Journal of the *Lagoda* (Bark) of New Bedford, Mass., mastered by Edward D. Lewis, kept by Wilhelm Kromer, on voyage 11 April 1882–3 June 1886

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2 September 2014 Revised 23 December 2014 To my father's memory

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Annotations

An aster*sk denotes an illegible letter or sequence of letters. Probable letter choices {ar,we}re enclosed in curly brackets. Square brackets clarify idiosyncratic [characteristic] words, and fill [in] those missing. Modern grammar conventions are used except with proper nouns. Emendations are documented in footnotes.

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Introduction

Wilhelm Kromer was 22 when he joined the Bark Lagoda's twelfth voyage out of New Bedford. This journey lasted from April 1882–June 1886 and took place in the Tierra del Fuego at the Chile–Argentina–Antarctica border. His series of six logbooks are the only known journals from the vessel under Capt. Edward D. Lewis. The first book is in mixed English, German, and French. The other five are in English with New Year's and birthday blessings in German. This document is a complete transcription and translation of Kromer's first book. Occasional German language entries are in appendices.

The Lagoda's twelfth voyage had an unusual number of Germans aboard. There were five others beside Kromer: Rudolf Gartmann, Charles Rodemer, John Schmied, Fritz Schneider, and John A. Guster. Possibly a mass migration during the Franco-Prussian War and the German Unification ten years prior can explain the influx of German whalers to New Bedford. Spanish and Portuguese documents represent most of the Whaling Museum's foreign language collection. It's a unique primary source document in New Bedford's whaling history.

Capt. Lewis commanded three of the *Lagoda's* journeys from 1873–1886.² Lewis brought four officers with him on the twelfth voyage, named in order from 1st Mate down: John Edwards, Aaron Burnham, George H. Wheeler, and Alexander Wilson. The vessel returned to a "very quiet" oil market and incurred a loss of \$10,253.55 for whaling merchant Jonathan Bourne. Lewis was the *Lagoda's* only captain to actually lose money. Two of his three journeys account for all of the vessel's \$24,714.02 net loss.³

The *Lagoda's* twelfth voyage was Lewis's last in Bourne's service. Lewis only turned a profit on the eleventh voyage, and at \$6,414.44 it was the least money the *Lagoda* ever made. Compare this to the *Lagoda's* seventh voyage from August 1860–April 1864 under Capt. Zebedee A. Devoll, which earned a net profit of \$185,522.16 for the owners.⁴

Jonathan Bourne was America's most successful whaling merchant. He moved to New Bedford in 1818 when he was seventeen and worked in John Webster's grocery store on the corner of Union and Second Streets. In six years he became Webster's partner and then the store's owner. He entered the whaling business in 1835 and for \$750 down he bought a $\frac{1}{16}$

¹New Bedford Port Society, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885 Register for Seamen's Names and Descriptions with Index of Vessel Names and the Names of the Men (New Bedford, MA: Kendall Institute–New Bedford Whaling Museum), p. 6.

²Judith N. Lund et al., American Offshore Whaling Voyages 1667–1927: Volume II, Voyages by Master (New Bedford, MA: Old Dartmouth Historical Society–New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2010), p. 203

³"History of the Bark *Lagoda* of New Bedford, Mass., One of New Bedford's Most Successful Whaling Vessels," *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketches 1910–1919: Volume II*, No 28–47 (New Bedford, MA: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1984), pp. 399–401.

⁴Ibid., pp. 399–401.

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share in the Whaler General Pike. The next year he paid \$1,925 for a $\frac{4}{16}$ share in the Bark Roscoe and bought another $\frac{1}{16}$ share a year later. Bourne fully devoted himself to his career by 1838, when he sold the grocery store to his brother-in-law George W. Howland and bought a $\frac{1}{16}$ share in the Ship Washington. These investments established him as a permanent but still minor whaling merchant.⁵

Bourne bought the *Lagoda* in 1841. It was his longest single investment and one of his most profitable. The merchant ship was built in 1826 and named for Lake Ladoga near St. Petersburg. Two letters were accidentally transposed when it was painted and sailors believed correcting the name would bring bad luck.⁶ Bourne acquired 55.28% ownership and managed the vessel until he sold it in 1886.⁷ He converted the ship to a bark in 1860 to reduce the amount of rigging and allow the vessel greater agility upwind. The *Lagoda* completed thirteen voyages in 45 years and brought Bourne a \$651,958.99 net profit.⁸

Bourne's daughter Emily was a philanthropist who spread her father's name through charity. She moved to New York and founded the New York Workshop for the Blind and a school at Freeport, Long Island. She donated \$300,000 to New York City "for the benefit of nurses serving the poor" and established a \$10,000 scholarship to Yale University. The Bourne family name appears today on the Jonathan Bourne Building at the New Bedford Whaling Museum, the Jonathan and Emily Howland Bourne Wing at St. Luke's Hospital in New Bedford, the Cape Cod town of Bourne that borders Sandwich, the Bourne Public Library in the same town, and the Bourne Bridge over the Cape Cod Canal. The Whaling Museum's centerpiece is a fully rigged, half-scale model of the Lagoda. I offer this publication to local scholars in the spirit of Emily Bourne.

⁵Hugh R. Noel, Jr., *Jonathan Bourne: Whaling Merchant/Tycoon* (New Bedford, MA: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1985), pp. 2–4.

 $^{^6 \}mbox{New Bedford Whaling Museum, "'}\mbox{$Lagoda'$}\mbox{—The Largest Ship Model in Existence," accessed Dec 2014, http://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/current/lagoda$

⁷Hugh R. Noel, Jr., "Appendix B: Vessels Managed by Jonathan Bourne," Jonathan Bourne.

⁸Please see Judith N. Lund et al., American Offshore Whaling Voyages 1667–1927: Volume I, Voyages by Vessel (New Bedford, MA: Old Dartmouth Historical Society–New Bedford Whaling Museum, 2010), p. 342; and New Bedford Whaling Museum, "The Largest Ship Model in Existence," accessed Dec 2014.

Bourne's profit from the *Lagoda* approximates \$16.1 million at today's rate. Alan Eliasen, "Historical Currency Conversions," *Frink Server Pages*, accessed Dec 2014, http://futureboy.homeip.net/fsp/dollar.fsp ⁹Hugh R. Noel, Jr., *Jonathan Bourne*, pp. 24–25.

¹⁰Jonathan Olly wrote a 2004 history about how the half-scale *Lagoda* was built. Edgar Hammond oversaw the project to build a 59-foot replica in the Bourne Building. He drew the blueprints based on interviews and memory because no photograph of the *Lagoda* was available to him. The craftsmen used the Bark *Charles W. Morgan* as a guide to build the model. Jonathan Olly, "*Lagoda:* A Legacy in Wood, Iron, and Sail," *Nautical Research Journal* 49/3 (Fall 2004), pp. 144–153.



Political map of the Tierra del Fuego. Image from Wikimedia Commons.

viii INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

1881

May

26

Mrs. N. Gemähle, 15 Theatiner Street 15, Mu- Frau N. Gemähle, Wiche* Lippert. München, nich.1

Theatinerstraße N. 15.

August

11

From New York to New London.

Von New York nach New London.

12

From New London onward.²

Von New London ab.

28

Fore topmast and jibboom broken, two sails Vortopmast und Gibbum gebrochen, 2 Segel carried away by an awful storm.

fortgerissen mit furchtbarem Sturm.³

¹This woman's address appears on the book's last page surrounded by scribbled calculations. Kromer likely knew her and recorded her address for after the whaling trip. MS p. 50 has "26. Mai 1881–84."

²The book has markings in violet pencil throughout. Most person and place names were identified and written in clearer but some sentences, entries, and whole pages were scribbled out. It's uncertain who wrote in it. The mix of paleography and censorship suggests either a relative of Kromer's generation or a descendant in the next two generations. It could have also been Kromer himself. The "violet pencil" annotations are described in footnotes.

³Emendation from "mit fortgerissen furchtbarer Sturm," MS p. 1.

2 CHAPTER 1. 1881

September

12

Fourteen upon departure. After a long journev we arrive in the Cape de dos Hermanos, bring the ship onto a sandbar, and paint the keel afresh until it reaches the waterline.

Then we adjust our point [fix our path] toward the Cape Virgin on the Atlantic side of the Strait of Magellan. 4 Near the same, our gibbum breaks again so we're forced onward to our main camp Sandy Point.⁵

Arrival in St. Vincent. Twelve blacks on board. Ankunft in St. Vincent. 12 Schwarze an Bord. 14 Abfahrt. Nach langer Fahrt kommen wir am Cap de dos Hermanos ein, bringen das Schiff auf eine Sandbank und streichen es vom Kiel bis an die Wasserlinie frisch an.

