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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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

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

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Presented here is a previously unpublished portion of First Mate Robert Haswell's log of the second voyage.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
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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

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 copy\(^2\) 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: 25in and 187n.
build the Adventure, the vessel he would captain during the next summer's trading season. Smith's portion of this fragment covers building the Adventure and the winter on shore. 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. 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.

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

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3 September 28, 1790 - October 3, 1791.
4 October 4, 1791 - February 20, 1792.
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

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\(^7\) 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 Goodspeed's Rare Books, Boston. It had been placed there by the family when Rebecca Haswell
Hanson/Clarke Cummings (1859-1947) died. 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

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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 (°) used by Haswell to denote the parallel, as in 54° 40', with ° 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.
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 necessary duties of the Ship."\(^{11}\) As the first mate, he was responsible for the "necessary 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


and Rebecca Cordis.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{13} Howay xix-xx.

\textsuperscript{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. 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

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15 Howay, xxii-xxiii.
of the sea otters Cook mentioned. 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. For the second voyage Derby and Pintard's shares were purchased by Captain Gray, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. McLean. Howay placed the total investment for the second attempt at $6,254, of which $1,519 10s was invested in the trading merchandise.

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

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.\textsuperscript{20} During the first voyage Kendrick was the captain of the three-masted bark the \textit{Columbia Rediviva} and commander of the two vessel endeavor. Gray was captain of the other, smaller vessel, the sloop\textsuperscript{21} the \textit{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

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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, \textit{A Short History of Medicine} (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1962) 187. In both voyages the crew of the \textit{Columbia Rediviva}, and in the first voyage of the \textit{Lady Washington} contracted scurvy during the trip around the Horn; it was successfully treated upon landing in the Pacific Northwest with fresh vegetables. John Bolton, entry for June 5, 1791 and John Hoskins, entries for June 5 & 6, 1791, Howay 369-370, 183-184.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{21} A one-masted vessel.
\end{quote}
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". Kendrick was killed in Hawaii in 1794. He is credited with founding the profitable Hawaiian sandalwood trade.

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. 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.


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-object 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 Brobdingnagian scale. Had you known him as well as I did, you would have sent some Glumdalclitch or other as nurse with him.

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[in]g he had not cordage duck nor blocks suffisiant for the purpose". Kendrick was

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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.

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\(^1\) Boit, entry for December 11, 1790, Howay, Voyages 365.

\(^2\) Hoskins, entries for January 1790, Howay, Voyages 174-175.
of South America. 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. 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 River 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 Vondego, 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, Knifes 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 of plate used by Spaniards in South America).

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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) 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. The consortium which owned the Columbia Rediviva was one of the first groups to assemble the capital necessary to attempt a venture of this

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,


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. 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

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pounds gunpowder, three hundred pounds small shot.\textsuperscript{13} 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 \textit{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 sailmaker, 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Columbia Rediviva} for the more than 2000 miles to Hawaii and the next chance for water and fresh food.

\textsuperscript{13} Howay, \textit{Voyages} 443.

\textsuperscript{14} Howay, \textit{Voyages} 447.
The 3[d of October 1792] \(^1\) we had light breezes \(^2\) off the land and pleasant weather. Sent a party onshore to fill the remaining empty water casks which when completed consisted of 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'd \(^3\) 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 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 No. Tatooches Island 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 country even tho' its distance is so great. The N East End of Owhyhee bore N 41 W. Distance 2270 Miles. Owhyhee Lat 20°-No. Long 155°-W. & Tatooches Island Lat 48°-19' N 124.0 W.

Thursday October 4th 1792 1[PM]. Fresh breezes and pleasant weather. Tatooches Island bears East 12 Miles. 4[PM] All hands nesecerielly 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 Mizen topagalsail. Set up the Mizen topmast and topgallant Rigging forward aft. 8[AM]. \(^{13}\) The Carpenter making a main topmast. Sail maker making a topmast Steerings[ail]. 11[AM] \(^{14}\) Noon pleasant weather. Latd Observed 47° 26' No. Owhyhee bears S 40° 30' W. Distant 2180 Miles. 89 Miles pr \(^{15}\) Log. \(^{16}\)

Friday Oct 5th 1792 1[PM] \(^{17}\) Moderate breezes and

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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 add so on." Bathe 15.01.

17 Courses SWBSO. Winds NW.

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18 Courses SWBSO. Winds NNW.
19 Courses SWBSO. Winds NWBW.
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.

Monday October 7th 1792. Fresh gales and Squally. Reefed topsails and sent down topgallant yards. Squally. 3[PM] Close reefed the topsails and in Mizen

26 Courses SWBSc. Winds WBN.
27 Courses SSW Winds West
28 Courses SEt.
29 Courses SEBE. Winds SBW.
30 Courses WSW. Winds South.
31 Courses WBSc. 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] 7[PM]
At 1/2 past 7 Shook two reefs out of the topsails. Set the
middle and mizen top staysails and Jib. 9[PM] 11[PM]
Midnight pleasant. 1[AM] 3[AM] 5[AM] At 1/2 past 5
AM squally in middle and mizen topmast Staysails. 7[AM]
8[AM] At 11 Tacked Ship to the Westward. Sail maker
employed mending the topgallantsails. 12[PM] Noon fresh
breeze and clear. Latitude Obsd 45° 29' N. 55 Miles Dist
pr Log.

36. Courses SEBS0. Winds SWBS0.
37. Courses SWBS0. Winds WBS0.
38. Courses SSW. Winds West.
39. Courses SBW. Winds WBS0.
40. Courses SSEt. Winds SW.
41. Courses SEBS. Winds SWBS0.
42. Courses ESEt. Winds South.
43. Courses EBS0. Winds SBet.
44. Courses ESEt. Winds South.
45. Courses SWBW. Winds SBet.
Tuesday October 8th 1792. Fresh gales and Squalley. At 1 PM single reefed the topsails and down Jib. At 3 PM close reefed the topsails and stowed the main topmast Staysail. At 1/2 past 5 in mizen topsail. At 1/4 past 6 wore Ship to the Eastward. Midnight Fresh gales and clear. At 6 AM Set the Mizen topsail & let one reef out of the

Courses SWBW. Winds SBet.
Courses SW. Winds SSEt.
Courses SWBW. Winds SBE.
Courses WSW. Winds South.
Courses West. Winds SSW.
Courses SET. Winds SSW.
Courses ESE. Winds South.
Courses South. Winds WSW.
Courses SBet. Winds SWBW.
Courses SSEt. Winds SW.
Main topsail. 7[AM] Variation pr amplitude 14° 37' Et.
11[AM] Noon Fresh gale and clear weather. Latitude Obsd
44° 51' N. 83 Miles Distance p Log. Owhyhee bears S 42° W.
Distance 2010 Miles.

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1 Courses SBEt. 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 Göttingen Professor Tobias Mayer's lunar prediction tables. Entire footnote based on Bathe.

57 Courses SSE. Winds SW.

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

Courses South. Winds WSW.
Courses S1/2W. Winds WBS1/2S.
Courses SSW. Winds West.
Courses SWBSO. Winds WBN.
Courses SSW. Winds West.
Course SWBSO. Winds WBN.
Courses SBW. Winds WBS.
Courses SSW. Winds West.
Thursday Octr 10th 1792. 1[PM]\textsuperscript{69} Light breezes and pleasant. All hands employed in various ships duties. 5[PM]\textsuperscript{70} Winds variable with a very large swell from the N.W. quarter. Midnight\textsuperscript{71} light breezes inclining to a calm. 1[AM]\textsuperscript{72} At 2 AM\textsuperscript{73} Set the fore topmast Steering sail and Mizen topgallantsails and Royals with the starbord topgallant Steering sails.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{69} Courses SSW. Wind West.
\textsuperscript{70} Courses SWBSo. Wind WBN.
\textsuperscript{71} Wind Variable
\textsuperscript{72} Courses SWBS Wind WBN.
\textsuperscript{73} Courses SWBS. Wind WNW.
\textsuperscript{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 sitting 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 7 83 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 WBSo.
81 Courses South. Winds WSW.
82 Courses SWW. Winds NW.
83 Courses SWBSo. Winds NW1/2No.
Friday October 12th 1792 Fresh gale and pleasant. At 1 PM\textsuperscript{84} Set the topgallantsails. At 8 [PM] in topgallant sail and main topmast staysail. 10 [PM]\textsuperscript{85} At 11 Set the Main topmast staysail. Midnight\textsuperscript{86} Fresh breeze and clear weather. At 3 AM\textsuperscript{87} out Reef of the main topsail. 4[AM]\textsuperscript{88} At 6 down Staysails and up mainsail. At 8\textsuperscript{89} Set Topmast Steering sails. At 9 Set lower and topgallant Ditto.\textsuperscript{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\textdegree41' N. 140 Miles Distance.

