

# Falkland Islands: Nationalism and Names

JOHN RYDJORD

THE FALKLAND ISLANDS OR MALVINAS, located some three hundred miles east of the Strait of Magellan, have been the center of controversial claims since their discovery. Much of their history is associated with their names which have changed with the nationality of their explorers and with the claims and controversies of rival nations. As one author says: "Today the name of every bluff, and reef, and smallest channel of them — though many names are changed and lost — writes out the islands' history."<sup>1</sup>

The Spaniards and the Portuguese, with crews of mixed nationalities, were the first to enter the South Atlantic area of the New World, exploring the *Terra Australis Incognita*. Later the *Incognita* was dropped but *Terra Australis* was occasionally used. Vicente Saenz, a strong advocate of Spanish claims, attributed the discovery of the Falkland Islands to Magellan, who was not Spanish but a Portuguese in the Spanish service, and whose name was Magallanes or Magalhães. Spain was too busy colonizing her large New World empire to devote her efforts to distant and desolate areas "like those of the arhipelago, . . . which were known under the general name of Magallanes Islands."<sup>2</sup> Magellan's name was not at first applied to the Strait which now bears his name; it was applied to the land in this whole southern area. The Strait was called the *Strait of Martin Behaim* in honor of that great map-maker, and the surrounding coast "became known as Magalhaës."<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely that Magellan ever saw the islands which briefly bore his name, although one of his men, Estevão Gomes or Esteban Gómez, a deserter, may have seen them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. F. Boyson, *The Falkland Islands* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 13–14.

<sup>2</sup> Vicente Saenz, *Latin America Against the Colonial System* (Mexico, 1949), pp. 97–104.

<sup>3</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–17.

<sup>4</sup> Paul Groussac, *Las Islas Malvinas* (Spanish ed., Buenos Aires, 1936), p. 69, n. 87. See also "Falkland," *Encyclopedia Americana*.

The claim has been made that the islands had been seen by Amerigo Vespucci; but Amerigo, whose name spread from the land of the *Papagayos*, which became Brazil, to the whole New World, left no name for the Falklands. The supposition that he saw them is mere "conjecture."<sup>5</sup> On the issue of nationality and names it may be of interest to note that Amerigo was an Italian; he was in the service of the Spaniards; he gave his name to a Portuguese colony; his name then spread to all the nationalities of the New World; and yet the name *American* has been largely monopolized by the Anglo-Americans of the United States.

There are many who have attributed the discovery of the Falklands to John Davis, the English explorer who saw the islands in 1592, but the islands were already on the map by 1529. Ribera's map of that year showed them as *Ya de Sanson*, the *Ya* for *Ysla*, and it could mean the Island of Sampson. Sebastian Cabot, an Italian in the Spanish service and the brother of John in the English service, knew them as "Islands of Sanson and they bene 8."<sup>6</sup> Actually, they "bene" over a hundred.

Early explorers also called the islands *Islas de Patos* because they found there "Many very fat penguins, so fat that they were scarcely able to walk, and only half feathered." The name *Patos* might better have been applied to ducks and drakes. The large size of these strange penguins may have suggested the name of *Sanson* or Sampson to the sailors. The *Patos* or penguins must have been moulting since they were described as "only half feathered," *media pelados*, thus reminding the sailors of the shorn Sampson of Biblical times.<sup>7</sup> Alonso de Santa Cruz, cosmographer to Charles V of Spain, used both names, *Ysla de Sanson Y de Patos*. Diego Gutierrez's map of America in 1592, when Davis was "discovering" the islands, labeled them as *Insule de Sanson*.<sup>8</sup>

Ascension Islands, located vaguely at that time between South America and Africa, seem to have floated freely in the minds of visionary explorers all the way to the Falklands. However, *Ascension* may have been applied independently to the Falklands. There was no consistency in the spelling of the name; it was written

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<sup>5</sup> Julius Goebel, *The Struggle for the Falkland Islands* (New Haven, 1927), p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 15, n. 40 and p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

