Paper 1

1480 – 1762

Discovery

“In search of the island of Brasil and the seven cities”

This paper considers the first 300 years of Falklands history. Mostly, it is about discovery. European discovery. Considered are the candidates for that first sighting – Vespucci, Magellan, Gomes, de Loaisa, de Acuña, Davis, Hawkins and de Weerdt. Portuguese, Spanish, English and Dutch expeditions. There may be others of course; explorers that time has forgotten. Without evidence these can only be phantoms; the subject of wild theories. And there are many wild theories. For example, a purported Chinese discovery of South America at the beginning of the 15th century. A claim that Tierra del Fuego appears on a 1489 map of the world. An assertion that a Turkish chart of 1513 reveals the Antarctic land mass under miles of ice. In the face of these, a notion that the Falklands were seen before Magellan sailed from Spain, appears only eccentric. Evidence is available. In records, ships logs, accounts and cartography. All, inevitably, mixed with a little rumour and imagination. From the evidence, it is possible to conclude that the first verifiable sighting of the Falkland Islands was in 1592. By the English navigator John Davis. Could the archipelago have been seen by an earlier, unknown, voyager? Of course it could. However, what is recognised does not support that contention. Known expeditions are considered but inevitably dismissed on the basis of the available evidence. All but one. So, whatever remains must be true, no matter how improbable. That said, it would be a mistake to underestimate our ancestors – they did amazing things. For the record it is worth emphasising that bare discovery, without occupation, has no implications for sovereignty. Copies of the charts discussed in this paper can be found here – https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/charts/

1481 – in June, a Papal Bull, Aeterni regis, issued by Pope Sixtis IV, confirms the Treaty of Alcáçovas 1479 between Castile (Spain) and Portugal. Four agreements had been reached at Alcáçovas, one of which recognised two zones of influence. Castile’s sovereignty over the Canary Islands is confirmed. Portugal gains the right to explore, conquer and trade in the Atlantic to the south of the Canaries.

“The lands discovered and to be discovered, found and to be found ... and all the islands already discovered and to be discovered, and any other island which might be found and conquered from the Canary islands beyond toward Guinea.”

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1 Falklands Wars – the History of the Falkland Islands: with particular regard to Spanish and Argentine pretensions and taking some account of South Georgia, the South Sandwich Islands and Britain’s Antarctic Territories by Roger Lorton, LL.B(Hon), M.Phil. 2011 – 2019. Roger Lorton has asserted his rights under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 to be identified as the author of this work.
2 Don Pedro de Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, 25 July 1498.
3 Apologies to Arthur Conan Doyle
4 More than a decade before Columbus set out, there existed a view that, at the least, there were Canary-type island groups remaining to be discovered to the west of Europe.
July 6th, two ships, George and Trinity, sail from the British port of Bristol; “... to serch & fynde a certain Isle called the Isle of Brasile.” 5

“There is indeed one well-attested voyage of 1480 conducted by well-known navigators, seeking this insular Brazil, and it was not the earliest.” 6

“... since, according to John Day, the English discovered America before 1497 they must have done so either before 1480 or between 1481 and, ... 1494. 1481 or a date near it would best fit the phraseology of the Day letter on the information now available...” 7

1491 — July 25th, reports reach Madrid of ships leaving Bristol; “The people of Bristol have, for the last seven years, sent out every year two, three, or four light ships, in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities...” 8

1492 — October 12th, a Castilian expedition, seeking a westerly route to China, is led by Italian navigator Cristoforo Colombo (Christopher Columbus). Five weeks after leaving the Canary Islands, land is sighted. 9

“After sunset steered their original course west and sailed twelve miles an hour till two hours after midnight, going ninety miles, which are twenty-two leagues and a half; and as the Pinta was the swiftest sailer, and kept ahead of the admiral, she discovered land and made the signals which had been ordered. The land was first seen by a sailor called Rodrigo de Triana, ... At two o'clock in the morning the land was discovered, at two leagues' distance;... Presently they descried people, naked, and the admiral landed in the boat, which was armed, along with Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vincent Yanez his brother, captain of the Nina...” 10

1493 — in Nuremberg, mariner Martin Behaim (Martin of Bohemia) completes a globe. It depicts the known world. He calls the globe, Erdapfel (earth apple). 11

“(Behaim) found before Christopher Columbus the American islands and before Fernan Magellan the sound which bears the latter's name.” 12

5 Quoted in The Argument for the English Discovery of America between 1480 and 1494 David B. Quinn 1961 in The Geographical Journal vol.27, no.3 pp.277-285. Brasil or Hy-Brasil was a semi-mythical island believed to lie to the west of Ireland. Quinn's view is based upon a letter by John Day, addressed to 'Almirante Mayor' (believed to be Christopher Columbus). Undated, but probably written in 1497 or shortly after, its importance lies in references to the land that Cabot discovered, having been previously seen by the men of Bristol. This letter was found in the Spanish archive at Simancas in 1956 and published by Dr. Louis Andre Vigneras.

6 The Island of the Seven Cities William H. Babcock 1919 in Geographical Review, Vol.7, No.2 (Feb., 1919), pp. 98-106

7 Quinn 1961. cf. 1497

8 Don Pedro de Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, 25 July 1498. cf. 1498

9 October 1492 (Gregorian Calendar). The story is well known, although which one of the islands of the Bahamas was first seen remains uncertain. The expedition had set out from Spain on August 3, 1492, stopping to pick up supplies and water in the Canary Islands. Christopher Columbus is an anglicized rendition of the admiral's name.

10 From the Journal of Columbus 1492. The admiral was inclined to speak of himself in the third person. Almost everything about the expedition is contested. Even the names of the ships.

11 The world's oldest surviving globe shows islands between Europe and Asia. Inaccurate, it is not clear whether these fragments of land were from myths, imagination or sightings. Behaim is occasionally credited with providing information that helped Magellan to discover his Strait; a claim fuelled by Antonio Pigafetta, (see 1519). Any connection between Behaim (died 1507) and Magellan is largely a matter of conjecture. In 1682 there were calls for Magellan's Strait to be renamed the Behaim Strait. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1492-martin-behaims-erdapfel-globe-reproduction-of-atlantic-ocean.png

12 Wagenseil, a Nuremberg scholar in 1682, quoted in The Representation on Maps of the Magalhães Straits before their Discovery Richard Hennig in Imago Mundi 1948 vol.5 pp.32-37. There are no known voyages to the Americas by Behaim.
March 4th, Columbus arrives in Lisbon. Portuguese King, John II, hears of the new discovery. He promptly claims the new land under the terms of the Treaty of Alcáçovas of 1479. Spain disagrees and petitions Pope Alexander VI, a Valencian – born Roderic Llançol i de Borja.

May 3rd, Pope Alexander VI issues Inter Caetera. In this he assigns the new lands of the west to Spain.

“It was part of Augustinian theory that, the world belonging to God, mankind held no more than a right of user to the land. It was for the Pope as God’s representative on Earth to grant rights to lands not already part of Christendom.”

“In those days, the Pope not only had religious authority, but also temporal authority in areas of international law amongst the Christian nations of Europe. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Pope’s temporal authority replaced the former Roman Imperial authority. ... The papal ruling, following the discovery of America by the Crown of Castilla... was in principle accepted by the Christian kingdoms of Europe.”

“It is worth noting that Pope Alexander was at the time unaware of the existence of the American Continent, so that to the best of his knowledge, he was not including it in the distribution between Spain and Portugal.”

Portugal’s Ambassador to the Papal court promptly protests.

May 4th, responding to Portugal’s complaint, Pope Alexander issues a new, modified, Inter Caetera.

And in order that you may enter upon so great an undertaking with greater readiness and heartiness endowed with the benefit of our apostolic favour, we, of our own accord, not at your instance nor the request of anyone else in your regard, but out of our own sole largess and certain knowledge and out of the fullness of our apostolic power, by the authority of Almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we hold on earth, do by tenor of these presents, should any of said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and the south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antarctic pole, namely the south, no matter whether the said mainlands and islands are found and to be found in the direction of India or

13 Sovereignty and the Falkland Islands Crisis D.W. Greig Australian Year Book of International Law 1983 vol.8
14 Falklands or Malvinas Conrado Etchebarne Bullrich 2000 p.48
15 Falklands or Malvinas: Myths & Facts Manuel P. Peña & Juan A. Peña 2018
towards any other quarter, the said line to be distant one hundred leagues towards the west and south from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde. ... Let no one therefore, infringe, or with rash boldness contravene, this our recommendation, exhortation, requisition, gift, grant, assignment, constitution, deputation, decree, mandate, prohibition, and will. Should anyone presume to attempt this, be it known to him that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul."

“... the Pontifical concession can and must be invoked by Argentina as a just cause for the possession which at the time was exercised by Spain.”

“... the Bulls were legally irrelevant. If the papal bulls were not considered as valid between the two Iberian powers, it is difficult to maintain that they were good titles against other states.”

“A second bull called Inter caetera, but dated 4 May 1493, ... set a demarcation line extending 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands in a north-south direction ... It granted the Catholic Monarchs ownership and possession of the lands ... west of the demarcation line, while the Portuguese held dominion over the ocean to the east of the referred line until the African coast, except for the Canary Islands.”

“... the 1493 Papal Bulls ... were applied in medieval Christian Europe for more than 50 years without objections from other Christian sovereigns.... these legal instruments are part of the colonial practice of the fifteenth century and should therefore be assessed in light of the Christian medieval law regarding the temporal powers of popes. The hypothesis that papal bulls might have constituted titles of territorial sovereignty ... should therefore be entertained.”

**September 26th**, the Pope issues a further edict, *Dudum siquidem*. This prohibits other nations from:

“... navigating, fishing or exploring the islands or mainlands or for any reason or under any pretext whatever... without express or special licence of (Spain)...”

John II, King of Portugal, believing that Pope Alexander’s Bulls have breached the Treaty of Alcáçovas, demands a new agreement. The Castilian court, wishing to avoid a costly conflict with Portugal, agrees to talks. After initial proposals are put, it is decided to hold a conference.

“Even though the Pope's authority to distribute planet earth among Christian nations may have been accepted in the 15th and part of the 16th centuries, and only by some of those Christian nations, it is no longer realistic to imagine that it may be accepted as a universally "prevailing right" in modern times.”

“... the papal Bulls broke the basic legal principle nemo dat quod non habet ["no one gives what he does not possess"] – the Pope did not possess those lands, so he was not entitled to "award" them to anyone – and that the Bulls were not accepted by the kings of England or France.”

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16 My emphasis
17 Las Malvinas ante el Derecho Bonafacio del Carril in La Nación August 2, 1964
19 Treaty of Tordesillas Thomas Duve 2013 in Max Planck Encyclopedia of International Law
21 Peña & Peña 2018
1494 — between March and early May, talks between the two Kingdoms are held at Medina de Campo.

May 8th, the Spanish/Portuguese negotiations move to Tordesillas.

June 7th, Spain and Portugal sign the Treaty of Tordesillas.

“... for the sake of peace and concord, and for the preservation of the relationship and love of the said King of Portugal for the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., ... they, their said representatives, acting in their name and by virtue of their powers herein described, covenanted and agreed that a boundary or straight line be determined and drawn north and south, from pole to pole, on the said ocean sea, from the Arctic to the Antarctic pole. This boundary or line shall be drawn straight, as aforesaid, at a distance of 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands,...

And all other lands... which have been discovered or shall be discovered by the said King and Queen of Castile, Aragon, etc., and by their vessels, on the western side of the said bound ... belong to, and remain in the possession of, and pertain forever to, the said King and Queen of Castile, Leon, etc., and to their successors... The said representatives of both the said parties agree and assent that within the ten months immediately following the date of this treaty their said constituent lords shall despatch two or four caravels, namely, one or two by each one of them, a greater or less number, as they may mutually consider necessary. These vessels shall meet at the Grand Canary Island during this time, and each one of the said parties shall send certain persons in them, to wit, pilots, astrologers, sailors, and any others they may deem desirable.

These said vessels... shall lay a direct course to the west, to the distance of the said 370 leagues, ... When this point is reached, such point will constitute the place and mark for measuring degrees of the sun or of north latitude either by daily runs measured in leagues, or in any other manner that shall mutually be deemed better. This said line shall be drawn north and south ... from the said Arctic pole to the said Antarctic pole... This line shall be considered as a perpetual mark and bound, in such wise that the said parties... or their future successors, shall be unable to deny it, or erase or remove it, at any time or in any manner whatsoever. And should, perchance, the said line and bound from pole to pole, as aforesaid, intersect any island or mainland, at the first point of such intersection of such island or mainland by the said line, some kind of mark or tower shall be erected, and a succession of similar marks shall be erected in a straight line from such mark or tower, in a line identical with the above-mentioned...”

# Researcher’s Comment: Alexander’s 100 leagues became Tordesillas’s 370. Clearly a breach of the Pope’s edicts, and putting the lie to any assertion that the Pope’s word constituted international law. The treaty bound two nations to a division of the Americas. It could not impose restrictions on other nations. Even the Pope refused to recognise it for 12 years.

“... the scanty international code of the Middle Ages could deal with questions of vassalage and supremacy, and settle the legal effects of the conquest or cessation of territory; but it was powerless to decide what acts

23 My emphasis
24 Spain ratified the agreement on July 2, 1494. Portugal on September 5, 1494. From the offset, the agreement was beset by problems. Firstly, the joint expedition to demarcate the line never took place. Secondly, both Spain and Portugal had different ideas as to what should constitute a ‘league’ Finally, the location within the Cape Verde Islands that was to be the point from which measurements were to be taken was never determined. Under the terms of this agreement, the Falklands lay within the area granted to Castile. South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands fell to Portugal.
were necessary in order to obtain dominion over newly discovered territory, or how great an extent of country could be acquired by one act of discovery or colonization.”

“The claim of Spain and Portugal to divide the American continent between them, based as it was upon an award given in entire ignorance of the geographical facts, would in no case have been respected for any length of time by other interested Powers.”

“St. Augustin argued that the whole world was the property of God. The pope, as God’s viceregent on earth, could rightfully grant unoccupied lands to Christian monarchs for the purpose of converting the indigenous pagans... Pope Alexander VI issued bulls that granted Spain exclusive right of occupancy and control over the region west of a line 100 leagues west of the islands “commonly called de los Azores y Cabo Verde” and running from pole to pole.”

“The Papal Bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 were the first instruments to reflect Spain’s titles in accordance with the international law prevailing at the time.”

“The Catholic Monarchs thereby waived their rights derived from the line established by Alexander VI. ... In the same document, the parties established that the Pope should be asked to confirm their agreement... Obviously, other European powers did not feel bound by the agreements between the two parties.”

“Neither the papal Bulls of 1493 nor the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 had the slightest validity as regards the possession of the Falkland Islands. Neither Spain nor Portugal regarded the papal Bulls as binding, and breached them by signing the Treaty of Tordesillas. The Treaty of Tordesillas applied to no countries except Spain and Portugal – from the point of view of all other countries, it was res inter alios acta ["a matter arranged between others"].”

1496 – March 5th, believing that new lands lie undiscovered to the west, and in defiance of the pretensions of Rome, Spain and Portugal, King Henry VII issues Letters Patent to John Cabot for an expedition.

“Be it known and made manifest that we have given and granted ... to our well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to Lewis, Sebastian and Sancio, sons of the said John, ... full and free authority, faculty and power to sail to all parts, regions and coasts of the eastern, western and northern sea, under our banners, flags and ensigns, with five ships or vessels of whatsoever burden and quality they may be, and with so many and with such mariners and men as they may wish to take with them in the said ships, at their own proper costs and charges, to find, discover and investigate whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of heathens and infidels, in whatsoever part of the world placed, which before this time were unknown to all Christians. ... And that the before-mentioned John and his sons ... may conquer, occupy and possess whatsoever such towns, castles, cities and islands by them thus discovered that they may be able to conquer, occupy and possess, as our vassals and governors lieutenants and deputies therein, acquiring for us the dominion, title and jurisdiction of the same towns, castles, cities, islands and mainlands discovered;...”

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25 The Principles of International Law T.J. Lawrence 1905
26 Foreign Office Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490
27 The Sovereignty Dispute over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands Lowell S. Gustafson 1988 p.5
28 The Question of the Malvinas Islands a pamphlet published by Argentina’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2012
29 Duve 2013. The Pope did not immediately approve; withholding recognition of the treaty for 12 years.
30 Pascoe 2020 p. 342
31 John Cabot is an Anglicized version of his name as he appears to have been Genoese or Venetian. Some sources refer to him as Juan Caboto Montecalunya. Cabot sailed in the summer but met adverse weather conditions and turned back.
32 The Precursors of Jacques Cartier 1497-1534 H. B. Biggar (ed.) 1911, pp. 8-10. Latin text, first printed by Hakluyt in 1582. PRO 178/8 (Public Record Office)
Spain's Ambassador is instructed to discourage any expedition.

“...when Ferdinand was informed that Henry VII was contemplating an expedition to the Indies, he contented himself with instructing his ambassador to take care to point out to his brother sovereign that such expeditions were very uncertain enterprises and that it was his opinion that the idea had been thrown in the way of the English King by the King of France with the premeditated intention of distracting him from other business.”  

“These instructions came a little bit late. King Henry had already granted to the Cabots letters patent authorizing them to discover and conquer territories inhabited by Infidels on March 5 1496. However, these letters required that they respect the rights of other Christian princes. More specifically, Henry VII authorized the Cabots to navigate on the northern, eastern, western seas. Several commentators have noticed that Henry VII excluded only the southern seas, where he assumed that territories under Spain's sovereignty based on the papal bull of 4 May 1493 were located.”

1497 – May 2nd, Cabot sails from Bristol for a second time.

June 24th, Cabot sights land.

“The English discovered this country. It produces nothing of any value. It was discovered by the English from the city of Bristol.”

“This year, on St. John the Baptist’s Day, the land of America was found by the Merchants of Bristowe in a shippe of Bristowe, called the Mathew; the which said the ship departed from the port of Bristowe, the second day of May, and came home again the 6th of August next following.”

John Cabot lands and claims the new discovery for the King of England.

“He came back from the 1497 voyage convinced that he had found the land of the Great Khan and that a further penetration down the coast of Asia would bring him Marco Polo’s Cipango.”

“His Majesty sent a Venetian, who is a distinguished sailor, and who was much skilled in the discovery of new islands, and he has returned safe, and has discovered two very large and fertile islands, having, it would seem, discovered the seven cities 400 leagues from England to the westward. These successes led His Majesty at once to entertain the intention of sending him with fifteen or twenty vessels.”

Englishman John Day informs Admiral Columbus of Cabot's sighting, adding: “It is considered certain that the cape of the said land was found and discovered in other times by the men of Bristol who found 'Brasil' as your Lordship knows. It was called the Ysle of Brasil and it is assumed and believed to be the mainland that the Bristol men found.”

33 Ferdinand & Isabella to Gonzales de Puebla March 28, 1496 quoted in Hébié 2018
34 Spanish Claims to a Share in the Newfoundland Fisheries in the Eighteenth Century Vera Lee Brown 1925
35 Hébié 2018 pp.51-52. Henry's assumptions were not recorded.
36 Diogo Ribeiro inscription on his 1529 chart referring to Tierra de Labrador (Greenland). In 1529 Sebastian Cabot was Ribeiro's superior in the service of the Spanish Crown at Seville.
37 Fust Manuscript: The Chronicle of Maurice Toby 1565. Cabot is believed to have rediscovered Newfoundland.
38 Quinn 1961
39 Raimondo di Soncino to the Duke of Milan August 24th, 1497
40 Quoted in Quinn 1961. The original is in the Archivo General de Simancas, Estado de Castilla, leg.2, fo.6. Day's letter,
1498 – May 30th, Columbus sails from Spain on his third voyage to the west. Three of the fleet of six are headed directly for the island of Hispaniola. Columbus leads the others to the south-west to seek a land believed by King John of Portugal to exist there. 41

July 25th, Spain’s Ambassador to London, Don Pedro de Ayala, writes to his Court.

“I think your Majesties have already heard that the King of England has equipped a fleet in order to discover certain islands and continents, which he was informed [by] some people from Bristol, who manned a few ships for the same purpose last year, had found. I have seen the map which the discoverer has made, who is another Genoese like Columbus, and who has been in Seville and in Lisbon asking assistance for his discoveries. The people of Bristol have, for the last seven years, sent out every year two, three, or four light ships, in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese … I have seen on a chart the direction which they took and the distance they sailed, and I think that what they have found, or what they are in search of, is what Your Highnesses already possess. It is expected that they will be back in the month of September. I write this because the King of England has often spoken to me on this subject, and he thinks that Your Highnesses will take great interest in it… I told him that, in my opinion, the land was already in the possession of Your Majesties; but though I gave him my reasons, he did not like them. I believe that your Highnesses are already informed of this matter; and I do not now send the carta, or mapa mundi which that man has made, and which, according to my opinion, is false, since it makes it appear as if the land in question was not the said islands.” 42

“…when all England was ringing with the news of Cabot’s success in his undertaking, the Spanish Ambassador did indeed mildly represent to Henry VII that in his opinion the new lands were within his master’s dominions, but when the English King, who had been no party to the Treaty of Tordesillas, showed a dislike for the minister’s views, the Spanish court seemed not to have sent orders to its representative to make a more official and serious protest, and the controversy was allowed to drop. … The English, on this occasion, permitted no time to elapse before following up the advantage which Cabot’s voyage had given them …” 43

“How far Ayala was speaking precisely and authoritatively it is also impossible to say, but it is reasonable to take his statement at its face value that a series of voyages began in 1490 or 1491 and was continued in, perhaps, each of the six years following.” 44

July 31st, Colombus sights land. 45

1499 – William Weston sails from Bristol to explore the new lands. 46

A Treaty of Trade and Amity is signed between Spain and England. 47

written in fluent Spanish, was undated but is believed to have been written either in 1497 or early 1498. Who John Day was remains uncertain; although fluency in Spanish may suggest that he was a spy. It has been argued that Day's real name was Hugh Say, the black sheep of a well-connected family. See John Day of Bristol and the English Voyages across the Atlantic before 1497 Alwyn A. Ruddock 1966 in The Geographical Journal vol.132 no.2 pp.225-233

A belief based upon the discovery of 'canoes' on the coast of West Africa.

Don Pedro de Ayala to Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, 25 July 1498

Brown 1925

Quinn 1961

Trinidad Island, lying just off the coast of South America which Columbus touched sometime after August 12, 1498

The only evidence is a document ordering a stay of legal action against Weston while he voyaged to 'new founde land.' Weston may have been involved with Cabot's 1497 expedition. See Henry VII and the Bristol expeditions to North America: the Condon documents Evan T. Jones 2009

See 1515
1500 — Cantabrian cartographer, Juan de la Cosa, produces a chart of Columbus' discoveries in the Americas. He anticipates the Gulf of Mexico and reveals part of the northern coast of the South American continent. 48

“The representation of the New World in Juan de la Cosa planisphere is based on the various missions that took place from 1492 on, led by Columbus and other explorers in the service of the Spanish crown, as well as on those led by Giovanni Cabotto (for England), in the north (1497-98), and Pedro Álvares Cabral (for Portugal), in the south (1500). Although the planisphere contains the earliest known depiction of what we now designate (as) the Americas, the idea that this landmass was a continent separated from Asia was most certainly absent from (its) creator. … While the northern coast of South America, to the west of the point reached by Pinzón in 1500, appears more or less correctly delineated, that is not the case of the coastline of Central and North America, as well as the coast of Brazil, to the south and east of the same point. Although information about the arrival of Giovanni Cabotto to the coast of North America, and of Cabral to Brazil, has certainly reached Spain before 1500, the apparently conjectural depictions of both regions in the planisphere suggest that such information did not include maps.” 49

March 9th, a Portuguese expedition led by the navigator Pedro Álvares Cabral sails for India.

April 22nd, sailing to the west of Africa to take advantage of the trade winds, the Cabral’s ships stray so far westward that they sight the coast of South America – Brazil. Cabral claims the land for Portugal.

“… the Portuguese had almost certainly been aware of the existence of the South American continent some years before Columbus made his voyage. Although it cannot be proved, it is very probable that Cabral had received instructions to visit this new land on his way to India.” 50

1501 — March 19th, further Letters Patent, grant permission to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashurst and John Thomas, of Bristol; “to undertake explorations in the west.”

May 13th, a Portuguese expedition in three caravels, led by Captain-General Gonçalo Coelho, sails from Lisbon. To explore Cabral's discovery. Florentine astronomer Amerigo Vespucci is aboard the flagship as an observer. 51

# Researcher’s Comment: Let us be clear, this expedition was led by Coelho. It was a Portuguese expedition. Vespucci, a Florentine, was just an observer. Quite how America got to be called America, therefore, is something of a mystery.

August 17th, Gonçalo Coelho's ships reach the Brazilian coast at about latitude 5° S. They turn south.

In December, a planisphere of the known world is commissioned in Lisbon. 52
1502 — January 1st, Coelho's expedition reaches Guanabara Bay at 23° S which he named Rio de Janeiro. Portugal's voyagers then continue south. 

“And we sailed on this course until we found ourselves at such an altitude that the South Pole had an elevation of full 52 degrees above our horizon, and we no longer saw the stars of either Ursa Minor or the Ursa Major. And we were already distant from the harbor whence we set forth full 500 leagues on a south-eastern course; and this was the third [day] of April. And on this day there began so violent a sea-tempest that it made us lower sail altogether; and we ran on with bare mast in a violent wind which came from the south-west bringing with it huge seas, and the wind was very violent. Such was the tempest that the fleet stood in much fear.

The nights were very long; for we had a night on the seventh day of April which was of 15 hours; because the sun was at the end of Aries, and it this region it was winter, as Your Magnificence may well be aware. And while going along in this tempest, on the seventh day of April we sighted a new land, about 20 (leagues) of which we skirted; and we found it all barren coast; and we saw in it neither harbor nor inhabitants. I believe that this was because the cold was so great that nobody in the fleet could withstand or endure it. So, seeing ourselves in such peril, and in such a tempest that scarcely could we see one ship from the other, on account of the high seas which were running and the excessive thickness of the weather, we arranged with the admiral to signal the fleet to put about, and that we should leave the land and turn our course toward Portugal.” 

# Researcher's Comment: This quote from a letter published in 1504. An account of Amerigo Vespucci’s expedition to the Americas, written to Piero Soderini. Vespucci’s voyages are the subject of controversy. As to their number; the letters written about them; the regions that he explored and the latitudes he reached. Vespucci was his own and only chronicler. There is no supporting evidence from any third party or independent witness. Questions of latitude accuracy are also much debated. Known as either the Soderini Letter or just as Lettera, this correspondence has been subjected to a great deal of expert analysis. Whole swathes of academics, historians and other scholars know it as a forgery. As many again have argued for its authenticity. The jury remains out. There is, however, a little circumstantial evidence in favour of Vespucci's authorship. It is often forgotten that this correspondence was published while Amerigo Vespucci was alive. Sixteenth-century European cartography was a small community and it is likely that Vespucci was aware of the publication. There is no suggestion that he ever challenged it.

However, the only question that concerns this paper is that about modern assertions that Vespussi sighted the Falklands in 1502. As can be seen from the quotes that follow, there is little agreement on this matter either. But, again, one vital piece of evidence seems to have been missed. From 1508 Vespucci ran the school for navigators in Seville. At the Casa de Contratación (see 1503 below) where Spain’s master chart was kept. This record of the known world was intended to include all certain discoveries while dispensing with myths and imaginings. A chart for professional navigators that all Spanish captains were obliged to use. If Vespucci saw the Falkland Islands in 1502, it seems likely that he would have mentioned it in 1508.

53 How far south is, as with so much about this voyage, disputed. 25° S latitude is not doubted. 52° S, as claimed by some analysts is contentious. Also the date at which they turned for home – February 13, being the earliest noted.


55 For a flavour of the debate see Northrup 1916 (link above); Amerigo Vespucci Alberto Magnaghi (Rome) 1924 and New light on Vespucci's third voyage: Evidence of his route and landfall Roberto Levillier (Buenos Aires) 1954 in Imago Mundi 1954 vol.xi.
“It seems to me, that we can attribute the first discovery (of the Falklands) to the famous American Vespucci who, in his third voyage for the discovery of the America, traversed the north coast in the month of April, 1502. He did not know, indeed, whether it belonged to an island or whether it was part of the continent; but it is easy to conclude from the road he had followed, from the latitude at which he had arrived, from the very description which he gives of this coast, that it was that of the Malouines.”

“It has been asserted, that Americus Vespucius saw (the Falklands) in 1502, but if the account of Americus himself is authentic, he could not have explored farther south than the right bank of La Plata. In 1501-2 Americus Vespucius, then employed by the King of Portugal, sailed 600 leagues south and 150 leagues west from Cape San Agostinho (lat. 8° 20′ S.) along the coast of a country then named Terra Sancte Crucis. His account of longitude may be very erroneous, but how could his latitude have erred thirteen degrees in this his southernmost voyage? ... Vespucius has already robbed Columbus and his predecessor, Cabot, of the great honour of affixing their names to the New World – shall he also be tacitly permitted to claim even the trifling distinction of discovering the Falklands, when it is evident that he could not have seen them?”

“The philologist no less than the historian is puzzled by the Vespucci 'Letters'; ... Vespucci's writings have a strange and complicated history. They have suffered at the hands of translators, copyists, printers, and even, it is to be feared, at those of modern editors. The texts on which we base our judgements are vastly different from those which left the author's hand. ...”

“Priority of discovery of the Falkland Islands has sometimes been attributed to Amerigo Vespucci, who possibly explored the South Atlantic on his third voyage (1502). It is noteworthy that Vespucci, a Florentine by birth, sailed on this famous voyage under the Portuguese flag. The case in his favour is slight, for Vespucci's renown as an explorer rests almost entirely on his own letters and is largely uncorroborated evidence. Competent authorities – Humboldt and Varnhagen – have discounted his claims.”

“... the Ruysch map of 1508 has a legend indicating that Vespucci reached 50° south ...”

“King Ferdinand of Spain, King Manoel of Portugal, Fernando Columbus' son, guardian of his father's fame, and the earliest chroniclers- Peter Martyr de Angleria, Ensico and Oviedo – never questioned the voyage. It was the Gymnase de Saït Dié, a sort of scientific Academy, under the patronage of Prince René of Lorraine, that the Lettera, received there from Lisbon, was translated and published in the Cosmographiae Introduction in 1507, with Hylacomilus' startling map of America. There were seven editions in the same year. This gives a guarantee for the Lettera, since no self-respecting group of scholars would have engaged in the task of translating and taking the responsibility of editing such important novelties, without the certainty of a genuine origin. ... Not one voice was raised then, to throw doubts on Vespucci’s letters and voyages, when it could easily be done, by witnesses still living. ... The evidence afforded by the letters themselves, the revelations of the maps, the agreement between those two sources, and certain contemporary references, convince us that the six letters and the four voyages are genuine.”

56 A Voyage Round the World performed by Order of His Most Christian Majesty in the Year 1766, 1767, 1768 & 1769 Louis-Antoine Bougainville (Paris) 1772
57 Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ship Adventure and Beagle between the Years 1826 and 1836.. Vol. II Proceedings of the Second Expedition, 1831 – 1836 under the command of Captain Robert Fitzroy R. Fitzroy 1839
58 Northrup 1916
59 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490
60 The Egerton MS. 2803 map and the Padron Real of Spain in 1510 Arthur Davies 1954 in Imago Mvndi vol.11 (1954) pp.47-52. MS. 2803 is an atlas purchased by the British Museum in 1895; believed to date from between 1507 and 1510. For the Ruysch chart see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1508-johannes-ruysch-dutch.jpg
61 Levillier 1954. Hylacomilus is another name for Waldseemuller.
“... we believe it very improbable that Vespucci discovered the Malvinas.”

“Vespucci was caught by a tempest which took him out into the ocean for two hundred and fifty leagues and caused him to discover the islands later called the Malvinas, on the 52nd parallel of latitude, on 7 April 1502 (or 16-17 April according to the Gregorian reform), a date which should be commemorated...”

“Malvinas Islands were sighted, and the original discovery made... by Amerigo Vespucci on 7 April 1502”

“... on the second voyage he spent March to early May 1502 sailing up the Brazilian coast, and crossed the equator in mid-ocean around 27 May. He went nowhere near the Falklands.”

**September 7th**, Coelho and Vespucci arrive back in Lisbon in the one surviving caravel.

In **October**, the *Cantino Planisphere*, a product of Portugal's *Casa da Índia* shows the world as it is known to Portuguese navigators.

The Tordesillas line is depicted spanning the New World from north to south.

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62 *The Malvinas, the South Georgias and the South Sandwich Islands: the conflict with Britain* Laurio H. Destefani 1982
63 *Nueva Historia del Descubrimiento de América* Enrique de Gandia 1989 p.167. 250 leagues are equal to some 750 miles; twice the distance the Falklands are from the continent of South America.
64 *Las Islas Malvinas: Descubrimiento, primeros mapas y ocupación, Siglo XVI* Vicente Guillermo Arnaud 2000 p.235
65 Pascoe 2020 p.13
66 Commissioned in December 1501. Alberto Cantino would seem to have been an Italian spy who first obtained the planisphere, or a copy of it, with bribery. For comparison, the tip of Africa lies at 34°S latitude.
1503 — in Seville, Spain, the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) is founded with responsibility for the collation of information regarding new discoveries around the world; and the training of pilots. 67

“The Casa de Contratación was created by a cedula of Isabela la Catolica dated January 15, 1503 and established at the Admiralty House in Seville. ... The Casa de Contratación was the counterpart of the much older Casa da Guiné, Mina e India in Lisbon.” 68

“Initially, the Cádiz Customs Office was created, an administrative entity designed in the image and likeness of two portuguese commercial corporations – The House of Guinea (1463) and the House of the India (1499) – dedicated to regulating (the) trade of spices and other products. The first expeditions were coordinated by three royal officers under the direction Juan Rodríguez Fonseca, but given the magnitude of the company, that precarious structure was quickly overwhelmed and the Casa de Contratación (1503), an institution intended to control all matters related to the American continent (and) which viewed cartography as a fundamental activity. Seville was chosen as (its) headquarters, ... The Trading House was responsible of the preparation of the ships, supervised the flow of products and materials, controlled and registered the goods, granted the licenses for emigration and dealt with registration and custody of discoveries. ... and, of course, make and maintain the Padrón Real.” 69

A world map is prepared, updated with information from Amerigo Vespucci. This chart reveals the eastern coast of South America to around 37° South. 70

“... using the information collected on trips and data obtained from the tidal charts of the Portuguese, those of Christopher Columbus, those of Juan de la Cosa, those of Andrés de Morales, and even globes. The first Padrón was already considered a document of great strategic value, so it was decided to keep it in a box with three keys and oath was taken the Senior Pilot so that he would not show it to no one without the consent of the officers of the Trading House.” 71

June 24th, French captain, Binot Paulmier de Gonneville sails from Honfleur. Blown off course, he finds himself in southern Brazil. 72

1504 — June 8th, in Genoa a world map is completed by cartographer Vesconte Maggiolo (Maiollo). It shows the coast of Brazil down to approximately 30° S. 73

“In the South Atlantic is an island depicted with the inscription: Ista yzolla vocatur santa trinitade inventa fuit pro rey de portugal de anno diij 1.50.3. dje ses otobj [This island called Santa Trinitade was discovered for the King of Portugal 6 October 1503]. ... This island is most likely that still known today as Trindade, 1,140 km (700 miles) from the Brazilian mainland. Santa Trinitade on the Fano-Maggiolo appears to be its earliest surviving cartographic appearance. Two other islands are also shown in the South Atlantic on the Fano-

67 Set up along similar lines to Portugal's Casa da India this institution survived until 1790. cf. 1508
68 Note on the Castiglioni planisphere Armando Cortesao in Imago Mvndi vol.11 (1954). cf. 1508
69 El padrón real. Una base de datos cartográfica en continua actualización Antonio Crespo Sanz 2012
70 Now known as Kunstmann II (also known as the 'Four-fingered' chart due to a particular feature). Unsigned, Vespucci is generally considered as a source and possibly as the cartographer. This chart is not dissimilar to the King Hamy map created around the same time. See: https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/08/c.-1503-kunstmannn-ii.png & https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/08/c.-1503-kunstmannn-ii-detail.jpg
71 Sanz 2012
72 With no obvious evidence that this French ship ever saw the Falklands, some Argentine historians still include Gonneville as a possible discoverer of the archipelago. See Sintesis de la Geografia y la Historia de las Islas Malvinas, Georgias y Sandwich del Sur Laurio H. Destefani 1982.
73 The revealed Brazilian coastline stops short of the tip of Africa which was known, even then, to be at 34° South latitude. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/08/1504-june-8th-vesconte-maggiolo-italy.jpg
Maggiolo. One appears to be labeled stalena, clearly the modern St. Helena, probably discovered by Joao da Nova during his return voyage from India in 1502. The other island lies to the northwest of stalena and appears to be labeled izola dasansion. From the name and location, this would be the modern Ascension Island, also discovered and named by the Portuguese around this time.”