> Dann richten wir unsere Spitze nach dem Cap Virgin an der Atlantischen Seite der Magellanstraße. In der Nähe desselben bricht und der Gibbum wieder ab, so daß wir gezwungen sind nach unserem Haupt* Sandy Point zu gehen.

November

5

Anchored in Good Success Bay, Terra del Fuego on Straits le Maire. Made water and wood.⁶ Had to keep a good look out for Indians. 5 days.

Sailed from there far for the South Shetland on a SE course. Reached there after about 7 days. All full [of] snow and ice. This group is composed of several 100 islands, small and big. We stayed around there about three weeks and got about 20 seals but lots of fishes and penguin and other birds. On one of the islands, a lone sandy arc, were erected 2 erons [two herons stood erect. On several other islands we found old boats and different pieces of [the] ship Aimber.

From here we kept an easterly course, and after about 4 days we reached the South Orkancap, another big group of islands. We got here about 60 seals and a few young ones, birds plentifully. On the easternmost side of this group there are several hundred isolated rocks, and going amongst them in a small boat seems just like going through an old town. The channels are very narrow [in] some places, and there are rocks going straight up like a church tower.

From here we went in an easterly direction to the Sandwich Groupe, consisting of about

⁴The Strait of Magellan connects the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans north of Cape Horn. Mountains and fjords flank the Straight of Magellan and the surrounding area is almost completely uninhabited except for outposts like Punta Arenas and Ushuaia.

⁵Sandy Point is known by its Spanish name Punta Arenas in modern Chile. The city began as a penal colony that Chile used to claim sovereignty at the tip of South America. It developed with the gold and sheep trade and was indispensable in the 1881 Boundary Treaty between Chile and Argentina. This defined the Strait of Magellan as Chilean territory. Punta Arenas provides access to the Antarctic Peninsula.

⁶The phrase "eight southwest wind" appears crossed out after this sentence, MS p. 2.

⁷MS p. 3 has sparse details of a 3-day trip to New Bedford, written upside-down then later scribbled out. The text describes a visit from 6–8 Apr of an unknown year.

NOVEMBER 3

12 islands.⁸ One very small one had a volcano, working.⁹ On another larger one there were 3 hot springs close to the water's edge. We got five seals here. One day I went out with the second mate in the boat and a heavy snow storm came.¹⁰

⁸MS p. 5 lists provisions and documents food purchases from 3 Feb–18 Mar of an unknown year. These were later crossed out. The food generally comprised common staples such as beans, rice, flour, sugar, bread, potatoes, and pork. Occasionally the crew could obtain ham, beef, cod, vinegar, onions, and coffee.

⁹MS p. 6 lists landmarks visited and seal skins acquired from 15 Nov–18 Jan of an unknown year. These were later crossed out. There are several return visits to landmarks such as College Rock, Midbay, Valentine Rock, Devil's Rock, Evangelist Rock, West Cliff, San Pedro Rock, and Ottaway Bay Rock. West Cliff and San Pedro Rock in particular appear to be prime seal clubbing grounds, where the *Lagoda* acquired 210 and 271 skins, respectively.

¹⁰MS p. 7 has two interesting marginalia. The top of the page lists to bacco purchases from 24 Oct–3 Mar of an unknown year and later crossed out. The middle of the page has another crossed-out entry dated 11 Jan: "Given to *Rio* 5 skins as part from 19 skins left on the rock on the 28 Dec—5 skins." The last sentence of the entry itself was scribbled out in violet pencil.

4 CHAPTER 1. 1881

Chapter 2

1882

June

$\mathbf{2}$

night, sometimes so thick that you cannot see the hand in front of your eyes. I hope we lift the anchors tomorrow morning.

Five days in a small canal. It snows day and 5 jours dans un petit canal. Jours et nuits ils neigent, quelquefois si fort qu'on ne peut pas voir la main devant les yeux. J'espère que nous lèverons les ancres demain matin.

5

At 10:00 we lift the anchor and against the wind we exit the Talbot Passage on our quest. At 2:00 we raised the anchor and went to a small bay near the Talbot Passage.

10 heures nous avons lève l'ancre et contre le vent nous sortons de Talbot Passage à Quest. À 2 nous avons lainez allé l'ancre dans une petit bay dans les environs de la Talbot Passage.

9

Raised the anchor in the Cockburn Channel. One canoe is going on land to get wood. The weather is good.

At 12:00 midnight the captain struck a noise at once. All hands on deck turned and we nearly crashed into the rocks with the rudder. Now the anchor was drawn up and the ship brought further out. At 1:00 we saw a lunar eclipse.

Lainez allez l'ancre dans le «Coxsburn Channel.» 1 canoë est allez à terre après du bois. Il fait beau temps.

Um 12 Uhr nachts schlug auf einmal der Kapitain Lärm, und all hands on deck der [illegible] hatten sich gedreht und wir stießen mit dem Steuer beinahe auf die Felsen. Nun wurde den Anker heraufgezogen und das Schiff weiter herausgebracht. Um 1 Uhr sahen wir eine Mondfinsternis.

10

Anchored in the Magellan Channel's entrance. Im Eingang des Magellan Channels vor An-

14

We're at the channel's exit in the Strait of Setzen in die Magellanstraße ein Ausgang des Magellan. Four men on land in order to make wood.

Channels. 4 Mann ans Land, um Holz zu machen.

15

somber news—his wife is dead.

At 6:00 this morning we went to anchor [at] Morgens 6 Uhr gehen vor Anker im [illegi-Sandy Point. Neser, the first officer, received ble Sandy Point. Neser, 1. Officier, bekommt traurige Nachricht—seine Frau ist gestorben.

16

I rush out this morning to the foredeck and Ich stürze morgens auf die Vordeck hin und and can't go.

sprain the left [leg] bone. I'm in terrible pain verrenke das linke Bein. Habe furchtbare Schmerzen und kann nicht gehen.

17

cannon crews that detonated the warship Dot-schaft, die Kanone des hier explodiert Kriegs-

There are three English warships here in the Es sind 3 englische Kriegsschiffe hier im Haharbor: Penquin, Garnet, Turquoise. Their fen: Penguine, Garnet, Turquoise. Deren Mannschiffes "Doterel" heraufholen. Es finden beinahe jeder Tag Beerdigungen statt.

¹The Seamen's Register doesn't list any officer named Neser on this trip. Kromer might refer to another ship's officer or someone hired along the way. New Bedford Port Society, Register for Seamen's Names 1882–1885, p. 6.

²There were seven English warships named HMS *Penquin*. Kromer refers to the one built in 1876 that became a survey ship in 1890 and then a depot ship in 1908. The Australian Navy received the ship from the British in 1913 and sold it in 1924. It was used as a floating crane until it was finally broken up and burned in 1960. Rif Winfield and David Lyon, The Sail and Steam Navy List: All the Ships of the Royal Navy 1815–1889 (London: Chatham Publishing, 2004), pp. 291–292.

³Conditions were rough on 19th-century English warships. Belgrave Ninnis was the HMS Garnet's surgeon in 1890. He attempted to save drowning victim James Farley by injecting brandy into his rectum and making him drink brandy and ammonia "to wet his mouth." Farley was certainly dead. "Rum, sodomy and the lash...that was the least of it: 19th century Royal Navy medical journals reveal the perils of a life at sea," Daily Mail, modified 30 Sept 2010, accessed Dec 2014, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1316428/19th-century-Royal-Navy-medical-journals-reveal-perils-life-sea.html

AUGUST7

erel wind up here. 4 They find funerals nearby every day instead.

21

This afternoon at 3:00 we go from Sandy Point. Heute Mittag 3 Uhr wir gehen von Sandy Point. Ich bin als noch im Bette. I am as yet in bed.

July

4

We had a bottle of wine for the Declaration Wir hatten eine Flasche Wein für die Unabof Independence.

hängigkeitserklarung.

8

I still can't walk. We're anchored in Lancaster Ich kann immer noch nicht laufen. Wir sind Sound.

im Lankaster Sound vor Anker.

12

I still can't walk. The last four days we had Ich kann immer noch nicht laufen. Die letza burly southwestern that from time to time blew over to the southeast so we couldn't go out. The heavy starboard anchor and also the lighter port anchor must needs be left behind; I only think of when we'll leave tomorrow. Last week the first and second officers brought $\{2,3\}$ 9 nets on board.

te 4 Tage hatten wir einen stramm Southwester, der von Zeit zu Zeit in Southeaster überschlug, so dass wir nicht heraus konnten. Jemals wurde zu dem schweren Starboard Anker auch der leichtere Port Anker gehen gelassen; ich denke nur kömme Morgen heraus. Vorletzte Woche brachten der 1. und 2te Officer $\{2,3\}$ 9 Tülle⁵ an Board.