*Ascension, Isla d'Ascension, Asençao, I de Acenca, Asenca, and acem.*<sup>9</sup> It was also suggested that *Sanson* was a corruption of *Ascension*. This, says Goebel, is "philologically absurd," and shows "a lamentable ignorance of the rough humor of seamen."<sup>10</sup> Seamen have certainly left names with a seaman's sense of humor, but one should not dismiss the evolution of the spelling or the sound of a name because it is "philologically absurd." Whatever the source, sailor's humor or philological evolution, *Patos Islands* and *Sanson Islands* were both used, singly or jointly, in the sixteenth century, as were the various forms of *Ascension*. The latter name was revived in 1708 when Captain Alain Parée sailed along the northern shores of the islands which he named *Côtes de l'Assomption*. This was not, however, for the elusive *Ascension Islands* of the South Atlantic but for his ship *Nôtre Dame de l'Assomption*.<sup>11</sup>

Before the end of the sixteenth century, British explorers, privateers, and pirates were penetrating the New World empire of Spain. Trailing Columbus by a century, John Davis, in the Cavendish expedition, from which he had been separated, said he had been driven among some islands, as Dampier quotes him, "never before discovered by any known relation, lying fifty leagues or better off the shore, east and northerly from the straits." Dampier adds without hesitation: "These were the Falkland Islands, of which Captain Davis certainly has the honour of being the original discoverer, . . ." Captain Davis left without claiming them or naming them. But Admiral Burney, possibly more aware of British ambitions, christened them "Davis's Southern Islands." Dampier said of Davis that this was "a distinction to which that celebrated navigator is fully entitled."<sup>12</sup>

Two years after the "discovery" by Davis came Richard Hawkins in the service of Queen Elizabeth of England. His naming of the islands is best told in his own delightful language:

The land for that it was discovered in the raigne of Queen Elizabeth, my sovereigne lady and mistress, and a Maiden Queene, and at my cost and adventure, in perpetuall memory of her

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31–33; and Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>10</sup> Goebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 *et seq.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13–16.

<sup>12</sup> *Lives and voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier* (New York, 1832), p. 154; and Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

chastitie, and remembrance of my endeavours, I gave it the name HAWKINS maiden-land.<sup>13</sup>

A more fulsome and frank naming of a place name one may seldom find. Although these islands were named in honor of the Queen "in perpetuall memory of her chastitie," perpetuity is a long time, and *Hawkins' Maiden Land* was the accepted name for about a century and only intermittently after that until it was replaced and forgotten.

Hawkins' description of the islands is so unrealistic that there are those who say that he never saw them. Promoter that he was, he named one island the *Fayre Iland*, since it was, as he says, "all over as greene and smooth as any meddow in the spring of the yeare."<sup>14</sup> His descriptions were written long after his expeditions and after many years in a Spanish prison which might have made the free world look greener, but the grass was green in the Falklands. Groussac says of Davis and Hawkins that they may have discovered the "Malvinas" but at a place where they do not exist.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, their names were applied to the islands.

Next came Sebald de Weert, Dutch captain of the *Geloof*, who left Rotterdam in 1598 and, after a peek at the Pacific, returned through the Strait of Magellan and "discovered" some islands "hitherto neither noted nor drawn on any map."<sup>16</sup> He may have seen only a few of the islands of Hawkins' Maiden Land, but they had been both "noted" and named. However, the expedition of Sebald de Weert became well known and his name was given to the islands in many variations, such as *Iles de Sebald de Weert*, *Sebaldine Islands*, *Sebaldinas*, *Sebaldes*, *Sebaldines*, and, in Dutch, *Sebald van Weert*.<sup>17</sup> William Dampier, British buccaneer, sailed the southern seas and said he had seen three islands which he called "Sibbel de Wards," an interesting example of a phonetic transition from one language to another. This name, used loosely for the archipelago at first, was soon restricted to a cluster of smaller isles northwest of the main group, known later as the *Jasons*.

