weather. Midnight, pleasant weather. Variation pr Azth 1~ 54' East. Put the people to an allowance of water 5 pints a day pr man. Seamen employed making Roap bands. Sailmakers on the old Sails. Noon fresh breeze and remarkable agreeable weather. Latd Obsd 15~ 26' South. 151 Miles p Log.

Thursday March 21 1[PM]²⁸⁶ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Seamen employed working Junk. Sailmakers on the repairs of the spair sails. Midnight pleasant with all sails out. 8[AM]²⁸⁷ Noon D[itt]o. Lat. Obsd 15~ 58' So. 125 Miles p Log.

²⁸⁵ Courses WBSO. Winds EBSO.

²⁸⁶ Courses WBSO. Winds East.

²⁸⁷ Winds EBNo.

Friday March 22nd 1793 1[PM]²⁸⁸ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Unbent the fore topsail and brought another to the yard. Midnight D[itt]o Weather. All Sail out. Noon Pleasant. Latitude Obsd 15° 48' So. 104 Miles p Log.

Saturday March 23d 1793 1[PM]²⁸⁹ Gentle breezes and fair pleasant weather. 6[PM]²⁹⁰ Seamen employed working Junk. Sailmakers on the old sails. 9[PM] Struck a porpoise and lost ye Harpoon. Midnight pleasant. 10[AM]²⁹¹ Showers of rain. Noon Lively breeze and clear. Latd Obsd 16° 13' South.²⁹²

Sunday March 24th 1793. 1[PM]²⁹³ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. 9[PM] Caught a Dolphin. Midnight D[itt]o W[eathe]r. 9[AM]²⁹⁴ At 11 Squalley in Steering sails. At noon Set topmast Steering sails. No observation being Cloudy. 117 Miles p Log.

Monday March 25th 1793. 1[PM]²⁹⁵ Lively breeze and

²⁸⁸ Courses West. Winds ESEt.

²⁸⁹ Courses W1/2So. Winds East.

²⁹⁰ Winds EBSO.

²⁹¹ Winds Variable.

²⁹² Original: 115 Miles Dist p log.

²⁹³ Courses West. Winds East.

²⁹⁴ Winds North.

²⁹⁵ Courses West. Winds NNEt.

pleasant with flying Clouds. 7[PM]²⁹⁶ 9[PM]²⁹⁷ 10[PM]²⁹⁸
 Midnight D[itt]o Weather. 4[AM]²⁹⁹ 9[AM]³⁰⁰ Noon pleasant.
 Seamen employed making Roapbands. Sailmakers on the Sails.
 Latitd Obsd 16~ 20' So. 97 Miles Distance.

Tuesday March 26th 1793 1[PM]³⁰¹ Light breeze and
 pleasant weather. At 2 PM squalley with rain. Reef'd
 topsails. 3[PM]³⁰² 5[PM]³⁰³ 7[PM]³⁰⁴ 9[PM]³⁰⁵ 11[PM]³⁰⁶
 Midnight³⁰⁷ D[itt]o Weather. 3[AM] - 5[AM]³⁰⁸ 6[AM]³⁰⁹
 Shook the reefs out of the topsails. 9[AM]³¹⁰ Set Jib
 staysails

296 Courses West. Winds North.

297 Courses WBS.

298 Courses West W1/2So.

299 Courses West. Winds NBW.

300 Courses W1/2So. Winds NBW.

301 Courses W1/2So. Winds NNW.

302 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

303 Courses WBSO. Winds NNW.

304 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

305 Courses SBW.

306 Courses SBW. Winds Calm.

307 Courses SWBW. Winds NNBW.

308 Winds Calm.

309 Courses West. Winds East.

310 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

& Spanker. 11[AM]³¹¹ Noon Cloudy. Latd Obsd 17° 0' So. 48 Miles Distance.

Wednesday March 27th 1793 1[PM]³¹² Midnight, hazy. At 2 PM³¹³ Squalley. 3[PM]³¹⁴ 5[PM]³¹⁵ 6[PM]³¹⁶ 7[PM] - 8[PM]³¹⁷ Pleasant. 9[PM]³¹⁸ Midnight Calm pleasant weather. At 1 AM³¹⁹ a light breeze from the westd with a very heavy swell from the Southd. 2[PM]³²⁰ 8[AM] Set Steering sails. 9[AM]³²¹ Noon Pleasant weather with a heavy swell which caused the ship to Role & labour exceedingly. Latd Obsd 17° 3' So. 40 Miles p Log.

Thursday March 28th 1793 1[PM]³²² Moderate breeze an a Swell from the SEt Quarter. Employed making ropbs. At 11

311 Courses SWBW. Winds NWBW.

312 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

313 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

314 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.

315 Courses South.

316 Courses SSEt. Winds SW.

317 Winds Calm.

318 Courses WBNo. Winds EBSO.

319 Winds Calm.

320 Courses WBNo. Winds ESEt.

321 Courses WNW. Winds ESEt.

322 Courses WNW. Winds ESE.

Squalley. In steering sail. Midnight Rainey. At 6 AM Set Steering sails. Noon Squalley with slight showers of rain. Latitd Obsd 16~ 19' South. 110 1/2 Miles pr Log.

Friday March 29th 1793. 1[PM]³²³ Fresh breeze and squalley. Set the Jib and staysails. Midnight Pleasant weather. Seamen and sailmakers on the old Sails. Latitude Obsd 16~ 19' South. 132 Miles p Log.

Saturday March 30th 1793. 1[PM]³²⁴ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. 4[PM] Seamen and sailmakers on the repairs of the old Sails. 8[PM] Variation pr Azth 4~ 38' W. Midnight Calm. 8[AM]³²⁵ Noon Pleasant. Latd Obsd 16~ 26' So. 54 Miles p Log.

Sunday March 31st 1793. 1[PM]³²⁶ Light winds and pleasant weather. Caught a Dolphin. Thunder and lightning in the SW Quarter. 8[PM]³²⁷ At 11 PM in light Sails. Midnight³²⁸ Fresh breeze. 2[PM]³²⁹ 4[PM]³³⁰ At 6 Squalley

³²³ Courses West. Winds ESEt.

³²⁴ Courses West. Winds EBSO.

³²⁵ Winds ESE.

³²⁶ Courses West. Winds East.

³²⁷ Winds NBW.

³²⁸ Winds NBEt

³²⁹ Courses WBS. Winds NNW.

³³⁰ Courses WSW1/2W. Winds NW1/2W.

with rain and heavy thundr. 7[PM]³³¹ Double reefed the topsails unbent the main Sail and brought another to the yard. 9[AM]³³² 10[AM]³³³ 11[AM]³³⁴ Noon³³⁵ Squalley weather. Latitude Obsd 17~ 4' South. 83 Miles p Log.

Monday April 1st 1793. 1[PM]³³⁶ Light breeze and pleasant. At 1/2 past 1 PM tacked Ship to the westward. Shook the reefs out of the topsails. Set the topgt and stay sails. 2[PM]³³⁷ 4[PM]³³⁸ 5[PM]³³⁹ At 7³⁴⁰ in fore topgallantsail. Midnight³⁴¹ pleasant. Set fore topgallant sail. 3[AM]³⁴² At 1/2 past 5 Set the topmast steeringsails. At 6 AM Set the topgallent steering sails and royals. Seamen and sailmaker employed repair'g the old fore topsail. At 8 in Royals. Variation pr Azth 7~ 36' W.

331 Courses WSW1/2W. Winds NW.

332 Courses SWBW3/4W. Winds NW.

333 Courses SWBW. Winds NWBW.

334 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

335 Courses SWBSo. Winds WBNo.

336 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.

337 Courses NW. Winds WSW.

338 Courses NWBW. Winds SWBW.

339 Courses WNW. Winds SW.

340 Courses WBNo. Winds SWBSo.

341 Courses West. Winds SBW.

342 Winds SBW.

9[AM]³⁴³ 11 in topgallant steering sails. Noon fresh breeze and a following sea. Mauritiress S 74~ 28' W. Distance 732 Miles. Latd Obsd 16~ 54' So. Rodrigue S 66~ 53' W. 424 Miles distance. 135 Miles p Log.

Tuesday April 2nd 1793. 1[PM]³⁴⁴ Fresh gale and squalley. In Steering sails topgallantsails staysails & Jib. Single reef'd the mizen topsail. At 4 PM double reef'd the fore and single reef'd the main topsail. At 7 PM³⁴⁵ handed the mainsail and double Reef'd the main topsail. Midnight Lively breeze and drizzling Rain. At 6 AM Set the mainsail. 8[AM]³⁴⁶ At 1/2 past 9[AM] shook one reef out of the main topsail. Noon Squalley double reefed the topsails. Lat Obsd 17~ 32' So. 171 1/2 Miles Distance p Log.

Wednesday April 3d 1793 1[PM]³⁴⁷ Fresh breeze and hazy weather. Midnight Pleasant & more moderate. At 5 AM made all sail. Variation pr Azth 14~ 0' W. Maney Birds on the wing. Unbent the fore topsail & Brought another to the yard. Seamen and Sailmakers on the repairs of the old Sails. Fitted new fore topsail Sheets. Noon pleasant with a

³⁴³ Winds SEBSO.

³⁴⁴ Courses WBSO. Winds South.

³⁴⁵ Courses WBSO. Winds SEBSO.

³⁴⁶ Courses WSW. Winds SEt.

³⁴⁷ Courses WSW. Winds SSEt.

lively breeze. All Sail out. Latd Obsd 18° 49' So. 165 Miles pr Log.

Thursday April 4th 1793³⁴⁸ 1[PM]³⁴⁹ Lively breeze and pleasant weather. Seamen on the repairs of the rigging. Unbent the main topsail and brought another to the yard. Midnight hazey. At 2 AM saw the Island of Rodrigue bearing SSW. Shortned sail and stood to the westward. 3[AM]³⁵⁰ At 5 AM made all sail. 7[AM]³⁵¹ Sailmaker repairing the main topmast staysail. 10[AM]³⁵² At noon the center of Roderigue bore ESEt. Distance 11 Leagues. Latd Obs. 19° 34' So. 119 1/2 [Miles].

Friday April 5th 1793. 1[PM]³⁵³ Moderate breez and pleasant weather. 5[PM]³⁵⁴ 6[PM]³⁵⁵ Variation pr Azth 10.4 West. At 7 PM down light Staysails. In topgt sails and

348 Boit: similar information.

349 Courses WSW. Winds SSEt.

350 Courses West. Winds South.

351 Courses WBNo.

352 Courses West. Winds SBW.

353 Courses West. Winds SSW.

354 Courses WBNo. Winds SWBSo.

355 Courses West. Winds SSW.

single reef the topsails. 9[PM]³⁵⁶ Midnight Pleasant. Set
 the topgallent sails & staysails. 3[AM]³⁵⁷ 4[AM]³⁵⁸
 7[AM]³⁵⁹ Variation pr Azth 9.54 W. 11[AM]³⁶⁰ Noon Fresh
 gale and pleasant. In topgallantsails. Latd Obsd 19~ 44'
 So. 120 Miles pr Log.

Saturday April 6th 1793 1[PM]³⁶¹ Fresh breeze and
 squalley. Single reef'd the topsails. 2[PM]³⁶² 3[PM]³⁶³
 5[PM]³⁶⁴ At 54' 30" App[ro]x time observed the sun and
 moon['s] distance and found the Longitude 60~ 24' Et.
 9[PM]³⁶⁵ Midnight Pleasant. Variation pr Azth 14~ 37' West.
 7[AM]³⁶⁶ 11[AM]³⁶⁷ [Noon] Out Reef's. Noon Fresh breeze.
 Lat Obsd 20~ 5' So. 120 1/2 Miles.