⁴The HMS *Doterel* was launched in 1880 and sank near Sandy Point on 26 Apr 1881 after a coal gas explosion. 143 crew members died and twelve survived the accident. A boat from the San Jose found the captain alive but naked and bleeding. The missionary ship Allen Gardiner was among the search party. The Garnet and Turquoise salvaged the Doterel's guns and other valuables after the explosion.

Please see Francisco Ayarza, "Historical Summary of Some Shipwrecks Occurred in the Magellan Straits and Channels in the Vicinity Since Its Discovery Until 1900," Nautilus 53°, modified 31 Aug 2001, accessed Dec 2014, http://www.nautilus.cl/yatechonos/history.htm; "The loss of HMS Doterel: Disaster off Punta Arenas 1881," Dawlish Chronicles, accessed Dec 2014, http://dawlishchronicles.com/disaster-offpunta-arenas-1881/; Illustrated London News (14 May 1881), modified 22 Feb 2005, accessed Dec 2014, http://patbrit.org/bil/cmy/dtiln.htm; London Times (5 May 1881), modified 20 Apr 2005, accessed Dec 2014; "The Loss of the Doterel," New York Times (1 July 1881); and Rif Winfield and David Lyon, The Sail and Steam Navy List, pp. 291–2.

⁵Emendation from "T*ll{e,n}" on MS p. 11. This applies to all occurrences of the word.

August

7

Eight days already at anchor. I see bleak prospects for activity. I'm mostly upset about that. When I think about what happened only three days ago around this time, I can't forget what I once was and what I am now.

The time is passed and it may never return. I've lost the prime years of my life.⁶ I'll always think of it until I am dead.

Schon 8 Tagen vor Anker. Sehe schlecht Aussichte, etwas zu machen. Ich bin sehr verstimmt hauptsächlich.⁷ Ich, wenn ich daran denke was wir nur 3 Tagen⁸ um diese Zeit passierte, ich kann es nicht vergessen, was ich damals gewesen bin und was ich jetzt bin.

Le temps est passé et peut être ne reviendra plus jamais. J'ai perdu le bonheur de ma vie. Je penserai toujours à elle jusque je serai mort.

11

Today [something] happened, and it's quickly passed and yet lasted very long. I can say that I've learned very much in these days, and because of that I wrote this page. Yesterday afternoon we left but had been [in a state] the whole night. We're anchored now.

I don't know [how] bad I [was] at the gate of misfortune. I hope [to be] two years nearer to what I love, closer to death.⁹

Heute ein $G\{f,s\}$ ar, und es ist geschwind vergangen und hat doch sehr lange gedauert. Ich kann sagen, dass ich sehr viel gelernt habe in diesen Tagen, und daran wenn es $\{c,i\}$ h auf einmal* [illegible] so*ut es mich doch [illegible], dass ich diese Seite [illegible] habe. Wir sind gestern Mittag ausgefahren, haben aber die ganze Nacht [illegible] sind. [Illegible] Sch* $\{f,s\}$ t* $\{e,n\}$ ge $\{f,s\}$ $\{a,o\}$ bt, so dass wir jetzt [illegible] vor Anker sind.

Je ne sais pas [illegible] mauvais je*ais le mois d'[illegible] à porte malheur. J'espère et [illegible] deux ans prés à elle, que j'aime presqu'à la mort.

25

On the Ildefonso Islands we had 136 nets on the 21st, on Deceit Rocks four. The same on Evout Island, where our third mate is with two whites, three blacks, and two Indians. 26 nets in three months. We gave him Prussians and lie anchored today at the entrance to the An der Ilfonso Island hatten wir 136 Tülle am 21., an Deceit Rocks 4. Und an Evout Island, wo unserer dritte Mate ist mit 2 Weißen, 3 Schwartzen und 2 Indianer. 26 Tülle in 3 Monaten. Gaben ihn Preußen¹⁰ und liegen heute am Eingang von Beagle Channel nur Anker.

⁶Bonheur literally translates to "happiness" but Kromer's reflection on lost time in this entry suggests deeper regrets than simply being unhappy.

⁷Emendation from "hauptsächl*" on MS p. 11.

⁸Emendation from "T{a,oc}{f,s}r*" on MS p. 11. This entry is scribbled out in violet pencil.

⁹MS p. 12 is scribbled out in violet pencil.

SEPTEMBER 9

Beagle Channel.

When we arrive at Sandy Point this time, I hope there are some true letters for me because I wouldn't know what he was thinking in the six months since I've written. And I think well of the captain to deliver my letters. Jim seems to be fine. Finally everyone at Evout seems to be healthy. There are four months yet, and after that I think we will all go back but not with the same views with which we went out. I fear that we're not at a low point; and these two years are lost, two years' lost labor finally flew from my life.

J'espère quand nous arriver à Sandy Point cette temps, il y à vrai quelques lettres pour moi, si son je ne saurais quoi penser parcque, il y à justement six mois que j'aie écrit. Et je pense que le [capitan] à délivrer mes lettres. Jim à l'air d'être très bien. Enfin tout le monde à Evout parait d'être en bonne santé. Ils sont l'encore pour quatre mois et après cela je crois que nous retournerons mais pas avec les vues que nous sortons. Je craigne que nous ferians pas un sous; et que ses deux années sont perdue, du travail perdu enfin se deux ans volé de ma vie. ¹¹

September

1

We were on Staten Island and got nothing there. We fixed our path toward Sandy Point but yesterday around 12:00 we had such a strong headwind that we strayed off course. We're still in the Strait of Magellan, I think. Since the day before yesterday we saw no less than eleven ships, and yesterday three. All steered toward Cape Horn.

Wir waren an Statenland und haben nichts da bekommen. Richteten unsere Spitze nach Sandy Point, aber gestern um 12 Uhr bekamen wir so starker Headwind, dass wir bedeutend vom Course ab. Sind denke aber doch in der Magellanstraße. Seit¹² vorgestern sahen wir nicht weniger als 11 Schiffe, und gestern 3. Alle steuerten dem Cap Horn zu.

4

We've been two days in the Second Narrows. We brought the schooner on land and painted it fresh. Yesterday two officers shot a beautiful silver [thing]. It isn't as large as our ordinary one has, but it's a bit higher.

I'm curious whether there are any letters for me in Sandy Point. I get jealous when I see others reading letters and I don't have any. I'm vexed the rest of the night. I'd love to hear if Louis has already finished his military service and whether it satisfied him. I don't think I've found anything in a nice helmet

Wir sind seit 2 Tagen in den Zweiten Narrows. Haben den Schooner aufs Land gebracht und frisch angestrichen ihnen. 16 einer 2 Officer hat gestern einen schönen silbernen [illegible] geschossen. Er ist nicht ganz so groß wie unserer gewöhnliche hat, aber etwas höhere beim.

Je suis bien curieux, s'il y à des lettres pour moi à Sandy Point. Je deviendrai presque fon, quand je vois les autres lires leur lettres et moi j'en ai pas. Je ne peut pas comprendre pourquoi elle reste nuit. Je voudrais bien s'avoir

¹⁰Emendation from "Pre*s{f,s}s*" on MS p. 13.

¹¹The French part of this entry is crossed out in violet pencil.

¹²Emendation. MS p. 15 is illegible but an adverb of time works in context.

with a lightning rod.

I've not written in a while. We were in Sandy Point. I received a letter from Louis and one from Mother. That's what I'd hoped for and I replied immediately. The captain remained in Sandy Point and we travelled to Elisabeth Island and went duck hunting for a couple days. Then back toward Sandy Point. Two men died, fourteen new on board. And away toward Staten Island and on the 28th September, abandoned seven men in St. John Harbor. Then toward the missionaries instead of Ushuaia¹³ and took two Indians. We met the schooner Tom Hunt there, and this afternoon at 3:00 on the 6th October we're anchored in the Talbot Passage.

si Louis et déjà fini avec son service militaire et si il lui a plu. Je ne pense pas, parcque mai je ne pas trouvé quelque chose elle joli dans une casque provienne avec un paratonnerre.¹⁴

Ich habe lange nicht geschrieben. Wir waren in Sandy Point. Ich habe einen Brief von Louis und einen von Mutter bekommen. Was mich sehr gefreit hat, ich habe gleich geantwortet. Der Kapitain ist in S. P. geblieben und wir sind nach Elisabeth Island gefahren, und für ein paar Tage auf die Entenjäger gehen. Dann zurück nach S. P. 2 Mann durchgeben 14 neue an Bord. Und fort nach Statenland und am 28. Sept, 7 Mann in St. John Harbour ausgesetzt. Dann nach der Missions statt an Oschavaia und 2 Indier genommen. Schr Tom Hunt nieder da getroffen, und heute Nachmittag 3 Uhr den 6. Oktober sind wir in der Talbot Passage vor Anker.