“In it we see, poorly located and imprecise, our Malvinas Islands.”


Martin Waldseemüller, a German cartographer of St. Dié in Lorraine, commences work on an atlas. He sets it aside after completing the first chart – a world map depicting the coast of Brazil.

July 28th, Pope Julius II licences the preparation and publication of a new edition of Ptolemy’s *Geographia*.

“The Spaniards have not even the pretence of first Discovery to the Magallanic Regions; for Magallan first came upon this Coast in 1520, and the Map of the discovered parts of the New World, in the Rome Edition of Ptolemy 1508, expressly says, "The Portuguese had then traced the Coast to 50º South without reaching its Southern Extremity"; and this Book, coming into the World with a Licence of pope Julius II, under date 28th July 1506, must be admitted, by His Catholic Majesty, as infallible Authority:...”

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74 Siebold 2015
75 Arnaud 2000 p.77. No indication where. There are islands, but then Brazil has islands too.
76 The atlas was finally published in 1513 although Waldseemüller’s world map was not updated to accord with the cartographer’s later work. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/waldseemuller-1513.jpg
77 See 1508
78 *The Spanish Pretensions Fairly Discussed* Alexander Dalrymple 1790
In Genoa, cartographer Nicolay de Cavieri draws up a world map. 79

Cavieri 1506 (detail) showing Brazil and the southern tip of Africa

1507 – April 25th, a book, Cosmographiae Introductio, 80 is published to accompany a new map of the known world by Martin Waldseemüller. South America is shown down to the lower reaches of Brazil. 81

An island group identified as Insule delle Pulzelle (Island of the Maidens) is depicted mid-Atlantic.

“For the whole of the newly discovered regions, the map which formed Waldseemüller's chief source was evidently of the Canerio type, if not the Canerio map itself. ... Owing to the adoption by Waldseemüller of Ptolomy's erroneously placed equator, the Rio Cananor, the furthest point named on the South American coast, is brought down beyond 40° S., while the Portuguese charts place it between 30° and 35°.” 82

“... maps can confuse rather than confirm the situation, as shown by diverse cartographical indications relating to the Falklands. Martin Waldseemüller's 1507 world map, based partly on data gathered during Vespucci's 1502 expedition, was the first to show an outline of North and South America as well as several isolated islands in the extreme south, including a group labelled "Insule delle Pulzelle." All these islands are shown too far east of South America to have been based on information from Vespucci, whose own account suggests that he explored no further south than the river Plate.” 83

79 Also known as the Caveri Map or the Canerio map. Africa's southern tip lies at 34°S. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1506-c.-caverio-map-by-nicolay-de-caveri-lisbon.jpg

80 Cosmographiae introductio cum quibusdam geometricae ac astronomiae principiis ad eam rem necessariis. Insuper quatuor Americi Vespucii navigationes. Universalis Cosmographiae descriptio tam in solido quam plano, eis etiam insertis, quaep Ptolomaeoe ignota a nuperis reperta sunt (Introduction to Cosmography With Certain Necessary Principles of Geometry and Astronomy To which are added The Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci A Representation of the Entire World, both in the Solid and Projected on the Plane, Including also lands which were Unknown to Ptolemy, and have been Recently Discovered). The book contained a copy of the Soderini Letter (see 1502).

81 Waldseemüller's latitudes are disputed, and Africa is clearly extended too far south. It is argued that these early charts suffered from latitude-distortion and that Waldseemüller's Rio decananorū (Cananor River) – his lowest point on the South American coast marked as at 45°S is actually at 25°S. The Insule delle Pulzelle at Waldseemüller's 40°S would therefore be more accurately placed around 20°S (NB. St. Helena sits at 15° 54'S and at 37° 11'S Tristan da Cunha – sighted in 1506). The Cananor River is generally considered as the location at which Vespucci calculated that the Tordesillas line (see 1494) crossed the American continent at its southerly point. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1507-waldseemuller_map_2.jpg

82 The Waldseemüller Fascimiles Edward Heawood 1904 in The Geographial Journal June 1904 vol.23 no.6

83 Colonies in Conflict: The History of the British Overseas Territories Charles Cawley 2015
“If the Portuguese or any other people actually traced or even discovered portions of coast south of the Plata before 1512, it appears strange that so remarkable an estuary, one hundred and twenty miles across, should have been overlooked…” 84

1508 — March 22nd, Amerigo Vespucci is made Pilot Major by King Ferdinand II of Aragon. In charge of training Spanish navigators at the Casa de Contratación in Seville. 85

“... a list of all the islands of the Indies that have been discovered until today is ordered ... a General Register which is called Padrón Real, by which all the Pilots are to be governed... Likewise we send to all the Pilots of our Kingdoms and Lordships, who from now on go to the lands of the known Indies or to discover new lands, or islands, or baxos, or new ports, or any other thing worthy of noting in the said Padrón Real, will give their reference to the House of Contratación of Seville, so that everything is oriented on the said Padrón Real.” 86

“The royal pattern chart, or padrón real, was intended as a centralized repository of geographic information. By pooling all information into one centralized chart and updating it regularly, officials meant to create a resource they could call on at need. Furthermore, by making sure there was only one such reference chart, they provided a standard by which to measure all other charts in use. For all the flaws in the implementation of this plan, it was essentially a success. ... Pilots were regularly asked to provide information about their voyages, and their statements were kept at the Casa. While the chart was not always kept up to date, revisions were made from time to time, using the data collected from the pilots. ...” 87
A new edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, authorised by the Pope in 1506, is published. Six new maps are added. Five are of regions familiar to cartographers, however the sixth and last includes depictions of the West Indies and South America. This chart – *Vniversalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula Ex Recentibus Confecta Observationibus* – is by the Dutch cartographer, Johannes Ruysch.  

“... a planisphere on a conical projection, with its apex at the North Pole. Accordingly it is shaped like an opened fan with the curved edge at the bottom. In latitude the map extends from 90° North to 38° South.”

“... the Ruysch map of 1508 has a legend indicating that Vespucci reached 50° south ...”

“As early as 1508, i.e. 12 years prior to Magellan’s discovery, there was printed a pamphlet which spoke of the circumnavigability in the south of the newly discovered South American country.”

1511 — Portuguese navigator João de Lisboa explores the South American coast as far as the San Matias Gulf below the Rio de la Plata.

“The Portuguese have circumnavigated this land and they have found a sound which practically tallies with that of our continent of Europe (where we live). The sound is hidden between the Eastern and the Western Sea. At a distance of about 60 miles from the promontory of this land, one has the impression of passing through the straits of Gibraltar or Sicily in the eastern direction and of seeing on the African side the Barbarian country of Mauretania.”

# Researcher's Comment: Following the discovery of Brazil in 1500, there appears to have been surprisingly little official interest in its new land by Portugal. The court funded the Coelho/Vespucci expedition of 1502 but then Brazil was left mostly to private traders. The crown investing its resources in the eastern route to the Spice Islands. Maps of Brazil produced after 1502 reveal place names being added offering evidence of voyages, exploration, and trade but few records survive. So little is known about the 1511 exploration that it may also have been a private affair. The lack of records from this time leaves open the possibility of Portuguese discoveries later attributed to other explorers.

1512 — following the death of Amerigo Vespucci, Juan Diaz de Solis takes over as Chief Pilot in Seville.

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88 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1508-johannes-ruysch-dutch.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1508-johannes-ruysch-dutch.jpg)
89 *The Ruysch Map of the World (1507-1508)* Bradford F. Swan 1951 in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 1951 vol.45 no.3 pp.219-236
90 *The Egerton MS. 2803 map and the Padron Real of Spain in 1510* Arthur Davies 1954 in *Imago Mvndi* vol.11 (1954) pp.47-52. Egerton MS. 2803 is an atlas purchased by the British Museum in 1895; believed to date from between 1507 and 1510. For the Ruysch chart see [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1508-johannes-ruysch-dutch.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/1508-johannes-ruysch-dutch.jpg) For a brief consideration of latitudes, see the footnotes to 1507.
92 Either alone or in company with Esteban Froes; there is little in the way of information. Lisboa is known mainly for a book on seamanship (see 1514).
93 A text by Schönner of Nuremberg dated 1513 quoted in Siebold 2015
94 See 1514
96 Also known as João Dias de Solis, this navigator's origins are disputed – Spanish or Portuguese is uncertain. *cf. 1515*
Ottoman Admiral, Piri Reis, compiles a world map from a collection of charts.  

“The delineation of Brazil's coast is well defined and reasonably accurate to a point just south of the approximate location of present-day Santos (24° S) or Cananéia (25° S). In this, the Piri Reis map is typical of other manuscript maps of the early sixteenth century... Further south, just beyond the furthest point reached by the Portuguese during the early voyages, the Atlantic coastline of South America arcs to the east to join a southern landmass.”

“The (Falkland) islands have been included on maps ... since 1502 (among others... Piri Reis in 1513...).”

# Researcher’s Comment: Apparently composed from up to 20 other maps of the world or parts thereof, and with no standardisation as to scale, this map is a remarkable achievement. Drawn on gazelle skin parchment the surviving segment, which reveals the eastern coast of South America, is kept at the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul. Needless to say, exactly what is depicted – below 25°S latitude at least – is disputed. Particularly controversial for the purposes of this paper, is an island group shown off the coast of what is generally viewed as a mythical southern continent.

One source of these charts is alleged to have been a prisoner taken in a campaign against Venice in 1501, who claimed to have sailed with Columbus. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1513-piri-reis.jpg

The Piri Reis Map of 1513 Gregory McIntosh 2000 p.44. There had long been an anticipated 'counterweight' continent depicted on world maps. A southern mass to counter the weight of the known northern lands. A feature allowing cartographers to use their imagination. One radical view, however, has it that the Piri Reis cartographer, with 900 miles of South America still to draw in and being about to run out of valuable parchment, simply veered the remaining coastline to the east. Turn that 'southern continent' 90° and the notion is not entirely bereft of merit. Alternatively, perhaps, it was all just an attempt to reconcile 20 divergent charts.

The Malvinas/Falklands Between History and Law Marcelo G. Kohen & Facundo D. Rodriguez 2017 p.17. This book appears to be an English language version of Las Malvinas Entre el Derecho y la Historia published by the same authors in 2016. There are sufficient differences for me to consider them separate publications; for example, the 2017 work is two-thirds the size of that of 2016.
The islands are identified as the *Il. de Sare*. Within this group are the words “Those islands are deserted but spring lasts here long.” It has been contended that these islands represent the Falklands archipelago. Those that believe it to be so, believe it absolutely. Those that do not, are equally as strong in their rejection.

**September 25**th, from a hill on the Isthmus of Panama, Spanish explorer Vasco Nunez de Balboa sights “an enormous expanse of water” lying to the west. He takes possession of it in the name of the Spanish Crown, naming it the Mar del Sur (South Sea).

1514 — in Nuremberg, an account of a voyage is published in a newsletter. It relates the journey of two Portuguese ships down the coast of Brazil and beyond; suggesting that a passage through to the Pacific Ocean exists at 40°S latitude.

“Even though Brazil was in the shadow of the Portuguese East India trade for most of the sixteenth century, news from the newly found lands in the West was eagerly received in Europe and prospects for profitable trade evaluated. The present text is the first originally German source on Brazil: the printed reproduction of a letter written by one of the agents of the Fugger trading company on the island of Madeira with news about the arrival of a ship from Brazil. The letter, written in German interspersed with Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian, tells about a voyage made by two Portuguese ships down the Brazilian coast to the Rio de la Plata in 1514. It confirms for the first time the existence of an east-west passage in the vicinity of 40 degrees south latitude which Magalhaes (Magellan) would use for his circumnavigation. The narrator suggests to his superiors in Augsburg a profitable trade in furs and hides from southern Brazil, which were easy to barter from the natives for hard-ware: “They have no iron mines. In exchange for an axe or hatchet or knife they give whatever they have.” The ship arriving in Madeira was loaded with brazil-wood, the red dye-wood that gave the country its name, and with young enslaved Amerindians.”

# Researcher's Comment: At only 5 pages long the letter expands upon the opportunities for trade. Neither ships nor captains were named. Nor was any indication given as to when the voyage had taken place. Presumably, the letter was a report to someone who already knew those details. This may have been Christopher de Haro, a Flemish merchant based in Lisbon, who acted as a representative of the Fugger family. De Haro has been associated with the publication of the letter and may have been looking to excite some interest among investors, with the prospect of a western route to the coveted Spice Islands (Moluccas/Maluku).

João de Lisboa commences his *Treatise on Seamanship* for Portuguese mariners.

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100 The name was apparently chosen because Balboa had travelled south to reach it. *cf.* 1790
101 *Copia der Neuen Zeitung aus Presigl Landt* published by Hieronymus Höltzel.
102 *Portuguese Exploration to the West and the Formation of Brazil 1450-1800: Catalogue of an Exhibition* Dagmar Schäffer 1988 p.20
103 Trading voyages by both Gonzalo Coelho and Christovao Jacques have been suggested (see *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan and the First Circumnavigation of the World 1480-1521* F. H. H. Guillemand 1891 p.193). João de Lisboa's voyage in 1511 to the Gulf of Matias must also make him a candidate. The more-so as he started his own book in the same year as this publication.
104 An immensely influential German family, the Fuggers controlled much of Europe's economy during the 16th century through a monopoly over copper. De Haro went on to be involved with the Magellan expedition as a financier (see below). For comparison, the wide estuary of the Rio de la Plata is at 35°S latitude while the Gulf of Matias is at 41°S. Magellan's strait lies much farther south at 53°S.
105 This work is hard to date. Commenced, according to his own hand, in 1514 some elements appear to be much later suggesting another author continued the work (Lisboa died in 1525). Some elements could be as late as 1560. Chart 4 is identified at the Torre do Tombo National Archive in Lisbon as 'South American coast' and Chart 7 as 'South Atlantic islands'. For the world chart contained in the *Treatise* (chart 20) see [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1514-globe-of-joc3a3o-de-lisboa-from-livro-de-marinharia-treatise-of-seamanship.jpeg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1514-globe-of-joc3a3o-de-lisboa-from-livro-de-marinharia-treatise-of-seamanship.jpeg)
“... with Magellan went the Portuguese pilot João de Lisboa, which had been in Brazil before, and wrote a book on seamanship, whose appearance would be of transcendent importance to geographical history.”

1515 – a printed globe of the world depicts a strait cutting across South America at 40ºS. Shown on the globe, far to the east of the strait between 30º and 40ºS, is a large island group.

“... a Pacifico-Atlantic passage is ... boldly drawn. It is represented in or about latitude 45º S., and in the earlier, or Frankfort, globe a line is traced embracing the coast beyond the strait and enclosing the legend "Terra ult. incognita," thus implying – almost without a shadow of doubt – that this strait had been at that date already visited and recognised as a waterway between the two oceans. ... Some distance off the eastern mouth of the strait is placed a small group of islands.”

“... Magellan was inspired in his projects by a map of Martin Behaim which he had seen in the treasure room of the King of Portugal.”

“Look at the matter how we may, certain broad facts remain:- that both Coelho and Christovao Jacques pushed far south along the shores of South America before Magellan sailed on his great voyage, though how far is unknown; that a pamphlet, likewise indisputably of an anterior date, describes a Pacifico-Atlantic strait

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106 *Historia Geral do Brasil* Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen 1854 p.31
107 Unsigned, but now attributed to Schönner (professor of mathematics at Nuremberg), it has also been linked to Martin Behaim and Martin Waldseemüller. See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1515-johannes-schoener-globe-1881.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1515-johannes-schoener-globe-1881.jpg)
108 In 1507 Waldseemüller had depicted a similar group named *Insule delle Pulzelle* (Island of Maidens) in mid-Atlantic.
109 Guillemand 1891 p.192
at some length and finally, that Schoner considered the information he was possessed of to be sufficiently trustworthy to figure this strait upon his two globes of 1515 and 1520.” 111

“... Schöner departs from Waldseemüller in several important ways... most famously in depicting a sailing passage around the southern tip of South America some years before Magellan discovered such a passage...” 112

“The globe’s most provocative feature, which has caused much discussion, is the unambiguous representation of a strait between the southern tip of South America and a partial southern continent under the name Brasiliæ regio. Whether any expedition actually preceded that of Magellan in 1522 is still uncertain...” 113

October 8th, Spanish Pilot-Major Juan Díaz de Solís leads an expedition of three ships and 70 men from the Iberian peninsula. Bound for the east coast of South America.

Spain and England renew the Treaty of Trade and Amity of 1499. 114

1516 — Juan Díaz de Solís sails into the Río de la Plata estuary to explore its reaches. 115

Martin Waldseemüller produces another world map – a Navigator's Chart. 116

Sixteen-year-old Charles, the son of Philip (the Handsome) of Hapsburg and Joanna (the Mad) of Spain, is crowned King of Spain as Carlos I. 117

Visconde Maggiolo (Maiollo) works on a chart of the world from the east coast of America to India. 118

1517 — in October, Portuguese navigator, Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães/Fernando de Magallanes) travels to Seville. His proposal is for a Spanish expedition to seek a route to the Spice Islands (Moluccas) via the Americas. Magellan's project is supported by financier Cristóvão de Haro but does not initially attract much interest.

1518 — in January, Magellan rides to the Spanish court at Valladolid to present his plans to King Carlos; who instructs his counsellors to examine the evidence presented. 119

“(When Magellan) appeared for the first time at the Spanish court in Valladolid, he showed the Bishop of Burgos a painted globe on which he had traced his planned route. He had on purpose left the straits white in

111 Guillemard 1891 p.195. The 'pamphlet' would be Copia der Newen Zeitung ausz Presilg Landt 1514.
112 Some Results from a Study of Johann Schöner's 1515 Terrestrial Globe Chet Van Duzzer 2011
113 Siebold 2015
114 See 1580
115 No dates are available. De Solís apparently took an advance party up the Río de la Plata as far as the Parana River, where they were attacked and killed. Only a 14-year old cabin boy, Francisco del Puerto, was spared (still living with the tribe when Cabot arrived in 1527. See footnote to 1526). After his death, the de Solís expedition returned to Spain. There is no evidence that this expedition sailed any further south than the Río de la Plata, despite a theory that an early Portuguese expedition found the Falklands archipelago before 1519. See Pascoe 2020.
116 Carta marina navigatoria Portvgallen navigationes, atqve tocius cogniti orbis terre marisqve formam natvram sitvs et terminos nostris temporibvs recognitos et ab antiqvorum traditione differentes, eciam qvor vetvsti non meminervnt avtores, hec generaliter indicat. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1516-carta-marina-navigatoria-portugallen-world-map-by-martin-waldseemuller.jpg
117 Carlos would eventually inherit his grandfather's title and become Holy Roman Emperor Charles V
118 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/1516.jpg
119 Raised in the Burgundian Netherlands, Carlos did not speak much Spanish, and less Portuguese.
120 Pigafetta quoted in Magellan’s Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation by Antonio Pigafetta Yale University 1969. See also The Globe Encircled & the World Revealed Ursula Lamb 2016. cf. 1502, 1507, 1519 & 1522
order not to give a clue to his secret. When the King’s Ministers assailed him with questions, he confided to the
Ministers that he planned to land first on the promontory of St. Maria, i.e. at the La Plata mouth, and then to
sail along the coast until he found a sound. ... He was all the more sure to find a sound as he had seen it on a
sea map made by Martin de Bohemia...” 121

“According to Pigafetta, Magellan derived his information from a chart existing in the King’s treasury. We are
not told when he saw it. Towards the end of his service with Portugal he was out of favour with the King. He
was, indeed, never regarded by him with anything but dislike, and it is therefore improbable that he would be
the only person permitted to see it. Gomara, too, says that when Magellan passed into the service of Spain, and
his intention of visiting the Moluccas became known, Dom Manoel remained content when he learned that he
had promised not to take the route by the Cape, “thinking that he could find no other way nor navigation for
the Spices other than that which he (the King) had.” Dom Manoel would hardly have felt so reassured had he a
chart depicting the straits in his possession, and knew that Magellan had consulted it.” 122

“It is ... astonishing that the sea-route south of the newly discovered America was distinctly drawn on
individual maps in the beginning of the 16th century i.e. before Magalhães discovered in 1520 the sound which
now bears his name. ... before embarking upon his journey, Magalhães himself stated he knew that south of
America there was a sound that led to the Southern Sea, ... he, Magalhães, had seen the sound on a map by
Martin Behaim.” 123

“Magellan, in order to convince the King of Spain and his counsellors that the Moluccas were situated in the
Spanish hemisphere, presented to them a planisphere, made by Pedro Reinel, which he had brought along from
Portugal.” 124

Portuguese cartographer Estêvão Gomez is appointed a pilot at the Casa de Contratación in Seville.

“... the Falklands were first sighted by an otherwise unknown Portuguese expedition in around 1518-19, which
explored the north coast and sailed down Falklands Sound but did not see any outlying islands.” 125

March 22nd, King Carlos approves Magellan’s scheme with a capitulation; “... to go in search of the strait.” 126

July 10th, from Spain, Sebastian Alvarez informs the Portuguese King of the arrangements for an expedition to
the south and includes a list of those Portuguese captains and pilots who are involved. 127

1519 — Portuguese cartographer Pedro Reinel travels from Lisbon to Spain seeking his son Jorge who is
employed in Seville preparing charts and equipment for Magellan’s expedition. Father assists in the completion
of his son’s work so that they can both return to Lisbon. 128

121 Spanish chronicler Herrera (1549-1626) quoted in Siebold 2015
122 Guillemand 1891 p.196
123 The Representation on Maps of the Magalhães Straits before their Discovery Richard Hennig 1948 in Imago Mundi
    vol.5 (1948) pp.32-37
125 Graham Pascoe in The Dictionary of Falklands Biography (including South Georgia): From Discovery up to 1981
    Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.199
126 Quoted in Guillemand 1891. My emphasis. Apparently, Carlos and his advisers were convinced by a planisphere
    (Reinel’s), or globe (Schöner/Behaim’s?). Cristóvão de Haro has been linked to the 1514 published letter reporting a
    way through to the Pacific and also the production of the globe (see 1515). It is likely that this globe lay behind
    persistent rumours that Magellan was aware of a strait before he sailed.
127 Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo... 1892 pp.431-435. Estevan Gomez was noted as second
    on the list.
128 There is a story that Jorge Reinel had found it advantageous to leave Portugal following a little local difficulty
    (unexplained). He found employment in Seville making instruments for the Magellan expedition before his father
    arrived to inform him that the problem had been resolved. He was then asked to return to Lisbon to assist in a project
In Spain, Martín Fernández de Enciso publishes a book on navigation – *Suma de Geografía que trata de todas las partidas e provincias del mundo* (*Sum of Geography that deals with all the parts and provinces of the world)*.

“... containing a map "(which) put all the lands and provinces of the universe that until today there has been news by ancient writings and by views in our times", but that edition was withdrawn by the Council of the Indies to avoid that the Portuguese acquiring such privileged information." ¹²⁹

**February 28th**, Spain’s King writes to reassure the King of Portugal that the ‘armada’ being sent south under the command of Magellan, will not harm any land or seas belonging to Portugal. ¹³⁰

![Kunstmann IV circa 1519](image)

Magellan presents the Spanish King with a planisphere indicating his intended route. ¹³¹

“In 1519 the voyage of Magellan was prepared and a significant number of Portuguese experts were involved, including the cartographer Diogo Ribeiro. The Kunstmann IV planisphere, probably made in Seville c.1519 and attributed to Jorge Reinel, may have been made in that context.” ¹³²

In Naples, Visconte Maggiolo (Maiollo) works on a chart of the world. He depicts the north-east coast of South America as it is known in 1519. ¹³³

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¹²⁹ Sanz 2012
¹³⁰ Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo... 1892 p.422
¹³¹ Sebastian Alvarez to Manuel I de Portugal July 18, 1519. Lost, but now believed to be represented by the copy of a world chart known as Kunstmann IV. Generally attributed to the Reinels.
¹³³ The style shows some remarkable similarities to the top of South America depicted in the 1522 Hazine map below. See
September 12th, Magellan sets sail for South America with five ships – Trinidad (Magellan), San Antonio (Juan de Cartagena), Concepción (Gaspar de Quesada), Santiago (João Serrão), and Victoria (Luiz Mendoza). 134

https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/01/1519-map-by-maiollo.png

134 Crews totaled 279 men including 40 Portuguese plus supernumeraries such as Antonio Pigafetta and Juan Sebastián Elcano (del Cano). The Portuguese navigator and cartographer Estêvão (Estevan) Gomez may also have been listed as a supernumerary. Andrés de San Martin was aboard San Antonio as chief pilot-cosmologer. An unconfirmed story has it
“The expedition consisted of five ships under the command of Magellan. The two Portuguese adventurers who had undertaken to find a strait from the Atlantic to the South Sea so that the Spanish king could enforce his claim to the Spice Islands by reaching them from the west, were Fernando Magellan and Estevan Gomez.”

“The fleet took on board twenty-four nautical charts. Eighteen of them were prepared by Nuno Garcia de Toreño (seven of which were ordered by Rui Faleiro and eleven Magellan); six others were commissioned by Rui Faleiro (destined for the king); the set also included twenty-four scrolls.”

The expedition’s cartographer, Andrés de San Martín, takes copies of the known charts of the Americas.

“Among them were "two planispheres belonging to Magellan and made by Pedro Reinel"...”

On their return to Lisbon, Pedro and Jorge Reinel begin work on an Atlas alongside Lopo Homen. The map of the world depicts the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Ocean enclosed by land.

**December 13th**, on reaching the coast of Brazil, Magellan’s fleet turns south, hugging the coast.

1520 — in Amsterdam, cartographer Peter Apian completes his *Tipus Orbis Universalis iuxta Ptolemei Cosmographi Traditionem et Americi Vespucii Aliorque Lustrationes a Petro Apiano Leysnico Elucbrat* world map. This reveals the east Coast of South America ending in a sharp point. No southern (Antarctic) continent is pictured, although Waldseemüller’s 'Insule delle Pulzelle' can be seen mid-Atlantic.

“For many years, it was believed that Apian's map was the first map to use the name America, as well as the earliest to utilize the a truncated cordiform (heart shaped) projection. It was not until the discovery in 1901 of the sole surviving example of Waldseemuller's 12-sheet map of the World, published in 1507, that the true source of Apian's map was the Waldseemuller map, which is known in a single example... There is one significant improvement in Apian's map, the creation of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean which is not present in Waldseemuller's map of the world. The timing of the change corresponds to the departure of Ferdinand Magellan in search of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific and supports the theory that Magellan was aware of prior voyages of exploration which had reached the Pacific, which are not well documented in modern times.”

A manuscript globe is completed by Johann Schöner. Once again it depicts a cone-shaped South America with a strait between its southern point and the fabled southern continent. Mid-Atlantic islands revealed by Waldseemüller (1507), Schöner’s globe (1515) and Apian (1520) are shown again, albeit a little closer to Patagonia.

“The fact that certain islands are figured in Schöner's globes in the neighbourhood of the strait is of some interest. Whether they are or are not the Falklands it is difficult to say. In the 1520 globe they bear the text...”

that Portugal's João de Lisboa was with the expedition as a guide. cf. 1514 & 1525

135 Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan Sir Clements Markham 1911
137 Pascoe 2020 p.16 quoting *The Chart of Magellan* Marcel Destombes 1955
138 Three eminent cartographers and yet the atlas places the *Tropic of Cancer* in the wrong hemisphere (see 1522). Seibold (2015) suggests that the atlas was a political ruse designed as a denial of the existence of a western route to the Pacific Ocean. Sadly the page of the Atlas depicting the southern Atlantic is now missing or, perhaps, never completed. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1519-miller-atlas-by-lopo-homen-portugual-e1548373441250.jpg
140 Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique maps Inc. Rather more like Schöner's globes than Waldseemuller's works.
141 The *Insule delle Pulzelle*. Continental drift? See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/sch%C3%B6ner-1853-representation.jpg
"Ins. delle Pidzelle." That Davis, for whom the honour of the discovery of the Falkland Islands is claimed, should have called them the Virgin's Land, if a coincidence, is at least a curious one." 143

**January 16**th, Magellan's expedition reaches the Rio de la Plata on its journey south.

"This place was formerly called the Cape of St. Mary, and it was thought there that from thence there was a passage to the Sea of Sur; that is to say, the South Sea. And it is not found that any ship has ever discovered anything more, having passed beyond the said cape. And now it is no longer a cape, but it is a river which has a mouth seventeen leagues in width, by which it enters into the sea. In past time, in this river, these great men named Canibali ate a Spanish captain, named John de Sola, and sixty men who had gone to discover land, as we were doing, and trusted too much to them." 144

"... they found that they had got into a great river of fresh water, to which they gave the name of river of St. Christopher, and it is in thirty-four degrees, and they remained in it till the 2nd of February, 1520." 145

**February 2**nd, Magellan continues south.

**February 24**th, the Spanish expedition explores the Gulf of San Matias.

**February 27**th, Francisco Albo (Alvaro) sees a bay. 146

"On the 27th I took the sun in 50½°, and it had 4½° declination, and so our altitude came to be 44°; and here to the right hand we found a bay, and three leagues before it there are two rocks, and they lie East and West with the said bay, and further on we found another (bay), and there were in it many sea wolves, of which we caught eight, and on this land there are no people, but it is very good land, with pretty plains without trees, and very flat country." 147

"They navigated ... along the coast until they reached another bay, where they caught many sea-wolves and birds; to this they gave the name of "Bahia dos Trabalhos" it is in thirty-seven degrees (sic); here they were near losing the flag-ship in a storm." 148

"The two islands, ... were in a bay, named by Albo "Baia de los Patos" (Bay of ducks) and by the Genoese pilot "Baia de los Trabalhos" (Bay of Sea Wolves); perhaps the Rio Deseado, in 47º 40' S off which an island is still named I. Pinguino." 149

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142 Island of the Maidens.
143 Guillemand 1891 p.195
145 *Navigation and Voyage which Fernando de Magalhães made from Seville to Maluco in the year 1519 (by a Genoese Pilot)* in Stanley 1874. This mouth of the Rio de la Plata extends from latitude 34° 58' S to 36° 35' S.
147 *Extracts from a Derrotero or Log-Book of the Voyage of Fernando de Magallanes ...1519* in Stanley 1874. Identified as the log book of Francisco Albo (Alvaro); the given year is that of the log's commencement.
148 *Navigation and Voyage which Fernando de Magalhães made from Seville to Maluco in the year 1519 (by a Genoese Pilot)*1874. The southern shore of the Rio de la Plata is at 37º5 S so this latitude appears to be wrong. However, the discrepancies may have been faults of transcription rather than navigation as they occur in the narrative after the expedition left the Rio de la Plata and encountered a storm. A similar error may have occurred with the name, as Stanley (1874) notes that Trabalhos is Portuguese for work or labour, while Lobas is wolves.
149 Footnote to *Magellan's Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta* Yale University 1969 edition. Puerto Deseado (Port Desire) received its name in 1586 from English Captain Thomas Cavendish. The entrance to the Deseado River lies at 47º 45'S. The islands group which carries the name Pinguino are a few miles farther south at 47º 54'.
“... the Jason Islands, seem to have been identified, as early as March 1520, by one of the ships of Magellan’s fleet, under the name of “islands of ducks” or of Sanson (Ylas de Sanson y de Patos).” 150

# Researcher’s Comment: This small group of inshore islands visited by Magellan, Pigafetta, and Gomes in 1520 would also be seen by Loaisa and de Acuna in 1526. They first appear on a chart of 1522 as red dots but would become a regular feature of maps of South America after 1526. Most often seen as red and blue dots with the names Patos and/or Sanson. The group actually consists of five islands (Isla Pingüino, Isla Chata, Isla Blanca, Los Gemelos and Isla Castillo) and some rocks. 151

Connected to this mini-archipelago are many examples of those ‘wild theories’ mentioned before. Some of these are considered in 1522, 1540, 1560 and 1586 below. Believed to represent the Falklands on maps of the 16th century, this group is 5 degrees of latitude (300 miles) too far north and far too close to the South American coast.

Magellan’s ships anchor to take on supplies.

“... two islands full of geese and goslings and sea wolves. The great number of these goslings there were cannot be estimated, for we loaded all the ships with them in an hour. And these goslings are black and have feathers over their whole body of the same size and fashion, and they do not fly, and they live on fish. And they were so fat that we did not pluck them but skinned them, and they have a beak like a crows.” 152

**March 31st**, Magellan stops at a natural port on the Patagonian coast (San Julian) to refit, refresh and sit out the coming austral winter. San Antonio requires major repair work. 153

“... we reach the Antarctic up to 49 degrees. Since the winter the ships entered a good port for over-wintering.” 154

“Those who inhabit that land where Fernam (sic) de Magellan found the strait, are men of large bodies, almost giants, covered with skins of beasts. The land is sterile and of no value. Here Fernam de Magellan stayed six months, especially in the port of St. Julian which is by 50 degrees. There, Indians came on board, and having tasted the bread and wine that was given to them, manifested abhorrence for the same. No houses were seen. They live in the open air. There are many ostriches. The Indians use arrows. Some of the Indians came on board, and asked to be carried [away, and] they died afterwards at sea...” 155

“On Friday the 11th of January (1619), a little after noon, we arrived at the entrance of the bay of St. Julian... Coming from the north and seeking it from a distance, when three or four islets are in sight, it is no other than the bay of San Julian. For these islets are seen at a distance, and on reaching them they are seen to shut out the land to the S.W., one with the other.” 156

150 Découverte Fortuite de l’Australie et de la Nouvelle-Zélande par des Navigateurs Portugais et Espagnols entre 1521 et 1528 Roger Hervé 1982 p.41. There is no record of any ship leaving the fleet in March, 1520.


152 Magellan’s Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta Yale University 1969 edition. My emphasis. Never having seen a penguin before, gosling was, perhaps, the nearest description available to Pigafetta whose account of Magellan’s expedition is widely considered accurate, in general terms, whilst not in detail. cf. 1526 & 1527

153 The fleet remained for nearly five months in conditions that fuelled a mutiny. Viciously suppressed by Magellan. In need of extensive repairs, there is no record of San Antonio leaving the fleet during this time. Santiago was lost in a storm while surveying San Julian.


155 Noted by Diego Ribero on his world map of 1529. Cited by Siebold 2015.

156 Narrative of the Voyage ... (of) the Captains Bartolome Garcia de Nodal and Gonzalo de Nodal... for the discovery of
“The expedition of Magallanes of 1520, is considered by some historians, as the discoverer of the Malvinas Islands. Confirmed by the subsequent cartography, especially in the Planispheres of Diego de Ribero, 1527...”

In May, Magellan’s ships continue to sit out the winter in the shelter of Puerto San Julian with the crews becoming disenchanted.

“Part of the fleet then mutinied. Pigafetta says that the ring-leaders were killed or put ashore in Patagonia before the fleet sailed into the Pacific. No part of his narrative indicates that any of Magellan's ships sailed eastwards towards the Falklands, or that any mutineers escaped with a ship which passed the islands on its way back to Europe.”

August 24th, Magellan’s fleet sets out once more. On encountering bad weather they shelter in a river mouth.

“The Falkland Islands were not discovered by the expeditions of Amerigo Vespucci (1502) or Ferdinand Magellan (1520) – neither went anywhere near the Falklands.”

October 21st, Magellan's ships finally arrive at what the lack of fresh water suggests may be the predicted strait.

“On the whole, then, the balance of evidence is in favour of a more or less inexact knowledge of the existence of some antarctic break in the vast barrier which America opposed to a western passage. No less indefinite statement can be made with any certainty. It is indeed possible that the wish was father to the thought, and that the explorers of those days, having tried Central and Northern America in vain, and feeling that the land to the south of the Terra Sanctae Crucis alone offered them a chance, eventually persuaded themselves into a belief in the real existence of the object of their desire. There were reasonable arguments in favour of it also. The fact that the southern part of the continent ever trended to the west, that the vast mass of Africa terminated in a cape, appeared of no little import to navigators at the beginning of the sixteenth century.”

November 1st, an advance party of two ships enters the mouth of the strait.

“...After going and taking the course to the fifty-second degree of the said Antarctic sky, on the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, we found, by a miracle, a strait which we called the Cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, this strait is a hundred and ten leagues long, which are four hundred and forty miles, and almost as wide as less than half a league, and it issues in another sea, which is called the peaceful sea;...”