356 Courses WBSO. Winds South.

357 Winds SBW1/2W.

358 Courses W1/2So. Winds SBW.

359 Courses WBSO.

360 Courses W1/2So. Winds SWBW1/2W.

361 Courses W1/2So. Winds South.

362 Courses West.

363 Courses WBSO.

364 Courses WSW. Winds SB Et.

365 Courses WBSO.

366 Courses WSW. Winds SB Et.

367 Courses WBSO.

Sunday April 7th 1793³⁶⁸ 1[PM]³⁶⁹ Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. At 2 PM Single reef'd the topsail. 5[PM]³⁷⁰ 6[PM]³⁷¹ 7 [PM] ³⁷² Squally. Shortned Sail. 11[PM]³⁷³ Midnight winds variable and flawey. At 1 AM ship to the Northward and at 3 AM wore again to the Westward. 2[AM]³⁷⁴ 4[AM]³⁷⁵ At 1/2 past 5 AM saw the Isle of France bearing from WSW to WNW. Made Sail. 8[AM]³⁷⁶ 10[AM]³⁷⁷ At noon the extreem point of the Island bore from NB Et to WNW the body of the Island about 8 Leagues distance. Latd Obsd 20.36 So. 80 Miles Distance.

Monday April 8th 1793³⁷⁸ 1[PM]³⁷⁹ Moderate breeze and pleasant. At 2 PM set the fore topmast Steering Sail and

³⁶⁸ Boit: similar information.

³⁶⁹ Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.

³⁷⁰ Courses WSW. Winds South.

³⁷¹ Courses SW1/2W. Winds SSEt.

³⁷² Courses WSW. Winds South.

³⁷³ Courses SWBW. Winds SB Et.

³⁷⁴ Courses E1/2So. Winds SSEt.

³⁷⁵ Courses SWBW. Winds SB Et.

³⁷⁶ Courses SW. Winds SSEt.

³⁷⁷ Courses SWBW. Winds SB Et.

³⁷⁸ Boit: similar information. Next entry April 28.

³⁷⁹ Courses SWBW. Winds SSEt.

spanker. 4[PM]³⁸⁰ At 6 the extreems of the Island
 Mouritius bore from North to NEt. 10[PM]³⁸¹ In
 topgallantsails and steering sails. At 11 PM³⁸² in topmast
 Steering sails. Midnight moderate. 1[AM]³⁸³ 2[AM]³⁸⁴
 4[AM] Set Steering sails. 6[AM]³⁸⁵ 8[AM]³⁸⁶ At 10 Set the
 main topmast Steering sail. At noon the Island Bourbon
 bore from WNW to NW 1/2 No. Lively breeze and agreeable
 weather. Latd 21~ 36' South. 97 Miles Distance.

Tuesday April 9th 1793. 1[PM]³⁸⁷ Lively breeze and
 Clear pleasant wea[the]r. 2[PM]³⁸⁸ Set topgallant
 steeringsails and royals. At 4[PM] Squalley in Light
 sails. At 6 PM the extreem points of ye Isle of Bourbon
 bore from NW to N.N.Et. At 1/2 past 2 AM set the
 topgallantsails. Midnight brisk breeze. At 6[AM] Set the

380 Courses SWBW. Winds SEBSO.

381 Course WSW. Winds SBEt.

382 Courses SWBW. Winds SEt.

383 Courses WNW. Winds all round ye compass.

384 Courses SWBW.

385 Courses WSW.

386 Courses WSW. Winds SEBSO.

387 Courses WSW.

388 Courses WBSO. Winds SSEt.

topmast Steeringsails. 9[AM]³⁸⁹ At 10[AM]³⁹⁰ in Steering sails and mizen topmast staysail. 11[AM]³⁹¹ Noon Fresh breeze and pleasant Weather. Latd Obsd 22° 33' So. Cape of Good Hope S 69° 3' W. 1986 Miles. Cape St Mary. 541 Miles S 70° 30' W. Longitude reduced from 54° 4' E Observe. 143 Miles p Log.

Wednesday April 10th 1793. 1[PM]³⁹² Fresh breeze and squalley. At 1/2 past 1 PM in topgallantsails. At 4[PM] up Spanker and Reef'd the topsails. At 2[PM] double reef'd the topsails. Midnight Squalley. At 3[AM] Set the main topmast staysail. At 5 AM out one reef of the topsails. At 1/2 6 [AM] out all reefs. Set the topgallant sails and steeringsails. Squalley shortned and made sail occasionally. Noon Stiff Breeze Clear weather. Latd Obsd 24° 2' South. Ships Longitude reduced from last observn 51° 59' Et. Cape St Mary S 76° W. 376 M. 146 Miles pr Log.

Thursday April 11th 1793 Fresh breeze and Squalley. At 1PM³⁹³ unbent the main topsail and bent another. Unbent the spanker and bent a mizen. At 6 in topgallantsails and fore

389 Course WSW.

390 Courses WBSO. Winds South.

391 Course WSW.

392 Courses WSW. Winds SEBSO.

393 Course WSW. Winds SEBSO.

topmast steeringsail. Midnight Squalley. At 2 AM³⁹⁴ up
 mainsail and mizen, down Jib and staysails. 4[PM]³⁹⁵
 Squalley. Clered down the mizen topsail. At 6[PM]³⁹⁶ out
 all reefs. Set topgallantsails Jib and main topmast
 staysail. At 7 in topgallant sails down Jib & staysails up
 mainsail. 8[AM]³⁹⁷ At 10 more moderate. Made Sail struck
 the Quarter deack guns below. Latd Obsd 25° 39' So.
 Longitude reduced from last obsn 49° 49' Et. Cape St Mary S
 89° W. Distance 251 Mi. Port Dauphin No 74° W. Distance 47
 Leags. 151 Miles Distance.

Friday April 12th 1793 1[PM]³⁹⁸ Fresh gale and
 agreable weather. Set all Steering sails. 4[PM]³⁹⁹
 8[PM]⁴⁰⁰ At 9 PM in lower steeringsail and main
 topgallantsail. Midnight pleasant. At 5 Set
 topgallantsails and steeringsails. 7[AM]⁴⁰¹ Sailmaker
 employed on the spair maintopsail. Noon

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- 394 Course WSW. Winds ENEt.
 - 395 Course WSW. Winds SEt.
 - 396 Course WSW. Winds SEBEt.
 - 397 Course WSW. Winds EBNo.
 - 398 Courses WSW. Winds ESEt.
 - 399 Courses WBSO.
 - 400 Winds SEBEt.
 - 401 Winds East.

Lively breeze and Clear. 11[AM]⁴⁰² Latd Obsd 26~ 58' South.
 Longitude Redused from last Obsn 47~ 10' East. Cape St.
 Mary No. 51~ W. Dist. 135 M or 45 Leagues. 164 Miles p Log.

Saturday April 13th 1793 1[PM]⁴⁰³ Fresh gale and a
 high following sea. At 1/2 past 6 PM in main
 topgallantsail & reef't the mizen topsail. At 7[PM]⁴⁰⁴ in
 All steering sails and at 1/2 past Reeft the topsails. At
 1/2 past 11 in mizen topsail and double Reef't the main
 topsail. Midnight fresh gale and Clear. At 6 out one reef
 of the main topsail. At 9 AM out one reef of the fore
 topsail and all Reefs of the Main topsail. Set ye main
 topgallantsail. Noon fresh gale and a following sea. Latd
 Obsd 28.5 South. 162 Miles.

Sunday April 14th 1793. 1[PM]⁴⁰⁵ Fresh breeze and
 pleasant with a followg sea. 6[PM] Variation pr ampd 22~
 25'. 7[PM]⁴⁰⁶ At 10 in steeringsails. Midnight Pleasant.

 402 Winds EBNo.

403 Courses West. Winds ENEt.

404 Winds East.

405 Courses West. Winds East.

406 Courses WBNo.

2[AM]⁴⁰⁷ At 3 AM Set the maintopmast steeringsails. At 5 set all sail. Noon hazey. Latd Obsd 28~ 34' South. 127 Miles p Log.

Monday April 15th 1793. 1[PM]⁴⁰⁸ Light wind and hazey. At 3 squalley. In all steeringsails topgt Sails and double reefed the topsails. 4[PM]⁴⁰⁹ 5[PM]⁴¹⁰ Sent down topgallant yards. At 6 PM⁴¹¹ out all reefs & at 7[PM] set steering sails. At 8[PM]⁴¹² in main topmast Steeringsail. Midnight fresh breeze and Cloudy. 7[AM]⁴¹³ At 9[AM] Single reef't the topsails. At 11 out reefs and set the mizen. Noon Fresh gale. Latd Obsd 29~ 27' South. At 2h 12' 0" of time observed the Dist of the [sun and moon] had several Sights the meen gave Longitude 43~ 2' 30" E. Cape Agullias S 73~ W. Distance 1083 M. 138 Miles pr Log.

407 Winds EBNo.

408 Courses WBN. Winds NEt.

409 Courses NWBW. Winds SW.

410 Courses WBSO. Winds South.

411 Courses WSW. Winds SBEt.

412 Courses West. Winds SSEt.

413 Winds SBEt.

Tuesday April 16th 1793. 1[PM]⁴¹⁴ Fresh breeze and Pleasant. Sailmaker repairing the topgallantsails. At 5 PM set the topmast steeringsails. 6[PM]⁴¹⁵ Midnight⁴¹⁶ lively breeze and flying Clouds. 6[AM] Sent up the topgallantyards. Set the topgt sails and staysails. 9[AM] Bent another fore topsail. 10[AM]⁴¹⁷ Noon inclining to calm. Latd Obsd 30.25 South. 121 Miles Distance p Log.

Wednesday April 17th 1793. 1[AM]⁴¹⁸ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. 3[PM]⁴¹⁹ At 3h 13' 31" Astronomic time by the meen of seven distances of the sun and moons nearest limbs. Found the Longd 37° 30' 30 E. Variation pr Azth 24° 16' W. At 6 PM all steeringsails staysails and royals. Midnight hazey. At 3 AM set the Jib & staysails. 5[AM]⁴²⁰ 8[AM]⁴²¹ 10[AM]⁴²² Noon⁴²³ pleasant. Seamen employed on the

414 Courses West. Winds SSEt.

415 Winds SEt.

416 Winds ESEt.

417 Winds Variable.

418 Courses West. Wind SSEt.

419 Winds South.

420 Courses NW. Winds WSW.

421 Courses WNW. Winds SW.

422 Courses NW. Winds WSW.

423 Courses NWBNo. Winds WBSO.

rigging. Sailmakers repairing the spare sails. Latitude Obsd 30~ 40' South. 31 1/2 Miles p Log.

Thursday April 18th 1793 1[PM]⁴²⁴ Light breeze and Pleasant with a smooth sea. At 2h 29' 8" apparent time by the mean of three Sets of [sun and moon] Distances determined the Longitude 36~ 12' 35" East of Greenwich.⁴²⁵ 7[PM]⁴²⁶ Midnight light airs and pleasant weather. 2[AM]⁴²⁷ 5[AM]⁴²⁸ Noon inclining to a calm. Latd Obsd 30~ 3' No. 51 Miles p Log.

Friday April 19th 1793. 1[PM]⁴²⁹ Light breeze and pleasant weather. 4[PM]⁴³⁰ Observed the distance of the [sun] & moons nearest limbs at 3~ 30' 12" apparent time and found the Longitude 35~ 59' 15" East. 5[PM]⁴³¹ 6[PM]⁴³² 8[PM]⁴³³ Midnight pleasant. Set steeringsails. Variation

⁴²⁴ Courses NW1/2W. Winds SWBW.

⁴²⁵ First time Haswell mentioned Greenwich, England as a navigational reference.

⁴²⁶ Courses NWBW. Winds WSW.

⁴²⁷ Courses WNW. Winds SW.

⁴²⁸ Courses WBNo. Winds North.

⁴²⁹ Courses NNW. Winds West.

⁴³⁰ Courses NWBW. Winds SWBW.

⁴³¹ Courses WNW. Winds SW.

⁴³² Courses WBNo. Winds SWBSo.

⁴³³ Courses West.

pr Azth & Ampd 23~ 50' West. 7[AM]⁴³⁴ 8[AM]⁴³⁵ 9[AM]⁴³⁶
 Sailmakers mending old sails. 10[AM]⁴³⁷ Latd Obsd 29~ 34'
 S. Point Lucia bears N 69~ W. 166 Miles. 52 Miles p Log.