<sup>13</sup> *Lives . . . of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier*, p. 154; and Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 1; see also Robert Fitz-Roy, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. Ships Adventure and Beagle* (3 vols., London, 1939), 2. 232.

<sup>15</sup> *Las Malvinas*, pp. 85-90.

<sup>16</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

William Dampier and Ambrose Cowley, his companion, entered the South Atlantic in 1684 in a fine Danish ship which they had captured and renamed *The Batchelor's Delight*. They knew about the Sebald de Weert islands and yet they spoke of having "discovered" them. William Hacke, the editor of Cowley's journal, misjudged their location but, as "a compliment to the then secretary of the admiralty," he named them *Pepys Islands*. John Harris, a contemporary writer, says that Cowley "bestowed the name of Pepys Island on it in honor of that great Patron of Seamen Samuel Pepys, Esquire Secretary to his Royal Highness James, Duke of York, when Lord High Admiral of England."<sup>18</sup> *Secretary's Point* and *Admiralty Bay* may also have been named to honor him. It has been said that Cowley and his corsairs "invented the Pepys Islands," but the name remained for some time;<sup>19</sup> and, as late as 1771, Dr. Samuel Johnson referred to the islands as "Pepys or Falkland Islands."<sup>20</sup>

In 1689–1690 Captain John Strong, with letters of marque, was searching for commerce or conquest along the Argentinian coast when strong winds drove him from *Puerto Deseado* to the shores of "Hawkins' Land." Strong sailed the nameless channel between the two larger islands which he named *Fawkland Sound* and which, with a change of spelling, introduced the name of *Falkland*, not for the island but for the channel.<sup>21</sup>

During the War of the Spanish Succession, Captain Woodes Rogers, in command of the *Duke* and the *Duchess*, English privateers, encountered a French expedition under Captain Alain Parée which he drove away. Rogers is quoted as having said: "This is Falkland's Land," using the possessive which would help to make it British. He is said to have been "the first to call the islands by their present name Falkland, giving to the islands the name Strong gave to the Sound between them."<sup>22</sup>

For whom or for what the Falkland Islands were named is still debatable. It may have been for Lucius Cary, the Viscount of Falkland. One author said that Falkland Sound was named for Anthony,

<sup>18</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>19</sup> Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 230.

<sup>20</sup> *Thoughts on the Late Transactions Respecting the Falkland Islands* (Reprint London, 1948), pp. 10, 12; Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>21</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 231.

<sup>22</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

Viscount Falkland, who was then supposedly commissioner of Admiralty and later First Lord of Admiralty, and at one time treasurer of the navy.<sup>23</sup> This assumption is questionable, and it has been questioned, since there seems to be no record of a Viscount of Falkland after the death of Lucius Cary, Second Viscount of Falkland, in 1643. Falkland Castle, once the happy home of Mary Queen of Scots, may also have been the source for the name. Near Falkland Castel, James II built a "Royal Burgh," also named Falkland, in the County of Fife.<sup>24</sup> Groussac suggests that Falkland Sound was not named for the Viscount, who had long been dead, but for the little burg of Falkland which was near the birthplace of John Strong.<sup>25</sup> But the name of Falkland was not adopted by the rivals of the British.

French sailors from St. Malo found the islands open for occupation and for a host of new French names. Jacques Beauchêsne Gouin left St. Malo in 1698 and entered the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan. On his return he found an "unknown" island which he thought was near the Sebaldine Islands. This island was then, "according to custom," named for the "discoverer" and became known as *Ile Beauchêsne*.<sup>26</sup>

Members of an expedition in 1711 saw what they considered to be "new islands" which they named *Isle de Danycan*, as they said, in honor of Noel Danycan de Lepine, the owner of their ship.<sup>27</sup> According to one report the ship's commander, M. Fouquet, "named the cluster of islets near which he anchored, the Anican Isles." They were also called *Isles d'Anican*.<sup>28</sup> Captain Bernard, an American, later identified the Anican Islands which "lie low and dark and desolate at the S. E. entrance to Falkland Strait."<sup>29</sup> A French map of 1724 combined the French names and called them the *Nouvelles Isles d'Anycan et de Beauchêsne*.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 136, n. 44. See also "Lucius Cary," *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>24</sup> Iain Moncreiffe, *The Royal Palace of Falkland* (Edinburgh, n. d.), *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> *Las Malvinas*, p. 101, n. 129.

