

Memoirs of the Queensland Museum | **culture**

Volume 9

**Pandora Project Stage 2:  
four more seasons of excavation  
at the Pandora historic  
shipwreck**

by Peter Gesner

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# CHAPTER 4

## HMS PANDORA'S LOGBOOK (1790-1792) ADM. MS180

The *Pandora's* logbook contains eyewitness observations and remarks on the voyage around the world. It is now held in a series of Royal Navy ship's logbooks at the Royal Naval Museum in Portsmouth in the UK. Accessioned as Admiralty MS 180, it also contains Captain Edward Edwards' papers generated during or after the voyage.

### TRANSCRIBING AND ANNOTATING THE LOGBOOK

The logbook of the *Pandora* has been transcribed to make the content more accessible for both this investigation and other researchers. The logbook was partially

transcribed to 2 September 1791 by Ron Coleman; transcripts of the logbook from 3 September 1791 onwards are by Peter Gesner. Comments and additions in the footnote from other sources have been compiled by Peter Gesner. Information regarding the crew was extracted from the *Pandora's* pay book and muster book (respectively TNA: ADM. 35/1360 and ADM.36/11136).

Observations relative to daily weather and wind conditions, ship's speed, positions fixed, courses sailed etc (as illustrated in figure 14 and table 6 below) have not been transcribed, with the exception of observations at the time of the *Pandora's* wrecking.

**Table 6: Recordings and observation used in HMS *Pandora's* logbook.**

1st column	2nd column	3rd column	4th column	5th column	6th column
H (our)	K(nots)	F(athoms)	Course	Wind	'Remarks'
hours [starting at Noon (meridian)] 1st set of 12 are the hours PM,  2nd 12 are the hours AM	vessel speed (in knots)	Number of fathoms between the knots on the log line (48 feet between) So, if 4, then 4 x 6= 24 feet; given as a fraction of 1 knot: 4 F = ½ K	course steered	wind direction	

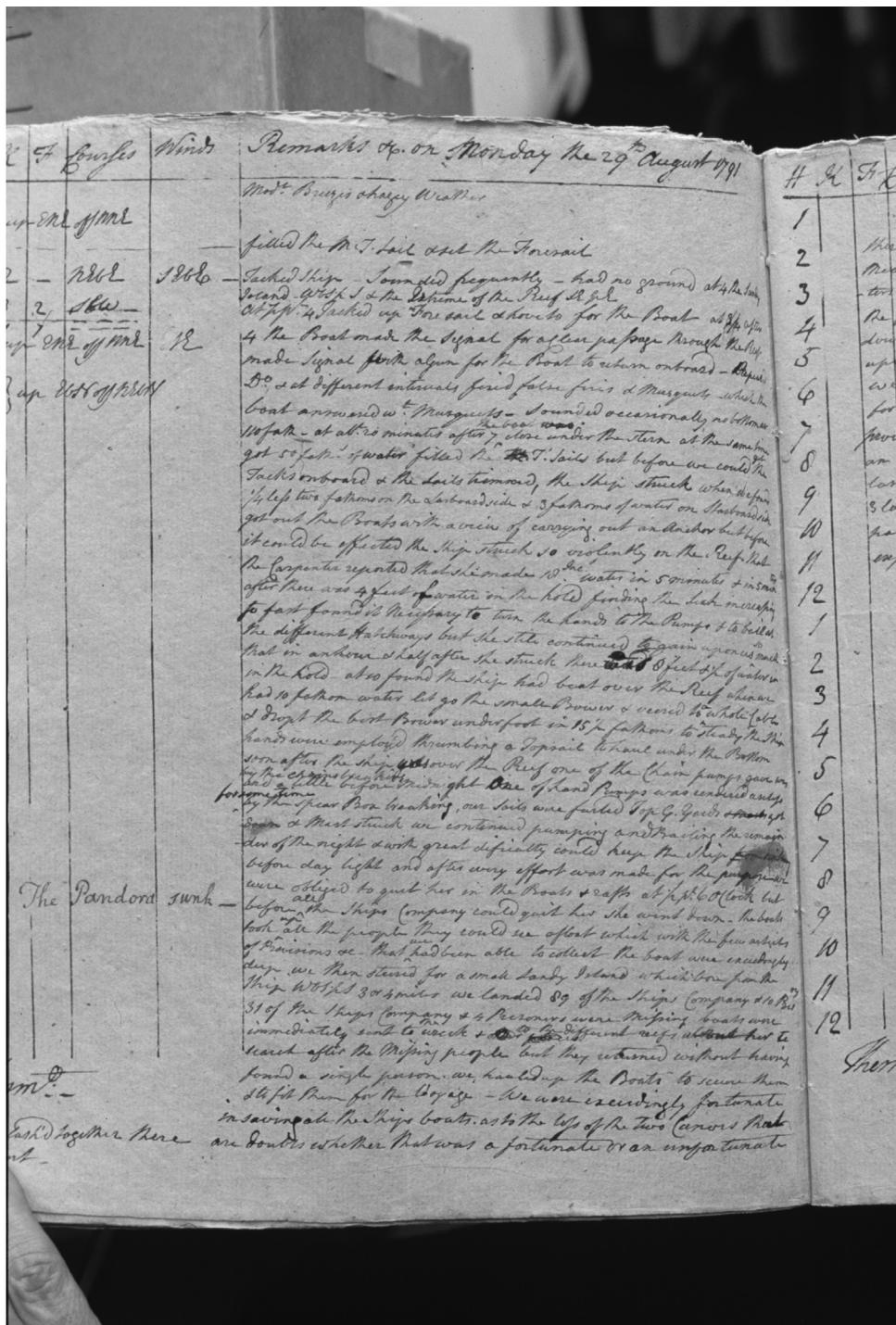


FIG. 14. A typical page from HMS Pandora's 'log' - 29 August 1791 (Adm. MS 180).

The log can be divided into specific periods at places and during events which mark milestones in the voyage. These are summarised under headings:

10 August to 3 October 1790	Remarks at Chatham
4 October to 16 October 1790	Remarks underway to Spithead
17 October to 1 November 1790	Remarks at Spithead
2 November to 7 November 1790	Remarks at Jack-in-the-Basket
8 November to 22 November 1790	Remarks underway to Tenerife
23 November to 25 November 1790	Remarks at Tenerife
26 November to 30 December 1790	Remarks underway to Rio de Janeiro
31 December to 6 January 1791	Remarks at Rio de Janeiro
7 January to 23 March 1791	Remarks underway to Tahiti (Matavai Bay)
24 March to 8 May 1791	Remarks at Matavai Bay
9 May to 28 July 1791	Remarks underway to Anamooka
29 July to 2 August 1791	Remarks at Anamooka
3 August to 29 August 1791	Remarks underway to Endeavour Strait
30 August to 1 September 1791	Remarks on Escape Cay
2 September to 16 September 1791	Remarks in the pinnace (to Timor)
18 September to 5 October 1791	Remarks at Timor Coupang
6 October to 2 November 1791	Remarks on the <i>Rembang</i> (to Batavia)

Entries relating to events after the survivors' arrival at Batavia on 7 Nov 1791 were summarised probably by Edwards under a single entry on a separate page, starting on 19 Nov 1791.

Because of the naval practice of starting the date at noon, the dates relate to observations and events taking place on the afternoon, evening and night of one day and the morning of the following day (until noon).

For instance, the 'remarks' for 29 Aug 1791, cover the afternoon, evening and night of the day the *Pandora* ran aground and the morning (the following day) of her sinking. Thus, from the 'remarks' column (6th column) it is apparent that the blue yawl was sent out to reconnoitre at 11 am (28 Aug) and that it was sighted again later the same day during the afternoon – at approx 4.30 pm (29 Aug) – flying the agreed signal that a relatively safe and navigable channel had been found; Capt. Edwards

then ordered the yawl back to the ship for the night. But the *Pandora* ran aground (at approximately 7.20pm) in the evening while manoeuvring to take the yawl back on board; the vessel sank early the following morning at approximately 6.30 am (still considered 29 Aug. in spite of the dawning of another a day).

Another example are the remarks for 23 and 24 March 1791 describing the caulking of the stateroom in the afternoon of the day before Joseph Coleman, Peter Heywood, George Stewart and Richard Skinner came on board; the first three apparently came on board in the morning and Skinner came on board a few hours later in the mid-afternoon; he is therefore recorded as coming on board on 24 March, while Coleman, Heywood and Stewart are recorded coming on board on 23 March. However, they all came on board during the same day, i.e. the same period of daylight hours.

## HMS PANDORA'S LOGBOOK (1790 – 1792) – TRANSCRIBED WITH ANNOTATIONS

AUGUST 10 – OCTOBER 3, 1790:  
REMARKS AT CHATHAM

**Tuesday 10 [August 1790]**

At 4 pm went onboard His Majesty's Ship *Pandora*<sup>1</sup> lying off the New Stairs<sup>2</sup> at Chatham.

Took command of her and hoisted the pendant.<sup>3</sup> My commission bearing date 6th August 1790. Found her rigging by contractor riggers and several artificers onboard fitting the ship for Channel Service.

**Wednesday 11 - PM**

Contracting riggers and artificers employed as yesterday. AM – rec'd a letter from Mr Stephens Secretary of the Admiralty directing me to attend Lord Chatham at the Admiralty without loss of time & informing me that a week's leave of absence was directed to be given me for that purpose.<sup>4</sup>

**Thursday 12**

Artificers and contracting riggers employed

as before. Rec'd onboard 560 lbs bread, 1 ton of beer<sup>5</sup>, 44 double pieces of beef and 56 double pieces of pork, 70 lb of butter, 163 lb of cheese & 8 gallons of oatmeal & 121 lb of fresh beef.

**Friday 13**

Contracting riggers and artificers employed as before. Mr Hamilton the Surgeon appeared onboard<sup>6,7</sup>.

**Saturday 14**

Mr Larken [sic] the Lieutenant made his appearance onboard<sup>8</sup>. The contracting riggers finished rigging the ship, artificers<sup>9</sup> employed as before.

**Sunday 15<sup>10</sup>**

Employed cleaning the ship. Rec'd onboard 144 lb of fresh beef.

**Monday 16**

Artificers employed in sundry works, extra men from the yard got out 70 tons of shingle<sup>11</sup> ballast, it being all that was onboard.

**Tuesday 17**

Employed in cleaning and scraping the ship between decks and cleaning the hold ready to receive coals onboard with which the ship was ordered to be ballasted.

This day I returned to the ship from the Admiralty being directed to fit the ship for a South Sea Voyage.<sup>12</sup>

1 Captain Edwards appears with seven servants and his clerk (Edmonds); The *Pandora*'s five standing officers also 'appeared' on this day: Cunningham (bosun) Mahoney (cook) Bentham (purser) Packer (gunner) and Montgomery (carpenter) - each with their own servant. However, all servants were later discharged by Admiralty order on 25 Oct. The standing officers had likely been on board for some considerable time as the so-called 'standing officers' were assigned to every ship 'in ordinary'; however, for the purposes of the administration and calculation of their wages on active duty rather than duty in ordinary (half pay) they were deemed to have 'appeared' on the day the ship came into commission.

2 The 'New Stairs' are located in the Royal Dockyard compound at Chatham. The *Pandora* was being re-fitted for Channel service, having lain 'in ordinary' (i.e. 'mothballed') in the Medway since 1783.

3 'Hoisted pendant': this refers to the so-called commissioning pendant – a long white pendant with a red cross flown at the masthead, signifying that the vessel was in commission, i.e. commanded by a commissioned officer (in this case Captain Edwards).

4 Captain Edwards was summoned to The 'Admiralty' (Ripley Bldg.) in London for a briefing on new orders (see also Tue 17 Aug). 'Lord Chatham' was John Pitt (William Pitt the Elder's son, William Pitt the Younger's elder brother), 2nd Earl of Chatham, 1st Admiralty Lord (July 1788-Dec 1794).

5 1 'ton beer' equals 216 gallons, (presumably ale gallons) probably delivered in 3 puncheons (3 x 72 gallons) or six hogsheads (6 x 54 gallons).

6 Surgeon Geo. Hamilton appears, with Geo. Augustus H. (his son or nephew?) as a servant who was discharged on 25 Oct 1790.

7 'appeared' – made his appearance, physically present on board. The day when calculation of wages was started.

8 First Lieutenant Larkan appears with 3 servants (all 3 boys later discharged by Admiralty order).

9 'Artificers': yard carpenters working about the ship, e.g. making changes to the internal divisions, bulkheads etc. to suit stowage and accommodation of crew and stores.

10 William and Robert Farrens and Wm. Ingoldsby appear.

11 'Shingle' – gravel or pebble ballast.

12 The written orders from the Admiralty dd. 25 Oct 1790 were eventually delivered on 28 Oct 1790 (Refer Admiralty's orders for Captain Edwards (*Pandora*), PRO ADM/2/120:478-80) (see Edwards' orders Appendix 3).

**Wednesday 18**

Employed in cleaning the ship.

**Thursday 19**

Employed in stowing<sup>13</sup> the iron ballast in the Iron ballast main hold, artificers employed on sundry works.

**Friday 20**

PM Employed as before. AM 40 chaldron<sup>14</sup> of coals came alongside in a lighter – employed in getting in Coal ballast onboard – artificers taking down the bulkheads of the officers storerooms and cabins<sup>15</sup> and making sundry alterations in fitting her for the intended voyage – rec'd 176 lb of fresh beef.

**Saturday 21**

Rec'd on board 1½ ton of beer and 8 gallons of oatmeal and 1 ton of water<sup>16</sup> – got up several pigs of iron ballast<sup>17</sup> for shifting ballast<sup>18</sup> and trimming the coals in the hold – artificers employed on sundry works.<sup>19</sup>

**Sunday 22**

Employed cleaning the ship.<sup>20</sup>

**Monday 23**

A lighter came alongside with the ground tier of water<sup>21</sup>, employed in hoisting it in.

**Tuesday 24**

Employed in hoisting in water and stowing it away.<sup>22</sup>

**Wednesday 25**

Employed clearing the lighter – starting the water<sup>23</sup> and fitting Liguers<sup>24</sup> in the ground tier.

**Thursday 26<sup>25</sup>**

Finished stowing the ground tier and levelling the coals in the hold and putting the spare coals in the coal hole forward<sup>26</sup>. Rec'd onboard 2090 double pieces of beef, 2080 double pieces of pork, 135 bushels of pease, 741 gallons of oatmeal<sup>27</sup>, 962 lb of butter, 176 gallons of vinegar, 194 lb of fresh beef and 20 butts of water<sup>28</sup>.

**Friday 27**

Employed clearing the lighter of provisions and water.

**Saturday 28**

Employed as yesterday – Rec'd on board three cords<sup>29</sup> of wood and 247 lb of fresh beef, 1120 lb of bread, 70 lb of butter, and 1 hogshead of beer.

13 'Stowing iron ballast', i.e. laying iron 'pigs' on the floors (between the frames) in the main hold. (Lavery, 1987:191) – slab-shaped 'pigs' of iron.

14 1 'chaldron' of coals = 36 bushels, probably delivered in sacks or bags, possibly baskets, with 3 bushels sack/basket.

15 'Taking down bulkheads etc', i.e. partitions between (platform deck) storerooms and some (lower deck) cabins were removed and/or adapted to suit stowage of cargo (provisions etc) This has been confirmed by archaeological excavation: all but the aft two cabins on the starboard side of the lower deck were apparently taken down; as well as the bulkhead between the captain's and lieutenants' store rooms on the platform deck (see Chapter 5).

16 1 'ton water' probably also in 3 puncheons or 6 Hogsheads, as for beer.

17 A 'pig of iron' was a rectangular block or slab of iron, of various sizes, weighing up to approximately 320 lbs (144kg); pigs were placed at either side of the keelson in even distribution.

18 'Shifting' ballast meant getting the trim of the vessel right; i.e. ensuring that the vessel's centre of gravity remained low and that she lay evenly in the water, indicated by a proper balance between depth in the stern and depth in the bow.

19 2 volunteers appear (Joseph George and Thomas Osborne).

20 George Reynolds, James Cullimore, John Germain, Philip Stapleton and William Swan appear.

21 'ground tier', i.e. the bottom tier of casks in the main hold.

22 'stowing' entailed ensuring that the casks were laid down in the hold with the 'bung up'; the largest size casks (i.e. leaguers, pipes, butts and puncheons) were usually stowed on their sides in the main hold; whereas the smaller size casks (i.e. hogsheads, barrels, firkins etc) were stowed 'standing' on decks.

23 'Starting the water' – opening the casks, i.e. tapping into the casks; possibly to check its quality.

24 'Fitting liguers' – water leaguers were the largest size casks; this would have involved making formed chocks and wedges to ensure that the casks did not shift or roll around during the voyage. A water leaguer was 4ft 6' in length, and 3ft at its widest diameter (Lavery, 1987:190). Its capacity was approximately 580 litres or 131 gallons. Possibly derived from the Dutch 'ligger' or 'legger' (something 'lying' down on its side).

25 George McKendrick, James Innes, John Grimwood, William Moulter, Joseph Bandy appear.

26 Coals were used for ballast instead of shingle.

27 Meat (beef and pork) had been salted to preserve it and was stored in casks. 'Fresh' beef was consumed immediately. 'Bushels of pease' and 'gallons of oatmeal' were probably also delivered in sacks or bags.

28 '20 butts water' i.e. probably 20 x 126 gallon butts.

29 'cord' of wood – a stack or bundle of wood approx. 4x4x8 ft.

**Sunday 29**<sup>30</sup>

Employed cleaning the ship.

**Monday 30**

Employed in stowing away the provisions in the main hold.

