

The background of the cover is a historical map of the Pacific Ocean, featuring a complex grid of latitude and longitude lines. The map is drawn on aged, yellowish paper with some handwritten text in Spanish at the top, including "Isla de S. Simon y Judas" and "Isla de S. Antonio". A blue wavy banner is positioned at the top left, and a larger blue rectangular box covers the upper middle section, containing the book's title and author information. At the bottom of the map, a sailing ship is depicted on the water, and a rocky coastline is visible. A compass rose is located in the bottom right corner of the map area.

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Iberian Visions of the
Pacific Ocean, 1507-1899

RAINER F. BUSCHMANN

Iberian Visions of the Pacific Ocean, 1507–1899

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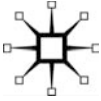
NAVIGATING THE SPANISH LAKE (2014, *with Edward Slack and James Tueller*)

Iberian Visions of the Pacific Ocean, 1507–1899

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For Purdue University's History Department

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Contents

| | |
|---|------|
| <i>List of Figures</i> | viii |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | ix |
| Introduction | 1 |
| 1 On Shrinking Continents and Expanding Oceans | 13 |
| 2 On Chronometers, Cartography, and Curiosity | 46 |
| 3 On Narrating the Pacific | 79 |
| 4 On the Usefulness of Information | 110 |
| 5 On History and Hydrography | 154 |
| 6 On Rediscovering the Americas | 188 |
| Epilogue: Iberian Visions of the Pacific Ocean, 1507–1899 | 212 |
| <i>Notes</i> | 224 |
| <i>Bibliography</i> | 268 |
| <i>Index</i> | 287 |

List of Figures

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 1.1 | Indigenous people of the Pacific AGS, MPD, 81, 82, 83, 84 | 23 |
| 2.1 | Cook's map of the southern hemisphere [AGS, MP IV-33] | 78 |
| 4.1 | Maps of the twenty-two islands of the Archipelago of Otaheti, 1772, AMN, 54-B-23 | 122 |
| 4.2 | Mourelle's track through the Pacific, AMN 54-D-21 | 133 |
| 4.3 | Spanish view of the Port of Santa Cruz, Tahiti, AMN, 54-B-21 | 141 |
| 5.1 | Tomas Lopez's map of the Marquesas and Easter Island (AGMAB 4903) | 155 |
| 5.2 | A touch of Pacific enchantment: the dance of the Men on Vavao, Tonga (Courtesy of Museo Naval, ms 1724) | 166 |

Acknowledgments

This book owes its serendipitous origin to a few cold and windswept days spent in the castle and archives of Simancas in January 2005. There, while reading the desperate diplomatic Spanish attempts to halt James Cook's voyages to the Pacific, I stumbled across a generally overlooked episode in Pacific history. Between 2005 and 2006, I immersed myself in the secondary literature on the Spanish Lake. A yearlong sabbatical leave from Channel Islands between 2006 and 2007 allowed me to explore the rich archival record in Seville and Madrid. The hoped-for unexplored Spanish records on Oceania, however, failed to materialize. My initial frustration soon yielded to the realization that I had been asking the wrong questions. Using the Franco-British eighteenth-century vision of the Pacific as a point of departure proved to be a cul-de-sac. Any Spanish vision of the Pacific had to take into consideration the imperial realities of colonial Latin America.

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Ojai and Lisbon, 2013

Introduction

In the American provinces, the apocryphal voyages and an irresistible inclination to believe in the existence of marvelous countries gave rise to a number of geographical chimeras, which received full support from popular circles. A critical and reasonable spirit of inquiry emerged within Spain to address these issues. It fomented a number of expeditions that ultimately led to long-range scientific voyages and numerous written studies, memoranda, and maps. Not all of them came to public light, but they remain testimonies to an intelligent and well-intended [Spanish] effort.

Diego Barros Arana, 1888¹

The Pacific Ocean has received much attention in world historical studies as of late. Urged by the call to move beyond their traditional inquiries into nation-states and continental landmasses, historians in tandem with geographers have begun to examine ocean and sea basins as viable alternatives for global studies.² Their pleas have been answered by a number of scholars, who have captured Pacific pasts in global settings.³

Global historical inquiries on the Pacific move in two prominent directions. Firstly, these authors assume the existence of Pacific worlds and avoid using the singular “world” in a step that reflects the multiple experiences of indigenous as well as exogenous actors. Secondly, all these works posit that it was James Cook’s arrival in the Pacific during the second half of the eighteenth century that triggered qualitative and quantitative changes in interactions in this area. This view follows a general historical timeline that tends to oversimplify the Pacific as a series of “lakes”: a Spanish Lake (situated between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries), an English Lake (dominating eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries), and, lastly, an American Lake (lasting from the mid-nineteenth through the twentieth centuries).⁴

What makes the eighteenth century so special for the Pacific Ocean? Or, reversing the question, why is the Pacific Ocean so important for the eighteenth century in Europe? New mechanical technologies enabled the cartographic pinpointing of longitude, and, consequently produced more accurate charts delineating the Pacific.⁵ Similarly, the novel taxonomies proposed by Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus, provided the natural sciences with new ways of classifying the encountered flora and fauna. Mary Louise Pratt labeled these developments an emerging “planetary consciousness” and argued that the world now “could be studied, understood, and classified with all of its imperial connotations that derived from this process.”⁶

In northern European countries, the Pacific started to crystallize as a separate entity: what some historians like to call an “eighteenth-century New World.”⁷ In enlightened fashion, the British and French intellectuals focusing on the Pacific argued that this new geographic region could make up for squandered opportunities during the first, chiefly Iberian, wave of expansion, which resulted in a deplorable loss of human life in the Americas. British and French subjects, in contrast, would aspire to develop the Pacific and “advance” the indigenous people to European civilization. As detailed studies about the eighteenth century multiply, however, the insights deepen that the voyages championing science and integration were in fact torchbearers for mercantile imperialism and ensuing territorial expansion.⁸

A voluminous literature circulated quickly following in the wake of the eighteenth-century European expansion into the Pacific. While up to 1760, publications about this region were few and far between, the last decades of the century witnessed a flood of books attesting to a virtual “Pacific Craze.” Historian Glyndwr Williams put it best: “For no other regions do we have such detailed and thoughtful accounts of the indigenous inhabitants over a short period of time.”⁹ Publications emerging in Britain and France on the Pacific Ocean became instant bestsellers, finding a wealth of translators in other European languages. At the same time, Spanish intellectuals were less visible in producing a literature that marked their fascination with Oceania’s watery worlds.

This “silence” is surprising, since Spain and its empire displayed a significant geographical advantage over other European powers interested in the Pacific. The Spanish Crown’s strongholds on the shores of New Spain and Peru, as well as in the Mariana and Philippine islands, placed the Pacific well within Iberian reach. Already in the late sixteenth

and early seventeenth centuries, Spanish navigators had proven their capability to reach the Pacific in a much shorter time than either British or French vessels.¹⁰ Moreover, during the height of Pacific exploration following the year 1764, Spain undertook several major expeditions to the southern and northern Pacific that placed them on a par with their British and French counterparts.¹¹

What differentiates the Spanish expeditions from those performed by the northern Europeans is not the scope and number of expeditions, but the aforementioned dearth of publication. This lack of diffusion of Spanish exploratory results has produced a split in scholarly perspectives. English-speaking historians generally acknowledge Spanish contributions to Pacific exploration. At the same time, they tend to blame Spanish officials for the multiple missed opportunities to put encounters and observations into print. This lack of diffusion, their argument continues, allowed British, French, and Russian explorers to eclipse Spain in the Pacific. These historians often regard Spanish eighteenth-century efforts in the Pacific as mere reactions to other European (and Euro-American) powers. This attitude is perhaps best illustrated by historian Christon Archer's assertion that "few Spaniards recognized the importance of published accounts. Spain was slow to grasp the full impact of the Enlightenment, and there were numerous traditions and old ideas to overcome. Secrecy rather than publication had served in the past."¹²

Spanish historians, by contrast, have resisted such unflattering views for the better part of a century. They maintain that Spain's accomplishments in the Pacific rival those of their British and French counterparts. While agreeing that official secrecy was counterproductive to the Iberian endeavors, they ultimately blame Cook and others for consciously omitting Iberian contributions in their reports. They consequently seek to insert their nationals' accounts among the illustrious gallery of eighteenth-century explorers.¹³ The absence of glowing reviews of the island worlds of the Pacific among eighteenth-century Iberian travelers has caused little concern among historical practitioners.¹⁴

Despite their obvious differences, these two research perspectives share one issue in common: Their representatives all argue that Oceania, as the island Pacific would eventually come to be known following European exploration, was indeed a separate region apart from the Americas and Asia. The absence of eighteenth-century Iberian publications on the Pacific, however, contradicts Spanish exploration and diplomatic designs on Oceania. Likewise, scholarly insistence on Spain's governmental secrecy program alone does not explain, for example, why the

country launched so many expeditions at the same time that the Pacific emerged as a “known” entity for a growing Franco-British public.

The lack of Spanish publications sheds light on complex issues of knowledge production and its dissemination. The present work addresses these issues, taking inspiration from an exchange that occurred within the pages of the *Journal of Pacific History*, where two prominent scholars, Tom Ryan and Bronwen Douglas, debate the origin of anthropology in Oceania. Ryan champions Charles de Brosses’s *Histoire des Navigations Australes* (1756), an important compilation of European voyages to the Pacific Ocean, as the chief work informing curiosity about this region. A copy of de Brosses’s book, Ryan argues, accompanied many famous travelers to the Pacific, hence structuring encounters with Oceanic societies and the subsequent production of anthropological knowledge. Douglas, on the other hand, maintains that published knowledge was secondary to the actual encounters between Pacific and European societies for the structuring of anthropological outlooks. She signals encounter situations as the watershed event for what she calls a “seaborne ethnography.”¹⁵

What emerges out of this debate is an interesting dichotomy between revealed and encountered knowledge that I maintain as central to the present work. Encountered knowledge, as the term suggests, was returned to Europe from the eighteenth-century expeditions to the Pacific. The revealed variety, on the other hand, started out as encountered knowledge hailing from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but had been stored in archives for generations. By the eighteenth century, this information was revealed mostly through handwritten sources – journals, diaries, official memoranda, and general correspondence – and required hermeneutic, rather than observational, skills.

In the eighteenth century, this dichotomy was less about ethnographic descriptions than about geographic discoveries. However, current scholars avoid the term “discovery,” preferring instead the more adequate designation of “encounter” that allows for an indigenous participation in the clashes between cultures that resulted in knowledge acquisition on both sides. Two and a half centuries earlier, discoveries propelled the enlightened voyages to the Pacific, although their main objectives – the Southern Unknown Continent and the Northwest Passage – proved illusory. This irony was not lost to contemporary chroniclers of such voyages.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, for instance, Charles Pierre Claret de Fleurieu, who, as Louis XVI’s naval minister, was instrumental in planning the ill-fated expedition of the Count of La Pérouse, sought to recover newly discovered islands for his nation. He

commented: “Geographical discoveries are a kind of property, less useful, without doubt, than territorial property, and forming only an imaginary wealth: but as they are connected with national self-love, unsubstantial as they are to the possessor, they have been, at all times, envied and disputed.”¹⁶ Linking geographic discoveries with national self-love (*l’amour propre national*) is striking as it connects the eighteenth-century expeditions to emerging sentiments of nationalism.

In a much-discussed work on the rise of nationalism, Benedict Anderson links this sentiment to an “imagined community.” Although Anderson is more concerned about the revolutionary fervor among Euro-American settlers in the Americas, this imagined community was made possible by a confluence of forces he loosely titles “print-capitalism”: “What, in a positive sense made the new communities imaginable was a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity.”¹⁷

Anderson’s print-capitalism also finds application for my study. Although Fleurieu was less concerned about the capitalistic expansion of printed matter, he was cognizant of disseminating the French discoveries through the printing press. The fact that his work found translation in the English vernacular attests to his success in protecting the “imaginary wealth” for the French nation. In terms of my earlier developed epistemological dichotomy, it is important to notice that Fleurieu favored the *encountered* variety of information. While he used Spanish received knowledge to make his case, he believed this type of information to be inferior to that returned by the eighteenth-century Franco-British expeditions.

Discussions surrounding the nature of knowledge were one of the hallmarks of the Enlightenment era. Received knowledge was by its very nature suspect. Deriving from centuries-old theological debates, this type of information seemingly had religious overtones, where faith in scripture was deemed more important than worldly encountered knowledge. Indeed, the increasing reliance of missionaries in Spanish eighteenth-century ventures to the Pacific was counterposed to the more “enlightened” efforts of the northern Europeans. At the same time, the flood of Franco-British narratives addressing the Pacific created a climate of mistrust among the reading public in northern Europe, as that emerging literature invited new ways of combining received and encountered knowledge in what Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has called a “new way of reading.”¹⁸

What makes the Spanish case unique was the sheer quantity and, if eighteenth-century Iberian observers are to be believed, quality of received information available in archival sources. Received material existed also in northern European archives, but following Fleurieu and others, it was deemed inferior to the encountered knowledge returned by the Franco-British ventures to the Pacific. The Spanish scenario is best described with what prominent historian Salvador Bernabéu Albert has called “to discover within the discovered” (*descubrir en lo descubierto*).¹⁹ From an eighteenth-century Spanish perspective, the prominent Franco-British expeditions were operating in a seascape that was already “known,” following centuries of Iberian exploration. This revealed knowledge was kept in archives and did not find itself in print.

Such secrecy, however, became counterproductive when contesting northern European claims to discoveries in an environment where printed diffusion of encountered knowledge was rampant. Spanish notables were forced to engage the “print-capitalism” underlying the eighteenth-century flood of information about the Pacific, since their revealed knowledge challenged conflicting British and French claims to first discoveries. If the Spanish sources, entombed close to 200 years in archives, were indeed equal to, or even more accurate than, the publications emerging from the Franco-British ventures, then Iberian notables, once this was validated in publication, could argue politically for a great deal of continuity in the business of exploration.

The same notables held that the postulated Franco-British new world of the Pacific that threatened to undermine Spanish claims to Oceania was not qualitatively different from the earlier contacted world of the Americas. This argument received additional support from the fact that neither British nor French ships located postulated imaginary continents or passages connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. The prior Spanish actions represented not idle speculation but had indeed concrete geopolitical as well as scientific implications.

I was myself guilty of misreading eighteenth-century Spanish archival and published sources at first. As mentioned in the acknowledgement section of this work, my insight into a distinct Spanish perspective on the Pacific emerged partially out of my inability to locate clear sources on Oceania in Iberian archives. My frustration was coupled with a noticeable contradiction: while the Spanish were deeply involved in naming the ocean, either Balboa christening it “El Mar del Sur” or Magellan bestowing on the ocean its current name, the region never captured the same degree of prominence for them as it did in either Britain or France. Reflecting on this state of affairs, I began to realize that the Pacific did

indeed enter the Spanish diplomatic and intellectual horizon, not as a separate part of the world, but as a reflection, or better put, extension of the Spanish possessions on both sides of this ocean.²⁰ This fact not only explained the absence of clearly demarcated files in the archival resources,²¹ it also became the guiding hypothesis of my work.

Experts in the field of colonial Spanish history might find such insights unsurprising. Location in American ports would, after all, structure perspectives when looking out into the vastness of the Pacific Ocean. Yet I maintain that these perspectives are novel when applied to an understanding of the Pacific as a whole, and provide healthy antidotes to the accustomed Franco-British visions that crowd this largest of the world's oceans.

Further ramifications of this new Spanish outlook on the Pacific quickly follow. If the Pacific Ocean was tainted by Spanish concerns regarding their established colonies, then this ocean also had to intrude on Spanish intellectual concerns about their imperial holdings in the Americas and the Philippines. This realization meant that traces of the Pacific could be found in most writings of prominent Spanish intellectuals, which in turn forced careful and renewed readings of source material, both archival and published. My initial disappointment gave way to a period of frantic reading and research as I uncovered the "hidden Pacific" in Spanish correspondence and publications. Had this Iberian concern about the Pacific Ocean been more observable or obvious, it is fair to assume that writings about this region would have yielded a similar steady stream of recent scholarly articles and monographs reporting on Spanish explorations, as is the case for the British and French voyages.

My considerations also have considerable impact on notions of the "Spanish Lake," that period of Iberian influence in the Pacific between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Oskar Spate, in his seminal three-volume work on the European exploration, has frequently been credited with the introduction of the term.²² Yet, it was William Lytle Schurz who first coined the notion of a Spanish Lake close to a century ago in connection with his influential work on the Manila Galleon exchange.²³ He rightly postulated that the origin of a Spanish incursion into the Pacific, beyond Balboa's first sighting of the South Sea in 1513, has to be found with Ferdinand Magellan's early sixteenth-century circumnavigation. In Magellan's wake numerous Spanish ventures followed, which by the end of the sixteenth century connected Asia with their emergent empire in the Americas. But as Schurz pointed out, "as gigantic a scheme as it was, the domination of the Pacific was, after all, a secondary phase of Spanish world imperialism. It was always

subordinated to the Indias Occidentales, or West Indies – that is to America.”²⁴

When investigated closely, Schurz’s concept is both useful and distorting. It is distorting in that it suggests complete Spanish control over the Pacific, which outside the Philippine and the Mariana islands, as well as the American littoral, was illusory at best. Similarly, the designation of “lake” diminishes the distances of this largest geographical feature on earth and equally belittles the maritime accomplishments of the indigenous peoples of the island Pacific.²⁵ Fortunately, a recently published work maintains the flexibility and, albeit limited, usefulness of the term “Spanish Lake.” In this work, the authors suggest a separation of a literal and an imaginary Spanish Lake.²⁶ The literal follows the Manila Galleon exchange from the Philippines into the Mariana Islands and from there to the shores of New Spain. It is this episode of the Pacific that has received much attention over the past three decades, with historians effectively arguing that the 1571 establishment of Manila on the Philippine Island of Luzon brought about true globalization.²⁷

The imagined Spanish Lake, in contrast, covered the entire Pacific, islands as well as the continents surrounding the ocean. It was through this Spanish imaginary that a more global vision of the Pacific took shape. Where the Franco-British idea argued for a qualitative break in European interactions with the Pacific in the eighteenth century, the Spanish vision saw a great deal of continuity from the sixteenth century onward. It is this alternative conceptualization that this book addresses in detail.

An important caveat about this Spanish vision is in order. Mindful that this mental picture remains an outside imposition with all of its imperial connotations, I in no way aspire to eclipse the myriad of indigenous views that make up the islands in the Pacific and the continents surrounding this ocean. These views have their expressions in the “trans-local” literature that is emerging now in the global renditions of the Pacific.²⁸ There are glimpses of indigenous voices throughout this text, most prominently perhaps in the ethnographic portion of Chapter 4. In my task to identify the Spanish vision of the Pacific, however, I have forgone the close identification of such voices, leaving it for future researchers to find the Iberian visions “in” rather than “of” the Pacific.²⁹ Similarly, the Pacific visions reflected in this book only address in a superficial way the *criollo* voices in the Spanish colonies, which, important as they are, would require an additional volume.³⁰

What highlights the uniqueness of the Spanish vision of the Pacific is its connection to the terrestrial anchor of colonial Latin America. The

reigns of Philip V, Charles III, and Charles IV (1714–1808) opened Spain and its empire to sweeping cultural, economic, naval, and political reforms.³¹ These reforms coincided with and reacted to the increasing northern European exploration of the Pacific Ocean. Recent historical writings illustrating a rich eighteenth-century Spanish scientific engagement have restored attention to this formerly neglected topic. This historical inquiry has also elucidated how the Spanish intellectuals' proactive defense of their possessions with the pen as well as with the sword and underscored the image of a vibrant rather than declining empire throughout the eighteenth century.³² Most of these renditions, however, have focused primarily on the Atlantic Ocean. While I am not suggesting an exclusive shift to the Spanish Lake, assuredly debates on this subject reposition the Pacific against the Atlantic World and vice-versa. Going beyond the narratives emphasizing Spanish decline, what can be found in these pages is an examination of the Pacific, island as well as littoral, as a nexus of global historical concerns.

Before venturing into the main sections of this book, I provide a brief summary of its chapters. Chapter 1 explores the early European expansion into the Pacific Ocean. This ocean is the largest geographical feature on earth, yet it entered European consciousness late since it required the geographical addition of the Americas (first in 1507). Magellan's circumnavigation (1519–1522) shattered geographical conceptions of landlocked oceans and revealed the vast expanse of the Pacific. The need to provide some sort of terrestrial limits for such a vast seascape quickly populated sixteenth century maps of the Pacific with southern unknown continents. Spanish exploration of the South Pacific between 1567 and 1606 revealed little evidence of the existence of such mythical landmasses.

Nevertheless, the Portuguese mariner Pedro Fernández de Quirós claimed to have reached them. His proposals for a sustained Spanish colonization effort were translated into many languages and fueled in return by Dutch, English, and French voyages to the region. This created two distinct visions of the Pacific Ocean. The Spanish vision denied the existence of mythical continents and argued that the region, deemed sufficiently charted by its mariners, revealed few resources worth exploring. The Franco-British version, on the other hand, employed Spanish revealed sources to argue for an unexplored world in the Pacific and exposed plans for its commercial and scientific exploration.

Chapter 2 starts with the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Franco-British expansion into the Pacific became a reality. Armed with new scientific outlooks, the northern Europeans started to chart the

Pacific in earnest. Chief among these endeavors were the three voyages of James Cook, who carried new timekeepers to the Pacific to determine longitude of the places he encountered. In addition, many of the learned gentlemen who accompanied Cook on his journeys were either directly trained or inspired by Carl Linnaeus's novel ways of organizing the natural world. This supposedly disinterested scientific investigation of the Pacific greatly undermined Spanish diplomatic claims to the region, which rested on age-old maritime treaties. Diffusion of encountered botanic and geographic knowledge in numerous English and French publications further challenged the notion of a closed Spanish Lake, forcing Spanish intellectuals to develop new ways of knowing, which directly challenged the Franco-British threat.

Chapter 3 engages the second half of the eighteenth century, when a growing number of British and French voyage publications greatly popularized the Pacific Ocean. Especially in the British case, such narratives were characterized by "imperial amnesia," an effort to belittle, eclipse, or erase the historical memory of previous imperial expansions in an attempt to further their own. Aware of this challenge, Spanish officials intervened in the publication process. In an effort to offset Cook's voyages, Spanish notables turned to their archives instead. By arguing that the archival received knowledge was indeed superior to the encountered variety extolled by British voyagers, Spanish intellectuals offered a vision radically different from that of their Franco-British counterparts.

Chapter 4 engages the Spanish political and intellectual reaction to the northern European encroachment. A number of Spanish geostrategic expeditions explored the Northwest Coast of the Americas and the island world of Eastern Polynesia. Less scientifically inclined than the Franco-British ventures, the Spanish voyages sought to extend the defensive perimeter of the Americas into the Pacific Ocean and along the Northwest Coast's littoral. Besides the obvious political ideas of forestalling foreign settlement, these voyages collected geographic information that both contradicted and supported the northern European expeditions. The merging of British encountered knowledge with the received variety emerging from Spanish archives proved most useful in the case of the Spanish-controlled Philippines. Ethnographic knowledge, in contrast, was immediately suspect in the eyes of the Spanish. Although the many Oceanic and Northwest Coast societies uncovered by the late eighteenth century triggered the need to classify such polities, a taxonomic apparatus was not readily available for human societies. Spanish intellectuals were less concerned with the dilemma of anthropological classification than with the notion of a separate world

emerging through ethnographic description. Initial Spanish ridicule of such depictions quickly gave way to more sustained critique. The fleeting, superficial British “seaborne ethnography” came under fire, and the argument developed that the long arduous voyages to reach the Pacific resulted in sensory deprivation that distorted the perceptions of the northern European voyagers.

Chapter 5 explores novel Spanish approaches to Pacific exploration. As Spanish notables maintained that the Franco-British explorations added little useful information, Iberian naval officials developed hydrographic projects that sought to link Spain with its empire. Employing Lauren Benton’s concept of “judiciary corridors,” this chapter chronicles how Spaniards combined encountered hydrographic data with received archival knowledge to build a web of maritime routes stretching from the Iberian Peninsula into the Pacific. The Pacific leg in particular, was accentuated by Alejandro Malaspina’s (1789–1794) extensive expedition. In his planned published work delineating the venture, Malaspina sought to combine received and encountered knowledge in an attempt to surpass the British and French voyage monographs. Malaspina’s efforts found their continuity in the work of Spanish naval historians. From this emerged a new historical consciousness best represented in the work of Spanish historian Martín Fernández de Navarrete. Navarrete argued not only for the recovery of Spanish sources to underscore the eighteenth-century exploration of the Pacific Ocean, but also maintained a great deal of continuity between the Iberian expansion of the sixteenth century and that of the Franco-British endeavor two centuries later. By fashioning his very own brand of the history of science, Navarrete sought to reclaim the Spanish contributions to transoceanic expansion that the British Pacific chroniclers were busy trying to erase.

Chapter 6 addresses the fact that all of these Spanish intellectual efforts to erase the uniqueness of the Franco-British exploration of the Pacific would have been for naught, were it not for the 1799 arrival of German scientist Alexander von Humboldt in Spain. Reared in the intellectual tradition of Georg Forster, who as a young man accompanied Cook on his second circumnavigation, Humboldt, too, had ambitions to embark on a “grand tour” of the Pacific. Finding his ambitions at Pacific exploration frustrated in post-revolutionary Europe, Humboldt and his French companion, Aimé Bonpland, decided to move to Spain, where they encountered the Spanish effort at linking the Americas with the Pacific. Humboldt met many Spanish historians and was taken by the merger of archival and encountered knowledge. His journey through the Spanish-controlled Americas (1799–1804) convinced him

that the natural world of this continent had been greatly neglected as a consequence of the Franco-British eighteenth-century Pacific craze. As Humboldt rediscovered the American continent through scientific eyes, he merged the distinctively Spanish vision of the Pacific and its connection to the Americas into a powerful transnational narrative. Ironically, Humboldt's narratives appeared at a time when the Spanish colonial realm in the Americas was jeopardized, and ultimately lost, by revolutionary activity.

The epilogue provides a summary of the work's findings and chronicles developments taking place between 1830 and 1899. Although Humboldt had done much to undermine the novelty of the Pacific in his writings, the conceptual anchor of the Americas that underscored the Spanish vision of the Pacific evaporated. This realization informed Spanish geographers throughout the nineteenth century as they were forced to engage the northern European categorization of the Pacific that they had formerly rejected. French geographers proposed the name of Oceania, which consisted of the tripartite division into Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. It was especially the term Micronesia that the Spaniards found compelling, as it covered the archipelagos of the Carolines and the Marianas to the east of the Philippines. Threatened by German imperial ambitions in the region, the geographers argued for a Spanish Micronesia as a counterweight to British Australia and French Polynesia, in an effort to strengthen their own imperial claims. Their rediscovery of this geographical category was further supplemented through a largely illusionary Spanish civilizing mission that advocated the spread of Spanish Catholic values as well as racial amalgamation among the Micronesian polities residing in the area and the expected colonists.

1

On Shrinking Continents and Expanding Oceans

If upon bare suspition Christoferus Columbus did pursue his designe with so much obstinancie, you are not to account it strange in me if the things which I have beheld with mine eyes, and touched with mine hands, doe put some kind of constraint upon me to be importune.

Pedro Fernández de Quirós – 1617 [1609]

That Genoese who, in the service of Spain, attempted, and that Portuguese who, in the same service, effected the circumnavigation of the globe, have precluded all competition in honour of sublime discovery. Much, however, is still within the power of men who may be rather emulous of the glorious spirit of that age, than devoted to the mercenary or indolent disposition of the present.

Alexander Dalrymple – 1767

Quirós's Austral lands

In October of 1607, Portuguese navigator Pedro Fernández de Quirós took an ambitious proposal for a settlement in the Austral lands to the Spanish capital. In it, he envisioned a colony numbering well over one thousand individuals including settlers, soldiers, and Franciscan missionaries. Quirós proposed that the sum of 500,000 ducats would more than pay for this important venture, an astronomical bill that greatly troubled the illustrious members of the Council of Indies advising King Philip III on his overseas policies. Unsurprisingly, Quirós's plan faced stern opposition. For the better part of seven years, he quibbled with the council's notables, writing numerous memorials in defense of his endeavor. It was to no avail, however, as Philip III ultimately passed the problem

on to his associated American kingdoms. While officially supportive of Quirós's proposal, the King asked the navigator to sail to Peru where he was to wait for further instructions. Quirós's fear that council members were conspiring to hasten his departure from this earthly realm became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Much to the relief of his detractors, he expired in Panama en route to his final destination of Lima.

In the histories chronicling the European exploration of the Pacific, Quirós always marks the apex of Spanish hegemony over this ocean. Over the course of the seventeenth century, the Spanish Crown gradually withdrew from exploratory ventures in the Pacific allowing northern European countries to fill the void. Spanish officials, the argument goes, feared overextension and jettisoned costly Pacific ventures, while Dutch, English, and French nationals were braving this ocean's waters. In the pages below, I argue that this view only partially captures a distinct Spanish vision of the Pacific that contrasts sharply with that of the northern European nations.

Historians frequently regard the eighteenth-century exploration of the Pacific Ocean as a conceptual watershed. Most explorations performed prior to this time period, they argued, sailed with the explicit aims to locate mineral wealth, to gain indigenous converts, and to bestow immortal glory on their navigators. Those following in their wake, however, alleged loftier goals. Inspired by the enlightened purpose to uncover and disseminate knowledge for the sake of knowledge itself, the eighteenth-century voyages were aided by better instruments and novel taxonomic ideas. Scientific innovations determined this process. Central to this epistemology was an unbridled thirst for knowledge and a border-transcending spirit of inquiry that sought to encompass the globe in all its physical and natural dimensions. Lastly, a new spirit of dissemination aimed to promote an intellectual dialogue about natural history in all of its facets. Recent writings, however, have undermined the place of pure knowledge in the motivations for the Franco-British expeditions, arguing that, behind the veil of disinterested investigation lurked equally strong desires for imperial annexation suggesting then a great deal of continuity with earlier exploratory ventures.¹

Departing from this assessment, I propose to investigate in this chapter the legacy and impact of the Spanish expeditions to the Pacific in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thus providing a solid foundation for what follows in the book. Later generations of British and French intellectuals who compiled literature on Spanish voyages found many of the early Iberian approaches wanting. Among other things, intellectuals scolded the Spanish policy that prevented immediate dissemination of

knowledge. These intellectuals also presented the abuses of Iberian rule in the Americas as a negative example to be avoided.

Yet, before the Pacific became better known through such illustrious voyagers as Bougainville, Cook, and the ill-fated La Pérouse, it had emerged as a conceptual space in the wider European imagination. Historical investigations about the conceptualization of the Pacific are legion and generally serve to preface the equally numerous works on Franco-British expeditions.² What follows builds on this extensive and still expanding body of literature. It also reads these works against the neglected Spanish vision of the Pacific. Most historians of the Pacific maintain the Spanish conceptualization to be crucial only until the early seventeenth century, when it was superseded by Dutch, English, and French accounts. I maintain, on the other hand, that the argument of a declining Spanish Pacific power entailed in the northern European accounts is only partially correct. A more nuanced rendition traces Iberian initial fascination with the Pacific to a program of maritime expansion and exploration that originated in the Atlantic Ocean and continued well into the seventeenth century through the evangelical agendas of both Franciscan and Jesuit religious officials. By the second half of the seventeenth century, however, Spanish officials raised serious doubts about the existence of legendary continents in the Pacific Ocean. This Spanish doubt and introspection was, ironically, paralleled by an uninhibited northern European enthusiasm about the potential of the South Sea as an area of prosperous economic exchange. In sum, this chapter reads the well-established Dutch, French, and British accounts of early Pacific exploration against the neglected Iberian renditions.

The dual exploration of the Pacific Ocean

The Pacific Ocean is the largest geographical feature on earth, covering a surface almost equal to that of the Arctic, Atlantic, and Indian oceans combined.³ Its settlement and exploration also differ greatly from that of the Atlantic and Indian counterparts. The continuities of historical events linking the liquid spaces of the Atlantic and Indian oceans are well explored and documented in prominent world historical texts. For the Indian Ocean, the decoding of the monsoon system in the first millennium BCE was crucial in the establishment of an exchange system, linking Africa and Asia, that lasted well into the eighteenth century.⁴ The Atlantic Ocean possesses a smaller but equally continuous time-frame of historical development. From Columbus's voyages in the late fifteenth century throughout the revolutions of the nineteenth century,

the Atlantic stayed central to global history.⁵ On an historical scale, the Atlantic has become synonymous with the early modern world shedding light on both voluntary and involuntary migrations that greatly influenced the Americas, Africa, and Europe.

If one were to read the history of the Pacific Ocean against its better studied Atlantic and Indian counterparts, some apparent differences quickly emerge. Besides the most obvious difference – size – emphasis must be placed on the Pacific as a world of islands. Islands are, of course, a prominent feature also in the Atlantic and the Indian oceans. However, with a few noticeable exceptions, islands in these oceans are generally located in close proximity to nearby continents and are greatly influenced by the historical trajectory of the landmasses. In terms of the Pacific, geographers speak instead of a distinctive rim and a basin. The latter represents a world apart – frequently called Oceania – that form, in the words of the late Tongan writer Epeli Hau'ofa, literally “a sea of islands.”⁶

Long before Europeans even caught a glimpse of this watery world, Austronesian voyagers had braved the “tyranny of distance” separating the islands of Southeast Asia from the distant landmasses in Eastern Polynesia.⁷ Numerous Austronesian crews were lost to the unpredictable elements, although the scourge affecting European crews – a vitamin deficiency illness known as scurvy – seems to have been less prevalent among these first settlers. Their continued journey into the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean stretched from Island Southeast Asia, over the Fiji-Samoa-Tonga triangle, to the outer limits of Polynesia, including Hawai'i, Aotearoa (New Zealand), and Easter Island (Rapa Nui) and took the better part of four millennia. The Austronesian expansion neared its end by about 700 CE, yet some archeologists now surmise that the ancestors of the Polynesian settlers must have reached the shores of the Americas a good 500 years before Christopher Columbus's voyage across the Atlantic Ocean. Regional exchange systems abounded in the island world of the Pacific, but integration of this watery realm into a wider global system fell to the Iberian arrival.

European voyages into the Pacific followed the pattern set by Iberian navigators in the fifteenth century. Propelled by the promises of riches along the west coast of Africa and the Indian Ocean, they set out to investigate the winds and currents of the Atlantic Ocean. Initially, their operation involved a considerable amount of island hopping utilizing the Madera, the Azores, the Cape Verde, and the Canary islands. The idea of sailing further west was partially inspired by the rediscovery of Ptolemy's geographical conception, which argued that all ocean waters were, in

fact, surrounded by landmasses. This idea gained further currency when a treaty signed in 1479 excluded Castile from the lucrative business of the African coasts. A little over a decade later, Christopher Columbus sailed west and reached land that he thought to be the eastern edge of Asia. Immediately following Columbus's arrival in the Americas, Pope Alexander VI published the famed Bull *Inter Caetera* (1493), which sanctioned expansion based on the principle of indigenous conversion. The Bull received legitimacy from the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) that divided the Atlantic Ocean into distinctive Portuguese and Spanish spheres.

Martin Waldseemüller's *Universalis Cosmografia* (1507) is credited to be one of the first maps to bestow the name "America" on the landmass located by Columbus. At the same time, Waldseemüller's separation of "America" from Asia served as a conceptual midwife to the Pacific. While the German cartographer still greatly underestimated the distance between Asia and the Americas, the waters separating the continents, littered as they were with islands, remained nameless, but conceptually present.⁸ The first European to catch a glimpse of Waldseemüller's imagined space was Vasco Núñez de Balboa in 1513 during his crossing of the Isthmus of Panama. Balboa claimed the Pacific for Spain and christened it *el Mar del Sur*, a term that still haunts the pages of many works of history. This initial name for the Pacific emerged, however, as a simple opposition to *el Mar del Norte* or the very sea crossed by the Spaniards to reach the Americas.⁹

Balboa's undertaking was quickly followed by Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation (1519–1522), which raised uncomfortable questions for geographers. Magellan's voyage challenged the age-old Ptolemaic model of cartography that assumed the world's oceans were surrounded by continental landmasses. The Portuguese mariner's crossing of the Pacific also provided the name for this vast seascape and required new cartographic imaginations for the first time. Perhaps most importantly, Juan Sebastian el Cano's return to a Spanish port aboard the last surviving vessel, the *Victoria*, revealed the existence of a new route to the spice-rich islands of the Indian Ocean, contesting the initial division between Spain and Portugal concerning the Atlantic Ocean. Several Spanish expeditions followed in Magellan's wake to lay claim to these wealthy islands in Southeast Asia, yet their voyages failed to locate favorable winds for a return passage to the Americas. Before this *tornaviaje* was found, officials in Portugal and Spain negotiated an additional treaty (Zaragoza 1529), in which Charles V of Spain forewent his claim over the Maluku Islands in return for a sizable Portuguese monetary payment.¹⁰ This treaty placed much of the Pacific under Spanish control, inducing historians to label

the area as a “Spanish Lake,” even if this term greatly exaggerated the amount of Spanish hegemony over the region.¹¹

Magellan’s circumnavigation may have ended the myth of landlocked oceans, yet it allowed for the emergence of an equally persistent chimera from the sea of classical writings: *The Southern Continent*. Fuelled by an old geographical argument that the landmasses in the northern hemisphere needed to be balanced by similar terrestrial continents in the south, this “equilibrium theory” placed an imaginary, not yet contacted, continent on sixteenth century maps of the world. There it languished as *Terra Australis Incognita*. Similarly, Spanish research into Inca history revealed Native American expeditions to gold-rich islands located in the Pacific Ocean. These stories combined with geographical myths to propel a large-scale Spanish effort to explore the southern Pacific between 1567 and 1606.¹²

Serendipity: contextualizing Spanish journeys to the *Tierras Australes*

The Spanish voyages initiated in the late fifteenth century demanded new ways of organizing the world. Growing information about the Pacific could only add to the sheer overwhelming amount of knowledge that reached the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth century. In Spain, cosmographers were entrusted with the task of organizing this knowledge into meaningful categories and quickly realized the limitations and deficiencies of existing classical frameworks. Preference thus shifted to *in situ* observation and data collection that resulted in two important epistemologies: one relying on graphic and mathematical knowledge and a second one emphasizing descriptive and textual information. Spanish officials deemed such cartographic and historical types of knowledge as potentially harmful, if copied and disseminated to European enemies. Much of this information was consequently kept in archives. Complete secrecy, however, was difficult to maintain as pilots and cosmographers took information to foreign courts.¹³ A royal decree had established the *Casa de la Contratación* (House of Trade, founded in 1503). Within a few years, the need for cartographic information on the Atlantic Ocean led to the institution of a separate cosmological department. This department was in charge of crafting and improving the *padrón real* (Royal Register), a template map that had the dual function of ensuring state control over cartographic knowledge and its standardization.¹⁴

Magellan’s voyage, however, revealed the inadequacies of sixteenth-century mapping techniques. His new route to the Spice Islands

immediately triggered Portuguese suspicion and protest. When Portuguese and Spanish officials met to discuss the issue after 1524, they were able to solve the open conflict by drawing an imaginary line through the Pacific Ocean (following the example of the Atlantic). Conceptual issues, however, remained far from settled. As the *padrón real* proved incapable of embracing the whole world, it rapidly descended to disuse following the 1560s. The development of new projections, especially Gerardus Mercator's conceptualization in 1569, meant that competing cartographical schools emerged in northern Europe.¹⁵ The Spanish expeditions to the Pacific Ocean during the second half of the sixteenth century coincided with the neglect of the *padrón real*.

In terms of cartographic information, it was the establishment of the Council of Indies after 1523 that increasingly politicized the drafting of charts and maps. Prior to this Council's formation, navigators and cartographers debated whether these vital nautical tools should be based on observation and experience, on one hand, or on theoretical and astronomical concerns on the other. When such debates moved on the floor of the Council of Indies, however, charts ceased to be mere instruments of navigational utility and rather became tools to underscore Spanish political claims. This became obvious when Portuguese and Spanish cartographers met in 1524 to discuss the extension of the Treaty of Tordesillas into the Pacific Ocean.¹⁶ Cartographic knowledge was not the only information to be dragged into the realm of politics. The crucial concerns with location of a *tornaviaje*, or the identification of suitable winds and currents to allow a safe passage from the Philippines to the Americas, triggered many voyages to the Pacific. The identification of this strategic information fell to Andrés de Urdaneta, whose venture to the northern Pacific enabled and sustained the Manila Galleon Trade following 1571.¹⁷ Connecting the old world of Asia with the new world of the Americas through the Pacific Ocean meant the emergence of global cultural and economic exchanges centering on Manila (on the Philippine island of Luzon) as a prominent trade emporium.¹⁸

Although Spanish officials jealously guarded the emerging routes of the Manila galleon, they were not opposed to a strategic release of information to boost their claims to the Pacific. For example, in 1575 the *Cosmógrafo de Indias*, Juan López de Velasco, revealed his "Descripción de las Yndias Orientales" (Description of the East Indies), which was reproduced in the early seventeenth-century works of Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, and widely circulated among learned individuals. According to Ricardo Padrón, Velasco's merging of existing and imagined landmasses (in particular the fabled *Terra Australis*) provided for

a coherent Castilian Pacific Rim, which visually suggested an encompassing Spanish trans-Pacific empire.¹⁹ Velasco divided the region into the three Indies: *Indias del Norte*—encompassing North America and present day Venezuela, *Indias del Mediodía*—stretching to the tip of South America, and lastly the *Indias del Poniente*—a catch-all term for the Pacific Basin and presumably future conquest in Asia. Velasco's vision emphasized, once again, the close conceptual ties between Pacific waters and the Spanish terrestrial strongholds in the Americas, the Marianas, and the Philippines.²⁰

It comes as no surprise that the last major Spanish episode of expansion in the Pacific, between 1567 and 1607, partially aimed at uncovering the terrestrial limits of the *Mar del Sur*. Mercedes Maroto Camino has effectively argued that Mendaña and Quirós's voyages were highly instrumental in producing what Europeans in later centuries would come to call the Pacific.²¹ At the same time, it can be argued that their search for the unknown continent aimed at the location of terrestrial boundaries, instead of enlarging the maritime realm of the Pacific. It is this search for a bounded entity that, in Oskar Spate's prominent opinion, establishes this new ocean as a conceptual artifact.²²

The story of the Spanish expedition to the Pacific has been told many times, but it is worth summarizing.²³ While the ventures during the first half of the sixteenth century had the clearly defined aim of contesting the Portuguese hold in the Spice Islands, these new endeavors had more diffuse purposes. Sailing into, from a European perspective, mostly uncharted waters of the South Pacific, the Spanish ventures were guided by vague beliefs of mineral-rich islands off the coast of Peru and the gain of indigenous converts as stipulated by the Papal Bull. The first expedition, under the command of Alvaro de Mendaña de Neira (1567–1569), managed to reach a set of islands that the Spaniards named the Solomon Islands after the wealthy biblical king. They remained there for almost six months, before deteriorating relations with the indigenous inhabitants and disease forced them back to Peru. The expedition yielded little in terms of expected riches, yet the desire to return to the Pacific Ocean remained.

It took almost thirty years before Mendaña gained another commission to take a second expedition to the region in 1595. Accompanying him was chief pilot Pedro Fernández de Quirós, who was to play an important role later on. Mendaña sought to return to the Solomon Islands, but failed to locate them on his journey. Nevertheless, they contacted the Marquesas and Santa Cruz archipelagos, where conflict with the indigenous people prevented further settlement. When Mendaña succumbed

to malaria, the task fell to his wife, Isabel Barreto, to guide the survivors into a safe harbor with the help of Quirós. Consequently, they arrived in the Philippines in 1596.

Quirós continued to lobby for a third expedition and received another commission in 1605. This time he sailed to the archipelago now known as Vanuatu, where, on the island of Espiritu Santo, he attempted to establish a settlement, which he called New Jerusalem. Again, indigenous resistance and disease took a heavy toll until Quirós decided to sail back to Peru, where he arrived in 1607. Separated from Quirós, his second-in-command, Luiz Vaez de Torres, took another vessel to the Philippines. On this journey, he sailed through the strait separating New Guinea from Australia that still bears his name.

On the whole, the expeditions' results were meager. They yielded no great riches, no converts to Roman Catholicism, and entailed a great loss of Spanish and indigenous lives. Their cartographic information remained hidden in Spanish archives for centuries. However, the cautious veil of secrecy that descended on the expeditions could not completely prevent information from reaching intellectuals in Europe. For the better part of two centuries, this knowledge nourished the existence of a legendary Southern Continent with unparalleled riches and cultural expressions. Much of this information derived from Quirós's circulation of a large number of memorials to Spanish Monarch Philip III in a vain hope to gain yet another commission to the Pacific Ocean.

Silence: preventing the diffusion of knowledge

The above-described expeditions also aimed at securing the defense of the American western shores shielding Latin American silver mines that produced much of the Spanish wealth. This vast expanse of coastline, stretching from New Spain to Cape Horn (Cabo de Hornos), provided vulnerable targets for Dutch, English, and French privateers who preyed upon Spanish shipping lanes. Famous circumnavigations from Francis Drake (1577–1580) to Commodore Anson (1740–1744) started as privateering actions, but stirred northern European interest in the Pacific.²⁴ The establishment of a strategic defense for such a vast region became a major Spanish preoccupation that was never solved to satisfaction.²⁵ Moreover, Spanish claims to the Americas and the adjacent Pacific, based on a famed Papal Bull of 1493 and the right of first-discovery, proved to be a hollow foundation. Anthony Pagden has aptly illustrated that the issue of legitimate conquest and administration in the Americas remained an open sore throughout the Spanish period of domination.²⁶

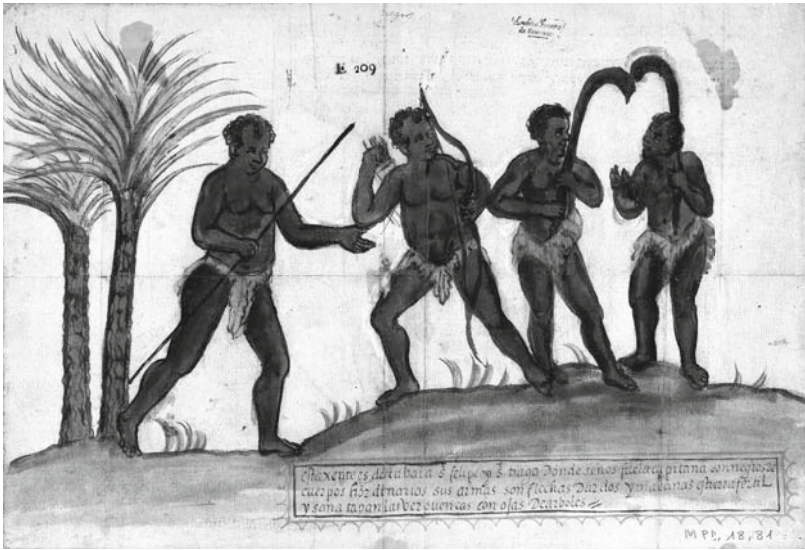


Figure 1.1 Continued

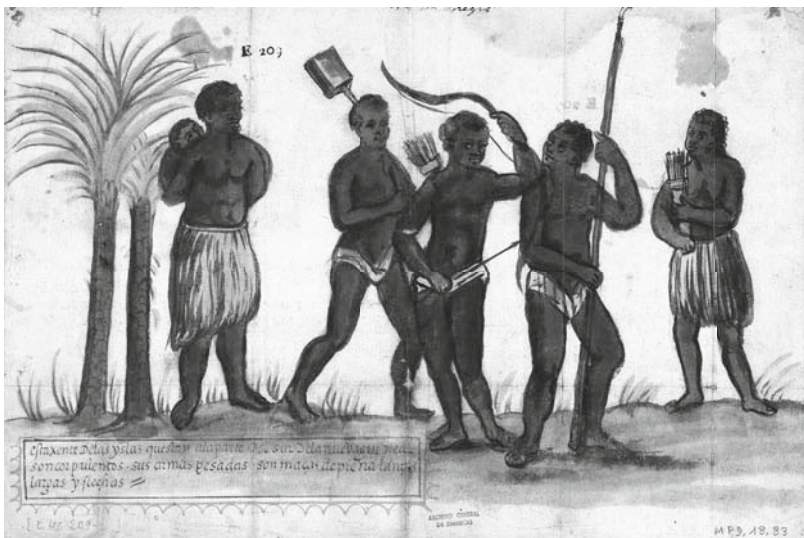


Figure 1.1 Indigenous people of the Pacific AGS, MPD, 81, 82, 83, 84

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the Spanish cartographic output declined, and other European powers, most prominently the Dutch, produced maps about the Pacific that would ultimately inspire the voyages of the eighteenth century. Mapmakers, such as Abraham Ortelius, did much to enshrine the original Spanish names for the new ocean: South Sea and Pacific Ocean. At the same time, Ortelius and others divorced the Pacific from the Spanish-controlled Americas and suggested a new aquatic world ready for exploration.²⁷ Many current academics suspect secrecy and a lack of resources to be responsible for this shift in cartographic production to northern European centers.²⁸

The revealed information can be traced directly to Pedro Fernández de Quirós's attempt to sway his superiors to sponsor another expedition. An ambitious man, he bombarded Spanish monarch Philip III with more or less exaggerated accounts about the inherent wealth and possibilities of the Austral lands. He faced an increasingly uphill battle with hostile royal bureaucrats, who regarded Quirós's demands as a waste of precious state resources.

Squandering financial resources as well as his health, Quirós's attempts led to an early grave in 1615. His memorials, or petitions to the King and the appointed Council of Indies, remained an important legacy. He wrote more than fifty of them and one, the so-called Eighth Memorial, stands out. Contradicting state secrecy, he circulated the Eighth Memorial, which experienced great diffusion. Between the years of 1609 and 1669, it was reprinted thirty-one times in as many as seven European languages.²⁹ In the words of Mercedes Maroto Camino: "The diffusion of Quirós's Eighth Memorial had an effect on future explorers that make it the most important document from Antonio Pigafetta's account on the Magellanic exploration."³⁰

As it is perhaps expected, Quirós's image as a Pacific discoverer is ambiguous at best. The reputations of most European navigators, including the famous James Cook, have experienced serious revisions over the past three decades.³¹ At the same time, Quirós and his memorials have enjoyed a rather poor reception both at home and abroad. British historian Glyndwr Williams dismisses his writings as "hallucinations,"³² and even in Spain, he is frequently compared to Cervantes's Don Quixote. While Quirós might not have mistaken windmills for giants, he nevertheless exaggerated the population and the riches he encountered in the Pacific.³³ In an attempt to salvage his heritage as a "man in the grip of religious mania," Miguel Luque and Carlos Mondragón argue that the documents surrounding Quirós's expedition have been incompletely or poorly translated, and they offer a more detailed picture of

the Portuguese navigator.³⁴ They maintain that “Quirós united utopianism and pragmatism towards one greater goal, namely, the expansion of Iberian and Catholic influences across the globe.”³⁵

An even more engaging portrait of Quirós emerges through the pages of Kevin Sheehan. In his rendition, Quirós’s last expedition was illusionary largely through his portrayal in the English-speaking literature. Indeed, the journey fit in well with Spanish scientific endeavors governing their imperial domain. Quirós, for instance, brought along a copper instrument designed to extract drinking water from saltwater. Similarly, his “strange” ceremony of possession on Espiritu Santo differed little from that of his eighteenth-century British counterparts.³⁶

Sheehan’s caveat notwithstanding, Quirós’s image as a fantast is not the product of the Anglo-Spanish rivalry, but as the pages following illustrate, a homespun Spanish notion. His contribution, however, was vital for the continuity of the Spanish evangelical program in the Pacific, and for the idea of the existence of vast Austral lands left to be discovered. The evangelical program contributed to the survival of his memorials in Spain for the better part of a century. The affirming of the southern land, on the other hand, triggered the increasing interest in the Pacific Ocean among northern European countries. Furthermore, some historians regard the negative reactions of Philip III and the Council of Indies as indicative of a new phase of Spanish imperialism. By the seventeenth century, the Spanish empire was transitioning from expansion to consolidation and its rulers had little interest in the Pacific – an ocean that harbored few treasures.³⁷

But what is the issue with secrecy? In the context of the Atlantic Ocean, Alison Sandman has aptly analyzed the difference between theory and practice in controlling nautical knowledge within the Iberian Peninsula. Differentiating between the pilot’s local and regional ways of knowing and the more generalized knowledge of cosmographers, Sandman argues that it was impossible, and even impractical, to impose state secret status on epistemology. Since cartographers and pilots moved freely between countries, general knowledge of sailing directions could not be safeguarded. Similarly, the diplomatic value of general cartographic knowledge in staking claims over disputed areas demanded a diffusion of such strategic information. The only knowledge that could be kept secret was local knowledge held by individual pilots, which provided vital information about hydrographic challenges hindering navigation. This local knowledge, however, decreased in importance during the sixteenth century, while the cosmographers’ emphasized theoretical knowledge became increasingly relevant.³⁸

Before proceeding, I shall summarize the content of Quirós's crucial Eighth Memorial, which was so widely circulated in the European world. While written with much passion and haste, Quirós took the time to emphasize the right reasons to propel additional exploration of the area: mild climate, immense riches, and a docile population awaiting the conversion to the Catholic faith. What transpires through the pages of this memorial is an acute notion of the Pacific as a world apart from the Americas:

Touching the extent of these Regions newly discovered, grounding my judgment on that which I have seene with mine owne eyes, and upon which Captaine *Lewes Paes de Torres* Admirall of my Fleet hath represented unto your Maiestie, The length thereof is as great as all *Europe & Asia* the lesse, unto the Sea of *Bachu, Persia*, and all the Isles, aswell of the Ocean, as of the *Mediterranean* sea, raking *England & Island* into this account.

This unknowne Countrey is the fift part of the Terrestrial Globe,³⁹ and extended it selfe to such length, that in probabilities it is twice greater in Kingdoms and Seignories, than all that which at this day doth acknowledge subiection and obedience unto your Maiestie.⁴⁰

Quirós then proceeded to inform the reader about the wealth of the lands he had encountered. The mild climate, he claimed, would greatly aid in the settlement of these regions. Likewise, he suggested, the benign and docile populations of the Pacific were expectant of the Roman Catholic faith. While the memorial's author emphasized that he had encountered a "new world" in this part of the globe, he also realized that it could not be too distinct either. Superficial description of the inhabitants rendered them similar to "*Mulatos* or *halfe-Moores*"⁴¹ Most important, however, were the similarities in natural resources, and the observer was quickly impressed by the abundance of fertile lands, benign climate, spices, and, above all, mineral wealth. Pearls and silver were items that Quirós himself had witnessed, while another captain swore that he had seen the presence of gold. In short, the lands he had encountered possessed riches that paralleled, if not surpassed, those found in the Americas. How could one possibly pass up the opportunity for further exploration and settlement?

Quirós's memorial closes with a clever observation. While Christopher Columbus had encountered a world novel to Europe following a whim, Quirós had witnessed first-hand the wealth and riches of the Pacific, and he was, in his own assessment, more entitled to continue the "discovery" process than his famed Genoese counterpart. As mentioned before, some

historians like to dismiss the Eighth Memorial as the rambling of a charlatan. These claims notwithstanding, the memorial's content described for the first time the Pacific as a "New World," and thus contributed to its attractiveness and circulation among European intellectuals until well into the eighteenth century. As such, this very memorial, as well as the knowledge contained in it, presented a clear breach in protocol.

The circulation of the Eighth Memorial violated the policy of silence that had shrouded the Spanish expeditions from their very beginning, a policy that would have dire consequences as explored below. By the eighteenth century, Spain's print culture was severely lagging behind that of Great Britain and France, although its archives are filled with reports and memoranda. Few of these reports found their way into print, yet this source of information nourished legions of scribes, who copied the manuscripts meant for the eyes of members of the Council of Indies, the house of trade, or the royal court. Rather than having them destroyed, these manuscripts were deposited in a number of archives and would, by the late eighteenth century, find a prominent resting place in the Spain's numerous archives. To be sure, the resistance to print such manuscripts was an attempt to prevent their diffusion, but they remained accessible enough to further the process of inquiry of Spanish intellectuals.⁴²

Such diffusion of knowledge had its limits, and Spanish officials were most troubled when the information left the country by the way of Quirós's memorials. In 1610, shortly after conceding Quirós's return to Peru to organize a follow-up expedition to the Austral lands, the Council of Indies informed Philip III about their concerns. The many memorials printed by Quirós not only contained valuable, although unsubstantiated, nautical and geographical information, but also implicit critique of the Spanish administration in the Americas for failing to organize new ventures. His distribution of these memorials, to Spanish nationals and foreigners alike, would ultimately fall into the wrong hands. The Members of the Council of Indies urged Philip III to collect all the memorials, and Quirós's handwritten notes for archival filing, and to forbid the impression of new memorials without the explicit consent of Council or the King. Philip III followed their advice: "Tell this Quirós to collect these papers and to deliver them in secret to the Council of Indies. We would not like to see these things change hands too often."⁴³ Despite this attempt to silence Quirós, the Eighth Memorial had already been printed several times in Spain, and by 1611, it appeared for the first time in the Italian language.⁴⁴ In the Spanish empire itself, the Eighth Memorial was highly instrumental in the continuation of the Spanish evangelical program that sought to extend itself into the Pacific Ocean.

Sermon: the continuation of *Terra Australis* in the evangelical program

Conversion of the indigenous people was a strategic component of Quirós's Eighth Memorial to win Philip III. For the same purpose, a number of missionaries accompanied him on his venture to the South Pacific. Their efforts, however, yielded no converts or permanent evangelical presence in the South Pacific. But the idea of the Pacific, as an important field for conversion, assisted in the survival of Quirós's idea over the next century. The role of Christian missionaries in the intellectual exchanges across the Pacific should not be underestimated. In an important article on the role of missionaries in the intellectual exchange between East Asia and the Americas, Luke Clossey confirmed that this stream of information was an additional marker for "globalization" in the early modern world.⁴⁵

The evangelical program played a crucial role in Spanish expansion following Columbus's voyages. Ever since Pope Alexander VI had granted the demarcation Bull to the Catholic Kings, which would ultimately lead to the famed Treaty of Tordesillas between Portugal and Spain, intellectuals had debated the legitimization for conquest. The Dominicans Francisco de Vitoria (c. 1480–1546) and Domingo de Soto (1494–1560) argued that the Bull gave license for conversion but not physical conquest of the Native Americans. Expanding on their renditions, Jesuit missionary José de Acosta (1539–1600) maintained that evangelization had to work in tandem with imperial expansion rather than following military conquest.⁴⁶ These considerations also entered the Royal Ordinances of 1573, which sought to provide a legal foundation to the growing rift between religious and military expansion. Most importantly, these ordinances assured the Spanish Crown a monopoly over expansion and settlement. Privately funded filibustering ventures were discouraged and severely punished. Conversion of the indigenous people, with the Word rather than with the sword, became a prime mover for official expeditions to ensure the protection of indigenous peoples. Violence was to be used only in exceptional cases when their "barbarian" neighbors endangered the lives of settlers or converted indigenes. On the whole, these ordinances came across as highly idealistic and left ample room for interpretation, yet they enshrined the centrality of the evangelical program at the heart of imperial expansion.⁴⁷ It is thus not surprising that conversion of indigenous peoples played such a prominent role in Quirós's Eighth Memorial.

The idea of evangelical expansion into the Pacific Ocean received great impetus from Quirós's memorial, while at the same time contributing to its survival at the heart of the Spanish Empire. The first attempt resulted from the Franciscan Order, the very missionaries who had accompanied Quirós on his last voyage to the Pacific. By the second half of the seventeenth century, Jesuit scholars appropriated these Franciscan efforts and revived and reprinted Quirós's memorial in their attempt to secure support for a widespread conversion effort in the Austral lands. The response to this Jesuit proposal, however, also started to raise serious issues about the veracity of Quirós's accounts.

Franciscan friars had played an important role in Quirós's last voyages to the Pacific, as a relatively large contingent of six Franciscans, led by Fray Martín de Munilla, accompanied the Lusitanian navigator to pave the way for large-scale conversion. Munilla also left behind an important account of the voyage. While relations between Quirós and the Franciscan friars were difficult, the churchmen, nevertheless, remained adamant about a continuity of their mission in the Pacific Ocean.⁴⁸ When Quirós advocated for the continuation of the voyages to the Austral lands, the Franciscan order lent support against the continuous resistance of the Council of Indies. Following Quirós's death in 1615, Franciscans continued advocating his mission. In particular, Fray Juan de Silva addressed several memorials to the already ailing Philip III as well as the Council of Indies. Realizing that the financing of this endeavor was one of the main points of resistance, de Silva argued that the missionary program should be allowed to depart on its own, without much support of armed men. Silva was convinced that missionaries acting alone could be successful in converting the people of the Austral lands in order to fulfill the legitimization of expansion postulated by Alexander VI's Papal Bull. Silva's project envisioned the Austral realms as a vast field for the Franciscan mission, but Spanish officials felt otherwise and ignored the proposal.

Enlisting the help of Dr. Juan Luis de Arias, who had served as *Chronista Major* of the Indies and had accompanied Quirós on his venture, Silva hoped to open new channels of negotiation. Arias wrote a lengthy memorial to the Spanish monarch, in which he emphasized the importance of the missionary program: "the spread of our holy faith, by the conversion of the heathens of the Austral lands, ... is the principal obligation resting on your Majesty and your crown."⁴⁹ Despite such appeals, the now new King Philip IV and the Council of Indies remained unimpressed. Even an appeal by Silva to Pope Urban VIII failed to yield the desired results.⁵⁰

Skepticism: *Terra Australis Imaginata*

The agenda to missionize the southern lands located in the Pacific soon became embroiled in a Spanish discussion over the veracity of imaginary lands. Fernandez de Oviedo first raised the issue of the role of the Americas and the unknown continent in both his *Sumario de la Natural Historia de Indias* (1525) and the first volume of his *Historia General de Indias* (1535). As a witness to Balboa's first discovery of a new ocean, Oviedo had to entertain a number of crucial issues. First and foremost was the question about an existing land bridge between the Americas and Asia. While little was known about the geographical situation in North America, he was one of the first geographers to argue that Tierra del Fuego was indeed an island and not, as generally assumed, the tip of a new continent stretching from South America to New Guinea. Oviedo thus maintained that the Americas were an isolated landform with no connection to real or imaginary continents. Based on these insights, Oviedo refused to engage in idle speculations, grounded mostly in Greco-Roman classics about the existence of non-contacted landforms. In this sense, Oviedo became one of the first to designate the Pacific as a sea of islands and not as a placeholder for legendary continents.⁵¹

Oviedo's suspicion of the existence of unknown continents in the Pacific inspired Quirós's detractors, as the Portuguese navigator presented his ideas to the Council of Indies in 1607. Spanish historian Roberto Ferrando, for instance, argued that Quirós's enemies, as well as King Philip III himself, displayed a lack of nerve coupled with the fear of imperial overextension, which encouraged them to adopt a defensive posture in the Pacific. Ferrando continued that diplomatic claims replaced actual exploration in the Pacific Ocean throughout the seventeenth century, a posture that ultimately shifted exploratory initiative to the more vibrant northern European powers.⁵² Ferrando was not alone in this belief. Numerous English-speaking historians have pointed out that frequent discussions over excessive colonial expansion informed the decision to forego expensive maritime surveys.⁵³ Rather than investing in Pacific exploration, Spanish officials contributed much energy in the consolidation and coordination of the vast transoceanic empire that emphasized the Atlantic Ocean over the Pacific.⁵⁴ Moving beyond the idea of imperial overextension, however, in the pages below I will examine how the idea of an unknown southern continent was quickly dwindling in the mind of many Spanish intellectuals.

During the second half of the seventeenth century, Diego Luis de San Vitores revived the Franciscan idea of the Pacific Ocean as a widespread field for conversion. Departing from the Philippines, this Jesuit missionary was instrumental in taking Christian conversion to Magellan's Islands of Thieves, which he renamed as the Marianas. A bit overambitious, San Vitores envisioned Guam and the Mariana Islands as a beachhead for additional mission activity in the Austral lands. To further this purpose, San Vitores reprinted Quirós's Eighth Memorial in 1669, consequently reviving the ideas of the Lusitanian navigator.⁵⁵ He underscored the importance of an Austral mission in a memorial written to apply for financial and military assistance to the Council of Indies. In this document, he extolled the 13,000 successful baptisms that he and his associates had performed in the Marianas. This event was to encourage the dispatch of "similar vessels from Peru to the formerly unknown southern land (*Tierra Austral antes Incógnita*), the Solomon Islands, and others located in the Southern Sea mentioned in Pedro Fernández de Quirós's account."⁵⁶ San Vitores's proposal received significant attention in the Council of Indies, the notables of which, after initial consultation, forwarded the memorandum to several individuals for review.⁵⁷

Many of the reviewers were lukewarm about his plan, illustrating a waning interest in the Austral lands. The Viceroy of New Spain, Marqués de Mancera, was the first to voice skepticism about the regions' promise. Some of the speculations, he argued, were mere chimeras emerging through the writings "of cosmographers and badly deduced interpretations of Magellan's voyages." Defraying responsibility for such an extensive undertaking, he encouraged the noble people of the council to look toward the Kingdom of Peru for help.⁵⁸ More damning than that of the Marqués was the evaluation of Dominican Friar Ignacio Muñoz, who wrote an extensive memorial on the discovery and conquest of Austral Islands of Solomon. For the Friar, who was well-versed in recent Dutch voyages, the Austral continent was nothing but a set of islands stretching from Japan to the lands of Solomon. While Iberian navigators led the charge in contacting a great many of these islands, the fabled Eighth Memorial, which Quirós had presented to the Council of Indies "was filled with embellishments of riches of a set of islands, whose territory and extension he greatly exaggerated." Besides the existing Spanish accounts, Muñoz consulted numerous foreign works collapsing the Austral lands and the Solomon Islands into a single entity he called "islas Salomonicas Australes." Unlike Quirós, Muñoz argued that the "Islas Australes" were neither a new entity nor a legendary continent,

but an integral component of a number of island chains that included Indonesia, Formosa, and the Japan.

This idea of linking the island Pacific with the American and Asian continents would become a major Spanish preoccupation in the century following this debate. Muñoz remained rather negative about the prospects of continuous exploration of this island world. Employing the galleons of the Manila-Acapulco trade, he maintained, would result in a loss of valuable resources, as these vessels were hardly suited for exploratory purpose. Sending ships to the shores of Peru facilitated such exploration, but Muñoz voiced great reservations about this endeavor:

Introducing special voyages from Peru to the Solomon Islands means ignoring their location, the long duration of such journeys, and the inconveniences that accompany these voyages. Moreover, it means to introduce time-consuming voyages funded at considerable costs for the royal coffers without specific need, spiritual gain, or opportune situation. Lastly, [the wastefulness of such voyages becomes obvious] when one considers that their ultimate aim is to consolidate Christianity in the Marianas and adjacent islands. This feat can be easily accomplished from New Spain or the Philippines.⁵⁹

Muñoz's damning proposal revealed Spanish growing disregard for the Austral lands. In addition, his words did much to undermine Quirós's information supplied in the memorial and supported his rising image as a charlatan that permeated official channels. Although the Council of Indies retained San Vitores's proposal for further consideration, the evangelical program seemed to separate itself from the Eighth Memorial.⁶⁰

To make matters worse, San Vitores's optimism soon gave way to major bloodshed in the Mariana Islands. His massive campaign of baptisms and ensuing Hispanization of these islands was rapidly met with Chamorro resistance. San Vitores and several of his fellow Jesuits were killed, and Spanish repression ensued swiftly. Violent encounters between Spaniards and Chamorros led to the concentration of the rebellious indigenous population on the Island of Guam. Disease contributed to further loss of life. By the end of the seventeenth century, an estimated 90 percent of the Chamorro population had perished due to Spanish violence and introduced diseases.⁶¹

Given these developments, it is not surprising that San Vitores's idea of a mission to the Austral lands and Quirós's memorial ceased to be paramount concerns for the Council of Indies and other Spanish notables. The evangelical program to the lands was briefly revived in the

1730s through an additional Jesuit mission to the Caroline Islands, in particular to the island of Ulithi (*Isla de los Garbanzos*).⁶² In their attempts to secure state support for this mission, Jesuit officials, however, did not employ Quirós's Eighth Memorial. Discredited earlier, it slowly began to fade from Spanish official memory.⁶³ The painstaking efforts at proselytizing in the Marianas and the Caroline Islands demonstrated that the lands were a far cry from the utopic lands described in Quirós's Eighth Memorial. Such sober assessments cemented the negative image of the Lusitanian navigator and his distortions about the wealth and lands he had witnessed during his last voyage.

One last attempt to link the lands with the evangelical program was Vicente de Memije's rendition of the Spanish empire in a symbolic map he released in 1761. Dedicating his image to the Jesuit University of Manila, as well as the newly crowned monarch Charles II, Memije combined the secular and the religious in a representation of the Virgin Mary. Her mantel became the Americas, while her skirt represented the vastness of the Pacific Oceans. The folds of her skirts represented the routes taken by the Manila galleons, the very ships that composed her necklace. The Philippine Islands became her feet, highlighting Memije's attempt to underscore the archipelago as a conceptual anchor of the entire Spanish Empire. The Austral Land, much extolled by Quirós, was reduced to a mere extension of her mantel and skirt. This noticeable diminishing was both the consequence of Spanish disenchantment with the region and the information deriving from seventeenth-century Dutch voyages. Memiji, nevertheless, extended the mantel of the Americas to the "unknown kingdom of the South so that you should take under your sovereign protection its unhappy inhabitants and make them happy with your most just laws, and more the celestial light of the Gospel."⁶⁴

According to Oskar Spate, Memije was a fervent advocate of a direct route from Spain to the Philippines via Cape Horn. A British invasion of Manila during the Seven Years' war (1762), however, strengthened the opponents to such an alternative, in particular the merchants in Manila and New Spain, who jealously guarded their monopoly status.⁶⁵ Memije's idea of combining the evangelization of the increasingly "shrinking" lands with the effort at the revitalization of trade routes to the Philippine Islands, stood at the end of a series of efforts that sought to reduce the Pacific's "tyranny of distance." Before the arrival of Captain Cook, Spanish officials ceased to consider the lands, whether in continental or island form, as a convenient stopover location.

Continuous doubts about the lands permeated Francisco de Seixas y Lovera's (sometimes spelled Seijas y Lobera) works, released at the end of the seventeenth century. Seixas y Lovera was a mariner who had traveled extensively between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. In addition, he performed the difficult Manila Galleon route to and from the Philippines. During his voyages, Seixas had amassed sufficient nautical experience to publish a book that combined practical nautical information with a theological justification for Spanish sovereignty over the world's oceans. Among the many geographical features discussed in his work, Seixas also addressed the issue of *Terra Australis*. Although Seixas y Lovera refrained from attacking Quirós directly in his writing, he raised the question of whether the mythological continent was indeed a unified land mass or just a number of islands located by Spanish mariners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His books served a dual purpose. On one hand, he vehemently decried the Spanish neglect of the navigational arts. Spanish mariners, he maintained, were fearful of abandoning the age-old galleon routes through the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, leaving the importance of maritime exploration to foreign mariners, who were all keen on depriving the Spanish Crown of her rich possessions. The author was dismissive of the maps and navigational manuals produced by foreign captains, since they were riddled with exaggerations and false information, in an attempt to undermine Spanish legitimate claims to the region.⁶⁶ Seixas y Lovera's neglect of the lands, combined with a healthy distrust of foreign sources, became a gospel among Spanish intellectuals until the second half of the eighteenth century.

The erasure of the lands before the onset of the Franco-British exploratory ventures can be discerned in a proposal submitted to the Council of Indies in 1757. Its author was a Bohemian Jesuit Johannes (Juan) Wendlingen who suggested the usage of new sailing directions to the Philippines via Cape Horn. Wendlingen had been recruited to assume the post of Cosmographer of the Indies in 1750 and received much support from the reform-minded Spanish Secretary of State. The intent was to introduce new ideas in the Iberian Peninsula.⁶⁷ With Wendlingen, however, the obsession with the lands returned. When hostilities broke out between France and Britain as a consequence of the Seven Years' War, Wendlingen rightfully predicted that the Spanish Pacific possessions would be vulnerable to outside attack. He consequently suggested new sailing routes to the Philippines by employing hitherto undiscovered islands of the Pacific as convenient stopover locations. Wendlingen feared that the numerous Pacific islands chains contacted by Spanish mariners might provide strategic outposts for British expansion.

The notables of the Council of Indies deemed Wendlingen's proposal worthy enough to circulate among the erstwhile intellectuals concerned with matters of the Pacific. The most important of these was naval officer Jorge Juan. Between 1735 and 1745, Juan and another prominent naval official, Antonio de Ulloa, had been selected by the Spanish Crown to accompany a French geodesic mission to South America. Juan had traveled the Pacific, venturing to the Juan Fernández Islands, and was quickly advancing to become a premier expert on this ocean.⁶⁸ Juan rejected the proposal out of hand by arguing that Wendlingen's plan would introduce confusion in the geographic conception of the Austral world. Juan considered the issue of this legendary landmass settled. He took most offense to Wendlingen's assertion that other nations were by now surpassing Spain in the exploration the Pacific Ocean. He firmly maintained: "Presently, the knowledge that this Spanish nation has about this ocean surpassed that of all the other erudite countries [in Europe] combined." The naval official continued that the Pacific yielded little valuable landmasses, thus condemning the Jesuit's plan.⁶⁹ The Council of Indies quickly followed up on Juan's recommendation and turned down Wendlingen's proposal. Perhaps most significant is that Juan underscored the general belief that the Pacific had precious few resources to offer for a nation that regarded the Americas as the first line of defense for the adjacent seas.

Timid transnationalism: Quirós and seventeenth-century voyaging

The declining Spanish interest in Quirós's Eighth Memorial and the lands it extolled was paralleled by a rising interest in the Portuguese navigator's narrative in northern Europe. Not surprisingly, it made an early appearance among the Dutch who, amidst religious protest and economic exclusion from the Lisbon spice markets, took an interest in what the Portuguese captain reported about the Pacific. This was particularly true among some individuals who found the monopoly of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) too restrictive. Dutchman Isaac Le Maire, for instance, used Quirós's writings to launch a competing Austral Company to explore the commercial potential, and helped finance two ships under the command of his son Jacob and experienced navigator Willem Schouten. In 1615, as they sailed into the Atlantic heading to a secret destination, Le Maire read the Eighth Memorial to his crewmembers. This lecture, according to Le Maire, had an uplifting

effect on his tired and sickly mariners, who vowed to continue the voyage into the Pacific Ocean.⁷⁰

The difficult trek, through the strait that now carries Le Maire's name, avoided the VOC monopoly over Magellan's Strait. One of the two expedition ships, the one named *Hoorn* was lost to fire, and the city, incidentally Schouten's birthplace, bestowed the ship's name on dreaded Cape Horn. The remaining vessel pushed on to circumnavigate the globe, contacting the islands of Tonga, New Guinea, and New Ireland. Jacob Le Maire died at sea in 1616.⁷¹ An account of the voyage was published in 1618, and, given its strategic implications, was quickly translated into Spanish. The popularity of the Dutch journal is illustrated by its frequent publication. Many of these volumes carried richly adorned copperplates. The narrative, which circulated widely among European intellectuals, served as an incentive for further exploration.⁷²

Consequent Dutch voyages, especially the journeys of Abel Janszoon Tasman (1642–1643 and 1644) and Jacob Roggeveen (1721–1722) employed the Dutch results, rather than the narrations of Quirós. Their explorations, ultimately, did shrink the size of the southern unknown continent and convinced Dutch investors that there was little to be reaped from the now more charted waters of the Pacific.⁷³ Dutch geographers and mapmakers thus became less and less enthused about the possibility of an uncharted large land mass located in the southern hemisphere. Tasman's charting of Australia's western shores especially raised doubts as to whether or not "New Holland" was indeed part of *Terra Australis*. Dutch maps throughout the seventeenth century proceeded to depict what Tasman and others had located and not what geographers had speculated upon for hundreds of years.⁷⁴ This novel way of depicting the Pacific did, as mentioned before, greatly influence the Spanish distrust in the existence of an unknown continent in the southern hemisphere.

