CHARLES DARWIN AS A YOUNG MAN
CHARLES DARWIN'S DIARY
OF THE
VOYAGE OF H.M.S. "BEAGLE"

Prepared from the MS.

NORA BARLOW

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
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ILLUSTRATIONS

Charles Darwin

A reproduction from a drawing of unknown origin found by Prof. Seward in a portfolio of Darwin relics in the cellar of the Cambridge Botany School in 1929. Almost identical with the George Richmond water-colour drawing of 1840, and probably a preliminary sketch. It shows Darwin still as a young man, only four years after the return of the "Beagle".

Diagrammatic Drawings of the "Beagle" facing pages 9 and 12

Drawn by Philip Gidley King when he was an old man of about 80; often mentioned by Darwin as his companion on shore. (See Dram. Pers. p. xxii.) The drawings were prepared at the request of Mr Hallam Murray, who used one of the drawings in the illustrated edition of the Naturalist's Voyage in 1890, and again in the cheap edition of 1901, in both cases without acknowledgment. The story of the origin of the drawings came to light on the chance discovery of an envelope hidden amongst the loose maps in the pocket of a copy of the first edition of the Voyages in the possession of Mr Geoffrey Keynes. The envelope contained a letter from Philip Gidley King to Capt. Fisher, written in 1897, enclosing press copies of the drawings, and giving an account of their preparation for Mr Hallam Murray "from old drawings and recollections".

Map of southern portion of South America, showing Darwin's principal inland expeditions At end

Map showing track of H.M.S. "Beagle" round the world At end

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PREFACE

Amongst the manuscript records of the voyage of the “Beagle” there exists a pile of diminutive pocket-books, eighteen in number, in which Charles Darwin made the first rough pencil notes of his observations and impressions during his five years of travel. The small volumes were his constant companions on the inland expeditions, and their worn covers and the brief entries bring to the mind a vivid sense of the reality of those remote journeys of one hundred years ago. They contain reminders to his servant scribbled amongst accounts and other odds and ends: “Shoe mule; mice-traps; small vasculum”. There are lists of necessaries to be bought or packed for the next expedition: “Night-caps, black ribbon, pill-boxes, Bramah pens, 2 lbs. common soap, tobacco”. These jottings gain a significance in their setting, and knowledge that Charles Darwin took with him a “Cape of the Indian-rubber cloth”, with a pouch in one corner for carrying water, assumes the importance of an historic fact. The rapid pencil writing is often illegible, and the stream of impressions rushes past, disclosing in its course a jumble of sudden images.

“Our dinner eggs & rice... Arrived at our sleeping place about 9. Sand & swampy plains & thickets alternating—passed through by a dim moonlight:—the cries of snipe—fire-flies & a few noisy goatsuckers.”

“Started at 5 o’clock: the sky became red & then the stars died away & then the planets....”

“Twinering twiner, - tresses like hair, - beautiful lepidoptera, - silence - hosannah; - Frog habits like toad - slow jumps, - Sublime devotion the prevalent feeling.”

“Cruel ennui—Found books—exquisite delight. Spanish edition Barcel. of Queen’s Trial, & Spanish story-book: nobody knows pleasure of reading till a few days of such indolence.”

“Saw a cormorant catch a fish & let it go 8 times successively like a Cat does a mouse or Otter a fish.”

In the later pocket-books more and more space is allotted to geological sketches and detail, less and less to general description. The fervour was gaining on him which made him write in a letter to his sister: “There is nothing like Geology; the pleasure of the first
day's partridge shooting or first day's hunting cannot be compared to finding a fine group of fossil bones which tell their story of former times with almost a living tongue". In the year of his return he even conceived it possible he might be listened to by "real Geologists". He wrote home: "I am in high spirits about my Geology, & even aspire to the hope that my observations will be considered of some utility by real Geologists".

From these eighteen little pocket-books grew the eight hundred pages which form the text of the present volume. He used the more leisurely intervals of the voyage for writing out his Diary from the rough notes, sometimes after a lapse of as much as three or four months. We can picture him filling in the large closely written pages on his return from the inland expeditions, either seated in his cramped cabin, or in his temporary quarters in foreign towns.

THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE JOURNAL

The complete text of the manuscript Diary is here published for the first time. The present owner, Professor Charles Darwin, has given his permission and has allowed me every facility in my use of the manuscript. Mr Bernard Darwin has allowed me free access to the little note-books and to various other "Beagle" documents in his possession. Their kind co-operation has made possible my task of editorship.

The differences between the Diary and the two well-known versions of the Journal—the first and second editions of the Voyage—seemed to warrant this further publication; examination of the three texts disclosed that approximately one-third of the manuscript was altogether omitted on publication, and is therefore now printed for the first time. Considerably less than the remaining two-thirds was printed verbatim or with minor alterations, whilst the rest was condensed. Much scientific detail and discussion was added in both editions, drawn from the immense body of geological, ornithological and other notes which he kept in large separate books. There are over two thousand of such manuscript pages, amplified from the strictly scientific portions of the rough notes in the little pocket-books.

The manuscript Diary is considerably shorter than either of the two editions of the Journal. The comparative lengths are roughly as follows: manuscript, 189,000 words; first edition, 224,000 words;
second edition, 213,000 words. It follows that the added scientific discussions are greater in length than the hitherto unpublished portions of the manuscript.

Since so much of the detailed scientific description and discussion is not to be found in the manuscript Diary, the present volume can lay small claim to scientific importance, but rather should be regarded as part of the history of Charles Darwin’s apprenticeship to science.

Minor differences between the manuscript Diary and the first and second editions occur on nearly every page. I have given page references to some of the more significant passages in appendices on pp. 441 and 443. The Diary was written between the years 1831 and 1836; the dates of publication of the two editions were 1839 and 1845. Therefore any change of opinion is of particular interest in its bearing on the growth of Darwin’s evolutionary ideas, and will be discussed later under that heading.

In the published editions the chronology of the voyage was not strictly followed; four of the total five years were spent surveying S. American shores, and often places were visited twice or more after long intervals of time. Darwin collected all he had to say of one district in one part of his book, thus gaining in unity of subject what he lost in chronological continuity. In the present volume the sequence is of course continuous, and the difficulties inherent in surveying the coasts of a vast continent amidst the worst climatic conditions are vividly brought out.

My task of collating the manuscript Diary with the first and second editions of the Journal has been greatly facilitated by the existence of three typed copies of the original. My father, Horace Darwin, to ensure against the possible loss of the manuscript, had these copies typed in 1891, nine years after his father’s death. The orthography is often difficult, and typewriting was then still in its youth; mistakes occur in the typescript on every page. The following Preface by my father heads each of the three copies:

"The following is a copy of the original diary written by Charles Darwin during the voyage of H.M.S. ‘Beagle’. It contains the account of his daily life, and much of it has appeared in the ‘Journal of Researches’. The records of his scientific observations were kept in separate note-books."
The numbers at the top of the pages are consecutive, and the numbers at the bottom correspond to the pages in the original manuscript.

Three copies were made in one operation by J. Wallington, with the Caligraph Typewriter, under my direction.

HORACE DARWIN.
Cambridge. April, 1891.”

FITZROY’S OFFER

Readers may forget that Darwin was only twenty-two in the summer of 1831, when he first received the offer to accompany Capt. FitzRoy on his surveying voyage, and that his uncertain intentions as to a career seemed likely to lead to ordination and some quiet country living. The dramatic story of those critical days, when the offer to join Capt. FitzRoy on the “Beagle” was almost refused and hung perilously in the balance, is given in Francis Darwin’s Life and Letters of Charles Darwin.* To his uncle, Josiah Wedgwood, must be given the credit for weighting the balance in Charles’s favour, pleading for him against the excessive caution of his father. There is shrewd insight in Wedgwood’s phrase: “Looking upon him as a man of enlarged curiosity, it affords him such an opportunity of seeing men and things as happens to few”. Had he remained at home, with the opening of the partridge season as the all-important date to look forward to, would the almost fixed purpose of becoming a clergyman have been accomplished? At the end of the five years would there have been a pile of sermons instead of the pile of note-books? Science was hardly considered as a career in those days, and even after five months’ travel Charles still wrote in a letter home: “I find I steadily have a distant prospect of a very quiet parsonage, & I can see it even through a grove of Palms”.

VALUE OF THE VOYAGE

The circumstances of the voyage, with periods of concentrated observation alternating with quiet intervals for reflection, formed the ideal discipline for Darwin’s developing mind. Perhaps few would have used the opportunity as he did. In the Diary he laid down a programme whilst still awaiting the day of sailing from Devonport.