Saterday April 20th 1793 1[PM]⁴³⁸ Light breeze
 inclining to a Calm. 2[PM]⁴³⁹ 3 [PM] ⁴⁴⁰ At 4~ 28' 34"
 apparent time observed the Distance of the [sun and moon]
 nearest limbs and found the Longitude to be 35~ 30' 45"
 East of Greenwich or 253~ 58' 15" West of Boston.⁴⁴¹
 7[PM]⁴⁴² 8[PM]⁴⁴³ 10[PM] Variation pr amplitude 24~ 27'
 West. Set the steering sails. Midnight. Pleasant with the
 ripling of a Current. 6[AM] In topmast Steering sails.
 Noon Pleasant. I allow a Current to Set NE pr Compass 57
 Miles these 24 hours. Latitude Obsd 29~ 16' South. 61
 Miles pr Log.

434 Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.

435 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

436 Courses WBSO. Winds NWBNo.

437 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

438 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

439 Courses SWBW. Winds NWBW.

440 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

441 First time Haswell mentioned Boston, Massachusetts
 as a navigational reference.

442 Courses WBS. Winds NWBNo.

443 Winds NNW.

Sunday April 21st 1793 1[PM]⁴⁴⁴ Light breeze and pleasant weather. Set topmast & topgallant steering sails. 5[PM]⁴⁴⁵ 7[PM] - 9[PM]⁴⁴⁶ 10[PM]⁴⁴⁷ Midnight D[itt]o Weather. 2[AM]⁴⁴⁸ 5[AM]⁴⁴⁹ 10[AM]⁴⁵⁰ 11[AM]⁴⁵¹ Noon⁴⁵² Pleasant. I allow a current to have set us NEt 30 Miles these 24 hours. Latd Obsd 29~ 34' So. 65 Miles p Log.

Monday April 22nd 1793 1[PM]⁴⁵³ Fresh breeze and Clear weather. At 3 PM squalley. In topgallantsails and double reef't the topsails. At 4[PM]⁴⁵⁴ made sail again. At 5[PM]⁴⁵⁵ in topgallantsails and Reef'd the mizen topsail.

444 Courses WSW. Winds NNW.

445 Courses SWBW.

446 Courses SWBW. Winds Calm.

447 Courses WSW. Winds NNW.

448 Courses West. Winds North.

449 Courses WSW.

450 Winds NWBN.

451 Courses SWBW.

452 Courses SW.

453 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

454 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

455 Courses SSW. Winds West.

6[PM]⁴⁵⁶ 7[PM]⁴⁵⁷ 11[PM]⁴⁵⁸ Midnight moderate. 1[AM]⁴⁵⁹
 2[AM]⁴⁶⁰ 3[AM]⁴⁶¹ 5[AM]⁴⁶² At 7 AM⁴⁶³ Set all sail.
 8[AM]⁴⁶⁴ Light Showers of Rain. 10[AM]⁴⁶⁵ Noon pleasant.
 Latitd Obsd 30.3 South. I allow the Current to have set us
 NEt 31 Miles 24 these hours. 71 Miles p Log.

Tuesday April 23d 1793 1[PM]⁴⁶⁶ Moderate breeze and
 pleasant weather. 5[PM] Variation pr Azth & Ampd 27~ 50'
 W. At 11[PM] in Royals and topgallant steering sails.
 Midnight Moderate. Down Jib and staysails. Set topgallant
 steeringsails and Royals. Noon lively breeze and pleasant.
 Latd Obsd 31~ 14' South. I allow the Current to have set us
 14 Miles to the northward. 110 1/2 Miles p Log.

- 456 Courses S1/2Et. Winds SWBW1/2W.
- 457 Courses SBW. Winds W1/2So.
- 458 Courses SSW. Winds West.
- 459 Courses SWBSo. Winds WBNo.
- 460 Courses SW. Winds WNW.
- 461 Courses SWBW. Winds NWBW.
- 462 Courses WSW. Winds SSEt.
- 463 Courses SWBW. Winds Variable.
- 464 Courses WSW. Winds SEt.
- 465 Winds ESEt.
- 466 Courses WSW. Winds ENEt.

Wednesday April 24th 1793. Moderate breeze and pleasant. At 1 PM⁴⁶⁷ in lee lower steering sails. 2[PM]⁴⁶⁸ At 5[PM]⁴⁶⁹ in maintopmast and topgallant steerings. 6[PM]⁴⁷⁰ At 1/2 past 6 in fore topmast steeringsail & Royals. At 7[PM]⁴⁷¹ in topgallantsails. 9[PM]⁴⁷² 11[PM]⁴⁷³ Midnight Cloudy. 1[AM]⁴⁷⁴ At 1/2 past 1 P.M.⁴⁷⁵ squalley. Up mainsail down Jib and staysails close reefed the topsails. At 2 handed the topsails & mainsail and wore ship to the westward. 3[AM]⁴⁷⁶ 5[AM]⁴⁷⁷

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- 467 Courses WBSO. Winds NEt.
 - 468 Courses West. Winds North.
 - 469 Courses WBSO. Winds NWBNo.
 - 470 Courses SSW. Winds West.
 - 471 Courses SSW1/2W. Winds W1/2So.
 - 472 Courses SWBSO.
 - 473 Courses SW. Winds WNW.
 - 474 Courses SWBSO. Winds WBNo.
 - 475 [sic] A.M.
 - 476 Courses WNW. Winds SW.
 - 477 Courses WBN1/2N. Winds SWBSO.

At 6 sent down topgallantyards set the topsails and mainsail. 9[AM]⁴⁷⁸ 10[AM]⁴⁷⁹ At 11 out one reef of the topsails & set the maintopmast Staysail. Noon Cloudy with a fresh breeze. No observation. 67 [Miles].

Thursday April 25th 1793 1[PM]⁴⁸⁰ Fresh breeze. Out all reefs. At 2[PM]⁴⁸¹ Squalley double reef't the topsails. 5[PM]⁴⁸² Out one reef main topsail. 9[PM]⁴⁸³ 11[PM] Out all reefs. Midnight⁴⁸⁴ lively breeze.

478 Courses WBNo.

479 Courses West. Winds SSW.

480 Courses West. Winds SSW.

481 Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.

482 Courses WSW. Winds South.

483 Winds SB Et.

484 Winds ESEt.

5[AM]⁴⁸⁵ Set the Jib. 8[AM]⁴⁸⁶ Variable. Up main topgallant yard and set the Sail. Set topmast steering sails. Down Jib and up mizen. Set topgallant and lower Steeringsails. Noon Fresh breeze and Clear. Latitd Obsd 33~ 4' So. Cape Agullies bears S 78~ 30' W 503 Mi. 120 Miles pr Log.

Friday April 26th 1793 1[PM]⁴⁸⁷ Strong gale and pleasant weather with a following sea. 6[PM] At [sic] in topgallantsails and steeringsails. Midnight hazey. 3[AM]⁴⁸⁸ 8[AM]⁴⁸⁹ Noon Pleasant and more moderate with a large swell from the ENet. Latd Obsd 34~ 3' So. 179 Miles pr Log.

Saturday April 27th 1793. At 1 PM⁴⁹⁰ more moderate. Out all reefs and made sail. 2[PM]⁴⁹¹ 5[PM]⁴⁹² Moderate with a large swell from the NEt. 7[PM] - 8[PM]⁴⁹³ Double

485 Winds SEt.

486 Courses WBSO. Winds East.

487 Courses WBNo. Winds NEBt.

488 Winds NEt.

489 Courses WNW.

490 Course West. Winds NNW.

491 Course WSW. Winds NW.

492 Courses WNW. Winds North.

493 Winds Calm.

reefd the topsails. 9[PM]⁴⁹⁴ Set the Jib maintopmast
 staysail and mizen. Midnight⁴⁹⁵ Pleasant. 4[AM]⁴⁹⁶ At
 5[AM]⁴⁹⁷ out all reefs. 7[AM] Set topgallantsails.
 10[AM]⁴⁹⁸ Set up the rigging fore and aft. 11[AM]⁴⁹⁹
 Noon⁵⁰⁰ Pleasant. Latd Obsd 33~ 39'. 49 Miles p Log.

Sunday April 28th 1793⁵⁰¹ 1[PM]⁵⁰² Light breezes and
 pleasant weather. 3[PM] - 4[PM]⁵⁰³ People employed geting
 water up out of the main hold. 5[PM]⁵⁰⁴ 8[PM]⁵⁰⁵ Set the
 topmast steering sails. 10[PM]⁵⁰⁶ In Steering sails.

494 Course NWBW. Winds SWBW.

495 Courses NW. Winds WSW.

496 Course NW1/2No. Winds WBSol/2So.

497 Course NNW. Winds West.

498 Course NBW. Winds West.

499 Course NNW.

500 Course NWBNo. Winds WBSO.

501 Boit: similar information.

502 Course NWBNo. Winds WBSO.

503 Course NWBNo. Winds Calm.

504 Course WNW. Winds ESEt.

505 Winds East.

506 Winds NE.

11[PM]⁵⁰⁷ Midnight Pleasant. 3[AM]⁵⁰⁸ 4[AM]⁵⁰⁹ At 5 AM⁵¹⁰
 in topgallantsails and light staysails. 6[AM]⁵¹¹ 7[AM]⁵¹²
 Variation pr Apt 28~ 28' W. 8[AM]⁵¹³ At 1/2 past 9[AM]⁵¹⁴
 Saw the Land bearing from NE to NW 8 Leagues. Single reef'd
 the topsails. At 1/2 past 11[AM]⁵¹⁵ the weather pleasant.
 Formosa or Muscel bay⁵¹⁶ bears NNEt and Cape Talkado WNW
 11 Leagues. Latd Obs 33~ 54' South. I allow a Current to
 have set us S.W. 37 Miles. Cape Agulias bears S 78~ W.
 Distance 240 Miles. 60 Miles p Log.

507 Winds North.

508 Course WBS.

509 Course SBW.

510 Course NBW. Winds Tack'd Ship.

511 Course NNW.

512 Course NBEt. Winds Tack Ship.

513 Course NNEt.

514 Course NBW. Winds WBNo.

515 Course N1/2W. Winds WNW.

516 Mosselbaai, on the South African coast between
 Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

Monday April 29th 1793⁵¹⁷ Moderate breeze and pleasant. At 1 PM⁵¹⁸ out all reefs and set topgallantsails and staysails. 2[PM]⁵¹⁹ 3[PM]⁵²⁰ At 1/2 past 5[PM]⁵²¹ the westwardmost extreem of the land bore N.W.B.W. and the eastwardmost ESEt. The nearest land distant about 2 Leagues. 6[PM]⁵²² 10[PM] - 12[AM]⁵²³ Midnight Calm. 1[AM]⁵²⁴ 2[AM]⁵²⁵ At 3[AM]⁵²⁶ tacked ship to the northward. At

⁵¹⁷ Boit, similar information.

⁵¹⁸ Courses NNW. Winds West.

⁵¹⁹ Courses NWBNo. Winds WBSO.

⁵²⁰ Courses NW. Winds WSW.

⁵²¹ Courses NW. Winds Tack Ship.

⁵²² Courses SW. Winds WNW.

⁵²³ Courses SW. Winds Calm.

⁵²⁴ Courses SBE.

⁵²⁵ Courses South. Winds WSW.

⁵²⁶ Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.

4[AM]⁵²⁷ 5[AM]⁵²⁸ D[itt]o Southward. 7[AM]⁵²⁹ At 8 D[itt]o Northward. Single Reef the topsails. 9[AM]⁵³⁰ At 11 AM cut Reefs. Noon hazey. The extreems of the land bear from North to NNEt. Latitude Obsd 34° 11' So. I allow a Current to have set us S.W. 29 Miles these twenty four hours. 58 Miles p Log.

