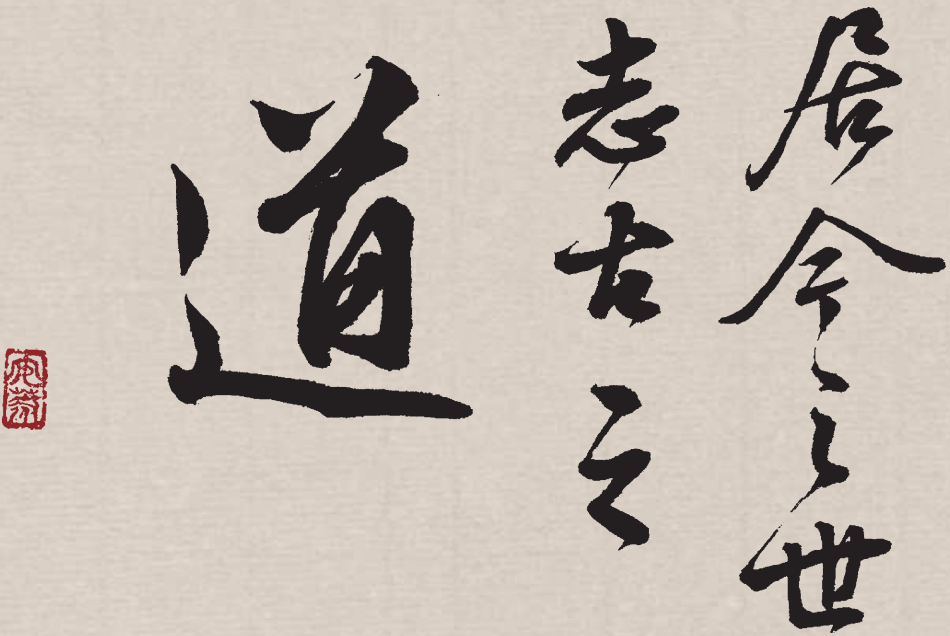


**Settled in the Present,
Committed to the Past**



Festschrift for Achim Mittag

Edited by
Fei Huang,
Dorothee Schaab-Hanke
and Martin Hanke

Settled in the Present, Committed to the Past

Festschrift for Achim Mittag
on the Occasion
of His 68th Birthday

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Fei Huang,
Dorothee Schaab-Hanke
and Martin Hanke

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The calligraphy on the cover, created by Dan-wei Zhu-Mittag (2024), 居今之世，志古之道, alludes to a passage in Chap. 18 of the *Shiji* 史記 ('The Scribes' Records) that serves as the governing word of this volume. For more details, see the introduction.

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Geographical Knowledge and Maps of Don José Camacho y Brenes (fl. 1770s to 1780s; d. 1795), First Pilot of the Royal Spanish Navy Stationed at San Blas

Angela SCHOTTENHAMMER*

What does the late eighteenth-century German city of Augsburg have to do with commercial and exploration activities in the Pacific? This is perhaps not obvious at first sight. But, actually, Augsburg was more involved than one might think.

Already in the sixteenth century, Jacob Fugger (1459–1525) from the famous banking house family in Augsburg had substantially invested in the Spanish expedition of Ferdinand Magellan (c. 1480–1521) to the East Indies. Jacob Fugger hoped that the expedition would yield sufficient profit for the successor of Maximilian I (r. 1508–1519, as Holy Roman Emperor), Charles I of Spain, who adopted the imperial name of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1516–1556), to enable him to repay the millions of Fugger loans the banking house had previously given to his grandfather, Maximilian I. And indeed, deducting all costs and losses, the expedition resulted in a moderate profit brought back on the galleon *Victoria* in the form of spices.¹

In the eighteenth century, the Augsburg engraver and map publisher Tobias Conrad Lotter (1717–1777) created a copper-print map with a title and further explanations in both German and French: “Carte de l’océan Pacifique au nord de l’équateur, et des côtes qui le bornent des deux côtés: d’après les dernières découvertes faites par les Espagnols, les Russes et les Anglois, jusqu’en 1780. Charte des Stillen Weltmeers im Nördlichen Aequator und der Küsten die es auf beiden Seiten einschraenken: nach den neuesten, von den Spaniern, Russen und Engellaendern bis 1780 gemachten Entdeckungen” (Fig. 1).²

The notes in French and German explain that the map was finally published in London in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in December 1780 and again in 1781 at the front of a journal reconstructed from the voyage diaries kept by Captains Cook and Clerke between June 1776 and October 1780, when their ships returned to London. Cook was killed on Hawaii in February 1779 when trying to kidnap the local ruling chief of the island, which is also mentioned on the map: “O-Why-hee, où Cook fut tué” (O-Why-hee, where Cook was killed). The note in French is signed by a certain T. A. Mann and dated 1781, certainly Théodore Augustin Mann (1735–1809), an English naturalist philosopher and historian. Mann was elected into the Imperial and Royal Academy in Brussels in February 1774, wrote textbooks on the natural sciences, and was also a contributor to the *Gentleman’s Magazine*.³ The map explicitly states “Publiée par Tobie Conrad Lotter à Augsbourg”. As the latter had, however, already passed away in 1777, the map must have been published by his sons under the name of the publishing house that still carried his name.

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1 For details, see Spate 1979 and 1983, 53.

2 “Carte de l’Ocean Pacifique au Nord de l’Equateur”, 1781.

3 Arblaster 2004.

James Cook was certainly one of the most “accomplished” explorers of the Pacific. During his voyages (1768–71, 1772–75, and 1776–79/80) he discovered many Pacific cultures. The foundations of charting the Pacific Ocean, its islands and coasts in America and Asia were definitely laid by the Spanish. Cook’s activities, however, prompted them to become even more active in terms of explorations and to venture into hitherto undiscovered areas. The Royal Spanish navy stationed at San Blas had the explicit task of undertaking voyages of exploration to the north as far as Alaska (where they also met with Russian explorers) and to the southern tip of the American continent.



Fig. 1 Mapa del Pacífico hacia el sur hasta Nueva Guinea y de las costas del Pacífico de América y Asia, que muestra los viajes de Cook de 1776-1779 y las de Charles Clerke, así como viajes españoles y la exploración rusa. Textos en francés y alemán, dan detalles de la publicación final del mapa en la revista *Gentleman*, diciembre de 1780, y en un volumen de viajes publicado en 1781. Texto firmado T.A. Mann, 1781

As far as we know, James Cook was the first person to learn about the new Russian settlements in Alaska. But at around the same time, in 1785, the French naval officer, Jean François de Galup (1741–1788), Count of La Pérouse, had been commissioned by Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792) to lead a voyage of scientific discovery around the globe (cf. Fig. 2).⁴ With the ships *La Boussole* and

4 He was ordered to study climates, native peoples, plants and animals, collect specimens and artefacts and to observe the activities of other European powers. His expeditions also took him to Macao, the South and East China Sea, the Japanese Sea and further north as far as the Kamchatka Peninsula.

L'Astrolabe he intended to explore the Pacific, including the coastlines of America, Asia, and Australasia. He heard the news about Cook's trip and claimed that he could locate the new Russian settlements exactly:⁵ Nootka, Sandwich Sound – which was later renamed Prince Wilhelm Sound by John Douglas (1721–1807), the editor of the first edition of Cook's journals – Trinity Island – “which was in reality a group of islands, comprising Sitkinak, Tugidak, and several small islands separated from Kodiak by narrow straits” – and Unalaska.⁶ Until 1779, the Spanish had no idea about the scope of Cook's expedition and continued their expeditions to the northern part of the Pacific Ocean.⁷ La Pérouse arrived in Concepción de Chile on 23 February 1786. It was consequently urgent that the Spanish became active.



Fig 2 J. F. G. La Pérouse, “Partie de la Mer du Sud comprise entre les Philippines et la Californie d’après la Carte Espagnole trouvée sur le Galion pris par l’Amiral Anson en 1743, qui représente l’état des connaissances à cette époque, et les routes que suivaient ordinairement les Galions dans leur traversée de Manille à Acapulco”⁸

- 5 Dumas 2009; Dunmore and Brossard 1985; for the Spanish perspective, see Bordejé y Morenos 1991.
- 6 Details about the Russian settlements and the Cook exploration are in an excellent manner described by Postnikov and Falk 2015, especially 116-122, here 121.
- 7 Postnikov and Falk 2015, 143.
- 8 Dos cartas marinas grandes en una hoja. Cada uno de las Filipinas a California, uno de la ruta de los galeones de Manila a Acapulco adversos con los recientes descubrimientos, y el otro de la ruta de La Pérouse de Macao, Listado de Hawaii (Sandwich), Islas, Monterey y San Diego. Ambos incluyen las pequeñas islas con gran detalle, también las Filipinas, Taiwán, las islas Marianas y Guam, y partes de Japón y Corea. La Pérouse zarpó de Francia en 1785 para continuar los descubrimientos del capitán Cook. Que naufragó en 1788 narrativa orden histórico, mapas y puntos de vista sobrevivieron y fueron publicadas en 1797. De la historia “Atlas du Voyage de la Pérouse”, Plato N° 67. Un gráfico inusual gran tamaño de la del Pacífico, desde el momento de los grandes exploraciones del Pacífico, y la genética galeones del tesoro.