<sup>26</sup> Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>27</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>28</sup> Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 232; E. W. Dahlgren, *Les Relations Commerciales et Maritimes entre La France et Les Côtés de L'Océan Pacifique* (Paris, 1909), p. 385.

<sup>29</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34; Groussac, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

Many of the early explorers used the term "new islands" to make them appear to be new discoveries. Amedée Francois Frézier, one of France's foremost geographers, headed his own expedition to the South Atlantic in 1712—1714. He had been stationed at St. Malo and was quite familiar with the explorations of the St. Malo sailors. In his report, published in 1716, Frézier used the name *Isle Nouvelle* or *Isle Neuves*. He placed *I. Sebald* on a northwestern group; and farther south he located *I. Beauchésne*.<sup>31</sup> Lord Byron referred to some islands south of the Sebald de Weert as the *New Islands*.<sup>32</sup> In the nineteenth century North American whalers frequently found refuge on *New Island*; today one little island, privately owned, still bears that name.<sup>33</sup> In this manner the name *Isle Neuve* has been preserved.

In 1721 Jacob Reggeween, heading a Dutch expedition, explored the islands and he named one point *Cape Rosenthal* for a sea-captain, and another, *New Year Cape* for the day on which it was discovered. The archipelago was called *Belgia Australis* because, "when inhabited, those who dwelt on it would be at the antipodes of the Low Countries."<sup>34</sup> It was no longer *Terra Australis Incognita*, nor did it remain *Belgia Australis*, but it could still be *Terra Australis*.

The French were to supply the name which would rival the English name of Falkland. Having come from the port of St. Malo, the French sailors were known as *Les Malouines*, and it was only a step to transfer the name of the sailors of St. Malo to the islands which they explored, and so the islands became *Les Isles Malouines*. Frézier used this name and *Les Malouines* may also be found on Delisle's map of 1722. In fact Delisle takes credit for the name when he says: "La terre que j'appelle l'archipel Malouin, parce qu'il a été découverte par les vaisseaux de Saint Malo, . . ."<sup>35</sup> After referring to Frézier's use of the name, Samuel Johnson said in 1771 that *Malouines* was "the denomination now used by the Spaniards."

<sup>31</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> Saenz, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>33</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Olin S. Pettingill, "People and Penguins of the Faraway Falklands," *National Geographic Magazine*, 109. 406.

<sup>34</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>35</sup> "The land which I call the archipelago of Malouin, because it was discovered by the ships of Saint Malo." Quoted by Dahlgren, *op. cit.*, p. 381, n. 4. Cf. Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—36.

The Spaniards, he added, "seem not till very lately to have thought them important enough to deserve a name."<sup>36</sup>

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, Lord Anson suggested that the British seek a foothold in "either Pepys Island or the Falklands." Anson seemed to distinguish the areas for which the names were applied but Samuel Johnson used both names as if they were interchangeable.<sup>37</sup> The British government accepted Lord Anson's suggestion to investigate and, with unusual courtesy, asked Spain for permission to explore the islands. The Spaniards protested and, with imagination and some exaggeration, said that they had "long since discovered and inhabited" these islands which they called *Islas de Leones*. They were named for the sea lions because of "the quantities of these amphibious animals to be met upon their coasts."<sup>38</sup> The Spaniards may have intended to use the name for all of the islands in order to enhance their claims but the name was later relegated to only a small group in the southeastern part of the archipelago. The British and the French ignored both the name and the claim and Spain had no colony there to defend.