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

\textsuperscript{84} Courses SWBS. Winds NNW.
\textsuperscript{85} Courses SW. Winds NNE.
\textsuperscript{86} Courses SW. Winds NBEt.
\textsuperscript{87} Winds NEt.
\textsuperscript{88} Winds NEBN.
\textsuperscript{89} Courses SWBS. Winds NEBN.
\textsuperscript{90} Topgallant steeringsails.
\textsuperscript{91} Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBN.
\textsuperscript{92} Courses SWBSo. Winds North.
\textsuperscript{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 shore[ne]d$^{98}$ sail at 7[PM]. Midnight fresh breeze and pleasant. At 6 AM Set all Sail. Noon pleasant but Cloudy. No observation.$^{99}$

Owhyhee NE part S 45 W. Distance 1355 Miles or 451 Le[a]g[u]es. 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 PM$^{101}$ in all Steering sails. 9[PM]$^{102}$ Midnight$^{103}$ cloudy. 9[AM]$^{104}$ Noon hazey. All sail set. Seamen

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$^{94}$ Winds North.

$^{95}$ Courses SWBSO. Winds NBEt.

$^{96}$ Courses SWBSO. Winds NNET.

$^{97}$ Courses SSW. Winds NNET.

$^{98}$ Original: shore[ned].

$^{99}$ 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 NET.

$^{102}$ Courses SSW. Winds North.

$^{103}$ Courses SSW. Winds NNE.

$^{104}$ Courses SSW. Winds Variable.
Seamen employed knotting yarns spinning spun yarn & Sawing
Boards. Lat Observed 34° 50' No. 91 Miles pr Log.

Tuesday October 16th 1792. 1[PM] 105 Moderate breeze
with small showers of rain. 8[PM] Variation pr Az 11° 58'
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

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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 EBN0.


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 necessary 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 & Stay sails. 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 necessary employed. At 2 AM[sic] Set ye fore topmast steering sail. 3[PM]\(^{139}\)

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\(^{128}\) 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[itto], i.e. SEBEt.

\(^{135}\) Courses W1/2No. Winds SSW1/2W.

\(^{136}\) Courses NW. Winds Variable.

\(^{137}\) Courses South. Winds W5W.

\(^{138}\) Courses South. Winds WSW.

\(^{139}\) Courses SSW. Winds West.


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140 Courses SSW. Winds WBNW.
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 NNEt.
hands diligently employed. All sail out. Latitude Obsd 26° 24' No. 131 Miles pr Log.

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

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

Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBEn. 146 Courses SWBSo. Winds ESEt. 147 Courses SWBSo. Winds SEBt. 148 Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBNo. 149 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNNo. 150 Courses SWBSo. Winds ENE. 151 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNEt. 152 Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBNo. 153 Courses SWBSo. Winds NNET. 154 Courses SWBSo. Winds ENEn. 154 Winds Variable.

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156 Winds Calm.
157 Courses Calm.
158 Courses Calm. Winds SSEt.
159 Courses SW.
160 In royals and fore topmast steering sail.
161 Courses SWBSw. Winds SEBEt.
Thursday October 25th 1792. 1[PM]\textsuperscript{162} Fresh breeze and pleasant. At 5 in Steeringsails. 7[PM]\textsuperscript{163} Midnight fresh breeze and flying Clouds. 4[AM] Squalley. Up mainsail and Spand and down topgallantsails. At 6\textsuperscript{164} Set Royals topmast Lower & topgallant Steering sails fore & aft. Noon pleasant with a Lively breeze. Seamen and artifisers\textsuperscript{165} 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]\textsuperscript{166} Fresh trade and pleasant weather. People employed as usual. 3[PM]\textsuperscript{167} 6[PM]\textsuperscript{168} Variation pr Azth 6° 27' Et. At 10 PM Took in the topgallant Steeringsails and Royals. In Mizen topgallant sail. 11[PM]\textsuperscript{169} Midnight a lively breeze and agreeable weather. At 6 AM set all sail. Variation pr Azth 6[°] 31['] Et. 9[AM]\textsuperscript{170} Smiths employed Straping new brest Back stay blocks. Latd Obsd 20° 12' No. 161 Miles p Log.

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\textsuperscript{162} Courses SWBSO. Winds SEEt.
\textsuperscript{163} Courses SWBSO. Winds SEBE.
\textsuperscript{164} Winds EBSO.
\textsuperscript{165} Tradesmen/craftsmen.
\textsuperscript{166} Courses SW. Winds ENEt.
\textsuperscript{167} Winds NEBE.
\textsuperscript{168} Winds ENEt.
\textsuperscript{169} Courses SW. Winds NEBE.
\textsuperscript{170} Courses SWBW. Winds ENEt.

Sunday October 27th 1792$^{176}$ 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]$^{181}$

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171 Courses WBSO. Winds EBN0.
172 Courses W1/2SO.
173 Courses W1/2SO. Winds ENEt.
174 Courses W1/2SO. Winds NEt.
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]\textsuperscript{182} Latd Obsd 20\textdegree{} 3' No. 110 Miles pr Log.

\textbf{Monday Octr 29th 92.}\textsuperscript{183} 1[PM]\textsuperscript{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]\textsuperscript{185} At 6 the NW part of Owhyhee bore W 1/2 No.

10[AM]\textsuperscript{186} All hands employed cleaning small arms. Noon pleasant. Lat Obsd 20\textdegree{} 7' No. 115 Miles pr Log.

\textsuperscript{182} Courses Wl/2So.

\textsuperscript{183} Boit: similar entry.

\textsuperscript{184} Courses West. Winds NNET.

\textsuperscript{185} Courses West. Winds North.

\textsuperscript{186} Courses WBN0. Winds NBET.
29th 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 potatoes. At 6 PM the N.W. end of Owhyhee bore WBSw. At 7 we hauled our wind to stand off and on the night. At Midnight Squalley with Rain.

30th 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 fue hogs and then made Sail for Tocayahyah bay. Where we arrived at 11 AM, but it blew exceeding hard and Captain Gray

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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. 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 visated 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 Onehow 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.

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192 Oahu.
193 Niihau.
At 5 AM on the 31st\textsuperscript{194} set all sail and hauled more to the northward. At 1/2 past 8 AM in steering sails and Royals. Rani bore North.\textsuperscript{195} At 1/2 past 11 in topgallantsails and staysails. Noon Cloudy. Stretched in to the Leeward of Wyatittee bay.\textsuperscript{196} The west end of Wawah 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.\textsuperscript{197} Very squally with Rain.

At 3 AM on the 1 of November\textsuperscript{198} 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 Onehow. 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 whoom were purchased a

\textsuperscript{194} Haswell in Howay: basically same.
\textsuperscript{195} Lanai.
\textsuperscript{196} Waikiki Bay, Oahu.
\textsuperscript{197} Kauai.
\textsuperscript{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 Departure 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 China. The anchoring place bearing EBen 2 Leagues Dist. Ubent the Cables and stowed the anchors. Set up the topmast Riging fore and aft. 2[PM] 4[PM] 7[PM] At 9 Set the Jib and staysails. Midnight moderate breeze and flying Clouds. At 5 AM Set Steering sails fore and aft. 8[AM] Seamen employed in the necessary repairs of the Rigging. Noon a Lively breeze and Light Rain. Lat Obsd 21° 4' No. 115 Miles p Log.

Sunday November 4th 1792. Light breeze and

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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.


**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'.

Noon 129 Miles Distance p 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 necessary 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.


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

²¹⁷ Courses WBSo. Winds EBNo.
²¹⁸ Winds NEt.
²¹⁹ Original: Courses WBSo. Winds ENEt.
²²⁰ Courses WBSo. Winds ENEt.
At 5 AM^221 Set all sail. 6[AM] Carpenters repairing the pinnace. 7[AM]^222 8[AM] Noon Squalley with Light Showers of rain. Latd Obsd 15° 45' North. 170 Miles p Log.


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^221 Courses WBSo. Winds NEBE.

^222 Courses WBSo. Winds East.


^224 Courses WBSo. Winds ENEt.

^225 Courses WBSo. Winds ENEt.

Friday November 16th 1792 1[PM] 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.


Sunday November 18th 1792 1[PM] Fresh breeze and pleasant. Seamen empd on the necessary 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 ENEt.
228 Winds NET.
229 Courses WBSO. Winds NEBET.
230 Courses WBSO. Winds NEBET.
231 Winds NET.
232 New Guinea.
233 Courses WBSO. Winds NEBET.
hazey. Latitude Obsd 15° 37' No. Jinean S 88°30' W.
Distance 1186 Miles. 148 Miles Dist p Log.

**Monday November 19th 1792**

1[PM]

Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. 3[PM]

8[PM] Squalley. In topgallant steering sails and royals. Midnight Squalley. 5[AM]

6[AM]

Set the Royals and topgallant steeringsails.


**Tuesday November 20th 1792**

1[PM]

Fresh breeze with light Squalls of rain. 6[PM] Squalley. In Steeringsails Royals Staysails and Spanker. Heavy Showers of Rain. Down Jib. Midnight Cloudy with sharp Lightning in the S.W. Quarter. At 2 A.M. squalley with Thunder Lightning and Rain. 8[AM]

At 10 Squalley. Set the Topmast steer'gs. At 11 set Lower D[i][t]o.

Noon Rainey. No Latitd Obsd pr account 15° 31' No. Jinean bears S 88 30 W. Dist. 898

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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.