José Camacho's Voyages and Maps

In face of the developments in the late eighteenth century, including the increasing competition in the search for new colonies among the Europeans, the Spanish undertook various expeditions and also plotted many maps. One of the map-drawers of the Spanish Armada was a certain Don Joseph (also José) Camacho y Brenes,⁹ graduate naval lieutenant and first pilot of the Royal Navy. He is described as a first-class pilot and had been dispatched from Spain together with Francisco Antonio Mourelle de la Rúa (1750–1820) with special orders for service in the Department of San Blas. Their leadership of local naval affairs between 1775 and 1786 “was a distinct asset for the port”¹⁰ (cf. Fig. 3).

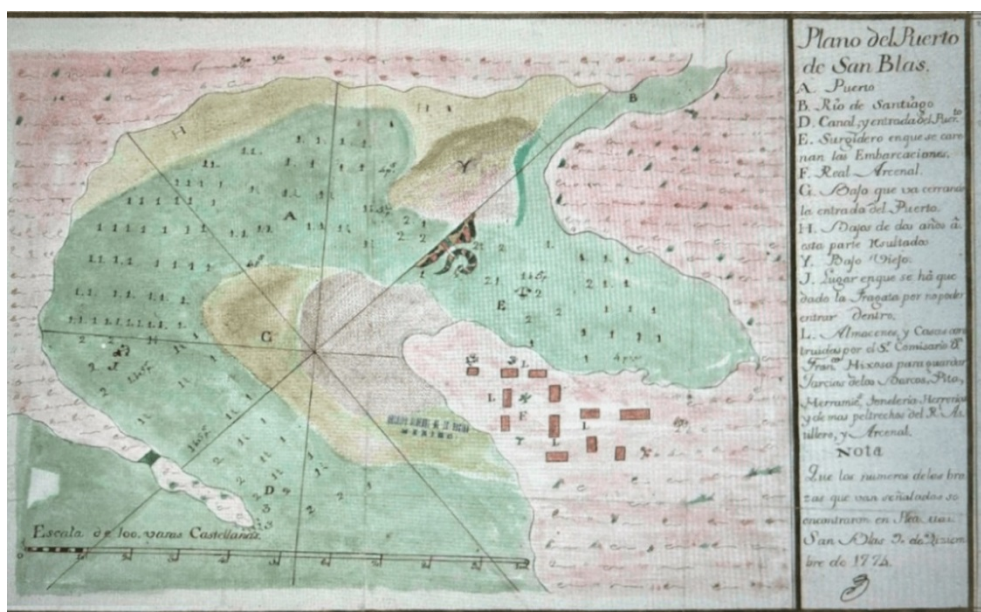


Fig. 3 “Plano del puerto de San Blas” [Map of San Blas], Nayarit, by Anonymous (1774), AGNM, Mapas y planos, cat. 118, Correspondencia de Virreyes, 1st series, vol. 81, exp. 44, fol. 253.

From 1782 to 1785 Camacho served as “interim comandante” at the naval department. New Spain was lacking skilled pilots and good ships, so Camacho had to deal with various administrative and structural problems and barely had the personnel to man the two annual vessels, one to California and one to the Philippines.¹¹ Between June and December 1787 an expedition was planned to examine the northern California coast, especially the Russian settlements there.¹² Camacho took care of the supplies required for this expedition together with his colleague Francisco Hijosa, a long-standing member of the Naval Department at San Blas. We possess a long list of supplies and medicines they prepared for this expedition.¹³ As Michael E. Thurman emphasizes, such lists are a boon for historians.¹⁴

9 He was born in Cádiz in Spain of a certain Don Pedro Camacho, his father, and Doña Maria Sánchez y Brenes, his mother; see “Autos de inventarios”, fol. 113r; and “Expediente sobre los descuentos hechos a José Camacho”, fol. 465r.

10 Thurman 1967, 200.

11 Thurman 1967, 249.

12 “Viaje alrededor del mundo”.

13 “Viaje alrededor del mundo”, no pagination, images 175 to 202.

14 Thurman 1967, 262.

As a Spanish navy officer, Camacho sailed the Spanish American coasts and the Pacific after settling in Mexico and explored various parts of the coastline and close coastal waters in more detail. He had originally started his career around 1775 in Cádiz before being transferred to the department of San Blas.¹⁵ Camacho served on missions to California, such as Monterey, San Francisco, and San Diego, as well as to the Viceroyalty of Peru and, as is less known, also to the Philippines, and he drew many maps, adding significantly to cartographic knowledge of that region. Particularly famous are his maps of the northern coast of California, including detailed maps of the port of Bucareli, San Francisco Bay, the coastline between the ports of San Blas and Acapulco, then further south from Acapulco to Lima. These maps are collected in the *Atlas de Navegacion* and contain a map of the *Nuestra Señora de la Regla*, a detailed plan of the ports of Santiago with the isle of Magdalena, Guayaquil, Acapulco, and even the Bay of Manila.¹⁶

The maps and plans in Camacho's *Atlas de Navegación* testify to the ambition of the Spanish to draw detailed maps of the Spanish American coasts and ports like San Blas, Callao, Santiago, or Guayaquil. These latter maps and activities of his are relatively well known. Here I want to focus on Camacho's transpacific voyage to the Philippines and his related maps, a period in his life that we do not read about.

A manuscript preserved in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Sevilla, "Expediente sobre el ascenso de José Camacho, alférez graduado de navío y piloto del Departamento de San Blas, a teniente de fragata", informs us:

The continuous services that he¹⁷ has rendered to Your Majesty over such a long period of time are not expressed in detail here, because it would be a disturbance to the greatness of V. M. And he only states that the navigations he has made with great pleasure to various kingdoms have been so many that he has not missed any place, be it in Europe, Africa, Asia, or America, and that he has sacrificed himself to your Majesty with great pleasure in sailing the Seas exposed to many risks of the seasonal storms; and having been assigned lately to serve for eight years as a first pilot in this Department, he took up a voyage discovering the septentrional coast of California, reaching up to 60 degrees and minutes of altitude, not to speak of the many others he has made to the military forts and settlements and new establishments of Monterey, the Reign of Peru, and Santa Fé; trying as much as he could to make the greatest progress; and not only this, but he has always been so exact in the fulfilment of his duty that no complaint has ever been filed against him, neither in his conduct nor in his good service.

On this assumption, and because of the death of the Commander of this Department, Don Ignacio Arteaga [Ignacio de Arteaga y Bazán, 1731–1783],¹⁸ the position fell to him, and he served for seventeen months to the satisfaction of His Most Excellent Gentleman, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Matiaz de Galvez, and of the Real Audiencia which he subceded. He humbly petitions Your Majesty that since this merit that he has contracted, together with all his other achievements, is unique and worthy by its distinction, deserving every reward ~ may Your Royal Mercy be moved to grant it; promoting him to the next rank of lieutenant of the frigate in Your Royal Navy in recognition of his fine conduct and his strong desire to sacrifice himself in Your Service.

God Save the Catholic Royal Person of Your Majesty for many years: San Blas February 10, 1785.

Josef Camacho¹⁹

15 Altamirano Rayos, Kraft, Kutzinski 2019, 106.

16 *Atlas de Navegacion*, 1780.

17 This letter, written in the third person, was handed in by Camacho as a request for promotion.

18 A Spanish naval officer of Basque origin. He arrived in San Blas in 1775 and was given command of an expedition to Alaska in 1779, whose objective was to investigate the Russian advance into Alaska, to search for a Northwest passage across the Pacific, and to capture James Cook.

19 "Expediente sobre el ascenso de José Camacho, alférez graduado de navío y piloto del Departamento de San

This manuscript mentions the discoveries along the “septentrional coast of California”, as well as his activities “in the military forts and settlements and new establishments of Monterrey, the Reign of Peru, and Santa Fé, trying as much as he could to make the greatest progress”, including that in the drawing of maps.

