

THE  
*RESOLUTION* JOURNAL OF  
JOHANN  
REINHOLD FORSTER

1772-1775

VOLUME III

EDITED BY  
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Read only journal entries enclosed by a red box.

THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY  
LONDON

1982

in my Cabin  $36^{\circ}$ . No birds are seen about the Ship; hoisted 2 boats out & fetched some drifting Ice, but it yields very bad water, as this Ice is quite spongy & also imbibed with Sea-water. It was just so last year, but later in the year, when the large Ice-Islands crumble to pieces, the Ice is quite solid & transparent, & affords very good water; this which we now get is spungy, opaque & seems to be formed by snow only.<sup>1</sup>

Dec.  $7^{\text{e}}$  18<sup>th</sup> ☾ We hoisted again, boats out & took Ice in. The weather foggy & thick & very little wind. No birds about the Ship. The Thermometer at  $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , in my Cabin  $37^{\circ}$ .

Dec.  $7^{\text{e}}$  19<sup>th</sup> ☉ Very little wind. Saw some Ice Islands. No birds. The Thermometer at  $34^{\circ}$ , in my Cabin  $38^{\circ}$ . The weather grows clearer. The Latitude observed at noon  $64^{\circ}-48'$  South.

Dec.  $7^{\text{e}}$  20<sup>th</sup> ☽ Fine weather, the Sun shines; about 3 sooty Albatrosses attend the Ship. We go again SSE. At 12 o'clock at night very fine & moderate & so light that I could write this in my Cabin which is none of the lightest: my Skuttel being under the Chain plates. In the Evening at 6 o'clock our Gentlemen had an observation of the Distance of the moon from the Sun, by which the Longitude calculated was  $210^{\circ}-57'$  East from London. The variation was by Azimuth  $13^{\circ} 25'$  East.<sup>2</sup> Saw in the morning several sooty Albatrosses. The Thermometer at 8 o'clock on deck at  $22^{\circ}$  in my Cabin  $38^{\circ}$ .

Dec.  $7^{\text{e}}$  21<sup>st</sup> ♂ Saw a Whale blowing. Several large flat Islands of Ice are in Sight. During night the wind increased to a stiff gale. It grew foggy & wet. We passed the Antarctic at 6 o'clock in the Evening. Saw some Antarctic Petrels. In the morning we saw through the fog close before us two large Islands of Ice, one with very high upright standing pieces in the Shape of pyramids Obelisks & Church-Spires. We then were obliged to put about in order to avoid the Ice, which came on thicker & thicker; however this would not have discouraged, had it only been clear & dry. The Thermometer at  $33^{\circ}$ .

It is remarkable, that there is so great & so striking a difference between the Arctic & Antarctic frigid Zone in regard to weather & the degree of warmth & cold under the same corresponding degree of Latitude.<sup>3</sup> In the Arctic from  $60$  to  $66\frac{1}{2}$  & upwards there

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cook's findings, *Journals*, II, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Journals*, II, 307, where Cook gives  $14^{\circ} 25'$  for the 'Variation of the compass by several Azths' and the longitude calculations are at variance. Forster may have got his readings from only one source.

<sup>3</sup> See *Observations*, pp. 95-101.

is a good deal of Land to be met with viz. Iceland, the North of Norway, Sweden & Lapland & all the European & Asiatic North of Russia, beyond that there is Land in North America, about the Hudson's bay; Greenland & Spitsberghen. Some parts of this Northern land are inhabited & even cultivated & are very fertile, bearing various kinds of Corn & Fruit. In winter it is true the whole is bound up with very severe & intense Frost; but in the short Summers they enjoy, there is sometimes an intense heat, very little inferior to that under the Line. We have now already sailed more than half round the world in Sixty Degrees of Latitude & now & then up to  $66\frac{1}{2}$  & beyond it. We have passed two Seasons called Summer in these Inhospitable Climates, & have hitherto found no Land at all, & there is as yet very little probability of finding any Land in this antarctic frigid Zone. Wherever we have hitherto been, *omnia Pontus erat*.<sup>1</sup> The Thermometer has never been all the Summer above 5 or 6 Degrees above the freezing point, & frequently it has been below it. Whenever we attempted to dive into the Antarctic-Circle we found all the Sea covered with solid Masses of Ice, very probably extending to the very pole. If this Ice could be considered as a little cup, just fitting that part of our globe which lies beyond the Antarctic it would be something similar to a broken Eggshell: an Idea very much approaching to the Cosmogony of the Chaldeans who looked upon the world in its primitive chaotic state as upon an Egg, whose Shell being broken, one half represented this Globe & the other half formed the canopy of heavens. Of this Egg the Shell has been vusted, and a small part is now only left at the Antarctic: the large floating Ice-Islands are small Atoms of the broken Eggshell, which waste away & are restored every winter, as *Prometheus's* liver.<sup>2</sup> But to return from this poetical view of this part of the globe; let us rather consider it in a philosophical light. We know that the Sea is in winter a great deal milder, than the Land: & in Summer it is upon the whole cooler; the first on account of the damp & moist Exhalations, the second because the beams of the Sun are swallowed up in the immense depth of the Ocean, without being reflected,

<sup>1</sup> 'Everything was sea', apparently a favourite quotation for this Latin scholar on this watery voyage. See p. 274 above.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the Greek legend and Prometheus, the giant, who stole fire from heaven and gave it to Man. Zeus, the King of the Gods, was so furious that he chained Prometheus to a rock, where every day an eagle (or vulture) devoured his liver, which every night grew again for the bird to feed on for ever.

so as it would happen fell the beams upon the land. Now all this Ocean round & in the Antarctic must in consequence of this, be in Summer cooler than in the corresponding Northern Latitude, & in the winter milder. The people that navigated round Cape Horn in the winter found it not so much more cold, & in the midst of Summer Snow has been observed almost every day in *Terra del Fuego* & in the *Magellanic Straights*; Nay the difference of the highest & lowest degree on the Thermometer in *Falkland Islands* all the year round is hardly more than 20 degrees. If you add to this, what we experience in these Latitudes it will afford an incontestible proof of our Assertion.<sup>1</sup> But what unhappy Situation ours must be in these truly inhospitable climates can hardly be expressed by words. The Sun is seldom seen. All is fogg & mist around us: hardly any birds are observed. A few solitary eremitic Whales are now & then seen, & these are all the creatures that will venture to live in this wretched summer *sub Jove frigido*.<sup>2</sup>

Our food is meat salted, above two years old: & though done with the greatest caution, it is at best but indifferent. All the pease, flower, raisins etc lose something by being so long kept in a Ship excluded from the open Air, are musty & tasteless: in short there is not one comfort in this navigation. The Sea is now tempestuous, the Decks are never dry, all the Ship moist & damp; my Cabin cold & open to the piercing winds, full of unwholesome effluvia & vapours, every thing I touch is moist & mouldy & looks more like a subterraneous mansion for the dead than a habitation for the living. In the Captain's Cabin there are broken panes, the apartment full of currents & smoke, a parcel of damp Sails spread, & a couple of Sailmakers at work, now & then discharging the mephitic Air from the pease & Sower-kroot they have eaten, & besides 5 or 6 other people constantly in it; so that it cannot be reckoned one of the most comfortable places neither: if to this we add that there the pitching of the Ship is more felt, than any where else it will clearly appear, that these Expeditions are the most difficult task that could be imposed on poor mortals. The thirst of knowledge, the desire of discovering new animals, & new plants & to be happy to find perhaps one or more substances that might be useful to mankind in general & to the Dominions of Great-

<sup>1</sup> Forster is beginning to struggle here with ideas more fully developed in his chapter 'Remarks on Water and the Ocean' (*Observations*, pp. 43-102) which, as we have seen, were further modified and influenced by other contemporary researches after he returned to England.

