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A Forgotten Navigator: Captain (Afterwards Sir) John Hayes, and His Voyage of 1793

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or three hundred years after the events recorded are said to have occurred. It has been transmitted by word of mouth from one man to another, but such stories assimilate continually new elements, and grow, as we know, very often in much shorter time than three hundred years. We need not go very far to find first-hand stories which are not quite trustworthy. We have no authentic account of any voyage to Wineland; we must expect the sagas about these voyages to contain legendary features. The question is, not whether the author of the saga or the travellers were liars, but to find out how much of the saga is legendary, and how much may show real knowledge of the Western lands. As I have said, I think there is some core of truth in the saga, in so far that lands to the West actually were found. But it may be very doubtful whether the voyages to those countries were undertaken by the men mentioned in the saga, for it is very strange that the voyages of these men are not mentioned in the early sources.

Sir CLEMENTS MARKHAM: What do you think of that baby Snorre that was born there?

Dr. NANSEN: Well, Snorre was the son of Thorfinn Karlsevne. Hank Erlendsson, the author of the *Handsþók*, descended from Thorfinn Karlsevne, and was therefore naturally anxious to make him discoverer of Wineland. I wish once more to thank you most heartily for the welcome you have given me.

A FORGOTTEN NAVIGATOR: CAPTAIN (AFTERWARDS SIR) JOHN HAYES, AND HIS VOYAGE OF 1793.

By IDA LEE.

IN the year 1793, John Hayes, a young lieutenant in the Bombay Marine, was granted long leave of absence by the Indian Government, which was probably aware that it was his intention to undertake an expedition to Southern waters. He had recently learned from John McCluer, a brother officer, that the nutmeg and other valuable spices were to be found growing plentifully on the western coasts of New Guinea, and he determined to voyage there to bring back a cargo of these products for the Indian market.

Some Calcutta merchants joined Hayes in the speculation and provided two ships to enable him to carry out his scheme. The *Duke of Clarence*, 250 tons, mounting 14 guns, and the *Duchess*, an armed snow of 100 tons, were made ready for sea early in January, 1793, and sailed from Calcutta on February 6, Hayes taking command of the larger ship, while the *Duchess* was given in charge of William Relph, also of the Bombay Marine.

In one of his letters describing his departure Hayes writes: "We left the pilot on February 9, intending to sail for the west coast of New Guinea. Our ships' courses were set to Timor, and here, on March 15, between Holland and that island I came off the parallel of the track I meant to pursue." On falling in with the south-east trade wind sooner than was expected in these waters, Hayes found it expedient to hold a consultation with his officers. Their deliberations resulted in a complete change of plan, and it was decided to voyage first to Tasmania, and afterwards to steer in an

easterly direction until they met with the south-east trade wind in the Pacific, which would allow them to range any part of New Guinea.

The vessels arrived off the Mewstone rock on April 24, and attempted to enter Adventure bay, but neither could beat into it, so they passed round Cape Frederick Henry and came to in Storm bay, afterwards proceeding to a small inlet to the north-east, to which was given the name of Speak's bay.



CAPTAIN (AFTERWARDS COMMODORE SIR) JOHN HAYES.

(Portrait by Opie, now in the possession of Lieut.-Colonel Crawford, I.M.S.)