But almost nothing is known about his voyage across the Pacific. I was very glad to find some information in his last will, in the documents preserved in the AGNM. There, we are informed that Camacho “embarked on the schooner (*goleta*) *Valdes* [also called *Santa Rosa* and constructed in San Blas],²⁰ sailing to the city of Manila in the Philippine Islands as part of a certain commission from the Royal Service” in 1790:

Iten, I declare that I owe for the mortuary assets of the deceased Don Josef Antonio de Cortazar, administrator of tobaccos, who was of this party the amount of one thousand four hundred and seventy pesos and four reales, which is the remainder of two thousand pesos that Don José Ignacio Blades placed in the possession of the aforementioned deceased on my account and order, so that he could give them to the family who remains in this town, taking care of my house, when I, in 1790, embarked on the schooner *Valdes*,²¹ sailing to the city of Manila in the Philippine Islands as part of a certain commission from the Royal Service, of whose assets the subdelegated judge of this town has ordered the formation of an insolvency procedure (*concurso*), for which I have a written request, so that in preference to all creditors, I may be paid the aforementioned one thousand four hundred and seventy-four reales, of which I order my executors to deliver to Don Joseph Sánchez, a resident of the

Blas, a teniente de fragata”, AGI, Guadalajara, 520, N. 59, fols. 1049r-1050v: “Los continuados servicios que en tan dilatado tiempo tiene echos a V.M. no los expresa por menor aquí, por que sería molestar la grandeza de V.M. Y asi solo dice q.^e las navegaciones que con felicidad, ha hecho a diversos Reynos han sido tantas que no le ha quedado parage alguno, tanto en la Europa, Africa, Asia, y America, que no haya andado sacrificándose con sumo gusto sugo en surcar los Mares expuesto a muchos riesgos en los Vageles de V.M. y que havindose sido destinado últimamente havia cosa de ocho años a servir su exercicio de Primer Piloto en este Departamento, emprehendio viage a los descubrimientos de la costa septentrional de California llegando hasta los 60. Grados y minutos de altura, sin otros muchos que ha hecho a los Presidios y Nuevos Establecimientos de Monterrey, Reyno de el Peru, y Santa Fé; procurando en quanto ha estado de su parte sus mayores adelantamientos, y no solo esto, sino que ha andado siempre tan exacto en el cumplimiento de su obligación que jamás se le ha puesto nota alguna, ni en conducta, ni en su buen servicio.

En este supuesto, y en que por muerte de el Comandante de este Departamento D. Ignacio Arteaga [Ignacio de Arteaga y Bazán, 1731–1783] recayó en el aquel en cargo, y lo sirvió diez y siete meses à satisfacción de el Exmo Señor Virrey de Nueva España D. Matiaz de Galvez, y de la R.^l Audiencia que le subcedió. Suplica rendidamente a V.M. que pues este merito que contrajo, y agrego à los mas que tiene echos es particular y digno por su distinción de todo premio ~ se digme su R.^l Piedad de hacerlo; ascendiéndolo al grado inmediato que le toca de teniente de Fragata de su R. Armada en que sabrá a credits su buen porte, y lots deseos positivas que tiene de sacrificarse en su servicio./ Dios Guardo la católica R. Persona de S.V. muchos años: San Blas Febrero 10 de 1785./ Josef Camacho.”

20 “Autos de inventarios”, fol. 21 (113b). Elsewhere, the ship is simply called “*buque*” (ship); see “Autos de inventarios”, fol. 155r.

21 A list of documents found in the last twenty reels (Reel 11–Reel 30) in the National Archive of Mexico and published by the editors of the journal as “Philippine Historical Documents in the National Archives of Mexico”, *Asian Studies* 4:1 (1966), 149–197, at 156, mentions “an amount distributed by the Treasury of Manila in the frigate *San Jose Bolandra*, *Horcasitas* and *Goleta Valdes*, totaling \$38,890”. Separate lists of the amounts in each ship are included; see vol. 27, exp. 9, fols. 327–347.

said town, who set up the mentioned request, the amount of one hundred pesos that I have promised him for the defence of this expense".²²

Not much can be found about this voyage and the schooner *Valdés* at first sight.²³ A reorganization of San Blas' Naval Department went along with a shipbuilding programme – as mentioned above, the navy had been suffering from a lack of ships and qualified personnel – and during the period from 1790 to 1792, four vessels were constructed. The schooner *Valdés* was one of them.²⁴ It was a schooner of 139 tons burden, completed under Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra (1743–1794), a Spanish-Peruvian naval officer, and then prepared for a trans-Pacific voyage, the one that Camacho joined.²⁵ The original entry in the "Notes of Ships Pertaining to the Department of San Blas" states:

Goleta Baldez, of a tonnage of 139, was constructed in San Blas in 1790. On the 13th day of August, she set sails for the port of Cavite in Manila, under the command of the ship's lieutenant D. Cosmo Bertodano, with documents of the Royal Service (*con pliegos del Rl. Servicio*),²⁶ and he has not yet returned to his post, as it is not yet time.²⁷

On 13th August 1790, Cosme Bertodano y Lantier (Sevilla 1766) thus received the command to sail the schooner *Valdés* to Manila, where it finally remained as a permanent vessel of the Compañía de Filipinas.²⁸

Valdés reached the Mariana Islands on 30 October and arrived in Manila on 29th November 1790, under the command of the second lieutenant (*alfaréz*) Cosme Bertodano. We know this from a document dated 20 March 1792, which also includes a letter signed by the local governor of

22 "Autos de inventarios", fol. 21 (113b): "Iten declaro estarseme debiendo por los bienes mortuarios del difunto Don Josef Antonio de Cortazar, administrador de tabacos que fue de este partido la cantidad de un mil quatrocientos setenta pesos y quatro reales resto de dos mil pesos que de mi cuenta, y orden puso Don José Ignacio Blades en poder del citado difunto para que este le fuese ministrando de ellos a la familia que dejen este pueblo cuidando mi casa el año de noventa que me embarqué en la Goleta Valdes para la ciudad de Manila en las Islas Filipinas a cierta comisión del Real Servicio: de cuos bienes se ha mandado forman concurso por el Juez subdelegado deeste pueblo en el qual tengo preventado un escrito haciendose en el que me asiste para que con preferencia a todo otro acreedor se me satisfagan los citados un mil quatrocientossetenta y quatro reales, de los quales mando a mis Albaceas le entreguen a Don Joseph Sánchez vecino de este dicho pueblo, la cantidad de cien pesos que le tengo prometidos por que agite la defenza de este cobro, quien hizo el referido escrito." There is a problem with the pagination of the document at this point, as page number 113 appears twice at the beginning of the judicial documents. See Garcia *et al.* 2002. Table 1 (pp. 2–47) is for the voyages from Acapulco to Manila; Table 2 (pp. 48–92) is for the voyages from Manila to Acapulco (added 13 Sept 2005).

23 Only a systematic study of documents about all kinds of officers, events, ships, and institutions in one or the other way related to this voyage finally brought to light more information.

24 Thurman 1967, 339. The other three ships were the brigantine *Activo* and the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*.

25 Thurman 1967, 339, with reference to "Noticias de los buques que han Pertenecido al Departamento de San Blas". I would like to express my sincere thanks to the Instituto de Historia y cultura Naval, Departamento de Archivos Navales, Archivo Histórico de la Armada, especially Dr. Fernando Santos de la Hera, for providing me with a digital copy of this document.

26 This refers to services to the Spanish Crown, ranging from administrative and military positions to work carried out to maintain the infrastructure of the viceroyalty.

27 "Noticias de los buques que han Pertenecido al Departamento de San Blas", 245.

28 Thurman 1967, 339–340, with reference to "Noticias de los buques que han Pertenecido al Departamento de San Blas".

Guam from 1786 to 1794, Joseph Arleguí y Leóz (b. 1741/42– after 2 September 1794), on 2 November 1790 at Umata, that is, Humåtak (formerly Umatac) in the south of Guam:²⁹

The Governor of the Marianas reports to Your Excellency (V.E.) the arrival on 30th October of the schooner Valdés, coming from San Blas with a commission of the Royal service for Manila ...