<sup>2</sup> 'Under a cold sky.'

Brittain in particular, were the motives that animated me to go on this Expedition: but having toiled for more than 18 Months, we have seen nothing which has not been seen before: for I believe all the few plants & Animals we could come at during our short Stay a shore, were probably all observed by Mr Banks & Dr Solander. The profits I reap are but small, for more than half of the Sum granted, must go to equip & support myself. The satisfaction in making usefull Discoveries is still less satisfied, & the reputation I might gain by publishing even these little Discoveries is very precarious, if I consider that Mr Banks & Dr Solander have now had 2 years time to publish their Discoveries before me, & how much they are assisted by the opulence of the one, & the great skill in Natural History of the other; & what Superiority their publication will have above mine by the infinite number of new Subjects on which their Observations & Descriptions can dwell. How much all these considerations are liable to cast a damp on my projects in these gloomy Circumstances & regions is easily made out. However I will toil & strive as much as lies in my power, & oppose to all these Inconveniences & hardships & mind superior to all these things: my Conscience reproaches me with nothing; I have done as much as I could in those circumstances; the rest I leave to providence & the generosity of my Friends & patrons. The great Impartiality & Justice of the English Nation is so well known & so well attested by eternal Monuments, that she no doubt will reward one way or other Her brave Sons, who navigated these inhospitable Seas, & went through the hardest duty with Spirit & vigour, & brought an Expedition to a happy Issue, which no Nation has undertaken upon so extensive & noble a plan & which no Nation will in future times undertake. Britannia's glorious son's will stand unrivalled in this arduous task: the Track of the Resolution will remain for ever an eternal & only monument of the power & greatness of the Nation, of the wisdom & attention of the Men, who are at the head of the Affairs & of the Conduct, bravery & perseverance of the people who went on this perilous & difficult Expedition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This lengthy passage, omitted by George, lays bare the fears, neuroses and hopes of the ailing principal scientist, the 'man of moods of exultations and dejections'. He was above all else, through a lifetime, a child and under its influence, a period of depression on the voyage. Nevertheless the insights and passages he gives us reveal much about the moods, physical deprivations and psychology of the men on this epic voyage; Cook has nothing similar. See *Tactless Philosopher*, pp. 102-7 and p. 448, n. 2 below.

The Lat. 66°–50' South.

Decembr  $y^e$  22<sup>d</sup> ♀ The wind a fine fresh breeze, we see many Ice Islands. A few sooty Albatrosses attend the Ship. The Thermometer at 31½°, in my Cabin 35°. The Latit. at noon 67°. 27' South. Saw the night before two Seals.

Decembr  $y^e$  23<sup>d</sup> 4 The weather & wind easy. 12 Islands of Ice in Sight. The Thermometer at 32°, in my Cabin 35°. Passed in the night & beforenoon several Ice-Islands. Saw several antarctic & blue Petrels, sooty Albatrosses & a short thick bird with a whitish flesh coloured bill.<sup>1</sup> The Latitude at noon 67°. 12' South.

Dec.  $y^e$  24<sup>th</sup> ♀ I had for a good while felt a cold in my body, today I got a fever & headache & some rheumatic pains & was obliged to go to bed; I took something to promote perspiration & sweated amply all night.<sup>2</sup> In the Evening we found ourselves surrounded by Ice, brought to, & took Ice in. Shot an antarctic Petrel & a new other Petrel.<sup>3</sup> Stood on to the West & in the morning again East. We are unhappily plagued with nothing but northern winds & cannot get out of these high latitudes. The Thermometer at 32½°, in my Cabin 35°.

Dec  $y^e$  25<sup>th</sup> ♂ We hasted to get out of the cold Climates as much as the cold contrary North-wind would allow. The two Petrels were drawn & described. I found myself still poor & weak, & my case is very much the same with a great many people in the Ship, who all are very ill. The weather easy, a great many large Ice Islands are passed. The Thermometer at 33°, in my Cabin 37°. The Latitude 66° 22' South. At noon 00 Islands of Ice insight.

Dec  $y^e$  26<sup>th</sup> ☉ We prepare every thing to entertain the Gentlemen of the Gunroom, the Mates & several others at our Table. The weather easy & an absolute dead calm. At 6 o'clock 105 Ice-Islands

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Mottled Petrel. See 24 December below.

<sup>2</sup> George Forster records that 'About this time many persons were afflicted with violent rheumatic pains, head-aches, swelled glands, and catarrhal fevers, which some attributed to the use of ice-water', but puts his father's condition dutifully down to 'the wretched accommodations which he had on board, every thing in his cabin rotting in the wet which it admitted, and being mouldy' (*Voyage*, I, 534). George's cabin description seems inspired by Forster senior's longer complaint earlier, p. 433 above but cf. *Observations*, pp. 639–40 for J. R. Forster's maturer summary of health in 'the cold antarctic regions'.

<sup>3</sup> In *Descr. Anim.*, p. 204 Forster records that his *Procellaria inexpectata* was found with the Antarctic Petrel. George (folio 97 and Lysaght, p. 295) drew and painted this bird as recorded the following day. It is now the Mottled Petrel *Pterodroma inexpectata* (Forster, 1844). The Antarctic Petrel *Thalassoica antarctica* (Gmelin, 1789) shot with it formed the basis for Forster's detailed description of *Procellaria antarctica* of *Descr. Anim.*, p. 202 and was probably the specimen illustrated in George's folio 95 (Lysaght, p. 294) Cook, too, gives some of his rarer details of the bird specimens shot on this day (*Journals*, II, 309).

in Sight. No wind all night: we advance very little in this dangerous Situation between so many Ice-Islands with a drunken Ships-crew. The Thermometer at 33°, in my Cabin 39°. The Latitude observed at noon 66° 14' South, & 186 Islands of Ice in Sight, none below the Size of the hull of a Ship.

I saw a sooty Albatross & 1 blue, an Antarctic & a new widow Petrel ie. a Pintada.<sup>1</sup>

Dec.  $y^e$  27<sup>th</sup> )) A very faint breeze is just springing up. The Islands of Ice surrounding the Ship look like the wrecks of a destroyed world, everyone of them threatens us with impending ruin, if you add our solitary Situation & being surrounded by a parcel of drunken Sailors hollowing & hurraing about us, & peeling our Ears continually with Oaths & Execrations, curses & Dam's it has no distant relation to the Image of hell, drawn by the poets:<sup>2</sup> & were it not for the pinching cold, we would really think it were still more similar: & if the reports of some Northern people are to be credited, a poor Parson in the Farroes or in Iceland represented to his audience Hell as a very cold place, & being asked the reason for doing so, answered that if he said it were hot, they would all willingly go to the Devil. If we consider Hell in the point of view of this Man of god, we are now actually in Hell but we hope soon to be redeemed from this hell.<sup>3</sup> The weather easy, very little wind. In proportion as we go to the North, the Islands of Ice decrease in number; at 4 o'clock in the Morning, we brought to, hoisted the boats out & took some Ice in. No birds attend the Ship. The thermometer at 33°, in my Cabin 41½°. The Latitude at 65° 53' South.