Increasing doubt by the Dutch and Spanish about the southern continent's existence did not prevent armchair geographers in France and Great Britain from continuing their speculations. Two events in the eighteenth century would return the issue of *Terra Australis* to renewed intellectual attention. The first was George Anson's circumnavigation (1740–1744) during the War of Jenkins' Ear, a privateering venture designed to harass Spanish shipping and ports in the Pacific. The expedition came close to a disastrous ending when all but one vessel of his squadron were lost. To make matters worse, scurvy took a monstrous toll among the ships' crew. Anson's capture of a Spanish galleon off the coast of the Philippines, however, was cause for much celebration. The second was the publication of a detailed, well-illustrated voyage account of this

expedition that, through numerous editions and translations in other European languages, supported the potential for British Pacific exploration and underscored Anson's rise through the naval ranks, until he became the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1751.⁷⁵

Politicizing silence and suspicion

The return of Anson's circumnavigation inspired Scotsman John Campbell's (1708–1775) revised edition of John Harris's *Navigatium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*. This work, first issued in 1705 in England, was reissued in 1748 and underscored Anson's endeavor to begin an aggressive program of expansion and exploration to the Pacific Ocean. Campbell employed the revealed knowledge of Dampier, Quirós, Roggeveen, and Tasman to firmly establish the existence of a vast Southern Continent. To accomplish the exploration of this rich region, he firmly advocated settlements on New Britain and the Juan Fernández Islands for bases of departure.⁷⁶ For Campbell, the imaginary continent was central to keeping a growing British presence in the area. In fact, he continued, the discovery and claiming of this southern landmass would be the ultimate testimony to Britain's might as a seagoing power.⁷⁷

The Spanish failure to disclose details about Quirós' last voyage became a central point of contention. Campbell took the Lusitanian account at face value and argued that Spanish dismissive attitudes "took these Relations to be Fictions," and were little else but a clever plot to discourage further investigation into the Southern Continent. "[U]pon this wise foundation, [they] will have us believe that there are no such Countries as the Southern Continent or Islands by him [Quirós] described."⁷⁸ Campbell continued in a stronger tone: "[I]t has been now, for many years, a settled Maxime in the Spanish Politics, not only to lay aside all thoughts of prosecuting these Discoveries, but even to treat these Relations published by their best authors as absolute Romances..."⁷⁹ Campbell was not fooled, however, and revealed the reason for Spanish dismissal and silence surrounding exploratory accounts; weakened by overextension and frequent wars, Spanish officials were no longer in any position to explore and settle the regions, let alone defend their newfound possessions against other more active powers, especially England. The fear that such countries might employ the lands to harass the Spanish dominions in the Philippines and the Americas was too much to bear. Thus, "they prudently forgo a present Advantage, rather than run the Risque of such future Inconvenience."⁸⁰ At the same time, however, Campbell argued that such thinking was

naïve and obviously transparent. Indeed, Anson's circumnavigation had proven how easily one was able to penetrate and ultimately settle the regions that the Spaniards held shrouded in mystery and silence.

By arguing against the Spanish policy of secrecy, Campbell implicitly advocated the rapid diffusion of information about the Southern Continent. At the same time, however, this step was politically motivated. The policy of secrecy emerged out of a position of weakness rather than of strength, inviting the argument that Spain, as a declining nation, was evidently losing its tenure in the Pacific. New dynamic countries, by which Campbell meant the British nation, were now in position to take advantage of this situation to explore and ultimately settle the Southern Land.

Campbell's critique found continuation in Charles de Brosses's (1709–1777) two-volume *Histoire de Navigation aux Terres Australes* (1756). Unlike Campbell, however, Brosses' work represented a significant watershed in the history of European exploration of the Pacific. While most works appearing before the French intellectual's rendition had treated the Pacific Ocean as part of a global geography, de Brosses's volumes were dedicated entirely to this maritime area. De Brosses's main contribution, which was deeply influenced through Buffon's writing, was a classification of the Pacific into three distinct regions: *Magallanic* (islands bordering on the Atlantic Ocean), *Australie* (islands and larger landmasses located in the Indian Ocean), and *Polynésie* (islands and expected continents located in the Pacific Ocean). The term "Polynesia" remains very much in usage among anthropologists and other scholars studying the Pacific. Tom Ryan regards de Brosses's attempt at classification and armchair ethnic descriptions as the origin of Oceanic anthropology.⁸¹

The *Histoire* marks both the end and the beginning of a new era of Pacific exploration. De Brosses dutifully collected the voyage accounts of the Dutch and the Spanish covering the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. To this he added existing English and French accounts. In scientific fashion, de Brosses listed his information to provide credence to the existence of the southern unknown continent. Reviving the old equilibrium theory – the necessary existence of a vast continent or a number of large islands in the south to counterbalance the lands located in the northern hemisphere – de Brosses was keen to shed light on what he regarded as one of the last remaining global mysteries.⁸² The French author maintained that the area brimmed with marvels waiting to be discovered: an entirely different flora, fauna, and human cultural universe. De Brosses continued: "There are, undoubtedly, in all these

categories, thousand of species of which we have no notion, since this world has never had any communication with ours, and it is as strange to us, so to speak, so strange as another planet."⁸³ His monographs consequently became less a description than an open endorsement for French exploration. De Brosse encouraged the French monarchy to establish settlements not only for its own benefit, but also for that of the indigenous people residing in the area. He advocated proceeding with scientific dispassion in order not to succumb to the lure of countless riches, which paralleled those existing in the northern hemisphere. The Phoenicians, according to de Brosse, provided a positive example to be emulated. Their diffusion across the Mediterranean Sea meant a mutually beneficial exchange with numerous societies residing along the littoral of this important sea.⁸⁴

The Spanish expansion, on the other hand, marked the extreme to be avoided in the Pacific. While Spanish accounts figured prominently in de Brosse's pages, including Magellan, Mendaña, and Quirós, the contributions of the Spanish mariners faded in comparison to the dreadful Spanish legacy in the New World:

Yet to suppose that we are ever presented with a fortune similar to that procured by Christopher Columbus for our neighbors, the complete discovery of the Austral world, then their example serves us as instruction: We shall avoid the two vices that characterize the Spaniards, avarice and cruelty. The first one has depopulated their mother country to chase a chimerical fortune that never materialized. The second one emerged from national pride and superstition, to eliminate the human beings in America, to slaughter with disdain like animals of a different color millions of Indians, to reduce to the last individual hundreds of nations, as if there were any profit to be made of a country that lacked individuals.⁸⁵

De Brosse was likewise critical of the Spanish handling of indigenous art and architecture: "Without doubt will we neither destroy their monuments and their art, much like the Spanish did among the [Inca and Aztecs]."⁸⁶ He further linked Spanish exploitation in the Americas to their historical abuses on the Peninsula:

One cannot deny that the exportation of Spanish citizens to the Antilles, Mexico, or Peru, quite considerable, arbitrary, and badly organized, has without doubt contributed to the actual depopulation of Spain. Of course, this was not the only reason, because the

superstitious expulsion of the Moors and Jews was also instrumental. Those who object to this statement are among the people who are unable to distinguish among duty and the abuse thereof. The evil does not emerge from the establishment of settlements in the Americas, but from the fact that they were established without rule, politics, or management; from the insight that one cannot occupy or destroy, or that one cannot replace or conquer where there is no possibility to possess.⁸⁷

With a stroke of the pen, de Broses introduced a famous historical episode that had been circulating for some time in historical accounts of the New World into the genre of Pacific literature: The *Leyenda Negra*. While this term “Black Legend” was not coined until the nineteenth century, it finds its origins in the writings of Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas’s writings condemning Spanish abuses on the Native American populations. Dutch and British writers elaborated on the negative Spanish image throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. By the eighteenth century, the image of the Spanish as bloodthirsty, relentless destroyers of Native American cultures became firmly established in the writings of enlightened *philosophes*, who strategically argued that Spain and her Empire represented much of what the Enlightenment sought to surpass.⁸⁸

The presence of the *Leyenda Negra* in the pages of the *Histoire* is somewhat unsurprising. The connection of this historical rendition with Pacific voyages, however, had the dangerous implication of tainting the Spanish accounts in general and Quirós’s Eighth Memorial in particular. By linking Pacific discovery with the terrifying legacy of Spanish conquest in the Americas, de Broses effectively neutered the validity of Spanish voyages. Setting up the Spaniards as negative examples, their revealed knowledge was suspect and charged with the possibility of equal excess if the Spanish authorities had followed up the voyages. Transnational ventures were everything that followed and superseded the Spanish fifteenth- and sixteenth-century voyages to the Pacific. John Callander, who plagiarized and claimed de Broses’s *Histoire* for the British Nation, put it best:

Let us not forget here, that these distant and extended regions are peopled with myriads of our fellow creatures, to whom our holy religion is utterly unknown. And what must his praise be, who shall prove a happy instant in the hands of the Divine Providence to carry into those unknown regions the pure and unadulterated truths of

Christianity unmixed with Popish superstition, and untainted by the bloody rigours of a Portuguese inquisition.⁸⁹

Campbell's attack on the failed policy of secrecy as a sign of Spanish decline and weakness had given way to a wholesale condemnation of Spanish expansion into the Americas and beyond through de Brosse's pages. The lack of diffusion was equated with a lack of nerve and serendipity of exploration became savage salaciousness. De Brosse's volumes, the first set entirely dedicated to the Pacific, suggested the clean break between Iberian and northern European exploration that remains central to many histories concerned with the eighteenth-century Franco-British exploration.

It is in this context that Alexander Dalrymple's (1737–1808) attention to the Pacific Ocean finds its origins. A civil servant in service of the British East India Company, Dalrymple secured permission in the 1760s from his superiors to undertake an exploratory journey to the Indonesian islands, then controlled by the Sultan of Sulu. In 1763, with the sultan's good will, Dalrymple officially established a fledgling trade settlement on the island of Balambangan, located off the coast of Borneo. Reinforced by British soldiers returning from the occupation of Spanish Manila following the Seven Years' War, the settlement faced a precarious existence as it met fierce Dutch and Spanish opposition. However, it mounted indigenous resistance that forced an abandonment of the settlement in 1771. This ill-fated adventure inspired Dalrymple to assemble information in support of a large-scale circumnavigation. In the process, he came to share de Brosse's fascination with the unknown southern continent. Following the lead of his French counterpart, Dalrymple decided to promote this idea by publishing a compilation of European material about the Pacific Ocean.⁹⁰

Dalrymple departed from Campbell and de Brosse by attempting to locate unpublished material in his collection of revealed knowledge about the Pacific. He carried on a lively exchange with the French chronicler and consulted primary sources obtained from the siege of Madras (1759) and the occupation of Spanish Manila (1762).⁹¹ A fortuitous purchase landed Dalrymple a number of documents, formerly belonging to the French Prime Minister Colbert. This did not satisfy his thirst for more source material, and he contacted Spanish officials to obtain additional documents. His inquiry met with suspicion, as Spanish officials connected his official request with the British settlement on the island of Balambangan.⁹² Although Dalrymple professed scientific motives behind his collection of source material, Spanish administrators suspected that

his actions were guided by political principles. For instance, the Governor of the Philippines, Simon de Anda, thought that the British activity in Southeast Asia aimed to dispossess the Spanish of their “prized” Philippines through supporting rebellious Muslim leaders: “If this is not so then why do they survey [this area] in a scientific fashion? And why do they ally themselves with our greatest enemies, the Moors, providing them with weapons, powder, and other military supplies?”⁹³

Despite Spanish resistance to his collection of material, Dalrymple amassed enough information to publish a preliminary single-volume publication in 1767. By 1771, this initial publication was expanded to two volumes.⁹⁴ In his collections, Dalrymple maintained de Brosse’s chronological framework but shied away from the literary style of his predecessor: “The translations are almost literal, which was preferred to a more polished style lest any deviation from the original should introduce ambiguity, or render the authenticity suspect.”⁹⁵

Dalrymple attempted to convert the accounts into factual data to minimize the reader’s distrust in the source material presented. His rendering of Spanish material required that he remove the taint of the *Leyenda Negra*, which Brosse’s renditions had bestowed on the Iberians. A sharp distinction between the act of discovery and the subsequent process of settlement signaled the best way:

Whoever looks back at the discovery of America, and considers what an accession of wealth and power would have accrued to the Spanish monarchy from an amicable intercourse with the potent and populous empires of Mexico and Peru, will be able to form ideas both of the *consequences* and *probability* of what is expected in the South Sea: and whoever is conversant in the history of Spanish discoveries must be convinced, that amity and the strictest alliance would have been easier attained, and would have afforded Spain much greater advantage of every kind, than has been reaped from their conquest.

Upon such ground there can be no object more important than discoverers in the South Sea; discoverers not merely of the *figure of the land*; not with a view of conquest; but of an amicable intercourse of mutual benefit.⁹⁶

By maintaining that discovery and settlement were separated processes, which merged in de Brosse’s *Histoire*, Dalrymple sought to revive the legitimacy of Spanish sources. His act of divorcing discovery from subsequent settlement salvaged dubious Spanish accounts, because “whoever considers the progress of science and of commerce, within

a few centuries, must confess that mankind is much indebted to those heroes who went in quest for new lands."⁹⁷ Hence his *Account of the Discoveries* starts with reverence to Columbus and Magellan:

That Genoese who, in the service of Spain, attempted, and the Portuguese who, in the same service, effected the circumnavigation of the globe, have precluded all competition in honour of *sublime* discovery. Much, however, is still within the power of men who may be rather emulous of the glorious spirit of that age, than devoted to the mercenary or indolent disposition of the present.⁹⁸

One may excuse Dalrymple for painting too rosy a picture of Genoese and Portuguese discoverers, but he saw in their accomplishments the progressive march of European expansion. Alongside Columbus and Magellan, Dalrymple also placed another navigator: Pedro Fernández de Quirós, who provided perhaps the most important narrative to prove the continent's existence: "The Discovery of the Southern Continent, whenever, and by whomever it may be completely effected, is in justice due to this [Quirós] immortal name."⁹⁹

Dalrymple's defense of earlier Spanish exploration had its limits. While he acknowledged Spanish contributions to the progressive exploration of the Southern Continent, he was certain that only one nation could complete the enterprise: Britain. Emerging victorious out of the struggle against France and Spain during the recent Seven Years' War, it was only natural that this nation would also employ its naval strength to conclusively determine the location and extent of the Southern Continent.¹⁰⁰ As Spain and Great Britain would repeatedly clash over the Pacific, Dalrymple's dislike for the Iberian power increased.

When Dalrymple published *An Account of the Discoveries Made in The South Pacifick Ocean, Previous to 1764*, he did so hoping to gain the commission to guide an exploratory voyage around the world. The London Royal Society championed his name for an upcoming expedition to observe the transit of Venus across the disk of the sun in 1769. The British Admiralty, however, insisted that hitherto little known naval officer James Cook lead the venture. Dalrymple was invited to partake in the *Endeavour* voyage (1768–1771), but ultimately refused on the grounds that he did not want to be a lesser participant in this adventure.¹⁰¹ This unfortunate turn of events meant that Dalrymple's publications based on revealed Dutch and Spanish knowledge fell by the wayside. Tom Dye put it best: "Had the Royal Society succeeded with its

recommendation that Dalrymple command the British expedition to observe the transit of Venus at Tahiti in 1769, this venture indubitably would have been under the intellectual patronage—albeit unofficial—of Charles de Brosses.¹⁰² One should add to Dye's statement that Spanish revealed knowledge, especially through Quirós's memorials, also found little inclusion in James Cook's first circumnavigation and was consequently forgotten.

Cook's venture changed the European perspective on the Pacific Ocean. Revealed knowledge, as put forward in the travel compilations of Campbell, Brosses, and ultimately Dalrymple, took second stage to the knowledge derived from the actual encounter with the Austral world. James Cook's second voyage (1772–1775) conclusively disproved the existence of an unknown southern continent, a cornerstone to the Dalrymple publication. The British reading public also demonstrated a clear preference for encountered – over revealed – knowledge. Beginning with the publication of Commodore Byron's circumnavigation in 1766, a new genre of writings on the South Pacific appeared that privileged the encountered epistemology. The appearance of an English translation of Louis Antonie de Bougainville's circumnavigation in 1772 was quickly followed by John Hawkesworth's compilation of John Byron, Samuel Wallis, and James Cook's voyages (1773). Taken together, these accounts sealed the fate of Dalrymple's publications, and he had to endure the accusations of Hawkesworth that he had significantly altered the Dutch and Spanish accounts to support the southern continent's existence. Dalrymple vehemently denied this charge, but while Hawkesworth's volumes sold quickly, Dalrymple's did not. By 1794, his publishers returned over 100 unsold copies to Dalrymple, illustrating that firsthand, encountered knowledge renditions were much preferred over secondhand voyage compilations.¹⁰³

By the time Dalrymple's two-volume *An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean* appeared between 1770 and 1771, its content had become greatly outdated. When James Cook and other voyagers entered the Pacific in the second half of the eighteenth century, they carried with them both hefty monographs incorporating the revealed knowledge delineated above, as well as new technologies and ideas to improve upon it. Improvement of revealed knowledge, however, was hardly their intention. Rather than corroborating Spanish voyages of discovery, the northern European mariners emphasized the novelty of their encounters with the Pacific Islands. Encountered knowledge took center stage in the late eighteenth-century Pacific, partially due to the postulated new spirit of inquiry and

scientific curiosity. At the same time, such sentiments veiled an acute drive for mercantile and territorial expansion. Eclipsing previous Spanish endeavors was a seemingly natural process of “imperial amnesia” that called for a consolidated response from Spanish officials.

2

On Chronometers, Cartography, and Curiosity

Several factors of [Byron's Voyage] attracted much attention: the ambiguity of its destination, the navy's strange novelty of bringing along all kinds of mathematical implements for observations, estimates, measurements, and demarcations, [the aim of] establishing geographical charts of everything encountered that could further their nautical knowledge of the coasts and the seas in their navigation, and [lastly] that the whole endeavor was under the command of Captain [sic] Byron, serving in the function of squadron chief and commandant of the two vessels and every other Royal ship in the region.

Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera, 1770

It is of the uttermost importance to publish before long our nation's travel relations and discoveries made in these regions. The long-promised maps also need to be published for there are no better acts of possession for this nation than such printed materials. With these publications in hand, we can manifest to Europe that no other [nation] has the right to claim our now confirmed discoveries.

Prince of Masserano, 1776

Gold, gout, and glory

In the fall of the year 1766, the Spanish ambassador, Prince of Masserano (1713–1777), painfully inched himself through the Court of St. James to voice his grave concern with the British government. Bothered by one of his frequent bouts of gout, the ambassador was in a foul mood. From his perspective, it had not been a good year: British officials still demanded ransom for their occupation of Manila four years earlier, had most likely

established residence in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, and were now officially announcing that Commodore John Byron had traversed the Pacific Ocean on his recent circumnavigation. In Masserano's mind, this ocean figured as a Spanish territory beyond dispute. Armed with a copy of the Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the War of Spanish succession in 1713, Masserano aimed at proving once and for all that the Spanish Crown was master of all the oceans surrounding its most sacred American possessions. Verily, the treaty stipulated neither the range nor the degree of Spanish control over these seas, nor did it acknowledge an Iberian right of first discovery to their many islands. Therefore, when Masserano maintained, not without reason, that Spanish mariners had sailed Pacific waters for generations, he found himself rebuffed by English diplomats who sternly refused to accept the Pacific as a Spanish *mare clausum*. Above all, the British ministers cited scientific reasons behind their expeditions: Patagonian giants, astronomical observations, and the rediscovery of the long-lost lands sighted by Spanish mariners more than 200 years earlier. In short, the idea of closing an entire ocean to British scientific curiosity was absurd, and the ministers revelled in teasing the poor Spanish ambassador: "Could he perhaps be so kind as to produce a map depicting the exact location of the mythical Solomon Islands?" "Where were all the other islands and continents witnessed by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?" "Why was Frenchman Louis de Bougainville allowed to pass into this postulated closed sea?"¹

Masserano took most offense to Lord Shelburne, secretary of state of the Southern Department, who had questioned whether the ambassador might be employing his attacks of gout as a political weapon in order to reschedule and cancel appointments at will.² In the end, Masserano's mission failed to safeguard the Pacific from British incursions. As it has been extensively chronicled elsewhere, British mariners frequently traversed the Pacific Basin between 1764 and 1780. To make matters worse, they rushed diaries, illustrations, and maps to the press, something that their Spanish counterparts failed to do. Following the publication of Cook's second circumnavigation, the Pacific ceased to be the "Spanish Lake" and experienced a period of rapid European exploration and expansion.

To introduce this chapter, Prince Masserano represents a tragic figure well suited to evoke a view held by many Pacific historians. Through their renditions, Spain emerges as an ailing, almost declining, maritime power quickly surpassed by the British navy in the second half of the eighteenth century. With this section, however, I take a different

direction. I argue that Spanish officials were busy keeping up with the developments of the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet, unlike their northern European counterparts, Spanish intellectuals maintained that the newly contacted lands in the Pacific did not represent a “new world” to be explored, but an extension of the Americas. Their efforts then aimed at finding scientific underpinning for their political ideas.

The novelty of the eighteenth-century European history of exploration rested on two radical innovations: Carl Linnaeus’s attempts at systematizing the natural world and John Harrison’s chronometer, which assisted in the determination of longitude. Taken in conjunction, both of these innovations provided a solid foundation for the emerging disciplines of anthropology, biology, and zoology.³ Mary Louise Pratt called this attempt to map and classify a “planetary consciousness” or “the construction global scale meaning through the descriptive apparatus of natural history.”⁴

The eighteenth-century exploration of the Pacific ushered in a new era of conceptualization of global and oceanic space. The voyages of James Cook prevail as watersheds in this regard.⁵ Most importantly, Cook’s emphasis on encountered rather than revealed knowledge, discussed in the previous chapter, represented a tremendous challenge to the Spanish hegemonic claim over the Pacific Ocean. The inclusion of the Spanish accounts in the theoretical works of John Campbell, Charles De Brosses, and Alexander Dalrymple fell by the wayside when the latter lost the commission of the *Endeavor* to James Cook. While Cook certainly utilized these works in his voyages to the Pacific, he was keen to emphasize the novelty of his discoveries – a conscious process best deemed “Imperial Amnesia.”

Moreover, the dispelling of the Southern Continent’s myth eliminated the core arguments that guided the voyage compilations and relegated Spanish accounts to oblivion. Cook’s emphasis on encountered rather than revealed knowledge, in an ocean that Spaniards had for centuries considered theirs, required a precise response. The Spanish efforts took two related paths. The first attempt sought to secure the maritime chronometer, a vital instrument in the determination of longitude, through British and French contacts. The second, far more proactive approach, engaged Spanish diplomats’ negotiation skills. Here the tragic figure of Masserano is crucial, since he evoked the right of first discovery and connected treaty stipulations to underscore Spain’s maritime sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean. He would soon find out, however, that his strategy required fresh adjustment as the enlightened curiosity quickly superseded old treaty rights. The efforts of Spanish officials and

intellectuals then aimed at undermining the novelty of the northern European new world of the Pacific by effectively tying this region to their colonial realm in the Americas. Gabriel Paquette recently noted the overlooked component of geopolitical rivalry with Great Britain as one of the principal engines of Bourbon reform in Spain. In tandem with French intellectuals, who employed the preoccupation with Great Britain as a catalyst for the formation of nationalist sentiments, Spanish notables carefully studied British naval and political economic writings. Most of these works found their way to the Iberian Peninsula either in the original or through French translations.⁶ British exploration of the Pacific thus represented both a political and intellectual challenge for Spanish officials that went beyond mere reactive measures. Emulation or rejection of British projects, however, was not an option when geographical exploration threatened to erase prior Spanish voyages. Rather, the prospect of tying the Pacific to the terrestrial realm of the Americas emerged as a viable option to provide intellectual and political underpinning and secured Spain's shaky claim to the world's largest geographical feature.

Chronometers and the quest for longitude

The search for a reliable method to determine longitude was a major preoccupation following European expansion into the world's oceans. Magellan's circumnavigation and traversal of the Pacific Ocean revealed a watery expanse covering one third of the earth's surface. Prior to Magellan's venture, indigenous mariners in Oceania had developed sophisticated navigational methods including refined star compasses, intricate mnemonic devices, and an intimate familiarity with changing wind and current patterns.⁷ European methods throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were rather crude in comparison. The Spanish expeditions led by Mendaña and Quirós illustrate well the mariners' frustrations to locate already-contacted lands. For instance, Mendaña's legendary Solomon Islands, first encountered in the 1560s, remained elusive during subsequent voyages. Consequently, Spanish Viceroy Toledo of Peru wrote that Mendaña's costly endeavor amounted to a gigantic waste of resources. Even in the event of a successful encounter with rich lands for Spanish settlement, the Viceroy maintained that it would have been utterly impossible to sustain and supply a colony from the Americas.⁸ Despite such adverse views, the Spanish Crown spon-

sored several initiatives to improve navigational techniques to increase their cartographic knowledge of the world.

The establishment of longitude on the open ocean remained one of the most pressing issues. While latitude could be established through close observation of heavenly bodies with the help of nautical instruments, the determination of longitude continued to be tied to shifting time zones.⁹ To improve this situation, Philip II started to offer a considerable sum of money in 1567 for the discovery of a secure and replicable method.¹⁰ His son, Philip III, formalized this endeavor in 1598 when he promised a one-time prize of 6000 ducats in addition to 2000 ducats per year for life. By the early seventeenth century the Dutch, Portuguese, and Venetians were offering similar prizes to obtain an accurate and replicable method of longitude. While scientists stepped forward with numerous proposals, they were generally deemed too cumbersome or inaccurate to be performed on the high seas. The need to accumulate scientific data for astronomical observation ultimately aided in the establishment of the Royal Society of London in 1662 and the Paris Observatory in 1667.¹¹

Spanish intellectuals, too, busied themselves with finding a solution throughout the seventeenth century, but frequently found that the mechanical method by the way of time measurement proved unreliable. They opted instead, as did many of their northern European counterparts, to concentrate on the astronomical method that sought to rely on infrequent eclipses of astral bodies. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Jesuit Felipe de Hire summarized the frustrating endeavors as follows:

Many have tried their hand at the determination of longitude through the most diverse method. Besides fatiguing their heads, however, few have yielded significant results. And even if some individuals have somewhat advanced our knowledge of this material, no single replicable method that works well on the open ocean has been forwarded or made public.¹²

Major breakthroughs occurred in the eighteenth century as a number of nautical disasters affecting the Royal Navy raised the issue among the British public. The most prominent of these was the 1707 wrecking of four ships off the Isles of Scilly that took the lives of almost 2000 men, including that of Admiral Sir Cloudisley Shovel. Due to the public outcry, the British parliament passed the Act of Longitude in 1714 promising £20,000 to the individual who could develop an accurate method.

The Board of Longitude, charged with the evaluation of the proposals, had to wait an additional two decades before an adequate suggestion emerged. Clockmaker John Harrison (1693–1776) secured the attention of the board, but a competing astronomical proposal centering on the measuring of lunar distances slowed down the development of the marine chronometer. Although Harrison received part of the prize money by the 1760s, it was Captain Cook, in his second journey to the Pacific, who, through a replica of Harrison's timekeeper, proved the accuracy of the method and its usefulness for cartography. French and Spanish officials jealously pursued Harrison's discovery. The French most actively pressed for the possession of the maritime chronometer, offering Harrison the rather ridiculous sum of £500 for a secret disclosure. It was ultimately not Harrison's chronometer, but a competing project developed by Swiss-born Ferdinand Berthoud that insured an equally accurate marine chronometer for the French navy.¹³

Spanish officials were equally interested in the mechanical method of determining longitude.¹⁴ The development of Harrison's device was hardly a state secret as Spanish readers were kept abreast of the developments through the pages of the *Gazeta de Madrid*.¹⁵ Before news reached the general public, however, Spanish officials received word of Harrison's breakthrough technology through capable observers, perhaps better characterized by the term "spies," residing in Britain. The best known of these observers was Jorge Juan y Santacilia (1713–1773), who was dispatched to the British Isles to provide detailed information on naval construction. A recently appointed member to the Royal Society, Juan was instructed to employ his newly established status to disguise his real intentions.¹⁶

Few Spanish individuals during the first half of the eighteenth century had as much experience with the Pacific as Jorge Juan. As young naval officers, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa accompanied a number of French scientists, among them Charles M. de la Condamine, to the Spanish Americas (1735–1745). The initial aim of the expedition was to determine earth's circumference in an attempt to settle a major scientific controversy.¹⁷ Juan, accompanied by fellow naval officer Antonio de Ulloa, employed this expedition to make detailed observations about the Spanish colonies.¹⁸ In response to George Anson's attack on the Spanish Pacific coast, Juan traveled to the Juan Fernández Islands as well as around Cape Horn and took careful notes on the navigation in the South Seas. Absent from his *observaciones* were speculations on imaginary continents and the legendary riches. Juan's report underscores the argument developed in the anterior chapter: By the eighteenth century,

the Pacific had ceased to be an ocean to be explored. It now served as a barrier protecting the Spanish American colonies.

In his function of clandestine observer in Britain, Juan caught a glimpse of the H2 – one the larger maritime watches Harrison had developed in 1741 – and marveled at the potential of this instrument. He lamented his inability to purchase the same for Spain, clearly foreseeing the technological gap opening between Great Britain and his homeland.¹⁹ Spanish excitement about the potential solution to the longitude question faded, however, as astronomers repeatedly questioned the workability of the mechanical device. It took another fifteen years before ambassador Masserano communicated the advancement made by Harrison and remitted relevant publications to the Spanish court.²⁰ Recalling his earlier fascination with the maritime watch, Jorge Juan, now a respected authority on navigation, perused the obtained documents and alerted Spanish officials about the timekeeper's potential worth. Due to Juan's intervention, Manuel de Zalvide, Spanish minister of naval affairs, informed the minister of the Indies, Julián de Arriaga, about the possibility to purchase the clock and suggested sending Spanish apprentices to learn the craft in Harrison's shop. An accurate maritime chronometer, Zalvide continued, would greatly contribute to more accurate maps and charts and would thus underscore Spanish imperial claims. Although Zalvide did not specifically mention the Pacific Ocean, it was certainly in this region where the device would have its greatest effect, as Cook's second voyage (1772–1775) conclusively demonstrated. It was thus of the uttermost importance to secure a copy of the chronometer or to acquire knowledge of its manufacture. Alarmed by the correspondence, Arriaga consequently contacted Ambassador Masserano to investigate this vital matter.

Masserano proceeded to look into the issue and came to the conclusion that the chronometer's value had been greatly overestimated. Although Harrison had already obtained some of the prize money promised by the Board of Longitude, unresolved issues remained: Harrison's reluctance to replicate his watch, ongoing resistance from the astronomers' camp, the lack of tests in cooler regions of the globe, and the clock's cumbersome transport due to its delicate nature. In his final estimation, Masserano was less than optimistic about the timekeeper's reliability and urged his superiors to wait until its impending improvements before considering purchase.²¹

A year later, Masserano reiterated his negative assessment of Harrison's device: "I for one can tell you that it seems that this watch is neither as perfect nor as useful as initially believed."²² In his evaluation, Masserano

was most likely convinced by Astronomer Royal Nevil Maskelyne's arguments that the astronomical was greatly superior to the mechanical method.²³ Masserano's assessment received additional support from Jorge Juan, who from a purely theoretical angle was now of the opinion that while the marine chronometer was valuable enough, it should not be the only instrument to establish a reliable measurement of longitude. Juan said, "Harrison has all of Europe in awe over this issue: he has created a chronometer that loses not a single minute in many months, but... this machine is not enough: we still have to rely on astronomy... to compare one method with the other."²⁴ Masserano and Jorge Juan's statements also illustrate why Spanish endeavors to investigate longitude on the open ocean remained tied to astronomical observations. As late as 1774, Juan de Langára y Huarte was dispatched with the frigate *Santa Rosalia* to the Atlantic Ocean to measure lunar distances in an effort to determine longitude. When he arrived in the Canary Islands, he learned that the French expeditions preceding him had all been equipped with the latest chronometers.²⁵

Ultimately, even the most intransigent opponents to Harrison's maritime watch relented. On his second circumnavigation, James Cook tested a replica of Harrison's chronometer, assembled by Larcum Kendall, and found it more than worthy "Mr. Kendall's Watch has exceeded the expectation of its most zealous Advocate and... has been *our faithful guide through all the vicissitudes of Climates*," Cook says.²⁶ Looking at the emerging maps from Cook's second expedition, Masserano was now more than convinced of the device's effectiveness: "The maritime chronometer that supported Cook in his observations is the most perfect instrument hitherto produced in London."²⁷ In the meantime, however, the Spanish ambassador had effectively stalled the transfer of Harrison's chronometers to Spain. Rising diplomatic tensions between Great Britain and Spain did not help matters. Even if the *Gazeta de Madrid* in 1767 communicated British willingness to share Harrison's development with other interested parties, Masserano's initial distrust and British caution considerably slowed down the transfer of technology.²⁸ Following the outbreak of hostilities in the American colonies, a conflict that Spain would join in 1779 supporting the continentals and French allies, all avenues to acquire the device through British channels were effectively closed.

Spanish officials were thus left to explore the acquisition of French timekeepers. Between 1768 and 1769, naval official Claret de Fleurieu (1738–1810) tested two of Ferdinand Berthoud's maritime chronometers on the frigate *L'Isis* while sailing through the more familiar waters

of the Atlantic Ocean.²⁹ Despite moderate results, the chronometers ensured Berthoud a lifelong contract with the French Navy.³⁰ In 1773, Fernando de Magallon, who had just advanced from secretary to deputy Spanish Ambassador in France, communicated to his superior that Berthoud had just published a book about the possibility to correct maritime maps by the way of chronometers and had forwarded several copies of the same for the Spanish monarchy. The Spanish secretary of state pounced on the idea of acquiring several watches for the navy and advised his ambassador to initiate a protracted negotiation with the clockmaker. In the summer of the same year, Magallon reached an agreement with Berthoud, whereby over the period of two years, the watchmaker would supply eight chronometers for Spain for the price of 3000 French *livres*. Similarly, Berthoud in theory agreed to the possibility of taking in Spanish apprentices to learn his craft in France.³¹

Once the watches reached Spain, the devices' upkeep left much to be desired. In the wake of Alejandro Malaspina's expedition to the Pacific, Spanish authorities contacted Ferdinand Berthoud to repair the timekeepers for the upcoming venture. Upon receiving the instruments, the French watchmaker was aghast: "I must confess that I am a bit surprised that these machines arrived in the most appalling state."³² To avoid such unpleasant incidents in the future, Berthoud agreed to take on a Spanish apprentice. By the spring of 1791, Cayetano Sánchez had absolved his apprenticeship and returned to Spain with the necessary instruments to set up a shop in Cádiz for the chronometers' production and maintenance.³³ Roughly around the same time, these maritime chronometers also entered into the curriculum of naval personnel. For instance, in 1784, instructors at the Spanish Coastguard Academy in Cádiz argued for the inclusion of the mechanical method for the determination of longitude in their lesson plans.³⁴

In addition to sending apprentices to France, Spanish officials also opted to acquire this craft in England. Following the Treaty of Paris, Spanish officials dispatched Joseph Maria Baleato Directo to London in 1785 to learn the clocks' manufacture and maintenance from John Harrison's successors. Over the next two years, he acquired the necessary knowledge to reproduce these instruments in northern Spain.

In the wake of Alejandro Malaspina's expedition, the Spaniards were beginning the production of reliable maritime chronometers.³⁵ This development arrived two decades too late, as, between 1764 and 1784, the Pacific emerged as a charted entity chiefly through British and French endeavors. Prior to this feat, however, Spanish diplomats labored

hard to prevent northern European incursions into the world's largest ocean.

Outdated diplomacy: maritime sovereignty and the Treaty of Utrecht

The Spanish struggle to secure the marine chronometer coincided with rising geopolitical interest in the Pacific Ocean. This ocean was soon engulfed in a dramatic diplomatic tangle between Spain and the ascending maritime might of Great Britain. Initially, even established maritime powers legally felt more at home on dry land where clear lines of demarcation could be established. Nevertheless, European maritime expansion revealed vast watery surfaces that dragged diplomatic and legal debates beyond terrestrial realms. This became nowhere more obvious than in the emerging sovereignty discussions over the Pacific Ocean.

Eighteenth-century notions surrounding the law of the sea, also known as admiralty law, were based on lengthy intellectual debates. Attempts at attaining maritime dominion originated in antiquity, where Greek scholars had coined the term *thalassocracy*, or the rule of the sea, for Mediterranean waters.³⁶ Throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern era, different European peoples had claimed waters close to their home bases. The Venetians, for instance, asserted the Adriatic Sea as their property, as did the members of the famed Hanseatic League in connection with the Baltic Sea.³⁷ Larger thalassocratic ambitions emerged as Iberian powers ventured into the Atlantic Ocean. As mentioned earlier, Alexander VI's Papal Bull *Inter Caetera* solved the impending conflict between Portugal and Spain, leading to a compromise at Tordesillas (1494). From a Catholic perspective, Rome exercised spiritual dominion over the *mare nostrum*, a region that Iberian explorers were now expanding beyond the shores of the Mediterranean. Yet the Salamanca School and its leading representative, Francisco de Vitoria, cast doubt on whether the Pope had the authority to sanction territorial conquest beyond his abilities to promote spiritual salvation among the encountered indigenous peoples.

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), a young Dutch legal scholar, took these concerns a step further. Inspired by the rising conflict between Dutch and Portuguese in the East Indies, Grotius claimed that the sea was not susceptible to effective occupation. Consequently, it could neither be claimed nor entirely closed off to other nations. Grotius's defense of a *mare liberum* soon triggered opposition among Portuguese and English

scholars. The most prominent of these scholars was John Selden (1584–1654), who in his treatise on *mare clausum* argued that while the sea was indeed common property, it was possible to claim possession of the sea if it was adjacent to one's terrestrial territory. He added, however, that no state should ever outlaw free navigation through these domains and defended a more limited notion – when compared to Grotius – of the freedom of the high sea, as opposed to the costal domains, which could be exploited for commerce, fishing, and navigation.³⁸

While intriguing, European diplomats generally chose to ignore such specialized debates, preferring instead to focus their energies on concrete treaties. When it came to the Pacific, Spanish officials decided to rely on the stipulations of the treaty that ended the War of the Spanish Succession (Utrecht 1713). While the treaty made no specific provisions for the law of the sea, Article 8 promised a semblance of Spanish maritime dominion:

And whereas, among other Conditions of the general Peace it is by common Consent established as a chief and fundamental Rule, that the exercise of Navigation and Commerce to the *Spanish West-Indies* should remain in the same State it was in the Time of the aforesaid King Charles II and therefore this Rule may hereafter be observ'd with inviolable Faith, and in a manner never to be broken, and thereby all Causes of Distrust and Suspicion concerning the Matter mat be prevented and remov'd, it is especially agreed and concluded, that no License, nor any Permission at all, shall be given to the *French* or to any Nation whatever, in any Name or under any Pretence, directly or indirectly, to fail to, traffick in, or introduce Negroes, Goods and Merchandizes, or any things whatsoever, into the Dominions subject to the Crown of *Spain* in *America* [...] [T]hat the *Spanish* Dominions in the *West-Indies* may be preserv'd whole and entire, the Queen of *Great Britain* engages, that she will endeavour, and give assistance to the *Spaniards*, that the ancient Limits of their Dominions in the *West Indies* be restored and settled as they stood in the Time of the abovesaid Catholick King *Charles* II. If it shall appear, that they have, in any manner, or under any pretence, been broken intim and lessen'd in any part, since the Death of the aforesaid Catholick King *Charles* II.³⁹

For the Spaniards, the stakes were clear. In exchange for the *asiento* – the British supply of slaves for the Spanish colonies – the Spaniards regained control over their possessions in the Americas and, by extension, their

surrounding seas. But important questions remained: How far did this claim extend? Did this paragraph also include the hitherto uncharted waters of the Pacific Ocean? Spanish diplomats answered the second question in the affirmative, while their British counterparts begged to differ.

George Anson's circumnavigation and the consequent publication of its result made the prospect of an English settlement in the vicinity of the Spanish Americas a distinct possibility. Curious Spanish eyes scanned through Anson's voyage accounts of South America to acquire additional knowledge about islands and coastlines of the Pacific Ocean.⁴⁰ While it is clear now that Anson did not author the narrative of his circumnavigation, *A Voyage round the World*, it is evident that his ideas about the Pacific's commercial and strategic value informed the ninth chapter of its first volume. In these pages, he devised a plan to organize an expedition to the Pacific Ocean in an effort to reconnoiter the Falkland and Juan Fernández Islands for future British settlement. Spanish officials also realized Anson's intention and had this vital section translated.⁴¹

Far from limiting themselves to translations of Anson's circumnavigation account, Spanish officials once again employed the services of Jorge Juan to investigate British intention in this matter. During his keen inspections, Juan noticed the presence of two frigates being readied for an impending departure for the South Seas. He promptly informed Spanish Ambassador Richardo Wall, who in turn, investigated the matter and passed on the information to his superiors in Spain.⁴²

The months of April, May, and June of 1749 were characterized by a bitter exchange between British and Spanish diplomats, foreshadowing the two nations' struggle over the Pacific Ocean. Besides Anson, the British side included the first lord of the admiralty, the Duke of Bedford, secretary of state for the Southern Department, and lastly, special envoy to the court of Spain, Benjamin Keene.⁴³ The expedition's aims followed closely Anson's plan as revealed in the narrative of *A Voyage*: two well-equipped vessels were to venture to the southern Atlantic to locate, chart, and explore the islands of Pepys and Falkland. Then following careful charting of the Patagonia coast, the ships were to pass through the Strait of Magellan to emerge in the Pacific Ocean.⁴⁴ There the main objective became the Juan Fernández Islands, with the possibility of establishing a supply base for further incursions into the region. Spanish officials immediately pressured their British counterparts to abandon such designs. Ambassador Wall accosted this proposal on two grounds. First, he negated the novelty of the British endeavor by arguing that the islands were well known to earlier Spanish explorers and needed

no further exploration. Secondly, Wall reminded the diplomats that the British venture clearly conflicted with the provision of Article Eight in the Treaty of Utrecht, a great offense given that Spain and Great Britain had just signed the Peace Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle bringing the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) to a conclusion. The Duke of Bedford attempted to sway the Spanish officials by offering to suspend the second leg of the expedition into the South Seas, limiting the exploration to the islands of Pepys and Falkland. Similarly, Bedford suggested that such expeditions would have universal aims that clearly furthered nautical surveys in the lesser-known regions surrounding Magellan's Straits and Cape Horn. Here again, he met with vehement opposition. Both Ambassador Wall and his superior, Minister of State José de Carvajal y Lancaster, reminded Bedford and the British envoy Keene that recent peace negotiations had not superseded Article Eight of the Treaty of Utrecht. The Spanish officials continued that if the British gentlemen insisted in pursuing their project without the expressed goodwill of the Catholic monarch, they would risk a pirate's welcome with all the consequences that such category entailed. In light of the force with which the exchange was carried out, British authorities decided to abandon the expedition. The project was shelved but hardly forgotten.⁴⁵

Spanish officials understood well the real issue looming behind the exchange: the "right of free navigation." They misunderstood, however, the British resolve to address the issue in the future. Carvajal, for instance, basked in the certainty that this diplomatic exchange had closed the book on further British explorations. He wrote to Wall, "We can take their desistance from this endeavor as a clear confession to our right of preventing their free navigation in the seas surrounding the Americas."⁴⁶

The heated exchange between Spanish and British diplomats revealed intellectual strategies that would reemerge in later confrontations. Spanish officials countered British arguments of the location and presumably diffusion of relevant geographical knowledge with the fact that Spanish navigators had formerly contacted the areas in question. The novelty of the region was similarly negated by the fact that the Treaty of Utrecht connected the Pacific to the Spanish dominion in the Americas. The Spanish argument, nevertheless, remained open to fundamental critiques. The first, whether a nation was able to close off its maritime domains to another, was expressed by Lord Bedford, who argued that he "cannot in any respect give into the reasoning of the Spanish Ministers, as his right to send out ships for the discovery of unknown & unsettled Parts of the World, must indubitably be allowed by every body."⁴⁷

Similarly, the question of Spanish secrecy and unwillingness to share geographical knowledge with other nations would quickly return at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War.

George Anson's project was eventually realized when in June of 1764 the frigate *Dolphin* and the sloop *Tanner*, under the command of Commodore Byron, left the British Isles for some unknown destination in the South Seas.⁴⁸ Official destinations of Byron's expedition, as published in the *Gazeta de Madrid*, were India or North America, with the latter destination clearly justifying the large number of cartographers traveling on board.⁴⁹ When Byron returned in 1766 following a circumnavigation of the globe, Spanish officials urged their ambassador, Masserano, to investigate his mission.⁵⁰ Masserano clearly stated his task, linking his position to that of Ambassador Wall fifteen years earlier: "I doubt that we can sit aside with indifference and watch these nationals travel frequently to [these islands] with the pretext of discovering new lands.... Knowing very well that they ignore the Treaty of Utrecht under which no other nation than the Spanish should go to the Southern Sea."⁵¹

Masserano was already deeply involved in negotiations with British authorities over a promised ransom following the sack of Manila in 1762. A quarter of the ransom money was paid on the spot with the remainder to be paid by the royal treasury at the end of the hostilities. Spanish refusal to pay the debt clouded diplomatic negotiations, and the British incursion into the Pacific did not help matters. A further bone of contention was an impending crisis over the Falkland Islands located in the southern Atlantic. Located roughly 300 miles off the Argentine coast, this set of islands was claimed by British, French, and Spanish officials. Masserano argued the sixteenth-century Iberian navigators had located and mapped the islands and had thereby incorporated them into the Spanish colonial realm of the Americas. Occupancy was not an issue for the Spanish diplomat: "I maintained [to the English Gentlemen] that we are well acquainted with and frequently visit this region. If [you have] failed to locate Spanish representatives there, it is simply because they come and go without establishing settlements."⁵² British and French officials disputed the claim, arguing that their respective navigators had sighted the islands first.

The issue exploded when French navigator Louis Antoine de Bougainville claimed the Falklands for his crown and proceeded to establish a settlement after 1764. Fierce Spanish protest forced French officials to hand over the settlement to their Iberian allies. In 1765, John Byron hoisted the British flag on the islands and quickly established

a settlement. Intense diplomatic negotiations brought the two countries to the brink of war when a Spanish expedition expelled the British settlers in 1770. When the French monarchy refused to back Spain's proposal to go to war, Ambassador Masserano grudgingly agreed to restore the British settlement, without surrendering Spanish claims over the islands.⁵³

Even though Article Eight of the Treaty of Utrecht was ambiguous about the status of the Pacific, it nevertheless became Masserano's main line of defense. He never failed to remind his British counterparts that "even if we do not maintain as many settlements as we would like in this region, [you] cannot dispute our rights to the South Seas."⁵⁴ But, for a victorious British nation following the Seven Years' War, officials could not accept treaty provisions signed fifty years earlier. Ambassador Masserano thus experienced a growing aggressive stance from the British diplomats, who demanded freedom of navigations in the seas surrounding the Spanish Americas. They bluntly retorted that "a sea cannot be entirely closed to a maritime power."⁵⁵

In September of 1766, Masserano found himself on the defensive in a face-to-face meeting with the Earl of Shelburne, southern secretary of state. The talk between the two diplomats illustrated well the stakes involved in a debate over the international law of the sea. The Earl of Shelburne first reproached Spain's attempt to close the entire South Sea to navigation and commerce, two terms he claimed were ill defined. While he understood that British commercial vessels had no business in interfering with the Spanish commerce in the Americas, Shelburne vehemently contested that such exclusion should also be applied to ships of the royal navy dispatched on scientific missions. Masserano objected to Shelburne's semantic game, claiming that navigation was indeed a term applicable to all vessels and not just to those of British choosing. Sensing his counterpart's aggravation, Shelburne attempted a different argument, the right of first discovery. Indeed, he argued, the British possessed maps that charted many of the contested islands in the South Sea as their discoveries. Masserano retorted that similar maps in Spanish archives attested to his country's discoveries in this region. Finally, in a more conciliatory move, Shelburne invited the ambassador to provide a rough outline of the territories reaching from the Southern Atlantic through the South Pacific and to the Philippines. When Masserano claimed all of them for Spain, the secretary was aghast. Shelburne told Masserano that these claims were indeed vast, whereupon the ambassador replied that Britain's ambitions were indeed greater.⁵⁶ Shelburne continued: "I could not consent to talk seriously upon it. That if the

Spaniards talking of their Possessions included the A[mericas] & S[outh] Seas, and that our navigating there gave occasion to them to Suspect a War, I had no hesitation to say that I would advise one if they insisted on reviving such a vague & strange pretension, long since worn out, as the exclusive right of those Seas."⁵⁷

More neutral observers were equally puzzled about the Spanish objection to a concerted exploration of the Pacific Ocean. For instance, Charles Carroll, an American plantation owner of Irish descent, who would support the American revolutionary side in the upcoming conflict, wrote to a British confidant,

I am sorry to hear that Messrs. Banke's & Solandeder's [*sic*] intended voyage to prosecute discoveries in the southern hemisphere & Pole has been laid aside on a representation from the Spanish Ambassador, that such voyag[e] would give umbrage to this court. Thus forsooth because his Catholick Majesty is jealous of the advantages that may be derived to the british nation from those discoveries, they must be laid aside! I know what answer I would make to the haughty Castillian, were I the british Minister – but I am not, I may as well keep the answer to myself: for I am sure were it known to the minister, he would make no use of it than to laugh at the spirit & honesty of a private man.⁵⁸

For his unyielding stance in the face of the British secretary, Masserano received high marks from his superiors in Spain. Spanish secretary of state the Marqués de Grimaldi – no friend of the British nation to begin with – objected to the notion of free navigation that Shelburne wanted to negotiate with Masserano. While the notion existed in the Northern Seas to allow the British to traverse the Atlantic to reach their colonies in North America, they could hardly claim similar rights for the Pacific. After all, the Spanish argument continued that the British possessions in the East Indies could be reached by navigating via the Cape of Good Hope, a passage barred for the Spanish under the provisions of the Tordesillas Treaty. Consequently, British vessels did not have to navigate to Asia via the Cape Horn (*Cabo de Hornos*), or the Strait of Magellan. Grimaldi urged Massarano: "You must resist the notion that they can freely navigate to the Malvinas [Falklands], the Patagonian Coast, or, most importantly, the South Seas. The consequences of such concessions would be dire."⁵⁹

Realizing that Spanish right to the Pacific Ocean would be best defended when attached to their century-old claim to the Americas,

Massarano went on the offensive. The islands that Byron had encountered, he argued, were well within the Spanish realm, since they were adjacent to the Spanish Americas. Amused by such claims, Shelburne asked the ambassador to further define what he meant by the term “adjacent.” Massarano retorted that all islands within a hundred leagues of the Americas could be considered such.⁶⁰ Sensing the surprise in his British counterpart, Masserano continued his argument. While such a distance might seem vast for the European continent, their application to the Americas was a different matter altogether. Given the comparative close proximity of population centers in Europe, a league amounted to an agreed upon distance in this familiar continent. Yet in the Americas, with vast distances separating the main cities, one had to apply several times the equivalent of a short distance in Europe. Shelburne was not sold on this argument and retorted that a league was still a league no matter in what continent or hemisphere.⁶¹

The violent tone of these negotiations left Masserano exhausted, and he frequently cited illness as an excuse to miss subsequent talks with Shelburne. The British secretary thus sarcastically commented to Masserano, much to the latter’s consternation, that under such circumstances “even the gout becomes a political tool.”⁶² Negotiations dragged on until 1771, when Spanish authorities restored the British settlement at Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands, in return for not having to make good on the considerable Manila ransom payments.⁶³ Defending the “Spanish Lake” by attaching it to the Spanish possessions in the Americas was a seemingly successful strategy, especially if such notion could be underscored by legal investigations.

Masserano’s exhaustive and protracted negotiations convinced Spanish officials to investigate the legality of the whole matter. Manuel de Zalvide, Spain’s naval minister, contacted Julián de Arriaga, the minister of the Indies, with important news from Britain. In an English treatise on admiralty law, Zalvide noticed that the British Navy was attempting to claim sovereignty over the world’s oceans, which by extension included the contested Pacific. This was not the first time that such claims emerged, Zalvide confessed to Arriaga. Already in the seventeenth century, the British had claimed that the ocean surrounding their islands was theirs alone. In this they followed the example of the Venetians, who for their part had attempted to claim the Adriatic Sea as closed to any vessels but theirs. This concern resulted in an important meeting that brought some of the most important intellectuals to Madrid in 1637. Supporting the earlier mentioned Grotius-Seldon debate, this council decided on the principle *mare est*

cuyos terra cui adjacent: the sea belongs to that country whose territory is adjacent.⁶⁴ In short, this meeting provided the very foundation of what Masserano sought to defend against the diplomats based in the court of St. James. If Masserano could successfully tie the Pacific Ocean to the Spanish colonies of the Americas, then he could effectively deny the ocean's novelty and erode British claims of the transnational nature of expeditions.

Masserano was not alone in the endeavor of tying the Pacific to the Spanish colonies in the Americas. A veteran of Spanish administration in the Americas, Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera (1690–1777) wrote several extensive treaties in which he condemned the supposed British disinterested transnationalism. He argued that British expeditions from Dampier, Anson, and to Byron were in fact covert actions against the Spanish Americas that employed scientific aims to mask their endeavors.⁶⁵

Unfortunately, Alsedo y Herrera, now in his twilight years, had lost influence in the Spanish administration following contraband accusations in 1749. He lost his prominent post of governor and commandant of the province of *Tierra Firme*, as well as that of president of the *Real Audiencia* of Panama. All things considered, it took him almost thirteen years to clear his name. Financially ruined and politically isolated, he withdrew to a quiet Madrid residence, where, surrounded by his remaining books, he wrote numerous, largely unpublished, observations on the Americas.⁶⁶ These circumstances did not prevent him from launching vicious diatribes against what he perceived as British treaty violations:

We are forced once again to take the quill in hand...to bring to memory the Spanish discoveries and possessions in their Indies and to reveal the English projects and operations borne out of the spirit of envy, emulation, and greed that greatly disturb the peace: they fraudulently seek to expand their commerce, extracting for their kingdom all the riches of that New World, illustrating [in their actions] all their notorious offenses and breeches against the Spanish Monarchy.⁶⁷

Two prominent issues emerged from Alsedo's writing: Besides the repeated insistence on unilateral British treaty violations, Alsedo also sought to revive the memory of Spanish expeditions that preceded the British incursions into the Pacific. Secondly, Alsedo, much like Masserano, denied that the Pacific Ocean harbored any novel territories on which to hoist a British flag. Spanish explorations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had revealed a multitude of islands, but not

fabled continents. Other than continuous raids on Spanish territories, British exploratory ventures lacked a concrete *raison d'être*.

The supposed exhaustion of discoveries in the Pacific Ocean only served to underscore Alsedo's points that British exploration ignored both the rights of first discovery and treaty provisions. Alsedo's chronology of events pertaining to the Spanish Indies relegated most British operations to clear breaches in the diplomatic agreements that became by extension acts of piracy. George Anson's circumnavigation played a prominent role in Alsedo's narrative. Although Anson's venture stood at the beginning of the British concerted effort to explore the Pacific, Alsedo pointed at the original privateering mission aimed at harassing Spanish during the War of the Austrian Succession. Indeed, Alsedo was on target by arguing that Byron's circumnavigation emerged out of Anson's view of the Pacific. He was not fooled by the supposed scientific aims of Byron's venture. Transnationalism served as a cloak for piracy:

Several factors of [Byron's Voyage] attracted much attention: the ambiguity of its destination, the navy's strange novelty of bringing along all kinds of mathematical implements for observations, estimates, measurements, and demarcations, [the aim of] establishing geographical charts of everything encountered that could further their nautical knowledge of the coasts and the seas in their navigation, and [lastly] that the whole endeavor was under the command of Captain [*sic*] Byron, serving in the function of squadron chief and commandant of the two vessels and every other Royal ship in the region.⁶⁸

Scientific curiosity as the new diplomacy

If Alsedo and Masserano remained unconvinced of the scientific arguments justifying John Byron's expedition, they were certainly even more suspicious of the two additional voyages that followed in his wake. Although the *Dolphin*, under the command of Samuel Wallis, and the *Swallow*, under Philip Carteret, left England at roughly the same time, the slow progress of the *Swallow* separated the two vessels. Wallis returned to port in 1768, while the *Swallow* limped into port a good year later. Masserano suspected the explorers' motives: "It can only be to our detriment that this [British] nation has focused her energies on the South Seas."⁶⁹ Consequently, he closely monitored the output of these voyages, clandestinely acquiring copies of their diaries obtained from mariners traveling aboard the British vessels.⁷⁰ In an even bolder

move, Masserano smuggled two individuals out of Britain and had them shipped to Spain for further inquiry. One of these mariners, Peter Farron, had sailed with Wallis on the *Dolphin*, where he had witnessed the first European encounter with the island of Tahiti. A second person, George Barker, was even more interesting, since he had purportedly lived two years in the Falkland Islands. Ultimately, this risky operation was more trouble than it was worth. As soon as the two individuals touched Spanish soil, they complained bitterly that they did not receive their promised pay. Masserano urged his superiors to fulfill his promises since his diplomatic standing in Great Britain would be severely compromised if they complained to British authorities. To make matters worse, a few weeks after Farron's departure, his wife stepped forward and solicited the return of her husband. Masserano decided on a monetary compensation to keep her precious silence and ultimately allowed her to move to Spain, where she was to wait for her husband.⁷¹

Despite growing evidence to the contrary, Masserano kept insisting "there were no discoveries to be made in these waters that we [the Spaniards] have not already performed."⁷² Yet his British counterparts argued that geographical discovery was secondary to a new catchword that Masserano confronted with increasing regularity: scientific curiosity. In a particular conversation with the Duke of Richmond, Masserano was surprised about the reasons guiding Byron's voyage:

When about to take my leave I asked him whether he could tell me any particulars of the voyage made by the two ships that arrived recently. He replied in a bantering tone that they had been looking for giants. I answered him that if they had enquired of me for information concerning those folks I would have given it them and spared them [the trouble] of the voyage.⁷³

The giants mentioned in this account were the famed Patagonians, whose supposed well above average stature gained increasing attention. Although the Patagonians, from Spanish *patagones* or "big feet," found initial mention in Antonio Pigafetta's account of Magellan's circumnavigation, the reports emerging from John Byron's voyage stimulated renewed curiosity surrounding their physique. An anonymous account – generally attributed to Charles Clerk – about Byron's circumnavigation, not only extolled the size of the Patagonians, but also included a print of an unnamed sailor sharing a biscuit with a Patagonian couple and their child. The event was unremarkable in itself, yet the depicted sailor's head barely reached the waist of the two adult Patagonians.⁷⁴

Helen Wallis successfully argued that the exaggerations concerning the Patagonians' physical stature were strategic and designed to mask the political nature of the circumnavigations of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret.⁷⁵ The French Ambassador, Comte de Guerchy, was also confronted with this line of reasoning. British officials maintained that scientific curiosity was a hallmark of civilization standing in stark contrast to "what might seem to be the most blatantly acquisitive moves of European powers in their competition for extensive commercial empires in other continents and distant seas."⁷⁶ Scientific curiosity was skillfully crafted to eclipse prior accomplishments and to mask territorial acquisition.

There were some major inconsistencies in Masserano's denial of the scientific curiosity's validity. His British counterparts quickly pointed out that he became a great deal more forgiving when it came to his French allies' transgressions. For instance, Masserano was queried as to why the French navigator Louis de Bougainville was able to establish a settlement on the Falkland Islands, since this act stood in clear violation of the treaty provisions the Spanish sought to uphold. The British diplomats continued, that since the French were allowed to travel to these regions, the British should be accorded similar privileges. Facing an impending inconsistency in his argument, Masserano quickly resorted to an astute explanation: "I had to invent the idea that Mr. de Bougainville left [France] with the intention to locate the Austral lands. But since he did not find them, he installed himself [in the Falkland Islands] upon his return, not knowing that they belonged to us."⁷⁷

Through this statement, Masserano seemingly undermined his line of argumentation. By providing Bougainville license to proceed on a scientific mission to the South Seas, Masserano conceded that such endeavors fell outside of the restrictive prohibitions governing the Pacific. Similarly, Masserano admitted that the Austral lands, should they exist, were falling outside of the domain commonly claimed by the Spaniards. Masserano's superior, Grimaldi, shared this particular argument:

Masserano has alerted me about the English intention of dispatching two frigates to the Solomon Islands in order to observe the trajectory of Venus [through the Disc of the Sun]. The Dutch are well aware of this navigation that leads to the Philippines and we have less reason to oppose this idea since they are far from our Peruvian coasts.⁷⁸

In general, Grimaldi, following the argument outlined in the first chapter, did not buy into the idea of looking for unknown continents. He complained, for instance, to the Viceroy of New Spain: "We seem to

live in a century during which frenzy reigns among other powers to look for *terra incognita* in these parts of the world."⁷⁹ According to Masserano and Grimaldi, concepts of "the law of the sea" were a great deal more fluid in the Pacific Ocean. Any reasonable defense of this vast ocean could only be executed from the Americas, and as long as the Spanish settlements were not in immediate danger, then the authorities were willing to turn a blind eye.

Spanish insistence on barring European expeditions from their colonial possessions was also partially responsible for providing James Cook's first circumnavigation (1768–1771) with a convenient destination and objective. Cook's scientific mission was to set up an observatory in the South Pacific to chart the passage of Venus through the disc of the Sun. Such observations were to yield important information about the earth's distance to the sun, and demanded coordinated effort to compare results of this phenomenon from many different points of the globe.⁸⁰

In the eighteenth century, Venus's passage occurred twice: in 1761 and 1769. A coordinated observation of this phenomenon was first undertaken in 1761, but foul weather and the global reach of the Seven Years' War severely curtailed the results. Based on their estimates, scientists predicted that the passage would repeat itself on June 3, 1769 and urged commissioning as many observations as possible from different corners of the globe to corroborate their scientific findings. Members of London's Royal Society had approached Spanish authorities to observe the phenomenon in the Americas. They were particularly keen to collect observations from the recently established Spanish settlements in California. To meet the demands of the Spaniards, the Royal Society of London wanted to dispatch a team of scientists led by a Jesuit scholar, Boscowitz. Unfortunately, the plan came to naught when in 1767 Spanish monarch Charles III expelled the Jesuits from his realm. The president of the Royal Society immediately offered to dispatch two different scientists to replace the Jesuit, but Spanish authorities voted the proposal down.⁸¹

Spanish officials displayed double standards: While turning down the British expedition, they had granted access to Baja California for a member of the French Academy of Sciences. The Abbé Chappe traveled to New Spain to observe the passage of Venus from this location, after French authorities agreed to have him accompanied by two young Spanish naval officers. Initially, the venture was off to a good start as French and Spanish members of the expedition combined well in the collection of astronomical data. Shortly after the passage was recorded, however, a tropical malaise killed the Abbé and one of the Spanish officers. Fortunately, the surviving Spanish officer, Vicente Doz, and the Abbé's servant were able

to return the observation's results to Europe, where the scientific community was able to incorporate them in their evaluation of the event. The results of the Franco-Spanish venture were published in Paris, preventing Spanish authorities from concealing the undertaking.⁸²

Rebuffed by Spanish authorities, the London Royal Society quickly found an alternative located in the Pacific: "The Society has decided to send [its scientists] to the islands of Rotterdam and Amsterdam⁸³ in the Southern Sea near the Solomon Islands."⁸⁴ The target island for the observations changed further when Samuel Wallis returned from his Pacific voyage in 1768 with a new discovery: A lush, largely populated isle he christened King George Island, a place that would soon gain European renown under its indigenous name of Tahiti. Scientific and political motives clearly combined when James Cook was sent on his mission. By barring access to California, however, Spanish officials were partially to blame for the choice of Cook's target and mission.

One should be forgiving in judging Masserano's crude and stubborn defense of the Spanish Lake. Trained as a diplomat and less as a scientist, he understood such curious inquiries only in the age-old discourse of expansion. Similarly, the numerous British expeditions departing to the Pacific might have carried official scientific instructions to perform geographical discoveries and astronomical observations. At the same time, these ventures received secret instructions of the British Admiralty to explore the existence of an unknown continent in the southern hemisphere and establish its suitability for future settlement.⁸⁵

The challenges of scientific curiosity

James Cook's two circumnavigations (1768–1771 and 1772–1775) had a tremendous impact on the European scientific community. While Cook's missions represented a continuation of those executed by Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, his ventures were a great deal more scientifically oriented than those of his predecessors. Similarly, numerous draftsmen on Cook's ships illustrated the journeys' encounters with the Pacific and added an additional component to the already much searched-after voyage accounts. Equipped with the newest instruments, such as the earlier discussed chronometer, Cook was able to chart the islands and coastlines he encountered, altering thus the European imagination about the Pacific, and finally putting to rest the myths of unknown continents. Natural history also made great strides during these voyages. The aforementioned observation of the passage of Venus through the disc of the sun was just the beginning of a whole array of scientific commissions on Cook's ships. The naturalists who were placed in charge of collecting

and classifying plants and animals were either disciples of Swede Carl Linnè (Linnaeus 1707–1778) or followed the system that he proposed.

The introduction of Linnaeus's two fundamentals of botany – classification and nomenclature – had a major impact on the field. He advocated for the community of scholars to agree upon the name of a particular plant and animal. Once accepted, this name could only be changed if further investigation warranted a reclassification of the specimen. With Latin becoming the main language of nomenclature, most plants were now detached from their indigenous environments and imported into the world of European imperial expansion. This act can be described as one of “linguistic imperialism.”

Following Linnaeus's call, many enterprising botanists left their countries for the new worlds of either the Americas or the Pacific to bestow their name on a precious plant.⁸⁶ The *Endeavour* voyage (1768–1771) carried on board Linnaeus' apostle, Daniel Solander (1733–1782), and his benefactor Joseph Banks (1743–1820). Solander and Banks returned many new species of plants from their voyage and had hoped to join Cook's second venture. Bank's penchant for luxury, however, greatly displeased the British captain, and he instead opted for two German naturalists, Johann Reinhold Forster (1729–1798) and his son Georg Forster (1754–1794), to accompany him around the world. Johann Reinhold was not an apostle of the Swedish naturalist, but he was so taken by his method that he considered himself a “Linnaean being.” Furthermore, when the expedition reached South Africa, Johann Reinhold Forster convinced Cook to employ the Linnaean apostle Anders Erikson Sparman as his assistant.⁸⁷

Such important scientific considerations failed to have an impact on Masserano. He exhibited a hard time grasping the value of intangible collections of natural history that could hardly justify the steep voyage expenses. Masserano transferred his ambiguity directly to his superiors:

[The explorers] have returned with thousands of curiosities from one of the islands of Quiros [Tahiti] ... Solander and Banks assured us that these islands possess no commerce worth mentioning. The islanders know neither gold nor silver. Iron is equally unknown and their only treasures are different botanical plants which have been returned from the voyage along with seeds.⁸⁸

Linnaean classification and its implications for commercial and linguistic exploitation might have fallen outside of the Spanish ambassador's vocabulary. He did understand geography well enough, however, and quickly alerted his superiors to the expansionist moves emerging from

Cook's second circumnavigation. Masserano's fears surrounding Cook's expedition were steeped in the discourse of old diplomacy:

Who knows whether this [British] government is not excited about the accounts given about the Solomon Islands' riches we discovered in 1567? They might even consider a settlement there!... Captain Cook told me yesterday that he did not visit these islands although he was convinced of their existence. What we do know is that they have left the English pennant in these contacted lands as a sure sign of dominion and we are well aware of this nation's ambitions.⁸⁹

Naming of geographical features and botanical specimens clearly carried imperial overtones that did not just fill diplomats with concern. In Spain, royal cosmographers charged with the exploration of the moral and natural history of the Indies, were quickly forced to entertain these novel ideas. In 1751, the Benedictine Martín Sarmiento admonished Spanish that negligence in failing to produce natural histories of the Indies allowed other European powers to rename the Spanish possessions in their image. Sarmiento was one of the first to advocate an extensive survey that would revive the age-old Spanish concerns with cartography and botany.

However, Sarmiento quickly realized that advocacy of such endeavor proved a lot easier than its organization. Overwhelmed by the task, he ultimately quit his office in 1755, leaving its completion to two competing organizations.⁹⁰ The Royal Academy of History (founded in 1738) took on the task of producing historical accounts, while the more scientific mission to survey the Indies fell to the Jesuit College in Madrid. Jesuits had occupied the post of cosmographer of Indies for the better part of two centuries and were thus deemed best to handle this issue.

The members of the Academy of History presented themselves with a number of pertinent questions: Should the production of a geographical atlas predate the writing of official histories about the Americas? Should the illustrious members of the academy consult the histories written about the Indies in earlier centuries? And lastly, should indigenous sources be used in the production of these histories? The discussions emerging in the halls of the academy illustrated little agreement. Only the exclusion of received wisdom in the form of pre-Colombian source material brought the academics together. Increasing lack of consensus forced the involvement of the notables of the Council of Indies, but even their orchestrations were unable to solve the differences. Eventually, the long-ranging discussions were tabled indefinitely when Spain made an ill-fated step to join its French ally during the Seven Years' War.⁹¹

Spanish botanical efforts

Spanish intellectuals may have been unable to combine botanical, geographical, and historical concerns, but there were significant advances in individual fields. In botany, for instance, Spanish scientists were among the first to embrace Linnaean classifications. In an attempt to locate commercial resources in their American colonies, they came to recognize that the exploitation of botanical specimens well served the purpose of Bourbon reform under Charles III. And with this important purpose in mind, the Spanish efforts differed from the Franco-British expeditions designed to open new geographical areas for imperial control. The main purpose of the Spanish ventures was to rediscover the Americas, not in a geographical, but in an economical sense. A secondary purpose, as illustrated above, was to shift attention away from the northern European growing fascination with the Pacific. The existence of multiple colonial centers of knowledge in the Americas, however, made the Bourbon attempt to strengthen its hold over the colonies a tenuous one.

Before Linnaeus's apostles set sail for the Pacific, they had already been active in the Americas. In 1751, on the urging of the Spanish monarchy, Linnaeus sent one of his most capable pupils to the Iberian Peninsula. Pehr Löfling (1729–1756) spent two years botanizing in Spain, where he obtained the professorial title of Royal Botanist. He subsequently crossed the Atlantic, after realizing the botanical wealth inherent in the Spanish colonies. Löfling joined an expedition designed to investigate the limits of the Spanish territories and collected plants between the Amazon and Orinoco rivers. A malarial infection took his life, however, before he could finalize the project. His influence survived when Spanish natural scientists officially adopted the Linnaean classification, which became a major organizing principle of the Royal Botanical Garden (founded in 1755) and the expeditions associated with the collection activity. The ability to abstract specimens from their local indigenous contexts sat well with the Spanish political-economic plan to find and exploit botanical products, especially cinnamon, tea, and the anti-malarial properties of the Cinchona tree bark. Identifying such commodities, it was hoped, would provide Spain with a competitive edge in the developing market for colonial products. The establishment of the Natural History Cabinet (founded in 1776) was equally important, since its founder Pedro Franco Dávila joined hands with botanical garden's director Casimiro Gómez Ortega (1741–1818) in issuing a number of instructions to collect natural material in the Spanish colonies. Spain became the first European nation to officially encourage this process, which became an integral

component to no less than fifty-seven expeditions to its colonial realm between 1760 and 1808.

The most significant botanical ventures were Ruiz and Pavón's expedition to Chile and Peru (1777–1788), José Celestino Mutís extensive journeys to New Granada (Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela) between 1783–1810, and Juan de Cuéllar survey of the Philippines (1786–1794). In 1789, the Royal Court ordered colonial administrators to collect information on potentially useful natural products and urged them to forward their collections to Spain for examination. Gómez Ortega, envisioned his institution to be at the center of an ever-expanding network of collectors on the periphery, destined to enrich the colonial center in the Iberian Peninsula. While such a model might have worked well in the context of James Cook in the Pacific, it clashed with the model of the universal monarchy, which Spain had practiced for almost 250 years. The Spanish colonial realm, better conceptualized as a federated monarchy, rather than a centralized colonial state, had encouraged numerous centers of learning, academies, and universities, to emerge in the Americas. Where Spanish authorities saw the Linnaean system as a way to smother local differences and to bring about tighter control and better economic utility of colonial resources, *Criollo* scholars balked at the attempt at centralization. *Criollos* joined hands with critics of Linnaeus by arguing that the Swedish model overlooked important local conditions such as climate, altitude, and soil composition.⁹² Although botanical endeavors contributed to the disintegrative rather than integrative processes of Spanish colonial reform, they did, nevertheless, further increasing scientific investigation of the Spanish possessions.

Spanish cartographic efforts and the Pacific Northwest

The imperial restructuring process inherent in botanical endeavors found continuation in geographic concerns. While much like the case of botany, Spanish cartographic efforts aimed at strengthening their imperial hold and claims to the Americas, they had a more immediate impact on developments in the Pacific. Spain, a leading map and chart-maker in the sixteenth century, had neglected this craft throughout the next centuries. With the loss of the United Provinces between the treaties of Westphalia (1648) and Utrecht (1713), the cartographic centers of Antwerp and Amsterdam ceased to be under Spanish control. As explained in the first chapter, the situation got to the point that state

officials had to import foreign maps to stay current with cartographic development. This situation became painfully obvious when, by the eighteenth century, Spanish officials were lacking accurate maps of the Iberian Peninsula.⁹³

This state of affairs forced the hand of the Spanish government. Officials dispatched two young and gifted individuals to France with the aim of learning new developments in the realm of cartography. Tomás López de Vargas y Manchuca (1731–1802) and Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla (1734–1790) remained in Paris for the better part of the 1750s, where they came under the influence of Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697–1782). The cartographic fame of this Frenchman derived from the careful evaluation of existing maps, without resorting to colorful illustration of unknown regions. D'Anville's historical-critical cartography was noticeably different from the task performed by James Cook and others in the Pacific. Cook was trained in the newest survey techniques, which he acquired during the Seven Years' War, and he utilized this expertise to chart unknown islands and coastlines of the Pacific.⁹⁴ D'Anville operated in a "known" geographical universe. He preferred the comparative study of existing maps of which he accumulated a personal collection of 9000 cartographic items. Every single one of his maps was accompanied with a critical essay reflecting the historical study of the source material.⁹⁵

D'Anville's preference for revealed rather than encountered knowledge was an inclination that he passed on to the Spanish cartographers, López and Cruz. López first employed the Frenchman's method in 1758, when he published a small atlas detailing North and South America. Fearful that this atlas might reveal too much knowledge about the territory, the Spanish State Ministry suspended its sale. When the geographer tried to issue a second edition in 1764, he found his work unfavorably reviewed by members of the Spanish Academy of History. The reviewers claimed that his work was riddled with errors and could be employed in territorial claims against the Spanish Crown.⁹⁶ López learned from this event that politics trumped scientific criteria, and would abstain from similar projects in the future.