October

8

We set the first under-officer out with one Frenchman, two others, and one Indian to the middle exit of the Talbot Passage.

After that we passed the two Furies, Neptune, and Kennel Rock. We brought 2nd N. 4th and from 3rd K. 6th together 10th, 15 and went to anchor on the 10th October.

Around 12:00 midnight [something] strong came, and it became increasingly strong so that at 1:30 we all let the second anchor go. The first broke and [went] 40 yards away from the second. Ground came. Now there was work 2tn Anker gehen ließen. Der erst* brach und

Setzten wir G*ik den 1. Unterofficier mit 1 Franzoser, 2 Yili*m und 1 Indier aus am mittleren Ausgang der Talbot Passage.

Wir passierten nachdem die beiden Furies Neptune und Kennel Rock. Brachten wir 2. N. 4. und vom 3. K. 6. zusammen 10. und gingen am 10. Oct Abends in Hope Harbour zu Anker.

Gegen 12 Uhr Nachts kam einen *i*lz starke Br*{f,s}e, und wurden nach [illegible] noch immer starker, so dass um $1\frac{1}{2}$ Uhr alle wir den

¹³Emendation from a possible German gloss on MS p. 17. Ushuaia is the capital of Argentina's Tierra del Fuego and the world's southernmost city. The Tierra del Fuego was inhabited by the Yaghan people as early as 8,000 B.C. Ferdinand Magellan discovered this region for Portugal in 1520, then changed its name from the Land of Smoke to the Land of Fire. Ushuaia came under Spanish and Portuguese influence in the 19th century. Cristina Calderón is the only living Yaghan speaker as of 2003 and she published a collection of Yaghan folk takes translated into Spanish. Please see Cristina Calderón, Hai Kur Mamashu Shis (I want to tell you a story), translated by Jacqueline Windh (Validivia, Chile: Ediciones Kultrún, 2005).

¹⁴The French part of this entry is crossed out in violet pencil.

¹⁵This MS p. 17 passage is extremely cryptic and parts of it are crossed out in violet pencil.

OCTOBER 11

for all to bring out the third, very heavy anchor for five hours.

[illegible] 40 Yard ge*en den wurden langer zur zweiten zu. Boden kam. Nun gab es Arbeit für alle [illegible] den 3. sehr schweren Anker gelassen zu bringen. Se*s auch nach [illegible] 5 Stunde $ge^*\{f,s\}e$ war.

13

Every day from morning till night we fish for our anchor.

Jeden Tag vom Morgen bis Abend fischen nach unseren Anker.

15

We went through the bay and let the anchor go. For half the time the M. E. Higgins came around. Around 3:00 in the afternoon we let the large anchor go and at 4:00 its chain broke and we let the smallest anchor go and were satisfied. Captain Kocheis is visiting us with four men and his boat.

We make everything ready to go out to sea should the chain break again there. At 9:35 the chain on the largest anchor breaks and we let the small one go too and stand out. There's suddenly a dreadful storm. We get such a wind that we're thrown out onto the nets.

11:10 in the morning. We packed up the bare essentials together and the captain, 1st Officer Koches (who is the cook), and two Frenchmen were the last to leave the ship.

At 2:00 a terrible night passed by with cold and rain, and half-dead on another morning when the boat of another ship came to pick us up. But we had no space in the boat to take more clothes with us and that evening also broke their [the other ship's] chains. But it was still light and so it came out and now it approached Sandy Point, where we also arrived after three days. Fin.

Gingen wir durch die Bay und ließen Anker gehen. Zur halber Zeit kam M. E. Higgins herein. Gegen 3 Uhr nachmittags ließen wir den großen Anker gehen, und um 4 Uhr brach die Kette desselber, und wir ließen den kleinsten Anker, den wir satten. Kapitain Kocheis ist mit 4 Mann und seiner Bot bei uns.

Wir machen alles fertig in See zu gehen, daran die Kette wieder brachen sollte. 9 Uhr 35 bricht ist die Kette am größten Anker, und wir laßen die kleine auch gehen und stehen aus. Es ist fürchterlicher Sturm plötzlich. Bekommen wir solchen Wind, dass wir auf die Tüllen geworfen wurden.

11 Uhr 10 M. Wir packten um das Nötigste zusammen und der Kapitain, 1. Officier Koches, [der] ist der Koch, und zwei Franzosen waren die letzen, die das Schiff verließen.

Um 2 Uhr eine fürchterliche Nacht durchgemachte Kalt und Regen, und am anderen Morgen halbtot, wenn der Bot vom anderen Schiff kam und uns aufnahm. Wir hatten aber kein Platz im Bot für mehrere Kleider mitzunehmen, und die Abend darauf brachen seine Kette auch. Aber es war noch hell, und so kam er heraus und nun ging es Sandy Point zu, wo wir auch nach 3 Tagen ankamen. Finis.

24

of the mast.

Navigated over with M. E. Higgins in front Übergeschifft mit M. E. Higgins before the mast.

30

Left Sandy Point.

Sandy Point verlassen.

November

2

Arrived at Hope Harbor, fetched our clothes Hope Harbour angekommen, unsere Kleider and an anchor, and today painted the Wanderer.

geholt und einen Anker, und heut dem Wanderer gestreikt. 16

3

water. Changing weather.

About eight miles north of the Furies, an- Ungefähr 8 Meil nördlich von den Furies im chored in the canal [with] the Chiloto. Lighter Canal vor Anker Chiloto auf. Heller Wasser. Wechselvolles Wetter.

4

tinues at 11:00.

Fetched wood. Harsh weather. Chiloto con- Holz geholt. Scharfes Wetter. Chiloto 11 Uhr fort.

5

Anchored three miles from Furies Harbor. Bad 3 Meil von Furies Harbour vor Anker. Schlechweather.¹⁷

tes Wetter.

6

Anchored.

Vor Anker.

7

Toward the Furies. Three men carried away. Nach den Furies. 3 Mann weggenommen.

8

At 2:00 in the afternoon [as on] the 5th Novem- Um 2 Uhr Nachmittag [illegible] 5. Nov. ber.

¹⁶Emendation from "ge*reikt" on MS p. 21.

¹⁷The MS p. 22 is marked down the margin with five X's written in violet pencil.

NOVEMBER 13

9

A boat from Espuma de Mar came on board. Boat von Espuma de Mare an Board gekom-Fetched wood in the afternoon.

men. Nachmittags Holz geholt.

10

Anchored at 12:00 since 3 November. Fetched Um 12 Uhr vor Anker seit 3. Nov. Wasser water, Chiloto here.

geholt, Chiloto hier.

11

9:00 at Valentine Rock, nothing there. At 12:00 9 Uhr an Valentin Rock gewesen nichts. 12 saw Chiloto upwind and another schooner lee- Uhr Chiloto zu windwärts und ein anderer ward. Anchored at 4:00, northwest side of Mid-Schr leewärts gesehen. 4 Uhr vor Anker, NW bay.

Seite Midbai.

12

Bad weather. Anchored in Deep Sound.

Schlechtes Wetter. Deep Sound vor Anker.

13

Fetched wood.

Anchored about six miles from Ottaway Bay. Ungefähr 6 Meilen von Ottaway Bai vor Anker. Holz geholt.

14

Bad weather. In a light harbor.

Schlechtes Wetter. Im hellen Hafen.

15

The three from Furies and the carpenter on Die 3 [illegible] von Furies und Carpenter an College Rock, out to spend the night at Ottaway Bay.

der College Rock. Aus*en und zugelegt die Nacht bei der Ottaway Bay.

16

tain Lestiach came on board. Anchored in chen. Kapitain Lestiach kam [an] Board. Um Sandy Harbor at 12:00. Beautiful weather in the afternoon.

Seen and spoken to the Rio around 8:00. Cap- Gegen 8 Uhr den Rio gesehen und gespra-12 Uhr in Sandy Harbour vor Anker. Nachmittags schönes Wetter.

¹⁸ Espuma de Mar means "seafoam" in Spanish.

17

Tried to go out but once again the weather turned bad. In the evening the captain went ashore and traded [something] with Indians. Always very strong wind and rain and snow from NW.

Versucht heraus zu gehen aber wieder umgekehrt, zu schlechtes Wetter. Abends ging der Kapitain ans Land und tauschte einige At*{f,s}elle von Indianer ein. Immer sehr starker Wind und Regen und Schnee von NW.

18

In Sandy Harbor at 6:00. Beautiful weather Um 6 Uhr in Sunday Harbour. Schönes Wetinterrupted [us].

ter unterbrochen am Spe*.

19

Had been out on Devil's Rock but got nothing. Afternoon worked on schooner and got 3 casks [of] water. Whole day fine weather.