**Tuesday 31**

Employed stowing away the provisions and unrigged the mizzen mast and got it ready for getting out<sup>31</sup> – rec'd onboard 4 bales and one case of slops<sup>32</sup>.

**Wednesday 1 [September 1790]**

PM lighter came alongside with firewood, employed stowing away provisions in the main hold – the riggers came onboard from the yards, took out the mizzen mast and stepped a new one<sup>33</sup> – rec'd onboard 194 lb of fresh beef – artificers employed on sundry works.

**Thursday 2**

Employed in rigging the mizzen mast – rec'd onboard 148 lb of fresh beef, 35168 lb of bread, 1679 gallons of rum, 15568 lb of flour, 1283 lb essence of malt, 20 tons of water.

**Friday 3**

Employed clearing the lighter of Provisions and stowing them between decks – Mr Thomas Walsh the Master made his appearance on board<sup>34</sup>.

**Saturday 4**

Employed clearing the lighter and stowing away provisions and scraping the quick work<sup>35</sup>

for the painters – rec'd onboard 152 lb of fresh beef and sundry stores from the yard.<sup>36</sup>

**Sunday 5**

Employed in stowing away provisions and scraping the quick-work.

**Monday 6**

Employed as before and rec'd onboard 6 Hogsheads of beer and 5 Hogsheads of water and 448 lb of stockfish<sup>37</sup> 314 lb of fresh beef.<sup>38</sup>

**Tuesday 7**

Employed as before and blacking<sup>39</sup> the yards etc.

**Wednesday 8**<sup>40</sup>

Artificers employed on sundry works onboard and rec'd onboard sundry of the Boatswain's and Carpenter's stores.<sup>41</sup>

**Thursday 9**

Artificers employed as before – the painters painting the cabin – rec'd onboard sundry of the officers' stores<sup>42</sup> employed stowing away provisions and water.

**Friday 10**

Artificers as before – rec'd onboard 89 lb of fresh beef, 16 gallons of oatmeal and 7 puncheons of water and sundry stores from the yard – employed scraping the ship's sides etc.

30 Robinson appears.

31 'Unrigged the mizzen' – the lower section of this (aft-most) mast was to be replaced (i.e. 'got out'); 'getting ready', i.e. undoing the shrouds and stays that kept the mast upright.

32 'Slops', seamen's clothing, supplied from the ship's stores to crew who were short of basic items of clothing; charged against their pay.

33 'stepping' a mast - the old (lower) mizzen mast was replaced by erecting a new section, i.e. its bottom end slotted into the mast step in the keelson.

34 Henry Reynolds (cooper), William Perryman and Thomas Walsh appeared. Perryman was the first of 27 pressed men to be assigned to the *Pandora*; 20% of the crew was pressed (see table 3).

35 'quick-work' i.e. the bulwarks (ship's sides between gun ports /at gun port level).

36 Farrell appeared.

37 stockfish', smoked cod, packed in casks (see 4 Dec 1790).

38 James Laysell, Martin Maysoner (ex HMS *Sandwich*) Charles Bell, William Reeve, William Pudney, William Haythorne, John Davis, John Sival appeared.

39 'blacking' – applying hot diluted tar, used as a preservative against the action of salt water.

40 Steward, Smith, Eglington, Houston, Murray, Gray, Machie, Fea, Miller, Scott (ex HMS *David*) Henry, Hanzell, Carrol, Powell, Gordon (volunteers) appeared

41 'Boatswain's and carpenter's stores': given that the bosun was responsible for the rigging and the carpenter for the hull and other wooden fittings, they required a diverse range of materials and specialised tools; each was assigned special spaces on the platform deck in the forward hold (Lavery 1987:193).

42 'Officers' stores', i.e. the commissioned officers' stores, usually refers to their private stocks of provisions, especially wines and spirits as well as a variety of preserved (pickled) foodstuffs, but probably also their professional equipment (instruments etc) which they owned privately.

**Saturday 11**

Got up the mizzen topmast and yard – rec'd on board 15 beds and sundry of the officers stores and also 2240 lb of bread, 1677 gallons of rum, 7484 lb of flour, 168lb of suet 739 lb of (?), 63 bushels of pease, 474 gallons of oatmeal, 1137 lb of butter, 322 lb of cheese, 134½ gallons of oyl<sup>43</sup>, 4714 lbs of molasses 1482 lb of sugar<sup>44</sup>, 9½ quarters of wheat, 141 lb of mustard, 7 bushels of white & 7 of bay salt and 10 tons of water.

**Sunday 12**

Employed cleaning the ship and rec'd on board 60 bushels of malt and 163 lb of hops.

**Monday 13**

Employed in getting onboard the provisions and stowing it away – rec'd onboard sundry of the officers stores – painters painting the ship and artificers employed on sundry work onboard.

**Tuesday 14<sup>45</sup>**

Rec'd onboard ½ ton of beer<sup>46</sup> and 304 lb of fresh beef – artificers and ships' company employed as before.

**Wednesday 15<sup>47</sup>**

Employed as before.

**Thursday 16<sup>48</sup>**

Employed in staying the lower masts and setting up the rigging fore and aft.

**Friday 17<sup>49</sup>**

Got up the topmast and lower yard and fidded the TG (top gallant) mast and set up topmast and TG rigging – rec'd onboard one ton of beer, 222 lb of fresh beef, 8 gallons of oatmeal and 170 lb of cheese.

43 134½ gallons of 'oyl' – olive oil in large earthenware jars (refer artefact MA8719 and Chapters 6 and 7)

44 1482 lb of sugar – according to the surgeon this was the first naval voyage where sugar was issued as part of the ship's provisions (Hamilton 1793:9-10).

45 Thompson, (volunteer) appeared.

46 '½ ton of beer', i.e. probably 2 x hogsheads.

47 George Passmore appears.

48 Andrews, Doughty, Clements, Hodges, Sullivan, Durling, Reeves (volunteers) appeared.

49 Rance, Fenwick, Wells, Johnson, Grant-Matson (volunteers) appeared.

**Saturday 18**

Got onboard 4 bower cables<sup>50</sup>, 2 coasting cables and sundry of the boatswain's and carpenter's stores – rec'd 309 gallons of wine, 8 tons of sour kroust, 350 lb of cocoa and 380 pots of essence of spruce.

**Sunday 19**

Employed in cleaning the ship.

**Monday 20**

Employed in stowing away provisions – rec'd 1 ton of beer and 463 lb of fresh beef.

**Tuesday 21<sup>51</sup>**

Got onboard 3 bower cables, 5 hawsers<sup>52</sup> and other boatswain's and carpenter's stores – artificers employed as before.

**Wednesday 22**

Getting onboard boatswain's and carpenter's stores and stowing between decks – Got onboard 4 bower anchors.

**Thursday 23**

Getting onboard the boatswain and carpenter's stores and stowing away – artificers as before.

**Friday 24**

Got onboard the spare topmast and yards etc. employed lashing and securing the same – artificers as before.

**Saturday 25<sup>53</sup>**

Variously employed – artificers and painters as before.

**Sunday 26**

Employed cleaning the ship.

**Monday 27**

Got the sail into a close lighter ready for bringing onboard – the artificers as before.

50 'cables', i.e. heavy cordage composed of nine strands [3 strands laid into 1 rope and subsequently 3 ropes twisted (left-handed) into one cable] – used for anchors.

51 Callighan, Thompson, Murphy, Good, Deneen, Swiney (Sweeney?) Wilmott, Ruffey, Connell, Jones (ex Defence), Collins, Rodrick, and Wisdom (volunteers) appeared.

52 'hawsers', as cables (9 strands) however laid right-handed. Also used for anchors.

53 Campbell (ex *Friendship*), Oliver, Varling, Curling, Loft (ex *Neptune*) appeared.

**Tuesday 28**

Got onboard the sails and bent<sup>54</sup> the three topsails and foresail – rec'd 2 tons of beer, 480 lb and 2 tons of water.

**Wednesday 29 Sept**

Bent the jibb and staysails and TG sails<sup>55</sup> and got the yards across.

**Thursday 30 Sept**

Got on board sundry of the boatswains and carpenter's stores, the pinnace and two yawls and rec'd 552lb of fresh beef and 2 cases of dried yeast – artificers as before.

**Friday 1 [October 1790]**

Bent the best and small bower cables – variously employed.

**Saturday 2**

Stayed the lower masts and set up the rigging fore and aft.

**Sunday 3**

Flected<sup>56</sup> the main rigging and set it up – AM cleaning the ship.

**OCTOBER 4 – OCTOBER 16, 1790:  
REMARKS UNDERWAY TO SPITHEAD**

**Monday 4**

AM a pilot came onboard to carry the ship to Blackstakes but the wind shifting to the E. prevented him from moving the ship – rec'd 519 lb of fresh beef.

**Tuesday 5**

PM employed in getting the ship ready to go down the river – AM a pilot came onboard – at ½ past 7 slipped the bridles and made sail down the Medway.

**Wednesday 6**

At (?)PM anchored in 3 fathoms, ran out a kedje to the SE, hove and weighed the

bower – made back for Gillingham and ran alongside a lighter with moorings and lashed to her – At ½ past 7 a pilot came onboard – cast off the lashing and made sail down the river, at 4 (AM) came to anchor in 12 fathoms of water at Blackstakes, secured and moored a cable each way – came down HMS *Dictator*.<sup>57</sup>

**Thursday 7**

PM employed in sounding the cable and getting in the guns<sup>58</sup> – AM bent the mainsail and got the TG yard across – rec'd 1120 lb of bread, 4 tons of beer, 449lb of fresh beef and 6 tons of water.

**Friday 8<sup>59</sup>**

Employed in getting ready for sea – rec'd 9 men from HMS *Sandwich*<sup>60</sup> – came down the river HMS *Defence* – AM bent the steering sail and royals – rec'd onboard our powder<sup>61</sup>.

**Saturday 9**

PM employed about the rigging – AM saluted the Admiral with 13 guns – the *Defence* made the signal for a court martial – got in the longboat – carpenter employed in fitting chocks for her.

**Sunday 10<sup>62</sup>**

Employed securing the booms, carpenters fitting the boats' chocks, etc. – AM employed about the Quarter netting and rigging – loosed sails to dry – rec'd 1120 lb of bread, 2 tons of beer, 759 lb of fresh beef and 2 tons of water.

**Monday 11**

PM got the best bower cable up from between

57 HMS *Dictator* also 'came down' (stream) *Dictator* had also been laid up in ordinary.

58 Hoisting the guns in board – 20 x 6 pounder long guns and 4 x 18 pounder carronades.

59 Muster lists only 8 'prest' men ex HMS *Sandwich*: Dedworth, Milton, Carter, Cobb, Brown, Watson, Atkins and Lindsey (volunteer).

60 HMS *Sandwich* lying off Sheerness, was a so-called receiving (or holding) ship for pressed men.

61 'powder', i.e. gun powder, stored in kegs; there was probably a powder hulk moored off Blackstakes, i.e. in the Lower Medway within a mile or two of Sheerness.

62 William Kemp and James Curshod ('prest' ex HMS *Sandwich*?) appeared.

54 'bent' – to join a length of rope to another length or to an object, e.g. an anchor; thus 'bent the best and small bower cables' (1 Oct).

55 'TG sails'; top gallant sails.

56 'flected', i.e. laying out and assembling the various lengths of rope and their components (blocks etc) From the Dutch 'vlechten' – to weave (literally).

decks to clean under<sup>63</sup> it – AM got up the sheet and small bower cables for the same purpose – The Clerk of the *Checquer* came onboard and paid Bounty<sup>64</sup> to the ships company, the *Defence* made the signal for a court martial.

#### Tuesday 12

PM employed scraping and cleaning between decks – AM cleaned hawse and employed in making nippers<sup>65</sup> etc.

#### Wednesday 13<sup>66</sup>

PM bent the sheet cable<sup>67</sup> and got the anchor over the side – struck the lower yards and TG masts (strong gales & squally) – AM up lower yards and TG masts – fired a gun and made the signal for a pilot and unmoored ship – a pilot came onboard.

#### Thursday 14

At ½ past 2 PM weighed and made sail from Blackstakes for the Downs, about ½ past 7 came to anchor in 7 fathom water – veered to ½ a cable – North Foreland<sup>68</sup> light NNW dist 3 or 4 miles – at ½ past 6 AM hove short and weighed and came to sail under double reefed topsails – employed working through the Gully(?) – at ½ past 9 sprung the Crop Jack yard<sup>69</sup>, clewed up and handed the mizzen T sail – at 10 carried

away the M T sail yard in the slings – bore up for Margate Roads – got the M T sail into the top and got down the broken yard, at 11 anchored in 7 fathoms – veered to ½ a cable – North Foreland lighthouse SEbS. Margate church SbW dist off shore 3 miles – employed in fitting a M T sail and Crop Jack yard.

#### Friday 15

Got up a new Crop Jack and M T sail yard and bent the M T sail – veered away to a whole cable on the best bower – fitted TG shifting backstays set up the TM shrouds and lashed the boom – at 6 AM hove short and at 7 weighed and made sail for the Downs<sup>70</sup> – at 11 saluted Rear Admiral Sir Richard King with 13 guns – at ½ past anchored in the Downs with the best bower in 8 fathoms – veered to ½ a cable – found riding here HMS *Pomona*, *Nemesis* and *Scout* Brig – rec'd 829 lb of fresh beef.

#### Saturday 16

variously employed – rec'd 30 men from HMS *Pomona* – anchored here HM Sloop *Hound* – at 6 AM up TG yards and hove short – at 7 weighed and made sail out of the Downs in company HM Brig *Scout* – set steering sails and royals – at noon Dungeness W b S 6 or 7 miles – South Foreland<sup>71</sup> E b N½N.

### OCTOBER 17 – OCTOBER 31, 1790: REMARKS AT SPITHEAD

#### Sunday 17

(sailing) in company HMS *Nemesis* & *Hound* – Spithead at ½ past 10 saluted Admiral Lord Howe with 17 guns – at ½ past 11 anchored with the small bower in 12 fathoms water – found riding here the Grand Fleet.

#### Monday 18<sup>72</sup>

At 5 PM veered and moored a cable each way – got out the longboat – rec'd an order from the Commander in Chief to discharge

63 'Clean under cable', the coiled cables were an ideal breeding ground for vermin; ensuring that these spaces were regularly cleaned prevented the spread of diseases on board and also protected (hemp) cables from being eaten by rats.

64 Paying 'Bounty' to the ship's company i.e. the volunteers were paid their bounty monies; £3 to petty officers, £2 to Able seamen, £1 to Ordinary seamen.

65 'nippers' i.e. short lengths of rope temporarily bound to the anchor cable, attaching the cable to a 'messenger rope' looped around the capstan; because the cable was too thick, it was never wound around the capstan when being weighed (i.e. raised); usually the nippers were tied and untied by boys, who were referred to as nippers (Kemp, 1976:598).

66 Lieutenant Robert Corner + William Fox (ex *Richard*) appeared; also Henry + Nichols (ex *Polly*).

67 'bent the sheet cable', i.e. attached cable to the sheet anchor, which was subsequently slung under the cathead (along the bows).

68 North Foreland Lighthouse marks the southern entrance to the Thames estuary and warns mariners of the treacherous Margate Sands.

69 'Crop jack yard', i.e. the mizzen mast's lower yard 'carried away', a reference to the breaking of a rope or part of the rigging, masts or yards, usually as a result of strong sudden gusts of wind, which sweep the items away over board (see 18 and 27 Dec, 5 Feb).

70 'The Downs' – between Broadstairs and Dover, opposite the dangerous Goodwin Sands.

71 'South Foreland' was visible at noon, bearing E b N½N. (67½°)

72 30 men ex *Pomona* not entered; separate list signed by Edwards et al to account for their transfer to HMS *Alcides* and HMS *Edgar*.

15 seamen into HMS *Alcides* and 15 into the *Edgar* – variously employed.

#### Tuesday 19

Employed in making sennit and puddings<sup>73</sup> for the lower yards – AM loosed sails to dry – the Admiral made our signal for an officer; fluted, sheeted the forestay and set up the Fore rigging and rec'd onboard Boatswains and Gunners stores, rec'd 642 lb of fresh beef.

#### Wednesday 20

Rec'd 5 furkins<sup>74</sup> of butter, 3 cask of cheese, 12 puncheons of water and 7 puncheons of beer, returned our empty cask – employed about the rigging – AM cleaned hawse – anchored here a ship of the line.

#### Thursday 21

PM Catharpenned<sup>75</sup> & set up the Mixxen<sup>76</sup> rigging & set up the MT<sup>77</sup> mast rigging – AM set up the fore & foretop mast rigging and hauled taught & squared the ratlings<sup>78</sup> of M & M topmast shrouds – rec'd 642 lbs of fresh beef – anchored here a ship of the line and an Frigate – a Frigate and the *Hound* Sloop sailed to the westward and a Frigate to the Eastward.

#### Friday 22

PM set up the mizzen TM. rigging – employed in various tasks about the rigging – a signal was made for a Petty Officer from each ship – a Sloop anchored here from the westward – rec'd 3 coils of cordage from the yard – AM anchored here a ship of the line

73 'making sennit and puddings' – also pudd(en)ings i.e. mats of oakum to prevent chafing (e.g. around the masts at the height of the yards).

74 'Furkin' - Usually spelled 'firkin' (from the Dutch word vier, four) Thus, it equals ¼ barrel (= 9 gallons) 'cask of cheese', cask type/capacity not specified.

75 'Catharpenned', i.e. cat-harpins, lengths of rope attached to the futtock shrouds under the lower mast top (Kemp, 1976:146).

76 'Mixxen', i.e. mizzen.