While López directed himself to works associated with the mapping of the Iberian Peninsula, it was Cruz who took on the increasingly unpopular political works involved in imperial mapping and defense. When the Franco-British ventures to the Pacific were joined by Russian incursions along the Pacific Northwest, Spanish authorities aimed at strengthening the northern frontiers of the Kingdom of New Spain. Madrid authorities dispatched José de Gálvez as a administrator charged

with inspection and the authority to make recommendations on reform to New Spain in 1765. Besides overseeing the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, Gálvez's stay coincided with the news of supposed Russian settlements. He consequently became instrumental in organizing maritime and overland expeditions to Alta California, and in 1768 established a new naval department in San Blas to support this expansion.⁹⁷

When Gálvez returned to Spain in 1772, where he eventually was to head the Ministry of the Indies, it fell on the shoulders of Viceroy Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa (who ruled from 1771 until his death in 1779) to support this renewed effort at expansion.⁹⁸ Although reluctant to spend the resources supporting the Spanish exploration, Bucareli ended up organizing three important ventures: Juan José Pérez Hernández (1774), Bruno de Ezeta (Heceta) (1775), and Ignacio de Artegan y Bazán (1779). The three voyages yielded much information of New Spain's littoral expeditions and provided again opportunity to diffuse knowledge among European readers.⁹⁹

State Secretary Grimaldi contacted López and Cruz to assist in this matter. The result was published in 1771: a major map of the *Mar del Sur* (or as they also called it the *Oceano Asiático*), which despite the magnanimous name, only provided a major outline of the coast of California to the port of Monterey.¹⁰⁰ The information was sent to Tomás Lopez, the newly appointed geographer of His Majesty's dominions, who crafted an elegant map. Grimaldi commissioned the map in 1766 for the purpose that "the English who have taken the habit to sail along these coasts, learned of the knowledge, property, and possession we had of [these regions]."¹⁰¹

The map represented the first major Spanish attempt to counter northern European encroachment on the Pacific and illustrated the merger of diplomatic concerns with cartographic production. Similarly, this chart suggested that linking the Pacific to the terrestrial realm of the Americas was an effective political, as well as intellectual, defense. Lastly, this cartographic effort signaled a departure from secrecy.

The availability of the *Oceano Asiático* map, however, centered the publication efforts on South America, where Juan de la Cruz published his extensive map in 1775. The public diffusion of knowledge on the littoral Northwest coast, on the other hand, proceeded sparingly. A brief note describing the region's exploration appeared in the *Gazeta de Madrid*, brought about, no doubt, by James Cook's impending third expedition to the Pacific. The official announcement was cloaked in the traditional justification emerging out of the Tordesillas agreement with Portugal almost 300 years earlier: "The Catholic zeal of the King decided

to propagate the evangelical light among the miserable Indians who inhabit the littoral and the lands of northern California, submerged as they were in dark mist of their gentile existence.”

The expeditions to the Northwest coast had precious little to do with the propagation of faith among the indigenous people. They were geostrategic in purpose, meant to extend the Spanish geographical reach and to ward off possible Russian intruders. The article summarized the reach of the expeditions performed between 1769 and 1775 and reported that the captains encountered “Indios of great docility, who were kind, of agreeable physiognomy, and well groomed in their apparel.” The article closed by pronouncing the expeditions’ communal success, praising Viceroy Bucareli for his efforts, and listing the naval promotion of those involved.¹⁰² A few months later, the *Gazeta* announced that with the return of the expedition led by Bruno de Ezeta and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra (1775) and that with the satisfactory charts crafted by officials and pilots had returned enjoyed the support of the King, who ordered they be published before long.¹⁰³ Although no details were provided about the nature of such publication, the Spanish government envisioned an extension of the map published in 1771.

When both the map and the gazettes were forwarded to Ambassador Masserano, he was enthusiastic about the results: “I cannot emphasize enough my elation about the publications in our *Gazeta*... [I]t solidifies our rights to this area and settles all of our future disputes.”¹⁰⁴ However, Masserano also urged further action:

It is of utmost importance to print before long the relations of our voyages and discoveries in these regions. Similarly, the long-promised maps need to be released now, for it exists for this nation no better acts of possession than said publications. With them we can illustrate to other European nations that they cannot claim discoveries that we have already undertaken.¹⁰⁵

In short, Masserano insisted on the diffusion of geographic information and advised his superiors to publish Spanish accounts, combining contemporary eighteenth-century voyages with those performed by earlier mariners. This act of publication meant combining encountered knowledge with the revealed variety stored in Spanish archives. Historian Dagny Hansen has illustrated that even limited diffusion had a considerable impact. Hansen maintained that a March 1775 article in the *London Chronicle* extolling the accomplishments of the 1774 expedition lead by José Perez, effectively predated Cook’s departure on his

third voyage in 1776. The historian maintained that the English captain displayed awareness of the Spanish explorer, but downplayed the ultimate reach of the Iberian voyages in an attempt to further his own accomplishments.¹⁰⁶

The limited diffusion of information encouraged State Secretary Grimaldi to commission a vast atlas of the Americas and the waters surrounding it to bolster Iberian diplomatic claims. López and Cruz took the commission and soon found French maps on the Spanish American possessions greatly lacking in accuracy. Obtaining permission to consult the maps from various archives located throughout Spain, the two geographers developed serious disagreements that in the end could not be reconciled.¹⁰⁷ López, no doubt cautious due to the political nature of the project, asked the state secretary to be excused from the project. Grimaldi agreed to López's request, but not before presiding over the publication of the 1771 map of the *Mar del Sur*.

López's choice to leave the American atlas project would soon prove to be correct. His reputation grew and resulted in his appointment as geographer of the Spanish domains. In conjunction with his sons, Juan and Tomás Mauricio, he established a geographical dynasty that lasted well into the nineteenth century. Cruz on the other hand, struggled with the imperial project that ultimately led to his own professional downfall. It took him almost ten years to craft a large map of South America, which covered several panels and, when fully displayed, occupied an area of six by eight feet. When Cruz proudly presented his product to Charles III in the autumn of 1775, the map was quickly overtaken by political events. On the eve of the Spanish-Portuguese hostilities in South America in 1776, Cruz's creation became embroiled in the determination of borders between the two countries. Fearful that Cruz's map revealed a favorable positioning of the Portuguese frontier, the government prohibited further printing of the gigantic chart and moved to buy back those specimens already sold. Cruz's mapmaking abilities fell into disrepute, and he died penniless in 1789, leaving a wife and seven children to fend for themselves.¹⁰⁸

Tragic as this episode may have been, it is indicative of the relationship between revealed and encountered knowledge. As explained earlier, López and Cruz's historical cartographic methods relying mostly on existing maps, clashed sharply with the methods employed by James Cook. Spanish historians Nuria Valverde and Antonio Lafuente see in the failure of Juan de la Cruz's South America map a decisive shift in Spanish geopolitics away from the continental depictions of America to an active defense of the littoral coastlines of empire. They further perceive the

Spanish Empire as a Janus-headed creature, tied to its continental holdings in the Americas, while at the same time looking outward to both the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. They date the shift in Spanish cartographic production to the Nootka Sound controversy, which took Spain and Great Britain to the brink of war in 1789.¹⁰⁹ The operations leading up to the production of the Juan de la Cruz map illustrate, however, that Spanish strategic uses of geographic knowledge in the defense of Empire greatly predated this conflict. Similarly, the uses of geography to ward off northern European incursions also illustrated shifting geostrategic concerns from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

How much James Cook's second circumnavigation was instrumental in this shift is illustrated by Ambassador Masserano's correspondence from the British Isles. As soon as James Cook returned from his second circumnavigation, the disparate patterns of motives guiding Cook's voyage – astronomy, cartography, ethnography, and natural history – began to crystallize into a coherent whole. The publication of the results in 1777 dispelled the notion of a southern continent, which had preoccupied armchair enthusiasts in Britain and France for generations.¹¹⁰ The volume spotted worrisome aspects for the ambassador. While in his introduction Cook tipped his hat to Dutch and Spanish exploratory voyages that preceded him, the volume included a large map of the Southern Hemisphere that for the first time contained a completed outline of Australia. The map also featured the tracks of British, Dutch, French, and Spanish navigators.

The very fact that the voyages of Mendaña (1595) and Quirós (1605) paled in comparison to the British navigator's accomplishment was a strategic move. The map featured as a centerpiece of Cook's two-volume narrative that could now proclaim the southern Pacific as a charted entity. Masserano realized that under the veneer of scientific curiosity, Cook, now armed with a replica of Harrison's maritime chronometer, was terminating what the Spaniards had started more than two centuries before him. The ambassador recognized that maps and transnational publications carried with them the potential of territorial claims at the expense of earlier Spanish treaty rights.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the Pacific returned to European consciousness through British and French urging. Novel technologies to determine longitude and scientific classification of fauna and flora greatly undermined Spanish diplomatic attempts to assert hegemony over this maritime region. The challenge of scientific curiosity went beyond the realm of botany and geography, which was by and large outside of the intellectual grasp of laymen interested in the Pacific. The

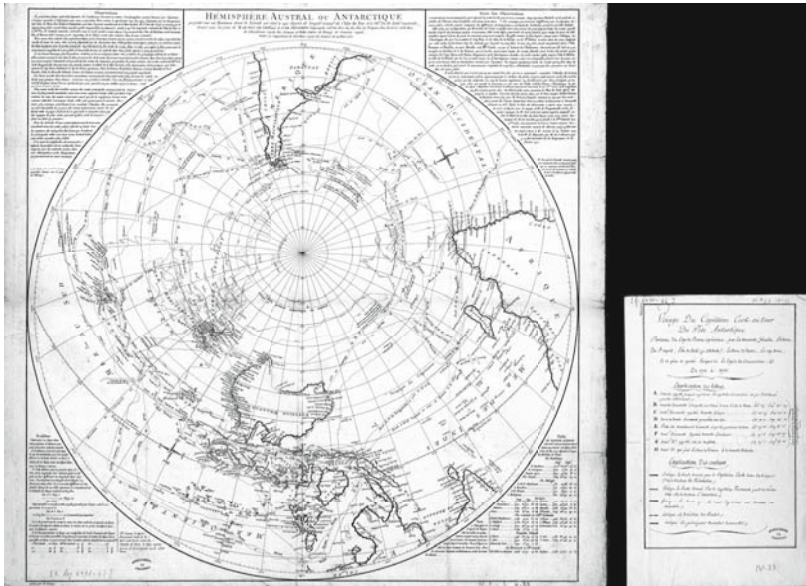


Figure 2.1 Cook's map of the southern hemisphere [AGS, MP IV-33]

publication of travel narratives and voyage accounts, richly adorned with numerous illustrations, however, brought the Pacific home to European households. The diplomatic exchange between London and Madrid richly illustrated that Spanish officials were hardly oblivious to the link between publication and territorial claims and acquisition. In the next chapter, I illustrate the Spanish reaction to Franco-British voyage publications between 1766 – the first unofficial publication of Byron's circumnavigation – and 1784 – the year in which Cook's journals of his third voyage reached the public.

The publication battle over the Pacific also exemplified the different epistemologies. The British championed encountered knowledge to eclipse and erase earlier European exploratory feats. Spanish officials, in contrast, attempted to utilize the revealed, archival knowledge to offset the encountered knowledge emerging from the British and French accounts.

3

On Narrating the Pacific

They must be considered as Discoveries, outcast and abandoned by Spain! And, by adoption, become English, in which Language only (or translation from It) They have been communicated to the world, and in Communication alone! the true Right of Discovery must be grounded.

Alexander Dalrymple,
"The Spanish Pretensions fairly discussed," 1790¹

There must be a collection of several relations and original papers of the travels and discoveries made by Spanish captains and pilots. What a service for the public! What enlightenment for our intellectuals! What a just credit to our nation, to lift these honest and precious monuments from the dust and abandon where they currently repose as testaments to the industry, courage, consistency, and expertise of our navigators!

Bernardo de Iriarte, 1768

The crucial issue of publication

On the Ides of March 1777, young German scholar Georg Forster paid a surprise visit to Spanish ambassador Masserano. He had returned from James Cook's second circumnavigation (1772–1775), where he assisted his father, Johann Reinhold Forster, who joined the journey as Joseph Bank's replacement. Barely nineteen years of age, young Forster embarked on the trip of a lifetime, collecting and recording the fauna and flora of the Pacific. His intellectual coming-of-age, however, emerged not from plants and animals but from his encounter with the region's multitude of indigenous cultures. He quickly realized the downside to the voyage,

as he witnessed rising hostility between his father and the illustrious British captain.

This growing animosity proved disastrous for the Forsters. When Cook and the British Admiralty demanded that the German naturalists' narratives be subsumed within the official text about the expedition, Johann Reinhold and Georg Forster refused and pushed for the publication of their own texts. Their venture became a race against time that Georg Forster ultimately won when he published his *A Voyage Round the World* several months before Cook's text on the voyage appeared. Forster's publication proved a pyrrhic victory, since he could not access the artists' engravings, chiefly those of William Hodges, which were reserved for the official account. Cognizant of this apparent visual handicap, Forster provided a comparative attempt at ethnographic description of Oceanic cultures. To gain additional diplomatic backing, he approached Masserano for Spanish support. In his note to the ambassador, Forster highlighted the stakes involved in the publication of Pacific voyage accounts:

It is through the efforts of Spanish Monarchy that we owe the uncovering of the western hemisphere, which contains the Americas and, of course, the vast sea of the Pacific. Recently the English nation sought to emulate the illustrious example of the Spanish Monarchs when her sailors visited the islands located by Quiros and Mandanna (*sic*) two centuries ago: Yet without acknowledging such heritage they bestowed new names on these places and attribute to themselves discoveries to which they were not entitled. It is my good fortune, to accompany this last voyage and to provide testimony of Your Majesty's accomplishment and the South Seas discoveries of your brave Spanish navigators.²

The ensuing interchange with Masserano, as I will chronicle in this chapter, in the end failed to yield results. Forster's intention, however, came close to what Spanish officials had been demanding for a decade, as he underscored his offer by showing Masserano a chart that superimposed the Spanish voyages over those performed by the British Admiralty. In theory at least, Forster's account in conjunction with the map was able to confirm Spanish claims to the Pacific Ocean.

This fleeting encounter between Masserano and the German scholar exemplifies the contest over the Pacific among European nations. The Atlantic and its associated islands had been a battleground for the better part of three centuries. Yet as far as the Pacific was concerned, campaigns

were not fought, a few privateering raids notwithstanding, through naval engagements but through a flood of publications. Geographer Charles Withers, for instance, maintains, “the Enlightenment was in large measure ‘made in the Pacific.’”³ New instruments and techniques assisted to chart, collect, and to a lesser extent, classify this novel region. Contrasting the Pacific with the Atlantic Ocean, Withers continued that once geographic chimeras ceased to preoccupy the European mind, it was the new island world of Oceania that would dazzle researchers. The French anthropologist of science Bruno Latour concurs with Withers’s assessment when he reinterprets European eighteenth-century voyages leading to “cycles of accumulation” of scientific information. Collected data arrived in European “centers of calculation” where the raw knowledge was transformed into “immutable mobiles” – charts, illustrations, and books – that could then be circulated among other scholars or be carried back to the Pacific for improvement.⁴ Each expedition leaving for the Pacific carried with it not just scores of observers and instruments, but also extensive libraries of previously published works in an effort to compare the flow of information. The Latourian model of “cycles of accumulation” represented a serious challenge to Spanish hegemony in the Pacific.

In the last chapter, I attended to Spanish diplomatic attempts aimed at preventing British exploratory voyages to the Pacific Ocean. Such maneuvers quickly exhausted themselves when scientific concerns trumped the dusty treaty agreements securing sovereignty claims. Verily, Spaniards were latecomers to this new scientific inquiry. They did, however, have a distinct advantage: Extensive archives holding detailed narratives from earlier exploratory ventures to the Pacific Ocean. It is in this regard that the present chapter adds to the Latourian model. Where Latour emphasized the demand for encountered knowledge by centers of calculation, Spanish officials looked into the possibility of inserting archival revealed knowledge into the unfolding canon of Pacific writings.

The dialectic of encountered and revealed knowledge

The Atlantic and the Indian oceans reigned supreme in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century waves of European expansion. The Pacific Ocean, partially because of its sheer size, came into focus during the eighteenth century and was associated with the intellectual movement classified as the Enlightenment. Enlightenment travelers supposedly had loftier goals than their earlier counterparts, preferring knowledge for the sake of knowledge itself rather than for immediate monetary gain.

The Enlightenment took much inspiration from the preceding scientific revolution, and many of the new instruments and methods developed to measure and describe the globe found applications in the Pacific Ocean.

At the same time, both the scientific revolutions and the Enlightenment questioned the very foundation of knowledge. By questioning scripture, the proponents of the Enlightenment postulated truth as knowable not through revelation, but through the powers of observation, experimentation, and the general application of human reasoning power.⁵ The importance of experience and firsthand observation figured as an element to undermine established Spanish claims to the region. Diffusion of newfound knowledge became a second pillar supporting the Franco-British empires of sciences in the Pacific that threatened Spanish imagined hegemony.⁶ Yet this diffusion did not occur without challenges. Questioning the supposedly improved ways of mapping and describing the Pacific in the eighteenth century, Jonathan Lamb argued that neither the novel techniques nor the language in which the discoveries were framed were fully understood by readers of Pacific accounts. He postulates a growing gulf or “climate of distrust” separating seafaring observers and metropolitan readers.⁷ Using Lamb as a point of departure, the following chapter investigates the Franco-British accounts emerging from the Pacific between 1764 and 1784 and their reception among Spanish intellectuals.

Translating foreign and technical insights into a larger framework that was both understandable and trustworthy for the metropolitan reader was but one obstacle. Another roadblock was the prohibitive price of the publications at the time. When the first large-scale works on overseas travels appeared, the cost of the lavish and quite ornate volumes generally surpassed that of the common readership. To circumvent this impasse, publishers decided to issue a work not as a whole volume, but in a few sheets a week. Such serial or subscription books allowed readers to space out payment for the entire work over several months. Similarly, popular monthly papers, such as the *Gentleman's Magazine* or the *London Magazine* published since 1730, regularly issued excerpts extracted from Pacific travel accounts.⁸

Whether as entire volumes or as installments, the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a wealth of publications about the Pacific Ocean. Prior to this time period, attention to the South Seas had fluctuated both in terms of quantity and quality. Generally speaking, British and French authorities left the Pacific to Spanish galleons, although occasional privateering expeditions did visit the waters of the Spanish

Lake. Travel compilation, a genre extensively discussed in the first chapter, became the existing model to diffuse such information to the learned public. In England, this tradition was well established from the Elizabethan Era with writer Richard Hakluyt (1552–1616) as its main proponent.⁹ Generally, such accounts spanned many volumes and sought to encompass the entire globe. While such travel accounts provided a major inspiration for voyages to the Pacific, individuals compiling the information rarely traveled to the regions they chronicled.¹⁰

By the seventeenth century, travel accounts had undergone a transformation as their compilers decided to eschew classical or biblical models in their narratives. The public became increasingly suspect of the veracity of such accounts and demanded reassurance. In response to such public critique, many compilers started to critically sift through the accounts selected for publication and opted for those they deemed most reliable. Two Frenchmen, Charles de Brosse and Antoine François Prévost, became pioneers of this new narrative style and attempted to mediate between peripheral observers and metropolitan readers. This mediation was accentuated by a first-person retelling of the encounters.¹¹ Orinda Outram elucidates the importance of narrative in connection with geographical information. Using the term “exploration knowledge” for what I have deemed encountered knowledge earlier, Outram argues that, over the course of the eighteenth century, experimentally based science increasingly threw doubt on the data sets derived from exploration. Rather than relying on replication, exploration knowledge was entirely dependent on the explorer’s senses. This required a leap of faith from their readers, as they were asked to trust delivered accounts blindly. Outram consequently maintained that the writing of travel narratives, meant to evoke and secure the reader’s trust, became as important as the process of traveling itself.¹²

The genre of travel narrative received an additional boost from accounts published or supervised by the actual person who performed the voyages. For the Pacific, the narratives of William Dampier and George Anson received much attention in England. Dampier’s account *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697) and his *Voyage to New Holland* (1703–1709) seemingly chronicled yet another privateering mission to the Spanish Lake. Yet his text was less about adventure and more about describing new lands in the Pacific. Although Dampier’s geographical descriptions and maps added little beyond existing Dutch knowledge of the region, his vivid, albeit somewhat crude, rendition of fish and other animals in the Pacific added another dimension and ensured a wide readership in England.¹³

Eclipsing Dampier's reception was an account published in the wake of George Anson's circumnavigation. Anson's venture was originally designed as the typical privateering mission to harass Spanish shipping during the War of Jenkins's Ear. While sailing the Pacific, however, Anson realized the region's potential. His endeavor almost ended up in disaster, when wrecks and scurvy dwindled the number of ships and able crewmembers. In the Pacific, Anson and the crew of the last remaining vessel, the *Centurion*, captured a Spanish Manila galleon brimming with treasure. The celebrated return of Anson's flagship and the fabled riches soon demanded an equally fitting account. Published in May of 1748, *A Voyage Round the World* combined adventure narrative with an astonishing degree of empiricism.¹⁴ This adventure writing style threatened to blend the boundaries between travel writing and fiction, something readers had grown accustomed to through the novels of Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift. An omission of such narrative structure, however, also meant declining sales of manuscripts that sought to stress an important political aim – the expansion of British might into the Pacific Ocean.

Inspired by the success of Dampier's work, the editors of Anson's voyage thus adorned their volumes with important visual material: more than forty charts and engravings. The inclusion of such material also suggested that Anson's voyage was now portrayed less as privateering and more as an exploratory venture. The adoption of a Spanish chart, captured from the Manila galleon, for publication highlighted this new direction. In contrast to the Spanish policy of secrecy, the British authorities diffused not just their own charts to a wider audience, but also maps, which Spanish notables attempted to conceal. Anson's account thus provided an important guide for future expeditions and served as a major influence for naval publications. The balance between charts and adventure account proved successful: The work continued to be reprinted, and by the year 1776, it had gone through fifteen editions. Moreover, Anson's voyage was soon available in Dutch, French, and German translations.¹⁵

Candidly narrated and richly illustrated, Anson's voyage narrative exemplified a shift away from the second-hand narratives supplied by Charles De Brosses and Alexander Dalrymple discussed in the first chapter. While Anson's account suggested new ways of seeing and narrating the Pacific, it hardly replaced voyage compilations. In fact, Anson's account was eagerly incorporated in John Campbell's revised edition of John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium*, published the same year as Anson's official account. De Brosses also drew on Anson and Dampier in his first compendium dedicated entirely to the Pacific

Ocean. However, the Frenchman maintained the primacy of revealed knowledge to inspire and inform his writings about the Pacific, and in no way suggested that encountered knowledge was to replace the revealed variety. Yet readers increasingly demanded more firsthand accounts.

Spanish intellectuals also considered the important dichotomy between metropolitan readers and peripheral eyewitnesses, especially since the accounts published about the Pacific were increasingly infused with politics. The importance of visualization through charts and prints adorning travel accounts was not lost on the Spanish authorities. Roughly at the same time that the French and British expeditions were returning with new knowledge from the Pacific, Spain organized a number of botanical expeditions to their colonial holdings in the Americas. Some of these expeditions, especially the one under the leadership of José Celestiano Mutis, produced a wealth of drawings associated with the natural history of the Spanish Americas. Daniela Bleichmar has argued succinctly that this process aided not only in the identification of useful and exploitable resources, but also visualized and appropriated the empire for Spanish authorities.¹⁶ Visualization and narration went hand-in-hand with imperial expansion and appropriation.

The publication battle over the Pacific Ocean

John Byron's circumnavigation (1764–1766) ushered in a new epoch of Pacific exploration. At the same time, his voyage represented a continuation of the 1749 expedition planned by George Anson.¹⁷ Stiff Spanish opposition, and ultimately the flames of the Seven Years' War, had prevented the execution of Anson's plan. John Byron's venture would illustrate that the lines between privateering and scientific ventures often intersected, even if official chroniclers would have it otherwise. Interestingly enough, despite public interest, there emerged no immediate official publication from the first three ventures to the Pacific, which besides Byron's included the circumnavigations of Samuel Wallis (1767–1768) and Philip Carteret's (1767–1769). Nevertheless, an unofficial account of John Byron's circumnavigation, generally attributed to Charles Clerke, who served as a midshipman on the *Dolphin*, reached an expectant readership within a month of the arrival of the vessel in England.¹⁸ Despite the tale's questionable origins, it carried sufficient information about Pacific worlds to find translations in French, German, Italian, and ultimately Castilian languages.¹⁹ While the work's original intent was to capitalize from the controversy over the Falkland Islands,

its tone was highly patriotic, as it argued that the Pacific islands sighted and suspected by Byron would soon be acquired by Great Britain.²⁰

The anonymous account was so explosive that ambassador Masserano started to inquire into its veracity. Meeting with the Earl of Hillsborough, the British Secretary for the Colonies, Masserano was informed that the booklet amounted to little more than a pleasant novella with little to no influence.²¹ The Earl was cleverly employing metropolitan doubt to diffuse the mounting diplomatic concern emerging from the publication. The growing suspicion surrounding the British venture to the Pacific was voiced also by the Spanish bi-weekly magazine *Gazeta de Madrid*: “Byron discovered in the South Seas an island, situated in a similar latitude as California ... and upon the order of this official, several stone obelisks were raised along its coast. Each one of these monuments displays a copper plate claiming the island for Great Britain.”²²

Byron never chanced upon the California coast nor did he visit its adjacent islands, yet Spanish officials continued to worry about the British Admiralty's intentions. The paucity of publications about the Pacific Ocean, partially due to Spanish reluctance to share information, could only contribute to the allure of the region among British readers.

The issue of Spanish secrecy has often been discussed in the historical literature. Spanish historian Salvador Bernabéu Albert argues that until the 1780s, most voyages undertaken by Spanish navigators fell under the mantle of secrecy outlined in the anterior chapter. It was only in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, he continues, that this attitude started to change, and a more resolute publication agenda emerged in the Iberian Peninsula.²³ Canada-based historian Christon Archer further maintained that secrecy remained an explicit Spanish policy until well into the nineteenth century.²⁴ In the pages below, I argue that the departure from secrecy was a direct result of the perceived threat by Byron and other British navigators following in his wake.

The degree of secrecy that Spanish authorities held over cartographic knowledge is frequently exaggerated. As much as Iberian notables tried to control the flow of this type of knowledge, pilots and cosmographers frequently moved between courts, carrying with them their information. Similarly, diffusion of knowledge was widespread in Spain, and the government employed a multitude of scribes to make copies of logs, maps, and reports, well suited for the administration of the Spanish Americas. In connection with this internal process of diffusion, Spanish intellectuals maintained a critical attitude toward their sources that greatly surpassed the metropolitan doubt in other European countries.²⁵

By the eighteenth century, however, such internal diffusion smacked of secrecy and backwardness among European intellectuals, who were thirsting to see more sources in print. Unlike in Britain and France, the Spanish publication process was cumbersome. A great surge of publications emerged during the reign of Philip II (1556–1598) connected to issues of legitimizing rule in the Indies, religious disputes centering on the Tridentine Council, and the numerous bellicose encounters between Spain and neighboring nations. Following 1558, an edict determined that each book had to be evaluated by an appointed *letrado* of the Castilian Royal Council. Books published outside of Castile still required equal sanction by the council, making publication in Spain a highly bureaucratic and state-supervised process.²⁶ The Spanish Inquisition also played a prominent role in preventing the circulation of works that went against Church dogma. Although few books associated with the Pacific made the index of banned books, the philosophers who interpreted the information from this region of the world saw their works barred from translation and sale in Spain.²⁷ On the whole, Spanish publications about the Pacific Ocean were a rare occurrence: neither Charles de Brosses nor Alexander Dalrymple found Castilian translators. Indeed, even global travel collections evoked little need for publication, partially since most Spanish intellectuals were able to read these accounts in French. Antoine François Prevost's *Historia General del Viage*, a 27-volume translation of the French originally published between 1763 and 1790, remained the sole exception.²⁸

Following Byron's circumnavigation, Masserano remained alert to the dissimulation of information about similar voyages. In 1768, he learned that the *Dolphin*, under the command of Samuel Wallis, had chanced upon a lush island in the Pacific. The British captain called the enchanting place after monarch George III, which deeply upset the Spanish ambassador. He was now more than ever convinced that this land mass and its surrounding islands had been formerly contacted by Iberian mariners: "[There] is little doubt that these islands discovered [by Wallis] are those contacted in 1605 by Quirós and as such figure on English maps."²⁹ When Spanish authorities consulted Jorge Juan, who was quickly advancing to expert status on Pacific issues, the naval officer concurred with Masserano:

One is inclined to believe that the rest of the islands Byron and others discovered were similar to those Quirós had formerly located. Though asserting this fact beyond doubt is difficult because, according to all voyagers – Magalhaens, Mendaña, Quirós, Le Maire, Davis,

Roggeween, Abel Jansen Tasman &c. – said localities are filled with islands that might form a continuous archipelago from the Solomon Islands. These things being said, after taking into consideration course and time, I am certain that this “King George Island” is what Quirós called earlier *la Bella Nacion*.³⁰

The preoccupation with King George’s Island, a place that would later become known by its indigenous name of Tahiti, resulted in Spanish expeditions to the Society Islands that departed from Peru between the years of 1772 and 1776 in an attempt to open a Franciscan mission station.³¹

Paralleling but less known than the Spanish ventures to the Society Islands was a concerted effort to publish earlier voyages to support an ongoing diplomatic claim. Spearheading this endeavor was Bernardo de Iriarte (1735–1814), a Spanish diplomat who had served in the Spanish embassy in London for a number of years and became keenly aware of the rising British ambitions in the Pacific.³² In the crucial months following Commodore Byron’s arrival from his circumnavigation, Iriarte located an important manuscript in the Spanish Royal Library and deemed its detailed description and record keeping worthy of publication. The aging document was a diary kept by Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóa on an west-east crossing of the Strait of Magellan (1579–1580). Sarmiento (1532–1592), who had served as a cosmographer, explorer, as well as historian, became an ideal candidate for a Spanish narrative countering British aspirations in the Pacific. On the flipside, Sarmiento’s prickly character caused numerous frictions with his superiors. For instance, when he accompanied Alvaro de Mendaña on his expedition to the Solomon Islands in 1567, disagreements between the two individuals led to the impounding and wholesale destruction of Sarmiento’s carefully crafted maps and journals. A few years later, he was commissioned by the Viceroy of Peru to write a history of the Incas. Lastly, he commanded several vessels to intercept Francis Drake’s expedition in the Strait of Magellan. It was Sarmiento’s account from this venture that Iriarte had located.³³ Iriarte quickly emphasized the obvious diplomatic implications:

We should put this account in print immediately. A great satisfaction for the Spanish nation will result from this action that will legitimize our discoveries. We would provide indirect support to Your Majesty’s right to the islands and positively stake an anterior claim to those areas said to be discovered recently by the English. It is possible that they already formed settlements in the region prejudicial to our Spanish commerce.³⁴

Iriarte swayed Spanish State Minister Grimaldi and the generally cumbersome Spanish publication process was circumvented. Rather than submitting Sarmiento's manuscript to a customary Council of Castille review process, Grimaldi merely consulted Jorge Juan, who was by then the leading expert on the Pacific. Although convinced of the diary's importance, Juan was less sure that Sarmiento ever reached the islands recently contacted by Byron and Wallis:

This diary is of great honor and advantage to our nation. It illustrates [our navigators'] legality and truthfulness when approaching with the business of discovery. The foreigners are trying to distort the reality of this matter ... As far as the recently discovered islands by the English are concerned ... I must confess that they have no connection to this voyage of Sarmiento. They are located at least three to four hundred leagues to the east of Juan Fernández Island, a place never visited by Sarmiento.³⁵

Juan's assessment illustrates two important issues. On one hand, he underscored the importance of Sarmiento's diary for the Spanish contributions to Pacific exploration and its connection to the American continents. On the other hand, Juan remained critical about Sarmiento's potential to discount recent British discoveries. This critical attitude toward both national and foreign accounts was to have dire consequences for the Spanish publication process.

Despite Juan's disclaimer, the Spanish government quickly proceeded to publish Sarmiento's narrative.³⁶ Bernardo de Iriarte became chief editor and wrote an extensive foreword that, while underscoring the importance of Sarmiento's voyage, found harsh words to chastise the methods of British exploration:

One of the motives that forced me to publish this remarkable original account, is to defend our navigators from all the accusations of failing to report their observations, either due to oversight or worse when they accuse us of jealously hiding our discoveries. In fact, the English [Byron] have just done what they are wonton to accuse us. They suppressed latitudinal and longitudinal degrees in connection with seven islands they supposedly discovered in the South Seas.³⁷ These islands are without a doubt some of the many that our navigators have reached on numerous occasions and did so much earlier.³⁸

Iriarte's preface to Sarmiento's work thus became a direct attack on the account of Byron's circumnavigation and that of his French translator.³⁹ Compared to earlier Spanish account, the recent British renditions appeared riddled with inaccuracies and hypocritical writing. Iriarte extolled the superiority of Sarmiento's document over Byron's narrative.

I have addressed to the King an account so particular and detailed in observation and written with such formality that it surpasses even the narrative of the English Commodore Byron. Among other things, we admire in the Spanish diary the circumstances under which the [captain] repeated the lecture of the diary to his crewmembers, who subsequently swore on the content's authenticity. This was done to avoid erroneous passages or even disagreements.⁴⁰

Iriarte's critique of the lack of consultation among the British mariners might have been influenced by Masserano's communication from London. The ambassador had informed his superiors that the officers traveling on Byron's ship bitterly resented the lack of consultation in the publication of the work.⁴¹

Sarmiento's passion for accuracy and consultation was the legacy of his *Historia de los Incas* (1572). Commissioned by the fifth Viceroy of Peru, Don Juan de Toledo, this history originated as an important counterpoint to Bartolomé de las Casas's accusatory remarks against Spanish dominion of the Americas. In an attempt to arrest the emerging tainted historical memory of Columbus's encounter with the New World, Sarmiento was entrusted with the task of writing a history that argued against the legitimate status of the Incas as South American rulers and supported the Spaniards who deposed their regime. Although the project was politically charged, Sarmiento nevertheless emerged as a meticulous researcher of the Incan past. Cognizant of competing accounts, Sarmiento met with representatives of each Incan royal lineage to confer on rival versions. Upon completion of his manuscript, Sarmiento had the text read aloud in Quechua, the Incan tongue, for two whole days to forty-two representatives of the Incan royal lineages. He consequently invited their comments on each chapter, dutifully incorporating their concerns in the final product. Despite Sarmiento's care in writing the *History of the Incas*, his work became entangled in politics and never circulated widely.⁴²

Sarmiento adopted similar strategies when he approached his description of the Magellan's Strait voyage. His text was a great deal less historical

than his work on the Incas. However, his keen observation and willingness to involve other perspectives extended his critical perspective from the Americas into the Pacific. And for Iriarte, this was reason enough to employ Sarmiento's account as an important counter to the British narratives. Furthermore, in principle at least, the received knowledge inherited in Spanish archives seemingly promised to reveal as much about the world of the Pacific as the experienced British encounters. In closing his preface to Sarmiento's work, Iriarte urged further publication of Spanish results. He was particularly adamant about publishing the three expeditions by Mendaña and Quirós to the Pacific Ocean (1567–1606). Iriarte was euphoric about the potential of launching a detailed publication series on such earlier Spanish expeditions:

There must be a collection of several relations and original papers of the travels and discoveries made by Spanish captains and pilots. What a service for the public! What enlightenment for our intellectuals! What a just credit to our nation, to lift these honest and precious monuments from the dust and abandon where they currently repose as testaments to the industry, courage, consistency, and expertise of our navigators!⁴³

Impressed by Iriarte's labor, Grimaldi immediately forwarded several copies of the work to his ambassadors in Britain and France. Upon receiving the book, Masserano vowed to read it with care and to find an English translator to widen its appeal.⁴⁴ In the months to follow, however, he became too preoccupied with pressing diplomatic issues over the Falkland Islands to pursue this matter further. Spanish ambassador to France, the Count of Fuentes, on the other hand, claimed: "The edition of Sarmiento's voyage is of much utility for our present circumstances, and I hope to have it translated into French before long."

Unlike Masserano, Fuentes did inquire into a French version of Sarmiento, locating a French official who had served on Spanish naval vessels to do the task. As the translation progressed, however, the Italian publisher who had initially vowed to shoulder the cost of the publication backed out; two other publishers followed suit.⁴⁵ It seemed as if dusty, 200 year old Spanish accounts did not compare well with the flood of information arriving in the wake of Franco-British expeditions to the Pacific. Publishers throughout Europe were clamoring for accounts based on encountered, rather than revealed, knowledge.

Some readers believed that Iriarte's prologue was not forceful enough. According to at least one anonymous author, Iriarte should have

accentuated the role of the Spanish monarchy in slowing the publication process:

Hurray for Sarmiento and hurray for you who have disinterred his journals! ... To my consternation you say little against our monarchy, although I believe there is enough there to let them know of their mortality. ... What amazing things might await us in the archives! But, alas, the proprietors of the Americas tend to repose and seemingly know less about the region than our foreign visitors. No one reads a single word. They simply contend themselves with the few practical notices delivered by those who return from there.⁴⁶

This statement once again linked Iriarte's edition of Sarmiento's journal less to the novelty of the Pacific Ocean than to the Spanish colonial holdings in the Americas. For the learned Spanish public, the Pacific remained an appendage of an older, existing "new" world in the Americas.

Encouraged by this turn of events, Spanish officials pushed ahead with their publication program to offset the British volumes. The most urgent task at hand was a Spanish translation of the account of Commodore Byron's circumnavigation.⁴⁷ This project fell to a young Don Casimiro de Ortega (1745–1818), soon to become Spain's leading botanist.⁴⁸ Less politically motivated than his counterpart, Bernardo de Iriarte, Ortega abstained from scorching words against Byron's observation methods. Nevertheless, Ortega objected to the cavalier attitude with which the British commodore dismissed Spanish discoveries. For instance, Byron's failure to locate the Solomon Islands led the author of the work to comment on Spanish negligence to publicize their location. To make matters worse, he suspected Mendaña and Quirós' accounts to be fictitious. Ortega retorted: "The extreme facility with which the author of this narrative treats as imaginary the discoveries of foreigners and his own countrymen never ceases to amaze... That the author of this voyage failed to reach the [Solomon] Islands seems more related to the fact that he was way off course."⁴⁹ To further belittle Commodore Byron's accomplishments, Ortega, in his second edition to the work, attached an account of Magellan's circumnavigation that predated the British endeavor by almost 250 years.⁵⁰ Through their respective publications, Iriarte and Ortega succeeded in placing Spanish accounts on par with Byron's circumnavigation.

Difficulties with finding a non-Spanish publisher notwithstanding, Sarmiento and Magellan's revealed knowledge thus emerged as equal, if not superior, to the accounts of their British counterparts. The explicit

critique of Byron's voyage in both Iriarte and Ortega's respective works indicated a sense of carelessness and general amnesia accompanying the transnational British voyages to Oceania. Similarly, both authors also published maps, including of Magellan's Strait, which they considered superior to the vague accounts of the British Commodore. The map of Magellan's Strait, published in Casimiro de Ortega's translation of Byron's circumnavigation, is of great historical significance. It is the only cartographic rendition of Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla's monumental map of the Spanish Americas, chronicled in the last chapter.⁵¹

Quirós and Pacific chimeras

The publication of Iriarte and Ortega's books provided a firm foundation to support further Spanish publications about the Pacific Ocean and the Americas. While both Sarmiento and Byron's accounts were evaluated in terms of their geographical contribution to the Spanish Americas and adjacent islands, it was Pedro Fernández de Quirós' account of his 1605–1607 venture that left the American *tierra firme* behind. In theory at least, his narrative emerged as a counterweight of Byron accounts. Where Sarmiento's account extended careful Spanish investigations from the Americas to the Pacific, the account of the Portuguese navigator was to become the coup de grâce for the already listing credibility of the British accounts. Quirós was to become synonymous with the insertion of revealed and properly examined knowledge in the emerging literary canon on the Pacific. Likewise, Quirós's voyage contested British (or French) claims to first discoveries in the Pacific and any acquisitive moves that might be associated with such actions. Iriarte and Ortega shared this sentiment with Ambassador Masserano, who feared that British discoveries coupled with publication might supersede or even eclipse anterior Spanish accounts.

Iriarte, the most explicit and vociferous critic of Byron's voyage, took on the task of editing Quirós's work.⁵² In this venture, he worked closely with Simancas-based archivist Manuel Santiago de Ayala to collect and copy the abundant material. The undertaking promised to yield a multi-volume work that sought to contextualize Quirós's narrative within the rich source material located in Spanish archives. Ayala's first task was to compile a detailed sketch of the discoverer's life, paying close attention to the Portuguese dealings with the Council of Indies.⁵³ The source material led Ayala to doubt Quirós's accounts. Many of his contemporaries, including prominent expedition participants, painted a negative picture of the Portuguese navigator; Ayala concluded: "In all these

letters, Quirós is portrayed as an ignorant man of little intelligence, bad faith and little truth, and even less exactitude, reliability and judgment in his discoveries."⁵⁴

Despite such initial setbacks, Iriarte decided that the matter was too important to be left alone. He consequently envisioned a whole series of publications on prominent Iberian explorers to offset the threatening influence of British vessels on the world's oceans.⁵⁵ He quickly found that Spanish officials were reluctant to pursue publication. Iriarte concluded his report: "In 1768 the State Secretary [Grimaldi] asked for these papers with the aim of illustrating the edition of Quirós narrative that we had planned. Yet, in light of the lack of trustworthiness and little security that emerged from Quirós' writings, the idea was finally abandoned."⁵⁶

Most of the critique leveled against Quirós's narrative was Spanish in origin, but British and French findings in the Pacific soon augmented the doubt toward its veracity. Byron was first to question some of the regions sighted by Quirós, a claim that Iriarte and Ortega successfully defended in their respective publications. In 1767, Philip Carteret, while captaining the sloop *Swallow*, supporting Samuel Wallis's expedition, stumbled across the Solomon Islands and did not believe them to be part of a vast continent, as Quirós had stipulated.⁵⁷ Louis Antoine de Bougainville on his circumnavigation (1767–1769) voiced serious doubt about whether the Portuguese navigator had ever reached the unknown continent. He suspected, much like Spanish officials earlier, that the Portuguese navigator had greatly exaggerated his discoveries: "I had planned to approach land along the parallel of 15° to 16°, not that I was convinced that the southern land of the Holy Ghost was anything other than the archipelago of the Great Cyclades and that Quirós falsified either his discoveries or his narrative."⁵⁸

It would be James Cook who, on his second voyage to the Pacific, identified Quirós's Espiritu Santo as part of the archipelago of the New Hebrides (the now independent country of Vanuatu). The editors of his third voyage account did not miss the opportunity to discredit Spanish accomplishments: "Who has not heard, or read, of the boasted *Tierra Australis del Espiritu Santo* of Quirós? But its bold pretensions to be part of a Southern continent, could not stand Captain Cook's examination, who sailed round it, and assigned its true position and moderate bounds, in the Archipelago of the New Hebrides."⁵⁹

Franco-British encountered knowledge combined with Spanish revealed (archival) knowledge to damn Quirós's account. Championing such questionable accounts meant supporting a voyage that was, in the eyes of Spanish intellectuals, little better than that of Byron's

circumnavigation. If British or French intellectuals continued to expose Quirós's fantasies about the Pacific and its inhabitants, then the account of the Portuguese navigator would detract from, rather than support, the Spanish cause in the Pacific Ocean. This was a risk that Spanish officials were not willing to take. The dubious narrative, despite its relevance in contesting British and French claims for discovery, never saw the light of publication. Quirós was in good company: As a result of Iriarte and Ortega's successfully questioning Byron's circumnavigation account, none of the more popular tales of Bougainville, Hawkesworth, Cook, or even La Pérouse saw the light of publication in the Castilian language in the eighteenth century.⁶⁰

On the one hand, Spanish intellectuals were increasingly convinced that the accounts on the Pacific did not meet the critical standards they had set out for publication. On the other hand, their refusal to engage in a critical discussion employing foreign as well as Spanish accounts proved costly, as Ambassador Masserano's urgent plea following James Cook's second voyage illustrated. Within a decade of Iriarte and Ortega's publications, the Pacific developed as a charted entity, chiefly through James Cook's endeavors, and Spain's claims to this part of the globe were in jeopardy. Nevertheless, Spanish authorities continued to monitor and intervene in the publication process.

Bougainville's *Voyage* and the Spanish intervention

The end of the Seven Years' War signaled a concerted northern European effort at exploration of the Pacific. For the French, this endeavor meant the location of new lands to make up for the colonial losses to Great Britain. To the British, this mission meant unquestionable maritime supremacy. For Spanish officials, both aspirations were equally troubling, although they preferred the venture of their allies, the French. When young Charles III came to the throne in 1759, the fate of the French in the war seemed decided with a key victory by the British at Quebec. French diplomats, however, refused to concede defeat and tried to convince their Spanish counterparts that the best defense for their empire was to join into the conflict against the British Crown. To cement their alliance, the Bourbon rulers of France and Spain signed the *pacte de famille* (Family Compact) in August of 1761. Under the provisions of this secret agreement, Spain was to break diplomatic relations with Britain nine months after that date if no peace agreement had been reached. British officials soon found out about the agreement, and diplomatic relations soured to the point of open warfare in early 1762. Any hopes

for a Spanish victory were soon dashed when two capitals of her far-flung empire fell to British naval units the same year. The city of Havana surrendered in August of 1762 and Manila was captured in the fall of that year, leaving Spanish authorities with no option but to join France in peace negotiations. Although the ensuing Treaty of Paris meant only slight losses for the Spanish Crown, French and Spanish officials tacitly agreed to keep the Family Compact in place to limit British power.⁶¹

Following Byron and Wallis's circumnavigation, it fell to the French authorities to make their move. Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1729–1811) had fought the British at Quebec and was, at the end of the conflict, in charge of establishing a French settlement on the Malouines (Falkland) Islands⁶² in the southern Atlantic. The hope that Spanish authorities would sanction this settlement close to the shores of the Americas was soon dashed, and Bougainville was ordered to return to the island to hand the French settlement over to Spanish naval forces. The French captain, however, used the pretext to sail into the Pacific for exploration. His resulting *Voyage autour du monde* was published in 1771, meeting an increasing European fascination with Pacific matters. Bougainville's *Voyage* became a mild success, going through two printings in France between 1771–1772, followed by an English version, translated by Johann Reinhold Forster, in 1772.⁶³ Bougainville's much quoted passage in the work, that abstract theoretical armchair geography was a poor substitute for actual exploration, strengthened the demand for accounts championing encountered over revealed knowledge. In truth, however, Bougainville's romp through the Pacific was hardly a detailed voyage of exploration. John Robson's comparison of the charts produced by Bougainville to the maps crafted by Cook on his Pacific journeys, illustrates that the British captain greatly surpassed those provided by his French counterpart. To make up for time lost in the Malouines transaction, Bougainville hurried across the Pacific, greatly minimizing the number of maps and charts adorning his narrative.⁶⁴

Bougainville's account came into sharp focus when, in November of 1769, the *Mercure de France* published the infamous report by Philibert Commerson, the naturalist assigned to Bougainville's expedition, on the island of Tahiti.⁶⁵ The island's inhabitants emerged as the ideal type of the *bon sauvage* and raised the expectations of Bougainville's narrative to support Commerson's account. Although Bougainville extolled some of the Tahitian qualities, his account of the island fell short of Commerson's enthusiastic preview report.

Alerted by the growing Franco-British presence in the Pacific, Spanish officials sought to involve themselves in the publication of Bougainville's

Voyage. The ambassador to France, the Count of Fuentes, was suspicious of Bougainville's activity: How could a simple voyage aimed at returning the Malvinas (the Spanish term for the Falklands) to Spain result in a circumnavigation of the globe? Might Bougainville have identified further islands for settlement in an area sensitive to Spanish commerce? Bougainville, after all, was behind the attempted French settlement in the Falkland Islands. After the return of the islands, the Spaniards realized that the Frenchman had greatly exaggerated the economic potential of these barren lands.⁶⁶ Questioning the whole purpose of the endeavor, Spanish authorities evoked the Bourbon Family Compact to get a glimpse of Bougainville's manuscript. They insisted that necessary revisions to be made before publication to protect Spanish interests in the Americas and the Pacific. Immediately when Bougainville arrived at St. Malo, Spanish ambassador Fuentes sought out the French Prime Minister, the Duke of Choiseul, to obtain a copy of the diary to avoid, as his superiors put it, the chronicling of "inconvenient occurrences." Choiseul did not object to this transaction and told the Spanish Ambassador in confidence that the new island discovered by Bougainville – *la Nouvelle Cythere* or Tahiti – was indeed of limited strategic and economic value. Choiseul was not entirely convinced of the need to put Bougainville's account into print, but told his counterpart that he would not object to a future publication.

Whether or not Choiseul just tried to put the Spaniards at ease about the incident is not known, but the French Prime Minister was less enthusiastic about the philosophical debates surrounding Tahiti following the reports by both Bougainville and Commerson. On the urging of Choiseul, Fuentes contacted Bougainville and found him cooperative in this matter. Not only did Bougainville agree to share the unpublished manuscript with Spanish officials, but he also vowed to make any recommended changes. Fuentes thus forwarded a copy of the manuscript to Minister of State Grimaldi. Both Fuentes and Grimaldi were less concerned about Bougainville's leg through the Pacific than with what the Frenchman might have to say in connection with the Spanish Americas. Their vision, no doubt, was influenced by Charles de Brosses' *Navigacion aux Terres Australes* (1756), in which he openly condemned the Spanish conquest and administration of the Americas.

Similarly, Bougainville's stay in Buenos Aires coincided with the arrival of Charles III's decree, evicting the Jesuit Order from the Spanish possessions. Bougainville and his men had observed the Spanish raids against the Jesuits firsthand. Fuentes and Grimaldi's concerns about the issue proved premature, however, as Bougainville, while mentioning the event

in his account, did not belabor the issue.⁶⁷ Fortunately, Bougainville kept a second copy of the manuscript, as Grimaldi failed to return the navigator's manuscript, despite repeated urging from the Spanish ambassador. Fuentes was pleased with the final copy of Bougainville's *Voyage autour de Monde*. The French circumnavigator had clearly underscored the right of Spain to the Falkland Islands, although Fuentes would have liked to see more damning evidence on the Jesuit operation in the Americas.⁶⁸

Writing under the observant eyes of the Spanish officials certainly made Bougainville more self-conscious. He could hardly adopt the same approach that governed either Anson or Byron's Pacific narrative. Although there was much novelty in his account, chiefly the supposed first discovery of Tahiti. He was unaware that Samuel Wallis had contacted the island a year earlier. Bougainville went to great lengths to contextualize his voyage. His *Voyage autour de Monde* consequently not only sidestepped potential political landmines, such as contesting Spanish claims to the Falkland Islands, but, more importantly, Bougainville went to great pains to include former Spanish voyages that prefaced his own circumnavigation. Although his account still included the required degree of adventure narrative, Bougainville acknowledged that his voyage owed a great debt to his Iberian predecessors: "[the] route through the open ocean to the Indies & the Moluccas is without doubt the prodigy of the courage & success of the Spanish and the Portuguese."⁶⁹

Thus prefaced, his account did not provide a threat to the Spanish hegemony in the Pacific, even though Bougainville did question the validity of Quirós's account. When the official voyage account reached Spain in the summer of 1771, Grimaldi communicated to Ambassador Fuentes that the Spanish monarch approved "of your zeal to ensure that Bougainville did not hurt our interests with the publication of his voyage."⁷⁰ Satisfied with this state of affairs, Spanish authorities did not perceive the need to provide a Castilian account of Bougainville's voyage.

James Cook's challenge to the Spanish Lake

Although Spanish authorities were able to weather the French tempest emerging through Bougainville's writings, mostly through the family compact, the publications associated with the voyages of James Cook (1768–1780) proved a much more dire challenge. Cook's first voyage to the Pacific on the *Endeavour*, the diplomatic and scientific aims of which have been explored in Chapter 2, was unique in that it carried a considerable number of scientists and artists to render the journey in as many

dimensions as possible. The Admiralty wanted to see the results in print as soon as possible, since it went beyond mere scientific curiosity and collecting. The importance of the voyage and future publications was obvious even for those traveling on the expedition. When the *Endeavour* returned to port in 1771, both Joseph Banks and James Cook clamored for an authorized account “to fix prior rights of discovery beyond dispute.”⁷¹ The issue of first discovery was a contentious one, especially due to the fact that Spanish authorities opted against the publication of Quirós’s accounts.

Spanish authorities pursued Cook’s activities with a watchful eye. Ambassador Masserano initially deemed the results of the first voyage, both in terms of geography and natural history, of little importance.⁷² Much like Bougainville, British scientists also went to great pains to minimize the strategic importance of the Society Islands to put Spanish authorities at ease. Yet, conflicting messages soon appeared in the *Gazeta de Madrid*. Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander, traveling with James Cook, the newspaper divulged, were witnesses to no less than 40 islands never before seen by Europeans. Their discoveries, said the article, inspired the East India Company to start a new branch in one of the islands visited by Cook.⁷³

Cook’s first voyage became the cornerstone of John Hawkesworth’s handsome three-volume set, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken... for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*, which combined the *Endeavour*’s results with those of Byron, Carteret, and Wallis. Hawkesworth’s volumes had more in common with Charles de Brosses and Alexander Dalrymple than with Louis de Bougainville. Bougainville delivered his public an account that was firsthand, candid, and politically sensitive in that he negotiated the suspicions of France’s ally. This contrasted sharply with de Brosses and Dalrymple who presented a more assured rendition of the globe in dire need of exploration. Hawkesworth’s account differed little in this regard, although his information based on the journals of Banks, Byron, Carteret, Cook, and Wallis provided greater immediacy due to the encountered knowledge inherent in their versions. There was only one major catch – Hawkesworth was not a participant, and this fact greatly disturbed the learned readers of his narrative. He was eager to create another work resembling “Anson’s voyage,” and took considerable poetic license in his final product.⁷⁴ This endeavor, however, had an intrinsic national agenda: “Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of this nation, as a maritime power, to the dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the trade and navigation thereof, that to make discoveries of

countries hitherto unknown ...⁷⁵ Hawkesworth attempted to enshrine scientific curiosity in a work that was diametrically opposed to Spanish endeavors. In his writings, he downplayed prior voyages and proclaimed Oceania to be a new region and not a mere extension of the Americas. Aware of the rising metropolitan doubt surrounding travel accounts into new regions of the world, Hawkesworth decided to be proactive in his introduction:

When I first undertook the work, it was debated, whether it should be written in the first or the third person: it was readily acknowledged on all hands, that a narrative in the first person would, by bringing the Adventurer and the Reader nearer together, without the intervention of a stranger, more strongly excite an interest, and consequently afford more entertainment; but it was objected that if it was written in the name of several Commanders, I could exhibit only a naked narrative, without any opinion or sentiment of my own, however fair the occasion, and without noting the similitude or dissimilitude between the opinions, customs, or manners of the people first discovered and those of nations that have been long known, or remarking on any incident or particular that might occur. In answer to this objection, however, it was said, that as the manuscript would be submitted to the Gentlemen in whose names it would be written, supposing the narrative to be in the first person, and nothing published without their approbation, it would signify little who conceived the sentiments that should be expressed, and therefore I might still be at liberty to express my own. In this opinion all parties acquiesced, and it was determined that the narrative should be written in the first person.⁷⁶

On superficial rendering, Hawkesworth's volumes were a commercial success. Based on expected sales, his publisher advanced £6000, or twice the regular anticipated royalty paid to most popular authors.⁷⁷ The publishers were pleased with the results: The very first year (1773), the volumes went through two editions in London, a pirated one in Dublin, and one in New York. By 1774, it was translated into French, and a year later into German. A third English edition followed in 1785, partially to accompany Cook's last voyage narrative published a year earlier. By 1794, an Italian edition found eager readers. In abbreviated and compiled editions, Hawkesworth's account remained in print throughout the nineteenth century, and his volumes became synonymous with Cook's first trip to the Pacific.⁷⁸

Commercial success notwithstanding, metropolitan readers and peripheral observers combined in a scathing critique of Hawkesworth's work. Cook saw a copy of the work at Cape Town when he returned from his second voyage. Finding his voice and account plagiarized by an individual who did not even participate in the first circumnavigation mortified him. He also was not keen on Hawkesworth's liberal use of nautical terms, charting, and his repeated appeal to classical examples to explain cross-cultural situations with the indigenous peoples of the Pacific. In short, the work hastened Cook's decision to edit his own journals from the second voyage.⁷⁹ Philip Carteret also objected, and as declining health from the taxing voyage on the *Swallow* prevented him from returning to sea, he decided to write his own account to set the tarnished record straight.⁸⁰

But the attacks did not emerge only from participants of the voyages. Hawkesworth's rejection of the doctrine of divine providence, for instance, made him the target of prominent theologians, such as John Wesley. One of his most vociferous critics was Alexander Dalrymple. Dalrymple claimed that Hawkesworth distorted his participation in the preparation for Captain James Cook's trip. Furthermore, Hawkesworth had neglected Dalrymple's outlines of the legendary southern continent.⁸¹

It is only recently that Pacific historians have come to the defense of Hawkesworth. Nicholas Thomas, for instance, believes that Hawkesworth's alterations, although significant, were the result of general dilemmas affecting all travel writers. Faced with the dual need of keeping readers interested and of whitewashing violent encounters between Oceanian inhabitants and the British explorers he sought to extol, Hawkesworth made difficult choices that ultimately sealed his fate among the critics.⁸² Jonathan Lamb confirms this view, arguing that Hawkesworth fell prey to an increasing doubt among metropolitan readers against travel writing compilers.⁸³ Among these cautious metropolitan readers were also Spanish officials, who, although forgoing a Castilian translation, nevertheless acquired a copy of the French translation for the royal library.⁸⁴

Spanish authorities were given another chance to involve themselves in the publication of the results associated with Cook's second circumnavigation (1772–1775). From a Spanish perspective, Cook's voyage was crucial, as it conclusively dispelled the existence of a Southern Unknown Continent in the confines of the Pacific Ocean. Similarly, the publication of his account and the associated maps also underscored what Spanish intellectuals had long suspected: that Quirós's *Espiritu Santo* was part of a

large archipelago – the New Hebrides – and not, as the Portuguese navigator had unsuccessfully claimed 150 years earlier, the shore of a vast continent. In short, Cook could claim that his more thorough investigation was successfully displacing earlier Spanish voyages.⁸⁵ Despite Cook's challenge to Spanish diplomatic stakes in the region, the publication of his voyage results became a hotly contested affair.

Publishing Cook's results hinged upon the issue of narrative authority. Bougainville, Dampier, and Tasman all had provided firsthand accounts on the Pacific in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with few to no dissenting opinions. Cook's voyage differed from these early narratives in that there were numerous trained observers traveling with the illustrious captain. Where Sarmiento, according to Bernardo de Iriarte, attempted to fine-tune his account by allowing other voices to enter the narrative, Cook proved to be a great deal more authoritarian. Even before departing England's shores, Cook had a falling out with Joseph Banks, over the size of his entourage and the ship modifications required to accommodate them. When Banks withdrew from the project, two German naturalists took his place. Johann Reinhold Forster and his son Georg had made a name for themselves by translating Bougainville's voyage into the English language. Yet, the conflict between Cook and Johann Forster ignited as soon as the voyage got underway, with the German scientist insisting on frequent quarrels with officers and sailors alike. His son Georg, aged nineteen at the time of departure, was often left to mediate.⁸⁶

This conflict continued upon their return to England in 1775. Although Cook and the elder Forster were to share in the process of crafting the volumes, ongoing disagreements between Johann Forster and Lord Sandwich of the British Admiralty soon had Cook in charge of crafting the entire work. Fortunately, Georg Forster was not bound to a publication agreement with the British Admiralty, and he was able to publish his own account a good six weeks before Cook's official narrative hit the bookshelves in 1777. This rush to the printing press, however, came at the expense of illustrations and charts.⁸⁷ Young Georg sought to make up for this gap in visualization by focusing on philosophical musings. Departing from Hawkesworth's failure to properly represent the British voyages of the 1760s and 1770s in his commercially successful, but much chided, work, Georg Forster decided to write a tome that would last for the age. For Forster, Hawkesworth stood for a whole generation of travel writers, including De Brosse and Dalrymple, who clouded their editing with political purpose. He had similar scorn for philosophers who were quick to jump to conclusions about the human condition without consulting the ever-growing flow of information. Lastly, Forster

sought to distance himself from the antiquarians, who contented themselves with the endless accumulation of information, ever fearful of making sweeping statements. Instead, the ideal writer:

should have penetration sufficient to combine different facts, and to form general views from thence, which might in some measure guide him to new discoveries, and point out the proper object of farther investigation. This was the idea with which I embarked on the late voyage round the world, and agreeable to which I have collected materials for the perfect publication, as far as time, my situation and abilities, would permit.⁸⁸

Forster reveled in juxtaposing his account with that of James Cook – the captain obviously outdoing Forster in terms of nautical knowledge – arguing that the day-to-day affairs of running a ship left precious few moments to observe the newfound ethnographic information, let alone the botanical and zoological specimens of the Oceanic world. Forster aimed at producing a disinterested, objective account that according to his view answered the demands raised by increasing metropolitan doubt.

Despite all of his good intentions, Forster's more philosophical account did not take root. When Cook's *A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World* appeared in bookstores by May of 1777, the two-volume work was accompanied by many maps and engravings supplied by painter William Hodges.⁸⁹ Where Forster failed to sell out his first edition, Cook's volumes sold well, entering in their second edition before the year's end. By 1778, a French edition appeared, followed by the third English edition in 1779.⁹⁰ Forster's attempts ultimately earned him praise among many philosophically inclined individuals.⁹¹ The expected financial windfall resulting from his work, however, continuously eluded him.

In his desperation, Georg Forster attempted to appeal to publishers located outside of Great Britain. At first, he attempted to find a French publisher for his work.⁹² When he failed in this endeavor, he turned to the Spanish authorities for help. Neither of the Forsters were great admirers of the Spanish Crown and her empire, which they considered in Enlightenment fashion as decadent, declining, oppressive, and popish. Yet, Forster's situation was desperate enough to seek out, as mentioned in the introduction, Ambassador Masserano's assistance. In his polite note to the Spanish ambassador, Forster precisely outlined Spain's stake in his publication: A perfect opportunity to connect Spanish archival knowledge dating to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the

encountered knowledge emerging from the British and French ventures in the Pacific. Masserano understood Forster's intention well when he mailed his initial response to the Spanish court: "It would be appropriate if the King could honor this author with some token of his benign nature. He did after all point out on the map that adorns his first volume the true Spanish names of those places visited by Captain Cook, a practice that is not followed by the English who usually bestow new names on them so we believe them to be the first discoverers."⁹³

What was not forthcoming, however, was a concrete plan for publication to support Forster's intentions. It is unclear whether Masserano was aware of the general distrust in Quirós's accounts, but his own faith in Forster's work was declining. When Cook's official publication appeared, it quickly eclipsed the German scientist's rendition. Rumors circulating in England about the quality of Forster's publication also preoccupied the ambassador, who wrote, "I must inform you that people here have ceased to hold [Foster's] history in high regard since Captain Cook's account, sponsored by the Admiralty, has seen the light of publication. As soon as I get the chance, I will send a copy of this account to Your Excellency via Bilbao."⁹⁴ Undermining Georg Forster's account prevented any prospect of connecting earlier Spanish endeavors to the eighteenth-century forays in the Pacific Ocean.

Masserano was tipping his hat toward Cook's accomplishments following his second circumnavigation. The ambassador was not alone in leveling lavish praise on Cook's volumes among Spanish officials. The *Gazeta de Madrid* also informed readers that these volumes "can be considered one of the most important publications for any century or in any country for the furthering of nautical knowledge, astronomy, and geography."⁹⁵ The question that immediately emerged is whether or not the Spanish diplomatic and intellectual establishment was capitulating to the realities emanating from Cook's writings. Shortly before Spain joined the American Revolutionary War on the side of the colonials in the summer of 1779, the government even considered a Spanish translation of the James Cook's second circumnavigation. It fell to José de Mazarredo, a prominent Spanish naval official, to evaluate the necessity of such a translation. Mazarredo dutifully acknowledged the receipt of Cook's two volumes, but he never finished his assessment.⁹⁶ It is possible that the historical events leading up to Spain's entry into this war ultimately prevented a translation of the work.

That Spanish authorities did not completely surrender to Cook's narrative on the Pacific is best illustrated by a document housed in Madrid's Royal Library.⁹⁷ As many other documents, this text too argued that

early Spanish voyages performed between 1567 and 1607 were greatly superior to those executed by the British Admiralty. The introduction to this document, whose author may have been either Ayala or Iriarte, was intimately familiar with Cook's second voyage. The document's tone remains staunchly nationalistic, reviving the argument that British and French navigators wantonly erased the legacy of the Spaniards that preceded them. While this line of argumentation is consistent with Bernardo de Iriarte's project outlined about a decade earlier, within the diatribes about the "truthful and candid" relations accompanying the Spanish accounts there emerged an alternative theme:

Some [writers] maintain that the captains Cooke (sic) and Forneaux were the first to surge through these seas in 1773, even if two centuries ago the same realm was cautiously explored by Mendaña, Herman Gallego, Quirós, and Luis Torres de Paz, who crossed between New Holland and New Guinea. Ignoring the names bestowed on these places by the Spanish voyagers, every one of these foreigners was quick to assign new names to the islands they encountered, transforming names and latitudes, indubitably believing that they would acquire the imaginary right to their new discoveries; but they only manage to reap geographical confusion through multiplying the names for similar islands. Today the confusion is such, that we can hardly determine which names were bestowed by the indigenous peoples, which by the Spaniards, and which by more recent navigators. We are thus left without means to investigate whether or not these places are indeed the same islands. Some latitudes have been omitted, others changed in a conscious attempt to confuse and deceive the public. We will ultimately need a great deal of investigation of their [new] publications before we can agree with their accounts.⁹⁸

Controversy over place names would become a recurrent feature in the geographical claiming of the Pacific. For instance, when, in the late nineteenth century, German New Guinea Company officials changed the names of a number of islands in the Bismarck Archipelago to stamp out the British heritage of discovery, German anthropologists protested at the attempt to jettison established names on the grounds of scientific investigation.⁹⁹ The author of the Spanish document attempted a similar feat, allowing even indigenous names to remain part of the "established" nomenclature. Unfortunately, since this manuscript failed to see the light of publication, it had little impact beyond the entertainment of a few Spanish officials.

By the time James Cook undertook his third and last voyage to the Pacific (1776–1780), the transnational spirit of his ventures had penetrated even those nations whose citizens were sworn enemies of the British Crown. When he departed Plymouth in the summer of 1776, the smoldering conflict in the North American colonies had turned into a full-blown war. By 1778, France had joined the conflict on the side of the continental rebels. A year later, Spain and the Dutch Republics followed her example. Facing possible attacks by American, Dutch, French, and Spanish privateers, Cook's expedition was in jeopardy. In the interest of scientific inquiry, many political leaders intervened on Cook's behalf. Benjamin Franklin, for instance, addressed the American Congress to abstain from harassment against Cook. Franklin's action inspired the French naval minister to follow suit and to communicate to French warships not to interfere with Cook's venture.¹⁰⁰ In light of the American and French acceptance of Cook's scientific mission, the Spanish Royal House, too, issued a decree protecting the British expedition and alerted its navigators to respect the scientific mission of Cook's ships. Spanish privateers and official naval vessels were told "not to interfere with them in any way and to allow their ships to navigate freely."¹⁰¹

This official Spanish approval of Cook's mission, however, was slow in developing. Ambassador Masserano, for one, was fiercely opposed to the voyage, especially as more details about Cook's destinations emerged. Officially, British vessels were to return an indigenous Polynesian (Mai) to his home island. Yet, the less publicized aims, as Masserano found out through his network of spies, ordered the captain to explore the California coast in search of the fabled Northwest Passage.¹⁰² Since Cook's aims coincided with Russian designs on the Northwest coast of America, the journey could only alarm Masserano and his superiors.¹⁰³ Confronting the British ministers once again over Pacific travel, Masserano informed them that "it would be best to abstain from entertaining ideas of new discoveries that could only result in odious disputes."¹⁰⁴ Although Masserano was by then willing to entertain the official scientific principles guiding Cook's ventures, he expected that his designs would not interfere with Spanish colonial territory, which would only result in greatly disturbing the peace between the two countries. Writing to his superiors, Masserano felt that he had to be a great deal more direct with his British counterparts in an attempt "to desist them from the execution of their [exploratory] designs."¹⁰⁵ Masserano received his chance when, prior to his departure, Cook paid a last visit to the British monarch. With most ministers present at the event, Masserano took aim at the Earl of Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, whose name initially adorned

the Hawaiian Islands where Cook would find his end in 1779. Sandwich informed the Spanish ambassador that he had instructed Cook not to offend Spanish settlements in the Pacific; Masserano retorted that such vague assurances would not do. He informed Sandwich that the new Californian governor, Fernando Javier Rivera y Moncada, had been instructed to be on the lookout for Cook's ships, should they reach the Northwest Coast in their search for the fabled passage. Teasing the Spanish ambassador, Sandwich inquired whether a man who was naturally inclined to peaceful action guided this new administrative appointment. Taking offense with Sandwich's remark, Masserano quickly replied that due to the repeated British incursions in the Pacific, the Governor's patience was wearing thin. Rest assured, Masserano threatened the Lord of the Admiralty that the Governor's temper would surely erupt, should the British Admiralty even consider laying claim to any regions under Spanish control.¹⁰⁶

Ensuring that Masserano's warning was no hollow threat, Spanish officials issued letters to the viceroys of New Spain and Peru, as well as the governor of the Philippines, to prevent Cook from undertaking discoveries and, most importantly, annexations in the territories and islands adjacent to their reigns.¹⁰⁷ Cook managed to elude these diverse Spanish attempts to prevent his third exploratory mission and gave the Iberian strongholds a wide berth. This meant that Cook, upon Sandwich's advice, avoided South America altogether, entering the Pacific via the Cape of Good Hope. Upon Cook's death in the Hawaiian Islands, his successors opted to return via the same route to England. Consequently, Cook's last voyage did not result in a circumnavigation of the globe.

Although Cook found an early death at Kealakekua Bay, the vessels and their crew safely returned to England, where, after the initial shock of Cook's death dissipated, many journals were quickly rushed to publication. Although the Admiralty again tried to keep a lid on non-authorized accounts, books about Cook's third voyage found eager publishers in England and beyond. Heinrich Zimmermann, who traveled as a seaman on the *Discovery*, published a short German version of the voyage in 1781 that ran through several editions. Two years later, American John Ledyard, who had served as a marine on the voyage, published his account, which became the first book to be copyrighted in the United States.

The official account was slow in coming, however, as it took almost four years to complete. Most of the work derived from Cook's own journal with James King's notes complementing the volumes after the captain's death. The careful selection of maps and plates had considerably

delayed the project, but when it finally appeared in 1784, it sold quickly. Within a year, it had gone through three editions, even if the cost, at five pounds for the three volumes and atlas, were prohibitively expensive. A French edition appeared in 1785, followed the next year by Georg Forster's translation into German.¹⁰⁸ With this introduction, there remained little doubt that Cook had "made" the Pacific, and other non-British mariners were only distant forerunners to his accomplishments. As explicitly stated in the introduction to the volumes,

To do justice to the beginning of discovery, we must ascribe to the Dutch the merits of being our harbingers; though we afterwards went beyond them, even in their own track... The several lands mentioned to have been discovered by the preceding navigators, whether Spanish or Dutch, have been diligently sought after, and most appeared to be of any consequence, found out and visited; when every method was put in practice to correct former mistakes, and supply former deficiencies... to make use of Captain Cook's own words we *Have left little more to be done in those parts.*¹⁰⁹

Spanish officials ignored the implications of Cook's publication, although the *Gazeta de Madrid* dutifully reported the appearance of Cook's volumes and its implications for scientific research.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

The Franco-British publications about the Pacific following 1765 posed a significant challenge to the Spanish Crown's perceived hegemony over the region. Although her ambassadors fought tenacious battles on the diplomatic fronts, new ways of knowing the Pacific through word and chart clearly trumped their efforts. The Latourian "centers of calculation" were shifting to London and Paris, away from the Iberian Peninsula, where supposedly outdated methods and secrecy reigned supreme. At the same time, the increasing flood of Pacific publications supported a healthy dose of metropolitan doubt leveled against the descriptions collected from the Pacific. In France and Britain, such doubt undermined the geographical musings of voyage compilers who wrote on the expeditions without participating in them. In contrast, Spanish sentiments welcomed the opportunity to reexamine existing voyage accounts, dating back 200 years.

The growing divide between accounts based on encountered knowledge and those that were based on the compilation of received

information became accentuated in northern European centers of calculation. In Spain, however, revealed knowledge was closely reexamined to provide a counterpoint to the flood of Pacific narratives. This apparently worked well in the case of the carefully crafted narrative of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa. But when the whole project turned close attention on the voyage information associated with Pedro Fernández de Quirós, the sources attesting to his character and imaginary reporting quickly undermined the usefulness of his accounts. As Spanish notables withdrew from the plan of introducing received knowledge into Pacific narratives, the publication of James Cook's voyages championed encountered information. By the time Cook's third voyage publication hit the shelves in 1784, the window of opportunity to write Spanish voyages into the exploratory record officially closed.

How did Spanish intellectuals react to this event? This question is central to the next two chapters. Chapter 4 investigates how Spanish notables, residing both in the metropole and periphery of the empire, took particular insights from the Franco-British expeditions. They would embrace knowledge, especially in terms of geography and hydrography, which they deemed useful for their administration. They would come to reject, however, ethnographic information, which they regarded as frivolous and superfluous. Chapter 5 chronicles the emergence of a matured Spanish approach that linked archival with encountered knowledge to answer the British challenge of Pacific exploration.

4

On the Usefulness of Information

We have returned to our sixteenth-century spirit of discoveries and conquests!

Peruvian Viceroy Manuel de Amat, 1771

It seems there are epochs during which certain sciences and epistemologies embark on a flight or absence of reason.