“This strait was a circular place surrounded by mountains (as I have said), and to most of those in the ships it seemed that there was no way out from it to enter the said Pacific Sea. But the captain-general said that there was another strait which led out, saying that he knew it well and had seen it in a marine...”

the new Strait of San Vincente (which today is called Le Maire) and reconnaissance of that of Magellan 1766 in Markham 1911 pp.229-230. It has been suggested that the two islands depicted by Pigafetta in one of his charts are actually the spur of land that forms the outer arm of St. Julian bay. Appearing from a distance to be islets. The Nodal brothers’ observations date from 1619. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1522-pigafetta-italian-south-is-at-top.png

157 Destefani 1982 (2) p.25. Initially a doubter, Destefani was persuaded by the thesis of Rolando Laguardo Trias, Uruguayan geographer, that the Magellan expedition had seen the Falklands’ archipelago.

158 For Pigafetta's maps see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1522-pigafetta-italian-south-is-at-top.png and https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/pigafetta-1.jpg

159 Cawley 2015. Francis Drake, who passed through San Julian on his own circumnavigation, reported that the gibbets were still there more than 50 years later. cf. 1578

160 Pascoe 2020 p.342

161 Guillemand 1891 p.197

162 Anthony Pigapheta, Patrician of Vicenza, and Knight of Rhodes, to the very illustrious and very excellent Lord Philip de Villiers Lisleaden, the famous Grand Master of Rhodes, his most respected Lord. Pigafetta would survive.
chart of the King of Portugal which a great pilot and sailor named Martin of Bohemia had made. The said captain sent forward two of his ships, one named Santo Antonio and the other Concepción, to seek and discover the outlet of the said strait."

November 20th, feeling his way through the uncharted strait, Magellan sends San Antonio and Concepción to explore one possible way forward while he searches another in Trinidad.

“The land on the left in the said strait faced towards the Siroco, which is the wind between east and south. And we called it the Pathagonico strait. In it we found at every half league a good port, and anchorage, good water, and wood all of cedar, and fish also like sardines.”

“Now this straight, ... betwene two landes, named in Greke Istmas, a straight or a pointe of lande betwene two waters, as that of Daryen confineth America toward the South, and there seperateth with an other land discouered but not inhabited, even as Gebaltar doeth Europe with Africa, and that of Constantinople doeth Europe with Asia, being named the straight of Magellan, by his name that first dyd discouer it, lyeng fifty two degrées and a halfe beyonde the Equinoctiall, containinge of bređth, two leagues by one only height straight East and West, two thousand two hundreth leagues from the North to the South, furthermore, from the Caape of Essead, which is at the entring of the straight, vnto the other South Sea seventy foure leagues, untill the first Caape or Promentary, which is fortie degrées. ... In this Region betwene the Riuer of Platte, and this straight, the inhabitaunts are very mightie, named in their language Pategones, Giants, because of their high stature, & forme of bodies. They which first discouered this countrey, tooke one of them finely, being twelve foote long, who was so vneasie to holde, that 25 men had inough to doe about him, and for to kepe him it behoued them to bynde his féete and hands in their shippe, notwithstanding they could not kepe him long aliue, but for sorow & thought (as they saye) he died for hunger. ... In this straight are many fair Ilands, but not inhabited, the country about is very baren: ful of hilles and mountaines, and there is founde nothing but rauishyng beasts, birdes of diuers kindes, chiefly Estriges, woodde of diuers sorts, Cedres, and others. Also an other kynde of trée bearing fruite almoste like a cherie, but muche more pleasant to eate. ... In the ende with good guide they came vnto Daryen from thence they entred in, and discovered the south sea, on the other coast or side of America, ... About this place of the west sea, ther are foure Ilands desert inhabited (as they say) onely with Satyres, therfore they have named them Ilands of Satyres. Likewise in this same sea are found ten Ilands named Manioles, inhabited with wilde men, the which are of no religion, ...”

Allowing Concepción to sail ahead, pilot Estevan Gomes (Estêvão Gomes) seizes control of San Antonio. He imprisons its captain and deserts Magellan’s expedition.

“According to Navarrete, the desertion of Magellan’s fleet by the ship S. Antonio, was caused by Esteban Gomez, a Portuguese pilot, who, from rivalry with Magellan, and envy at seeing others promoted instead of

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163 Magellan’s Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta Yale University 1969 edition
164 Ibid.
165 Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique André Thevet (Paris) 1557. Also as The New found vvorlde, or antarctike,... (London) 1568. This quote from the English translation. cf. 1557 & 1586
166 Chief pilot-cosmologer Andrés de San Martín had previously transferred from San Antonio to Victoria. It has been asserted by Uruguayan historian Rolando Laguarda Tria (Nave española descubre las Islas Malvinas en 1520 published 1983) that San Martín drew a map of the Falklands in 1520 although the foundation for this claim appears based upon comments by geographer and well-known eccentric Andre de Thevet (see 1586). San Martín did not survive the expedition although many of his papers may have ended up in the hands of the Portuguese in Lisbon (see 1522). The map referred to was actually drawn by Andre de Thevet in 1586. It was not published, but survived in Paris. See – https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/thevet-c-1586.jpg
himself, after the executions, got up a conspiracy on board the S. Antonio, and proposed to return to Spain. The mutineers put Alvaro de Mezquita in irons; they then went to the coast of Guinea, and thence to Spain.” 167

“... he conspired with certain Spaniards. And the following night they seized the captain of his ship, who was the captain-general's brother, and named Alvaro de Mesquita, whom they wounded and put in irons. And so they took it back to Spain. In this ship which went away was one of the aforesaid two giants whom we had taken, but when he felt the heat he died.” 168

On reaching the Atlantic, Gomes turns the ship for Spain.

“Ratto has supposed that Gomez, on leaving the Straits, bound for the Cape of Good Hope, discovered the Malvinas. This is not so; the documents of the hearings show that he did not set sail for the Cape but for the Guineas... Neither is anything said about the discovery of the islands in the testimony given by 53 members of his crew during the hearings.” 169

“Esteban Gomez, a deserter from Magellan’s expedition could have passed close by (the Falklands), but again his notes make no mention of a sighting.” 170

![Researcher's Comment: Magellan hugged the eastern coast of South America on his voyage south. Surviving accounts suggest that his ships rarely lost sight of it. Magellan could not have seen the Falklands some 250 nautical miles over the horizon. Not that of the expedition's survivors ever claimed he did so. Undeterred, some theorists reason that if not Magellan, then it must have been Gomes who sighted the archipelago. After deserting the expedition. If such was the case, Gomes failed to report it. It seems far more likely that Gomes re-visited the Patos islands on his way back north – if only to stock up on a supply of 'gosling' meat.](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1522-pigafetta-italian-south-is-at-top.png)

November 28th, Magellan's expedition passes out of the western mouth of the strait into a calm sea that he names Mar Pacifico. 172

“The only Discovery then, which the Spaniards can claim here, is the Discovery of the Strait of Magellan, the Portuguese having discovered the East Coast of Patagonia, long before Magellan’s voyage, and the English having completed the Discovery!..” 173

“Magellan’s discovery of the three hundred and thirty miles of tortuous strait between Tierra del Fuego and the tip of South America was the high point of this epic journey. ...” 174

“It must however be stressed that the discovered straits had not the slightest resemblance to the hypothetical straits of the earlier maps: these spoke of a wide water lane, similar to that of Gibraltar where the opposite shore could just be discerned; the actual straits are, as is known, of the nature of fjords – they are narrow and are flanked by high banks on either side.” 175

167 Stanley 1874
168 Magellan’s Voyage:... by Antonio Pigafetta Yale University 1969 edition
169 Destefani 1982. Ratto is Héctor Ratto who published a paper under the pen name, Doserres, in 1928 entitled "Bordejeando, trabajo de vulgarización sobre los descubrimientos, exploraciones, y levantamientos de las costas patagónicas. 'Hearings' are a reference to the Valladolid enquiry that followed the return of the 18 survivors in 1522.
170 Bullrich 2000 p.51
171 However, see 1522
172 Magellan led the expedition across the Pacific Ocean as far as the Philippines, where he was killed. The survivors continued their circumnavigation under the leadership of Juan Sebastián Elcano (del Cano). cf. September, 1522 For Pigafetta's map see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1522-pigafetta-italian-south-is-at-top.png
173 Dalrymple 1790
175 Siebold 2015. The Le Maire strait is rather more like that found between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.
1521 — April 27th, Ferdinand Magellan dies in the Philippines, along with his chief pilot-cosmologist, Andres de San Martin.

May 6th, San Antonio, under the command of Estêvão Gomes, arrives back in Seville, Spain. Gomes is arrested for desertion and imprisoned. 176

“Gomes and his comrades had, of course, a well-concocted story to hide their treachery. They complained that the flagship had failed at the rendezvous, and having searched for her in vain they had no alternative but to return to Spain. But they did not confine themselves to excuses. The gravest accusations were brought against Magellan – that he was guilty of great harshness and cruelty, that he sailed at random, and that he lost time and wasted the provisions by endless delays, and that all this was to no good end or profit whatsoever. … The result of the inquiry instituted by the India House, however, was such that Gomes and Guerra, together with two others more especially implicated in the mutiny, were also incarcerated.” 177

In the Pacific, the three surviving ships of Magellan's expedition are reduced to two when Concepcion is destroyed by fire. Trinidad and Victoria continue on to the Spice islands (Moluccas).

December 21st, Victoria under the command of Elcano (del Cano) sails for Spain. Trinidad remains in the Spice Islands to undertake repairs.

1522 — imprisonment does not release Estêvão Gomes from his obligation to inform the Casa de Contratacion of all that has been discovered during San Antonio’s voyage.

In Seville an existing chart has all the information that Gomes can provide added to it. 178

“... there are strong presumptions to believe that the map of the Top Kapu (sic) is an original map made by Pedro Reinel for the Magellan expedition in 1519 and retouched by him in 1522. … The strait of Magellan is not represented, but we see in its place a large anonymous bay near ‘Cavo San Antonio’ which recalls the name of Gomez's ship. 179 ... Thus, one can accept that this map was made between 1522 and 1524 by Pedro Reinel for presentation at the conferences of Badajos.” 180

The eastern coast of Patagonia is extended below the known features of Brazil to a great southern bay containing an island. To the east of which sits another large island. 181 Written along the uncompleted west coast are the words - 'Land discovered by Fernado de Magalhaes.' 182

“I believe the map to be a copy, made by Pedro Reinel himself between 1522 and 1524, of a previous map, also drawn by him in 1519, in which the Moluccas were placed outside of the Portuguese hemisphere in view of Magellan's expedition round the world. … It is the first map in date to give a fairly good representation of the...”

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176 It seems unlikely that Gomes's imprisonment involved dungeons and chains. His cartographic skills were an important resource, the more so as no news of Magellan's fate had reached Spain. Gomes, and his reputation, were restored during the Valladolid hearings. See Note on the Castiglioni planisphere Armando Cortesao in Imago Mvndi vol.11 (1954)

177 Guillemard 1891 p.216

178 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/hazine-map-no.-1825-in-topkapi-palace-istanbul-attributed-to-jorge-reinel.jpg

179 The words ‘Cavo San Antonio’ referred to by Destombes, eludes this researchers eyes.

180 L'Hemisphere Austral en 1524: Une carte de Pedro Reinel a Istanbul Marcel Destombes 1938 in Marcel Destombes (1905-1983) Selected Contributions to the History of Cartography and Scientific Instruments Gunter Schilder, Peter van der Krogt & Steven de Clercq (eds) 1987. One interesting anomaly is the presence of the Tropic of Cancer in the wrong hemisphere – an error that also appears in the Miller Atlas of 1519, with which Pedro and Jorge Reinel are also associated. Destombes' rejection of Gomes as the cartographer appears laboured.

181 Just above a hole in the parchment. Some Photographs do not make this clear. See also 1646.

182 This chart employs a terrestrial azimuthal equidistant or Postel projection centred on the South Pole. A remarkably early example in fact although this does not appear to have been questioned.
austral hemisphere, it is the only Portuguese chart known between 1520 and 1530, it contains the original record of the discovery of South America by Magellan...” 183

“Later cartographers presumably copied Waldseemüller's data. For example, the Circulus Antarcticus, drawn by the Portuguese cartographer Pedro Reinel and dated to [1522], shows unnamed islands in the approximate position of the Falklands. No record has been found of other voyages in the area whose journals could have provided the basis for new information, apart from Magellan's expedition the survivors from which only returned to Spain in September 1522. The most likely explanation is that Reinel but simply repositioned the "Insule delle Pulzelle"...” 184

“According to Destombes, this image is the work of the Lusitanian cartographers Pedro and Jorge Reinel, who in 1519 could have participated in the construction of the instruments and navigation charts for the Magallanes fleet. This, however, is unlikely. ... The Chart of Magellan is conserved in the Topkapi Palace Library of Istanbul, and in it, while the north coast of the Strait is clearly delineated, the southern band is indicated with a group of islands (sic). Beyond these lies a Southern Sea that – like the Greek and biblical oceanus – completely covers the Antarctic Region. ... Southern Patagonia, the Strait itself, the Archipelago of Tierra del Fuego and the Islands of Cape Horn, the Southern Sea and the American sector of Antarctica. All these entities were represented for the first time in the Chart of Magallanes of circa 1523.” 185

184 Cawley 2015. Waldseemüller had depicted the Insule delle Pulzelle mid-Atlantic. See above.
185 The first representation of the Strait of Magellan Region Jorge Guzmán 2017
“The (Falkland) islands have been included on maps and pilot books since 1502 (among others, ... the map of Pedro Reinel, 1522).” 186

“... my vote goes to Gomes sighting the Jason Islands, but not the Falklands proper, after leaving Magellan, based upon my interpretation of Iberian cartography.” 187

# Researcher’s Comment: Unsigned, undated and not widely examined, this chart was found in 1935 at the Topkapi Saray Library in Istanbul.188

In a brief description published in 1938 for the International Geographical Conference, French amateur Marcel Destombes called it the Chart of Magellan. He attributed the map to Pedro Reinel on the basis of a limited handwriting sample and without any sample from Gomes. Destombes hypothesised that the map had been started in 1519 by a Portuguese cartographer and then updated in 1522, by the same hand. Portuguese cartographer Pedro Reinel and Portuguese pilot Estêvão Gomes were both present in Seville in 1519. Reinel, however, was not there in 1522.

On his return in 1521, Gomes would have been debriefed at the Casa de Contratacion in Seville. Required to give details of all the discoveries during his voyage. This chart clearly shows Brazil as it was known to the Portuguese before 1519. Then the east coast of Patagonia as discovered by Magellan’s expedition up until Gomes’s desertion. Nothing on this chart relates to Magellan or Elcano’s experiences in crossing the Pacific Ocean. That revealed here is limited to those discoveries known to Gomes. That dates the chart to before the return of Elcano in 1522.

At the tip of the south cone is a large bay generally acknowledged to be San Julian. The bay where Magellan, Gomes and the fleet overwintered in 1520. If that supposition is correct, the large but incomplete island to the east is most likely a mispositioned Tierra del Fuego. Simply because Gomes had explored part of a strait and a strait has two sides. Destombes, however, believed the island represented a sighting of the Falklands archipelago by Vespucci in 1502. However, if the experts are wrong and the large bay with its central island is not San Julian then it can only represent the strait itself. Or, at least as much of it as Gomes explored. He never saw the western mouth. In such a case the island to the east may well represent an early sighting of the archipelago, although its subsequent absence from Seville charts after 1522 is hard to explain.

Wild theories aside, and far more worthy of note, is the inclusion of six unidentified red dots close to the Patagonian coast.189 This would seem to be the first depiction of the Patos/Sanson group situated at latitude 47°54’S visited in 1520 by Magellan, Pigafetta and Gomes. Hard to miss by any vessel hugging the Patagonian coast.

September 6th, the 18 survivors of Magellan’s expedition on Victoria, led by Juan Sebastian Elcano (del Cano), arrive back at Sanlúcar de Barrameda in Spain. Two days later they reach Seville. 190

186 Kohen & Rodriguez 2017 p.17
187 Gregory McIntosh, cartographic researcher at the University of Lisbon. Message to this researcher on August 24, 2019.
188 Istanbul’s authorities are unable to shed any light on the question of how this chart came to be there. See Autor du Globe? La carte Hazine no.1825 de la bibliothèque du Palais de Topkapi, Istanbul Dejanirah Couto 2013. Hazine 1825 is a reference number associated with this chart. Topkapi library numbers 1827 & 1828 have also been noted. See Manuscript maps in the Topkapi Saray Library, Instanbul E. H. van de Wall 1969.
190 See Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan Clements Markham 1911 p.19. Thirteen more survivors had been abandoned in the Cape Verde Islands during an escape from Portuguese authorities. They were eventually returned via Lisbon, as were four others from the Trinidad. In her hold, on arrival, Victoria had 381 sacks of cloves from the disputed Spice Islands (Moluccas). The value of this cargo was far more than the cost of the original five ships fitted out in 1519. Although Magellan was never given the credit he deserved by Spain or Portugal, as both considered him a traitor, the expedition had actually turned a profit for its investors.

33
“Having come unto Sanlúcar de Barrameda on 6 September 1522, the ship Victoria under the command of Juan Sebastian de Elcano, we learned in Spain the events of the expedition of Magellan,...” 191

“... soul breaking hardships and great dangers... reduced a company of two hundred and forty adventurers to a mere eighteen, among them a ship’s boy. Four natives of the Moluccas, last remnant of thirteen stolen people of the East, were also carried to Spain by the stout little Vittoria, the first ship to circumnavigate the world.” 192

**October 21st**, Trinidad is captured by Portuguese forces at the Spice Islands.193

“When the Portuguese captured Magellan’s flagship Trinidad at Ternate in the Moluccas on 21 October 1522 after Magellan’s death, they seized the papers of the expedition’s cartographer Andrés de San Martín, who had already died.” 194

In Spain, the Magellan expedition survivors are interviewed. Some are required to give evidence to a tribunal of inquiry at the Valladolid Court of Emperor Charles V. One of the survivors, Antonio Pigafetta, provides a summary of his account. 195 The criticisms of Magellan reported by Gomes on his return are reinforced by Elcano and others. Gomes is released from confinement and his reputation reinstated.

“Many details of Magellan’s discovery and circumnavigation came from one original source, the journal kept with diligence during three years, 1519 to 1522 ... by an Italian scholar, Antonio Pigafetta, Knight of Rhodes, formerly assistant to His Excellency the Roman Ambassador of King Charles I of Spain.” 196

“... nothing is mentioned of such a discovery (the Falklands) in the famous Diaries of Antonio de Pigafeta, ..., nor in what is related by Maxiliano de Taancilvano, which can be found in the “Collection of Documents” in Navarrete’s and other editions. They are the only complete and contemporary accounts of the voyage.” 197

“Journals of the voyage were written by Antonio Pigafetta and Francisco Albo (from Brazil to the Strait only), and Maximilian of Transylvania interviewed the surviving crew of the Victoria after their return to Spain and wrote the first published account. None of those authors mentions any islands anywhere near the Falklands.”198

A map of the world by Lorenz Fries of Strasbourg is published. Next to the tip of South America is the drawing of a bird – a duck. 199

191 Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los espanoles desde fines del Siglo XV,... By order of His Majesty Martin Fernandez de Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.5
192 Riesenber 1950 p.8
193 One of those taken prisoner was Ginés de Mafra who had in his custody the navigational notes, papers and charts of deceased cosmologer Andrés de San Martin. These papers found their way to Lisbon in 1526 where the charts were stored. Then transferred to Madrid sometime after 1580. The archive is now lost. Studied by notable historians, including Spain’s Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas. There is no evidence that any of the papers or charts included an island group similar to that drawn by Andre Thevet for his unpublished work of 1586 (see below).
194 Pascoe 2020 p.16
195 Pigafetta was not required to give evidence to the Valladolid inquiry. As a supporter of Magellan, he may actually have been excluded. He did travel to the palace at Valladolid and present Charles V with a copy of his diary. Pigafetta returned to Italy where prepared his account for publication (Relazione del primo viaggio intorno al mondo) between 1523 and 1524. More than one version survives. Magellan’s Voyage.... by Antonio Pigafetta Yale University 1969 edition being taken from one of three in French (a fourth was in Venetian Italian). Small discrepancies exist between the versions. Pigafeta, who had no assigned duties on the voyage and appears to have acted only as an observer, was no cartographer. His account suffers for it. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1522-pigafetta-italian-south-is-at-top.png & https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/pigafetta-1.jpg
196 Riesenber 1950 p.5
198 Pascoe 2020 p.18 fn.2
199 As Magellan was reputed to have given the name of Patos (duck) to an inshore island, the image is intriguing. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1522-lorenz-fries-strassburg.jpg
1523 — a world map by Juan (Giovanni) Vespucci is completed in Seville where he works as a cartographer and cosmographer. 200

“The Geocarta Nautica Universale [Great Universal Maritime Chart], as defined in the recording inventory, is the first known map, drawn before the Junta de Badajoz (before 1524), which takes into account the results of the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan’s expedition (1522).” 201

Another globe by Johann Schöner depicts South America and the Strait but, unlike his globes of 1515 and 1520, does not include Waldseemuller’s Insule delle Pulzelle to the east of the strait. 202

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1524 — a conference is held at Badajoz in Spain to consider outstanding issues between Spain and Portugal arising from the 1494 Tordesillas agreement. Delegates from Spain and Portugal attend, together with notable cartographers in an advisory capacity. 203 Spain and Portugal sign the Treaty of Vitoria.

“In the year 1493, when the feverish rivalry in distant navigation was at its height between the Castilians and the Portuguese, Pope Alexander fixed a meridian circle distant 100 leucae from any of the Cape Verde Islands, or from any of the Azores, to mark off for each faction its rights in navigation and conquest, allotting the

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200 Geocarta Nautica Universale. Juan Vespucci was Amerigo’s nephew and the beneficiary of his uncle's work and charts. He would go on to inherit his uncle's position at the Casa de Contratación in Seville, although whether he was working for them in 1523 is unclear. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1523-geocarta-nautica-universale-by-giovanni-juan-vespucci-spaindetail.png
201 Siebold 2015 #333.1
202 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1523-schoen.jpg
203 The conference broke up after a month, without resolution, but see April, 1529.
western hemisphere to the Castilians, the eastern to the Portuguese. This boundary, however, was set aside by both factions on account of the disputes that arose, and in 1524 there was established as their common boundary the meridian distant 370 leucae to the west of San Antonio, the westernmost of the Gorgades.”

Seville’s Casa de Contratacion comes under the control of a new Royal Council – the Consejo de Indias.

“... but the state dependency acted as a drag and the excessive bureaucracy decreased its effectiveness.”

**September 24th**, Estêvão Gomes sails from A Coruña in northern Spain for North America. An expedition financed by Emperor Charles to seek a north-west passage through to the Pacific Ocean.

**1525 — July 24th**, a second Spanish expedition seeking a western route to the Spice Islands sails from the port of Coruña. 450 Spaniards are under the command of Garcia Jofre de Loaisa (Loaysa) in his flagship Santa María de la Vittoria. Magellan expedition survivor, Juan Sebastián Elcano (del Cano), is second in command. The rest of the fleet consists of Santi-Spiritus, Santa María de Parral (Jorge Manrique de Najera), San Lesmes (Francisco de Hoyas), Anunciada (Pedro de Vera) and San Gabriel (Rodrigo de Acuña).

**August 21st**, the failed expedition to North America, led by Estêvão Gomes, returns to Spain.
Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (Carlos I of Spain) orders a planisphere to be copied from the *Padrón Real*. This is intended as a gift for Cardinal Salviati, a papal nuncio to Spain. 208

“Based upon the style and decoration employed on this map, it is thought by some scholars to be the work of Nuno Garcia de Toreno, once the head of the Casa de la Contratacion, the ministry in Seville that was responsible for all of the commercial and scientific matters relating to the new discoveries... It will be noticed that there are considerable similarities between this map and a planisphere in the Archivio Marchesi Castiglioni in Mantua produced in 1525 by the Portuguese cartographer Diogo Ribero, de Toreno’s successor in the Casa de la Contratacion” 209

A second planisphere is also ordered by the Emperor; intended as a gift to Count Baldassare Castiglioni, ambassador of Pope Clement VIII. 210

**December 28**th, somewhat behind the rest of Loaisa’s fleet, *San Gabriel* arrives at the Rio de la Plata. 211

**1526 – January 10**th, Loaisa passes Cabo Blanco.

“... from this Cabo Blanco to the south-west there is another cape that looks like three islands, the one in the middle small, and the two larger:..., and this day the sun was sunk on the right side of three islands at 47 degrees...” 212

“On the 11th they did not move because they were becalmed from the previous night ... around this time they were near a small island, which in the middle had a ravine (making) look like two islands because in the centre the land was flat; from this island to the coast was almost a league to Cabo Blanco and to the one of the previous day... From the dawn they made a course to the WSW to approach the land; at ten they found a dry one that was EW with the island of Los Patos, five leagues distant from it, barren and flat...” 213

**January 24**th, the Loaisa expedition reaches the entrance to Magellan’s Strait where the ships anchor. 214

During the night they are beset by a storm which beaches the *Sancti Spiritus*.

“The wind continued to increase in violence, and the ship of Juan Sebastian del Cano, where I was, drove broadside onto the beach. In reaching the land nine men lost their lives and the rest were half drowned.” 215

208 Papal nuncio to Spain between 1525 & 1530, the work is now known as the Salviati Planisphere.
209 Siebold 2015 #336
210 Ambassador from 1524 to his death in 1529. Variously dated from 1525 to 1527, the Planisphero de Castiglioni does show a small group of inshore islands to the east of the Patagonian coast. cf. 1527
211 Relacion de Francisco Davila: sobresaliente de la nao S. Gabriel, asi de la navegacion de Loaisa desde la Coruna hasta el estrecho de Magallanes,... in Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los espanoles desde fines del Siglo XV... By order of His Majesty Martin Fernandez de Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.225.
212 Pilot of the voyage and navigation of the Loaisa armada from its departure from La Coruña until June 1, 1526; events of the Nao Victoria after being separated from the fleet; and description of the coasts and seas where she went: everything to the King by Hernando de la Torre in Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los espanoles desde fines del Siglo XV... By order of His Majesty in Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.255. This log appears to have been written up by Hernando de la Torres in 1528, before his return to Spain, and formed part of the documentation collected for de Acuña’s trial in 1537. The islands described here, however, seem likely to be those that Gomes and Pigafetta described and which came to be named *Patos/Sanson*. Gomes had reported 6 islands; Pigafetta two. By this account – three. cf. 1520 & 1522
213 Martin Fernandez de Navarrete 1837 vol.5 pp.19-20
214 Ibid. p.259
215 Narrative of the Voyage to the Malucos or Spice Islands by the fleet commanded by the Comendador Garcia Jofre de Loaysa written by the Captain Andrew de Urdaneta in Markham 1911 p.44
January 25th, with Sancti Spiritus breaking up, the other ships seek shelter within the Strait.

February 11th, storms return and Anunciada is driven out to sea; not to be seen again. Santa Maria de la Victoria suffers extensive damage. San Lesmes (Francisco de Hoces) is driven south.

“... Francisco de Hozes (Hoyas) was driven out of the strait to the south as far as 55S. They said when they returned, that they saw (what) appeared to be the end of the land.” 216

February 12th, Loaisa orders Rodrigo de Acuña in San Gabriel to rescue a lost boat.

“... the Captain ordered Don Rodrigo de Acuña to go back to where the pinnace was, and to recover his boat, for it was fine weather. He was to tell the captain of the pinnace that we were going to Santa Cruz, and to go for the boat with as much despatch as possible. Don Rodrigo answered the Captain General that if he returned in such weather he would be lost. The Captain General replied that it was necessary to return to recover the boat, because boats were much needed. Don Rodrigo then asked the Captain General why he was ordered to go where he did not want to go. However he went and took the boat, which was handed over to him by the captain of the pinnace. He then went where he chose, for we never saw him again.” 217

San Gabriel sails out into the Atlantic and turns north towards the Santa Cruz river. 218

“D. Rodrigo waited another two days to enter the river, and not being able to get in, he decided to go (up) the coast. Many times there was wind to return to the Santa Cruz River; but he wanted to look for water, and he went to the bay of Los Patos that was at 27º 30', where he took water and other refreshments.” 219

April 3rd, four Spanish ships sail from St. Lucar at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River. Led by Sebastian Cabot the expedition is bound for Magellan's Strait and the Spice Islands of the Pacific. 220

216 Narrative ... by the Captain Andrew de Urdaneta in Markham 1911 p.46. There may have been a sighting of Cape Horn (not otherwise discovered until 1616) but San Lesmes did manage to rejoin the fleet. Lost later in the Pacific Ocean.

217 Ibid.

218 The other ships arrived at the Santa Cruz river two days later to find no sign of San Gabriel. Accounts differ somewhat. Loaisa considered de Acuña's action as a desertion in light of his failure to rejoin the fleet. In 1537, after the last of the survivors reached Spain, de Acuña would be tried for deserting Loaisa. The papers, very difficult to read, can be found in the Spanish Archive at ES.41091.AGI/29//Patronato,38,R.7

219 Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.167. The account of Francisco Devila suggests that de Acuña was unable to get into the Santa Cruz river due to adverse winds and had no choice but to continue sailing north in search of fresh water. However, this may have been a story contrived by de Acuña and his fellow conspirators to explain their desertion. The Santa Cruz river lies at 50º 07' S, while latitude 27º S is some 1,380 some miles further north. By any measure that is a long way to go for fresh water and would involve ignoring the Deseado River and the Rio de la Plata. This is the point from which the latitudes provided (or as transcribed) confusingly depart from the probable. Cabo Blanco lies at 47º 12' S and it is known from other Loaisa expedition accounts that islands had been seen to the south of that feature at around 48º S. This fits with the islands described by Pigafetta and which the Yale University scholars (1969) believed to be at 47º 40' S. The distance between the Santa Cruz and Pigafetta's Bay of Patos is two degrees of latitude (120 miles). It seems likely that the latitude figures as transcribed for Navarrette's work 300 years later were misread and 47º became 27º. That said, it cannot be denied that Portuguese islands are also to be found around 28º S. According to Francisco Davila's story, whilst at these islands de Acuña received word of a group of 'Christians' – survivors of a previous expedition. It transpired that these were from the Juan Diaz de Solis 1516 expedition to the la Plata river; decimated by the local tribes.

220 At the time Cabot was Chief Pilot at the Casa de Contratación in Seville, and had to resign his position to do this. Cabot's investors, which included English cartographer Robert Thorne then resident at Seville, were interested only in the potential profits although Cabot may have had his own agenda. In any event he was distracted at the Rio de la Plata by rumours of Indian gold. He remained there until an inglorious return in 1530, without ever having seen the Pacific or made any discovery of note. There is no evidence that Cabot or any of his ships voyaged further south than the Silver River. Included here only because Cabot had been accompanied by two Englishmen – Roger Barlow and Henry Latimer (aka Patmer or Patimer). Both associates of Robert Thorne. They may have accompanied Cabot to keep an eye on
April 5th, Loaisa re-enters Magellan's Strait with his remaining ships. 221

“[.., Garcia de Loaiza, Knight of Malta at the service of Spain, undertook with a squad of seven ships, to follow the route of Magellan, and actually passed the Straits, but all his ships were lost on the trip, and he with the rest of his companions perished in the East Indies.” 222

In Seville, Juan (Giovanni) Vespucci finishes a world map. 223

Thorne's investment. In his book of 1557 (see below), geographer Andre Thevet stated that the first man to step on the southern shore of Magellan's Strait had been an English pilot – “Nowe as touchyng the other lande named Australl, which in costing ye straight is left on the left hand, is not yet known of christiā(n)s, but only of an English pylote, being a man as well scene & estemed in navigation as any that can be founde, who hauing passed this straight, shewed me that he had descended on the land.” Magellan had carried an English master-gunner but no English pilots. Drake did not get to those seas until 1577. Thevet, however, cannot be viewed as a reliable informant (see 1586). Another story suggests that Barlow returned to Spain in 1528 carrying news of Cabot's adventures but that Latimer arrived later, 1530 by some accounts. Accompanied by one Alonzo de Santa Cruz who had set out with Cabot in 1526. See Roger Barlow: A New Chapter in early Tudor Geography E.G.R. Taylor in The Geographical Journal vol.74 No.2 August 1929 pp.157-166. cf. 1557, 1560, 1575 & 1586

221 Pilot of the voyage and navigation of the Loaisa armada from its departure from La Coruña until June 1, 1526; events of the Nao Victoria after being separated from the fleet; and description of the coasts and seas where she went: everything to the King by Hernando de la Torre in Navarrete 1837 vol.5

222 Títulos de la República Argentina a la Soberanía y Posesión de las Islas Malvinas I. P. Areco 1885 p.15

A faint dotted line along the coast indicates the track of Magellan’s voyage south in 1519/20. The bay where Magellan's fleet over-wintered is identified with the words p. de san Juliano. At the strait are the words estrecho de santanton q descubrio hernando de magallanes por mandado de sus majestades (strait of sananton discovered by hernando de magallanes by command of their majesties).

“Juan (Vespucci) was a member of the council to improve existing charts and the Badajoz-Elvas Commission of 1524, which attempted to resolve Portuguese Spanish claims in the East Indies. During the same year that Vespucci produced this map, he was appointed Examiner of Pilots.”

# Researcher’s Comment: With Magellan dead, Pigafetta returned to Italy and Elcano gone, the only man – and cartographer – still in Seville who had travelled to the strait in 1519 was Gomes. Reinstated in 1523, his influence may perhaps be seen in this naming of the strait after his ship, San Antonio, by Juan Vespucci. Magellan’s reputation had been battered with the return of the expedition’s survivors, who accused him of disobeying the King’s instructions.

Ordered in late 1525 by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V as a gift for Count Baldassare Castiglioni, ambassador of Pope Clement VIII, a planisphere is completed at Seville's Casa de Contratación.

“In the Archivo Marchesi Castiglioni, in Mantua, there is an anonymous planisphere which has never been properly studied or wholly reproduced;... This Planisphere is a product of the Casa de Contratación, of Seville, and undoubtedly a copy of the Padrón...”

224 San Antonio (St. Anthony) is also the patron saint of lost things.
225 Siebold 2015 #338. It may be taken for granted that he had access to Spain's Padrón Real.
226 Now known as the Castiglioni or Mantua Planisphere, it is unsigned but generally attributed to Diogo Ribiero. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1527-c.-planisphero-de-castiglioni-by-diogo-ribero-spain.png
227 Note on the Castiglioni planisphere Armando Cortesao in Imago Mvndi vol.11 (1954). Hard to see, but there appears to be a group of seven dots located to the east of Patagonia.
May 26th, the remains of the Loaisa expedition – Santa Maria de la Victoria, Santa Maria de Parral, San Lesmes and Santiago – break out into the Pacific Ocean. In poor condition and with insufficient supplies to attempt a crossing, Santiago heads for Mexico. 228 The remainder press on. 229

At the Casa de Contratación in Seville, Hernando Colón conducts a review of the Padrón Real master chart. 230

1527 – May 28th, San Gabriel arrives back in Galicia. 231

June 4th, the crew of San Gabriel are interviewed with regard to what happened, what they saw and how they became separated from the main Loaisa fleet. 232

Following the interviews, cartographer Diego Ribeiro updates Spain’s master chart at the Casa de Contratación in Seville. 233 On the depiction of South America, and adjacent to the Patagonian coastline, Ribeiro pictures both a single island and an island group. Above the group is written y: de los patos, while below it is y· de s· fon. 234

“As royal cosmographer, it was Ribero’s duty to revise the padron real [padron general], the standard or official map, as new data was brought back by the pilots from their voyages of discovery. Therefore this map was the one that incorporated the most recent discoveries, corrections and revisions into one master map thereby providing the most accurate, continually updated delineation of the known world. ... No copy of this important padron real is now known to exist, although the Pilot Major was authorized to make and sell copies to all pilots, who were ordered to take them on their voyages. Ribero’s existing maps are the nearest example of what these copies of the official map probably looked like.” 235

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228 Santiago reached the coast of Tehuantepec in July 1526 and the crew were able to contact Spanish authorities. It is not clear what information was eventually sent back to Spain although news of their arrival undoubtedly was.

229 Santa Maria de Parral got as far as Mindanao where its captain was killed and most of the crew sold into slavery. Contact was lost with San Lesmes and its fate is unknown. Santa Maria de la Victoria, leaking badly, pressed on but by the end of August, 1526 both Loaisa and Elcano (del Cano) were dead. Toribio Alonso de Salazar took over and changed course for the Mariana Islands where they arrived on September 5, 1526. In October, 1526 and with Salazar also dead, the survivors reached the disputed Moluccas (Maluku Islands of eastern Indonesia). The famous Spice Islands. Those that managed to get ashore were stranded under Portuguese control. Eventually, when the Spanish-Portugal dispute had been resolved the survivors were transported back to Portugal; arriving in Spain a decade after they had left. Thus was completed the second and little-known Spanish circumnavigation of 1526 to 1536.