Most Excellent Sir

On the thirtieth of the last month the schooner Valdés (alias Santa Rosa) coming from San Blas anchored in this cove, under the command of junior naval officer (Alferez de Navio) Don Cosme Bertodano, to proceed to Manila by commission of the Royal service. I have provided him with four bronze cannon à 4 calibres with their gun carriages for its protection, and as many supplies as he has requested of biscuits, fresh water, firewood, of which he was lacking, and gave what this scarce land could offer; having made the greatest effort to avoid delay in his commission. Of which it has seemed proper to inform Your Excellency (VE), in case this notice should prove useful to the same Royal service.

May Our Lord guard Your Excellency (V. E.) for many years, as I wish. Town of Umata in the Mariana Islands. 2 November, 1790. Most Excellent Sir

Joseph Arleguí y Leóz³⁰

The document includes at the bottom the information that the ship reached Manila on 29 November (*Ilegó este buque a Manila en 29 de noviembre*).³¹ Camacho himself informs us that he embarked on the *Valdés* for the Philippines in 1790, without providing a concrete day or month. Fortunately, a set of documents preserved in the Museo Naval in Madrid, including a copy of an official letter by Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, commander of the Navy in San Blas, on the good condition of the schooner *Valdés*, provide further clarification.

One of the documents is a letter by the Conde de Revillagigedo, Juan Vicente Güemes Pacheco y Padilla (1789–1794), informing about the arrival of the schooner *Valdés*, which confirms the arrival of the *Valdés* on 29 November 1790. On behalf of Bertodano, he also reports difficulties with the return voyage to San Blas and the idea of embarking his crew and that of Don Manula Quimper from the English sloop ('*balandra*') *Princesa Real* on to a frigate that lay in the port of Manila, having been confiscated by the Royal Treasury.³² He was weighing financial considerations when he decided to dispatch the *Princesa Real*,³³ and Commander Juan de la Bodega suggested he continue to Canton, where a paquebot could be purchased to take the crew back. But the Conde de Revillagigedo did not agree to this, as no reliable ship was brought that was fit for such a long journey. Finally, he decided to ask the governor-general of the Philippines that, if there was an opportunity to lead the *Valdés* to San Blas, he should dispatch it so it could reach its main destination. Like others, the Conde de Revillagigedo emphasized that the *Valdés* was a new, strongly built ship made of very

29 "Umatac", fol. 3.

30 "Umatac", fol. 2.

31 The schooner *Valdés* brought to the Philippines "the first news of an imminent rupture with England"; see Malaspina and David 2003, 326.

32 In his answer to Bertodano, the Conde de Revillagigedo stressed, he said that, because it was a ship that had just been built for the annual reliefs of the "Presidio de Loreto" (the fortress of Loreto, Baja California), and because it was to be prepared for the continuation of the exploration of the California coast, he had kept it as a reserve for the frigates *Santa Gertruda* and *Princesa*. The absence of the vessel prompted him to have yet another small schooner to be constructed that fulfilled double tasks at San Blas, to ensure no support was lacking for the exploration. These expenses could have been saved with the return of the *Valdés*.

33 Indirectly, his letter also attests to the lack of good seagoing vessels and personnel in San Blas.

sturdy wood that could undoubtedly make the return voyage, especially given that recently the Portuguese and the British had sailed from Macao to the coasts of California in a very small vessel.³⁴

Yet another letter in the same set of documents, signed by (Don) Antonio Bonilla in Tepic on 22 December 1791 (copy on 30 December), confirms that the *Valdés* was a very solidly constructed ship with more than enough capacity, so that no convincing reason can be found obliging Cosme Bertodano not to return with the *Valdés* to San Blas. There is no doubt that in its most advanced state it managed to anchor at Guajan, capital of the Mariana Islands, after seventy-eight days.

In short, I know from a letter by its pilot D. Jose Camacho that, due to its good properties, it was able to make such a pleasant journey that it travelled at between ten and eleven miles [per hour] and that in its endurance and governance nothing was left to be desired.³⁵

So, definitely, the schooner could return without any risk.

I will ensure, if Your Majesty deems it appropriate, that if the officers and crew we have there in the [Philippines] are not to be transferred to another ship this year, they should be sent without excuse to the command of Lieutenant Don Manuel Quimper, for which I will take responsibility.³⁶

From these documents, we obtain valuable insights into the discussions about the return voyage of the *Valdés*. The last letter by Antonio Bonilla in particular even provides us with information on its speed on water, ten to eleven miles. Consequently, the *Valdés* reached the port of Humåtak in Guam after only seventy-eight days of sailing. This confirms that the ship must have left San Blas on 13 August 1790. The whole voyage from San Blas to Manila thus took about three and a half months. Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate the letter José Camacho wrote to Antonio Bonilla. We see that, while Camacho and many other naval officers regarded the *Valdés* as a high-quality, solidly built ship, Bertodano considered it to be of poor quality and suggested it should remain in the Philippines. That is what ultimately happened, but only after a somewhat tragic interlude.

The above information suggests that the *Valdés* was part of the famous scientific Malaspina expedition of 1789–1794. This expedition was sponsored by the Spanish Crown and supervised by the Italian mariner Alessandro (Alejandro) Malaspina (1754–1809), assisted by José Bustamante y Guerra (1759–1825).³⁷ The expedition included stops in Trinidad, Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, Chile, Peru, and various locations along the coast of America as far north as Nootka, followed by the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. Malaspina had submitted his plans to Antonio Valdés, Spanish Minister of Marine from 1787 to 1795, who enthusiastically supported this ambitious scientific exploratory project.³⁸ The expedition reached the northwest coast of America in the summer of 1791 – the schooner *Valdés* reportedly left Acapulco for Nootka³⁹ – some of the ships continuing eastward across the Pacific Ocean and passing through the Marianas before anchoring in Manila in March 1792.⁴⁰ Did Camacho join this expedition on

34 “El conde de Revillagigedo”, no. 99, 3-7.

35 “El conde de Revillagigedo”, no. 99, 9.

36 “El conde de Revillagigedo”, no. 99, 9-10.

37 Malaspina expedition papers, 1789–1795 [archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:80444/xv07531].

38 Among the scientists were the hydrographer Felipe Bauzá and the natural historian Antonio Pineda, assisted by the botanists Tadeo Haencke and Luis Née.

39 “Dictamen sobre la negativa de Cosme Bertodano”, fol. 143v.

40 See the blog by Pavia Fernández 2014.

the schooner *Valdés*? Consulting the edited edition of the diary of Malaspina, we find the note for the voyage from Port Mulgrave to Nootka Sound stating that “Primer Piloto José Camacho y Brenes made sketches of a Tlingit canoe and of both a one-man and a two-man Chugach canoe.”⁴¹ This shows that he was involved into this northern part of the expedition, but he is not mentioned elsewhere. Why, then, do we know so little about him and the *Valdés* as part of this famous expedition? Camacho’s personal will and his other papers do not provide much more information. It is also unclear how exactly he eventually returned to San Blas, although we have some indications.

In addition, historical circumstances and his many possessions of Chinese goods⁴² at least suggest that he may have sailed to Macao (and/or Canton) after his arrival in Manila. The *Atrevida* of the Malaspina expedition, after all, made a voyage to Macao in 1792, while the *Descubierta* explored the Philippine Archipelago before the ships reunited in November 1792.⁴³ How did Camacho return to San Blas?

Did he board one of the galleons returning to Acapulco around this time? However, there are not many opportunities for embarking on a galleon. A galleon called *San José* left Manila on 21 May 1792,⁴⁴ and the *Atrevida* returned to Manila from her voyage to Macao on 19 May.⁴⁵ Theoretically, therefore, Camacho could have boarded the *San José*, even if he had joined the *Atrevida*.⁴⁶ We also need to remember that Camacho returned to San Blas and not to Acapulco.

One document, written on 8 October 1792, provides us with further insights. In it, Félix Berenguer de Marquina (1736–1825) informed Alejandro Malaspina that, given the advanced stage of the season, he had arranged for a division of so-called *vintas*, a Moorish Philippine sailing vessel made of a hollowed-out trunk and tapered at the ends, to accompany the schooner *Valdés* commanded by Cosme Bertodano, so that it could make the voyage to San Blas. Moorish boats, Berenguer de Marquina informs Malaspina, have been sighted in the straits through which they have to sail, and they could even carry the necessary provisions to the schooner without having to call at Manila first.⁴⁷ Further evidence tells us a bit more about the destiny of the schooner *Valdés*.