The Duke of Almodóvar, 1795

We must confess that then we gravely needed [the services of] Señor Virrey Amat about to depart [from his post as viceroy of Peru]. In his hands nothing would have been lost and our nation would have had the pleasure to read everything about Otajiti, perhaps less elegant, but at least with more exactitude, intelligence, and truth than what has been published by the English and French travelers.

Máximo Rodríguez, 1788

What constitutes useful knowledge?

In 1774, the Peruvian viceroy, Manuel de Amat, after an initial survey, sent a second expedition to the island of Tahiti. The participants of the first expedition had christened the isle “La isla de Amat” in his honor. Little did they know that their naming process came tardy, following Samuel Wallis’s “King George III Island” and Louis Antoine de Bougainville’s extravagant “La Nouvelle Cythere.” However, aware of the northern European designs on the island, Amat sought to forestall a British or French settlement by sending his own small detachment of two Franciscan missionaries, a domestic servant, and a soldier for protection. This soldier, a young man barely twenty years of age named

Máximo Rodríguez, had a gift for languages. He had acquired a smattering of Tahitian on the first Spanish expedition to the island and from four Tahitians who returned to Lima following that encounter. From the little that is known about Rodríguez, one might surmise that he was a *mestizo* of Amerindian and European origin. In his native Lima, this status would have prevented his social ascent in the Peruvian colonial society. On Tahiti, on the other hand, Rodríguez quickly realized that his linguistic ability and his willingness to engage in reciprocity with some of the highest-ranking chiefs opened cultural doors. Despite his best efforts to gain a foothold for the Spanish settlement, however, the timid efforts at conversion by the Franciscans ultimately doomed the mission's success. When the Spanish ships returned, the two Franciscans begged to be taken back and brought a reluctant Rodríguez with them.

When, ten years after his return, Rodríguez read the official account of Cook's third voyage, the Peruvian soldier was mortified. In the pages of the work, the illustrious captain claimed that Rodríguez had belittled the British nation in front of the Tahitians to assist the Spanish efforts on the island. Infuriated by this statement, Rodríguez wrote a prologue to his already existing diary. In this work, the Peruvian soldier accused Cook of having misunderstood the Tahitians because he had not resided among them, but made his observations from the safety of his deck. Cook's understanding of Tahitian society was thus fleeting and superficial and lacked the depth of perspective that Rodríguez, who had cohabitated with the Tahitians for nine months, had attained. Unfortunately, Rodríguez also accused the Franciscan missionaries for their lackluster attitude among the Tahitians, which squandered the opportunity of a successful mission establishment. His statement against the missionaries doomed a wider dissemination of his diary and prologue.¹

Rodríguez's prologue and his rebuttal of Cook illustrated an active dialogue with a new type of knowledge emerging from Pacific exploration: ethnography. With the geographic chimeras of unknown continents and mysterious passages fading by the end of the eighteenth century, questions remained about what to make of the "sea of islands" that had been revealed for the expectant European reader by the voyages of Bougainville, Cook, and La Pérouse. The Spanish Crown had seemingly lost the publication war over the Pacific, and the preoccupation with this region started to shift to northern Europe. For many historians, this shift was due to a perceived reluctance by Spanish authorities to publish gathered information. In reality, the Spanish case undermines any clear-cut distinction between periphery and metropole, and finds multiple institutions of higher learning on both sides of the Atlantic

Ocean. Gabrielle Paquette, in his study of administrative changes, maintains that the American colonial peripheries were hardly inert locations where metropolitan policies and directives were merely received and enacted. Instead, his historical account is populated with individuals residing in the kingdoms of Peru and New Mexico who were active in their own right, frequently transforming and even initiating legislation.²

Inspired by the above analysis, in this chapter I examine how Spanish individuals residing both at imperial centers as well as at peripheries of empire received, understood, and debated the British and French exploration of the Pacific as well as the publications that emerged from these ventures. Although the Pacific seemed to emerge as a separate entity through the writings of James Cook and others, these works, when placed in the context of the Spanish Empire, could take on entirely different meanings. Authorities in Peru, the Philippines, and the Iberian Peninsula interrogated these texts for useful and superfluous knowledge, and recurrently arrived at alternate conclusions. Most importantly, the issue emerged of whether or not the island Pacific constituted a separate geographical entity. There was more at stake than idle geographic speculation. Severing the Pacific from the terrestrial anchor of the Spanish Americas threatened to eclipse once and for all any Iberian claim to the region.

This chapter is divided into two major sections. In the first of these, I investigate how geographical knowledge and its dissemination fit into the expansion of a defense perimeter reaching from the Kingdom of Peru into the island Pacific. I examine how the novel British and French-encountered knowledge fit into the study of alternative nautical routes to and from the Philippines. The second major section of this chapter investigates Spanish reception of new type of information: Ethnographic knowledge.

The types of information exposed in the British and French volumes demonstrated various degrees of usefulness. Cartographic and hydrographic information, for instance, was vital in the development of shipping lanes across the world's oceans. Spanish naval officials and their evaluations of Cook's voyages best exemplify this concern. Historians generally agree that the Spanish navy experienced a general decline from the latter decades of the seventeenth century. With the arrival of the Bourbon monarchs, and most significantly under the leadership of the Marquis de la Ensenada, who served as Minister of State between the years of 1748 and 1754, the spirit of reform engulfed the navy. The Seven Years' War, however, cut short this upswing, when naval

campaigns were lost and two vulnerable maritime outposts, Havana and Manila, experienced a British invasion. During the reign of Charles III, the creation of an independent post of naval secretary, which prior to 1776 was linked to that of the Ministry of Indies, allowed for greater independence.³ The education of young naval cadets was modernized in Spanish academies, and the result was a highly trained officer corps that began to take charge as Cook's voyages unfolded.

Naval reform had major impact on Pacific voyages. When news of the encounter of the HMS *Dolphin* with the island of Tahiti reached Spain, authorities turned to veteran naval officer Jorge Juan to evaluate the accounts. He had become an expert in Pacific matters and strongly encouraged Spain to develop a central depository for maritime maps to aid in the defense of the Americas.⁴ Commenting on the voyages of Byron, Carteret, and Wallis, and on the island of Tahiti in particular, Juan reiterated the opinion that the southern Pacific "was full of islands" and that the isle of King George (Tahiti) was in fact one of the many islands discovered earlier by Quirós. The scarce importance of the island was underscored by the fact that contrary winds and currents prevented raids on Peru from Tahiti. From his examination, Juan deduced that Tahiti would be an unlikely place for a future British settlement.⁵

When Peruvian Viceroy Amat dispatched Captain Domingo Bonechea in 1772 to investigate Tahiti's inhabitants and a potential British settlement, the captain's report ended up in the hands of Juan de Lángara y Huarte (1736–1806), an experienced naval officer who had sailed several times to the Philippines. Lángara concurred with Jorge Juan that the Southern Unknown Continent did not exist. In fact, all Europeans expeditions to the area "document a multitude of inhabited islands both big and small... stretching from Cape Horn to the Philippines." Occupying all or some of these small landmasses would create an insurmountable supply problem. Tahiti had enough potential to establish a permanent Spanish base, but Lángara suggested only a small contingent of soldiers and missionaries to maintain a presence.⁶ Peruvian Viceroy Amat followed his suggestion and dispatched two Franciscan missionaries to Tahiti. When the good friars were unable to integrate into Tahitian society, the mission failed, and Lángara himself returned the Franciscans and their helpers to Peru in 1776.⁷

The above-mentioned proposals provide a clear indication that Spanish attitudes toward the Pacific had experienced little adjustment since Quirós's proposals fell out of favor. The many inhabited islands were neither part of a larger continent, nor were they deemed significant enough to risk larger settlements. Moreover, since Spanish navigators

had preceded other European powers in sighting these islands, they could hardly be classified as novel geographical discoveries. Vicente Doz, another naval official, was equally unimpressed when asked to reflect on James Cook's second circumnavigation. As the sole survivor of an ill-fated expedition charged with observing the passage of Venus through the disc of the sun in Baja, California in 1769, Doz was in an excellent position to evaluate the British voyages. He did not share the Spanish ambassador Masserano's urgent call for Spanish action to deter British annexations of the Solomon Islands following Cook's voyage. Rather, the naval official was of the opinion that Cook never came close to these islands during his venture. If less taken by Cook's search for mythological continents, Doz, however, found use for the captain's map of the southern hemisphere: "I am of the opinion that this chart should find usage among our vessels bound for the Philippines. [The map] is based on sound observations, chiefly Bougainville's voyage and Cook's most astute usage of the marine chronometer."⁸

Linking geographical knowledge to important maritime routes thus turned geographic information into hydrographic knowledge. Tying Cook's voyages to existing maritime routes interlinking the Spanish transoceanic empire made British voyages useful for Spanish authorities.⁹ Geographical and hydrographical knowledge was deemed constructive, while ethnographic information on the other hand was capricious and served no obvious purpose. Ethnography, unlike botany and geography, lacked a meaningful framework within which to anchor the superfluous descriptions of the indigenous peoples. In this chapter, I investigate these two types of information by looking both at the Iberian and colonial reception. The first half of the chapter situates geographic and hydrographic knowledge in the context of the reign of Viceroy Amat in Peru and in the exploration and discussion of alternative routes to the Philippines. I center the second half of the chapter on ethnographic knowledge, so central to the British and French visions of the Pacific, to investigate how Spanish individuals both in the Americas and in Spain came to reject its usefulness.

In this endeavor, Gabrielle Paquette provides a helpful category to analyze the utility of information: Critical emulation, which, in the eighteenth century, involved the careful evaluation of foreign writings to extract positive insights, while at the same time eschewing what was deemed useless, redundant, or factually wrong. The Duke of Almodóvar's translation of the Abbé Raynal's *histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens* (1770) provides an important cornerstone in Paquette's examination. Pedro Francisco

Jiménez de Góngara y Luján (1727–1796) obtained the title of Duke mainly due to a successful diplomatic career that took him to the courts of Russia, Portugal, and Great Britain. In London, he replaced the ailing Prince of Masserano as ambassador in 1778. After retiring from diplomatic service, he turned to the historical profession, ending up as the director of the Royal Academy of History. In this function, he took on the task of redirecting historical writing, restructuring the past's representation in light of the attacks the profession had suffered by foreign scholars. History, in Almodóvar's view, was more than the recollection of past events, presenting the reader with multiple examples to be emulated or avoided in the present. As did many intellectuals before him, Almodóvar resented the Black Legend blemishing Spain's legacy of American conquest and administration. Such indictments were based mostly on hearsay, and rarely resulted from extensive research among the rich Iberian archival holdings. He departed from earlier historians of the Americas by investigating the overseas accomplishments of other European powers. In his task, Almodóvar ended up abandoning his translation of Raynal's work, and embarked on a complex task of critical emulation to support the restructuring process engulfing Bourbon Spain.¹⁰

For the most part, Almodóvar eschewed the American continents as a major point of reference. This departure would have allowed him to emphasize the Pacific as a recent area of European exploration. On the whole, however, he remained silent on this newly uncovered watery expanse. Only in his last volume, which is largely dedicated to the expansion of the Russians along the Northwest Coast, did Almodóvar comment on the British expansion into this region.¹¹ Almodóvar's rendition was much influenced by James Cook's voyage publications, which he could not ignore. Although he highlighted the British captain's important contributions to exploration, he also wondered about the practicality of Cook's three voyages. British exploration, in its incessant hunt for geographical mysteries, had irresponsibly obscured proper geographic inquiry. Almodóvar bemoaned that exaggerations – searches for the Northwest Passage as well as the Southern Unknown Continent – reigned supreme in the British considerations: "It seems that there are epochs during which certain sciences or epistemologies embark on a flight from or absence of reason."¹²

"The English were the principal patriarchs of error," Almodóvar continued, since it was this nation that stubbornly held on to the nautical philosopher's stone of the Northwest Passage even in light of contrary evidence.¹³ Although Cook's voyages contributed vital

geographic information about the Pacific Ocean, the Spanish intellectual questioned whether the expenses justified the results:

One should reflect on why accredited nautical scientists, geographers, astronomers, and philosophers continue to invent distant oceans and seas on the American continent near the Arctic pole. In the waters next to the South Pole they insist in locating islands and continents they have called Austral lands, which they have searched for with great impetus for over two centuries.¹⁴

Almodóvar credited the British navigator with uncovering many new peoples and languages. Yet all of this information gave rise to protracted and ultimately pointless philosophical reflection. Most damaging for the geographical profession, however, was the British insistence of erasing anterior, specifically Iberian, discoveries: “[Cook] allowed himself to be swept away by the English torrent to bestow new names to places formerly visited by other nations.”¹⁵ Almodóvar’s evaluation concluded that the British records contained some useful geographical information, but they were tainted by nationalist name changes and buried under an avalanche of ethnographic and linguistic observations that were ultimately of limited utility. Although Almodóvar wrote in the wake of Bourbon reforms engulfing the Spanish Peninsular, his concerns were also shared on the periphery of the empire. As mentioned before, unlike Britain and France, the Spanish colonies in the America possessed established centers of learning including universities and other scientific institutions. In order to explore the interplay between the Peninsula and peripheral centers, I will initiate my analysis with the Kingdom of Peru.

Useful knowledge: Viceroy Amat’s Pacific

Pizarro’s campaign against the Incas ultimately led to the establishment of the Kingdom of Peru in 1542. Its expanse was vast, as it stretched all the way from Panama to Tierra del Fuego. English raids on the Pacific littoral of Peru were infrequent, but painfully revealed the vulnerability of its coastlines and silver producing mines. Colonial campaigns against the indigenous Mapuche led to the establishment of further fortified settlements in Chile, but the territory remained a target for northern European incursions. For centuries, the viceroys housed in Lima remained deeply concerned about the porous defense of the rugged coastline and myriad of islands that comprised Chile’s littoral. Under the provisions of the treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza, Peru also encompassed the

vast South Pacific and any real and imagined stretches of land located in this region. Off the Peruvian Pacific coast, the strong Humboldt Current and existing wind systems facilitated travel from the southern to the northern territories, but made reverse voyages cumbersome and lengthy. A trip from Cape Horn to the Isthmus of Panama could take four to six weeks under optimal weather conditions. Reversing this trajectory, however, could take seven to eight months, greatly impeding any Spanish attempts to defend the region.¹⁶

Francis Drake's circumnavigation (1577–1580) contributed to the establishment of an *Armada del Mar del Sur*, tasked with patrolling the entire South American Pacific coastline and protecting the vital galleon route between Callao and Panama for the continuous flow of silver. Despite its aspiring name, this Armada rarely exceeded two galleons and four smaller vessels, which made policing remote areas nearly impossible. English privateer Thomas Cavendish's raid (1586–1588) on the Spanish Lake underscored the fleet's limitations.¹⁷ In the seventeenth century, the Spanish Pacific coast in South America was a frequent target for Dutch and English privateers, most prominently Edward Davis and William Dampier. British raids on colonial Peru were infrequent following George Anson's circumnavigation in the 1740s, but concerns over the territory's weakness never quite faded away.¹⁸

The tenure of Manuel de Amat y Juniet, who served as governor of Chile (1755–1761) and Viceroy of Peru (1761–1776) coincided with the increasing Franco-British expansion into the Pacific Ocean. Amat is best known for furthering public works and rebuilding the badly damaged capital of Lima, following the destructive earthquake of 1746.¹⁹ As far as the Pacific was concerned, Amat made a gargantuan effort to establish a defense perimeter against primarily British incursions. Its radius stretched from the Falkland Islands in the southern Atlantic, over the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn, and ended on the shores of the many islands in the Pacific. To assist his efforts, Amat commissioned the establishment of military outposts on the Juan Fernández archipelago and on the island of Chiloe. This necessitated not only ships and manpower, both in short supply, but also an active diffusion of geographical information to consolidate diplomatic claims to the regions in question. Amat consequently ordered exploratory ventures to the Pacific aimed primarily at forestalling northern European settlements in the Spanish Lake. The secondary aim of these expeditions was to return geographical information from this area unknown to Europeans. The Spanish ventures departing Peru, frequently dubbed "geo-strategic" by historians, were thus a great deal more focused

than the Franco-British expeditions that carried experts on astronomy, botany, and zoology to the Pacific.²⁰

When Commodore Byron commenced his circumnavigation in 1764, the Kingdom of Peru became once again an important focus of attention. With this voyage, a possible establishment of British and French outposts in either the Falkland or the Juan Fernández archipelagos became distinct possibilities. Amat had alerted his superiors in Spain as early as 1750s, during a stint as governor of Chile, about the strategic importance of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. He identified these islands as an ideal location for English settlement. When this settlement became a reality, Amat feared that Chile's rugged coastline would be targeted for a second British establishment. Through his lively correspondence with government officials in Spain, Amat emerged an avid reader of the nascent literature on the Pacific. His letters illustrate a thorough knowledge of George Anson's circumnavigation and Charles de Brosses's *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*.²¹ In short, the viceroy used all available information – domestic and foreign as well as encountered and revealed – to gain a solid foundation for the defensive perimeter he sought to establish. The geo-strategic expeditions he would dispatch to the Pacific would build upon this foundation and provided new encountered knowledge ready to be diffused to an expectant public.

The viceroy's worries were confirmed upon receiving a note from the Minister of the Indies, Julian de Arriaga, indicating the dispatch of a French spy to survey Chile's coastline.²² When in April of 1770 a battered French vessel by the name of *St. Jean Baptiste* arrived off the coast of Peru, Amat overreacted. Although the scurvy-ridden crew hardly represented the expected spy mission, Amat immediately impounded the vessel and its cargo. In reality, the *St. Jean Baptiste*, under the command of Captain Jean de Surville, was a hybrid venture inspired largely by Charles de Brosses's writings about the Pacific's economic potential. Departing from India, where the French commercial influence was on the wane, Surville's task was to search for unknown continents and islands, to develop trade with their indigenous inhabitants, and to provide a suitable location for future French colonies. Charting the Solomon Islands, encountered and subsequently "lost" by Spanish mariners, Surville had proceeded to the North Island in New Zealand. Despite initial amicable relations with the Maori, he decided to take hostage a local chief by the name of Naguindi. Imprisoned on the French vessel, Naguindi fell victim to the dwindling resources and scorbutic conditions on the ship and died before Surville could reach the safety of Spanish Peru.

Disaster continued for the *St. Jean Baptiste* even after reaching the supposed shelter of the coastline, as Surville drowned in a freak accident while attempting to land. The command subsequently passed to Guillaume Labé, who had to endure Amat's zealous inspections and ongoing questioning. Despite continuous French reassurances to the contrary, Amat thought of the *St. Jean Baptiste* as the expected spy vessel and decided to impound the ship for the better part of three years.²³ The arrival of a Spanish note about James Cook's departure from England only deepened Amat's distrust.²⁴ He carefully studied the *St. Jean Baptiste's* logs and ordered a translation of the official diary.²⁵ In this process, he also commissioned artists to make copies of the official drawings adorning the diary, which today they can be found in the Archive of the Indies in Seville.

From the accounts of the *St. Jean Baptiste*, Amat learned of the extensive search for Davis's Island, a legendary land supposedly sighted by an English privateer.²⁶ Not wanting to miss the opportunity to partake in this search, Amat employed the recently arrived *San Lorenzo*, a Spanish naval vessel, to complete the task.²⁷ The geo-strategic nature of Amat's expedition is obvious when one compares the number of Spanish ships' cannons with those of the Franco-British vessels heading to the Pacific. The ship-of-the-line *San Lorenzo* held 70 cannons, while its supporting frigate, the *Santa Rosalia*, augmented the firepower by an additional 26 pieces.²⁸ Cook's first Pacific vessel, the legendary *Endeavour*, was equipped with a meager complement of twelve cannons. Louis de Bougainville's frigate *Boudeuse* could have matched the firepower of the *Santa Rosalia*, but the *San Lorenzo* would have quickly silenced her complement of 26 guns.

True to their geo-strategic mission, the prime motive of the two Spanish vessels was to ward off any potential settlements in the area and hence contrasted sharply with the smorgasbord of scientific and political interests characterizing Cook's venture. After leaving the port of Callao, the two Spanish ships chanced upon Easter Island (Rapa Nui), took possession of the landmass by calling it San Carlos after the Spanish monarch, and crisscrossed the ocean to dispel the notion of nearby islands. The act of possession alone involved over two hundred marines, priests, and additional personnel accompanied by a heavy cannonade from the ships. The display was to convince the indigenous Rapa Nui of the futility of armed resistance and to prevent any non-Spanish designs on the island.²⁹

When the expedition returned in 1771 to Callao, Amat immediately forwarded copies of their charts and ship logs to his superiors in

Madrid. The viceroy's letter enthusiastically opened with the proclamation, "We have returned to the sixteenth-century spirit of discoveries and conquests!" The report illustrated Amat's familiarity with the nascent literature on the Pacific Ocean and exuberantly declared that by mapping the island, the participants of his expedition had forestalled any British designs on this by now contested region.³⁰ Copies of Amat's report, coupled with a number of diaries, circulated widely among Spanish notables.

The Peruvian viceroy fully expected this new geographical information to enter Madrid's new project of crafting a large-scale map of the Americas and the surrounding seas. Amat went beyond providing information about Rapa Nui, and in January of 1772 he forwarded to Spain a detailed map of the Pacific coast stretching from Cape Horn to California.³¹ He announced that his map of the coastlines was the product of seventeen years of research amassed during his reign as governor of Chile and his current tenure as viceroy of Peru. Believing his map to be vastly superior to all foreign charts, Amat cautioned his superiors to guard the information carefully before publication.³²

Wrapped for the voyage in a precious velvet casing and hidden in a steerage box, the priceless charts could not be immediately located when the naval squadron carrying the valuable cargo pulled into the port of Cádiz. Further investigation revealed that Amat's creation was included in a number of other boxes carrying items from Peru, although the carefully crafted document seemingly disappeared en route to Spain.³³ One could argue that agents in the service of Britain and France lifted this geographic document, but this would amount to idle speculations about the fate of the chart. While the whereabouts of this important document remain unknown, this geographic chart attests to the ongoing production of knowledge on the Pacific in the Spanish colonies.

Amat took a further step in sharing geographic information. The viceroy had a transnational interlocutor at hand: Guillaume Labé, who, quite disgruntled, was languishing in Peru waiting for official permission to refit the *St. Jean Baptiste* for a return voyage to France. In this passive role, the Frenchman became a welcome witness to Amat's expeditions, and the viceroy wisely employed him to diffuse the newly acquired information.³⁴ Labé quibbled with Amat over the nature of the encountered island. While the viceroy insisted that his ships had unveiled Davis's fabled island, Labé rightfully contended that the expedition members had come across the isle formerly sighted in 1722 by the Dutch Roggeveen on Easter Sunday. Deeply concerned about the new Spanish discovery, Amat allowed Labé to consult the diaries and

the charts for the San Carlos expedition. In turn, the French captain quickly communicated the location and description of the island to his superiors in Paris.³⁵ No doubt, Labé's short communications with French authorities served as the basis for a number of publications about Easter Island. In the English language, they appeared in *Lloyd's Evening Post and Chronicle* and *London Chronicle*.³⁶ News of the Spanish encounter with the island can also be found in Alexander Dalrymple's open letter condemning John Hawkesworth's publication.³⁷ The reports also found their way into the hands of James Cook as he readied himself to leave for the Pacific for a second time.

Although there were discrepancies in the published reports, (especially in terms of the number of inhabitants, whose count ranged from 1000 to 3000), the articles concur on some crucial issues. The first is the island's distance from the American mainland. Located roughly 600 leagues from the nearest Spanish port, the island was closer than originally estimated and thus well within the Spanish sphere of influence. This explains why so much space was spent on narrating the ceremony of possession that connected the island with the Kingdom of Peru in the communication.

Amat prepared a subsequent visit to the Rapa Nui, yet diplomatic developments forced his hand. News about the return of the *H.M.S Dolphin* under Samuel Wallis's command reached the Peruvian Viceroy roughly at the same time that the Falkland crisis started to unfold in the southern Atlantic. Likewise Spanish Ambassador Masserano alerted his superiors from England that the *Endeavor*, carrying astronomers and naturalists, chiefly Daniel Solander and Joseph Banks, had returned from her circumnavigation. The ship had spent a considerable time at Tahiti, a place that now demanded Amat's attention. He decided to employ the frigate *Aguila* under the command of Captain Domingo Boenechea to investigate a potential British settlement on the island.³⁸

Guillaume Labé, still languishing in Peru, bore witness to Amat's plan. Two reports available in the Parisian archives testify to this event. The first expanded on the Spanish expedition to Easter Island, while the second detailed the first expedition to Tahiti (1772–1773). Both accounts are rather brief, amounting to less than two handwritten pages each, but they do provide considerable detail about the expeditions and their objectives.³⁹ Since both accounts are written in French and coincide roughly with Labé's stay in Peru, it is safe to assume that Viceroy Amat consciously allowed the French captain to peruse the expedition maps and results. The fact that, beyond Labé's stay in Peru, there are no further French reports of subsequent Spanish journeys to Tahiti, corroborates the fact that the Frenchman was an important instrument for Amat's

conscious attempt to share encountered knowledge with French authorities to underscore the Spanish presence in the Pacific. That these reports remain largely overlooked is not the fault of the viceroy. Rather, these short comments took second stage to the publication of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville’s circumnavigation (1771) and John Hakwesworth’s voyage compilations (1773). Both these volumes spoke extensively about Tahiti and its inhabitants, relegating Labé’s brief reports to archival oblivion.

Encouraged by his first expedition, Amat decided to deploy additional vessels to explore the island of Tahiti and the surrounding archipelago of the Society Islands between 1772 and 1776, the end of his Peruvian tenure. Three expeditions to Tahiti yielded much information, but an attempt at a settlement on the island, spearheaded by an apt soldier well-versed in the language and two Franciscan missionaries, ultimately failed to take root. When Amat returned to Spain, the geo-strategic expeditions to the Pacific exhausted their purposes. The ventures yielded no Spanish settlements and the information they returned did not warrant sustaining the expensive effort. When news reached Madrid that Cook had defaced the inscription on a cross left behind by the Spaniards in Tahiti to reflect the original British encounter with the island, Spanish authorities repeatedly prompted Amat’s successors to marshal the resources needed to bring the Society Archipelago within the realm of the Spanish Americas. Yet, unlike Amat, who had a keen

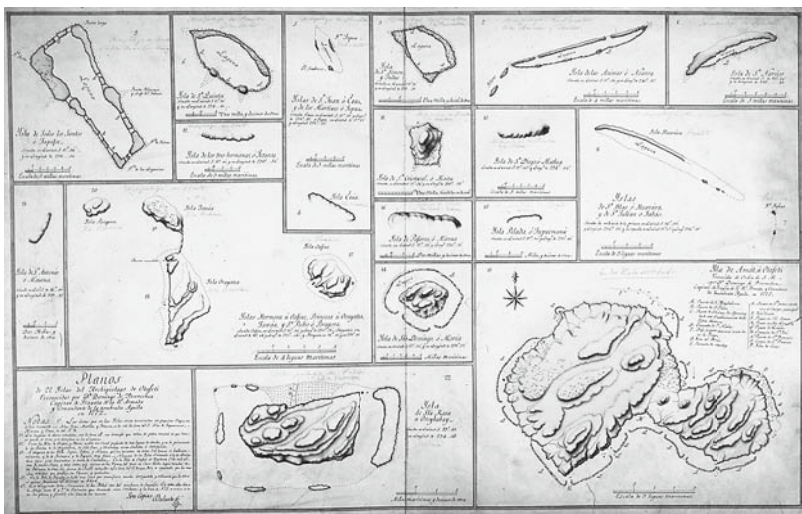


Figure 4.1 Maps of the twenty-two Islands of the Archipelago of Otaheti, 1772, AMN, 54-B-23

interest in matters connected to the Pacific, subsequent viceroys focused their attention on securing their holding in Peru. After all, in 1779 the Spanish crown joined the ranks of the American revolutionaries and a number of crippling indigenous uprisings shook the Kingdom of Peru. The neglect to pursue the Spanish campaigns in Tahiti illustrate once again that Peruvian viceroys were producers as well as detractors of information about the Pacific.⁴⁰

Useful information and alternative routes to the Philippines

In 1785, Jean-François de Galaup the Compt de La Pérouse departed with two naval ships from the French port of Brest. Supported by the official patronage of Louis XVI, La Pérouse's endeavor sought to compete with the British explorations and was to explore the last corners of the Pacific untouched by Cook. This agenda included the newly encountered Hawaiian Islands, Rapa Nui (possibly inspired by earlier reports from Peru), and some neglected islands in the archipelagos Europeans were then dubbing the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands. More importantly, the French count was to focus on the northern latitudes of the Asian and American continents to facilitate new avenues for French trade. The expedition is best known for coming to an ignominious end. While encountering foul weather around the island of Vanikoro, both ships were lost as they hit the surrounding reef. Subsequent investigations determined that at least part of the crew managed to reach the island, but hostile encounters with the indigenous people, and a botched attempt to leave the island on an improvised raft resulted in the loss of all hands.⁴¹ Before heading into disaster, however, La Pérouse's vessels, under the extension of the Bourbon Family Compact, enjoyed official Spanish approval to sail into the "closed" Pacific, and the expedition members got to interact with colonial officials in Chile, California, and the Philippines. La Pérouse unwittingly united the vision of these three colonial regions and at least partially paved the way for Alejandro Malaspina's large-scale expedition (1789–1794).⁴²

Despite receiving more than adequate support by Spanish authorities around the Pacific, La Pérouse's diaries and letters are frequently filled with scathing indictments against the imperial administration for missing the economic values of their outposts. When the count pulled into the port of Cavite in February of 1787, he was very explicit about the economic neglect that had befallen the Philippines, a fact that he partially attributed to the appalling conditions of Spanish

nautical knowledge. Initially, the Spanish governor, Don Basco y Vargas, allowed the count only glimpses of their nautical charts, but La Pérouse quickly realized that these maps were mere enlargements of existing atlases published in France by Nicolas Bellin. Writing to the French Naval Minister, La Pérouse commented, “other maritime nations have quickly made Europe aware of the things they so mysteriously wanted to conceal from us.”⁴³ The Spanish governor’s cautious reaction invited ridicule from the French navigator: “I could not prevent myself from telling him that I would shortly be in the position to know much more than he did and than all his maps could ever teach me.”⁴⁴ He also acquired the diary of Galician navigator Francisco Mourelle, who at the height of the American Revolutionary War (1780–1781), attempted to find an alternative route from the Philippines to New Spain, while sailing through the South Pacific. Although La Pérouse called Mourelle the Spanish equivalent of James Cook, he had little good to say about the quality and potential of his diary to offer possible guidance from his own voyage into the area: “After examining it I realized that it would only mislead me if I tried to use it: it is almost shapeless chaos, a badly written account, in which longitudes are drawn from most uncertain reckonings and fairly badly observed latitudes.”⁴⁵

La Pérouse’s harsh evaluation of Mourelle’s journals did not prevent him from forwarding copies to France. Currently three copies exist in French archives. One of these copies, deposited in the Philippines section, carries the addendum “Forwarded by La Pérouse in 1787.”⁴⁶ When the count’s expedition vanished without trace in the Pacific, the French Revolutionary Government opted to include, in order to complement La Pérouse’s fatal last trajectory, a translated copy of Mourelle’s diary in the official voyage account.⁴⁷ Although Spanish authorities had little influence on the diffusion of Mourelle’s information, the voyage account stands as a testimony to the inclusion of Spanish knowledge in the expanding Franco-British cannon. La Pérouse’s dismissal of Spanish charts and voyage accounts illustrates the generally low opinion of this nation’s nautical information circulating in northern Europe. His negative assessment, however, missed longstanding debates about alternative routes to the Philippines that had been ongoing both in the archipelago and the Iberian Peninsula for generations. Without arguing from outcome, I maintain that these discussions were crucial for the formation of an alternative Iberian vision in the Pacific Ocean.

Although the Philippines figured as a dependency of the Kingdom of New Spain, in essence a periphery of the periphery, this Iberian territory frequently attained a special status among navigators. In 1522,

following the return to Spain of what was left of Magellan's circumnavigation, numerous individuals became obsessed about the westward route through the Pacific. The majority of these ventures ended in failure, since contrary winds and currents prevented return to the Spanish Americas. It was not until 1565 that pilot Andrés de Urdaneta turned to the northern Pacific to find a return route. Sailing past the Japanese islands to about 36 degrees latitude, Urdaneta was finally successful and guided his voyage to Acapulco after crossing roughly 12,000 miles of open ocean. This allowed for a cumbersome but successful return to the sea that Spanish galleons would follow until 1815. The founding of Manila in the year 1571 stands for some historians as the first step toward true globalization. For the first time, the city united through trade all continents and their respective populations. A steady stream of bullion from the Americas met with an equally forceful flow of Asian trade goods to the Spanish colonies. The trade had wide-reaching economic and political effects. Most prominently, Spanish silver underscored Ming Chinese tax reforms, while the influx of valuable Asian garments and ceramics influenced cultural tastes in the Americas and Europe.⁴⁸

In Spain, unregulated trade in Asian silks and cloth triggered alarm among merchants based in Cádiz and Seville, who saw their perceived economic monopoly threatened. Their appeals to Spanish authorities resulted in the passing of a royal decree in 1593, which forbade a direct trade route between Manila and Peninsular Spain. Similarly, the decree limited the value and weight of the cargo to be carried across the Pacific by a single ship traveling to Mexico. With the advent of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain, merchants tried to apply an even more severe stranglehold on the trade. They lost the battle, however, when a new royal edict of 1734 doubled the maximum value of each shipment to and from New Spain.

The major watershed event, besides an impending invasion of renegade Chinese Koxinga (Zheng Chenggong) in 1662, was the Seven Years' War. When under the Bourbon Family Compact the Spanish Crown joined the French side late in the conflict, a British invasion fleet quickly overran Manila's feeble defenses in the fall of 1762. Although Spanish authorities managed to keep up successful guerrilla warfare against the invasion limiting British expansion beyond the city of Manila, the vulnerability of this Spanish colony became apparent and called for further reform. Numerous proposals, some of them discussed below, were entertained until, in 1785, a Royal Philippine Company was established modeled on British and Dutch commercial ventures. The company's ships were allowed to sail in both directions, including the

more direct route via the Cape of Good Hope. Company officials were urged to invest part of their profits in development schemes throughout the archipelago. They were also encouraged to supervise the opening of Philippine ports to foreign ships, provided that they carried only Asian, not European, goods. The new company development was hamstrung by frequent competition with the old Galleon trade and its supporting merchants. The last galleon sailed in 1815, the last company ship in 1820. The company folded in 1834, having sponsored only sixteen direct voyages to Manila.⁴⁹

Novel and alternative routes to and from the Philippines were a frequent topic after Urdaneta's uncovering of a return voyage route. Many of these considerations predated the 1762 British invasion of Manila, and were guided by mounting galleon losses due to the difficult nautical geography of the Philippine Archipelago. Powerful merchants based in New Spain, however, vehemently opposed any discussions of alternative routes fearing loss of their monopoly status.⁵⁰ The traditional Manila Acapulco run, what became known as the *Embocadero* route, departed the Philippine capital and then carefully made its way through a myriad of islands, which greatly increased the danger of shipwreck and prolonged the timing of voyage by several months. In 1730, the veteran pilot Enrique Herman, in order to reduce sailing time, proposed a northern route around the island of Luzon to avoid the archipelagic labyrinth and its associated perils. The proposal was rejected by the Council of Indies, but triggered a number of initiatives to explore alternative runs to Acapulco. The most important one was a route explored by the vessel *Buen Fin* in 1773, which explored the possibility of locating a new route just to the north of the island of New Guinea. Adverse winds ultimately forced the vessel's crew to return to the Marianas and to resume the regular course of the Manila Galleon. This new route attempted by the *Buen Fin* would become important again during the American Revolutionary War.⁵¹ An alternative proposed southern route left the port of Cavite going south, bypassing most of the Philippine Archipelago, before turning east around the southern island of Mindanao.⁵²

These initiatives received additional impetus from the British invasion of Manila. By the 1770s, as the navy was exploring the possibility of a direct route to Spain via the Cape of Good Hope, the southern route became a distinct possibility. Naval officers were significantly involved in such discussions. For centuries, the route to the Philippines had led through the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans and tied the archipelago closely to the fate of New Spain. Although the route via the Cape of

Good Hope had been excluded since the Tordesillas Treaty, the progressive shrinking of the Portuguese Estado da Índia made these claims null and void. Superseding Dutch claims to a monopoly over these routes existing since the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), Spanish naval authorities dispatched numerous vessels to explore this route.⁵³

A younger generation of naval officers, all benefiting from extensive educational reform, embarked on the exploration of these new routes. The most important voyage was the one by the frigate *Venus* under the command of Juan de Lángara between 1771 and 1773. Lángara had already been on the first voyage round the African Cape on the vessel *Buen Consejo* between 1765–1767, relating in his diary the gravity of such navigation. The subsequent *Venus* voyage also allowed for a detailed exploration of the determination of longitude via lunar distances, a prominent task that fell to then naval lieutenant José de Mazarredo.⁵⁴ Lángara and Mazarredo's expedition stood at the beginning of a whole set of voyages that would serve as a testing ground for Alejandro Malaspina's grand voyage to the Pacific.

Before assuming control over the majestic Spanish expedition, Malaspina, too, became involved in the exploration of direct routes to the Philippines. He undertook three voyages, most prominently the roundtrip voyage of the frigate *Astrea* via the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippines between 1777 and 1779. Prior to this extensive voyage, he captained the *Astrea* around the world, commissioned by the newly created Royal Philippine Company (1786–1788).⁵⁵

In September of 1772, the importance of the Franco-British expeditions was brought home to the inhabitants of Manila when two battered French vessels, the *Marquis de Castries* and the *Mascarin*, arrived in Agaña on the island of Guam. Supplied with the bare necessities, the vessels pushed on to Manila. These were the survivors of an expedition organized by former French India Company officer Marion du Fresne. This mostly privately financed venture was designed to return the Tahitian Ahutoru, who had been brought to France by Bougainville, to his home island. The expedition's participants ran into conflict with the Maori, and du Fresne and several other mariners were killed. Devastated by this loss, the survivors sailed their beaten vessels into Spanish waters.⁵⁶ An anonymous report about the arrival of the expedition, available in Seville's Archives of the Indies, offers detailed information on the New Zealand episode, illustrating that at least one individual took careful notes about the vessels' routes.⁵⁷

Conservative voices, however, often called the Franco-British incursion into the Pacific a blatant attempt to displace Spanish economic

influence in Southeast Asia. One of the most prominent detractors for opening new routes to the Philippines was Francisco de Viana, who had made a fortune in New Spain based on pulque, a fermented alcoholic beverage made from the Agave plant. In 1775, due to his growing economic influence, he was given the title of Count of Tepa. A year later, he was called to serve on the influential Council of Indies. Once established in this prominent post, he successfully resisted change when it conflicted with his private monopoly.⁵⁸ In a report submitted to the Council of Indies in August of 1778, the count, while outlining the economic situation of the archipelago, had little praise for the new British expeditions to the Pacific. In his view, British, Dutch, and French economic influence was the main obstacle for economic growth in the Philippines. The British, he continued, had direct interest in Mindanao and were supporting local unrest against the Spanish overlords. Tepa's report revived the notion, shared by many official state ministers, that the British expeditions to the Pacific were less about scientific exploration and useful geographical knowledge. Rather, they represented continuity with British piracy and rapaciousness of earlier centuries.⁵⁹

Tepa's opinion was not universally shared, and, when the Spanish Crown joined forces with the American Revolutionaries in 1779, fear of a renewed invasion of Manila prompted further investigation into the sailing directions to the Philippines. The Council of Indies urged a young and enterprising historian, Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–1799), to draft a detailed treatise on navigation in the South Seas. Employing Muñoz for this task was a logical choice, given the appointment of this historian as Cosmographer of the Indies in 1770. Muñoz's nomination coincided with the publication of a number of British and French works that fiercely attacked Spanish conquest and colonization in the Americas. Charles III reacted to these foreign tomes by ordering Muñoz to assemble a collection of primary sources associated with Spain's overseas ventures. The result, Charles III and Muñoz hoped, would contribute to a multivolume work correcting the historical record so deeply tarnished by the foreign works. Unfortunately, Muñoz managed to publish only a single volume before his untimely death.⁶⁰ His most prominent legacy, however, remains the establishment of Seville's *Archivo de Indias* in 1785.⁶¹ Deeply involved in his collection of primary material, Muñoz's report was eagerly awaited by the notables of the Council of Indies.⁶²

Muñoz's document is surprising. Given the hostilities between Spain and Great Britain during the American Revolutionary War, one would expect harsh words from the historian. Instead, Muñoz penned an

unemotional account that finds more faults with his own countrymen than with the British. Muñoz harbored nationalistic feelings, but, much like his work on the history of the Indies, he felt that only an objective rendition of both Spanish and British accounts could yield a balanced study. Muñoz, for instance, recognized that once the privateer William Dampier had chosen to abandon his vile profession, his account of the Austral lands yielded important information. Similarly, he placed his trust in eighteenth-century British accounts of the Pacific: "Their rich descriptions are readily available, and to sidestep accusations that I seek to lengthen my narrative, I will simply add that by reading their accounts we obtain more fruitful information than from years of intensive study."⁶³

For the first time, the historian was reading British and French encountered knowledge against the revealed information from the primary sources to craft his document. Consulting Muñoz's draft notes on his report, one encounters a harsh critic who had no problem accusing the Spanish Crown of missed opportunities in the Pacific. His expertise in archival (revealed) knowledge led him to lament that Spanish officials had surrendered Maluku to the Portuguese, failed to maintain active settlements in the Strait of Magellan and the islands of Juan Fernández, missed the development of the Solomon Islands as a convenient stop-over point, and, perhaps most importantly, discontinued the direct route to the Philippines. Lastly, he bemoaned the Spanish neglect of the commercial possibilities of these islands and their connection with China.⁶⁴

Muñoz had to be more compromising in the final product to please the illustrious members of the council. He thus opted to divide his work into two parts. The first was a historical rendition of Pacific exploration to the year 1750. The second, more analytical, section employed information from recent voyages as he suggested new sailing directions to the Philippines. In this task, Muñoz combined the information derived from the Spanish voyages to Tahiti with those he extracted from British and French voyage accounts. His ultimate assessment argued for a circumnavigation. Ships should enter the Pacific via the Cape of Good Hope. He encouraged these vessels to take a southern route, employing the new passage between Australia (New Holland) and New Guinea explored by Cook. He then suggested a process of island hopping from the New Hebrides to New Zealand to the Americas. The cumbersome passage around the Horn or through the Strait of Magellan could be avoided, Muñoz continued, by the construction of an artificial canal through the Isthmus of Panama.

The report was never meant to see the light of publication, and besides receiving detailed discussion in the Council of Indies, is today largely forgotten. In hindsight, however, Muñoz opened the door for a new way of crafting voyage accounts by combining the encountered knowledge of the Franco-British expedition with the information available in Spanish archives. This was a model that would inspire Spanish naval historians, as the next chapter chronicles.

Besides Muñoz's proposal, the American Revolutionary War also fermented experimental voyages. Between the years of 1780 and 1781, Francisco Mourelle navigated a frigate called *La Princesa* from Manila to the newly commissioned naval port of San Blas in New Spain. Dispatching supplies and carrying important documents between the Philippines and the Kingdom of New Spain, Mourelle also sailed through the unknown waters of the Bismarck Archipelago, the Solomon Islands, and the Tongan archipelago. The Galician Francisco Mourelle de la Rúa (1750–1820) was one of the few naval officers who served as a conceptual link between the geo-strategic explorations to the Pacific Northwest and the island Pacific. Likewise, he illustrated the concern of naval pilots connecting Peninsular Bourbon reforms with peripheral concerns. As a pilot, Mourelle participated in two prominent ventures to the Northwest Coast (1775 and 1779), alerting him to the useful information emanating from the Franco-British expeditions. This in turn would encourage him to reflect on the advantages of circulating nautical diaries.

The emergence of Mourelle as a self-conscious chronicler was gradual. Serving as pilot of the sloop *Sonora* during the 1775 voyage up the Pacific Northwest coast, Mourelle quickly doubted the veracity of French maps he was employing as navigational aids. These charts, for instance, located the naval port of San Blas at radically different latitudes, which greatly undermined their usefulness. Realizing that he was navigating into uncharted waters, Mourelle decided to appeal to a supernatural guide: Our Lady of the Star (*La Virgen de la Estrella*). Given her association with the austral bodies and their significance in navigation, Mourelle's choice was a logical one: "Since [I decided to dedicate the journal to the Virgen de la Estrella] I perceived my actions as infallible ... and guided by such a sovereign star it was impossible to err."⁶⁵

Mourelle's reliance on divine intervention was all but gone when he wrote his diary for the 1779 journey. In this renewed trip up the Northwest coast, the pilot emerged much more assured in his mapping efforts. Unlike the earlier *Sonora* voyage that was equipped with a small and ill-fitted schooner, this second voyage came outfitted with two new

frigates, the *Princesa* and the *Favorita*. Similarly, Mourelle drew new information from French and Russian charts as he headed north: French geographer Bellin's maps having already proven inadequate during the first voyage. On his second venture, Mourelle was able to use the chart by Joseph Nicolas Delisle, a French astronomer who had spent considerable time at the Russian court and had incorporated the recent explorations organized by that country. The map also listed the imaginary voyages of Juan de Fuca and Admiral de Fonte, who claimed to have sailed through the fabled Northwest Passage.⁶⁶ Another source of information for Mourelle were the Russian maps forwarded directly by the Spanish ambassador from St. Petersburg. Consulting all available information, Mourelle proclaimed that the upcoming Spanish voyage would provide useful information surpassing the available French and Russian charts.⁶⁷

In 1780, Mourelle assumed command over the *Princesa* and would take her into the waters of the island Pacific. Initially his voyage was everything but adventurous. Mourelle, working as a pilot under captain Bruno Hazeta, was instructed to take the *Princesa* to Acapulco to provide escort for the arriving Manila Galleon. Fearing an imminent British incursion on the Philippines, the viceroy of New Spain sought to reinforce the troops, armory, and financial resources of the distant archipelago. He consequently ordered the *Princesa* to accompany the Manila Galleon on its return voyage. Upon their arrival in the Philippines, Hazeta assumed command of the meager maritime forces defending the islands, leaving Mourelle in charge of the frigate. In November of 1780, Mourelle received his marching orders. He was to sail to New Spain to deliver strategic documents and dispatches to the viceroy there. Realizing that his frigate might run into a British man-of-war, Mourelle decided to embark on a southern route that would take him deep into the island world of the Pacific. This passage would take him to the shores of New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and ultimately the Tongan archipelago, where he was hoping to catch favorable winds for his return. When the desired winds failed to materialize, he was forced to return to the Mariana Islands to pursue the traditional Galleon route. Before setting out on an arduous voyage to San Blas in New Spain, Mourelle reflected on the task ahead of him:

This new venture necessitated detailed knowledge of previous voyages undertaken from New Ireland to the Cape of Good Hope in New Guinea. To this purpose I would have greatly enjoyed the advantage of the voyages executed by Byron, Carteret, Bougainville,

and in particular those of Cook and Dampier. Unfortunately, I was lacking all accounts of them and had to make do with only brief notes on another voyage that ten years ago left Manila to a similar destination. The considerable lack of information concerning said voyages proved soon vital, since many islands, sand banks, etc. could not be found on Mr. Bellin's map, which was the only piece of information I had on board. Hence I was forced to rediscover many islands without being able to compare them with those located by the aforementioned navigators. My spirit to serve the King and the desire to contribute in some form to the perfection of geographical knowledge made me somewhat forget the hardships surrounding my departure.

*In the following lines of my diary I have attempted to forgo the nautical terms to make them indistinctly intelligible to all readers without for a second losing from my sight the utility that these pages should have [for future generations].*⁶⁸

The situation facing Mourelle was far from ideal. At the same time, the newly appointed captain realized the potential windfall. On the surface at least, entering uncharted waters afforded the opportunity of "discovery," rivaling the feat of the many famous navigators. By enumerating their names Mourelle demonstrated familiarity with their accounts. His lack of access to the voyage narratives, however, pained him greatly, since he was unable to compare his sighted landmasses with those of his predecessors. Were he indeed to enter uncharted territory, then his new "discoveries" could return to Spain some of the endeavoring spirit that had characterized the early voyages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, if his voyage were to merely retrace already contacted regions, then he might have risked shaming the Spanish Crown. The last paragraph indicated that Mourelle was willing to take this risk. He decided to write his diary fully expectant that it would be disseminated to a wider public.

The location of an alternative route through the South Pacific, which was specified as the main aim of Mourelle's voyage, failed. Nevertheless, his experience, both in the island and littoral Pacific, got him noticed and, in 1791, with the Galician's health failing, the Mexican viceroy appointed him as a historian to compile all the Spanish voyages to the Northwest Coast. This important document exists only as a draft and never saw the light of publication.⁶⁹

Muñoz, the landlubbing historian turned voyage chronicler, connected encountered with archival knowledge for the Council of

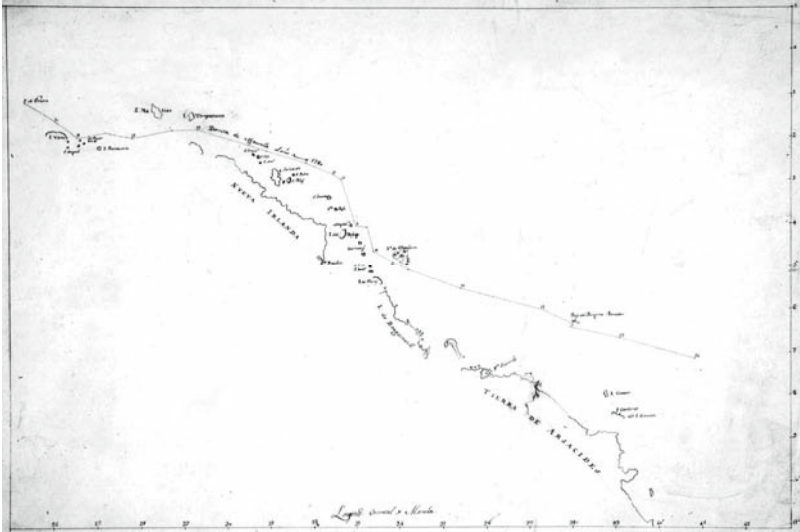


Figure 4.2 Mourelle's track through the Pacific, AMN 54-D-21

Indies. Mourelle, the experienced pilot turned historian, attempted to write a chronology about Spanish feats in the Pacific Northwest. In tandem, these perspectives provided a prototype for a new generation of naval historians. These naval historians would possess the historical and nautical skills sufficient novel Spanish monograph. When La Pérouse sailed into the Philippines, he saw only the broad outlines of this activity. His consequent condemnation of Spanish activities reflects this misunderstanding. Before tracing this new development in Spanish publications, however, one must investigate the development of a new type of knowledge in the island Pacific: ethnographic description

“Futile” ethnographic information

As the Pacific emerged as a mapped entity from the Franco-British expeditions undertaken between 1764 and 1780, new forms of information complemented geographic and hydrographic knowledge. These facts, generally termed ethnographic, emerged from the ever-increasing encounter with the societies living in the Pacific Basin, an area now better known as Oceania. Bronwen Douglas put it best: “The decades between 1760 and 1840 saw the indigenous peoples of Oceania assume

an empirical symbolic significance in the natural history of men and the emergent science of anthropology out of all the proportion to their limited political, material and demographic import to Europe.”⁷⁰ While cartographic and hydrographic knowledge provided a seemingly incontestable source of information, ethnographic data gathered on the indigenous inhabitants of Oceania was a great deal more fluid, and hence prone to contestation. Nicholas Thomas underscores this important point when evaluating the depiction of indigenous artifacts in eighteenth-century British publications about the Pacific. He finds that artists favored depicting the artifacts divorced from their indigenous cultural context. He surmises that this action was a strategic move, since severing the ties to their indigenous use increased the artifacts’ scientific import. In Thomas’s words, these artifacts turned from licentious objects to licensed specimen, an important realignment given anthropology’s absence of a classification system similar to the Linnaean taxonomy.⁷¹

Spanish authorities also explored anthropological information, but their tradition originates with missionary descriptions aimed at securing conversion among the indigenous peoples. It is unsurprising to encounter missionaries, whether Dominicans, Franciscans, or Jesuits (before their expulsion from Spain and her colonies in the 1760s) at the center of indigenous investigation. Their evangelical mission and zeal was closely associated with the Spanish claim to newfound land dating back to the Papal Bull, which gave rise to the Treaty of Tordesillas. Fermín del Pino writes that Jesuits were in control of Spanish cosmography, which combined geographical, botanical, and ethnographic knowledge for the better part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (1625–1767). Jesuits greatly furthered the understanding of indigenous languages of the Americas and seriously proposed comparative study. He finds in their studies the kernel of anthropological thought.⁷²

His analysis sits well with Luke Clossey, who argues that missionaries became vital organizations in the diffusion of knowledge about the Pacific Ocean to Europe.⁷³ For the more particular case of Asia, Joan-Pau Rubiés argues that Spanish administrators in the Philippines, preoccupied with the day-to-day affair of running the distant colonial outpost, relied on missionaries for specialized information that included ethnography. Unlike in the Americas, Rubiés maintains that secular adventurers were less involved with the expansion into Asia and the Pacific, which became the domain of missionaries. These men of faith were more likely to engage in ethnographic musings, although their accounts remained mostly descriptive, partially because religious dogma imposed limits on

the development of comparative ethnological frameworks. The descriptive results emerging from such missionary studies nevertheless became important primary material for later more scientifically oriented anthropological investigations.⁷⁴

In their efforts to gain converts, Spaniards employed evolutionary categories supported by material culture. Similarly, the societies encountered in the Pacific were interpreted through the prism of the Americas. Most significant was the Spanish utilization of the generic term *indios* as a blanket term for indigenous peoples from around the world. The evolutionary ranking of these *indios* was less informed by the nineteenth-century attempt to measure their proximity of distance from European civilization. To the Spanish mind, material culture reflected intellectual ability. This was in turn indicative of *indio* preparedness to receive the true religious teachings. Two examples, from the Pacific Northwest and Tahiti, illustrate this mindset. The return to Spain of a number of indigenous objects, including blankets and hats, from the Pacific Northwest in 1775 prompted royal interest. When these objects were presented to Charles III and foreign dignitaries, their elaboration was deemed to be vastly superior to “the more common [Indian] culture.” It was concluded, based on the sophistication of their material culture, to continue the exploration of the Pacific Northwest in the interest of indigenous evangelization.⁷⁵

The voyages organized by Viceroy Amat to Tahiti demonstrated a similar attitude. Upon the return of the frigate *Aguila* to the port of Callao, Amat forwarded a small quantity of artifacts to his superiors in Madrid and commented that the inhabitants

were quite industrious and not as savage as we have first assumed. Once civilized, they will embrace the True Religion and be of great utility to the Crown. In this way we will prevent the domination of these islands by another [maritime] power intent on employing them for the prejudice of our American territories.⁷⁶

Linking the missionary endeavor with ethnographic description remained an integral component of Spanish expansion into the Pacific. The mission agenda also connected the island world of the Pacific with the terrestrial anchor of the Americas. In a recent work on the Bourbon relationship with the indigenous peoples of the Americas, David Webber maintains that scholars should avoid the readily available caricatures of the bloodthirsty, simple-minded Spaniard. Following the War of the Spanish Succession, Bourbon rulers introduced reforms modeled after

their French allies. This transformation also affected the Spanish empire. New laws were enacted that sought to reduce tensions between Spanish settlers and independent Indian nations, and, comparatively speaking, the Spanish colonies were on the whole more integrative than their British counterparts where the native population was quickly displaced. Although the Bourbon reforms affected even the most distant corners of the Spanish empire, the interpretation of the laws and the implementation of reforms were still dependent on the pragmatism of individual administrators. Some answered Native American raids with equal or exceeding amounts of violence; some sought to win “their barbarian neighbors” through presents and commercial integration.⁷⁷

An integral component of this Bourbon policy was the incorporation of indigenous peoples in the administrative centers in the Americas, in an effort to turn such individuals into effective operatives for the colonial government. This practice also found application in the expansion into the Pacific. The French and British navigators were fond of returning individuals from their encounters in Polynesia to their respective homelands, but this practice did not actively support imperial expansion. It was intellectual curiosity associated with the Enlightenment that triggered demand for such celebrated Polynesian travelers as Ahutoru, Mai, and Tupaia. These individuals exemplified metropolitan curiosity about the newly contacted regions and indigenous geographical knowledge.⁷⁸

A similar inquiring spirit could be found in Polynesians who left their island homes to investigate the marvels of the European world.⁷⁹ Unfortunately for the Oceanian voyagers, their journeys often ended in tragedy. For instance, Tupaia did not survive the outbound voyage, while Ahutoru died of smallpox on his way back. Eric Ames has recently argued that the practice of bringing indigenous peoples to metropolitan centers was a forerunner of the nineteenth-century *Völkerschauen* or ethnographic troupes, which would tour Europe until the outbreak of the Great War. While in the eighteenth century, European voyagers would transport individuals to their countries, only a century later, commercial companies would specialize in the transfer of entire families in an effort to entertain European masses.⁸⁰

The Spanish case differed significantly from the northern European examples. The Spanish expeditions under Boenechea (1772 and 1774) made extensive use of Tahitian navigators and their geographical knowledge and decided to return to Lima with a navigator and five other individuals.⁸¹ For the Tahitians, the motive of joining the Spanish expedition was similar to those Polynesians joining British and French expeditions. They sought to satisfy their intellectual curiosity about

European society. The very fact that these Tahitians were returned to Lima, however, suggests that the viceroy had designs on impressing Spanish greatness on these individuals. Once convinced of Spanish imperial might, the goal was to repatriate them to their home islands, where they would act as Spanish agents.⁸² Unfortunately, much as in the northern European case, three of the Tahitians perished either in transit or in Lima of old world diseases. Two would ultimately return to Tahiti, and one apparently stayed behind in Lima. Some of these individuals adopted the surname of their protector, Viceroy Amat, a practice that sat well with the Polynesian custom of name exchange, which preceded a life-long reciprocal exchange of goods and services.

While residing in Lima, the Tahitians were placed under the close watch of a *mestizo* residing in Lima, who had a gift for language and had participated in the Spanish expeditions to Easter Island and Tahiti. The Tahitians were housed in the palace of Viceroy Amat, and marveled at the public spectacles that unfolded before their eyes. The Feria de San Genardo (Jenaro), Naples' patron saint, whose preserved blood is said to liquefy every nineteenth of September, particularly attracted the Tahitians. The story of sacred blood established connections with Polynesian mythology to which the Tahitians could relate. They were at a loss, however, when it came to the fireworks associated with the event. They showed great interest in the way the rockets were propelled, and attempted to understand the associated mechanisms. They also made note of horse-drawn carriages for their comfort and speed. The Tahitians referred to them as "walking houses."⁸³

The Tahitian visitors informed the residents of Lima that they intended to bring their families to Peru, as they believed this country to be vastly superior to their own island. According to the Spanish chroniclers, the splendor organized by Amat in their honor did not miss its intended effect. Spellbound by the unusual degree of luxury they encountered, the Tahitians were greatly puzzled about the fact that Viceroy Amat was subject to an even greater lord across the Atlantic Ocean. Even if they did not get a chance to meet Charles III of Spain, the Tahitians considered him a chief of the greatest significance. To their mind, it was inconceivable that the Spanish monarch could maintain such authoritative vassals as Viceroy Amat.⁸⁴

Ethnography motivated by evangelical or political reasons made sense to the Spanish authorities. Pure ethnographic information, on the other hand, left them baffled and suspicious. The Duke of Almodóvar, whom I employed to exemplify the distinction between useful and useless knowledge at the onset of this chapter, wondered about the

wealth of ethnographic detail in Cook's writings. He maintained that the entertaining sections on Pacific cultures and languages were mere consolation prizes to offset the exorbitant expenses accompanying expeditions. How else could one explain the chasing of geographical chimeras in the Pacific? Implicitly, however, Almodóvar realized that the ethnographic construction of a new world in the Pacific, now exclusively charted by British and French navigators, could have far-reaching political implications.

Almodóvar was not alone in his assertion. When Cook's two ships returned from the Pacific in 1780, the governor of Louisiana asked engineer Francisco de Fresen to look at some of the first accounts translated into French on this expedition. Fresen delighted in the wealth of geographic and hydrographic detail, but found few kind words about the overabundance of ethnographic detail:

It would have been much more desirable for the editors of this volume to have abstained from wasting long discourses on the description and costumes of the *indios* and to have placed more emphasis and clarity on the hydrographic and geographic parts.... Reflecting on this diary, I would argue that the author, as he wrote it, did not intend to publish his results. Otherwise how could one excuse the mistakes, omissions, and contradictions one encounters in the work: If he sought to entertain the imagination with detailed description of the feasts and banquets that the *indios* of Tahiti and other islands provided, then we have to conclude that all of this detail is ultimately insubstantial and does little more than to augment the pages of the work with little to no benefit.⁸⁵

Damning as Fresen's report may have been in terms of ethnographic information, he felt that the geographical information was important enough for a new map of the Pacific.

Almodóvar and Fresen voiced their disregard for ethnographic detail. Similar misgivings can be found in the correspondence of Ambrosio O'Higgins, the president and governor of Chile. In 1786, the Count of La Pérouse called upon Valparaiso on the Chilean coast. This was meant as a last provisioning stop before his expedition headed into the island Pacific. The count and his learned companions were rather taciturn about the expedition's intention and ultimate destination. Much to the chagrin of the Spanish, the French mariners argued that the instructions came directly from their sovereign, Louis XVI, and could therefore not be discussed or shared. To deflect attention from their aim and

destination in the Pacific, the French explorers were willing to share ethnographic information in great detail. In this context, they discussed Cook's exploits and publications with their hosts. Ambrosio O'Higgins, however, remained suspicious about the real intentions behind such ethnographic discussions:

On the contrary, none of these members of the present expedition exhibit any thoughts but enthusiasm for research, for the improvement of navigation, for the extension of geographical knowledge, the exploration of seas and islands, and for determining with the greatest exactitude the configurations of the Globe and all it contains of use in its inhabitants. That, as it would seem, is the philosophy of these admirable men; but still, it is not to be supposed that they will set aside their nation's interest by neglecting to keep an eye, as chances offer, on the places best adept for settlement.⁸⁶

Another resident of Valparaiso, José Miguel de Vrezberota, judged the encounter in very similar ways: "Excepting the hoopla of the literary expedition that is fashionable these days, we can judge that [the expedition participants'] sights are set on settlements that can compete with the British commerce."⁸⁷ In short, Spanish authorities suspected that ethnographic information was employed to cloud the Franco-British expeditions' true intentions: The establishment of viable settlements in the Pacific and competition with Spanish commerce in the Americas. Most of the above Hispanic musings about ethnographic knowledge reflected the dismissive Spanish mindset about this new type of information. There was one individual, however, who would transcend dismissal of ethnographic knowledge to question the way this information was acquired by the Franco-British observers.

Máximo Rodríguez's ethnographic observations

In 1774, Viceroy Amat, encouraged by anterior expeditions and the Tahitians who stayed in Lima, dispatched a small contingent of two Franciscan missionaries, fathers Jerónimo Clota and Narciso González, a single soldier, Máximo Rodríguez, and a servant to Tahiti.⁸⁸ Rodríguez came along to protect the fledgling mission and to communicate with the Tahitians. His increasing command of the Tahitian language started with his first voyage to the island. Subsequently, he honed his skills during conversations with the Tahitians who returned to Lima. During his almost ten-month stay on Tahiti, Rodríguez recorded many local

customs, rituals, and the use of sacred items in a work he called the *Extracto*. This detailed analysis of Tahitian customs received mention throughout his journal, but the actual text has yet to be found in Spanish or Peruvian archives.⁸⁹ The journal therefore stands as the best available reference to Tahitian customs and traditions, attesting to Rodríguez's ability to comprehend and penetrate the local culture.

Rodríguez's aptitude for communication and effective mediation between the Tahitians and the mission depended heavily on his good rapport with the Tahitian chiefs (*ari'i*). His ability to move across cultural lines suggests that, besides being a skilled observer and chronicler, Rodríguez was probably of mixed heritage or *mestizo* descent.⁹⁰ If this assertion is correct, then Rodríguez's Native American ancestry may have predisposed him to develop a greater sympathy and interest in Pacific cultures. His ethnic heritage, however, never surfaced in his writings or reports, presumably because of the stigma attributed to his birth within the colonial *sociedad (systema) de castas*.⁹¹ Although his mixed parentage remains a matter of speculation, his status on the margins of Spanish colonial society would have facilitated his blending into the Tahitian cultural universe. In fact, Rodríguez seemed to have thrived in a society that valued reciprocity over the deeply entrenched racial categories in the Kingdom of Peru.

Vanessa Smith speculates that his familiarity with the local language identified him as a prestigious member among the small group of Spaniards left on Tahiti and facilitated the creation of friendship bonds with high-ranking individuals.⁹² Of particular importance in his account are the relationships cultivated with Vehiatua and Tu, the two principal *ari'i* of the island.⁹³ Rodríguez's apparent cordiality and willingness to communicate led to his acceptance as a bound friend (*taio*) by the two chiefs. This relationship would have enhanced his prestige and status on the island.⁹⁴ Such *taio* friendship bounds greatly increased the mission's ability to thrive, as Rodríguez acquired the necessary credentials to mediate emerging conflicts. The conduct of the Franciscan friars, secure in their attributed elevated status in Spanish colonial society, frequently led to discord. Likewise, their firebrand attendant, Francisco Pérez, was fond of causing frictions with the local population that Rodríguez had to defuse.⁹⁵ His conciliatory actions, however, won him no praise from the friars who attempted to exert authority over Rodríguez and treated him with scorn and contempt.⁹⁶ Smith maintains that the youngster was preaching a "secular charity, strategically aligning himself with the sovereign rather than with the church."⁹⁷ It is through such actions that Rodríguez was able to distance himself from

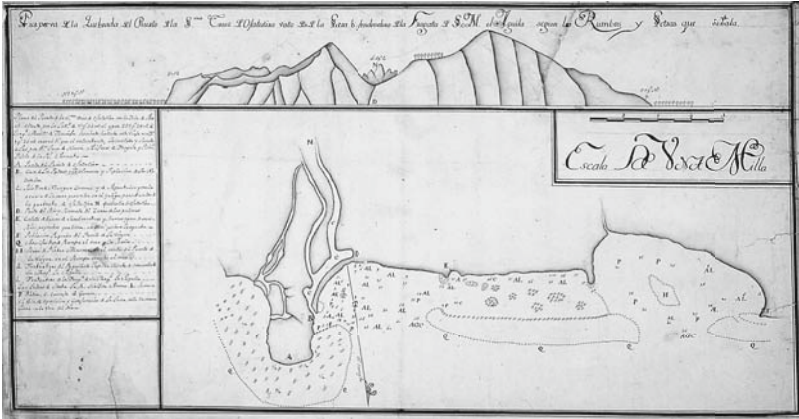


Figure 4.3 Spanish view of the Port of Santa Cruz, Tahiti, AMN, 54-B-21

the padres, who despite their explicit mission, became the antithesis of Christian teachings.⁹⁸

The extent of Rodríguez's *taio* relationship is best illustrated through the stone artifact known as the *'umete*. Attaining this artifact was a significant prize for Rodríguez, because this bowl was of fine craftsmanship. Bowls of this type were generally employed to grind foodstuffs with the aid of a pestle, but this particular *'umete* seems to have been for ceremonial purposes only. It was made of black dolerite on the island of Bora Bora and given as a gift by local high chief Puni to Tu. It was a finer prize still when Rodríguez learned that the *'umete* was dedicated to the war god, Oro. Enshrined in material form, the soldier was able to transfer the bound friendship across the ocean to Lima. From there, it was ultimately transported to Spain roughly 15 years later. The *'umete* is now part of the impressive collection house in the Anthropological Museum in Madrid.⁹⁹

Despite some cultural friction, Rodríguez's relationships with prominent Tahitians stood in marked contrast to his rapport with the Franciscan fathers, Clota and Gonzáles. Through their eyes, Rodríguez remained a common soldier commandeered to the island for their protection and service. The Franciscans thus bitterly objected to Rodríguez's frequent absences and explorations of the island. The more the *mestizo* immersed himself in Tahitian society, the more he severed his link with the padres whom he soon came to despise. Where Rodríguez demonstrated ease slipping in and out of Tahitian society, the timorous Franciscans failed to make any inroads into the culture they were sent to convert. To make

matters worse, the two Tahitian converts who returned alongside the missionaries from Lima quickly abandoned the mission and returned to the Tahitian lifestyle. When the missionaries failed to establish a foothold on the island, it was the daredevil nature of Rodríguez that would develop a third way of understanding Tahitian society. He would set his interpretations apart from British ship-borne accounts and Spanish mission gospel. His critical view of British accounts served Spanish authorities well. Rodríguez's scathing comments toward the missionaries, however, threatened the entire venture to Tahiti.

Initially, Rodríguez never intended to employ his account to question James Cook's ethnographic rendition of Tahiti. But when Cook's last voyage account was published in 1784, the *mestizo's* reputation came under fire. Tahitians informed the illustrious Captain that a certain Matimo (either a Tahitian adaptation of his first name or the Spanish term "marítimo") had supposedly belittled the British navy and its accomplishments. Incensed over the Spanish presence and Rodríguez's supposed attempts to undermine the British purpose on the island, an irate Cook ordered changing the inscription on a Spanish wooden cross reading *Christus Vincit Carolus III imperat 1774*. Cook ordered the cross to be taken down and transported to the *Resolution*. When his man returned it to its original location, the Spanish inscription was replaced with one that read: *Georgius tertius Rex Annis 1767, 69, 73, 74, & 77*.¹⁰⁰ Cook's rash act of possession, which was one of the many performed by British, French, and Spaniards, hardly impressed itself on the Tahitians, while the memory of Matimo stayed fresh for generations. European material objects, if of interest at all, were quickly absorbed into the Tahitian cultural universe and took on new meanings far removed from the original purpose of annexation.¹⁰¹

After the mission on Tahiti failed, Rodríguez returned to Lima, where he served in the viceregal bodyguard of archers. Budget cuts had placed him on the retired list, which greatly threatened his livelihood. When he heard of Cook's actions on Tahiti, he realized his chance for promotion and active service. Cook's brief but forceful statement about the supposed lies told by the *mestizo* during his stay on the island is worth quoting in full. He wrote that Rodríguez had

taken uncommon pains to impress the minds of the islanders with the most exalted ideas of the greatness of the Spanish nation, and to make them think meanly of the English. He even went so far as to assure them, that we no longer existed as an independent nation, that *Pretane* was only a small island, which they, the Spaniards,

had entirely destroyed; and, for me, that they met with me at sea, and, with a few shot, had sent my ship, and every soul in her to the bottom; so that my visiting Otaheite, at this time, was, of course, very unexpected. All this, and many other falsehoods, did this Spaniard make these people believe. If Spain had no other views in this expedition, but to depreciate the English, they had better kept their ships at home, for my returning again to Otaheite, was considered as a complete confutation of all Mateema had said.¹⁰²

Rodríguez retaliated against this statement. Bolton Corney, when publishing an English translation of Rodríguez's diary in the early twentieth century, believed that an upgraded 1788 version of his journal had been lost. More recently, however, this version surfaced in the collection of the Geographical Society housed in Paris' *Bibliothèque Nationale*.¹⁰³ This later version corresponds mostly to Rodríguez's original document. The main difference is that Rodríguez added a short prologue to his later diary in which he defended himself against the accusations of Cook and his editors.

Rodríguez's prologue is innovative, in that he reacted to Cook's criticism as well as to the well-worn practices of Spanish missionization. The Peruvian soldier seemingly set up a third possibility, extensive study of the indigenous polity, which anthropologists generally refer to as participant observation: "I for one would have liked to see Captain Cook and another three of his companions live on the island for nine months with little guarantees for their lives than their conducts (because ideas of grandeur quickly fade with the departure of the vessels)."¹⁰⁴ Rodríguez quickly dethroned Cook's source of ethnographic information – the vantage point from security of his vessels – something that Bronwen Douglas has called "seaborne ethnography."¹⁰⁵ Instead, he provided a promising alternative, one that relied on language and conduct rather than firepower.

His veiled humility soon gives way to an argument that runs throughout most of the prologue: That Captain Cook's voyages should be subject to critical scrutiny due to bad conduct during the voyages and the defamation of character without warrant in written publications. Rodríguez did not stop with Cook, but also attacked the German naturalist, Forster. While it is unclear whether his attack is directed at Georg or his father Johann Reinhold, he was nevertheless "a man who regularly proceeds to slander us left and right."¹⁰⁶ Painting Cook and the naturalists as individuals whose vision was politically charged, Rodríguez then launched into the strongest part of his argument: his long-term residence among

the Tahitians. He rightly maintained that his positive image among the Tahitians could only emerge from a close interaction on a day-to-day basis:¹⁰⁷ “At any case we have the advantage of having lived in Otahiti, four men alone for more than nine months, and the English always relied on their crew members, their troops, and their ships.”¹⁰⁸

Violence also played a prominent part in Rodríguez’s account as he compared the Spanish expeditions to the island and littoral Pacific to those of Cook:

We had no misfortune, no casualties, not even a single death. Such was our conduct and patience with which we suffered the insults of the natives. But even the English gentlemen, these self proclaimed men of humanity, and even such prudent and compassionate man as Captain Cook, did have in all there voyages encounters that cannot be classified as less than cruel and would in the eyes of the impartial be considered excessive. Truthfully, it was the very death of Captain Cook, so tragic for him as it was sensitive for the rest of Europe, which created him no honor. It does support my argument when I note that this catastrophe was the result of a lie and a deceit and we are only missing the truthful person that says that [his death] was just punishment for this and many other actions that [Cook] himself confesses to have committed in this and similar cases.¹⁰⁹

Although he defends Cook by arguing that perhaps the islanders misunderstood his statements – suggesting that perhaps the English language and its associated translators did not cross the beach well – Rodríguez is confident about the moral superiority of the Spanish endeavors:

We must confess that then we gravely needed [the services of] Señor Virrey Amat about to depart [from his post as viceroy of Peru]. In his hands nothing would have been lost and our nation would have had the pleasure to read everything about Otajiti, perhaps less elegant, but at least with more exactitude, intelligence, and truth than what has been published by the English and French travelers.¹¹⁰

The remainder of Rodríguez’s prologue pertains to a criticism of the vice-royal administration that succeeded Viceroy Amat and a criticism of the conduct of the Franciscan friars tasked with evangelizing the Catholic faith on Tahiti. The bad conduct of the friars, Rodríguez suggested, resided with the failure of the Franciscans to ingratiate themselves with

the islanders. Moreover, he maintained that the Friars outright failed to demonstrate any good qualities or hospitality that would lead to an interest in Christianity: "Because the Padres did not speak of their religion nor did they display humanity and benefit [in their treatment of the natives]. Maybe such virtues would have opened the door to our religion. But I want to talk only about one issue, the memory of which still mortifies me."¹¹¹

Spanish authorities had little patience for his transgression against the missionary paradigm. His diary consequently languished in the archives until French invading soldiers recognized its value and returned it to their native lands.