* Vol. i, p. 190 et seq.
“It is difficult to mark out any plan, & without method on shipboard I am sure little will be done. The principal objects are 1st; collecting, observing, & reading in all branches of Natural history that I possibly can manage. Observations in Meteorology, French & Spanish, Mathematics, & a little Classics, perhaps not more than Greek Testament on Sundays.”

The first part of the plan was adhered to beyond all hopes, but we have no means of knowing how much that Greek Testament was used. We do know that the single volume which accompanied him on excursions from the “Beagle” was always Milton.

**HIS OWN ESTIMATE**

Were they needed, we have words of his own emphasizing the immense influence of the voyage on his future life. He wrote in his Autobiography: “The voyage of the Beagle has been by far the most important event in my life, and has determined my whole career”. He especially refers to the “habit of energetic industry and of concentrated attention to whatever I was engaged in, which I then acquired. Everything about which I thought or read was made to bear directly on what I had seen or was likely to see; and this habit of mind was continued during the five years of the voyage. I feel sure that it was this training which has enabled me to do whatever I have done in Science. Looking backwards I can now perceive how my love for science gradually preponderated over every other taste. During the first two years my old passion for shooting survived in nearly full force, and I shot myself all the birds and animals for my collection; but gradually I gave up my gun more and more, and finally all together, to my servant, as shooting interfered with my work, more especially with making out the geological structure of a country. I discovered, though unconsciously and insensibly, that the pleasure of observing and reasoning was a much higher one than that of skill and sport. That my mind became developed through my pursuits during the voyage is rendered probable by a remark made by my father, who was the most acute observer I ever saw, of a sceptical disposition, and far from being a believer in phrenology; for on first seeing me after the voyage, he turned round to my sisters, and exclaimed, ‘Why, the shape of his head is quite altered’.”
THE JOURNAL

In his letters home he gives a few indications of his own estimate of his Journal. He told his sisters in a letter, that he enjoyed the task of recording the wonders of the voyage, and added “I took much pains in describing carefully & vividly all that I had seen”. Nevertheless, when he sent sections of it home for his sisters and father to read, he was nervous as to its reception, and wrote on the despatch of the first part within a year of his departure from England: “I have taken a fit of disgust with it, & want to get it out of my sight...A great deal is absolutely childish. Remember however this that it is written solely to make me remember the voyage, & that it is not a record of facts but of my thoughts, & in excuse recollect how tired I generally am when writing it”. A little later he begged they would not risk sending it by coach to Maer, the home of his uncle Josiah Wedgwood and of his future wife Emma, for “it may appear ridiculous to you, but I would as soon lose a piece of my memory as it”. If it is “abominably childish” as he suspects, they are not to send it for Uncle Jos and the cousins to see at all. Greater self-confidence appeared as the months passed: “My Journal is going on better” he wrote; and again “I am pleased to hear my Father likes my Journal; —as is easy to be seen I have taken too little pains with it. My Geological notes & descriptions I treat with far more attention”. The nervousness of the novice was not entirely dispelled, even when near the end of the voyage his writing shows much more assurance, for he evinced surprise when Capt. FitzRoy expressed the belief that the Journal would be worth publishing.

He wrote to his sisters that Captain FitzRoy “proposed me to join him in publishing the account; that is for him to have the disposal & arranging of my Journal, & to mingle it with his own. Of course I have said I am perfectly willing, if he wants materials, or thinks the chit-chat details of my Journal are any ways worth publishing”.

Exactly why this unwise proposal fell to the ground, we do not know. It was still evidently under discussion in December 1836, after he had been in England two and a half months. Emma Wedgwood, his future wife, wrote to Fanny Wedgwood, her sister-in-law:

“Catherine Darwin tells me they are very anxious to have your and Hensleigh’s [Wedgwood] real opinion of Charles’ Journal. I am
convinced Dr Holland is mistaken if he thinks it not worth publishing. I don't believe he is any judge as to what is amusing or interesting. Cath. does not approve of its being mixed up with Capt. FitzRoy's, and wants it to be put altogether by itself in an Appendix."* 

In any case Emma's and Catherine's championship seems to have outweighed Dr Holland's gloomy forebodings and the Journal was first published in 1839 as vol. III of FitzRoy's official narrative, The Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle.† Darwin's manuscript was ready for the publisher in 1837, but there was a delay of two years due to FitzRoy's ill-health.

**EVOLUTIONARY VIEWS**

The growth of Darwin's evolutionary beliefs has been frequently discussed. Francis Darwin devotes the opening pages of vol. II of Life and Letters to the question, and deals with it again in his Introduction to the Foundations of the Origin of Species.‡ We know that Darwin left England in 1831 with unshaken belief in immutability and the creationist point of view. We know that he took the first volume of Lyell's Geology with him, and that the second volume reached him in South America. In 1837, less than a year after his return to England, he was completely convinced of the deep significance of geographical grouping and of the transmutation of species, and had set himself to seek out the laws of change.

In a little diary in which Darwin recorded the outstanding events of his lifetime, on the opposite page to the general entries of 1837, he writes: "In July opened first note-Book on 'Transmutation of Species'.—Had been greatly struck from about month of previous March on character of S. American fossils—& species on Galapagos Archipelago.—These facts origin (especially latter) of all my views".

There could be no more explicit declaration that his evolutionary views had begun their slow process of growth during the last months of the voyage. The earlier years of the voyage had been mainly devoted to the acquisition of a geological knowledge of each island or country visited, and it was the geological basis to his thought that

* Emma Darwin, i, p. 387.
† See Bibliog. p. xxvi.
gave the right setting for the species puzzle in the Galapagos Islands, and led him ultimately to his theory of the origin of species. When at Valparaiso in 1834, he was much impressed by the signs of recent elevation of the land. After describing a long walk, and commenting on the diversity of aromatic bushes, he writes: "With this sort of vegetation I am surprised to find that insects are far from common; indeed this scarcity holds good to some of the higher orders of animals; there are very few quadrupeds, & birds are not very plentiful. I have already found beds of recent shells yet retaining their colors at an elevation of 1800 feet; & beneath this level the country is strewed with them. It seems not a very improbable conjecture that the want of animals may be owing to none having been created since this country was raised from the sea".

This passage was written in 1834. In 1837 it would not pass muster and was omitted when he was preparing his Journal for publication. Other excellent examples of changes of view may be seen in the Lion-Ant anecdote (p. 383) and the Galapagos discussion (p. 337) (see Notes 46 and 54). But, on the whole, remarkably few changes of view are manifested in the three versions of the Journal. It must remain a subject for surprise that a stronger evolutionary tendency is not disclosed in the 1845 edition. Darwin's innate caution doubtless prevented any premature exposition of his theory; but there was another influence of these years that has hardly been sufficiently emphasized, and it is one that must have affected the development of his opinions very materially.

CAPTAIN ROBERT FITZROY

The personality of Robert FitzRoy was a very remarkable one, and the two young men were thrown into the closest companionship.* Darwin’s letters to his family show the immense respect he felt for the young captain only four years his senior. Robert FitzRoy was a devout believer in the first chapters of Genesis, and his almost fanatical outlook, developing in fervour during the voyage, whilst his messmate was developing a fervour in the scientific search for truth, must have been a strange element in their friendship. But FitzRoy's ascendancy over Darwin, so clearly indicated in his letters home in the early part of the voyage, waned towards the end, and

* See Cornhill Magazine, April, 1932.
some of their later discussions after expeditions made in common, evidence of which can be found in their parallel accounts, must sometimes have led Darwin nearer the truth by FitzRoy’s overstatement of the creationist point of view. Such discussions must have helped to form opinions, but it may well be that overt expression was delayed by Darwin’s very real affection and admiration for Robert FitzRoy.

FitzRoy has never received the recognition that is his due. It is true that later he was acknowledged as a meteorological expert and became head of the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade. His admirable surveying work, however, received scanty recognition, but it should be remembered that through his incessant labours the “Beagle” returned to England with no less than eighty-two coastal sheets, eighty plans of harbours and forty views to her credit for the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty,* which imposing list does not reveal the incessant perils and hardships undergone in their achievement in the storm-swept S. American seas where most of the arduous work was accomplished. Let it also be remembered that it was entirely through the initiative and zeal of the “Beagle’s” commander that the young and as yet untried naturalist was asked to accompany the expedition and was placed on the ship’s books.

Fate has dealt ironically with FitzRoy and his zeal to have a naturalist on board, who would “collect useful information”, but who also, so we understand from other passages in his account of the voyage, was to gather knowledge that would ultimately confute the geological sceptics who impugned the strict and literal truth “of every statement contained in the Bible”.