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 SSet.
243 Courses WBSo. Winds ESEt.
244 Courses WBSo. Winds SESEt.
245 Winds SSEt.
246 Courses WBSo. Winds SESEt.
247 Courses WBSo. Winds EBNo.
248 Courses W1/2So. Winds EBNo.
30' N. Jinean bears S 88° W. Dist. 483 Miles 161 Leagues pr
Lord Ansons Longd. 253 139 Miles p Log.

Saturday November 24th 92 254 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 many birds on the wing. Latitude 15° 50'. Jinean

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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

254 Boit: similar information. Next entry November 29.
255 Courses West. Winds East.
bears S 61 W. Dist 105 Miles pr Mr Dickson's Longd. 256 Miles pr Log.


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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 Charlotte'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 EBNW.
Monday November 26th 1792 1[PM]\textsuperscript{258} Pleasant with all sail set. 6[PM]\textsuperscript{259} Caught two boobies. 7[PM]\textsuperscript{260} 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]\textsuperscript{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]\textsuperscript{263} Squalley. Set up the Mizen top mast Rigging and Reefed the Mizen topsail. At 5 PM in fore topgallentsail and fore topmast

\textsuperscript{258} Courses West. Winds ENEt.
\textsuperscript{259} Courses West. Winds E1/2No.
\textsuperscript{260} Time of this event is unclear.
\textsuperscript{261} Winds EBNo.
\textsuperscript{262} Courses WBNo. Winds NEt.
\textsuperscript{263} Courses WBNo. Winds NEt.


**Friday Novr. 30th 1792.** Moderate breeze and

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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.


Sunday Decr 2nd 1792. 1[PM] 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.


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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 NEt.
289 Boit: similar information.
290 Courses NWBW. Winds NEt.
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.\textsuperscript{296} 1[PM]\textsuperscript{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 eligable thither we Directed our Course. At this time the extreems of the Groop of the Bashees bore from NW to SSEt. 4[PM]\textsuperscript{298} 5[PM]\textsuperscript{299} At 6 PM\textsuperscript{300} we passed betwixt the Islands and doubled pretty nigh Grafton and Luffed\textsuperscript{301} 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]\textsuperscript{302} 8[PM]\textsuperscript{303} 9[PM]\textsuperscript{304} At Daylight made all sail. Saw the Isle of Formoosa bearing NBW 1/2 W.

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

\textsuperscript{297} Courses NWBNo. Winds NEBNo.

\textsuperscript{298} Courses West. Winds NEt.

\textsuperscript{299} Courses WBSo.

\textsuperscript{300} Courses WSW.

\textsuperscript{301} Haswell in Howay: "sailed".

\textsuperscript{302} Courses WBSo.

\textsuperscript{303} Courses WBSo.

\textsuperscript{304} Courses NW.
9[AM] 305 At Noon the South End of Formosa bore EBN. Distance 14 Leags. Latd Obsd 21° 33' No. 151 Miles pr Log.


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.

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305 Courses NWBW. Winds NEtBNo.
306 Courses NWBN. Winds NNEt.
307 Courses WNW.
308 Courses NWBW.
309 Courses WNW. Winds NBet.
310 Courses WBN. Winds North.
311 Courses West.
312 Courses West. Winds NNEt.
At 4 AM Sounded 27 fathom Black and White Sand. Saw the main Continent of China extend from NNET to WSW.

At 8 Sounded 23 fathom Black and White with green Ooze. 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. 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. Midnight Sounded 20 fathom white sand. Saw the Coast of China extending from NNW to WSW. At 1/2 past 5 Saw Pedro Branca bearing west distance 1/4 of a mile. Divers fishing boats about the Ship. Made all sail. Noon Light breeze and pleasant. The G. Lema bore WSW 3 or 4 Leagues. Lattd Obsd 22° 8'

Courses WSW. Winds NET.

Courses West.

Courses West. Winds NET.

Courses EBSO. Winds NEBNO.

Courses NW. Winds NNET.

Courses NNW. Winds NET.

Courses West.

Boat: hundreds of fishing boats in sight.

Courses WBSO.

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

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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. Seamen and others employed about the Rigging. Carpenter and Colker employed about the Longboat. Smiths making the necessary Iron work for the boats. At 6 the pinnace Returned from Macao.

Decr 9th 1792  Moderate breeze 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 home we delivered 21 pickle of Iron and 15 Muskets. At Noon Captain Gray in the pinnace Returned. 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 leading 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 breeze\textsuperscript{329} and Cloudy. At 1/2 past 1 AM came to Lintin bearing SSE\textsuperscript{et} on Lintin bar.\textsuperscript{330} At 7 Weighed and came to sail beating up the river. At 11 anchored. The Boca Tigris\textsuperscript{331} 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 breeze\textsuperscript{332} and pleasant weather. Had to wate for a chop\textsuperscript{333} or liberty from the Mandareen before we could proseed through the boca Tigris. When this great mans permition 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

\textbf{\textsuperscript{329}} Winds NNE\textsuperscript{et}.

\textbf{\textsuperscript{330}} Small island in the mouth of the Pearl River.

\textbf{\textsuperscript{331}} Channel running up the middle of the Pearl River to Canton.

\textbf{\textsuperscript{332}} Winds NNE\textsuperscript{et}.

\textbf{\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{334} Found riding here 6 sail of American vessels.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{336} We now found furs had reduced in their value exceedingly and the best skins would not fetch twenty dollars each.\textsuperscript{337} This was a haulback to our expectations. However no great difficulty was found in procuring a security merchant.\textsuperscript{338} Another job was before us [as] our ship is exceedingly leaky and of

\textsuperscript{334} Winds Variable. Whampoa, barely down river from Canton.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 necessary to have a bank shed to land everything in the ship. The money was advanced to the Compradore for this purpose and he no sooner became possessed 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 necessary 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 Bankshall and we began to land our Stoars &c with all possible expedition.

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

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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 furs 343 768 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 abreest the Bankshall and the 11[th of January] was ocupied in Leveling the hold taking off the Ballest and taking out the Bowsheet 344 to repair under it.

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

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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?
[bowsprit?] and a chop arrived from Canton. The 13th we discharged the Chop of 100 Chests of Sugar & 86 Boxes of China.\textsuperscript{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.

Saturday 19[th] Employed discharging the Chops of 170 Chests 100 half Chests & 120 Quarter Chests.\textsuperscript{346}

[19-28 January, 1793] Employed preparing for Sea. Sent the people up to Canton on Liberty.\textsuperscript{347} A boat constantly kept watering. On the 28th the Chow Chow Chop\textsuperscript{348} came down from Canton.

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

\textsuperscript{345} American ceramics could in no way compete with those from China.

\textsuperscript{346} Boit: tea and nanken. Nanken is white porcelain with blue designs.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 material 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 Squally in Steersails 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 squally weather. Close reefed the

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\(^{349}\) 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 NNWt.

\(^{353}\) Courses S1/2Et. Winds NEBNo.
topsails. 4[AM]\textsuperscript{354} The wind abated and we made more sail. 5[AM]\textsuperscript{355} 6[AM]\textsuperscript{356} 7[AM]\textsuperscript{357} Noon Saw a Chinees Junk to Eastw[ar]d. Latitude Obsd 21° O' North. 64 Miles pr Log.

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354 Winds EBNo.
355 Winds East.
356 Winds EBSw.
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] 5[PM]


4[AM] Variation pr Az 1° 45' West. 5[AM] 7[AM] 9[AM]

10 11 At 11 AM tacked Ship to the Eastd. 12[PM] Latitude Obsd 19° 59' North. 75 Miles pr Log.

1 Courses SWBW. Winds ESEt.

2 Courses SBW1/2W. Winds SESEt.

3 Courses SSW. Winds ESEt.

4 Courses SBW.

5 Courses SSW.

6 Courses SBW. Winds SESEt.

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 S1/2No. Winds SSE1/2Et.

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

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13 Courses EBSo1/2S. 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 SBET. Winds SWBSO.
26 Courses SEBSO. Winds Calm.
sprung up from the Eastward. 6[AM]  7[PM]  8[PM]
18° 37' No. 64 Miles p Log.

Tuesday February 12th 1793. 1[PM]  Fresh breeze and
moderate & pleasant. 7[AM] Variation pr Azmeths 0° 48' W.
Set up the topmast Rigging fore & Aft. 10[AM] Carried away
the main topgt yard. in the Slings. Noon clear pleasant
weather Latitude Obsd 17° 29' No. 75 Miles p Log.

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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.

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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 EBNor.
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 Febry 14th 1793 1[PM]\(^{53}\) Lively breeze and pleasant weather. Seamen employed in the necessary 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[atho]m. At 5 AM Sounded got no ground with 120 f[atho]m of Line. 7[AM]\(^{57}\) Noon Pleasant. Latd Obsd 15° 1' No. 121 Miles p Log.