20

Bad weather all day.

Faisait toute la journée mauvais temps.

21

Always bad weather at Saturday Harbor.

Toujours à Saturday Harbour mauvais temps.

22

Still in Saturday Harbour. Bad weather.

23

Always in the same harbor. Bad weather. Wind Immer im selben Hafen. Schlechtes Wetter. from around WNW. Wind vom Rund WNW.

24

Bad weather. WSW wind this morning, WNW Schlechtes Wetter. Wind heute Morgen WSW, during the day.

den Tag über WNW.

25

Bad weather. Wind WNW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Wind WNW.

DECEMBER 15

26

An hour of good weather this morning. Used Heute Morgen eine Stunde gutes Wetter. Be-

and replaced two casks of water. Wind WSW. nutzt und 2 Casks Wasser geholt. Wind WSW.

27

Bad weather. Wind WNW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Wind WNW.

28

Bad weather. Blowing horribly from NW in Schlechtes Wetter. Nachmittags fürchterlich the afternoon. 120 chain lengths in the evegeblasen NW. 120 Faden Kette aus Abend. ning.¹⁹

29

Fairly good weather. Light SW wind.

Ziemlich gutes Wetter. Leichter Wind SW.

30

Bad weather. Wind WNW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Wind WNW.

December

1

Beautiful weather. Fetched wood in the morn-Schönes Wetter. Morgens Holz geholt. Naching. Received the small anchor in the afternoon, made the large one short. Worked at the mainsail, rigged the staysail from the Wan-tet, und den Staysail vom Wanderer geriggt WSW.

mittags den kleinen Anker eingenommen, den großen kurz gemacht. Am Mainsail gearbeiderer, and took away the old one. Light wind und den alten abzunamm. Wind leicht WSW.

2

Bad weather. Wind NW. Let the second an-Schlechtes Wetter. Wind NW. Ließen den 2tn chor go back some 80 chain lengths out. Some- Anker wieder gehen etwa 80 Faden Kette aus. what quieter in the evening.

Abends etwas ruhiger.

¹⁹Four X's in violet pencil appear in the margins of MS pp. 24–25.

3

Bad weather. Wind SW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Wind SW.

4

Good weather. Fetched water. In the evening Gutes Wetter. Wasser geholt. Abend kam Chihere to anchor. Wind SW.

the Chiloto and the Espuma de Mar came loto und Espuma de Mar²⁰ zu Anker hier. Wind SW.

5

Bad weather. In the afternoon the captains of the *Chiloto* and the *Espuma de Mar* came on board. Wind NW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Nachmittags kam die Kapitaine von Chiloto und Espuma de Mar an Board. Wind NW.

6

Raised the anchor and went further into the Anker aufgezogen und weiter in die Bay gebay. The other two are still there. Wind SW. gangen. Die beiden anderen noch da. Wind SW.

7

Bad weather. Wind SW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Wind SW.

8

Bad weather. Chiloto and Espuma de Mar heaved up and did go out to eastward at 2 o'clock. Wind NW.

9

Heaved up this morning, did go down to Smoke Harbour. Rio and San Pedro there. Let go anchor a half a schooner length before the Rio, and the Rio run afterwards in our fore riggings. Had to work till 11 o'clock the night to get all clear again. Wind NW.

10

Bad weather. Let go the second anchor this morning. Wind NW.

²⁰Kromer first identified this ship as the San Pedro on MS p. 25, then crossed it out.

DECEMBER 17

11

Heaved up at 1 o'clock this morning²¹ but had the anchors foul, and so the *Rio* came ahead of us on the Midbay Rocks but could not land. We did go back in the harbour and in the afternoon caught one seal on a small rock outside the harbour. Wind NW.

12

Heaved up at two o'clock did go out to Midbay Rocks and caught 39 seals. Afterwards bad weather, did go back in harbour. Wind NW.

13

Bad weather. Wind NW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Wind NW.

14

NW.

Bad weather. Fetched wood and water. Wind Schlechtes Wetter. Holz und Wasser geholt. Wind NW.

15

Bad weather. Wind SW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Wind SW.

16

Been out to Midbay, got 45 skins. Back in harbour, rainy day. Wind NE.

17

Went out to the Midbay Rocks this morning Heute Morgen nach den Midbay Rocks geganand got nothing. Then went down to Valentine Rock and got nine nets near the anchor. Good weather. Wind SW.

gen, nichts bekommen. Dann hinunter nach Valentine Rock und 9 Tülle bekommen in der Nähe zu Anker gegangen. Gutes Wetter. Wind SW.

18

Heaved up at 3 o'clock. Worked up through the passage to Smoke Harbour and find Rio, Chiloto, and Espuma de Mar there. Sea very rough. Wind NW.

19

Bad weather. Wind NW.

Mauvais temps. Vent NW.

²¹Emendation. MS p. 26 has either "10 clock" or "1 o'clock."

20

At 1:00 in the morning the people from the *Rio* took up the anchor and sailed to the rock. *Espuma* and *Chiloto* came before us but the sea was too high and none could land. All back to the harbor. Fetched water in the afternoon. Wind NNW.

Um 1 Uhr morgens die Leute von *Rio* an Board genahm den Anker heraus und segelten²² zum Rock. *Espuma* und *Chiloto* kam uns zuvor, aber es war zu hohe See und keiner kann landen. Alle zurück in Hafen. Nachmittags Wasser geholt. Wind NNW.

21

At 8:00 both boats heaved up and went to *Rio*, and *Chiloto* and *Espuma* also rowed to the rock. The second mate came out with his boat and we rowed ours out. Got two seals. In the evening, an intense northern wind the whole night.

Um 8 Uhr beide Boote an *Rio* gegangen aufgezogen, und an Rock hinaus gerudert *Chiloto* und *Espuma* auch. 2. Mate kam mit seinem Bot aus, und wir ruderten unsere auf [illegible]. 2 Seal bekommen. Abend starken Norden Wind die ganze Nacht.

22

We travelled and at 4:00 in the morning a twice-repaired mainsail and a repaired fore-sail withstood a nighttime northern gale. We went to the College Rocks and at 10:00 to anchor in the [Talbot] Passage. Wind NW.

Gefahren und um 4 Uhr morgens stehen unter doppelt gerichtet²³ Mainsail und gerichtet Vorsail gegen eine Nordnachtgale. Bei den College Rocks gehen in die Passage und zu Anker um 10 Uhr. Wind NW.

23

Heaved up at 8 o'clock this morning. In dead calm, towed the schooner about 8 miles from point to point on a long rope fastened on land, and let go the anchor about 6 times. After supper, got a little breeze and ran in a small harbour near the end of the passage. Wind light W.

24

Bad weather. Wind NW.

25

Christmas Day. Lowered the boats at 3 o'clock in the morning to go to College Rocks, took the carpenter off and left the others, had only 1 skin at 9 o'clock. Seen the *Rio* heaved up and stand out for Sunday Harbour. At 1 o'clock came dead calm, towed the schooner about 4 miles in to Sunday Harbour. Wind light SW.

 $^{^{22}}$ Emendation from "sie{a,g,o}*" on MS p. 27

²³Emendation from "geri*t*" on MS p. 28.

DECEMBER 19

26

Lowered the boats at 1 o'clock this morning but could not do nothing, the sea was too rough. At 8 o'clock the *Rio* came in. Got 3 casks of water. Wind SW.

27

Rainy day, sea rough. Wind SW.

28

Rock at 2:00 in the afternoon until 12:00 at night. Got 53 skins but easily 60 with the tow, [which was] quickly lost and sunk.²⁴

High seas in the morning. Went to Devil's Den Vormittag hohe See. Nachmittags 2 Uhr ging zum Devil's Rock bis Nachts 12 Uhr. 53 skins bekommen, aber ungefähr 60 mit {f,h,s}a{mm,mu}t dem tow, eil verloren [und] gesunken.

29

We tried to go to the rock at 4:00 this morn- Versuchten heute Morgen 4 Uhr an den Rock ing but the sea was too high. Wind SW.

zu gehen, aber See zu hoch. Wind SW.

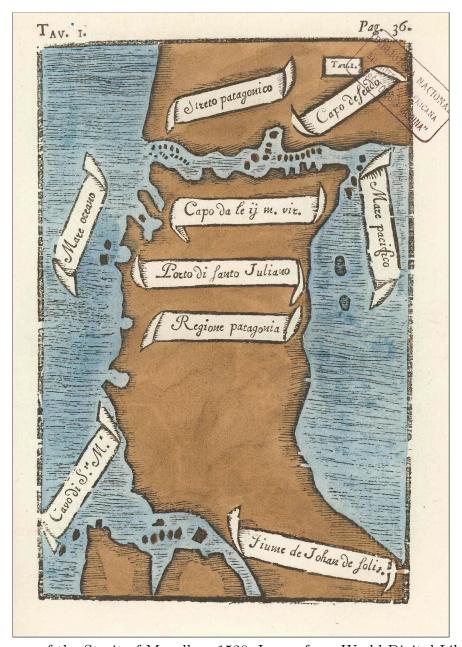
30

Heaved up at 4 o'clock this morning and did go up to Evangelist Rocks. Took our three men off and from the Express 3. We got 59 skins there. Ran up the coast before a light SW wind, but heavy sea.