Tuesday April 30th 1793.⁵³¹ 1[PM]⁵³² Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Maney birds of different species on the wing and seals playing about the ship. 4[PM]⁵³³ 5[PM]⁵³⁴ At 6 tack't Ship to the westward. 7[PM]⁵³⁵ The

527 Courses NNW.

528 Courses SSW. Winds West.

529 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

530 Courses NBE. Winds NBBW.

531 Boit, similar information.

532 Courses NBW1/2W. Winds W1/2No.

533 Courses NNW. Winds West.

534 Courses NW. Winds WSW.

535 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.

westwardmost land in sight bore WBxx⁵³⁶ and the eastwardmost EBNo. At 8 tack'd ship to the Northward. At 1/2 past 9[PM]⁵³⁷ Tack'd Ship to the westward. 10[PM]⁵³⁸ 11[PM]⁵³⁹ Midnight Pleasant. 1[AM]⁵⁴⁰ Set the light staysails. 3[PM]⁵⁴¹ 5[AM] - 7[AM]⁵⁴² At 20h 59' 25"⁵⁴³ apparent time Pr Mean of nine distances of the [sun and moon] Nearest limbs, I determined the Longitude 26~ 32' 45" of Greenwich. 9[AM]⁵⁴⁴ 10[AM]⁵⁴⁵ At 11[AM]⁵⁴⁶ Set steeringsails. Seamen employed in the nesecery repairs of the rigging. The extreems of the land from NWBW to NEBNo. Noon agreable weather. Latitude Obsd 34~ 18' So. 50 Miles pr Log.

536 Eddy used x to indicate illegibility.

537 Courses NBW. Winds WBNo.

538 Courses NBW1/2W.

539 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

540 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

541 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

542 Winds Calm.

543 8:59 25 seconds AM. Courses WBSO. Winds NWBNo.

544 Courses WNW.

545 Winds NEt.

546 Winds ESE.

Wednesday May 1st 1793 1[PM]⁵⁴⁷ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Seamen employed in the nesecery duties of the Ship. 5[PM]⁵⁴⁸ At 6 PM the extreems of the land in sight bore from NW to EBNo. The nearest land about about 8 Leagues distance. Lively breeze and exceeding pleasant weather. At 8 PM short'ned sail. Midnight Clear weather with a heavy dew. At 5 made all sail. Variation pr ampd 25~ 18' E. Sounded 77 f[atho]m sand & shells. 8[AM]⁵⁴⁹ At 9[AM]⁵⁵⁰ Tacked to the northward. At 21h 43' 30" ap Time pr Mean of three Distances [sun and moon] nearest limbs found the Longd 24~ 35' 30" Et. 10[AM]⁵⁵¹ Noon foggy. No observation. Latitude pr act 34~ 30' South. 103 Miles Pr Log.

Thursday May 2nd 1793 1[PM]⁵⁵² Light breeze and Foggy. 4[PM]⁵⁵³ Variation pr Azth 26~ 24' W. At 1/2 past 5 PM the westwardmost extreem of the land in sight bore NWBNo.

- 547 Courses WNW. Winds ESE.
- 548 Courses WBNo. Winds EBSO.
- 549 Winds Variable.
- 550 Courses SWBSO. Winds WBNo.
- 551 Courses NWW.
- 552 Courses NNEt. Winds NW.
- 553 Courses NBet. Winds NWBW.

6[PM]⁵⁵⁴ 7[PM]⁵⁵⁵ At 8 Sounded 54 fm gray sand mixed with rotten shells. At 1/2 past 8 PM tacked ship to the southd. 9[PM]⁵⁵⁶ 10[PM]⁵⁵⁷ Midnight foggy. Tacked ship to the N[orthwar]d. 1[AM]⁵⁵⁸ At 2 AM⁵⁵⁹ tack'd to the southward set topgallantsails. 3[AM]⁵⁶⁰ 5[AM]⁵⁶¹ 8 [AM]⁵⁶² At 9 Tacked ship to the northward. At 11 AM Saw the Land bearing NNW to ENEt. Sounded 59 fm gray sand mix't with bright shells and corrol rock. Noon foggy. Latitude Obsd 34~ 27'. 51 Miles pr Log.

Friday May 3d 1793. 1[PM]⁵⁶³ Light breeze and foggy weather.

554 Courses N1/2E.

555 Courses NBEt.

556 Courses SWBW. Winds WNW.

557 Courses SW.

558 Courses NNEt. Winds NW.

559 Courses NEBNo. Winds NWBNo.

560 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

561 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

562 Courses NNEt.

563 Courses SSW. Winds West.

3[PM]⁵⁶⁴ Set the light staysails. 4[PM]⁵⁶⁵ 6[PM]⁵⁶⁶ At 7
 Shortned sail. At 8 PM sounded 56 fm fine gray sand.
 9[PM]⁵⁶⁷ Midnight⁵⁶⁸ still foggy. At 6 Made all Sail.
 8[AM]⁵⁶⁹ At 21h 37' 30" Apat Time pr mean of six dist. of
 the [sun and moon] nearest limbs I determined the Longitude
 to be 22~ 35' 30" East of Greenwich. 10[AM]⁵⁷⁰ Noon⁵⁷¹
 Light breeze and agreable weather. The westwardmost land
 in sight which I take to be Cape Vacias from my Lunar
 account bears NWBW about 7 Leagues Distance the
 eastwardmost extreem of the Land bears ENE. Latitude Obsd
 34~ 35' South. 80 Miles pr Log.

Saturday May 4th 1793⁵⁷² 1[PM]⁵⁷³ Fresh breeze and
 pleasant weather. At 3 PM⁵⁷⁴ abrest of Cape Vaccas.

564 Courses WBNo. Winds SSW.

565 Courses WNW.

566 Winds ESEt.

567 Courses WBNo.

568 Winds SEBEt.

569 Courses NWBW. Winds East.

570 Winds NEt.

571 Courses WNW. Winds EBSO.

572 Boit, similar information.

573 Courses NWBW1/2W. Winds ESE.

574 Courses WNW.

4[PM]⁵⁷⁵ At 1/2 past 5 the extreems of the Land bore from
 WNW to EBNo. 6 [PM]⁵⁷⁶ Midnight Pleasant. 1[AM]⁵⁷⁷
 2[AM]⁵⁷⁸ 4[AM]⁵⁷⁹ At 6 AM foggy made more sail. At
 7[AM]⁵⁸⁰ Clear. Saw a sail bearing WNW. 8[AM]⁵⁸¹ At 20h 12'
 3" apt time observed the Longd pr [sun and moon] distance
 to be 20~ 48' 45" East. The extreems of the land bearing
 from North to EBSO. The N[orthwar]d Land I take for the
 Guners Zuoxx and Cape Agulias⁵⁸² bears NEBNo 6 Leagues.
 Latitude Obsd 35~ 0' South. 137 Miles pr Log.

Sunday April[sic] 5th 1793.⁵⁸³ 1[PM]⁵⁸⁴ Moderate
 breeze and pleasant weather. At 1h 25' 0" aparent Time pr
 [sun and moon] Distance I observed the Long to be 19~ 53'
 15" East. 2[PM]⁵⁸⁵ At 1/2 past 5 PM the Cape of Good Hope

575 Courses WBNo. Winds ESE.

576 Courses WBSO. Winds SE.

577 Courses WBNo.

578 Courses WNW. Winds NE.

579 Winds EBSO.

580 Courses NWBW.

581 Courses NW. Winds East.

582 Cape Agulhas, on the South African coast between
 Mosselbaai and Cape Town.

583 Boit: similar information. Next entry May 25.

584 Courses SW. Winds WNW.

585 Courses SWBSO. Winds WBNo.

bore NBW table hill north and the Zuvin NBet. 6[PM]⁵⁸⁶
 7[PM]⁵⁸⁷ 8[PM]⁵⁸⁸ 9[PM]⁵⁸⁹ 10[PM]⁵⁹⁰ Midnight⁵⁹¹ Foggy
 disagreeable weather. 1[AM]⁵⁹² 5[AM]⁵⁹³ At 1/2 past 5 AM,
 made all sail. The strange ship we saw yesterday in the
 N.W. still in sight but she outsails us exceedingly.
 6[AM]⁵⁹⁴ 7[AM]⁵⁹⁵ At 8 AM the Cape of Good Hope bore NNE 10
 Leagues and the southwardmost Land bore EBSO. Lively breeze
 and pleasant. The Land obscure by haze. Latitude Obsd 34~
 41' South. St Helena bears N 48~ 55' W. 1710 Miles Dist. 70
 1/2 Miles pr Log.

Monday May 6th 1793. 1[PM]⁵⁹⁶ Lively breeze and
 pleasant weather. 5[PM] Cloudy. 10[PM] In Steeringsails.

586 Courses WNW. Winds North.

587 Courses NNBW. Winds NBet.

588 Courses WNW. Winds North.

589 Courses NNBW. Winds NNet.

590 Courses WNW. Winds SWBW.

591 Winds SSW.

592 Winds NEBet.

593 Courses NW. Winds SEt.

594 Courses NNBNo. Winds SEt.

595 Courses NNW. Winds SEt.

596 Courses NNW. Winds SSEt.

Midnight⁵⁹⁷ Light airs and flattering W[eathe]r. 1[AM]⁵⁹⁸
 6[AM]⁵⁹⁹ 7[AM]⁶⁰⁰ 9[AM]⁶⁰¹ 11[AM]⁶⁰² Noon⁶⁰³ Moderate and
 Cloudy. Maney Pintardo birds and Albatross on the wing.
 Latitude Obsd 33° 23' So. 87 Miles pr Log.

Tuesday May 7th 1793. 1[PM]⁶⁰⁴ Moderate breezes and
 Cloudy. 3[PM]⁶⁰⁵ 5[PM]⁶⁰⁶ 7[PM]⁶⁰⁷ 8[PM]⁶⁰⁸ 9[PM] -
 Midnight⁶⁰⁹ Calm and Cloudy. 1[AM]⁶¹⁰ Rainey disagreeable

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- 597 Winds Variable.
 - 598 Winds SW.
 - 599 Speed Calm.
 - 600 Courses N1/2W. Winds WBNo.
 - 601 Courses NBW1/2W.
 - 602 Courses NNW. Winds West.
 - 603 Courses NWBW. Winds WBNo.
 - 604 Courses NBE. Winds NWBW.
 - 605 Courses N1/2E.
 - 606 Courses NBE1/2E. Winds NWBW.
 - 607 Courses North.
 - 608 Courses NBE. Winds Variable.
 - 609 Winds Calm.
 - 610 Courses NE1/2No. Winds NNW.

weather. 5[AM]⁶¹¹ 6[AM]⁶¹² 7[AM]⁶¹³ Wore ship to the northward. 9[AM] - 10[AM]⁶¹⁴ At 10 made all Sail. 11[AM]⁶¹⁵ Noon⁶¹⁶ Pleasant. Latitude Obs. 32° 45' So. St Hellena bears N 48° W. Dist 1510 Miles. 36 Miles pr Log.

Wednesday May 9th 1793. 1[PM]⁶¹⁷ Moderate and Cloudy. Saw a sail in the Westward and the Land Rangd from ENE to ESE. 2[PM]⁶¹⁸ Variation pr ampd 21° 13' West. At 7[PM] Rainey weather in Light Sails. Midnight moderate and Cloudy. 1[AM]⁶¹⁹ Unbent the Mizzen and bent the spanker. Noon⁶²⁰ Calm. Latitude Obsd 32° 20' South. 70 1/2 Miles pr Log.

611 Courses NEt.

612 Courses WNW. Winds SW.

613 Courses NEBNo. Winds NW.

614 Courses NEBNo. Winds Calm.

615 Courses NW. Winds SW.

616 Courses NWBW. Winds SE.

617 Courses NWBN. Winds SE.

618 Winds SBW.

619 Winds SSE.

620 Courses NWBN. Winds Calm.

Thursday May 10th 1793. Pleasant weather. 2[PM]⁶²¹
 3[PM]⁶²² 5[PM]⁶²³ 6[PM]⁶²⁴ At 9[PM]⁶²⁵ in Mizen
 topgallantsail. 10[PM]⁶²⁶ Midnight Cloudy. 3[AM]⁶²⁷
 5[AM]⁶²⁸ 9[AM]⁶²⁹ 11[AM]⁶³⁰ Noon⁶³¹ pleasant. Set
 Steeringsails. Latd Obsd 31~ 29' So. 49 [Miles].

Friday May 10th 1793. 1[PM]⁶³² Light airs and pleasant
 weather. 6[PM]⁶³³ 8[PM]⁶³⁴ 11[PM]⁶³⁵ Midnight Clear.