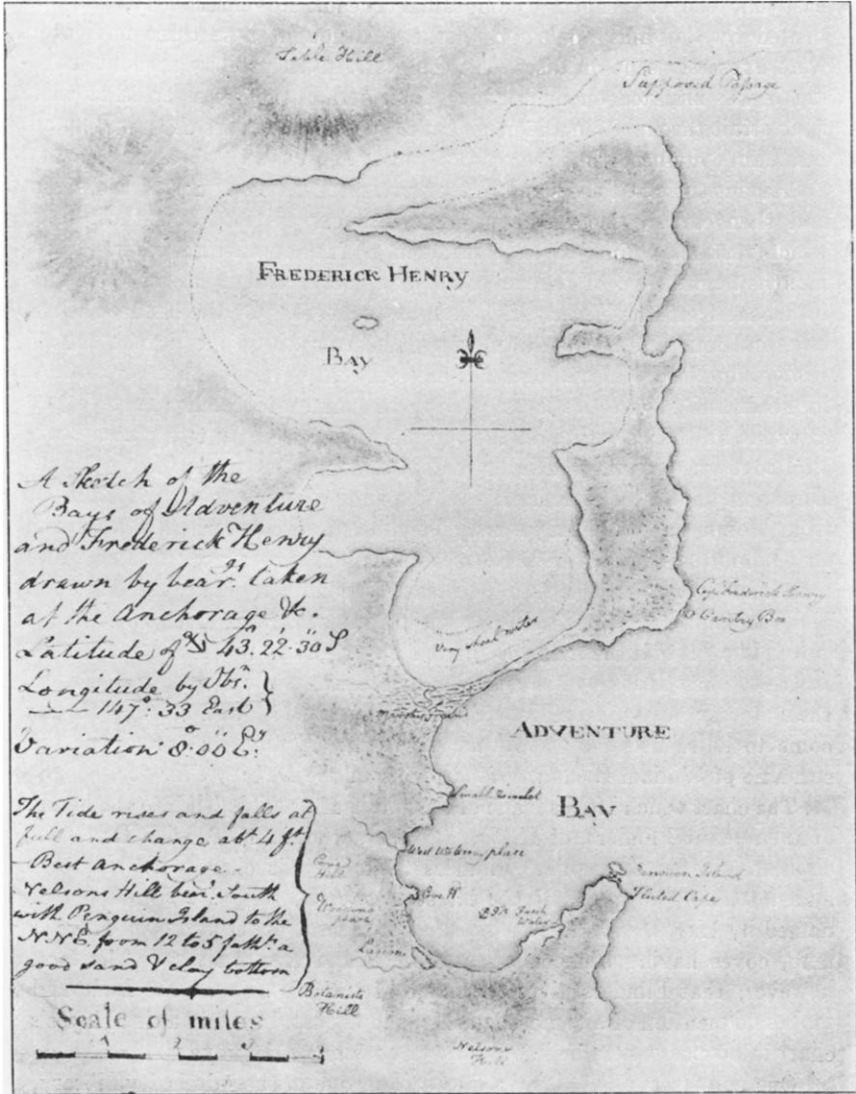
When Hayes landed on the 25th, he was unaware that only two months previously the French Admiral, D'Entrecasteaux, had sailed from Adventure bay, this being the second time his ships had visited Tasmania. D'Entrecasteaux had first arrived there in April of the previous year, and, entering Storm bay, had discovered a channel which he named after himself. Besides thoroughly exploring it his boats had entered two rivers, naming them Huon and Rivière du Nord. The French in fact, before the arrival of Hayes, had made many surveys of the Tasmanian coast and had

given French names to almost every part of its southern shores. On the occasion of his first visit D'Entrecasteaux stayed a month and then sailed to New Caledonia, but, as mentioned above, he returned a second time to Tasmania in 1793. Hayes does not seem to have suspected the recent presence of the French, nor does he appear to have known that parties from Bligh's ships—the *Providence* and the *Assistant*—had surveyed Bruni island a few months before D'Entrecasteaux had reached Tasmania.

From the absence of any published narrative of this second voyage of Bligh, little has been known generally as to the precise amount of work achieved. But the manuscript records in existence show that, while Hayes was mistaken in regarding himself as the first discoverer of this part of the Tasmanian coast, it is equally a mistake to suppose, as is so often done, that the French navigator found the interior waters examined by him virgin ground when he began his work in the same region. The manuscript chart of Lieutenant Bond, of H.M.S. *Providence*, which we reproduce, is the first map to show Table Hill (now Mount Wellington), or any part of the strait, the outlet and entrance of which were yet to be discovered by D'Entrecasteaux. Bond called one of the harbours within it Frederick Henry bay, which, of course, it was not, and he writes in his log: "The entrance of Frederick Henry bay is not positively known, but is supposed to be where represented in the chart," and he also states that he obtained the information which his chart contains "partly from ocular knowledge and likewise from those who pursued different routes from myself." The fact that Bond erroneously called this bay Frederick Henry bay does not detract from the discovery which he has recorded, for all the seamen who first visited these waters were uncertain as to the situation of Frederick Henry bay. Marion and Furneaux gave the title to other bays, alike failing to identify it, and as a result the name of the Dutch prince of the seventeenth century, introduced into Tasmania by Tasman, has drifted, like flotsam and jetsam, to rest finally on a bend of the coast which it seems physically impossible for Tasman to have seen.