Pedro Estala and the erasure of the eighteenth-century New World

Máximo Rodríguez's argument would find continuity through the work of Pedro Estala (1757–1815), a prolific Spanish writer and literary critic. By the end of the eighteenth century, Estala took on the gargantuan task of translating the forty-two volumes of Joseph de Laporte's massive oeuvre, *Le voyageur française*. Entitling his translation, *El Viagero universal o Noticias del mundo antiguo y nuevo*, Estala soon despaired with what he regarded as Laporte's generalizations, omissions, and grave errors in fact. He was especially offended by Laporte's obvious ignorance of Spanish primary sources about the New World.

Starting with the seventh volume, Estala decided to depart from his translation and added his own selection of primary material. In this process, he nevertheless adhered to Laporte's writing style, which involved the penning of letters written by an imaginary voyager to a close friend and associate. Estala's work was released in affordable pamphlets numbering about 100 pages, with three of these combining for a bound volume. Between 1795 and 1801, Estala published forty-three volumes (thirty-nine regular books to which he added four supplements) covering over 16,000 pages. By 1801, the work went into a second edition, quickly followed by a Portuguese translation.¹¹²

Estala's *Viagero* received the praise of Minister of State Manuel Godoy:

With what anxiousness did we purchase and devour his work! No other books during this time had a similar impact: Even the most denuded pockets could afford the subscriptions. Estala's agreeable

style squarely punished Laporte by compiling the information of the most illustrious travelers.¹¹³

In his defense of the Spanish Americas, Estala frequently painted himself into a corner. He shared in the widespread intellectual argument that the barren nature of the Americas had a negative influence on its inhabitants. But, where many northern European intellectuals blamed the Spaniards for the ultimate downfall of the indigenous peoples, Estala rose to the defense of his compatriots. In his endeavor, Estala criticized Spanish sources for extolling Amerindian architectural accomplishments. Estala ultimately believed that sensory deprivation on the long voyage between Spain and the New World had fooled early conquistadors into exaggerating the monumental architecture they encountered. Estala's line of argumentation would find its continuity in the eighteenth-century new world of the Pacific.¹¹⁴

Although the Pacific played a minor role in Estala's work, the author would dedicate four volumes – published as sixteen through nineteen throughout the year 1798 – to this area of growing importance in British and French sources. While Estala devoted much space to the important eighteenth-century voyages, the Pacific afforded the Spanish intellectual the opportunity to read the Franco-British sources alongside the Spanish archival material. The outcome was a foregone conclusion, as he clearly held the Spanish sources to be vastly superior to writings emerging from northern Europe.

Combing the archives for information, Estala was able to draw on mountains of received and more recent encountered knowledge: The earlier voyages of Mendaña and Quirós, four Spanish ventures to Easter Island and Tahiti (1771–1776) which included Rodríguez's diary, the voyage of Mourelle (1780–1781), and, perhaps most importantly, the large-scale venture of Malaspina (1789–1794). This impressive lineup posed problems, however. Malaspina, for instance, had fallen out of Godoy's favor and had been arrested following his return from the Pacific. Similarly, Estala's pious nature would have prevented him from utilizing Rodríguez's diary. The diary, so vital in undermining British seaborne ethnography, also chastised the Franciscan missionaries, something Estala hesitated to perpetuate. He decided instead to employ the notes of the Franciscan padres, who concerned themselves more with justifying the failure of their mission than with descriptions of the inhabitants of Tahiti.

On the whole, the similarity between Estala and Rodríguez's arguments are striking. Despite the absence of archival documents attesting

to an intellectual link, one might be persuaded to venture the argument that Estala closely read the soldier's renditions without conceding the appropriate credit. Estala's arguments supporting the superiority of the Spanish over the British accounts mirrored Rodríguez's renditions: The failure of the British to properly represent Tahiti, which resulted from their linguistic shortcomings; the excessive violence characterizing British encounters; and, moving well beyond Rodríguez, the wholesale erasure of the Pacific as an eighteenth-century new world.

Estala initiated his case for the linguistic superiority of the Spanish accounts with a well-worn argument: The French, and most importantly, the British voyagers had quickly eclipsed earlier Spanish accomplishments, and consequently obscured and even deleted Iberian names bestowed on the islands in an effort to substantiate the political claims to this region.¹¹⁵ Estala credited Cook – which he frequently spelled as Cooch – with raising popular consciousness about the Pacific. But the Spanish critic alerted his readers that “it is without doubt that [these islands] were discovered in the sixteenth century by Pedro Fernández de Quirós. ... We called them islands of Quirós while English and French voyagers have given them different names altogether.”¹¹⁶

Estala's linguistic argument that the Castilian language was more apt to capture the intricacies of the island Pacific's populations not only borrowed from Rodríguez, but can be found in the work of Jesuit Abbot Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735–1809).¹¹⁷ Estala constructed a crude argument: Cook did not have the time to properly reflect on the Tahitian language, given his limited stay on the island. The resulting small dictionary of Tahitian words thus reflected the hurried nature of their exchange.¹¹⁸ Estala maintained it was the very English language (and to a lesser degree the French tongue) that was to be blamed for most equivocal renditions of place names in the Pacific. The Spanish language was closer to the Tahitian and conditioned the hearing to properly capture the place names on the island. Ironically, the very differentiation between *Otahiti*, the British rendition, and the proper Spanish of *Otaheiti*, revealed the equal misunderstanding of the use of articles in the Tahitian language.¹¹⁹

Estala's main argument undermining the British ethnographic renditions emerging rested squarely on a comparative treatment of Spanish voyages and those ventures performed by the northern Europeans. Estala thus relied on the official accounts from the three expeditions to Tahiti and the much limited and circumscribed journal supplied by the Franciscan missionaries. At the same time, Estala did not have to give credit to Rodríguez and could claim the *mestizo's* insights as his own.

The violence that permeated Wallis's visit to Tahiti in 1767 became a point of departure that found its ultimate denouement in Cook's tragic death in the Hawaiian archipelago. Estala maintained that the encounters between Tahitians and British mariners were characterized by an amicable indigenous character on one hand, and British "insurmountable pride and insolence, on the other. And this nation dares to call us, Spaniards, arrogant."¹²⁰

In volume seventeen, Estala compares the vicious British encounters with those of Spaniards. The Spanish voyages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were sufficiently sanitized to emerge as early counterparts to the rapacious British ventures. Similarly, these accounts also served to underscore the indisputable Spanish imperial claims to the Pacific. Estala chastises Cook and Charles de Brosses for misrepresenting these voyages to further British and French interests. The only fault the learned individual finds with Quirós is his inability to properly determine the longitude of the places contacted.¹²¹ Having thus rescued earlier Spanish accounts from the dustbin of contemporary encountered knowledge, Estala proceeded then to introduce the eighteenth-century Spanish ventures to Tahiti in two voyages (1772 and 1774) and the missionary establishment, lasting from 1774 to 1775.

The outcome is unsurprising, as the restrained nature of the missionaries and the Spanish voyagers was the bedrock for an ongoing chain of pleasant events between the two parties. Astonishingly, Estala does little to sanitize the reports of the Franciscan missionaries, allowing for a certain degree of critique of the mission. On the whole, the benign actions of the Spaniards contrasted sharply with those of the English. Their attempt to "domesticate individuals at knifepoint and gun barrels" almost logically led to the tragic death of Captain Cook.¹²² In discussing the death of this illustrious navigator, Estala argued that it was the ongoing poor and threatening relationships between indigenous peoples and the British, culminating in the hostage-taking of their highest ranking chief, that ultimately led to the loss Cook's and four of his marines' lives.¹²³

The notion that Cook's blood spilled on a Hawaiian beach as a result of the combined sins of the British nation was not solely Estala's creation. In a two-volume work written under the pseudonym Alejandro Moya, the author employed the setting of a coffee house to explore the influence of foreign ideas on Spain. Moya's English characters emerge as sullen, almost melancholic, individuals who rarely spoke. Their naval successes, however, inspired hubris. They thought of themselves as lords of the entire world, and their rare conversations were brimming with

arrogance.¹²⁴ In a telling passage of Moya's book, two naval officers, hailing from Britain and Spain, strike up a conversation about the implications of Cook's voyages. The Spanish naval officer shares his admiration with the British mariner, who had accompanied the illustrious captain on his voyage to the Pacific. Yet, the Spaniard is also critical of the British behavior. No doubt, the Hawaiians were nothing less than "abominable savages" for having killed Cook on their island. At the same time, Cook's actions were inopportune and representative of the high degree of arrogance displayed by British naval officers and the nation they represented. Cook's main purpose of carrying western civilization into the unknown corners of the world was thus overshadowed by his death, "a fate that brought ridicule and extravagance to his project."¹²⁵ This critical attitude toward Great Britain translated into Estala's work.

Besides undermining the project of the British exploration in the Pacific, Estala finds much admiration of the Tahitians. Estala, for instance, was one of the first scholars to argue that the Tahitian sexual exchange with the Europeans was not a reflection of Tahitian willingness to engage in prostitution. Estala maintained that only a small number of lower ranking women engaged in sexual exchange with the Europeans, while the great majority of the female population displayed restraint and humble demeanor, characteristic of other supposedly more civilized places.¹²⁶ Estala also defended the Maori. According to him, the *haka* was not a menacing savage dance, but an empowering chant that Europeans performed themselves in the not so distant past in order to gain strength and courage for an unsettling fight to the death. Ironically, Estala, who was no supporter of the French Revolution, believed that the recently created Marseillaise had a similar psychological effect in strengthening the French troops marching into battle.¹²⁷

The absence of civilization in Great Britain was further obviated by the case of Mai, who left the Pacific on Cook's second circumnavigation. Cook did not have a favorable opinion of the young Polynesian, whom he regarded as less intellectually gifted than Tupaia, who died before arriving in England. Estala, however, defended the young Polynesian, whose character flaws emerged from living in a corrupted society. Estala resented that instead of taking Mai to the countryside to teach him useful and applicable skills for a return to his home islands, British notables squandered their time with trivial aristocratic distractions, "which would corrupt not only the savage but indeed the most rational of men." To Estala, poor Mai became a caged animal to provide distractions for idle spectators who wasted the opportunity they might otherwise have taken to instruct him in higher culture. Estala remained certain,

nevertheless, that despite the daily frivolous distractions, English society failed to corrupt his heart.¹²⁸

One wonders what Estala would have made of Mai's return to the Pacific, where, dressed in armor and riding a horse, he quickly became an outsider after he failed to engage in the reciprocal nature of his home society. Similarly, while Estala mentioned the Tahitians who spent time in Lima, the Spanish author certainly would have been surprised that frivolous customs were as much part of Viceroy Amat's entourage in the Peruvian capital as they were in the court of St. James.

Estala's general positive description of Polynesian society, in contrast with the decadence of the British explorers venturing to the islands, begs the question of whether or not the Spanish notable was willing to entertain a notion of the Pacific as a eighteenth-century new world. Although Estala aptly summarizes the British, French, and selective Spanish sources, his comments, usually separated by parenthesis from the official text, indicate that he shared the opinion of many Spanish intellectuals delineated earlier in this book. The Pacific Ocean comprised many islands, but their worth was of lesser significance when compared to the Americas. For New Holland (Australia), for instance, Estala cited the statement of a Spanish mariner who presumably visited the island on one of Malaspina's vessels. This individual described the Aborigines as "dirty and repulsive," and speaking a language that was barely human. Their appearance was closer to that of "the Great Apes, Orangutan," as he put it, and their deformed bodies became easy prey to the venereal diseases emanating from the recent British settlement composed solely of prostitutes and riff-raff.¹²⁹ In a few pages, Estala disparaged the indigenous people of Australia and dethroned the fledgling British settlement that was emerging there.

In his assessment of the Pacific, Estala subscribes to the writings of the German naturalists, Georg and Johann Reinhold Forster. Following their example, he described the existence of two "races" in the Pacific, one lighter-colored – occupying what soon would become known as Polynesia, and one darker-colored – occupying those islands known later as Melanesia. Unlike the Forsters, who attempted sweeping anthropological comparison, however, Estala found the island Pacific and the indigenous peoples residing in the region to be rather unsurprising. The Pacific salience emerged only when compared to the Americas, a Spanish-controlled area he vowed to defend as he embarked on the translation of Laporte's project. Most importantly, Estala tackled a question that emerged in the minds of many eighteenth-century travelers to the Pacific: Where did the indigenous peoples of the insular Pacific originate? Astonishingly, his

conclusions were quite progressive for the time. Estala argued that despite the prevailing winds and currents pointing from the Americas to the Pacific, the original population could not have originated in the Spanish-controlled continents. His reasoning, however, was once again clouded by his disparaging view of Native Americans and his adamant defense of the Spanish mission in these two continents. Estala argued that, with the exception of the Incas and the Aztecs, large population centers were rare in the Americas. The majority of Native Americans were organized as “errant tribes” who could not have contributed to the island Pacific’s large populations encountered by the Spaniards on their first journeys.

Based on the limited research available to him, Estala rightly assumed that the indigenous inhabitants of the Pacific originated in Asia. In contrast, he incorrectly dated the island settlement to have occurred at the same time as the migration into the Americas.¹³⁰ In his description of how the indigenous populations might have arrived in this largest geographical feature on earth, he partook in an opinion that was common among Pacific experts until the mid-twentieth century. Ignoring the many comments made by eighteenth-century observers about the impressive maritime cultures of the island Pacific, Estala wrote, “the miserable vessels of the Natives [in the Pacific] can barely sail against the wind.”¹³¹ Estala suggested then that only voyages performed by accident could account for the settlement of this area. By the 1970s, ethnographic fieldwork and experimental voyaging, fortunately, sufficiently proved him wrong in this opinion.

Given Estala’s relatively low opinion of the cultures of the island Pacific, how is one then to explain the superlatives about the region in the Franco-British literature? Estala provided an answer while discussing Spanish encounters with Native American monumental architecture. In his attempt to debunk Native American accomplishment, Estala claimed that the conquistadors tended to exaggerate the buildings they witnessed. For the Spanish author, the British and French hyperbole could only derive from one source: Sensory deprivation.

Did you not see how the travelers on their journeys have represented the enchanted isles of Juan Fernández, Tinian, and Otaihiti, like so many others as precious paradises? And what are they in fact? Little more than some well-endowed islands (*unas islas mas o menos amenas*). And should we then say that these travelers lied to us? No, Sir: they were exhausted after the uniform and sad spectacle that presented itself during many months of navigation on an agitated sea: exhausted

beyond belief, sick, lacking in everything to sustain themselves in which case they would have mistaken the most barren and horrible islet as a paradise. But they arrive at some islands covered in trees, with fruits and healthy plants, of crystalline waters, with humanitarian inhabitants that assisted with all necessities: How strange is it then that they were in want of words to properly describe these regions, even if they were hardly noteworthy and would have been summarily fastidious if encountered under other circumstances?¹³²

Estala's assessment of the Pacific's worth was widely shared and read in the Iberian Peninsula as evidenced by the popularity of his work, which quickly sold out. A second edition followed soon, and his work was translated into Portuguese. Further transnational European recognition of Estala's work, however, failed to materialize. Very telling of his reception is a limited German translation of Estala's work that focuses exclusively on the Spanish expeditions to Tahiti.¹³³

Unlike Estala, translator Wilhelm Bratring professed a burning passion about the Pacific and its cultures, which he traced to Georg Forster's writings. Given the rising interest in the Pacific, Bratring decided that even the rather uneventful voyages of the Spaniards should be published. Ignoring the curious editorial comments from Estala, Bratring was spellbound by Tahiti. He labeled the island "crown of the South Seas, a hotel for a whole part of the globe, where the tiring voyager, because of the kindness of his host, will remain longer than expected."¹³⁴ On the whole, however, Bratring exhibited little excitement for the Spanish material, which he believed was missing the keen philosophical eye of a Georg Forster. Even the lengthy stay of the missionaries as recorded in their diary reflects rigid evangelical concerns, justification for their lack of success in Tahitian conversions.¹³⁵ Furthermore, the German translator believed that both British and Spanish accounts about Tahiti were clouded by "a reciprocal national hatred."¹³⁶ By omitting Rodríguez from his work, Estala also failed to provide the key argument to undermine the whole edifice of Franco-British seaborne ethnography. Without this incisive critique, Bratring was able to misuse Estala's account to supplement, rather than to undermine, the Franco-British ethnographic descriptions of the Pacific.

Conclusions

On the whole, Spanish metropolitan and peripheral engagement with the eighteenth-century voyaging literature to the Pacific was entangled

in the different needs for their respective administrations. Viceroy Amat, for instance, studied it closely to expand his defensive perimeters from the Peruvian shores deep into the Pacific. He even toyed with the idea of adding the geographic information from the Spanish expeditions to Easter Island and Tahiti to the expanding literary canon on the Pacific. Upon his departure, however, his successors were less taken with the idea of continuing Pacific ventures and turned to different concerns.

Pacific exploration literature also found a great deal of enthusiasm among those mariners, historians, and other officials who engaged themselves in exploring alternative routes to the vulnerable outpost of the Philippines. Even if Cook, La Pérouse, and other Franco-British mariners had little interest in this archipelago, their information of wind and currents in the Pacific was of great use to determine alternative ways to reach the Philippines.

Spanish notables, both on the periphery and the metropole, displayed little patience for ethnographic information, which they generally regarded as frivolous and imaginary. To make matters worse, the assertion for an eighteenth-century “new world” in the Pacific based on ethnographic information carried potentially harmful political implications. Denying the existence of such a world in the Pacific based on the ethnographic “exaggerations” was thus very much part of the writing of Pedro de Estala and others. These fruitful dialogues about geographic contributions and ethnographic chimeras would inspire Spanish naval officials to offer alternative ways of writing and exploring the Pacific in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

5

On History and Hydrography

Following in the footsteps of our dear comrades who took the frigate Aguila on her two voyages to Tahiti, we will give testimony of our genuine spirit of discovery, [and prove those wrong] who dwell on the ancient and ponderous narratives of conquest.

Alejandro Malaspina, 1789¹

I have delivered to [Valdés] an essay, which he ordered me to compile the voyage of an ancient Spanish navigator. My report was not the only one supporting the apocryphal nature of this account, as Malaspina recently confirmed [my findings] during his exploration of the North American coast. A new order is now under way to expand my memorial to include [the results of] Malaspina's expedition and others that have been performed in this region.

Martín Fernández de Navarrete to José Vargas Ponce, 1792

History is the Nation's finest apologia

Martín Fernández de Navarrete, 1802

Introduction: Transforming voyaging

In the late summer months of 1797, Tomás Mauricio López, son of famous cartographer Tomás López de Vargas y Machuca, published a beautiful map depicting the archipelago of the Marquesas as well as Easter Island. According to the geo-historical tradition inherited from his father, López was to perform a careful historical study of existing charts in an effort to craft a map by utilizing the longitudinal readings from the Teide Mountain located on the Canary Island of Tenerife.² López's map, however, deviated from this accepted geo-historical practice. Although

the chart meant to highlight earlier Spanish encounters with the depicted islands in the Pacific, its longitudinal readings were unorthodox. The prime meridian guiding the map derived not from the volcano Teide, but from the Royal Observatory located in Greenwich. In short, López had based his geo-historical analysis almost entirely on the readings of James Cook's second circumnavigation (1772–1775).

On the one hand, no geo-historical geographer would have faulted López for resorting to the longitudinal readings derived from Cook's accurate chronometers. On the other hand, utilizing Greenwich as the prime meridian was equivalent to acknowledging superior British cartographic practice. It was this implicit concession that triggered José Espinosa y Tello's vehement protest. Espinosa, a veteran of the Malaspina expedition, had just been appointed to lead Spain's newly created Hydrographic Office. In a letter to Spanish Minister Manuel de Godoy, Espinosa warned of the significant risks associated with the publication of maps based entirely on foreign sources. Espinosa maintained that unsubstantiated charts represented a clear danger to Spanish mercantile shipping lanes. Consequently, he demanded that the minister have all future hydrographic charts approved exclusively by his office. Godoy wholeheartedly agreed and provided all the necessary powers to Espinosa.³

Espinosa did not rest on his limited triumph. A few years later, he obtained official backing to force the entire Spanish merchant fleet

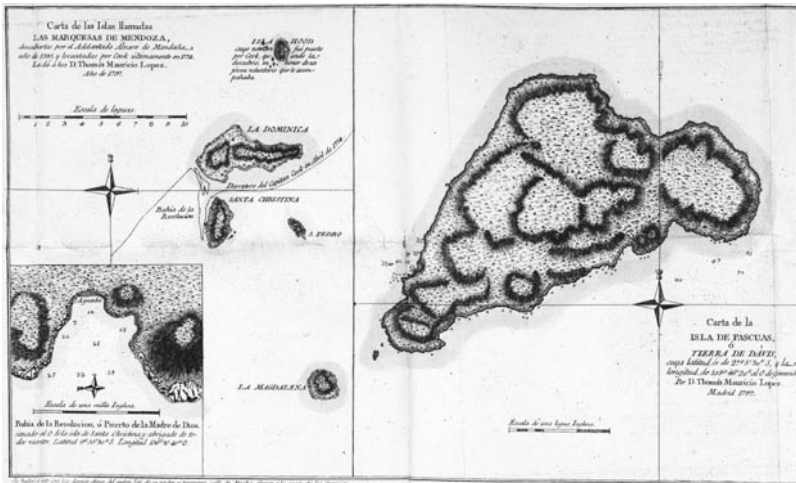


Figure 5.1 Tomás Lopez's Map of the Marquesas and Easter Island (AGMAB 4903)

to employ only those hydrographic charts published by his office in their navigation through the world's oceans.⁴ Espinosa's epistemological victory meant a severe blow to the geo-historical method, which had dominated Spain's map production throughout the eighteenth century. On the surface, Espinosa seemingly squeezed history out of the cartographic process and favored encountered over archival knowledge.

In practice, Espinosa's attempt to insulate Spanish cartographic production from foreign influences was difficult to maintain. In fact, his officially sanctioned move stood at the end of a lengthy process of Spanish reinvention. Spanish intellectuals rethought cartography and voyage narrative to reflect a merger of encountered as well as revealed (archival) knowledge. This new approach of reordering and recording information was at the center of a novel way of mapping the Spanish transoceanic empire. As the pages below illustrate, this approach would have far-reaching implications for the Pacific Ocean. Central to this chapter's analyses are new Spanish hydrographic visions radiating from the Iberian Peninsula to the American colonies. It would be Alejandro Malaspina, who on his noted voyage extended this vision to the Pacific. Paralleling this important venture were archival voyages, performed by naval historians, illustrating that the eighteenth-century British voyages shared a great deal of continuity with the Iberian journeys performed in anterior centuries. Their actions resulted in a clear alternative to the voyage accounts flooding northern Europe.

Diplomatic entanglements in the Pacific Ocean

The departure of Alejandro Malaspina's expedition from Spain in 1789 was coupled with a number of diplomatic incidents that emerged as logical consequences of Cook's voyages to the Pacific. The publication of Cook's journeys underscored rising British claims to the region and placed a diplomatic siege on the "Spanish Lake." In 1770, Great Britain and Spain had been at the brink of war over the Falkland Islands, the gateway to the Pacific. The American Revolutionary War and Britain's consequent loss of the thirteen original colonies triggered a settlement in Australia, the residual leftover of the mythological continent much searched after between 1764 and 1775. Great Britain would also confront Spain over a diplomatic claim to the American Northwest Coast around Nootka Sound in 1790. These actions resulted in another incident that, much like in the case of the Falkland crisis, almost led to open hostilities between the two countries.

The last two decades of the eighteenth century were quite tumultuous for the Bourbon monarchy. Charles III died in 1788, leaving the throne to his son Charles IV. This dynastic succession also led to the rise and fall of three ministers of state: the counts of Floridablanca (Chief Minister 1777–1792) and Aranda (1792) as well as Manuel de Godoy (1792–1798). This internal political reshuffling was the result of developments resulting from the French Revolution in 1789 and a weakening Spain's main global ally. The beheading of Louis XVI completely eroded the Bourbon Family Compact. By the time Malaspina's two frigates were about to return to the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish government had declared war on Revolutionary France in a stunning reversal of foreign affairs. When Revolutionary troops crossed the Pyrenees into Spain in 1795, Secretary of State Manuel de Godoy signed a hasty peace treaty and placed Spain on a trajectory that ultimately culminated in the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula.

In the Pacific, the establishment of a British settlement in Australia was a major affront to the Spanish Crown. Consequently, the Spanish minister of state, the Count of Floridablanca, advised his ambassador in England to keep a close eye on developments. In 1788, a naval officer with close connections to the Royal Phillipine Company, Francisco Muñoz y San Clemente, wrote an extensive discourse on the English settlements in New Holland. In this document, Muñoz connected the voyages of Cook and the publication of those journeys to the establishment of the colony in New South Wales. Offsetting the loss of the original thirteen colonies, the official continued, British authorities would use this outpost to flood the Spanish Americas with cheap Asian and Pacific products. Muñoz also noted that, in case of war, this new Australian establishment provided a precious naval base within striking distance of the Spanish Philippines and the Pacific coasts of the Americas.⁵ His report possibly inspired Spanish authorities to dispatch Malaspina's vessels to Australia. These naval ships would be able to explore in detail the aims and developments of this British settlement. Historian Juan Pimentel aptly refers to Malaspina's venture during its Australian leg as a "floating embassy."⁶

Of more gravity than the settlement in Australia was the Spanish-British confrontation over the Northwest Coast. The count of Floridablanca had admonished his officials to be on the alert for foreign incursion into the area, but had suspected that the threat would emerge from Russia rather than Great Britain: "The voyages of Captain Cook have provided much information to the Russians. Despite the distances and the ice covered seascapes and the rough coastlines of these regions, we should

not underestimate the expansionist ideas of a nation that has the intent and means to pursue [such endeavors].”⁷

In 1784, the publication of Cook’s last voyage raised great interest in the possibility of acquiring furs along the Pacific Northwest. Pelts became a prominent commodity in the ongoing trade with Chinese officials on the other side of the Pacific. This was reason enough to dispatch yet another exploratory venture to the region. Led by Estéban José Martínez, the expedition reached Nootka Sound, a series of inlets on the west coast of Vancouver Island, in May of 1789. Encountering several vessels on the spot, the Spanish officer proceeded to seize British ships and property following a proclamation of Spanish sovereignty over the entire Northwest Coast. To make matters worse, Martínez also killed a prominent indigenous leader, Callicum of the Nuu-chah-nulth, greatly undermining the relationship between Spaniards and the local indigenous peoples.

News of the Spanish actions reached London with the new year of 1790. The British prime minister, William Pitt the Younger, immediately protested. As Spain and Britain readied for war over the Nootka incident, the Iberian power turned to her ally. France’s National Assembly, however, empowered by the unfolding revolution, opted not to support Spain’s conflict. Without French backing and facing probable support of the British position by the Dutch, Spanish authorities decided on a diplomatic solution. The first of a number of Nootka conventions was signed in October of 1790, whereby the Spanish government restored to the British owners the ship and goods they had seized. The most important provision of this treaty was that the Spanish Crown officially relinquished its exclusive sovereignty over the Pacific to British subjects by guaranteeing their rights to free navigation and fishing. Through these diplomatic actions, the Crown officially surrendered some important provisions emerging from the treaties of Tordesillas and Zaragoza. In addition, with this agreement, territorial claims had to be backed by actual settlements in the regions.⁸

The Spanish concessions greatly undermined the authority of State Secretary Floridablanca. By 1792, Charles IV ordered his arrest, partially because many officials concerned about the political developments in the Pacific felt that Floridablanca had privileged British interests. One of these officials was Bernardo de Iriarte, who had earlier spearheaded an aborted attempt to offset British Pacific exploration with a publication of Spanish results. Arguing that Floridablanca’s policies represented a throwback to the old Habsburgian rivalries with France, he exclaimed bitterly: “How dear the fatal revolution in France will cost us! The

English will be the main beneficiaries, while in the end the worst part will be reserved to us."⁹

Related to the Nootka crisis was an emerging European interest in a set of islands, presumably first contacted by Cook in 1778. Naming them after the first Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich, Cook's claims to the islands were contested by Spanish officials. It was Martínez who alerted the viceroy of New Spain to the strategic positioning of the island and a potential Spanish right of first discovery. Martínez identified Juan Gaytan as the first Spaniard to contact these islands and identified a number of Spanish charts that carried their location.¹⁰

Tayana, a Hawaiian of chiefly descent, greatly impressed Martínez of the physical prowess of the Hawaiian people. He thus developed an ambitious plan to link the Northwest Coast to California, Hawai'i, and ultimately to the Chinese trade on the other side of the Pacific. Martínez revealed that the indigenous people of the American Northwest Coast greatly coveted the precious Abalone shells from California. These shells, he maintained, could be exchanged for pelts, which in return could be traded with the Chinese. He identified the Hawaiian Islands as a convenient stopover for the developing fur trade, providing Spanish crews with an ample supply of fresh meat and vegetables. Martínez then suggested the establishment of a Spanish fort (presidio) together with a mission on Hawai'i, the largest island of the archipelago. While his extensive plan attracted the attention of the viceroy, the count of Revillagigedo, it was ultimately rejected. Revillagigedo regarded the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands as treacherous, "because after a considerable degree of hospitality, and regaling [Cook] with numerous honors, they took his life once he started to trust them." The viceroy also feared that establishing a settlement on the islands might interfere with the vital Philippine trade.¹¹ The council of the Royal Philippine Company concurred with the viceroy, although the members' ultimate rejection had more to do with the unfolding Nootka crisis than with the supposed bellicose nature of the indigenous Hawaiians.¹²

These discussions certainly had an impact on Malaspina's decision to explore the Hawaiian Islands between January and March of 1791. Ultimately, Malaspina decided to bypass Hawai'i and explore the Northwest Coast instead, with an eye for possible passages to the Atlantic Ocean. A much smaller survey of the Hawaiian Islands fell to naval officer Manuel Quimper, who arrived there in March of 1791. His narrative bears significant insights into the eventual unifier of the islands, Kamehameha, and offers details about Hawaiian culture.¹³

Hydrography and the establishment of global maritime corridors

Reflecting on the above diplomatic implications, Donald Cutter has recently argued that Alejandro Malaspina's grand expedition to the Pacific amounted to an explicit Iberian acknowledgement of the shrinking diplomatic influence over the "Spanish Lake."¹⁴ Cutter, who also wrote the extensive introduction to the English translation of Malaspina's expedition diary, reflects an opinion that is still widely shared among Pacific scholars: Malaspina's endeavor was a mere emulation of the British and French voyages that preceded the Italian navigator.¹⁵

A closer look at developments in Spain and the Atlantic Ocean, however, allows for an alternative evaluation of Malaspina's venture. This interpretation is informed by Lauren Benton's investigation into European expansion and naval law. Starting in the seventeenth century, she argues, European powers started to eschew the notion that entire oceans could be closed off to outside navigation. Instead, European maritime nations started to advocate the establishment of judiciary corridors "organized around discoveries and the militarization of maritime passages."¹⁶ In the pages below, I maintain that establishment of Benton's postulated corridors necessitated both encountered hydrographical and revealed historical information.

The compilation of hydrographic information fell to Spanish naval officers, who, as mentioned in earlier chapters, stood at the center of imperial reform in Bourbon Spain. When Antonio Valdés (1744–1816) assumed the helm of the Naval Office following the American Revolutionary War in 1783, he employed the next twelve years to reform the state of the Spanish navy. Naval official José de Mazarredo, for instance, completely rewrote outdated naval ordinances. Most importantly, a number of hydrographic expeditions radiated from the Iberian Peninsula into the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The arrival of British and French chronometers in Spain to assist with the determination of longitude greatly facilitated this task, as did the signing of the Treaty of Paris which provided a lull in the ongoing hostilities dominating the world's oceans in the eighteenth century.¹⁷ The hydrographic expeditions presented a counterpoint to the geo-historical mapping of both López and Cruz Cano. Where the geographers used a historico-critical approach working from existing maps, the hydrographic ventures employed scientific methods: Combining traditional astronomical observations with the use of timekeepers to pinpoint geographical locations.¹⁸ In the wake of the hydrographic expeditions,

geo-historic cartography would slowly fall out of favor as the introduction indicated.

In 1783, Charles III commissioned Vicente Tofiño de San Miguel (1732–1795), then director of the Coast Guard Academy in Cádiz, to produce a maritime atlas for the waters surrounding the Iberian Peninsula. The project was inspired by similar French ventures in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, and the observations made by the English in the distant Pacific. While Tofiño lauded the efforts of George Anson and James Cook, he also mused about the fact that knowledge about distant regions was a worthwhile activity, but problematic, “when regions in close proximity still remain unknown.”¹⁹ Historian Martín Fernández de Navarrete would reiterate this critique in later works. While writing a biography of mariner Dionisio Galeano, Navarrete lauded his survey methods in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea during the early nineteenth century: “It is quite strange that, while the glorious voyages of Cook, La Pérouse, and Malaspina among others have revealed near perfect information about New Holland and other islands of the Great Ocean, we had less knowledge about the island of Cyprus located a great deal closer to us. The same can be said for the rest of the Mediterranean.”²⁰

To assist his project Tofiño selected a cohort of capable young naval officers that included Alexandro Malaspina, Felipe Bauzá y Cañas, and José Espinosa y Tello, all individuals who would participate in the grand Spanish undertaking in the Pacific. Partially in response to the Franco-British exploratory ventures, a significant shift occurred within the Spanish cartographic imagination away from providing more accurate mapping of the interior of the Spanish American mainland and toward coastlines and seascapes surrounding the colonial northern and southern American continents.²¹ They maintained that only an encompassing hydrographic project stretching from Spain into the Pacific could meaningfully connect the metropole to the reformed colonial periphery. In their totality, these radiating judicial corridors were a useful answer to the Franco-British mapping of Pacific seascapes, where the islands and littorals uncovered were seemingly unconnected to existing waterways.²²

In 1784, the Spanish naval officers initiated their survey in the Mediterranean Sea. In subsequent years, they continued their activity along the Atlantic littoral of Spain and Portugal. An agreement with the Portuguese Crown also allowed them to include the Azores in their ever-expanding survey. The result was a richly illustrated *Maritime Atlas of Spain* (published in 1789) to which two nautical volumes were added

detailing sailing directions in the Mediterranean (1787) and in the Atlantic Ocean (1789).²³ An earlier Franco-Spanish expedition to the West Coast of Africa in the 1770s provided further hydrographic information. Frequently hailed as the first modern Spanish hydrographical venture, Tofiño's survey was not out to make discoveries in seas unknown to European mariners. Instead, he sought to improve on hydrographic knowledge of formerly explored waters to facilitate commercial and military connection with the Spanish overseas colonies. The absence of ethnographic information, severely questioned by Spanish authorities in the last chapter, highlighted also the narrow hydrographic concerns guiding this naval survey. In 1788, the planning of Malaspina's expedition arrived at the end of Tofiño's commission and represented a continuation and supplementation of the original hydrographic venture.²⁴

Malaspina's venture was not the only Spanish hydrographic expedition to emerge from Tofiño's survey. Two officers assigned to the original survey, Dionisio Alcalá Galeano and Alejandro Belmonte, were soon invited to participate in a hydrographic endeavor to survey Magellan's Strait. The voyage (1785–1786) of the frigate *Santa María de la Cabeza*, under the command of Antonio de Córdoba, attempted to determine whether sailing through this strategic area should be preferred over the navigation around Cape Horn. It expanded Tofiño's methods to the Spanish colonial realm by bringing three chronometers and a brand-new English sextant to the region. Similarly, the survey also elaborated on the inaccuracies of earlier British, Dutch, and French maps, preventing possible claims and designs on the region.²⁵

An additional hydrographic expedition investigated the Atlantic coastline and the Caribbean islands. The objective was to create a maritime atlas of North and Central America including the islands of the Caribbean (referred to by the Spanish as *América Septentrional*). This project set sail a year before Malaspina's departure and commanded as many as four brigs. Spanish political involvements following the French Revolution, however, greatly hindered its progress. The participants of this vast survey limped through several naval conflicts, until a royal command ordered the venture to be discontinued in 1805. Although the project succumbed to the fortunes of war, the many maps and hydrographic charts would greatly enrich an office created for this purpose in 1797.²⁶

The project leading up to the creation of the American maritime atlas was one of the first to move beyond hydrographic motives. José de Mazarredo, in an evaluation of this project, highlighted the possibilities of the expedition. Well-versed in the British and French literature on

the Pacific, he had participated extensively in Tofiño's maritime atlas. In 1786, he proposed to Naval Minister Valdés two additional hydrographical ventures that served as groundwork for future project.²⁷ Moving beyond mere surveys of port facilities and shipping lanes, Mazarredo emphasized the importance of botany and natural history to further the commerce with the colonial dependencies.²⁸

In short, if one reads Malaspina's venture against the multiple expeditions encompassing the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, it ceases to be a mere reaction to the Franco-British expeditions. Seen in their totality, Tofiño's hydrographic project, the survey of Magellan's Strait, the coastal appraisals surrounding the American atlas, as well as Malaspina's journey figure as ambitious Bourbon attempts to secure the navigational corridors linking their far-flung empire across the Atlantic or Pacific oceans. From this perspective, the Pacific emerges not as an eighteenth-century new world, but as a territory tied to the period of Spanish expansion that preceded the northern European exploration by more than two centuries.

The many charts and maps deriving from the hydrographic projects radiating out from Spain called for a central depository. Similar organizations already existed in Britain and France. In 1720, the French were the first to establish a hydrographical office in Paris in 1720: *Dépôt des Cartes et Plans, Journeaux et Mémoires Concernant la Navigation*. This agency stood under the leadership of Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703–1772) who crafted a multitude of maps employed by many maritime powers. A similar, although less concerted, effort emerged in the British Isles following a major shipping disaster in 1707. Commercial companies were the first to organize their charts to assist their navigation. Alexander Dalrymple, for instance, was in charge of such efforts by the English East India Company. In 1795, his growing expertise led him to assume the directorship of the newly created hydrographic office.²⁹

Spanish developments in the creation of such a department were tardy, although Jorge Juan had suggested centralized collection of hydrographic maps as early as 1770. It was Vicente Tofiño's work on the Spanish maritime atlas that required a permanent storage facility for the flurry of hydrographic charts produced. This demand was further supported by José de Espinosa y Tello, who, in conjunction with José de Mazarredo, lobbied the Spanish government. In 1797, their efforts were crowned with success through the creation of the *Dirección de Trabajos Hidrográficos*.³⁰ Espinosa became its first director, and, as mentioned in the introduction, he would empower this new institution in the crafting of maritime charts. Official publications of the hydrographic expeditions

were lagging behind. Espinosa, nevertheless, brought to light many maps related to the hydrographic ventures, which provided firm foundation for the Spanish judicial corridors across the world's oceans.³¹ The historical foundation of these corridors would necessitate a different type of research, which would emerge in connection with Malaspina's expedition.

Malaspina's "terrestrial" expedition

Alejandro Malaspina's (1754–1809) naval career prepared him well as a candidate to lead Spain's most ambitious expedition to the Pacific Ocean. An Italian of birth, he followed many of his countrymen into the Spanish naval service in 1774. He undertook three voyages to the Philippines and fought with distinction during the latter stages of the American Revolutionary War. In September of 1788, along with fellow naval official José Bustamante y Guerra he proposed a plan for a grand political and scientific voyage around the world. This proposal, addressed to Naval Minister Valdés, was unusual in that it originated with two individuals rather than with the state. When read against the unfolding hydrographic expeditions and the judicial passages they charted, however, the proposal could only fall on sympathetic ears.³²

Alejandro Malaspina's venture to the Pacific (1789–1794) has received much attention as of late, and it is often understood as resulting from a direct challenge to Spanish hegemony over the Pacific. Its two corvettes, the *Atrevida* and the *Descubierta*, were specifically constructed for the journey and carried an array of scientists and draftsmen to their destinations throughout the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Ironically, James Cook and his successors had confirmed what Spanish intellectuals had long suspected: The absence of a large continent in the southern hemisphere. Eliminating such geographical chimeras in the Pacific undermined the original purpose of the Anglo-French expeditions to the region and provided Malaspina with a new exploratory mission. Malaspina was aware that a mere imitation of Cook and La Pérouse's journeys amounted to a pointless undertaking: "Any attempt to compare the voyage of the [two] royal naval corvettes... with those undertaken by the English and French expeditions since 1765 would surely incur serious risk of error... Any attempt at a further voyage of discovery would have invited scorn from scholars."³³ For, Malaspina felt, "the peoples living on the shores of the Pacific, their customs, numbers and origins, had been described and their products examined."³⁴

Sailing into a realm that was no longer populated by imaginary features, Malaspina had a different purpose.³⁵ In the scientific realm, Malaspina's mission extended an ongoing Spanish hydrographic project into the Pacific Ocean, with the purpose of improving navigation between the Spanish possessions of the Americas as well as their more distant outposts in the Marianas and the Philippines.³⁶ The explicit political aim of the expedition connected itself with earlier Spanish concerns of the "prosperity and defense of America and her direct and indirect connection with the mother country."³⁷

With such political and scientific purposes in mind, Malaspina's voyage is better understood as a vehicle to reform existing colonial conditions. Similarly, his journey sought to connect the more secure Spanish possessions in the Americas with the vulnerable outposts in the Pacific.³⁸ Already before his departure from the Spanish port of Cádiz, Malaspina had outlined a number of political axioms – statements assumed to be true – that tried to apply natural law to the Spanish administration of the American colonies. At the center of these axioms was Malaspina's call for political and economic reform in the American colonies. Attempting to uncover the scientific nature of empire through the prism of Newtonian physics, his project sought to link abstract economic ideas with the political realities uncovered by the expedition.³⁹ In this sense, his mission sat well with the existing intellectual attempts to merge Pacific exploration with an effort to strengthen the defenses of the Spanish possessions. In other words, it brought the Americas to the forefront and erased the supposed uniqueness of the Pacific revealed by the Anglo-French expeditions.

The Pacific figured as an important afterthought in Malaspina's considerations to strengthen the ties between the Americas and Spain. Russian establishments along the Northwest Coast and a British settlement in Australia were now breaching the Pacific, whose "tyranny of distance" had in the past served as a natural bulwark protecting the Spanish Americas from interlopers. Malaspina predicted that it was only a matter of time before these real and planned bases would figure as integral parts of a concerted attack on the Spanish Americas. The Pacific as a barrier proved illusionary and was now transitioning to serving as a hostile body of water beyond Spanish control. Malaspina maintained that only a strengthened commercial and political link between Spain and her colonies, safeguarded by the emerging judicial passages explored through his expedition, could ward off the impending European threats.⁴⁰

This practical insight also elucidates a fundamental difference between Alejandro Malaspina and the voyages of James Cook. While Cook

spent literally 70 percent of his voyages crisscrossing the open Pacific, Malaspina's vessels spent most of the time resting in port. His two corvettes spent only 40 percent of their time out on the open ocean, suggesting that Malaspina's expedition is perhaps better characterized as a terrestrial, rather than a maritime, affair.⁴¹ While the British mariner attempted to master and chart the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean, Malaspina operated in a universe that attempted to link the lesser-known Pacific with the better-known Atlantic Ocean. Where Cook operated under the guise of furthering geographical knowledge for the transnational European scholarly community, Malaspina had explicit practical and political aims that sought to reform the Spanish transoceanic empire.

Malaspina's "terrestrial" aims also explain why his expedition failed to contact great parts of the island Pacific. His initial plans detailed surveys of the Hawaiian and Society Islands. In practice, however, the island Pacific suffered neglect. It was abandoned for extensive surveys of the American littoral and the Philippines, where Malaspina remained for seven months. His diplomatic excursion to the British settlement in Australia and brief survey of Dusky Bay fell outside the official corridors he was charged to survey. Likewise, his brief stay in the northern islands of the Tongan archipelago intended to follow the footsteps of Mourelle, who had touched upon the islands a good decade earlier. Besides the interesting ethnographic and linguistic information gathered, the stay in



Figure 5.2 A touch of Pacific enchantment: the dance of the Men on Vavao, Tonga (Courtesy of Museo Naval, ms 1724)

Vava'u provided the participants with a touch of Pacific magic that had enchanted northern Europeans for two decades. In reality, however, the Tongan interlude contributed little to the more explicit political aims of the expedition. It remains a much-studied oddity of Malaspina's venture.

Malaspina's decision to forgo a detailed exploration of the Hawaiian Islands was connected to an issue that many high-ranking Spanish individuals considered of prime importance. In March of 1781, historian Juan Bautista Muñoz, in his effort to collect documents connected to Spain's overseas endeavors in Seville, had stumbled across a document authored by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado. This mariner claimed to have sailed through the legendary Strait of Anián from east to west in 1588. The captain maintained that he had emerged from the fabled Northwest Passage at approximately 60° latitude. This report received additional credence when, in November of 1790, the French Royal Geographer Philippe Buache de Neuville presented a detailed examination of Maldonado's document before the Parisian Royal Academy of Sciences. The geographer was convinced of the document's authenticity and shared his thought with those in attendance. Reports getting back to Spain urged Malaspina, who had since departed for the Americas, to change his expedition plans. Instead of focusing on the Hawaiian Islands, Malaspina was now to pay close attention to the Northwest Coast, especially the region located between 59° and 60° latitude, to verify Maldonado's claims.⁴² While Malaspina endeavored to find the mysterious passage, historian Martín Fernández de Navarrete pursued Maldonado's leads in Spanish archives and revealed the captain as an unreliable chronicler. Malaspina's experienced observations, coupled with Navarrete's archival-based revealed knowledge, would set the stage for a novel way of describing the Pacific Ocean.

The uniqueness of Malaspina's projected expedition publication emerges from the archival wealth he left behind. While Malaspina certainly sought to emulate the voluminous British and French works that preceded him, he also attempted to craft a work that was a great deal more analytical and reflective of his explicit "political-scientific" mission guiding the expedition. Where Cook's publications were mostly descriptive of Pacific encounters, only one of Malaspina's seven proposed volumes was dedicated to the actual expedition's diary. The expedition's hydrographic surveys and emerging maritime corridors were to receive their own volume, as were geography and indigenous inhabitants of the contacted regions. Maritime health was also deemed important enough to receive its tome. A special volume would be set aside for Malaspina's political "axioms" and suggestions for administrative reforms and

improvement. The two last books rounding out his publication series were a volume dedicated to an ancillary expedition of the sloops *Sutil* and *Mexicana* and a second tome addressing astronomical and meteorological observations. These two would be the only works to see the light of publication, and even in them, Malaspina's by then disgraced name would be carefully edited out of their content.⁴³

The volume dedicated to the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* highlights the important aspect of revealed archival knowledge, which would set Malaspina's expedition apart from Anglo-French endeavors. The large historical introduction to this volume has been attributed to Navarrete, who was, in tandem with José Vargas Ponce, planning an opulent history of the Spanish navy. Although many current scholars regard this volume as a reaction to the publication of George Vancouver's circumnavigation (1791–1795), the work on the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* is a great deal more complex. It speaks to a neglected aspect of Malaspina's venture: historical inquiry. This is not to say that history did not play a role in Cook's publications, but it did so only in regard to the dismissal of earlier exploratory accomplishments. In the British volumes on the Pacific, encountered knowledge clearly trumped revealed archival information.

In the Spanish context, history was always of pivotal importance. In his masterful rendition of Spanish historiographical writing from the late Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, Richard Kagan asserts that Spanish official history writing should not be considered incorrect fact-finding. Spanish historians were political beings, who saw their task as an attempt to legitimate Spanish dominion over the New World, first obtained by the Papal Bull of 1493. This was no easy task for official historians, who, from the sixteenth century onward, were expected to merge both natural and moral (human) aspects of history.⁴⁴ The dilemma of producing histories of both the natural and the moral universe of the Americas and the porous seas surrounding them proved to be a laborious task.

Malaspina recognized the importance of history to set his expedition apart. He dispatched many of his officers deep into Spanish archives before the expedition left the Iberian Peninsula. While the two vessels were abroad, he sent his officers to archives located in the Spanish-controlled Americas as well as the Philippines.⁴⁵ In January of 1789, Malaspina instructed Espinoza to research the archives that naval historian Vargas Ponce had assembled. The Italian captain was quite taken with Vargas Ponce's accomplishment: "Reading [Vargas Ponce's account on the Strait of Magellan] I am convinced that this person, with such

eloquence and detailed critique, could greatly assist us in the compilation of the old documents that we require for our commission."⁴⁶ Ultimately, Vargas Ponce's extensive historical expertise resulted in an invitation to join in Malaspina's publication team.⁴⁷

This publication, however, never came into being. Malaspina's involvement in palace intrigue prompted his arrest shortly after his return. Outspoken and insistent on colonial political reform, Malaspina quickly ran afoul of State Minister Godoy. Charged with treason, the Italian mariner received a lengthy prison sentence that was commuted to exile through the intervention of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1802. The long-term damage of this affair, however, represented the confiscation of the expedition results, which became entombed in Spanish archives. Malaspina's expedition, which had left Spain with much pomp and fanfare, was now treated with icy silence.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, this fate did not only befall Malaspina's expedition, but also tainted the hydrographic expedition to the Americas. The leader of this venture, Cosme Damián Churruca, rightfully feared that his results might be affected by Malaspina's "political hurricane" bearing down on the innocent. Through the grapevine, he had heard that all hydrographic information was to be confiscated without seeing the light of publication. He complained bitterly to Mazarredo:

I cannot understand the reasons why we have to silence our results. Most of them represent nautical data about distant coasts, which foreign navies have done a far better job in exploring. This [important fact] we should impart to those individuals who profess an interest in defending our overseas possessions. They should consider the disadvantage of submerging such costly expedition results in an archive. Might its sole purpose be to squander our health? We should wait and see what we are instructed. I shall comply with all official orders, as our superiors will do what they deem best. In all honesty, I will shed no tears over the laborious task inherent in the publication of my results. I am exhausted and much rather prefer to rest in oblivion than to be torn apart by a precarious favor.⁴⁹

The hydrographic material, while never published as intended, survived in the Spanish deposit created for that purpose. The ignominious demise of the Malaspina expedition relegated encountered knowledge to archives and depositories. This action provided revealed (archival) knowledge the opportunity to be centered in the writings of two prominent naval historians.

José Vargas Ponce and the emergence of the Spanish Pacific monograph

José de Vargas Ponce (1760–1821) was a naval officer whose passion for history was kindled early in his life through a translation of seventeenth-century traveler Jean Baptiste Tavernier and a close reading of the Abbé Raynal's work on the Two Indies. Incensed over French insults against the Spanish nation, young Vargas Ponce vowed to take action.⁵⁰ He chose a naval career and joined the Coast Guard Academy in 1782, where he became deeply involved in Vicente Tofiño's hydrographical project. Vargas Ponce's literary skills in the crafting of the publication that resulted from these endeavors were greatly appreciated.⁵¹

Vargas Ponce's growing renown as a historian caught the eye of naval official José Mendoza y Rios. Mendoza had just returned from an extensive trip to England, which led him to envision the establishment of a museum and a library honoring the Spanish navy in the city of Cádiz. His enthusiastic proposal received the prompt approval of Charles IV.⁵² Called upon by Mendoza to serve in this emerging project, Vargas Ponce suggested the development of two complementary works: A multi-volume Spanish naval history from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries and an accompanying collection of primary sources attesting to prominent Spanish voyages.⁵³ Vargas Ponce regarded his project as mirroring the "numerous English collections translated into many European languages."⁵⁴ Unlike many Spanish critics before him, Vargas Ponce was greatly inspired by the published monographs on the Pacific emerging out of northern Europe. Not only were they brimming with insights into the natural history of the area, they also revealed "the philosopher's classifications about man from his primitive states to the highest stages of civilization."⁵⁵

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Spanish writers had taken timid steps in publishing earlier navigators' journals. Vargas Ponce wanted to turn this effort into a steady stream of publications to ensure an adequate remembrance of Spain's maritime heritage. Most importantly, these accounts could potentially revive and vindicate some ancient rights of Spain to recently contested regions, most prominently, the Pacific. When Spanish reviewers of his proposal raised some legitimate concerns against his ambitious project, Vargas Ponce defended his mission:

We have to connect the completed Spanish diaries with the [recent] succinct European ideas to trace the fine thread of discoveries

uncovering the particular contributions of each nation. ... I have initiated this labor and have provided a good example in my narrative of the last voyage to Magellan's Strait, a work well received by the public.⁵⁶

What Vargas Ponce was alluding to in his quote was the publication of the results of the hydrographic expedition of the frigate *Santa Maria de la Cabeza's* voyage (1785–1786) to Magellan's Strait, which aimed to connect Vicente Tofiño's project from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic and beyond.⁵⁷ Vargas Ponce's role was similar to that of Bernardo de Iriarte who, as chronicled in Chapter 3, had edited Sarmiento Gamboa's voyage to the same region in the late 1760s. Unlike Iriarte's work, Vargas Ponce drew on archival as well as encountered knowledge to craft a monograph that rivaled northern European works. In other words, Vargas Ponce brought Iriarte's project, which had relied exclusively on archival information, full circle. The naval historian's unique contribution was to divide the book into two prominent sections. The first represented the direct encountered hydrographic knowledge from the *Santa Maria de la Cabeza* expedition. This section confronted the reader with dry, almost unfiltered, scientific data from the hydrographic survey. For the less scientifically inclined reader, Vargas Ponce attached a second section, which offered the revealed knowledge or a detailed historical outline of previous expeditions to the region, ending with Bougainville's voyage in the late 1760s. This revealed section included a physical description of the contacted regions, with a generous discussion of its flora and fauna, as well as an ethnographic outline on the indigenous inhabitants of Patagonia. Reflecting on the size of these purported giants, Vargas Ponce argued that they were well-built individuals but certainly far from the towering creatures reported by earlier explorers.

Vargas Ponce's book emerged as a precious volume bound in red leather with gold-tipped pages. Meant to rival the magnificent British and French voyage editions, it was "to remedy, although late, as much as possible [our] discredit [among other maritime nations]."⁵⁸ Vargas Ponce was candid about the active role of the Spanish government in the decline of publication:

[Our] voyages ceased to be a mystery, well known to all maritime nations since the end of the sixteenth century. [Secrecy] became clearly superfluous and it would have mattered much to publish all of these maritime glories in their entirety. The great caution of our Monarchy over the next century, her decline in all matters and

particular in the literary output, and the almost complete annihilation of our Navy became insurmountable obstacles that ultimately resulted in the glory of other nations less interested in occulting their voyages.... Thus the Spanish silence harmed them in many ways: the foreign expeditions took on the novelty [of their discoveries] and with impunity called anterior discoveries theirs. Spanish ventures were slowly lost or forgotten to the point that even the famous Cook [in his second voyage rendition] could not speak with exactitude about the voyage of Alvaro de Mendaña in 1595 and only provided a brief extract that was equally injurious in its omissions as in the fables that were associated with it.⁵⁹

Vargas Ponce was keen to point out key differences between his and other voyage accounts. Unlike John Hawkesworth, who attempted to make up for the fact that he did not participate in the ventures he was discussing by engaging in idle philosophical speculations, Vargas Ponce found his salvation in historical narrative. The naval officer maintained that Spanish mariners first separated the narration of events from the description of encountered knowledge during their fifteenth-century expansion. Candid about new narrative developments in the Age of Enlightenment, he tipped his hat to the monographs following Anson's circumnavigation. Enjoying the separation of different materials in individual chapters, Vargas Ponce highlighted Commodore Phipps's exploration to the Arctic Ocean as the best example of how to organize a monograph. Phipps had opted to place the important hydrographic information that would be of limited appeal in the form of tables at the end of his text to ensure the preceding narrative offered a smooth reading experience. History, on the other hand, was used sparingly by the northern European writers and was frequently evoked to highlight the supposed superiority of eighteenth-century voyages. In Spain, however, the historical tradition was gaining strength.⁶⁰ In this context, Vargas Ponce was one of the first intellectuals in Spain to appreciate the Pacific not in terms of what was lost for Spain – the looming loss of exclusivity to this ocean. Rather, Vargas Ponce centered his writings on what was gained: A new way of representing the wide-open oceanic spaces. Most importantly, Vargas Ponce stressed continuity where anterior monographs saw a radical break in the business of discovery: "The Spanish expeditions their discoveries of the sixteenth century and the current English voyages have so completed our geography that we should not expect important new findings in the near future."⁶¹

By stressing continuity, Vargas Ponce was in a position of ranking European discoveries in terms of importance. In the case of the Americas, Vargas Ponce acknowledged that Spaniards were not alone in uncovering this vast new world. He credited, for instance, Francis Drake's expedition with charting novel regions during his passage through Magellan's Strait. At the same time, the Spanish naval historian pointed to the frequently forgotten Juan Fernández Ladrillero, who, unlike Drake, performed the first round trip through this geographical feature between 1558 and 1559.⁶²

By emphasizing archival and encountered information on South America, Vargas Ponce evaluated both the advantages and disadvantages in connection with the navigation around Cape Horn or through the Strait of Magellan. The passage through Magellan's Strait allowed frequent stopovers to avoid overexhaustion and the dreaded scourge of scurvy. On the negative side, the Strait featured dangerous rock formations and treacherous shorelines that required the utmost skill and an experienced navigator. In contrast, rocks and islets were a lesser occurrence on the route around the Horn. Its foul weather conditions, however, made stopovers and provisioning a difficult and dangerous activity. After considering all the evidence, Vargas Ponce argued that the route via Cape Horn did indeed represent the safer alternative, and he suggested several safe places for rest and provisioning.⁶³

Vargas Ponce's work found a transnational audience through English translator John Dougall, who, after residing in Spain, ceased to regard this country as an intellectual backwater: "In what relates to maritime information respecting her dominions, European and American, *Spain has done more and in more systematic manner, than all other powers of Christendom put together.*"⁶⁴ Despite his positive assertion, Dougall did not limit himself to a mere translation of Vargas Ponce's work. Through severe editing, Dougall completely omitted the naval historian's carefully crafted introduction, with the effect of neutering the book's overall impact. To make matters worse, the English translator also deleted Vargas Ponce's historical chronology, which the historian regarded as his main innovative contribution to the voyaging genre. Stripped of this vital information, what remained amounted to a slim volume of a mere 160 pages that brought together hydrographic information, news about flora and fauna, and the ethnographic notes about the Patagonian inhabitants. One can only speculate on the reasons for Dougall's omissions. Yet, stripped of its innovations, Vargas Ponce's volume remained a sad testimony, complementing rather than superseding the existing volumes published by the French and British navigators.

If Dougall effectively eliminated the political potential of Vargas Ponce's framework, the Spanish naval historian also had to face criticisms from actual participants of the expedition he was compiling. One of the harshest critics turned out to be Cosme Damián Churruca (1761–1805), who, after participating in the endeavor to Magellan's Strait, took on a leadership role during the survey for the Atlas of the Americas.⁶⁵ Churruca was less taken by Vargas Ponce's innovations and maintained that the separation of hydrographic information from the rest of the book represented a poor editorial choice:

The historian, who separates in his narrative political from military matters, is in fact writing two separate treatises... [His] work would in essence become unreadable because the inherent connections between nature and historical narrative would simply fade away. Separating nautical matters from the detailed description of the soil, climate, and indigenous inhabitants of the surveyed regions erodes the reader's attention. We are left with a dry and ungracious narrative that even the most educated person could not follow. Monotony abounds [in this work]. It is for this very reason that Horace argued that one had to mix facts with an agreeable style. This is why most voyage narratives have avoided such precarious division.⁶⁶

Despite Churruca's criticism, Vargas Ponce pushed on and employed his monograph on Magellan's Strait as a successful foundation for a larger naval history, chronicling the worth of Spanish voyages from the fifteenth century to the present day of his writing. He wrote, "I hope [the day] is not far when the present and other Spanish voyages will be part of an entirely original collection that is sure to attract great attention."⁶⁷

While compiling notes on the Magellan Strait expedition, Vargas Ponce gave substance to his thoughts. He presented them in an essay written for the notable members of Royal Historical Academy when he was asked to join this illustrious organization following sponsorship by Vicente Tofiño.⁶⁸ His essay started out with the rather unspectacular claim for inclusion of naval history in wider Spanish national history. He foresaw the division of such history into essentially four distinct periods: The first era leading up to the drastic expansion following Columbus voyage in 1492, the second period of "glorious" expansion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a sad epoch of decline and near annihilation of Spanish naval forces from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries, and a last positive period of upswing following the reign of Charles III.

However, Vargas Ponce's purpose in this historical work was hardly chronological. In fact, he wanted to "revindicate triumphs and discoveries that were exclusively ours, erase the grave accusations that left us like a pupil without a teacher, and purge the pages of our apt navigators of the unfortunate blotches they have experienced..."⁶⁹ Vargas Ponce, however, did not espouse the naïve nationalistic spirit of earlier writers, who insisted that the British had robbed the Spanish of their legitimate discoveries. He praised Cook: "This illustrious Argonaut manifests his admiration when he discusses those who came first in parting the waters and their names are followed by a vivid and respectful eulogia. If only historians would be equally fair and disinterested."⁷⁰ Vargas Ponce was quite familiar with the writings emerging from Cook's expeditions. As a member of good standing in the Royal Academy of History, Vargas Ponce had twice, in 1791 and 1794, condemned a proposed Spanish translation of John Hawkesworth's collection of English voyages. In his verdict, he felt that the translator had employed the work to undermine Cook's accomplishments and had not done justice to this illustrious navigator.⁷¹

Vargas Ponce's eulogies and admiration for Cook had limitations. The historian in him was called upon to rank discoveries. He maintained that Cook reclaimed and improved on the voyages of Elcano, Quirós, and Mendaña, since he came equipped with better ships and instruments. Pairing Cook with anterior Spanish voyages was a strategic move by the naval historian. His work highlighted the continuity between early Spanish voyages and the voyages performed in the eighteenth century. Moreover, listing earlier Spanish voyages to a region that supposedly was unveiled by Cook lessened the impact of the British captain. Vargas Ponce argued that only a trained naval expert would be able to appreciate this nuanced distinction. Expertise in sailing the ocean as well as exploring the sea of sources in the archives would be a prerequisite to compare archival accounts with the encountered knowledge hailing from more recent voyages. Vargas Ponce realized that a skilled naval history, while acknowledging the debt to the eighteenth-century French and British explorers would mine a major uncharted area: Spanish archives.

Adroitly, Vargas Ponce illustrated that archival voyages were just as important as navigation in distant seas. He proceeded to provide some examples to back his claims. Elcano and Drake could be equally credited with circumnavigating the globe, but only the naval historian was able to distinguish between a daring adventuring voyage (Magellan/Elcano) and a privateering venture (Drake). Furthermore, maritime historians

should give more exposure to Sarmiento and the Nodales brothers, who, in their maritime endeavors, paved the way for the celebrated voyages of John Byron and Philip Carteret. The main task of the naval historian was then to separate the pioneers from the followers to uncover continuity and primacy in the business of discovery.⁷² Put in other words, Vargas Ponce decision to merge archival with encountered material allowed for the very accounts Spanish intellectuals had been demanding for the better part of a generation.

Vargas Ponce's plea for historical continuity was the result of a gifted mind, which frequently landed him in trouble with state authorities. Attempting to make his mark during a particularly dark time in Spanish history did not help matters. Only a few years after Vargas Ponce joined the Royal Academy of History, revolution would break out in neighboring France. This led to short-lived hostilities between neighbors, in which Spanish regular troops suffered defeat at the hand of revolutionary forces. While Vargas Ponce's accomplishments earned him a nomination to the post of President of the Academy of History in 1804, he quickly ran afoul of Minister Godoy and was forced to leave Madrid.

The next year the infamous battle of Trafalgar pitted the combined Franco-Spanish fleet against Lord Nelson's Royal Navy. The ensuing crushing defeat took the lives of many excellent Spanish officers and further illustrated the lack of coordination in the vacillating politics of Charles IV and his Minister Godoy. The crisis of Trafalgar would precipitate the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808. This event further divided Spanish naval officers. Some swore loyalty to Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, as the new monarch of Spain. José Mazarredo, for instance, became minister of the navy under the new regime and prevented the transfer of many remaining Spanish vessels to France. Mazarredo became the poster-child of the *afrancesado* – the Francophile – who sold his national loyalties to the French occupier for personal gain. Only a premature death, in 1812, prevented Mazarredo's complete demonization.

On the other extreme, one might find José Espinosa, who in his function as director of the Spanish Hydrographic Deposit, not only fled the French-controlled areas, but also salvaged many of the charts and maps produced by his office. The two main characters discussed in this chapter, Vargas Ponce and Navarrete, whose role is discussed further on, are probably better classified as stoic *afrancesados*, whose declining health, as with Vargas Ponce, or numerous dependents in the case of Navarrete, prevented them from evading the French occupation. Vargas

Ponce would join the Spanish resistance after a short collaboration with the regime of Joseph Bonaparte, while Navarrete's case is a great deal more complicated.

Navarrete's archival voyages

Frequently at odds with domestic and foreign forces in Spanish politics, Vargas Ponce was unable to finish the envisioned history of the Navy. His volume on Magellan's Strait coupled with his essay on naval history, however, pointed at new ways of conceptualizing Spanish monographs. Vargas Ponce's endeavors would provide a firm conceptual foundation for Martín Fernández de Navarrete (1765–1844).⁷³ Although Navarrete was only a few years younger than Vargas Ponce, his age prevented him from partaking in Vicente Tofiño's monumental hydrographic project. His passion for history was kindled in connection with the establishment of a naval depository for Spanish historical accomplishments in Cádiz, approved by Charles IV in 1789.⁷⁴ This project enabled Navarrete to cross paths with many prominent historians active in the Spanish Peninsula at that time. Navarrete, for instance, would benefit from Juan Bautista Muñoz's large-scale archive assembled in the city of Seville.⁷⁵

Navarrete's voyages into the bowels of Spanish archival holdings were not unlike the Franco-British ventures into the Pacific. While the latter, starting with Cook, had scores of naturalists and illustrators, Navarrete also received support from many naval individuals who copied relevant documents available in Madrid, Seville, and Simancas. Naval personnel much-desired employment as scribes or copiers for Navarrete's project, since it meant that they could sit out the volatile years following the French Revolution in the archives. Moreover, participants in Navarrete's archival expeditions could expect a doubling of their salary, which illustrated the priority the Spanish navy gave to this work.⁷⁶

In his archival endeavor, Navarrete ultimately crossed paths with Vargas Ponce, who was on his own collecting mission for primary material. The two historians were off to a rocky start. In late summer of 1791, Navarrete complained to Naval Minister Valdés about Vargas Ponce's unwillingness to share a set of crucial primary documents. The sources in question chronicled the exploits of the infamous sixteenth-century pirate Barbarossa, who threatened Spanish coastlines and shipping in the Mediterranean Sea. Navarrete maintained that a duplication of these documents meant unnecessary expenses and advised the naval minister to ensure the prompt return of the sources held by Vargas Ponce.⁷⁷

Following this initial flare-up, their relationship improved considerably, and the two historians frequently compared notes. Their overlapping agendas are best illustrated through their correspondence. Where Vargas Ponce envisioned the creation of a general history of the Spanish navy with accompanying primary source material, Navarrete informed Naval Minister Valdés about the need for a naval dictionary. This work was to bridge changes in nautical terminology from the first Spanish naval expansions in the fifteenth century to the period of Navarrete's writing. The dictionary was to trace subtle shifts in definition and assist naval officials in their reading of centuries-old texts. This work would ultimately lead to the crafting of a multivolume edition on Spanish maritime expansion. This *Biblioteca Marítima Española* was to faithfully reproduce the century-old text, which Navarrete was to contextualize through editorial comments. Both these works, Navarrete maintained, were of great importance for the education of young naval cadets.⁷⁸ Navarrete's idea of creating a collection of primary sources on Spanish maritime expansion paralleled that of Vargas Ponce.

In November of 1790, Philippe Buache de la Neuville presented a widely circulated paper to the Parisian Academy of Sciences. In his essay, he defended the authenticity of a report penned by Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, who claimed to have sailed through the fabled Northwest Passage, purportedly uniting the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans, in 1588.⁷⁹ The revival of this geographical chimera in the wake of Cook's expedition and following the outbreak of the French Revolution was meant to gather support for an expedition to investigate the whereabouts of La Pérouse's vanished ships. Alerted by this French interest in the Northwest Coast, Spanish authorities ordered Malaspina to depart from Mexico, and sailing to a latitude of 60° north, he was to search for the elusive passage. This political rearranging of Malaspina's expedition was accompanied by another, unusual voyage: Naval officials asked Navarrete to track down Maldonado's original discourse to find out more about the character of its author.

Navarrete's archival voyage proved fruitful. After extensive research, he located Maldonado's original copy in the library of the Duke of Infantado, and immediately asked for official permission to make a copy. Despite the impending Christmas celebration, Navarrete was allowed access to this vital document.⁸⁰ Further research into Maldonado's character was to follow and, by 1791, Navarrete communicated to his superiors that the account was indeed imaginary.

Combining revealed archival material and encountered knowledge from his two frigates, Malaspina considered including Navarrete's report

in his own expedition results.⁸¹ Navarrete himself endeavored a translation of Buache's memorial to the French Academy of Sciences.⁸² The importance of this event was not lost to Navarrete, who communicated to Vargas Ponce:

I have delivered to [Valdés] an essay, which he ordered me to compile the voyage of an ancient Spanish navigator. My report was not the only one supporting the apocryphal nature of this account, as Malaspina recently confirmed [my findings] during his exploration of the North American coast. A new order is now under way to expand my memorial to include [the results of] Malaspina's expedition and others that have been performed in this region.⁸³

The disintegration of Malaspina's expedition prevented the execution of this work. Undeterred, Navarrete would continue to write an extensive essay on apocryphal voyages through the Northwest Passage. Unfortunately, this essay would see publication only a few years after his death.⁸⁴ In this document, Navarrete took offense with foreign critics who "could not allow us the glory of having been first to brave the irate seas in an effort to double the reach of the known globe."⁸⁵

Navarrete labeled his archival voyages, perhaps in an attempt to mirror Malaspina's political-scientific approach, the "critical-historical method." According to the naval historian, his approach had much in common with the placement of naturalists on eighteenth-century expeditions. Their main function, following Navarrete, was to calibrate the tall tales and yarns spun by unsupervised ship captains and their naval officers. Supervised encountered knowledge was but one way to refute apocryphal voyages, such as Maldonado's venture. Cook and Malaspina had pointed at a positive way to gather knowledge: "Another can be found in Spanish archives as well as the memory of our ancient writers where it is readily available to the analytical critic."⁸⁶ The best way to react to the detractors of Spanish accomplishments was to continue to publish the "diaries and documents" of anterior voyages.⁸⁷

Navarrete's archival expedition and the successful debunking of Maldonado's voyage inspired Naval Minister Valdés to combine the efforts of Vargas Ponce and Navarrete. He may have been swayed by the argument that a Spanish voyage compilation was the best way to underscore Malaspina's grand venture that was by now well on its way. By the summer of 1792, Vargas Ponce received approval to go ahead with his history on the Spanish navy. A secondary order went to Navarrete, who was to compile a collection of primary material to support this

endeavor.⁸⁸ Unfortunately, their project was not to last. The outbreak of hostilities between Spain and Revolutionary France required both Navarrete and Vargas Ponce to return to active duty.

In May of 1795, Navarrete suggested that his collection project should be placed on hold. In his view, the chaotic conditions encountered in the Archives of the Indies in Seville prevented a concerted effort at copying material for the naval collections. A royal order halting the project quickly ensued, much to the dismay of Navarrete's scribes, who not only lost their lucrative salaries but also had to return to active naval duty.⁸⁹ Vargas Ponce and Navarrete continued to collect information, but their efforts became increasingly more difficult as political events spiraled out of control. With an ailing Vargas Ponce less and less engaged in this historical project, the responsibility to bring at least parts of the naval history to a conclusion rested squarely on Navarrete's shoulders.⁹⁰

Navarrete's mastery of combining revealed with encountered knowledge was called upon when, in 1798, the publication of a four-volume work harshly critiqued Spanish nautical accomplishments. Its author, Charles Pierre Claret de Fleurieu (1738–1810), had just issued an edited version of the journals of Etienne Marchand's circumnavigation of the globe (1790–1792).⁹¹ Fleurieu was well-known and highly regarded in Spain. He was instrumental in organizing major naval expeditions, including that of La Pérouse, had served as naval minister under Louis XVI, before the monarch's downfall and demise, and, as a young naval official, had transferred the first French maritime chronometers to the Iberian Peninsula. Since the revolution, however, relations between Spain and its neighbor had soured. Despite an atmosphere of volatile and shifting political alliances, Espinosa's newly created Hydrographic Deposit continued to share much of its printed material with Fleurieu.⁹²

Spanish disappointment was thus boundless, when Fleurieu returned this favor by condemning the Spanish endeavors along the Pacific Northwest Coast. Fleurieu's accusations can be summarized in three major points: The unwillingness to share geographical information, the backwardness of Spanish navigational methods, and the ever-resurfacing myth of the *Leyenda Negra*, especially in connection with the treatment of the native Americans along the coastal regions of California. The religious expansion along the California coast, Fleurieu argued, represented a thinly veiled project of exploitation, "as if the God of peace were indeed the God of conquest and destruction."⁹³ Taken together, Fleurieu's attacks inspired Navarrete to write a spirited defense. Instead of writing a stand-alone treatise against the Frenchman, however,

Navarrete employed a lengthy introduction to a monograph on the voyage of two vessels – the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* – ancillary to Malaspina's expedition to the Northwest Coast.⁹⁴

Navarrete's introduction should be read against a talk he delivered in October of 1800 to the Spanish Historical Academy on the occasion of his introduction to this esteemed society.⁹⁵ While on the surface his presentation concerned itself with Spanish contributions to nautical affairs, Navarrete engaged Vargas Ponce's point of integrating naval history into the canon of national historical endeavors. Such history, he maintained, could highlight Spanish accomplishments to the art of navigation from the fifteenth century to the time of his writing.⁹⁶ It was true that earlier navigational methods were crude when compared to those techniques employed in the eighteenth-century Pacific, especially in connection with the determination of longitude on the open ocean. This attitude, however, frequently led to a process of amnesia in northern Europe where Spanish innovations were quickly claimed and integrated. For instance, northerners frequently credited Edward Wright and Gerardus Mercator for the introduction of the hemispheric map. Navarrete's research, however, revealed that it was Alfonso de Santa Cruz who introduced the concept a good fifty years earlier.⁹⁷ Delighting the notable members of the Academy with his story of Spanish nautical accomplishments, Navarrete ended his discourse with a crescendo: "Columbus and Cook, Magellan and La Pérouse are personalities worthy of our admiration. We should be grateful to them for having through their laborious tasks illuminated our globe."⁹⁸

His juxtaposition of Spanish sixteenth-century figures with those hailing from a more recent age Franco-British was, much as in the case of Vargas Ponce, strategic. By incorporating Columbus and Magellan into the fold of eighteenth-century exploration, Navarrete underscored the great deal of continuity that cemented the business of discovery. Moreover, he demonstrated that the recent efforts in the Pacific were closely tied to the exploration of the Americas. Navarrete ended his talk on a high note: The time was ripe for the naval historian to emphasize Spanish accomplishments in the transnational advancement of the sciences.

Taking this discourse as a point of departure, it is easy to understand why Navarrete was greatly pained by Fleurieu's accusations leveled against Spain. This French individual had partaken in an amicable exchange between France and Spain. Despite such fruitful support, Fleurieu turned from collaboration to confrontation. Navarrete, in his introduction to the volume on the Northwest Coast, took great care

to debunk Fleurieu's attacks. Interestingly, Navarrete's volume followed the format developed by Vargas Ponce in his book on the voyage to Magellan's Strait. The actual accounts of the two ships constituted the main body of the work. Navarrete's contribution was a detailed introduction numbering well over 150 pages.