As a result of the Seven Years' War, France suffered serious losses in North America and efforts were made to care for colonials from the Evangeline country. Prompted by the Duke de Choiseul, premier of France, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, a brilliant French navigator and explorer, decided to use Les Malouines as a colonial sanctuary for dispossessed Acadians.<sup>39</sup> The main inlet along East Falkland, Bougainville named *Choiseul* in honor of the minister, and the site for the settlement he named *St. Louis* for his ship. Incidentally, Bougainville's first name was Louis and it has therefore been assumed that this was the source for the name.<sup>40</sup> Having named places, Bougainville then took possession of all the islands "under the name of Les Malouines," after which the French held a celebration with a *Te Deum* and a *Vive le Roi!* Two hundred penguins perished in a fire which Bougainville set on one island and so it was

<sup>36</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 10. See also Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 232.

<sup>37</sup> Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 12.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted from Benjamin Keene by Goebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-199.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226; and *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (New York, 8 vols., 1929), 1. 698.

<sup>40</sup> G. M. Coombs, "The Antarctic Claims," *The Contemporary Review*, 163. 216-220.



named *Burnt Island*. Finally, *Cape Bougainville*<sup>41</sup> was named in honor of the French explorer, whose name is, however, better known in the South Pacific.

The British also busied themselves with projects for colonization. Commodore John Byron, grandfather of the poet and a contemporary of Bougainville, was instructed in 1764 to call at "His Majesty's Islands call'd Falklands and Pepys' Islands situate in the Atlantick Ocean near the Streights of Magellan" to make some surveys and to select a site for settlements.<sup>42</sup> According to Groussac, Byron was searching for Pepys Island without being concerned about the Falklands, expressing a Spanish view which might restrict the British interests.<sup>43</sup> Byron seems to have sailed between *Saunders* and *Keppel* islands. *Saunders Island* was likely named for Charles Saunders, a captain in Anson's famous expedition against the Spaniards. Viscount I. Augustus Keppel was a second generation Englishman of Dutch origin who had joined Anson in 1740 and participated in his expedition around the world. Lord Byron had served as midshipman on the same voyage and his name was left on *Byron Sound*.<sup>44</sup> So three of Anson's men — Saunders, Keppel, and Byron — left their names on the Falklands. A century later an effort was made to change the name of *Port Louis* to *Anson*, but this was not a lasting change.<sup>45</sup>

Commodore Byron added several place names as he continued his explorations. *Port Egmont*, on Saunders Island and not on West Falkland as some have supposed, was named for John Perceval, second Count Egmont and First Lord of the Admiralty, one of the most ardent promoters of the colonization of the Falklands.<sup>46</sup> After leaving Port Egmont, Byron sailed north of Pebble Island and named *Cape Tamar* and *Cape Dolphin* for two ships in his fleet. He even tried to change the name of Falkland Sound to *Carlisle* but in

<sup>41</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–43, and map opposite p. 414.

<sup>42</sup> Conway to the Lords of Admiralty, July 20, 1765, Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>43</sup> *Las Malvinas*, p. 121.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120–121; Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 232. For Saunders and Keppel see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>45</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 117. Both Anson County, North Carolina, and Ansonburgh which he founded are named in his honor. *American Cyclopedia* (New York, 1874), 1. 538.

<sup>46</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Groussac, *op. cit.*, 121, n. 165.

this attempt he failed. Byron then took possession for his king, George III, of the whole archipelago "by the name of Falkland's Islands."<sup>47</sup>

Admiral John McBride followed Byron in 1766 in H. M. ship *Jason*. He saw Sebald de Weert's Islands, ignored their accepted Dutch name, and renamed them *Jason's Islands* for the name of his ship. The Jasons were later distinguished by individual names: *Great* or *Gran Jason*, *Steeple Jason*, *Elephant Jason*, *Flat Jason*, and *South Jason*.<sup>48</sup> One author added a third name to the group and called them the *Sebaldines*, *Jasons*, or *Salvages*.<sup>49</sup> They first had a Dutch name, then an English name from Greek mythology, and they now received a Spanish descriptive name. *Salvages*, which could mean savage, may mean rough or wild and is appropriate for the inhospitable isles.