77 MT mast', i.e. maintop mast.

78 'ratlings', i.e. rat lines, lengths of rope rigged across the shrouds enabling the topmast men to get aloft, the rope equivalent of rungs on a ladder.

and two Frigates – a signal was made for a Court Martial<sup>79</sup> and for weekly accounts.

#### Saturday 23

PM employed about the rigging – rec'd a new Main sail yard and Cross Jack yard and some other stores – AM employed as before.

#### Sunday 24<sup>80</sup>

PM cleaned hawse – struck TG mast – AM up TG mast & yard & loosed sails to dry – sent the longboat onshore for portable soup<sup>81</sup> – rec'd the guard from HMS *Monarch*.

#### Monday 25<sup>82</sup>

Employed about the rigging – Rear Admiral Cornish made the signal for the ships of his squadron to moor – fired 17 guns as did the rest of the fleet it being his Majesty's succession – read the Articles of War<sup>83</sup> etc. to the ships company.

#### Tuesday 26<sup>84</sup>

Rec'd 17 men from the *Royal William*<sup>85</sup> – AM sailed Rear Admiral Cornish with 6 sail of the line<sup>86</sup> – got in the longboat and employed

79 'signal made for a Court Martial'; William Bligh's trial for the loss of the *Bounty*, on board HMS *Royal William*.

80 Charles Pummel (volunteer) appeared.

81 Portable soup' i.e. a preparation of dried vegetables, compressed into tablet or slab form (delivered or kept in 'canisters' – see 30 Aug 1791). To be dissolved through boiling with water; used as an anti-scorbutic. Edwards had made special requests to the Victualling Board for this (and for other anti-scorbutic preparations, e.g. rob of lemons and 'Peruvian bark' that had been successfully used to prevent scurvy during earlier eighteenth century naval voyages to the Pacific). Captain Edwards wrote specifically to the Admiralty that surgeon Hamilton had requested these for the voyage. The Admiralty subsequently ordered the 'Sick & Hurt Board' to supply these to the *Pandora*.

82 Martin Brooks (3rd Lieutenant – to be 'superseded' by Hayward). All Edwards' servants discharged except Thomas Renouard who was re-entered as a midshipman.

83 'Articles of War' – the RN's disciplinary code, setting out what constituted infractions and the kind of punishments that could be meted out for infringements, read out on several occasions during the voyage.

84 Appearance of Dunnett, Brackie, Barker, King, Arbuthnot, Fuss, Wouldhave, Orchard, Paxton, Sprackley, Yowell, Manson, Skelton, Webber, Adams, Taylor, Pallister (pressed, ex *Royal William*) – Appeared also: midshipmen Ricketts and Pyecroft, 3rd Lt Thomas Hayward. Cunningham (the bosun's son) was re-entered as Ord.

85 The crew that came across from the *Royal William* were transferred as a result of a direct order (dd. 24 Oct 1790) from Admiral Roddam. Thos. Hayward had given testimony at Bligh's court martial.

86 '6 sail of the line', with 6 ships of the line, i.e. ships carrying > 70 guns each, which were considered powerful enough to lie in a line (single file) of battle and exchange broadsides with enemy ships of the line.

in cleaning the decks and getting ready for sea – rec'd 465 lb of fresh beef and 30 bushels of white salt.

### Wednesday 27

Employed about the rigging and drawing and knotting of yarn and making spun yarn – Sailed HMS *Niger* & HMS *Proserpine*.

### Thursday 28<sup>87</sup>

PM struck TG mast and lower yards – AM up yards and TG Mast – came in two sail of the line – read the Articles of War<sup>88</sup> and punished J. Moulter for striking his officer<sup>89</sup>. Commissioner came onboard and paid the officers 6 months advance and petty officers and seamen four months – employed in getting the ship ready for sea.

### Friday 29 Oct

Employed about the rigging and spinning spun yarn – AM deserted a Petty Officer and two seamen who had been sent onboard the Admiral to answer our signal.<sup>90, 91</sup>

### Saturday 30 Oct

Rec'd 1324 lb of fresh beef – AM unmoored ship – at ½ past 9 weighed and made sail to the westward – at noon got to the westward of Cowes – running down towards Jack in the Basket.<sup>92</sup>

### Sunday 31 Oct

(sailing)

87 Pay in advance received. NB: in the pay book these advances were entered in the 'two months' advance' column.

88 'Articles', were probably read out within 3 days of the previous reading on Monday 25th Oct. to emphasize Moulter's punishment and, presumably, also for the benefit of the members of the crew newly come on board. They would be read out on 8 subsequent occasions during the voyage.

89 First flogging.

90 'answer our signal', i.e. to receive an answer to a query signalled from the Pandora; apparently Curshod and 2 seamen were sent to the flagship in a boat and took the opportunity not to return.

91 Midshipman Curshod 'ran'.

92 Jack-in-the-Basket', a beacon in The Solent, marking the western side of the navigable entrance to the Lymington River; a red pile with a barrel top. Fishermen's wives from Lymington rowed out to this beacon to leave fresh supplies for their husbands in a basket on top of this beacon.

## NOVEMBER 1 – NOVEMBER 7, 1790: REMARKS AT JACK-IN-THE-BASKET

### Monday 1 [November 1790]

At ½ past 11 PM anchored off Jack in the Basket with the best bower in 5 fathom water and veered away a cable – found riding here HM Fireship *Pluto*, rec'd from her 5 tons of water – at 10 AM weighed and made sail through the Needles<sup>93</sup> – Set steering sails and royals – employed clearing the decks etc – Cleaned between decks.

### Tuesday 2

Moored ship at ½ past 7 – got the sheet anchor over the side – AM employed drawing and knotting of yarns and spinning of spun yarn.

### Wednesday 3

Employed as before – AM loosed sails to dry – rec'd 1 man<sup>94</sup> from HM Sloop *Flirt*.

### Thursday 4

PM a Sloop of War came through the Needles – AM a Frigate came through and sailed to the Eastward – Thos Pallister deserted from the ship by taking the yawl of which he was boat-keeper from the stern of the *Pluto* in a squall of rain – sent after her (?) on the flats and brought her onboard.

### Friday 5

Employed in drawing and knotting of yarns and spinning of spun yarn – the people scrubbed their hammocks.

### Saturday 6

Rec'd 1680 lb of bread, 3 tons of beer, 7 tons of water, 850 lb of fresh beef and returned our empty cask – down lower yards and TG masts.

### Sunday 7

The first part strong gales and squally with rain – at 6 AM unmoored and hove to ½ a cable on the best bower at 9 up lower yards

93 The Needles are the western-most extremity of the Isle of Wight (I o W), formed by several rocky pinnacles offshore, marking the eastern side of the western entrance to the Solent; once past them a vessel was in open waters. However, exiting The Solent was complicated by shoal waters in the middle of the mouth of The Solent, requiring that vessels run close by the Needles to avoid grounding on the shoals.

94 Thomas Brixley (HMS *Flirt*) appeared.

and TG masts at ½ past weighed and made sail through the Needles – at 11 got through<sup>95</sup>.

NOVEMBER 8 – NOVEMBER 22, 1790:  
REMARKS UNDERWAY TO TENERIFE

**Monday 8**

(sailing) 8 PM Portland Lighthouse<sup>96</sup> NE ½ E 5 leagues AM people employed in making matts [sic].

**Tuesday 9**

Opened a cask of pork, no.6 – 126 pieces 504 lb also a cask of beef no. 834 – 66 pieces 528 lb – at daylight saw a sail in the NW – employed in working up junk<sup>97</sup>.

**Wednesday 10**

A sea struck and stove in the starboard quarter gallery window – studdingsails<sup>98</sup> – people employed washing their cloaths.

**Thursday 11**

Roused up<sup>99</sup> the cables and cleaned between decks – opened a cask of sour krout – divided<sup>100</sup> the people amongst the officers and took an account of their cloaths.<sup>101</sup>

**Friday 12**

Made canvas hoses and tried Whites air

machine<sup>102</sup>, spoke a Spanish ship<sup>103</sup> from Petersburg, people drawing yarns and making matts, Numbered the hammocks.

**Saturday 13**

PM four sail in sight – AM two sail in sight, one standing to the S the other to the N – people drawing and knotting yarns making matts and spinning spun yarn.

**Sunday 14**

Saw a sail standing to the ESE – people employed making matts – read the Articles of War to the company.

**Monday 15**

Saw a Danish ship standing to the (?)E – three sails in sight – saw a sail standing to the NE – people employed in making of matts and working up junk – sail-maker making Top Cloth.

**Tuesday 16**

People employed in making matts etc. – sail maker making Top Cloths.

**Wednesday 17**

A sail in sight to the Westward – passed a hawser round the boats to secure them on the booms (stormy).

**Thursday 18**

Saw a sail to eastward standing towards us, at 4 perceiving she was a ship of force cleared ship for action<sup>104</sup>, at ½ past 4 she hoisted English colours and fired a gun – at 5 spoke her and found her to be HM Sloop *Shark* from England bound to Madeira and Barbados in quest of Admiral Cornish – she informed us that the dispute with Spain was amicably settled<sup>105</sup> and that our ships

95 got through' (the Needles) Apparently some difficulty had been experienced on 1 Nov in passing The Needles, or the voyage had been delayed for several days during which they anchored off Jack-in-the-Basket again or in Alum Bay off the west of the Isle of Wight.

96 Portland lighthouse: a lighthouse at the end off the Isle of Portland of the Dorset coast.

97 'working up junk' – cutting old, condemned rope into short lengths for oakum, swabs, mats, fenders etc.

98 'studding sail' (or stunsails) – an extra sail, set outside the square sail, only when winds were abaft.

99 'roused up' – a term signifying physical rope hauling without use of a capstan.

100 divided the people' – It is unclear whether two or three divisions were created; if three, the crew would have had 8 hours off between each 4 hour watch. This system was used by Cook and Bligh during their Pacific voyages; it was considered better for the health and morale of the crew, giving them 8 hours off between watches to sleep, rest and/or dry their clothing.

101 'took an account of their cloaths', i.e. determined whether they were in need of clothing items from the slop room.

102 'Whites air machine' – an experimental contraption to duct fresh air below decks. The fresh air was pumped between decks through the 'hoses'. Hamilton thought it a good idea, provided a ship wasn't as crowded with stores as the *Pandora* apparently was.

103 'spoke a ship', exchanging and noting information about each other's destination, whether all well on board, nationality etc.

104 cleared for action' – getting the ship ready for battle, calling all hands on deck, beating (drum beats) the gun crews to quarters etc.

105 'dispute with Spain': re the 'Nootka incident' This must have been confirmation of an expected settlement with the Spanish

were ordered to the different ports to be paid off – people washing their linen and drying their wet clothes.

#### Friday 19

Got up<sup>106</sup> the sheet cable and cleaned and smoaked<sup>107</sup> between decks – at ½ past 6 saw a sail in the SE quarter.

#### Saturday 20

Saw the land from SSW to WbN, hove to head to the Eastward.

#### Sunday 21

(Teneriff & Grand Canary positions from the ship) – mustered the ships company to see that they were all clean.<sup>108</sup>

#### Monday 22

Working into Sta Cruz Road – split the jibb mizzen staysail and sprung the jibb boom – at ½ past 11 came to an anchor in Sta Cruz Road Teneriff with the small bower in 15 fathoms water.

### NOVEMBER 23 – NOVEMBER 25, 1790: REMARKS AT TENERIFE

#### Tuesday 23

PM veered away and moored a cable each way – AM sent our empty cask on shore for water and wine – started 14 puncheons of bread into bags<sup>109</sup> – unbent the mizzen staysail to repair – rec'd one Hogshead of wine.<sup>110</sup>

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court as Edwards' orders dated 25th Oct 1790 would otherwise not have included the instruction to proceed to Tenerife (a Spanish colony) to take in fruit, wine and water; more likely they would have been ordered to (Portuguese) Madeira for this purpose.

106 'got up' i.e. got the sheet anchor cable on main deck.

107 'smoaked'; i.e. fumigated below decks, by burning charcoal in portable braziers and heating a mix of sulphur and vinegar to create an acrid smoke to get rid of vermin, principally rats. The crew slept on deck during the time the ship was smoked. Smoking was also used as a method to drive stale air from poorly ventilated spaces.

108 'see clean' the company, i.e. this included checking for 'venereals' (STDs) as well as general personal cleanliness.

109 'started (...) bread' – i.e. opened the casks.

110 'hogshead of wine' – 63 gallons (more capacity than a hogshead of beer, which contained 54 gallons).

#### Wednesday 24

Rec'd 13 cask of water – cleared the gunroom of dry provision and stowed it forward between decks – AM rec'd 5 butts, 3 puncheons<sup>111</sup> and one barrel of wine stowed it in the gunroom<sup>112</sup> – rec'd 13 cask of water – carpenter fishing the jibb boom.

#### Thursday 25

Rec'd 11 puncheons of water – employed stowing the fore hold – AM cleaned hawse – rec'd 9 puncheons of wine which completed the seventeen hundred gallons demanded<sup>113</sup> contained in 5 butts, 12 puncheons and one barrel ship's cask rec'd also 738 lb of fresh beef and some fruit and vegetables etc for the ships company – employed in stowing away the wine and other provisions and getting the ship ready for sea.

### NOVEMBER 26 – DECEMBER 31, 1790: REMARKS UNDERWAY TO RIO DE JANEIRO

#### Friday 26

Veered away and took up the small bower and hove into ½ a cable on the best bower – rec'd 6 cask of water – weighed the best bower and made sail out of the Road<sup>114</sup> – Ships draft of water forward 16 feet, abaft 16 feet 5 inches – unbent the sheet and small bower cable.

#### Saturday 27

Served fruit to the sick and onions to all the ships company – unbent the best bower cable and stowed the anchor – lost the log and 3 lines.

#### Sunday 28

Employed in fitting the Quarter Deck awning<sup>115</sup> – served fishing lines and hooks to the ships company.

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111 'butts', 'puncheons' and 'barrels' of wine – respectively 5x126 gallons, 3x84 gallons, 1x31.5 gallons.

112 The 'gunroom' (i.e. officers' mess) must still have been a very crowded space if these wine casks were all stowed there.

113 '1700 gallons demanded', i.e. the quantity ordered at Tenerife.

114 'the Road' – the anchorage at Tenerife.

115 Having left Tenerife (at latitude 28°29' N) the Pandora was approaching the tropics; an awning was needed to shade the deck.

**Monday 29 Nov**

Lost the log and 3 lines – exercised small arms.<sup>116</sup>

**Tuesday 30 Nov**

Opened a cask of beef No. 722 contained 66 double pieces 528 lb – opened a half HH117 of pork No. 2585 contents 56 pieces 224 lb – employed in drawing and knotting of yarns and making matts etc. – exercised small arms.

**Wednesday 1 [December 1790]**

Drawing and knotting yarns – at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past 2 saw the land – at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 the driver jack broke – exercised small arms.

**Thursday 2**

(sail working)

**Friday 3**

Scrubbed hammocks – sail maker employed in making hammocks cloths – exercised small arms.

**Saturday 4**

Served slops<sup>118</sup> to the ships company – opened a cask of stock fish – exercised small arms – employed working up junk – sail maker making hammocks cloths.

**Sunday 5**

Employed in making of matts, working up junk – sailmakers making hammock cloths several water spouts near the ship – fired a gun at them did not perceive that it had any effect upon them – got the lightning chain<sup>119</sup> up to the MT Gallt<sup>120</sup> mast head and put the lower end overboard.

**Monday 6**

Smoaked between decks – several water spouts.

**Tuesday 7**

Employed in working up junk – sailmakers making hammock cloths – people employed in making points – sail makers about the

hammock cloths – cleaned and smoaked between decks.<sup>121</sup>

**Wednesday 8**

Ships lead round the compass – punished Chris. Bill [Bell] with a dozen lashes for insolence to and quarrelling with his superior officer.<sup>122</sup>

**Thursday 9**

People employed in making points<sup>123</sup>.

**Friday 10**

Loosed studdingsails to dry – people making points.

**Saturday 11**

People making points etc. – opened a cask of pork No. 2567 contents 51 double pieces 224 lbs, opened a cask of beef No. 807 contents 66 double pieces 528 lbs – exercised small arms.

**Sunday 12**

(sail working)

**Monday 13**

(sail working)

**Tuesday 14**

Split the foretopsail – sailmakers repairing the foretopsail.

**Wednesday 15**

Spread the steering sails and spare canvas to dry.

**Thursday 16**

Employed in making lanyards for the fire buckets – sailmakers making waist[?]cloths<sup>124</sup> – crossed the line.<sup>125</sup>

121 This was the third time the vessel was smoked since 19 Nov. With 'smoaking' also carried out later on 23 Dec, 2 Jan and 1 June, this may be an indication that the *Pandora* was troubled by a persistent case of vermin infestation to require 'smoaking' relatively frequently. Alternatively it was done to drive fetid air from poorly ventilated spaces between decks. Together with antiscorbutics, and ensuring that the crew's clothing and bedding were clean and dry, smoking was regarded as a crucial factor in maintaining a healthy and fit crew. It may have been done this frequently as Hamilton mentions the fever that raged on board while the *Pandora* was in the Atlantic; Hamilton was certainly aware of the benefits of being able to circulate fresh air about the ship, especially between-decks (Hamilton, 1793:10-12).

122 Second flogging.

123 'making points' – winnowing down into a point the flayed ends of rope.

124 'waistcloths' – decorative cloth to be hung between main and foremast on state occasions.

125 'crossed the line', i.e. crossing the Equator.

116 'Exercising small arms' -fire practice with muskets and pistols.

117 'HH' – hogshead.