Darwin gave a full account in retrospect of FitzRoy’s character, written with the wisdom of his sixty-seven years. As more than half is omitted in the published Autobiography, I have thought the whole now worth printing, as no words can so well describe FitzRoy’s dominating influence on his companions.

“FitzRoy’s character was a singular one, with very many noble features; he was devoted to his duty, generous to a fault, bold, determined, and indomitably energetic, and an ardent friend to all under his sway. He would undertake any sort of trouble to assist those whom he thought deserved assistance. He was a handsome

man, strikingly like a gentleman, with highly courteous manners, which resembled those of his maternal uncle, the famous Lord Castlereagh, as I was told by the Minister at Rio. Nevertheless he must have inherited much in appearance from Charles II, for Dr Wallich gave me a collection of photographs which he had made, and I was struck with the resemblance of one to FitzRoy; and on looking at the name, I found it Ch. E. Sobieski Stuart, Count d’Albanie, an illegitimate descendant of the same monarch.  

“FitzRoy’s temper was a most unfortunate one and was shown not only by passion, but by fits of long-continued moroseness against those who had offended him. His temper was usually worst in the early morning, and with his eagle eye he could generally detect something amiss about the ship, and was then unsparing in his blame. The junior officers, when they relieved each other in the forenoon, used to ask ‘whether much hot coffee had been served out this morning’, which meant, How was the captain’s temper?  

“He was also somewhat suspicious and occasionally in very low spirits, on one occasion bordering on insanity.  

“He seemed to me often to fail in sound judgment or common-sense. He was very kind to me, but was a man very difficult to live with on the intimate terms which necessarily followed from our messing by ourselves in the same cabin. We had several quarrels, for when out of temper, he was utterly unreasonable. For instance, early in the voyage at Bahia, in Brazil, he defended and praised slavery which I abominated, and told me that he had just visited a great slave-owner, who had called up many of his slaves and asked them whether they were happy, and whether they wished to be free, and all answered ‘No’. I then asked him, perhaps with a sneer, whether he thought the answer of slaves in the presence of their master was worth anything? This made him excessively angry, and he said that as I doubted his word we could not live any longer together. I thought that I should have been compelled to leave the ship; but as soon as the news spread, which it did quickly, as the Captain sent for the first lieutenant to assuage his anger by abusing me, I was deeply gratified by receiving an invitation from all the gun-room officers to mess with them. But after a few hours FitzRoy showed his usual magnanimity by sending an officer to me with an apology and a request that I would continue to live with him.  

* The Count d’Albanie’s claim to royal descent has been shown to be based on a myth. See Quarterly Review, 1847, vol. lxxxvi, p. 83.
"I remember another instance of his conduct. At Plymouth, before we sailed he was extremely angry with a dealer in crockery who refused to exchange some articles purchased in his shop; the Captain asked the man the price of a very expensive set of china and said 'I should have purchased this if you had not been so disobliging'. As I knew that the cabin was amply stocked with crockery, I doubted whether he had any such intention; and I must have shown my doubts in my face, for I said not a word. After leaving the shop he looked at me saying 'You do not believe what I have said', and I was forced to own that it was so. He was silent for a few minutes, and then said 'You are right, and I acted wrongly in my anger at the blackguard'.

"At Concepcion in Chile, poor FitzRoy was sadly overworked, and in very low spirits; he complained bitterly to me that he must give a great party to all the inhabitants of the place. I remonstrated and said I could see no such necessity on his part under the circumstances. He then burst out into a fury, declaring that I was the sort of man who would receive any favours and make no return. I got up and left the cabin without saying a word, and returned to Concepcion where I was then lodging. After a few days I came back to the ship, and was received by the Captain as cordially as ever, for the storm had by this time quite blown over. The first lieutenant, however, said to me: 'Confounded you, philosopher, I wish you would not quarrel with the Skipper; the day you left the ship I was dead-tired (the ship was refitting) and he kept me walking the deck till midnight abusing you all the time'.

"The difficulty of living on good terms with a Captain of a Man of War is much increased by its being almost mutinous to answer him as one would answer anyone else; and by the awe in which he is held, or was held in my time, by all on board. I remember hearing a curious instance of this in the case of the purser of the Adventure, the ship which sailed with the Beagle during the first voyage. The purser was in a store in Rio de Janeiro purchasing rum for the ship's company, and a little gentleman in plain clothes walked in. The purser said to him 'Now Sir, be so kind as to taste this rum and give me your opinion on it'. The gentleman did as he was asked, and soon left the store. The Store-keeper asked the purser whether he knew that he had been speaking to the Captain of a Line of Battle Ship which had just come into the harbour. The poor purser was struck
dumb with horror; and let the glass of spirits drop from his hands
on the floor, and immediately went on board, and no persuasion, as
an officer in the Adventure assured me, could make him go on shore
again for fear of meeting the Captain after his dreadful act of
familiarity.

"I saw FitzRoy only occasionally after our return home, for I was
always afraid of unintentionally offending him, and did so once almost
beyond mutual reconciliation. He was afterwards very indignant with
me for having published so unorthodox a book (for he became very
religious) as the Origin of Species. Towards the close of his life he
was, as I fear, much impoverished, and this was largely due to his
generosity. Anyhow, after his death a subscription was raised to pay
his debts. His end was a melancholy one, namely suicide, exactly
like that of his uncle, Lord Castlereagh, whom he resembled closely
in manner and appearance. His character was in several respects
one of the most noble which I have ever known, though tarnished
by grave blemishes."

* * * * * *

If some parts of the manuscript Journal now published are deemed
trivial, it can only be said in palliation that its worth lies in pre-
serving it as a whole. It was certainly not written with any view to
publication. On finishing the proofs of the first edition of the Voyage,
Darwin wrote to Professor Henslow: "If I live till I am 80 years old I
shall not cease to marvel at finding myself an author; in the Summer
before I started, if any one had told me that I should have been an
angel by this time, I should have thought it an equal impossibility".

A few months before he reached England he heard that Professor
Henslow had had extracts from his letters on geological subjects
printed in the form of a pamphlet for private distribution without
his knowledge.* He gives this definite warning in a letter to his
sisters: "I have always written to Henslow in the same careless
manner as to you, & to print what has been written without care or
accuracy is indeed playing with edged tools". Though this referred
to his letters, the applicability to the uncorrected Journal is clear,
and perhaps there are some who think the admonition should have
been here respected. But after the lapse of one hundred years I be-
lieve it is right to disregard such warnings, and to assume that this

* See Bibliography, p. xxv.
exact transcript of my grandfather’s original Journal can now claim
to rank not only as a scientific historical document, but also as a
book that can hold its own on the strength of its spontaneity and
charm. To many readers Charles Darwin stands as a figure far ad-
vanced both in knowledge and in years; this volume contains a
picture of him in the first freshness and eager enjoyment of life.

TEXT SYMBOLS

My aim as editor has been to reproduce the text as faithfully as
possible, preserving curious construction and hasty grammar.

Words added by me to elucidate the meaning are placed in square
brackets, [ ].

Redundant words confusing the sense of the text are placed in
angular brackets, ⟨ ⟩.

In the last quarter of the manuscript there are more frequent
style emendations, and longer deletions by the author. I have
followed the plan of transcribing the style alterations in their
emended form, and of including the longer deleted passages in
rounded brackets ( . . . del. ).

SPELLING

Spelling is a delicate subject; to reproduce exactly involves in-
consistencies and probable slips of the pen. There is little or no con-
sistency in Darwin’s spelling of names or in the use of capitals. In
some cases there is a change of procedure half-way through the book.
Thus “occasion” is spelt “occassion” for some three years; then one
“s” is at first erased and then altogether dropped. Erasure of the
capitals begins at about the same period. “Throughly” for
“thoroughly”, “broad”, “yatch” and “mæneuvre” are fairly con-
stant, as indeed are “the Portugese”, but “neighbourhead” is
sometimes corrected towards the end. I have only emended in a
very few cases, to avoid pedantic over-precision, as by adding an
“s” where the plural demanded one, and omitting a repeated word.
Otherwise I have reproduced the text faithfully, acting on the
belief that Darwin’s exact meaning and method in that epoch of
his life are of value and should not be tampered with.
PUNCTUATION

With regard to punctuation I have allowed myself a freer hand; the colon and dash, and above all the full stop, are scattered with indiscriminate profusion. Though I may be accused of inconsistency, I have aimed at convenience for the reader rather than literal transcription in the matter both of punctuation and the apostrophe.