While his crews were seeking wood and water, Hayes began his examination of the coast. His attention was first directed to Bruni island; in due course he found that it was separated from the mainland, and named it William Pitt's Isle in honour of the Prime Minister. He then took his ships into D'Entrecasteaux strait through its northern entrance, passing in by the opening from which the French admiral had twice taken his exit. He proceeded to give English titles to all the places lately named by the French, selecting them principally in honour of the officials of the East India Company. D'Entrecasteaux strait was renamed by him Seton strait after Mr. Daniel Seton, a senior merchant of the company, and as he proceeded down it, examining its indentations, he called the west side, which was mainland coast, New Cumberland. His ships anchored in William Fairlie's harbour (Port du Nord Ouest of D'Entrecasteaux), in Port McCluer, named in remembrance of John McCluer, and in Port Pruen, where fresh water was obtained.

In surveying D'Entrecasteaux strait Hayes seems to have overlooked two harbours, La Petite Anse of D'Entrecasteaux, and the great opening that forms the mouth of the river Huon. The Isthmus bay of D'Entre-



India, as his letters show us that he knew nothing of the French discoveries, but considered his own work to have been of that character. He writes to Lord Cornwallis: "I have discovered a strait abounding with many fine harbours . . . the large island that forms the strait I discovered has on its east side the bay called by Captain Furneaux Adventure bay, and was visited by Captains Cook and Clerke. Although these three navigators were expressly sent on discovery, they left Adventure bay without knowing it was situated on an island. Cook and Furneaux assert that there is no strait through Van Diemen's Land, but that it is part of New Holland, but I am convinced that there are several."

Having surveyed the strait Hayes navigated his ships northward again, and then carried out his most important explorations and those upon which rest his claims to be considered a Tasmanian discoverer. Three months before, two of D'Entrecasteaux's party, Willaumez and Beaupré, in a boat from the *Recherche*, had seen an opening at the head of Storm bay, and found it to be the mouth of a river which the French named Rivière du Nord. Hayes called it the Derwent or Derwentwater towards its head, and gave to its lower portion the name of Fletcher Hayes's gulf after his brother, a writer in the company's service. In this part a beautiful cove was christened Risdon, and two mountains overlooking it Mount Direction and Lion Couchant. In following the course of the Derwent from Mount Direction Hayes may be called a discoverer, as it was from that point that the boat of D'Entrecasteaux had turned back, and no white man had ever attempted to penetrate beyond it. Many in Australia and Tasmania have wondered why Risdon was so called. It has often been stated in print that the name originated in "Restdown," as being the place where the first British settlers under Lieutenant Bowen, R.N., rested after their stormy voyage from New South Wales in 1803, and this legend has come to be regarded by many as the truth. Risdon, however, was the surname of William Risdon, second officer of the *Duke of Clarence*.

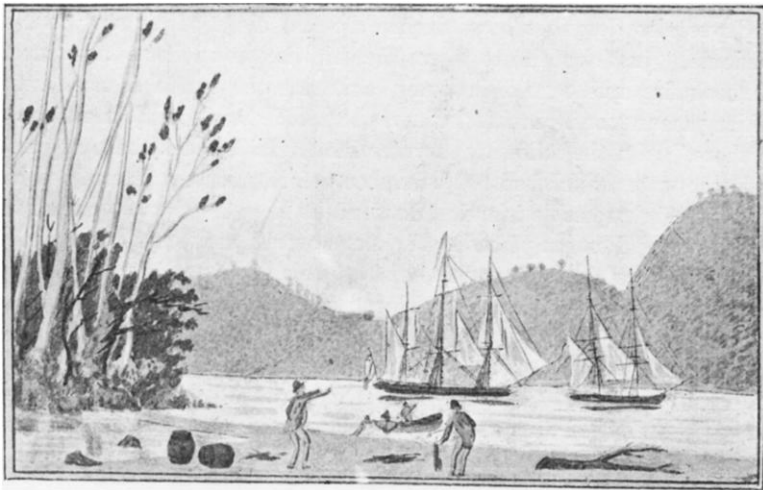
The chart which Hayes made of Tasmania afterwards fell into the hands of Lieutenant Flinders, of H.M.S. *Reliance*, who, in 1798, with Dr. Bass, circumnavigated Tasmania. Flinders took Hayes's chart with him, and added to his own chart of the latest discoveries the places visited and named by Hayes. He and Bass also altered some of the terms on Hayes's map, coves having been called bays in it and creeks rivers. The fact, however, that Flinders gives the name of Hayes's ship as the *Duke* and makes no mention of a companion ship, shows that, beyond having Hayes's chart in his possession, he knew little or nothing of the voyage.