 621 Courses NEt.

622 Courses North. Winds Variable.

623 Courses NBEt. Winds NWBNo.

624 Courses North.

625 Courses NBW. Winds WBN.

626 Courses NBW1/2W. Winds West.

627 Courses NW. Winds WBNo.

628 Courses NBW.

629 Courses NNW. Winds West.

630 Courses NWBNo. Winds WBSO.

631 Courses NWBNo. Winds Calm.

632 Courses NWBNo. Winds ESEt.

633 Courses NWBNo. Winds SSW.

634 Courses NWBNo. Winds SSE.

635 Courses NWBNo. Winds South.

3[AM]⁶³⁶ At 6[AM]⁶³⁷ Set all light sails. 8[AM]⁶³⁸
 Variation pr Azth 20~ 40' W. Put a new fid in the main
 topmast. Noon Cloudy. Latd Obsd 30~ 34' So. 109 Miles pr
 Log.

Saturday May 11th 1793. 1[PM]⁶³⁹ Lively breeze and
 Cloudy. Midnight⁶⁴⁰ Cloudy with drizzling rain. 2[AM] All
 sail out. 3[AM]⁶⁴¹ 6[AM]⁶⁴² 10[AM]⁶⁴³ Noon Pleasant. Latd
 Obsd 29~ 24' South. St Hellena bears North 49~ W. 1232
 Miles Distance. 135 Miles pr Log.

Sunday May 12th 1793. 1[PM]⁶⁴⁴ Moderate breeze and
 pleasant weather. 2[PM]⁶⁴⁵ 3[PM]⁶⁴⁶

 636 Courses NWBNo. Winds SEBSo.

637 Courses NWBNo. Winds South.

638 Courses NWBNo. Winds SEBSo.

639 Courses NWBNo. Winds SEBSo.

640 Winds SE.

641 Winds ESE.

642 Winds ENE.

643 Winds NE.

644 Courses NWBNo. Winds NE.

645 Courses NW. Winds NBE.

646 Courses NWBW.

5[PM]⁶⁴⁷ In all Steering sails. At 1/2 past 6 tacked to the northward. At 7[PM]⁶⁴⁸ Tack'd to the westward. 9[PM]⁶⁴⁹ 10[PM]⁶⁵⁰ At 11 Tacked to the northward. Midnight⁶⁵¹ Cloudy. 2[AM]⁶⁵² 3[AM]⁶⁵³ 5[AM]⁶⁵⁴ 7[AM] - 8[AM]⁶⁵⁵ 9[AM]⁶⁵⁶ 10[AM]⁶⁵⁷ 11[AM]⁶⁵⁸ Noon ⁶⁵⁹ Pleasant. Latd Obsd 29~ 3' Sou. 49 Miles pr Log.

Monday May 13th 1793 1[PM]⁶⁶⁰ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. 2[PM]⁶⁶¹ At 3[PM]⁶⁶² in fore and Main topgallantsails and light staysails. Squalley. At 1/2 past

- 647 Courses West. Winds NNW.
- 648 Courses NEBE. Winds NBW.
- 649 Courses WSW.
- 650 Courses SW. Winds WNW.
- 651 Courses N1/2E. Winds Tack'd.
- 652 Courses NBW.
- 653 Courses NNW. Winds West.
- 654 Courses NBW1/2W. Winds WNW.
- 655 Courses NBW1/2W. Winds Calm.
- 656 Courses WNW. Winds North.
- 657 Courses NEBNo. Winds Tack'd.
- 658 Courses NNE.
- 659 Courses North. Winds WNW.
- 660 Courses NBE. Winds NNBW.
- 661 Courses N1/2W. Winds Variable.
- 662 Courses NBW. Winds Variable.

4 Single reefed the topsails. At 5[PM]⁶⁶³ out Reefs.
 6[PM]⁶⁶⁴ Midnight lively breeze and Clear. Set the
 topgallantsails and Spanker. 4[AM]⁶⁶⁵ 7[AM] Set all sail.
 10[AM]⁶⁶⁶ Noon Lively breeze and pleasant. Latitude Obsd
 27° 12' South. St Hellena N 51° W. Distance 1075 M. 149
 Miles pr Log.

Tuesday May 14th 1793. 1[PM]⁶⁶⁷ Lively breeze and
 pleasant weather. Variation Pr Ampd 20° 34' W. 11[PM]⁶⁶⁸
 Midnight moderate and pleasant. 2[AM]⁶⁶⁹ 3[AM]⁶⁷⁰ 6[AM]
 Set all light sails. 7[AM]⁶⁷¹ 8[AM]⁶⁷² Caulker employed
 caulking the pinnace. 11[AM]⁶⁷³ Noon moderate and
 pleasant. Latd Obsd 25° 41' So. 107 Miles p Log.

663 Courses NNW. Winds WBSO.

664 Winds SBW.

665 Winds South.

666 Winds SSE.

667 Courses NNW. Winds SSE.

668 Winds SE.

669 Winds SW.

670 Winds SSW.

671 Winds WSW.

672 Winds SSW.

673 Winds SW.

Wednesday May 15th 1793 1[PM]⁶⁷⁴ Light winds and pleasant. At 1h 54' 58" apparent time by observation of the Sun and Moons Dist I observed ye longitude 6~ 55' East. 3[PM]⁶⁷⁵ 5[PM]⁶⁷⁶ 9[PM]⁶⁷⁷ 11[PM]⁶⁷⁸ Midnight⁶⁷⁹ Pleasant. 2[AM]⁶⁸⁰ 4[AM]⁶⁸¹ 7[AM]⁶⁸² Seamen employed knotting yarns. Noon exceeding pleasant. Latd Obsd 24~ 47' East. 64 1/2 [Miles].

Thursday May 16th 1793. 1[PM] - 4[PM]⁶⁸³ Calm serene pleasant weather. At 2h 42' 41" Ap Time by the mean of two setts of Lunar observations I found the Longitude to be 6~ 32' 45" East. Variation pr Azth 20~ 26' W. 5[PM]⁶⁸⁴ 7[PM]⁶⁸⁵

674 Courses NNW. Winds WSW.

675 Winds West.

676 Courses NBW. Winds WBNo.

677 Courses NNW.

678 Winds WBSO.

679 Winds Variable.

680 Winds West.

681 Winds WBSO.

682 Winds West.

683 Winds Calm.

684 Courses NBW. Winds WBS.

685 Courses NNW.

Midnight Pleasant. 1[AM]⁶⁸⁶ 7[AM]⁶⁸⁷ 9[AM]⁶⁸⁸ Seamen
employed making Ratline. 11[AM]⁶⁸⁹ Noon⁶⁹⁰ Calm. Latit.
Obsd 24~ 26' South. 19 Miles p Log.

Friday May 17th 1793. 1[PM]⁶⁹¹ Light breezes and clear
weather. At 2h 23' 8" apt time by the mean of two setts of
Lunar observations consisting of five distances of the [sun
and moon] nearest limbs I found the Longitude to be 6~ 36'
30". The variation pr Azth 20~ 14' West. 3[PM]⁶⁹² 4[PM]⁶⁹³
5 [PM]⁶⁹⁴ 9[PM]⁶⁹⁵ 10[PM]⁶⁹⁶ Midnight⁶⁹⁷ pleasant
weather. 1[AM]⁶⁹⁸ 2[AM]⁶⁹⁹ At 3[AM]⁷⁰⁰ in Royals and mizen

686 Courses NBW. Winds WBNo.

687 Courses NNW. Winds WBSO.

688 Courses NNE.

689 Winds Calm.

690 Courses NNW.

691 Courses NEBNo. Winds NNW.

692 Winds T[ack]ed.

693 Courses SWBW. Winds NW.

694 Courses NNEt. Winds T[ack]ed.

695 Courses NEBE. Winds NNW.

696 Courses W1/2No. Winds NBW1/2W.

697 Courses W1/2So. Winds NNW.

698 Courses WBSO. Winds NWBW.

699 Courses WSW. Winds NW.

700 Courses NEBNo. Winds Tacked Ship.

topgallantsail. 4[AM]⁷⁰¹ 5[AM]⁷⁰² 7[AM]⁷⁰³ At 9[AM]⁷⁰⁴ in
 topgallantsails and light staysails. 10[AM]⁷⁰⁵ At 1/2 past
 10 Single reefed the topsails. Noon⁷⁰⁶ fresh breeze and
 pleasant weather. Seamen employed Knotting yarns and
 spinning spunyarn. Latitude Obsd 24~ 25' South. 52 Miles pr
 Log.

Saturday May 18th 1793. 1[PM]⁷⁰⁷ Fresh gale and
 pleasant weather. Double reefed the topsails down Jib and
 maintop staysails. 3[PM]⁷⁰⁸ At 5 PM Close reefed the fore
 topsail. 9[PM]⁷⁰⁹ At 10[PM]⁷¹⁰ Squalley in mizen topsail
 and Close reefed Main ditto. At 11 Set the mizen topsail
 and main topmast staysail. Shook the close reefs out of
 the topsails. Midnight fresh breeze and a large sea. At 1
 AM handed the mizen topsail and hauled down the main

 701 Courses West. Winds NNW T[acked].

702 Courses WBSO. Winds NWBNo. T[acked].

703 Courses NEBNo. Winds NWBNo.

704 Courses NEBE. Winds NWBNo.

705 Winds NBW.

706 Courses WBNo.

707 Courses NEBNo. Winds NBW1/2W.

708 Courses NNE. Winds NNW.

709 Courses NEBNo.

710 Courses NNW. Winds West.

topmast staysail. The wind abated and we set all sail. 3[AM]⁷¹¹ 9[AM]⁷¹² At 1/2 past 10 AM hauled down the light staysails. At 11 In Jib & Spanker, in fore topmast steering sail and topgallantsails. Noon lively breeze and a large swell from the westward. Latitude Obsd 23° 9' So. St Hellena N 57° 17' W. Distance 803 Miles. 79 Miles p Log.

Sunday May 19th 1793. 1[PM]⁷¹³ Moderate breeze and pleasant weather with a large swell from the S.W. Quarter. Set topgsls and topmast steering sails. 7[PM]⁷¹⁴ 8[PM]⁷¹⁵ Midnight ditto weather. 3[AM]⁷¹⁶ Noon Cloudy. Latitude Obs. 21° 31' South. St Hellena bears N 60° W. Dist 672 Miles. 127 1/2 Miles p Log.

Monday May 19th 1793 1[PM]⁷¹⁷ Lively breeze and Cloudy. At 9 in Royals. Midnight fresh breeze and Cloudy. Parted one of the main topgallantsheets. Parted the main topgallant tie. Noon Stiff breeze and Cloudy. Latitude Obsd 20° 8' South. St Hellena bears N 61° W. 528 Miles. 140 1/2 Miles pr Log.

711 Winds WSW.

712 Winds WBSO.

713 Courses NNW. Winds WSW.

714 Winds SW.

715 Winds SSW.

716 Winds from SW to SSet.

717 Courses NWBNo. Winds SEBSO.

Tuesday May 21st 1793. 1[PM]⁷¹⁸ Lively breeze Cloudy.
Midnight fresh breeze and Cloudy. Noon lively breeze and
Clear. Latitd Obsd 18~ 37" South. 155 Miles pr Log.

Wednesday May 22nd 1793 1[PM]⁷¹⁹ Fresh breeze and
cloudy weather. At 5 in Royals and topgallantsteering
sails. At 7 Set the mainsail. 8[PM]⁷²⁰ Midnight fresh
breeze and Cloudy. At 3 AM in all Steering sails and main
topgt. Reef't the mizen topsail. 4[AM]⁷²¹ 5[AM]⁷²²
Squalley. 8[AM]⁷²³ Porpoises p[l]aying about the ship. At
10 Set the mainsail maintopgt Sail and maintopmast
staysail. 11[AM]⁷²⁴ Noon⁷²⁵ Cloudy. Latitude Obsd 16.39
South. 168 Miles pr Log.

Thursday May 23d 1793 Lively breeze and drizzling
rain. At 1[PM]]⁷²⁶ Set topt Steers.⁷²⁷ At 6 PM double
reeft the

⁷¹⁸ Courses NWBNo. Winds SEBSo.

⁷¹⁹ Courses NNW. Winds SSE.

⁷²⁰ Winds SE.

⁷²¹ Courses NBW1/2W.

⁷²² Courses NBW.

⁷²³ Courses NBW. Winds SSE.

⁷²⁴ Winds SEt.

⁷²⁵ Winds SEBSo.