Decembr  $y^e$  28<sup>th</sup> ♂ Went about: the Ship going hardly EbS which with the Variation is more than 2 or very near 3 point Southing. Our Course is now North. The Thermometer at 33°, in my Cabin 38°. Bad weather. Snow & Sleet. Few birds about the Ship. I got

<sup>1</sup> Presumably a Cape Pigeon.

<sup>2</sup> George (inspired by his father?) drew a more contentious and provocative picture of Wales's 'poor seamen', their revelry, character, 'insensibility', their passions and 'gross animal appetites [which] fill the place of purer affections' (*Voyage*, I, 535–6). Wales (*Remarks*, p. 37), of course, turned his lens on this passage, accusing Forster of 'branding' the crew and eliciting from George (*Reply*, pp. 27–8) the 'defence' that he had written realistically, drunkenness and debauchery included, but that his remarks did not apply to the whole crew. Indeed he had noted that, despite their rougher qualities, the sailors were 'likewise brave, sincere, and true to each other'.

<sup>3</sup> One form, perhaps over brandy, of this fiery yet not completely humourless ex-parson's brand of humour in which that other more genial Nordic, Sparrman – no lover of 'swearing' – also joined in his way. See Sparrman, *Voyage round the World*, p. 119 and *Journals*, II, 310, n. 2.



again a Rheumatic & was confined to my bed for these 2 days.<sup>1</sup>

Dec.  $\gamma^e$  29<sup>th</sup> ♀ The course the same, a deal of snow. The Thermometer at  $33\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ , in my Cabin  $43^\circ$ . Owing to the warmth caused by an ample Perspiration, after a dose of Essence of Antimony,<sup>2</sup> my cold is most gone off. There are 12 people of the Ship's Company sick with colds. But few Ice Islands have been seen.

Dec.  $\gamma^e$  30<sup>th</sup> ♀ Mild, little wind. N.W. Course, a little Snow. The Thermometer at 34, in my Cabin 40. Got up the preceding day, much better. Few Ice Island seen.

Dec.  $\gamma^e$  31<sup>st</sup> ♀ Mild little wind, some Snow. Few birds attend the Ship. Few Ice Islands have been seen. The Thermometer at  $35\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  in my Cabin  $39^\circ$ . The Latitude observed at noon  $59^\circ 40'$  South.

## 1774

Jan. 1<sup>st</sup> ♂ A little Snow. A good many colds are felt in the Ship, with rheumatic pains, swelled Glands etc. owing to the cold Climate, Ice water etc. The Ship was smoaked. I stood in the Cabin when the windows were open & got a sore throat. Very little or no wind. Saw still some Ice, a Pintada & several sooty Albatrosses. The Thermometer at  $34\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ , in my Cabin  $42\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ . Thus we have at the beginning of this year, still about  $157^\circ$  of Longitude to run, & about 26 Latitude, which is still a great deal, especially if we consider that now the days begin to shorten & in March we must of course expect high winds: all this gives not much of a very agreeable prospect into futurity. The Latitude  $59^\circ - 7^\circ$  S.

Jan.  $\gamma^e$  2<sup>d</sup> ☉ The wind freshened, but fell towards morning. The Thermometer at  $36^\circ$ , in my Cabin  $41\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ . The Latit.  $57^\circ - 58'$  South.

Jan.  $\gamma^e$  3<sup>d</sup> Though I never stir out of the Cabin, the least current however throws me again in a fever. I felt something yesterday & to day still more, & am afraid I shall be obliged to take a third

<sup>1</sup> George (*Voyage*, I, 538) again records the decline in general health and the measures taken to prevent scurvy – of which he, too, had symptoms. 'A general languor and sickly look however, soon manifested itself in almost every person's face, which threatened us with more dangerous consequences. Captain Cook himself was likewise pale and lean, entirely lost his appetite, and laboured under a perpetual costiveness.' Cook, as usual, is taciturn about such inconveniences. See *Journals*, II, 311 and on scurvy and Cook's health on this voyage, Sir James Watt, 'Medical Aspects and Consequences of Cook's Voyages' in *Captain James Cook and His Times* (1979), eds R. Fisher and H. Johnston, pp. 129–157.

<sup>2</sup> Antimony was a widely used diaphoretic. W. R. Thrower in 'Contributions to Medicine of Captain James Cook, F.R.S., R.N.', *Lancet*, CCXLI (1951, Vol. II), pp. 215–18 suggests that an epidemic of glandular fever hit the *Resolution*.

trip to the bed. The fever overcame me at last, & I took something in the Evening to promote Perspiration. Very few birds attend the Ship. A couple of Divers & some Seaweeds have been seen. The Thermometer at  $36\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ , in my Cabin  $44\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ . The Latitude  $56^\circ 40'$  South.

Jan.  $\gamma^e$  4<sup>th</sup> ♂ Our course is N.W. the breeze fresh, despair is visibly painted on all faces, for they now begin to fear, that they shall be obliged to stay another year in these Seas & have another cold winter-campaign to go through.<sup>1</sup> A vast number of the small blue Petrels attend the Ship. A few diving Petrels were again seen. The Thermometer  $43\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ , in my Cabin  $44^\circ$ . The Course NbE. The Lat.  $54^\circ 53'$ .

Jan.  $\gamma^e$  5<sup>th</sup> ♀ The Gale blew fresh & all our sails were double reeved. The Fore-Top-Sail split, & the Ship rolls & works very hard. The track we made going to Otahaitee is not above 10 degrees distant from the place we actually are in: there we found no signs of Land, here are likewise none. The middle latitudes are most subject to impetuous winds, especially from the West. We are to explore these Seas & to see whether any Land is in them: a small island at such a distance from Great Britain can be of no use & consequently of no consequence to this Great Nation. A great continent cannot be there, for there are our two tracks that won't admit of it, to the N.W. especially not, for all the great sea & swell come from thence & could not be formed under a great track of Land that can hardly be a few degrees off.<sup>2</sup> What helps it therefore to harass the Ship, the rigging & the crew in these turbulent Seas beating to windward. If to satisfy Government & the public that no Land is left behind: it will not suffice the incredulous part of the public if the whole Ocean were ploughed up, as an inclosed ground. And the reasonable & good natured credulous part will be well contented with what we have hitherto done, provided we spare ourselves for to bring the news of our Discoveries home: else we do nothing & Government & the public are still where they were before we undertook this Expedition. The Hurricanes which we must expect off *Cape Horn*, & other

<sup>1</sup> 'The long continuance in these cold climates began now to hang heavily on our crew, especially as it banished all hope of returning home this year, which had hitherto supported their spirits. At first a painful despondence, owing to the dreary prospect of another year's cruize to the South, seemed painted on every countenance; till by degrees they resigned themselves to their fate, with a kind of sullen indifference' (*Voyage*, I, 540).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cook's reasoning, *Journals*, II, 313–14.

accidents which may happen & we cannot foresee require a healthy, strong Ships-Crew, which we cannot long keep, if they be called up several times a night & go down wet through without being able to dry themselves or to shift cloths. As there is hardly any prospect of meeting with land here it would be best to make the best of this fine gale, & bear down again into 60° & upwards to go round *Cape Horn*. But we must submit, there are people, who are hardened to all feelings, & will give no ear to the dictates of humanity & reason; false ideas of *virtue* & *good conduct* are to them, to leave nothing to *chance*, & future discoverers, by their *perseverance*; which costs the lives of the poor Sailors or at least their healths. These people should be constantly employed by Government upon such Schemes: as for instance the N.W. or NE. Passage; there they will find a career to give to their genius full Scope; but wo! the poor Crew under them.<sup>1</sup>

Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.<sup>2</sup>

The rolling of the Ship continues, & our course is again NW.b.W. The Thermometer at 47½, in my Cabin 48°. The Latitude 53°. 33' South.