230 Sanz 2012. The resulting map was apparently well regarded for accuracy but is now lost.

231 Without Rodrigo de Acuña. It would seem that he finally returned to Spain around 1529. Those that got back would have had a legal obligation to report new sightings to the Casa de Contratación.

232 Relacion de Francisco Davila; sobresaliente de la nao S. Gabriel, asi de la navegacion de Loaisa desde la Coruna hasta el estrecho de Magallanes,... in Navarrete 1837 vol.5 p.225

233 From this year the Padrón Real would become known as the Padrón General. A copy of the 1527 chart is held by the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar. Ribeiro’s 1529 map is believed to be a copy. See below.

234 On Ribeiro’s 1527 chart the island Patos is depicted close to the coast between Cabo Blanco and San Julian. A little further out sit the group identified as S’fon (a derivative of San Anton?). This latter group, which first appeared on charts in 1522, are depicted some two degrees of latitude (120 miles) too far north; far too close to the South American continent and far too small to be the Falklands. Dr. Roberto Levillier (America, La Bien Llamada 1948 vol.2 p.195) suggested that the Sanson group could have been a representation of the islet and peninsula at the entrance to San Julian.

235 Siebold 2015 #346
June 10th, an expedition sponsored by England’s King Henry VIII and led by John Rut sails for North America in two ships – Mary Guilford and Samson. 236

In Seville, Robert Thorne prepares a world map destined as a present by the Emperor Charles to the British Ambassador. No islands are shown off the South American coast. 237

1528 – March 27th, Spain’s King Carlos I complains about English ships in the Caribbean.

“With respect to what you say of the English ship which anchored in the harbor of the city of Santo Domingo in that island [Hispaniola], I would have been much pleased had you taken and detained it, and had there not been such carelessness in this matter; for, as you will have learned, we are at war with the King of England, and even were we not it would have been well had you learned what voyage the ship was making and what she carried, and had not let the master and men of said ship go (as go they did), and after they had landed and visited the city and seen how it lies, and its harbour, inasmuch as they were from a foreign kingdom, and this was a thing not heretofore experienced in those parts. Nor can you exonerate yourselves in the matter; for there was great carelessness and negligence.” 238

236 Seeking the fabled North-west Passage, Samson was lost in a storm. The name a coincidence. Surely?
237 As this map was destined for an English recipient, perhaps the lack of detail was deliberate. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1527-robert-thorne.jpg
238 Charles I, King of Spain, to the Judges of the Audiencia of Hispaniola, 27 March 1528
1529 — cartographer Diego Ribeiro produces a further copy of the Padrón Real world map (above). 239 Adjacent to the Patagonian coast is pictured a single inshore island (in red) named y(sl)la. de los patos. Nearby, he shows a group of seven islands (five red, two blue). Above these is written y(sl)as defanfon. 240

“In Diego de Ribero’s charts of 1529, a group of islands appears which are named "Sanson." They are 8 or 9 islands which could be the Malvinas. Others which are called "de los Patos" are very close to the coast. The Sanson islands are quite a lot further North (49º S) than the Malvinas (51º S) and a little more than half the distance to the coast.” 241

239 A copy of this chart is owned by the Vatican Library in Rome. See also The Story of the Falkland Islands: Being an Account of their Discovery and Early History 1500-1842 William L. Allardyce 1909. Allardyce, who became Governor of the Falklands in 1904, conjectured that the name 'Sanson' derived from 'Ascension.'

240 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1529-diego-ribero-seville-detail.png

241 Destefani 1982
“There are two well known world maps signed by Ribero; one, produced in 1527 is in the Grand Ducal Library at Weimar; and the other, produced in 1529 is sometimes called the Propaganda, or Second Borgian map, formerly in the Museo Borgia of the Propaganda Fide, now in the Vatican Library at Rome. A third map, produced in 1532 and closely resembling the other two, but unsigned, known as the Wolfenbüttel map, as it is in the Wolfenbüttel Grand Ducal Library, is also believed to be the work of Ribero.”

April 22nd, Spain and Portugal agree the Treaty of Zaragoza. This creates a Tordesillas-style line from pole to pole, across the Pacific Ocean. This anti-meridian line is to be 297.5 leagues (17º) to the east of the clove-growing Moluccas. Also, Emperor Charles V settles his claims to the Spice Islands with Portugal.

1531 — mathematician and astronomer, Oronce Fine (Oronte Finaeus), chair of mathematics at the Royal College in France, produces a double-condiform map of the world. Antarctica is depicted as a large island separated from South America by Magellan's Strait. No islands are shown off the Patagonian coastline.

1533 — a map by Spanish cartographer Alonso de Chaves – Mundus Novis – features a single island close to the Patagonian coast named y de los patos and a group of one large, and seven small islands further offshore identified as ys de fanfon.

242 Siebold 2015 #346
243 Assigning much of western Australia to Portugal and part of Japan to Spain.
244 Finding a western route through to the Mollucas had been the primary objective of both Magellan and Laoysa.
245 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1531-oronce-fine-french.jpg
246 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1533-alonso-de-chaves-spanish-detail.png
1534 — Oronce Fine produces a heart shaped map of the world — *Recens et Integra Orbis Descriptio*. ²⁴⁷

**September 24th**, a Spanish expedition to the Strait of Magellan sails from the Bay of Cadiz. The expedition is in two ships — *La Madre de Dios* and *San Pedro* — commanded by Simon de Alcazaba who has a grant of territory in Patagonia.

1535 — **January 18th**, Alcazaba’s two ships enter the mouth of Magellan’s Strait. They see a high cross on a mast fixed to the ground with an inscription - “The year 1526.” ²⁴⁸

> “We went into the strait as far as the island of ducks which they said was a third part of the strait. Our boat went to that island and, in three or four hours, brought back more than 300 ducks. In truth they were a new kind. They were unable to fly, and were killed with sticks.” ²⁴⁹

**February 9th**, with winter due, Alcazaba retreats from the Strait and sails back up the Patagonian coast.

> “We... arrived at the bay near the Cape of San Domingo on the day of St Mathias the Apostle, entering a river between two mountains... It was named the Port of Lions. We were in this port from the 26th of February to the 9th of March, getting ready everything necessary for a march inland... The port was in 45°. Here, in this port, the Captain Simon de Alcazaba had himself sworn in as Governor.” ²⁵⁰

1536 — **February 2nd**, Pedro de Mendoza founds a settlement on the Rio de la Plata named *Ciudad de Nuestra Señora Santa María del Buen Ayre*. ²⁵¹

Following a period of chaotic management at the Casa de Contratacion in Seville, Suárez de Carvajal of the Council of the Indies inspects and organises changes.

> “After his stay in Seville issued a report that revealed a great lack of control in the cartography because "the pilots and sailors and masters, used in navigation from the Indies of drawn letters of various patterns in which there were many different and contrary things", and ordered a review in which he brought together for more than a year to a team of mapping experts Composed by the Cosmographers Santa Cruz, Chaves, Falero, Caboto, Diego Gutiérrez, and Pedro Medina. They used their own data, those that Hernando Colón had collected years ago and those contributed by numerous marine, but they did not reach an agreement, because there were strong discrepancies. The largest differences occurred between Caboto and Diego Gutiérrez, who were not in agreement with each other and also doubted of the works of Columbus.” ²⁵²

**November 6th**, Spain’s King, Carlos V, grants Don Gutierre de Vargas Carvajal, Bishop of Plasencia, an area of South America; “…from 36° South latitude to the Strait of Magellan, ... to colonize.” ²⁵³

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²⁴⁷ See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1534-oronce-fine.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1534-oronce-fine.jpg)
²⁴⁸ Presumably erected by the Laoysa expedition.
²⁴⁹ *Narrative of the Events which happened in the Fleet of Simon de Alcazaba* in Markham 1911 p.143
²⁵⁰ *Ibid.* pp143-144. Faced with the harsh climate and terrain of Patagonia, Alcazaba’s crews mutinied and Alcazaba murdered. Order was eventually restored and the mutineer leaders executed. Others were marooned. My purpose in including this is the relevance of the latitude and the name of those islands previously encountered by Magellan, Laoysa and de Acuna. Puerto de Leones. *cf. 1749*
²⁵¹ City of Our Lady Saint Mary of the Fair Winds. Abandoned in 1541 following a series of attacks by the local tribes. Estevão Gomes (see 1518) had accompanied this expedition. He was killed in 1538.
²⁵² Sanz 2012. These differences were resolved with a vote.
²⁵³ *Real Capitulación of Carlos V November 6th 1536*
1538 — Geradus Mercator produces a world map based upon a double heart-shaped azimuthal polar projection. Antarctica is depicted as an island separated from South America by Magellan's Strait. A large oval shaped island sits in the mouth of the strait. 254

1539 — In August, Spain's Bishop Carvajal equips an expedition under the command of Don Alonso de Camargo. Its objective is to open a southerly route from Spain to Peru and colonise the Strait.

“A far more sensible reason for undertaking a voyage to the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan than the enforcing of a claim to the Spice Islands, was the opening up of a communication by sea, with the ports of Peru and Chile. This was the opinion of the good Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. By his advice his brother-in-law, Dr Don Gutierrez Carbajal, the Bishop of Plasencia, equipped a fleet of three small vessels with this object. The command was given, by the Bishop, to his relation Don Alonso de Camargo, and the expedition sailed from Spain in August 1539.” 255

“Three small ships sailed on this voyage. … The master of the ship was an able navigator, a competent seaman, a good observer, but an unfortunate recorder, utterly unaware of his discoveries.” 256

1540 — January 19th, off the coast of South America, the Bishop's expedition takes a bearing.

“On the 19th I took the sun in 51° 30', being 10 leagues from the land, and we sounded in 40 fathoms, black sand. On the 20th I took the sun in sight of land, a league outside the point of land at Cape Virgins, in 52° 30'. We sounded in 20 fathoms, rock with sea weed.” 257

254 The north-east tip of Tierra del Fuego was often depicted as an island due to two deep bays on either side of it.
255 Markham 1911
256 Cape Horn Felix Reisenberg 1950 pp.43-44
257 Markham 1911. Clearly the three ships were following the coast of South America. Staying within sight of the land.
January 20th, the three ships enter Magellan’s Strait.

January 22nd, Camargo’s flag ship founders in a storm, so the commander transfers his flag to a second ship and continues. 259 The third vessel becomes separated and returns to the mouth of the Strait. Seeking another route. This ship turns south; “... (They) went down the coast (from the Strait of Magellan) more than seventy leagues...” 259

February 4th, after sailing south for some 200 miles, the separated ship sights land.

“On the Fourth... in the morning, we sighted land which seemed to us to be some eight or nine islands, that were on the chart and we were between two lands. We had land to the N.N.E. to our larboard side, and there was also land to the south. It appeared to me and to all the others that we should be amongst those islands, while according to the chart there were channels between them through which we could pass, and all clear without shoals. ...” 260

“The statement in the log that the charts showed islands is difficult to explain. The only chart of those regions that is left us is the Pigafetta map of the strait. This map shows some islands in the entrance of the strait, but nowhere near the coast are there any other islands.” 261

“Eight or nine islands were claimed to have been seen in this region in 1540 by the crew of one of the vessels commanded by Alonzo de Camargo. The latter led an armada which had been sent from Spain by the Bishop of Plasencia to colonize the Magellan Straits area. Whatever the proximity of this armada to the Falklands group, no bearings were given and the descriptive data supplied were of the scantiest.” 262

February 5th, seeing a promontory, the ship sails around it.

“Next day, in the afternoon, we saw a point of land, and as it seemed that if we could double it there would be no more to the south, we got round it with much trouble. From the point several shoals run out to sea, and we were very near them. After we had doubled that point to the south, we sighted other land to the S.E. Between that land we saw a great bay, with high mountains on either side which yet appeared like islands, because great arms of the sea intervened between one mountain and another. On

258 Camargo got through the strait successfully and then made his way up the western coast of South America, eventually reaching Callao. He settled in the city of Chuquisaca and never returned to Spain. See Introduction to the Expedition of the Bishop of Plasencia in Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan C. Markham 1911

259 Letter from Cristobel Rayzer to Lazaro Aleman about the arrival in Santo Tomé of one of the four ships sent from Seville by the Bishop of Plasencia to the islands of Spices through the Strait of Magellan in Spain's Virtual Library of the Ministry of Defence (Ref: BMDB20160045826). The entry notes – ‘The original is in the General Archive of the Indies of Seville among papers taken from the General Archive of Simanicas, a file labelled “Papers related to the Junta de Guerra de Puerto Rico.” Copy of Martin Fernández de Navarrete.’ Navarrete was a 19th C Spanish historian.

260 Log fragment in Markham 1911. The original log did not survive, although fragments of it are alleged to have appeared around 1570 and subsequently preserved in the collection of Muñoz. These were not published until 1866 (Colección de documentos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones en América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias Luis Torres de Mendoza 1866). A Chilean magazine, Anuario hidrográfico de la Marina de Chile 1879 vol.5, reprinted these log fragments. It concluded that the landfall was in the Bay of San Sebastian in Patagonia. A view supported by Markham (1911).

261 The Struggle for the Falkland Islands Julius Goebel 1927 p.20. Not entirely accurate. Pigafetta produced more than one copy of his account and the maps differ. One version does picture two islands off the coast of San Julian. The appearance of that coastline as the bay is approached. Without a name, Goebel called this ship Incognita, asserting that these “islands” could only have been the Falklands. Immediately after Goebel’s book was published he was challenged on this assertion by Héctor Ratto (pen name – H. Doserres) in Bordejeando. Descubrimientos, Exploraciones y Levantamientos Marítimos Patagónicos 1928. Ratto agreeing with the Chilean and Markham analyses. See https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/charts/

262 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490
this day, in the afternoon, the master thought he saw a channel opening to the south through which we might go. Until that day we had seen all the land closed up. We thought it well to anchor that night by some beach.” 263

February 11th, beset by a gale, the ship's crew seek more shelter.

“... on the 11th it blew so hard that the hawser on one side were carried away, so we went further up the inlet. This port, in which we were enclosed, received from us the name of the “Harbour of Foxes,” as there were many foxes on shore. This land appears to be a part of the mainland south of Magellan’s strait. This seems to be so because the land from this point runs to the west, and is parallel with the strait. We found at the point of this land many stretches of shrubs and trees which had been burnt, and all the wood that comes out of the strait is washed up here. For at the place where we were, a board of the captain's ship, which was wrecked in the strait, was floated here, as well as other things. This land is bare, without trees, windy and very cold. It snows in several months of the year, the winds blowing from S.W. and West, and very seldom from any other quarter.

In all this land there are many ducks, as well from shore as from the sea. There are also seals with skins 36 (sic) feet long. Within the land there is much cedar wood. Round this coast there are many small islands, a fact which is well to know. The land where we lost the berzos was an island; and in the bay where we are, there are many small islands and rocks, and many arms of the sea extending far inland. Here the summer only lasts for four months, January, February, March and April. In May the rigours of winter commence, and it snows frequently until December. In this land there is much game, consisting of ducks, foxes and seals. ...” 264

“... entered a bay where they were ten months... and it was very cold, and (they) found much firewood and sea lions and fish, and there they were until the month of October...” 265

“... (They) sailed through a strait (Le Maire) and wintered in what must have been the present Beagle Channel, running in behind either New Island or Picton Island.” 266

“In my opinion, they were none other than the archipelago of the Falkland Islands, thus fortuitously discovered by a Spanish ship, in February 1540...” 267

In August, the crew of the Bishop's ship prepare for the journey back to Spain; “We were here for six months. We then took in wood and water, and prepared our ship for the return to Spain.” 268

November 24th, the Bishop's ship sails.

“We left this port of the Foxes on the 24th of November with an N.E. wind and fine weather. We discovered a gulf, and the wind became so strong from N. and N.E. that we were unable to work to windward, and were forced to put into a bay to the south, whither the sailors had been to fish during the...

263 Markham (1911) identified the beach as being on the north coast of Statenland (Isla de los Estados), which lies off the toe of Tierra del Fuego. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/south_america_southern_tip_pol.png
264 Quoted in Markham 1911. My emphasis. There were no trees on the Falkland Islands in the 16th century. The story of the ship's hatch washing up is often used to argue that the islands were the Falklands but Markham's conclusion was that the hatch could not have come from the expedition's flagship.
265 Cristobel Rayzer to Lazaro Alemán in Ministry of Defence Ref: BMDB20160045826
266 Reisenberg 1950 p.44
267 Hervé 1982 p.41. My emphasis. Hervé appears to have based this conclusion upon the work done by Argentine Vice-Admiral Ernesto Basilico in La Armada del Obispo de Plasencia y el Descubrimiento de las Malvinas 1967. For another of Hervé's 'wild theories' see 1586.
268 Markham 1911. There were no trees on the Falklands archipelago in the 16th century.
winter. Here there was a good port, and we went into it. We found it landlocked with 10 or 12 fathoms of depth. Afterwards, on St Andrews's Day, there was such a gale from N.W. and W. that we were in great danger. This port was formed by an island surrounded by two arms of the sea. There was plenty of game, but no foxes, which shows that the former port, from which we had come, was on the mainland. On a cape of this island much wood was found, including a part of a plank which much have come from the strait, where the captain was wrecked. This port is landlocked, and suited for any ship to winter in.

There is a good supply of wood and water, and good shelter from all winds, with a means of departure by the west, and thence all the coast within sight to the westward may be reached. Between this island on the landlocked harbour and the mouth of the strait, there is a gulf extending for eight or nine leagues. We were eight or nine days in this harbour, on the return voyage to Spain.”

December 3rd, the voyage is recommenced.

“We departed from this harbour on the 3rd of December 1540, with fine weather and wind from S. and S.W. sailing large until we had passed the island where we lost the berzos. Then the wind veered to the S.W. before which we ran for two days, seeking the mainland to the north.”

December 5th, the ship's log is updated; “On the 5th I took the sun in 49° 6’.”

“The second ship was separated from the others, wintered in a port of Tierra del Fuego, and returned to Spain in 1541. ... We know neither the name of the second ship of the Bishop of Plasencia’s fleet, nor the name of the captain. But a very important fragment of the journal of the second ship has been preserved. ... Its importance consists in the fact that the ship appears to have been the first to visit Staten Island, and to enter the Strait of Le Maire, and that she wintered in the Beagle Channel. The master appears to have been an intelligent observer and a competent seaman. He probably discovered the Strait of Le Maire, but Schouten still deserves all the credit of having discovered it to be an important strait.”

“A stronger claim for discovery could be put forward on behalf of a Spaniard, Alonso de Camargo, in 1540. One of the ships from his expedition, which had been sent out by the Bishop of Plasencia, may have sailed close to the archipelago and may even have sent some men ashore...”

# Researcher's Comment: That Camargo over-wintered in the Falkland Islands has become embedded in Argentine mythology, despite the lack of anything resembling evidence. Another wild theory.

“... it seems possible that a Spanish ship spent several months in the islands in 1540, though we no longer think it as likely... One account survives in two partial copies, one contemporary, the other of about 1570, and a second is in the archives of the Spanish defence ministry in Madrid,... The first account was printed by Luis Torres de Mendoza in 1866, and was reprinted and analysed in a Chilean naval magazine in 1879, which concluded that the ship visited the Isla de los Estados and islands in the Magellan Strait. ... the second account, from the Spanish defence ministry, supports the view that the ship remained around the Strait of Magellan and did not visit the Falklands”
1541 — the survivors of Camargo’s 1539 expedition arrive back in Spain. 275

A globe made by Gerardus Mercator includes two large islands within the mouth of Magellan’s Strait. 276

![Gerardus Mercator 1541 (detail)](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1541-globe-by-gerardus-mercatore-amsterdam-detail.png)

Emperor Charles V (Spain’s Carlos I) objects to French ships trading in the Americas eliciting a terse response from King François I.

“The sun shines for me as for others and I would like to see the clause in Adam’s testament which excludes me from a share in the world.”

“... in February 1541, Normandy’s trade with the New World exploded. In 1541 alone more than forty ships made the crossing.” 277

Charles V orders Spanish ships to destroy French vessels found on the open seas.

1542 — Spain founds a new colony on the Pacific coast of South America. 278

“If half a century before the English expeditions... Spain was the exclusive owner of Chile and Peru, and only she was sailing to the Pacific through the Straits, how could (we) suppose that her sailors ignored the existence of the Falklands, having, as they had at every moment, the inevitable opportunity to explore them? This consideration is so momentous, it is undoubtedly what makes more serious authors believe that the aforementioned Islands have been known by Spain, before any nation had any idea of them.” 279

1543 — a Venetian Atlas by cartographer Battiste Agnese contains two charts. One showing the Atlantic Ocean depicts an unnamed group of six inshore islands. To the north-east of the eastern entrance to Magellan’s Strait. Agnese’s Pacific Ocean chart pictures eight islands in the same position. 280

275 Camargo’s survivors would have been interviewed but there is no evidence that they provided any useful information.
278 This would become the Viceroyalty of New Castile with the appointment of Francisco Alvarez de Toledo in 1544. Afterwards changed to the Viceroyalty of Peru.
279 Areco 1885 p.18
1544 – a world map by cartographer and pilot-general at Seville, Sebastian Cabot, is completed. A little to the north of San Julian the word Sanson can be discerned.  

In Antwerp, Peter Apian produces a world map titled Charta Cosmographica, Cum Ventorum Natura et Operatione. It depicts a single island off South America – in the mouth of Magellan's Strait.  

In Venice, Battista Agnese completes a Portolan atlas of nine charts, and a world map dedicated to Hieronymus Ruffault, abbot of St. Vaast. The map of the Atlantic Ocean shows two island groups – Y. d. los Patos (1 dot) and Y. de. Sanson (7 dots). Both as inshore groups. Agnese's world map reveals 6 islands outside the Magellan Strait – two large in green and 4 small in black. Magellan's track is shown passing between these islands.  

1545 – Pedro de Medina, with Royal authorization, completes a world chart in the face of obstructions from the Casa de Contratacion.  

1546 – Italian cartographer Giacomo Gastaldi prints a world map. On South America's eastern coastline, to the north of the Magellan Strait, are depicted a group of four inshore islands identified as 'Sanson'.  

1547 – an atlas produced in Dieppe, France pictures the Patagonian coast with a bay containing three islands. Two more are depicted in a bay to the south of Puerto San Julian.  

1548 – Gastaldi produces another world map – a cut down version of his first. On this the inshore group of islands is reduced to three and unnamed.  

1549 – Spain establishes the Gobernación del Río de la Plata to administer its lands around the River.  

1550 – three maps of the world are published. Sebastian Munster's Figura del Monde Universale published in Basel around the same time reveals no islands off the South American coastline. A map by Antonio Lafreri produced in Rome reveals only two large islands in the mouth of Magellan's Strait. Pierre Desceliers' world map (Paris) also depicts two islands within the mouth of the Strait.  

283 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2020/08/1545-mapamundi-de-pedro-de-medina.jpg  
284 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1544-c.-battista-agnese-venice-detail.png  
285 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1544-c.-battista-agnese-venice-detail.png  
288 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1544-c.-battista-agnese-venice-detail.png  
290 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1550-figura-del-mondo-universale-by-sebastian-munster-basel.jpg  
291 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1550-world-map-by-pierre-desceliers-paris.jpg
1555 – a globe by Antonius Florianus pictures two islands in the mouth of the strait that separates South America from the great southern continent. 292

1557 – after returning from a voyage to Brazil, self-taught geographer and cosmographer André Thevet publishes a book – *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique* – in which he describes the exploration of the region between the La Plata river and Magella's Strait.

“In this straight are many fair Ilands, but not inhabited, the country about is very baren: ful of hilles and mountaines, and there is founde nothing but rauishyng beasts, birdes of diuers kindes, chiefly Estriges, woode of diuers sorts, Cedres, and others. Also an other kynde of trée bearing fruite almoste like a cherie, but muche more pleasant to eate...” 293

1558 – August 9th, Juan Fernández Ladrillero, a Spanish navigator exploring Magellan's Strait from the Pacific side, reaches the eastern mouth. He then sails into the Atlantic before turning back to double the strait. 294

1559 – *Il Mondo Novo et l'Aphrica* by Venetian map-maker Battista Agnese reveals a group of six inshore islands with two names nearby – *Ile de laſ patoſ* and *Ileſ de ſanſon*. 295

1560 – In Venice, Paulo Forlani publishes a map of the world – *Universale Descrittione Di Tutta la Terra Conosciuta Fin Qui*. Based upon Giacomo Gastaldi’s work. The chart names a group of islands close to the South American mainland north of the strait as 'Sanson'. 296

Around the same time, in Spain, cartographer Alonzo de Santa Cruz finishes the *Islario General de todas las Islas del Mundo*. An atlas of all the world’s known islands commenced in 1541 and containing 111 charts. On the last page of the main body of the work is a map of the Magellan Strait. 297

Tierra del Fuego is depicted as extending eastwards as a part of the fabled southern continent that, it was theorised, acted as a counterbalance to the northern lands. To the north-west of the strait's mouth, three islands are depicted and named *Ys de Sanson*.

“(Magellan) ... having arrived and discovered some islands that are to the east of the San Julian port, for 18 leagues, (he) gave them the name of 'islands of Sanson and Patos', because in them they found many (penguins) and very fat ones that could hardly walk, and half peeled all, of which took many for their trip.” 298

292 Cape Horn had not yet been discovered. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1555-untitled-but-attributed-to-antonius-florianus-detail.-original-unfinished..png

293 Published in England (1568) as 'The New found worlde, or antarctike,...' Some assert that Thevet mentioned the Falkland Islands in his written work but he actually only described islands within the strait. cf. 1526, 1575 & 1586.

294 How far into the Atlantic may be important. Sadly, we do not know.


297 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1541-islario-de-santa-cruz.jpg Santa Cruz is believed to have worked upon the *Padrón General* at Seville. He may also have accompanied Sebastian Cabot on his expedition to the Rio de la Plata. He wrote of John Cabot's method of longitude determination. cf. 1526

298 *Islario General de todas las Islas* Alonzo de Santa Cruz 1560 p.695. Translation by Fabian Turcato. The *Patos/Sanson* group identified on charts from 1520 lie to the north-east of San Julian, not the east. As a comparison, the Falklands archipelago is located east-south-east of San Julian some 293 miles (473km) over the horizon. 18 leagues is 54 miles or 87 km. See 1520 & 1522.
# Researcher's Comment: A passing resemblance to the Falklands archipelago has led many observers to the belief that Alonzo de Santa Cruz’s chart proves an early discovery of the islands. Despite the cartographer’s own description indicating otherwise. The mythical southern continent is also featured.

1562 — five islands appear to the north-east of the Magellan Strait in a world map, by Diego Gutiérrez and Hieronymus Cock (Antwerp), south-east of Puerto de San Julian. These are named as the 'Insule de Sanson'. 299

Further north, two inshore islands are depicted south of Cabo Blanco and named Ysla de los Patos. 300

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299 Reminiscent of Waldseemüller’s Insule delle Pulzelle, Gutiérrez used isla (išla) or just y when identifying other islands.
300 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1562diego-gutic3a9rez-antwerp-detail.png
“Substantial mystery surrounds this map more than four hundred years after its creation. Confusion over its authorship, the location of its printing, and the reasons even for its preparation remains. The fact that only two known copies of this printed map are extant, one located in the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) and the other preserved in the British Library (London) no doubt contributes to our lack of knowledge... Diego Gutiérrez had been named cosmographer in the Casa de la Contratación by a royal appointment on October 22, 1554, following the death of his father in January 1554.”

# Researcher’s Comment: With this map, the cartographers, whether by accident or design, place the Sanson group in roughly the correct position for the Falklands. But then they depicted the correct number of islets for the group south of Puerto Deseado. The Patos two, as misreported by Pigafetta, appear in the correct position. Sadly, little is known about the cartographers and even less about their sources. Once again the mythical southern continent is revealed – with a river, islands and even place names.

Also in 1562, a chart by Paolo Forlani of Venice – La Descrittione Di Tutto Il Peru – is published. It shows a group of four inshore islands a little to the south of Cabo Blanco identified in Spanish as the Y del Pato.

1564 – Globus Terrestris by Jost Amman of Nuremberg depicts the southern hemisphere with an azimuthal equidistant projection from the South Pole. One large island is shown in the strait that separates South America from the great southern continent.

1568 – Paolo Forlani’s Paulus de furlanis Veronensis opus hoc exmi Cosmographi Dni Iacobi gastaldi Pedomontani world map shows half a dozen inshore islands named SanSon near the port of San Julian. To the north of Magellan’s Strait.

1569 – a world map entitled Nova et Aucta Orbis Terrae Descriptio ad Usum Navigantium Emendate Accommodata is published by Gerardus Mercator.

301 Siebold 2015
303 The Sanson group are missing. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1562-la-descrittione-di-tutto-il-peru-paulo-de-furlani-venice-detail.jpg
304 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1564-globus-terrestris-by-jost-amman-detail.png
305 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1568-palo-forlani-venice.jpg
306 New and enlarged description of the Earth properly adjusted for the use of navigation
To whosoever inspects this map, greeting. In this mapping of the world we have had three ends in view: first, so to spread out the surface of the globe into a plane that the places shall everywhere be properly located, not only with respect to their true direction and distance, one from another, but also in accordance with their due longitude and latitude; and further, that the shape of the lands, as they appear on the globe, shall be preserved as far as possible.  

“By the time this monumental world map appeared in 1569, Gerard Mercator (1512-1594) had attained an international reputation as a cartographic innovator of the first order. The theoretical principles behind the projection on his maps allowed representation of the global landmass as accurately as possible, while still being of use to navigators. ... Comprising 18 separate sheets from copper plates engraved by Mercator himself, it is not know how many copies of the map were printed, ... Mercator believed,... that the ‘Australis Continens’ (southern continent), even though it was still hidden and unknown, could be demonstrated and proved by solid reasons and arguments...”

307 Gerardus Mercator 1569. Employing a new way of looking at the known world, now known as the Mercator projection. Before this chart, Europe's cartographers had tended to use elliptical projections derived from Ptolemy's latitude and longitude grid. Many would continue to do so. For all the advances, Mercator still revealed a huge, mythical, southern continent.

308 Mapping our World: Terra Incognita to Australia Peter Barber et al 2013
“Mercator was unaware of the complexity of the contemporary charts – which he considered to implicitly
comprise a square grid of meridians and parallels – and all planimetric information was directly imported to
the novel world map without correction. ... the Mercator projection was intrinsically incompatible with the
navigational methods of the time. ... Contrarily to most nautical charts and planispheres produced by
Portuguese and Spanish cartographers, which used to leave blank the unsurvey(ed) parts, Mercator used his
imagination – or the imagination of his sources – to fill those blanks with conjectural information. That is the
case of the western coast of South America, the western coast of North America to the north of California and
of the Arctic and Antarctic land masses, which are entirely conjectural.” 309

1570 — cartographer Abraham Ortelius includes four small islands in the mouth of Magellan’s Strait in his
Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. Jean Cossin’s Carte cosmographique ou Universelle description du monde reveals
four inshore islands close to the Patagonian coastline.

Paolo Forlani’s Universale Descrittione Di Tutta la Terra Consciuta Fin Qui repeats his earlier works but with
six inshore islands identified as Sanson. No Patos pair.310

1571 — Fernão Vaz Dourado’s atlas includes a map of Magellan’s Strait with four small dots representing
islands close to the coast to the north of the eastern mouth of the strait.

Benedict Arias Montanus’s Sacrae Geographiae Tabulam ex Antiquissimorum Cultor, published in London, has
no islands in the south-western area of the Atlantic Ocean.311

1573 — a world map by Portugal’s Domingo Teixeira identifies the line of demarcation between Portuguese and
Spanish interests in the New World. It does not include any islands off the Patagonian coast.312

309 Revisiting Mercator world map of 1569: an assessment of navigational accuracy Joaquim Alves Gaspar in the Journal
310 All three charts can be found at https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/charts/
311 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1571-sacrae-geographiae-tabulam-ex-antiquissimorum-
cultor-by-benedict-arias-montanus-london.jpg
312 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1573-world-map-by-domingo-teixeira-portugal-showing-the-
demarcation-between-spanish-portuguese-areas-of-influence.jpg

56
1574 — Portuguese cartographer Luis Teixeira produces a map depicting Brazil and the eastern coast of South America. Inshore islands are shown.  

*La geografia tradotta di grec*o published in Venice by Claudius Ptolomaeus and Malomba Giovanni shows no islands off the South American coast below the Rio de la Plata.  

1575 — French geographer André Thevet publishes a map of South America in his *Cosmographie universelle*.  

Two island groups are depicted close to the eastern coast of Patagonia to the north of the strait. The lower archipelago of five islands is identified as *I.s.com* while the more northerly with four is named *I.de.lespatos*.  

“During his lifetime Thevet did not enjoy a good reputation as a scholar. His contemporaries, particularly Jean de Léry and François de Belleforest, ridiculed his work and vilified his character... According to Léry, Thevet was little more than an impudent liar and his works were ‘second hand rags and tatters’...”  

“(Thevet’s) second printed work, the folio *La Cosmographie Universelle* (1575...), ... A very extended and rambling account of the known world and hence unreadable in toto, its content is partly autobiographical, partly derivative – in large part anecdotal and in uncertain part fictional.”  

1577 — December 13th, Francis Drake, on Pelican, sets out on an expedition to the South Seas.  

1578 — June 18th, Drake’s expedition arrives at the port of St. Julian on the east coast of South America. The same bay that Magellan had over-wintered in, and where he had put down a mutiny. Drake see the gibbets with skeletons still hanging from them.  

August 20th, Drake enters Magellan's Strait. Francis Fletcher makes a sketch of South America from the Rio de la Plata to the strait of Magellan. He depicts Tierra del Fuego as a broken land of islands.  

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315 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1575-andrc3a9-thc3a9vet.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1575-andrc3a9-thc3a9vet.jpg)  
318 The general plan was to harass Spanish shipping off the west coast of South America with 4 ships and 164 men.  
319 Drake's charts did not survive a fire in 1698, but Fletcher's notes have come down in one piece. See
A Dutch chart of South America is produced by Joannes and Lucas Deutecum with only the Patos Islands.\textsuperscript{320}

**September 5th**, the English expedition arrives in the South Sea (Pacific Ocean).

In Paris, Guillaume Postel produces a chart employing a South Pole projection. Magellan’s Strait is identified as *Fretum Martin Bohemi*. \textsuperscript{321}

**1579 – June 17th**, after sailing up the Pacific coast of South America, Drake claims land on the western coast of North America for England. He names it *New Albion*.

“The unexpected appearance of Drake in the South Seas was a matter of serious alarm to the Spaniards. Their exclusive navigation of that Ocean was now gone;... they perceived that henceforth they would have to contend for their riches with a powerful and ambitious enemy.” \textsuperscript{322}

In **October**, aware of Drake’s passage, Peru’s Viceroy Toledo sends Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to the Strait to take possession of the unpopulated areas.

**1580 – June 11th**, Juan de Garay re-founds a Spanish settlement on the Rio de la Plata, naming it *Ciudad de la Trinidad*. He calls its harbour there – ‘Puerto de Santa María de los Buenos Aires.’ \textsuperscript{323}

**September 26th**, Drake arrives back in England having circumnavigated the world. His ship’s hold is full of gold, silver and jewels taken from Spanish treasure ships. Queen Elizabeth’s share exceeds other income in 1580.

Bernardino de Mendoza, Spain’s Ambassador to the Court of St. James, complains of English ships being in ‘Spanish’ seas. Making an angry and vehement demand for satisfaction. Elizabeth responds that she; “... would not persuade herself that [the Indies] are the rightful property of Spanish donation of the Pope of Rome in whom she acknowledged no prerogative in matters of this kind, much less authority to bind Princes who owe him no obedience; or to make that New World as it were a fief for the Spaniards ... and that only on the ground that Spaniards have touched here and there, have erected shelters, have given names to a river or promontory; acts which cannot confer property. ... every nation had a right by the law of nature to freely navigate those seas and transport colonies to those parts where the Spaniards do not inhabit.” \textsuperscript{324}

“Protestant reform took nations away from obedience to the Pope, ... the immediate consequence of the denial of the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, was opposition to recognition of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly, and the emergence of new regulatory norms, according to which, the legal basis of any colonization must reside in the priority of discovery, followed by the effective occupation of the territory that was not part of any other State. From the moment that Great Britain rejected the validity of papal bulls as a source of law (it) became a continuing threat to the Spanish colonial empire;...” \textsuperscript{325}

Mendoza writes of the encounter to the Spanish Court.