In this opening, Navarrete, who was not an actual participant in the exploratory voyage, drew on his strength: his archival voyages. He needed to exercise care in organizing the material. On one hand, the vicious attack on Spanish endeavors along the Northwest Coast clearly needed defending. On the other hand, too much insistence on Fleurieu's critiques would have detracted from the transnational purpose of the monograph. Navarrete managed to construct a compromise. For most of his introduction, he followed Vargas Ponce's lead, delineating anterior Spanish and northern European expeditions to the region. In this process, he divided Spanish endeavors into two distinct periods of discovery. The first epoch, lasting through the mid-sixteenth century, was characterized by fledgling nautical techniques. What the good mariners sailing under Spanish flag were lacking in method, they more than made up for with "courage and valor."⁹⁹ The second period started in the seventeenth century and went through the time of Navarrete's writing. This time period was less about outright expansion and discoveries, than about consolidating the territories that had been contacted. Navarrete fell victim to the romantic view that argued for the Spanish evangelical zeal to protect the indigenous peoples. Supposedly exchange and purity of intention had replaced violence and pillage.¹⁰⁰

Ignored in this work were political motives behind Spanish expansions along the Northwest Coast, most prominently defense against Russian encroachment on the region that triggered a phase of settlement in Alta California. Throughout his introduction Navarrete carefully avoided the terms "Pacific" or "South Seas," which were becoming popular in the northern European literature. His choice of terms was *Mares de India*, a notion that firmly anchored the ocean to the more terrestrial conception of the Americas. Continuity in exploration served as an important conceptual tool linking the Pacific to the Spanish-controlled Americas.

Using this platform as a point of departure, Navarrete was now ready to take on Fleurieu. While extolling the Franco-British accomplishments during the eighteenth century, he pointed to the fact that Spain contributed much to the European expansion to these particular regions of the globe. The importance of his critical historical analysis came to the forefront: "History is the Nation's finest apologia."¹⁰¹

Much like Vargas Ponce, Navarrete also took issue with the Spanish policy of secrecy. Yet, he claimed that foreigners – read Fleurieu – had greatly exaggerated this supposed policy and were unwilling to consult the long list of publications that had appeared in Spain. While the number of publications emerging from Great Britain and France greatly exceeded those produced in Spain, notables in the Iberian Peninsula had gradually released their results since the seventeenth century. In this context, Navarrete cited the attempts by Bernardo de Iriarte, Vicente Tofiño, and Vargas Ponce in particular. Their works were less sensational and obvious than those in northern Europe, but ultimately had more direction in providing a template for the hydrographic net linking Spain and her empire. Navarrete chastised the French naval officer for not taking the time to read this readily available information.

Similarly, Navarrete accused Fleurieu of being disingenuous. While the French officer had enthusiastically assisted in the transfer of chronometers to Spain, he quickly turned around to accuse the Iberian nation of using antiquated methods (i.e., astronomical techniques), to determine the longitude on the open ocean. Lastly, he chastised Fleurieu for concealing the Spanish Hydrographic Deposit's assistance to his monograph. The French naval officer had acknowledged this assistance in letters to the directors of that office, but failed to do so in print.¹⁰²

The logical outcome of Navarrete's historical voyages would have been a multi-volume history of the Spanish navy perhaps co-authored by Navarrete with Vargas Ponce. Shortly after the appearance of the volume discussed above, however, political events overtook publication efforts. Napoleon's growing influence over the Spanish navy led to the disaster of Trafalgar and, a few years later, the actual occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by French troops. We are fortunate enough to have Hans Juretschke's work on the Spanish *afrancesados* that dedicates a significant portion to Navarrete during the French occupation between 1808 and 1814.¹⁰³

In Juretsche's portrayal, Navarrete emerges as a mild *afrancesado*, who vacillates between active support for and active resistance against the French usurper Joseph. By the time the Spanish monarchy fell in 1808, Navarrete was a respected naval officer who carried memberships in several Spanish academies. Initially, Navarrete refused to support Joseph's reign and was briefly incarcerated. It was only through the support of his old friend Mazarredo, who had assumed the post of naval minister under Joseph, that Navarrete's deportation to France was prevented. His numerous dependents forced him to accept a job in the French administration, but

only after he had sold his horses and carriages, as well as great part of his library. To make matters worse, the French authorities demanded that he surrender forty-eight valuable manuscripts on Spanish naval affairs. These volumes were Navarrete's historical heritage, and he considered this act as one of the worst spiritual thefts of his nation's past.

A series of French victories against the Spanish resistance between 1810 and 1811 led Navarrete to change his hostile attitude toward the French invasion. He accepted the post of director at a Madrid school, which was a far cry from his former official posts during the Bourbon monarchy. This was reason enough for Spanish nationalists to imprison Navarrete during their brief occupation of Madrid in 1812. Following the expulsion of the French in 1814, Navarrete fought extensively to clear his name. Much to his relief, he was able to recover many of the historical documents impounded by the French occupiers.

When, in 1809, a two-volume monograph on the Malaspina expedition's astronomic observations appeared, the absence of Navarrete's skills in merging archival and encountered knowledge became apparent. Its author, Hydrographic Deposit director Espinosa, had been a participant in this venture. Despite the tumultuous times accompanying the Napoleonic occupation, he decided to release some of the material collected. Espinosa carefully omitted, however, Malaspina's name from the volumes.¹⁰⁴ Unlike the works edited by Navarrete and Vargas Ponce earlier, these volumes lacked a carefully crafted historical-comparative framework and were of interest only to experts.¹⁰⁵ A fiery foreword written by Luis Salazar y Salazar, destined to be Spain's naval minister in 1814, addressed the Spanish contribution to the growth of hydrographical information. What Salazar was lacking in finesse for historical contextualization, he more than made up for with ardent nationalism, defending Spanish accomplishments in light of foreign attacks.¹⁰⁶ Lauding Navarrete's defense against Fleurieu, Salazar was furious that British reviewers dared to label his historian friend a brute nationalist. Tiring of the constant accusations that Spanish authorities refused to publish their voyage accounts, he assured his readers that this situation would soon change:

In a short while, the Hydrographic Deposit will present to the public...a discussion of the principal Spanish journeys during the heyday of their naval prosperity. Through this means of publication [our nation] will then have access to the same testimonies, which have glorified the most educated European countries since the eighteenth century. Spaniards have executed their voyages at a much earlier

date. Now that we are armed with the time and means to verify their accounts, we will be able assign the laurels for such discoveries.¹⁰⁷

The French occupation and the ensuing wars of liberations, however, lessened the transnational salience of this work.

With the French invader gone, and a great part of his confiscated historical collection returned, Navarrete returned to his business of creating a novel approach to voyage literature. He was aided in this endeavor by two fortuitous appointments, which underscored his prominent standing in the Spanish intellectual community. Between the years of 1823 and 1824, Navarrete assumed the helm of the Academy of History and became the third director of the Spanish Hydrographic Deposit.¹⁰⁸ This meant that Navarrete was able to oversee the outputs of both received archival and encountered hydrographic information emanating from Spain.

It was under the protection of the Academy of History that Navarrete launched his most ambitious project, one that had been over three decades in the making. Navarrete's collection of Spanish voyages published in five volumes between 1825 and 1837, quickly turned into the gold standard for Spanish historical research.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the voluminous information inherent in the Spanish archive kept Navarrete's timeframe narrower than intended. Beginning with the preparations for Columbus's voyages, Navarrete had to end his fifth volume with the Spanish attempts to reach the Spice Islands in the 1530s. This period of roughly fifty years was, in Navarrete's assessment, an epoch of startling discoveries encompassing both sides of the Americas and uniting the Atlantic as well as the Pacific oceans. This task completed not only what Spanish intellectuals had sought to accomplish for the better part of two generations, but it also reached the shelves at a time of major Spanish imperial contraction.

Long-standing grievances in the Americas ultimately erupted in revolution following the Napoleonic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula. The emergence of independent states in North and South America robbed Navarrete of his conceptual terrestrial anchor to which he sought to attach the Atlantic and the Pacific. While his *Mares de India* became a hollow proposition, Navarrete felt the project needed continuation. He paired his primary sources with careful introductory sections detailing the hardships faced in the process of source compilation. Much like Vargas Ponce, Navarrete bemoaned the missed opportunities that had guided the Spanish publication effort. To rectify such omissions, the Spanish maritime historian insisted that his volumes provided an important

corrective to foreign distortions. They provided “a justified testimony of Spanish deeds in the New World:”¹¹⁰ a new world, Navarrate insisted, stretching across the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans.

The volumes illustrated how much Navarrete’s historico-critical method had matured. He implicitly admonished foreign writers for having misrepresented Spanish voyages, but, unlike his earlier writings, he was a great deal less irate:

The extensive knowledge we have today about many parts of the globe is indubitably the result of the modern voyages, but these [journeys] lacked the courage of those mariners who preceded them. All things considered, we still find islands and coastlines uncovered by the ancients that were later abandoned and purged from the memory only to be later branded as new encountered discoveries.¹¹¹

Most notable in Navarrete’s volumes was his astute use of terminology. Spanish historians label Navarrete “the source Merlin” – *el Merlín de los papeles* – skilled in not only uncovering hitherto unknown sources but also in placing them into some coherent framework. In his introductions, for instance, he frequently departs from accepted terminology by arguing against the misnamed “Americas.” His alternative was the term *Indias* that permeated official Spanish documents. Likewise, Navarrete eschews the inappropriate “Pacific Ocean” or “South Seas”. His alternative in this case was the *Gran Oceano*, a choice that emphasized connection rather than strict division between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.¹¹²

According to Navarrate, such geographical terminologies represented the end product of detailed documentary study. Navarrete believed that the historian’s task had much in common with the activities of the “practical or experimental geographer.”¹¹³ He continued:

Few sciences require more cautious analysis than geography. In the past, many mariners have introduced unbelievable fables in their narratives driven by the vanity of highlighting their own accomplishments. Likewise, the speculative nature of wise [armchair] geographers continued to be driven by extravagant systems. They persisted with great dedication on the location of certain lands, islands, and cities, which exist only in the imagination of poets and novelists.¹¹⁴

Navarrete’s historical-critical analysis highlighted once again the need to evaluate archival sources in connection with experimental voyaging. This process would distinguish formerly contacted geographic features

from those deemed new discoveries. Implicit in this activity, Navarrete continued the line of argumentation developed by Spanish intellectuals before him: the supposed eighteenth-century rupture in the business of exploration in the Pacific did not reveal a marvelous and significantly different world from that of the Americas.

Navarrete's volumes achieved unusual transnational diffusion for a Spanish work. When the historian wrote the introduction to his third volume, he was able to proclaim proudly that his first books received a warm welcome. His volumes on Columbus's voyages found translations in England, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States of America.¹¹⁵ Navarrete concluded his introduction: "May all those who are free of passion and love the truth use this [collection] to write on the Spanish events affecting the New World."¹¹⁶

Navarrete's work brought Spanish efforts full circle. Although the vast envisioned hydrographic net of judicial corridors, which figured vastly in Malaspina's venture, failed to materialize, the surveys connected to the historical research emerged from Spanish archives. Naval historians Vargas Ponce and Navarrete, who tangentially participated in these ventures, realized the potential of historical writings. Their proposed answer to the eighteenth-century Franco-British monographs was slow in advancing, but established an important tradition that was to gain transnational salience through the writings of Alexander von Humboldt.

6

On Rediscovering the Americas

What a good fortune for New Granada to deserve the attention of such a learned traveler, a dignified successor to Magellan, Byron, and Cook!

Francisco José de Caldas to Alexander von Humboldt December 6, 1801

Nowadays the area surrounding Port Jackson in New Holland and the island of Tahiti are not written about more often than many parts of Mexico and Peru were at that time.

Alexander von Humboldt, Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, 1807

In the heroic ages of the Portuguese and Castilian races, it was not thirst for gold alone, as it has been asserted for lack of ignorance of national character at the period, but rather a general spirit of daring, that led to the persecution of distant voyages. The names of Hayti, Cubagua and Darien acted on the imagination of man in the beginning of the sixteenth century in the same manner as those of Tinian and Otaheite have done in more recent times, since Anson and Cook.

Alexander von Humboldt, Cosmos 1829

The lure of the Pacific

Residing in Cartagena de Indias on April 12, 1801, close to two years into his famed trip through the Americas, Alexander von Humboldt penned a letter to Nicolas Baudin. In this document, Humboldt asked for the French explorer's permission to join an expedition destined for

the Southern Pacific. Hoping Baudin would touch upon the west coast of South America, Humboldt and his trusted companion, Aimé Bonpland, were about to change their plans and “started in a little pilot boat to look for you in the South Sea, to try whether by reviving our old plans, we could join our labors with yours, and sail with you on the South Seas.” Humboldt proceeded to solicit Baudin’s frank opinion about the possibility of participation, and, in case of a negative response, he “should then continue on my route from Lima to Acapulco, Mexico, the Philippines, Surato, Bassara, Palestine, Marseilles. How much I should prefer, however, to make a voyage with you!”² The letter never reached the intended recipient, because Baudin had already departed France to explore Australia’s lesser-known coastlines.³

Humboldt’s desperate plea to join a Pacific-bound expedition is somewhat surprising, especially since the German savant is best known for “rediscovering” Central and South America through his scientific gaze. Yet, halfway through his now famous journey (1799–1804), he asked for participation in a venture destined for the eighteenth-century “new world” of the Pacific.⁴ Although this episode is clearly inconsequential for the development of Humboldt’s illustrious career, it does reveal his lingering concern about the Pacific’s Sea of Islands. Humboldt’s fascination with island Pacific is ultimately frustrated by circumstance. Several attempts to reach the area, including his plea to Baudin, were unsuccessful. Instead of exploring the fashionable new world of the Pacific, Humboldt is left to linger in the “old world” of the Americas. A resourceful person, Humboldt nevertheless embraced his fate and connected his research to the existing Spanish scholarship that had greatly evolved since the sixteenth century. Humboldt’s predicament drove him into the open arms of Spanish intellectuals and officials who for the better part of four decades had labored hard to erase the island Pacific’s uniqueness as a separate geographical area.

The year 1999 marked the 200-year anniversary of Alexander von Humboldt’s epic voyage through Central and South America. Over the next five years, with different anniversaries resulting from his journey, scores of historians rediscovered the German scientist for their inquiries. Greatly increasing Humboldt’s popularity, many of his works witnessed elaborate republication during this recent period.⁵ The interpretations surrounding Humboldt’s persona ranged widely. He became an important inspiration for the *Creole* oligarchy in the Spanish colonies; he was portrayed as a transitional figure bridging enlightened and romantic outlooks, and the self-reflective nature of his narratives were examined. Partially through refashioning in his popular travel narrative, Humboldt

became known as the “second” or “German Columbus.” Similarly, contemporary authors hailed him as the Napoleon of science.⁶

Throughout these analyses, his trip to the Americas remains a central episode. There exists, to my knowledge, no detailed scholarly essay about Humboldt’s engagement with the new world of the Pacific. Following in the wake of Bougainville and Cook, the German savant could hardly ignore the maritime spaces that these famed northern Europeans had uncovered. The aforementioned letter to Baudin, illustrated Humboldt’s awareness of, as well as his longing to reach, the Pacific. When this initial fascination was frustrated, however, Humboldt engaged the Spanish paradigm that downplayed the Pacific and linked this watery world to the Americas. Much like Spanish intellectuals before him, Humboldt’s writings started to marginalize the Pacific and reemphasize the Americas. It is through his writings that Humboldt gave the Spanish vision of the Pacific an international salience it had not experienced before.

Humboldt’s fascination and frustration with the Pacific

Humboldt’s fascination with the Pacific dates to an early age. Born in Berlin on September 14, 1769, only a month apart from Napoleon Bonaparte, he grew up in an intellectual world where this ocean was a fashionable topic of discussion. When Humboldt turned four years old, John Hawkesworth published his controversial account, which included James Cook’s first circumnavigation. The young scholar had just turned fifteen when the official results of Cook’s third voyage started to circulate. Perhaps most significant was Humboldt’s meeting in the spring of 1790 with Georg Forster, the scholar who, along with his father, had accompanied Cook on his second circumnavigation. While traveling together through Belgium, England, Holland, and France, Forster taught Humboldt a new way of perceiving the world. It was during their journey that Forster dazzled his young listener with endless tales of his Pacific travels.⁷

Forster’s publications had paved the way for a more general classification of human societies residing in this eighteenth-century new world. Humboldt could only admire the man whose ambition and fortune had taken him to the ends of the European intellectual world. One can only guess at what transpired from their conversations. Wilhelm Bratring, Pedro Estala’s German translator, had this to say about Georg Forster’s obsession with Tahiti: “His face lid up, the speed of his narrative increased, and everything that was omitted in earlier conversation now gains significance with his beloved topic of conversation. Even the most mundane details of island life are recounted in great detail.”⁸

Humboldt's passion for the Pacific continued during subsequent travels. In 1796, the passing of his mother provided Humboldt with an inheritance comfortable enough to quit his employment with the Prussian state. In 1798, he arrived in Paris, invited by an aging Louis-Antoine de Bougainville to participate in a renewed circumnavigation heading to the Southern Hemisphere. The young German was overjoyed, but became cautious when Nicolas Baudin replaced the 71-year old Bougainville. Humboldt regarded Baudin as less qualified than Bougainville to lead this important journey. His frustration increased when the expedition was postponed due to impending hostilities between France and Britain. The expedition's ever-increasing budget did not help matters. The silver lining of his negative experiences was Humboldt's meeting with Bonpland, a naturalist who had been selected to take part in the expedition.

With Baudin's expedition deferred, the two decided to depart from Paris in an effort to find a similar suitable venture.⁹ The longing for the Pacific did not leave Humboldt. In Toulon, Humboldt encountered the *Bourdeuse*, the ship that had taken Bougainville around the world and to the enchanted shores of Tahiti. Humboldt wrote, "I cannot describe the impression made upon my mind by the sight of the vessel which had carried Philibert Commerson to the islands of the South Sea. There is a disposition of the soul, in which a painful emotion blends itself with our feeling."¹⁰

Through a cumbersome detour in North Africa, Humboldt and Bonpland finally arrived in Spain in February of 1799. Through the intervention of a Prussian diplomat, Humboldt received an audience with Charles IV, who invited him to tour the Spanish possessions including the Philippines. Humboldt and Bonpland departed from La Coruña in early June of 1799. Aboard the ship *Pizarro*, Humboldt looked up to see the outline of Castle San Antonio, which immured Alejandro Malaspina after his return from a voyage around the world. Humboldt quickly reflected on Malaspina's fate, which highlighted the thin line separating success and failure: "I could have wished to have fixed my thoughts on some object less affecting."¹¹

The respective fates of these explorers could have not been more contrasting. When Malaspina's two corvettes, the *Atrevida* and the *Descubierta*, left Cadiz in 1789, their departure received much coverage in the Spanish and foreign press. Few if any notable individuals took notice when Humboldt and Bonpland rounded Cape Finisterre. Upon his return from the Americas, however, Humboldt would acquire global renown through his writing. Malaspina, on the other hand, witnessed

the results of his grandiose expedition incarcerated in the archives. Humboldt would later comment that the Italian naval officer was “more celebrated for his misfortunes than his discoveries.”¹²

The two Alexanders shared an inquiring holistic intellect. In terms of political astuteness, however, the German scientist professed a clear advantage. One of Humboldt’s keys to his success was his seemingly uncanny ability to recognize and navigate political minefields. Humboldt managed to avoid political discussions and opted for effacement even when encountering the most humiliating criticism.¹³ This political astuteness also translated into many of Humboldt’s writings.

Humboldt had a grander vision for his voyage. His initial stay in the Americas was to be the beginning of Humboldt’s “grand tour” around the world. He was determined to join a selected group of individuals, among them the illustrious Bougainville and Cook, as well as the less fortunate La Pérouse and Malaspina, who had opened a new world for the scientific gaze. He was hopeful that his terrestrial travels would eventually be completed through a circumnavigation traversing the Pacific. Baudin’s journey was his best bet to accomplish what he intended, especially since he had received the backing of the French government to join the expedition. Throughout 1800 and parts of 1801, Humboldt remained optimistic about the prospect of connecting with that expedition. Yet his objective to reach the Pacific gradually became elusive.

In his frustration, Humboldt became more perceptive regarding the flora of the Americas. As his dream of Pacific journeys disintegrated, he paid more attention to what local naturalists in the Spanish-controlled Americas had to say. Humboldt’s encounter in 1801 with José Celestino Mutis (1732–1808), a naturalist who had settled in New Granada as part of an extensive Spanish botanical expedition, aided the German scientist’s transition to the Americas. Much impressed with Mutis’s library and collections of botanical specimens, Humboldt was alerted to the region’s extensive biodiversity. Mutis figures prominently in Daniela Bleichmar’s pathbreaking study on Spanish botanical voyages during the Enlightenment. Where the northern Europeans were concerned about discovery, the Spanish ventures were rediscovering their well-established imperial territories. Somewhat tongue in cheek, Bleichmar referred to the Iberian expeditions as “biological reconquistas,” who spent decades rather than single years in particular locations and whose specimen collections and visual representations were unmatched. Even Humboldt’s five-year journey through the Americas paled in comparison to Mutis’s local knowledge and dedication.¹⁴ Humboldt’s scientific

rediscovery of the Americas would be central to his own agenda, which he reframed during his travels.

Despite Humboldt's increasing awareness of American biodiversity, the German scientist still clung to the increasingly illusive dream of circumnavigation. By the spring of 1802, he received a letter from the French Academy of Science informing him of Baudin's departure from France. From reading local periodicals, he obtained the disappointing news that the French expedition had sailed into the Pacific via the Cape of Good Hope, which made his prospect of reaching the expedition all but impossible.¹⁵ Despite his inability to reach Baudin's venture, Humboldt remained optimistic about completely circling the globe by traveling to Acapulco and joining the Manila Galleon in route to the Philippines.¹⁶

In November of 1802, while traveling to Peru, Humboldt received his first glimpse of the Pacific. His writing at that time reflected both frustration as well as the potential for new research. He was reminded again of the conversations with Georg Forster, vital for "the formation of his mind and character." Forster's description of the Pacific Islands, however, also made Humboldt critical of the area that was now slipping beyond his reach. Where Forster's descriptions had "awoken in Europe a general interest in the islands of the Pacific" they were also "mixed, I almost say, with romantic longing." Reaching Baudin's expedition was but one of Humboldt's purposes of traveling to Peru. His second reason was the observation of the passage of Mercury through the disk of the sun. Contemplating the failure of catching up to Baudin, Humboldt decided to focus instead on his good fortune of enjoying a clear day to observe Mercury's passage. "Thus in the intricate relations and graver circumstances of life, there may often be found associated with disappointment, a gem of compensation."¹⁷ By the end of the year 1802, even the most remote chance of circumnavigation had faded, and Humboldt resigned himself to the fact that he would have to return to Europe via the Atlantic Ocean. He justified his decision to forgo a voyage to the Philippines with the slow but steady deterioration of his scientific instruments. He surmised that they would not withstand the long and arduous ocean voyage to the archipelago.¹⁸

Humboldt's fascination with the island Pacific, however, continued even after he had long surrendered his aspiration of reaching the region. A very telling letter from Fuchtegott Lebrecht Freiherr von Nordenflycht found among the Humboldt papers underscores this fact.¹⁹ Based on the information contained in this letter, Humboldt had asked Nordenflycht to obtain information from a certain Gregorio, a coastal diver who apparently had a Tahitian mother. Following his inquiries about the

individual, Nordenflycht informed Humboldt that Gregorio had passed away as a consequence of a smallpox epidemic. Furthermore, he wrote Humboldt that there must have been a misunderstanding about Gregorio's supposed parentage. Rather than letting the issue rest there, Nordenflycht called on the resident expert on Tahiti in Peru: Máximo Rodríguez.

Upon Nordenflycht's urging, Rodríguez composed for Humboldt a short report about Easter Island's statues, a flood that swept through Tahiti and its surrounding islands, as well as the supposed lack of nautical skills of the Pacific inhabitants. The whole report apparently went missing among Humboldt's papers. But attached to Nordenflycht's letter was a two-page account penned by Rodríguez about the island of Oranroa (most likely the atoll Rangiroa in the Tuamoto Archipelago). According to Rodríguez, the information in this document came from an individual who had taken refuge in Tahiti after his craft was blown off course by a storm. The two pages provided detail about the place, which Rodríguez's deemed sparsely inhabited due to the environmental constraints of the atoll. The atoll had an abundance of pearls and was visited by a large European ship at least once (presumably this was John Byron on his circumnavigation).²⁰ Limited as this document may be in its description of the atoll, these two pages are possibly the only evidence of Rodríguez's missing cultural description of Tahiti and her surrounding islands.

Nordenflycht's letter suggests that Humboldt knew about Rodríguez's identity and his important role in the Spanish expeditions to Tahiti, and one is tempted to assume that the German scientist read the important diary emerging from the mestizo's stay on Tahiti. If Humboldt indeed saw the soldier's epilogue, then he must have been struck by the similarities between Rodríguez's mission and his own investigation in the Americas. Rodríguez's voyage was a great deal more political than Humboldt's travels. He had taken the British expeditions to task for their limited seaborne ethnographic observations. Similarly, Rodríguez attacked the Franciscan missionaries for failing to understand Tahitian mores, which doomed their mission on the island. Humboldt certainly cared less about the political motives guiding Rodríguez's writing, but Peruvian attacks on seaborne observation resonated in Humboldt's own voyage accounts. Frustration about missing the boat to the Pacific now turned into a new and improved vision of his own purpose in the Americas:

Maritime expeditions, voyages round the world, have conferred just celebrity on the names of those naturalists and astronomers, who

have been appointed by governments to encounter the dangers they present; but while those distinguished persons have given precise notions of the extended configurations of countries, of the natural history of oceans, and of the productions of islands and coasts, their expeditions seem less fitted to advance the progress of geology, and other parts of general physics, than travels into the interior. The advancement of natural sciences has been subordinate to that of geography and nautical astronomy. During a navigation of several years, the land but seldom presents itself to the observation of the mariner; and when after lengthened expectations, it is decried, he often finds it stripped of the most beneficial productions. Sometimes beyond the barren coast he perceives a ridge of mountains covered with verdure, but the distance forbids his examination and the view serves only to increase his regrets.²¹

The degree of Rodríguez's influence on Humboldt remains a matter of speculation. Humboldt's preserving of the Peruvian's letter among his papers, however, suggests that the German savant was still collecting information on the Pacific, even toward the end of his voyage to the Americas.

Eventually, upon his return, Humboldt's obsession with the Pacific gave way to his notion that the fascination with the Pacific was by then on the wane. Intellectuals, he felt, should turn their attention to other regions. This notion, so central to Vicente Tofiño's earlier discussed hydrographic endeavor, served Humboldt well as he rediscovered the continents of North and South America. In his writings, Humboldt cautioned readers against a virtual Oceanic "overkill:" "Nowadays the area surrounding Port Jackson in New Holland and the island of Tahiti are not written about more often than many parts of Mexico and Peru were at that time."²²

The molding of an Americanist

Turning away from the Pacific, Humboldt regarded the Americas as an important field of scientific inquiry. There are post-colonial scholars who regard this transition as problematic. Mary Louise Pratt, for instance, argues that Humboldt's rediscovery of the Americas came at the expense of denuding the landscape of its indigenous people.²³ Verily, Amerindian cultures were a distant secondary concern for Humboldt, who focused primarily on the fauna and flora of the Americas. At the same time, his travels also served to erode the erroneous interpretations of enlightened

scholars who never set foot in the western hemisphere of the Atlantic world. The writings of Buffon and De Pauw, to mention a few, thrived on declaring the natural world of the Americas – animal, human, as well as plants – as inferior to that of Eurasia. Humboldt went on to rectify such distortions through his scientific rediscovery.²⁴ Humans, so central to the narratives of the eighteenth-century Pacific, became part of the holistic imagination of Humboldt's America.

Humboldt's encounter with the Americas and the intellectuals residing in the Spanish colonies invited such reassessment. One of his frequent interlocutors was Celestino Mutis's assistant, Francisco José de Caldas (1768–1816). This *criollo* had become increasingly disenchanted with the Linnaean system of taxonomy guiding Spanish metropolitan expeditions to the Americas. Metropolitan officials were attracted to Linnaeus's idea of abstracting colonial fauna and flora in an effort to identify commercially useful plants and animals. On the colonial periphery, however, Creoles came to reject this system. Caldas's alternative view, which focused on local realities governing flowering seasons, varying climate, and soil consistency, ultimately recognized the influence of altitude on plant distribution. This notion, referred to as biogeography, was widespread among the Incas, indicating that the abstract Linnaean system was blind, or worse, willfully ignorant, of indigenous systems of classification. Building on such insights, Caldas and Humboldt exchanged ideas on biogeography, even if Humboldt's influence on the *criollo* scholar was probably more significant than the other way around.²⁵

Humboldt's concern with biogeography also revealed his shift in fascination away from the sea to the mountainous nature of South America. Juan Pimentel, for instance, argues that Humboldt's attraction to the influence of altitude on biodiversity came from his own realization that he had failed to climb the highest mountain in the world. His failed attempt in 1802 to reach the summit of the Chimborazo, often regarded as a highlight of Humboldt's travel, soon became a trivial event, as the continent of Asia revealed much higher mountain ranges. Unwilling to surrender his accomplishments in the Andes, the German scientist now found his salvation in the examination of altitude on plant growth and distribution.²⁶

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has expertly examined how Humboldt's changing perception intersected with scientific discourses and ideas circulating in the Spanish Americas. Ever since the conquest of the Inca Empire, Spanish intellectuals had developed an obsession with the Andes mountain range as an important microcosmic space, within which new

theories of biodiversity could be tested. Notions of biodiversity predated the Spanish colonial takeover, as Inca rulers adopted a policy of sending migrants to distant locations in an attempt to harness the resources indigenous to the area. This distribution of Incan migrants throughout the Andean realm gave rise to what Cañizares-Esguerra calls a “vertical archipelago.” Regions at different altitude became linked through the extensive road network in existence in the Inca Empire. Spanish Renaissance writers borrowed the idea of regarding the Andes as a special place. Antonio Leon Pinelo (1590–1660), for instance, argued that the biblical paradise was located along the eastern slopes of the Andes Mountains. The transformation of the Andes from a paradisiacal location to a realm ready to be harvested for its rich fauna and flora was one of the focuses of the Bourbon reforms following the Seven Years’ War.²⁷

Humboldt and the Iberian visions of the Pacific

As Humboldt arrived in Spain in 1799 and spent the next five months amidst a busy hornets’ nest of Spanish activity as he prepared for his upcoming journey to the Americas.²⁸ Previous chapters have chronicled how Spanish intellectuals answered accusations of imperial abuses and mismanagement emerging from northern European nations. This led to the compilation of primary source documents in the Archives of the Indies in Seville under the supervision of Juan Bautista Muñoz. Although Muñoz passed away the very year of Humboldt’s arrival in Spain, the German traveler acknowledged his debt to the Spanish historian. According to Humboldt, Muñoz shared a number of documents that triggered his own intense interest in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century expansion.²⁹ Less obvious is Humboldt’s encounter with prominent naval historians Vargas Ponce and Navarrete. Humboldt’s engagement with history, however, would bear astonishing similarities with their arguments.

Humboldt employed Spanish hydrographic knowledge as a major source of information for his impending journey. The German scholar arrived only two years after Espinosa had assumed the helm of the newly commissioned Hydrographic Department. This department was one of the richest in Europe. It is estimated that by 1808, it contained no less than 80,000 charts and supported a library exceeding 60,000 volumes.³⁰ Throughout his published accounts, Humboldt would credit his intellectual depth to Espinosa’s office.

Humboldt’s arrival coincided with the publication of Fleurieu’s scathing publication condemning Spanish naval accomplishments.

Although Fleurieu's example made Spanish authorities more cautious, since they had shared cartographic information with the French naval officer before the appearance of his troublesome volumes, Humboldt's official affiliation with the less powerful Prussian state made him an unlikely candidate to undermine Spanish naval efforts. Similarly, the act of sharing the cartographic information with the German scholar also meant clearing Spain from the accusation of hiding hydrographic records.

Humboldt was made aware of the Frenchman's criticism, which he did not share. He wrote, for instance, to Espinosa's brother,

Mr. Fleurieu and others may write what they want. Future generations will appreciate the volumes and prominent works performed by the Spanish mariners over the last twenty years. I for one am not aware of another nation that has contributed more to the advancement of nautical science through the publication of accurate maps in such a short time.³¹

He reiterated his positive assessment of Spanish hydrographic contributions to José Espinosa in another letter penned in 1804 from Havana: "Cevallos, Churruca, Galeano, Fidalgo, among other intellectuals have bestowed great honor to your nation."³²

Humboldt's explicit reliance on Spanish charts frequently puzzled translators and historians. In the twentieth century, for instance, geographer Oskar Spate uttered surprise over Humboldt's preference for Spanish cartographic material in his writings. Spate was certain that the surveys of George Vancouver and James Cook vastly surpassed Spanish endeavors both in terms of their extension and comprehensiveness. As such, they should have been the logical material of choice for the German scientist.³³ A century earlier, his English translator, John Black, gave one possible answer for Humboldt's preference for Spanish material. Black argued that Humboldt's unusually positive assessment of Iberian cartography represented an act of gratitude for the reception he received on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean: "He is profuse in his compliments to their learning, science, and their other good qualities, and nothing ever appears to shade the picture."³⁴ Humboldt, however, was one of the first foreigners to benefit from the numerous charts available in Espinosa's Hydrographic Deposit and made good use of them for his subsequent publications. He also instinctively understood the Spanish notion of the hydrographic spider web linking colonial periphery and metropole. Most importantly, however, was his belief that the Spanish

hydrographic ventures were a great deal more meaningful than the unconnected ventures of the British and the French in the Pacific Ocean. Humboldt understood the totality of the Spanish enterprise linking geographic and hydrographic information with the necessities of Imperial administration.

Much like the Spanish naval officers before him, Humboldt regarded the eighteenth-century Pacific as unfinished business that scholars were now endeavoring to interpret out of context. Whereas in Spain officials took a decisively global approach to their mapping endeavors and attempted to span two oceans, the works of Cook and Vancouver, very familiar to Humboldt, emphasized a fragmented world that was in want of integration. He thus employed the cartographic material he encountered in the archives of Madrid and colonial territory of New Spain to produce his own maps. Humboldt may have been the first foreign scholar to have full access to the wealth of material in Spanish archives. He was, perhaps, also the last to grasp fully the central idea underpinning the Spanish endeavors, since it suited his own agenda of moving the Americas into the forefront at the expense of the Pacific.

It was not just in terms of hydrography that Humboldt perceived the Pacific and its geographic classification as problematic. As he engaged the vast materials of his trip following his return, he also had to confront a new way of classifying perceived human global differences in a static category known as "race." Bronwen Douglas has recently highlighted the importance of race for the outside understanding of the island Pacific or "Oceania." She defines the term aptly as an attempt "to theorize physical differences between human groups as innate, morally and intellectually determinant, and possibly original."³⁵ In a simpler but trenchant way, James Belich defines the act of racism as "the delusion that cultures have natures."³⁶ The outlook that race was an arbitrary construct, which nineteenth-century theorists attempted to dress in a scientific mantle, was not lost to contemporaries.

Humboldt was one of the category's main detractors. If anything, he vehemently rejected what could be called "closed systems," which he considered disastrous for the development of science. Such closed systems emerged when fleeting observations merged with abstract thought processes. Once established, these closed systems would not be tested against further observations, but taken for granted by the scientific community.³⁷ The idea of race was, for Humboldt, a prominent example of such a closed system. Although he is frequently attacked for ignoring or devaluating the indigenous peoples he interacted with in the Americas, Humboldt had little patience for the

confluence of racial classification and geography that affected great parts of the world.

In his *magnum opus*, *Cosmos*, which sought to understand the totality of nature, Humboldt fully engaged this erroneous idea.³⁸ He was certain that many of the variations in skin color were ultimately fleeting impressions – emerging supposedly from the deck of a ship: “The observer was naturally disposed to regard races rather as original different species than mere varieties.”³⁹ In this regard, Humboldt felt most affinity with Johannes Müller, who, in his *Human Physiognomy*, maintained that humans were indeed variations of a single species. If this were not the case, Humboldt continued, human hybrid offspring would be infertile and unable to propagate. He vehemently rejected the Blumenbach and Pritchard’s division of the world in five and seven races respectively.

The category of race lacked scientific rigor. Languages, according to Humboldt, who was influenced by the research of his brother, Wilhelm, would be the only significant markers for nations. As such, languages served as much better markers than the messy designation of race. Foreshadowing some of the most prominent arguments leveled against the category of race by a generation, Humboldt pointed out that many researchers conflated the study of history and contemporary ethnographic observation when they maintained that languages spoken around the world were in fact ancestral to those spoken by contemporary Europeans. Humboldt concluded, “While we maintain the unity of the human species, we at the same time repel the depressing assumption of superior and inferior races.”⁴⁰

Humboldt’s denial of the validity of race as a scientific category also spilled over into the German scientist’s condemnation of Pacific classifications. During the second half of the eighteenth century, Humboldt witnessed increasing specialization among European scientists, who concerned themselves almost exclusively with enumerating and classifying botanical, zoological, and even human specimens. He argued instead for an overarching approach that emphasized interrelationships and connections between natural objects.

Humboldt was particularly angered about developments in his beloved enterprise of geography, where practitioners busied themselves by erecting separating boundaries around areas rather than developing transcending global outlooks.⁴¹ He disliked the emerging geographical categories for Oceania. Following the eighteenth-century Anglo-French voyages of exploration, French naval official Jules Dumont d’Urville, after earlier attempts by de Brosses and Malte Brum, developed a division

of Oceania into Malaysia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia. These divisions were slowly gaining currency among European intellectuals. The mixing of racial connotations with the geographical attempt of erecting boundaries around Oceania became particularly apparent in d'Urville's category of "Melanesia." In order to develop a distinctive geographical category, d'Urville had employed the black skin of its indigenous inhabitants as a marker.⁴² Although Humboldt admired the French naval officer for his Pacific voyages, he categorically refused to employ d'Urville's geographical designations.

In a section dedicated to volcanic activity in the Pacific published in Humboldt's *Cosmos*, the German savant had this to say: "It is my intention to avoid the divisional terms of Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia and Malaisia, which are not only extremely arbitrary, but founded on totally different principles drawn from number and size, or the complexion and descent of the inhabitants."⁴³ Designing the Pacific as a world apart, especially in terms of racial characteristics, appeared as both geographic and ethnographic aberrations to the German scientist.

Humboldt's historicism and the Spanish vision of the Pacific

Humboldt's stay in Spain alerted him to the work of the enterprising Navarrete and Vargas Ponce. Their written histories aimed at finding continuity rather than decline in the Spanish maritime efforts since the fifteenth century. This continuity hinged upon a conceptual merger of events spanning the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Navarrete's historical writings, which emphasized the inclusion of both archival and encountered knowledge, sought to shift attention away from the eighteenth-century Pacific voyages. The British and French vessels, while crisscrossing the vast Pacific Ocean, had encountered neither mythical continents nor fabled passages to the Atlantic. From an Iberian perspective, their gargantuan efforts were tantamount to an equally large waste of resources. Islands, such as Tahiti, were consequently extolled as earthly paradises to legitimize the exorbitant expenses. Similarly, the northern European mariners simply rediscovered, albeit with better methods, islands formerly located by Iberian explorers.

This framework, born out of the political necessity to link the Pacific with the earlier contacted world of the Americas, sat well with Humboldt's own reformed agenda. Where political need prompted Spanish historical and scientific intervention, Humboldt's outlook removed the politics to provide the Spanish framework with greater scientific salience.

Vargas Ponce and Navarrete's archival voyages opened another avenue for studying knowledge that complemented the encountered variety. Navarrete's publication of primary source material was meant as a nationalistic defense against northern European authors (including Raynal, Robertson, and Claret de Fleurieu), who spent little time consulting Spanish archival holdings. Even if Navarrete's efforts found transnational praise, not all authors were in agreement with the Spaniard's rosy assessment of post-Columbian expansion. American historians, most notably William Hickling Prescott, quickly infused their own interpretations into the source material presented by Navarrete. Prescott stood at the center of a new historical paradigm that, according to Richard Kagan, situated the development of the nascent, progressive American republic against the declining and backward Catholic monarchy of Spain.⁴⁴ Arriving in Spain without such nationalistic prejudice, Humboldt was more appreciative of what Navarrete originally sought to accomplish through his writings.

Humboldt's own engagement with historical inquiry is frequently overlooked in recent reassessments of his work.⁴⁵ When the discipline of history is associated with the name of Humboldt, it is generally attributed to Alexander's brother, Wilhelm, who, as a diplomat, educational reformer, and linguist of renown, made explicit statements about the nature of history writing. Alexander, however, frequently insisted that historical research was an integral component of scientific inquiry. Large sections of his culminating work, *Cosmos*, were dedicated to the exercise of history. Similarly, his four-volume *Critique de l'histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent et des progrès de l'astronomie nautique aux xv et xvi siècles*⁴⁶ rounded out his monumental travel account of the Americas. Humboldt's rich *Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du Nouveau Continent*, compiled between 1805 and 1839, would ultimately encompass 29 volumes with over 10,000 pages and hundreds of copper engravings. The elaborate tomes would ultimately exhaust his inherited wealth, and he had to resort to the royal patronage of Prussian monarch Friedrich Wilhelm III to bring about their publication.⁴⁷

The comparative dimensions between Navarrete and Humboldt become most obvious when the German scientist's work is read against an obscure, unpublished document written by the Spanish historian. Navarrete's *Discourse on the progresses of the arts, agreements, and discoveries made to locate the South Seas* was a short reflection on the voyages, real and apocryphal, to locate the Northwest Passage.⁴⁸ Indicative of Navarrete's frequently rambling historical narrative, the discourse never

found itself in print. The brief essay, however, shows some astonishing parallels with Humboldt's *Examen* that are worth highlighting. This is most obvious in Navarrete's opening paragraph:

Among the most admirable events that the history of the universe offers to human curiosity and meditation one ought to highlight those happenings, which during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries amplified the spheres of human knowledge...The enterprising spirit of these centuries opened new routes to communicate with the unknown and feared...So many centuries had seen the world without knowing its full extent...millions of people were separated by waters and remained without communication as distant as the inhabitants of the moons of Jupiter or Saturn.⁴⁹

This paragraph serves as a reminder of the close intellectual intersections between Navarrete and Humboldt. Their work postulated continuity rather than a radical break between the exploratory ventures of the sixteenth century and those voyages undertaken in the eighteenth century.

Although there is no document attesting to an actual meeting between Humboldt and Navarrete, the German traveler was sanguine enough to acknowledge his debt to the Spanish historian. In his *Examen*, Humboldt cites Spanish historian Juan Bautista Muñoz as a major source of inspiration, even if Muñoz's untimely death left much of his work unfinished. Navarrete's publications, three volumes at the time of Humboldt's writing, were equally influential. Humboldt credited Navarrete's voyage collections as being compiled with the "spirit of enlightened critique," which paved the way for future research. Humboldt continued that Navarrete had produced "one of the most important historical monuments in modern times."⁵⁰

Navarrete, on the other hand, did not return the favor. Noticeably silent about Humboldt's historical musings, Navarrete only took issue with the German traveler in one of his works published posthumously, and he did so in a comment tucked away in a footnote. The Spanish historian, however, was careful not to critique Humboldt's historical attempts. Rather, Navarrete disliked Humboldt's gathered information, which he deemed to be inferior to that of Alejandro Malaspina:

Even the large voyage of Humbold [*sic*] cannot be compared in terms of utility to that of Malaspina. True, he traveled all regions of our Americas describing their customs, antiquities and statistics. Yet, his

descriptions were based on materials supplied by individuals in the cities where he resided. His results were thus inferior to those of Antonio Pineda and Malaspina, and hence for many places of the Americas his accounts find many critics quick to locate his inaccuracies.⁵¹

This posthumous comment, appearing in an obscure Spanish publication, could hardly demolish the monument that Humboldt had become by the mid-nineteenth century. Humboldt would claim that his own historical vision, which he outlined in the introduction of *Examen*, had emerged from over thirty years of engagement with primary sources.⁵² According to Humboldt, Navarrete supplied the source material but not the method of historical inquiry.

Before proceeding onward, however, it would be wise to give a brief overview of what Humboldt intended to do in his *Examen*. Although his volumes were conceived with investigating the role of Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, his argument follows Navarrete in that the series of discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not serendipitous endeavors but modeled on Greco-Roman and medieval antecedents. The intellectual models provided by these Mediterranean periods, however, in no way prepared the early modern voyagers for their encounters in the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. The more recent discoveries were inconsequential in comparison, Humboldt wrote:

Our modern times have undoubtedly witnessed many geographical discoveries emerging from bold and admirable enterprises to the southeast Grand Ocean and the Polar Regions. Yet these enterprises, inspired as they were by pure scientific advancement, pale in comparison with those [voyages] undertaken during the second half of the fifteenth and the onset of the sixteenth centuries, because these were to determine the dominant character and distinctive tendency of an entire époque.⁵³

Here Humboldt aligns himself with Navarrete. There was nothing new in the eighteenth-century, since the radical expansion of human knowledge occurred more than 200 years earlier. And Humboldt, much like Navarrete, postulated that the individual genius of the first explorers captured the impressions of what was to them a new world to the best of their abilities. Although Christopher Columbus was able to build on earlier epistemologies, Humboldt credited him with opening new vantage points through the encounter with the Americas. This direction, coupled with the need to come to terms with the new continents,

was a tremendous advancement made in the disciplines of geography and general nautical science.

Following Navarrete, Humboldt's work was thus less an exercise in antiquarianism than an understanding and chronicling of the progresses of the Iberian maritime expansion. The radical break, then, occurred in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, not in the eighteenth-century Pacific, as many of Humboldt's contemporaries writers postulated. It was during the early period of Iberian expansion that Humboldt maintained the entire half of the globe was unveiled, a discovery he linked to the dark side of the moon.⁵⁴ The words and allegories employed by Humboldt closely followed what Navarrete had outlined in his *discurso*. Most importantly, unlike many of his Northern European counterparts, Humboldt did not fall back on the Black Legend tainting Spanish conquest and administration of the Americas. For the German traveller, the accounts of the conquistadors did not represent unparalleled stories of human cruelty or religious discord, but they were useful sources in their own right and should be considered important primary material.⁵⁵ Humboldt availed himself of historical sources, dating back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to fill in gaps in his own research.

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has also noted Humboldt's persistent use of Spanish sources in many of his writings. More than any Spanish historian, Humboldt restored Northern European trust in early Iberian accounts. In an unusual interpretation of Humboldt's introduction to his *Vue des Cordilleres*, Cañizares-Esguerra extols the German scientist's juxtaposition between early Spanish accounts of the Americas and the more recent eighteenth-century exploration of the Pacific. The main difference among the accounts, according to Cañizares-Esguerra, was that the eighteenth-century travelers chose to depict island cultures encountered in the Pacific, while the Spaniards decided to emphasize material culture in their encounters.⁵⁶ Taking Cañizares-Esguerra's interpretation a step further, the comparison also emphasized Humboldt's repeated devaluation of the Pacific when compared to the Americas, a region that he sought to reevaluate. Similarly, Humboldt's writings gave the Spanish vision inherent in Navarrete's texts a hitherto unseen salience.

In his preliminary comments in *Examen*, Humboldt further admonishes the reader not to overlook past centuries. Although philosophers had approached the description of the world in its physical and intellectual reach, they were somewhat dismissive of the past, as if they were better equipped to see the connections among the diverse disciplines of

anthropology, linguistics, botany, and zoology. In fact, the only issue distinguishing these eighteenth- and nineteenth-century approaches was method, since new technologies, in particular the sextant and the chronometer, had enabled better assessment. Truthfully, Humboldt believed that in terms of intellect, Columbus and his contemporaries were in no way inferior in their abilities to describe the worlds that they encountered. In short, while their nautical instruments made geographical observations difficult, their powers of observations were rather unobstructed.⁵⁷ This is not to say that Humboldt did not trust instruments. In fact, when he set out to his journey to the Americas he came equipped with the newest scientific tools. Yet he believed scientific instruments should be regarded as tools and not as determiners or shapers of human intellect.

Examen also revealed a deep respect for historians, unparalleled by many of his contemporary scientific travelers. Following Navarrete, Humboldt maintained that historical inquiry was to go beyond the mere accumulation of facts. History should not, as eighteenth-century Pacific travelers were wont to describe, be a chronology of outdated traditions that had been replaced in the present. In short, history taught valuable lessons not to be avoided, but also to reveal how humanity came about and, as such, to provide windows into the development of the history of science. Similarly, primary sources gave accounts of first contact and impression, that, no matter how distorted, had some basis in reality. Those who deprived older accounts of their veracity ignored a whole array of sources that could provide clues to domestic and foreign researchers alike. Mindful of this fact, Humboldt hoped that in the future he would be able to write an extensive biography of Columbus, rivaling that of the Spanish historians he idolized.

Entering old age, Humboldt had but one regret: his inability to produce a historical work rivaling that of Muñoz and Navarrete. Obsessing about holistic science, the German scholar had to relegate comparative historical research to his leisure time.⁵⁸ Although Humboldt never explicitly wrote it, Navarrete provided more than a collection of sources. Humboldt took from the Spanish historian the method of combining direct observations with archival material. The merger of encountered and received knowledge guided Humboldt's best-known work, *Cosmos*.

Historical analysis in Humboldt's *Cosmos*

Humboldt's intellectual life culminated in his five-volume work, *Kosmos* (*Cosmos*), which represented his grand synthesis, seeking to explore

nature in its totality.⁵⁹ Although Humboldt's volumes were immensely popular when they first appeared, his work would ultimately be eclipsed by Charles Darwin and his theory of evolution. It was less his scientific method, and more Humboldt's merging of natural science with humanist contemplations that led to the rediscovery of his work in recent years. Humboldt took inspiration from Immanuel Kant's attempt to bridge the idealist and empiricist camps.

As he set out for the Americas, Humboldt believed that his version of physical science could unite armchair idealists and crude empiricists. In order to understand nature in its totality – Humboldt's *Cosmos* – both experience and reflective thought were required.⁶⁰ His *physische Weltbeschreibung*, best translated as “physical cosmology,” was an overarching scientific endeavor that, in its attempt to understand the world through both intellect and sensation, sought to unite rather than divide the different branches of natural sciences. Although Humboldt insisted on the empirical collection of scientific observation, he abstained from listing isolated facts and argued that scientists should strive for interconnections among these facts. These interconnections required both scientific observation and reflection, leading Humboldt to include the humanities in general and history in particular into his considerations.

It is in Humboldt's second volume of *Cosmos* that the role of history moved to the forefront. When Humboldt completed his *Examen*, he felt that many of his historical ideas were left unfinished. This dissatisfaction would bring about a new integration of history into his scientific outlook, as Humboldt infused his own work with Navarrete's framework.

Humboldt believed that human contemplation of the cosmos, the coherent whole of nature, emerged through three sources of influence: literary description, landscape painting, and the diffusion of flora throughout the world via botanical gardens. It was through the notion of imagination that Humboldt engaged the continuities between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries:

In the heroic ages of the Portuguese and Castilian races, it was not thirst for gold alone, as it has been asserted for lack of ignorance of national character at the period, but rather a general spirit of daring, that led to the pursuit of distant voyages. The names of Hayti, Cubagua and Darien acted on the imagination of man in the beginning of the sixteenth century in the same manner as those of Tinian and Otaheite have done in more recent times, since Anson and Cook.⁶¹

The German scientist believed that the genius of Columbus best captured this period of drastic expansion. Columbus instinctively knew how to describe his observations: “We here learn, from the journal of a wholly unlettered seaman, the power which the beauty of nature, in its individual form, may exercise on a susceptible mind. Feelings ennoble language.”⁶² Humboldt perceived continuation between the voyages of Columbus and Georg Forster, singling the German out for his ability to interweave the variety of human natures into his voyage account of Cook’s second circumnavigation. It is largely through Forster’s abilities to capture human variation that Humboldt mentioned Cook’s famous second circumnavigation, so crucial for dispelling the myth of the unknown southern continent. Humboldt wrote, “Through [Forster’s work] begun a new era of scientific voyages, the aim of which was to arrive at knowledge of the comparative history and geography of different nations.”⁶³ Implied in Humboldt’s elevation of Forster was his complete disregard for Cook’s comparatively dry and pale narrative.

Humboldt’s *Cosmos* assigned history a central role for chronicling humanity’s progressive march. In his approach, Humboldt came up with a new way of describing the past: the physical contemplation of the universe.⁶⁴ His idiosyncratic framework divided the human contemplation of the universe into seven major epochs. Starting with the onset of Greek rational thought, Humboldt’s second period initiates with Alexander the Great’s expansions into Asia, which greatly exceeded the known Mediterranean world. Alexander’s death ushered in the third period. Following the collapse of his empire, it fell to the Ptolemy family to sift through the collected information from Alexander’s campaigns. The Romans and their universal reach across the Mediterranean Sea signaled the fourth epoch. Their vast network of roads and sea lanes provided for fast and steady diffusion of knowledge. A non-Western power, the Arabs, came to dominate the fifth period. Despite being a “primitive people,” Humboldt argued that they were “prone to civilization.” Their expansion into the Indian Ocean and Africa led to the accumulation of a large archive of astronomical and geographic knowledge that greatly furthered human cosmic contemplation. Humboldt’s sixth period of Oceanic expansion, between the years of 1492 and 1522, was most important to him and will receive additional discussion below. His last phase focused on the implication of the scientific revolution and on the discovery of the heavenly bodies with the help of the telescope.⁶⁵

The sixth epoch of “oceanic discoveries” took center stage in Humboldt’s history. Following up on the historical research emerging out of his *Examen*, Humboldt argued against unfolding trends among

his contemporaries and neglected most of the eighteenth-century Pacific discoveries. Instead, he concentrated his analysis on the time period ranging from the years of 1492 to 1522: the events starting with Columbus's unveiling of the Americas to the conclusion of Magellan's circumnavigation. True to Navarrete and his own *Examen*, he wrote: "The fifteenth century belongs to those remarkable epochs in which all the efforts of the mind indicate one determined and general character, and one unchanging striving toward the same goal."⁶⁶ Humboldt believed that following Columbus's discovery of the new world, Spanish writers such as Jose Acosta and Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo provided the groundwork for physical geography, linguistics, and anthropology.

At no other period since the origin of society had the sphere of ideas been so suddenly and wonderfully enlarged in reference to the external world and geographical relations; never had the desire of observing nature at different latitudes and different elevations above the sea's level, and of multiplying the means by which its phenomena might be investigated, been more powerfully felt.⁶⁷

Humboldt, following Navarrete's lead, argued this epoch was significant in bringing about the "two-fold conquests of the physical and intellectual world."⁶⁸

Frequently citing Navarrete's volumes for primary source materials, Humboldt argued that Spanish navigators were key players in uncovering many features in the Pacific ranging from New Guinea and New Holland to the Sandwich Islands. Quirós, much maligned in Spain, also made his appearance as the German scientist credited him – mistakenly – with the discovery of Tahiti. In absence of legendary continents and passages, Cook and his French counterparts merely rediscovered an area that was well within Spanish reach and reports. "The Pacific no longer appeared as it had done to Magellan a desert waste," Humboldt wrote. "It was now animated by islands, which, however, for want of exact astronomical observations, appeared to have no fixed position, but floated from place to place over the charts."⁶⁹ He similarly acknowledged that Iberian writers first designated "Australian Polynesia...as a fifth portion of the earth."⁷⁰ Humboldt did not share in this division of the earth, since such partition favored divorcing "his" Americas from the watery realm of the Pacific. Most importantly, however, was Humboldt's acknowledgement of Iberian observations that the Pacific was a sea of many islands (Polynesia). In contrast, the futile eighteenth-century search for fabled continents received no mention in his works.

The Pacific received much attention in Humboldt's history. His observations, however, were limited to the search for the Northwest Passage and sea route to the spice rich islands of Southeast Asia. Throughout his narrative, Humboldt elected not to distinguish between the discoveries of the Americas and that of the Pacific. Where British and French publications postulated a clear break with the exploratory past, Humboldt saw continuity. In this sense, he underscored the claim of many Spanish historians to include the prominent navigators Malaspina, Mendaña, Quirós, and Sarmiento among the list of prominent discoverers.⁷¹

Humboldt acknowledged that methodological changes did occur in the realm of scientific observation, but even these accomplishments were hardly the product of Anglo-French intellectuals. Nautical methods, such as the chronometer, had after all emerged from the sixteenth-century encounter with a new terrestrial and aquatic hemisphere. These geographic discoveries foreshadowed and promoted the tools of eighteenth century and relegated the northern European unveiling of the Pacific to secondary importance. Never once did Humboldt mention the Southern Unknown Continent, which he tacitly accepted as a figment of the northern European imagination. He was also quick to forgive Quirós's errors in judgment and navigation; his accomplishments, Humboldt believed, figured as an integral part of the Iberian expansion that opened the Atlantic and Pacific oceans for later generations.⁷²

Although Humboldt credited Navarrete only for his publication of primary sources, he closely followed the framework provided by the Spanish historian. Lifting Navarrete's argument out of the political environment from which it had emerged meant that Humboldt imbued the Spanish view with a hitherto unknown transnational salience. Initially, critics of Humboldt's work were taken aback by the German's admiration for Spanish cartography and historiography. However, by the time the *Cosmos* appeared, most scholars were willing to forgive and to look beyond Humboldt's partisanship.

Conclusion

The merger of the "old" Americas with the "new" world of Oceania – a political and intellectual project that predated and preoccupied Alejandro Malaspina's venture – received additional impetus through Alexander von Humboldt's journey. Although the Spanish hold on the Americas had been greatly diminished by the time his writings were published, Humboldt's vision provided scientific backing for a de-emphasis of the Pacific Ocean. The transnational Hispano-German

version of this Pacific saw this region as an appendage of the Americas, not as according to the Anglo-French view, a world apart.

The German savant stood at the beginning of what Marie Louis Pratt labeled “planetary consciousness,” an attempt to systematize nature in a framework that transcended the fleeting glimpses of the circumnavigations and coastal mappings spanning the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries.⁷³ As such, Humboldt could only find the Franco-British fascination with the Pacific as a separate world to be counterproductive and anachronistic. It was in Spain that the German traveler encountered an alternative vision, which, albeit in an explicit imperial fashion, tied the Pacific to the Americas. This vision was a great deal more congruent with his own accidental agenda. Unable to join a desired Pacific exploration, Humboldt found in Spanish hydrographic data a global network originating in the Mediterranean that ultimately spanned two oceans. Humboldt’s own preoccupation with global interconnections, found the Spanish system a great deal more sensible than the eighteenth-century search for geographical chimeras in the Pacific Ocean. In terms of history, Humboldt took Navarrete’s agenda to another level. Navarrete’s research, born out of the need to defend Spanish accomplishments in the Americas and centuries of neglected publications, received scientific validation through Humboldt’s emphasis on natural interconnections. Humboldt’s validation of the Spanish agenda, however, could not prevent Latin American independence. After vehemently rejecting the idea of a separate Pacific world, Spanish intellectuals started to embrace this notion to consolidate their remaining imperial holdings in the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

Epilogue: Iberian Visions of the Pacific Ocean, 1507–1899

The Earth belongs to those, I repeat, who know her best.

Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide, 1900

In the late 1940s, enterprising researcher Emilio Pastor y Santos uncovered a loophole in the diplomatic treaties signed between Spain and the United States in 1898 and between Spain and Germany in 1899. Although these arrangements effectively ended Spanish colonialism in the Pacific, Pastor discovered that his country had, in fact, retained sovereignty over four islands not formally considered in the deliberations. In order to gain a wider audience, he published his findings in a detailed monograph in which he advocated the Spanish pursuit of its diplomatic claims through the establishment of a naval station in the region.¹ What must have appeared initially as a cruel April fool's joke among diplomats soon turned into a serious issue when the Council of Ministers, appointed by Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, started to debate the case in earnest. The members of the council decided, while accepting the claim as legitimate, not to press the diplomatic issue in an international arena.

Spain, politically isolated since the end of the Second World War, had no membership in the United Nations – an organization that had recently designated the “Spanish” islands, including those identified by Pastor, as “trust territories” under the auspices of the United States. The Council of Ministers might have found the Yankee administrators far more benign than the newly independent Republic of Indonesia, which had competing claims to the islands. In the 1950s, Indonesian troops occupied Mapia (one of the islands identified by Pastor), forcing the US Navy to evacuate many of its inhabitants to the nearby Palauan Islands.²

Accepting novel geographical designations

Pastor's claim, still haunting many Spanish-language Internet pages, is more than just a historical curiosity. His attempt to regain a Spanish Micronesia stems from a confluence of intellectual and political initiatives that emerged in the nineteenth century, following the loss of Madrid's American territories. In 1825, the Spanish colonies in the Philippines and the Marianas had their lifelines to New Spain permanently severed by the declaration of Mexican independence. Similarly, the loss of continental holdings in North and South America extinguished the *raison d'être* of the conceptual Spanish Lake. Ironically, the remaining Spanish territories, which besides the Philippine and Mariana archipelagoes encompassed Cuba and Puerto Rico, as well as small territories in Africa, added greatly to the maritime dimensions of the empire, which still stretched across the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans.

At the same time, the conflict that had shattered the Spanish empire left deep scars on the Iberian Peninsula. Liberal reforms triggered by the Napoleonic invasion were met by Carlist traditionalism that had split Spain into two warring parties. Three Carlist conflicts (1833–1876) left Spain internally disunited and with the international image of an empire whose remnants were ripe for the picking on the dawn of the New Imperialism. Christopher Schmidt-Nowara challenged this notion, which he argues is partially attributable to US narratives following 1898. According to this historian, the nineteenth-century Spanish empire was not an empty shell of its former grandeur, but allowed an unprecedented degree of experimentation, reflecting a newfound sense of national identity.³

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the lagging publication output that had hamstrung Spanish diplomatic claims over the Pacific intensified. The emerging volumes were greatly influenced by a Spanish voyaging literature tradition that established itself in the eighteenth century. The outlook that British and French navigators had sailed into a known Pacific, which had been uncovered by Spanish voyages during the sixteenth century, greatly influenced this tradition. Bernardo de Iriarte initiated the harsh tone against the northern European intrusion into the Spanish Lake, which found its continuity in Estala, Rodríguez, and the Duke of Almodóvar.

As clever as such analyses may have been, they did little to halt Pacific exploration, and intellectuals were wont to understand these writings as the last resort of a declining empire. Frequently overlooked, however, was the *Quellenkritik* (source criticism) emerging from the Spanish writings. The preoccupation with archival knowledge, or what I have called

“revealed knowledge,” was nothing new to the Spanish authorities in the eighteenth century. The main argument put forward was that as far as the Pacific was concerned, the region was known and wholly uninteresting. The French and British expeditions, including those of the much-hailed James Cook, were merely extending the confines of an already known entity that Spanish officials felt was secondary to the Americas. The battle over “knowing” the Pacific was lost when individuals such as Bernardo de Iriarte decided to forego the publication of earlier Spanish accounts on the Pacific because they had not withstood the test of the intense examination of primary sources. This tradition would ultimately lead to a different historical writing emerging through the works of Muñoz, Navarrete, and Humboldt. Although in their renditions the Franco-British explorations were assigned the proper respect, the historical inquiries also revealed that the Spanish scholars had relegated them to a role secondary to the Iberian ventures.

During the course of a generation (1492–1522), Iberian explorers traversed the Atlantic, located the Americas, and circumnavigated the globe. Given their role in uncovering two oceans and continents, the eighteenth-century Pacific exploration could only emerge as an afterthought, which distinguished itself mostly through innovative methods of longitudinal measurement. If one were to follow Humboldt and Navarrete, even these new nautical methods necessarily emerged out of the early phase of oceanic expansion. Muñoz’s most important creation, the *Archivo General de Indias*, underscores the centrality of the Americas in the Spanish historical outlook. With the exception of the Philippines, all geographical areas represented in archival holdings contain the colonial correspondence of mainland American or Caribbean in origin. The Pacific emerges only from the administrative centers bordering on the region: Oceania’s sea of islands came in focus through viceroys located in the Kingdom of Peru. Administrators located in the Kingdom of New Spain kept a close eye on exploratory ventures leaving for the American Northwest Coast. Similarly, the Philippines and the Marianas were administered from New Spain. This fragmented perspective, which closely tied the Pacific to the Americas, I have argued throughout this book, remained central to Spanish administrators and intellectuals.

The early Spanish historical analyses found their continuation in the nineteenth century. Although government officials had no intention of dislodging the British from Australia or the French from their emergent empires in Oceania, they hoped to strengthen their diplomatic legitimacy in the Spanish Lake, which, in the absence of the Manila-Acapulco

trade, had lost its apparent value. In the beginning, historical investigations were performed in secrecy. In 1865, for instance, the naval ministry led an official investigation into the European discovery of the Hawaiian Islands. The ministry concluded in his report that Hawai'i was in fact visited by Juan de Gaytan in 1555, well over 200 years before Cook's arrival. The islands, the report continued, appeared then on several Spanish and European maps, and the name given to one of them, *la mesa* (the table), suggested a description of the two shield volcanoes on the largest island of Hawai'i.⁴

One may be tempted to read too much into this isolated document. Whatever the motivations were behind such inquiries, they could only attract more formal historical excavations. The historian Justo Zaragoza y Cucala (1833–1896) took an interest in what he regarded as the buried history of Spain's exploration of the Pacific Ocean. He thus took it upon himself to publish, in an elaborate three-volume edition, the numerous journals and papers associated with Pedro Fernández de Quirós, a project that the Spanish government had shamefully neglected in the eighteenth century.⁵ Of equal importance was Pedro Novo y Colson's publication about Alejandro Malaspina's expeditions in the years of 1789 and 1794. Much like Zaragoza, Novo y Colson was troubled by the distortions presented by hostile European powers about Spanish accomplishments in the Pacific.⁶ Richly adorned with images from the artists accompanying Malaspina on this journey, the first edition sold out, and a second edition quickly followed. Still, Oskar Spate, the don of European exploratory voyages, had few kind words about Novo y Colson's work. In his opinion, this edition of Malaspina's journals compared poorly with its Northern European counterparts, since it "resurrected and promptly reburied [Malaspina's voyage] in a folio of 681 pages, 573 of them double-columned, with no index and not even a table of contents."⁷

More than in the field of history, within the discipline of geography, new ideas connected to the negotiation of a novel categorization of the Pacific emerged. By the early nineteenth century, geographic terms for the island Pacific started to crystallize. Edme Mentelle and Conrad Malte-Brun suggested the term "Oceanica" for the Pacific Basin. They further retained Charles de Brosses's category of "Polynesia" for the island world of the Eastern Pacific. Through translations of Malte-Brum, the terms entered the English language. Much as in the Spanish case, there was resistance to the French naming practice. The British evangelicals felt especially uneasy with this terminology. Ultimately, these labels found expansion through Jules Dumont d'Urville's tripartite division of the

Pacific into Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. By the 1840s, they were slowly gaining in acceptance by the geographic community.⁸

Although Iberian intellectuals were among the first to suggest that the Pacific might be a different part of the world, they came to reject (see Chapters 1 and 3) the region's novelty when Spanish voyages yielded few valuables. The eighteenth-century exploration of the Pacific further infused this argument with a political component, in which the island world of the large ocean was linked with the terrestrial anchor of the Americas (see Chapters 3 and 4). Spanish hydrographers and naval historians further argued for the importance of the Americas in providing a conceptual link between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. Moreover, individuals such as Vargas Ponce and Navarrete (see Chapter 5) postulated continuity in the exploratory ventures of the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Alexander von Humboldt (see Chapter 6) propelled this argument, which suited his own accidental agenda, into the realm of scientific discourse. Humboldt, for instance, vehemently refused to accept the category of Melanesia, which merged geography with human racial classification.

With the emergence of independent nations in the Americas, this argument had lost its foundation, and Spanish intellectuals demonstrated a willingness to embrace the categories suggested by the French geographers. Horacio Capel, for instance, has argued for an important link between geography and nineteenth-century colonialism in Spain. This nation's geographers not only became willing participants in the intellectual justification of the empire, but also performed a lion's share of popularizing the colonial dream.⁹ Spanish geographers would use the existing categorizations of Oceania and its tripartite division of Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia to mold the imperial aspirations and realities of the Spanish possessions in the Pacific.

Malte-Brun's category for the Pacific quickly found entrance into the Spanish language. Although his eight-volume *Universal Geography* was not translated into the Spanish language until the 1850s, a shorter geographical dictionary diffused the terminology among the learned individuals of the Iberian Peninsula by the late 1820s. Interestingly enough, the term employed in this dictionary is not Malte-Brun's original *Oceanica* but "Oceánia, which comprises Australasia and Polynesia."¹⁰ Justo Zaragoza, in the publication of Quiros' voyages, enjoyed the writings of Malte-Brun, since the Danish-French geographer credited the Iberians for their discoveries in the Pacific long before Abel Tasman or James Cook.¹¹ The first official Spanish document to accept Malte-Brun's category was an extensive document drafted by Antonio Puig y Lucá in

1836 and dedicated to Queen Isabel. In it, he argued for the primary use of the Marianas as a penal colony – citing the supposed success of the British settlement in Australia as a model that would ultimately improve communications between the Marianas, the Philippines, and Spain. The most remarkable part of his proposal advocated a separate royal agency for the Spanish colonies in Oceania.¹²

By 1860, the acceptance of Oceania was commonplace, as indicated by Manuel de Rialp's edited work, *La Geografía Universal*.¹³ Rialp's volumes not only engaged the division proposed by Malte-Brun – Oceania and Polynesia – but they also mentioned the important contributions of Dumont d'Urville in the exploration of the central Pacific. Rialp found merit in the tripartite division of the island Pacific (Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia), although in his detailed description of the area he merged the islands of Micronesia with the archipelagoes located in Polynesia. Besides the anthropological divisions, Rialp also engaged the political divisions that governed the Pacific. At the time of his writing, only five European powers had colonial representations in this part of the world: the British, Dutch, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. To each of these imperial nations, Rialp assigned a portion of Oceania – Indonesia to the Dutch, Australia to the British, the island of Timor to the Portuguese, Polynesia to the French.¹⁴

Among Spanish thinkers, Rialp was one of the first to suggest the term “Spanish Oceania,” which encompassed the Philippine as well as the Mariana islands. He thus suggested an imperial coherence not necessarily reflected in the geographical realities of the Pacific islands. More problematic, as it would turn out, was his omission of the Caroline Islands, which would be at the center of a major political controversy a generation later.¹⁵

It would fall to Spanish geographer Ricardo Beltán y Rózpide (1852–1928) to pull together these individual threads, and to weave the Spanish contributions in the discovery of Polynesia into a lengthy monograph.¹⁶ On the eve of the fourth centenary of Columbus's discovery of the Americas, he argued that most archipelagos in Oceania were indeed first encountered by his countrymen. “It personally pained me,” he wrote, “that the Pacific endeavors of our navigators are much less known than those of other nations who merely followed in the wake [of the Spanish explorers].”¹⁷ Beltrán y Rózpide's utilization of the categories of Oceania and Polynesia demonstrated that these terms were gaining currency among Spanish geographers.

This intellectual rethinking of the Spanish possessions paralleled a similar effort in the realm of administration, where Spanish officials

were forced to reconsider the nature of their empire. Javier Morillo-Alicea suggested that the islands of Cuba, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico formed a Spanish imperial chain of islands that differed from continental holdings in the Americas. The Habsburg conquests of the 1500s relied on the notion of creating associated kingdoms that over time became regional metropolises in their own right. When the continental empire faded, however, a lengthy process of restructuring sought to revise the direct link between the Iberian Peninsula and the archipelagoes in the Atlantic and the Pacific. Decades of bickering over imperial administration, financing, and the need to create a government agency mimicking those of colonial superpowers, Great Britain and France, foreshadowed the establishment of the *Ministerio de Ultramar* (Overseas Ministry) in 1863.¹⁸ A byproduct of this restructuring process was a timid attempt to restructure the Spanish Lake between 1828 and 1829, with the proposal to make the Marianas a politically distinct entity from the Philippines. For this purpose, Spanish archives were mined for all relevant data on the Marianas, including bureaucratic documents, Jesuit records, and detailed geographic and hydrographic surveys.¹⁹ Ultimately, the establishment of a separate political entity for the Marianas came to naught.

A few decades later, the arrival of steam-powered ships made formerly remote areas of the Pacific more accessible. Moreover, the construction and opening of the Suez Canal in the 1860s revived similar projects for an interoceanic American canal, which had been planned by the Spanish officials and supported by Alexander von Humboldt. Although the construction of this canal in the Isthmus of Panama proceeded rather slowly, it underscored the strategic importance of the Mariana Islands.²⁰ The future of this imperial archipelago was clearly articulated by the *Dirección General de Ultramar* in 1852:

Providence has placed our Marianas in a geographical situation that, because of recent historical developments, has provided us with two options: We either secure and develop the Mariana archipelago for Spain; or we wait for the fatal moment when an emergent maritime and mercantile nation, including the rich Chinese dynasties or Japan or other imperial powers upon perceiving our territories as abandoned and without defense employs them for their hostile or commercial ventures. In this latter case, the Marianas would only foreshadow the fate of our entire Philippine archipelago.²¹

The commission thus urged that increasing port facilities and troop contingents proceed apace with intelligence gathering on the Marianas,

and thereupon decreed that the archipelago should be granted a degree of freedom in electing their officials. Lastly, the failed attempt to create a penal colony was to be abandoned, owing to the negative press it generated at home.

Although the administrative separation of the Marianas from the Philippines never became a reality, the diffusion of the ensuing knowledge proved beneficial. As Spanish archivist Arias Miranda attempted to make sense out of the vast imperial archive, he suggested maintaining it as a way of organizing specific administrative knowledge. At the same time, the archivist also lobbied for the establishment of an associated library through which to disseminate the newfound sense of empire to a larger public sphere.²² Miranda's attempts to circulate knowledge remained tied to the Spanish archival system, which emphasized history and geography. Despite the rising tide of encyclopedic diffusion in the nineteenth century, revealed knowledge still reigned supreme over encountered awareness.