⁷²⁶ Original: Courses NBW. Winds SE.

⁷²⁷ Original: 5 PM Courses NWBNo. 7 PM Courses
WBN1/2No.

topsails and handed ye Courses. Midnight fresh trade and a following sea. At 1/2 past 5 made sail.⁷²⁸ Bent the cables and mounted the guns. Fresh gale with flying clouds. Latitude Obsd 16.10 South. 152 Miles p Log.

Friday May 24th 1793 1 [PM] ⁷²⁹ Lively breeze and Cloudy weather. 7[PM] ⁷³⁰ At 8 Shortned sail double reefed the topsails and hove too. Main topsail to the mast with her head to the N[orthwar]d. 9[PM] - 10[PM] ⁷³¹ 11[PM] - Midnight ⁷³² Squalley. 1[AM] - 4[AM] ⁷³³ At 5 AM ⁷³⁴ made all Sail. 6[AM] ⁷³⁵ 9[AM] Saw a St Hellena Pidgeon. Noon ⁷³⁶ Squalley. Cloudy. Latd Obsd 15.53 South. 85 Miles p Log.

⁷²⁸ Original: Winds South.

⁷²⁹ Courses WBN1/2No. Winds ESE.

⁷³⁰ Courses WNW.

⁷³¹ Courses NEBE off. Winds NE.

⁷³² Courses NE off. Winds NEBNo.

⁷³³ Courses NBE off. Winds NNW.

⁷³⁴ Courses SWBSo. Winds SWBW.

⁷³⁵ Courses WBN1/2No. Winds SSE.

⁷³⁶ Winds EBSO.

[ST. HELENA HARBOR LOG]

Saturday May 25th 1793 1[PM]⁷³⁷ Fresh gales and pleasant weather but hazey. At 1/2 past 4 Saw the Island St Hellena bearing WBN 1/2 No. 6[PM]⁷³⁸ At 7[PM]⁷³⁹ Shortned sail and at 8 hove too. 9[PM] - 5[AM]⁷⁴⁰ Midnight Squalley. At 1/2 past 3 AM Saw the Island distant about 3 Leagues distance bearing WSW. At 5 we made sail [6 AM]⁷⁴¹ and at 8 being in sight of the first fort we hoisted the boat out and I went to request the gouverners permishon to Anchor and recrut our stock of water. This he very willingly granted.⁷⁴² He informed me the French had declared war against the English and Dutch and that the Spaniards had asisted the English with 30 Sail of ships of

 737 Courses WBN1/2N. Winds SE.

738 Courses WNW.

739 Courses WBN1/2No. Winds South.

740 Laying too off and on wating for Daylight.

741 Courses WSW. Winds SE.

742 Boit commented that Captain Gray visited the Governor, Lieutenant Governor Robinson. Robinson visited the Columbia Rediviva requesting specimens for his museum. He went away happy.

war.⁷⁴³ At 10 we anchored in the bay and Moored with the Church bearing SE. As we came in to the bay, the cutter that had brought the information of the war sail'd for the East Indies. We found riding here the Valentine Rose & Busbridge Companies Ships and three whalemens. They were waiting for a convoy. The latter part of the Day employed watering. St Hellena is in Latitude 15°.58' North & Longitude 5°.50' West.

Sunday May 26th 1793.⁷⁴⁴ Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. Employed watering.⁷⁴⁵ The english east India Ships Shifted their birth to the west part of the bay to be clear of the fier from the fort and moor'd in a line. Their had been no rain at St Hellena for these 3 years which has

⁷⁴³ The French Revolution developing into the Napoleonic Wars. As a result, the Americans will fight a short undeclared naval war against the French, 1798-1800 and a longer one, 1812-1814, against the British. American merchantman activity will fluctuate radically as Americans become the neutral haulers for Europeans unwilling or unable to give up foreign goods. England ends up as the mistress of the seas. St. Helena will become known as Napoleon's place of exile and death.

⁷⁴⁴ Winds SEt.

⁷⁴⁵ Boit was delighted by the underground pipes, eliminating the need for unloading the water casks. Found the crane on the pier equally wonderful. Boit made entries for June 3 and 9, and July 2 and 5.

caused a famin and thare was no supplies to be obtained in the Vallaje but water which to us is a great disapointment.

[END OF HASWELL'S LOG]⁷⁴⁶

The foregoing is a true copy of the Log Book of Robert Haswell, Esquire, of the Ship Columbia, prepared by me from the Original. Portland, Oregon, June 1st 1896 [Signed] B.L.Eddy.

⁷⁴⁶ Penciled in, "Arrived at Boston 29 July 1793."

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

So ends First Mate Robert Haswell's log of the Columbia Rediviva's second voyage. Haswell did not record the leg home; presumably because it was uneventful and commonplace by the 1790s. Two things stand out in what he did record: the daily repetition and the crew's isolation and contact with foreigners. The most striking examples of their isolation are that, though they had contact throughout the voyage with Europeans, they knew nothing about the French Revolution, and, what was more important to the sailor, the drought on St. Helena. In addition to their extreme isolation, they had contact with a wider range of people than their non-seafaring brethren could imagine existing. What the mariner made of his particular perspective, its influence on landlubbers' thinking and international trade's effect on the American economy are still enigmas after reading Haswell's log. To some extent these issues have been explored by users of the Columbia Rediviva records.

The first use of the Columbia Rediviva records was not by historians; instead, they caught the attention of American diplomats. The diplomats focused on one event:

Captain Gray's exploration of the Columbia River. They used this event to substantiate the American claim to the Pacific Northwest. Since territorial rights were largely determined by discovery, Captain Gray, by being the second Westerner to notice the Columbia River's mouth and the first to enter it, marked the area for the United States.

On June 15, 1846 Great Britain and the United States signed the Oregon Treaty, agreeing to the current boundary between American and British territory. This boundary was at 49°N, the line somewhat agreed to by the British and French in the Treaty at Utrecht of 1713 for as far west as the Rocky Mountains.

Frederick Merk in his work The Oregon Question,¹ described the negotiations throughout the early nineteenth century. He argued that officially the Anglo-American debate adhered to the tradition of first contact and most extensive use, but that the decisive factor was actually England's situation by the 1840s. Within the legalistic method of presenting an argument for territorial ownership, the claimant had to show first contact and extensive use. Until the 1830s and the American settlement along the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, the British had a stronger case than the Americans and, with the decline of Spain as a

¹ Frederick Merk, The Oregon Question: Essays in Anglo-American Diplomacy and Politics (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967).

world power, Great Britain lost its imperial rival. Prior to Spain's decline, Great Britain and Spain had relatively equally strong arguments for extensive use, for England could point to the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts and Spain to its presidio and mission systems throughout California and the Nootka Sound holding for the area further north.

The crux of the American argument for territorial possession was Captain Gray's discovery of the Columbia River in 1792, Lewis and Clark's exploration in 1804-1806, and various American trading posts, particularly John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Trading Company, 1811-1813. England countered this argument with Sir Francis Drake's exploration of 1578, Captain James Cook's discoveries of 1776-1779, Lieutenant William R. Broughton's survey in 1792 of the first hundred miles of the Columbia River,² and the omnipresent Hudson's Bay Company.

The American desire for the Pacific Northwest was based on key statesmen and business leaders' belief in the economic advantages of owning it. Terrence Barragy in "The Trading Age, 1792-1844" explained that the drive was on the

² Spanish Governor Quadra gave Captain George Vancouver a sketch of Gray's find. Lamb 689.

part of Massachusetts and particularly Boston maritime merchants.³ Much of the wealth in Massachusetts came from sperm whale hunting and the China trade in sea otter pelts and California cow hides and tallow. The sea otter trade served also as a mask for gun running to California and the west coast of South America; Barragy did not elaborate on the ramifications of this, which is unfortunate, since it would have helped illuminate Connecticut's economy.⁴ In addition to the immediate importance of the West Coast to Massachusetts, a prevalent theory of the time was that once settled, any frontier area would be a potential market for Eastern seaboard manufactured goods, much as the colonies had been for the mother country under the mercantile system. In 1842-1843, Secretary of State Daniel Webster offered the British the area north of the Columbia River in exchange for British support of the American purchase of California from the Mexicans, indicating that the American interest in California was stronger than in Puget Sound.⁵

³ Terrence J. Barragy, "The Trading Age, 1792-1844," Oregon Historical Quarterly 76 (September 1975): 197-224.

⁴ Barragy 199.

⁵ Barragy 214.

Merk argued that rather than winning the legal argument, an argument resting strongly on Gray's discovery, the United States got the Pacific Northwest because by the 1840s England lost interest in it. His point was that, with the decline in the beaver hat, holding the Pacific Northwest became a luxury England could no longer afford.⁶ To support his position Merk pointed to England's financial exhaustion after the protracted Napoleonic Wars and the internal unrest triggered by the potato and wheat famines.⁷ Merk ignored India, but it must be included in the scenerio of a country shifting its overseas focus from an exhausted Canada to the barely exploited India and to the possibility of exploitable wealth in the Middle East and Africa.

Great Britain and the United States resolved their territorial boundary disputes. England went on to dominate India, much of Africa and the high seas, and to disrupt China, America to settle part of a continent. Thirty years after Captain Gray's discovery played its part in the Anglo-American territorial dispute, and over eighty years after the discovery of the Columbia River itself, Hubert Howe Bancroft, publisher and collector of western American documents decided that the Far West needed a history.

6

Merk 74.

7

Merk 284-285.

Hubert Howe Bancroft of San Francisco wrote thirty nine volumes about the development of the western United States. The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft covered everything from the Indian ways of life to Bancroft's own era. Most of it was divided by state and within that division arranged chronologically. Taking about twenty years, 1870s-1890s, this project employed about six hundred people, with fifty people at any one time, of which six to twenty were the core.⁸ Bancroft's method created chronicle rather than history; upon retiring, his chief librarian, Henry L. Oaks, confessed that he would have preferred it if The Works had been called annals and not histories.⁹

Bancroft collected voraciously.¹⁰ Bancroft's biographer, John Walton Caughey, explained Bancroft's purpose:

⁸ John Walton Caughey, Hubert Howe Bancroft Historian of the West (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946) 100-101.

⁹ Caughey 334.

¹⁰ He then had subject lists made of the contents of each document. From these lists, other more abridged lists were created. This system of distillation led to the formation of one of the first card catalogues. His writers worked from the other direction: developing more and more detailed lists of subjects to be covered in the volume. The staff would then plug in the documentary references from the card catalogue. The actual writing just required the stringing together of prose sentences. Caughey 92-97; I examined a few of the writers' lists at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

His duty, as he envisioned it, was to assemble and present the facts about the course of development in this vast and little-studied area, to measure their meaning as far as possible, but, without obscuring or beclouding the basic record.¹¹

Bancroft took a slightly different point of view:

The journals of explorers and the narratives of travellers embody in a wilderness of useless matter much valuable information. These works are quite rare; but even if they were at hand, one could wade through them only at great loss of time. Of these, in this part¹² of my History, I have summarized several score.

One such document was his partial copy of Robert Haswell's log of the Columbia Rediviva's second voyage. He received it from Haswell's daughter, Mrs. John J. (Mary Lewist) Clarke of Roxbury, Massachusetts, around 1879. Bancroft described the log:

It is a document of great interest and value, value, and includes a number of charts. The original contains also views of several places, the author having much skill with the pencil.¹³

His reference to the sketches suggests that he had seen the original. This brings up the question of why he did not have the entire document copied since the full original was in family hands. Answers at this point are strictly

¹¹ Caughey 276.

¹² Bancroft viii.

¹³ Bancroft 251n.

speculative and not satisfactory.

In the portion of The Works in which Bancroft cited the log's provenance, he was listing the vessels engaged in West Coast trade. The listing, which goes on for a few chapters, included every scrap of information about the Pacific trade including the name of the vessel, the captain, the ports of call, and the type of activity. By doing this Bancroft both documented the vessels and showed by sheer quantity the extent of the trade. He left it to the reader to infer its import.