Jan. 7<sup>th</sup> 4 But very few birds, chiefly blue Petrels & common Albatrosses attend the Ship. The Storm & rolling increase, & toss our poor bark in a strange manner, & we ship several large Seas. The water comes in at the sides of the Ship, which are by no means tight, though they were well caulked at N. Zeeland. But the Ship being so often altered, has greatly lost of her stiffness & works too much. The night was very disagreeable & let me hardly sleep, on account of the rolling of the Ship. The Thermometer at 47°, in my Cabin 50°. The Latitude at noon observed 51°-00' South.

Jan. 7<sup>th</sup> 5 Bore away to NNE, the Ship goes a great deal more easy, the wind & Sea are much abated. Saw several Albatrosses, blue & whiterumped Petrels. Went the first time on deck since two days after Christmas. Feel still flying rheumatic pains in my

<sup>1</sup> Ignoring the invective and vindictiveness this, surely, is one of the most succinct and telling of summaries on James Cook's character, aspirations & 'futura' as an explorer! Cf. George Forster (*Voyage*, I, 540): 'It must be owned however, that nothing could be more dejecting than the entire ignorance of our future destination, which, without any apparent reason, was constantly kept a secret to every person in the ship.' Forster senior's choice of words has a hint of irony, for these were indeed the words Cook used.

<sup>2</sup> 'Whatever mad schemes kings have, the Archæans (Greeks) are punished.' This is a quotation from one of Forster's favourite poets, Horace. Wales knew of this Horatian predilection and Forster's 'warm imagination and great invention...', which rushed him, allegedly, 'as Horace advises, into the middle of his subject [blending] truth with fiction, and [adorning] both with every beautiful flower his fancy can suggest' (*Remarks*, p. 69).

limbs. The Thermometer at 47½, in my Cabin 52°. The Lat. 50° 19' South.

Jan. 7<sup>th</sup> 6 Course the same, moderate weather: small showers of rain. Some Albatrosses in sight. The Thermometer at 47½, in my Cabin 53. The Latitude 49°. 7' South.

Jan 7<sup>th</sup> 7 Went to ENE. moderate easy weather. Albatrosses about the Ship. The Thermometer at 49°, in my Cabin 55°. The Lat. 48° 17' S

Jan 7<sup>th</sup> 8 It seems now to be a general opinion, that we are to stay out one year more, & that we are to winter at some Portuguese settlement in South-America. If we are again to meet with such a scurvy reception as last time the *Endeavour* did at Rio Janeiro,<sup>1</sup> it is no more but just, for having the experience of this ill treatment nothing can be expected from the Portuguese favourable, & if we but get bare necessities, it is all we can wish for; & I am afraid, I shall be confined as M<sup>r</sup> Banks & D<sup>r</sup> Solander to the Ship, without making any Observations on Natural History; whereas we are sure to meet with a cordial reception at the *Cape* & plenty & profusion of all kinds of provisions & refreshments. The wind gradually came down, in the morning it was calm. Several Albatrosses & Petrels about the Ship. The Thermometer 50½, in my Cabin 57½. The Lat. 48°-8' South. Two Lieutenants had a boat hoisted out & went a shooting, & killed 16 birds of 3 kinds, all of the Petrelkind or related to the Shearwaters, but rather bigger & two seem to be new, if not all 3 of them.

Jan 7<sup>th</sup> 9 Very little wind, the same birds attend the Ship. We drew & described 3 kinds of Petrels;<sup>2</sup> which all seem to be new, at least somewhat different from the known ones. One of them with a white head & belly, back & tail cinereous, the wings somewhat dusky grey, I had formerly called the *N. Holland Shearwater*. I mention this only to prevent any misrepresentation & that no more new birds may be made out of these we have seen

<sup>1</sup> When Cook was subject to much delay and bureaucratic intransigence on the outward voyage in November and early December 1768. See *Journals*, I, 22-34. Whatever the general gossip in the *Resolution*, Cook reveals no plan for a stay at Rio.

<sup>2</sup> These 'new' petrels were: *Procellaria tristis* of Descr. Anim., p. 205; Forster folio 94 and Lysaght, p. 294, now the Sooty Shearwater *Puffinus griseus* (Gmelin, 1789); *Procellaria leucocephala* of Descr. Anim., p. 206; Forster folio 98 and Lysaght, p. 295, now the White-headed Petrel *Pterodroma lessonae* (Garnot, 1826) and *Procellaria haesitata* of Descr. Anim., p. 208; Forster folio 92 and Lysaght, p. 294, now the Grey Petrel *Procellaria cinerea* (Gmelin, 1789).

than there really are. It rained several showers during the night, & the wind increased. At 8 o'clock, the Course was altered from EbN. to East, & at 12 o'clock from thence to SE. The Thermometer at  $52\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$  in my Cabin  $55^{\circ}$ . The Latitude  $47^{\circ} 52'$  South.

Jan  $7^{\text{e}}$  12<sup>th</sup> ♀ So we are now again bearing away for the cold regions, which frequent & great changes of climate & weather must be very hurtful to the Constitutions of our Ships-company, upon whose health & life the Success of the whole Expedition depends.<sup>1</sup> The Shearwaters, which we have seen hitherto, & the common Albatrosses were seen about the Ship. The Thermometer at  $53^{\circ}$ , in my Cabin  $57^{\circ}$ . The Latitude observed at noon  $49^{\circ}-34'$  South.

Jan.  $7^{\text{e}}$  13<sup>th</sup> ♀ I have still rheumatic pains about me & can hardly bear the least breath of air, though I was used to be on deck in all weathers for a considerable time. My pains increased this night to a great height. The weather mild. The Thermometer at  $53^{\circ}$ , in my Cabin  $59\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . The Latitude  $52^{\circ}-1'$  South.

Jan  $7^{\text{e}}$  14<sup>th</sup> ♀ The wind & Sea high, the Ship rolls much. The weather moist & rainy. Few birds attend the Ship. The Thermometer at  $50^{\circ}$ , in my Cabin  $59^{\circ}$ . The Lat.  $53^{\circ} 55'$  South. I suffered much from rheumatic pains, & am brought very low.

Jan  $7^{\text{e}}$  15<sup>th</sup> ♀ The weather cleared up in the Afternoon. The Ship rolls very much & works in her upperworks, which are much weakened by the many alterations of the Ship. The Thermometer  $48\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$  in my Cabin  $50^{\circ}$ .