118 'served slops', clothing issued from the 'slop room' to men in need of items; the men who received items were charged accordingly against their wages.

119 'lightning chain' – the lightning conductor fixed to the main mast.

120 'MT Gallt' – main top gallant, the tallest section of the mainmast.

**Friday 17**

Drawing and knotting of yarns.

**Saturday 18**

Opened a HH of pork No. 5 contents 124 pieces 496 lb – served vinegar to the ships company – drawing and knotting of yarns – sail-makers making waistcloths.

**Sunday 19**

A ship from the SW passed to leeward of us standing to the Northward – exercised small arms – mustered the ships company and saw them clean<sup>126</sup>.

**Monday 20**

(sail working)

**Tuesday 21**

Carpenters repairing and painting one of the yawls – drawing and knotting of yarns – sailmakers making a Main Deck awning.

**Wednesday 22**

Exercised great guns<sup>127</sup> – drawing and knotting of yarns – sailmakers making a Main Deck awning and painters painting the boats.

**Thursday 23**

Exercised the small arms – opened a cask of beef No.761 contents 66 pieces 528 lb – cleaned and smoaked [sic] between decks – working up junk – sailmakers making main Deck awning.

**Friday 24**

Exercised small arms – lost a log and 2 lines, people making nippers – sailmakers fitting the boats awnings and armourers firing the forge.

**Saturday 25**

Carried away the FT Mast steering sail halyards – got the slops up to air them.

**Sunday 26**

(sail working)

**Monday 27**

Bent the small bower cable – lost log and 2 lines.

<sup>126</sup> 'saw them clean' – checked for venereal disease.

<sup>127</sup> Exercising great guns', i.e. gunnery practice.

**Tuesday 28**

Saw a brig to the southward – people employed picking of oakum – sailmakers about the Main Deck awning – armourers fitting stantions<sup>128</sup> for fore and aft awnings for the boats etc.

**Wednesday 29**

Saw the land – bent the best bower cable – punished Moses Mitchell with a dozen lashes for disobedience of orders<sup>129</sup> – read the Articles of War to the ships company – standing in for Rio Janeiro.

**Thursday 30 Dec**

Fired a gun and made the signal for a pilot twice.

**Friday 31 Dec**

At 1/4 past 3 came to with the small bower in 10 fathoms in Rio Janeiro Bay – sent a boat to sound round the ship – at 4 a pilot came onboard, at 6 AM weighed, at 8 anchored with small bower in 9 fathoms, at 9 weighed, at 1/2 past 11 anchored with the small bower in 8 fathoms – saluted with 15 guns which was answered with an equal number.<sup>130</sup>

## JANUARY 1 – JANUARY 7, 1791: REMARKS AT RIO DE JANEIRO

**Saturday 1**

At 3 PM weighed and stood in for Rio de Janeiro, at 4 came to with the small bower in 6 fathoms water, veered away and moored ship, sail-makers employed in altering the mizzen – at 1/2 past 11 departed this life John Johnstone boatswains mate.<sup>131</sup>

**Sunday 2**

Rec'd 190 lb of fresh beef – roused up the

<sup>128</sup> 'stantions' – i.e. stanchions (upright supports). These must have been iron stanchions as the armourers apparently made them.

<sup>129</sup> Third flogging.

<sup>130</sup> 'Saluted' with 15 guns – in addition to acknowledging an Admiral or Royalty, it was also considered a courtesy to salute when entering a foreign port – a protocol setting out the number of salvoes was agreed upon and more or less universally adhered to among European nations' vessels. Salutes were always counted in odd numbers, 3 salvoes being the minimum number (for a junior Admiral) working up to 21 guns when Royalty was being saluted.

<sup>131</sup> Johnson died of natural causes and was buried at sea off Rio.

best bower cable and hawsers, cleaned the starboard side of the lower deck, washed with vinegar and smoaked [sic].

**Monday 3**

Rec'd 139 lb of fresh beef – roused up the small bower and sheet cables, cleaned the larboard side between decks, washed with vinegar<sup>132</sup> and smoaked the ship.

**Tuesday 4**

Rec'd 21 puncheons and 2 HH of water by a hired boat, employed in stowing it away, rec'd 124 lb beef and 21 puncheons of water, employed in stowing it away.

**Wednesday 5**

Cleaned hawse, rec'd 10 puncheons and 1 HH of water & (?)lb of fresh beef – carpenters nailing on some sheets of copper and caulking the butts and seams of the whaler.

**Thursday 6**

People employed in fixing two pair of Main and two pair of fire shrouds – carpenters as before and paying the whaler with black varnish<sup>133</sup>, rec'd [left blank in the original] lb fresh beef.

**Friday 7**

Rec'd water by our own boat – cleared hawse – 10 AM unmoored ship and hove in to 1/3 of the best bower cable.

**JANUARY 8 – MARCH 22, 1791:REMARKS UNDERWAY TO TAHITI (MATAVAI BAY)**

**Saturday 8**

Hove short – M topsail yard broke in the slings – bent a new one – a pilot came onboard – weighed & made sail – at ½ 7 paid the pilot and he left us.

**Sunday 9**

Opened a cask of pork contents 57 double pieces 228lb – lost overboard by accident a gunner's handspike – mustered ships company to see that they were all clean.

132 Washing the decks with vinegar.

133 'paying the whaler' – i.e. painting the whaler (ship/boat) with diluted tar to prevent its caulking getting wet; the term 'whaler' isn't used again when reference is made to the ship's boats.

**Monday 10**

Unbent the bower cables and stowed the anchors – sailmakers employed in roping the Main Deck awning – a hawse bag was lost overboard by accident.<sup>134</sup>

**Tuesday 11**

(sail working)

**Wednesday 12**

(sail working)

**Thursday 13**

Exercised small arms.

**Friday 14**

Exercised small arms – made wort<sup>135</sup> from malt and served it to the ships company – scrubbed the hammocks and spread the peoples bedding to air them.

**Saturday 15**

Exercised small arms – people making matts [sic].

**Sunday 16**

Rove a new tiller rope.

**Monday 17**

Saw two sail to the NW – unbent the Main sail and employed in fitting another and dipping our new sails in the sea – at 11 saw another sail to the Westward – this morning saw two whales, several seal, a number of albatrosses and other birds.

**Tuesday 18**

Carried away the fore topmast steering sail halyards – carried away the starboard fore steering sail yard.

**Wednesday 19**

Making points.

**Thursday 20**

Making points and robins.<sup>136</sup>

134 'hawse bag', i.e. a canvas bag filled with oakum, stuffed into the hawse hole to prevent ingress of water in a heavy sea.

135 'wort from malt', i.e. mixing and fermenting malt with hops to make wort, which was subsequently diluted with water to make beer, issued as an antiscorbutic.

136 '...making points and robins' – i.e. short lengths of rope attached to the sails to tie them down when reefed.

**Friday 21**  
Making points and robins – lost a log and three lines.

**Saturday 22**  
(sail working)

**Sunday 23**  
Sailmakers repairing the fore topmast staysail.

**Monday 24**  
Served hops<sup>137</sup> to the ships company.

**Tuesday 25**  
Sailmakers repairing the MT sail.<sup>138</sup>

**Wednesday 26**  
Lost a log and three lines – bent the bower cable – sailmakers repairing the MT sail.

**Thursday 27**  
Bent the small bower cable – opened a cask of beef No. 749 contents 66 double pieces – carried away the foretopmast steering yard.

**Friday 28**  
Sailmakers repairing the old mizzen topsail.

**Saturday 29**  
Opened a cask of pork No. 15 contents 126 pieces.

**Sunday 30 Jan**  
Mustered the ship's company and read the Articles of War.

**Monday 31 Jan**  
Saw the land – a sea struck the starboard quarter and stove in the quarter gallery – secured our boats and booms with hawsers.<sup>139</sup>

**Tuesday 1 [February 1791]**  
(sail working)

**Wednesday 2**  
Cape Horn – thermometer in the binnacle 40 degrees.<sup>140</sup>

**Thursday 3**  
Sailmakers repairing the old MT mast stay sail.

137 'served hops', i.e. fermented hops mixed with water.

138 'MT sail' – main top sail.

139 Preparing for big, tempestuous seas around Cape Horn by securing deck cargo.

140 40 degrees F

**Friday 4**  
(sail working)

**Saturday 5**  
Carried away a FT mast steering sail yard<sup>141</sup> – found the starboard MTsail sheet split.

**Sunday 6**  
(sail working)

**Monday 7**  
Sailmakers repairing the MTG sail – split the driver – carried away the strap of the Mizzen T'sail sheet block.

**Tuesday 8**  
Drawing and knotting yarns and spinning spun yarn – loosed small sails to dry – mended a small hole in the foresail.

**Wednesday 9**  
Sailmakers repairing the old MTM staysail, working up junk, fitted the machine and began to distill<sup>142</sup> fresh from salt water.

**Thursday 10**  
Sailmakers repairing the old FT sail.

**Friday 11**  
Sailmakers repairing the old FT sail, working up junk, loosed the small sails to dry, unbent the small bower cable.

**Saturday 12**  
Sailmakers repairing the old FT sail & F sail, distilling water with Irvings apparatus<sup>143</sup>, working up junk, served mustard and vinegar<sup>144</sup> to the ships company.

**Sunday 13**  
Repairing old Foresail, opened a cask of pork

141 carried away a FT mast', i.e. the yard arm broke free from the fore top mast.

142 'Distill fresh' water – using Irvings' apparatus (collecting droplets from condensed steam after boiling sea water).

143 A contraption invented by a Dr Irving to distill fresh water from saltwater.

144 'mustard and vinegar' was a time-honoured antiscorbutic. The salubrious effects of mustard and vinegar had been noted by John Hutchinson, surgeon on board Samuel Wallis' voyage in HMS *Dolphin* in 1767; mustard and vinegar had been part of a seaman's diet since 17th century; it was served with meat on so-called 'flesh days' (cf. Josslyn, 1695: Mayflower voyage).

No. 260, contents, 56 pieces 224 lb, mustered the ships company to see them clean.

**Monday 14**

Split the MTM<sup>145</sup> stay sail.

**Tuesday 15**

Repairing old FTM<sup>146</sup> staysail – the still at work – working up junk.

**Wednesday 16**

Repairing MTG<sup>147</sup> sail.

**Thursday 17**

repairing and taking of cloth out of the after leach of the mtm staysail – making matts.

**Friday 18**

Repairing mizzen staysail.

**Saturday 19**

(Sail working)

**Sunday 20**

Mustered the ship's company to see them clean.

**Monday 21**

Got up the awnings, hammocks cloths etc. To dry them – sail maker overhauling the miz tsail and sewing a (?) On the footrope.

**Tuesday 22**

Carried away the outer (?) Of the driver – repairing the foresail.

**Wednesday 23**

Repairing foresail, making matts – closed steering sails and small sail to dry – repairing the driver.

**Thursday 24**

Carried away mtsail yards in the slings and split the tsail, employed in getting another tsail yard ready to send aloft, strengthening it with stout battens and wooldings<sup>148</sup> – repairing the mtsail.

**Friday 25**

(sailing)

**Saturday 26**

Opened a cask of beef no. 723 Contents 66 double pieces weighing 483 lb short of weight 45 lb – spread steering sails to dry.

**Sunday 27 Feb**

Opened a cask of pork no.4 – Mustered the ship's company to see them clean.

**Monday 28 Feb**

Got up the best bower cable and washed with vinegar starboard between decks.

**Tuesday 1 [March, 1791]**

Exercised small arms – got up the small bower and sheet cables and cleaned the larboard side between decks, carpenter repairing boats.

**Wednesday 2**

(Sail working)

**Thursday 3**

Exercised small arms – painters painting the boats.

**Friday 4**

Exercised small arms, making and stowing new sails – shifted the halyards end for end – carpenters repairing and painting the boats, issued garlic<sup>149</sup> to the ship's company.

**Saturday 5**

Served garlic and spruce beer to the ship's company – exercised small arms, found the bread damaged in the bread room, got up on the qtr. deck to separate the bad from the good.

**Sunday 6**

Condemned [left blank in the original] Lb of bread and threw it overboard.

**Monday 7**

Small arms.

**Tuesday 8**

Opened a cask of beef (1318) contained 44 double pieces 343 lbs – small arms – armourers at work at the forge and the carpenters about the boats.

145 'MTM' – main top mast.

146 'FTM' fore top mast.

147 'MTG' main top gallant.

148 'wooldings', i.e. the yard was reinforced with battens bound tightly to the spar (akin to splinting a broken leg).

149 Garlic was known to have a beneficial effect as an anti-scorbutic.

**Wednesday 9**

Small arms – carried away the mtm steering sail halyards.

**Thursday 10**

Small arms, carried away ftm steering sail halyards – the watch scrubbed their hammocks.

**Friday 11**

Small arms.

**Saturday 12**

Small arms, the watch scrubbed their hammocks.

**Sunday 13**

Small arms, saw land, no inhabitants seen.<sup>150</sup>

**Monday 14**

Small arms

**Tuesday 15**

Small arms

**Wednesday 16**

Small arms<sup>151</sup>

**Thursday 17**

Small arms, exercised great guns<sup>152</sup>, saw land.

**Friday 18**

Great guns, picking oakum.<sup>153</sup>

**Saturday 19**

Picking oakum, opened a cask of pork (1) cont. 120 Pieces 476 lb – small arms, caulkers caulking under the half deck.<sup>154</sup>

**Sunday 20**

Carpenters caulking the larboard side under the half deck – mustered company and read articles of war.

**Monday 21**

Sailing

150 Sighted Ducie Island – named after Captain Edwards' patron (Earl of Ducie) Approx. 300 miles east of Pitcairn Island.

151 The relative high frequency of 'small arms' exercises appear to indicate that Captain Edwards was anticipating a confrontation with the mutineers; probably he wanted to be sure armed shore parties would be well-rehearsed in the use of their fire arms.

152 'great guns', gunnery practice with the 18-pounder carronades and the 6-pounder cannon.

153 'picking oakum' refers to the unpicking of condemned rope; the unpicked rope strands were tarred for use as 'caulking' for the seams between the deck planks or sides of the ship.

154 'caulking', refers to ramming down oakum between plank seams, using a caulking iron; the oakum was held in place with pitch.

**Tuesday 22**

Small arms, bent the small bower cable, caulkers caulking under the half deck – saw land<sup>155</sup>, caulking the state room.

**MARCH 23 – MAY 7, 1791:  
REMARKS AT MATAVAI BAY**

**Wednesday 23**

PM caulking the state room – AM Otaheitee – Joseph Coleman late armourer of the *Bounty* came board, anchored in Matavai Bay – at half past 11 Peter Heywood and Geo Stewart, late mids belonging to *Bounty* came on board – sounded round the ship, anchored.<sup>156</sup>

**Thursday 24**

PM roused the coasting cable and bent it at 3, Richard Skinner<sup>157</sup> belonging to the *Bounty* came on board at 4.

Moored ship with the coasting anchor, at qtr to 11 sent the pinnace (and) launch manned and armed under the command of the 2 and 3Lts on an expedition to the south part of the island.

AM at 8 got up the small spare sails to air, found the spritsail eat by rats in several places – carpenters employed on building a roundhouse.<sup>158</sup>

**Friday 25**

Roused up the small bower cable and cleaned the tier – carpenters as before – at

155 Tahiti in sight.

156 *Bounty's* armourer Coleman came on board before the *Pandora* had anchored; he was followed several hours later by *Bounty* midshipmen Stewart and Heywood.

157 Skinner came on board in the afternoon of the same day as Coleman, Heywood and Stewart. No doubt these mutineers were aware that for Captain Edwards, and possibly later at a court martial, it would matter, in terms of perceptions about their guilt or innocence, whether there was evidence that they had come on board willingly, i.e. that they had not been captured and forced on board by an armed shore party. They probably hoped for more lenient treatment, at least from Captain Edwards. James Morrison was acutely aware of the potential benefit such 'appearances' may bring (Rutter, 1935: 119). Although not managing to reach the *Pandora* of their own accord, Morrison, Norman and Ellison at least managed to surrender to Lt Robert Corner (Rutter, 1935:121).

158 'Roundhouse', the prison box on the quarter deck built to keep the mutineers separated from the rest of the crew. The prisoners referred to it as 'Pandora's Box'.

7 Michael Burns<sup>159</sup> late belonging to *Bounty* came on board, at 10 the pinnace and the launch returned.

**Saturday 26**

PM Sent the launch ashore for the arms, ammunition and other things belonging to the *Bounty* people, carpenters employed as before and caulking the after part of the qtr. deck – AM roused up the best bower cable to clean and started several puncheons of bread that was stowed between decks into the breadroom – the launch watering.

**Sunday 27**

At 8 PM sent the pinnace manned and armed for Otoo who was at [left blank in the original] a distant part of the island, at 2 AM had intelligence by Oedidee<sup>160</sup> that the pirates were returned in their vessel to Papparra and that she was at [...] and the people returned to the mountains to endeavour to conceal and defend themselves – at 6 AM sent the 2 Lt, 2 petty officers and 24 men in the launch to Papparra to pursue the pirates<sup>161</sup> – coiled the best bower cable down in the hold and stowed the main hold.

**Monday 28**

Employed stowing the main hold – caulkers caulking after part of the qtr deck – at 6 the pinnace returned with Otoo and 2 queens and suite – cleared hawse.

AM at 5 sent the pinnace with 3 Lt, 2 petty officers and 16 men to join the party in the launch<sup>162</sup> – sent the yawl to Oparra to carry

the old Otoo<sup>163</sup> to that place and fired a gun shotted [sic] by his desire before he set out – people variously employed, loosed sails to dry – carpenters caulking the battocks (...) hired a double canoe to Peal, to pitch the ship.