NOTES

The marginal notes of the manuscript have been treated throughout as footnotes. To make it clear that these are Darwin’s own notes, [C.D.] is added in square brackets, except in one or two cases where the comments suggest another hand, possibly FitzRoy’s; in these cases [R.F.?] is added.

My own notes are given at the end of the volume with page references to the text and numerals in the text. These include a few extracts from Darwin’s unpublished letters to his family, and some relevant passages from FitzRoy’s Narrative.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to express my thanks to Sir John Murray for his kind permission to make use of the drawings facing pp. 9 and 12; I also wish to thank all members of the family through whose kindness I have had access to the original documents. My especial gratitude is due to my mother, Lady Darwin, for her help throughout, and to Major Leonard Darwin, whose sympathetic counsels have guided me in the preparation for the press and whose personal recollections were of particular interest and service. Lastly, the Bibliography owes its existence to the suggestion and most helpful advice of Mr Geoffrey Keynes.

NORA BARLOW

June 1933
DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

BIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF PERSONS APPEARING IN THE
PAGES OF CHARLES DARWIN'S DIARY

BEAUFORT, FRANCIS. 1774–1857. Captain and Admiralty Hydrographer in
1831, became Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort. Brother-in-law to Richard
Lovell Edgeworth, with whom he co-operated in erecting Irish telegraphs.
A pioneer in the cause of hydrography and nautical science. Instrumental
in obtaining the services of Charles Darwin for the voyage of the “Beagle”.

BUTTON, JEMMY. Estimated date of birth 1816. Native Fuegian, brought back
to England from Tierra del Fuego by Capt. FitzRoy in 1830. The Captain’s
intention was to educate him, together with his three companions—York
Minster, Boat Memory, and Fuegia Basket—that they might return and
enlighten their compatriots in Christian morality and in the use of tools.
Boat Memory succumbed to small-pox in spite of four efforts at vaccina-
tion. The remaining trio sailed in the “Beagle” for Tierra del Fuego in
1831. Capt. FitzRoy’s zealous efforts for a regenerated Fuegia were not
fulfilled. York Minster and Fuegia Basket stole all Jemmy’s possessions
and decamped to their own territory. Jemmy retained kindly feelings
towards the English to the end of his life, and acquired some fame in the
missionary world.

BYNOE, BENJAMIN. Assistant and later Acting Surgeon on H.M.S. “Beagle”.
His great kindness to Charles Darwin during his illness at Valparaiso is
acknowledged in a footnote to the Preface of both editions of Darwin’s
published Journal.

CHAFFERS, EDWARD MAIN. Master of H.M.S. “Beagle” in 1831.

COVINGTON. “Fiddler and boy to Poop cabin” at the beginning of the voyage.
Became Darwin’s servant in the second year. “My servant is an odd sort
of person; I do not very much like him; but he is perhaps from his very
oddity, very well adapted to all my purposes.” “I have taught him to
skin and shoot birds.” C.D. Letters home, 1833, 1834.

DARWIN, ROBERT. 1766–1848. Charles’s father. Lived at The Mount, Shrews-
bury, in which town he was a well-known doctor. His excessive caution
nearly caused his son to abandon all thoughts of the voyage.

DERBYSHIRE, ALEXANDER. Mate of H.M.S. “Beagle” for a short period.

EARLE, AUGUSTUS. Draughtsman engaged by Capt. FitzRoy for the voyage.
Ill-health soon caused him to leave the “Beagle”.

ELLIS, WILLIAM. 1794–1872. Missionary and author of Polynesian Researches,
2 vols. 1829.
FITZROY, ROBERT. 1805–1865. Descended from Charles II and Barbara Villiers through the Dukes of Grafton. Commanded the “Beagle” for two years on the first cruise, 1828–1830, and again from 1831–1836. Became Governor of New Zealand, the settlers petitioning Parliament for his recall owing to his ruinous financial policy, and, according to them, his unfairness to the settlers and the undue supremacy of the missionaries at Government House. On his return his activities were many; the science of meteorology and the life-boat service owe much to his labours. His earlier surveys were noted for their excellence. Rear-Admiral in 1857, and Vice-Admiral in 1863. Committed suicide in 1865. He was responsible for the proposal that led to Charles Darwin joining the “Beagle”. “I should not call him a clever man, yet I feel convinced nothing is too great or too high for him. His ascendancy over everybody is quite curious . . . altogether he is the strongest marked character I ever fell in with.” C.D. Letter home, 1832.

HAMOND, ROBERT. Joined the “Beagle” from H.M.S. “Druid” for part of the voyage. “. . . a very nice gentleman like person. We were generally companions on shore.” C.D. Letter home, 1832.

HARRIS, WILLIAM SNOW. 1791–1867. Nicknamed Thunder-and-lightning Harris. Electrician; invented a new method of safeguarding ships by lightning conductors. Met with much prejudice in England, and the Russian Navy adopted his invention before he could remove the objections from the minds of his own countrymen. He was finally recognized and awarded a knighthood.

HENISLOW, JOHN STEVENS. 1796–1861.Entered St John’s College, Cambridge, in 1814; took orders; Professor of Botany for twelve years. Author of many botanical works. Charles Darwin was his favourite pupil. Henslow was responsible for the best influences of the year at Cambridge. Darwin was deeply attached to him. “I owe more than I can express to this excellent man.” Henslow first thought of accepting the post on the “Beagle” himself. Responsible for the offer being made to Charles Darwin.


KING, PHILIP GIDLEY. Son of the above. Midshipman on the “Beagle” in 1831. Prepared the drawings of the “Beagle” for Murray’s edition of 1890, reproduced in the present volume.

MACCORRIMICK, ROBERT. Surgeon. Invalided in 1832. “I take this opportunity of Maccorrinnick returning to England, being invalided, i.e. being disagreeable to the Captain and Wickham. He is no loss.” C.D. Letter home, 1832.

MARTENS. Artist and pupil of Copley Fielding. He replaced Earle as artist on board the “Beagle”. “Like all birds of that class, full up to the mouth with enthusiasm.” C.D. Letter home, 1833.

MAY, JONATHAN. Much esteemed carpenter on H.M.S. “Beagle”.

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MELLERSH, ARTHUR. Midshipman on the "Beagle" in 1831; later became Admiral. The Darwin family tradition held him in repute for the remark: "I am Mellersh of Midhurst, I have read Lord Byron and I don't care a damn for anyone".

MUSTERS, CHARLES. Volunteer, 1st Class. Died of a fever caught whilst snipe-shooting. Darwin wrote home telling of the tragedy. Others succumbed also: "And lastly poor little Musters: who three days before his illness heard of his Mother's death".

PEACOCK, GEORGE. 1791–1858. Lowndean Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge and an influential member of the Senate. Became Dean of Ely. Was consulted as to the appointment of a naturalist for the "Beagle" and applied to Prof. Henslow.

RENNIE, JOHN. 1794–1874. Knight; Engineer to the Admiralty; completed the famous breakwater begun by his father.

ROSAS, JUAN MANUEL. 1793–1877. Son of an Argentine trader in hides. Grew up without education, and from a cow-boy beginning soon owned a cattle ranch of his own. His army developed from his own cow-boys, armed ostensibly against neighbouring Indians. Ruled as Dictator in Buenos Ayres for seventeen years. His bellicose habits led him into wars with all his neighbours, and he finally retired to England. Charles Darwin saw him once again at Southampton.

ROWLETT, GEORGE. Purser of H.M.S. "Beagle". Died on board the "Beagle", June 27, 1834.

STOKES, JOHN LORT. 1812–1885. Mate and Assistant Surveyor on H.M.S. "Beagle" in 1831. Commanded her for many years subsequently. Was made Admiral in 1877.


USBORNE, ALEXANDER BURNS. Master's Assistant on H.M.S. "Beagle".

WEDGWOOD, JOSIAH. 1769–1848. Charles's uncle and future father-in-law. Son of the famous potter. Lived at Maer, a country house some twenty miles from Shrewsbury. Responsible for removing Robert Darwin's cautious doubts as to the respectability of the cruise for his son. Robert held him to be one of the most sensible of men; "he was silent and reserved, so as to be a rather awful man; but he sometimes talked openly with me". C.D. Autobiography.

WICKHAM, JOHN CLEMENTS. Lieutenant on H.M.S. "Beagle" in 1831. Later reached the rank of Captain, and became Governor of Queensland. "There is not another in the ship worth half of him." "Wickham is a glorious fellow." "By far the most convertible person on board; I do not mean talks most, for in that respect Sullivan quite bears away the palm." C.D. Letters home, 1832, 1834.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Darwin's publications referring to the voyage of the "Beagle", up to and including Murray's edition of 1870.