Jan  $7^{\text{e}}$  16<sup>th</sup> ☉ The Storm & Sea much increased, our Ship is tossed backwards & forwards, up & down the mountainous waves: each summit, from which you may overlook the vast extent of the Ocean, follows again a deep abyss, where we get hardly light in our Cabins. During night we brought to & then we felt the rolling infinitely more. At 9 o'clock, there came a huge mountainous Sea & took the Ship in her middle, & overwhelmed all her parts with a Deluge. The table in the Steerage, at which we were sitting, was covered with water, & it put our candle out: the great Cabin was quite washed over & over by the Sea coming through the Sides

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Voyage*, I, 310. Elliott (*Journals*, II, 315, n. 3) records some of the 'very severe mortification . . . our utter astonishment', when Cook hauled south again, 'causing a buzz in the Ship but which soon subsided'. He also records Cook's closeness about his intentions, the taciturnity which so angered Forster, and also the fact that, generally, Cook's leadership and competence were, even in these miserable circumstances, not seriously questioned for too long.

of the Ship. Into my Cabin came the Sea through the Skuttel & wetted all my bed. I had new sheets laid & the bed rubbed up & dried as well as could be done, & in this damp bed I turned in, with limbs that had been free from pain all the day & in very good spirits: but the continual rolling of the Ship hindered me from Sleeping. Soon did the damp vapours volatilized by my natural warmth insinuate themselves into the open pores & penetrate to the fibres, which a few hours ago had been agitated by pain & caused there new excruciating pains. I did not sleep all night, my Cabin was now below full of water, & I could not stir without being in water to my Ankles; fell any thing down, it was most certainly soaked in the briny Deluge. This disaster however befel my pillow, whilst I was busy to rub my poor tortured legs, with a piece of flanel in order to mitigate at least in some measure the torments, I thought myself under. The Ocean & the winds raged all night. The former had no *pacific* aspect, & seemed to be displeased with the presumption of a few intruding, curious, roving puny mortals, who come into that part of his dominions where he has been undisturbed ever since the creation; perhaps is he more displeased with their business, of seeing for land, where never any was. The morning came, I dragged my crippled limbs out of my bed & ate some breakfast.<sup>1</sup> We resume the course SSE. The Sea still high. The Thermometer  $50^{\circ}$ , in my Cabin  $55^{\circ}$ . The Latitude observed  $56^{\circ} 18'$  South. Some Shearwaters attend the Ship.

Jan  $7^{\text{e}}$  17<sup>th</sup> ☽ The cold weather begins to set in. This night the Ship was more easy, & I had a refreshing Sleep, but my rheumatic pains rather increase; I eat little, salt meat is loathsome to me, all things look gloomy & dismal. I do not live, not even vegetate, I wither, I dwindle away. The Thermometer at  $43^{\circ}$ , in my Cabin  $48\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . The Latitude observed  $58^{\circ} 34'$  South.

Jan  $7^{\text{e}}$  18<sup>th</sup> ♂ The weather still colder in proportion as we advance to the South; our days grow longer, we could see at 10 o'clock without candle. A cruise among the inhospitable Ice Islands is a dismal prospect & shocking to humanity; but to make this cruising willfully longer, in order to satisfy interest & vanity is as *Juvenal* observes:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Voyage*, I, 540-2.



*Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.* Juven.<sup>1</sup> Sat. 8 v. 84

The Thermometer at 41°, in my Cabin 47½°.

Jan. 19<sup>th</sup> ♀ The several kinds of Shearwaters attend the Ship. In the night it rolled very much, I could not sleep a wink. Had in the morning headach, rheumatic pains & an oppression of spirits.<sup>2</sup> The Thermometer at 38°, in my Cabin 47°. It rained all morning.

Jan. 20<sup>th</sup> ♀ Our Sailors have long been at ⅔ allowance, which in regard to bread is very hard; for the bread has unfortunately been packed in green casks, which absolutely spoiled all that which was in contact with the Sides of the cask. It was sorted in New Zealand, the bad bread was either thrown away, or when tolerable, it was baked in an oven & then put into casks; the chief fault was that the overhaul was too rigorous & many bad bread went in again into the casks; another fault was, that the casks were not cleaned & dried by smoaking or burning some light stuff in the casks. The green musty sides gave the same infection to the bread, which was put in again, & of this bread the Sailors get ⅔ allowance, so that many a bisket must be thrown away, that is entirely rotten & crumbles into dust at the first touch, the rest is but indifferent, & not enough for the support of a hale, stout, man in these cold climates. The Doctor expects that if our this years cruize will prove so long as that of last year, to see more than half of the Ship's company sick.<sup>3</sup> What havock must not another years cruize make among these brave Fellows. I suppose we shall again see the same scene as in the *Endeavour* at *Batavia*, where the poor emaciated beings were obliged to work hard in the greatest heat of the day, where even the known inhumanity of the Dutch relents so much, as to give some rest to their very Slaves in their Docks &

<sup>1</sup> 'To destroy the point of living for the sake of life'. This quotation was taken over into *Voyage*, I, 542. Cf. Beaglehole's note (*Journals*, II, 317, n. 2): 'The Forsters were too uncomfortable at this time to make observations in natural history...'

<sup>2</sup> In an analysis of Forster's month-long recurring rheumatic sickness and the general epidemic in the ship, Dr Bryan Gandevia suggests that the depressive symptoms shown so clearly here on several occasions are not uncommon after influenza and other acute illnesses. The epidemic was characterized by fever, aches, pains and swollen glands (probably in the neck) and, in Forster's case, also headaches, weakness and a tendency to short-term recurrence of some symptoms; it is likely, too, that Forster had upper respiratory symptoms. Cold, damp and exposure would aggravate any rheumatic tendency and might produce pains in old injuries or wounds. It is clear that Forster senior was not the only person 'affected' with rheumatism.

<sup>3</sup> This is an interesting comment on Patten, whom Cook thought of highly as 'a skillful Physician'.

workhouses during the intense heat of the day.<sup>1</sup> This continued so till Sunday last, when the first Mate came to the Captain & asked him where he should get bread to fill his belly with, for having picked the eatable from the bad, the former would not reach to satisfy the cravings of his Stomach. The Captain ordered immediately 6 pounds of bread for his Mess, & full allowance of bread for every man on board.<sup>2</sup> Very little wind, saw several Shearwaters about the Ship, a bunch of Seaweeds passed the Ship, & an Island of Ice was seen in the morning. The Thermometer at 40°, in my Cabin 49°. The Lat. 62° 34' South.

Jan 21<sup>st</sup> ♀ The weather rainy, a breeze sprung up, but fell towards night. In the night the breeze increased, & so does the cold, as the wind chiefly comes from these blasting cold Climates. A few Shearwaters are seen. We tacked all night. The Thermometer at 36°, in my Cabin 42½°.

Jan 22<sup>d</sup> ♀ My rheumatic pains are not yet over. I have used an immense quantity of bark,<sup>3</sup> & have been plagued with pains for about a Month, without being quite free of them. The wind still South. The Thermometer at 35°, in my Cabin 41°.

Jan. 23<sup>d</sup> ☉ Got again a new attack of rheumatic pains & a kind of soare throat, though I never go into the cold Air. The Thermometer at 36½, in my Cabin 44½.

Jan. 24<sup>th</sup> ☽ Not yet better of my rheumatism. We go on to the South. Few Shearwaters are in these solitary Seas. The Thermometer at 37½, in my Cabin 45°.

Jan 25<sup>th</sup> ♂ Easy & mild, but little wind. The Thermometer at 41°, in my Cabin 46°. Lat. 63° 24' South.

Jan. 26<sup>th</sup> ♀ It is very remarkable that being so near the Antarctic circle, we find however no Ice, whether the cause is local, or owing to the last winter's cold being less intense, I cannot decide.<sup>4</sup> Very little wind. In the morning we saw towards ESE something like Land upon the horizon, & though we at first were willing to go to an Ice-Island, of which two or three were in sight, we however

<sup>1</sup> Forster is referring, of course, to the *Endeavour's* experiences at *Batavia* in October, November and December 1770 when the ship underwent extensive refitting and repairs and the crew was afflicted and decimated by tertian malaria and dysentery. See *Journals*, I, 432-43 and James Watt in Fisher and Johnston, 1979, pp. 138-142 where Cook is not left entirely unblameworthy. Watt reinforces Forster's high opinion of Patten as a surgeon.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Voyage*, I, 542-3 and Bowles Mitchel's account of the deputation, *Journals*, II, 317, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Peruvian bark, containing quinine, and a specific for malaria; it was used, however, for any fever.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 451, n. 1 below.



now hauled up towards this appearance of Land. After 10 o'clock it became hazy. The Thermometer at 41°— in my Cabin 47°. The Latitude 66° 35' South.