Bancroft used the partial Haswell log as a way to show the strength of his reference library. Its strength was important, for the door-to-door subscription salesman stressed the breadth and depth of the Bancroft collection. The books were not inexpensive by frontier farming standards, with the price of the thirty-nine volume series being between \$175.50-390.00, depending on the binding. Bancroft's salesman appealed to the customer's nationalism, snobbery, paternal duty, and desire for quality.¹⁴

¹⁴ Caughey 284-293.

Bancroft's choice of market suggests something significant, for he was selling the history of the settlement of the West to its participants. Realizing this, Bancroft had his salesmen collect genealogical information from their customers.¹⁵ The history Bancroft sold was a densely packed compilation of factual information. It was a first for an area which had been written about prior to this, but mostly by storytellers such as Bret Harte, Mark Twain and Washington Irving or by active participants such as Haswell who documented the experience. The implicit message of The Works is that settlement, government, and business are to be encouraged and extolled. For people just past the ground breaking stage of frontier development, as well as for those deeply entrenched in the fervid Gilded Age, Bancroft's undertone must have been welcome. For the former in particular, it would have placed their daily lives in context, something easily lost in the isolation and monotony of much of the West.

For the next change in the handling of the Columbia Rediviva's records one must look to Frederic W. Howay's work, beginning in the 1910s, and to Samuel Eliot Morison's The Maritime History of Massachusetts, published in 1921. Though contemporaries, the two men had different approaches

 15 Caughey 295.

to history, with Morison writing sweeping works such as The Oxford History of the United States 1783-1917, published in 1927, and Howay producing meticulously researched monographs on narrow topics. Morison taught at Harvard; Howay was a judge in Washington State. Howay annotated the Massachusetts Historical Society's publication of the Columbia Rediviva records. Morison sat on its Committee of Publication with Arthur M. Schlesinger.

Frederic W. Howay is probably the most knowledgeable Columbia Rediviva scholar. He was so thorough that he warned future researchers that the late-eighteenth century letters from Pacific Northwest British ships addressed to the British Foreign Office were not worth reading: "The historical value of the annexed letters, if not nil, is certainly microscopic."¹⁶ Howay's interest was in solving tricky questions such as why Captain Kendrick stole the Lady Washington¹⁷ and who first navigated the Straits of Juan de Fuca.¹⁸ Given his expertise, he was the logical choice for editor of the Massachusetts Historical Society publication.

¹⁶ Frederic W. Howay, "Letters Concerning Voyages of British Vessels 1787-1809," The Oregon Historical Quarterly 39.3 (September 1938): 307.

¹⁷ Howay, "John Kendrick and his Sons" 277-302.

¹⁸ Frederic W. Howay, "Early Navigation of the Straits of Fuca," The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society 12.1 (March 1911) 1-32.

Samuel Eliot Morison was a different sort of historian. His publications reflected an interest in writing the broad, sweeping statement. To Morison the sea was adventure and romance.

One spring evening young Southward Pratt, a farmer's barefoot boy, goes out as usual to drive the cattle home....Something called him from that rocky pasture; a sea-turn in the wind, perhaps; or a glimpse of Massachusetts Bay, deep blue and sail-studded, laughing in the May sunshine.¹⁹

Indicative of his romanticism was his emphasis on Massachusetts' rapid recovery after every war rather than on the dislocation and only partial nature of the recovery. Morison's thesis was that maritime activity in Massachusetts was based on individual initiative. He also argued that the Massachusetts economy is unique and for that reason its residents' political views are different from the rest of Americans.

Morison gave the honor of solving the problem of what to trade with China to the Columbia Rediviva's shareholders.²⁰ Devoting nine pages to the Columbia Rediviva's two trips, he summarized the consortium's

¹⁹ Morison 105.

²⁰ Morison 44.

achievement:

On her first voyage, the Columbia had solved the riddle of the China trade.²¹ On her second, empire followed in the wake.

In his ground breaking work Between The Devil And The Deep Blue Sea Marcus Rediker addressed Morison's place among maritime historians :

American maritime imagery owes much to Samuel Samuel Eliot Morison, Boston patrician, admiral, patriot, romantic, and Harvard historian. Professor Morison's sailors went to sea brimming with enchantment....Such images had small relevance to the lives of Anglo-American sailors in the first half of the eighteenth century, and consequently have small presence in this study. Courage and adventure...abound in the pages that follow, but wanderlust and romantic introspection receive but sparing mention. The early eighteenth century was, after all, a preromantic era....It is important to remember that the sailors of Morison and Melville²² belong (if anywhere) to the nineteenth century.

Rediker intentionally placed himself within the Marxist school of Eugene D. Genovese and Herbert G. Gutman.²³ He described the shared culture of sailors and looked at the relationships between ranks and between mariners and landlubbers. In so doing he described not the obsessive, mystical world of Herman Melville's Moby Dick but the grueling, stratified world of Richard Henry Dana's Two

²¹ Morison 51.

²² Rediker 4.

²³ Rediker 6.

Years Before The Mast.

Morison commented that Massachusetts never had a "deep-sea proletariat."²⁴ Proletariat suggests permanent membership in a class which earns wages by selling its muscles. In refutation of the brute strength condition, the wages paid the crew of the Columbia Rediviva show a mixture of experienced seamen and novices. On the other hand, as Andrew Newell or Newhil's career shows, seamanship could be learned fairly quickly for Andrew Newell was a green hand when he shipped out the first time. For the second voyage, he commanded the wages of a seamen.²⁵ In addition, Gary B. Nash in The Urban Crucible showed that every seaport along the northern coast had a large pool of unskilled labor from which sailors could be drawn.²⁶ To address the class condition of "proletariat" once a man signed up he became part of a fully developed culture of shared values, mannerisms and language.²⁷ The fact that the Columbia Rediviva's crew changed completely for the second voyage, except for Captain Gray, Mate Robert Haswell, and seaman Andrew Newell, does not detract from

²⁴ Morison 105.

²⁵ "Memorandum of Monies Paid On The Ship Columbia," Howay, Voyages 113; "Officers and Crew of the Columbia," Howay, Voyages 447.

²⁶ Nash 7-8.

²⁷ Rediker 116-153.

Rediker's argument for a professional labor force since he found very high lateral mobility among sailors.²⁸ Proletariat also implies entrapment in or commitment to, depending upon the individual's class consciousness, manual labor. Rediker's findings of a fully developed maritime culture denotes continuity. Further research is necessary to determine whether the mariner was committed to the perpetuation of maritime culture.

Morison also stated that men turned to the sea for a lark or to while away the time until inheriting the family farm. Daniel Vickers countered this view by showing that at least in the whaling industry, with the longer voyages of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, crew composition changed from men who did many things simultaneously, to those with nothing going on, specifically, a mixture of those not yet established, such as heirs to farms, and those who never would be.²⁹ Vickers and Rediker also discussed the appeal of "ready money" or wages in advance of departure. The consortium owning the

²⁸ Rediker 225.

²⁹ Daniel Vickers, "Nantucket Whalemen in the Deep-Sea Fishery: The Changing Anatomy of an Early American Labor Force," The Journal of American History 72 (Sept. 1985): 294.

Columbia Rediviva advanced wages before each voyage.³⁰

Vickers also showed that, at least for the eighteenth and nineteenth century whaling industry, Morison's belief in the self-made captain is suspect. Nantucket families jealously guarded the whaling captaincies.³¹ From what is known about the officers of the Columbia Rediviva they followed Vickers' pattern for maritime families. John Boit became captain of his sister's husband's ship. The brother-in-law was Caleb Hatch, though I do not know of what relation he was to shareholder Captain Crowell Hatch of Cambridge. John Hoskins, who was the son of a maritime merchant, was befriended by another, and became a merchant in his own right. Robert Haswell was the son of a British naval officer of Loyalist leanings. John Kendrick was born in Harwick, Cape Cod; his sons, John and Solomon, shipped out on the Columbia Rediviva. Robert Gray, about whom the least is known, might have served as a naval officer during the American Revolution. He was hired as captain of the Lady Washington for the first voyage because he had been working for the shareholders, Samuel Brown and Crowell Hatch.³² The families clearly promoted their own.

³⁰ "Memorandum of Monies Paid on the Ship Columbia," Howay, Voyages 113; "Expenditures for the Columbia's Outfit and Cargo," Howay, Voyages 453.

³¹ Vickers 284.

³² Howay, "Kendrick" 279; Howay, Voyages xi-xxv.

Gary Nash, and Oscar and Mary Flug Handlin found that Massachusetts had an economy of scarce resources. Given this, one can easily understand why families clung to their positions. The difficulty with researching seamen is that they frequently did not own property and, if they did, it could be in a town other than the home port of their current ship. Captains are easier to study, partially because they owned real property and partially because they are mentioned throughout maritime documents. The work has barely begun on the men who manned the ships. Rediker, Vickers and Nash have made the major recent contributions.

The other research areas suggested by the Columbia Rediviva have also been inadequately, though more thoroughly, explored. The most fully discussed has been the Pacific Northwest Indians. Second would be the American response to the Amerindian. For both of these, primary documentation such as the Columbia Rediviva's accounts has been extremely valuable. Third is the American/European and Asian responses to the exchange of goods. Fourth, in terms of quantity written, must be the intellectual exchange between the West and the East.

The last two issues, both emphasizing the exchange initiated in Canton, and diluted in the stores and grog shops of the West, and their equivalents in the East, are going to require a tremendous effort to delineate. Headway has been made in the area of exchange of goods,

particularly in that of the European response to Asian design motifs and foods, for there is a great deal of scholarship on porcelain, silk and inlaid furniture, as well as tea and spices.³³ The more prosaic goods, specifically rice, sugar and raw cotton, have been less fully examined than the luxury goods. Research into the exportation of rice and cotton to China and the importation of sugar should expand the American's understanding of the importance of exporting bulk commodities to the United States' economy. Though the Columbia Rediviva did not carry a great deal of Chinese sugar to Boston, the amount it brought must have been welcomed by the strapped sugar refining industry. The consortium's profit on the second voyage's cargo was much greater than on the first cargo and typifies a respectably diversified haul. For the first voyage, the profit from the furs was so low that Gray was able to purchase only Bohea or the lowest grade of tea.

Research into the exportation of rice to China should be quite informative for it touches on quite a few important topics. For instance, the traditional view of the China Trade is that the Westerner was constantly searching for a trade good. Rice, being a necessity, must have played a different role from luxury goods such as sea

³³ One example is Carl L. Crossman, The China Trade (Princeton, N.J.: Pyne Press, 1972).

otter pelts. The transfer of wet-rice cultivation techniques from Asia to the Carolinas and Georgia needs further examination to pinpoint where the Europeans learned them, whether in Burma and Thailand or in the highly restricted Chinese treaty ports. Rice cultivation also extended into the other half of the maritime trade, the trade in slaves, for it was labor-intensive. The rice itself became a reliable trade good with the West African as well as a staple of the African-American diet.

The other issue, that of intellectual exchange, has been virtually ignored. There is a little information on American Buddhism and Hinduism as practiced by a few esoteric groups of intelligensia.³⁴ The religious exchange from West to East has been almost completely ignored, though information should exist in many Christian denominations' missionary archives including those of the Roman Catholics (the most thoroughly documented), Baptists and Methodists.³⁵

Behaviors based on cultural orientation also have not been discussed. Instead, they have been assumed and endured. Specifically, the cultural differences between

³⁴ Rick Fields, How the Swans Came to the Lake A Narrative History of Buddhism In America (Boston: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 1986).

³⁵ One of the few works, as inadequate as it is, is Columba Cary-Elwes, China And The Cross (New York: P.J. Kennedy, 1957).

the West and the East were in some ways so great that the people found each other incomprehensible and trading required an extreme distortion of personality. The crux of the differences as it pertained to trade seems to have been the Chinese distinction between the Imperial view and ordinary behavior and the Western need for governmental approval of customary behavior. The Chinese had no difficulty trading within a system that initially did not acknowledge foreign trade and which never viewed it as anything other than a favor given to less fortunate peoples. The Europeans wanted ever expanding trade agreements.