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\textsuperscript{320} Royal Museums Greenwich. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/c.1577-allledged-copy-of-notes-by-francis-fletcher-who-accompanied-drake-on-his-circumnavigation.jpg


\textsuperscript{322} Circumnavigation of the Globe Harper & Brother New York 1837

\textsuperscript{323} See 1536

\textsuperscript{324} England in America, 1580-1652 Lyon Gardiner Tyler 1904. Also *Annals of Affairs in England and Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth* William Camden 1615

\textsuperscript{325} *Malvinas: el conflicto Anglo-Espanol de 1770* Octavio Gil Munilla 1948 pp.4-5
“... every one should be sent to the bottom ... This will be the only way to prevent the English and French from going to those parts to plunder; for at present there is hardly an Englishman who is not talking of undertaking the voyage, so encouraged are they by Drake’s return.”  

“In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ... the English claimed the right to trade with all Spanish possessions in and out of Europe, by the virtue of the Treaty of Trade and Amity first made with Spain in 1499 and renewed by Henry VIII in 1515. The Spaniards disputed this interpretation of the original Treaty and maintained that there was “no peace beyond the line,” i.e. the line of demarcation fixed by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494.”

“The view so strongly asserted by Elizabeth did have the support of the civil law. In the middle of the 14th century, Bartolus had linked the Roman rules of private law for the acquisition of dominium over a newly created island by occupation (the taking possession of a res nullius with the intention of acquiring ownership) to the acquisition of imperium or sovereignty over it by a prince or ruler through a similar process.”

1581 – Antwerp’s Nicola van Skype publishes a world map – La herdike enterprinse faict par le Signeur Draeck Davoir Cirqvit Tovte La Terre – revealing the track of Francis Drake.

September 25th, disturbed by Drake’s successes, a Spanish expedition with 23 ships and 2,500 men under Diego Flores Valdés is sent to the south Atlantic. He is accompanied by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the nominal Governor of the – to be founded, Provincias del Estrecho (Provinces of the Strait).

1582 – November 2nd, Diego Flores Valdés arrives in the Rio de la Plata.

326 Bernardino de Mendoza to Philip II
327 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490
328 Greig 1983
330 Some of the troops were bound for Chile.
331 The Spanish contingent bound for Chile disembarked at Buenos Aires. Unwilling to go further by sea they opted instead for an overland rout. Valdés sailed for the Strait in February, 1583 but encountered storms and returned to Buenos Aires. Then he returned to Spain. Sarmiento reached the Strait in September, 1583, and founded two settlements – Nombre de Jesus and Rey Don Felipe. Neither survived more than a few years although Cavendish is reported to have encountered
1583 – **August 5**th, Newfoundland is claimed on behalf on England by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. 332

1585 – undeclared, conflict restarts between Spain and England. 333


One, employing a southern projection, reveals the area around Magellan's Strait. No islands are depicted to the east of the South American continent although three groups are shown to the west of the strait.

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1586 Thevet (detail) note no islands to the east of the South American coastline.

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332 Newfoundland stands to the east of the Tordesillas line and should have fallen under Spanish control according to the treaty between Spain and Portugal. Clearly, the British paid it no attention.

333 The Anglo-Spanish War 1585 to 1604 was a sporadic affair with widely spaced set battles. The gaps filled in by minor acts of aggression. England defeated Spanish armada's in 1588, 1596 and 1597. English armada's and expeditions suffered badly in 1589, 1595 and 1597. Inconclusive but see 1596.

A second – La Mer Australle – identifies an island group as the ‘Isles de Sanson ou des Geantz’ (the islands of Samson or Giants).

Ten islands plus islets, trees and mountains. Extending between 49° and 50°S latitude. 335

“In... the twenty-first book of my Cosmography I only spoke of one of these Islands, which is called by its inhabitants Perhamboup336 and by those of the mainland Pacahocaf, which is distant from the continent some eight or ten leagues. There are very many others, in which these little fellows of eight or nine feet in height have set up their hovels. The first who set foot in these Islands were some Portuguese, who were accompanying Ferdinand Magellan in his voyage; they wishing to obtain supplies of fresh water, found themselves disappointed in their intentions, chiefly because they could not land on these Islands owing to the approaches, which are very dangerous; for in order to land on

335 A degree of latitude is 69 miles (111km) wide. The Falklands occupy the space between 50° 59’ (Jason West Cay) and 52° 54’ (Beaucherne Island). His longitude bearings appear to place the islands between 315 and 330 using the method of the time. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/thyvet-c-1586.jpg cf. 1502, 1520 to 1529, 1557, 1558 & 1575 For a comparison of bearings, see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1587-typus-orbis-terrarium-by-abraham-ortelius-antwerp.jpg
336 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1575-andrc3a9-thc3a9vet.jpg
them, skirting the land which lies at the North east, the coast full of surf-beaten rocks and sandbanks with very few deep parts, they brought their ships no closer than a cannon-shot, to guard themselves from the dangers, and sent in two little vessels and some sailors to reconnoitre these Giants' Islands. Of this I am assured by an old Portuguese Captain, a good Pilot, whom I found in the city of Lisbon in Portugal, who said he had at that time visited these Islands, the plan of which I had from him, together with several others of this coast...” 337

“Thevet says he obtained a map of the islands from an old Portuguese captain in Lisbon; that map is lost but was the basis for the map in his book.” 338

Thevet is unable to find a sponsor and the work remains unpublished.

“The contempt (that) rapidly developed for Cosmographie helps to explain why the manuscript works of the 1580s were never published... Even the maps he had had engraved for them never appeared.” 339

# Researcher’s Comment: Ridiculed in his own lifetime as an eccentric, Thevet was reputed, in his later days, to draw and reshape islands at a whim. Or upon the provocation of critical friends. As for this archipelago map, Thevet claimed that they lay between latitude 49° and 50° South and his source was “an old and good captain (and) Portuguese pilot, who I met in Lisbon in Portugal, ...” No name for the captain/pilot. No dates for the encounter. However, as a direct result of Thevet using the name Sanson in Les Isles de Sanson ou des Geantz, a 1982 book340 asserted that Thevet’s drawing depicted the Falklands archipelago - as seen by a Portuguese pilot accompanying Magellan in 1520. An inshore group of islands to the east of Patagonia was often shown with that name but were more likely the group encountered by Pigafetta and Gomes. Where Magellan took a supply of penguin meat.

Worthy of note:
1. Thevet had made no mention of any Portuguese source in his earlier publications of 1557 and 1575.
2. In 1586, sixty-seven years after Magellan sailed, either the 'good captain' was very old or the meeting between him and Thevet was.
3. There were no giants on the Falklands in the 1520's or, indeed, people of any size.
4. There were no trees, cedar or otherwise, on the Falklands archipelago in the 16th century. There were trees on the islands of Tierra del Fuego and Patagonia, however.

These maps were part of a larger work which was not published for the simple reason that Thevet’s reputation for honesty and accuracy had fallen so low that he could not find a sponsor. On the face of it, just another wild theory. However, as can be seen from the comments below, this particular story has its adherents.

337 Thevet quoted in Pascoe 2020 p.20
338 Pascoe 2020 p.19
340 Unpublished and incomplete, Thevet’s drawings survived in Paris where, in 1982 (nb. Falklands War), Roger Hervé, honorary curator in the Department of Letters and Plans of the National Library of Paris, published a book - "Découverte fortuite de L'Australie et de la Nouvelle-Zelande par des Navigateurs Portugais et Espagnols between 1521 and 1528" He claimed that Thevet’s map depicted the 'Malouines'. Hervé also asserted that Australia and New Zealand had been discovered by Portuguese and Spanish navigators in the 16th century. Wild theories, designed to sell a book.
“... more ignorant than you could possibly conceive and having no acquaintanceship with literature, nor antiquity, nor chronology, he put into his books the uncertain for the certain, the false for the true, with an astonishing assurance. ... I have often been astonished that a man so easily fooled has himself fooled persons of great reputation. I therefore warn them now no longer in the future to dishonor their works by citing an author so ignorant and contemptible.” 341

“Modern Brazilian critics, more merciless than the French critics of the sixteenth century, have for the most part dismissed Thevet as one who mixed fact and fantasy without discrimination. ... the friar's main weakness was his tendency to exaggerate; he accepted things he read or heard about uncritically.” 342

“All this totally invalidates the alleged and late discoveries of other lagging nations; all this confirms that, Argentina being legitimate heir of the territorial rights of Spain in this part of America, it corresponds in fact and right, without any kind of doubts or any kind of restrictions, the absolute and indisputable sovereignty of the Samson Islands-Malvinas.” 343

“As we know, the Falkland Islands were uninhabited and (so) the description given by Thevet of their inhabitants and the name "Isles des Géants", ... makes it wrong ...” 344

“Thevet's reputation as a scholar was hardly brilliant, and his constant solicitations with heavy doses of self-satisfied toadying would have been more than enough to irritate most people. ... Thevet had no overall plan and simply gathered together anything he could from his contacts at the court, in Paris, and in different ports. ... The patchwork that resulted quickly became the object of ironic comment. For example, it was said that Thevet simply drew his islands as he saw fit, choosing simplified forms – triangles, circles, or squares – according to the whim of the day. One person to make such sarcastic observations was Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, an astronomer and humanist. He recounts that, to keep the sport up Thevet continually had to alter his maps due to the reproach that if "the outline as drawn was not agreeable to the eye, and it would look better if it was slightly rounder or squarer in shape, or more like a triangle or a pentagon; and he [Thevet] would immediately change everything, innocently adapting his drawings to instructions.”...” 345

“It has been established that the first specific map of the islands was made in 1520. This emerges from the French manuscript (1586) "Le Grand Insulaire et pilotage d’André Thévet Angoumoisin, cosmographe du Roy, dans lequel sont contenus plusieurs plants d’îles habitées et deshabitées et description d’icelles", ... This map was drawn by the Captain and Pilot Andrés de San Martín, a member of Magellan’s crew, who seems to have travelled to Spain on the ship "San Antonio" (under the command of the pilot Alvaro de Mesquita) as part of Magellan’s expedition. This was the first crew to set foot on the Falklands/Malvinas, as proven by the records of Alonso de Santa Cruz published in his work El Yslario general de todas las yslas del mundo, enderecao a la S.C.C. Magestad del Emperador y Rey nuestro Señor, por Alonso de Santa Cruz, su cosmógrafo mayor, where the author describes in detail the stopover of Magellan’s ships at Puerto San Julián, and the survey of what at present we know as the Falklands/Malvinas, which he calls “Ysla de Sansón y de Patos”, and named “Isles de Sanson ou des Geantz” by Thevet.” 346

341 French historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1774) quoted in André Thévet on the Amerindians of New France Roger Schlesinger 1985
343 Nave española descubre las Islas Malvinas en 1520 Rolando A. Laguarda Trias 1983
344 Arnaud 2000 p.188
346 Kohen & Rodriguez 2016. In reality, Andrés de San Martin accompanied Magellan into the Pacific. He died without reaching Spain, although some of his charts were seized by Portuguese forces and forwarded to Lisbon. See 1520
“Returning to Magellan, the French explorer André Thevet, in Le grand insulaire et pilotage (started in 1586 but never completed), described the "Isles des Géants...[ou] de Sansom" (sic) and stated that "the first to set foot on these islands were Portuguese who accompanied Ferdinand Magellan on his voyage. Thevet attached a large scale map which shows islands whose outline could, with imagination, be interpreted as resembling the Falklands. However, no indication has been found in the earliest account of Magellan’s voyage that Thevet’s suggestion is correct... No part of (Pigafetta’s) narrative indicates that any of Magellan’s ships sailed eastwards towards the Falklands,...” 347

“... engraved in 1586, on the basis of a lost map made around 1518-19 at the latest by earlier unknown Portuguese navigators before Magellan’s voyage.” 348

“We feel it would be going too far to dismiss everything Thevet says as pure fantasy. We are not prepared to believe the Portuguese met any giants in the Falklands (Thevet put giants in his descriptions of several places), but the map’s geographical details are very broadly correct, and Thevet visited Portugal and spoke Portuguese, so the map’s "Portuguese connection" is credible. So until the contrary is demonstrated, we shall assume that the discoverers of the Falklands were the crews of at least two Portuguese ships, who were exploring the South Atlantic at the latest around 1518-19 and found the islands by chance... The old captain said he was aboard one of the Portuguese ships, and like other explorers at that time he seemingly "upgraded" his expedition by saying it was part of Magellan’s much more famous expedition, which it had actually preceded. That seems the most reasonable theory about the discovery of the Falkland Islands.” 349

December 17th, Thomas Cavendish sails into an estuary on the South American coast at latitude 45° 47’ S. He names the natural port there after his ship, Desire (Puerto Deseado).

1587 – English settlers led by John White arrive at Roanoke Island in North America.

In his Typus Orbis Terrarum, Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp pictures 3 inshore islands north of the Strait. 350

However, Rumold Mercator’s Orbis terrae compendiosa descriptio reveals no islands. 351

A Planisphere by Urbano Monte does, however, picture seven islands named Isole de Sanson. Also another, larger and a little to the south, called Isola Cristalina. 352

347 Cawley 2016. Thevet’s map actually refers to ‘Les Isles de Sanson ou des Geantz’.
349 Pascoe 2020 p.21
350 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1587-typus-orbis-terrarum-by-abraham-ortelius-antwerp.jpg
351 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1587-mercator-detail.png
352 All a little close to the Patagonian coast, but not too close. The Patos group are not shown. Now at Stanford University in the USA, this map is made up of 60 sheet manuscripts measuring some 10 feet square. Little appears to be known about Urbano Monte or his sources, other than he was sufficiently well connected to be among the few that met the first official Japanese delegation to Europe in 1585. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1587-urbano-monte-milandetail-2.png
1588 – Spain unsuccesfully sends an Armada to invade Britain. 353

1589 – a chart focused upon the Pacific Ocean by Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp - Descriptio Maris Pacifici – depicts three small un-named islands to the north-east of Magellan's Strait just above 50º South Latitude. The same can be seen in de Jode's map – Totius Orbis. 354

1591 – August 26th, Cavendish (Candish), in Leicester Galleon, sails from Plymouth for the south Atlantic. His orders are to round the Horn and seek the fabled North-West Passage from the Pacific side. Cavendish is accompanied by Capt. Toby Stafford in Black and Capt. John Davis in Desire.

1592 – three maps are published. Theodoro de Bry's depiction of South America places three large islands in the eastern mouth of Magellan's Strait. 355 The south cone by Cornelis Claesz of Amsterdam, identifies a group of inshore islands a little to the north of the Bay of San Julian, named I. de Acençam. 356

Spain’s Christian Sgrooten (Sgrothen) produces a map from the perspective of the South Pole. 357

May 20th, after leaving Port Desire (Puerto Deseado), Desire and Black lose contact with Cavendish's ship. Davis decides to return to Port Desire in the hope that Cavendish will look for him there. 358

August 7th, Desire and Black give up waiting, and sail from Port Desire; “... shaping our course for The Streights, where wee had still confidence to meete with our Generall.” 359

353 A counter-armada sent by Britain the following year also failed in its primary aims.
354 For both see https://falklandstimeline.wordpress.com/charts/
355 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1592.png
357 German by birth but, after 1557, employed by the Spanish monarchy. This map appears to be from what is commonly known as the Madrid Atlas. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1592-orbis-terrestris-descriptio-by-christian-sgrooten-spain.-dedicated-to-felipe-ii.-note-two-vaguely-depicted-islands-off-the-magellan-strait.jpg
358 Cavendish did not survive the voyage but, before he died, he wrote a damning letter laying the blame for the expedition's failure on 'abandonment' by Davis. Davis and his crew subsequently denied the accusation.
359 Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea, or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeares:... Richard Hakluyt 1600 vol.3
August 9th, a storm separates the two ships; “The ninth wee had a sore storme, so that wee were constrained to hull, for our sailes were not to indure any force...” 360

August 14th, Davis is; “… driven in among certain isles never before discovered by any known relation, lying fifty leagues or better from the shore, east and northerly from the Straits...” 364

Still beset by bad weather, Davis is unable to see more.

“Discovery of something cannot be limited to capture it with one’s eyes but effective possession is needed.” 362

# Researcher’s Comment: Generally accepted as a sighting of the Falkland Islands, fleeting as it was. From the evidence available, the first European sighting. If there was a previous discovery, then there is no certain information as to when or by who. At least, there is nothing undisputed.

“Îles decouv. par Davis Anglois” 363

“Those islands called by us Falkland’s, and by the French the Malouines, were first discovered in the year 1592, by Capt. Davies (sic), who went out the associate of the brave and unfortunate Candish (sic), and is supposed to have basely deserted him in that fatal voyage. Davis, however, was too distressed at the time to make any particular observations of these islands; nor did he even give them a name...” 364

“... the Falkland Islands, of which Captain Davis certainly has the honour of being the original discoverer...” 365

“Davis discovered the Falkland Islands August 12th 1592 (sic), and after seal fishing for two years on the Patagonian coast, where he saw as many as a thousand Indians, some of them 16 spans high, he explored the Santa Cruz river 20 miles, and then sailed homeward. At Port Desire he had salted 14,000 penguins for the voyage, but they rotted in the heat of the tropics: the men suffered not only from hunger and thirst, but also from want of sleep, worms two inches long coming out of the penguins and biting the weary and exhausted mariners. Out of 76 men Davis had only 15 surviving when the Roebuck entered Berehaven (Co. Cork) on June 11th 1593. The narratives of the survivors made a great impression in England, especially what the men suffered from cold in Patagonia, where they pulled off their toes along with their boots, and in some cases the men’s noses fell off in like manner.” 366

“That Davis, for whom the honour of the discovery of the Falkland Islands is claimed, should have called them the Virgin’s Land, if a coincidence, is at least a curious one.” 367

“These islands were discovered on the 14th August, 1592, by John Davis, the commander of one of the vessels of the squadron sent to the Pacific under Cavendish.” 368

360 Ibid.
361 John Jane quoted in The Falkland Islands, a Memoir, descriptive, historical, and political Robert Greenhow Hunt's Merchant Magazine vol.6 Feb 1842. Jane's account was published in 1600. See also The Falkland Story 1592 – 1982 Mary Cawkell 1983.
362 Grotius 1609 quoted in Peña & Peña 2018
363 Mappe-monde, dressé sur les observations de mrs. de l'Academie royale des sciences et quelques autres et sur les memoires les plus recens Nicolas Sanson 1696.
364 The Annual Register for the Year 1771 printed for J. Dodsley 1772
365 Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish and Dampier including an Introductory view of the Earlier Discoveries in the South Sea; and the History of the Bucaniers published by Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh 1831
366 The English in South America M. G. Mulhall 1878. Sadly, the narratives of those that got back do not appear to have survived.
367 Guillemard 1891 p.195. Virgin/Maiden may just have been a standard means of identifying unknown lands. See 1520
368 Memorandum Respecting the Falkland Islands and Dependencies John W. Field 1928
“According to the slight evidence available in the Journal of John Jane, Davis located land 50 leagues or more north-east of the Straits of Magellan, but the weather was such as to prevent him from determining his latitude and making any close observations. As a result the evidence in favour of his claim carries no more weight than do those of Magellan and Alonzo de Camargo.” 369

“... while the explorer who is generally credited with a discovery may not have been the first to see land in that spot, the modern historian is bound to give credit only to those who have left more or less accurate records...”370

“John Davis's sighting of the islands in 1592 was the first to be printed – in 1600 the geographical writer Richard Hakluyt published a brief account of it by a member of Davis's crew, John Jane, "a man of good observation", as Hakluyt calls him.” 371

1593 — Cornelius de Jode completes an atlas started by his father – *Speculum Orbis Terae*. The map of South America shows Magellan's Strait separating the continent from the long-imagined land mass at the southern pole. Two groups of inshore islands are depicted close to the Patagonian coast. The most northern consists of two unnamed islands. The lower group is identified as the *I. de Acensam*. 372

In England, Richard Hawkins is commissioned; “To attempt some enterprise with a ship, bark, and pinnace against the king of Spain, his subjects, and adherents upon the coasts of the West Indies, Brazil, Africa, and America, or in the South seas...” 373

June 11th, Davis arrives in Berehaven, Ireland. 374

June 13th, Hawkins sails from Plymouth with three ships, *Daintie*, *Fancy* and a store-ship, *Hawk*. 375

1594 — February 2nd, Hawkins, storm driven off Magellan's Strait, sees islands.

“... about nine of the clocke in the morning, wee descried land, which bare South-West of us, which we looked not for so timely and coming neerer and neerer unto it, by the lying, wee could not conjecture what land it could be.... It hath great Rivers of fresh waters; for the out-shoot of them colours the Sea ... The Land, for that it was discovered in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth, my Sovereigne Lady and Mistris, and a Mayden Queene, and at my cost and adventure, in a perpetual memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endevours, I gave it the name of Hawkins Maiden land ... the Westernmost part lyeth some three score leagues from the nearest Land of America.” 376

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369 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490
370 Hunter Christie 1951 p.29
371 Pascoe 2020 p.22
372 Pronounced *Acensam*. Not too unlike *Ascension* or *Sanson*. See
  https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1593-antwerp-e1548215632592.png and
  https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1593-southern-hemisphere-by-gerard-de-jode-amsterdam.jpg
373 America and West Indies: Addenda 1593, *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies* Vol. 9 1675-1676 and Addenda 1574-1674 1893 p.30
374 On Davis' return he found that Cavendish's damning letter had preceded him. Hakluyt, the foremost English chronicler of the time was married to Cavendish's sister and refused to acknowledge any discovery by Davis. See 1600.
375 The Hawkins' Voyages during the Reign of Henry VIII, *Queen Elizabeth and James I* Clement R. Markham (ed.) 1878
376 The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins in his Voyage into the South Sea Richard Hawkins 1622 (republished by the Hakluyt Society 1847). Captured by the Spanish, Hawkins was imprisoned for 8 years. Many early visitors to the Islands described the fresh water as palatable, but tainted by the peat to a brownish hue. An extract of Hawkins' account was presented to the Duke of Grafton in 1765 by the Earl of Egmont in support of England's rights to the Falklands after Byron's visit in January of that year. PRO SP 94/253 cf. Byron's *Journal of his Circumnavigation 1764-1766* Gallagher R. E. 1964 p.163. For a legal opinion on an *inchoate* title (bare discovery) see 1775. See also
John Ellis, one of the Captains with Hawkins' expedition, notes; “... wee fell in with the land of Terra Australis, in 50 degrees, 55 leagues off the straits of Magellan, which land lay East North-east from the Straite, which is a part of Terra Australis: from which land wee entered the Straite upon the West South-west course.”

“The ship Dainty, now without a companion, pursued her course towards the straits; and falling in with the Falkland Islands, which Davis had discovered eighteen months before, Sir Richard, to whom this was not known, supposed that this Tierra Australis had not been seen by any European navigator, and in that belief,... gave it the name of Hawkins's Maiden Land.”

“The most noteworthy event during the voyage across the Atlantic was the sighting of land of which Hawkins believed himself to be the first discoverer, and which he named "Hawkins's maiden-land." ... in latitude, according to Hawkins, about 49º 30' S. Hawkins wrote from memory, and fortunately he is corrected, as regards his latitude, by one of his officers named Ellis, who tells us that the land was in 50º S and about fifty leagues off the Strait of Magellan.”

“The second English claim, that of Sir Richard Hawkins in the Dainty (1594), is more substantial, thanks to the detailed descriptions which appear in his Journal, written twenty-five years later. ... It has been argued by an exponent of the English case that Hawkins, not De Weert, was the first to name the group, and that this formality has been acknowledged as an important factor in cases of oceanic exploration and discovery from the Middle Ages onwards.”

“Hawkins is often credited with the very first landing on the Islands although it was not entered in the log.”

Hawkins sees a prominent rock to the north of the islands.

“This rock was seen by Hawkins, and named by him 'White Conduit.' Now it is called Eddystone.”

“The French claimed the honour of having made the original discovery but Frézier, a French author, whose relation of a voyage to the South-Sea was published at Paris in 1716, admits that "ces Isles sont sans doute les memes que le Chevalier Richard Hawkins decouvrit en 1593"...”

“... Hawkins mentions several identifiable features – he describes the steep Jason Islands ("poynt Tremountaine"), what was perhaps Sedge Island ("Fayre Island"), the opening into Byron Sound ("a goodly opening"), and the Eddystone Rock ("Condite-head"). ... those details leave little room for doubt that he saw the Falklands.”

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377 Purchas, His Pilgrimes (aka Hakluytus Posthumus) Samuel Purchas 1625 vol. IV p.1415. Some of Hawkins’ observations, such as sightings of fires, have resulted in doubts as to what exactly he did see – the Falklands, or some part of the mainland. Cape Tres Puntas was suggested by Commander B. M. Chambers in Can “Hawkins Maidenland” Be Identified as the Falkland Islands in The Geographical Journal vol.17 No.4 Apr 1901; cited by M. Paul Groussac in his work 'Les Isles Malouines' 1910. However, Henniker-Heaton in Did Sir Richard Hawkins Visit the Falkland Islands (The Geographical Journal vol.67 No.1 Jan 1926), argued that Hawkins had indeed seen the Falklands following a professional assessment by round-the-world yachtsman, Connor O'Brien. Chambers went on to defend his 1901 conclusion in Hawkins Maiden Land and the Falkland Islands: A reply ... (The Geographical Journal vol.67 No.6 June 1926), in which Chambers accused Hawkins of “cooking” the bearings. Surprisingly, Ellis' supporting account merited no mention and may not have been known to either Chambers or Henniker-Heaton.

378 Public Ledger & Daily Advertiser Tuesday August 5, 1834 citing Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia No. LVII – Lives of British Admirals by Robert Southey

379 Markham (ed.) 1878

380 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490

381 Peña & Peña 2018

382 Fitzroy 1839

383 Francis Baylies to Manuel Vicente de Maza July 10, 1832

384 Pascoe 2020 p.23
The ship’s crew also see smoke, which they assume come from the camp fires of a tribe.

“Fire caused by lightening strikes was probably the one single element responsible for the greatest natural loss of tussock. Many islands still bear signs of having been burnt many years ago. Layers of red ash, in some cases a metre below present soil levels, suggest that such fires occurred before the arrival of man. In 1594 when Sir Hicnara Hawkins sailed along the northern part of the Islands in his vessel the Dainty, he recorded: "It was peopled. We saw many fires". Hawkins many indeed have witnessed the fires from a vagrant group of Yaghan canoe indians deposited on the Islands, but more probably he had viewed tussock fires caused by lightning.”  

Hawkins sails back to South America and passes through Magellan’s Strait en-route to Peru; “… care is to be had of the people called the Pentagones (sic). They are treacherous, and of great stature, so th(at) most give them the name of gyants.”

# Researcher’s Comment: From this point onwards we can say with some certainty that the Falkland Islands had been discovered. There is no documentary evidence supporting a previous sighting. Cartographic evidence is, at best, ambiguous. Perhaps Davis and Hawkins were, after all, the first Europeans to see the archipelago. They were certainly the first to do so with some acceptable evidence of it. The crew of the English ship Welfare would be the first to step ashore in 1690. However, with Davis disgraced, and Hawkins in a Spanish prison for 8 years, a Dutchman would also get to claim discovery in 1600. Davis, Hawkins and de Weerdt had one other thing in common – it took a tempest to get them far enough off the Patagonian coast to see the Falklands/Jasons.

**June 22**nd, after a 3 day battle with Spanish forces in the Bay of San Mateo, Hawkins is taken prisoner.  
In Amsterdam, cartographer Peter Plancius publishes a world map. A little to the north of Magellan’s Strait and very close to the Patagonian coast, he depicts 3 small islands identified as *I. de Acenca*.  

**1595** – in Amsterdam, chart-maker Rumold Mercator produces a map in the style of his father – *America Sive India Nova America ad magnae Gerardi Mercatoris*. No islands are depicted off the Patagonian coast.  
Also in Amsterdam, Jodocus Hondius publishes a world map – *Vera totius expeditionis nauticæ*. Revealing Francis Drake’s track, no islands are shown offshore of Patagonia. Tierra del Fuego is depicted as four large islands separated, unusually, from the fabled southern continent.  

**1596** – German cartographer Theodor de Bry completes his chart of the Americas – *America sive Novus Orbis respectu Europaeorum inferior globi terrestris pars*. An inshore island is identified as *I. de Acenca* at approximately 48° South latitude. 

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386 Hawkins 1622 p.106. Note that Hawkins referred only to others calling the Patagonian Indians “gyants”  
387 Hawkins’ account of his voyage was not published until 1622.  
388 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1594-peter-plancius.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1594-peter-plancius.jpg)  
390 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1595-vero-totius-expeditionis-nauticae3a6-by-jodocus-hondius.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1595-vero-totius-expeditionis-nauticae3a6-by-jodocus-hondius.jpg)  
391 Coincidentally, the island group to the south of Puerto Deseado is located at 47° 57'. See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1596-america-sive-novus-orbis-respectu-europaeorum-inferior-globi-terrestris-pars-by-theodor-de-bry-frankfurt.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1596-america-sive-novus-orbis-respectu-europaeorum-inferior-globi-terrestris-pars-by-theodor-de-bry-frankfurt.jpg)
1597 – Dutch cartographer Cornelius Wytfliet produces a chart of the Magellan Strait. To the north of the strait, at approximately 48° S is an island identified as Ys. de Alencam. 392

1599 – a world map by Wright and Molyneux published in London depicts islands within the Magellan Strait but none outside its eastern mouth. 393

1600 – January 24th, Dutchman Sebald de Weerdt, a vice-admiral of the Dutch East India Company, after being blown offshore by a storm, sees land from his ship, Gelooft.

“We found three small islets to windward, not marked on any maps, which we named the Sebaldine islands. These are in lat. 50 deg. 40’S., sixty leagues from the continent, and contained abundance of penguins, but we could not catch any having no boat.” 394

“The first authenticated discovery of the Falkland Islands was made by a Dutchman, Seebald de Weert (1600), who sighted three small uncharted islands... the Dutch expedition which sailed from Holland in 1614 under Le Maire and Schouten confirmed this discovery, ...” 395

A Dutch map by Olivier van Noort notes a Pinguyns Eyland off Port Desire (Puerto Deseado). 396

Richard Hakluyt publishes – *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Although he does not credit Davis with the sighting of the Falklands, he does publish the account of John Jane.

1601 – in Madrid, historian Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas produces a chart of the Pacific and Americas. No islands are depicted to the east of either Patagonia or the Magellan Strait. 397

1602 – Flemish map-maker Petrus Bertius publishes a map of the Strate van Magellanes. A group of six islands are featured off the Patagonian coast to the north of Baia de S Julian and identified as I. de Acençam. 398

Levinus Hulsius publishes – *Brevis & admiranda descriptio regni Guianae, auri abundantissimi, in America*. To the south of P. Desire is an island named Pinguyns Ins. Further offshore and to the north of B. de S. Juliano is a group of five islands identified as I. de Acencam. 399

1603 – in Antwerp, cartographer Abraham Ortelius depicts a group of islands named Ifla dafencion. 400

Three ships sail from Valparaiso led by Gabriel de Castilla in Jesús María. 401

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392 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1597-corneille-wytfflet.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1597-corneille-wytfflet.jpg)
394 Quoted by Rob Yssel in David Tatham (ed.) 2008 p.557. In Gallagher (1964 p.163) the date is given as January 21, 1600. The vice-admiral arrived back in the Netherlands in July, 1600.
395 *[Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in LCO 2/490
397 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1601-antonio-de-herrera-y-tordesillas-madrid.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1601-antonio-de-herrera-y-tordesillas-madrid.jpg)
401 These may have sailed as far south as 64ºS latitude. Possibly sighting the South Shetland Islands. Evidence is scant.
1604 – August 28th, after nineteen years of indecisive warfare the Treaty of London brings peace. 402

“As to trade with the Indies, the treaty remained intentionally ambiguous. It simply declared that commerce could be resumed as it had taken place before the war. The Spanish believed that this clause boiled down to a general exclusion. The English took it as an authorization to trade outside the existing Spanish dominions. Neither side thought it prudent to seek further clarification.” 403

“...James I asserted that England would respect Spain's monopoly of trade and settlements in all territories effectively occupied by her but could recognise none in unoccupied territory.” 404

“Article 9 of this treaty provided "that there shall be and ought to be free commerce" in all places "where commerce existed before the war, agreeably and according to the use and observances of the ancient alliances and treaties before the war". This sounded like a clear provision. But the reference to the old treaties was simply a reference to their uneasingly disputed terms.” 405

1606 – James I founds the Virginia Company to establish settlements on the east coast of North America.

A map of South America – America Meridionalis – by Mercator and Hondius has an inshore island off the east coast of South America identified as I. de Acencan. 406

1612 – Spain's Ambassador to London demands the removal of England's American colonies.

“(The Spanish) are very much displeased ... with our Plantation of Virginia, which they stick not now to say, that if his Majesty will not cause it to be recalled, this King will be forced by a strong hand to essay the removal of it; ... I doubt not but he will receive a cold answer, and for their doing anything by the way of hostility, I conceive they will be very slow to give England so just a pretence to be doing with them.” 407

402 England agreed to end its support of the Dutch rebellion, while Spain accepted that England was a protestant nation. Unpopular in England, the treaty somehow survived for two decades.
403 Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars Luc Duerloo 2012
404 Cawkell 1983
405 Fisch 1983 p.111
406 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1606-america-meridionalis-by-mercator-and-hondius.jpg
407 Sir John Digby to Sir Dudley Carleton June 20, 1612 in Calendar of State Papers Colonial, East Indies, China & Japan Vol.2 1513 -1616
A world map by Dutch cartographer Hessel Gerritsz features a single unnamed island depicted near the eastern mouth of Magellan's Strait.  

1616 – January 18th, the Dutch ship, Eenracht, under William Schouten, sights the archipelago before going on to round the southern cone of South America, giving the cape the name of his home town – Hoorn.

“The 18 we saw Sebaldes Islands south east from vs about 3. leagues, they lie, as Sebald Dewert writes, distant from the straight, east northeast, and west southwest, about 50. leagues, then we were vnder 51. degrees.”

1619 – following his return to Europe, Schouten produces a map of his voyage. Three islands are depicted on the South Atlantic at 51° S confirming de Weerdt’s sighting. Tierra del Fuego is incomplete but, for the first time, appears as an island. The Le Maire Strait between Tierra del Fuego and Staten Landt is also shown.

“...in 1619... the governorship of the Rio de la Plata stretched barely forty leagues from Buenos Aires.”