Jan 7<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> ♀ Having again passed the Antarctic, we are still slowly advancing towards this appearance of Land. We had a shower of rain & there appeared along the Horizon something like land, whether it will prove to be one, time will shew.<sup>1</sup> If it be land it cannot but be hardfavoured by Nature, & by no means inviting for an habitation to the human Species, & its productions must be few & of very little consequence to Great-Britain or any nation at such a distance from any Settlement, in so rigorous a Climate. The charm is gone, nothing but clouds made this appearance of land, the wind is something increased & we are gently going nearer to the pole. In the forenoon some black birds were seen at a distance flying & sitting alternately on the water, which were thought to be different from any we had hitherto seen; others declared them to be Shearwaters.<sup>2</sup> The Thermometer at 38°, in my Cabin 45. The Latitude 67° 52' South.

Jan 7<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> ♀ We have never before been so far South, & God knows how far we shall still go on, if Ice or Land does not stop us, we are in a fair way to go to the pole & take a trip round the world in five minutes, which is more than ever has been done for the Northpole, though so near at hand for the European nations. We had seen several days ago one single *Pintada* & a few blue Petrels. Today the *Pintada*, a good many Petrels & several white-rumped Petrels were seen about the Ship. At Midnight we passed a large Island of Ice, & it was so clear, that even in my cabin, which is very dark, I could read a book with small types. The Thermometer at 35°, in my Cabin 45°. Foggy all night & morning. The Latitude observed 69° 22' South. But it was an indifferent Observation: the Horizon being bad. Mr Wales, the Astronomer, had left his Stop-Second-watch on his Shelf in his Cabin, & during this time a young Gentleman came in, took it in his hand, opened & dropt it, by which fall the Cylinder was broke, so that this caused him an infinite grief. There are hardly any watches in the Ship alive: the great part being stopped long ago.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journals*, II, 320–1.

<sup>2</sup> Not specifically identifiable.

<sup>3</sup> This passage and the incident – not recorded here by Cook – give some hint of the Forster–Wales relationship. About watches of course, particularly Mr Arnold's watch, they disagreed publicly and passionately later. See *Remarks*, pp. 37–46 and *Reply*, pp. 6–8.

Jan. 7<sup>e</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> ♂ We passed a large bed of broken pieces of Ice, hoisted boats out & took a great Quantity of it in. After this we took our course NW & at midnight S.E. The Thermometer at 34°, in my Cabin 44°. The morning was fine, mild weather & comfortable Sunshine. I ventured the first time on deck after a month confinement. The Latitude 69° 58½' South.

Jan. 7<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> ☉ We had the same fine weather all the Afternoon. In the morning about 7 o'clock we discovered an Ice-Field of immense extent, lying E & W. with many high Ice Islands in it; we soon found that it was impossible to go any further South: & in good faith, I believe, it is so far South, as ever any man in future times shall choose to go; it being nearly 71° South.<sup>1</sup> We put about & went again to the North. The evening before a bundle of Seaweed with some Barnacles on it passed the Ship & some Petrels were seen feeding on it. The Thermometer at 32°, in my Cabin 42°. It snows in the forenoon.

Jan 7<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> ☽ When we were in Sight of the Ice, a great many Pinguins were heard croaking, but could not be seen on account of the thick foggy weather, which continued, all day, night & next morning. The wind freshened. We go Northward, but something West, or rather N.W. The Thermometer at 33°, in my Cabin 40½°. All our rigging is frozen & covered with Ice & Icicles. The Latitude observed as well as the haze would admit 69° 13' South.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> ♂ Moderate wind. We are still going northward. The Thermometer at 35°, in my cabin 40½°. The Latitude observed as well as the haze would admit 68°. 2' South. Saw a whiterumped small Petrel & a *Pintada*.

Febr 7<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> ♀ Saw a bird with a yellow bill, short, stout, very near the Size of a small Albatross, & with a chocolate-coloured

<sup>1</sup> They reached in fact 71° 10' South. Forster's handling of this epic moment of the voyage is extremely tame compared with Cook's 'proud and striking words' on his achievement. Even George's modest and matter-of-fact note on this day, when they 'put the ship about, well satisfied with our perilous expedition' (*Voyage*, I, 544), is striking for its rare Forsterian sense of anticlimax. For once Cook (*Journals*, II, 321–4) lays bare his professionalism and ambition, qualities which both Forsters have already noted with anger or awe, and ventures confidently, if cautiously, into Forster senior's realm of philosophical discourse on ice round the South Pole. This topic was clearly discussed in depth by Cook and Forster, since the essence of what George inserts here in the *Voyage* compares well with Cook. From the conditions they found 'my father has been led to suppose, that all the south pole, to the distance of 20 degrees, more or less, is covered with solid ice, of which, only the extremities are annually broken by storms, consumed by the action of the sun, and regenerated in winter. . . . This opinion is the less exceptionable, since there seems to be no absolute necessity for the existence of land towards the formation of ice, and because we have little reason to suppose that there actually is any land of considerable extent in the frigid zone' (*Voyage*, I, 545). See also p. 449 above.

Plumage;<sup>1</sup> it is thought to be an Albatross, or others think it is a Shearwater. Took Ice up. Got a violent toothach, & went to bed. The Thermometer at 36°, in my Cabin 41°. The Latitude 67° 7' South.

Febr. 3<sup>d</sup> 4 Some Snow: very little wind. The Thermometer at 36°, in my Cabin 41°. My Toothach goes off, caused by drinking too cold, my Cheek is swelled. The Latitude observed 66° 24' South.

Febr. 4<sup>th</sup> ♀ Very little wind, almost calm: The Thermometer 34½°, in my Cabin 42°. The Lat. 65° 42' South.

Febr. 5<sup>th</sup> ♂ The wind freshened, in the morning a fine Gale, a head Sea, beforenoon Squalls & some rain. The Thermometer 38°, in my Cabin 42°. My cheek still swelled & the toothache continues to plague me.

Febr. 6<sup>th</sup> ☉ My neck, ear & cheek were swelled, the cheek remains so, but the rest of the tumor is gone down, but my teeth ache still, a pain which I have been a stranger to during the time of my former life, which is more than 44 years. In the morning the wind abated, in the beforenoon it came from SE. we altered the course from NE to N.<sup>2</sup> All the morning it snowed. Saw a little diving Petrel on the Sea. The Thermometer at 36°, in my Cabin 44°. The Lat. 63° 54' South.

Febr. 7<sup>th</sup> ☽ My disease is at last gone off. The gale freshened & at night it blew very fresh. I saw several blue Petrels & whiterumped large Shearwaters. We steer NNW, which is allowing the Variation about due North. The gale grew still more impetuous. The Fore Top Sail & Main-Top-Sail were split. The Ship rolled very deep, often gunnel to. I did not sleep all night a wink, & what is worse, had my toothache returning upon me. We had hail-Snow in the morning. The Thermometer at 38°, in my Cabin 44°. The Lat. 61° 6' South.