Our copy (see p. 587) is reproduced from one in the Admiralty Library, which is inscribed to Sir John Shore, Bart., by his most faithful servant John Hayes. It differs somewhat from a chart of these shores made by Beautemps-Beaupré, although perhaps the difference lies mainly in the manner of its delineation.

There is also in existence an engraved chart "with the newly discovered

river . . . from John Hayes, 1798." Inset in this outline of Tasmania's southern shores is a smaller chart which shows the anchorage of Hayes's ships and the Derwent's course on a larger scale. This chart was designed either by Matthew Flinders or Alexander Dalrymple. Admiralty papers at the Record Office show that Dalrymple made a sketch of similar character, which was engraved in London by Messrs. Laurie and Whittle in 1798.

Hayes left Tasmania on June 9, 1793, and steered the course taken by the French admiral on his first voyage from Tasmania in 1792. The French ships had made the Isle of Pines twelve months before he reached it. From this point D'Entrecasteaux had worked to the northern extremity of New Caledonia, examining the western coast and standing in with



BLIGH'S SHIPS, THE *PROVIDENCE* AND *ASSISTANT*, IN ADVENTURE BAY.

(Sketch by Lieut. Tobin.)

both ships close to the barrier reef; but though he saw an opening in this, he would not allow his boats to examine it, owing to the heavy sea, and was content to bestow on the harbour within the name of Le Havre Trompeur.

Hayes reached the same land on June 28, 1793, and on approaching it fell in with the south-east trade, as he anticipated. He tells us: "I arrived at New Caledonia on June 28, and ranged the whole south-west coast and explored it to the satisfaction, I hope, of all mankind," and he continues: "It was before entirely unknown. The north-east side was explored by Captain James Cook, but at too great a distance in most places to give any idea of the dangers along the shore. I only found two anchoring-places on the south-west side, and those were indifferent ones, the last

being near the west end." At this anchorage Hayes saw something of the natives, and writes of them :—

"I brought three canoes alongside with four men in each ; they were fishing on the reefs, and were so awestruck at the sight of the ships and the white men that they could not move and were brought in tow by our boat in a state of stupor. I got several on board and made them presents, but they did not like their situation, making signs that they ate those they took and were afraid that we were going to eat them. . . . Our salt meat they ate, but made signs that it was made out of our enemies. . . . The road where we lay I called Directors' Road in honour of the Honourable Company. It lies in latitude $20^{\circ} 43' 20''$ S. and $163^{\circ} 41' 20''$ longitude East of Greenwich." The bay which Hayes entered on this occasion would seem to have been what is now known as Gomen bay, lying inside the Great Mathieu reef.

Hayes also describes how, during the last night of his stay in New Caledonia, "just opposite to where the ships lay at anchor a large mountain took fire and burned furiously, agitating the sea in a most extraordinary manner and causing the waves to recede to a great distance from the shore." On the following morning innumerable black rocks appeared above the water which had not been seen before, and this determined him to quit the inhospitable island. He thought New Caledonia "one of the most dreary and barren places in the known world, as is the shore the most dangerous, a reef facing its whole extent, being in some places 6 leagues distant from the mainland, over which the sea breaks continuously and furiously."