The geographer's task of linking historical discoveries in the Pacific with emerging European categories proved timely enough. By the late nineteenth century, the island groups of the Carolines, the Marianas, and Palau had been claimed by Spain for the better part of two centuries. Beyond a few Jesuit ventures to the Caroline Islands, Spanish control had effectively limited itself to the Marianas, relegating Palau and the Caroline Islands to a policy of benign neglect. Advances in shipping technology, especially the use of the steam engine to propel vessels, enabled American missionaries and traders as well as German merchants to gain a foothold in the Carolines.²³ Accelerating foreign encroachment raised concerns among Castilian geographers, who emphatically noted the increasing strategic importance of their Pacific island realm in light of the imminent opening of the Panama Canal. The result was a geographic congress convened in Madrid (November 1883), which sought to link colonial and economic interests with the science of mapping the Earth. Rózpide thereupon shifted his research from historical to geographical concerns, arguing that the British and the French had carved their respective empires on novel geographical units in Australia and Eastern Polynesia. Spain had now been challenged to revive her historical rights of first discovery in the Pacific to legitimize her imperial claims.²⁴ The creation of a colonial counterweight to Franco-British possessions prompted Spanish intellectuals to embrace the geographic category of Micronesia (small islands), an arbitrary classification invented and molded by French naval officer Jules Dumont d'Urville and geographer Gregoire-Louis Domeny de Rienzi in the 1830s.²⁵

The concept of Micronesia could not have arrived at a better time for Spain. When German chancellor Otto von Bismarck called for the Berlin Congress of 1884 to settle conflicting imperial claims in Africa, the delegates settled on the policy of effective occupation as a justification for imperial annexations. Discoveries and geographical surveys were deemed insufficient for colonial claims unless accompanied by the actual dispatch of missionaries and administrators. With the specter of the crises in the Falkland Islands and Nootka Sound looming on the horizon, Spanish geographers went on the offensive. Their argument that the Berlin Congress' resolution applied to the African continent fell flat when German merchants urged their government to annex the Caroline Islands by arguing that Spanish authorities had orphaned this region. The situation intensified when German and Spanish gunboats faced combat off the Caroline island of Yap in the summer of 1885.²⁶

The newly founded Spanish Society for Economic Geography answered the appeal by calling an extraordinary meeting to discuss this thorny diplomatic imbroglio. Leading geographers, such as Francisco Coello, forged a new term that quickly gained currency among practitioners: "Spanish Micronesia." Rather than insisting that the Berlin Congress agreements did not apply to the Pacific Ocean, geographers argued that Spain had effectively occupied and administered the Caroline Islands for over 200 years. The category of Micronesia proved useful here. Applied as an umbrella designation to cover three distinct archipelagoes – the Caroline, Mariana, and Palau islands – Spain's effective occupation of the Mariana archipelago hence meant an administration of all of the island groups. This situation, the geographers continued, was similar to that of the British administration in Australia or the French occupation of Eastern Polynesia. Both of these powers were effectively occupying only a limited amount of territory or number of islands, thereby providing prominent examples in support of Spanish arguments.²⁷ The geographers' efforts were ultimately rewarded when Pope Leo XIII adjudicated – in concord with German authorities – the Caroline and Palau island chains to the Spanish crown.

National gains in the Spanish Lake also triggered new means of colonial justification. Schmidt-Nowara argues that, in their attempt to create a different type of imperialism from that of either Great Britain or France, Spanish scholars advocated the virtues of racial blending, which in the Crown's empire (Spanish physical anthropologists maintained) diverged from northern European practices. Theirs was not an empire of markets, settlers, and segregation, but one of civilization and assimilation. Rather than demonizing Spanish colonialism as an anachronism of earlier

centuries, nationalist scholars maintained that their country followed a path to be cherished and emulated.²⁸ The Afro-Caribbean writer Juan Gualberto Gómez, in a published pamphlet, supported the argument that Spanish colonialism had obtained a perfect state in the Americas. For the Iberian possessions in the Pacific, however, Spanish imperial rule was far from complete. Although the tract was written to safeguard the Caroline Islands from German designs, Gómez attempted to connect the Spanish archipelago of the Antilles with that of the Pacific.²⁹ He argued that the Spanish Lake had been neglected and was now under siege with the immanent opening of the Panama Canal:

In Cuba and Puerto Rico, the language, religion, traditions, and customs are those created by Spain.... This would not be the case for our possessions in Asia. If tomorrow they would fall into the hands of strangers, they would astutely erase the faint footprints that Spain has left until now in a good deal of these territories.³⁰

Gómez organized their pleas mostly on archival information, which in no way reflected realities on the ground, where Spaniards frequently loathed intermarriage with the indigenous peoples of the Philippines and the Marianas and the increasing number of Chinese migrants reaching the islands.³¹

As the Spanish navy erected settlements in the Carolines, the Spanish Lake expanded for the last time. Establishing two administrative outposts on the islands of Yap and Pohnpei, colonial bureaucrats soon realized that the indigenous people were far from the meek individuals geographers had described from the comfort of their own armchairs. Especially on Pohnpei, Spanish soldiers experienced fierce resistance relegating the proud dons to the confines of their fortress at Santiago de la Ascensión.³² When the United States defeated Spain in the “Splendid Little War” of 1898, effectively stripping Spain of Guam and the Philippine Islands, the government in Madrid decided that the newly gained Caroline island chain was not worth keeping. In 1899, Spain sold the remaining islands of Spanish Micronesia for 25 million pesetas (roughly \$4.2 million) to Germany. This act terminated the Spanish presence in the Pacific Ocean.³³ Although the Micronesia isles would experience a curious colonial history over the next five decades, with German, Japanese, and American occupiers following the departing Spaniards, the turn of the century witnessed the end of the Spanish Lake.

With the diplomatic surrender to Germany and the United States, Spanish intellectual energy shifted away from the Pacific. During the last

decades of the nineteenth century, Spanish intellectuals had attempted to propagate new ways of knowing the Pacific, most notably through the Philippine Exposition that took place in Madrid in 1887.³⁴ Foreign anthropologists, however, felt that most of the Spanish research done in the Pacific remained tied to the yellowing paper trail in royal archives.

In what could be considered a coda to the Spanish dominion in the Pacific, German anthropologist Adolf Bastian was very candid about the Iberian shortcomings. Considered by many scholars as the founding father of that discipline in Germany, he advocated the collection of indigenous material culture to establish a thesaurus of humankind at the Berlin Ethnological Museum. His ethnographic archive was based on accumulation of artifacts from nonliterate peoples coupled with firsthand observations of their uses.³⁵ When Germany acquired its Micronesian holdings from Spain, Bastian immediately chastised Spain for not having mined its ethnographic treasures. Similarly, he blamed Spain for the drastic depopulation in the Marianas following the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, thereby reviving the Black Legend surrounding the Spanish conquest of the Americas. Most importantly, however, Bastian lauded ethnographic collection efforts associated with German firms – Otto Finch, Jan Kubary, and Otto Semper – for providing insights into the cultures of the Caroline archipelago. Spain, in contrast, Bastian argued, did little to nothing to further the study of Micronesia on the ground.³⁶

One could easily dismiss Bastian's accusations as after-the-fact justifications to explain the diplomatic loss of the Spanish Lake. Leading Spanish geographer Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide, however, concurred with the German anthropologist's assertions. Lamenting that Castile's flag had been lowered over the islands in the Atlantic and the Pacific, Beltrán y Rózpide placed the blame squarely with his Iberian nation. Relying too heavily on politicians and historians to determine colonial policy, Spanish officials overlooked geography's positive applications as a solid foundation for the now crumbling empire. The islands of the Philippines were swarming with foreigners, while the sole Spanish geographic society in Madrid was barely able to diffuse a trickle of encountered knowledge about the Spanish colonies through a bulletin that it circulated among its 150 members. Other European geographic societies – to contextualize this paltry statistic – boasted memberships in the thousands, which included influential government officials. His countrymen had inadequately answered Beltrán y Rózpide's plea, "the earth will belong, I repeat, to those that know her best."³⁷ Placing the reasons for the Spanish decline in the forceful racial discourse of the new century,

Beltrán y Rózpide argued that the loss of colonial territory to the United States and America was in fact a sad testimony that the Anglo-Saxon and German races were becoming more prominent than the Latin ones. Positive Spanish values, the Roman Catholic faith, and the willingness to intermarry with other people, were now being eclipsed by materialism. Beltrán y Rózpide argued that the United States and Germany were now profiting from the infrastructures placed by Spain in the Pacific and the Caribbean. In return, the calming influences of the Spanish civilization would now be replaced with empty commercialism: Beltrán y Rózpide cited the expansion of Mormonism in Eastern Polynesia as an example for the stage being set for the expansion to American markets. Lessons were to be learned from these developments, Beltrán y Rózpide continued, and Spain still had time to stem the tide of similar developments in Africa. Spaniards had to call on other Latin people, which besides the besieged French Empire also include the newly independent countries of South America, who had missed their chance to unite in an effort to counterbalance the US juggernaut in the north.³⁸

Spanish colonial enthusiasts now were destined to study the past of their imperial glory through the received knowledge of their imperial archives. Thus it comes as no surprise that when (about half a century later) Pastor revived Spanish claims to the Pacific, he did so through the study of diplomatic treaties, the originals of which were located in Spanish archives.

Notes

Introduction

1. Diego Barros Arana, "Introduccion," in *Esploraciones jeographicas y hidrograficas de José de Moraleda i Montero* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1888), v.
2. Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Jerry Bentley, "Sea and Ocean as Frameworks of Historical Analysis," *The Geographical Review* 89 (1999): 215–224; and edited by Jerry Bentley, Renate Bridenthal, and Kären Wigen, *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007). The connection between maritime and world histories is expertly explored in Patrick Manning's "Global History and Maritime History," *International Journal of Maritime History* XXV (2013): 1–22.
3. Matt Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012) coined the ingenious term "translocalism" to capture global and local events in his book. David Iglar, *The Great Sea: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), focuses on the Eastern Pacific, a loose geographical category that unites Euro-American individuals with indigenous peoples residing both in the island and along the littoral Pacific. Lastly, the volume edited by David Armitage and Alison Bashford, *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), which introduces the series that houses the present volume, brings together two scholars from the Atlantic and Pacific worlds to elucidate the Pacific global vision.
4. This chronology can be found in Arif Dirlik, ed., *What is in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* 2nd edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).
5. Brian W. Richardson, *Longitude and Empire: How Captain Cook's Voyages Changed the World* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005).
6. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 15.
7. See most prominently, Alan Frost, "The Pacific Ocean: The Eighteenth Century's 'New World,'" *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 151–155 (1976): 779–822.
8. To mention but a few critical studies: Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680–1840* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Tony Ballantyne, ed., *Science, Empire and European Exploration of the Pacific* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004); and Alan Frost and Jane Samson, eds, *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999).

9. P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment* (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1982), 258. The classic study emphasizing the Franco-British view of the Pacific Ocean remains Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960).
10. Robin Inglis, "Successors and Rivals to Cook: The French and the Spaniards," in Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Captain Cook: Explorations and Reassessments* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2004), 162.
11. There is a great deal of literature on the Spanish expeditions to the Pacific and the American Northwest. On the expeditions to Easter Islands, consult Francisco Mellén Blanco, *Manuscritos y documentos españoles para la historia de la Isla de Pascua* (Madrid: CEDEX, 1986); and Bolton Glanvill Corney, *The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe Gonzalez in the Ship of the Line San Lorenzo with the Frigate Santa Rosalia in Company to Easter Island in 1770-1* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1908). On the three expeditions to Tahiti, see Bolton Glanvill Corney, *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain during the Years, 1772-1776* 3 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1913-1919); and Francisco Mellén Blanco, *Máximo Rodríguez: Españoles en Tahiti* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1992). Mellén Blanco has also recently released the most complete collection of primary sources on the Tahiti episode: *Las expediciones marítimas del virrey Amat a la isla de Tahiti, 1772-1775* (Madrid: Ediciones Gondo, 2011). On the 1781-1782 expedition to Melanesia and Tonga, see Amancio Ladin Carrasco, *Mourelle de La Rúa: Explorador del Pacífico* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 1971). The classic for the Spanish exploration along the Northwest Coast remains Warren L. Cook's, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973). There is a growing interest in the expedition of Alejandro Malaspina, the largest of the Spanish exploratory ventures to the Pacific. Most prominently, Juan Pimentel, *La física de la monarquía: Ciencia y política en el pensamiento colonial de Alejandro Malaspina (1754-1810)* (Aranjuez: Doce Calles, 1998) and the English publication of Malaspina's journals, David Andrew et al., eds, *The Malaspina Expedition, 1789-1794: The Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina* 3 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2001-2004). Overarching volumes assessing the entirety of Spanish ventures have been rare. The exceptions are Salvador Bernabeu Albert, *El Pacífico Ilustrado: Del lago español a las grandes expediciones* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992) and Mercedes Maroto Camino's *Exploring the Explorers: Spain and Oceania, 1519-1794* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2009). Camino's volume attempts to locate the Spanish exploration in the growing literature on the historical studies of encounters in the island Pacific. For an overarching intellectual context, consult Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías del descubrimiento: Vol II, El Pacífico* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989).
12. Christon Archer, "The Spanish Reaction to Cook's Third Voyage" in Robin Fisher, ed., *Captain Cook and His Times* (London, 1979), 99-100. Archer's quote attesting to the backwardness of Spanish endeavors is hardly unique. Donald Cutter, for instance, regards Spain's greatest expedition of the eighteenth century, the Malaspina venture, as a testimony of waning geopolitical and intellectual hegemony. Donald Cutter, "Malaspina and the Shrinking of the Spanish Lake," in Margarett Lincoln, ed., *Science and Exploration in*

- the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the Eighteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1999), 73–80.
13. See, for instance, Mellén Blanco, *Manuscritos y documentos españoles*, 21. The advertisement for a recent Congress on the Pacific in Seville, September 2013, celebrating the fifth centenary of Balboa's sighting of the Southern Sea spells out this lament: "There is a tendency to diminish the important Spanish contributions (in many cases pioneers [in the exploration of the Pacific]) or to regard them as mere antecedents to the voyages of Captain Cook and the colonization of Australia. Only a selected few of our voyagers have transcended the national historiography (Magellan, Elcano, Malaspina) and hence our numerous voyages, protagonists, discoveries, and colonization as well as transatlantic endeavors have been relegated to oblivion." <http://congreso.us.es/elpacifico/index.php?page=presentacion>, accessed on October 20, 2013.
 14. Mercedes Maroto Camino [*Exploring the Explorers*, 149] notes that Spanish accounts on the visits to Tahiti (1772–1776) seem devoid of the idealizations frequently found in both British and French reports. She offers, however, no explanation to elucidate this striking difference in perception.
 15. Refer to the following articles: Tom Ryan, "Le Président des Terres Australes' Charles de Brosses and the French Enlightenment Beginnings of Oceanic Anthropology," *Journal of Pacific History* 37 (2002): 157–186; Bronwen Douglas, "Seaborne Ethnography and the Natural History of Man," *Journal of Pacific History* 38 (2003): 3–27; Tom Ryan, "On 'Reflectivity,' 'Accuracy' and 'Race': A Note on an Underarm Footnote," *Journal of Pacific History* 39 (2004): 251–253; and Bronwen Douglas, "Notes on 'Race' and the Biologisation of Human Difference," *Journal of Pacific History* 40 (2005): 331–338.
 16. Charles-Pierre Claret de Fleurieu, *Discoveries of the French in 1768 and 1769, to the South-East of New Guinea with the Subsequent Visits to the Same Lands by English Navigators, Who Gave Them New Names. To Which is Prefixed an Historical Abridgement of the Voyages and Discoveries of the Spaniards in the Same Seas*. Translated from French (London: Stockdale, 1791), vi. The French original [*Découvertes de François, en 1768 & 1769, dans le sud-est de la Nouvelle Guinée...* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1790), vj] employs the term "richness d'opinion," which was later translated as "imaginary wealth."
 17. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso, 1983), 44–45.
 18. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2001), chapter 1.
 19. The quote stems from Salvador Bernabéu Albert, *La aventura de lo imposible: Expediciones marítimas Españolas* (Madrid: Lunweg Editores, 2000), 172.
 20. To give but one example: Buried in a file of the Archivo de la Real Academia de la Historia, lies a report on the Spanish expedition to the island of Tahiti entitled "The discovery of the Indies in the South Sea" ARAH 9/4161, ff. 66–68.
 21. There are of course exceptions to this rule. The most prominent one is a frequently cited legajo numbered 1035, in the Audiencia de Lima of the Archivo General de Indias. This file delineates the attempts of Peruvian Viceroy Amat to claim Easter Island and Tahiti for the Crown of Spain. To

- this researcher's disappointment, however, this file turned out to be one of the smallest available in the famous archive.
22. O. H. K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan* 3 vols. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979–1988).
 23. William Lytle Schurz "The Spanish Lake," *The Spanish American Historical Review* 5 (1922): 181–194.
 24. *Ibid.*, 181.
 25. The literature on the Austronesian settlement of the Pacific is vast and growing. Chapter 1 lists the most significant works while investigating the accomplishments of indigenous navigation.
 26. Rainer F. Buschmann, Edward Slack Jr., and James Tueller, *Navigating the Spanish Lake: The Pacific in the Iberian World, 1521–1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014). Consult especially the introduction and chapter 1 of this book.
 27. Many of the interpretations guiding the Manila galleon exchange have focused on the flow of bullion through the funnel of Manila and the economic influences this had on colonial Latin America and East Asia. Recently, more culturally nuanced analyses have complemented these economic outlooks. Edward Slack, Jr., for instance, has produced several prominent articles on the Chinese influence on New Spain. See his "The *Chinos* in New Spain: A Corrective Lens for Distorted Image," *Journal of World History* 20 (2009): 35–67; and "Sinifying New Spain: Cathay's Influence on Colonial Mexico via the *Nao de China*." *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 5 (2009): 5–27.
 28. Most prominently in Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds* and Armitage and Bashford, eds, *Pacific Histories*. Translocal perspectives on the Spanish Lake emerge in Buschmann, Slack, and Tueller, *Navigating the Spanish Lake*, especially in chapter 1. The authors of this volume refer to the uneven Spanish penetration of their island territories in the Pacific as "archipelagic Hispanization."
 29. On the distinction between history "in" and "of" the Pacific, consult Greg Denning, "History 'in' the Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific* 1 (1989): 133–139.
 30. Rafael Sagredo Baeza and José Ignacio González Leiva, *La Expedición Malaspina en la frontera austral del imperio español* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 2004) have provided an avenue for such voices in their important book.
 31. From an Atlantic vantage point, the Bourbon period has been detailed by Stanley Stein and Barbara Stein's three volumes: *Silver, Trade and War: Spain in America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); *Apogee of Empire: Spain and New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); and *The Edge of Crisis: War and Trade in the Spanish Atlantic, 1789–1808* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
 32. These perspectives can be found in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*; Daniela Bleichmar et al. eds., *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2008); Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); and Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759–1808* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

1 On Shrinking Continents and Expanding Oceans

1. See among others, David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill, eds, *Visions of Empire: Voyages, Botany, and Representations of Nature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Roy MacLeod and Philip F. Rehbock, eds., *Nature in its Greatest Extent: Western Science in the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988).
2. On early European conceptualization and mapping of the Pacific, refer to the important works by Thomas Suárez, *Early Mapping of the Pacific: The Epic Story of Seafarers, Adventurers, and Cartographers who Mapped the Earth's Greatest Ocean* (Singapore: Periplus Editions, 2004); Bronwen Douglas, *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511–1850* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
3. This section takes its ideas from Rainer F. Buschmann, "The Pacific Basin to 1850," in Jerry H. Bentley, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of World History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 564–580.
4. Michael Pearson, *The Indian Ocean* (New York: Routledge, 2007); for an fascinating work that attempts to find similar connections in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries worlds, see Sugata Bose, *A Hundred Horizons: The Indian Ocean in the Age of Global Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
5. See for instance, Paul Butel, *The Atlantic* (New York: Routledge, 1999).
6. See Epli Hau'ofa, *We are the Ocean: Selected Writings* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).
7. Donald B. Freeman, *The Pacific* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 11. The concept of the "tyranny of distance" in the Pacific contrasts sharply with the "tyranny of time," a notion proposed to understand "[t]he cycles of the monsoons [that] provided the basic rhythms of long-distance voyaging across the Indian Ocean." Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of the People and the Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 44.
8. Ricardo Padrón, "Sea of Denial: The Early Modern Spanish Invention of the Pacific Rim," *Hispanic Review* 77 (2009): 1–29.
9. O.H.K. Spate, *The Pacific since Magellan: The Spanish Lake* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979).
10. O.H.K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake*; Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías*, chapter 1.
11. Schurz, "The Spanish Lake." – a thorough examination of the term "Spanish Lake" can be found in Buschmann, Slack, and Tueller, *Navigating the Spanish Lake*, introduction and chapter 1.
12. Williams Clements R. Markham, *Narratives of the Voyages of Pedro Sarmiento de Gambóia to the Straits of Magellan* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1895), ix–xxx. A frequently overlooked aspect of the Iberian expansion into the Pacific is the failure of Spanish and Portuguese ventures to Southeast Asia. When the Portuguese and Spanish crowns became linked following 1580, their respective imperial realms were to be respected. In practice, however, Madrid's rulers hoped to expand their imperial reach at the expense of that of their neighbors. When these ventures failed in 1595, Spanish monarchs invested in Pacific exploration instead. Consult Rafael Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia (1580–1680): Declive imperial y adaptación* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 17–19.

13. María M. Portuondo, *Secret Science: Spanish Cosmography and the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
14. María M. Portuondo, "Cosmography of the Casa, Consejo, and Corte during the Century of Discovery" in Daniela Bleichmar et al. eds. *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empire, 1500–1800* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2009), 58–78. See also Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006).
15. David Turnbull, "Cartography and Science in Early Modern Europe: Mapping the Construction of Knowledge Spaces." *Imago Mundi* 48 (1996): 5–24; Alison Sandman, "Mirroring the World: Sea Charts, Navigation, and Territorial Claims in Sixteenth-Century Spain," in Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds. *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce and Science in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 83–108; Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
16. Sandman, "Mirroring the World."
17. Spate, *The Spanish Lake*; Gil, *Mitos y utopías*.
18. The establishment of Manila and the ensuing galleon trade with China is considered by many historians to be the beginning of true "globalization." For an economic perspective on the Manila Galleon exchange, consult Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571, *The Journal of World History* 6 (1995): 201–221."; Dennis O. Flynn, Arturo Giráldez and James Sobredo, eds, *European Entry in the Pacific: Spain and the Acapulco–Manila Galleons* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001). A socio-cultural perspective is presented in Luke Clossey, "Merchants, Migrants, and Missionaries, and Globalization in the Early Modern Pacific," *Journal of Global History* 1 (2006): 41–56.
19. Padrón, "Sea of Denial," 15–25.
20. John M. Headley, "Spain's Asian Presence, 1565–1595: Structures and Aspirations," *The Hispanic American Review* 75 (1995): 623–646; Paul Mapp, "Continental Conceptions" *History Compass* 1 (2003): 1–5.
21. Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific: Maps and Narratives of Spanish Exploration*; also, her *Exploring the Explorers*.
22. O.H.K. Spate, "The Pacific as an Artifact," in Neil Gunson, ed. *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honor of H. E. Maude* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 32–45; and his "'South Sea' to 'Pacific Ocean': A Note on Nomenclature," *Journal of Pacific History* 12 (1977): 205–211.
23. For detailed accounts on these expeditions, consult O.H.K. Spate, *The Spanish Lake*; Clements Markam, *The Voyages of Pedro Fernández de Quíros, 1595 to 1605* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1904); Celsus Kelly, *La Australia del Espíritu Santo, vol 2* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1966); Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific*.
24. Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea: English Voyages and Encounters, 1570–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).
25. Christon Archer, "Spain and the Defense of the Pacific Ocean Empire, 1750–1810," *Canadian Journal of Latin America Studies* 11 (1986), 15–17; Pablo

- Emillo Pérez-Mallaína Bueno and Bibiano Torres Ramirez, *La Armada del Mar del Sur* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1987).
26. Anthony Pagden, "Heeding Heraclides: Empire and Its Discontents, 1619–1812," in Richard Kagan and Geoffrey Parker, eds, *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honour of John H. Elliot* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 316–333; and Pagden's *The Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c. 1500–c. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
 27. Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost, "Terra Australis: Theory and Speculation," in Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost, eds, *Terra Australis to Australia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1–37.
 28. Ricardo Padrón [*The Spacious Word*] takes this view in his concluding chapter. Robin Inglis, "Successors and Rivals to Cook" furthers this argument by adding that the Spanish authorities had a clear geographical advantage over their Franco-British counterparts. The location of Spanish ports throughout the Pacific would have greatly enabled a continuous expansion into the ocean throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
 29. Carlos Sanz has a list of publication of Quiros's Eighth Memorial to the twentieth century in his *Australia: Su Descubrimiento y Denominacion* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1973): 223–224.
 30. Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific*, 39.
 31. Consult, for instance, two prominent works locating the British navigator in indigenous contexts of the Pacific: Ann Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: The Remarkable Story of Captain Cook's Encounters in the South Seas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); and Nicholas Thomas, *Cook: The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook* (New York: Walker & Company, 2003). Tracing Cook's reception through the ages is Glyn Williams's *The Death of Captain Cook: A Hero Made and Unmade* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008). Even Frank McLynn's more hagiographic work finds fault in the "finest maritime explorer of the world," *Captain Cook: Master of the Sea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 7: "[S]nobbery of... 'betters' left a legacy of subterranean rage [that] in Cook's case slowly germinated with ultimately fatal results."
 32. Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea*, 252.
 33. Roberto Ferrando, "La búsqueda de la Terra Austalis" in Carlos Martínez Shaw, ed. *El Pacífico Español de Magallanes a Malaspina* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1988), 73–85, for instance, calls Quiros the "Don Quixote of the Pacific." This image, however, seemed to have originated in the early twentieth century among Australian historians, most prominently Arnold Wood. See Juan Pimentel, *Testigos del mundo: ciencia, literatura y viajes en la ilustración* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003), 84–85.
 34. Miguel Luque and Carlos Mondragón, "Faith, Fidelity, and Fantasy: Don Pedro Fernández de Quirós and the 'Foundation, Government and Sustenance' of La Neuba Hierusalem in 1606," *Journal of Pacific History* 40 (2005): 133–148.
 35. *Ibid.*, 148.
 36. Kevin Sheehan, "Voyaging in the Spanish Baroque: Science and Patronage in the Pacific Voyage of Pedro Fernández de Quirós, 1605–1606" in Daniela Bleichmar et al., eds, *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empire, 1500–1800* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2009), 233–246.

37. Roberto Ferrando, "Felipe III y la política española en el mar del sur," *Revista de Indias* 13 (1953): 539–558.
38. Alison Sandman "Controlling Knowledge: Navigation, Cartography, and Secrecy in the Early Modern Spanish Atlantic," in James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, eds, *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 31–51.
39. Quirós's original memorial labled his encountered lands as a fourth part of the world, but later translations added Africa to the fold of Europe, Asia, and the Americas.
40. Translation from *Terra Australis incognita or A new Sotherne Discoverie, containing A fifth part of the World. Lately found out by Ferdinand de Quir, A Spanish Captaine. Never before published* (London: John Hodgetts, 1617), 3 reprinted in Sanz, *Australia*.
41. *Ibid.*, 4.
42. There is a growing literature on the development of the Spanish scientific endeavor in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See for instance, Portuondo, *Secret Science*; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored how much longer?" *Perspectives on Science* 12 (2004): 86–124; and his "Introduction" in Daniela Bleichmar et al., eds, *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empire, 1500–1800* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2009), 1–5.
43. Council of Indies to Philip III, last day in February 28, 1610, AGI, Indiferente General 750. The King's note appears at the bottom of the communication. Translations throughout these chapters are mine, unless otherwise indicated.
44. Sanz, *Australia*.
45. Luke Clossley, "Merchants, Migrants, Missionaries."
46. Celsus Kelly [the translator and editor of *La Australia del Espíritu Santo: The Journal of Fray Martín de Munilla O.F.M. and other Documents relating to the Voyage of Pedro Fernández de Quirós to the South Sea (1605–1606) and the Franciscan Missionary Plan* Vol 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Hakluyt Society, 1966), 15–18] argues for the paramount religious motives of the Spanish ventures between 1565–1607.
47. See for instance, Stafford Poole, *Juan de Ovando: Governing the Spanish Empire in the Reign of Philip II* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 152–156.
48. Celsus Kelly, *La Australia del Espíritu Santo* vol. II, 115–129.
49. Memorial of Arias to Philip III reprinted in Clements Markam, *The Voyages of Pedro Fernández de Quiros, 1595 to 1605* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1904), 517.
50. Celsus Kelly, *La Australia del Espíritu Santo* vol II, 129–133; see also his "The Terra–Australis–A Franciscan Quest," *The Americas* 4 (1948), 429–448; Fray Juan de Silva to Pope Urban VIII, 20 September 1623, in Kelly, *La Australia del Espíritu Santo* vol II, 368–370.
51. Roberto Ferrando, "Fernandez de Oviedo y el conocimiento del Mar del Sur," *Revista de Indias* 17 (1959): 469–482.
52. Ferrando "Felipe III."

53. On these debates of imperial overextension, consult J.H. Elliot, *Spain, Europe, and the Wider World, 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), chapter 8; Anthony Pagden, “Heeding Heraclides”.
54. On the organization of Spain’s maritime empire, consult Carla Rahn Phillips, “The Organization of Oceanic Empires: The Iberian World in the Habsburg Period,” in Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal and Kären Wigen, eds, *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 71–86. The global context of the Spanish empire is expertly addressed in Phillips’s *The Treasure of the San José: Death at Sea in the War of Spanish Succession* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).
55. Sanz, *Australia*, 223.
56. Diego Luis de San Vitores, Puntos de Memorial, April 26, 1669, AGI, Filipinas 82, N. 22; see also Juan Gil, *Mitos y utopías*, 244.
57. Council of Indies, November 5, 1671 and February 17, 1672, AGI, Filipinas 82, N. 22.
58. *Ibid.* Marques de Mancera, March 27, 1673.
59. *Ibid.* Fray Ignacio Muñoz, April 15, 1674.
60. *Ibid.* Council of Indies, September 18, 1675.
61. Richard J. Shell, “The Marianas Population Decline: 17th Century Estimates,” *The Journal of Pacific History* 34 (1999): 291–305.
62. AGI, Filipinas 320.
63. Pedro Fernández de Quirós’s negative image in Spain had grave implications in the late eighteenth century, as Chapter 3 illustrates.
64. O.H.K. Spate, *Monopolist and Freebooters* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 280.
65. *Ibid.*, 278–280; Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word*, 232–234.
66. Francisco de Seixas y Lovera, *Descripción geográfica y derrotero de la región Austral Magallánica* (Madrid, Antonio de Zafra, 1690); and his *Teatro naval hidraulico de los flujos y reflujos, y de las corrientes de mares, estrechos, archipiélagos, y passages actuales del mundo y de las diferencias de las variaciones de la aguja de marear, y efectos de la luna con los vientos generales y particulares que reinan en los cuatro regions maritimas del orbe* (Madrid: Antonio de Zafra, 1688). Naval historians have judged Seixas harshly in later years, calling his style “slovenly, pompose, and diffuse,” in Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Biblioteca Marítima Española* Vol 1. (Madrid: Viuda de Calero, 1851), 502–506.
67. Victor Navarro, “Tradition and Scientific Change in Early Modern Spain: The Role of the Jesuits,” in Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003), 363.
68. I intentionally refrain from providing a more detailed biography of Jorge Juan y Santacilla, since this naval officer and scholar will receive much more detailed attention over the course of the next chapters.
69. Jorge Juan to Arriaga, September 27, 1757, AGI, Indiferente General, 1631.
70. Maroto Camino, *Producing the Pacific*, 39–40.
71. O.H.K. Spate, *Monopolist and Freebooters*, 21–26.
72. *Relacion diaria del viage de Iacobo Demayre y Guillermo Cornelio Schouten, en que se descubrieron nuevo estrecho y passage del mar del norte, a la parte Austral del Estrecho de Magallanes* (Madrid: Bernadino de Guzman, 1619); the implication of this voyage are discussed in Michiel von Groesen, “Changing the

- Image of the South Pacific: Willem Schouten, his Circumnavigation and the De Bry Collection of Voyages," *Journal of Pacific History* 44 (2009): 77–87.
73. Spate, *Freebooters*, 41–51, 220–228.
 74. Glyndwr Williams and Alan Frost, "Terra Australis," 21–22.
 75. On George Anson's circumnavigation, consult Glyndwr Williams, chapter 9, and his *The Prize of All the Oceans: The Dramatic Story of Commodore Anson's Voyage round the World and how He Seized the Spanish Treasure Galleon* (New York: Viking, 2000).
 76. Williams, *The Great South Sea*, 251–253; Alan Frost *The Global Reach of Empire*, chapter 1.
 77. John Campbell, *Navigantium atque Itinerarium Bibliotheca. Or Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. I. (London: T. Woodward, 1744), 270–271.
 78. *Ibid.*, 68.
 79. *Ibid.*
 80. *Ibid.*
 81. Tom Ryan, "'Le Président des Terres Australes' Charles de Brosses and the French Enlightenment Beginnings of Oceanic Anthropology," *Journal of Pacific History* 37 (2002): 157–186.
 82. John Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific Vol I: The Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), chapter 1.
 83. De Brosses, *Histoire des navigations aux Terres Australes* (Paris: Durand, 1756), Vol. I, 16, translation by Dye, "'Le Président des Terres Australes,'" 172.
 84. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, 6–7.
 85. *Ibid.*, 17–18.
 86. *Ibid.*, 21.
 87. *Ibid.*, 22–23.
 88. For an brief intellectual history, see Philip Wayne Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudice Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (Vallecito, CA: Ross House Books, 1985); Richard Kagan, "Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain" *American Historical Review* 101 (1996): 423–446 argues that American historian Prescott saw Spain as the antithesis of America as an oppressive bigot juggernaut stamping on individual freedom and commerce; for lingering vestiges of the *Leyenda Negra*, consult María Deguzmán, *Spain's Long Shadow: Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
 89. John Callander, *Terra Australis Cognita or Voyages to the Terra Australis, or Southern Hemisphere, during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* rpt. Vol I [1766–68] (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), iv.
 90. Frost, *The Global Reach of Empire*, chapter 3.
 91. Alexander Dalrymple, *Historical Collection of Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*, Vol I (London: J Nourse, 1771), xv.
 92. See, for instance, AGS, Estado 6975.
 93. Simon de Anda (Governor of the Philippines) to Julian de Arriaga (Minister of the Indies) July 18, 1772, AGI, Audiencia de Filipinas, 492.
 94. *An Account of the Discoveries Made in the South Pacific Ocean, Pervious to 1764* rpt. (Sydney: Holden House 1996 [1767]); Dalrymple, *An Historical collection* 2 vols.
 95. Dalrymple, *An Account*, xix–xx.

96. Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection* Vol I, xxvii–xxviii.
97. Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection* Vol I, xvii
98. Dalrymple, *An Account*, i; a little later, in his *A Historical Collection* he added to this, “and who may be solicitous to *commemorate* their names to *posterity*, amongst the few whom history shall preserve from the general mass of oblivious insignificance.” Vol I, xvii.
99. Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection* Vol I, 95
100. Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection* Vol I, xxx.
101. There are a number of accounts that relate Dalrymple’s work as compiler. See, for instance, Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple and the Expansion of British Trade* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1970); Andrew Cook, “Alexander Dalrymple: Research, writing and Publication of the *Account*,” in *An Account of the Discoveries Made in the South Pacifick Ocean, Pervious to 1764* reprinted. (Sydney: Holden House 1996 [1767]), 15–47.
102. Dye, “Le Président des Terres Australes,” 183
103. Cook, “Alexander Dalrymple,” 35–38.

2 On Chronometers, Cartography, and Curiosity

1. The above section is a dramatization of a number of encounters between Masserano and several British ministers. They are related in the files found in the AHN and in the AGS. The specific details of these encounters will be provided in the remainder of this chapter.
2. Masserano to Grimaldi, April 11, 1767, AHN, Estado 4269, vol. 2.
3. See among others, David Philip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill, eds, *Visions of Empire*; Roy MacLeod and Philip F. Rehbock, eds, *Nature in its Greatest Extent*.
4. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 15.
5. The importance of Cook for the mapping and consequent conceptualization of the world is best explained in Brian Richardson, *Longitude and Empire*.
6. Paquette, *Enlightenment*, 36–45.
7. There is an extensive literature investigating the navigational abilities of Oceanic peoples. Classical anthropological works include Thomas Gladwin’s *East is a Big Bird: Navigation and Logic on Puluwat Atoll* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); David Lewis’s, *We the Navigators: The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1975); for a more recent account that places navigational development in a historical context, consult Paul D’Arcy, *People of the Sea*.
8. Viceroy Toledo expressed this sentiment on February 8, 1570, AGI, Lima 28A, cited in Gil, *Mitos*, 104.
9. The problem of time zones also governed the far-flung Spanish possessions in the Pacific. Until 1840, clocks in Guam and the Philippines were set to those of New Spain, despite their location on the other side of the international dateline. Fabio López Lázaro, *The Misfortunes of Alonso Ramírez: The True Adventures of a Spanish-American with 17th-Century Pirates* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 33.
10. For instance, there exist two royal decrees issued by Philip II to take advantage of impending solar eclipses to determine the longitude of the Solomon Islands dated May 1575 and June 1580, AMN, ms. 328, doc. 21.
11. Derek Howse, *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of Longitude* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 10–18.

12. Filipe de la Hire, S. J., BN, ms 3425, treatise 2, chapter 9.
13. *Ibid.*, chapter 3.
14. For a more contextualization of the marine chronometer in the development of Spain nautical sciences, consult the detailed work by Antonio Lafuente y Manuel Sellés, *El observatorio de Cádiz (1753–1831)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 1988), 321–357.
15. In the *Gazeta de Madrid* dating to August 21, 1764 [nr. 34 pp. 286–287], readers were informed about the successful West Indies trial of Harrison's chronometer. A few months later [April 16, 1765], the *Gazeta de Madrid* communicated the great interest that the British Admiralty displayed toward the *Relox Marino*.
16. Marqués de la Ensenada (Spanish Prime Minister) to Jorge Juan, AMN, ms. 2162, doc. 2.
17. On a more recent text that takes into consideration the indigenous interlocutors to this expedition, consult Neil Safier, *Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).
18. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relacion historica del viage a la America Meridional...* (Madrid: Antonio Marin, 1748).
19. Jorge Juan to the Marqués de la Ensenada, February 23, 1750, AMN, ms. 2413, doc. 10; and the compilation of his letters from England in "Resumen histórico de lo mas esencial que produjo la commission dada al capitan de Fragata Don Jorge Juan en Octubre del año 1748", May 4, 1809, AMN 812, ff. 71–88; see also Antonio Lafuente and J. L. Peset, "Política científica y espionaje industrial en los viajes de Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa (1748–1751) *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 17 (1981): 233–262, and Antonio Lafuente and Antonio Mazuecos, *Los caballeros del punto fijo* (Madrid: Serbal/CSIC, 1987), 230–235.
20. Masserano to Grimaldi, March 13, 1765, AHN, Estado 4276, vol. 2.
21. The exchange governing the recognition of Harrison's device is contained in AMN, ms. 2137, doc 8; see also AGS, Estado 6959 and 6964.
22. Masserano to Grimaldi, April 17, 1767, AHN, Estado 4269, vol. 2.
23. Meskerlyne was Harrison's greatest nemesis in the astronomical vs. mechanical debate. It was largely due to his efforts that Harrison did not receive the full amount of the Longitude Prize until shortly before his death in 1776.
24. Don Jorge Juan y Santacilia, *Estado de la Astronomia en Europa, y juicio sobre que se erigieron los Systemas del Mundo, para que sirva de guia al método en que debe recibirlas la Nacion, sin riesgo de su opinion, y de su religiosidad* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1774), 5–6.
25. With the publication of the *Nautical Almanac* in the late 1760s, lunar distances became a viable alternative to the chronometer's mechanical method. The return of James Cook from his second circumnavigation in 1775, however, tipped the scale for the maritime watches, see for instance, AMN, ms. 493; on the importance of the Canary Islands for the determination of longitude, see, for instance, Juan Enrique Jiménez Fuentes, "Prólogo: El Viaje a Tenerife del Conde Claret de Fleurieu" in *Claret de Fleurieu, En Busca de la Longitud: Viaje hecho por Orden del Rey en 1768 y 1769* trans. by José S. López Rondón (San Clemente: Ediciones Idea, 2005), 11–34
26. James Cook cited in Howse, *Greenwich Time*, 74, italics in the original.

27. Masserano to Grimaldi, August 18, 1775, AHN, Estado 4280.
28. *Gazeta de Madrid* April 14, 1767, (15), 116.
29. Fuentes, "Prólogo," 24–27. Fleurieu's accomplishments contributed to a rapid career advance that culminated in the post of Naval minister in pre-revolutionary France. In this function, he was highly instrumental in the development of La Pérouse's expedition.
30. Howse, *Greenwich Time*, 77; see also Conde de Aranda (Spanish Ambassador to France) to Grimaldi, April 20, 1774 and Grimaldi to Aranda, May 2, 1774, AHN, Estado 4068.
31. Fernando de Magallon to Grimaldi, May 14 and June 21, 1773, AHN, Estado 6582; Grimaldi to Magallon, May 31, and July 5, 1773, Magallon to Grimaldi, August 20, 1773, Ferdinand Berthoud to Magallon, August 17, 1773, AHN 6581.
32. Ferdinand Berthoud to José de Espinosa, June 9, 1788, AMN, ms. 1565, doc 4; see also Lafuente and Sélles, *El observatorio*, 331–332
33. Ferdinand Berthoud to Don Orcaniz (Spanish Consul General in France), April 12, 1791, MN, ms. 2413, doc. 21; again see Lafuente and Sélles, *El observatorio*, 341–357.
34. Plan de estudios para la enseñanza de Guardiamarinas propuesto por Don José de Mazarredo y Miguel José Gaston, December 31, 1783, AMN 1563, doc. 8; see also the additions in documents 9 and 10; for the larger context of these instructional changes consult Lafuente and Sélles, *El observatorio*, 203–243.
35. Vicente del Palacio, March 17, 1792, AMN, ms. 1953, doc. 3, fol. 14–55.
36. On the term *Thalassocracy*, consult, A. Bernard Knapp, "Thalassocracies in Bronze Age Mediterranean Trade: Making and Breaking a Myth," *World Archaeology* 24 (1993): 332–347.
37. See for instance, Wilhelm G. Grewe, *The Epochs of International Law* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 129–136.
38. Grewe, *The Epochs*, 403–415; Mónica Brito Vieira, "Mare Liberum vs. Mare Clausum: Grotius, Freitas, and Selden's Debate on the Dominion over the Seas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 361–377.
39. Fred L. Israel, ed., *Major Peace Treaties of Modern History, 1648–1967* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1967), 222–223.
40. "Noticias sacadas del diario del Almirante Anson," AMN, ms. 332, doc. 16, ff. 174–175.
41. "Cap. IX Aviso a los Navegantes, que fueren á doblar el Cabo de Horno (scratched out, para pasar a la mar del sur)", BN, ms. 11234. I suspect this document to be the work of Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera, who would employ Anson's plan as a prominent supplement to his own research. More information on Alsedo will be provided below. Another possible author of this translation is, of course, Jorge Juan, who dispatched a copy of this vital chapter to the Spanish authorities while on his mission of espionage in England, May 19, 1749, AMN, ms. 812, ff. 79v–79r. There also exists a nearly complete translation of Anson's work: "Buelta al Mundo dada por Jorge Anson en los años de 1740, 41, 42, 43, 44. Traducion de el Idioma Frances al Español por Don Joseph Antonio Aguirre Presbitero," BRAH, ms. 9/2289. Aguirre goes so far as to dismiss some of Anson's accounts as laughable. Yet for Spanish officials, the project to establish British settlements in the Pacific was no laughing matter.

42. José de Carvajal to Richardo Wall, May 10, 1749, AHN, Estado 4267, vol. 1; Jorge Juan was not afraid of taking the full credit for the uncovering the British intentions to send the expedition to the South Seas; even a full 15 years after the event, he reminded his superiors of his vital role in this endeavor. Juan to Arriaga, August 11, 1764, AMN, ms. 812, ff. 40v–43r; see also AMN, ms. 812, ff. 71–88.
43. The British side of this exchange has been amply delineated in Alan Frost and Glyndwr Williams, “The Beginnings of Britain’s Exploration of the Pacific Ocean,” *The Mariner’s Mirror* 83 (1997): 410–418. See also, Alan Frost *The Global Reach of Empire*, chapter 1.
44. See Frost and Williams, “The Beginnings,” 410–411.
45. The Spanish side of this exchange can be found in the following correspondence: three letters between Carvajal and Wall dated May 10, 1749, two letters dated May 21, 1749, three dating to June 27, 1749, and a last about this issue to August 24, 1749, Wall wrote several letters to Carvajal in return, May 20, June 2, and June 16, 1749, all contained in AHN, Estado 4267, vol.1. For a wider political context in Spain consult, Diego Téllez Alarcia, “Anson, Wall y el papel del ‘lago español’ en el enfrentamiento colonial hispano-británico (1740–1762),” *Tiempos Modernos* 11 (2005): 1–8.
46. Carvajal to Wall, June 27, 1749, AHN, Estado 4267, vol. 1.
47. Bedford to Keene, June 5, 1749, cited in Frost and Williams, “The Beginnings,” 415.
48. Robert E. Gallaher, ed., *Byron’s Journal of Circumnavigation* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1964). Byron’s circumnavigation is rightly recognized as the fructification of George Anson’s 1749 plan to take possession and advantage of the Falkland and the Juan Fernández Islands. The general instructions turned out to be a bit grandiose, as the Admiralty desired the discovery of the Southern Unknown Continent and the Northwest Passage connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.
49. *Gazeta de Madrid*, June 5, 1764, (22), p. 198.
50. For a brief biography on Prince Fieschi de Masserano, see Bolton Glanvill Corney, *The Quest and Occupation*, vol. 1, liv.
51. Masserano to Grimaldi, August 21, 1771, AGS, Estado 6981.
52. Massarano to Grimaldi, June 20, 1766, AHN, Estado 4271, vol. 1.
53. The diplomatic struggle over the Falkland Island is best chronicled in Julius Goebel’s *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands: A Study in Legal and Diplomatic History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982 [1927]), chapters 4–8; from a British perspective consult Alan Frost, *Global Reach of Empire*, 59–64; John Dunmore’s *Storms and Dreams: The Life of Louis de Bougainville* (Anchorage: University of Alaska Press, 2007), 86–166 discusses the French involvement and Bougainville’s role in this endeavor.
54. Masserano to Grimaldi, July 7, 1766, AHN, Estado 4271, vol. 1.
55. Masserano to Grimaldi, November 13, 1766, AHN, Estado 4271, vol. 1.
56. Masserano to Grimaldi, September 26, 1766, AHN, Estado 4271, vol. 1.
57. Shelburne cited in Alan Frost, *Global Reach of Empire*, 63.
58. Charles Carroll to William Graves, August 14, 1772, cited in Ronald Hoffman, Sally D. Mason, Eleanor S. Darcy, *Dear Papa, Dear Charley: The Peregrination of a Revolutionary Aristocrat, as told by Charles Carroll of Carrollton and His*

- Father, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, with Sundry Observations on Bastardy, Child Rearing, Romance, Matrimony, Commerce, Tobacco, Slavery, and the Politics of Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), vol. 2, p. 631. I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Katherine Hermes for pointing out this important quote to me.
59. Grimaldi to Masserano, January 20, 1767, AHN, Estado 4269, vol. 1.
 60. By the eighteenth century, a league was roughly the equivalent of three nautical miles. Masserano's assertions thus claimed every island within 300 miles on each side of the Americas for the Spanish Crown.
 61. Masserano to Grimaldi, November 7, 1766, AHN, Estado.
 62. Masserano to Grimaldi, April 11, 1767, AHN, Estado 4269, vol. 2.
 63. See Julius Goebel's *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands*, chapters 4–8; Frost, *Global Reach of Empire*, 59–64.
 64. Manuel Zalvide to Julián de Arriaga, November 12 and 19, 1766, AMN, ms. 1451 docs. 5 and 6.
 65. Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera, "Comento annual geográfico y histórico de las guerras del presente siglo en la Europa y en la América. Y diferencias de la Practica de sus articulos (Utrecht and Paris) entre la Cortes de España, y la de Ynglaterra con la religiosa politica, y punctual observacion de sus condiciones en la de Madrid, y al contrario en la de Londres con la contravencion de ellas a sombra de los mismos contratos." July 30, 1770, BN, ms. 20020. Alsedo y Herrera's treatise has been republished twice. First in Justo Zaragoza's *Piraterías y agresiones de los Ingleses y de otros pueblos de Europa en la América Española desde el siglo XVI al XVIII deducidas de las obras de D. Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Hernández, 1883). Zaragoza smoothed over some of Alsedo's prose and omitted repetitive paragraphs. More recently, Zaragoza's work has been republished under the editorial supervision of José María Sánchez Molledo (Sevilla: Editorial Renacimiento, 2005).
 66. See José María Sánchez Molledo, "Europa y América en la época de Dionisio Alsedo (1690–1776)," in José María Sánchez Molledo ed. *Piraterías y agresiones de los ingleses en la América española*. (Sevilla: Renacimiento, 2005), 10–13.
 67. Dionisio Alsedo y Herrera "Comento annual geográfico y histórico " BN, ms. 20020.
 68. Sánchez Molledo, *Piraterías y Agresiones*, 414.
 69. Masserano to Grimaldi, May 27, 1768, AHN, Estado 4259, vol. 1.
 70. Masserano to Grimaldi, June 17, and June 24, 1768, AHN, Estado 4259, vol. 1, contains a summary of Samuel Wallis voyage in the French language. Masserano to Grimaldi, May 26, 1769, AHN, Estado 4272, vol. 1, contains a copy of Philip Carteret's trip on the *Swallow*. Masserano was inclined to give little credence to this account of Carteret's circumnavigation, since it reported the existence of a Spanish settlement with 16–18 cannons on the Juan Fernández Islands.
 71. Masserano to Grimaldi, August 5, and September 23, 1768, AHN, Estado 4259, vol. 1; Grimaldi to Masserano July 18, 1768, AHN, 4529, vol. 2; Masserano to Grimaldi May 26, 1769, AHN, Estado 4272, vol. 1. On this fascinating episode consult Rainer F. Buschmann, "Peter Farron's Wife: Romancing the Spanish Lake," *Transnational Subjects* 1 (2011): 53–65.
 72. Masserano to Grimaldi, June 13, 1766, AGI, Indiferente General 412.

73. Masserano to Grimaldi, June 10, 1766, AGI, Indiferente General 412, trans. Bolton Glanville Corney, *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti*, vol. 1, p. 27.
74. *A Voyage round the World in His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin, Commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron ...* By an Officer on Board of Said Ship (London: J. Newberry, 1767). The significance of this text would be eclipsed by John Hawkesworth's rendition of Byron's voyage a few years later. Next chapter discusses the impact of this work.
75. On the controversy over the Patagonians, consult Helen Wallis, "The Patagonian Giants" in Robert E. Gallagher, *Byron's Journal of Circumnavigation* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1964), 185–196; and Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 93–98. Lamb regards the Patagonian episode as crucial element to raise doubt among metropolitan readers of travelers' accounts.
76. Harriet Guest, "Looking at Women: Forster's Observations in the South Pacific," in Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made during a Voyage round the World*, Nicholas Thomas et al., eds (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), xli; see also her *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation: James Cook, William Hodges, and the Return to the Pacific* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), in particular chapter 2.
77. Masserano to Grimaldi, October 2, 1766, AHN, Estado 4271, vol. 1. Next chapter chronicles the role of Spanish authorities in Bougainville's circumnavigation and the publication of his *Voyage autour du Monde*.
78. Grimaldi to the Count of Fuentes (Spanish Ambassador to the Court of France), January 11, 1768, AHN, Estado 6561.
79. Grimaldi to Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, July 26, 1774, AGI, Indiferente General, 1630.
80. The scientific mission of Cook's voyage is discussed in Harold Carter, "The Royal Society and the Voyage of the HSM 'Endeavour' 1768–71," *Notes Rec Royal Society London* 49 (1995): 245–260.
81. Grimaldi to Masserano, July 28, 1766, AHN, Estado 4271, vol. 2; August 10, 1767, AHN, Estado 4269, vol. 1; Masserano to Grimaldi, May 22, and August 28, 1767, AHN 4269, vol. 2; see also the correspondence housed in AGS, Estado 6965.
82. Jean Chappe de Auteroche, *Voyage en Californie pour l'observation du passage de Vénus sur le disque de soleil, ...* (Paris: M de Cassini, 1772). For a wider context of this expedition, consult Salvador Bernabeú Albert, "La expedición Hispano-Francesa a medir el paso de Venus" in Manuel Sellés, José Luis Peset y Antonio Lafuente, eds, *Carlos III y la Ciencia de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Alianza, 1988), 313–329.
83. Islands located in the Tongan Archipelago first contacted, as the names indicate, by Dutch navigators.
84. Masserano to Grimaldi, December 11, 1767, AHN, Estado 4269, vol. 2.
85. Many authors have pointed out that James Cook's first voyage had much in common with the privateering missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and that there was no clear break in the motives of the scientific ventures of the late eighteenth century. Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 88–91; Alan Frost, "Science for Political Purpose: European Exploration of the Pacific Ocean 1764–1804" in Roy Macleod and Philip Rehbock, eds. *Nature in its Greatest Extent* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), 27–44; Daniel Baugh, "Seapower and Science: the Motives of Pacific Exploration," in

- Derek Howse, ed. *The Background to Discovery: Pacific Exploration from Dampier to Cook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 1–55.
86. Londa L. Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Biosphering in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 194–225.
 87. Michael Dettelbach, “‘A Kind of Linnaean Being:’ Forster and Eighteenth-Century Natural History,” in *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, Nicholas Thomas, Harriet Guest, and Michael Dettelbach, eds (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1996), lv–lxxiv.
 88. Masserano to Grimaldi, August 21, 1771, AGS, Estado 6981.
 89. Masserano to Grimaldi, August 18, 1775, AGS, Estado 6991.
 90. Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 159.
 91. *Ibid.*, 160–165.
 92. There is a great deal of literature on Spain’s botanical ventures to her colonies in the eighteenth century. For a good overview, consult Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empire* and her “Atlantic Competitions: Botany in the Eighteenth-Century Spanish Empire,” in James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew eds, *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 225–252; Paula De Vos, “The Rare, the Singular, and the Extraordinary: Natural History and the Collection of Curiosities in the Spanish Empire,” in *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empire, 1500–1800*, Daniela Bleichmar et al., eds (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 271–289; Antonio Lafuente and Nuria Valverde, “Linnaean Botany and Spanish Imperial Biopolitics,” in Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan eds, *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 134–147. For a useful introduction to the uniqueness of Spanish scientific endeavor in the Peninsula and the Americas, consult Antonio Lafuente, “Enlightenment in an Imperial Context: Local Science in the Late-Eighteenth Century Hispanic World,” *Osiris* 15 (2000): 155–173; and Juan Pimentel, “The Iberian Vision: Science and Empire in the Framework of the Universal Monarchy, 1500–1800,” *Osiris* 15 (2000): 17–30.
 93. Horacio Capel, *Geografía y Matemáticas en la España del Siglo XVIII* (Barcelona: Oikos-Tan, 1982), 125–135.
 94. On Cook’s mapping, consult John Robson, “A Comparison of the Charts produced during the Pacific Voyages of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville and James Cook,” in Glyndwr Williams, ed., *Captain Cook: Exploration and Reassessments* (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, 2004), 137–160.
 95. Geographers long consider d’Anville as an editor rather than creator of cartographic materials. See, for instance, Josef W. Konwitz, *Cartography in France, 1660–1848* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 33–35.
 96. Antonio López Gomes and Carmen Manso Porto, *Cartografía del siglo XVIII: Tomás López en la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006), 101, 105, 140–141, 251–253.
 97. The literature on this expansion is necessarily vast. For an overview consult Guadalupe Pinzón Ríos, “Exploración y experiencia nautical en las costas del Pacífico novohispano (Siglo XVIII), *Cuadernos de Estudios Borganos* L–LI (2007–2008): 305–328. The development of the new naval department is best chronicled in Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas: New Spain’s Bastion for Alta California and Nootka, 1767 to 1798* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1967). For a larger context see, David J. Webber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press,

- 1992), 238–246; and Warren Cook's *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543–1819* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).
98. For a classical assessment of Bucareli's reign, consult Bernard E. Bobb, *The Viceregency of Antonio María Bucareli, 1771–1779* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962).
 99. The classic work associated with this historical episode remains Warren Cook's *Flood Tide of Empire*; see also the detailed introduction to Salvador Bernabeu Albert, *Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra: El descubrimiento del fin del Mundo (1775–1792)* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1990); lastly, for chronology and the detailed description of primary sources and their location, consult Francisco Fuster Ruíz, *El final del descubrimiento de América: California, Canadá y Alaska (1765–1822)* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1999).
 100. “Carta reducida del Oceano Asiático, ó Mar del Sur, que comprehende la Costa y Occidental de la Península de la California, con el Golfo de su denominacion, antiguamente concocido por la de Mar de Cortéz; y de las Costas de la América Septentrional, desde el Istmo que une dicha Península con el Continte hast el Rio de los Reyes, y desde el Rio Colorado hasta el Cabo de Corrientes.” Announcement in *Gazeta de Madrid* July 16, 1771, (29), 235–236.
 101. Grimaldi in Antonio López Gómez and Carmen Manso Porto, *Cartografía del Siglo XVIII: Tomás López*, 105.
 102. *Gazeta de Madrid*, March 19, 1776 (12): 103–104.
 103. *Gazeta de Madrid*, May 14, 1776 (20): 175–176.
 104. Masserano to Grimaldi, April 12, 1776, AHN, Estado 4281, vol. 2.
 105. Masserano to Grimaldi, June 14, 1776, AHN, Estado 4281, vol. 2.
 106. Dagny B. Hansen, “Captain James Cook's First Stop on the Northwest Coast: By Chance or by Chart?,” *Pacific Historical Review* 62 (1993): 475–484.
 107. Capel, *Geografía y Matemáticas*, 153–154, 186–188. See also Tomás López's report on this map dated July 14, 1797, reprinted in López Gómez and Manso Porto, *Cartografía del siglo XVIII*, 265–267.
 108. The story behind the map is best told by Thomas R. Smith, “Cruz Cano's Map of South America, Madrid 1775: Its Creation, Adversaries and Rehabilitation,” *Imago Mundi* 20 (1966): 49–78.
 109. Nuria Valverde and Antonio Lafuente, “Space Production and Spanish Imperial Geopolitics,” in Daniela Bleichmar et al., eds, *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 198–215.
 110. James Cook, *A Voyage towards the South Pole and Round the World*. (London: W. Straham and T. Cadell, 1777).

3 On Narrating the Pacific

1. Although Alexander Dalrymple's essay, “The Spanish Pretensions fairly discussed” appeared in 1790 [London: Georg Brigg] in connection with the emergent Nootka crisis between Spain and Britain, his argument of Spanish neglect is of much relevance for the current chapter.

2. Georg Forster to Masserano, March 15, 1777, AHN, Estado 4282. Original is in French.
3. Charles W. J. Withers, "Where was the Atlantic Enlightenment? Questions of Geography," in Susan Manning and Francis Cogliano, eds, *The Atlantic Enlightenment* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 37–60.
4. Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987); and *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
5. For an interesting work that pursues the Enlightenment foundations of the twenty-first century, consult Louis Dupré, *The Enlightenment and the Intellectual Foundations of Modern Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).
6. For a general framework on the diffusion of knowledge about non-Western peoples consult P. J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind*, chapter 2.
7. Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, especially chapter 3.
8. Lynn Withey, *Voyages of Discovery: Captain Cook and the Exploration of the Pacific* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 35–36.
9. Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan Obsession for an English America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
10. Withey, *Voyages*, 35–36; Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map*, 48–49; and J. C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 118–119.
11. Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 81.
12. Dorinda Outram, "On Being Perseus: New Knowledge, Dislocation, and Enlightenment Exploration," in David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers, eds, *Geography and Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 281–294.
13. William Dampier's publications and their impact on the perception of the Pacific are best explored in Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Seas*, chapter 4.
14. On issues surrounding the authorship of these volumes, consult Glyn Williams, *The Prize of all the Oceans*, 237–241.
15. Williams, *The Great South Seas*, 254–257; for a larger context of this expedition consult Williams, *The Prize of all the Ocean*.
16. Daniela Bleichmar, "A Visual and Useful Empire."
17. Williams, *The Prize*, 234–235.
18. *A Voyage round the World in His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin, Commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron... By an Officer on Board of Said Ship* (London: J. Newberry, 1767). Charles Clerke sailed on all three of James Cook's voyages. On the last journey he served as captain of the *Discovery* and assumed command when the illustrious captain died in Hawai'i. Clerke, suffering from tuberculosis, succumbed to the disease before the voyage's conclusion and was interred on the Kamchatka Peninsula in August of 1779.
19. Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map*, 264.
20. Robert E. Gallagher, ed., *Byron's Journal*, lxxi–lxxii. Gallagher regrets that historians generally sell Byron's accomplishments short. With no great discoveries to his name, Gallagher prefers to look at the Commodore as setting the stage for further expansion into the Pacific Ocean. Although Samuel Wallis and

- James Cook soon eclipsed Byron's voyage, it was in Spain where his circumnavigation caused the greatest stir.
21. Masserano to Grimaldi, March 4, 1768, AHN, Estado 4259, vol. 2.
 22. *Gazeta de Madrid*, July 15, 1766 (22): 226–227. This *Gazeta* was a bimonthly journal that had about 2000 subscribers in 1781. It was widely circulated and read out aloud in the *tertulias*, the Spanish equivalent of the British coffee houses or the French salons. Historians estimate that each issue might have reached as many as 50,000 individuals. See, for instance, Luis Miguel Enciso Recio, “La Prensa y Opinión Pública” in Ramón Menéndez Pidal, ed., *Historia de España*, vol 31: La Época de la Ilustración: El Estado y la Cultura, Madrid: Epasa Calpe, 1987, 75–76, 57–128, 75 and 115–116.
 23. Salvador Bernabéu Albert, *La aventura de lo imposible*, 174–175.
 24. Archer, “The Spanish Reaction,” 119.
 25. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, “Introduction”; Alison Sandman, “Controlling Knowledge.”
 26. See for instance, José García Oro Martín and Maria José Portela Silva, *La Monarquía y los libros en el Siglo de Oro* (Alcalá: Universidad de Alcalá, 1999), 79–81.
 27. Marcellin Defourneaux, *Inquisición y censura de libros en la España del Siglo XVIII* trans. Ignacio Tellachea Indigaras (Madrid: Taurus, 1973).
 28. Horacio Capel, “Geographia y Arte Apodémica en el siglo de los Viajes,” *Cuadernos Críticos de Geografía Humana* 9 (1985). Available at: <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/geo56.htm>. Capel relates how Spanish readers became increasingly suspicious of Prevost's writings, especially in connection with the Spanish Americas.
 29. Masserano to Grimaldi, June 24, 1768, AHN hereafter, Estado 4259 vol. 1.
 30. Juan de Arriaga, April 16, 1771, AGI, Lima, 1035, trans. by Corney, *Quest and Occupation* vol. 1, 221–222.
 31. Much has been published on these expeditions. See, for instance, Jorge Ortiz Sotelo, “Expediciones Peruanas a Tahití, siglo XVIII,” *Derroteros del Mar del Sur* 13 (2005): 95–103; and Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Exploring the Explorers*, 123–180. These Spanish expeditions feature prominently in the next chapters.
 32. Although less well-known than his novelist brother, Thomas, Bernardo de Iriarte came to occupy many prominent posts in the Spanish government. They included among others, secretary of state, member of the Council of Indies, and director of the Philippine Company.
 33. An interesting rendition of Sarmiento's life can be found in Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*. Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith, eds and trans. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).
 34. Undated report presumably written by Iriarte to the Marqués de Grimaldi, AHN, Estado 2860.
 35. Jorge Juan to Grimaldi, January 6, 1768, AHN, Estado 2860.
 36. Bernardo de Iriarte, *Viage al estrecho de Magallanes por el Capitan Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa en los años 1579 y 1580* (Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1768). This Spanish west-to-east survey of the region came as a consequence of Francis Drake's incursion into the Pacific following 1578.
 37. The published account of Byron's circumnavigation intentionally left blank spaces in the narrative following each of the islands. Following purchase,

- individual owners of the book were encouraged to fill in the geographic locations, in terms of latitude and longitude. Researchers now surmise that Byron encountered several islands in the Tuamoto and Cook archipelagos.
38. Iriarte, *Viage*, xxviii–xxix.
 39. The French version was translated by J. B. A. Suard, *Voyage autour du monde fait en 1764 & 1765 sur le vaisseau anglois le Dauphin...* (Paris, Molini, 1767).
 40. Iriarte, *Viage* x.
 41. Masserano to Grimaldi, May 9, 1767, AGI, Indiferente General 412. Masserano's statement is probably a misreading of the actual situation. What Masserano deemed the official version of Byron's account was nothing but Clerk's unauthorized version. Any objections raised against this account emerged probably from other individuals who felt entitled to publish their respective accounts. It was not until John Hawkesworth's 1773 publication that Byron's voyage received an official, even if controversial, narrative.
 42. Sarmiento, *The History of the Incas*, 1–34.
 43. Iriarte, *Viage*, xxxvii.
 44. Grimaldi to Masserano, July 11, 1768; Masserano to Grimaldi, July 29, 1768, AHN, Estado 2860.
 45. Francisco de Magallon (Secretary to the Spanish Ambassador in France) to Bernardo de Iriarte, December 24, 1768 and May 26, 1769, AHN, Estado 2860.
 46. Unsigned and undated letter [probably 1768] to Bernardo de Iriarte, AHN, Estado 2860.
 47. *Viage del Comandante Byron alrededor del Mundo, hecho últimamente de orden del Almirantazgo de Inglaterra* (Madrid: En la Imprenta Real de la Gazeta, 1769)
 48. Ortega became the first tenured university professor associated with the Royal Botanical Garden in 1774 [*Gazeta de Madrid* August 24, 1774 (34): 304], later that decade he spent considerable time in Paris and London furthering his knowledge. In 1776, he became a corresponding member of the French Academy of the Sciences [*Gazeta de Madrid* July 30, 1776 (31): 264]. The next year he became an honorary member of London's Royal Society [*Gazeta de Madrid* July 8, 1777 (27): 268]. For a quick overview on Ortega's life, consult John H. Harvey, "Casimiro Gomez de Ortega (1740–1818): A Link between Spain and Britain," *Garden History* 2 (1974), 22–26 and the more detailed monograph of Francisco Javier Puerto Sarmiento, *Ciencia de camera, Casimiro Gómez Ortega (1745–1818): El científico cortesano* (Madrid: CSIC, 1992).
 49. Casimiro de Ortega, *Viage del Commandante Byron*, 125–126.
 50. Those who had purchased the first edition of Ortega's translation were offered the possibility to purchase the account of Magellan's circumnavigation separately, rather than investing into a second edition of the work. See *Gazeta de Madrid*, January 2, 1770, 8.
 51. Horacio Capel, *Geografía y matemáticas en la España*, 186–193.
 52. Celsus Kelly, *Calendar of Documents: Spanish Voyages in the South Pacific from Alvaro de Mendaña to Alejandro Malaspina, 1567–1794* (Madrid: Archivo Ibero Americano, 1965), 337–340.
 53. The detailed correspondence is today housed in "Índice de los papeles relativos a las propuesta del Capitan Pedro Fernández de Quirós de nacion Portuges sobre el descubrimiento de las tierras Australes, los cuales se han copiado de los originales" BN, mss. 3099

54. Undated and unsigned report attributed to Bernardo de Iriarte, AGMAE, ms. 174, fols. 81–86.
55. See Don Justo Zaragoza, *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones Australes hecho por el general Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*, vol. II (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernandez, 1880), 186. See also Martín Fernández de Navarrete's note dated September 12, 1790 in AHN, Diversos-colecciones, 41, n. 8.
56. Report in AGMAE, ms. 174, f. 86.
57. Helen Wallis, ed., *Carteret's Voyage Round the World, 1766–1769* Vol. I (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1965), 54–55.
58. John Dunmore, ed., *The Pacific Journal of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, 1767–1768* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2002), 101. Fearful that Spanish authorities might take objection to such a harsh assertion, Bougainville softened his critique somewhat in the published version, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde, par la frégate La Boudeuse et la flûte L'Étoile* (Paris: Editions Galimard, 1982 [1771]), 292–293.
59. James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean Undertaken by the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere*, vol. 1 (London: W. & A. Strahan, 1784), xiii.
60. Although it is fair to say that none of these works ended up on the Inquisition's index. See, "Índice de los libros prohibidos que tenía la Inquisition Española en el siglo XVIII," BN, mss. 5701.
61. Glyndwr Williams, *The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Overseas Rivalry, Discovery, and Exploration* (New York: Walker and Company, 1966), 89–90.
62. The French name for these islands is generally associated with fishermen and mariners from the port city of Saint Malo, who were among the first to sight and settle on the islands.
63. Dunmore, *Storm and Dreams*, 218–220.
64. There are about 20 maps and plates in Bougainville's account. This number pales in comparison to the illustrations provided by the official volumes accompanying James Cook's three voyages. John Robson, "A Comparison of the Charts produced during the Pacific Voyages of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville and James Cook."
65. Commerson's report has been reprinted in Richard Lansdown, ed., *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006). For an excellent summary of Commerson's biography and his account on Tahiti, consult Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World: Europe to the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 20–32; an article that explores the contradictions within Bougainville's account of Tahiti is Andy Martin's "The Enlightenment in Paradise: Bougainville, Tahiti, and the Duty of Desire," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 41 (2008): 203–216.
66. Dunmore, *Storms and Dreams*, 217.
67. *Ibid.*, 176.
68. The above information is a condensed version drawn from the following sources, Fuentes to Grimaldi, March 27, April 21, May 22, 1769, AHN, Estado 6565; Grimaldi to Fuentes, May 8, and June 5, 1769, AHN, Estado 6564; Grimaldi to Fuentes, November 27, 1769, AHN, Estado 6568; Fuentes to Grimaldi, June 4, 1770 and June 9, 1771, AHN, Estado 4129. Bougainville's

- surrender of the manuscript to the Spanish monarch can be also found in the *Gazeta de Madrid*, November 14, 1769 (46): 394.
69. Louis de Bougainville *Voyage Autour du Monde par la Frégate Du Roi La Boudeuse et la Flute L'Etoile en 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769* Paris: Saillant & Nyon 1771, preface.
 70. Grimaldi to Fuentes, July 1, 1771, AHN, Estado 6574.
 71. Citation from Glyndwr Williams, "'To make Discoveries of Countries hitherto Unknown': The Admiralty and Pacific Exploration in the Eighteenth Century" in Alan Frost and Jane Samson, eds, *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 23.
 72. Masserano to Grimaldi, August 21, 1771, AGS, Estado 6981.
 73. On his first voyage, Joseph Banks overshadowed Cook's accomplishments. It was not until his second voyage that Spanish authorities mentioned the captain by name. *Gazeta de Madrid* August 13, 1771 (33): 269; August 20, 1771 (34): 278; September 24, 1771 (39): 321; October 1, 1771 (40): 330; October 22, 1771 (43): 367–368. The last article provides a detailed account of the *Endeavour* voyage a good two years before Hawkesworth's publication.
 74. Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 100–105.
 75. John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of his present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret and Captain Cook...* (London: W Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773), i.
 76. *Ibid.*, iv.
 77. J. C. Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyage of Discovery*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1968), ccxliii.
 78. Beaglehole, *The Journals* vol. I, ccxlii–ccliii.
 79. See, for instance, Robert Foulke, *The Sea Voyage Narrative* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 98–105; Jonathan Lamb, "Minute Particulars and the Representation of South Pacific Discovery," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (1995): 281–284.
 80. The diary, however, was not published until almost two hundred years later, Wallis, *Carteret's Journal* vol. I, 3–4. On a general account of Hawkesworth's changes consult W. E. Pearson's, "Hawkesworth's Alterations," *Journal of Pacific History* 7 (1972): 46–72.
 81. On the exchange between Hawkesworth and Dalrymple consult Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple*, chapter 10. Published in 1773, the *Account* was to be Hawkesworth's last major literary work. His supporters maintained his death the same year was precipitated by the number and tone of his detractors.
 82. Nicholas Thomas, *Cook: The Extraordinary Voyages of Captain James Cook* (New York: Walker & Co., 2003), 152–159.
 83. Lamb, *Preserving the Self*, 100–105.
 84. Aranda to Grimaldi, April 20, 1774, AHN, Estado 4068. It took more than half a century before Cook's first voyage appeared in the Spanish language as part of a series on discoveries for young adults in six volumes. Don Santiago de Alvaro de la Peña, *Viaje al rededor del mundo hecho en los años de 1768, 69, 70 y 71 por el celebre Santiago Cook Commandante del Navio Real el Endeavour* (Madrid: Don Thomas Jordan, 1832).

85. The editors of Cook's third voyage account put it best: "Who has not heard, or read, of the boasted *Tierra Australis del Espiritu Santo* of Quiros? But its bold pretensions to be part of a Southern continent, could not stand Captain Cook's examination, who sailed round it, and assigned its true position and moderate bounds, in the Archipelago of the New Hebrides."
86. For a recent rendition of Georg Forster and his role in the exploration of the Pacific, consult Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World*, 32–54.
87. Beaglehole *Voyages* vol. 2, cxlviii–clii.
88. Georg Forster, *A Voyage Round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop, Resolution, commanded by Capt. James Cook, during the Years 1772, 3, 4, and 5* (London: B White, J. Robson, and P. Elmsly, 1777), xii.
89. Harriet Guest, *Empire, Barbarism, and Civilisation*.
90. Beaglehole, *Voyages* vol. 3, cxliii–cxlviii.
91. The annotated edition by Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Bierhof *A Voyage Around the World* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999) captures well the original intent of the German author.
92. Nicholas Thomas and Oliver Bierhof, eds, "Introduction" in George Forster, *A Voyage Around the World*, xx.
93. Masserano to the Count of Floridablanca (successor to the Marqués de Grimaldi), 28 March 1777, AHN Estado 4282.
94. Masserano to Floridablanca, May 9, 1777, AHN, Estado 4282.
95. *Gazeta de Madrid*, September 2, 1777, (35): 351–352. The periodical also makes mention of Georg Forster's work, yet according to the paper, his *Voyage* complements rather than challenges Cook's rendition. When Johann Reinhold Forster's *Observations* were published a year later, the *Gazeta* equally discussed this work as a complement to Cook's volumes, June 9, 1778 (23): 223. Johann Forster in Beaglehole, *Voyages* vol. 2, clii–cliii.
96. A special file on this case can be found in AGS, Secretaria de Marina, 716.
97. Varios diarios de los viages á la Mar del Sur y descubrimiento de las Yslas de Salomon, las Marquesas, Islas de Santa Cruz, Tierras de Espiritu Santo, y otras de la parte Austral Incognitas; Executados por Albaro de Mendaña, y Fernando de Quiros desde el año de 1567, hasta el de 606; y escritos por Hernan Gallego Piloto de Mendaña. RB, ms. 1648.
98. *Ibid.*, 5.
99. Rainer F. Buschmann, "Oceanic Carvings and Germanic Cravings: German ethnographic frontiers and imperial visions in the Pacific, 1870–1914," *The Journal of Pacific History* 42 (2007): 299–315.
100. Although the Congress was slow to act, the British Admiralty recognized Franklin's efforts by bestowing him with a commemorative medal and a set of publications resulting from this voyage. J. C. Beaglehole, *Life of Captain Cook*, 685; see also his *Journals* vol. 3, 1535 and 1542.
101. Royal Order, August 13, 1779, AGS, Secretaria de Marina, 716.
102. Juan de Guzman Mendoza note to Masserano, February 15, 1776, and Grimaldi to Galvez March 20, 1776, reprinted in Rodrigue Lévesque, ed., *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents* vol. 16: The Malaspina Expedition (1773–1795) (Gatineau, Québec, Lévesque Publications, 2000), 121–124.
103. On the perceived Russian encroachment on the Spanish Northwest Coast, consult Warren L. Cook's *Floodtide of Empire*, 41–84.