31

At about 11 o'clock we were on West Cliff and took 210 skins off. After that we cut through the channel and anchored at 9 o'clock in Innocent Sound. Wind till 6 o'clock SW, then calm, and at 8 o'clock NW.

²⁴This entry on MS p. 30 seems to describe a dragnet that was lost in the ocean current.



First map of the Strait of Magellan, 1520. Image from World Digital Library.

Chapter 3

1883

January

1

NW. Finally we had a very enjoyable New Year's Day.

Took up the anchor at 3:00 and at 8:00 in the Den Anker herauf um 3 Uhr und Abends um evening we let it go in Trinidad Bay. Wind 8 Uhr in Trinidad Bay gehen lassen. Wind NW. Fin sehr uh{e,n} angehnehmen Neujahrstag gehabt.

$\mathbf{2}$

taken our people away from San Pedro Rock. Wind NW.

At 3:00 took up the anchor and went through Um 3 Uhr den Anker herauf und durch die the [Talbot] Passage to Porta Arenas. We found Passage nach Porta Arenas gegangen. Wir fan-Nimrod and Express here; the latter had just den Nimrod und Express hier, letztere hatte unsere Leute von San Pedro Rock schon abgenammen. Wind NW.

3

We got 272 skins on our rounds. Took the anchor up and out to San Pedro Rock and traded seven nets, and then anchored at 6:00. Rain, wind NW.

Bekamen von unserem Gang 272 Skins. Zogen den Anker herauf und heraus an San Pedro Rock, und vertauschten 7 Tülle, und dann zu Anker um 6 Uhr. Regen, Wind NW.

4

Heaved up at 3 o'clock. Worked down inside [anol], came to an anchor at 7 o'clock in the Westpassage. Wind W.

5

Bad weather. Made wood for the trip home.¹ Express and Nimrod here. Wind SW.

Schlechtes Wetter. Holz gemacht auf die Heimreise. Express und Nimrod hier. Wind SW.

22 CHAPTER 3. 1883

6

Heaved up at 4 o'clock, did go down to Westcliff. The men came on board but it was too rough to take the stuff off. Did go in the harbour, found Golden West there. Afterwards came Express in. Got 2 casks of water. Wind WSW.

7

Heaved up at 4 o'clock. Took the stuff off on West Cliff, caught 8 seals, and ran down the coast before a light NW wind.

8

Ran the night before a NW gale down to Saturday Harbour and after dinner went to Devil's Rock and got 35 skins. Wind SW.

9

NW.

At 4:00 all went for garlic but the weather Å 4 heures en aillé d'aller an roché mais il was too bad. Working on board all day. Wind faisait trop mauvais temps. Toute la journée travaille à board. Vent NW.

10

Went out to Devil's Rock and caught 69 seals. Wind SW.

11

At 8 o'clock the Rio came in and went out again to westward, and we heaved up and ran before a light NW wind down to Ottaway Bay Rock, and got 30 seals, and then went in Sandy Harbour. Seen the *Rio* coming out the channel and going to eastward.

12

Heaved up at 3 o'clock this morning. Went out to Ottaway Bay Rock [to] get 9 seals, and put the 4th mate and two men on, and went back to Sandy Harbour. Gale wind blowing from NW.

13

Bad weather all day, let go the second anchor. Gale wind NW.

¹In the last months of the journey, Kromer's writing becomes noticeably terser and more factual, eventually including coordinates. The daily series of unsubstantial entries conveys a strong feeling of anticipation for the journey's end. The journal's last word is "free."

JANUARY 23

14

Bad weather all day NW.

15

Terrible wind blew in the night. Fairly quiet Die Nacht fürchterlich geblasen. Am Tag ziemin the day. Pulled up an anchor. Rain, light wind SSW.

lich ruhig. Einen Anker heraufgezogen. Regen, leichter Wind SSW.

16

Heaved up at 4 o'clock and did go out to the Rock, had to reef the mainsail and foresail and take in the flying jib. In quite momment [in a quiet moment], lowered the boats took the 4th mate and his two men with 22 skins off, and back in the harbour. Bent the foretopsail on gale wind NW.

17

Blowing from NW, let go the second anchor.

18

after that at Midbay Rocks and at 8:00 anchored in Porte de Tiake. Wind NW.

Took up the anchor and took the people and Den Anker herauf und von College Rock die one net away from College Rock. One net Leute weggenommen und 1 Tüll. Nachdem die Midbay Rocks 1 Tüll, und um 8 Uhr in Porte de Tiake zu Anker. Wind NW.

19

derer's wreck at 3:00.2 Took some things into Hope Harbor and later in the Cockburn Channel. No wind in the afternoon. At 10:00 at night, a light SW wind.

Took up the anchor and went to the Wan- Den Anker herauf um 3 Uhr zum Wanderers Wreck gegangen. In Hope Harbour einige Sachen da genommen und weiter in die Coxburn Channel. Nachmittags kein Wind. Um 10 Uhr abends leichter Wind SW.

20

boats in the water by evening and took the Abend die 3 Boote ins Wasser, und zogen den schooner out of the canal into the Strait of Schooner aus dem Canal in die Magellanstra-Magellan.

Still wind almost the whole day. Put the three Beinahe den ganzen Tag Windstille. Gegen ße.

²Kromer refers to the Schooner Wanderer, a New London-based ship that sunk in the Strait of Magellan on 17 Oct 1881. Judith N. Lund et al., American Offshore Whaling Voyages 1667–1927: Volume I, p. 628.

24 CHAPTER 3. 1883

21

A strong breeze at 1:30 in the morning so we ripped the main- and foresails. Somewhat quieter afterward. At 4:00 we let the anchor worked on the ship.³ Land at 6:00. Wind SW.

Um halb eins Morgen eine starke Breeze, dass wir Main- and Vorsegel gerisst hatten. Nachher etwas ruhiger. Um 4 Uhr den Anker gehen go in Port Famine, packed all the nets, and lassen in Port Famine, alle Tülle gepackt und am Schiff gearbeitet. Land 6 Uhr. Wind SW.

22

Took up the anchor at 2:00 and went toward Um 2 Uhr den Anker herauf und nach dem wind toward Sandy Point until 12:00 at night.

the Wanderer's wood, and then against NE Holz vom Wanderer gegangen, und dann gegen NE Wind bis nachts 12 Uhr nach Sandy Point.

23 - 30

the masts and tackle. Received one letter from Christian and one from Charley and answered from the Wanderer on the rock to Staten Island. Here are the ships: M. E. Higgins, Tom Hunt,⁴ Express,⁵ Nimrod,⁶ Golden West,⁷ San Pedro, Rio, Anita, Espuma de Mar, and Allen

In Sandy Point. Shipped the nets and cleaned In Sandy Point. Die Tülle verschifft, die Maste und das Tackelwerk gereinigt. Einen Brief von Christian und einen von Charley bekomthat I was ashore. Removed all the people men, und beantwortet am Land gewesen. Die Leute am Rock vom Wanderer alle abgenommen ausgenommen Staatenland. Hier sind die Schiffe: M. E. Higgins, Tom Hunt, Express, Nimrod, Golden West, San Pedro, Rio, Anita, Espuma de Mar und Allan Gardener.

³Port Famine is in Patagonia, Chile. Capt. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa claimed the territory for Spain in 1584 and brought 337 settlers to the area. It proved uninhabitable. Thomas Cavendish arrived three years later named it Port Famine because all the original inhabitants were dead. Capt. Pringle Stokes of the HMS Beagle shot himself in 1828 after he received orders to survey the area for five years. Eric Grundhauser, "Port Famine," Atlas Obscura, accessed Dec 2014, http://www.atlasobscura.com/places/port-famine

⁴The Schooner *Thomas Hunt* was based in Stonington, CT. It was lost near Cape Verde in 1890. Judith N. Lund et al., American Offshore Whaling Voyages: Volume I, p. 569.

⁵There were at least four American ships named *Express*. Kromer may refer to the schooner built in 1845 based in Stonington, CT. This ship was sold at Sandy Point in 1886. Another Express sank in Monday Bay near the Week Islands on 30 Apr 1884. Francisco Ayarza, "Historical Summary of Some Shipwrecks," accessed Dec 2014. Judith N. Lund et al., American Offshore Whaling Voyages: Volume I, p. 205.