Saturday Feby 16th 1793 1[PM]\(^{60}\) Lively breeze and pleasant W[eathe]r. Midnight moderate breeze and clear

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Courses SSEt. Winds NEBET.}
\item \textbf{Winds EI/2No.}
\item \textbf{Courses SSEt. Winds ENEt.}
\item \textbf{Courses South. Winds NWBNo.}
\item \textbf{Courses SW. Winds NEBET.}
\item \textbf{Courses SW. Winds ENET.}
\item \textbf{Winds NEt.}
\item \textbf{Courses SW. Winds NEt.}
\end{itemize}
weather. Handed the fore top gallantsail. 8[AM]61 Noon Pleasant with flying Clouds. Latitude Obs. 12° 50' No. 101 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.

Tuesday Feby 19th 1[PM] Lively breeze and pleasant weather. 7[PM] At 8 Sounded 45 fathom gray sand. 9[PM] Midnight Pleasant. At 6 AM made all Sail.

Courses South.
Courses NNW. Winds NEt.
Courses ESEt. Winds NEt.
Courses SET. Winds ENEt.
Courses SSEt.
Courses WSW. Winds ENEt.
Courses WSW. Winds NEt.
Courses SWBW. Winds NEBEt.
Courses SWBSo. Winds NEBEt.
Courses SWBW.
At 9 Sounded 26 fathom Redish Sand. 10[AM]\textsuperscript{79} 11[AM]\textsuperscript{80}
Noon Pleasant. People employed Cleaning Small arms and making carterages. Latit Obsd 8° 4' No. 10 Miles Sc[u]nth Obs [sic]. 126 [Miles].

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


\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{79} Courses SBW.
\item \textsuperscript{80} Courses SSW. Winds ENEt.
\item \textsuperscript{81} Courses SSW. Winds East.
\item \textsuperscript{82} Courses SSW. Winds NEt.
\item \textsuperscript{83} Courses SSW. Winds ENEt.
\item \textsuperscript{84} Courses SSW. Winds ENEt.
\end{itemize}

Saturday Feby 23d 1793. Pleasant. At 1[PM] Sounded 35 fm mud. At 6 PM Puto Passang Bore WNW and Puto Aor WBS0 6 Leagues. Midnight Pleasant. 3[AM] The surface of the water was observed to be covered 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]noon pleasant with a lively breeze. Latd 0° 52' No. The north entra. of Banca Straits S 2 W. 172 Miles. 106 Miles pr Log.

Sunday Feby 24th 1793noon pleasant weather. 7[PM]midnight sounded 22 fm. 1[AM] 6[AM]at 8 AM saw Puto Tya bearing WSW 5 Leagues distance. 9[AM]at 10 AM saw the 7 Islands bearing SSEt 6 Leagues. 10[AM]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.

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93 Courses SSEt. Winds NNET.
94 Boits: 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 Feb 25th 1793. Lively breeze and pleasant weather. 6 PM At 8 PM Shortened sail and hauled our wind to the westward. 9 PM Midnight pleasant. 1 AM At 3 wore ship to the eastward. At 6 AM Saw Monapin hill bearing SBEt. 7 AM 8 AM 9 AM Squalley with very heavy showers of rain. At noon Monapin hill bore E 1/2 No. Thick cloudy weather. No observation. Latitude 2° 0'.

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 Lepat to 23 fathoms while rounding Monapin hill. Most of the area had 8-14 fathoms of water. For the full list, see Appendix B.

Courses SSW. Winds NNE.
Courses SBW1/2W.
Courses NWBW1/2W. Winds WNBW.
Winds NNEt.
Courses WNW. Winds North.
Courses ENEt.
Courses NEBt.
Courses SBW.
Courses SSW.
Courses SSEt.
Courses SEBt.
Courses SEBSO.
Courses SBt.
South. [Longitude] 105 5' Et. 82 Miles Distance.

Wednesday Feby 27\textsuperscript{118} 1[PM]\textsuperscript{119} Gentle breezes and pleasant. A number of Malay proas in sight. Passed a Malay vessel that lay abreast of first point. At 1 PM\textsuperscript{120} Lucapata bore SEBEt distance 3 Leagues. Kept the mid channel between the Sumatra Shore and Lucapata. At 8 Lucapata bore EBNo. 9[PM]\textsuperscript{121} 10[PM]\textsuperscript{122} Midnight pleasant. 1[AM]\textsuperscript{123} At daylight

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\textsuperscript{118} Should read Feby 26.
\textsuperscript{119} Courses SEBS\textsuperscript{o}. Winds NWB\textsuperscript{No}.

\textsuperscript{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 SB\textsuperscript{Et}. 7[PM] Courses South.

\textsuperscript{121} Courses SB\textsuperscript{Et}. Winds NBW.
\textsuperscript{122} Winds NW.
\textsuperscript{123} Courses SSE\textsuperscript{Et}. Winds NB\textsuperscript{Et}. 
the Land was out of sight and our Depth of water was 14 fathom. 5[AM] 6[AM] Sailmaker mending Sails and the Seamen making points. 8[AM] 9[AM] 12[PM] Latitude Obsd 4° 21' South. Long In 105° 5' Et. 94 Miles p Log.

Tuesday Feby 26th 1793 1[PM] Light breeze and cloudy. At 2 PM shoaled our water from 14 to 3. Very suddenly 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 SSEt. Winds West.
127 Courses South. Winds North.
128 Winds WNW.
129 Should read Feby 27th.
130 Courses SSEt. Winds NNW.
Leagues. 3[PM] 4[PM] 5[PM] 6[PM] 7[PM] At 8 PM the tide was setting us too near the Sumatra Shore. We anchored in 8 1/2 fathoms water. 9[PM] 10[PM] - 6[AM] At anchor. Squally with rain the 3 point bearing ESEt 2 Leagues. At 6 AM weighed with a strong current setting to the eastward. 7[AM] 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 Feb 28th 1[PM] Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Sailmaker employed making topmast steeringsail. 3[PM] 4[PM] At 1/2 past 5 PM, very squally with thick rainy weather. At 7 still more squally. Anchored with the small bower in 14 fathom water with a current setting two knots to the southward. 7[PM] - 6[AM] At Anchor. Midnight heavy rain with Thunder and Sharp

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131 Courses SEt.
132 Courses SEBt. Winds NNet.
133 Courses EBSo.
134 Courses ESEt. Winds NEt.
135 Courses SEt. Winds NEt.
136 Courses SEBt.
137 Courses EBSo. Winds NBE.
138 Courses SWBSo. Winds NW.
139 Winds NNet.
140 Courses SEt. Winds SWBW.
Lightning. At 6 AM Cloudy. Saw a Ship to the NW Standing to the eastward. 7[AM]\textsuperscript{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]\textsuperscript{142} At 11\textsuperscript{143} 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]\textsuperscript{144} Moderate breeze and pleasant weath[er]. 3[PM]\textsuperscript{145} 4[PM]\textsuperscript{146} 5[PM]\textsuperscript{147} At 1/2 past 5 Saw the Land bearing from the WNW to SSW. Also 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]\textsuperscript{148} Winds variable. At 6 AM\textsuperscript{149} got under way. At 8 the Sisters bore SBW 1/2 W distance 4 Leagues and the Sumatra Shore from NWBW

\textsuperscript{141} Courses NWBN. Winds WSW.
\textsuperscript{142} Courses NWBNo.
\textsuperscript{143} Courses SBW1/2W. Winds WBSo.
\textsuperscript{144} Courses NWBN. Winds WBSo.
\textsuperscript{145} Courses NEW.
\textsuperscript{146} Courses SWBW. Winds Tackship.
\textsuperscript{147} Courses WSW.
\textsuperscript{148} At Anchor.
\textsuperscript{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 Sultry 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 AM 156 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.

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150 Courses SWl/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.
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 discern 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. They had been in the roads 3 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 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. At 1 PM the Lion

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.

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

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 completing our stock of wood. At 8 AM two Dutch Ships\textsuperscript{162} arrived in the Roads. In the afternoon we had got off a sufficient Quantity of wood hoisted in our boats and prepared 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]\textsuperscript{163} Moderate breeze and

\textsuperscript{162} Boit: Dutch Guard of Coasters.

\textsuperscript{163} Courses NBEt. 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 1793 174 1[PM] 175 Moderate breeze

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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 WBNw.
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 8$^{186}$ Java Head bore SEBSO
distance 5 Leagues. Stowed the anchors. Shook all the
reefs out. Set topgallant sails Staysails & Steering
sails. 11[AM]$^{187}$ At noon$^{188}$ 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 WBNW.
Friday March 8th 1793

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

Fresh breeze and pleasant. At 1 PM squalley. 2[PM] 3[PM] 4[PM] 5[PM] At 6 PM Java head bore EBN 6 Leagues. 7[PM] 8[PM] At 9 Calm and at 10 wore ship to the Southward.

Courses South. Winds WBSO.
Courses SSW.
Courses SSEt. Winds SW.
Courses SESo. Winds WBSO.
Courses SSEt. Winds SW.
Courses SBet. Winds SWBW.
Courses SEBSO. Winds WBSO.
Courses WBN 0. Tacked Ship.
Courses WNW.
Courses WNW. Winds Calm.
11[AM]  Midnight Pleasant with flying clouds.  2[AM]

3[AM]  Winds variable.  7[AM]  Unbent

6[AM]  the Cables.  10[AM]  11[AM]  Noon Squalley. No

observation.  Christmas Island bears South 196 Miles

Distance. Lat. Acct 7.14 So. 51 Miles Distance.