104. Masserano to Grimaldi, March 1, 1776, AHN, Estado 4281, vol. 2.
105. Masserano to Grimaldi, April 5, 1776, AHN, Estado 4281, vol. 2.
106. Masserano to Grimaldi, June 14, 1776, AHN, Estado 4281, vol. 2
107. On the ensuing correspondence with the Kingdom of New Spain, consult Christon I. Archer, "The Spanish Reaction to Cook's Third Voyage." For correspondence with the Philippines, consult Rodrigue Lévesque, ed., *History of Micronesia* vol. 16, 123–129. For Peru, there exists a whole file dedicated to the efforts to prevent Cook's exploratory voyage: "Años 1776 a 1778. Expediente a las providencias tomadas con motivo del Viaje del Capitan Ingles Cook al rededor del Mundo," AGI, Audiencia de Lima, 645 B. It was, unfortunately, removed from this original file with a note that it could be located in the Indiferente section of the same archives. Despite repeated searches for this file, I was unable to locate this important document. Most of the correspondence in connection with Manila is housed in AGI, Filipinas 390, nr. 72.
108. Withey, *Voyages of Discovery*, 404–405.
109. James Cook and James King, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean undertaken by command of his Majesty For Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere...* (1784), vol. I, v–vi.
110. The *Gazeta* reported on the French edition of Cook's third voyage on September 20, 1785 (75): 609–610.

4 On the Usefulness of Information

1. Detailed information on the Spanish Tahitian venture is provided later in this chapter.
2. Paquette, *Enlightenment and Governance*.
3. José Cervera Pery, *La Marina de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Editorial de San Martín, 1986); for more specific projects consult also the important work by Antonio Lafuente and Manuel Sellés, *El Observatorio de Cádiz*.
4. Ursula Lamb, "Martin Fernandez de Navarrete Clears the Deck: The Spanish Hydrographic Office (1809–1824)," in Ursula Lamb, ed., *Cosmographers and Pilots of the Spanish Maritime Empire* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995), XV, 29–45.
5. Jorge Juan to Arriaga, April 16, 1771, AGI Lima 1035.
6. Lángara to Arriaga, November 13, 1773, AGI Lima 1035.
7. Corney, *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti*, vol. 2.
8. Doz to Arriaga, September 30, 1775, AGS, Estado 6991.
9. Very telling is a document (ms. 1777) located in the AMN. This file entitled "news extracted from the European voyages to the Pacific" carefully mined the voluminous writings of Bougainville and Cook for useful geographical and hydrographic information.
10. Gabriel Paquette, "Enlightened Narrative and Imperial Rivalry in Bourbon Spain: The Case of Almodóvar's *Historia Política de los Establecimientos Ultramarinos de las Naciones Europeas* (1784–1790)," *Eighteenth Century* 48 (2007): 61–80; see also his *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain*, 45–55.
11. Almodóvar's *Historia Política de los Establecimientos Ultramarinos de las Naciones Europeas* 5 vols. (1784–1790); vol IV chapter xxii.

12. *Ibid.*, 522.
13. *Ibid.*, 524–525.
14. *Ibid.*, 532.
15. *Ibid.*, 538–539.
16. Oskar Spate, *The Spanish Lake*, 115–119.
17. Perez-Mallaina Bueno and Torres Ramirez, *La Armada del Mar del Sur*.
18. Glyndwr Williams, *The Great South Sea*.
19. On the earthquake and its implications consult Charles F. Walker, *Shaky Colonialism: The 1746 Earthquake-Tsunami in Lima and its Long Aftermath* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); on Lima's role in the Kingdom of Peru consult also Alejandra Osorio, *Inventing Lima* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
20. The term geostrategic emerges most prominently through the writings of Salvador Bernabéu Albert, "El Océano Pacífico en el reinado de Carlos III: Respuestas españolas a las agresiones foráneas," in Florentino Rodao García, ed., *Estudios sobre Filipinas y las islas del Pacífico* (Madrid: Asociación Española del Pacífico, 1989), 23–30.
21. Amat to Arriaga, April 8, 1758, AGI, Buenos Aires 552. Ramo 1; the BN holds an undated document by Amat, which he dedicated to the newly crowned (1759) King Charles III. It is essentially a collection of hydrographical and geographical information about Chile and illustrates well Amat's interests in this matter. "Historia Geografica e Hidrografica con derrotero general correlativo al plano de el Reyno de Chile." BN, ms. 13970.
22. Arriaga to Amat, August 20, 1767; Amat to Arriaga February 23, 1767, AGI, Lima 1498.
23. The fate of the ship is best chronicled in John Dunmore, ed., *The Expedition of the St Jean-Baptiste to the Pacific, 1769–1770* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1981).
24. Arriaga to Amat, October 9, 1771; Amat to Arriaga, March 20, 1772, AGI, Lima, 1035.
25. The original is not located, as one might expect, in the Spanish archives but can be found in Paris, CHAN, AM, B4 316. While this is pure speculation, it is possible that Viceroy Amat returned both the French and Spanish version of the diary to Labé upon his departure from Callao in 1773.
26. Amat to Arriaga, April 20, 1770; August 15, 1771; October 2, 1771, AGI, Lima 652.
27. Amat to Arriaga, May 22, 1770, AGI, Lima, 652.
28. Mellén Blanco, *Manuscritos y documentos españoles*, 22–56.
29. The two main documents associated with Amat's venture to Easter Island remain Bolton Corney's *The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe Gonzales* and Mellén Blanco, *Manuscritos y documentos*.
30. Document dated April 13, 1771, AGI, Indiferente General 1629. The inclusion of this document in the correspondence with Mexican Viceroy Bucareli illustrates that Amat diffused the document widely among the Spanish colonial administration.
31. It is fair to assume that this map also contained the recent reconnaissance of Chiloe and Easter Islands expanding thus the Spanish defense perimeter from the Americas well into the Pacific Ocean.
32. Amat to Arriaga, January 5, 1772, AGI, Indiferente General, 1549.

33. El Marqués del Real Tesoro to Arriaga and July 7 and 10, 1772, AGI, Indiferente General, 1549.
34. It took Labé eighteenth months and considerable diplomatic tangles until Spanish authorities finally instructed the viceroy to assist with the upkeep of *St Jean Baptiste*, Arriaga to Amat October 24, 1771, CHAN, AM, B4 117. The letter probably did not reach Peru until the spring of the following year.
35. Guillaume Labé to Count of Praselin (French Minister of the Navy) April 11, 1771, CHAN, AM, B4 117. and in CHAN, AM, 3 JJ 323, Cartes et Plans, Ocean Pacifique. See also Dunmore, *St Jean-Baptiste*, 53–54.
36. Beverly Haun, *Inventing "Easter Island"* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
37. The publications are reproduced in Corney, *The Voyage of Captain Don Felipe Gonzales*, xiv–xlviii.
38. Corney, *Quest and Occupation of Tahiti* vol. I, 226–246.
39. Both contained in CHAN, AM, 3 JJ 323, Cartes et Plans, Ocean Pacifique.
40. The most elaborate summary of the fate of the Spanish expeditions to Tahiti remains Corney, *Quest and Occupation of Tahiti*.
41. La Pérouse's ill-fated voyage has received much attention over the years. The yeoman's work was performed by John Dunmore in his *Pacific Explorer: The Life of Jean-François de La Pérouse* (Annapolis, MD: The Naval Institute Press, 1985) and his *Where Fate Beckons: The Life of Jean-François de La Pérouse* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2007).
42. See most importantly, Robin Inglis, "The Effect of Lapérouse on Spanish Thinking about the Northwest Coast," In Robin Inglis, ed., *Spain and the Pacific Coast: Essays in Recognition of the Bicentennial of the Malaspina Expedition, 1791–1792* (Vancouver: Vancouver Maritime Museum, 1992), 46–52.
43. La Pérouse to Fleurieu September 10, 1787 in John Dunmore ed. *The Journal of Jean-François de Galaup de la Pérouse, 1785–1788* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1995), 512–520. Although La Pérouse's disappearance made him unable to substantiate this claim, it would be Fleurieu who would put La Pérouse's indictment against the Spanish nautical accomplishments in print.
44. *Ibid.*, 518–519.
45. *Ibid.*, 518; see also 432–435 for La Pérouse's more detailed journal entries on Mourelle's diary and charts.
46. Relacion d'un voyage interessant de la Princesse Fregatte Espagnole de Manila a Saint Blaise ou Mexique traduit de l'Espangol CHAN, AM, 3 JJ 323; 3 JJ 386; and 3JJ 377.
47. *The voyage of La Pérouse round the world, in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, with the nautical tables. Arranged by M. L. A. Milet Mureau ... To which is prefixed, narrative of an interesting voyage from Manila to St. Blaise. And annexed, travels over the continent, with the dispatches of La Pérouse in 1787 and 1788, by M. de Lesseps. Tr. from the French. Illustrated with fifty-one plates. London: Printed for J. Stockdale, 1798.*
48. Flynn and Giraldez, "Born with a Silver Spoon;" Katherine Bjork, "The Link That Kept the Philippines Spanish: Mexican Merchant Interest and the Manila Trade, 1571–1815," *Journal of World History* 9 (1998): 26–50. Bjork effectively undermines the application of world systems analysis to the model of the Manila Galleon exchange.

49. Norman G. Owen, ed., *The Emergence of Modern South East Asia: A New History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 147–150.
50. Katharine Bjork, "The Link that Kept the Philippines Spanish."
51. Maria Diaz-Trechelo Spinola, "Dos nuevos derroteros del galleon de Manila (1730 y 1773)," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 13 (1956): 1–83.
52. See Salvador Bernabeu Albert, *El Pacífico ilustrado*, 245–260 and his "Ciencia ilustrada y nuevas rutas: Las expediciones de Juan de Lángara al Pacífico," *Revista de Indias* 47 (1987): 447–467.
53. Dutch protests against the Spanish voyages via the Cape of Good Hope, supposedly banned by the Treaties of Münster and Utrecht, can be found in AHN, Estado 3853.
54. Bernabeu Albert, "Ciencia Ilustrada y nuevas rutas."
55. Malaspina's expedition will receive coverage in the next chapter.
56. Marion du Fresne's stay in New Zealand is best chronicled by Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: First Meeting between Maori and Europeans, 1642–1772* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), 359–429.
57. The official correspondence on the French visit to Manila can be located in AGI, Filipinas 493, nr. 266 and Filipinas 390, nr. 48. A more detailed anonymous account is held in AGI, Indiferente 1549.
58. Carmen Yuste, "El Conde de Tepa ante la visita de José de Gálvez," *Estudios de Historia Novohispa* 11 (1991): 119–134.
59. Tepa's report is part of a larger file entitled *expediente sobre los medios de ampliar el comercio de Filipinas*, AGI, Ultramar 516.
60. Juan Bautista Muñoz, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1793). Muñoz passed away a few years after the appearance of this volume. A second volume exists in draft form but was never published.
61. There is an abundant recent literature on this topic. See for instance, Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, *How to Write Histories*, chapter 3; and Nicolás Bas Martín, *Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–1799) y la fundación del Archivo General de Indias* (Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2000).
62. Juan Bautista Muñoz, "Discurso sobre la navegación al Pacífico y particularmente á las Filipinas por los tránsitos descubiertos al mediodía de la América," AMN, ms. 151, doc. 4; an important copy of his "borrador" (draft notes) revealing an in-depth look into the formation of his memorial exists in the RB, "Juan Bautista Muñoz: Borradores de informes presentados al consejo de Indias", ms. 2247.
63. Muñoz, Discurso, point 32.
64. Muñoz, Borradores, f. 26 v.
65. Amancio Ladin Carrasco, *Mourelle de la Rúa: Explorador del Pacífico* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 1971), 172.
66. On the background of the Delisle map, see Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1968 [1937]), 158–162.
67. The journal of Mourelle's 1779 voyage can be found in Carrasco, *Mourelle de la Rúa*, 217–269.
68. Diario Francisco Maurelle 1781, AMN, ms 276 doc. 5 fol 257–311 reprinted in Amancio Ladin Carrasco, *Mourelle de la Rúa*, 278–279; the last italicized paragraph is available only in the original copy.
69. Carrasco, *Mourelle*, 113–116, AMN, ms. 331.
70. Bronwen Douglas, "Seaborne Ethnography," 3.

71. Nicholas Thomas, "Licensed Curiosity in Cook's Pacific Voyages," in John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds, *Curiosity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), see also his *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).
72. Fermín del Pino, "Humanismo clasicista Mediterráneo y concepción antropológica del mundo: El caso de los Jesuitas," *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia* 56 (1996): 29–50.
73. Luke Clossey, "Merchants, Migrants, Missionaries, and Globalization in the Early Modern Pacific."
74. Joau-Pau Rubiés, "The Spanish Contribution to the Ethnology of Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Renaissance Studies* 17 (2003): 418–448.
75. Arriaga to Bucarelli, February 24 and April 22, 1775, AGI, Indiferente 1630.
76. Amat to Arriaga, April 2, 1773, AGI, Indiferente General, 1549. Amat would reiterate his opinion in a letter to Arriaga dated June 9, 1773, in the same file.
77. David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and their Savages*.
78. A very good rendition of these well-publicized accounts can be found in Vanessa Smith, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange, and Pacific Encounters* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
79. For a wider context, consult David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euro-American Ships* (Armonk, N. Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1998).
80. Eric Ames, *Carl Hagenbeck's Empire of Entertainments* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 77–79.
81. Anne Salmond, "Their Body is Different, Our Body is Different: European and Tahitian Navigators in the 18th Century," *History and Anthropology* 16 (2005): 167–186.
82. When Heiao, one of the Tahitians who went to Lima, died in August of 1773, Viceroy Amat remarked that his death "upset me since my intention and desire was always to return them so that their Indian compatriots could hear of the kindness with which they had been treated and the advantages they received in this country." Anne Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 322.
83. RB, ms. 2871, Miscellanea, vol. LVIII, ff. 22–30. This report reflects the Spanish observers' wishful thinking about their success converting the Tahitians into loyal Spanish allies.
84. *Ibid.*, 29 v.
85. Francisco de Fresen, February 18, 1783. AGI, Santo Domingo 2549.
86. Ambrosio O'Higgins in Bolton Corney, *The Quest and Occupation* vol. 2, 418–419.
87. José Miguel de Vrezberota to Ambrosio de Benavides, March 24, 1786, AHN, Estado, 4289.
88. Máximo Rodríguez has received much attention by both Spanish- and English-speaking historians. The first historian to turn his attention to him was Bolton Glanvill Corney, *The Quest and Occupation of Tahiti*; Mellen, *Españoles en Tahiti* provided the Spanish version of this account and added a few sources not mentioned by Corney. More recently, departing from the source material, Anne Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 358–384; and Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Exploring the Explorers*, 146–180, place the Peruvian experience in a larger Tahitian and Spanish context. The above cited sources engage

- mostly the diary deposited in England. In comparison, the copy of the diary in Paris' Bibliothèque National "Relacion Diaria" BnF (Societe de Geographie) 1788, Ms in 8° 31, has received very little attention, especially his prologue of six pages written over ten years after the stay on Tahiti.
89. The most recent interpretations surrounding Máximo Rodríguez's stay on the island can be found in Camino, *Exploring the Explorers* and Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*.
 90. Camino, *Exploring the Explorers*, 149 writes: "Máximo ... was a young, lower-class Peruvian most likely of mixed ethnic background."
 91. Corney, *The Quest*, III xx. For a detailed study on the visual representation of the *castas*, consult Magali M. Carrera's *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003). Viceroy Amat commissioned a series of *casta* paintings for his kingdom. See, Natalia Majluf, ed., *Los cuadros de mestizaje del Virrey Amat: La representacion entografica en el Peru Colonial* (Lima: Museo de Arte, 1999).
 92. Vanessa Smith, *Intimate Strangers*, 290.
 93. Camino, *Exploring the Explorers*, 151.
 94. Corney, *The Quest*, III, 6.
 95. Corney, *The Quest*, III, xxiii described Pérez as a 'sulky, churlish and disorderly lout.'
 96. *Ibid.*, 85, illustrates one on the many incidents where the friars insulted and berated Rodríguez.
 97. Smith, *Intimate Strangers*, 291.
 98. Smith [*Intimate Strangers*, 292] argues that the youth anticipated Bronislaw Malinowski's famed model of participant observation. Looking for a similar example among other Spaniards, Mercedes Maroto Camino [*Exploring the Explorers*, 157–158] compares Rodríguez to Cabeza de Vaca who spent years among the Native Americans.
 99. Corney, "The Quest, III," 70. Corney's translation states that Máximo Rodríguez begged for possession of the *`umete*, while Francisco Mellen's notes that Rodríguez only asked and Tu, following the *taio* reciprocal fashion, conceded. Mellen's transcription reads: "havendosela pedido me la concedió." The *`umete* was returned to Lima and handed over to Viceroy Amat. Rodríguez later found it in the possession of the succeeding Viceroy Teodoro de Croix's butler, who apparently used it to wash dishes for the royal household. Once discovered, the *`umete* was donated to Charles III and transported to Spain where it is now figures as an important part of the collection (CE1260) of the *Museo Nacional de Antropología* in Madrid. A brief description of the artifact can be found on the webpage <http://ceres.mcu.es/pages/Main> by entering the term *`umete* (accessed August 25, 2013).
 100. Salmond, *Aphrodite's Island*, 420–426; on the diplomatic tangles emerging from this act, consult Corney, *Quest and Occupation* vol. 2.
 101. The acts of possessions are best explored in Greg Denning's "Possessing Tahiti," *Archaeology in Oceania* 21 (1986): 103–118. Matimo's *`umete* ran into a similar fate in colonial Lima. Although Viceroy Amat must have been quite taken by the sacred vessel, his immanent departure left little time to make any long-term arrangement for its safekeeping. When Rodríguez checked on the status of this important gift in 1788, he found it employed

- as a washbasin to clean dishes in a kitchen associated with one of Amat's former valets. Corney, *Quest and Occupation*, vol. 3, xxv.
102. Cook, Clerke, and Gore, *A Voyage to the Pacific* vol. 2, 76.
 103. Corney postulated the existence of four versions of Rodríguez's diary. He argued that only one of these, returned by Captain Fritz Roy (of the *Beagle* fame) in the 1830s, still existed at the time of his writing in the early twentieth century, *Quest and Occupation*, vol. 3, xxvii–xxxiv. The copy obtained by Viceroy de Croix, however, made its way to Spain alongside the *umete*. French troops most likely then took this vital document to France following their invasion of 1808, where it now resides in Paris' *Bibliothèque Nationale*. For a critical evaluation of this particular document and a close reading of the same against the one existing in England, consult the detailed work by Liou Tumahai "Les Expéditions Espagnoles à Tahiti au XVIIIe Siècle (Edition Critique du Manuscrit Máximo Rodríguez, 1774–1775)" PhD dissertation 2 vols. University of Toulouse, 1997; different versions of the diary including a synopsis can also be found in Mellén Blanco, *Las expediciones marítimas*, 673–782. Mellén Blanco also provides the Spanish original of the prologue.
 104. Máximo Rodríguez, Prologo to "Relacion Diara," 1.
 105. Bronwen Douglas, "Seaborne Ethnography".
 106. Prologo, 2.
 107. *Ibid.*
 108. *Ibid.*, 5.
 109. *Ibid.*, 3–4.
 110. *Ibid.*, 6.
 111. *Ibid.*, 6.
 112. María Elena Arena Cruz, *Pedro Estala vida y obra: una aportación de la teoría literaria del siglo XVIII español* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003), 436–449.
 113. Manuel Godoy in Arena Cruz, *Estala*, 447.
 114. Cañizares-Esguerra's, *How to Write Histories of the New World*, 130–133.
 115. Pedro Estala, *El viagero universal* Vol XVI (Madrid: Villalpando, 1798), letter CCL, 33–34.
 116. *Ibid.*, Letter CCLVI, 118.
 117. Don Lorenzo Hervás, *Catálogo de las Lenguas de la Naciones Conocidas, y Numeracion, División, y Clases de Estas segun su Diversidad de sus Idiomas y Dialectos* 5 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de la Administracion del Real Arbitro de Beneficencia, 1800–1805). Hervás was one of the first linguists to suggest two major language families for the Pacific. See for instance, Ángel Yanguas Álvarez de Toledo, "El catálogo de Hervás, el cápitan Cook y las lenguas de Oceanía," *Language Design* 3 (2000): 79–99.
 118. David Paxman's "'Distance Getting Close:' Gesture, Language, and Space in the Pacific," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26 (2002): 78–97 is but one article that serves as a counterpoint to Estala's renditions of Franco-British accounts.
 119. Estala, *Viagero Universal* vol. 16, letter CCLXV, 294–296.
 120. *Ibid.*, 118–121, 170–180, quote is from page 180.
 121. Estala, *Viagero Universal* vol. 16, letters CCLXXIII–CCLXXXI.
 122. Estala, *Viagero Universal* vol. 7, 98.
 123. Estala, *Viagero Universal* vol. 19, 330–348.

124. Alexandro Moja, *El Café* vol. I (Madrid: Imprenta de Gonzalez, 1792), 5.
125. *Ibid.*, 121–138.
126. Estala, *Viagero Universal* vol. 16, Letter CCLVI, 120–121.
127. Estala, *Viagero Universal* vol. 16, Letter CCLXVI, 324–325.
128. Estala, *Viagero Universal* vol. 18, Letter CCLXXXI, especially 80–81.
129. Estala, vol. 17, Letter CCLXXII, 50–51.
130. Estala, vol. 18, Letter CCCVI, 339–369.
131. *Ibid.*, 365.
132. Estala, *El Viagero* vol. 26, Letter D, 311–312.
133. Friedrich Willhelm Bratring, *Reisen der Spanier nach der Südsee, insbesondere nach der Insel O-Taheite* (Berlin: Friedrich Maurer, 1802).
134. *Ibid.*, 2.
135. *Ibid.*, 45.
136. *Ibid.*, 228, footnote 38.

5 On History and Hydrography

1. Malaspina's instructions to his officers, AMN, ms. 427, doc. 14.
2. Antonio López Gómez and Carmen Manso Porto, *Cartografía del Siglo XVIII*.
3. Príncipe de la Paz (Godoy), official announcement September 14, 1797, AGMAB, Deposito Hydrografico, 4903.
4. "Noticia de las Cartas construidas y publicadas á epensas de S. M. por la Direccion de trabajos hidrográficos establecida en Madrid, cuyo uso es de suma conveniencia á los navegantes Españoles, y por tanto ha mandado el Rey que se surtan de ellas," March 31, 1800, AGMAB, 4903.
5. Proposal dated September 20, 1788, AHN, Estado 3208.
6. Consult in this regard Juan Pimentel, *En el panóptico del Mar del Sur: Orígenes y desarrollo de la visita australiana de la expedición Malaspina (1793)* (Madrid: CSIC, 1992); Robert J. King, *The Secret History of the Convict Colony: Alexandro Malaspina's Report on the British Settlement of New South Wales* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1990). The apt term, "floating embassy," is taken from Pimentel's chapter 6 entitled, *la embajada itinerante*.
7. Aricle CXXIX of Floridablanca's secret instruction to the State Council, June 8, 1787 in Antonio Ferrer del Rio, *Obras Originales del Conde de Floridablanca* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1867), 253.
8. The most important source about the Nootka crisis and its diplomatic implications remains Cook's *Flood Tide of Empire*.
9. Bernardo de Iriarte, reflections on Nootka, December 27, 1791, AHN, Estado 2817.
10. Spanish scholars would hail Gayetan as their "discoverer" of the Hawaiian Islands into the twentieth century. It was a claim that found support by Alexander von Humboldt, as the next chapter chronicles.
11. Quote stems from Revilla Gigedo to Antonio Valdés, December 27, 1789, AGI, Mexico, 1530; Martínez's proposal can be found in a letter to Revilla Gigedo dated June 24, 1789, AHN, Estado 2927. See also Donald Cutter, "The Spanish in Hawaii: Gayetan to Marin," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 14 (1980): 16–25.

12. Junta de la Real Compañía de Filipinas to Pedro de Lerena December 17, 1790; Pedro de Lerena to the Count of Floridablanca January 2, 1791, AHN, Estado 2927.
13. Quimper's report can be found in AGI, Estado 20. For an evaluation of the report, consult James Tueller, "A Spanish Naval Tourist in Hawai'i: Manuel Quimper," *Mains'l Haul: A Journal of Pacific Maritime History* 41/42 (2006): 43–47.
14. Donald Cutter, "Malaspina and the Shrinking of the Spanish Lake."
15. Malaspina's arrest following his return to Spain and the subsequent neglect to publish the results of the expedition had much to do with this view.
16. Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); the quote stems from page 107.
17. José Cervera Pery, *La Marina de la Ilustración*; for more specific projects, consult also the important work by Antonio Lafuente and Manuel Sellés, *El Observatorio de Cádiz*. For an overview of the hydrographical exploration, consult Salvador Bernabéu Albert, "Las expediciones hidrográficas," in Manuel Sellés, José Luis Peset and Antonio Lafuente, *Carlos III y la ciencia de la Ilustración* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), 353–370.
18. Capel, *Geographia y Matematicas*, 240.
19. Vicente Tofiño, cited in Capel, *Geographia y Matematicas*, 249.
20. Navarrete, *Coleccion de Opúsculos* vol. 1 (Madrid: Viuda de Caldero, 1848), 287.
21. Nuria Valverde and Antonio LaFuente, "Space Production and Spanish Imperial Geopolitics."
22. Naval historian Martín Fernández de Navarrete would frequently raise objection to the Franco-British obsession of finding new lands in the Pacific while neglecting their own coastlines at significant navigational risks.
23. Vicente Tofiño, Antonio Valdes, and José Vargas Ponce, *Derrotero de las costas de España en el Mediterraneo y su correspondiente de Africa para inteligencia y uso de cartas esfericas...* (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1787); Vicente Tofiño and Antonio Valdes, *Derrotero de las costas de España en el Océano Atlántico y de las islas Azores ó Terceras...* (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1789).
24. Capel, *Geographia y Matematicas*, 247–253; Luisa Martín-Meras and Francisco José Gonzáles, *La Dirección de Trabajos Hidrográficos (1797–1908)* vol. 1. (Madrid: Lunwerg, 2003), 40–41.
25. Capel, *Geographia y Matematicas*, 256–259. Martín-Meras and Francisco José Gonzáles, *La Dirección de Trabajos Hidrográficos*, 41–42.
26. Two informative articles on this expedition are Maria Dolores Gonzalez-Ripoll Navarro, "La expedición del Atlas de la América Septentrional (1792–1810) *Revista de Indias* L (1990): 767–788; Luisa Martín-Merás, "La expedición hidrográfica de la América Septentrional, 1792–1805" *Journal of Latin American Geography* 7 (2008): 203–218.
27. José de Mazarredo, "Propuesta reservada sobre la organización de dos expediciones hidrográficas y los que deben de estar al mando de ellas y de los buques," August 5, 1786, AMN, ms. 2381, ff 114–117.
28. José de Mazerrado, "Dictamen sobre el plan para formacion de un atlas marítimo de la América Septentrional," March 7, 1789, AGMAB, 4948, copy also in AGMAB 4903.

29. Andrew Cook, "Alexander Dalrymple and the Hydrographic Office," in Alan Frost and Jane Samson, eds, *Pacific Empires: Essays in Honour of Glyndwr Williams* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 51–68. On the diverse European forerunners, consult also Francisco José Gonzáles and Luisa Martín-Merás, *La Direccion de Trabajos Hidrográficos (1797–1908)* vol. I (Lunwerg, 2003), 25–39.
30. On Espinosa's role in this new office, consult the extensive work by María del Pilar Cuesta Domingo, "José Espinosa y Tello y su aportacion a la historia de la hidrografía" Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad Complutense, Madrid. 1992; see also Gonzáles and Martín-Merás, *La Direccion*, 53–108.
31. Espinosa and his successors published many catalogues of maps and charts, which they generally inserted in the official *Gazeta de Madrid*.
32. The external context of the Malaspina expedition is perhaps best explored in Andrew David, Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, Carlos Novi, and Glyndwr Williams, eds, *The Malaspina Expedition, 1789–1794: The Journal of the Voyage by Alejandro Malaspina* 3 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 2001–2004); for a more Spanish-centered explanation of the expedition, consult Juan Pimentel, *La física de la monarquía*. For a critical assessment of the vast Malaspina papers in the Museo Naval, consult María Dolores Higuera Rodríguez, *Catálogo crítico de los documentos de la expedición Malaspina (1789–1794)* 3 vols. (Madrid, 1985–1994).
33. Malaspina's introduction in *The Malaspina Expedition*, vol. 1, lxxix.
34. Ibid.
35. As mentioned in the introduction, Spanish historian Salvador Bernabéu Albert [*La aventura de lo imposible*, 172] called such acts "discoveries in the discovered" (*descubrir en lo descubierto*).
36. This project, which stood under the guidance of Vicente Tofiño, had already encompassed the shores of the Iberian Peninsula and was, by Malaspina's departure in 1789, encompassing the Atlantic Ocean. *The Malaspina Expedition*, 325–329.
37. *The Malaspina Expedition*, vol. 1., lxxxvii.
38. The most complete contextualization of the Malaspina expedition and its political context can be found in Juan Pimentel, *La física y la monarquía*.
39. M. Lucena Giraldo and Juan Pimentel, eds, *Los 'axiomas políticos sobre América' de Alejandro Malaspina* (Aranjuez: Doce Calles, 1991).
40. Axiomas, 200–202.
41. Nigel Rigby, Pieter van der Merwe and Glyn Williams, eds, *Pioneers of the Pacific: Voyages of Exploration, 1787–1810* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2005), 80–95.
42. See Cook, *Floodtide of Empire*, 307; both Maldonado's original document and Buache's endorsement of the same can be found in Pedro Novo y Colson, *Viaje politico-científico alrededor del mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida al Mando de los capitanes de navio Don Alejandro Malaspina y José Bustamante y Guerra desde 1789 y 1794* (Madrid: Viuda e Hijos de Abienzo, 1885), 144–149.
43. Ricardo Cerezo Martínez, *La Expedicion Malaspina 1789–1794*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Lunwerg Editores 1987), 131–132. José Espinosa and Tello would eventually publish the metrological observations, omitting all along the name of Malaspina who had fallen from grace. The volume on the Sutil and Mexicana

- will receive much attention below, since this monograph expertly combined received and encountered knowledge.
44. Richard L. Kagan, *Clío and the Crown*.
 45. Higuera Rodríguez, "The Sources," 387–388.
 46. Alejandro Malaspina to José Espinosa y Tello January 2, 1789, AMN, ms. 426, doc. 21.
 47. Juan Manuel Abascal and Rosario Cebrián, *José Vargas Ponce (1760–1821) en la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2010), 490.
 48. Malaspina's fate is best recounted in John Kendrick's brief biography, *Alejandro Malaspina: Portrait of a Visionary* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).
 49. Churruca to Mazarredo, December 4, 1795, AMN, ms. 2376.
 50. This statement is contained in an autobiographical note he provided for his promotion to ship captain in 1813, AMN, ms. 1393.
 51. The importance of Vargas Ponce requires a much needed biography. Sketches of his life exist; see, for instance, "Noticia autobiográfico literario de José Vargas Ponce" in AMN, ms. 1393. His writings occurring during some of most troubled periods of Iberian history deserve a book-length monograph. In absence of such vital biography, I limit my account to his writings and correspondence in connection with the eighteenth-century Pacific. An outline of such bibliography can be found in Fernando Durán López, *José Vargas Ponce (1760–1821): Ensayo de una Bibliografía y Crítica de sus Obras* (Cadiz: University of Cadiz Press, 1997); for Vargas Ponce's role in the Academy of History, consult Juan Manuel Abascal and Rosario Cebrián, *José Vargas Ponce*.
 52. Francisco José González González, "Don José de Vargas Ponce, la astronomía, la cartografía nautical y la historia de la Marina," in Fernando Durán López and Alberto Romero Ferrer eds, "*Había bajado de Saturno: Diez calas en la obra de José Vargas Ponce* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1999), 199–209.
 53. José Vargas Ponce, "Discurso sobre la historia de la Marina Española" February 24, 1786, AMN, ms. 2435 vol. 1; Vargas Ponce "Memorial para escribir la historia de la Marina Española" and "Propuesta de una coleccion de viages Españoles," both dated September 7, 1789, AMN, ms. 1742.
 54. Ponce, "Propuesta".
 55. *Ibid.*
 56. José Vargas Ponce to Antonio Valdes, September 8, 1792, AMN, ms. 1742.
 57. *Relacion del últimos viage al Estrecho de Magallanes de la Fragata de S.M. Santa María de la Cabeza en los años de 1785 y 1786. Extracto de todos los Anteriores desde su descubrimiento impresos y MSS. Y Noticia de los Habitantes suelo, clima y Producciones del Estrecho* (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, Hijos y Compañía, 1788).
 58. *Ibid.*, vjiii.
 59. *Ibid.*, vjii–vjiii.
 60. *Ibid.*, viiij–x.
 61. *Ibid.*, j.
 62. *Ibid.*, x.
 63. *Ibid.*, 160–166.
 64. John Dougall, trans., *A Voyage of Discovery to the Strait of Magellan with an Account of the Manners and the Customs of the Inhabitants...* (London: Richard Phillips and Co, 1820), italics in the original. Dougall had come across Vargas

- Ponce's work while translating Tofiño's *Atlas Marítimo as España Marítima or Spanish Coasting Pilot...* (London: W. Faden, 1812).
65. Churruca is best known as one of the most illustrious Spanish casualties during the Battle of Trafalgar (1805). Standing at the helm of his vessel, the *San Juan Nepomuceno*, Churruca faced the overwhelming might of six British vessels and continued to bark out commands despite the loss of his leg to a cannon ball.
 66. Damián Churruca to Antonio Valdes, November 12, 1791, AMN, ms 2376 ff. 255–256.
 67. *Relacion*, x.
 68. José Vargas Ponce, *Importancia de la historia de la marina española: precision de que se confie a un marinero* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1809).
 69. *Ibid.*, 47.
 70. *Ibid.*, 60.
 71. Abascal and Cebrián, *Vargas Ponce*, 385–386, 425. The original file on the 1791/92 translation of Hawkesworth's voyage compilation by José María Meras can be found in AHN, Consejos, 5557, exp. 66.
 72. Vargas Ponce, *Importancia de la historia*, 60–62.
 73. Much as in the case of Vargas Ponce, Navarrete, too, is awaiting a detailed biography. Unlike Vargas Ponce, few works tackle even selected periods of his life. In English, there remains Ursula Lamb's "Martin Fernandez de Navarrete Clears the Deck." The present chapter does not claim to provide a detailed biography for Navarrete, but seeks to understand this naval officer's active role in the Iberian outlook on the Pacific.
 74. The official royal order for Navarrete to immerse himself in the Spanish archives was issued on October 16, 1789, AGMAB 4835.
 75. Consult, for instance, the exchange between Navarrete and Muñoz in MN, ms. 2009, doc 3. Navarrete emphasized later that it was he who discovered accounts by Bartolome de las Casas about Columbus's first and third voyages. Sharing these documents with Muñoz meant that this historian was able to include these vital primary sources in his publication on Columbus. Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV...* vol. 1 (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1825), lix–lx.
 76. The magnitude of this project becomes apparent from the exchanges between Navarrete and prominent naval officials contained in AGMAB, 4835
 77. Navarrete to Antonio Valdés, August 16, 1791, AGMAB, 4835. There is no response from Valdés on file. Cooler heads may have prevailed, when the two individuals realized that theirs was a complementary endeavor. The developing friendship between Navarrete and Vargas Ponce can be discerned from the correspondence in AMN, ms. 2009, doc 2 and ms. 2218.
 78. Navarrete to Valdés, September 12, 1790, AGMAB, 4835.
 79. Maldonado did not officially submit his journal to Philip III until 1609. The Duke of Almodóvar first published it in the fourth volume of his *Historia Política* in 1788. Philippe Buache then translated the account from this Spanish version.
 80. Navarrete to Valdés December 21, 1790, Valdés to the Duke of Infantado December 24, 1790; Duke of Infantado to Valdés December 27, 1790, AGMAB 4835.

81. Juan Pimentel, *La física de la monarchia*, 262. A critical Spanish edition of Buache's document followed: Jean Nicholas Buache and Ciriaco Cevallos, *Diserationes sobre la navegacion a las Indias Orientales por el norte de la Europa* (Cadiz, 1798); Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. 1, lix; Warren Cook, *Floodtide of Empire*, 307.
82. AMN, ms. 142, doc. 4.
83. Navarrete to Vargas Ponce, March 2, 1792, AMN, ms. 2009.
84. Martín Fernández de Navarrete and Eustaquio Fernandez de Navarrete. *Examen histórico de los viajes y descubrimientos apócritos del Capitan Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, de Juan de Fuca y del almirante Bartolomé de Fonte* (Madrid: Viuda de Caldro, 1849).
85. *Ibid.*, 209. In the published documents, Navarrete was a great deal more cautious to avoid the bellicose rhetoric of his predecessors.
86. *Ibid.*, 14–15.
87. *Ibid.*, 211.
88. The correspondence between Valdés and Vargas Ponce in 1792 is housed in AMN, ms. 1742; Navarrete would later write that he was operating independently from Vargas Ponce and that there were a number of overlaps in their research, *Colección*, vol. I, lxii.
89. Navarrete to Valdés, May 27, 1795; the royal order to discontinue the collection of documents was issued on June 16 the same year. AGMAB 4835.
90. Navarrete, writing about four years after Vargas Ponce's death, situates himself in a bit of a heroic light; see *Colección*, vol. I, lix–lxiii.
91. C. P. Claret Fleurieu, *Voyage autour du monde pendant les années 1790, 1791, et 1792 par Étienne Marchand* 5 vols (Paris: De l'imprime de la République, 1799–1800). As they had done in the past, officials associated with the Spanish embassy of Paris promised to quickly ship the volumes to Spain as they appeared in print. Josef de Ocaniz to Juan de Langara, October 17, 1797, AGMAB 4907.
92. See the correspondence in AGMAB, 4903 and 4907.
93. Claret Fleurieu, *Voyage*, vol. I, *passim*.
94. *Relación del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana en el año 1792 para reconocer el estrecho de Fuca*. (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1802). Although the volume does not carry Navarrete's name, the introduction and editorials are now widely attributed to this naval historian. Many historians believe Vancouver's expedition to be the primary reason behind this publication. I maintain that Fleurieu's accusations leveled against Spanish exploration are just as important.
95. Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Discurso histórico sobre los progresos que ha tenido en España el arte de navegar* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1802). The actual book that resulted from this discourse was published posthumously over forty years later.
96. *Ibid.*, 10–11.
97. *Ibid.*, 38.
98. *Ibid.*, 59–60.
99. *Sutil and Mexicana*, cxxxi.
100. *Sutil and Mexicana*, cxxxvi–cxl.
101. *Ibid.*, iv
102. *Ibid.*, cxliii–clxv.

103. Hans Juretschke, *Los Afrancesados en la Guerra de Independencia: Su genesis, desarrollo y consecuencias historicas* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1962), 233–242.
104. José Espinoza y Tello, *Memorias sobre las observaciones astronómicas hechas por los navegantes españoles en distintos lugares del globo, los cuales han servido de fundamento para la formación de las artes de navegar publicadas por la Dirección de trabajos hidrográficos de Madrid*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1809).
105. Alexander von Humboldt used this particular work extensively following his trip from the Americas.
106. Luis de Salazar, “Discourso sobre los progresos y estado actual de la hydrografia de España” in Espinosa, 1–100.
107. *Ibid.*, 99–100.
108. Navarrete followed Espinosa (director 1797–1815) and Bauzá (director 1815–1824); see Lamb, “Navarrete Clears the Deck”
109. Fernández de Navarrete, Martín, *Coleccion de los Viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde finales del siglo XV*, 5 vols. Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1825–1837.
110. Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. IV, xxiii.
111. Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. I, lii.
112. Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. IV, xix–xx.
113. Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. I, vii.
114. Navarrete, *Colección*, vol. III, vi.
115. *Ibid.*, xii–xiii. Early translators were less discriminating about Navarrete’s geographical locations concerning Columbus’s voyages. Later commentators find fault with his knowledge of Caribbean geography. See, for instance, Samuel Elliot Morrison, “Text and Translation of the Journal of Columbus’s First Voyage,” *The Hispanic American Review* XIX (1939): 235–261.
116. *Ibid.*, xv.

6 On Rediscovering the Americas

1. Letter reprinted in Ulrike Moheit, ed., *Alexander von Humboldt, Briefe aus Amerika, 1799–1804* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 163.
2. Alexander von Humboldt to Nicolas Baudin, April 12, 1801, in Friedrich Kapp, ed. and trans., *Letters of Alexander von Humboldt Written between the Years of 1827 and 1858 to Varnhagen von Ense* (New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1860), 235–238.
3. This expedition was beset by many problems, including shipwrecks as well as endless quarrels between Baudin and the naturalist. Baudin himself died of tuberculosis on Mauritius in 1803 on the voyage’s homebound leg. See, for instance, Jean Fornasiero, Peter Monteath, and John West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis: The Australian Voyages of Nicholas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004).
4. Alan Frost, “The Pacific Ocean: the Eighteenth Century’s ‘New World’.”
5. The list of publications that have appeared in connection with Humboldt since 1999 is too vast to be reproduced here. Consult, for instance, Gerhard Helfrich, *Humboldt’s Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Latin American*

Journey that Changed the Way We See the World (New York: Gotham Books, 2004).

6. Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 166–190.
7. For an entertaining comparison of Forster and Humboldt, consult Erwin H. Ackerknecht, “Georg Forster, Alexander von Humboldt, and Ethnography,” *Isis* 46 (1955): 83–95.
8. Bratring, *Reisen der Spanier*, iii–iv.
9. Humboldt’s frustrations about joining this venture figure prominently in his *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent during the Years 1799–1804* (London: Longman et al., 1814), 31–32.
10. *Ibid.*, 10.
11. Humboldt, *Personal Narrative of Travels*, vol. 1 (1814) Helen Black, trans., 40.
12. Humboldt, *Practical Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* vol. 2, 329.
13. A frequently told example is Humboldt’s encounter with Napoleon Bonaparte. While attending the French emperor’s coronation gala, Humboldt received a most degrading comment from the newly crowned emperor: “I understand you collect plants, monsieur. So does my wife.” See, for instance, John Charles Chasteen, *Americanos: Latin America’s Struggle for Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 28. Chasteen employs Humboldt’s voyage to illustrate the political and economic conditions in the Spanish dependencies prior to the revolutions.
14. Daniela Bleichmar, *Visible Empires*, 21–23.
15. Jean Baptiste Joseph Delambre to Alexander von Humboldt, January 22, 1801, Moheit, ed., *Alexander von Humboldt*, 120–122.
16. Alexander von Humboldt to his brother Wilhelm, September 21, 1801, Moheit, ed., *Alexander von Humboldt*, 145–150.
17. Alexander von Humboldt, *Aspects of Nature in Different Lands and Different Climates with Scientific Elucidations*. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1849), 436–437.
18. Alexander von Humboldt to Domingo de Tovar y Ponte, August 2, 1802, Moheit, ed., *Alexander von Humboldt*, 189–190.
19. Fürchtegott Lebrecht Freiherr von Nordenflycht to Alexander von Humboldt, February 11, 1803, Moheit, ed., *Alexander von Humboldt*, 221–222. This Swedish nobleman, who hailed from a family that had recently settled in Prussia, was charged by the Spanish government to introduce novel mining methods in the Kingdom of Peru. Following his arrival, Nordenflycht settled in Lima where he married a local, María Josefa Cortés, who bore him nine children. By the time of Humboldt’s arrival, Nordenflycht was an upstanding member of the Lima community, although his original purpose to improve mining in the kingdom was hampered by endless quarrels with local authorities. Humboldt’s attempt to preserve this piece of correspondence should not be dismissed. While it is estimated that a grand total of 13,000 letters Humboldt wrote are preserved and collected by the Humboldt Research Center, it represents only a fraction of his total output at 50,000 written between 1789 and 1859 at the rate of four to six a day. Of his received letters, only 4,000 of his estimated 100,000 pieces of correspondence are preserved (Nicolaas A. Rupke, *Alexander von Humboldt: A Metabiography*, 127). Like many scholars of his time, Humboldt would periodically have sifted through

- his correspondence, eliminating those letters he deemed as unimportant or potentially damaging to his reputation.
20. SBB-III A, Alexander von Humboldt Nachlass, K 7b, Doc. 77. I am thankful to the speedy provision of the document by the friendly staff of the library, in particular Jonas Roick and Dorothea Barfknecht.
 21. Humboldt, *Personal Narrative*, vi–vii.
 22. Alexander von Humboldt, *Vues des cordillères, et monumens des peuples indigènes de l’Amérique* (Paris, Librairie Greque, 1816), 9.
 23. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, chapter 6.
 24. Leopoldo Zea, “Humboldt y el otro descubrimiento,” in Leopoldo Zea and Mario Magallón (eds) *El mundo que encontró Humboldt* (Mexico City: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, 1999), 1–15.
 25. Antonio Lafuente and Nuria Valverde, “Botany and Spanish Imperial”; Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, “How Derivative was Humboldt? Microcosmic Nature Narrative in Early Modern Spanish America and the (Other) Origins of Humboldt’s Ecological Sensibilities,” in Londa Schieber and Claudia Swan, eds, *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 148–168.
 26. Juan Pimentel, *Testigos del mundo*, chapter 5.
 27. Cañizares Esguerra, “How Derivative was Humboldt?”
 28. This influence is most prominent in the works of Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra: *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Exploration of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), chapter 6; Miguel Angel Puig-Semper, “Humboldt, un Prusiano en la corte del Rey Carlos IV,” *Revista de Indias* LIX (1999): 329–355; Sandra Rebok, *Alexander von Humboldt und Spanien im 19. Jahrhundert: Analyse eines wechselseitigen Wahrnehmungsprozesses* (Frankfurt a.M: Vervuert Verlag, 2006).
 29. See Humboldt’s *Examen*.
 30. An important source on these developments is Ursula Lamb’s *Cosmographers and Pilots of the Spanish Empire* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1995).
 31. Alexander von Humboldt to Manuel de Espinosa y Tello, 8 November 1803, AMN, MS 96, ff. 86–94.
 32. Humboldt to José Espinosa y Tello, April 25, 1804, AMN, cited in Monheit, 286. Humboldt would return Espinosa’s willingness to share the maps of the Hydrographic Deposit with a publication of his own: “Sobre algunos puntos interesantes para la Navegación ó extracto de las observaciones de longitud deducidas de Eclipse de Sol y la Luna de Satellites de Jupiter, distancias lunares y Chronómetros en los annos de 1799–1803.” See Mohnheit, 327.
 33. O.H.K. Spate, *Paradise Lost and Found*, 179. Spate’s negative assertion of Spanish material illustrates its lack of diffusion. The esteemed geographer made this assertion based on an 1885 Spanish publication of Malaspina’s results: “With such presentation, it is not surprising that Malaspina’s is the least-known of all great Pacific voyages, barely and often inaccurately mentioned in most accounts” (177). This was not the case with Humboldt, who immersed himself in the wealth of the Spanish archives, where he found both the historical and cartographic information to support his account of New Spain and other regions in the Spanish-controlled Americas.
 34. Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, vol. I, John Black, trans. (New York: I Riley, 1811), iv.

35. Bronwen Douglas, "Foreign Bodies in Oceania" in Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard, eds, *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race, 1750–1840* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2008), 5.
36. James Belich, "Race" in David Armitage and Alison Bashford, eds, *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, and People* (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 263.
37. See, for instance, Peter Hanns Reill, *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 237–245.
38. Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, vol. 1, E. C. Otte, trans. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 351–359.
39. *Ibid.*, 352.
40. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, 358.
41. Humboldt's vision is well-described in Anne Godlewska's *Geography Unbound: French Geographic Science from Cassini to Humboldt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 119–129.
42. See, for instance, Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World*, 226–230. For a wider context of the interaction between Oceania and European conceptions of "race," consult Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard, eds., *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race, 1750–1940* (Canberra: Australian National University, 2008).
43. Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. 5, 389.
44. Richard Kagan appropriately labeled this historical approach as Prescott's paradigm. See his "Prescott's Paradigm;" for a wider nineteenth-century transnational interpretation of Spanish historiography, see also Christopher Schmidt-Novara, *The Conquest of History, Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), especially chapter 4.
45. There are some notable exceptions to this rule. See, for instance, Charles Minguet, "Colón y Vespacio en la vision geohistorica de Alexander von Humboldt" in Leopoldo Zea and Mario Magallón, eds, *De Colón a Humboldt* (Mexico City: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía, 1999), 9–20. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra in his monumental *How to Write Histories* also credits Humboldt's willingness to engage Spanish historical material.
46. Many volumes of his travel account were translated into numerous languages and published throughout the nineteenth century. Recent years have witnessed Ottmar Ette and Vera Kutzinski's carefully edited editions published through the "Humboldt in English Project" issued by University of Chicago Press [*Political Essay on the Island of Cuba: A Critical Edition*, 2010; *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous People of the Americas*, 2012]. Humboldt's historical renditions, however, have never found translations into the English language.
47. Harry Liebersohn, *The Travelers' World*, 132–134.
48. *Discurso sobre los progresos de los artes, conciertos, y descubrimientos hechos para encontrar el Mar del Sur*, AMN, ms 314, doc. 2, ff 15–30.
49. *Ibid.*, f. 15.
50. Humboldt, *Examen*, xv.
51. Martín Fernández de Navarrete and Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete, *Examen historico de los viajes y descubrimientos*, 96 footnote. In Navarrete's defense, he did not mean to slight Humboldt's voyage, but he was bemoaning the fact that Malasпина's costly large-scale expedition had only been published in

- parts. The illustrations alone, Navarrete maintained, were worthy of speedy publication. As mentioned in the last chapter, it was not until 1885 that the expedition finally witnessed the publication of Malaspina's diary.
52. Humboldt, *Examen*, vol 1, x.
 53. *Ibid.*, ix–x.
 54. *Ibid.*, ix.
 55. *Ibid.*, x–xiii.
 56. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 55–59.
 57. Humboldt, *Examen*, vol 1, 1–10.
 58. *Ibid.*, xviii–ix.
 59. *Kosmos: Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung*. The first volume appeared in 1845 with the last tome appearing after Humboldt's death in 1862. Interestingly enough, Humboldt published these volumes in his native language rather than in French as he had in his earlier work. *Cosmos* was translated into many languages, including several English versions. The most accepted one was the translation by Elise C. Otté. Her version of Humboldt's first two volumes of *Cosmos: A Physical Description of the Universe* was republished in the Foundations of Natural Science Series issued by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 1997. This section's quotes stem from this particular version.
 60. Laura Dassow Walls, *The Passage to Cosmos: Alexander von Humboldt and the Shaping of America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 33–35.
 61. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. 2, 65.
 62. *Ibid.*, 67.
 63. *Ibid.*, 80.
 64. *Ibid.*, 106.
 65. *Ibid.*, 106–356.
 66. *Ibid.*, 228.
 67. *Ibid.*, 259.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. *Ibid.*, 273.
 70. *Ibid.*, 272.
 71. Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay of the Kingdom of New Spain* vol. I (London: Longman et al., 1822), 81–83.
 72. *Cosmos*, vol. II, 272–275.
 73. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 29–32.

Epilogue

1. Emilio Pastor y Santos, *Territorios de soberanía española en Oceanía* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1950). The four islands in alphabetical order are Aca, Kapingamarangi, Mapia, and Oroa.
2. Victor Prescott and Grant Boyes, "Undelimited Maritime Boundaries in the Pacific Ocean Excluding the Asian Rim," *Maritime Briefing* 2 nr. 8 (2000): 33–35.
3. Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History*.
4. Report of the Naval Minister January 23, 1865, AMN, ms. 2441 doc. 29. The notion that Spanish navigators first contacted the Hawaiian Islands received ample transnational support. Alexander von Humboldt was one of the first to look into the issue, and it received monographic treatment by Swedish scholar

- E.W. Dahlgren, *The Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands* (Uppsala: Alinquest & Wiksells, 1917).
5. Justo Zaragoza, *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones australes por el general Pedro Fernandez de Quirós* 3 vols. (Madrid: Manuel G. Hernandez, 1876–1882).
 6. Don Pedro de Novo y Colson, *Viaje Político-Científico Alrededor del Mundo Por las Corbetas descubierta y Atrevida al Mando del Capitán de Navio D. Alejandro Malaspina y Don José de Bustamante y Guerra desde 1789 á 1794* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda é Hijos de Abienzo, 1885).
 7. Spate, *Paradise Found and Lost*, 177.
 8. Bronwen Douglas, "Foreign Bodies in Oceania," in Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard, eds, *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race, 1750–1940* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2008).
 9. Horacio Capel, "The Imperial Dream: Geography and Spanish Empire in the Nineteenth Century," in Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, eds, *Geography and Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 58–73.
 10. Conrad Malte-Brun, *Diccionario geográfico universal...* vol. 1. (Paris: Liberia de Mame y Delaunay-Vallee, 1828), viii.
 11. Justo Zaragoza, *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones australes* vol. 1, xxxv–xxxvi.
 12. Antonio Puig y Lucá, "Memoria acerca la consideracion y formento de las posesiones españolas en Oceanía y utilidades que pueden sacarse en éllas de los delinquentes deparatados á aquellos remotos países," BN, ms. 23096.
 13. Miguel de Rialp ed. *Geografía Universal segun los novisimos descubrimientos, tratados, balaces comerciales, census é investigaciones* vol. II (Madrid: Librería de San Martin, 1860), 272–314.
 14. A governor of Timor, [Affonso de Castro, *As Possessões Portuguezas na Oceânia* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1867)], suggested the establishment of a Portuguese Oceania to strengthen the national interest in what he deemed neglected areas of the Portuguese colonial realm. I am indebted to Ricardo Roque for bringing this important source to my attention.
 15. Rialp, *Geografía Universal*, 306.
 16. Ricardo Beltán y Rózpide, *La Polinesia: Descubrimiento, reseña, descripción geográfica, clima... y consideraciones acerca de la importancia y porvenir comercial y político de dichas islas* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1884).
 17. Ricardo Beltán y Rózpide, *La Polinesia*; see also his *Descubrimiento de la Oceanía por los Españoles* (Madrid: Ateneo, 1892), 5.
 18. Javier Morillo-Alicea, "Uncharted Landscapes of 'Latin America': The Philippines in the Spanish Imperial Archipelago," in Christopher Schmidt-Nowara and John M. Nieto-Phillips, eds, *Interpreting Spanish Colonialism: Empires, Nations, and Legends* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 25–53.
 19. AHN, Section Ultramar, Filipinas, Legajo 5854, Islas Marianas. Luis Lopez Ballesteros Memoria sobre las Islas Marianas, 133 fol. 14 December 1828.
 20. On the relationship between steamships and canals, consult Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
 21. AHN, Section Ultramar, Filipinas Legajo 5854, Islas Marianas Session del December 9, 1852.

22. Javier Morillo-Alicea, "‘Aquel labirinto de oficinas:’ Ways of Knowing in Late Nineteenth-Century Spain," in Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero, eds, *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 111–140.
23. For an overview of foreign contact with the Caroline Islands, consult Francis X. Hezel, S. J., *The First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Pre-Colonial Days, 1521–1885* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1983).
24. Ricardo Beltán y Rózpide, *La Polinesia* and his "Descubrimiento de la Oceanía."
25. David Hanlon, "Micronesia: Writing and Rewriting the Histories of a Nonentity," *Pacific Studies* 12 (1989): 1–21; and his "'The Sea of Little Islands:’ Examining the Place of Micronesia in ‘Our Sea of Islands,’" *The Contemporary Pacific* 21 (2009): 91–110.
26. Hezel, *First Taint*, 306–313.
27. Francisco Coello, *La conferencia de Berlín y la cuestión de las Carolinas* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1885); Manuel Escudé y Bartolí, *Las Carolinas: Descripción geográfica y estatística* (Barcelona: Cortes, 1885); V. Muñoz Barreda, *La Micronesia española ó los archipiélagos de Marianas, Palaos, y Carolinas* (Manila: Amigos del País, 1894).
28. Schmidt-Nowara, *The Conquest of History*, 35–36.
29. Juan Gualberto Gómez, *Las Islas Carolinas y las Marianas* (Madrid: Imprenta San José, 1885).
30. *Ibid.*, 32. Ironically, the Afro-Cuban writer, while supporting the expansion of Spanish colonialism in the Pacific, actively supported Cuban independence from Spain.
31. Rainer F. Buschmann, Edward Slack Jr., and James Tueller in their *Navigating the Spanish Lake: The Pacific in the Iberian World, 1521–1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014) refer to this incomplete process of cultural and racial miscegenation as "archipelagic Hispanization."
32. David Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1988).
33. Francis X. Hezel, S. J., *Strangers in their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1995), 3–95.
34. See, for instance, Alda Blanco, "Memory-Work and Empire: Madrid’s Philippines Exhibition (1887)," *Journal of Romance Studies* 5 (2005): 53–63.
35. On the importance of Adolf Bastian for the study of Oceania, consult Rainer F. Buschmann, *Anthropology’s Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea, 1870–1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009).
36. Adolf Bastian, *Die mikronesischen Colonien aus ethnologischen Gesichtspunkten* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co, 1899).
37. Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide, *La geografía en 1898 y estado geográfico-político del mundo en 1899* (Madrid: Fortanet, 1900). The quote stems from page 18.
38. *Ibid.*, 5–30.

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Index

- Abbé* Chappe, 67
Abbé Raynal, 114–115, 170, 201
Acosta, José de, 28
Act Of Longitude, 49
Afrancesado, 176, 183–184
Africa, 220, 228
Ahutoru, 127, 136
Alexander the Great, 208
Alexander XI, 17, 29
Alsedo y Herrera, Dionisio, 63
Amat, Manuel de, 110, 117–123, 139
 map of, 120
American Revolutionary War, 106,
 124, 128
Anson, George, 21, 36–37, 57, 63–64
 A Voyage round the World, 84,
 236–237n. 41
Archive of the Indies, 119, 127, 128,
 167, 177, 180, 197
Arctic Ocean, 172
Arias, Juan Luis de, 29
Armada del Mar del Sur, 117
Atlantic World, 9
Australia, 12, 21, 37, 77, 129, 150,
 165, 217, 220
 British settlement in, 157, 214, 220
Ayala, Manuel Santiago de, 93–94
- Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 6, 17
Banks, Joseph, 69, 79, 99, 102, 121
Barker, George, 65
Barreto, Isabel, 21
Bastian, Adolf, 222
Baudin, Nicolas, 188–189, 191, 192,
 261n. 3
Bauzá, Felipe, 161
Bellin, Nicolas, 124, 131, 132, 163
Beltrán y Rózpide, Ricardo, 217,
 222–223
Berlin Congress, 220
Berthoud, Ferdinand, 51, 53–54
biogeography, 196–197
Bismark, Otto von, 220
- Black Legend, 40–41, 115, 180, 205,
 222, 233n. 88
Boenechea, Domingo, 121, 136
Bonaparte, Joseph, 176
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 169, 183, 262n.
 13
Bonpland, Aimé, 11, 189
botany, 69–72
Bougainville, Louis Antoine de, 15,
 47, 59, 66, 94, 95–98, 110, 191,
 245n. 58
 Voyage atour du monde, 96–98
Bourguignon d'Anville, Jean Baptiste,
 73
Brosses, Charles de, 4, 38–40, 41, 42, 44,
 48, 83, 84, 87, 102, 118, 148, 215
Buache de Neuville, Phillipe, 167,
 178–179
Bucareli y Ursúa, Antonio de, 74
Buen Fin, voyage of, 126
Byron, John, 44, 59, 64, 85, 87, 118,
 242–243n. 20
 account of circumnavigation, 65,
 85–87, 243–244n. 37
- Caldas, Francisco José de, 196–197
California, 67–68, 74, 86, 106–107,
 159, 180, 182
Callicum, 158
Campbell, John, 37–38
Cape Horn, 21, 33–34, 36, 51, 58, 61,
 113, 117, 162, 173
Cape of Good Hope, 61, 107, 126,
 127, 129, 131, 193, 251n. 53
Carlist Wars, 213
Caroline Islands, 12, 33, 217, 219,
 221, 222
Carteret, Philip, 67, 94
cartography
 Dutch, 36
 geohistorical, *see* historical-critical
 historical-critical, 73, 154, 160
 knowledge of, 18–19

- Casa de Contratación*, 18
 Chamorro, 32
 Charles II, 33
 Charles III, 9, 71, 95, 157
 Charles IV, 9, 157, 158, 170, 176
 Charles V, 17
 Chile, 118
 Chiloe, 117
 Chimborazo, 196
 chronometer, 51–55, 160
 Churruca, Cosme Damían, 169, 174, 259n. 65
 Claret de Fleurieu, Charles, 4, 53–54, 180–183, 184–185, 197–198, 236n. 29
 Clerke, Charles, 65, 85, 242n. 18
 Coello, Francisco, 220
 Columbus, Christopher, 15, 17, 26, 28, 90, 174, 181, 185, 187, 208–209, 217, 259n. 75
 Commerson, Philibert, 96, 191
 Cook, James, 1, 10, 15, 24, 44, 48, 52–53, 67, 68, 75, 79–80, 94, 98–110, 111, 115–116, 119, 142–143, 175, 190, 198, 199, 208, 214, 215, 216
 Spanish view of his death, 107, 148–149
 Council of Indies, 19, 27, 29, 31–32, 35, 128
 Count of Aranda, 149
 Count of Floridablanca, 157, 158
 Count of Fuentes, 96–98
 Count of La Pérouse, 4, 15, 123–124
 in Chile, 138–139
 in Philippines, 123–124
 vanishing at Vanikoro, 123
 Count of Tepa, 128
 Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, Juan de la, 73–77, 92, 160
 Cuba, 218

 Dalrymple, Alexander, 41–45, 101, 121
 Dampier, William, 83, 117
 Darwin, Charles, 207
 Davis, Edward, 117, 119
 discovery, 4–5
 continuity in the business of, 6, 172–173, 175, 181, 210
 as “imaginary wealth,” 5
 Domeny de Renzi, Gregorie-Louis, 219
 Doz, Vicente, 67–114
 Drake, Francis, 21, 88, 117, 175
 Duke of Almodovar, 114–116, 137–138
 Duke of Choiseul, 97
 Dumont d’Urville, Jules, 200–201, 215–216, 219
 Dutch East India Company (VOC), 35

 Earl of Sandwich, 106–107
 Easter Island (Rapa Nui), 119, 123, 154–155, 194
 El Cano, Juan Sebastian, 17
 Espinosa y Tello, José, 155–156, 168, 176, 184, 197–199
 Espiritu Santo, Island of, 21, 94
 Estala, Pedro, 145–153
 on British violence, 148
 on Castilian language, 147
 German translation of, 152–153
 ethnography, 133–153
 and missionaries, 134–135
 seaborne, 4, 11
 Spanish critique of, 135, 137–138, 143–145

 Falkland Islands, 47, 50, 56–58, 59–62, 97, 117–118, 245n. 62
 Family Compact, 95, 123, 157
 Farron, Peter, 65
 Fernández de Navarrete, Martín, 11, 161, 167, 168, 176, 177–187, 197, 201, 216, 259n. 73
 compared to Cook, 177
 conflict with Vargas Ponce, 177
 critical-historical method, 179, 186
 Forster, Georg, 11, 69, 79–80, 102–104, 143, 150–151, 190, 193
 Forster, Johann Reinhold, 69, 79–80, 96, 102, 143
 Franco, Francisco, 212
 Franklin, Benjamin, 106, 247n. 100
 Freiherr von Nordenflycht, Fürchtegott Leberecht, 193, 262n. 19

- French Polynesia, 220
 French Revolution, 149, 157, 162, 178
 Fresen, Francisco de, 138
- Gálvez, José de, 73–74
Gazeta de Madrid, 243n. 22
 geopolitical rivalry, 49
 geo-strategic expeditions, 117–118, 119
 German merchants, 219
 Godoy, Manuel de, 146, 155, 157, 169, 176
 Gómez Ortega, Casimiro, 71, 72, 92, 244n. 48
- Grotius, Hugo, 55–56
 Gualberto Gómez, Juan, 221
 Guam, 31–32, 127, 221, 234n. 9
- Hakluyt, Richard, 83
 Harrison, John, 48, 51–53
 Havana
 British conquest of, 96, 113
 Hawaiian Islands, 107, 123, 159, 167, 215, 255, 265n. 4
 Hawkesworth, John, 44, 95, 102, 121, 172, 175, 246n. 81
 An Account of the Voyages undertaken, 99–101
- Hervás y Panduro, Lorenzo, 147, 254n. 118
- history and historiography, 115, 168–187, 201–210
- Hodges, William, 80, 103
- Humboldt, Alexander von, 11, 187, 188–211, 216
 compared to Malaspina, 192
 compared to Navarrete, 202–206, 210
 on hydrography, 197–199
 on maritime vs. terrestrial exploration, 194–195
 on oceanic discoveries, 208–209
 on the Pacific Ocean, 190–195
 on physical cosmology, 207–208
- Humboldt, Willhelm von, 202
- hydrography, 160–164
 Spanish office of, 163–164, 185
 survey of the Atlantic, 162
 survey of Magellan's Strait, 162
 survey of Mediterranean Sea, 161–162
- imperial amnesia, 10, 45, 48
 Incas, 90–91
 Indonesia, 212
 Iriarte, Bernado de, 88–92, 93–94, 158–159, 243n. 32
- Jenkins' Ear, War of, 84
 Jesuit expulsion, 96–97
 Juan Fernández Islands, 33, 57, 89, 117, 152
 Juan, Jorge, 35, 51–52, 89, 113
 judiciary corridors, 11, 160
- Kamehameha, 159
 Kant, Immanuel, 207
 Kingdom of New Spain, 2, 74–75, 124
 Kingdom of Peru, 2, 116–123, 124
 navigation in, 116–117
- knowledge
 encountered, 4–6, 10, 44, 76–77, 81–85, 94, 103–104, 118, 122, 168–169, 171–172, 179
 readers' distrust of, 82
 revealed, 4–6, 76–77, 81–85, 94, 103–104, 108–109, 129, 168–169, 171–172, 179, 213–214
 secrecy and, 25–27
- La Condamine, Charles M., 51
 Labé, Guillaume, 119–122
 Lángara y Huarte, Juan de, 53, 113, 127
- Laporte, Joseph de, 145
 Le Maire, Isaac and Jacob, 35–36
 Leo XIII, 220
Leyenda Negra, see Black Legend
 Lima
 earthquake in, 117
 Tahitians in, 136–137
- Linnaeus, Carl, 2, 10, 48, 69–71
 critique of his system, 196
- Löfling, Pehr, 71
 longitude, 49–55
- López, Tomás Mauricio, 154–155
 Pacific map of, 154–155
- López Vargas y Manchuca, Tomás de, 73–77, 154, 160
- Lord Nelson, 176
 Louis XVI, 123, 157

- Magellan, Ferdinand, 6, 9, 17, 49, 65, 175
- Mai, 136, 149–150
- Malaspina, Alejandro, 11, 54, 123, 127, 157, 160, 161, 164–169, 178, 179, 191–192, 203, 215
 compared to Cook, 165–166
 neglect of Pacific Islands, 165–166
 political axioms, 165, 167–168
 political-scientific mission, 167
 proposed publications, 167–168
- Maldonado, Lorenzo Ferrer, 167, 178–179, 259n. 79
- Malte-Brun, Conrad, 215, 216, 217
- Maluku, 17
- Malvinas*, *see* Falkland Islands
- Manila, 19, 47, 130–131
 British invasion of, 33, 41, 47, 59, 62, 96, 113, 125, 128
 Galleon trade, 7, 8, 19, 32, 34, 125–126, 214, 227n. 27, 229n. 18
- Maori, 118, 127, 149
- Mapuche Indians, 116
- Mar del Norte*, 17
- Mar del Sur*, 6, 17
- Mariana Islands, 2, 31–32, 217, 219, 221
 as a separate administrative unit, 218–219
- Marion du Fresne, Marc Joseph, 127
- maritime law, 55–68
- Marquesas Islands, 20, 154–155
- Marquis of Ensenada, 112
- Marquis of Grimaldi, 61, 66–67, 74–76, 89, 91, 96–98
- Martínez, Estéban José, 158–159
- Maskelyne, Nevil, 51, 235n. 23
- Mazarredo, José, 104, 127, 162–163, 169, 176, 183
- Melanesia, 201, 216, 217
- Memije, Vicente de, 33
- Mendaña de Neira, Álvaro de, 20, 49, 87, 92
- Mendoza y Rios, José, 170
- Mentelle, Edme, 215
- Merchant, Etienne, 180
- Micronesia, 201, 216, 217
 Spanish, 220
 as trust territory, 212
- Miranda, Arias, 219
- Mourelle de la Rúa, Francisco, 124, 130–133
- Moya, Alexandro, 149
- Munilla, Martín, 29
- Muñoz, Ignacio, 31
- Muñoz, Juan Bautista, 128–130, 167, 177, 197, 203
- Muñoz y San Clemente, Francisco, 157
- Mútis, José Celestino, 72, 85, 192
- Naguinodi, 118
- Napoleonic invasion of Spain, 157, 176, 185, 213
- New Guinea, 21, 30, 36, 105, 126, 129, 131, 209
- New Hebrides, 94, 102, 123, 129, 247n. 85
- New Holland, *see* Australia
- New Ireland, 36, 131
- New Zealand, 16, 118, 127, 129
- Nootka crisis, 77, 157–159, 241n. 1
- Northwest Passage, 4, 106, 115–116, 131, 167, 178–179
- Novo y Colson, Pedro, 215
- Oceanica, 215
- Oceania
 Portuguese, 266n. 14
 Spanish, 217
- O’Higgins, Ambrosio, 138–139
- Oviedo, Fernandez de, 30
- Pacific Northwest, 134, 214
 ethnographic objects from, 135
 Russian perceived encroachment on, 73–74, 75, 106, 115
 Spanish expeditions to, 74–75, 130–131, 157–159, 167, 180–183
- Pacific Ocean
 Austronesian exploration of, 16
 compared to Atlantic and Indian Ocean, 15–16
 craze for, 2
 dual exploration, 15–18
 eighteenth-Century “New World”, 2
 global dimensions of, 1
 “hidden,” 7
 tyranny of distance, 16

- Padrón real*, 18
 Panama Canal, 129, 218, 219, 221
 Pastor y Santos, Emilio, 212, 223
 Patagonian Giants, 47, 65–66, 239n. 75
 Philip II, 49, 87
 Philip III, 13, 24, 27, 29, 49
 Philip IV, 29
 Philip V, 9
 Philippine Islands, 2, 7, 8, 19, 21, 31, 33, 42, 60, 66, 123–133, 165, 166, 193, 214, 217, 218, 221, 222, 234n. 9
 sailing directions to, 126–127
 Phipps, Constantine, 172
 Pinelo, Antonio Leon, 197
 Pitt the Younger, William, 158
 “planetary consciousness,” 2, 47
 Pohnpei, 221
 Polynesia, 38, 201, 216, 215, 217
 Prevost, Antoine François, 87
 Prince of Masserano, 46–47, 52–53, 59–61, 66–67, 69–70, 75, 79–80, 86–88, 91, 104, 106–107
 print capitalism, 5–6
 Puerto Rico, 218
 Puig y Lucá, Antonio, 216–217
- Queen Isabella, 217
 Quimper, Manuel, 159
 Quirós, Pedro Fernández, 9, 13–14, 20, 24–25, 28, 43, 49, 87, 92, 93–95, 150–151, 209, 215, 230n. 33
 Eighth Memorial, 24–27, 28, 33, 35
- ‘race’
 in Estala, 150–151
 in Humboldt, 199–201
 in Spanish Empire, 220–221
 Rialp, Manuel de, 217
 Robertson, William, 170, 201
 Rodríguez, Máximo, 110–111, 139–145, 194, 254n. 104
 Roggeveen, Jacob, 36, 120
 Royal Academy of History, 70, 174, 176, 185
 Royal Botanical Garden, 71
 Royal Philippine Society, 125–126
- St. Jean Baptiste*, voyage of, 118–120
 Salazar y Salazar, Luis, 184–185
 San Blas, 74, 130–131
 San Vitores, Diego Luis, 31–32
 Santa Cruz Islands, 20
 Sarmiento de Gambóa, Pedro, 88–91
 Schouten, Willem, 35–36
 scientific curiosity, 65–68
 as a hallmark of civilization, 66
 Seixas y Lovera, Francisco de, 34
 Selden, John, 56
 Seven Years’ War, 43, 59–60, 70, 73, 85, 95–96, 112, 197
 Silva, Juan de, 29
 Solander, Daniel, 69, 99, 121
 Solomon Islands, 20, 31, 32, 47, 49, 66, 68, 70, 88, 92, 94, 114, 118, 123, 129, 130, 131, 235n. 10
 Soto, Domingo de, 28
 Southern Unknown Continent, *see* *Terra Australis Incognita*
 Spanish colonial justification, 220–222
 Spanish critical emulation, 114–115
 Spanish Lake, 1, 7, 18
 imagined, 8
 literal, 8
 Spanish navy, 112–114
 Splendid Little War, 221
 Strait of Magellan, 61, 88, 90–91, 129, 163, 171–173
 Surville, Jean de, 118
Sutil and *Mexicana*, voyage of, 168, 181
- Tahiti/Tahitians, 65, 68, 88, 96–97, 113, 121–123, 139–145, 190, 191, 193, 194, 209
 taio relationship in, 140–141
 umete (artifact), 141, 253n. 99 and 101
 Tasman, Abel, 36
 Tayana, 159
Terra Australis Incognita, 4, 18, 19, 21, 30–35, 115–116
 equilibrium theory and, 18, 38
 thalassocracy, 55
 Tofiño de San Miguel, Vicente, 160, 170, 174, 177

- Tongan Islands, 131, 166–167
tornaviaje, 17, 125
 Torres, Luis Vaez, 21
 Trafalgar, 176
 Treaty of
 Aix-la-Chappelle, 58
 Paris, 160
 Tordesillas, 17, 28, 55, 61, 74, 116,
 127, 158
 Utrecht, 47, 55–60, 72
 Westfalia, 72, 127
 Zaragoza, 17, 116, 158
 Tupaia, 136, 149
- Ulloa, Antonio, 35, 51
 United States of America, 212
 Urban VIII, 29
 Urdaneta, Andrés de, 19, 125
- Valdés, Antonio, 160, 177–178, 179
- Vancouver, George, 168, 198, 199
 Vargas Ponce, Joseph, 168–169,
 170–177, 197, 201, 216,
 258n. 51
 Velasco, Juan López de, 19
 Venus, passage through the disc of the
 Sun, 43–44, 67–68
 “vertical archipelago”, 197
 Vitoria, Francisco de, 28, 55
- Waldseemüller, Martin, 17
 Wallis, Samuel, 44, 64, 68, 110, 121
 Wendlingen, Johannes, 34
- Yap, 220, 221
- Zalvide, Manuel de, 62
 Zaragoza y Cucala, Justo, 215
 Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga),
 125