Febr. 8<sup>th</sup> ♂ The wind still high. This day we have made the greatest run ever since the Ship left England, she having gone 3

<sup>1</sup> In margin, IV, f. 116: a *Quebranta huius*. The Giant Petrel.

<sup>2</sup> On this day Cook was maturely considering (*Journals*, II, 325-8) his next strategy for exploration into the Pacific. This involved searching for land or islands in the Southern Pacific Ocean; Juan Fernandez's alleged 'continent'; Easter Island and from thence back into the Tropics to the Society Islands and on to Quiros's Australia del Espíritu Santo. From here he would make south for the latitude 50° or 60° and steer East to the Horn. This was 'an appendix to his voyage, and what may be better styled a parenthetical insertion... it was a quite astonishing undertaking' (Beaglehole, *Journals*, II, lxxxviii). Privy to it, Forster, we might suppose, would have been at this moment less than enthusiastic.

degrees latitude. The Thermometer at 39°, in my Cabin 44°. Saw several whiterumped Shearwaters<sup>1</sup> about the Ship. My toothache still continues.

Febr. 9<sup>th</sup> ♀ We make by the help of this wind amazing speed to go to the North, & we certainly feel it sensibly. The Thermometer at 46°, in my Cabin 48°. Something foggy & rainy weather. It seems from this run, that our this years winter-Quarters are to be somewhere to the North among the Tropical Isles. *Tempus docebit!*<sup>2</sup> My Toothache is not quite gone, but faint. Some swelling in the glands of the neck; & a great weakness in my Eyes: could hardly read or write.

Febr. 10<sup>th</sup> 4 The same wind, in the morning clear sky by intervals. The Thermometer at 44°, in my Cabin 49°. The Latitude observed 53° 37' South. Saw several whiterumped large Shearwaters & blue Petrels.

Febr. 11<sup>th</sup> ♀ My colds go gradually off, in proportion as we go to the North, into warmer climates. The gale blew fresh, it rained all the morning. The Thermometer at 49°, in my cabin 52½°.

Febr. 12<sup>th</sup> ♂ The wind abated towards night, but the Ship rolled very much. A great many whiterumped & other Shearwaters are now seen about the Ship. The Thermometer at 48°, in my Cabin 52½°. The Latitude observed at 50° 15' South.

Febr. 13<sup>th</sup> ☉ There are several in the Ship ill with colds & rheumatic diseases, & though some are very ill, they however have no fever, because they are so low: owing chiefly to the food, which in a sound state of health is just sufficient to keep life & soul together, but when a man falls sick, there is nothing in the food nutritive enough to restore them to their former vigour,<sup>3</sup> & even those who are of a strong constitution cannot in many weeks recover their strength; & as we are probably to stay out at Sea a couple of month before we reach the Tropical Isles, it is probable that these weak people will fall a sacrifice to the Scurvy. This disease has not yet made its appearance, owing to the early use of wort as a preventative; for even those, who last year were extremely ill with the scurvy, are preserved from its attacks in this years course by the early & continued use of the wort. We had

<sup>1</sup> White-headed Petrel *Pterodroma lessona* (Garnot, 1826). See 13 February 1774 p. 454. below.

<sup>2</sup> Cook was more convinced about the health of his crew and the adequacy, if not the quality, of his provisions for this exploration. The Forsters clearly were not. Time, indeed, would tell and very soon for Cook.

<sup>3</sup> A true and astute remark.

11 casks of Malt on board & hitherto 5 have been used, which shews that an early & prudent use of this great remedy, will prove very beneficial if employed even as a preventative to preserve the Sailors in His Majesties Navy from the effects of this dreadful disease, which frequently thinned the crews of the Men of war, in a winters-cruise or in a passage to America. I must confess, there is never found out a remedy, which bids fairer to be beneficial in this great calamity than the use of the wort.<sup>1</sup>

Some of our Officers went out in a boat, it being calm: They shot several Albatrosses & Shearwaters. The Albatrosses proved to be of the kind, I had named *Diomedea chrysostoma*<sup>2</sup> in the Atlantic, before we reached the Cape. They had got one common Albatross *Diomedea Albatrus*<sup>3</sup> & the Shearwaters were of the N. Holland or whiterumped kind.<sup>4</sup> They likewise brought a *Port Egmont Hen*, which I found to be the *Larus catarractes* Linn. or the *Skua* in Pennants Br. Zool. PII. p. 417.<sup>5</sup> which the Western Islanders call *Fuliac*. The wind sprung up towards night; we go W.S.W. which is W. with the Variation. The Thermometer at 50½°, in my Cabin 53½°. The Latitude observed 50° 13' South.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> ☽ In the Evening we wore Ship & went NNE but had very little wind & some rain. Thermometer 52½°, in my Cabin 58°.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> ♂ No wind, a few Shearwaters hover about the Ship. The Thermometer at 53½°, in my Cabin 58. Wore Ship, & again in the morning. The Lat. 48°. 55'. South, by a bad Horizon observed.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> ♀ Fresh breeze. The Thermometer at 56°, in my Cabin 65° owing to my being all the day in the Cabin. The weather foggy & rainy. I had got a Toothache & cold, which went off this night. A great many people are sick in the Ship of colds & Rheumatisms. The Latitude 47°-47'. South.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> ☾ The breeze fresh. Rainy in the Evening. Cloudy in the Morning. The Thermometer at 53½°, in my Cabin 59°. Saw a few yellowbilled Albatrosses, whiterumped Shearwaters & blue Petrels. The Latitude 46° 17' South.

<sup>1</sup> When they came to work over this passage again for the *Voyage* the Forsters replaced their faith in malt and wort with a recommendation of 'that excellent prophylactic the sour krout...' (*Voyage*, I, 546).

<sup>2</sup> Grey-headed Mollymawk.

<sup>3</sup> Wandering Albatross.

<sup>4</sup> White-headed Petrel.

<sup>5</sup> This bird, the Southern Skua, is cited in *Descr. Anim.*, pp. 210, 312 and 313. The references are to Linnaeus, *Systema Naturae* (12th ed., 1766), p. 226; Pennant, *British Zoology* (1768), II, 417 (Skua) and Pennant *Zoologia Britannica* (1771), p. 161, pl. 86 (*Larus catarractes*).

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> ♀ We are now three months out on this cruize, & it is high time to come to some port & have some Vegetables & fresh provisions, for though few are sick, however those that recover from colds & Rheumatisms cannot recover their Strength & vigour; & it is probable that this weakness will lay them open to the attacks of the Scurvy, at the first wet they get, or whenever perspiration is hindered. The gale freshened & mended, so that we could shape our Course NW in order to fetch the 38° S. Lat. at the Meridian, where it is supposed that the Land discovered by Juan Fernandez is situated.<sup>1</sup> If there is such Land & we should find, it would serve us at least to get some fresh fish & Sea-fowl & perhaps some Greens & Water, all which would be of great Use to us. The Thermometer at 57½°, in my Cabin 57½°. The Lat. 44° 10½' S.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> ☾ Saw at Noon several Albatrosses of the common & yellow billed kind & some blue Petrels. Went NW½W. The Ship brook off, the wind going a head. So we went NWbN. & even North & NbE. The Thermometer at 56½°, in my Cabin 57½. The Latit. at noon 42° 7' South.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> ☉ The wind still not permitting to resume our NW course. The Thermometer at 60°, in my Cabin 61°. Few Albatrosses & a couple of blue Petrels attend the Ship. The Lat. 40° 00' South.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> ☽ The wind carried us more & more in warmer milder latitudes. The climate would be happy if an Island could be found here, but the wind will not permit it to go more westerly, where the supposed land of Juan Fernandez is expected to lye; the temperature of the Air at Sea being very sweet & mild. The Thermometer is at 65½°, in my Cabin 69°. The Lat. 37° 53' South.