Leaving New Caledonia on July 3, Hayes sailed to the Louisiades, and having made the southernmost islands of the archipelago, turned westward, and tried to pass between them and the mainland of New Guinea. But the islands and reefs presented difficulties which compelled him to alter his course again. He states that before he turned back he discovered where the coastline of New Guinea ended, and that he saw three woody islands at its south-eastern extremity, which may have been Hayter, Basilisk, and Moresby islands. Hayes then doubled back to Rossel island, and, rounding Cape Deliverance, anchored off the island's eastern shores, probably in Pwennegua harbour. In a letter to an Indian newspaper, describing his visit, he writes of Cape Deliverance as "the southern extreme of a high mountainous island," which he called "Bougainville's island," after its first discoverer. D'Entrecasteaux had sighted it, and it was named Rossel island by the French. Hayes, however, was himself the first European to land there, and he relates that he was able to observe the inhabitants, and came to the conclusion that they were divided into two different races. Some of the shore natives showed signs of hostility as the ships lay at anchor, but disappeared when a cannon was fired over their heads. On the following day the beach was found to be strewn with boughs of cocoanut trees, which it was supposed were



PART OF SOUTH-EASTERN TASMANIA, FROM HAYES'S CHART.

placed there as "marks of submission." Parties on going ashore from the ships found that the houses resembled those of the Malays and of other islanders to the eastward, and some were decorated with skulls which hung in festoons around the walls and doors of the dwellings. The remains of feasts seen by Hayes proved these people to be cannibals. Continuing his voyage, and steering along the northern shores of the Louisiades, his ships anchored at an island in latitude $10^{\circ} 40' S.$ and longitude $154^{\circ} 20' 20'' E.$ of Greenwich. This was evidently Misima,* the Island Saint Aignan of D'Entrecasteaux, which differs from the other islands in these waters in having no encircling reef, but is surrounded by steep rocks behind which rise very high mountains. Hayes tried to communicate with the natives, but without success. Once some of his people were nearly cut off from their ships by the savages, and the commander also describes them "as horrible cannibals proving themselves worse than those mentioned by Captain Cook in New Zealand."

At this point of his voyage Hayes seems to have gained on D'Entrecasteaux, for only on June 11, the French ships (on their second voyage from Tasmania) had seen Rossel island. On arriving at New Guinea Hayes stood in towards its south-eastern extremity, intending to range the whole of the northern coast, but light winds and strong currents compelled him to steer through St. George's channel and round New Britain. He then sailed southwards, passing through an archipelago, which he named Cornwallis archipelago. After this he returned to finish his exploration of New Guinea, and, crossing Geelvink bay, entered a large harbour. Shortly before he reached it an epidemic had attacked the crews of both ships and many had succumbed. Indeed, all were in so sickly a state on their arrival on September 18, that only two of the hands on the *Duke of Clarence* were fit to go aloft. He now found himself at a spot where a temperate climate, and an abundant supply of native vegetables, including lemon grass and scurvy grass, together with various fruits, soon restored his ailing men to health, and, unaware that it was already known to Europeans as Dorey harbour, Hayes named it Restoration bay.

The information that McCluer had supplied was found to be correct. The nutmeg, as well as other valuable spices, grew there in profusion. The sailors began to build a fort, which, with the help of natives, was completed on October 25, the anniversary of the coronation of King George III. It was accordingly named Coronation Fort, the British flag was hoisted, and a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired, Captain Hayes thus taking formal possession of the country, which he called New Albion.

So confident was Hayes of the final success of his operations that he decided to return to Calcutta and to tell the news of his discovery to his

* H.M.S. *Renard*, in October, 1879, anchored here in a small bight on the east side of a large bay, which probably was the spot where Hayes anchored in 1793.

partners there. He did not sail, however, until he had superintended the removal of a number of nutmeg trees from the forests to plantations which had been prepared in the neighbourhood of the bay. He left Captain Court and sailors selected from both crews to take charge of the fort and of the *Duchess* during his absence, and, following a route which took him to the Moluccas and Timor, proceeded to Java by way of the Straits of Madura.

At Surabaya he saw D'Entrecasteaux's ships—the *Recherche* and the *Espérance*. They were in the hands of the Dutch. D'Entrecasteaux was dead, having been first taken ill in the preceding July.