I. Pamphlets and Communications to Journals prior to Publication of the Voyage

1835. Extracts from letters from C. Darwin to Professor Henslow, read at a meeting of the Cambridge Philosophical Society on Nov. 6, 1835, and printed for private distribution among members of the society.


These extracts were printed before Darwin's return to England and without his knowledge. There is no title-page; Henslow's introduction, without preliminary, leads directly to the text, and reads as follows:

For Private Distribution.

The following pages contain Extracts from letters addressed to Professor Henslow by C. Darwin Esq. They are printed for distribution among Members of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, in consequence of the interest which has been excited by some of the Geological Notices which they contain, and which were read at a Meeting of the Society on the 16th of November 1835.

The opinions here expressed must be viewed in no other light than as the first thoughts which occur to a traveller respecting what he sees, before he has had time to collate his Notes, and examine his Collections, with the attention necessary for scientific accuracy.

Cambridge, Dec. 1, 1835.


This early publication of Darwin's was mentioned by his son Francis in 1908, when he drew attention to it in the Catalogue of the Library of Charles Darwin now in the Botany School, Cambridge (Camb. Univ. Press, 1908).*

I have discovered that this letter saw the light in Cape Town, as indeed may almost be inferred from the first paragraphs. It appeared in the South African Christian Recorder, vol. ii, No. 4, September 1836; an unexpected repository for the first contribution to current periodical literature bearing Darwin's signature.

The bulk of the letter is signed by Robt. FitzRoy; a considerable number of

* Most of the books mentioned in the catalogue are now on long loan at Darwin's old home, Down House, Kent, including the volume, Philosophical Tracts, in which the above letter is bound up, without any clue to the name of the journal which gave it birth.
paragraphs are headed "D", which a footnote explains "denotes an extract from the Journal of Mr. Darwin". There follow five lines with both signatories:

On the whole, balancing all that we have heard, and all that we ourselves have seen concerning the Missionaries in the Pacific, we are very much satisfied that they thoroughly deserve the warmest support not only of individuals, but of the British Government.

ROBT. FITZROY
CHARLES DARWIN.

At Sea, 28th June 1836.

1837. Notes upon the Rhea Americana.

1838. Geological notes made during a survey of the East and West Coasts of S. America, in the years 1832, 1833, 1834 and 1835, with an account of a transverse section of the Cordilleras of the Andes between Valparaiso and Mendoza. Communicated by Prof. Sedgwick. Read before the Geol. Soc. Nov. 18, 1835.


Incorrectly described as by F. Darwin, Esq. of St John's College, Cambridge, though correctly indexed.


1838. On certain areas of elevation and subsidence in the Pacific and Indian oceans, as deduced from the study of Coral Formation. Read before the Geol. Soc. May 31, 1837.


1838. On the connexion of certain volcanic phenomena, and on the formation of mountain-chains and volcanos, as the effects of continental elevations. Read before the Geol. Soc. March 7, 1838.


Geol. Soc. Trans. v, 1838, pp. 601–632. In the Transactions the title is somewhat different.

1839. Note on a Rock seen on an Iceberg in 16° South Latitude.


II. THE VOYAGE OF THE BEAGLE


The first edition of Darwin’s Journal forms the third volume of the official Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle, edited by Captain FitzRoy, in three volumes, with an Appendix to vol. ii.
Vol. i is mainly by Captain Parker King, who commanded the first expedition of 1826–1830.

Pp. xxviii half-title, title, sub-title to vol. i, dedication, preface, introduction, contents of vol. i, + [iv] directions to the binder, errata; + 597 text, appendix, index, + 1 blank.

Illustrations: frontispiece, 15 engraved plates, 2 cuts in text; 1 chart of a Part of South America inserted, 2 loose maps of South America and Strait of Magalhaens folded into the pocket in front cover.


Vol. ii contains Captain FitzRoy's account of the second voyage, 1831–1836, with extracts from the reports of his subordinates.


Illustrations: frontispiece, 24 engraved plates; 2 loose maps of Tierra del Fuego and Chile folded into the pocket of front cover.

Binding: similar to vol. i, except that the name of FitzRoy replaces that of King.

Appendix to vol. ii contains letters, reports and meteorological tables of FitzRoy.

Pp. viii half-title, title, contents of the Appendix, memorandum, directions to the binder; + 352 text.

Illustrations: 6 engraved plates; 2 loose maps, the Track Chart and the Low Islands, folded into the pocket of front cover.

Binding: similar to vol. ii.

Vol. iii contains Darwin's Journal. The title-page of this first issue, similar in vols. i and ii and in the Appendix, runs: "Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle, between the years 1826 and 1836, describing their examination of the Southern Shores of South America, and the Beagle's Circumnavigation of the Globe. London: Henry Colburn, Great Marlborough Street, 1839".


Pp. xiv half-title, title, sub-title to vol. iii, preface, contents; + 615 text, index; + pp. 609–623 addenda, inserted before index.

Illustrations: 4 cuts in text; two folding maps of the Southern Portion of South America and the Keeling Islands, inserted after contents, and at the end before addenda, at any rate in some copies. A third map of the whole of South America, inserted in some copies.

Binding: some copies similar to vols. i and ii. Lettering on back: Darwin's | Journal |.

The collation of the first issue was made from the actual copy given by Charles to his brother Erasmus, now in the possession of Mr Bernard Darwin. 1839. First edition, second issue.

The demand for Darwin's Journal immediately exceeded that of its companion volumes. Colburn therefore in the same year brought out a further issue
of vol. iii alone. The first three preliminary leaves were cancelled and a new half-title and title-page were substituted on which the familiar phrase "Journal of Researches" was first used. The title-page runs: "Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the various countries visited by H.M.S. Beagle under the command of Captain FitzRoy, R.N. From 1832-1836. By Charles Darwin, Esq., M.A., F.R.S. Secretary to the Geological Society". The new half-title runs: "Journal of Researches in Geology and Natural History".

It is of interest to note that "Geology" precedes "Natural History" on the title-pages, corresponding to the precedence in his own mind at this time of the relative importance of the two subjects. In the second and in subsequent editions "Natural History" ranked first.

The addition of F.R.S. to his name is also of interest. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on Jan. 24, 1839, and admitted on Feb. 14 of the same year. Therefore he was already elected on the appearance of the first issue, but the omission of the F.R.S. is explained by the fact that Darwin's part of the official publication was ready for the press nearly two years before the volumes appeared, the delay being due to FitzRoy's ill-health. The preface and duplicated pagination of addenda and index occur as before. Pp. i–vi cancelled, new half-title, title substituted, pp. vii–xiv as in first issue; + 615 text etc., as in first issue; + pp. 16 Colburn's advertisements, dated August 1839, inserted at end of some copies. Illustrations as in first issue; two folding maps as before. In some copies Keeling Islands inserted at p. 538.

Binding of some copies, blue stamped cloth as before; lettering on back of some copies: Researches | in | Geology | and Natural History | Darwin. | Colburn | London |


This issue, published by Colburn in 1840, appears to be very scarce. The title-page and text are identical with that of the second issue except for the change of date at the foot of the title. I have not seen a copy in its original binding.

* * * * *

The following extract from a letter from Darwin to his sister Susan, written in February 1842, gives an indication of his publisher's treatment of him.

Talking of money, I reaped the other day all the profit I shall ever get from my Journal, which consists in paying Mr Colburn £21. 10s. for the copies which I presented to different people: 1837 copies have been sold. This is a comfortable arrangement is it not?

1844. German translation of the first edition, by Ernst Dieffenbach, M.Dr. Published by Friedrich Vieweg & Sohn, Braunschweig in 1844. In two parts. Dr Dieffenbach added notes of his own in both volumes, largely on geological matters and on the extinction of species. Darwin supplied him with two of the cuts appearing in Coral Reefs which Dieffenbach acknowledged and placed in his notes. The same cuts appeared the following year in Murray's second edition of the Voyage of the Beagle. The German translation has the map of the Southern Portion of South America of the first edition. The title-page reads: "Charles Darwin's, Secretair's der geologischen Gesellschaft in London,

Part I: pp. xvi half-title, title, editor’s preface, contents; + 319 text, editor’s remarks, + 1 blank.

Illustrations: one cut in text; one folding map inserted.

Part II: pp. viii half-title, title, contents; + 301 text, editor’s remarks, + 1 blank, + [2] advertisement of Smith & Elder’s with German heading, describing the Zoology of H.M.S. Beagle and Geological Observations.