Saturday March 9th 1793  1[PM]  2[PM]  Calm and

Clouidy.  3[PM]  5[PM]  7[PM]  Rainey disagreeable

weather.  9[PM]  12[AM]  Midnight ditto Weather.  1[AM]

2[AM]

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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 WBNW. Winds Variable.
212 Courses WBNW. Winds Calm.
213 Courses WBNW.
214 Winds SW.
3[AM]  At 4 AM wore ship to the southward.  5[AM]  
7[AM]  At 8 AM saw a large Dutch ship to the SW.  9[AM]  
11[AM]  Noon Pleasant. Latitude Obsd 7° 55' South. 35 
Miles p Log.  

Sunday March 10th 1793  1[PM]  Moderate breeze and  
Squally with Rain. At 2 PM  tacked ship.  3[PM]  
4[PM]  6[PM]  At 7 PM  single reefed the topsails.  
reefs and set

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215 Courses WNW.  
216 Courses WBNo. Winds Variable.  
217 Courses South. Winds Variable.  
218 Courses SSW. Winds West.  
219 Courses SWBSO. Winds WBNo.  
220 Courses South. Winds WSW.  
221 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.  
222 Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.  
223 Courses WSW. Winds South.  
224 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.  
225 Courses SSW. Winds WNW.  
226 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.  
227 Courses SSW. Winds Variable.  
228 Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.
the topgallantsails and Royals. 10[AM] 229 Noon squalley. Shortened Sail. No observation. Latd pr Act 8° 54' So. 65 Miles Distance.


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229 Courses SSW. Winds WBN.  
230 Courses SSW. Winds WBN.  
231 Courses SSW. Winds NNEt.  
232 Courses SSW. Winds NNW.  
233 Courses SSW. Winds WBS.  
234 Courses SSW. Winds NW.  
235 Courses SSW. Winds WNW.  
236 Courses South.  
237 Courses SSW. winds WBN.  
238 Original: Cleaning.  
239 Courses South. Winds WSW.  
240 Courses SSEt. Winds SW.  
241 Courses SEBS. Winds SWBS.
Obsd 10° 30'. Isle a France S 80° W. Distance 3340 Miles. 55 [Miles].

on the North Quarter Standing to the westward. At 10\textsuperscript{253} Set topgallantsails. 11[AM]\textsuperscript{254} Sailmaker employed on the maintopmast Staysail. Noon\textsuperscript{255} Cloudy with a fresh breeze.

Isle a France S 77° 30' W Distance. 2670 Miles. Lati Obsd 10° 32' South. 41 Miles Distance.

\textbf{Wednesday March 13th 1793.} Dark rainey weather. At 1 [PM]\textsuperscript{256} tacked ship to the Southward. At 2 PM\textsuperscript{257} 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]\textsuperscript{258} At 6[PM]\textsuperscript{259} tacked Ship to the Westward.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{253} Courses WNW. Winds SW.
\item \textsuperscript{254} Courses EBSO. Winds SBEt.
\item \textsuperscript{255} Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.
\item \textsuperscript{256} Courses WBNO. Winds SWBSO.
\item \textsuperscript{257} Courses SEBSO.
\item \textsuperscript{258} Courses SEBET. Winds SBW.
\item \textsuperscript{259} Courses WBSO.
\end{itemize}
Midnight moderate breeze and pleasant weather. 7[AM]
Made all sail. 11[AM] 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] Fresh breeze and
pleasant. Seamen and Sailmakers employed on their duties.
At 5[PM] 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] Set the light staysails. 11[AM] 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.

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 11° 47' Sou. 57 Miles p Log.

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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.


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

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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.


285 Courses WBSo. Winds EBSo.
286 Courses WBSo. Winds East.
287 Winds EBNs.
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.


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
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
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 NBWB.
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, hazey.

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 WBNW. Winds EBSO.
319 Winds Calm.
320 Courses WBNW. Winds ESEt.
321 Courses WNW. Winds ESEt.
322 Courses WNW. Winds ESE.

Friday March 29th 1793. 1[PM]\textsuperscript{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]\textsuperscript{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]\textsuperscript{325} Noon Pleasant. Latd Obsd 16° 26' So. 54 Miles p Log.

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

\textsuperscript{323} Courses West. Winds ESEt.
\textsuperscript{324} Courses West. Winds EBSo.
\textsuperscript{325} Winds ESE.
\textsuperscript{326} Courses West. Winds East.
\textsuperscript{327} Winds NBW.
\textsuperscript{328} Winds NBEt
\textsuperscript{329} Courses WBS. Winds NNW.
\textsuperscript{330} Courses WSW1/2W. Winds NW1/2W.
with rain and heavy thundr. 7[PM]\textsuperscript{331} Double reefed the
topsails unbent the main Sail and brought another to the
yard. 9[AM]\textsuperscript{332} 10[AM]\textsuperscript{333} 11[AM]\textsuperscript{334} Noon\textsuperscript{335} Squalley
weather. Latitude Obsd 17° 4' South. 83 Miles p Log.

\textbf{Monday April 1st 1793.} 1[PM]\textsuperscript{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]\textsuperscript{337} 4[PM]\textsuperscript{338} 5[PM]\textsuperscript{339} At 7\textsuperscript{340} in fore
topgallantsail. Midnight\textsuperscript{341} pleasant. Set fore topgallant
sail. 3[AM]\textsuperscript{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.

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\textsuperscript{331} Courses WSW1/2W. Winds NW.
\textsuperscript{332} Courses SWBW3/4W. Winds NW.
\textsuperscript{333} Courses SWBW. Winds NWBW.
\textsuperscript{334} Courses SW. Winds WNW.
\textsuperscript{335} Courses SWBSO. Winds WBSO.
\textsuperscript{336} Courses SBW. Winds WBSO.
\textsuperscript{337} Courses NW. Winds WSW.
\textsuperscript{338} Courses NWBW. Winds SWBW.
\textsuperscript{339} Courses WNW. Winds SW.
\textsuperscript{340} Courses WBSO. Winds SWBSO.
\textsuperscript{341} Courses West. Winds SBW.
\textsuperscript{342} Winds SBET.

Tuesday April 2nd 1793. 1[PM] 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 PM handed the mainsail and double Reef'd the main topsail. Midnight Lively breeze and drizling Rain. At 6 AM Set the mainsail. 8[AM] At 1/2 past 9[AM] shook one reef out of the main topsail. Noon Squalley double reef't the topsails. Lat Obsd 17° 32' So. 171 1/2 Miles Distance p Log.

Wednesday April 3d 1793 1[PM] Fresh breeze and hazey 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

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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 1793

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]

At 5 AM made all sail. 7[AM] Sailmaker repairing the main topmast staysail. 10[AM] At noon the center of Roderigue bore ESEt. Distance 11 Leagues. Latd Obs. 19° 34' So. 119 1/2 [Miles].

Friday April 5th 1793.

Moderate breez and pleasant weather. 5[PM] 6[PM] Variation pr Azth 10.4 West. At 7 PM down light Staysails. In topgt sails and

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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.

Saturday April 6th 1793 1[PM] Fresh breeze and squally. Single reef'd the topsails. 2[PM] 3[PM] 5[PM] At 54' 30'' App[]t time observed the sun and moon[']s distance and found the Longitude 60° 24' Et. 9[PM] Midnight Pleasant. Variation pr Azth 14° 37' West. 7[AM] 11[AM] [Noon] Out Reef's. Noon Fresh breeze. Lat Obsd 20° 5' So. 120 1/2 Miles.

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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 SBEt.
365 Courses WBSO.
366 Courses WSW. Winds SBEt.
367 Courses WBSO.
Sunday April 7th 1793 1[PM] Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. At 2 PM Single reef'd the topsail. 5[PM] 6[PM] 7 [PM] Squally. Shortned Sail. 11[PM] Midnight winds variable and flawey. At 1 AM ship to the Northward and at 3 AM wore again to the Westward. 2[AM] 4[AM] At 1/2 past 5 AM saw the Isle of France bearing from WSW to WNW. Made Sail. 8[AM] 10[AM] At noon the extrem point of the Island bore from NBet to WNW the body of the Island about 8 Leagues distance. Latd Obsd 20.36 So. 80 Miles Distance.

Monday April 8th 1793 1[PM] Moderate breeze and pleasant. At 2 PM set the fore topmast Steering Sail and

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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 SBet.
374 Courses E1/2So. Winds SSEt.
375 Courses SWBW. Winds SBet.
376 Courses SW. Winds SSEt.
377 Courses SWBW. Winds SBet.
378 Boit: similar information. Next entry April 28.
379 Courses SWBW. Winds SSEt.
At 6 the extreems of the Island Mauritius bore from North to NE. In
topgallantsails and steering sails. At 11 PM in topmast
Steering sails. Midnight moderate. 1[AM] 2[AM] 4[AM] Set Steering sails. 6[AM] 8[AM] 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] Lively breeze and
Clear pleasant wea[the]r. 2[PM] 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]\textsuperscript{389} At 10[AM]\textsuperscript{390} in Steering sails and mizen topmast staysail. 11[AM]\textsuperscript{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.