In the diary of the Malaspina expedition, we read in the entry for 12 May 1792 that the departure of two ships of the Department of San Blas was approaching; these were the *San José de los Animas*, “fitted out in Cavite under the orders of the Teniente de Fragata Don Manuel Quimper”; and the *Valdés*, “which some months earlier under the command of Alférez de Navío Don Cosme Bertodano had brought to these islands the first news of an imminent rupture with England.”⁴⁸ On May 20 we read: “The *San José de los Animas* was ready to set sail for the entrance, being bound for San Blas in company with the schooner [*Valdés*]⁴⁹ under the command of the

41 Malaspina and David 2003, vol. II, 146, note 4 (147)

42 See Schottenhammer 2025.

43 Pavía Fernández 2014.

44 García 2002, entry *San José*. This galleon was commanded by Manuel Quimper (1757–1844) and reached Acapulco in January 1793.

45 Malaspina and David 2003, 327; González Claverán 1993, 427. The next galleon, *San Andrés Magallanes*, left Manila only in the summer of 1794.

46 García 2002, entry *San José de los Animas*.

47 “Félix Berenguer de Marquina comunica a Alejandro Malaspina”.

48 Malaspina and David 2003, 326.

49 Malaspina and David 2003, 358, actually writes *Mexicana* here, but adds in a footnote: “According to Malaspina the name of this schooner was *Valdés*”, and it should have been the *Valdés* as we know from the context.

naval officers Don Manuel Quimper and Don Cosme Bertodano.”⁵⁰ Both ships finally left the port of Cavite on 21 May 1792.⁵¹ However, after passing through the San Bernardino Straits, they met with a typhoon (*huracan, temporal*) and were separated.⁵² While the *San José* reached San Blas on 6 November 1792 after a painful Pacific crossing, the schooner *Valdés* returned to the port of Sorsogon.⁵³ The *San José* eventually reached Acapulco on 15 January 1793.⁵⁴

What was the further fate of the *Valdés*? We possess yet another manuscript, a letter from Alejandro Malaspina reporting on a discussion of a series of negative arguments brought up by Cosme Bertodano, who refused to sail the schooner back to the department of San Blas without the necessary escort to provide mutual assistance. He presented as arguments problems with provisions, a lack of water, and shelter for the crew, circumstances which alone would justify anchoring a ship in a sheltering harbour during such a long voyage: “For although the lack of warm clothing and of all precautions for the preservation of the crew are circumstances which in themselves are sufficient to justify the anchoring in a port [due to our problems and necessities], even more so would be the lack of water and provisions for such a long voyage”.⁵⁵ “If or not the schooner can return to its destination is a very delicate question in our opinion” (fol. 143v). Briefly discussed is also the separation of the schooner from the frigate *San José* (mentioned already above).⁵⁶

It is unclear if the problems with Cosme Bertodano and his refusal to sail the schooner back to San Blas contributed in one way or another to the fact that so little is known about the further voyage of the *Valdés*. We have seen above that both Bodega y Quadra and Revillagigedo considered the *Valdés* to be a sturdy and seaworthy ship. Cosme Bertodano and the crew who boarded the *Valdés* to return to San Blas, reportedly numbering twenty-five individuals,⁵⁷ could definitely not have boarded the *San José*. A letter describing the whole situation was signed in the port of Sorsogon on 18 August 1792, close to where both ships were separated due to the hurricane. The name of Joseph Camacho is not explicitly mentioned. But we read that a decision to return to the port of origin, Manila, was made with “the pilot” and other naval officers.

50 Malaspina and David 2003, 358.

51 “Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes”, 212r.

52 The details of his experience of this hurricane are described in “Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes”, 173r-174v. Bertodano also describes there how he lost sight of the *San José* (*haviendo perdido vista de la fragata*). As one of the reasons why he decided to return to Cavite, he explains that the schooner had no place for the sick, no infirmary, and no one to cure them. He had sick people on board and was sailing with only a third of the original crew, not to speak of all the technical problems caused by the storm.

53 “Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes”, 178v, states he anchored at the port of Sorsogon on 21 July 1792. Finally, they returned to Cavite. Cerezo Ponte 2014, 140; Gómez 2012 (*Goleta Santa Rosa* 1790).

54 García *et al.* 2002, with reference to AGI, Mexico 2114, Caja Real de Acapulco, 15 de enero de 1793: “pago de almojarifazgo de entrada entregado por el teniente de Fragata Manuel Quimper, comandante de la Fragata San José y las ánimas procedente de Manila.”

55 “Dictamen sobre la negativa de Cosme Bertodano”, fol. 143v: “pues si bien la falta de abrigo de ropa, y de toda precaucion p.^a la conservacion de la Marinería sean circunstancias q.^e por si solas baten a justificar una arivada, mucho mas lo serían las de caracer de agua, y viveres p.a una travesia tan diletada.”

56 “Dictamen sobre la negativa de Cosme Bertodano”, fol. 143v: “Si pueda o no regresar la goleta a su destino es una question, en nuestro concepto, muy delicado.” This text (fol. 144r) also mentions that it took Captain Colnett (1753–1806) from Macao to Nootka 70 days.

57 “Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes”, 181r.

In total, Cosme Bertodano undertook three attempts to sail back to San Blas and *reportedly* finally embarked with his crew on the galleon *Magallanes*.⁵⁸

First attempt: On 21st May 1792, he left the port of Manila in direction of San Blas, accompanying the frigate *San Josef*.⁵⁹ They met with a hurricane in the San Bernadino Straits on 12 July 1792 and almost capsized various times, whereupon Don Cosme Bertodano decided together with the pilot, the boatswain (*contramaestre*) and the naval officers (*oficiales del mar*) to return to their port of origin, that is Manila.⁶⁰

Second attempt: On 11 March 1793, he set sails for the second attempt to return to San Blas. But due to contrary winds and several setbacks he experienced during two months, twice getting himself lost, he decided in a joint meeting aboard to return to the port of origin, replenish the food provisions and retry again with the monsoon winds.⁶¹ He asked to be permitted to embark on the *Magallanes*, which lay at anchor in Cavite, ready for its return trip to Acapulco.⁶²

His report continues that he set sail on 12 July on the “aforementioned” ship, having stranded close to the San Bernadino Straits, they arrived back at the port of departure on 22 October.⁶³ The report is quite confusing, as it remains unclear if this “aforementioned ship” actually refers to *Magallanes* or *Valdés*. It is certain that Bertodano finally, in a third attempt, crossed the Pacific to San Blas on the schooner *Valdés*. We cannot entirely rule out the possibility that he and his crew embarked on the *Magallanes* which, however, stranded close to the San Bernadino Straits and consequently needed to return to its port of departure. Thereupon, he undertook his third attempt on the *Valdés*, see below, while the (*San Fernando*) *Magallanes* left Manila in mid-summer 1794, arriving at Acapulco on 28 November 1794.

Shortly after his arrival at the capital, the governor suggested he should undertake a third attempt to sail back to San Blas. He set sail on 4th April 1794, in convoy with the sloop *Orcasitas*. “We sailed until we viewed the coast of China, but then I saw myself unable to pass the Island of Hermosa (Taiwan).” This means they must have sailed close enough to the coast of China to view land and roughly at the latitude of the southern tip of Taiwan (which is only slightly further north than Macao), unable to proceed further in a northeasterly direction. As a rule, the Kuroshio 黒潮 current, which starts to get stronger in April, helps ships to continue their voyage in a northeasterly direction and enter the open Pacific Ocean.

Our source tells us that they organized another meeting, and in mutual agreement decided to change course, finally arriving at the “Surgidero de Taypac” (Taypac anchorage), waiting until the winds calmed down and became favorable:

In a letter which Your Grace sent me, dated 29 of last September about your navigation from the Philippines in the schooner *Santa Rosa*, alias *Valdés*, you stated that you continued it [the navigation], following the winds until you saw the coast of China, but a very strong northeast wind prevented you from passing the Island of Hormosa and in agreement with [the decision of] the

58 “Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes”, 212r, 213v: “en las tres salidas que he practicado con la Goleta de S. M. de mi mando, nombrada la Valdes, y embarque en el Magallanes”.

59 “Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes”, 212r.

60 Ibid.

61 “Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes”, 213r.

62 “Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes”, 213v.

63 Ibid.: “sali en el expresado navio el 12 de Julio de el proximo pasado, y habiendo barado en el baxo de Calantas, arribo al Puerto de salida el 22 de Octubre”.

reunion [you had on board] you arrived at the Surgidero de Taypac, from where, a few days later, with the weather more favourable, you continued to the coast of California, arriving in Monterrey on 5 August and concluding the voyage in San Blas on the aforementioned 29 September [1794].⁶⁴

Where was this Taypac? Could it be Taipa Island, the small islet at the entrance to the port of Macao, where also the *Atrevida* called?⁶⁵ It would make sense and seems to be the most likely option. At any rate, it is clear that the *Valdés* headed for a port in the Chinese waters, obviously one they were familiar with, possibly Taipa at Macao.