**Tuesday 29**

Carpenters caulking the bulwarks At 9 the launch returned with James Morrison, Chas Norman and Thos Ellison belonging to the *Bounty*<sup>164</sup> – prisoners – carpenters caulking the bends – longboat watering.

**Wednesday 30 Mar**

Carpenters caulking the starboard side – stowing water brought on board in the launch.

**Thursday 31 Mar**

Repairing rigging etc – launch watering.

**Friday 1 [april 1791]**

At 10 am the pinnace returned with the schooner which the people of the *Bounty* built<sup>165</sup>, launch watering, carpenters as before etc.

**Saturday 2**

Carpenters caulking the bows, launch watering – loosed sails to dry.

**Sunday 3**

As before – hauled the seine.<sup>166</sup>

**Monday 4**

Carpenters caulking the bends, repairing rigging etc. – Launch watering.

159 Michael 'Burns' (Byrne), *Bounty's* near blind fiddler, was the fifth mutineer (after Coleman, Heywood, Stewart and Skinner) to come on board voluntarily.

160 Oedidee – the chief of the Matakai Bay area, allied with Otoo.

161 2 Lt – Lieutenant Robert Corner to Papparra; the 'pirates and their vessel', i.e. some the mutineers had built a vessel on the island, coincidentally they (Morrison, Ellison, Norman, Hillbrant, McIntosh, Millward) had left Matakai Bay the day before the *Pandora's* arrival but returned several days later as they experienced problems with their rigging, and possibly because some of the men were none too confident about Morrison's abilities as a navigator.

162 3rd Lieutenant Hayward went to Papparra, a district on the western side of Tahiti, in pursuit of the 'pirates', who (according to Morrison's account) tried to avoid detection and capture so they could return to Matakai Bay and give themselves up voluntarily.

163 the old Otoo, considered by the British as one of the paramount chiefs of Tahiti, however, his position was not universally recognised throughout Tahiti. Other chiefs considered him a usurper who had cleverly used the presence of the mutineers (especially their firearms) to further his own political ends. It is noteworthy that Otoo asked that one of the big guns be fired.

164 Morrison, Norman and Ellison would join Heywood, Stewart, Coleman and Byrne in the 'roundhouse'; Capt Edwards made no distinction between those who gave themselves up voluntarily and those who were brought on board as prisoners; nor did he treat differently the 4 prisoners whom Bligh had already vouched for. Until the prison was ready (9 or 10 Apr) they were all leg-ironed under the half deck, watched over around the clock by an armed guard.

165 Lieutenant Hayward's shore party returns with the *Resolution* schooner, built on Tahiti under James Morrison's direction.

166 'hauled the seine', i.e. fishing with a seine net.

**Tuesday 5**

Carpenters caulking the larboard side – launch watering, at 8 am sent the schooner and yawl manned and armed to Paparra under command of the 3 lt.

**Wednesday 6**

Employed about the rigging and blacking the yards etc – launch watering carpenters caulking the larboard side and trimming the plank for the roundhouse.

**Thursday 7**

At 7 am the 2nd Lt and 16 men to pursue the pirates<sup>167</sup> that had taken shelter in the mountains, carpenters as before, launch watering.

**Friday 8**

Carpenters caulking larboard side and trimming plank for the round house, etc.

**Saturday 9**

PM painted the mizzen mast – at noon the yawl returned from paparra with Henry Hillbrandt and Thos McIntosh two men late belonging to HMS *Bounty*.<sup>168</sup>

**Sunday 10**

PM the schooner returned with Thos Burkitt, Jn Millward, Jno Sumner and Wm Muspratt late belonging to HMS *Bounty*<sup>169</sup> – launch watering – carpenters caulking larboard side and about the roundhouse – read articles of war and punished Jas Good, Roger Swiney and Wm Taylor with a dozen lashes each for theft and drinking.<sup>170</sup>

**Monday 11**

PM sent the launch to paparra with the 2 lt and party – am loosed sail to dry – carpenters

employed about the roundhouse and sail-makers making coats for the pumps<sup>171</sup>.

**Tuesday 12**

Employed as before

**Wednesday 13**

Employed as before

**Thursday 14**

At 4 PM the launch returned with 2 L and party from Paparra – as before.

**Friday 15**

Rigging, blackened the fnt sail yards and painted bowsprit – launch brought on board a load of wood – carpenters as before, sail maker making tarpaulins.

**Saturday 16**

Launch load of wood<sup>172</sup> – tarred<sup>173</sup> and down the main and mt mast shrouds.

**Sunday 17**

PM employed in raising the mtm shrouds, launch load of wood.

**Monday 18**

Painting the foremast and carpenters caulking the starboard side.

**Tuesday 19**

Caulking the starboard side – launch watering.

**Wednesday 20**

Blackened the m & mt sail yards – am employed in hoisting the water up out of the forehold and starting it and sending the empty casks on shore.<sup>174</sup>

**Thursday 21**

Hoisting the water up out of the forehold and starting it – launch stove on the beach<sup>175</sup> when going ashore with an empty cask – AM

167 'pursue the pirates', there were still six men at large.

168 With the capture of Hillbrandt and McIntosh, there remained four *Bounty* mutineers at large in the island.

169 The last four mutineers on the island were brought on board.

170 Fourth – sixth floggings; Good, Swiney and Taylor were flogged for theft; this punishment would have made it clear to the prisoners in no uncertain terms that they were once again under naval discipline.

171 'coats for the pumps', tarred canvas secured in such a way to prevent water running down a shaft into the ship. A party ashore to Paparra lead by Lieutenant Corner

172 'launch load' – a wooding party returned from shore with firewood.

173 'tarred' some of the shrouds as a protection against rotting.

174 'sending the empty casks' - watering the ship on-shore.

175 'stove' on the beach', i.e. capsized in the surf.

carpenters repairing the launch – erected a tent for our people at the watering place.

**Friday 22**

PM employed hoisting up and starting the water, AM roused up the sheet cable and cleaned the tier and started the remainder of the bread that was stowed in casks between decks into the bread room, painter painting the main mast.

**Saturday 23**

Starting and stowing the bread in the breadroom, sent the empty cask on shore, coiled down the sheet cable, launch watering, carpenters caulking the starboard side.

**Sunday 24**

Employed getting onboard water and stowing it away, carpenters caulking the Qtr deck.

**Monday 25**

Launch watering, carpenters as before.

**Tuesday 26**

AM employed scraping the sides, painters painting the larboard side, launch watering, rec'd load of wood.

**Wednesday 27**

Employed scraping the sides, painters painting the larboard side, launch watering AM loosed courses and staysails to dry – roused up the best bower cable.

**Thursday 28**

Scraping the sides, stowing water in the main hold and coiled the best bower cable, painters painting the larboard side, launch watering.

**Friday 29 Apr**

AM employed in unstowing and paying the Booms<sup>176</sup>, carpenters caulking and painters painting the starboard side, sailmakers repairing the boat coverings.

**Saturday 30 Apr**

AM sent the launch to Oparra for an anchor left in the bay by the *Bounty* and taken up by the natives – loosed the courses to dry –

<sup>176</sup> 'paying the booms', applying varnish or tar.

carpenters caulking the starboard side of the main deck (...)

**Sunday 1 [May 1791]**

Received on board an anchor belonging to the *Bounty* and stowed it in the main hold.

**Monday 2**

PM Payed<sup>177</sup> the larboard bends – AM gammoned the bow sprit, painters painting the starboard side, carpenters caulking, sail makers about the poop awning, hauled the schooner up on shore to examine her bottom.<sup>178</sup>

**Tuesday 3**

AM carpenters ashore to repair the schooner<sup>179</sup> – received a launch of water and (made) spruce beer<sup>180</sup>, painters painting the [head] rails etc.

**Wednesday 4**

Carpenters repairing the schooner, painters painting the stern

AM employed new seizing the Quarter nettings, launch brought on board a tun of water.

**Thursday 5**

Employed about the quarterdeck nettings, carpenters caulking and repairing the schooner, painters painting the stern, AM launch a-watering, some hands cutting brooms.

**Friday 6**

People employed about the quarter nettings and starting bread out of the after bins into the breadroom, carpenters and painters as before, launch a-watering, some hands cutting brooms.

**Saturday 7**

Carpenters as before, painters painting the stern and the head, hoisted in the launch,

<sup>177</sup> 'paying the bends' i.e. applying varnish or tar to the thick outer planks from the waterline up

<sup>178</sup> Inspection of the schooner built by the mutineers, which Edwards renamed *Matavai*.

<sup>179</sup> The *Matavai* was evidently in need of some repairs and extra treatment to make her more sea-worthy.

<sup>180</sup> 'Spruce' beer was immediately brewed upon getting fresh water from shore.

AM launched the schooner, getting ready for sea, some hands cutting brooms and getting more ballast for the schooner.

**MAY 8 – JULY 28, 1791:  
REMARKS UNDERWAY TO ANAMOOKA**

**Sunday 8**

Getting ready for sea – towed the schooner alongside and rigged<sup>181</sup> her, at 6 PM unmoored ship and hove in to half a cable on the small bower – AM struck the tent at the watering place and the people and things brought in board in the schooner.

**Monday 9**

Put a master's mate<sup>182</sup> and 8 men aboard the schooner tender – weighed and sailed out of Mattavy [sic] Bay in company with the tender – lost a log and three lines – at half past 6 saw Huahine bearing WbN – at 11 hoisted out the yawl and sent her and the tender inshore to examine the bays and harbours – at noon the tender and the yawl in sight standing to the SW

**Tuesday 10**

PM at half past 1 hove to and hoisted the other yawl out – sent 3 Lt in her to examine Little Owharre Harbour<sup>183</sup> etc. – at half past 6 the 3 Lt came on board in the yawl – hoisted her in, at 7 made sail – at 6 AM saw the tender to the eastward standing to the N/ward – several of the natives came on board in canoes and brought hogs, fowl and fruit with them – made the tender's signal to come under our stern – at 9 the yawl returned with the 2 Lt – hoisted her in – tender in company.<sup>184</sup>

**Wednesday 11**

Tender in company, at 3 hove to and hoisted

out red yawl – sent 3Lt with yawl and tender inshore to examine harbour [Ulietea] – brought to and hoisted out blue yawl – sent 2Lt in the yawl to examine the harbour [Ohamene].<sup>185</sup>

**Thursday 12**

At ½ 1 the 2Lt came onboard with the blue yawl – at ½ past 4 hove to and hoisted in the blue yawl – at 10 the 3Lt returned with the red yawl and tender – hoisted in the yawl – tender in company – 3AM hoisted out the red yawl sent the 3Lt with the yawl and tender to look into the harbours at BolaBola – Taatoo the chief of BolaBola came on board and several other natives in canoes – they brought with them a few hogs, fowls, coconuts and plantains.

**Friday 13**

At ½ past 1 the yawl and tender returned, at 2 hoisted in the yawl and made sail, tender in company, exercised small arms.

**Saturday 14**

Sold the effects of J Johnston boatswain's mate deceased<sup>186</sup> (.....) tender in company.

**Sunday 15**

Mustered the ship's company and saw them clean.

**Monday 16**

Sailing

**Tuesday 17**

Caulkers caulking the forecastle – tender in company

**Wednesday 18**

People making sennet<sup>187</sup>, carpenters caulking the forecastle, tender in company

181 'rigged' the schooner, i.e. replaced her locally made rigging and (bark cloth) sails with canvas and rope from the *Pandora's* stores.

182 24 year old master's mate William Oliver given command of the Matavai; 16 year old midshipman David Renouard was his 2IC. Renouard's account of his experience in the Matavai was recorded, but was not published until 1964 (Maude 1964).

183 'Little Owharre Harbour' in Huahine.

184 'tender in company', i.e. the Matavai within sight and sailing on the same course.

185 Lieutenant Hayward went ashore to reconnoitre the harbour, followed later by Lieutenant Corner.

186 Johnston, a bosun's mate, had died on 31st December 1790 and had been buried at sea off Rio de Janeiro; his personal belongings were sold off among the rest of the crew; any monies received first went to pay off what Johnston may have owed the ship (usually the Purser) – e.g. for 'slops' (clothing) or tobacco issued from the ship's stores or for medical treatment received, in particular if treatment was to cure an STD.

187 'sennet' - platted rope yarn, beaten smooth with a mallet; used to 'serve' ropes, i.e. ropes laid around with sennet to protect against excessive wear and exposure to salt water (Blanckley, 1750).

#### Thursday 19

... at ½ past 9 AM sent the tender inshore to sound and to look for harbours [Whytootakkee].<sup>188</sup>

#### Friday 20

At noon hoisted out a boat – sent the 3Lt in her to search after harbours and get intelligence of the natives – at 6 the yawl returned – hoisted in – the island was surrounded with a reef and chain of islands with openings scarce sufficient to admit a boat – he spoke to 7 or 8 sets of different people<sup>189</sup> and they all declared that the *Bounty* had not been there nor knew anything of her – making sennet – carpenters repairing the boats.

#### Saturday 21

Scrubbed the hammock cloaths, making sennet, repairing the boats.

#### Sunday 22

Palmerston's Island<sup>190</sup> – 4 AM hoisted out the cutter and yawl – at 5 sent the cutter and tender inshore to sound and look for an anchorage or a harbour etc – at 6 sent the 2 Lt inshore in the yawl for the same purpose and to look for the *Bounty* and her people – hoisted the other yawl out – at noon the yawl off the south point and the tender off the northern point.

#### Monday 23

At 2 PM sent the blue yawl inshore to join the 2Lt – at 4 the two yawls returned onboard, they brought a number of coconuts – at a ¼ past the cutter returned, sent the 3 Lt onshore to examine other of the islands – hoisted in the red yawl and the cutter – hove to at 7, fired false fires<sup>191</sup> as a signal for the boat – at ½

past the tender joined us and informed us she had found a boom with *Bounty's* mark upon it on one of the islands she had visited (.....) at half past 10 sent the 2Lt with a party of men in the yawl and tender to the northernmost island – at 11 hoisted in the cutter & made sail.

#### Tuesday 24<sup>192</sup>

At 4 the tender at anchor under the northernmost island and the yawl landing the party on the reef leading to that island.

#### Wednesday 25

At 2 the cutter returned with 7 of the party that had been landed on the northernmost island, at ½ past sent her on board the tender for the remainder of the party and made sail, at 5 the red yawl returned – hoisted her in and stood towards the schooner to take our other boats onboard but soon afterwards the weather being squally with rain stood out to sea (...)

#### Thursday 26

At ½ past 1 hove to, the yawl came on board from the schooner and informed us that the cutter had not been on board the schooner since she left the ship – sent the yawl to the schooner to order her to run down by the side of the reef to look out for the cutter and if they did not see her there to run out to sea 6 leagues and to steer about WNW½W – at 2 the yawl returned from the schooner with some of the party that had been landed on the northernmost island<sup>193</sup> – saw the 2Lt in the canoe in the lagoon – sent the yawl to his assistance – at ½ past the 2 Lt returned with the yawl and canoe – hoisted them in and at 5 brought to and spoke the tender<sup>194</sup> – at 9 the

188 'Whytootakkee' i.e. Aitutaki (Cook Is).

189 '...he spoke to 7 or 8 sets of different people' - Having been with Bligh in the *Bounty*, Hayward had spent some 5 months on Tahiti; his proficiency was apparently such that he was able to communicate effectively with islanders encountered during the *Pandora's* search.

190 Palmerston I. is part of an atoll to the north of the Cook Is; it is now administered by the Cook Islands government in association with New Zealand.

191 Lighting 'false fires', a way of signalling between ships after dark; a tube packed with a combustible compound, when lit, emitted a blue flame lasting for several minutes.

192 Sival, Cunningham, Good, Scott and Wasdell 'discharged dead'.

193 Midshipman John Sival (and 4 crew) were reported missing in the cutter; they would never be seen or heard of again. It is odd that in the pay book they were entered as 'discharged dead' 1 day earlier (24 May). Undoubtedly a clerical error given that the log mentions the cutter returning on 25th May and subsequently being sent to tender for the *Matavai*.

194 'Spoke the tender' – i.e. after they had searched for the cutter 6 leagues to seaward. It is noteworthy that midshipman David Renouard, the tender's 2-I-C, makes no mention of this incident in his journal of his experiences in the *Matavai*; his journal focuses on

jibb sheet broke, at half past the FTM staysail sheet broke and split the sail – made light for the tender to tack, she not answering it I fired a gun – at 12 the tender in sight.

#### Friday 27

Sailing

#### Saturday 28

At 2 carried away the jibb pendants – punished Allen Brown with dozen lashed for disobedience of orders and for quarrelling<sup>195</sup> – read the Articles of War

#### Sunday 29

At ½ past 6 AM hoisted out the yawl and sent the 3Lt on her to the northern most island to examine the beach and the reef of that island very minutely after the cutter – mustered the ship's company and saw them all clean – the yawl returned, hoisted her in she could see no signs of the cutter either on the reef or on the island.<sup>196</sup>

#### Monday 30 May

At ½ past 1 PM spoke the tender, hoisted out the red yawl and sent her on board the tender, at ½ past 5 the yawl returned, hoisted her in and made sail, tender in company

#### Tuesday 31 May

Opened a cask of beef, no.3537 contents 66 pieces, drawing and knotting yarns and making matts, tender in company.

#### Wednesday 1 [June 1791]

Hove to, hoisted out the yawl and sent her onboard the tender with water etc. – at ½ past 9 the yawl returned, hoisted her in and made sail – cleaned and smoaked [sic] between decks – tender in company.<sup>197</sup>

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details of his adventures commencing one month later, after their separation from the *Pandora*, a similar predicament to the one the men in the missing cutter found themselves in. (Maude, 1964)

195 7th flogging.