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408 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1612.jpg
409 Les Iles Malouines: Nouvel Exposé d'un Vieux Litige Paul Groussac 1910 p.88
410 The Relation of a Wonderfull Voiage made by Willem Cornelison Schouten of Horne. Shewing how South from the Straights of Magelan in Terra Delfuego: he found and discovered a newe passage through the great South Seaes, and that way sayled round about the world. Imprinted for Nathanaell Newbery (London) 1619
411 De Weerdt's discovery had been slow to appear on charts, but more importantly, cartographers now knew that Magellan's Strait was not the only way through to the Pacific and that Tierra del Fuego was an island. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1619-schouten-amsterdam.jpg
412 Around the time of Schouten’s return, a Spanish expedition led by Bartoleme Garcia de Nodal was discovering the Le Maire Strait and claiming it for Spain with the name – Strait of St. Vincent.
413 Memoria Historica sobre los Derechos de Soberania y Dominio de la Confederacion Argentina ... Pedro de Angelis 1852 p.14
1621 – in Madrid, Pedro Teixeira produces a chart of the Magellan Strait for an atlas. No islands are shown to the east of the Patagonian coast but Tierra del Fuego is shown as an island. 414

1624 – Jose de Acosta, in Amsterdam, produces – *Kaerte van beyde de Straten Magellani en Iacob le Maire.* A single offshore island is shown to the east of the bay of San Julian, named *I de Açençam.* 415

1625 – Joannes de Laef publishes *Provincien van de straet van magallanes, ende vande straet le maire.* Three offshore islands are named as the *Sybold de Waerdts eylanden.* 416

1626 – in London, John Speed publishes a map of the Americas. Two islands, unnamed, are shown to the north-east of the strait. 417

1628 – *Charte uniuerselle de tout le monde...* a world map by Cornelius Danckerts and Melchior Taverier of Paris identify a group of islands off the Magellan Strait as *Is de Sybold de Waerdt.* 418

A new map published by Robert Vaughan in London depicts no islands near the strait. 419

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414 *Le Maire Strait* had been renamed *Strait of St. Vincent* by Teixeira. See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1621-pedro-teixeira-madrid.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1621-pedro-teixeira-madrid.jpg)

415 Soft c's making the name sound like Asensam. See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1624-jose-de-acosta-amsterdam-detail.png](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1624-jose-de-acosta-amsterdam-detail.png)

416 The earliest chart I have found so far identifying de Weerd't's sighting by his name so far. See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1625-joannes-de-laef-spanish-netherlands-detail.png](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1625-joannes-de-laef-spanish-netherlands-detail.png)


418 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1628-charte-vniuerselle-de-tovt-le-monde...by-cornelius-danckerts-melchior-taverier-paris.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1628-charte-vniuerselle-de-tovt-le-monde...by-cornelius-danckerts-melchior-taverier-paris.jpg)

1629 – November 15th, peace is achieved between Spain and England with the Treaty of Madrid. 420

“... article 7 simply referred to article 9 of 1604 – the existing state of affairs was thereby confirmed. It was obviously impossible to find a generally acceptable interpretation of the ancient treaties. Nevertheless some conclusions are possible. The most controversial matter was trade with those places in the Indies that were actually occupied by Spain. The Spaniards tried to go further, insisting on their general monopoly of navigation to and trade with the Indies, irrespective of effective occupation, excluding a priori all possessions and even navigation and commerce of possible competitors. But there was no legal basis for such claims, unless the papal bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas were recognized, something England had never done. It was impossible to interpret the existing treaties as derogatory to the British right to sail in and to trade in all parts of the world not actually held and occupied by Spain. Spain, of course. Would not have admitted this. But it was difficult to deny it on the basis of the international law valid at that time.” 421

1630 – in the Spanish Netherlands, Hessel Gerritsz produces a chart of the tip of South America and the Magellan Strait. Three islands are show off the Patagonian coast (opposite Puerto San Julian) and named the Sebold de Waerdtse eylanten. 422

1634 – Carte universelle hydrographique by Jean Guérard (France) shows a group of three offshore islands off the patagonian coast. 423

1636 – Jodocus Hondius, on his Nova totius terrarum orbis geographica ac hydrographica tabula map depicts three inshore islands close to the coast of Patagonia above 50° S but does not identify them. 424

1638 – on his Polus Antarcticus chart, Hendrik Hondius of Amsterdam depicts the Sebaldi de Weert islands, albeit far too close to the coast of South America but below 50° S. Two islands are shown just off Porto Desire. 425

1640 – French cartographer Jean Boisseau publishes a map of the Americas showing a single inshore island off the coast of Patagonia at 50° S. 426

420 Another inconclusive and expensive conflict, poorly conducted. Parliamentary resentment would simmer until the English Civil War in 1642.
421 Fisch 1983 p.111
422 Inshore islands were depicted, but not identified. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1630-hessel-gerritsz-spanish-netherlands.jpg
425 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1638-hendrik-hondius-polus-antarcticus-amsterdam.jpg
426 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1640-circa-french-jean-boisseau-detail.png
1642 – English frustrations with government leads to civil war between supporters of the King and those of Parliament. 427

1645 – another Parisian map – *Novvelle et exacte description dv globe terrestre* – depicts no islands off the coast of South America below the Rio de la Plata. 428


1648 – January 30th, a peace treaty is signed between Spain and the Dutch Republic – The Treaty of Munster. 430 Spain, for the first time, recognises limitations to the Treaty of Tordesillas.

“... and in the said treaty shall be comprehended all potentates, nations, and people, with whom the said Lords the King and States, or members of the East and West India Companies in their name, within the limits of their said grants, are in friendship and alliance. And each one, that is to say the said Lords the King and States, respectively, shall remain in possession of and enjoy such lordships, towns, castles, fortresses, commerce and countries of the East and West Indies, as well as of Brazil, and on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America, respectively, which the said Lords ... hold and possess, ... it has been

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427 English expansion into the Americas was, unsurprisingly, curtailed for much of the following decade.
428 Attributed to Willem Janszoon Blaeu and Claes Visscher. See  
429 Published in Rome. The depiction of *Tierra Incognita* is reminiscent of the large island on the Hazine chart of 1522.
430 Complicated and not particularly relevant except for context. Protestant parts of the Spanish-Netherlands had broken away in 1581 but only achieved *de jure* (legally recognised) independence with this treaty in 1648. Eventually it would form part of what we now know as the Netherlands.
agreed and stipulated, that the Spaniards shall keep their navigation to the East Indies, in the same manner they hold it at present, without being at liberty to go further; and the inhabitants of those Low Countries shall not frequent the places which the Castilians have in the East Indies.”

“In view of the antecedent negotiations, and particularly the Spanish claims of possession to the large stretches of uninhabited lands lying between their scattered settlements, it was undoubtedly intended to limit the Dutch to what they actually held and to exclude them not only from trade in the Spanish ports but from access to the wild shores where they might found settlements or at least do business with natives.”

“(Spain) had to abandon its old claim to a general hemispherical monopoly, ... By now it was obvious that the papal bulls and the treaty of Tordesillas had no place in international law as regards third parties. Goebel maintains that the treaties of 1648 and 1667 gave Spain an exclusive right to commerce and navigation in the South Atlantic, debarring the Netherlands and Britain from any attempt not only to settle but also to navigate there. This would have included the Falkland Islands. ... This is probably a fairly accurate statement of Spanish intentions. But it neither takes into account Dutch (and, mutatis mutandis, British) intentions nor does it necessarily follow from the wording of the treaty. Article 6 of 1648 was not at all clear on the subject, and this was, in all probability, no coincidence.”

1650 — in a map by Jansson of Amsterdam centred on the Pacific Ocean, three small islands at about 52º S are named Sebald de waerts Eylan.

1655 — Oliver Cromwell’s, ‘Western Design’ sees English forces challenging Spain in the Caribbean.

1656 — in Paris a chart of Le Paraguayr, Le Chili, La Terre et Les Isles Magellanique shows a group of three small islands at approximately 51º S identified as Ins Sebaldi de Werdt.

1660 — monarchy is restored in England; with the consent of Parliament.

1665 — a Dutch chart depicts South America. Off the coast of Patagonia is shown one large island, unnamed.

1667 — May 23rd, a treaty of peace and commerce is signed between Spain and England.

“... And by the 8th Article of the Treaty of 1667 between Great Britain and Spain it is declared -

“... That the Crown of Spain doth grant to the King of Great Britain and his Subjects in both the Indies, and all that is granted to the United States of the Low Countries and their Subjects in the Treaty of Munster of 1648, point for point, in as full and ample a manner as if the same were therein inserted, the same Rules being to be observed whereunto the Subjects of the said United States are obliged,” –

and it appears by the 6th Article of the Treaty of Munster what these Rules are – viz -

“... That the Subjects of the two contracting parties shall forbear sailing to and trading in any of the Harbours, places, Ports or castles possessed by the other party.” –

431 Goebel 1927 p.127 (fn.1) quoted in Fisch 1983 p.113
432 Fisch 1982 pp.112-113
433 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1650-jansson-amsterdam.jpg
434 Put simply, England did not recognise Spanish hegemony in the Americas. The early attacks on Spanish possessions in the Caribbean did not go well, although England would eventually end up with Jamaica.
435 Albeit too close to the continent. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1656-nicolas-sanson.jpg
436 Attributed to Willem Blaeu albeit 27 years after his death. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1665-detail.png
437 Treaty of Madrid 1667
And by the Treaty made between Great Britain and Spain for settling Peace in America in 1670, the same Rules or Regulations are again stipulated and confirmed…” 438

“Spain was anxious not to grant more than it had been compelled to grant to the Dutch on an earlier occasion. ... neither the treaty of 1648 nor that of 1667 contained any delimitation of the respective territories, Thus it was a kind of basic recognition, without indication of its exact extent. In this sense it was primarily a success for the Dutch and the British, because there had never been any doubt about the recognition of the actual Spanish possessions in America by other European powers, while Spain before 1648 and 1667 stubbornly refused to recognise its competitor’s colonies. So there was no longer any doubts as to the basic legitimacy of these possessions, while their limits remained undefined. ... By 1667 the (Falkland) islands were discovered, but there had as yet been no successful landing. The archipelago was scarcely known to the Spaniards, and it was impossible to derive a Spanish title to it from the treaties of 1648 and 1667.” 439

1669 – September 26th, John Narborough sails from England in Sweepstakes, accompanied by a merchant vessel carrying goods valued at £300. His orders are to make discoveries in the South Seas, and to trade. 440

“The design of an establishment on or near the coast of Patagonia, is not, however a new scheme: it had been eagerly entered into many years ago by Charles the Second, who, notwithstanding the continual distresses in which his profusion, and the ill terms on which he generally stood with his subjects, involved him, went to a very considerable expense in sending out Sir John Narborough for that purpose. This gentleman had directions to survey the Streights of Magellan, and the coasts of Patagonia; and, if possible, to procure an intercourse with the brave and unconquered Indians of Chili, and to establish a commerce and lasting correspondence with them.” 441

1670 – March 26th, John Narborough claims Port Desire on the east coast of South America (47º 48'S). The river mouth named by Cavendish in 1586.

“Gentlemen, you are by me desired to take notice, that this day I take possession of this Harbour, and the River of Port Desire, and of all the land in this country on both shores, for the use of His Majesty King Charles the IId, of Great Britain, and his heirs.” 442

Sweepstakes’ Spanish pilot tells Narborough that he; “... did not understand the coast, nor where 'twas inhabited.” 443

July 18th, with the Treaty of Madrid Spain recognises English possessions in the Americas.

“VII. Moreover, it is agreed, that the Most Serene King of Great Britain, his Heirs and Successors, shall have, hold, keep, and enjoy for ever, with plenary right of Sovereignty, Dominion, Possession, and

438 TNA BT 5/5. Board of Trade inquiry into Spanish pretensions. cf. 1670 & 1789
439 Fisch 1982 p.112
440 See A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean James Burney 1813 vol.3 p.318.
441 The Annual Register for the Year 1771 printed for J. Dodsley 1772
442 Quoted in Burney 1813 vol.3 p.336
443 An Account of several late Voyages & Discoveries to the South and North, Towards the Streights of Magellan, the South Seas ... Sir John Narborough, Captain Jasmen Tasman, Captain John Wood London 1694. Narborough passed through Magellan's Strait to Valdivia and then returned; the first recorded navigation in both directions. The pilot's comments are important as they suggest that Spain had neither settled the area nor knew those parts particularly well. Despite later assertions to the contrary. Narborough's claim was never followed up, nor any effective occupation made. This was probably due to the new treaty with Spain and a wish to avoid further conflict. Now known as Port Deseado.
Propriety, all those Lands, Regions, Islands, Colonies, and places whatsoever, being situated in the West Indies, or in any part of America, which the said King of Great Britain and his Subjects do at present hold and possess,

VIII ... The Subjects of the King of Great Britain shall not Sail unto, and Trade in, the Havens and Places which the Catholique King holdeth in the said (West) Indies: Nor in like manner shall the Subjects of the King of Spain Sail unto, or Trade in, those Places which are possessed there by the King of Great Britain. ...

XV. The present Treaty shall in nothing derogate from any Pre-eminence, Right or Dominion of either Confederate in the American Seas, Channels or Waters, but they may have and retain the same in as full and ample manner, as may of Right belong unto them: But, it is always to be understood, that the Liberty of Navigation ought in no manner to be disturbed, where nothing is committed against the Genuine Sence (sic) and Meaning of these Articles." 444

"From the Terms of this last Article the Spanish Ministers have heretofore pretended to infer, that there are Seas which are the Objects of Sovereignty or Dominion and they have on former occasions endeavoured under this pretence to confine the Freedom of Navigation in the American Seas... Nothing can be more extravagant than to found a Right of this extent and importance, a Right of Dominion in the Spanish Monarchy over the Seas of South America, to the exclusion of all other Nations, on what is stipulated in the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1670, which contains nothing more than a general reservation of supposed existing Rights in favour of Great Britain as well as of Spain." 445

"The restrictive interpretation of article 6 of the treaty of 1648 was confirmed by the next Anglo-Spanish treaty in 1670. Basically it renewed the provisions of 1667. There was an even more explicit recognition of the British possessions by Spain (article 7). According to the eighth article both parties were to refrain from sailing to or trading in all places which the other side held. ... There was another somewhat enigmatic stipulation in the treaty, in article 15: ... There was no explanation as to which rights etc. were meant. So one might imagine that a Spanish monopoly of navigation in the South Atlantic was intended. But there is no further evidence for this, while the other provisions of the treaty show no signs that the reciprocal restrictions of trade and navigation applied to more than the actual occupied areas of America. The result of the treaties of 1667 and 1670 was therefore a mutual recognition of the respective possessions in America and of the exclusive right to trade with them. The exact extent of these possessions, however, remained undefined, which meant that no further restriction as to the access to the American coasts and to the navigation in the seas around America could be inferred. This applied particularly to the Falkland Islands, which up to this time had neither been claimed nor occupied by any power." 446

"The 17th- and 18th-century treaties between Britain and Spain did not prohibit British possession of the Falklands; none of them described the extent of Spanish possessions in South America.” 447

When news of Narborough’s expedition reaches Lima, the Viceroy halts the regular silver shipment to Panama. In case of an attack. 448

444 Treaty of Madrid 1670. It is useful to note that after the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, Spain interpreted the term “West Indies” to include all of South America. An interpretation not shared by Britain. cf. 1667 & 1789
445 TNA BT 5/5 at 418. Board of Trade inquiry into Spanish pretensions. cf. 1789
446 Fisch 1983 p.115. This author appears unaware of the claim by Hawkins in 1594.
447 Pascoe 2020 p.342
448 The Inexhaustible Fountains of Gold: English Projects and Ventures in the South Seas, 1670-1750 Glyndwr Williams in
1673 – John Narbrough’s detailed chart of the *Streights of Magellan* is published in England. 449

1675 – a map of Magellan’s Strait by Frederik de Wit identifies a group of three offshore islands as the *Sybold de Wayerds Eylanden*. Islets are depicted to the south of Cabo Blanco and Puerto Deseado. 450

An English merchant, Anthony de la Roche, blown off course, discovers South Georgia. 451

“The treaty of Tordesillas (1494) under which the Spanish and Portuguese divided the New World between them... would have the effect of awarding South Georgia to Portugal... at no time has the Portuguese Government claimed any sovereignty over it.” 452

“There is no doubt that Great Britain’s presence in the Antarctic has been evident for more than two centuries. The earliest discovery of land in the area is believed to have been South Georgia in 1675 by the British merchant, Anthony de la Roche.” 453

“The first discovery of land in the Antarctic, south of the Antarctic Convergence, was most probably the sighting of South Georgia in 1675 by a London merchant, Antoine de la Roche. ... only a translated precis survives. ... The island that la Roche discovered was almost certainly South Georgia. ... Dr. L. Harrison Matthews reviewed the description. His interpretation, based on an extensive knowledge of South Georgia, was that la Roche sailed past the southern side of the island, turned north near Cape Disappointment and anchored in Doubtful Bay or Drygalski Fjord...” 454

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450 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1675-frederik-de-wit-spanish-netherlands.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1675-frederik-de-wit-spanish-netherlands.jpg)

451 See also 1750, 1775 and 1947 cf. 1756 & 1775

452 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands Dependencies 1947 in LCO 2/490

453 Anglo-Argentine Rivalry after the Falklands/Malvinas War: Laws, Geopolitics and the Antarctic Connection C. Joyner 1984

454 *The Island of South Georgia* Robert Headland 1992 p.21
1679 — Englishman William Dampier commences a circumnavigation of the world. 455

1680 — London map-maker Nicolas Sanson publishes – A mapp of all the world projected in two hemispheres in which are exactly described all the parts of the Earth and seas. Islands to the north-east of Magellan's Strait are identified as Hawkins Land. 456

1681 — London map-maker Jonas Moore identifies three islands at 48° S as I. Sebald de Verdt. 457

In Paris, cartographer Pierre Duval publishes Terra Magellanica. 458

English captain, Bartholomew Sharpe, circumnavigates the Falklands archipelago. 459

"On the homeward voyage Sharp called at the West Indies, and one of his men was hanged for a pirate at Jamaica. When the adventurers reached England they were tried for piracy at the request of the Spanish Ambassador, but acquitted. The English and French Governments were openly said to connive with the buccaneers, to harass the Spanish colonial settlements." 460

1683 — in August, an expedition is prepared under Capt. John Cook. The ship, Revenge, has a total of 70 men and 18 guns. His officers are William Dampier, John Cook and Ambrose Cowley.

"Cook afterwards changed the name of his vessel to the Batchelor's Delight, and sailed southward to the Falkland Islands." 461

1684 — January 28th, Batchelor's Delight anchors off the Jasons.

"We made the Sibbel de Wards, which are 3 islands lying in the latitude of 51 deg. 35 min. south, and longitude west from the Lizard in England, by my account, 57 deg. 28 min... These Islands of Sibbel de Wards were so named by the Dutch. They are all three rocky barren Islands without any Tree, only some Dildo bushes. " 462

"I persuaded Capt. Cooke to anchor near those Islands, being sensible of danger in Our Passage through the Streight of Magellan considering, especially that Men aboard the Privateers are not so strictly at Command as in other Vessels. We came to an Anchor within two Cables length of the Shore of the furthermost of those three Islands where We found foul rocky Ground & the Island barren & destitute of Trees, but some Dildo Bushes growing near the Sea Side. " 463

"This month we were in latitude 47° 40', where we espied an Island bearing West of us, and bore away for it, but being too late we lay by all night. The Island seemed very pleasant to the eye, with many woods. I may say the whole Island was woods there being a rock above water to the Eastward of it with innumerable fowls. I sailed along that Island to the Southward, and about the SW side of the Island there seemed to me to be a good place for ships to ride. The wind blew fresh, and they would not put the boat out. Sailing a little further, having 26 and 27 fathoms water; we came to a place where we saw the

455 Taking passage with others, Dampier's circumnavigation may be the slowest on record at just under 13 years. cf. 1684
457 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1681-jonas-moore-london-e1548214378593.png
458 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1681-terra-magellanica-by-pierre-duval-paris.jpg
459 Gazette d'Amsterdam August 14, 1764
460 Mulhall 1878 p.51
461 Ibid. p.52
462 A New Voyage Round the World William Dampier 1697. Having set out from Virginia in Revenge, Dampier had transferred to a captured Dutch vessel which was renamed Batchelor's Delight.
463 Dampier quoted in Harris' Collection of Voyages 1744 in Gallagher 1964 p.167. A “cable's length” is equal to 608 feet.
weeds ride, and found only seven fathoms water and all rocky ground, therefore we put the ship about: but the harbour seemed a good place for ships to ride in. There seemed to me harbour for 500 sail of shipping, the going in but narrow, and the North side of the entrance shallow that I could see: but I think there is water enough on the South side. I would have had them stand upon a wind all night; but they told me they did not come out to go upon discovery. We saw likewise another Island by this, which made me to think them the Sibble D’wards.”

“And Whereas there is reason to believe that Lands and Islands of great extent hitherto unvisited by any European Power may be found in the Atlantick Ocean between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellanick Streight... as likewise His Majesty's Islands called Falkland's Islands, lying within the said Tract, notwithstanding the first discovery and possession thereof taken by Cowley...

“According to the general, common and particular geographical charts of Spain, France, England, and Holland, and specifically that of Admiral Anson, in the history of their journey around the world they uniformly state that the first to discover them (the Falkland islands) (was) Captain Cowley, Scot, in the year 1668 (sic); 80 leagues distant from the mouth of the Strait of Magellan, at the southern latitude of 51 degrees...”

“... important in that Cowley reported a large harbour on Pepy’s Island, "where five hundred ships could ride at anchor." This information was to form the subject of Admiralty speculation in the 18th century.”

1689 — John Locke publishes his Two Treatises; the second dealing with rights of sovereignty.

“... discovery alone, not followed by Actual Possession and Establishment, can never be admitted as giving any Right to the Exclusion of Other Nations.”

In Amsterdam, Gerard van Schagen publishes a world map. Islands depicted at 51°S but close to the mouth of Magellan's Strait are named the Syb. de Waerds Eylanden.

October 12th, Captain John Strong sails from the Downs in Welfare, intending to trade with the Spanish in South America while also carrying letters of marque to attack French ships. Welfare sailed via Portsmouth and into the Atlantic Ocean.

464 Cowley quoted in A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean James Burney 1816 vol.4 pp.137-138 citing Cowley's MS Journal in the Sloane Collection. Having lost his original log Cowley attempted to write up the voyage from memory, raising inaccuracies which he acknowledged. Further muddled in 1699 when the account was published by William Hack(e) and the location of the island mistakenly set as at latitude 41°S. Hacke took this to be another, previously undiscovered island which he named Pepy's Island. Hacke ignored Cowley's protestations that the islands were those identified by Sebald de Weerdt and even added a drawing of Pepys Island with an Admiralty Bay and Secretary's Point – all fictitious. Pepys Island would be long sought.

465 Instructions to Byron quoted in Gallagher 1964 cf. 1764. Cowley's account of the voyage does not include any mention of his "claiming" any territory.


467 Foreign Office Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490

468 Two Treatises of Government: In the Former, The False Principles and Foundation of Sir Robert Filmer, And His Followers, are Detected and Overthrown. The Latter is an Essay concerning The True Original, Extent, and End of Civil-Government. John Locke 1689. Disputed, particularly by the Spanish.


470 The Downs are a road-stead (area of sheltered sea) in the southern North Sea near the east Kent coast and the English Channel. A regular base for England's navy.
“The Farwell, having on Bord about 100 Men, and 38 Gunns; Cap. John Strong Co§ander, Sett out from Plymouth Novemb. the 1. 1689 for the South Seas...” 471

1690 – January 23rd, Capt. Strong writes in his Journal. 472

“I did intend to tuch (sic) at Port Desire but the winds hanging so much W(ester)ly that we could not come near the shoar (sic) that I was forced to stand to the southward to gain our passage through ye straits...”

January 27th, the archipelago is sighted by Strong. He recognises it as Hawkins Land. 473

“Monday from twelve ye twenty sixth day to eight in ye morning this day that we see ye Land our Course was WSW 3d 00° S° distance eighty one miles the wind at NW and WNW fair weather at four in ye morning we had seaventy five fathom water and within three or four Leagues of the shoar we had 36 fathom this land doth show like a great many Islands. It is a large Land and lyeth E and W nearest there is several keys that lye along the Shoar We sent our boat on Shoar to one of them and they brought on board abundance of Pengwins and other fowl and seals and at three in ye afternoon we stood down along shoar and steer’d E B(y) N and att eight at night we see ye Land run to ye Eastward as far as we could discern. Latt --- 51: 03”

“The spirit of adventure being however excited by the wars in the reign of King William, one Strong, whose manuscript journal is in the Museum, fell in with them, and is supposed to have given them their present English name; which also being adopted by Halley, has since that time been generally received on our maps.” 474

January 28th, Strong's log continues. 475

“Tuesday this morning att four a clock we see a rock that lyeth of the Main Island about four or five Leagues it makes like a sail 476 we tack’t and stood to ye W ward and att six a clock we did stand (sail) and through a sound that lyes about twenty Leagues from ye W’most Land that we saw but what length this Island is I do not know the sound lyeth S and N nearest there is twenty four fathom water three Leagues wide and shoulds (shoals) gradually till you come close on board of the W’ end and then you have eight and nine fathom good ground it is about four Leagues Y’ mouth of it but as you Run in it is broader at eight at night we came to an Anchor in fourteen fathom water about six or seaven Leagues within Y’ wind was at W S W”

January 29th, Strong's log: 477

“Wednesday this morning we weighed and stood unto a harbour on ye W’ side and there came to ane anchor and sent our boat on Shoar for fresh water and we did kill abundance of geese & ducks but as for wood there is none” 478

472 British Library Sloane MS 3295
473 The following transcription provided by Dr. Graham Pascoe taken from the original log. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1680-a-mapp-of-all-the-world-projected-in-two-hemispheres-in-which-are-exactly-described-all-the-parts-of-the-earth-and-seas-by-nicolas-sanson-london.jpg
474 The Annual Register for the Year 1771 printed for J. Dodsley 1772
475 Transcription provided by Dr. Graham Pascoe.
476 Eddystone Rock. Called Condite Head by Hawkins.
477 Transcription provided by Dr. Graham Pascoe.
478 Strong did not himself go ashore; but the landing is believed to have been in the vicinity of Bold Cove.
January 30th, Strong's log: 479

“Thursday we rid at Anchor in this harbour filling of fresh water there is a great many good harbours in this Sound & at eight a clock att night we made an end of filling of water this harbour is about eight Leagues within ye cape on your Starboard side”

January 31st, Strong's log: 480

“Fryday this morning at five a clock we weighed from this harbour yē wind at WSW Wee sent our Long boat a head of yē ship to sound before us we keept y' W'side on board all y' way till yo' come about 12 legues up and y' (then) you take one small Island on y' Starboard side of yoū at eight a clock we came to an Anchor in nine fathom water by reason it was night”

February 1st, Strong's log: 481

“Saturday this morning at four a clock we weighed & sent our long boat before to sound and ye 1st at ten we got clear out of y' Sound and at twelve we sett y' W Cape which we gave y' name of Cape Farewell" and it bore NNE distance about five leagues at 7 at night y' W'most Land we see bore WNW distance six leagues the wind at WSW this Land lyes nearest E and W but as for y' length of it I doe not know from the W'most end that we see to Falkland Sound as I named it is twenty four Leagues this Sound is about seaventeen Leagues Long the first entrance lyes S B(y) E seaven and eight fathom three or four Leagues over & afterwards S B W” 482

The visit is also recorded by one of the crew.

“Before our entrance into the Straits, we touched at two several Islands (viz) S. t Jago, lying in about 15 degrees North Lat. and Hawkins Land. ... As for Hawkins Land 'tis parted by a great Sound, which we past through. The Designe of our voyage... being part to make Discoveryes, Oblidged our Comnder to stay some time at the place. The Sound in several places was so full of Weeds, that the ship could hardly make her way; and if one might Judge by appearance, there it was, we Sayled rather through a Medow then an Arme of the Sea, and notwithstanding our Officers Courage in the Attempt and Skill in the Management we grazed (as they call it) the ship drawing 3 fathom water, we had just so much to car'y us, and the Chañell being hard gravel, gave a new but Melancholy diversion to the Ear, our Sayling being for some time extremly rugged and attended with a rattling, like that of a hackney Coach in the streets of London. The Inhabitants, such as they were, were exceeding numerous. The Pengwins (a Bird larger then a Duck) gave us the first reception, Being muster'd in infinet numbers on a rock, upon some of our mens landing they were so far from turning tayle, that they stood & viewd and seemed to salute them with a greate many gracefull bows with the same gesturs equally expressing their Curiosity and good breeding, Their wings about 3 Inches long, may rather be thought fins, because first they bear a delineation but no seperation of feathers, and again, in diving they use them so swiftly that as we observed in a very clear Sea, they seem rather to fly then swim. On the rest of the body they have a distiction [sic] of feathers as other fowles. As for other Creaturs, there were, Eagles, Hawkes, which thô they had long wings, Suffered themselves to be taken up by our men; Foxes twice as big as in England, Haveing some Greyhounds we carried from England, we caught a young one alive, which we kept a

479 Transcription provided by Dr. Graham Pascoe.
480 Ibid
481 Ibid
482 Cape Meredith
483 Named after Lord Falkland, one of the voyage's sponsors.
board some months, but upon the first Engagem., and Firing of the Guı̈s he was frighted over board (as were the Monkeys of a delicate green coulour, that we had at S. Jago) Otherwise he was of a very antient wild and cunning family, where non of his kin degenerates or abate anything of their natures, as other Animals in that Island do; As to their Antiquity, since they cannot fly at all, not likely swim so farr as from America, nor again is it probable, that any would be at the pains to bring a breed of Foxes so far as any Land is from Hawkin's Island, it will follow, that there has been either two distinct Creations, or that America, and ı́ (that) Island, have been formerly the same Continent which is the most probable of the two by farr: ... The Island if it were not quite destitute of Wood would make a Noble plantation; It bears an English name, a good Harbage, and a great variety of Land and Sea Fowle." 484

**March 24th**, Strong's log:

“... at nine a clock we came to a very good Port that I found over against St. Jeromes Sound on Terra Fjogo side. We came to an Anchor in fifteen fathoms water and Mor'd you may lye in several places of this Port from all winds safe so (that) none can hurt you. I gave it the name Port Ffaulkland.” 485

**May 10th**, Strong and his crew finally sail towards the Strait of Magellan.

“... this morning at 9 a clock wee weighed from Port Ffaulkland.” 486

“Captain Strong in the “Welfare,” sailed through between the two principle islands in 1690, and called the passage Falkland sound, in memory of the well-known Royalist Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, killed at the battle of Newbury in 1643;...” 487

“The first authenticated landing in the Falkland Islands was English. In 1690 Captain John Strong navigated the passage between the two main islands in the Welfare and named it Falklands Sound, a name later transferred to the whole archipelago. He made a careful coastal survey and reported good harbours, but did not take formal possession. With Captain Strong sailed Richard Simson, who suggested the colonization of the islands, referred to as “Hawkins' Maiden Land.” 488


**1696** — William Dampier returns to the South Atlantic; circumnavigating the Falklands archipelago.

“Dampier, and some others of our navigators also touched at them; who not considering them of much importance; were not accurate in their accounts of them. ... It does not appear that the Spaniards, in all this long course of years, had either by chance or otherwise, ever touched at them; and they seem to have known so little about them, as not even to have given them a name.” 489

In Amsterdam, cartographer Nicolas Sanson publishes his *Mappe-monde, dressé sur les observations de mrs. de l'Academie royale des sciences et quelques autres et sur les memoires les plus recens*. Off the coast of Patagonia he identifies three islands as *Iſles decouv. par Davis Anglois* (islands discovered by Englishman Davis). Another island group placed closer to the Patagonian coastline is identified as *I. de Sebald de Weert* while unnamed islands are shown to the south of *Port desire* (Puerto Deseado). 490

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484 Simson c.1692. Transcription by Dr. Graham Pascoe. Was continental drift even a theory in 1690?
485 British Library Sloane MS 3295
486 *Ibid.* Strong appears to have passed by Port Desire (Puerto Deseado) on May 21, 1693.
487 *Memorandum Respecting the Falkland Islands* Gaston de Bernhardt 1911
488 *Foreign Office Memorandum on the Falkland Islands* 1947 in LCO 2/490
489 *The Annual Register for the Year 1771* printed for J. Dodsley 1772
490 This is the first acknowledgement of Davis's sighting that I have been able to find to-date. *cf.* 1592 & 1594. See
1698 – January 4th, Whitehall Palace burns down. Drake’s charts are destroyed.

French privateers and merchantmen from St. Malo are increasingly active around Cape Horn. 491

“Some ships belonging to St. Maloes are also said to have visited them, to whom the French would willingly attribute the honour of a discovery, though they cannot deny the prior title of Hawkins and de Wert: from hence, how ever, they have given them the name of the Malouines, which has also been adopted by the Spaniards.” 492

“The French, unlike their competitors, made numerous voyages from 1698 to 1725 during which they recognized and touched these islands. The Danycan shipowner and the Paris financier, Jourdan de Groussay, obtained in 1698 the privilege of founding the South Sea Company for the exploitation of the coasts and islands of the Pacific Ocean in the southern hemisphere” 493

“A second period of discoveries is attributed with greater unanimity to sailors from the French port of Saint-Malo, who since 1698 made a hundred trips to the Magellanic region and identified the two largest islands as "the new discovered islands" and then as "Malouines"...” 494

1699 – a new map by William Hacke in London pictures a large island to the north-east of the Strait. 495

1700 – Edmund Halley publishes a map of the Atlantic Ocean showing magnetic variation which identifies the 'Seebold de Waerds Isles' off the coast of South America. 496

1701 – January 19th, French captain, Jacques Gouin de Beauchêne in Phélypeaux, after rounding Cape Horn from the Pacific and sailing north.

“... perceived to the NW at eight leagues distance, an unknown Island not marked in any chart. It is in latitude about 52° 50’ S, and about 60 leagues to the East of the Tierra del Fuego. We named it Isle Beauchesne. It is in circuit five or six leagues; it is moderately high, and at three leagues to the East of it, appeared level... The Sebald isles were seen the next day, ...” 497

“It lies then eighty Miles distant from the Continent of South America,... having been seen and visited by several ships of St. Malo in the first Year of the current Century, who, by touching on several Sides, and entering several Ports, believed it to be a Cluster of Islands, to which they gave the Name of Isles Malouines, or the Islands of St. Malo, in Honour of that Haven from which they were fitted out.” 498
“The Falkland Islands became well known to the French mariners of St. Malo during the first decade of the 18th century; hence the French name given to the group, Les îles Malouines. Île Beauchêne was discovered in 1701,...”

“One of the captains of (the South Sea) company, Gouin de Beauchêne, commanding the Phélypeaux, sighted (on), January 19, 1701, "an unknown island which is not marked in any map. It is about 52° 5', 60 leagues east of the Terre de Fue: we named it Beauchêne Island; its circuit can be from 5 to 6 leagues. She is mediocre high and quite united. The Sebaldes Islands were seen the next day. We anchored at 51 32 "to the eastern band, where we found several creeks and freshwater ponds, celery, geese, bustards and teals in quantity, and finally a good enough ground, but no wood. and that was what we missed the most."...

French trade in the south seas is estimated at 500,000 livres per annum.

“.. Between the years 1700 and 1708 many French ships from St. Maloes, sailed into the South Seas, by some of them these Islands were discovered and the French name of Malouines was attached to them, which name the Spaniards have adopted.”

In Europe, the War of Spanish Succession embroils England, France, Austria, Savoy, the Spanish Netherlands, Prussia and other Germanic principalities. Spain itself is divided.

Daniel Defoe publishes Reasons Against a War arguing for a profitable maritime war against Spain rather than an expensive continental conflict. Defoe advises the English monarch, King William III, to establish a colony in Chile and supporting settlements both in the Rio de la Plata and near the Strait of Magellan.

1702 – British cartographer William Godson publishes a world map.

The Falkland Is. are shown to the east of the Sebald de Weert Is and to the south of Pepys I. Falkland Sound is depicted as ]

499 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490
500 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124
501 Francis Baylies to Manuel Vicente de Maza July 10, 1832
502 Williams 1973 p.33. Defoe claimed he had the King's approval but that the monarch's death in 1702 prevented action.
503 A new and correct map of the world laid down according to the newest observations & discoveries in several different projections including the trade winds, monsoons, variation of the compass, and illustrated with a coelestial planisphere, the various systems of Ptolomy, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe together with ye apearances of the planets etc.
504 These are the first charts I have found to use the name Falklands; applied to both Sound and Islands. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1702-a-new-and-correct-map-of-the-world-laid-down-according-
Halley publishes a revision of his 1700 map; with a depiction of *Falklands Sound* and *Falkland Islands* sited to the east of the 'Seebold de Waerds Isles'. Both situated below 50° south latitude.  

**1703** – 3 vessels return to St Malo from South America. Their combined cargoes realise 7 million livres.

In Paris, cartographer Guillaume de L'isle produces a map of South America identifying three islands as the *Isles de Sebald de Weert* with a single island – *Isle de Beauchesne* – below them.  

**December 23**

**1704** – **August 3**

**1705** – Dutch cartographer Nicolas Sanson publishes a chart of Magellan's Strait. Three inshore islands to the north of the strait are identified as *I. de Sebaldo*. A large island to the south of Port Desire is identified as *I. de los Leones*.