After a few days they continued their journey until they caught sight of the California coast. On 5 August 1794 they anchored at Monterrey and, after taking firewood on board and replenishing the food and water provisions, set sail again to arrive at the port of San Blas on 29th September 1794.⁶⁶ Although José Camacho is not mentioned by name in this document, he also may have returned to San Blas on the *Valdés* together with Don Cosmo Bertodano, or, possibly on the galleon *Magallanes* together with the rest of the crew.⁶⁷

Geography and Sea Routes of the Early Modern Pacific

Camacho's *Atlas de Navegación* contains detailed maps on the route of the Manila galleon, here called alternatively "*nao de China*", and provides us with detailed maps, including the Mariana Islands, large parts of the Philippine Archipelago, the Ryūkyū Islands and even parts of Japan ("Contiene esta Carta parte de la Navegación que haze la Nao de China de ida y buelta al Puerto de Acapulco, en la que se incluyen las Yslas Marianas con una parte de las Filipinas y otra de Japon"). The transpacific route map includes many other Pacific islands or island archipelagos as well, for example, the Galapagos.

The figure includes the discoveries made by the Spaniards on the orders of "Don François Bucarely" (i.e. Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, 1717–1779), Viceroy of Mexico (in office 23 September 1771–9 April 1779), sailing in May 1775 with two ships from the port of "Sanct Blasius", that is, San Blas, to which they returned on October 20 of the following year.⁶⁸ This note refers to the so-called "Bucareli expeditions". Bucareli encouraged the exploration and settlement of Alta California and dispatched a naval expedition to Alaska. José Camacho was directly involved in these expeditions and himself drew maps and charts.⁶⁹ For example, he participated as first pilot in the 1779 expedition to survey the Pacific Northwest Coast under the Spanish naval officer Ignacio de Arteaga (1731–1783). During the return leg of that expedition, Camacho drew a map of San Francisco Bay, adding significantly to the geographical knowledge of that region.

64 "Testimonio del Expediente", 216r-v: "En el vaute q.e me dio vm con fha de 29 de sept.º ult.º de su navegación de Filipinas en la Goleta Santa Rosa, alias la Valdes, manifiesta que continuandola según los vientos hasta avistan la costa de China, le cargó un noreste recio que no le dexó rebasar Ysla Hermosa y con acuerdo de la Junta arribó al Surgidero de Taypac, de donde à pocos días mostrándose el tiempo mas favorable, siguió a la costa de California llegando à Monterrey el 5 de Agosto y concluyendo el viage en San Blas el expresado día 29 de Septiembre".

65 Malaspina and David 2003, vol. II, 337-339.

66 "Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes", 214r.

67 "Se pide al comandante de la Goleta Valdes", 205v: "su comandante, piloto, cirujano, y tripulacion se transportan en la nao Sⁿ Fernando Magallanes que hace viaje a Acapulco".

68 Ibid.

69 "Atlas de Navegación", 1780.

In his personal letter applying for promotion as a lieutenant of a frigate (dated 10th February 1785), introduced above, Camacho tells us that the navigations he has undertaken “with great pleasure to various kingdoms have been so many that he has not missed any place, be it in Europe, Africa, Asia, or America.”⁷⁰ For more than thirty years, he had served His Majesty as pilot in the Department of the Royal Spanish Armada in San Blas. He was involved in the discoveries of the west coast of California, reaching 60 degrees altitude, in new establishments in San Diego, San Francisco, Monterey, Peru, and Santa Fé.⁷¹ He served seventeen months to the satisfaction of the late Viceroy, Mathias de Galvez (1717–1784)⁷² and of the High Court (Audiencia Gobernadora), until the second lieutenant of the frigate (*fragata*) *La Princesa*, Don Francisco Antonio Mourelle (1750–1820), returned from Manila and succeeded him as before in this commission.

A set of maps and charts included in the *Atlas de Navegación de Callao a Lima* shows parts of the Philippine Archipelago, with the navigation of the Transpacific galleons to and from the port of Acapulco through both the Embocadero of San Bernadino and the northern part of the island of Luzon.⁷³ The “*embocadero* route” had been in force since its establishment by Andrés de Urdaneta in 1565, but it was dangerous and difficult to navigate in parts. Sailors had to pass by numerous Philippine islands before reaching the San Bernardino Strait, which separates the southern tip of Luzon Island from the northern tip of Marubay Island. This navigation route was also relatively long. It took at least several days to reach the San Bernadino Strait, from where the galleons continued to Guajan (or Guam), the “capital of the Marianas”, as shown on Fig. 4c. For these reasons, on several occasions merchants and the authorities proposed to find a safer and shorter route for the annual galleon voyages, north along the west coast of Luzon to round Cape Bojeador and Cape Engaño, located on the northeastern top of Luzon, and from there to enter into the open ocean.⁷⁴

This route was supposed to be both less dangerous and much shorter. This notwithstanding, we have no seventeenth-century records of any voyage along this route, and it was not until 1740 that a decision was taken to investigate it further in order to determine which route was ultimately the most convenient for reaching the open Pacific Ocean.⁷⁵ This happened thanks to the initiative of a possibly German pilot, (H)Enrique Herman, who made eight voyages and provided good arguments in favor of the new northern navigation route.⁷⁶ The route, it was argued, was substantially shorter, just three to four instead of five to seven months. To support his argument, Herman cited various cases in which galleons had been lost on their way to and through the Embocadero. Two of the cases Herman experienced or observed himself: The first was the voyage of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de Begoña*, commanded by Don Francisco Echeveste (1683–1753), in which he served as the main pilot. The ship left Ticao with a favorable wind, but the force of the current pushed it to the Naranjos, a group of islets situated to the southeast of Ticao, and the crew

70 “Expediente sobre el ascenso de José Camacho”, fol. 1049v.

71 “Expediente sobre el ascenso de José Camacho”, fols. 1049v and 1051v.

72 Spanish general, the Captain General of Guatemala from April 1779 to 3 April 1783, and Viceroy of New Spain from 29 April 1783 to 3 November 1784.

73 “Parte del Archipelago de Filipinas”, 1780.

74 Rodríguez-Sala 2013.

75 “Testimonio Authentico” and the map “Derrotero de Filipinas a Nueva España”. This document has been investigated by Díaz-Trechuelo 1956. See also Bernabéu Albert and García Redondo 2019, 70-72 and map 2.

76 “Testimonio Authentico”.

had to separate it from the rocks using long poles, and at cost of much labor. On another voyage in the same galleon, on which Herman already served as commander, it ran aground on a sandbank because a strong storm tore the eight thick ropes with which it was moored.⁷⁷

The expedition prompted by Herman was carried out on the ship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, with Manuel Correa and José Macías as pilots. The result greatly improved geographical knowledge, but due to continuing conflicts of view, it was not until many years later, in 1771, that a decision was taken in favor of the northern route. Camacho's chart shows both routes.⁷⁸

The reason why this shorter and less dangerous route was not taken earlier is simple: it was basically due to the fierce opposition of Manila merchants, who possessed a well organized network across the Philippine islands to upload much more unregistered cargo (*fuera de registro*). Don Simón de Anda y Salazar (1709–1776), governor general of the Philippines, informs us in an extensive report on contemporary problems in the island archipelago that these merchants also successfully convinced the pilots in joint meetings discussing the route to argue in favour of their idea.⁷⁹



Fig. 4a “Contiene Esta Carta parte del Archipiélago de Filipinas: Con la navegacion que haze la Nao de ida y buelta al Puerto de Acapulco, así por el Embarcadero de San Bernardino, como por la parte del Norte de la Ysla de Luzón / Construida Por el primer Piloto del numero de la Rl. Armada Dn. Josef Camacho y Brenes”, in: *Atlas de Navegación de Callao a Lima*, by Josef Camacho, Tepic, 1780; 1 atlas con 14 cartas náuticas), digital reproduction from the Biblioteca Virtual de Defensa, Madrid, Sign. AHIHM-A-9 [8], of a copy preserved in the Archivo Hidrográfico de la Marina, Cádiz.

77 Díaz-Trechuelo 1956, 6.

78 Rodríguez-Sala 2013.

79 Díaz-Trechuelo 1956, 2-3, with reference to “Informe suscrito por Simón de Anda” (7-VII-1768, Madrid), Filipinas, 940.