196 Still searching for Sival's missing party in the cutter; Hamilton elaborates on this incident, digressing with a discussion of a theory of 'accidental discovery', thus accounting for the population of the South Seas (Hamilton, 1793: 70-73).

197 The *Matavai* was reprovisioned from time to time from the *Pandora*.

#### Thursday 2

Roused up the small bower cable and cleaned the tier, making matts, tender in company.

#### Friday 3

Coiled the small bower cable down between decks, roused up the sheet cable and cleaned the tier, found the sheet cable eat in several places near the inner end by rats.

#### Saturday 4

Roused up the stream cables, hawsers and some spare sails, tender in company.

#### Sunday 5

Mustered the ship's company to see them clean.

#### Monday 6

Making sennet, carpenters caulking round the pumps and combings, saw a man o' war bird<sup>198</sup> – at Noon saw the land<sup>199</sup> from the masthead bearing West.

#### Tuesday 7

Hoisted out one of the yawls and sent the 2 Lt with her and the tender inshore to examine the coast, hoisted out the other yawl and the 3 Lt went in her to examine the coast etc. At ½ past 5 the 2 Lt returned with the yawl and at ½ past 9 the 3 Lt returned with the other yawl and the tender joined us, hoisted in the boats, at ½ past 7AM hoisted out the red yawl, at ½ past 8 sent the 3 Lt on shore with a party in the red yawl, at ½ past 10 sent the 2 Lt on shore with a party in the blue yawl, at 11 saw some huts on the NW island (...) sent the red yawl away again with the 2nd Lt and the tender to attend them and at noon sent the blue yawl with a petty officer to follow the other yawl and tender ...

#### Wednesday 8

Red yawl returned, sent the red yawl inshore with a petty officer, at ½ past 3 the blue yawl returned, sent the blue yawl inshore again

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198 'Man o' war bird', a frigate bird.

199 This 'land' was named the Duke of York's Island [Fakaofu I.] by Captain Edwards, one of the Union Is, part of modern-day Tokelau.

with a petty officer, blue yawl returned, hoisted her in, sent the 3 Lt with a party onshore in the pinnace, opened a cask of beef, No. 717 contents 66 double pieces

**Thursday 9**

Made the red yawl's signal to come on board, at ½ past 7 the pinnace returned with the 3 Lt, sent the pinnace on board the tender with water and provisions, the red yawl returned with the 2 Lt, several houses and canoes and a large wooden ship's buoy of foreign make were found on the island but after the strictest search no inhabitants could be found, at 10 the pinnace returned, at ½ past 11 sent the yawl onboard the tender, at noon she returned, hoisted in (...) made sail.

**Friday 10**

Sailing

**Saturday 11**

Sailing

**Sunday 12**

Brought to, hoisted the yawl out and sent the 3 Lt with her and the tender inshore to reconnoitre and to communicate with the natives, several of whom we saw on the beach and others in sailing canoes within a lagoon surrounded by small islands and reefs (Duke of Clarence, as I supposed it was unknown to Europeans I thought proper to honour it with his RH title).<sup>200</sup>

**Monday 13**

The yawl and tender returned, sent them inshore again with the 2 Lt, at ½ past 6 the blue yawl and tender returned, hoisted in the yawl, hoisted out the red yawl, pinnace and canoe, at 9 sent the 2 and 3 Lts and a party with the above boats and tender inshore

**Tuesday 14**

The 2 Lt ret'd in the yawl, at 1 sent her again with a petty officer, the pinnace came on board and brought coconuts, at ¼ before 5

took on board the 3 Lt with the yawl and canoe, sent the red yawl and canoe on shore with an armed party under the direction of the 2 Lt.

**Wednesday 15**

¾ past 5 the 2 Lt ret'd with the yawl and canoe, hoisted them in (...) tender in company.

**Thursday 16**

Sailing

**Friday 17**

Sailing

**Saturday 18**

Sailing

**Sunday 19**

Saw land, sent tender inshore to sound – hoisted out blue yawl, sent 2 Lt inshore with the yawl to sound an opening in the reef that lay before an Indian town – the natives said a river emptied itself into the harbour – at 11 the yawl ret'd – I called the island Chatham Island<sup>201</sup> – several natives came onboard of us.

**Monday 20**

Sent 2 Lt in the yawl to sound and the tender for the same purpose – lost a deep seas line and lead – 2 Lt ret'd and hoisted yawl aboard.

**Tuesday 21**

Burnt a false fire as a signal to the tender – tender joined us.

**Wednesday 22**

The natives came on board in canoes and they informed us that the island was called Oattooah.<sup>202</sup>

**Thursday 23**

Burnt false fires as a signal to the tender – fired a gun and made the signal to tack – 6AM tender not in sight.

**Friday 24**

½ past 4 thought they saw the tender to

200 Named by Captain Edwards for the Duke of Clarence, King George III's son. Duke of Clarence I., i.e. modern-day Nukunono Island, (Tokelau Group). 'RH', i.e. Royal Highness.

201 Chatham I, modern-day Savaii Island (Samoa).

202 Oattooah' (Samoa).

leeward – fired a gun and burnt a false fire as a signal to the tender<sup>203</sup> – carried away the strap of the MTM sheet block – making matts. [sic]

#### Saturday 25

Strap of the jibb stay block broke, opened a cask of beef No 540, contents 60 double pieces.

#### Sunday 26

Reeved a new Fore TG tye, the old one stranded, outer halyards of driver broke, saw a small whale, mustered the ship's company and saw them clean.

#### Monday 27

Drawing and knotting yarns and making matts, unbent, examined and served the outer part of the small bower cable.

#### Tuesday 28

Working up junk, bent the small bower cable, unbent the best bower cable (...)

#### Wednesday 29 Jun

Bent the best bower and coasting cables, anchored with the small bower and veered to a whole cable, hoisted out the blue yawl and sent her to sound around the ship.<sup>204</sup>

#### Thursday 30 Jun

Shifted anchorage.<sup>205</sup>

#### Friday 1 [July 1791]

At 1 PM hoisted out the launch and carried out the coasting anchor and moored ship (...) cleared the fore hold and sent a launch onshore for water.

#### Saturday 2

Started water in the fore hold – boats watering.

#### Sunday 3

PM watering, AM loosed sails to dry.

#### Monday 4

(...) received a visit from Fattafahe, chief of the Friendly Islands.....

<sup>203</sup> *Matavai* tender missing.

<sup>204</sup> At Anamooka.

<sup>205</sup> At Anamooka

#### Tuesday 5

PM watering. AM punished John Andrews and Alexander Arbuthnot with a dozen lashes each for theft<sup>206</sup> – read Articles of War.

#### Wednesday 6

PM got the stream cable hawsers and sails up from the starboard side between decks and got out from there 3 butts and 3 puncheons of bread, watering, carpenters caulking under the forecastle.

#### Thursday 7

PM started the six casks of bread into the breadroom and converted the cask into a water cask, AM cleaned the starboard side between decks and coiled the cables and hawsers down, watering.

#### Friday 8

PM sailmakers repairing MT sail, AM unbent foresail, sailmakers mending it, watering.

#### Saturday 9

PM received a launch load of water and hoisted her in, the 3 Lt returned from the Happy Islands<sup>207</sup> in Toobow's sailing canoe and brought with him seven hogs and two pigs, AM clearing the ship for sea.

#### Sunday 10

At 4 AM unmoored the ship, at ¼ past 8 weighed the coasting anchor and came to sail, found the small bower cable much rubbed<sup>208</sup>, at 9 made sail for the island of Tofoa. Two sailing canoes belonging to Fattafahe and Toobow, principle chiefs of the Friendly Islands in company, their owners being on board our ship.

#### Monday 11

At ½ past 4 hoisted out the blue yawl, at 5 sent her away to Tofoa with the 2 Lt attended by Fattafahe and Toobow.

#### Tuesday 12

At 3 PM made the yawl's signal with a gun

<sup>206</sup> 8th and 9th flogging

<sup>207</sup> 'Happy Is' = Ha'apai, part of the Tongan (or Friendly Islands) Group.

<sup>208</sup> 'much rubbed' – chafed rope.

to come on board, at 4 the yawl returned, at ½ past 4 sent the yawl with the two chiefs on board their canoes, when she returned, hoisted her in and made sail.<sup>209</sup>

**Wednesday 13**

Sold the effects<sup>210</sup> of Mr J Sival, Jas Good, Jas Scott, Joseph Cunningham and Wm Wasdell. Saw several whales, unbent the coasting cable and got the anchor upon deck, found the stock much worm-eaten and decayed, unstocked it. Got the pinnace aft upon the qtr. deck and got out from the booms the spring jib boom to make a stock for the coasting anchor, replaced the pinnace on the booms.

**Thursday 14**

(...) approaching the Navigators' Islands<sup>211</sup>

**Friday 15**

Backed the MT sail for some canoes to come on board us, several canoes alongside, they had very few articles with them except coconuts, we had great difficulty in getting them alongside and greater in prevailing on them to come into the ship having got from them the name of the island, I made enquiries about the *Bounty* and our tender. Both sailing and paddling canoes came round the ship, after great persuasion and some presents they were prevailed on first to come alongside and then to come on board the ship.

**Saturday 16**

A mile from the shore of Oattooah (Samoa) several canoes came off to us.

**Sunday 17**

At 2 hove to to take on board canoes and to speak to the natives, which we frequently did.

**Monday 18**

Spread the small sails to dry.

209 No mention of sighting an island Edwards' named Howe's Island.

210 Sold the effects', i.e. the personal effects of the missing cutter's crew; a definite indication that they had been given up as lost.

211 Navigator's Is, modern-day Samoan Is.

**Tuesday 19**

(...) Ld Howes' Island.<sup>212</sup>

**Wednesday 20**

Several natives came on board in their canoes, at 5 the 2 Lt ret'd with the yawl, hoisted her in, read the Articles of War to the ship's company.

**Thursday 21**

(...) Gardners' Island.<sup>213</sup>

Sailing

**Friday 22**

Sailing

**Saturday 23**

Sailing

**Sunday 24**

**Monday 25**

Broke the log line, marked a new one, sailing

**Tuesday 26**

Carpenters caulking over the sail room, sailing

**Wednesday 27**

Unbent the small bower cable and bent the best bower cable to the small bower anchor, hove to for some canoes. At noon several canoes alongside from Middelburgh and Amsterdam<sup>214</sup> and the other small islands.

**Thursday 28**

Running in for Anamooka – the watering place. Anchored at Anamooka with the small bower in 24 fathoms and veered to a whole cable, hoisted the launch and other boats out, a great number of sailing and other canoes surrounded the ship.<sup>215</sup>

**JULY 29 – AUGUST 2, 1791:  
REMARKS AT ANAMOOKA**

**Friday 29**

PM carried out the coasting anchor to the SW and moored ship a cable each way, unspliced

212 Howes' Island, modern-day Niue Island.

213 'Gardners' Island, modern-day Fonualei Island.

214 Middelburgh and Amsterdam', (resp. modern-day Ewa and Tongatabu) Tongan islands named by Abel Tasman in 1642.

215 Back at Anamooka (a k a Nomuka).

the bower cable for survey and bent the second best bower cable to the [struck out in the original] bower anchor, AM got the ship by the stern<sup>216</sup> for the carpenters to repair the copper on the starboard bow, boats watering.

#### Saturday 30 Jul

AM a party ashore wooding, heeling ship<sup>217</sup> to repair some copper under the larboard main chains.

#### Sunday 31 Jul

PM righted ship<sup>218</sup>, cleared the larboard side of the main hold to get coals out, a party ashore with the 2nd Lt, wooding and watering<sup>219</sup>, AM filling the coal hole, the small bower cable was condemned.

#### Monday 1 [August 1791]

PM stowing the main hold, launch watering and a party ashore wooding, AM completed the forehold, launch and yawl watering.

#### Tuesday 2

Watering, cleared hawse, hoisted in the launch, unmoored ship and hove short.

### AUGUST 3 – AUGUST 29, 1791: REMARKS UNDERWAY TO ENDEAVOUR STRAIT

#### Wednesday 3

Weighed the coasting anchor and made sail<sup>220</sup> out of the road, hoisted the yawl in, unbent the best bower and coasting cables, roused up the coasting cable from between decks and afterwards coiled it down in the best bower tier. 8 AM Bickerton Island N½E<sup>221</sup>.

216 'got the ship by the stern' – to lean the ship aft so as to expose parts of the bow below the waterline, i.e. 'heeling' the ship along the fore and aft axis.

217 'heeling ship' leaning the ship over to one side to expose more of the opposite side's hull; in this instance the ship was leaned over to starboard.

218 'righted ship' – i.e. 'heeling' was completed.

219 During one of these occasions while wooding and watering parties were ashore at Anamooka, Lt Corner was attacked by an islander; Corner felt sufficiently provoked to shoot dead his assailant. (Hamilton, 1793:87-88) (See chapter 7).

220 Made sail from Anamooka.

221 N½E; half a point east of North, i.e. approx 6°

#### Thursday 4

Cleaned the larboard side between decks, opened a cask of pork, No. 11, the watch scrubbed their hammocks, roused up the small bower and sheet cables and cleaned between decks on starboard side.

#### Friday 5

Land, two canoes with natives came alongside from the shore, they brought with them a few coconuts and plantains, at first took this island for Boscauwens + Keppels' Island being only a few miles to the westward of it by our account, it proved to be an island called by the natives Towoo, at 8 bore away, called this island Proby's Is, saw Wallis Is.<sup>222</sup>

#### Saturday 6

Hove to, 3 or 4 canoes with natives came on board<sup>223</sup>, bore away, the watch washed their hammocks, sailmakers repairing the MT sail.

#### Sunday 7

Opened a cask of beef No. 3599 containing 66 double pieces, mustered ship's company, saw them clean.

#### Monday 8

Sailing

#### Tuesday 9

Saw land, Grenville's Is<sup>224</sup>, a number of the natives came on board, made sail.

#### Wednesday 10

Sold the effects of Mr Wm Oliver and Mr Thos Renouard, sold the effects of James Dodd, Henry Lofts, Richard Worldhave and Thos Barker.<sup>225</sup>

222 'Proby's Is': modern-day Niuafuou.; 'Wallis Is'. (Uvea)

223 Brief contact with Uveans

224 Grenville's Is' (Rotumah) Hamilton described the Rotuman's war-like disposition (Hamilton, 1793:98).

225 Personal effects of *Matavai* tender's crew sold; prematurely as it happened, as the two crews were fortuitously re-united at Samarang (in Java) 10 weeks later. Renouard's Christian names were David Thomas; it is puzzling that only 6 names are mentioned, according to the entry on 9 May, nine *Pandora*'s crewed the *Matavai*.

**Thursday 11**

Exercised great guns, carpenters repairing the red yawl and launch.

**Friday 12**

Saw land, punished Thos. Sprackley with a dozen lashes for disobedience of orders<sup>226</sup>, read the Articles of War to the ship's company, Cherry Island.<sup>227</sup>

**Saturday 13**

Carpenters repairing the red yawl, exercised great guns, saw land.

**Sunday 14**

(Pitt's Is)<sup>228</sup> – PM fresh breezes and hazy weather, at 1 set starboard steering sails, at  $\frac{3}{4}$  past set the M sail and jibb. Sounded occasionally, had no ground at 30 fathoms, at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 3 the extremes of the reef which lies off south end of the island bore WbS, hauled the mainsail up and bore away. The SW point of the island West and the NE point N 19 degrees W dist off the reef  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile, the reef is about 1 mile from the shore (...) at 20 minutes past 4 the SE and NE points in one bearing N 5 degrees W, and the extreme of the reef that runs off the SE point of the island N 9 degrees E, at half past 5 departed this life Henry Adams, at 6 the extremes of the island which I called Pitt's Island from N 30 degrees W to N 42 degrees E distant from the shore 2 leagues (...) at 10 committed the body of the deceased to the deep, at 11 up foresail (...)

226 10th flogging

227 'Cherry Is' (Tikopia) Hamilton mentions there was too much surf running to attempt a landing in one of the boats (Hamilton, 1793:99)

228 Edwards named this island 'Pitt's I.' (Vanikoro Island, Santa Cruz Group). This is where the survivors of La Perouse's expedition fetched up after their vessels were wrecked during a cyclone in 1788. Accounts recorded by later (European) visitors attest that French survivors remained in Vanikoro until c. 1822. Had the *Pandora* stopped to investigate, the fate of the La Perouse expedition would have been known much earlier. Hamilton mentions that it was inhabited, because of many plumes of smoke seen rising from various places (Hamilton, 1793:99). The fate of La Perouse was not 'discovered' and unravelled until a visit in 1825 by the Irish sandalwood trader Peter Dillon.

**Monday 15**

Fresh gales and thick hazy weather with rain, bore away.

**Tuesday 16**

In sounding<sup>229</sup>, lost the deep sea lead, sailing.

**Wednesday 17**

Saw breakers, spread the small sails to dry, carpenters repairing the boats, sailmakers repairing the MTG sail and middle staysail.

**Thursday 18**

(...) Wells' Shoal<sup>230</sup>, lat 12.20 S and long 202. 2 W, thought they saw land but was wrong, carpenters repairing boats.

**Friday 19**

Carpenters repairing the yawls, saw some pieces of wood floating.

**Saturday 20**

(...)

**Sunday 21**

(...) sold the effects of Henry Adams, deceased (...)

**Monday 22**

Carpenters repairing the yawls, painters painting the red yawl (...)

**Tuesday 23**

Served hops to the ships' company (...) saw land Cape Rodney and Cape Hood<sup>231</sup> and Mount Clarence and a low island or low land called Coconut island bearing NNE 3 or 4 leagues<sup>232</sup>.