Illustrations: 2 cuts in text.


Illustrations: 12 cuts in text; no maps.

Binding: red stamped cloth; lettering on back: Colonial | and | Home | Library | Vol. | xii | Darwin’s | Naturalist’s | Voyage | Murray |

Murray prevailed both as regards illustrations, which were included, and in the matter of maps, which were excluded. Darwin wrote tentatively “…about woodcuts, I am not very eager; I think however two or three subjects would be improved by them”. There is no dubious note in his desire for maps. He wrote: “According to my own liking and most people’s, it is a great advantage having a map bound up with any and every work of travels”. In a later letter he returns to the charge: “To my own taste, and that of every person whom I ever heard speak of the subject, a map in a volume of Travels is very agreeable”. But it was of no use; the pleading was disregarded, and maps were sternly excluded. How many thousands of readers regretted the decision? It was not until 1890 that Murray relented and included admirable maps in the illustrated edition.

The preparation of the second edition of 1845 was a great labour to Darwin. He wrote in a small diary:

Rested idle for a fortnight.

Much was added, and as the whole had to be somewhat shorter, much had to be altogether cut out or condensed. This abridgment he found particularly troublesome.

He asked Murray whether he would “like to strike out my rather dull little account of the Cape of Good Hope”. He was always struggling against time and Murray’s requirements, but ended on a cheerful note: “I hope and think I have much improved my Journal”.
1860. A new edition by Murray, with “10th thousand” on the title; similar in the text and illustrations to the edition of 1845.

Pp. xvi 1 blank, title, dedication, preface of 1845, postscript to preface dated 1860, contents; + 519, text, index.

1870. A further new edition of Murray’s, only differing from that of 1860 in minor differences in the preliminaries, including an inserted advertisement of works by Charles Darwin.

Binding: green cloth; lettering on back: Naturalist’s | Voyage | round the | World | Darwin.

Darwin late in life wrote of his Journal of Researches:

The success of this my first literary child always tickles my vanity more than that of any of my other works.

III. 1838–1843. THE ZOOLOGY OF THE VOYAGE

The Zoology of H.M.S. Beagle, superintended and edited by Charles Darwin, was published in five parts with the help of a Government grant of £1000. He wrote to Prof. Henslow in 1837:

I have delayed writing to you...I waited till I had an interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer [T. Spring Rice]...I had a long conversation with him...Nothing could be more thoroughly obliging & kind than his whole manner...I expected rather an awful interview, but I never found anything less so in my life.

Part II. Recent Mammalia, by George R. Waterhouse. With a notice of their habits and ranges, by Charles Darwin. 4to. 1839.
Part IV. Fish, by Rev. Leonard Jenyns. 4to. 1842.
Part V. Reptiles, by Thomas Bell. 4to. 1843.

IV. 1842–1846. THE GEOLOGY OF THE VOYAGE

The Geology of the countries examined by Darwin during the voyage occupied the major part of his time and thought. He published the results of his observations in three volumes:

Part I. The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs. 8vo. 1842.
Part II. Geological Observations on the Volcanic Islands visited during the voyage of H.M.S. Beagle. 8vo. 1844.
Part III. Geological Observations on South America. 8vo. 1846.


1876. Parts II and III were incorporated in Geological Observations on the Volcanic Islands and parts of South America visited during the voyage of H.M.S. Beagle. 2nd edition. 8vo.
CHARLES DARWIN'S DIARY
OF THE
VOYAGE OF H.M.S. "BEAGLE"

I had been musing about North Wales on a geological tour with Prof. Forster at Gladstone when I arrived home on Monday 26th of August. My mother first informed me of the letters from H. Krüger and Mr. Copeck offering to return me to the Steamer at Liverpool and I would go; but the vessel was not considered ready for sea. I was offered to go at the last moment, and the plan was not adopted, but I found every member of the family so strongly opposed to my idea, and I determined to make another effort. In the evening I drew up a list of my Father's objections, in which Uncle Jos wrote his opinion on paper. This we sent off to Shrewsbury early the next morning, & I went to school. About 10 o'clock Uncle Jos sent me a message to say he was going to Shrewsbury & offering to take me with him. When we arrived there, all things were settled, & my Father most kindly gave his consent. I shall never forget what very anxious & uncomfortable days these were, my heart appeared to sink within me, independently of the hopes raised by my Father's dislike to the scheme. I could not only not bring up my mind to leave England quite for the time which I then thought the voyage would last. Lucky indeed it was for me that the first of the Expedition was such an highly coloured one.

In the evening I wrote to Mr. Peacock & Capt. Townshend & went to bed very much exhilarated. On the 27th I got up at 6 o'clock & went by the 3rd train as far as Brickhill; I then proceeded by postchaise to Cambridge. I there stayed four days, writing with Prof. Hankey. At one point I had nearly given up all hope, owing to a letter from Capt. Townshend to Mr. Wood, which threw me every thing a very discouraging notice. On Monday 3rd I went to London & that same day saw Capt. Townshend & Mr. Wood. The latter soon assuaged all my fears from that time to the present, has taken the utmost interest in my affairs. On Sunday 11th sailed by Steamer to Plymouth in
...they were in the habit of comparing and generalizing, on the other hand, as the traveller stays but a short space of time in each place, his description must generally consist of mere sketches, instead of detailed observation. Hence arises the habit of forming general hypotheses.

But I have too deeply enjoyed the voyage not to recommend to any naturalist to take all chances, & to start on travels by land if possible, if otherwise, on a long voyage. He may feel assured he will meet with no difficulties or dangers (excepting in rare cases) nearly so bad, as he before hand imagined. In a moral point of view, the effect ought to be to teach him good humour, patience, and in short, the habit of acting for himself, & of making the most of everything, or contentment. In short, he should partake of the characteristic qualities of the greater number of sailors. Traveling ought also to teach him to distrust others; but at the same time, he will discover how many truly good-natured people there are, with whom he never before had, nor ever again will have any further communication, yet who are ready to offer him the most disinterested assistance.

October 2nd. After a tolerably short passage, but with some very heavy weather, we came to an anchor at Plymouth. To my sur-

* Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy, p. 8. [CDI]
NOTES


_Voyages of A. and B._ = Narrative of the surveying Voyages of H.M.S. Adventure and Beagle, edited by Captain FitzRoy, 1839.

(1) p. 3. The home of his uncle, Josiah Wedgwood.

(2) p. 4. This date should be Sept. 17th. See _L. and L._ vol. 1, p. 211. In an unpublished letter to his sister Susan, written from London and dated "Saturday 17th", he tells of his journey: "What wonderful quick travelling it is. I came from Plymouth, 250 miles, in 24 hours, & arrived this morning".

(3) p. 8. On an earlier voyage, Capt. FitzRoy had brought back four natives from Tierra del Fuego to be educated in England at his own expense. One had died of small-pox in spite of four attempts at vaccination. The three survivors were now being restored to their native land. See Jimmy Button, Dramatis Personæ, p. xxi.

(4) p. 11. Charles's elder brother.

(5) p. 14. The fact that the top drawer used for storing his clothes had to be removed when his hammock was slung to give extra length, affords a comment on the space at his disposal. See drawing, facing p. 9.

(6) p. 18. Autobiographical passage: "These two months at Plymouth were the most miserable which I ever spent, though I exerted myself in various ways. I was out of spirits at the thought of leaving all my family and friends for so long a time, and the weather seemed to me inexpressibly gloomy. I was also troubled with palpitations and pain about the heart, and like many a young ignorant man, especially one with a smattering of medical knowledge, was convinced that I had heart disease. I did not consult any doctor, as I fully expected to hear the verdict that I was not fit for the voyage, and I was resolved to go at all hazards". Autobiography, _L. and L._ vol. 1, p. 64.

(7) p. 26. Autobiographical passage: "The geology of St Jago is very striking, yet simple: a stream of lava formerly flowed over the bed of the sea, formed of tritutated recent shells and corals, which it has baked into a hard white rock. Since then the whole island has been upheaved. But the line of white rock revealed to me a new and important fact, namely, that there had been afterwards subsidence round the craters, which had since been in action, and had poured forth lava. It then first dawned on me that I might perhaps write a book on the geology of the various countries visited, and this made me thrill with delight. That was a memorable hour to me, and how distinctly I can call to mind the low cliff of lava beneath which
I rested, with the sun glaring hot, a few strange desert plants growing near, and with living corals in the tidal pools at my feet. Later in the voyage, Fitz-Roy asked me to read some of my Journal, and declared it would be worth publishing; so here was a second book in prospect”! Autobiography, L. and L. vol. i, pp. 65–6.