Chinese society itself was changing, for the foreign demand for goods was creating a burgher class and adding to the wealth and numbers of the artisan class. Within traditional Chinese society the merchant and the artisan were near the bottom: suddenly their sheer wealth was buying them position. The envy and frustration of the poor toward the emerging bourgeois and their Western contacts must have been tremendous, for one has only to look at the Columbia Rediviva's security merchant's behavior or that of whomever cut the Columbia Rediviva's anchor cable to find thievery and anger. Western bewilderment encouraged the growth of middleman trading companies specializing in the Eastern market and in trade manuals such as the 1858

publication (fifth edition 1863) The Chinese Commercial Guide.³⁶ For the Chinese perspective, Hsu Chi-Yu's 1848 geography is of great use.³⁷ Chi-Yu was the first Chinese to compile as comprehensive and accurate a reference. Chi-Yu's commentary is almost sacrilegious for he observed the West's most cherished beliefs and customs from a scholarly Confusian perspective.

Intellectual exchange also has occurred in the areas of high art, medicinal products and world view. This is particularly true for the latter half of the twentieth century, for prior to the present, the exchange was limited to the opium and morphine used in patent medicines, and to a small group of artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec with his translation of Japanese art or Ezra Pound with his of Chinese poetry. Within the last thirty years the situation has changed dramatically, for beginning in the 1950s and certainly by the 1960s, Asian approaches to life have been adopted by popular culture just as tea was accepted in the seventeenth century. Not everything has been adopted

³⁶ S. Wells Williams, The Chinese Commercial Guide Containing Treaties, Regulations, Tables, Etc., Useful in the Trade To China & East Asia With An Appendix of Sailing Directions For Those Seas and Coasts, 5th ed. (Hongkong: A. Shortrede & Co., 1863. Republic of China: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1966).

³⁷ Fred W. Drake, China Charts The World: Hsu Chi-Yü And His Geography of 1848, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

verbatim, much had taken on the tenor of fad, and rarely have the American practitioners distinguished among Asian cultures. The areas of their lives in which Americans have introduced Asian concepts have been health and exercise, food selection and preparation, home gardening methods, and religion. Internal business management practices and the attitudes governing natural resource management have been less permanently influenced though not less vigorously challenged.

As this shopping list of subjects shows, the exchange between West and East is complex and the study incomplete. Using the documents left by the carriers of this exchange should enrich the body of information about the China Trade, particularly when used in conjunction with the broad range of evidence from other, sometimes seemingly unrelated aspects of American society.

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APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES OF HASWELL AND EDDY'S WORK

EDDY'S COPY - OCTOBER 3, 1792

95

Depart from Port Poverty Juan de Fuca

Week	Mon	Days	Winds
Sept	(10)	1792	

The 3 we had light breezes off the land and pleasant weather sent a party on shore to fill the remaining empty water casks which when completed consisted of 47 Hogheads containing 5076 gallons and 11 Gang casks containing 469 the total amount of water onboard was 5545 gallons. Sent the boat to a distant beach for sand unmoored ship and at 6 Am. being completely ready for sea we weighed and sailed out of Port Poverty with a lively breeze at NE and pleasant weather as we came out we met a canoe with a number of good Salmon which we purchased for Chizzels as soon as we were clear of the Harbour we hoisted in the boat and made all sail unbraced the cables stowed the anchors unstocked the sheet anchor and took it onboard struck the guns below secured the spars and stanchined betwixt Decks At noon I observed in Latd 48.25 N. Jatooches Island bearing East 4 Leagues much joy was expressed by all the crew on our safe departure appearing happy to be once more turned towards their native country even tho' its distance is so great the N East End of Owhyhee box N 41. W Distance 227 Miles. Owhyhee Lat 20° N Long 155° W. Jatooches Island Lat 48° 19' N 124. 0 W.

fec

3 NE

EDDY'S COPY - OCTOBER 4, 1792

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Notes for Owhyhee one of the Sandwich Isles.

K	HK	Courses	Winds	Remarks
		SW B.S.	NW B.N	Thursday, October 4 th 1792.
	1			Fresh breezes and pleasant weather. Tatooches Island bears East 12 Miles
				All hands necessarily employed Moderate breeze and pleasant all sail out
		---	NNE	
		---	ENE	
		---	North	Midnight clear pleasant weather
		---	NW B.N	Set top gallant, steering sails and Mizen top galansail Set up the Mizen topmast, and top gallant Rigging forward aft.
	1	---	NW	The Carpenter making a main topmast
	2			Sail maker making a topmast
	2			Steering
	1	West	Variable	Noon pleasant weather
	2			Lat ² observed 47° 26' N
				Owhyhee bears S 40° 30' W
				Distant 2180 Miles
		89 Miles per Log		

Date	Diff Lat	Departure	Mo Long	Long ^o made	Longitude in
100	540	84 W	2° 4' W	53° 33' W	126° 4' W

EDDY'S COPY - OCTOBER 17, 1792

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Ship Columbia's Log by Robert Haswell for

H	K	IK	Courses	Winds	Remarks
1	2	-	SBW	NB E	Pleasant weather seamen and tradesmen variously employed.
2	2				
3	1	1	---	NE	
4	1	1			
5	1	1			Saw a tropic Bird ✓
6	1	1	---	NB E	
7	2	1			
8	3				
9	2				
10	2	1			midnight pleasant.
11	3	1			
12	3	1			
1	3				
2	2				
3	2	-	---	EB S	Variation pr Az $11^{\circ} 46' E$
4	2				
5	4				
6	4	1	---	EB N	
7	4				
8	4				
9	4				Noon pleasant people employed
10	4		---	East.	making points and Gaskets Carpenters making topmasts.
11	4				Latitude Obs'd $32^{\circ} 58' S$
12	4				
69	1		Miles	Dist of Log	

Course	Dist	Diff Lat	Deper	MLong	Long ML	Longitude In
$S 24^{\circ} W$	77	$70^{\circ} S$	$31 W$	$0^{\circ} 37' W$	$68^{\circ} 23' W$	$138^{\circ} 54' W$

ORIGINAL - MARCH 3, 1793

Ship Columbia's Log by Robt. Harvie M. A. D.

Many Remarks Sunday March 3^d 1793.

moderate breeze and cloudy weather with fog and had
 showers of rain at 2 past 5 P.M. came too with a light breeze at 8
 small boat in 15th water blast (Cape) Island to be taken
 bearing W.N.W. 2 miles distance. The two ships in Island.
 the roads hoisted English colours and we could see after water
 down that one of them was a line of battle ship for England.
 All the night the breeze was light at 11 AM the steam
 at 1 AM weighed and came to full sailing into the
 roads at 3 AM the Lion's boat came on board to see a coal
 engine from when we came and at 4 AM the
 informed us the ship was seen in the road was the
 hon. Sir Erasmus Gower, Commander and the
 Hindostan Captain, the Turkish vessel, the
 country, that British Ambassador to the Court of
 they had been in the roads 3 days more 5 days
 England and are to sail to day for Batavia and
 return to the place in 15 days. Captain Harvie
 came on board before we anchored and informed
 us he had spoken Captain Cook's ship.

EDDY' COPY - MARCH 3, 1793

187 Ship Columbia's Log by Robt Haswell

Mary Remarks Sunday March 3^d 1793.

Moderate breeze and cloudy weather with frequent showers of rain at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 P.M. Came too with the small bower in 15 fm water Glass lessens Island bearing N.B.E. 2 miles distance. The two Ships in the roads hoisted English coulers and we could discern that one of them was a line of Battle Ship. All the night the breeze was light at S.W. at 4 A.M. weighed and came to sail beating into the roads at 5 A.M. the Lions boat came onboard to inquire from whence we came and where bound inform us the Ships we saw in the road were the Lion, Sir Erasmus Goar, Commander and the Hindostan, Captain Mac Intosh escorting Lord Mac Cartney, the British Ambassador ✓ to the court of Peking. they had been in the roads 8 days were 5 months from England and are to sail today for Batavia and will return to this place in 15 days Captain Macintosh came onboard before we anchored and informed us he had spoke Captain Coolidge and Capt Ingraham

EDDY'S COPY - MAY 25, 1793

China At Anchor in Chapel Valley Bay

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H	K	IK	courses	Winds	Remarks
1	6	1	W B N	SE	Fresh gales and pleasant weather but hazy at 4 past 4 saw the Island St Helena bearing W B N $\frac{1}{2}$ N ^o at 7 shotred sail and at 8 hove too.
2	6	1			
3	6				
4	6				
5	5	1			
6	5	1	W N N		Midnight Squalley
7	5	1	W B N	No. South	
8	4	1			
9					
10					
11					At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 A M saw the Island distant about 3 Leagues distance bearing W S W. at 5 we made sail and at 8 being in sight of the first fort we hoisted the boat out and went to request the gouverners permishon to Anchor and recruit our stock of water this he very willingly granted. he informed me the French had declared war against the English and Dutch and that the Spaniards had assisted the English with 30 Sail of Ships of war. at 10 we anchored in the Bay and Moored with the Church bearing SE. as we came in to the bay the cutter that had brought the information of the war sail'd for the East Indies we found riding here the Valentine Rose & Bushbridge Companies Ships and three Whalemans they were waiting for a convoy. the latter part of the Day employed watering
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6	2		W S W	SE	
7	4				
8	5				
9					
10					
11					
12					
					St Helena is in Latitude 15.58' North
					Longitude 5.50' West

ORIGINAL - MAY 26, 1793

Ship Columbia At Anchor in Chapel Bay

Day	Month	Year	Remarks
Sunday	26	1793	<p>From breeze and pleasant weather, we sailed at 10 o'clock for the English East India Ship, which we met at the west part of the bay, and then cleared the fire from the fort and then a line their last business was at the house for some 3 years which had been former and there was no supplies to be had in the village but we were not to be disappointed.</p>
			<p>at Boston 29 July 1793</p>

EDDY'S COPY - MAY 26, 1793

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Ship Columbia At Anchor in Chapel Bay

Week	Day	Wind	Remarks
26 th	Sunday	SE	May 26 th 1793.

Sunday	26 th	SE	
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Fresh breeze and pleasant weather employed watering the english east India ships shifted their birth to the west part of the bay to be clear of the fier from the fort and moored in a line. there had been no rain at St Helena for these 3 years which has caused a famin and there was no supplies to be obtained in the Vallage but water which to us is a great disapointment.

The foregoing is a true copy of
the Log Book of Robert Haswell,
Esquire, of the Ship Columbia,
prepared by me from the Original.
Portland, Oregon, June 12, 1896
B. Eddy.

APPENDIX B

SOUNDINGS FOR FEBRUARY 25-28, 1793

SOUNDINGS FOR FEBRUARY 25-28, 1793

For Monday, February 25, 1793, at 1 P.M. water depth was 14 fathoms. From 6 until 9 or 10 P.M., depth ranged from 8 to 12 fathoms. At midnight, 8 fathoms. 2 A.M., up to 14 fathoms. By 8 A.M., down to 7 fathoms. At 9 A.M., 8 fathoms; 10 A.M., 9 fathoms. At 11 A.M., 10 fathoms; at noon, 13 fathoms.

On Wednesday, February 27, 1793, at 4 P.M., 12 fathoms. At 5 P.M., 9 fathoms; 6 P.M., 8 fathoms. 7 P.M. to 10 P.M., from 7 to 4 1/2 fathoms. 11 P.M., 4 1/2 or 5 fathoms. Midnight, 5 fathoms. 1 A.M., 5 or 6 1/2. 2 A.M., 8 fathoms. From 3 until 4 A.M. channel deepened to 9 or 10 fathoms and by 8 A.M., as deep as 14 fathoms. By 9 A.M. down to 10 fathoms of water. At 11 A.M., 10 1/2 fathoms.

On Tuesday, February 26, 1793, 2 P.M., 18 fathoms. 4 P.M., 23 fathoms; 5 P.M., 17 fathoms. 6 P.M., 14 fathoms; 7 P.M., appears to be 3 fathoms. By 7 or 8 P.M., 7 fathoms; 8 P.M., 8 fathoms. At anchor throughout the night. 7 A.M. until noon, channel deepened from 7 fathoms to 19 fathoms.

On Thursday, February 28, 1793, by 1 P.M., in 12 fathoms of water. At 5 P.M. still in 12 fathoms. At 7 P.M. anchored in 14 fathoms of water until 6 A.M. At 7 or 8

A.M. in 14 fathoms. 10 A.M., 10 1/2 fathoms; 11 A.M., 15 fathoms.