**Wednesday 24**

(...)

**Thursday 25**

Gooseneck of the tiller slipped off the sweep, carpenters employed in moving the gooseneck

229 'in sounding', i.e. in waters that could be plumbed (hence possibly the loss of a 'deep sea lead' upon snagging an obstruction on the seafloor). A deep sea lead was up to approximately 110 fathoms (660 feet) in length (Kemp 1976:817).

230 'Well's Shoal', named after one of the *Pandora's* crew, either William Wells or Daniel Wells, one of whom was a masthead lookout on that day.

231 Capes Hood and Rodney, both on Papua New Guinea.

232 'league' – 1 league equals 3.18 nautical miles.

further forward on the end of the tiller, rove a new tiller rope, saw breakers from the masthead bearing from W b S to WNW.<sup>233</sup>

AM (...) at ½ past 9 saw breakers from the masthead bearing from WbS to WNW, at ¾ past [9] down [stun?] sails + hauled onboard the main Jack, at 11 the east point of Reef [bore] N b W ¼W, 40 minutes after 11 the west point of the reef [bore] N b W ¼W, saw another reef to the S (?)

[before noon] fresh breezes and fair, the last reef proved to be a half formed island enclosing a lagoon, the reef comprised principally of large stones and obtained the name Stoney Reef Island<sup>234</sup>, at noon the extremes of it bore from NW to NWby S

Lat Obs 9° 50'15" S

Long TK 215° 2' 53" W

Long Obs 215° 26' 41" W<sup>235</sup>

#### Friday 26

The reef which I called Stoney Is reef bore from South to SE by E distant from the [?] part about 4 miles<sup>236</sup>, at 40 minutes after 1 took away the TG stun sails [4 words crossed out] saw a small island from the masthead to the westward of us, at 2 saw a Reef bearing [?]

[2 illegible lines]

The island which I called Murrays' Island<sup>237</sup> bore from W¼S to WNW?

At ½ past 5 saw a Reef extending from Murray's Island to the NW, hauled down the studding sail and got one tack (?) on board

233 The reefs sighted here are modern-day Portlock Reefs (AUS 377). Note the lagoon shaped reef directly to the south of Portlock Reefs marking the northern edge of Pandora Passage.

234 It is not clear whether the breakers seen from the masthead are around Stoney Island Reef or whether Boot Reef is referred to by that name.

235 The noon position fix refers to a position within modern-day Pandora Passage; the opening between Portlock and Boot Reefs (AUS 377).

236 This observation clarifies that Stoney Island Reef is on Boot Reef (AUS 377).

237 'Murrays' Island' (Mer) one of the eastern island group (AUS 377).

At 10 minutes before 6 the northern most extremity of the Reef NW by N 5 miles at the nearest part, at 6 the extreme of Murrays' Island from WSW ½ W to W by S

At 40 minutes past 7 the southern most part of Murrays' Island bore W by N

[... ...]

6 AM Murrays' Island W ½ N

10 AM discovered a Reef ahead<sup>238</sup>, soon after [I] perceived it tacked to SW ward hauled up accordingly.

At Noon the southern part of the Reef in sight from the masthead SW and the sandy key on the Reef N b W.

The extremes of Murrays' Island from N20W to N52W.<sup>239</sup>

#### Saturday 27 Aug

(PM) light breezes and cloudy, at ½ past Meri[dian] hauled studding sails, sail-makers repairing mizzen F T sail

3 PM moderate + fair

4 PM Murray Island N 4 W 10 leagues. The southern extremity of the reef in sight from the masthead SbyW½W At ½ past 5 tacked, the southern extremity of the reef in sight from the masthead moderate and cloudy W

7 PM handed [hauled?] down the middle and TG staysail, at ½ past handed the FT Gallt sail, at 8 handed the Main T G sail

4 AM tacked ship and hauled the mainsail up

6 AM tacked ship set the mainsail, jibb and TG staysail main TG Sail and driver Murray Island from the masthead bearing NbW¼W [?], at 7 set the F TG sail

8 AM fresh breezes and fair at ½ past 9 saw the reef from west to NW

238 The 'Reef ahead' sighted from the masthead at 10AM is probably the western edge of Ashmore Reef (AUS377).

239 N20W to N52W, bearing from 340° to 308°.

10 AM sail-makers repairing the old FT sail, people making the [?]

11 AM the southernmost part of the Reef in sight South at ½ past tacked ship

12 moderate + fair the southern most part of the Reef in sight S by E dist[ant] from the nearest part 5 or 6 miles

Lat Obs 10° 49' 34' S

Long TK 216° 15' 56' W

### Sunday 28

1 PM moderate breezes and cloudy – at half past tacked ship<sup>240</sup>

6 PM – The extremes of the reef seen from the masthead from NW b W to SW by S moderate and fair weather.

At 7 hauled down the middle FT G staysails and tacked ship

10 PM hauled down the driver

4 AM sounded 70 fathoms no ground

6 AM set all sails

At 11 AM shortened sail, tacked ship and brought to, hoisted out blue yawl<sup>241</sup> to examine an opening in the reef, fresh breezes and cloudy, at noon a sandy key<sup>242</sup> just without the reef and near an opening, S 75 degrees W dist 3 or 4 miles

Lat 11°.23'.40' S

Long by timekeeper 216°.15'.22' W

Temperature 75.5 F

### Monday 29 Aug

1PM moderate breezes and hazy weather,

1-2 PM head ENE & NNE,

2 PM filled the MT sail and set the foresail,

3 PM 2 knots course NEbE wind SEbE, tacked ship, sounded frequently, had no ground, at 4 [PM] sandy island WbS½S and the extreme of the reef SE½E

240 'tacked ship' at 7 PM, changed course, heading away from the reef, out into blue water for the night; stay sails taken in to reduce speed, as per evening of 27 Aug.

241 Lieutenant Robert Corner sent to reconnoitre Pandora Entrance in the blue yawl, looking for a navigable passage.

242 'sandy key' – later referred to as Entrance Cay (now called Moulter Cay).

At ½ past 4 jacked up foresail and hove to for the boat to return on board, at ¾ after 4 [PM] the boat made the signal<sup>243</sup> for a clear passage through the reef, made signal with a gun for the boat to return onboard, repeated same and at different intervals fired false fires and musquets which the boat answered with musquets, sounded occasionally, no bottom at 110 fathoms, at about 20 minutes after 7 [PM] the boat was close under our stern at the same time we got 50 fathoms. Filled T sails but before we could get the tack onboard and the sails trimmed, the ship struck, when we found ¼ less 2 fathoms on the larboard side and 3 fathoms of water on the starboard side, got out the boats with a view to carrying out an anchor but before it could be effected the ship struck so violently on the reef that the carpenter reported that she made 18 inches water in 5 minutes and in 5 minutes after there was 4 feet of water in the hold, finding the leak increasing so fast found it necessary to turn the hands to the pumps and to bail at the different hatchways, but she still continued to gain upon us so much that in an hour and a half after she had struck there was 8½feet of water in the hold, at 10 [PM] found that the ship had beat over<sup>244</sup> the reef, when we had 10 fathom water let go the small bower and veered to a whole

243 ...'made signal' - In ordering the yawl back to the ship to be picked up before nightfall, Captain Edwards was undoubtedly acting as a precaution against losing another of the ship's boats. This probably accounts for the ship actually coming into the entrance late in the afternoon. With a flooding tide, there would have been a strong current setting the vessel to the west after about 6pm. It is not hard to imagine that at this point the crew may have been distracted by the signalling between the ship and Corner's yawl, i.e. the 'false fires and musquets'. More importantly, with sunset at approximately 6pm and the sun low on the western horizon after about 5pm, it would have been very difficult to discern waves breaking on the small submerged coral outcrops (now known to be) hidden in this part of Pandora Entrance. Thus, an unfortunate combination of factors caused the ship to run aground at about 7.30pm. Bad or reckless seamanship does not appear to have been a factor, although Captain Edwards' detractors later insinuated that the vessel had been navigated in a 'lubberly' manner (Smythe, United Services Magazine, 1843:419-20).

244 The ship 'beat over' the reef, i.e. got off the reef on the far side of the point of impact; this was done on a flooding tide. Before getting off, the hull scraped over the top of the reef for a distance of approx. 175 metres.

## AUGUST 30 – SEPTEMBER 1, 1791: REMARKS ON ESCAPE CAY<sup>248</sup>

### Tuesday 30 August

PM took an account of the provisions etc. saved out of the wreck and spread them to dry. There was about 350 lb of bread, a small cask of wine and a few bottles. Meat not sufficient to make a division for a day, [left blank in the original] gallons of water, two canisters of portable soup, 1 keg of essence of malt. The island or rather key for it was only 32 yards across at high water and about double the distance in length, there was not a single tree, shrub or blade of grass upon it. Nor could we catch any fish, a few shell fish was all we could procure here.

AM Began to prepare our boats and make arrangements for our return to England. Put our people to the following allowance of provisions per day, 3 ounces of bread, two wine glasses of water and a glass of wine, ½ an ounce of essence of Malt, ½ an ounce of portable soup, but the last two articles were not issued until we left the island. We also saved 3 loaves of sugar, three bottles of tea, a few guava cakes and about 2 lb of chocolate and a keg of tripe. This was all we had to feed 99 men. A voyage of such considerable length in open boats before we could expect to get any material supply of provisions.<sup>249</sup>

### Wednesday 31 Aug<sup>250</sup>

Moderate and hazy weather, PM – launched the two yawls and sent one to the wreck to see if anything could be procured from her. She returned with the head of one of the TG masts, part of the lightning chain and a little of the TG rigging, but not one article of provisions.

cable and dropt the best bower underfoot in 15 and ½ fathoms to steady the ship. Hands were employed thrumbing a topsail<sup>245</sup> to hoist under the bottom, soon after the ship was over the reef one of the chainpumps gave way by the chains breaking and a little before midnight one of the hand pumps was rendered useless by a spear box breaking, our sails were furled, Top G yards got down, and mast struck<sup>246</sup>, we continued pumping and bailing the remainder of the night, and with great difficulty could keep the ship from sinking before daylight and after every effort was made for that purpose we were obliged to quit her in the boats and rafts at ½ past 6 o clock [AM], but before all the ship's company could quit her she went down, the boats took up all the people they could see afloat which with the few articles of provisions etc that we had been able to collect the boats were exceedingly deep, we steered for a small sandy island<sup>247</sup> which bore from the ship W b S ½ S 3 or 4 miles, we landed 89 of the ship's company and 10 prisoners, 31 of the ship's company and 4 prisoners were missing, boats were immediately sent to the wreck and to different reefs about her to search after the missing people but they returned without having found a single person. We hauled up the boats to secure them and to fit them for the voyage. We were exceedingly fortunate in saving all the ships boats. As to the loss of the two canoes that were lashed together, there are doubts whether that was a fortunate or an unfortunate event.

245 'thrumbing a topsail', i.e. sewing lengths of rope (or 'junk') to it; the thrumbed sail to be used for fothering, i.e. to 'hoist under the bottom', to pass the sail under the hull in the hope that the lengths of rope/junk would be sucked into gaps in the planking or holes in the hull, and thereby slow down ingress of water.

246 'mast struck', it is presumed that the main top gallant mast was taken down.

247 '...small sandy island' – the cay where the survivors landed was a barren strip of sand without water or shade. According to prisoner James Morrison, it was ... scarcely 150 yards in circuit and not more than six feet from the (sea) level at high water. James Atkins referred to it as 'Unfortunate Pandora's Cay' (Extract from James Atkins' Journal (Evening Mail, London, 1 June 1792)).

248 Escape Cay' latitude fixed as 11° 23' S

249 There was no hope of rescue. Crammed onto the cay, they took stock of their situation. Captain Edwards was faced with the daunting task of getting his crew and the prisoners back to England alive. He had only four of the ship's boats and very little water and provisions had been saved. First night on Escape Cay.

250 Second night on Escape Cay.

The other boat was sent to examine more thoroughly the channel from the reef which she found sufficient for any ship. She was afterward sent fishing and unfortunately lost her grapnel and rope without catching any fish. Artificers were busily employed in fitting the boats, all of these 24 hours.

AM The boats were completed and launched, and everything we had saved was put onboard them and at ½ past 10 [AM] we embarked and steered NW by W. 29 men in the launch, 24 in the pinnace and 23 in each of the yawls – two men were put out of the blue yawl into the launch.

## SEPTEMBER 1 – SEPTEMBER 17, 1791: REMARKS IN THE PINNACE <sup>251</sup>

### Thursday 1 September [1791] <sup>252</sup>

course NW by W, at 20 minutes past N[oon] saw an island or key, bearing WNW½W which for distinction we called 2nd key<sup>253</sup>, at 1 past the said key, it was bounded with craggy rocks and the centre or interior was part sand. At ½ past 6 brought to and took each other in tow, course WNW<sup>254</sup>, 3 knots 4 fathoms.

AM at ½ past 5 cast off the tow, from 7 PM to 5 AM the course directed was WNW but [I] suppose that course was not exactly steered owing to difference in compasses and for want of a light to steer by.

At ¾ past 5 saw land bearing from SW to WNW, sent the yawls inshore to sound and

look out, at ½ past 6 saw the land bearing as far as NNW and a small sand key<sup>255</sup> bearing NE b N, at ¾ past 6 saw a large mountainous island bearing N and Turtle Island N b W, at ¾ past 7 passed Turtle Island,

At ½ past 9 hove to for the yawls, at 10 made sail again, at ¾ 11 the yawls joined us and informed us they had found a running stream of water and had filled up their two barricos<sup>256</sup>, at noon entered a bay in Mountainous Island<sup>257</sup> where we saw several Indians (Pos. 10<sup>o</sup>.34' S by long TK<sup>258</sup> 217.4.2W).<sup>259</sup>

### Friday 2

After entering the bay<sup>260</sup> we stood as near to the shore as we thought prudent and off of which was a flat and the Indians waded and came along side the boat, we gave them a few fish hooks and sail needles and made them sensible we were in want of water. They pointed to a place where it was to be had and made signs for us to come on shore, but we declined the invitation from motives of prudence and gave them a tub to bring the water for us and they soon returned with it full of good water and they went for a second and when they were returned with it and just entering the water an arrow<sup>261</sup> was shot at us which struck the boat on the quarter upon which we fired a volley of muskets and they ran away dropping the tub in the salt water. A few of them returned, took up the tub, a single shot

251 All remarks made from this date until 20th Sept 1791 refer to events from the perspective of the survivors in the pinnace; this was the boat which Captain Edwards commanded.

252 3rd night after the wrecking – first night in the boats.

253 '2nd key' – Capt. Edwards is probably referring to MacLennan Cay or Briery Cay (AUS 836).

254 WNW (two points W of NW, i.e. 296°). In his report Capt. Edwards mentions that the track they sailed from Escape Cay to the main land – and eventually to the entrance of Endeavour Strait – was better than the one that Capt. Cook had followed in 1770; the end of this channel was marked by a 'small white island', or sand cay in latitude 11° 23'S (Thomson, 1915:76): probably modern-day Cholmondeley Island (AUS 835). This would suggest the actual course steered during the night was West.

255 It is not clear whether the small sand cay sighted at 06.30 is Millman It. (11°10' S) or Douglas It. (AUS835). Alternatively it may be Turtle Island, which they passed at 07.45. Turtle Island is in latitude 10°53'30'S (AUS 292).

256 'barrico', or breaker, a small keg holding approximately 7 gallons, usually this refers to the keg kept in the ship's boat

257 'large mountainous Island', i.e. Mt Adolphus I. (Not the one at 10° 16' named Mountainous I. by Bligh when in the *Bounty's* launch).

258 'long TK', i.e. longitude determined by the time keeper (chronometer). In his 'Narrative' surgeon Hamilton mentions that Capt Edwards had taken the *Pandora's* chronometer with him in one of the boats (Hamilton:1793:127).

259 The yawls had crossed Newcastle Bay from near Turtle I. and made Freshwater Bay, just south of Fly Point near the tip of Cape York (AUS 292).

260 The bay they entered is possibly Blackwood Bay on Mt Adolphus I. at latitude (approx) 10°38' S (AUS 292).

261 'arrow' – the 'Indians' are likely to have been Torres Straits Islanders, as Aborigines did not use bows and arrows.

was fired at him, although there was water to be procured here I did not think it proper to hazard men's lives when I thought it almost certain that water could be got in another place without running that risque [sic].