Fig. 4b "Contiene Esta Carta parte del Archipiélago de Filipinas: Con la navegacion que haze la Nao de ida y buelta al Puerto de Acapulco por el Embarcadero / Construida Por el primer Piloto del numero de la Rl. Armada Dn. Josef Camacho y Brenes", in: *Atlas de Navegación de Callao a Lima*.

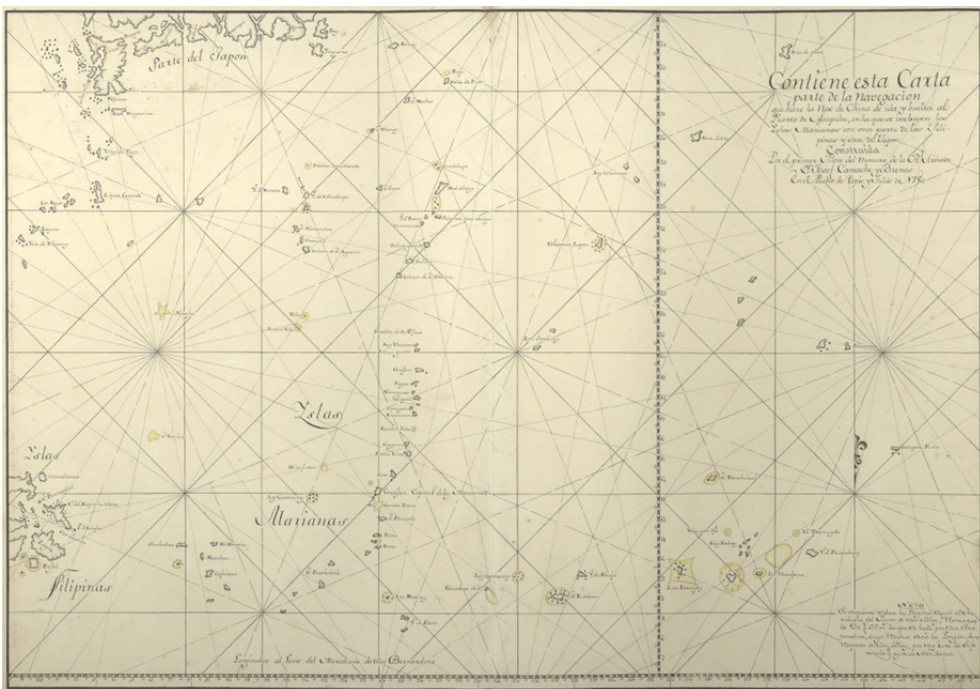


Fig. 4c "Contiene esta Carta parte de la Navegación: que haze la Nao de China de ida y buelta al Puerto de Acapulco, en la que se incluyen las Yslas Marianas con una parte de las Filipinas y otra de Japon / Construida Por el primer Piloto del numero de la Rl. Armada Dn. Josef Camacho y Brenes", in: *Atlas de Navegación de Callao a Lima*.

The “Asian-Pacific” set of charts is divided into five parts with different perspectives. The first sheet places west at the top and focuses on the Island of Luzon, the Bay of Manila and the Embocadero (see Fig. 4a). The second sheet concentrates on the island archipelago south and southeast of Manila Bay (see Fig. 4b). The third sheet portrays the Mariana Islands in the center, parts of Japan at the top-left and part of the Philippine Visayas, including Leyte and the San Bernadino Strait, the important entry point for Spanish galleons into the Philippine Archipelago (see Fig. 4c). The fact that the Mariana Islands especially are portrayed with such detail and accuracy, while few places along the coasts of Japan are mentioned, some even located incorrectly,⁸⁰ attest to the fact that for eighteenth-century Spanish navigators Japan was no longer so important. They simply marked some important ports like Nagasaki and elevated points like volcanos, where sailors could also see the smoke from the distance. In the eighteenth century, consequently, important changes in navigation routes occurred.

South of Japan, we find Nangasagui (Nagasaki 長崎), Cochique (probably the Gotō Islands 五島列島), Seluno (present-day Sakurajima 桜島, an island with an active volcano, of which sailors could see the smoke), Fian (Kirishima 霧島, 1700m), then further southward Tangasima (Tanegashima 種子島), Yslas del Fuego (Yakushima 屋久島, 1935m), Liquio Grande (actually Okinawa, but perhaps mistakenly assigned to the main island of Amami?), Los Reyes (probably a reference to what the Portuguese called “Islas dos Reis magos”, that is, possibly Miyako 宮古, Tarama 多良間島, Ishigaki 石垣島, Yacyama 八重山 Islands), Layana (possibly Taketomi-jima 竹富島), and Ysla de Tiburones (probably Yonaguni-jima 与那国島).⁸¹ Somewhat further to the northeast, on the upper part of the chart, you can see two larger islands called Ynuguima, which reads like Inujima 犬島,⁸² and Tay.⁸³ The islands are either incorrectly identified or imaginary and possibly related to the “Armonicas” or “Armenias” (from Portuguese *armenição*), mythical islands east of Japan mentioned by the Sevillian navigator, explorer, and cartographer Francisco Gali (1539–1586), who probably heard about them when staying in Macao.⁸⁴

80 Bongo, that is, Bungo or present-day Oita 大分, for example, is actually located in northeastern Kyūshū, though it is placed in southeastern Shikoku here. I am very grateful to my colleague Kimura Jun 木村淳, who drew my attention to this discrepancy and also provided me with other helpful information. In the early period of Japanese-European relations, Bungo actually played a major role. The Japanese feudal lord (*daimyō*) of Bungo of the Ōtomo clan, Ōtomo Sōrin 大友宗麟 (1530–1587), also known as Fujiwara no Yoshishige 藤原義鎮 or Ōtomo Yoshishige 大友義鎮, converted to Catholicism, sent a political delegation to Goa in the 1550s and later, in 1582, dispatched the well-known embassy to Rome, facilitating relations and trade with the Portuguese. Bungo consequently used to be an important place, well known to the Europeans.

81 For the identification of place names on early modern European maps, see also Patrick Beilleval, “Early European Cartography of the Liúqiú/Ryūkyū Islands: The Chinese Mediation. Part 1: From the 16th to the 18th century; Part 2: The turning point of Gaubil’s map of 1758”, “Cartographical Representations of the North-Western and South-Western Peripheries of the Chinese Empire” and “Visual Representations in Traditional Science: Geographical Maps and Mathematical Diagrams in East and West”, Tsing Hua University 清華大學 (Taiwan), French National Center for Scientific Research, May 2013, Hsinchu 新竹, Taiwan.

82 It reads like Inujima, but the latter is located in the Seto Inland Sea (瀬戸内海) and not on the outer Japanese Pacific coast. This is probably an incorrect identification. Or was Camacho referring to the “Sulphur Island”, Iwojima 硫黄島, which, however, lies far away from the coast, halfway to the Northern Mariana Islands?

83 Along the coastline of Japan, we find Piguen, Chican, Bongo, Vrandia, Catunio, Acavagui, Ava, and Cansa. Cansa and Ava are located in the contemporary Chiba Prefecture, much further north than the present-day island of Inujima.

84 This has been suggested by my colleague Igawa Kenji 伊川健二 in a personal conversation. For a

The charts provide detailed coastlines of the Philippine islands with all the major coastal villages and towns. Figure 4 shows that Camacho already possessed relatively good geographical knowledge of the East Asian islands, coasts and port cities. Some islands on the two charts of the Philippine archipelago and that of the transpacific voyage showing parts of Japan (Figures 4a-c) are interestingly encircled by a dotted line with a yellowish space between the coasts and the dotted line, probably an indication of shallow waters and sandbanks.⁸⁵ Others, like Sebastian Lopez, located northeast of the Mariana Islands, are encircled by crosses, possibly an indication of rocks or coral reefs around the islands. One island in the southeastern Mariana archipelago is called “Guardate de él”, “Keep away from it”.

Conclusion

The manuscripts and maps I have investigated provide us with a lot of detailed information on Camacho as a person and his transpacific voyage that is hardly known in the existing literature. We acquire valuable insights into map-making and geographical knowledge, including the use of sea routes at the time, or even the velocity of the schooner *Valdés* and the exact days it needed to sail from San Blas to the port of Humåtak, Guam, on the Mariana Islands, and from there to Cavite, the port of Manila. This voyage provided Camacho with a great deal of first-hand knowledge. His “Asia maps” portray the Mariana Islands, the Philippine Archipelago, the Ryūkyū Islands, and also parts of Japan in great detail. Possibly, Camacho also personally went to Macao once on a ship belonging to the famous Malaspina expedition. These Asia maps, however, do not include parts of the south and southeast China coast, nor does his will record that he ever went to China.