Wednesdays April 10th \textbf{1793}. 1[PM]\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{Thursday April 11th \textit{1793} Fresh breeze and Squalley}. At 1PM\textsuperscript{393} unbent the main topsail and bent another. Unbent the spanker and bent a mizen. At 6 in topgallantsails and fore

\textbf{Courses and Winds}:

\textbf{389} Course WSW.
\textbf{390} Courses WBSO. Winds South.
\textbf{391} Course WSW.
\textbf{392} Courses WSW. Winds SEBSO.
\textbf{393} Course WSW. Winds SEBSO.
topmast steering sail. Midnight Squalley. At 2 AM\textsuperscript{394} up mainsail and mizen, down Jib and staysails. 4[PM]\textsuperscript{395} Squalley. Clered down the mizen topsail. At 6[PM]\textsuperscript{396} out all reefs. Set topgallantsails Jib and main topmast staysail. At 7 in topgallant sails down Jib & staysails up mainsail. 8[AM]\textsuperscript{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]\textsuperscript{398} Fresh gale and agreeable weather. Set all Steering sails. 4[PM]\textsuperscript{399} 8[PM]\textsuperscript{400} At 9 PM in lower steering sail and main topgallantsail. Midnight pleasant. At 5 Set topgallantsails and steering sails. 7[AM]\textsuperscript{401} Sailmaker employed on the spair maintopsail. Noon

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{394} Course WSW. Winds ENEt.
\item \textsuperscript{395} Course WSW. Winds SET.
\item \textsuperscript{396} Course WSW. Winds SEBET.
\item \textsuperscript{397} Course WSW. Winds ENo.
\item \textsuperscript{398} Courses WSW. Winds ESET.
\item \textsuperscript{399} Courses WBSO.
\item \textsuperscript{400} Winds SEBET.
\item \textsuperscript{401} Winds East.
\end{itemize}
Lively breeze and Clear. 11[AM]\(^{402}\) Latd Obsd 26° 58' South. Longitude Reduced 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 following sea. 6[PM] Variation pr ampd 22° 25'. 7[PM]\(^{406}\) At 10 in steeringsails. Midnight Pleasant.

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402 Winds EBNw.

403 Courses West. Winds ENEt.

404 Winds East.

405 Courses West. Winds East.

406 Courses WBNw.
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 PM 411 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.

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407 Winds EBN0.
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] Fresh breeze and pleasant. Sailmaker repairing the topgallantsails. At 5 PM set the topmast steering sails. 6[PM] Midnight lively breeze and flying clouds. 6[AM] Sent up the topgallant yards. Set the topgallant sails and staysails. 9[AM] Bent another fore topsail. 10[AM] Noon inclining to calm. Latd Obsd 30.25 South. 121 Miles Distance p Log.

Wednesday April 17th 1793. 1[AM] Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. 3[PM] 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 steering sails staysails and royals. Midnight hazey. At 3 AM set the Jib & staysails. 5[AM] 8[AM] 10[AM] Noon pleasant. Seamen employed on the

Courses

14 Courses West. Winds SSEt.
15 Winds SEt.
16 Winds ESEt.
17 Winds Variable.
18 Courses West. Wind SSEt.
19 Winds South.
20 Courses NW. Winds WSW.
21 Courses WNW. Winds SW.
22 Courses NW. Winds WSW.
23 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] 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. 7[PM] Midnight light airs and pleasant weather. 2[AM] Noon inclining to a calm. Latd Obsd 30° 3' No. 51 Miles p Log.

Friday April 19th 1793. 1[PM] Light breeze and pleasant weather. 4[PM] 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] 6[PM] 8[PM] Midnight pleasant. Set steeringsails. Variation

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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 WBN. Winds North.
429 Courses NNW. Winds West.
430 Courses NWBW. Winds SWBW.
431 Courses WNW. Winds SW.
432 Courses WBN. Winds SWBSO.
433 Courses West.
pr Azth & Ampd 23° 50' West. 7[AM] 8[AM] 9[AM] Sailmakers mending old sails. 10[AM] Latd Obsd 29° 34'.
S. Point Lucia bears N 69° W. 166 Miles. 52 Miles p Log.

Saturday April 20th 1793 Light breeze inclining to a Calm. 2[PM] 3 [PM] 4 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. 7[PM] 8[PM] 10[PM] Variation pr amplitude 24° 27' West. Set the steering sails. Midnight. Pleasant with the rippling 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.

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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]\textsuperscript{444} Light breeze and pleasant weather. Set topmast & topgallant steering sails. 5[PM]\textsuperscript{445} 7[PM] - 9[PM]\textsuperscript{446} 10[PM]\textsuperscript{447} Midnight\textsuperscript{448} 2[AM]\textsuperscript{449} 5[AM]\textsuperscript{449} 10[AM]\textsuperscript{450} 11[AM]\textsuperscript{451} Noon\textsuperscript{452} Pleasant. I allow a current to have set us NE\textsuperscript{30} 30 Miles these 24 hours. Latd Obsd 29° 34' So. 65 Miles p Log.

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

\begin{center}
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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{444} Courses WSW. Winds NNW.
  \item \textsuperscript{445} Courses SWBW.
  \item \textsuperscript{446} Courses SWBW. Winds Calm.
  \item \textsuperscript{447} Courses WSW. Winds NNW.
  \item \textsuperscript{448} Courses West. Winds North.
  \item \textsuperscript{449} Courses WSW.
  \item \textsuperscript{450} Winds NWBN.
  \item \textsuperscript{451} Courses SWBW.
  \item \textsuperscript{452} Courses SW.
  \item \textsuperscript{453} Courses WSW. Winds NW.
  \item \textsuperscript{454} Courses SW. Winds WNW.
  \item \textsuperscript{455} Courses SSW. Winds West.
\end{itemize}
2[AM] 3[AM] 5[AM] At 7 AM Set all sail.
8[AM] Light Showers of Rain. 10[AM] Noon pleasant.
Latitude 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] 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.
Latitude Obsd 31° 14' South. I allow the Current to have set us
14 Miles to the northward. 110 1/2 Miles p Log.

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456 Courses S1/2Et. Winds SWBW1/2W.
457 Courses SBW. Winds W1/2So.
458 Courses SSW. Winds West.
459 Courses SWBSo. Winds WBNW.
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 PM in lee lower steering sails. At 5 PM in maintopmast and topgallant steerings. At 1/2 past 6 in fore topmast steeringsail & Royals. At 7 PM in topgallantsails. 9 PM Midnight Cloudy. 1 AM At 1/2 past 1 P.M. squally. Up mainsail down Jib and staysails close reef the topsails. At 2 handed the topsails & mainsail and wore ship to the westward. 3 AM 5 AM

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 topgallant yards set the topsails and mainsail. 9[AM]\textsuperscript{478} 10[AM]\textsuperscript{479} At 11 out one reef of the topsails & set the maintopmast Staysail. Noon Cloudy with a fresh breeze. No observation. 67 [Miles].

\textbf{Thursday April 25th 1793} 1[PM]\textsuperscript{480} Fresh breeze. Out all reefs. At 2[PM]\textsuperscript{481} Squalley double reef't the topsails. 5[PM]\textsuperscript{482} Out one reef main topsail. 9[PM]\textsuperscript{483} 11[PM] Out all reefs. Midnight\textsuperscript{484} lively breeze.

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\textsuperscript{478} Courses WBN.  
\textsuperscript{479} Courses West. Winds SSW.  
\textsuperscript{480} Courses West. Winds SSW.  
\textsuperscript{481} Courses WBSO. Winds SBW.  
\textsuperscript{482} Courses WSW. Winds South.  
\textsuperscript{483} Winds SBEt.  
\textsuperscript{484} Winds ESET.

**Friday April 26th 1793** 1[PM] Strong gale and pleasant weather with a following sea. 6[PM] At [sic] in topgallantsails and steeringsails. Midnight hazey. 3[AM] 8[AM] 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 PM more moderate. Out all reefs and made sail. 2[PM] 5[PM] Moderate with a large swell from the NEt. 7[PM] - 8[PM] Double

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485 Winds SEt.
486 Courses WBSo. Winds East.
487 Courses WBNor. Winds NEBet.
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] course NWBw. Winds SWBw.