At ½ past 3 sailed? [...] at ¼ past 5 [?] Peaked Hill Island<sup>262</sup> N b W 7 or 8 miles [?] the extreme of the land to the southward from SE to WbN and Plumb Island<sup>263</sup> ESE – at 6 took the boats in tow. At ½ past 9 struck soundings in 10 fathoms water and in running in for a bay the sounding diminished [?] to 2½ fathoms, when we [?] were within 9 boat lengths of a Reef<sup>264</sup> extending off to the Northward – on discovering [struck out words] this which was at ½ past 10. When [?] deepened the water we run down by the side of [the island ?] hauled in for the land again and at about 11 came to a grapnel with the boats in 3 fathoms of water – the centre of Laforey's Island<sup>265</sup> SE? 1½ mile [?], Hammonds Island west point NWbW and Parker Island<sup>266</sup> from N by W to N by E and an island seen through the E entrance<sup>267</sup> into the Sound (which we called Sandwich Sound) the entrance<sup>268</sup> lies between two islands which are called Hammonds' and Parkers' Island – Parkers Island to the eastward and Hammond Island to the westward, bearing NW [...] which we supposed is the Island called by Lieut. Bligh Mountainous Island<sup>269</sup> with a round top lying in Lat 10° 16' S –

AM at 5 weighed and stood in for a small bay which we called Wolf Bay<sup>270</sup> from crying wolves

on the beach – sent an armed party on the shore [with the Lt?] in search of water – on digging water was found [?] sent every vessel to shore to be filled – sailmakers employed in [struck out] making of bags to hold water and when [they had finished?] them got ashore and filled them with water [...] sent the cook inshore and boiled a double allowance of portable soup, found a few oysters and a red plum of a gummy and astringent nature which was the only [?] eatable we found, saw no inhabitants but saw pits that had been dug for water, fire places and [?] places – the water on Wolfs' Bay is very shallow and [?] near the beach very muddy – Sandwich Sound<sup>271</sup> is formed [?] Hammonds and Parkers' Islands and a cluster of small [islands?] at its eastern entrance<sup>272</sup> – it is capacious [...] and sheltered [?] from all winds as an anchorage for ships [...] fire wood may be found on any of these islands and plenty of good water may be found by [illegible, digging?]<sup>273</sup>

### Saturday 3 Sept

Fresh breezes, fair weather, having filled our vessels with water and made a division of portable soup, essence of malt and wine (...) received bread from the launch, stood for the north entrance of Sandwich Sound<sup>274</sup> (...) at half past 4 [PM] a high island which we called Hawkesbury Is NW by N, the north end of Hammonds' Is W b S, and the north point of Parkers' Is E, the passage is about 2 miles wide. At ½ past 4 saw a reef from North to W b NW which appeared to(?) in the latter

262 'Peaked Hill Island' – probably Twin I. in Lat 10°28' S, Long 142°26' E (AUS 292).

263 'Plumb Island' – probably Little Adolphus I. (Plum?)

264 Probably a reef running northward from King Point on Horn I. or the Nereid Rocks (AUS 293).

265 Laforey's Island' – modern-day Horn I.

266 'Parkers' Island' – modern-day Wednesday I.

267 'an island seen through the E entrance' – this is probably one of the Tuesday Islands.

268 'the entrance' to Sandwich Sound, i.e. the northern entrance.

269 Bligh's Mountainous Island lying in latitude 10°16'S) is modern-day Moa Island.

270 'Wolf Bay's' shores is not specifically identifiable; probably

along the northern shore of Horn Island, however, it could also be on Prince of Wales I. Capt PP. King refers to Wolf's Bay as the 'strait to the south of Wednesday Island'. It may therefore be Port Kennedy (Nautical Magazine 1834:264).

271 'Sandwich Sound' – i.e. the waters between modern-day Tuesday, Wednesday, Hammond, Thursday and Horn Islands. Capt Edwards apparently only described two of its four 'entrances': modern-day Aplin Pass and Ellis Channel do not seem to be referred to (AUS 293).

272 'cluster of small [islands?]' at its eastern entrance' – i.e. Tuesday Is (AUS 293).

273 4th night after the wrecking – second night in the boats.

274 'the north entrance of Sandwich Sound' – the description that the passage was 'about 2 miles wide' confirms that Capt. Edwards is referring to the opening between Hammond I. and Wednesday I.

direction (?) hauled off to the SW<sup>275</sup> carry in at 5 (?) fathoms of water at 6, having cleared the reef [we] stood to the westward (...) saw large turtle (?) at 6 saw a Mountainous Island N½E, West Island which appears [...] [?]byW and [...] SW extreme [...] distant from Prince of Wales Islands which we called Christians Island<sup>276</sup> ... 5 miles – took the boats in tow.

At half past 5 [AM] cast off the tow [...] [?] blue yawl.<sup>277</sup>

#### Sunday 4 Sept

PM moderate breeze and fair weather, course W b N, 6 pm took the boats in tow and caught a booby bird,

Midnight the tow rope broke, got hold of rope and took boats in tow again,

2 am the rope broke again,

5am lost sight of the boats, hove to to head to the southward (...) at 6 saw the boats ahead, 8 am made signal for the boats to join us, noon moderate breeze, divided the booby into 23 parts and served it instead of portable soup.<sup>278</sup>

#### Monday 5 Sept<sup>279</sup>

3 PM saw a yellow and black ringed sea snake, 6 PM took the boats in tow and ordered the boats to rendez-vous in Coupang in case of separation, 4am cast off tow, 10 am saw a large turtle,

Noon fresh breezes and hazy.

#### Tuesday 6 Sept

2 PM reef breaking with the appearance of shoal water

6 PM boats in tow.

2 AM the launch broke its tow rope.

11 AM a number of birds in different flocks in sight.

Lat 9° 46' 15' S

Long Obs 223° 49' W

275 'hauled off to the SW' – set a course through modern-day Prince of Wales Channel.

276 'Christian's Island', likely modern-day Friday I.

277 5th night after the wrecking – 3rd night in the boats.

278 6th night after the wrecking – 4th night in the boats

279 7th night after the wrecking – 5th night in the boats

#### Wednesday 7 Sept

7 PM the launch took the red yawl in tow.

4 AM the launch cast off the tow .

12 AM increased the proportion of bread to 3 pieces per man [?]

Lat 9° 44' 47' S

Long Obs 226° 19' 27'W

#### Thursday 8 Sept

7 AM divided a small keg of tripe amongst the four boats.

#### Friday 9 Sept

10 AM divided the remainder of the wine proportionally among the boats crews.

#### Saturday 10 Sept

6 PM received 9 gallons of water from the launch, 6 am a light shower of rain.

#### Sunday 11 Sept

10 PM saw a large sea snake.

#### Monday 12 Sept

4 PM Thos. Smith was taken ill [?] gave him a [?] <sup>280</sup>

#### Tuesday 13 Sept

6 PM saw many birds of different kinds, light winds, hazy weather,

7 AM saw land bearing NW, on seeing land the yawls hauled to the Northward, 11 am lost sight of the yawls and at half past 11 lost sight of the launch.

#### Wednesday 14 Sept

1 PM light winds and fair, at half past meridian we thought we saw a river which we hauled up for, at 1 a party<sup>281</sup> swam inshore in search of water, at half past 3 the party returned after a search for the supposed river [?] islets of mangroves and the water in them salt, stood to the southward at half past 5 saw water in two islands ouzing [sic] through the beach which on examination also proved

280 14th night after the wrecking – 12th night in the boats.

281 Hamilton says two men jumped overboard with bottles slung around their bodies, they swam through the surf and landed looking for water.

salt, continued standing to the southward where we saw fires in that direction on the beach, at 8 got close to it and on examination discovered the natives had gone, no water was found, at half past eight made sail [?].

4 AM rowed for the shore, at half past 6 am heard a cock crow, sent a party in shore to search for water, at ½ past 7 plenty of good water was found and at the same time a party of natives who joined our party on shore and after some presents were made to them they sold us some fish [?] employed in filling one keg and small vessels, at half past 10 the launch hove in sight and at 11 she joined us, having provided herself [...] with good water at 11.30 [?] to clear the reef and stood to the southward, at noon the extreme of the reef from NW to W by S, offshore ½ mile Mod. breezes and fair.

Lat obs 10° 14' S

#### Thursday 15 Sept

4AM light airs generally off the land + sometimes calm during the night, we were at about 4 leagues to the NbW

6AM the extremes of Timor from the E b N to the W b N offshore 2 miles + the Island of Rottie [illegible bearing] 5 or 6 leagues

12 AM the launch in company.

#### Friday 16 Sept<sup>282</sup>

3 PM opened the South W of Samao<sup>283</sup> with Timor they [their?] bearing [illegible].

At ½ past 3 entered the Straits of Samao the body of [illegible] bearing S[outh] 2 or 3 leagues.

6-9 PM running through the Strait of Samao at 9 hauled close around to the Eastward keeping the Timor coast onboard at 10 saw a ship riding in Coupang Road.

At half past 10 down sail + rowed along shore

At half past 11 came to a grapnel off the Fort

<sup>282</sup> 18th night after the wrecking - 16th night in the boats.

<sup>283</sup> Samao, modern-day Semau, with Roti, one of the two islands off the South west coast of West Timor.

of Coupang, found here one ship anchored and 2 small craft.

7 AM landed and waited on the Governor, at half past 9 the launch arrived, all the people landed and were liberally entertained by Governor Wanjon at his house.<sup>284</sup>

### SEPTEMBER 18 – OCTOBER 5, 1791: REMARKS AT COUPANG, TIMOR

#### Saturday 17 Sep

(Loss of a day)

#### Sunday 18 Sept

Myself and the officers that were arrived dined with Governor Wanjon [?] lodged in his Excellency's house, Mr Corner and Mr Bentham the Purser with Mr Fry the Lt Governor (...) the Church was appropriated for the reception of the ship's company and a house was provided for the warrant and petty officers, by our account this day is Saturday the 17th Sept but at Timor Sunday the 18th, our having lost a day by running around the Globe to the westward.

#### Monday 19 Sept

The Governor informed me that he had in custody [?] 8 Englishmen, one woman and 2 children that had come here in a boat from Port Jackson that they first pretended they were part of an English ship's company that was cast away and as such they were received with great humanity and furnished in everything they wanted, but they quarrelling among themselves it was discovered that all the party except for two men and 2 children were convicts<sup>285</sup>. By a journal they kept it appears they left Port Jackson on 28 March last and arrived here on 3 June, the people say that the colony at P Jackson was greatly distressed for provisions, the rations being

<sup>284</sup> The pinnace and the launch arrived at Coupang on 16 Sept. However the two yawls did not arrive until 20 Sept. so the men in the yawls endured 3 more days of exposure.

<sup>285</sup> William and Mary Bryant, her two children and 7 escaped men from the Port Jackson penal colony.

reduced to ¼ [?] that the *Sirius* was lost at Norfolk Island and Capt Hunter and his ships company had gone to England in a Dutch vessel [?] for provisions [?].

**Tuesday 20 Sept**

At 3 pm two yawls arrived here and came into the river, we procured for our people [?] of beef or buffalo, 14 ? of arrack and coffee, sugar or molasses (...) such of our people [?] that are sick [taken?] under the care of the surgeon of the Dutch hospital, the first lieutenant and the master were sent into the house of the Captain-Lieutenant of a company ship that lay in the Road and the surgeon was received into the house of the surgeon of the hospital. The prisoners that came in the two yawls were sent to the Castle for safety.

**Wednesday 21 Sept**

Some of the prisoners were ill and they were sent to the Dutch hospital which lay within the limits of the castle [... ..] to guard them. The ceremony of [...] was performed at Amabis [?] about two miles from here, the [sultan?] having been dead about 7 months.<sup>286</sup>

**Thursday 22 Sept**

AM went on board the *Rembang* a ship belonging to the Dutch East India Co bound for Batavia.

**Friday 23, Saturday 24, Sunday 25 Sept**  
(Nothing particular happened)

**Monday 26 Sept, Tuesday 27 Sept**  
[no entries]

**Wednesday 28 Sept**

(...) received [?] two months provisions for our ships company (and?) 8 (?) prisoners on board the *Rembang* DEI Co ship.

**Thursday 29 Sept, Friday 30 Sept**  
[no entries]

**Saturday 1 Oct**

This day (...) king (?) of Amabis in presence

<sup>286</sup> The survivors happened into Timor at the time of the investiture of a new Sultan.

of Governor Wanjon (...) at Coupang (...) was saluted by the Castle after his election [illegible].

**Sunday 2, Monday 3, Tuesday 4 Oct**  
[no entries]

**Wednesday 5 Oct**

Sold one of the *Pandora's* yawls to Lt Gov Fry (?) for twenty [?] pounds for which sum I did make myself accountable to the Commissioner of His Majesty's Navy.<sup>287</sup>

OCTOBER 6 – NOVEMBER 2, 1791:  
REMARKS ON THE  
*REMBANG DEI CO SHIP* <sup>288</sup>

**Thursday 6 Oct**

Embarked myself officers and ships company, pirates belonging to the *Bounty* and convicts who had come from Port Jackson to Coupang in a boat who were put into my custody by Governor Wanjon [?] [... ..] voyage to Batavia.

**Friday 7 Oct**

Weather fine, winds variable.

**Saturday 8 Oct**

Saw the island of Flores to the Northward of us [...] in the afternoon a favourable breeze sprang up [...] made some progress to the west.

**Sunday 9 - Wednesday 12 Oct**  
[no entries]

**Thursday 13 Oct**

Off Strait of [?] Sappy [?].

**Friday 14 - Tuesday 18 Oct**

[no entries]

**Wednesday 19 Oct**

entered the Strait of Allis<sup>289</sup>

**Thursday 20 - Monday 29 Oct**  
[no entries]

<sup>287</sup> This is the only reference to one of the four boats.

<sup>288</sup> All entries from this date onwards appear to be summarised; the events relating to the *Rembang* voyage have been written on one (separate) page.

<sup>289</sup> The strait between the islands of Komodo and Sumbawa

**Sunday 30 Oct**

anchored at Samarang<sup>290</sup>, found here our schooner tender lost. Barker one of the seamen [...] death since they had made the island of Java.

**Monday 31 Oct, Tuesday 1 Nov**

no entries

**Wednesday 2 Nov**

Sailed from Samarang in company with our tender. Anchored at Batavia Road and waited on the Governor. Obtained leave [...] to send [...] to the Company hospital [illegible].

**NOVEMBER 19 – DECEMBER 23, 1791:  
REMARKS ON THE ZWAAN DEI CO SHIP**

On 19 Nov lieutenant Larkan, two petty officers and 18 seamen embarked on board *Zwan* [sic] D E India Co ship bound for Europe. Between [...] and 23 December myself with the remainder of the officers and seamen belonging to the *Pandora*, the pirates late belonging to the *Bounty* and the convicts from Port Jackson embarked on board the *Hoornweg*, *Horssen* and *Vredenburg* D E India Co ships – arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on 18 March 1792 where I found His Majesty's ship *Gorgon*, Capt Parker. I directed him to receive on to the ship under his command the pirates and convicts above mentioned and I embarked on board her myself [...] departing from thence on 5 April and arrived in England on 18 June 1792. Previous to my leaving the Cape I desired Mr John de Wit to provide lodgings for the *Pandora's* officers during their necessary stay at that place and to draw bills on the Comm. of His Majesty's Navy for the amount of the expenses.

<sup>290</sup> The *Rembang's* visit to Samarang was unscheduled; they put in there to repair damage sustained during a violent storm. According to Hamilton, the *Rembang* was saved from wrecking by the efforts of the *Pandora's* seamen; also, the reunion with the missing shipmates was a happy occasion (Hamilton 1793:149).

N.B. Entries relating to events after the survivors arrival at Batavia on 2 Nov 1791 were summarised under a single entry on a separate page, starting on 19 Nov 1791; Edwards must have made this (summarising) entry after his return to England; he omits details about his negotiations with DEI Co (VOC) officials and about what happened to the crew, prisoners and convicts in Batavia. The details of the voyage to England, via Cape Good Hope are also only briefly outlined.

**ISLANDS DISCOVERED IN 1791**

The last logbook entry is a list of islands 'discovered in the year 1791 in the South Sea in HM Ship *Pandora*' (Table 7).

**Table 7: Extract from the *Pandora's* Logbook.**

Name of Island	Latitude ° ' " South	Longitude ° ' " West
Ducie's Island (about 5 miles in circuit)	24 42 30	124 40 30
Lord Hoods' Island (about 8 miles long)	21 31 -	135 32 30
Carysforts' Island (about 4 miles long)	20 49 -	138 33 -
Duke of Clarendon's (about 24 circuit)	9 09 30	171 30 46
Oteihwy (or Chathams' Island) upwards 30 miles long	13 32 20	172 18 20
Howes' Island (Entrance of ? Sound)	18 32 30	
Gardners' Island	17 57 -	
Bickerston's Island	18 47 40	174 48 -
Proby's Island or Onooahfow	15 53 -	175 51 -
Granvilles' Island or Rotumah (about 12 miles long)	12 29 -	183 03 -
Pandora's Bank	12 11 -	188 08 -
Mitre Island (small and high)	11 49 -	190 04 30
Cherry's Island (about 4 miles in circuit)	11 37 30	190 19 30
Pitt's Island	11 50 30	193 14 15
Well's Shoal (a half-formed lagoon island about 7 miles?)	12 20 -	202 02 -
Cape Rodney	10 03 32	212 14 05
Cape Hood	9 58 06	212 37 10
Murray's Island	9 57 -	216 43 -
Look-out Shoal		
Stoney Reef Island	[Struck out]	
Entrance Key	11 23 -	
Escape Key (very small)	11 23 -	
Reef extending from Latitude 9° 30' to Lat 11° 28' S. The [?]house Isles [?] Barrington (?) Hotham, Jervis, Sawyer [?] forming a sound in these waters called Cook's Sound [?] there were some other small islands to the SE of them to which no names were given. <sup>291</sup>		

1

291 The islands referred to here have not been positively identified; they may be islands in Torres Strait proper, sighted to the north of what Capt. Edwards called 'Sandwich Sound'. Alternatively, they refer to islands on the eastern side of Cape York Peninsula, sighted before the wrecking or sighted during the open boat voyage from Escape Cay to 'Sandwich Sound'. 'Cook's Sound' has not been identified, unless it is the actual strait now known as Endeavour Strait – the strait Capt. James Cook went through in 1770 after claiming for King George III – on Possession Island – the entire east coast of Australia. Before entering the 'Great Indian Ocean' Captain Edwards named a number of islands in the Torres Strait (e.g. Laforey's Island and Hawkesbury, now called, respectively Horn Island and Badu Island) (Hamilton 1793:126). The names Capt. Edwards bestowed on these islands were (in the main) not retained or used by later hydrographers.