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505 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1702-halley.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1702-halley.jpg)

506 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1703-detail.png](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1703-detail.png)

507 A voyage around the world... W. Funnell 1707 in Gallagher 1964 p.163 & 168

508 The same name is also given to a large island south of Cabo Blanco suggesting some confusion. *cf.* 1520 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1705-nicolas-sanson-dabbeville-nederlands-e1549956443527.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1705-nicolas-sanson-dabbeville-nederlands-e1549956443527.jpg)
October 14th, a small French flotilla commanded by Julien Éon de Carmen on Saint-Pierre sails near a small group of islands to the south-east of East Falkland Island. He names them the Danycan Islands. 509

“I. d'Anycan découvertes en 1705.” 510

(Captain Perrée)... commanding the Saint Charles, armed by Noel Danycan, Sieur de l'Epine, discovered by 52 25 'of latitude, between the island of Beauchene and East Malouine, a large island flanked by several islets which he named after his owner.” 511

“... an expedition organized by the French outfitter Danycan sighted a group of new islands, also a part of the archipelago and named them the Isles Danycan.” 512

1706 – in December, French ships, Maurepas, and St. Louis, arrive off the Falklands. 513

“If I have in this chart suppressed imaginary Lands, I have also added some real, in 51 Degrees Latitude, which I have called New Islands, because discover'd since the Year 1700, most of them by ships of S. Malo. I have laid them down according to the memoirs or Observations of the Maurepas and the S. Louis, Ships belonging to the India Company, which saw them near at hand and even the latter was watered there in a Pool, which I have set down, near Port St. Louis. The water was somewhat ruddy and unsavory; in other respects good for the Sea. Both of them ran along several Parts of them, but non... so close as the S. John Baptist, commanded by Doublet of Havre, who endeavour'd to pass into an Opening he saw about the Middle; but having spy'd some low islands, almost level with the Water, he thought fit to tack about.” 514

“In 1706, the French ships Maurepas and Saint Louis sailed homeward from the South Sea. The Saint Louis put into a harbour in the SE part of John Davis's Land, where they found fresh water of a reddish colour and soft, but in other respects good. This harbour they named Port Saint Louis...” 515

1708 – July 16th, a French vessel, Assumption, sails along the northern coasts of the Falkland Islands. 516

“... Captain Alain Porée, of St-Malo, going to the South Sea, met on 16 July "an unknown land" which he named the Assumption Coast, the name of his ship. It was (the) eastern Malouine.” 517

“... other French navigators such as Chabert, in 1707, and Poiree and John Doublet, in 1708, travelled through the archipelago giving names to new islands that were sighted.” 518

509 Now known as the Sea Lion Islands. Noël Danycan had sponsored the voyage.
510 L'Amerique meridionale, dressée sur les observations de Mrs. de l’Academie Royale des Sciences & quelques autres, & sur les memoires les plus recens by Guillame de L'isle (Paris)1708
511 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124. This author gives the date as October 14, 1704.
512 Laver 2001 p.242
513 Maurepas may just have sailed by, but St. Louis certainly anchored and sent a boat’s crew ashore. A Guillaume de L'isle chart of 1720 gives the date of the St. Louis voyage as 1708.
514 Comment in A Voyage to the South-Sea, And along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, In the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714, particularly describing the genius and constitution of the inhabitants, as well Indians as Spaniards: their customs and manners, their natural history, mines, commodities, traffick with Europe, &c. Amédée-François Frézier 1716 (English Translation 1717). It was also printed in Dutch. The routes taken by the Maurepas and the St.Louis are marked on the accompanying map. Frezier was not aboard either of these vessels.
515 A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean James Burney vol. 4 1816 p.454. The landing place was named Saint Louis after the ship, but there is little likelihood that this was the same place founded by Bougainville in 1764.
516 Frézier 1716. Full name of the vessel was probably Notre Dame de l'Assumption.
517 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124
518 Laver 2001

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In Paris, Guillaume Delisle (de l’Isle) publishes a chart of South America - *L’Amerique meridionale, dressée sur les observations de Mrs. de l’Academie Royale des Sciences & quelques autres, & sur les memoires les plus recens*. Off the Patagonian coast, and a little below 50º S, he identifies three islands as the *Isles de Sebald*, a single island as *I de Beauchene* and a group named *I d’Anycan*. 519

Another French map-maker, Jean Baptiste Nolin, also based in Paris, publishes a world map – *Le globe terrestre représenté en deux plans-hémisphères*. To the east of Magellan’s Strait he depicts three islands as the *I. Sybold*. A little further east he shows another group of three named *Islas Angloisas*. 520

**November 30**th, nine French ships having traded in the Pacific, sail as a fleet past the Falkland Islands.

“Mons de Courbon, commander of the King’s vessel, the Oriflamme, of M. de Chabert’s squadron, saw them 1708, on his return from Peru.” 521

**December 23**nd, privateers Woodes Rogers and Edward Cooke, with William Dampier as pilot, spend time near “Falkland’s Land” en-route to the Pacific in *Duke and Duchess*. 522

“Woods (sic) Rogers, who ran along the N.E. coast of these isles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill.” 523

“Captain Rodgers... named the Islands 'Falkland’s Land’ in 1708.” 524

**1709 – January 3**nd, still at the Falkland Islands, Woodes Rogers gives chase to two French ships; one, *La Notre-Dame-de-l’Assumption*. 525

“Captain Alain Porée, of St-Malo, ... returned to his discovery, but was driven out by Woods Rogers’ squadron on January 3, 1709.” 526

**1710 — an Act of Parliament (9. Ann c.22) deals with Britain’s trade with America.**

“There the right of navigation is given in the most comprehensive terms. That act trembles at no papal bulls: it (brinks before no nonsensical decreets: it admits no insulting usurpations: it braves the Spanish monarch and his arrogating claims in every line of it. It says, to the South-Sea company, and to all who may be licensed by it. Go: go, freely, and in defiance of all foreign pretensions. Go, navigate the Southern Ocean; discover what you can; settle where you like; range from one extremity of the globe to the other; the Parliament of Great-Britain gives you this privilege, and it will suffer no power upon earth to control you. Your limits commence at Rio del Plata, extend to Cape Horn, and continue on the North-West side of the continent to the extremity of the North pole. You are empowered to carry merchandize into, unto, and from, all or any the kingdoms, lands, territories, islands, cities, towns, forts, havens, creeks, and places, of America, within the limits aforesaid. You


521 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124


523 Pernetty 1771

524 Tatham (ed.) 2008

525 *Voyages Francais a destination de la Mer du Sud avant Bougainville (1693-1749)* M. E. W. Dahlgren 1907. The two French ships recorded the chase as starting on January 3rd, 1709. The British ships as December 23rd, 1708. Two calendars. The Julian (Old Style) used by Britain until 1752, and the Gregorian (New Style) adopted by France in 1582. An 11 day difference. Rogers was using the old style.

526 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.124
are to hold, for your own use and benefit, all settlements you may make; and you are to enjoy the benefit of all
mines of gold, silver, or other ore, which you may open, upon terms of seige to the crown. We conceive it
derogatory to our dignity and independence (said the ministers of that day) to consult the Spanish court in
granting you a free charter. We make no humiliating stipulations for the prevention of an illicit trade; neither
do we submit to a hovering-act, to make you liable to seizure and confiscation. The Southern and Pacific
Oceans are as free as the Atlantic; as free as air; common to the ships of all countries. No state has or can have
an exclusive right to the navigation of those seas. And, therefore, if the Spaniard dares to assert such right, we
will shew him that we dare deny it. Here were no fears, no meannesses, no abject submissions, no base
degrading accommodations, - All was open, manly, positive. The ministry of that day passed a licensing and
declaratory act, which set Spain and her territorial monopolies at defiance. They said to the South-Sea
company. Find and occupy; discover Nootka and settle there. We are alike indifferent to the constructions and
resentments of Spain. Be active, be enterprising, be free.” 527

1711 — in January, French Captain Jean Doublet; “... commanding Jean-Baptiste, debouched from the strait
of Le Maire and came to recognize the southern coast of the Malouines Islands. He did not dare to enter the
strait that separates the two principal islands, stopped by the sight of the reefs. However, these islands seem to
have exerted a certain attraction on him since he added to his diary a "Relation of the Cebaldes (sic) Islands
and to which they could be useful", in which the idea of a colonization is sketched." 528

In June, the British South Seas Company is established with a monopoly to trade with Spanish colonies.

"... the sole trade and traffick into, unto, and from all of the kingdoms, lands, countries, territories,
 islands, cities, towns, ports, havens, creeks, and places of America, on the east side thereof from the
river of Aranocca, to the southernmost part of the Terra del Fuego; and on the west side thereof, through
the South Seas, to the northernmost part of America..."

A company chart is published depicting Falkland Islands and Falkland’s Sound as [. This is positioned to the
east of S de Waerds Isles and north-east of Beauchesne 1.529

St. Jean Baptiste, a French ship, visits the archipelago, while the Jasons are seen from Incarnation; “... commanded by Sicur Brignon of S. Malo. ... they are at least seven or eight Leagues from the New Islands” 530

In September, a London merchant, Thomas Bowrey, proposes that English bases be established on the Atlantic
coast of South America for the protection of trade with America. 531

During October, French ship Incarnation, commanded by Capt. Brignon of St. Malo, distinguishes the
Sebaldes; “... from the 'New Islands' or 'Malouines...'” 532

“By 1711, the whole group of the Falklands/Malvinas archipelago had clearly been discovered.” 533

1712 — January 7th, Amédée-François Frézier, a Lieut. Colonel in the French intelligence service, is sent to
South America with orders to survey Spanish defences in Chile and Peru, and to; “... chart the coast while the

527 Comments on the Convention with Spain Anon. London 1790
528 Martin-Allanic 1964 pp.124-125
529 A monopoly granted by the British Government, not that of Spain. See
530 Frézier 1716
531 Williams 1973
532 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.125
533 Laver 2001 p.242. The chart evidence from this period suggests otherwise.
French could still enter the Pacific, and before the expected ban on such voyages became operative. Thus, if war should break out between France and Spain, the French would have a sound knowledge of the coast for possible military operations against the poorly defended Spanish Pacific.” 534

January 18th, the French Government bans its own shipping from trading in South America. 535

1713 — March 27th. Preliminary Articles of peace between Spain and Britain are signed at Madrid. 536

“14. Her Britannic Majesty has agreed to publish immediately the strongest prohibitions to all her subjects, under the most rigorous penalties, that no ship of the English nation shall venture to pass to the South Sea, or to trade in any other region of the Spanish Indies, except only the members of the Company of the Assiento, who must confine their operations solely to the negro trade, only in the ports of the North and in Buenos Aires, conforming to the conditions of the said assiento, without being permitted to carry on any other illicit commerce, under the same penalties, and her Britannic Majesty promises that this prohibition of his Catholic Majesty, and that which shall be made by the other nations, shall be stipulated in the treaties of peace by a separate and special article.” 537

“Article 14 prohibited British navigation in the South Seas and, in a more general manner, "trade in any other region of the Spanish Indies." Thus a difference was made between the South Sea, with the American west coast, and other areas. The former was recognised as a monopoly sphere of the Spaniards... Article 14 indirectly shows that there was no similar general prohibition of navigation for the South Atlantic and hence for the Falkland Islands – otherwise the separate arrangements for the South Sea would make no sense.” 538

“By virtue of the Treaty of Madrid signed on March 27th, 1713, Spain conceded to great Britain the slave trade within Spanish America. What matters here is navigation. The slave trade implied a derogation of the prohibition on trading with the Spanish colonies and navigating the adjacent seas. As provided in Article 14 of the treaty:... The Treaty of Madrid of 1713 confirms our understanding of the Treaty signed in 1670 and... There appears an express and unequivocal recognition of the prohibition to navigate the South seas, except for the British slave trading company.” 539

July 13th, definitive treaties at Utrecht are signed; ending the War of Spanish Succession; two concerning Anglo-Spanish relations. The first is a peace agreement in which Britain gains Gibraltar and Minorca, ceded by Spain in perpetuity, while the second deals with commercial matters.

Article 8 of the peace agreement states;

“That there be a free use of navigation and commerce between the subjects of each kingdom, as it was heretofore, in time of peace, and before the declaration of this late war, in the reign of Charles the

534 Frézier 1717 (English ed.)
535 Part of the new relationship with Spain; the death penalty was applied to offenders after January 25th, 1712.
536 According to Art.12 of the definitive Treaty of Utrecht, a contract for a British company to import slaves into Spanish ports in America had been signed the day before – March 26, 1713. This contract allowed for the importation of 48,000 slaves over a ten year period. cf. The Scots Magazine Vol.10 1748
537 European Treaties bearing upon the History of the United States and its Dependencies Frances Gardiner Davenport (ed.) 1934 vol.3 p.192. Despite this promise, no article restricting British access to the southern Atlantic, or indeed elsewhere, made it into the definitive treaty signed on July 13th. Britain's monarch at this time was Anne.
538 Fisch 1983 p.116. This author asserts (p.117) that the final peace treaty confirmed the provisions of the preliminary agreement, although where, and how, are not explained. It is not apparent from a reading of the definitive treaty that such was the case; Art.8 not referring to the South Sea. Indeed the name South Sea does not appear in the definitive treaty at all. Throughout Davenport (1934) the term South Sea(s) is synonymous with the Pacific Ocean only.
539 Kohen & Rodriguez 2017 p.23. My emphasis. These were only preliminary articles, not the definitive treaty. South Seas are the South Pacific, not the South Atlantic.
Second, of glorious memory, Catholic King of Spain, according to the treaties of friendship, confederation, and commerce, which were formerly made between both nations, according to ancient customs, letters patents, cedulas, and other particular acts; and also according to the treaty or treaties of commerce which are now, or will forthwith be made at Madrid. And whereas, among other conditions of the general peace, it is by common consent established as a chief and fundamental rule, that the exercise of navigation and commerce to the Spanish West Indies should remain in the same state it was in the time of the aforesaid King Charles the Second; that therefore this rule may hereafter be observed with inviolable faith, and in a manner never to be broken, and thereby all causes of distrust and suspicion concerning that matter may be prevented and removed, it is especially agreed and concluded, that no licence; nor any permission at all; shall at any time be given, either to the French, or to any nation whatever, in any name, or under any pretence, directly or indirectly, to sail, to traffic in, or introduce negroes, goods, merchandizes, or any things whatsoever, into the dominions subject to the crown of Spain in America, except what may be agreed by the treaty or treaties of commerce above-said, and the rights and privileges granted in a certain convention, commonly called El Assiento de Negros, whereof mention is made in the twelfth article; except also whatsoever the said Catholic King, or his heirs or successors, shall promise by any contract or contracts for the introduction of negroes into the Spanish West Indies, to be made after that the convention or the Assiento de Negros above-mentioned shall be determined. And, that more strong and full precautions may be taken on all sides, as above-said, concerning the navigation and commerce to the West Indies, it is hereby further agreed and concluded, that neither the Catholic King, nor any of his heirs and successors whatsoever, shall sell, yield, pawn, transfer, or by any means, or under any name, alienate from them and the crown of Spain, to the French, or to any other nations whatever; any lands, dominions, or territories, or any part thereof, belonging to Spain in America. On the contrary, that the Spanish dominions in the West Indies may be preserved whole and entire, the Queen of Great Britain engages, that she will endeavour, and give assistance to the Spaniards, that the ancient limits of their dominions in the West Indies be restored, and settled as they flood in the time of the above-said Catholic King Charles the Second, if it shall appear that they have in any manner, or under any pretence, been broken into, and lessened in any part, since the death of the aforesaid Catholic King Charles the Second.”

“... they thought it wise at that time to insist, that Spain shall not permit any European Nation to trade to her Colonies; and they at the same time promise to assist Spain against any Country who should endeavour to trade there. This stipulation was expressly inserted in the Treaty of Utrecht to take from the Crown of Spain the power of granting Licences or privilege (under pretence of what is stipulated by the before mentioned 9th Article of the Treaty of 1667) to any other Nation to sail to or trade in any of her Colonies or Settlements in America, and particularly to constrain the Branch of the House of Bourbon, then seated on the throne of Spain, from conferring a privilege and favour of that Importance on the Subjects of the other Branch of that Family.”

“The terms of these conventions were however so vague, that they seemed rather to increase than lessen the causes of dispute. The meaning of the expression 'Spanish West Indies' never could be fixed or defined to the satisfaction of both parties.”

“... Britain gained an important concession from Spain in the Treaties which brought an end to the War of the Spanish Succession. By Article 8 of the Asiento Treaty, the negro-slave trade contract which had previously

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540 My emphasis. The prohibition against Spain ceding territory to the French would raise its head again in the 1760s.
541 Board of Trade inquiry, 1789 in TNA BT 5/5 at 420. cf. 1667 & 1789
542 Greenhow 1842
been leased to France for a period of ten years, was granted to Britain for thirty years, that is, until 1743. This, together with the cession of territory on La Plata and elsewhere for a similar period, in order to establish British warehouses, became a veritable entering wedge for British commerce into Spanish colonies. But the very limit set on the life of this concession to Britain was considered by Spain to perpetuate her sole privilege of making settlements in that region.” 543

“The crucial and unresolved question was still whether the whole of the South American continent (apart from the Portuguese possessions), with the adjacent islands, belonged to Spain, or whether the unoccupied areas (which certainly existed) were to be considered as terrae nullius, that could be acquired by any state by means of effective occupation. ... Even if there had been uncertainties about the legal position of the mainland – the status of unoccupied islands far off the coast was beyond doubt.” 544

“For the Spaniards, the stakes were clear. In exchange for the asiento – the British supply of slaves for the Spanish colonies – the Spaniards regained control over their possessions in the Americas and, by extension, their surrounding seas. But important questions remained: How far did this claim extend?” 545

“Discrepancy arose when it became necessary to define what should be understood by 'West Indies under Spanish dominion.' Spain understood that the term included both mainlands and islands, discovered or not, inhabited or vacant, as long as they were located to the west of the line drawn by Pope Alexander VI and extended by Tordesillas. Other European powers such as England, France and Holland, maintained that the term 'dominion' implied control, jurisdiction and government, and consequently Spain was only entitled to the territories it had actually settled or were under its effective influence at the time of the death of King Charles II of Spain on November 2, 1700.” 546

# Researcher’s Comment: There can be little doubt that this treaty was the source of so many later Anglo-Spanish arguments. In the main due to mistranslations, misinterpretations and a failure to define the terms. Both nations thought they understood what had been agreed, but perceived what had been agreed in very different ways. Whilst West Indies was the Caribbean to the English, they were all of the Americas to Spain.

“Spain, under the leadership of a new royal dynasty, turned from the peace conference of 1713 to face a century in which, in her relations with England, the longest period of peace was to be one of thirteen years.” 547

In France, cartographer Nicolas de Fer produces a map of the Pacific Ocean including the Americas. He identifies the islands discovered by de Weerdt and Beaucherne. 548

December 9th, at Utrecht, a Treaty of Navigation and Commerce is signed between Great Britain and Spain. 549

1714 — a French ship, Count de Lamoignon, commanded by Captain La Fond de Bayonne, stops off at the Falkland Islands.

“Olivier Laurens, of Marseilles, lieutenant-chef-de-quart aboard this vessel, proposed to .. go to reconnoiter these islands, in (the) company of his brother, pilot vice-admiral. He made a rather exact description of them ... "If this island is such that it seemed to us," he (noted), "it would be a great help in loosening the ships going to the South and East Indies, besides the other advantages that might be derived from them. It is very certain that

543 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490. cf. 1750
544 Fisch 1983 p.117
545 Iberian Visions of the Pacific Ocean, 1507-1899 Rainer F. Buschman 2014 pp.56-57
546 Peña & Peña 2018
547 Brown 1925
548 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1713-de-fer-france-detail.png
549 Davenport (ed.) 1934 p.104. The treaty of 1767 was “ratified and confirmed.”
the grains can grow there in abundance, being at the same latitude as London, on the south side, its green
ground does not sign of drought, nor sterility and the greenish sea 15 leagues offshore infallibly denotes that it
is full of fish. Thus, an island on which can come grain and have fish, can be inhabited."..." 550

May 5th, in France, a Mons. Duquesnel, of Le Havre, submits a proposal for the formation of a “business
establishment” in the “Cabales (Sebaldes) Islands.”

“The establishment, if it is feasible, would cost the king little, and it is believed that, except for wine, everything
would come in abundance. "However, before taking any measures to do so, it would be necessary to send two
frigates to know perfectly the ground and to seek the most suitable place to form it. The minister had the
project examined by M. Boschard de Champigny, lieutenant-general of the naval armies. ... M. de Champigny
returned his report, and the affair did not proceed. 551

1716 — in Paris, Frézier publishes a book which includes a map of the South American coastline. He shows a
small group of islands named, I. Sebald, sitting to the west of a larger island, which has islets positioned around
it. This group he refers to as ‘Les Isles Nouvelles’ (New islands). 552

The large island has a pond, small lake or watering hole which is marked (Étang), and named, ‘Port St. Louis’ 553

“Frézier drew up a map of the Strait of Magellan and the surrounding islands which he entitled: “Reduced map
of the extremity of South America in the southern part, where are included the new islands discovered by the
vessels of Saint-Malo since 1700, of which the part of the west is still unknown.” Frézier indicates in the center
of the islands, the name of “New Islands”. He marks their northern contour which he calls “Côte de
l'Assomption”. In the east, he mentions Port St. Louis and a pond; to the south, the "Islands of Arica" and

550 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.125
552 English translation published 1717. The western coast consisted of a dotted line named Cote de l'Assomption (assumed
coast). This is the first time that the Falklands appear on a chart with an indication of their actual size (4,700 square
miles) and at their correct latitude.
553 Frézier 1716. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1715-amc3a9de3a9e-franc3a7ois-frc3a9zier-
published-1717.jpg
"Beauchene Island." The western coast is mentioned only by means of a dotted line, the course of most of the bays, and that of Falkland Sound. In the northwest, the three Sebald Islands are drawn, in short, an honest decay for which all the certain knowledge was used at that time, without indulging in the invention.

The author himself had said:

"If I have deleted imaginary lands from my map, I have added effective ones by the 51° of latitude, to which I gave the name of Illes Nouvelles, for having been discoveries since the year 1700, most by the vessels of Saint-Malo." ... 554

# Researcher’s Comment: Frézier’s map is important. It showed one island which would become the standard perception of the archipelago for 50 years. Until McBride’s 1766 survey. The British would long refer to 'Falkland’s Island' (singular) when talking of the whole archipelago.

1720 — on a new world map by French cartographer Guillaume Delisle555, islands identified as Isles d’Anican are depicted off the Patagonian coast. 556

A map of South America by Herman Moll of London, shows a Falklands Sound alongside the name Falkland I. The sound is depicted as ]. 557

1721 — an Anglo-Spanish-French treaty is signed in Madrid. 558

“In the Treaty of Madrid, ... when circumstances were somewhat more favourable to Spain, all formed treaties were renewed... and Spain secured the inclusion of a section specifically providing that His Britannic Majesty would give orders for the fulfillment of articles 8, 11 and 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht, which were stated not to have been executed...” 559

December 30th, Dutch explorer Jacob Roggewein sights the Falklands.

“We looked for Hawkins’ Maiden Land but could not find it; but we discovered an island 200 leagues in circuit, in latitude 52º South, about 200 leagues distant to east of coast... which we named Belgia Austral.” 560

1722 — in another new map of the world by French cartographer Delisle, islands of a similar shape to that depicted by Frézier in 1716 now have the name - ‘Les Iles Malouines’. 561

“The land I call the Malouin archipelago, because it was discovered by the vessels of Saint-Malo, is not known in the western part.” 562

554 Martin-Allanice 1964 p.127
555 Also recorded as de L’Isle. Delisle published maps of the world in 1720, 1722 and 1724.
556 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1720-mappemonde-a-lusage-du-roy-by-guillaume-de-lisle-paris-note-two-islands-identified-as-isles-de-anican.jpg
557 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/1720-moll-detail.png
558 This followed the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718-1720) and is occasionally listed as the Treaty of Madrid 1721, although the records are inconsistent.
559 Brown 1925
560 General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels Robert Kerr 1814. Roggewein, on leaving the coast of Brazil, had tried to find a group of islands he believed were called the Aukes Magdeland. Having failed, he then went in search of the New Islands. Aukes Magdeland appears to be a muddled Hawkins Maidenland – mistranslated or misheard. New Islands was the name given to the Falklands by Frézier.
561 This would seem to be the first time that the name Malouines had been used. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/detail-from-guillaume-de-lisle-1722.png
562 Martin-Allanice 1964 p.127 quoting the mapmaker, Guillaume Delisle (de L’Isle).
1729 — expressing a little doubt, French map-maker Guillaume Danet’s world map identifies islands off the eastern mouth of Magellan’s Strait as *Is de Anican ou Sebaldes de Werdt*. 563

1732 — British settlers colonize the Mosquito Coast of South America with the town of Black River. 564

A new chart of South America by Herman Moll of London, shows *Falklands Sound* alongside the name *Falkland I*. Falkland Sound is depicted as ]. 565

1735 — a double-globe chart of the world by Matthias Seutter of Augsburg shows only the *Sebal I* and the *I d’Anycan* off the Patagonian coast. 566

1739 — in Paris, Philippe Bauche produces a map of the southern oceans based on a south pole projection. The Falklands are identified as the *Isles Malouines*. 567

1740 — a new world map by French cartographer Guillaume Delisle — *Mappe-monde, dressé sur les observations de mrs. de l’Academie royale des sciences et quelques autres et sur les memoires les plus recens* — identifies islands off the Magellan Strait as *Isles disdouvre por Davis Angloise* (Islands discovered by Davis English). 568

The War of Austrian Succession commences, pitting Spain against Britain yet again. Commodore George Anson sails from England in *Centurion* intent on attacking Spanish possessions in South America. Accompanied by *Gloucester*, *Severn*, *Pearl*, *Wager*, *Tryal* and the store ships *Anna* and *Industry*, the journey turns into a circumnavigation of the world. Anson has a copy of Frézier’s book and map with him. 569

“In 1740, in the second year of the War of Jenkin’s Ear, Commodore George Anson led a naval expedition into the Pacific to attack Spain’s settlements and shipping... The expedition proved a harrowing one.” 570

Spain reaches an agreement with the indigenous tribes of Patagonia to limit the expansion of Buenos Aires.

“It appears that the Spanish settled, in 1740, a Line of Limit with the Indians of Patagonia, whereby they renounced every pretension beyond that Limit, which was a little to the Southward of Buenos Ayres.” 571

“... an Account of Patagonia, published in England in 1774 of a Map is prefixed, in which a Line is marked near the River Salladillo, a little to the Southward of the Rio de la Plata, and stated to have been fixed by Treaty with the Indians in 1740, as the Limit beyond which the Spaniards were not to settle to the Southward.” 572

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563 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1729-carte-generale-de-la-terre...by-guillaume-danet-paris-note-the.jpg](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1729-carte-generale-de-la-terre...by-guillaume-danet-paris-note-the.jpg)

564 Present day Honduras. cf. 1786. Black River was only 80 miles east of the Spanish fort at Trujillo and would become a major irritant for the Spanish colonial administrators in that region.

565 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1732-moll-detail.png](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1732-moll-detail.png)

566 See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1735-matthias-seutter-augsberg-detail.png](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1735-matthias-seutter-augsberg-detail.png)


569 Masters of those Seas: Strategy and Space in George Anson’s A Voyage Round the World in the years 1740-1744 James G. R. Cronin 2011

570 The Beginnings of Britain’s Exploration of the Pacific Ocean in the Eighteenth Century Alan Frost & Glyndwr Williams 1997 in The Mariner’s Mirror vol.83 No.4 (November 1997) pp.410-418

571 Dalrymple 1790 p.12

572 Leeds to Fitzherbert August 17, 1790 quoted in Burges 1791

96
“In the year 1740, a line was run across the continent, in latitude 35º, to the southward of which it was understood the various hordes of Indians were to confine themselves...” 573

“... an imaginary line was drawn across the continent, in about 35º, of south latitude, and which separated the possessions of the Spaniards from the territory of the Indians.” 574

1741 — in Paris, Lozier Bouvet publishes by order of the French East India Company, a map of the Southern Lands from a South Pole perspective. In a style similar to Frézier’s 1716 depiction, Bouvet pictures the Isles Malouines. 575

1744 — Anson arrives back in England with the bullion from the galleon Nuestra Senora de Covadonga.

“Sailing with six ships and 1,955 men, Anson returned home with one ship and only 145 of its original crew. More than 1,300 men had died, four of them in battle, most of the others from scurvy.” 576

1745 — London map-maker Richard William Seale produces a chart of the south cone of South America identifying Falkland Sound/Falkland I., the S. de Waerds Isls and Beauchesne. To the north of these is depicted Pepys I. 577

573 The London Encyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Science, Art Literature and Practical Mechanics... 1829
574 The Encyclopaedia Britannica 1842 p.14
576 Frost & Williams 1997
577 Also note Penguin Island (Patos/Sanson) by Cape Blanco. See 1520. For the map, see https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/01/fragment-of-seales-map-circa-1745.png
In September, French explorer, Jean-Baptiste Bénard de la Harpe, writes a memorandum recommending that France establishes a base in the “southern lands…” and refers to Pepy’s Island. Span Spain orders the Governor of Buenos Aires to assist a Jesuit expedition to explore the coasts of Patagonia.

“The configuration of the ports, the depth of the waters, the nature of the seabed, the features of the coast, the astronomical calculations, the variations of the magnetic needle, all entered into the plan of the explorers, who acted according to the instructions received from the Government of Buenos Aires.”

1747 – In October, informed that the British are sending a fleet of 17 ships to the Americas, Spain’s government despatches two Spanish warships, Europa and Castile, under the command of Don Francisco de Orozco, from Ferrol to South America.

In London, Emanuel Bowen produces a chart of South America for publisher William Innys. The Falklands are named New Isles and depicted in the manner used by Frézier in 1716. The cartographer’s note states – “A Chart of the extreme Part of South America in which are contained the Islands discover’d by the Ships of St. Malo since 1700, the Western Part whereof is Still unknown:…”

1748 – In May, Admiral Anson’s account of his journey is published as A Voyage round the World.

“… we have already the imperfect knowledge of two places, which might perhaps, on examination, prove extremely convenient for this purpose: One of them is Pepys’s Island, in the latitude of 47° South, and laid down by Dr. Halley, about eighty leagues to the eastward of Cape Blanco, on the coast of Patagonia; the other is Falkland’s Isles, in the latitude of 51° ½ lying nearly South of Pepys’s Island. The first of these was discovered by Captain Cowley, in his Voyage round the World in the year 1686 [sic]; who represents it as a commodious place for ships to wood and water at, and says, it is provided with a very good and capacious harbour, where a thousand sail of ships might ride at anchor in great safety: that it abounds with fowls, and that as the shore is either rocks or sands, it seems to promise great plenty of fish.

The second place, or Falkland’s Isles, have been seen by many ships both French and English, being the land laid down by Frezier, in his Chart of the extremity of South America, under the title of the New Islands. Woods Rogers, who run along the N. E. coast of these Isles in the year 1708, tells us, that they extended about two degrees in length, and appeared with gentle descents from hill to hill, and seemed to be good ground, interspersed with woods and not destitute of harbours.

Either of these places, as they are Islands at a considerable distance from the Continent, may be supposed, from their latitude, to lie in a climate sufficiently temperate. It is true, they are too little known to be at present recommended as the most eligible places of refreshment for ships bound to the southward: But if the Admiralty should think it advisable to order them to be surveyed, which may be done at a very small expense, by a vessel fitted out on purpose; and if, on this examination, one or both
of these places should appear proper for the purpose intended, it is scarcely to be conceived, of what prodigious import a convenient station might prove, situated so far to the southward, and so near Cape Horn.”

Anson argues that security requires bases; Portugal informing Spain of all English ships visiting their ports.

“... they may certainly depend on having their strength, conditions and designs betrayed to the Spaniards... And as this treacherous conduct is inspired by the view of private gain, in the illicit commerce carried on to the river Plate, rather than by any natural affection which the Portuguese bear the Spaniards, the same perfidy may perhaps be expected from most of the governors of the Brazil coast...”

A map of South America printed within Anson's book employs the style used by Frézier in 1717 but identifies the archipelago as Falkland Isle.

“A Voyage Around the World by George Anson 1748 (detail)

“In 1748, in consequence of the representations made by Commodore Anson, on his return from the Pacific, the British Government resolved to establish a colony and military post at some point near the Straits of Magellan, in order to afford the means of refuge, refreshment, and repairs to vessels on their way to and from the Pacific...”

“In some sections the Voyage looked to the future as it recommended surveys of the Falkland Islands, Tierra del Fuego and the west coast of Patagonia to make access into the South Sea easier for future expeditions. The Falklands in one ocean and Juan Fernandez in the other were seen as likely way-stations both for trading ventures in time of peace and for predatory expeditions in wartime.”

584 Anson & Walter 1748 pp.72 & 73
585 Ibid.
586 Anson did not visit or survey the Falklands and the depiction appears to have been lifted from Frezier's 1717 map, with the name of the islands changed. With Strong's manuscript of 1690 unpublished, Anson appears to have believed that there was only one island. cf. 1753 & 1766. For Anson's map, see
587 Field 1928
588 The Prize of all the Oceans: The Triumph and Tragedy of Anson's Voyage Round the World Glyn Williams 1999 p.226
“... it is evident that (Anson's) ideas about the Pacific’s commercial and strategic value informed the ninth chapter of his first volume. In these pages, he devised a plan to organize an expedition to the Pacific Ocean in an effort to reconnoiter the Falkland and Juan Fernández Islands for future British settlement. Spanish officials... had this vital section translated.” 589

In October, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), ends the War of Austrian Succession.

Admiral Anson persuades the Earl of Sandwich, and the Board of the Admiralty, to propose to King George II that two sloops, Porcupine and Raven, be sent into the Pacific Ocean by way of Cape Horn, stopping to survey the Falkland Islands so that the archipelago’s utility may be assessed. 590

In December, Europa and Castile sail from the Rio de la Plata to Concepción de Chile, under the command of Don Francisco de Orozco. 591

1749 — in January, the Admiralty receive consent to proceed with Anson’s plan.

“The Board of Admiralty having proposed to His Majesty some time ago the sending out two Frigates in order to make Discoveries in the American Seas, which might tend to the Improvement of Commerce and navigation in general, the King, ... was graciously pleased to approve of their Intention...” 592

“It was at this juncture that the British Government formed the plan to found an establishment in the Falkland Islands. It is evident that this establishment, by its geographical position at the entrance of the Strait of Magellan, and so immediate to the Spanish possessions, was destined to be the meeting point for all the companies that could be tempted in(to) the seas of South America, in the forecast of a more or less distant rupture,...” 593

“... the Spanish possessions to the south of the equator were recognised by all the European powers until the middle of the 18th century.” 594

“In January 1749 (Anson) informed his colleagues of the Admiralty council that the King had agreed to send two schooners of discovery to southern latitudes. By the end of February they had chosen the schooners and appointed John Campbell (who had served with Anson in the Centurion) to command the expedition.” 595

Following the publication of Anson's book in France, Spain instructs one of its spies in England, Jorge Juan, to be vigilant with regard to any attempt by the Admiralty to put Anson’s plan into effect. 596

“The Spanish had also read Anson’s Voyage, and they immediately realised how vulnerable their position in the New World would be if the English gained a foothold outside both entrances of the Strait of Magellan;...” 597

589 Buschman 2014 p.57
590 The date is uncertain, but it seems that Royal consent was given around the turn of the year.
591 In 1760 a chart was produced showing the soundings taken by these vessels during their journey. No soundings were taken around the Falklands which they clearly did not visit. The 1760 chart used Frezier’s depictions of the archipelago which is marked Terra Yncognita despite a Pte de San Luis being shown on the east coast. See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1748-orosco-map-in-library-of-congress-published-1760.jpg cf: 1747 & 1759
592 Bedford to Keene April 24, 1749
593 Ylas Falkland o Malvinas Paul Grimblot 1843 in Revistas de Ambos Mundos Septiembre de 1843
594 Bullrich 2000 p.50
595 Anson, Wall y el Papel de “Lago Espanol” en el Enfrentamiento Colonial Hispano-Britanico (1740-1762) Diego Tellez Alarcia 2004 (Tiempos Modernos: Revista Electrónica de Historia Moderna)
596 Buscman 2014 p.57
597 Gallagher 1964 p.xxxviii
In April, Spain's spy, Jorge Juan, hears that two ships are being prepared for a long voyage.

“During his keen inspections, Juan noticed the presence of two frigates being readied for an impending departure for the South Seas. He promptly informed Spanish Ambassador (sic) Ricardo Wall, who in turn, investigated the matter and passed on the information to his superiors in Spain.” 598

Minister Wall’s inquiries become known to the Admiralty.

“The Spanish government had heard of the expedition and its ambassador in London asked for more details. Sandwich, explained to the Duke of Bedford, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, that in the South Atlantic the ships were to map Isla Pepys (allegedly discovered by Ambrose Cowley in 1684 but not seen again) and the Falklands, and then they would turn the Cape Horn and enter the South Sea. After being supplied with water in Juan Fernandez, they would follow a zigzag course along the Pacific between 10° S and 25° S, at least 3000 miles. Sandwich assured Bedford that they would not create any settlement, and that if necessary he would be willing to abandon the second part of the voyage, into the Pacific.” 599

April 24th, concerned that the venture may cause a rift with Spain, so soon after a peace has been concluded, the Duke of Bedford writes to Ambassador Benjamin Keene in Madrid to warn him.

“... as this scheme ... liable to so many Misrepresentations at the Court where you reside, and which might possibly tend towards creating an Uneasiness and Suspicion between His Majesty and the Cathlick King, I am commanded to inclose to you, for your Information a Copy of the Earl of Sandwich’s Letter to me, explaining the Design of the Board of Admiralty... you will find that the full Discovery of Pepys's and Falkland's Islands, lying to the eastwards of Cape Blanco, was the first Object of this undertaking, which when completed, the Ships were to return to Brazil to refit, to proceed afterwards into the South Seas in order to make further Discoveries there.