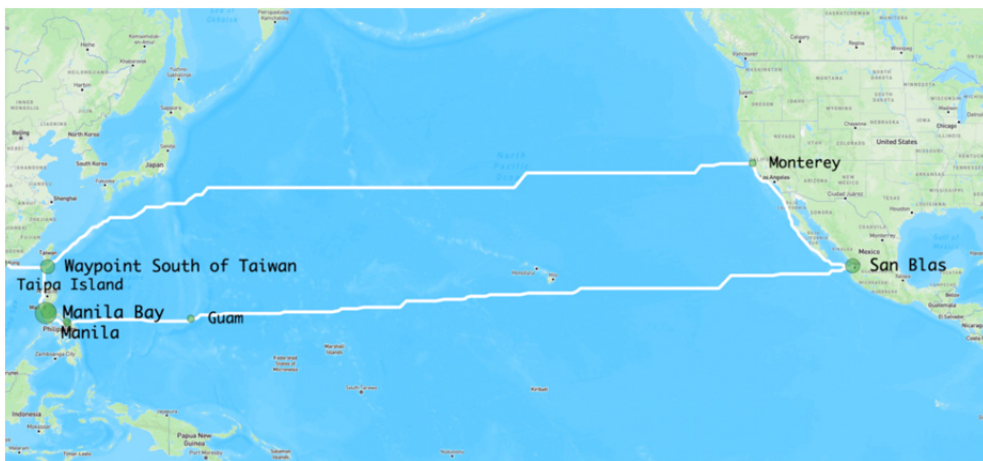


Fig. 5a: Reconstruction of the voyages of *La Valdés* between 13/08/1790 and 29/09/1794. The navigation routes were reconstructed using the TRANSPACIFIC digital platform developed by Kenzo Milleville (UGent) and Robbe Viville (formerly UGent) on the basis of our project database in FileMaker format. The platform uses a graph-based routing engine to estimate detailed route geometries integrating historical voyage data with dynamic routing algorithms to reconstruct and visualize maritime trajectories across the Pacific. The platform, see we12s003.ugent.be, is currently still being improved. A brief video documentation explaining the functions of the platform is available under my project website, see crossroads-research.net/projects/erc-adg-transpacific/podcasts-and-videos.

discussion of this text and further literature, see Loureiro 2019, 96-97, 103 (note 39), and apéndice; Spate 2004, 160-162.

⁸⁵ Japanese portolan charts, for example, mark shallow waters with dots; see Nakamura 1964, 24-44. I am grateful to Elke Papelitzky for this information.

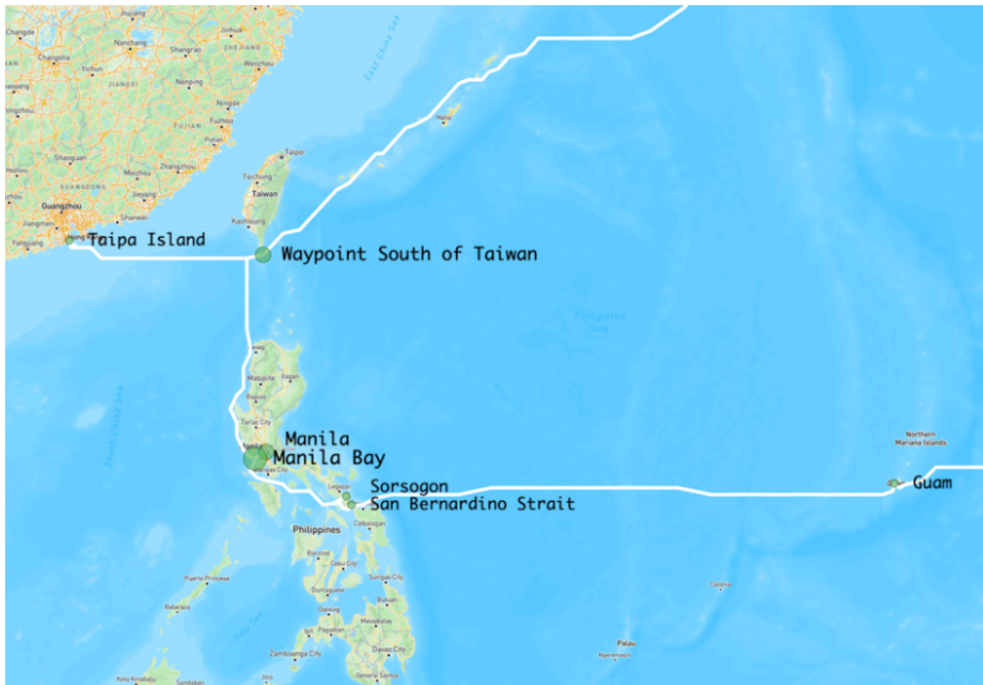


Fig. 5b: Reconstruction of the voyages of *La Valdes*, portraying its voyages in the Philippine Archipelago and South China.

A thorough analysis of his maps also reflects changes in contemporary geographical knowledge and perceptions. We see, for example, that for eighteenth-century Spanish navigators Japan was no longer so important. Even coastal towns are wrongly identified.

Camacho drew his own Pacific map with dotted lines encircling coasts, and with islands shown with a dotted line with a yellowish space in between, probably indicating shallow waters and the danger of running aground on sandbanks and coral reefs. His map includes the traditional sea route of the Manila galleon through the San Bernadino Strait (“navegacion que hace la nao de ida y buelta al puerto de Acapulco por el embocadero de San Bernadino”; see Fig. 4b), but it also shows the second route, leaving Manila Bay in the west and then going in a northerly direction and sailing along the northern tip of Luzon (“navegacion que hace la nao de ida y buelta al puerto de Acapulco, por el Cabo Bojeador y Engaño”; see Fig. 4a). This clearly shows his awareness of both routes. Stony rocks in the vicinity of islands are drawn as crosses (“+”). Longitudes are provided at the bottom and the top of the map.

Comparing his map with the French map that was drawn by Jean-Francois de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse (1741–1788), “according to a Spanish map found on the galleon captured by Admiral Anson in 1743” (cf. Fig. 2) approximately forty years earlier, it becomes evident that the later shows the names of certain islands in the Mariana Archipelago, such as Volcan de San Francisco or Volcan de San Antonio (“Primer mal abrigo” on Camacho’s map), which are missing or named slightly differently on the former. Volcan de San Francisco is marked as “Desconocida” (Unknown) on Camacho’s map, “Volcan de S. Denis” as “Bolcan de San Dionicio”. The two “Yslas de Casa”, located south of the main Mariana Island group around Guajan, that is, Guam, are named “Caja” and “San Bartholomeo” on the La Pérouse map. These are just a few examples. Otherwise, the maps are similar. However, the discrepancies demonstrate that we cannot yet speak of a totally standardized geographical knowledge within the Spanish Empire. Camacho certainly carried a map for consultation, but he probably drew various parts, such as the Mariana Island Archipelago,

according to his own observations. Camacho therefore contributed not only to improving geographical knowledge of the west American coast, but also of various areas of the Asian Pacific, especially of the Philippine Archipelago.

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The essays assembled in this volume have been contributed by long-standing collaborators, colleagues and friends, students and former students of Achim Mittag. The contributors are from Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Spain, Austria, North America, Mainland China and Taiwan, who came to know him through conferences, research projects, and sustained scholarly conversations, as well as through the daily university work, and they all have enriched his life and academic career.

If one reads the 29 articles contributed by altogether 30 contributors attentively, one will find that most of them discuss topics that Achim Mittag himself has already explored in one way or another and that the authors explicitly refer to these talks or publications. What holds the contributions together is a shared interest: a curiosity to know more than was hitherto known or thought, and to scrutinize a detail that turns out to be a piece of the puzzle that makes up the bigger picture.

The volume is divided into eight thematic sections, namely Part I: "Macrohistory Versus Microhistory", Part II: "Between Historical Geography and Travelogue", Part III: "Working on Texts", Part IV: "Society versus Individual", Part V: "Intellectual Debates in China's Past and Present", Part VI: "Memory Culture and Identity", Part VII: "Early Cultural Encounters with China and the Beginnings of Sinology", and Part VIII: "China Expertise and 'Greater China'".

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