(8) p. 30. Altered on publication to: “We presented the black priest with a few shillings, and the Spaniard, putting him on the head, said, with much candour, he thought his colour made no great difference”.

(9) p. 34. FitzRoy wrote on the same date: “We spoke the Lyra packet going from England to Rio de Janeiro, and received a box from her, containing six of Massey’s sounding-leads, those excellent contrivances which we frequently found so useful”. Voyages of A. and B. vol. ii, p. 55.

(10) p. 34. This unpublished letter to his father is filled with enthusiasm. He wrote: “Natural History goes on excellently, & I am incessantly occupied by new & most interesting animals... I am thoroughly convinced that such a good opportunity of seeing the world might not [occur?] again for a century. I think—if I can so soon judge, I shall be able to do some original work in Natural History”.

(11) p. 35. Addition on publication: “the booby and the noddy. The former is a species of gannet, and the latter a tern”.

(12) p. 35. FitzRoy gives another view of the scene: “The first impulse of our invaders of this bird-covered rock, was to lay about them like school-boys; even the geological hammer at last became a missile. ‘Lend me the hammer?’ asked one. ‘No, no’, replied the owner, ‘You’ll break the handle’; but hardly had he said so, when overcome by the novelty of the scene, and the example of those around him, away went the hammer with all the force of his own right arm”. Voyages of A. and B. vol. ii, p. 56.

(13) p. 39. Some of the Journal of this date was copied in a letter to his father published in L. and L. vol. i, p. 231.


(15) p. 66. The account of this expedition much curtailed in both editions.

(16) p. 68. Alex. von Humboldt, and Aimé Bonpland, the botanist with whom he travelled.

(17) p. 68. FitzRoy gives an account of the fatal expedition up the River Macaus. We find an emphatic warning against sleeping in the vicinity of rivers in hot climates—but, like Darwin, he searches in vain for the true cause. Voyages of A. and B. vol. ii, p. 76.

(18) p. 69. The published account of this walk much curtailed.
(19) p. 76. I cannot elucidate Scoens Judas Iscariot. Someone else, perhaps FitzRoy, has queried the point with a faint pencil ‘Who’ in the margin.

(20) p. 89. Hydrocharis Capybara added on publication.

(21) p. 99. FitzRoy’s action with regard to the schooners was undertaken without Admiralty sanction. His total disbursement in the following September amounted to £1,680. See Voyages of A. and B. vol. ii, p. 110, and Appendix to vol. ii, pp. 97–8. See also under dates March 26th, 1833, note 29, and Sept. 6th, 1835, note 45.

(22) p. 108. October 26th was also the date on which he received Lyell’s second volume—a vital factor in his developing beliefs.

(23) p. 111. “We [Robert Hamond and C.D.] were generally companions on shore: our chief amusement was riding about & admiring the Spanish ladies. After watching one of these angels gliding down the street, involuntarily we groaned out ‘How foolish English women are, they can neither walk nor dress’. And then how ugly Miss sounds after Signorita. I am sorry for you all. It would do the whole tribe of you a great deal of good to come to Buenos Ayres.” Unpublished letter from Charles to his sister Caroline, Nov. 1832.

(24) p. 114. La Cenerentola by Rossini was produced at Covent Garden in 1830.

(25) p. 118. See Cook’s Voyages, vol. i, chap. iv. Mr Banks and Dr Solander, accompanied by several men, tried to penetrate inland; night came on with intense cold and two men lost their lives, Dr Solander barely escaping. See also under date Dec. 20th.

(26) p. 132. FitzRoy in his account uses the same idea. “Animals when they meet show far more animation and anxiety than was displayed at this meeting.” Voyages of A. and B. vol. ii, p. 209.

(27) p. 135. FitzRoy reveals that Darwin was one of the first to reach and save the boats: “...there was scarcely time for the most active of our party to run and seize the boats before they were tossed along the beach like empty calabashes...had not Mr Darwin, and two or three of the men run to them instantly, they would have been swept away from us irrecoverably”. FitzRoy also tells how he named the large expanse of water they entered on Jan. 30th “Darwin Sound”, Darwin remaining silent with characteristic modesty.

(28) p. 136. Matthews was taken in the “Beagle” to New Zealand, where he remained with his brother, who was also a missionary.

(29) p. 141. This purchase again showed FitzRoy’s quixotic zeal for advancing the work of the survey. He wrote of the schooner: “My wish to purchase her was unconquerable”. He expended over £1,700 on
her, with her stores, etc. She did good surveying work until Nov.
1834, when FitzRoy could maintain the expense no longer. His
deep mortification at the lack of support from the Admiralty is sup-
pposed to have accelerated a mental breakdown. Voyages of A. and
B. vol. ii, pp. 236, 274. FitzRoy wrote to the Admiralty an-
ouncing his action: "I believe that their Lordships will approve
of what I have done, but if I am wrong, no inconvenience will result
to the public service, since I alone am responsible for the agreement
with the owner of the vessels, and am able and willing to pay the
stipulated sum". Their Lordships' Minute across the corner ran:
"Do not approve of hiring vessels for this service, and therefore de-
sire that they may be discharged as soon as possible". Admiralty
Records, Record Office.

(30) p. 148. "A tall, beetle-browed, awkward-built man, who entered
upon scientific subjects, as it appeared to my ignorance at least,
with more assurance than knowledge...." Description of the
character of Douterswivel from Scott's Antiquary.

(31) p. 149. "recon" seems to be used as an alternative to "recaado", or
saddle of the Pampas.

(32) p. 154. The "Black Joke" was sent out by the Admiralty in 1829
to intercept slavers in West Africa.

(33) p. 158. See 2nd ed. p. 66 for additional information as to the un-
suitability of Patagonian salt for preserving meat and cheese as
compared with sea salt.

(34) p. 173. Added in both editions: "Since leaving South America we
have heard that this war of extermination completely failed".

(35) p. 173. An insertion is here lost. There are marks in the margin
of the text where a slip has come unstuck. The particulars doubtless
referred to the diminishing number of Indians. 2nd ed. p. 104.

Darwin, more accustomed than the men or myself to long ex-
cursions on shore, thought he could get to the lakes, and went to
try. We watched him anxiously from the top of the hill (named on
the plan Thirsty Hill), saw him stoop down to the lake, but im-
mediately leave it and go on to another, that also he quitted with-
out delay, and we knew by his slow returning pace that the apparent
lakes were 'salinas'". FitzRoy was one of those who had to be left
behind in an exhausted condition, having carried a heavy double-
barelled gun all day, besides instruments.

(37) p. 221. Captain Pringle Stokes commanded the "Beagle" in the
early part of the former voyage. He committed suicide in 1828.
He must not be confused with John Lort Stokes, Mate and Assistant
Surveyor on the present voyage.
(38) p. 226. An account of this expedition by FitzRoy was read to the Royal Geographical Society, May 8, 1837, two years before the publication of the *Voyage*. The party must have reached a point within a very few miles of Lake Argentino, which connects with the other great Andean lakes Viedma and San Martin. J. H. Gardiner was the first to reach Lake Argentino thirty-three years later, in 1867. His journey is briefly described in *Bol. d. Instituto Geogr. Argentino*, tomo i, pp. 29–35, 1879. Dr Moreno subsequently visited it in 1878.


(40) p. 257. “This fox, more curious or more scientific, but less wise, than the generality of his brethren, is now mounted in the museum of the Zoological Society.” 2nd ed. p. 280.

(41) p. 298. The “Beagle” did not reach Iquique until July 12, an interval of 3½ months, proving that at least this interval elaps after the events took place before the Journal was finally written out.

(42) p. 307. “It is rather curious the manner in which the Vegetation knows how much rain to expect” is altered in the first edition to: “It is curious to observe how the seeds of the grass seem to know, as if by an acquired instinct, what quantity of rain to expect.” Altered again in second edition to: “It is curious to observe how the seeds of the grass and other plants seem to accommodate themselves, as if by an acquired habit, to the quantity of rain which falls on different parts of this coast”. 1st ed. p. 417, 2nd ed. p. 338.