Being induced to call at Batavia, Hayes fell in with Commodore Mitchell's squadron, and, as France and England were then at war, found himself under orders from the Commodore to proceed to Canton. Captain Relph, however, who was with him in the *Duke of Clarence*, remained behind and obtained a passage direct to India in an East India Company's ship. Hayes entrusted him with despatches for his co-adventurers and others for the Directors of the East India Company, praying that they would further the objects of the discovery and extend their protection to the infant colony. A similar petition from the merchant owners themselves was also sent to the Company.

The replies to these requests were unfavourable. Examining the charts of Hayes's voyage to New Guinea, the Company compared them with those made by Captain Thomas Forrest when he visited that country in the *Tartar* galley in 1774-5, and found that the observations of Hayes, so far as New Guinea was concerned, were identical with those made by Forrest, and that the New Albion Restoration harbour and Princess Royal harbour of Captain Hayes proved to be the New Guinea Dorey harbour and Mansingham harbour of Forrest. For this reason the directors declared that they could not deem themselves justified in granting the petitions sent in to them.

The journal of the voyage, in which were included twenty-two charts, was never published, although on his return to Calcutta, Captain Hayes solicited the assistance of the East India Company to enable him to meet the cost of printing it. In replying to him the Company offered to become subscribers only to the extent of thirty copies, and it is possible that the insufficiency of the support upon which he could reckon for certain was the reason why the record of his adventures never saw the light.

In spite of what appears to have been a great lack of appreciation by the outside world of what Hayes accomplished, he cannot be passed over when the history of Tasmania is told, and although his name is never mentioned in connection with the discovery of New Caledonia, he evidently was the first to enter the openings in the reef and to anchor off the western coast.

The French have awarded to D'Entrecasteaux a place of great honour among their navigators, and it is not too much to claim a niche among

our English seamen for one who so skilfully, if all unconsciously, often followed in his track, and at some points pressed onwards where the French admiral had drawn back.

MR. BINGHAM IN VILCAPAMPA.

By Sir CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, K.C.B., F.R.S.

MR. BINGHAM, of the Yale Peruvian Expedition, has been exploring the little-known mountainous district of Vilcapampa to the north-west of Cuzco, and has made some important discoveries of Inca ruins.

Vilcapampa is a mountainous region to the north-west of Cuzco, between the rivers Apurimac and Vilca-mayu (or Urubamba), with its northern slopes subsiding into the great Amazonian plain. The water-parting is nearer the Apurimac, so that the streams flowing to the Vilca-mayu have longer courses than those descending to the Apurimac. Vilcapampa is a region of peculiar interest, because it was here that the Incas maintained their independence for thirty-five years after the rest of Peru had been overrun by the Spaniards. It was known that a palace, temple, and convent of virgins were erected in imitation of the splendid edifices at Cuzco. But a scientific survey of this interesting district, and an examination of any ruins that might exist, have long been important desiderata.

Mr. Hiram Bingham, of Yale University, who in 1909 had explored the extensive but little-known ruins of Choquequerau on the Apurimac, has now sent home a brief account of the work he has achieved in Vilcapampa.

About 8 miles below Ollantay-tambo on the Vilca-mayu, at the narrowest part of the river, Mr. Bingham found a small fortress with five salient and re-entering angles. This is the locality where there was a bridge called Chuqui-Chaca in the Inca times, by which Spanish envoys were twice allowed to enter Vilcapampa. It is described by the envoy Figueroa and by Ocampo.

Lower down the valley Mr. Bingham came to a footbridge of logs just under the heights of Macchu-pichu. Going up the steep ascent, he came to some grass huts inhabited by three Indian families cultivating maize, potatoes, and beans. They had cleared away thickets and disclosed megalithic ruins and remains of later houses.

At the narrowest part of the ridge of Macchu-pichu there was a group of Inca edifices, built with large stones beautifully worked, 13 by 4 feet, 10 by 8, and one 14 feet long. One of the walls contained three windows of unusual size.

Mr. Bingham then went further down the valley of the Vilca-mayu to the well-known town and port of Santa Ana, and thence ascended the river of Vilcapampa on foot as far as Lucma, where he found more ruins, and some more at a place called Rosas-pata. In a dark valley at the back of Rosas-pata a colossal monolith was discovered, 180 feet in circumference,