94 Course NWBw. Winds SWBw.

495 Courses NW. Winds WSW.

495 Courses NW. Winds WSW.

496 Course NW1/2No. Winds WBS01/2So.

496 Course NW1/2No. Winds WBS01/2So.

497 Course NNW. Winds West.

498 Course NEW. Winds West.

498 Course NEW. Winds West.

499 Course NNW.

500 Course NWBNo. Winds WBSo.

500 Course NWBNo. Winds WBSo.

501 Boit: similar information.

502 Course NWBNo. Winds WBSo.

502 Course NWBNo. Winds WBSo.

503 Course NWBNo. Winds Calm.

503 Course NWBNo. Winds Calm.

504 Course WNW. Winds ESET.

504 Course WNW. Winds ESET.

505 Winds East.

505 Winds East.

506 Winds NE.
11[PM]\textsuperscript{507} Midnight Pleasant. 3[AM]\textsuperscript{508} 4[AM]\textsuperscript{509} At 5 AM\textsuperscript{510} in topgallantsails and light staysails. 6[AM]\textsuperscript{511} 7[AM]\textsuperscript{512} Variation pr Apt 28° 28' W. 8[AM]\textsuperscript{513} At 1/2 past 9[AM]\textsuperscript{514} Saw the Land bearing from NE to NW 8 Leagues. Single reef'd the topsails. At 1/2 past 11[AM]\textsuperscript{515} the weather pleasant. Formosa or Muscel bay\textsuperscript{516} 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.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{507} Winds North.
\item \textsuperscript{508} Course WBS.
\item \textsuperscript{509} Course SBW.
\item \textsuperscript{510} Course NBW. Winds Tack'd Ship.
\item \textsuperscript{511} Course NNW.
\item \textsuperscript{512} Course NBEt. Winds Tack Ship.
\item \textsuperscript{513} Course NNEt.
\item \textsuperscript{514} Course NBW. Winds WBNc.
\item \textsuperscript{515} Course N1/2W. Winds WNW.
\item \textsuperscript{516} Mosselbaai, on the South African coast between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.
\end{itemize}
Monday April 29th 1793 Moderate breeze and pleasant. At 1 PM out all reefs and set topgallantsails and staysails. 2[PM] 3[PM] At 1/2 past 5[PM] the westwardmost extremity of the land bore N.W.B.W. and the eastwardmost ESEt. The nearest land distant about 2 Leagues. 6[PM] 10[PM] - 12[AM] Midnight Calm. 1[AM] 2[AM] At 3[AM] 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.

Tuesday April 30th 1793. Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. Maney birds of different species on the wing and seals playing about the ship. 4[PM] 5[PM] At 6 tack't Ship to the westward. 7[PM] The

527 Courses NNW.
528 Courses SSW. Winds West.
529 Courses SW. Winds WNW.
530 Courses NBE. Winds NWBW.
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.

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⁵³⁶ Eddy used x to indicate illegibility.
⁵³⁷ Courses NBW. Winds WBN⁵⁴⁹ o.
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 NWB⁵⁵⁰ No.
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 necessary duties of the Ship. 5[PM] 548 At 6 PM the extrems of the land in sight bore from NW to EBN. 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 WBN. Winds EBSo.
549 Winds Variable.
550 Courses SWBSo. Winds WBN.
551 Courses NW.
552 Courses NNEt. Winds NW.
553 Courses NBEt. Winds NWBN.

Friday May 3d 1793. 1[PM] Light breeze and foggy weather.
3[PM] 564 Set the light staysails. 4[PM] 565 6[PM] 566 At 7 Shortened sail. At 8 PM sounded 56 fm fine gray sand. 9[PM] 567 Midnight 568 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 Noon 571 Light breeze and agreeable weather. The westwardmost land in sight which I take to be Cape Vacias from my Lunar account bears NWB&W about 7 Leagues Distance the eastwardmost extrem of the Land bears ENE. Latitude Obsd 34° 35' South. 80 Miles pr Log.

Saturday May 4th 1793 572 1[PM] 573 Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. At 3 PM 574 abrest of Cape Vaccas.

564 Courses WBNo. Winds SSW.
565 Courses WNW.
566 Winds ESEt.
567 Courses WBNo.
568 Winds SEBt.
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.
At 1/2 past 5 the extrems of the Land bore from WNW to EBBNo. 6 [PM] Midnight Pleasant. 1[AM] At 6 AM foggy made more sail. At 7[AM] Clear. Saw a sail bearing WNW. 8[AM] At 20h 12' 3'' apt time observed the Longd pr [sun and moon] distance to be 20° 48' 45'' East. The extrems of the land bearing from North to EBSO. The N[orthwar]d Land I take for the Guners Zuoxx and Cape Agulias bears NEBNo 6 Leagues. Latitude Obsd 35° 0' South. 137 Miles pr Log.

Sunday April[sic] 5th 1793. 1[PM] Moderate breeze and pleasant weather. At 1h 25' 0'' apparent Time pr [sun and moon] Distance I observed the Long to be 19° 53' 15'' East. 2[PM] At 1/2 past 5 PM the Cape of Good Hope

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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
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 NWBW. Winds NBEt.
588 Courses WNW. Winds North.
589 Courses NWBW. Winds NNEt.
590 Courses WNW. Winds SWBW.
591 Winds SSW.
592 Winds NEBe.
593 Courses NW. Winds SET.
594 Courses NWBNo. Winds SET.
595 Courses NNW. Winds SET.
596 Courses NNW. Winds SSEt.


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597 Winds Variable.
598 Winds SW.
599 Speed Calm.
600 Courses N1/2W. Winds WBNW.
601 Courses NBW1/2W.
602 Courses NNW. Winds West.
603 Courses NWBW. Winds WBNW.
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]$^{615}$ Noon$^{616}$ Pleasant. Latitude Obs. 32° 45' Sc. St Hellenia 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 Mizen and bent the spanker. Noon$^{620}$ 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.


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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]  Set all light sails. 8[AM]  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.


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

Courses NWBNo. Winds SEBSO.
Courses NWBNo. Winds South.
Courses NWBNo. Winds SEBSO.
Courses NWBNo. Winds SEBSO.
Winds SE.
Winds ESE.
Winds ENE.
Winds NE.
Courses NWBNo. Winds NE.
Courses NW. Winds NBE.
Courses NWBW.

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. Squally. 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 NWBW.
661 Courses N1/2W. Winds Variable.
662 Courses NBW. Winds Variable.
4 Single reeft the topsails. At 5[PM]\textsuperscript{663} out Reefs.
6[PM]\textsuperscript{664} Midnight lively breeze and Clear. Set the
topgallantsails and Spanker. 4[AM]\textsuperscript{665} 7[AM] Set all sail.
10[AM]\textsuperscript{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]\textsuperscript{667} Lively breeze and
pleasant weather. Variation Pr Ampd 20° 34' W. 11[PM]\textsuperscript{668}
Midnight moderate and pleasant. 2[AM]\textsuperscript{669} 3[AM]\textsuperscript{670} 6[AM]
Set all light sails. 7[AM]\textsuperscript{671} 8[AM]\textsuperscript{672} Caulker employed
caulking the pinnace. 11[AM]\textsuperscript{673} Noon moderate and
pleasant. Latd Obsd 25° 41' So. 107 Miles p Log.

\textsuperscript{663} Courses NNW. Winds WBSO.
\textsuperscript{664} Winds SBW.
\textsuperscript{665} Winds South.
\textsuperscript{666} Winds SSE.
\textsuperscript{667} Courses NNW. Winds SSE.
\textsuperscript{668} Winds SE.
\textsuperscript{669} Winds SW.
\textsuperscript{670} Winds SSW.
\textsuperscript{671} Winds WSW.
\textsuperscript{672} Winds SSW.
\textsuperscript{673} Winds SW.

Thursday May 16th 1793. 1[PM] - 4[PM] 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] 7[PM]

674 Courses NNW. Winds WSW.
675 Winds West.
676 Courses NBW. Winds WBN0.
677 Courses NNW.
678 Winds WBS0.
679 Winds Variable.
680 Winds West.
681 Winds WBS0.
682 Winds West.
683 Winds Calm.
684 Courses NBW. Winds WBS.
685 Courses NNW.

Friday May 17th 1793. 1[PM] 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] 4[PM] 5 [PM] 6[PM] 9[PM] 10[PM] Midnight pleasant weather. 1[AM] 2[AM] At 3[AM] in Royals and mizen

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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[acke]d.
693 Courses SWBW. Winds NW.
694 Courses NNEt. Winds T[acke]d.
695 Courses NEBE. Winds NNW.
696 Courses W1/2No. Winds NBW1/2W.
697 Courses W1/2So. Winds NNW.
698 Courses WBSo. Winds NWW.
699 Courses WSW. Winds NW.
700 Courses NEBNo. Winds Tacked Ship.
148
topgallantsails and light staysails. 10[AM] At 1/2 past 10 Single reef the topsails. Noon fresh breeze and pleasant weather. Seamen employed knoting yarns and spinning spun yarn. Latitude Obsd 24° 25' South. 52 Miles pr Log.

Saturday May 18th 1793. 1[PM] Fresh gale and pleasant weather. Double reef the topsails down Jib and maintop staysails. 3[PM] At 5 PM Close reef the fore topsail. 9[PM] At 10[PM] Squaliey in mizen topsail and Close reef 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

Courses West. Winds NNW T[acke]d.

Courses WBSO. Winds NWBNO. T[acke]d.

Courses NEBNO. Winds NWBNO.

Courses NEBE. Winds NWBNO.

Winds NBW.

Courses WBNO.

Courses NEBNO. Winds NBW1/2W.

Courses NNE. Winds NNW.

Courses NEBNO.

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 topgalls 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.

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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.