Febr. 7<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> ♂ The morning of this day Mr Cooper, our first Lieut. shot two Grampusses with Musket balls. Very few Albatrosses are near the Ship, & as few blue Petrels & of an other kind, which is blackish above & white below; the weather easy & mild, the Gale fresh & steady; the Course in the Evening N.W. the wind came more aft during night, & in the morning. The Thermometer at 67¼, in my Cabin 71½°. Saw some Petrels above black, below white; several Porpoisses or other large Fish were seen leaping out of the water. The Latitude 36° 10½' South.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journals*, II, 331-3 & n. 1 and *Voyage*, I, 548. It is, perhaps, a measure of Forster's continuing 'low' spirits that he did not give his usual scholarly attention to the complex question of the 'discovery' and identity of this supposed land. But see pp. 461-3 below for his discussion of Easter Island.



Febr.  $\gamma^e$  23<sup>d</sup> ♀ In the Afternoon the wind came more aft & we stood SW. Great Shoals of Porpoises passed the Ship, one was struck with a harpoon but broke the Iron & got clear off. The Thermometer at 65½, in my Cabin at 71°. Saw some Petrels black above, white below; & some small whiterumped ones. The Latitude at noon 36° 41½' South.

Febr.  $\gamma^e$  24<sup>th</sup> ♀ The Course SWbW & SW bN.<sup>1</sup> The wind fine, the air & climate mild. The Thermometer 69½°, in my Cabin 72°. Some Petrels black above, white below, attend the Ship. The Latitude observed at noon 37° 27' South.

Febr.  $\gamma^e$  25<sup>th</sup> ♀ The Course WbS, the wind freshen'd, in the night at 10 o'clock we saw a great Halo about the Moon, & in the Middle watch we had Squalls & rain. In the beforenoon another Shower & several Squalls, & several Thunderclaps were heard. We saw several of the black & white Petrels in Flocks. The Thermometer at 70° in my Cabin 72°. The Lat. 37°-50' South.<sup>2</sup>

Febr.  $\gamma^e$  26<sup>th</sup> ♀ My Servant began to complain of a colic & pain in his stomach when I was still sick; I advised him to go to the Doctor & use something, but he postponed, till he grew at last very wretched & poor by pain & starving himself. The doctor gave him several Medecines & purges, Glysters etc, all which, after several days pains, cleared all the coagulated, hard, bilious, Faeces, & he at last was enabled to leave the bed; but he was so weak that at present after several days, he can but just stand on his Legs; he uses bitters & eats portable Soup, & Sago, to restore him. The Cap<sup>t</sup> who had likewise felt for several days a pain in his Stomach & being confined, did not chuse to use something: he ate little & what he ate, were hard, salted, indigestible materials, which could afford no nourishment in the weak state of his Stomach: at last the pain grew to such a height, that he took to his bed, he took a purge,

not completely legible.

<sup>2</sup> As Cooper records (*Journals*, II, 333, n. 2) they now, on 26 February, 'bore away for Easter Island' to the northwest. 'The dangerous situation of captain Cook', speculated George Forster, 'was perhaps the reason, why our track was not continued farther to the south...'. (*Voyage*, I, 548-9). Marra (*Journals*, II, 333, n. 1) records that Cook's illness commenced on 23 February but George's chronology - which may have been altered somewhat in the considerable condensation he made of the events in his father's Journal for February 1774 - suggests it may have been perhaps some days earlier. The duration is difficult to determine for Cook 'very unfortunately slighted, and concealed from every person in the ship' the 'dangerous obstruction', which he had developed. He also compounded his sickness by 'taking hardly any sustenance' (*Voyage*, I, 547). Once alerted to it the Forsters took particular notice. See the discussion below and *Journals*, II, 333-4. Cooper took charge of the *Resolution* during Cook's indisposition.

but vomited; the indication was helped by Ipecacuanha & Camomile Tea, a glyster was added & Castor-oil not spared, but there soon appeared a hiccough which was unconquerable by opiats, warm bathing & plaster of Theriac in the Stomach, nor would Tobacco in glysters have any effect, & he is now so weak as not to be able to stand on his legs. If the hiccough will not leave off, his life I think is in danger; or if the <sup>1</sup> faeces cannot be cleared out of the Intestines.<sup>2</sup>

We sailed on in the Course of NWbW. The Thermometer 64½°, in my Cabin 68°. The Latitude at noon 36° 48' South.

Febr.  $\gamma^e$  27<sup>th</sup> ☉ The Cap<sup>t</sup> is easier, having had several stools from repeated glysters & the hiccough is not returned till this noon, & there are hopes, that he will grow better, if nothing intervenes. We altered the course at noon & stood on NWbN. The wind slackened something: saw a few black & white Petrels. The Thermometer at 65½°, in my Cabin 69. The Latitude at noon 34° 54' South. The Cap<sup>t</sup> has had several Stools, after repeated glysters, is more easy & is free of the hiccough, & though vastly weak, is now in a fair way of getting over this dangerous disease.<sup>3</sup>

Febr.  $\gamma^e$  28<sup>th</sup> ☽ We now go directly for Easter-Island, & every one in the Ship most ardently wishes to see this Island, in hopes of getting a good many refreshments of which we stand much in need, having been more than 13 weeks out at Sea. We have Squalls & some few drops of rain. The Thermometer at 69½, in my Cabin

<sup>1</sup> This adjective is unintelligible: the nearest one can venture is 'scibalous'.

<sup>2</sup> This 'treatment' is also described by George (*Voyage*, I, 547-8), although in less detail. Scholient, the servant, 'continued weak and unserviceable the greatest part of our cruise between the tropics'. The hiccough may have been induced by the treatment and, as Forster implies, it is in some disorders a grave sign. Forster records (*Observations*, p. 640) that this bilious colic, of which acute pains were a common symptom, 'rose to a dangerous height' among 'two or three' persons more in the ship, apart from Cook, Patten, Scholient and both Forsters themselves, who suffered less acutely. Wales was also a later victim.

<sup>3</sup> Whilst the immediate crisis was over, the 'disease' was to recur; soon afterwards, records George (*Voyage*, I, 549-50), Patten, who was completely exhausted from attending Cook night and day - 'a tender Nurse' Cook calls him, using an uncharacteristic Cookian adjective - fell victim to the same disorder. What was it? W. R. Thrower's diagnosis is cited by Beaglehole (*Journals*, II, 334, n. 1) as 'acute cholecystitis and complicating intestinal obstruction', but Dr Bryan Gandeveia comments that this seems like 'rash over-diagnosis'. Clearly, however, the infection was acute and persistent. The evidence provided by both Forsters merits greater attention and some greater acknowledgment - certainly more than Thrower gives - to their role as medical observers on this voyage. Thrower's chronology is also sometimes suspect. Sir James Watt, in his recent analysis of the medical evidence, suggests that 'since Cook was anything but fastidious about eating native foods', he may have suffered 'a heavy ascaris (roundworm) infestation of the intestine, a condition that can cause acute obstruction'. See Fisher and Johnston, 1979, pp. 154-5.