As this latter part of the Scheme cannot be carried into Execution without wooding and watering at the Islands of Juan Fernandez, & possibly coming sometimes within sight of the Spanish Coasts of Chile and Peru, it is apprehended here that an Attempt of this Nature may alarm the Court of Madrid, and give them Suspicions ... This having been represented to the King in the Light I have now stated it to you, he has been pleased to direct the Admiralty to proceed no further in the projected Discoveries, than what is contained in the first Part of the plan laid down, & to direct the Sloops to return Home, after they shall have searched sufficiently the Seas about Pepy's and Falkland's Islands.

There is no intention of making any Settlement in either of those Islands, and as His Majesty's Sloops will neither touch upon, or even make any part of the Spanish Coast, the King can in no shape apprehend that this Design can give any Umbrage at Madrid, ...” 600

May 7th, Madrid writes to warn the Lima Viceroy, José Antonio Manso de Velasco y Sánchez de Samaniego.

“The king has received certain news that a frigate with fourteen guns was being prepared in England, although it was capable of mounting many more, and that it intended to go to that South Sea to make several reconnaissances of the islands (there).” 601

598 Buscman 2014 p.57 citing José de Carvajal to Richardo Wall, May 10, 1749, AHN, Estado 4267, vol.1. Ricardo Wall was born in France, of Irish Jacobite stock and served in the Spanish navy. Posted to London by Madrid to facilitate a peace treaty in 1747, Wall remained as Minister Plenipotentiary until 1752 when his position was upgraded to Ambassador. He remain in England until 1754.

599 Alarcia 2004 quoting The Prize of all the Oceans Glyn Williams 1999.

600 Quoted in Archivo General de Indias, Seilla Seccion V, Audiencia de Buenos Aires Correspondencia con los Gobernadores Anos 1732 – 1760. My emphasis throughout.

601 Quoted in El frustrado fuerte de tenquehuen en el archipiélag de los chonos, 1750: dimensión chilota de un conflicto
“By Communications from the Court dated May 1749 we were confidentially appraised that the British Government projected forming a settlement either on the island of Juan Fernandez, or in the archipelago of Chonos, in consequence of the reports made by Commodore Anson on his return from those seas of the great advantages which might be expected from such an establishment. The King, naturally alive to the consequences of such a project on the part of the English, and seeing how detrimental it might prove to the peace and quiet of his Majesty's dominions in these parts, desired that a ship-of-war should be immediately despatched to examine the said islands, as well as all the coasts to the southwards, with orders to expel any foreign ship whatever which might be met with in any of the ports or possessions of his Majesty in these seas. His Majesty commanded that the island of Juan Fernandez should be peopled, and a suitable garrison immediately established there for its protection ... and at the island of Inchin, described in Anson’s voyage, a fort should be built…” 602

In Madrid, a Royal Order is prepared, confirming that the Viceroy of Peru should fortify the islands off Chile. 603

May 10th, from Madrid, Minister José de Carvajal writes to Ambassador Wall with regard to the intelligence provided by Jorge Juan; expressing Spain's concerns. 604

“... neither He nor anyone else could be a Stranger to the Rise and Intent of such an Expedition, since it was so fully explained in the printed Relation of Anson's Voyage.” 605

“Since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had been signed between Britain and Spain not many months previously, the Spanish Court did at once take umbrage.” 606

In receipt of Carvajal's letter, Wall protests to the British Court, claiming that any expedition will breach previous treaties regarding navigation in the Pacific. 607

“... in the year 1749, some Sloops were fitted out for obtaining a fuller knowledge of Pepys and Falkland Islands and for making further Discoveries in the South Seas... the Spanish Government took alarm at this measure and made Representations against it, ...” 608

“There had never been a general prohibition of British navigation to the South Atlantic, nor could it be inferred from the existing treaties that the Falkland Islands were recognised as Spanish possessions.” 609

“Ambassador Wall accosted this proposal on two grounds. First, he negated the novelty of the British endeavor by arguing that the islands were well known to earlier Spanish explorers and needed no further exploration. Secondly, Wall reminded the diplomats that the British venture clearly conflicted with the

602 Extracts from a Spanish MS, giving an Account of certain Expeditions undertaken by Order of the King of Spain, between the years 1749 and 1776 and of the Establishment of a Colony on the Island of Juan Fernandez. Woodbine Parish in Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London 1834 vol.4. This Spanish report was attributed to Don Manuel de Amat, Viceroy of Lima, among papers left for his successor in 1776.

603 Ibid. The Royal Order was not received in Peru until October 27, 1749. Following its arrival, the Viceroy sent settlers and soldiers to fortify the island of Juan Fernandez. They arrived in March, 1750. A town with chapel, hospital and warehouses was built to accommodate them. 14 months later, on May 24, 1751 it was wiped out by a tsunami.

604 Buschman 2014 p.57 citing José de Carvajal to Ricardo Wall, May 10, 1749, AHN, Estado 4267, vol.1

605 Carvajal to Wall quoted in Williams 1999 p.231

606 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490. See 1946

607 The Elusive West and the Contest for Empire 1713-1763 Paul W. Mapp 2011

608 Board of Trade Committee inquiry of December, 1789 in TNA BT 5/5 at 423. cf. 1790

609 Fisch 1983 p.118
provisions of Article Eight in the Treaty of Utrecht, a great offense given that Spain and Britain had just signed the Peace Treaty...”

“Spain and to some extent Portugal defended the principle of closed or restricted seas, opposed by the rest of the European powers who... sustained the principle, held by England since Elizabethan days, that was finally to prevail, that the seas were free and open to all, and consequently undiscovered, unexplored, vacant or derelict islands and terra firma territories remained liable to be taken...”

May 21st, in Madrid, Sir Benjamin Keene broaches the subject of Anson’s proposed expedition with Spanish Minister Carvajal.

“Carvajal said he was sorry that, so soon after the signature of a treaty for re-establishing the ancient friendship between the two crowns, new matter should be projected, which would probably throw us into the same, or worse, disputes than those which had been the cause of the last rupture. We knew, by experience, that our having possessions in the neighbourhood and way of each other, where communication and commerce were absolutely prohibited on both sides, had exposed us to many disagreeable accidents. ... It was in this light he must look upon the preparations we were making at present, to send two frigates into the American seas; ... Whatever I could say did not seem to render this scheme more palatable. When he appeared to give credit to our not having any design to settle on the two islands in question, he adverted to the inutility of pretending to a further examination of them and affirmed they had been long since first discovered and inhabited by the Spaniards; who called them the Islands de Leones from the number of sea lions on their coasts and that in the office books there were ample descriptions of the dimensions, properties, etc.

If we did not intend to make any establishment there, what service could this knowledge be to us? We had no possessions in that part of the world, and consequently could want no passages or places to refresh in. He hoped we would consider what air it would have to see us planted directly against the mouth of the straits of Magellan, ready on all occasions to enter into the South Seas, where the first step would be to endeavour to discover and settle in some other islands, in order to remedy the inconvenience of so long a voyage as that to China, and to refit our naval force on any disappointment we might experience in our future attacks upon the Spanish coasts, as happened to Lord Anson.”

“Spanish officials ... saw the proposed sally as an attempt by Anson and his supporters to execute the aggressive plans outlined in A Voyage round the World. This provided cause for worry. European ships had not thoroughly explored South Atlantic waters and coasts, and Spanish officials could not be sure of what might be found there ... Should British exploration lead to the establishment of bases on South Atlantic islands, Carvajal feared the British would then obstruct Spanish ships trying to reach the Pacific ... Both Wall and Carvajal warned that a British Pacific or South Atlantic expedition would jeopardize ongoing attempts to foster amicable Anglo-Spanish relations.”

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610 Buschman 2014 pp.57-58
611 Peña & Peña 2018
612 Some confusion over which islands were being discussed clearly existed. Islands named after Sea Lions were those depicted near the coast of Patagonia. They had also been called Patos (see 1527). Asked in 1759 about the archipelago, Don Francisco de Orozco told Indies Minister Julian de Arriaga that he was not aware of any such islands. Orozco's chart, based upon his 1748 voyage, was not published until 1760, by which time the Falklands, as depicted by Frezier (identified as Terra Incognita – unknown land), had been added. In 1749, there were no Spanish settlements on the eastern shores of South America south of the Rio Negro.
613 Keene to Bedford quoted in Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon from the Accession of Philip the Fith to the Death of Charles the Third William Coxe 1813. South Seas being a reference to the southern Pacific.
614 Mapp 2011 p.322
Keene also speaks to Spanish Minister Ensenada.

“... who cut short my account by saying that the present time and circumstances appeared not the most proper for such an undertaking, from the rumours to which it would give rise. ... He repeated his hopes that it would be laid aside for the present.” 615

May 29th, Keene writes to Britain’s Consul-General in Lisbon, Abraham Castres, of his concerns.

“We are talking in England of making new discoveries in consequence of Mr. Anson’s voyage. Wall has made representations against it. You who can judge of the tenderness of this subject, can judge it does not forward my affairs here at all. One coup of this nature sets aside or retards at least all my endeavours to make us as one people, to do good to our selves reciprocally, and to do good to the rest of the world by preserving peace and being of terror at the same time to those who break it.” 616

In June, with negotiations for a new commercial treaty with Spain proving difficult, and with the future of the Asiento contract uncertain, the Duke of Bedford instructs the Admiralty to postpone the proposed mission.

“His Majesty could in no respect agree to the reasoning of the Spanish Ministry as to his right to send out ships for the discovery of unknown and unsettled parts of the world, as this was a right indubitably open to all; yet, as His Britannic Majesty was desirous of showing his Catholic Majesty his great complacency in matters where the rights and advantages of his own subjects were not immediately and intimately concerned, he had consented to lay aside for the present every scheme that might possibly give umbrage to the court of Madrid. Accordingly, he had given orders to the Lords of the Admiralty to proceed no further in their projects.” 617

“... but no declaration was required, by which our right to pursue it, hereafter, might be annulled.” 618

“... Lord Anson, who had such a settlement in contemplation, was induced to suspend the design by the remonstrances of Spain; for, although it does not appear that the Spaniards had even yet, even by chance, visited the Islands, the Spanish Government claimed them, on the ground of an exclusive right in the Crown of Spain to all the ‘Magellan Islands.’ ...” 619

“So strong was the tone of the Spanish remonstrance against the projected infringement of the Treaties of 1670 and 1713 that the intended Anson expedition was countermanded. Spanish opinion naturally interpreted this reaction as a British acknowledgement of Spanish sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. From another point of view, the step in no way denied the British right to pursue the same line of action at some later and more convenient date.” 620

“The Spanish rulers got, in this way, a deferment of the danger, which, if far from being considered as a definitive solution, would allow her, at least, to take advantage of the years that followed...” 621

“Since, at this time, England was anxious to establish harmonious relations with Spain, she yielded to the Spanish protests and called off the expedition, although she maintained that she had the right to carry out the explorations if she so wished.” 622

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615 Coxe 1813
616 Keene to Castres, May 29, 1749 quoted in Alarcia 2004
618 Thoughts on the Late Transactions Respecting Falkland’s Islands Samuel Johnson 1771.
619 Dunglass to Jenner July 9, 1829 in FO 83/2227 at 95
620 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490
621 Munilla 1948 p.9
622 Gallagher 1964 p.xxxviii
“In the end Britain abandoned the plan. This incident cannot, however, be considered as implicit recognition of a Spanish right to the islands or of the prohibition of navigation by Britain. Nor did Spain on this occasion claim a title to the Falklands. The whole episode is of little importance from the point of view of international law, as neither side tried to interpret the existing treaties in its favour. Both acted according to political expediency and with political arguments.” 623

“By June British ministers, anxious not to upset delicate diplomatic negotiations with the Spanish government on the asiento and other issues, ordered the Admiralty to drop the expedition 'for the present.'” 624

“In 1749 Spain opposed British preparations to establish a base in the Falklands. England desisted temporarily.” 625

“In June, worried about disrupting ongoing commercial negotiations with Spain, British ministers ordered the Admiralty to suspend the expedition entirely. Bedford ... maintained, nonetheless, that the British King's "right to send out Ships for the discovery of unknown and unsettled Parts of the World must indubitably be allowed by everybody." But Carvajal understood him to have conceded that treaties prohibited British Pacific navigation, and the Spanish minister was enthusiastic about the inference ...” 626

“The project was shelved but hardly forgotten.” 627

“Due to fierce Spanish opposition, Great Britain gave up the project. It is apparent from the exchange of notes that... 3) Great Britain accepted not to send an expedition, as requested by Spain.” 628

“... Bedford instructed the Admiralty to postpone the venture but with no alteration of the right of Great Britain to send her ships on later dates to discover and colonize unknown and uninhabited lands under the unmoved adage of freedom of the seas.” 629

June 27th, jubilant at Britain's decision to lay aside its plans, Carvajal writes to Wall.

“We can take their desistance (sic) from this endeavour as a clear confession to our right of preventing their free navigation in the seas surrounding the Americas.” 630

# Researcher's Comment: As with the 1713 treaty, what had occurred was viewed differently by the two sides. Spain believed that it had won an acknowledgment of those rights it believed that it had under the Utrecht accord. England, however, saw only a practical postponement. Until completion of a commercial treaty. One expedition postponed.

September 8th, Spain’s Minister Wall writes to Minister Ensanada in Madrid. To inform him that Britain had intended that Porcupine and Raven establish a base in the South Atlantic.

“... it was widely known that two frigates were prepared in this river (Thames), which in my opinion had as their purpose to discover which of the two islands of Pepey (sic) or Falkland was more suited as to the quality of its ports or for land the most suitable to settle and to act from against us in case of rupture.” 631

623 Fisch 1983 p.119  
624 Williams 1999 p.231  
625 Bullrich 2000 p.56  
626 Mapp 2011 p.322  
627 Buschman 2014 p.58  
628 Kohen & Rodriguez 2017 p.25  
629 Peña & Peña 2018  
630 Quoted in Buschman 2014 citing Carvajal to Wall, June 27, 1749, AHN, Estado 4267, vol.I  
631 Wall to Ensenada September 8, 1749 quoted in Alarcia 2004
“(It is) indubitable also that they will send in times of war a squadron into the South Sea.” 632

“In September 1749, four months after the original expedition to the Falklands and beyond was cancelled, the newspapers said that one of the participating schooners was preparing again for the South Sea ... Anson continued saying (to) the newspapers, (he) was very committed to the matter.” 633

Work on the ships is, however, not cancelled.

“The Porcupine Sloop of War has been greatly altered, and provided with Double Chain Pumps &c., peculiarly adapted to the South Seas; a Voyage being intended thither, for the further Discovery of an Island which Commodore Anson touched at; for which Purpose another Man of War is preparing, and two small Sloops, which are to be made Use of as Victuallers. They will sail next Season, and the chief Command, we hear, will be given to Capt. Campbell.” 634

“The Porcupine Sloop of War, lying at Deptford, is put into Commission, and the Command given to Captain Campbell. She is going upon a Discovery to the South Sea, her Gunwail (sic) being cut away for that Purpose, and several other necessary Alterations made.” 635

“... newspapers noted that one of the sloops involved (in Anson's proposed expedition) was again being made ready for the South Sea. ... growing war clouds in Europe put an end to the project.” 636

1750 – January 8th, France’s Foreign Minister, hearing rumours of a ship being prepared by England, warns Madrid.

“Following Bénard de La Harpe’s warning, the French government on 8 January 1750 ordered the French ambassador in Madrid, the comte de Vaulgrenant, to warn Spain a third time of Britain's plan, and Spain protested to Britain yet again. There was no recognition of Spanish sovereignty by Britain. At that time Spain knew neither the position of the Falklands nor whether there was only one island or several. In short, Britain did not initially inform Spain of the plan; Spain found out as the result of leaks in Britain and from warnings by France. The significance of the dropping of the British plan lies in the fact that France warned Spain three times about it. That gave Spanish ministers their most powerful argument in forcing France to leave the islands in the 1760s – having warned Spain about Britain's plan to send an expedition to the islands, France could hardly go ahead and do exactly the same.” 637

January 13th, a treaty is agreed between Spain and Portugal. 638

“... the two Crowns decided to renounce their ancient disputes, and agreed in consigning to oblivion the rival claims growing out of the (Tordesillas) demarcation line, and began all over again, declaring Alexander’s Bull and the treaty of Tordesillas, and others based thereon all null and void.” 639

January 25th, Spanish Minister Carvajal writes to his Ambassador in London, urging continued vigilance with regard to England's interest in the Americas. 640

632 Wall to Ensenada September 8, 1749 in Mapp 2011 p. 325
633 Alarcia 2004 quoting The Prize of all the Oceans Glyn Williams 1999.
634 Derby Mercury Friday September 8, 1749 p.3
635 The Ipswich Journal Saturday 28 October 1749.
636 Williams 1999 pp.232-233
637 Pascoe 2020 p.26
638 Another Treaty of Madrid. This rejected the limitations placed upon Portuguese expansion by the Tordesillas agreement of 1494. Instead relying upon a principle of Roman Law - ‘uti possidetis, ita possideatis’ (Who owns by fact, owns by right). Recognition of the reality of the situation in South America.
639 Memorandum on Uti Possidetis John Bassett Moore 1913
640 Alarcia 2004 citing Carvajal a Wall, 25 de enero de 1750, A.H.N., Estado, 4.263. Around the end of the year a number
“..., in January 1750, on a warning from Saint-Malo, the Versailles Cabinet had again instructed the Duke de Vaulgrenant, our ambassador in Madrid, to inform the Spanish court of a new attempt by the English Admiralty. A protest in London stopped it immediately.” 641

“In 1750, however, new rumours arose of British preparations for an expedition to the Falklands. This led to another flurry of protests. There was no expedition...” 642

Governor of New France (Canada), the Marquis de La Galissoniere, positions lead plaques along the Ohio River. Etched on them is a message that the territory is French. 643

**October 5**th, after protracted negotiations, an Anglo-Spanish commercial treaty is agreed. The Treaty of Madrid, is signed by Minister Carvajal and Ambassador Keene. Britain renounces its remaining period of the Asiento contract, in exchange for £100,000. Spain allows England to trade “as native Spaniards” with ‘most favoured nation’ status.

> “The first News of a Treaty being concluded between Mr. Keene and the Spanish Ministry made the Stocks of the English South Sea Company rise pretty high; but that rise did not last long, and if we may credit the last Letters from London, they have since fallen as low as they were before, or pretty near the Mark: From whence we conclude that the said Company do not find that Treaty so advantageous to them as was at first given out. … Spain does not give up the Right she claims to visit the English Ships on the High Seas of America.” 644

“When the question of the renewal of the Asiento treaty arose in 1750, the British Government agreed to the recession of the contract... The Spanish Government were thereafter fortified in their belief that Britain had now no legal grounds for entry into the South Atlantic Ocean, where she had no possessions.” 645

**December 8**th, commenting on the recent exchanges, Benjamin Keen speaks to Lord Bedford.

> “The principle cause of this evil, on the part of Spain, consists in the very nature and spirit of the laws and original institutions, for the Government of the Spanish West Indies. They were framed at a time when Spain had extended a whimsical universal right to land, sea and the air itself of that vast country, and was resolved to do her utmost to prevent the approach of any stranger. The very act of appearing there was criminal, as long as she had force to enforce it. From this source all orders to governors, instructions to guarda costas, and ever public dispatch and determination in tribunals, were, and still are infected...” 646

In Paris, Gilles and Didier Robert de Vaugondy publish their chart of the Americas – *Amérique Méridionale: dressée, sur les mémoires les plus récents, et assujétie aux observations astronomiques*. The archipelago is depicted as two large islands. The western coast of the larger, island incomplete. 647

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641 Martin-Allan 1964 p.85. I can find nothing regarding this incident.
642 Dunmore 2005 p.94. cf. 1751
643 *Ibid*. Leaving marks and signs of sovereignty was a more frequent practice than some modern legal historians would wish to recognise.
644 Derby Mercury November 9 – 16, 1750 citing the Cologne Gazette November 13, 1750
645 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands 1947 in LCO 2/490
646 Quoted in Coxe 1813
647 This is the first map I have found combining Frezier’s depiction and the Sound. *Connues* may be a misspelling of *connues*. Which is little known. See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1750-detail.png](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1750-detail.png)
1751 – May 18th, reported in the Newcastle Courant; “On Saturday Commodore Rodney hoisted his Pendant on board the Rainbow Man of War at Longreach, who will sail in a few Days, in Company with the Centaur of 20 Guns, and the Britannia Sloop of 16 Guns, in quest of a new Island in the South Seas.”

“Saturday several of the Lords of the Admiralty, and other Persons of Distinction, went down the River in the Admiralty’s Barge, and dined on board Capt. Rodney’s Ship in Long-Reach. The Captain sails this Week for the South Seas, to make an Improvement of some Discoveries made by Lord Anson when in those Parts.”

“... it has alarm’d the French, Spanish Portuguese and Danish Courts,... The Spanish Minister, as we are told, had lately a Conference with our Ministry, about the Destination of that Squadron, because he had heard that it was sent to make some Settlement in the South-Sea; upon which he observed, that such an Enterprize would be a Breach of the Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, &c., but he was soon made sensible that such Rumours were not only absolutely groundless, but that his Majesty was still firmly resolv’d to do nothing inconsistent with his Engagements with the King of Spain and other European Powers.”

648 Newcastle Courant Saturday 18 May 1751 p.2
649 Caledonian Mercury Monday 20 May 1751 p.2. Other reports placed Rodney en-route to take up the Governorship of Newfoundland. En-route to seek out a newly discovered island lying to the north of the equator. Nothing was found.
650 Salisbury & Winchester Journal Monday 22 July 1751 p.3
1753 – in England, a chart of North and South America by John Green is published, “… according to Act of Parliament,” by T. Jefferys, Geographer to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and “… with the Admiralty’s endorsement”. Faulkland Isle is shown as discovered by ’Sr. John Hawkins 1593.”  

Outline colours identify discovery. 652

“The Englishmen in a General map of America, which with the approval of the Parliament (was) put out (in) the year 1753; they indicate with red, as their belongings, different unpopulated places, in which, because one or the other English has arrived, they claim to acquire rights; and the Malouinas are included in this ideal usurpation; So if now they were neglected, having talked about the importance of them; Englishmen would be established immediately, claiming previous possession, and proving it with said Map.” 653

“... a sea chart, published in 1753, with the official approval of the Admiralty, designate(d) the Falkland Islands as a British possession. The fact acted as a reminder to the Spanish court.” 654

“... Madrid had a new occasion to complain in 1753, when a chart, published with the Admiralty’s endorsement, showed the Falklands as a British possession.” 655

1754 – October 12th, a young French officer, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, travels to London as a member of the French Ambassador’s staff. Whilst there, Bougainville hears about Anson’s voyage. 656

“... during his time in London he .. met a number of scientists and naval captains. The chief among these was George Anson.” 657

651 The outline of the eastern coast of the archipelago appears to be a copy of that found in Anson’s 1748 book (itself lifted from Frezier’s 1717 publication) but with a dotted line marking Faulkland Sound. John Green (aka Bradock Mead) died in 1757 but his map was updated and republished in 1775 by the Robert Sayer/John Bennett partnership. In that chart, the archipelago has the name Falkland’s Isles with discovery still attributed to Hawkins. See [https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1753-john-green-map-detail.png](https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2018/01/1753-john-green-map-detail.png)

652 There is a caption box on the chart identifying the colour code for discovery, but then refers to attached notes which I have been unable to locate. In the updated version of 1775 the caption box was not shown.

653 Grimaldi to Aranda August 2, 1764 in Archivos Historica Nacional ES.28079.AHN// State, 2858, Exp.2

654 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.85

655 Dunmore 2005 p.94. cf. 1751

656 Anson’s book was a best seller and there were 4 editions before the end of 1848. Also published in French.

657 Dunmore 2005

109
In Madrid, Pedro Gendron produces a map of South America showing an Island to the east of the Strait in the style of Frézier’s 1715 depiction. The island is not named although Puerto de S. Luis is. Meanwhile, Parisian cartographer Nicolas de Fer publishes a double globe world chart depicting the islands as Isles Nouvelles.

1755 — in July, with raised tensions in Anglo-French relations, Mirepoix and his staff return to Paris.

Parisian cartographer Jean Baptiste Nolin identifies the islands as the Malouines in his Mappe-monde, carte universelle de la terre.

December 28th, Manuel de Amat y Junyent becomes Royal Governor of the Captaincy General of Chile.

“... Amat made a gargantuan effort to establish a defensive perimeter against primarily British incursions. Its radius stretched from the Falkland Islands in the southern Atlantic, over the Straits of Magellan and Cape Horn, and ended on the shores of the many islands in the Pacific. ... Amat had alerted his superiors in Spain as early as (the) 1750's, .. about the strategic importance of the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.”

1756 – May 17th, the Seven Years War sees Britain at war with France once again.

June 29th, Spain’s treasure ship, León, sailing from Lima, passes South Georgia; naming it San Pedro.

“(South Georgia) was undoubtedly sighted by the Spanish ship León in 1750 (sic) but Spain never advanced any claim at all to the island.”

“... during the Seven Years' War, navigators, merchants or privateers at the service from other crowns were willing to dispute those domains that the Spanish owned in the Southern confines of the American continent.”

Frenchman, Charles de Brosses, publishes a two-volume book – 'Histoire de navigations aux terres australes.' Picking up on Anson's ideas, Brosses considers the necessity of a French base in the southern ocean.

1757 — John Dyer's epic poem, The Fleece, is published. Addressing the reasons for England's prosperity, it refers to the question of where British sailors might find refuge on their long voyages.

658 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/02/1754-pedro-gendron-madrid-detail.png
659 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1754-mappe-monde-ou-carte-gc3a9nc3a9rale-de-la-terre-...-by-ncolas-de-fer-paris.jpg
660 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1755-mappe-monde-carte-universelle-de-la-terre-...-by-jean-baptiste-nolin-paris-note-islands-named-malouines.jpg
661 Royal Governor 1755 to 1761, after which Amat was promoted to Viceroy of Peru from 1761 to 1776.
662 Buschman 2014 pp.117-118.
663 France’s Bourbon ally, Spain, took little part in the early years of the Seven Years War. After 1758, Ferdinand was in mourning for his wife and could not be roused from his depression. He died the following year. Succeeded by Carlos III, Spain finally declared against Britain in 1762.
664 Journal of Ducloz Guyot quoted in A Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean James Burney vol.5 1817 p.140. Occasionally claimed to be the first discovery. cf. 1675
665 Memorandum on the Falkland Islands Dependencies 1947 in LCO 2/490. See also 1675, 1775 & 1947
666 Un Rumour Insistente. Saberes y Circuitos de Información para Gobernar un Archipiélago (Las Islas Malvinas entre la Corte y Territoria, 1756-1767) Darío Gabriel Barriera 2019
667 It has been suggested that this book was another source of Bougainville's subsequent motivation. See below.
668 The poem is primarily about sheep and the wool trade, but Anson and his voyage received a mention.
1758 – April 8th, Manuel de Amat y Junyent Planella Aymerich y Santa Pau, Royal Governor of the Captaincy General of Chile writes to Madrid.

“The whisper that I hear in this country is that the English have populated and established a colony on this site (Falklands) of which there is notice in England (stated) in a Letter sent to an Englishman (in Chile). ... The advantages that this Nation (Britain) will achieve if this is true (God forbid) are imponderable...”

Amat gives the latitude reading of these islands as 48° S, placing them east of San Julian.

“The first document of the Indias Archives, in which mention is made of the Malouines, dates from the 8th of April, 1758; it is a letter from D. Manuel Amat, President of Chile .., addressed to Minister Arriaga and accompanied by notes on the islands, taken from the stories of navigators as we know them.”

“The whisper had no real foundation, because the Seven Years’ War, and the struggles in Canada and India, were keeping England busy, so that it could ill afford the luxury of creating new grounds for dispute...”

A Spanish ship Aquila, under the command of Don Manuel Joaquin de Zapiola, sketches Puerto Deseado.

“By the year (1)758 was on that coast for reconnaissance, ... Pilot called Don Manuel Zapiola, and (he) made a Map of Puerto Deseado, which was passed to the Secretary of the Navy.”


“Mariners, going on a discovery with a commission from their sovereign and meeting deserted islands and other lands, took possession of them in the name of their nation, and commonly this title was respected, provided that a real possession has followed it closely ... But the law of nations will recognize the property and sovereignty of a nation only over the empty countries which it has actually occupied, and in fact, in which it has formed an establishment and from which it will draw current use. In fact, when navigators met deserted countries, in which those of the other nations had, in the meantime, drawn up some monument to mark their taking possession, they did not trouble themselves more with this vain ceremony than with the disposition of the popes, who shared a large part of the world between the crowns of Castile and Portugal.”

London map-maker Thomas Kitchen identifies the archipelago as the New Is.

1759 – Bougainville fights the British in Canada.

In August, Carlos III succeeds to the Spanish throne on the death of his brother.
October 16th, reacting to Amat’s letter, Arriaga questions the naval commander at Ferrol, Francisco Orozco. He having visited the eastern coasts of South America in 1748; “... he does not know the Malvinas.” 676

1760 – a Spanish map of the southern cone of South America is produced in Madrid at the Real Escuela de Navegación called the Derrota que hicieron los dos navios de SM. Castilla y Europa devajo del mando del Gefe de Esquadra, el Señor Dn. Franco. de Orozco, desde la Ensenada de Maldonado asta el puerto de la Concepcción de Chile el año de 1748.

Frézier’s 1715 lay-out for the archipelago is used, with its western coastline missing. It is identified as Tierra yncognita (Land unknown). Pto. De Sn. Luis and the Ys. Anican are shown. Beauchene Island is named Ya. De Robles (Island of Oak Trees). 677

1761 – a map drawn up in Manila by Vicente de Memije – Aspecto geographicno del mundo hispanico que a su glorioso catholico rey D. Carlos Tercero el Magnanimo dedica, y consagra names the island to the east of Magellan’s Strait I di Padron. 678

August 15th, a Family Compact between Spain and France is completed as part of the Treaty of Paris. 679

“... the two Crowns will hereafter consider every Power as their common enemy who shall become such to either of them. II. The two contacting Kings reciprocally guarantee, ... all the estates, lands, islands, and places, which they possess in any part of the world whatever, without any reserve or exception...”

“The result of continued British success overseas and rising Spanish alarm was the third renewal of the Family Compact between the Courts of Madrid and Versailles on 15 August 1761. This was much more than a pact of friendship; it was a full defensive alliance which pledged France and Spain to mutual assistance in the event of

676 Les Droit de Gens Emerich de Vattel published 1758 in France & 1760 in London. Cited in Martin-Allanic 1964 p.85. The name ‘Malvinas’ was not used at this time. cf. 1747, 1748 & 1749


678 See https://falklandstimeline.files.wordpress.com/2019/03/1761-aspecto-geographico-del-mundo-hispanico-que-a-su-glorioso-catholico-rey-d-carlos-tercero-el-magnanimo-dedica-y-consagra-by-vicente-de-memije-manila-e1552964911589.jpg

679 Carlos III of Spain and Louis XV of France were related. This was the third compact, following those of 1733 and 1743. Although made in secret, the British government heard of it in September, 1761.
attack by any other maritime power. In addition to the stipulated naval and military succours, the Family Compact gave important commercial concessions to France, chiefly 'the relaxation of' export and import restraints and equal treatment in matters of taxation, navigation and commerce. French subjects in Spain were no longer to be treated as foreigners in the disposition of their property, while Spanish and Neapolitan subjects were to enjoy the same privilege in France. In addition to the main treaty, a secret convention was signed at the same time which committed Spain to join the war against England on 1 May 1762 if peace had not been concluded before then. France promised to make no separate settlement, and undertook to champion Spanish grievances against Britain in any negotiations for peace.”

In Canada, France loses the battle with Britain for dominance and ships its officers, including Bougainville, back to France. Once there, Bougainville, forbidden under the terms of the surrender to take up arms against Britain, formulates a plan with Nicolas Duclos-Guyot to place a settlement on the Falklands.

“A perusal of Admiral Anson’s voyage around the world fixed his ideas for finding the Malouine Islands, and determined him to make them the first object of his expedition, and to form a settlement there.”

“... it must be feared that the English, excited by the advice of Admiral Anson, will soon secure this key to the South Sea. It is indispensable, in the interest of Spain as well as of France, to anticipate them. In addition, perhaps the Malouines would replace Newfoundland, both for the fishing that would be done there, and the advantage they would give us in the training of our crews.”

1762 – January 4th, Britain declares war on Spain.

“As the Seven Years War battered the nations of Europe and their overseas empires, the nearest British approach to the Pacific came with a scheme for the capture of Manila, approved by Anson as First Lord of the Admiralty shortly before his death. Sitting through three days of meetings in January 1862, Anson would have heard echoes of the discussions of the autumn of 1739, as he listened to the advantages that would follow the seizure of Manila and the establishment of a British base on Mindanao, from which 'the Spanish provinces in the South Seas, both South and North America may with great success be insulted and plundered on the part of Great Britain.'”

June 6th, Lord Anson dies; “... regretting that he had not made a settlement at the Falkland Islands.”

“Was it not said that Lord Anson had died of sorrow for not having established the English in the Falkland Islands? And when he left this world on June 6, 1762, was he not waiting for the next peace, which would leave Spain conquered, defeated, weakened, to resume the project he had established in 1749, as the executive officer of the Admiralty?”

A company of British merchants and nobles fund the purchase of two ships, Kingston and Ambuscade, for a venture in South America. Kingston is renamed Lord Clive before both vessels sail for Lisbon where they are joined by two Portuguese ships and 500 troops. Moving on to Rio de Janeiro, they are met by the Portuguese frigate, Nossa Senhoro da Gloria, 8 transports and 600 more soldiers.

681 The History of a Voyage to the Maloine (or Falkland) Islands, made in 1763 and 1764, Under the Command of M. de Bougainville, in order to form a settlement there. Dom Antoine Pernetty 1771. Also A Short Biography of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, 1729 – 1811 John Robson 2005
682 Bougainville navigateur et les découvertes de son temps Jean-Étienne Martin-Allanic 1964 p.72
683 Williams 1999 p.234
685 Martin-Allanic 1964 p.382
British forces land on Cuba and besiege Havana; which falls within six weeks.

Far away to the east, a British fleet arrives off Manila and lays siege to the Spanish City.

October 6th, when Manila's walls are breached, the defenders sue for terms. The British agree not to sack the city in exchange for 4 million dollars, afterwards known as the 'Manila Ransom'. Once an initial payment and the proceeds of looting are taken into account, there remains $2,000,000 outstanding which the acting-Governor, Archbishop Rojo, promises that Spain will pay. 686

With its primary bases both in the east, and in the Caribbean, in British hands, Spain sues for peace.

“After a few months of fighting, during which Spanish losses were out of all proportion to the time that the nation was engaged in the struggle, Spain found herself, through the exigencies of her ally’s position, forced to make peace.” 687

“Not until after the close of the Seven Years War did (England) have the opportunity of putting her plans into operation, and when she did, there began the series of voyages which commenced with that of Byron and which culminated in the magnificent achievement of Cook.” 688

November 20th, unaware that Spain is negotiating for peace, an Anglo-Portuguese fleet sails from Rio de Janeiro to attack Buenos Aires.

Spain considered itself the discoverer of the Americas. Despite having only found the Caribbean and with little real idea of what the Americas consisted of. Spain was not the first European nation to see the Americas. Voyagers out of Bristol had seen parts of North America before Columbus sailed from the Iberian Peninsula. Spain, however, attempted block competition through a delineation of the New World backed by Papal authority. That the pope was Spanish probably helped. It has been argued that the Vatican was the embodiment of international law in the 15th century. Not true and the period saw increasing encroachment into the Americas by those sea-faring nations of Europe. The result, by 1762, was that the British, French and Spanish had all claimed parts of North America. In addition to Spain, both Britain and France had toe-holds in the Caribbean while South America was divided mainly between Brazil and Spain. But with the British seeking further opportunity.

For the purposes of this paper and the work as a whole, the Falkland Islands been discovered. More, by 1762 they were already considered by England to be a possession of the British Crown. Whether an Englishman had been the first first to see the archipelago is, at best, moot. Spain could present no evidence to the contrary. Nor did Portugal. England did not acknowledge Spanish sovereignty over the archipelago when it postponed its 1749 expedition and Britain's government would not accept Spanish dominion in either the South Atlantic or the South Seas. Not without a fight. But there was no point in going to war over something barren. The question was open; what were the Falkland Islands worth? Falklands potential was in need of evaluation.

Paper 2 will deal with those issues and the first clashes between France, Spain and Britain for control.

Other sources:


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686 Great Britain, the Manila Ransom and the First Falkland Islands Dispute with Spain Geoffrey Rice 1980.
687 Brown 1925. Spain's invasion of Portugal had also failed. Preliminary articles of peace were signed November 3, 1762
688 Gallagher 1964 p.xxxviii