(43) p. 326. Extract from unpublished letter from Charles Darwin to his sister Caroline: “Lima, July 1855... When I reached the Port of Copiapó, I found the Beagle there, but with Wickham as temporary captain. Shortly after the Beagle got into Valparaiso, news arrived that H.M.S. Challenger was lost at Arauco, & that Captain Seymour, a great friend of FitzRoy, & crew, were badly off amongst the Indians. The old commodore in the Blonde was very slack in his motions—in short, afraid of getting on that lee-shore in the winter; so that Captain FitzRoy had to bully him & at last offered to go as Pilot.—We hear that they have succeeded in saving nearly all hands, but that the Captain & Commodore have had a tremendous quarrel; the former having hinted something about a Court-Martial to the old Commodore for his slowness.—We suspect that such a taught hand as the Captain is, has opened the eyes of everyone fore & aft in the Blonde, to a most surprising degree. We expect the Blonde will arrive here in a very few days & all are very anxious to hear the news; no change in state politicks ever caused in its circle more conversation than this wonderful quarrel between the Captain & the Commodore has with us”. See also *Voyages of A. and B.* vol. ii, p. 428.

(44) p. 382. Tapadas and Chilimoyas. Tapada is a woman concealing her face under a mantilla. Chilimoya is *Anana Cherimola*, the best-flavoured Peruvian custard apple.
(45) p. 333. A further case of disinterested extravagance which met with Admiralty censure. FitzRoy purchased the schooner for £400 and fitted her out afresh at his own expense. He wrote to inform their Lordships, and the Minutes written across the letter became more censorious. One refers to “former papers forbidding him to hire a tender”. Another runs: “Inform Capt. FitzRoy that Lords highly disapprove of this proceeding, especially after the orders which he previously received on the subject”. The Hydrographer, Sir F. Beaufort, however acknowledges that the subsidiary craft will materially assist the Survey. Admiralty Records, Record Office.

(46) p. 337. Darwin’s discussion on the species of the Galapagos Islands is famous in the history of the growth of his evolutionary theory. In L. and L. vol. ii, p. 1 et seq., Francis Darwin refers to the changes of opinion during the years of the voyage, and in the following years. In a small diary in which Darwin recorded methodically and briefly the outstanding events of his lifetime, opposite the general entries of 1837, Darwin wrote: “In July opened first note-Book on ‘Transmutation of Species’.—Had been greatly struck from about month of previous March on character of S. American fossils—& species on Galapagos Archipelago.—These facts origin (especially latter) of all my views”. It is easy to understand that the first edition of the Journal, proofs of which were already completed in 1837, though publication was delayed for over two years, should retain the expressions “creative power” and other references to the “creation” of species. But as we know from the diary quoted above, and from the Evolutionary Note-Book of 1837 (Foundations of the Origin of Species, edited by F. Darwin, 1909) his views must have been far advanced in 1845, the date of the second edition, and it is curious that the expressions “creation” and “creative force” still remain. The Galapagos section of the Journal was largely re-written on the return to England, and was again altered, though not as much as might be expected, in 1845. A comparison of the three affords some indication of the slow and cautious consideration the whole subject was receiving. The chief points of difference in the two editions are to be found in the longer discussion on reptiles, and the elaboration of the botanical and ornithological evidence. The question of Geographical Distribution plays a far more important rôle, and the extreme difficulty of explanation on the creationist theory is definitely emphasized in 1845.

(47) p. 342. In the small diaries we find: “Whaler gave us water—extraordinary kindness of Yankeys”.


(49) p. 357. “It will probably be published” is erased, and “so interesting an account has been given by Capt. FitzRoy” substituted. This proves that deletions were made after Darwin had read FitzRoy’s account. See Voyages of A. and B. vol. ii, p. 516.
(50) p. 366. Schiller's *Ballad of Fridolin*.

(51) p. 368. This passage remained almost unaltered in the first edition. In the second the last sentence was altered to: "by the land having been aboriginally covered with forest trees".

(52) p. 375. This note of Darwin's, dated February, and inserted between the dates Dec. 30th, 1835 and Jan. 12th, 1836, leads to the inference that all the January entries were written some time after the events they described—perhaps during the leisure of the calmer days of the passage to Hobart.

(53) p. 375. See FitzRoy, *Voyages of A. and B.* vol. ii, p. 621, for the lines of Dr Erasmus Darwin on a medallion modelled by Josiah Wedgwood from clay brought from Sidney Cove forty-eight years previously. The medallion represented "Hope encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace, to pursue the Means of giving security and happiness to the infant Settlement".

(54) p. 383. The whole Lion-Ant anecdote and the preceding reflections are an excellent instance of Darwin's changing views. The first edition retained all except the concluding phrase: "A Geologist perhaps would suggest that the periods of Creation have been distinct & remote the one from the other; that the Creator rested in his labor". This was cut out, though the rest remained. But in the second edition the bare observation denuded of comment is relegated to a footnote. The question of geographical distribution of species had permeated Darwin's thought since the vivid experience of the Galapagos Islands. By 1845 the Lion-Ant was able to take its place in an evolutionary framework.

(55) p. 383. "Mr Darwin ensured the compliance of all the savages by providing an immense mess of boiled rice, with sugar, for their entertainment." FitzRoy, *Voyages of A. and B.* vol. ii, p. 626.

(56) p. 400. A long discussion on Coral Reefs is here inserted in both editions.

(57) p. 409. The Royal Observatory was founded at the Cape in 1820. Sir Thomas Maclear was the Astronomer Royal in 1836; the two other eminent scientific men, Sir John Herschel and Dr Andrew Smith, were also living at Cape Town at this time.

(58) p. 412. A marginal note here relates the loss of two inserted pages. In the published text of both editions (pp. 488-9 and pp. 581-8) is here interpolated a discussion on the changes in the fauna and flora of the island since the introduction of goats and hogs in 1502. The missing insertions were doubtless on this subject.


(61) p. 431. On Oct. 5th Darwin wrote to his uncle, Josiah Wedgwood, in the first glow of arrival at home. He had never forgotten that it was the wisdom of his uncle that gained the day over the caution of his father in the great question of accepting FitzRoy’s offer, and therefore he must report himself to his “First Lord of the Admiralty”.

[Shrewsbury, October 5th, 1836.]

“My dear Uncle,

The Beagle arrived at Falmouth on Sunday evening, & I reached home late last night. My head is quite confused with so much delight, but I cannot allow my sisters to tell you first how happy I am to see all my friends again. I am obliged to return in three or four days to London, where the Beagle will be paid off, & then I shall pay Shrewsbury a longer visit. I am most anxious once again to see Maer, & all its inhabitants, so that in the course of two or three weeks, I hope in person to thank you, as being my First Lord of the Admiralty. I am so very happy I hardly know what I am writing. Believe me your most affectionate nephew,

CHAS. DARWIN.”

(62) p. 431. It may interest some readers to know the subsequent history of H.M.S. “Beagle”. John Clements Wickham, the “glorious fellow” of Darwin’s letters home, succeeded to her command in 1838 and during the ensuing years surveyed the northern coast of Australia. In 1841 Wickham was succeeded by John Lort Stokes, another of her well-tried officers, and again the little vessel crossed the equator to survey the coasts of New Zealand. In 1845 she was transferred to the coastguard service at Southend; in 1870 she was sold for £525. She was the third vessel of the name in the Royal Navy.
APPENDIX I

 References to the more significant passages of the present text not found in the earlier editions. Other minor differences between the versions too numerous to cite occur on almost every page.

Page and line references are given; the minus sign applied to the line numeral indicates that enumeration should be from the bottom of the page.

An asterisk indicates that the passage in question was included in the first edition, but omitted from the second. Such changes occur almost solely in the last quarter of the volume.

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  p. 60, l. 9 ... p. 61, l. 14
  p. 61, l. –7 ... p. 63, last line
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<td>p. 430, l. 2 to end of book</td>
<td>In 1st edition, pp. 598-602, omitted in 2nd edition, are found interesting passages of practical advice to others intending similar voyages.</td>
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APPENDIX II

References to the longer and more important passages, not found in the present text, added by Darwin on publication.

*Murray's second edition used; pagination similar to the later editions of 1860 and 1870.*

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p. 493... Geology of Ascension.
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EIGHT PRINCIPAL INLAND EXPEDITIONS

1. El Carmen or Patagones - Bahia Blanca
   August 11-17, 1835. pp.159-166

2. Bahia Blanca - Buenos Ayres (400 miles)
   September 6-20, 1835. pp.174-183.

3. Buenos Ayres - Sta. Fe (nearly 900 miles)
   (returned down the river)


5. Captain's expedition up Santa Cruz R.

6. Chiloe. San Carlos - Castro - Cucao
   Castro - San Carlos.

   March 18 - April 10, 1835. pp.289-306

8. Valparaiso - Coquimbo - Copiapó (629
   April 27 - June 22, 1835. pp.306-332 miles

Southern portion of South America