Thursday May 23d 1793 Lively breeze and drizling rain. At 1[PM] Set topt Steers. At 6 PM double reef't the

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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. Bent the cables and mounted the guns. Fresh gale with flying clouds. Latitude Obsd 16.10 South. 152 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 hazy. 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. 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 whalemen. 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. 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 fire from the fort and moor'd in a line. Their had been no rain at St Hellena for these 3 years which has

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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 disappointmment.

[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,* 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

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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, 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. 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. 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.

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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.  

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 part 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, and includes a number of charts. The original contains also views of several places, the author having much skill with the pencil.

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 salesmen 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 salesmen 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. 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 Washington* 17 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.


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

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.  

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. Devoting nine pages to the Columbia Rediviva's two trips, he summarized the consortium's

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19 Morison 105.
20 Morison 44.
achievement:

On her first voyage, the Columbia had solved the riddle of the China trade. 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 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 Melville belong (if anywhere) to the nineteenth century.

Rediker intentionally placed himself within the Marxist school of Eugene D. Genovese and Herbert G. Gutman. 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." 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. 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. 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.

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.


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. 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. Vickers and Rediker also discussed the appeal of "ready money" or wages in advance of departure. The consortium owning the

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28 Rediker 225.
Columbia Rediviva advanced wages before each voyage.  

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. 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. The families clearly promoted their own.

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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. 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

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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. 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. For the Chinese perspective, Hsu Chi-Yu's 1848 geography is of great use. 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

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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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---, Voyages of the 'Columbia' to the Northwest Coast 1787-1790 and 1790-1793. The Massachusetts Historical Society Collections 79 (1941).


"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.

"Letter from W. Hunter Regarding Voyage of the Vessels 'Captain Cook' and 'Experiment' to the Northwest Coast in the Fur Trade, A.D. 1786." California State Library: White Knight Press, 1940.


"Natives encourage crew to visit Oregon, but not to stay." The Oregonian 30 Sept. 1987, B9.


"Sailing Instructions governing the voyage of the vessels 'Captain Cook' and 'Experiment' to the NW Coast in the fur trade A.D.1786." California State Library: White Knight Press, 1941.


---, Senate. 32nd Cong., 1st sess., 1852.


APPENDIX A

EXAMPLES OF HASWELL AND EDDY'S WORK
Depart from Port Poerty Juan de Fuca

...
Depart from P't Averty [Port Averty] Jean de Tracy

The 3rd we had light breezes off the land and pleasant weather and 4 parties on shore to fill the remaining empty water casks which when completed consisted of 47000 heads containing 5076 gallons and 110000 gallons containing 469. The total amount of water on board was 50435 gallons. Gord the boat to a distant beach for land ammunition ship and at 6 a.m. being completely ready for sea we weighed and sailed out of the Port with a light breeze at NE and pleasant weather at we came out we met a canoe with a number of good salmon which we purchased for Chigelo. As soon as we were clear of the Harbour we hoisted in the Lard and made all sail under a clear sky. The cables stowed the anchors in the hold and made all sail under the sails stowed. The sheet anchor and took in onboard struck the guns below covered the spars and stationed the watch. At dusk I observed in 41° 25' N. Patricks Island bearing East 4 Leagues. Much joy was expressed by all on the crew on our departure appearing happy to be once more turned towards their native country even tho' its distance is so great. The N East End of Owyhee 20' N. Distance 2570 Miles. Owyhee Lat 20° N. Long 145° W. V. Patricks Island Lat 41° N. 14° W.
<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M R W. W. W.</td>
<td>Fresh breezes and pleasant weather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Towards Island east of Wicklilum.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>All hands necessarily employed.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderate long and short luff sail.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>N.E.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>E.N.E.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>N.E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>W.N.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>S.E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>N.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>North.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midnight Clear present weather.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong gale blowing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apparent topmast Slip.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Apparent topgallant Royalty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Topmast making a main course.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Main, making departure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Will be ready to bring anchor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lie Reckley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ballybunion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instant 2100 clock.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

| 1                  | Lie Reckley                     |
| 1                  | Ballybunion.                     |
|                    | 2100 clock.                     |
C. H. Eddy

November 4, 1792

1. Andrew Hamilton.

2. Mr. Carpenter.

3. Mr. Cape.

4. Mr. Bolivar.

5. Mr. Brown.

6. Mr. Smith.

7. Mr. Johnson.

8. Mr. Davis.

9. Mr. Taylor.

10. Mr. White.

11. Mr. Black.

12. Mr. Green.

13. Mr. Red.

14. Mr. Blue.

15. Mr. Yellow.

16. Mr. Pink.

17. Mr. Purple.

18. Mr. Orange.

19. Mr. Brown.

20. Mr. Black.

21. Mr. Green.

22. Mr. Red.

23. Mr. Orange.

24. Mr. Purple.

25. Mr. Pink.

26. Mr. Black.

27. Mr. Green.

28. Mr. Red.

29. Mr. Orange.

30. Mr. Purple.

31. Mr. Pink.

32. Mr. Black.

33. Mr. Green.

34. Mr. Red.

35. Mr. Orange.

36. Mr. Purple.

37. Mr. Pink.

38. Mr. Black.

39. Mr. Green.

40. Mr. Red.

41. Mr. Orange.

42. Mr. Purple.

43. Mr. Pink.

44. Mr. Black.

45. Mr. Green.

46. Mr. Red.

47. Mr. Orange.

48. Mr. Purple.

49. Mr. Pink.

50. Mr. Black.

51. Mr. Green.

52. Mr. Red.

53. Mr. Orange.

54. Mr. Purple.

55. Mr. Pink.

56. Mr. Black.

57. Mr. Green.

58. Mr. Red.

59. Mr. Orange.

60. Mr. Purple.

61. Mr. Pink.

62. Mr. Black.

63. Mr. Green.

64. Mr. Red.

65. Mr. Orange.

66. Mr. Purple.

67. Mr. Pink.
**Ship Columbia's Log by Robert Knorr, September 4, 1792**

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<th>Remarks</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>118.5</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>118.5</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

**Remarks Wednesday October 17, 1792**

- Please mark weather, moon, and sea
- Snowing. (Bird)
- Snowing. (Bird)
- Snowing. (Bird)
- Snowing. (Bird)

**Monday October 18, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Tuesday October 19, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Wednesday October 20, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Thursday October 21, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Friday October 22, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Saturday October 23, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Sunday October 24, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Monday October 25, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Tuesday October 26, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Wednesday October 27, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Thursday October 28, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Friday October 29, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Saturday October 30, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)

**Sunday October 31, 1792**

- Snowing. (Bird)
### Ship Columbia's Log by Robert Gray

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
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<th>Course</th>
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<th>Remarks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>Pleasant wind, same hand tradesmen variously employed</td>
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</table>

- **E135** Variation **pL Ag** = **11° 46' 32"**
- Noon pleasant, people employed making points and cast iron containing making topsmack. **Latitude about 32° 55' N.**

**Date:** October 17, 1792
Ship Columbia's Log by Robt. Haswell

Mary Remarks Sunday March 3rd 1793

Moderate breeze and cloudy weather with frequent showers of rain at & about 5 P.M.

Came too with the small boat in 15 fathom of water Clear of assured Island bearing while 2 miles distance. The two ships in the roads hoisted English colours and we could discern that one of them was a line of battle ship. All the night the breeze was light

as SW at 4 A.M. weighed and came to sail beating into the roads at 5 A.M. the little boat came on board to inquire from whence we came and where bound informed us the ships we saw in the road were the Lion, Sir Erasmus Gros, Commander and the Hindostan, Captain Macintosh, escorting Lord Macartney, the British Embassador

to the Court of Perin. They had been in the roads 8 or 9 days & were 5 months from England and are to sail today for Batavia and will return to that place in 15 days. Captain Macintosh came onboard before we anchored and informed us he had spoke Captain Coolidge and Capt' Ingham.
China: At Anchor in Chapel Valley Bay

Remarks: Saturday May 25th 1793

Fresh gales and pleasant weather.

At 8 AM saw the Island distant about 3 League's distance.

At 5 AM made sail.

At 8 AM being in sight of the first of the town, the boats went to request the Governor's permission to anchor and collect our stock of water, this being willingly granted.

The French had declared war against the English and Dutch.

At 8 AM we anchored in the bay and moved with the Church to the bay.

St. Helens is 5 miles South of us.

Longitude 5° 30' West.
**Logbook Entry:**

**Date:** May 26, 1793

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26 May</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarks:

"Land, Log, and Plantation, going through the whole land. The final Bench is the next south of the land. The final land, then land, going north from the land. Then land, then land, going south from the land. The land, then land, going north from the land. The final land, then land, going south from the land."

At Boston, 29 July 1793.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday 26th Sept.</td>
<td>Fresh breeze and pleasant weather. Employed watering the English and India ships. Shifted them to the west part of the bay to be clear of the fire from the fort and more in a line. There had been no rain at St. Helena for these 3 years which has caused a famine and there was no supplies to be obtained in the village but water which to us is a great disappointment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The foregoing is a true copy of the Log Book of Robert Hazard, Esquire, of the Ship Columbia, prepared by me from the original.

Portland, Oregon, June 23, 1796

R.L. 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.