⁶There were at least two American ships named *Nimrod*. The one based in New Bedford, MA was captured and burned on 26 June 1865. The one based in Sag Harbor, NY sunk at Sydney on 28 Nov 1865. It's uncertain which ship Kromer refers to, but it's probably not an American ship. Ibid., pp. 436–7.

⁷This reference is likewise obscure. The Schooner Golden West was based in New London, CT and sunk in the Strait of Magellan around 1880. Kromer's logbook suggests that the schooner hadn't sunk until at least Feb 1883. Ibid., p. 252.

FEBRUARY 25

Gardiner.⁸

31

Today at 12:00 we [left] Sandy Point. As the Heute um 12 Uhr [illegible] wir Sandy Point. anchor came up the whole team boarded the wood, and the ships that remained answered.

Als der Anker herauf war, kam die ganze Mann-Cajüte and called three times from land for schaft auf die Cajüte und 3 mal Holz gerufen und vom Lande, und den zurück bleibenden Schiffen beantwortet.

February

1

We stay behind.

Wir liegen hinter.

4

paint the ship.⁹

Elizabeth Island in two fathoms of water to Elisabeth Island in 2 Fathom Wasser und streichen das Schiff an.

5

Express came later.

Raised the anchor at 3:00 and [sailed] against Um 3 Uhr den Anker herauf und gegen NE NE wind to the First Narrows to anchor there. Wind bis zu dem Ersten Narrows und da zu Tom Hunt here, San Pedro on the beach, and Anker. Tom Hunt hier, San Pedro am Strand, später kam Express.

6

NE wind the whole day.

Wind NE den ganzen Tag.

⁸The Allen Gardiner was an English missionary schooner owned by the South American Mission Society and built in 1854. It was named for the captain and society founder who starved on Picton Island with a missionary party in 1852.

The ship under Capt. Fell brought a Yahgan family to Wulaia in 1858 and never returned. The Yahgans massacred everyone during a 6 Nov 1859 church service because they were accused of robbing the ship and searched. Alfred Cole was the Gardiner's cook and the sole survivor of the massacre. Capt. William Horton Smyley of the *Nancy* recovered the ship in 1860.

The Gardiner was seriously damaged on 10 Aug 1893 after Capt. Robert Thompson tried to sail it in a storm. John Woran, Here Be Giants (Rockville Press, 2009), pp. 213–242.

⁹Elizabeth Island could be anywhere. Francis Drake discovered and named several Elizabeth Islands for England in 1578. Francis Fletcher travelled with Drake and the Elizabeth Island in their account is variously identified as Henderson Island, Hornos Island, or Pactolus Bank. At one time the whole Tierra del Fuego was called the Elizabeth Islands. Francis Drake and Francis Fletcher, The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake (Hakluyt Society, 1854).

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7

with SW wind traversed the Strait [of Magellan until about 10:00. Then almost no wind till 4:00, then a light NE wind. At 8:00 we're on the open sea and see no more land.

Raised the anchor at 2:00 this morning, and Heute Morgen um 2 Uhr den Anker herauf, und mit SW Wind durch die Straße¹⁰ bis gegen 10 Uhr. Dann beinahe Windstille bis 4 Uhr, dann leichter NE Wind. Um 8 Uhr sind wir auf offener Meer und sehen kein Land mehr.

8

ripped at 4:00. [From] 2:00 in the afternoon to 6:00, light SSE [wind]. All sails set. The sea is still fairly quiet.

Strong NE wind through the night. Mainsail Die Nacht durch starken NE Wind. 4 Uhr Mainsail gereift. Nachmittags 2 Uhr mod*tiet 6 Uhr leichter SSE. Alle Segel gesetzt. See noch ziemlich ruhig.¹¹

9

Beautiful weather the night and the whole day, light WNW wind. At 6:30 in the evening, a strong NW wind. Mainsail ripped.

Die Nacht und den ganzen Tag schönes Wetter, leichten WNW Wind. Abend halb sieben Uhr, starker NW Wind. Mailsail gerieft.

10

elling very well.

NW wind the whole night and day over. Trav- Die ganze Nacht und den Tag über, NW Wind. Sehr gut gefahren.

11

NW wind the whole night and day. Going Die ganze Nacht und den Tag, NW Wind. about seven miles per hour.

Gehen ungefähr 7 Meilen die Stunde.

12

NW wind. Foggy.

Wind NW. Nebel.

13

Strong NW wind. Topsails in fog.

Wind NW stark. Topsails in Nebel.

14

Wind light NW. Calm. At 8:00 in the evening, Wind leicht NW. Calm. Abends 8 Uhr, Wind SW wind. A ship in front of us.

SW. Ein Schiff vor uns.

¹⁰Emendation from "die Straße durch" on MS p. 39.

FEBRUARY 27

15

Wind SW. Evening calm.

Wind SW. Abends calm.

16

Lat. 45, 27. Double reefed mainsail and topsail, flying jib and jib down. Gale wind from SW whole day.

17

Light SW wind, long heavy sea.

18

Calm till afternoon, then light NW wind. Sea quite fine weather. Lat. 39, 27.

19

Nearly whole day calm, on little wind from SW. One bark on our starboard side, and another sail to stern. Very warm.

20

During the day, light NNE wind. At 5 o'clock, heavy NE wind flying jib down, foresail reefed, [and] mainsail double reefed.

21

Wind SW, but heavy sea against us the whole day. Did go under short sails. Evening wind and sea SW, all sails set.

22

Whole day fine weather. Wind S, sometimes over to E, sometimes W.

23

Lat. 34, 6; long. 33, 57. Whole day fine weather, easterly wind: sea high. Lat. 31, 24.

24

Wind ENE, heavy sea. About 8 miles the hour.

¹¹Emendation. The MS p. 39 is squashed at the line's end but some letters are legible.

28 CHAPTER 3. 1883

25

Whole day ENE wind. In the evening, seen a full rigged merchantman steering NE close by. Lat. 25, 24.

26

Wind very light NE. Unbearably hot.

Vent très léger de NE. Une chaleur insupportable.

27

Almost no wind and the air full of heat.

Beinahe kein Wind ist fülle ganz el*d for Hitze in m*i* {N,St}*r*gge 92 GrF.

28

Calm nearly whole day. Hat like an oven.

March

1

Wind ENE. Lat. 20, -40 S.

$\mathbf{2}$

Strong ENE wind. Steering N by E, a little squally.

3

Wind E by S. Making a good run.

4

Light E wind. None north from 12:00. We saw Leichter E Wind. Kein Nord von 12 Uhr. 2 two barks, a German steered. Barks gesehen, steuerte ein Deutscher.

5

Wind ESE. Lat. 9, 35. Made a good run the last two days.

6

Wind E by S. After this, we steered westward Wind E bei S. Nach diesem steuerte wir westuntil we saw land, and then a bit to the north. wärts bis wir Land sahen, und dann Minder MARCH29

We saw three ships. We're now at Pernas*. nort*. 3 Schiffe gesehen. Wir sind gerade an Lat. 6, 25. Pernas*. Lat. 6, 25.

7

Wind SE. Lat. 4, 30.

8

This morning today heavy rainsquall. Took in topsails and mainsail. Afterwards, light SE wind the whole day.

9

With a light E wind, [something] happened. Mit leichtem E Wind den Aeg{e,n}{a,oc}tor At about 10:00 this morning till 12:00, a full passiert. Ungefähr gegen 10 Uhr heute Morstop to the wind and a terrible heat.

gen seit 12 Uhr vollkundig Windstille und eine furchtbare Hitze.

10

Whole day calm with a short [illegible]. Heavy sea setting to westward.

11

Light wind from E the whole day, probably. Leichten Wind von E den ganzen Tag wahr-Lat. 30 N.

scheinlich. 12 Lat. 30 N.

12

Light E wind. Did not run very well. Very warm.

13

Heavy rainsquall the whole day, all hands working.

14

Strong E by N wind. Made a good run.

15

Strong ENE wind. Very warm. Ran about 10 miles the hour.

¹²Emendation. The MS p. 44 is legible to "wahrscheinl*."

30 CHAPTER 3. 1883

16

Wind ENE. At 4 o'clock this evening, set the square sail. Lat. 10, 20; long. 52, 32. Very warm.

17

Wind ENE, light. Very warm still.

18

Light wind, did not run very much. About lat. 14, ————

19

There's almost no wind and unbearable heat. Il fait presque pas de vent et il fait hine, cha-Long. 57, 20; lat. 15, 5. leur insupportable. Long. 57, 20; lat. 15, 5.

20

Nearly no wind, but squally. At 4 o'clock a good breeze, about N by E.

21

Strong breeze about N. This morning seen a brig, and this afternoon a schooner.

22

This morning a short but heavy rain squall. Rest of the day all right.

23

Wind N by E, strong. Still very warm during the day in lat. 20, 14.

24

Light N by E wind, but a heavy sea coming from NW. Go very slow.

25

Wind in the morning NE, at noon E, and in the evening N by E. Squally.

MARCH 31

26

Very strong breeze and heavy sea from NE the whole day. Took in jib, topsail, and main topmast staysail.

27

Strong $S{E,W}$ wind. Good run.

28

Wind S, strong. Did run pretty well. At 4 o'clock put a topsail schooner hove to. Afterwards reefed the mainsail and took in topsail. Heavy sea.

29

Passed a bad night, foresail close reefed and the headsails down. At 6 o'clock, set all sails. Very little wind the whole day. Spoken [to] the Bark *Veronica* from Quebec and found there. ¹³ Sea still very high.

30

This morning, heavy squall from NE. After that, good breeze from ENE. Passed the gulf-stream today.¹⁴ At 7 o'clock, put the stove again in the cabin.

There was a mutiny on the *Veronica* where the crew killed Capt. Alex Shaw and "all officers" between Mobile and Buenos Aires, according to the Prince Edward Island *Patriot* on 22 April 1922. The mutineers were "convicted and hung at Liverpool." Donna Collings and Malcolm A. MacQueen, "Master Mariners Who Have Gone Forth From Grand Old Belfast District!" *The Island Register*, modified 1 Nov 1998, accessed Dec 2014, http://www.islandregister.com/mariners.html

The Nantucket Historical Association Research Library has an account book for the *Veronica's* 1882 voyage out of New Bedford under Capt. Erastus Church. It's possible that Kromer meant *Verona* and not *Veronica*, or that the *Veronia* was simply an obscure ship.

¹⁴The Gulf Stream spans from Florida to Newfoundland. Juan Ponce de León discovered the current in 1512 and used it to sail from the Caribbean to Spain. Benjamin Franklin became interested in it because it delayed Anglo–American shipments by several weeks.

Franklin charted and named the Gulf Stream in 1768 with the help of his cousin Timothy Folger, a Nantucket whaling captain. Folger told Franklin the current was manifest when it influenced the behavior of whales and made the water uncharacteristically warm. The British ignored Franklin's findings and advice for almost two decades, then heeded it and saved about two weeks per trip.

Please see Maurice Isserman, "Ben Franklin and the Gulf Stream," *Study of Place* (TERC: 2002); and Jerry Wilkinson, "History of the Gulf Stream," *Keys Historeum* (Historical Preservation Society of the Upper Keys), accessed Dec 2014, http://www.keyshistory.org/gulfstream.html

 $^{^{13}}$ Emendation from "Veronia" on MS p. 47. Kromer's reference is unclear but there was a Bark Veronica based in New Brunswick. Diana Purdue's genealogy notes mention the Veronica under Capt. McLean in an 18 June 1891 entry. The ship "came from Montevideo" and "landed at St. John . . . with (–) cases of small pox on board. This is consistent with the Lagoda's time and place. Diana Purdue, "Richibucto Review," Kent County, NB Genealogy Web, accessed Dec 2014.

32 CHAPTER 3. 1883

31

Very little wind, go very slow.

April

1

Very good weather the whole day, fair wind.

2

Run very good the whole night. At 6 o'clock seen the first lighthouse, and 12 o'clock we are moored to the dock and FREE.

Appendix A

ODHS 972B

April 1882

11

At 8:00 I went on board the Bark Lagoda, Um 8 Uhr ging ich an Bord der Bark Lagoda, Capt. Lewis, New Bedford. At 12:00 we left Capt. Lewis, New Bedford. Um 12 Uhr gingen the dock and anchored in the bay.

wir vom Dock und ankerten in der Bay.

12

At 12:00 the captain and his wife came with Um 12 Uhr mittags kam der Capt. und Frau a boat on board and left at 6:00. He led the mit dem Boat{f,h}* an Bord und hinaus ging boat out in a strong SW wind.

es um 6 Uhr. Führ der Boatse ab im starken SW Wind.

December 1882

31

ing, the new one will be better. Happy New Year to all at home! WK.

This year didn't end very well. So God will- Dieses Jahr endete nicht sehr gut. Doch so Gott will wird des neue besser sein. Glückliches Neujahr an alle daheim!!! WK.

February 1883

4

My birthday. I drink to my 25th year! Running before the wind from SSE. Mein Geburtstag. Ich gratuliere mir selber zum 25!!!!

Appendix B

ODHS 972C

December 1883

31

Wind S. Gamed the *Lancer*.¹

This year has turned out badly for us since 11 February. No whales caught but [they're] seen often enough. It'll be better next year, God willing.

Dieses Jahr ist schlecht ausgefallen mit uns, seit dem 11. Februar. Keinen Wallfisch gefangen aber oft genug gesahen. So Gott will wird es das nächste Jahr besser gehen.

June 1884

15

Light S wind. Capt. went ashore in Juan Fer- Ein Berner und (fignet {h,s}u*er) des Islandes nandez and got some wood. Mrs. Lewis did das wir von Chilean Governors² gerettet³ hat. bring some reading from Herr von Raoult.

[Met] a Berner and others on the islands that we rescued from the Chilean governors.

¹The Lancer was built in 1852 at Newburyport, MA. Its owner converted it from a ship to a bark in 1868–1869. The vessel completed nine voyages out of New Bedford from 1852–1887 and three out of San Francisco from 1887–1890. The Lancer was sold at Vladivostok in 1890. Judith N. Lund et al., American Offshore Whaling Voyages 1667-1927: Volume I, p. 344.

²Emendation from "Govern*" on MS p. 74.

³Emendation from "ger*tet" on MS p. 74.

Appendix C

ODHS 972D

December 1883

31

Wind W. Gamed the *Lancer*, he seen whales four days ago.

This year started very well. We got almost 500 barrels of oil in the first three months but only 45 barrels in the other nine months. The new year will also start well, and God willing, I hope to have a job on the mainland. I'm weary of the sea and whaling mainly because one leads a pathetic, miserable life.

We start the new year with the best wishes and hopes in God. Happy New Year to all relatives and friends. Dieses Jahr hat sehr gut angefangen. Wir haben die ersten 3 Monaten beinahe 500 Brl. Oel bekommen aber die andere 9 Monaten nur 45 Barill.

So Gott will wird das neue Jahr ebenso gut anfangen und a{m,n} fede desselber hoffe ich eine Beschäftigung auf dem festen Lande zu haben. Der ich den See und hauptsächlich des Wallfischfanger überdrüßig bin, denn es ist ein erbärmliches, elendes Leben, das man der führt.

Mit Gott guten Wünschen und Hoffnungen fangen wir das neue Jahr an. Prost Neujahr zu allen Verwandten und Bekannten.

Appendix D

ODHS 972E

December 1885

31

Wind SW. Rainy. Started the works.

The last year didn't start very brilliantly but it had a good ending. In the next year, God willing, we'll be ready to finish this business.

Das letzte Jahr hat zwar nicht sehr glänzen angefangen aber es hat ein gutes Ende genommen.¹ Im kommenden wurden wir diesen Geschäft fertig werden² so Gott will.

February 1886

4

Calm. Boiling. Mein Geburtstag. Hoffentlich der letzte auf My birthday. Hopefully the last one at der See—!!! sea!

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{Emendation}$ from "ge*mmen" on MS p. 57.

²Emendation from "we*d*n" on MS p. 57.

Appendix E

ODHS 972F

Undated

From here we went to South Georgia Island where we killed about 100 sea elephants and got about 180 kegs of oil from their fat.

From here we headed west to the Falkland Islands. At one of them is a missionary hospital where we stayed and asked [for] days to receive fresh meat and vegetables.

From here we sailed around Cape Horn and then through several small canals until we came to the Strait of Magellan and dropped anchor in Sandy Point on 15 June.

Von hier gingen wir nach der Insel South Georgia, wo wir etwa 100 See Elephanten erlegten und aus ihrem Fett ungefahr¹ 180 Faßen Oel bekommen.

Von hier gingen wir westlich nach den Falkland Inseln. An einer desselber ist eine Missionsanstalt, vor wir anliefern und anfragten² Tage verweilten und frisches Fleisch und Gemüse ein*{h,s}*en.

Von hier segelten wir um da Cap Horn und dann durch mehrere kleine Canale bis wir in die Magellanstraße kamen und dann am 15. Juni in Sandy Point vor Anker gingen.

 $^{^{1}\}mathrm{Emendation}$ from "e{f,s}*gefahr" on MS p. 1.

²Emendation from "an $\{h,s\}r^*$ " on MS p. 1.

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Recommended Citation

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