McBride whose name is found on *McBride Head*, later ran into the French colony and demanded to know by what right it was there. The French were equally curious and critical about McBride and the British. The Spaniards in turn questioned the right of either to be there. They first challenged the French. Spain and France, with Bourbons on both thrones, were supposed to be on friendly terms, and Bougainville, in recognition of the Spanish claims, agreed, for a price, to withdraw the French colony. Consequently the Spanish flag replaced the French flag on April 1, 1767, and the hapless Acadians were again dispossessed.<sup>50</sup> The British were challenged three years later.

The Spaniards had not previously been much concerned about the names of the Falklands but, having taken possession, it was now their turn. In the words of Boyson: "Awed by its stern aloofness and far-flung solitude they gave it no name, as English and French had done, of friend, or sovereign, or loved place of home;" but being "visionary, lofty, impersonal," they "bestowed on the islands the most beautiful, they called it *Isla Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*."<sup>51</sup> *Baie St. Louis* of the French, *Berkeley Sound* of the British, now became *Bahia de Soledad* for the Spaniards. As the settlers gradually

<sup>47</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–50; Goebel, *op. cit.*, 232, 273–274.

<sup>48</sup> Groussac, *op. cit.*, map opposite p. 200; Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47.

<sup>49</sup> Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 232.

<sup>50</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 228, n. 19.

<sup>51</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

deserted the desolate isle, it finally and fittingly became in its solitude just *Soledad*.<sup>52</sup>

Now all of the islands were in need of a Spanish name in order to support the Spanish claims. The Spaniards had been for some time content to use the French name of *Les Malouines* but this they now modified to make it look like Spanish and sound like Spanish even though it might lose its meaning in the transition. First they changed *Malouines* to *Maluines*, and occasionally *Maluynas*, leaving out the "o," in accordance with Spanish orthography. Then they changed the "u" to a "v," an easy transition, and there they had a new name, *Las Malvinas*, a name which persisted to the present as a rival of the English name Falkland. After the Spanish government adopted the name *Las Malvinas*, Groussac adds in parentheses, but with doubtful accuracy: *tal fue desde entonces su unico nombre reconocido*.<sup>53</sup>

Anglo-Americans and the English also had trouble with the French name *Malouines* and, by ignoring the French pronunciation of the "i," they called the islands the "Maloons."<sup>54</sup> The Germans merely put a German ending on the French name which changed it to *Malouinische Inseln*. With their meticulous care for detail and with great impartiality, they referred to the islands as *Hawkins Maiden oder Jungfern-Land von Johann Hawkins 1593 entdeckt sonst Falklands oder Malouinische Inseln*. They combined both the Dutch and the English for the Sebald Islands as *Sebald Inseln, 1598 von Sebald de Weert entdeckt itzt Jasons Eilande* in German; in English: Sebald Islands, now Jasons Islands, discovered by Sebald von Weert in 1598. Those called *Islas de Leones* by the Spaniards were naturally *Seewölfelsen* in German. While using the English name Falkland for the whole group, East Falkland was labeled *Franzosen I.*, giving the French preference even in German.<sup>55</sup>

Only determined diplomacy or the resort to war could untangle the title to the islands and the linguistic confusion. If the Spaniards

<sup>52</sup> Forrest McWhan, *Falkland Islands Today* (Sterling, Scotland, 1952), p. 16; Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>53</sup> "Such was from then on its only recognized name." *Las Malvinas*, p. 141, n. 198.

<sup>54</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 33; Fitz-Roy, *op. cit.*, 2. 232.

<sup>55</sup> See map in Goebel, *op. cit.*, p. 360. One may note that the Germans mistakenly gave credit for Hawkins's expedition to "Johann" rather than to his son Richard.

could rid the islands of foreign intruders, the name could remain *Las Malvinas*, the "only recognized" one, as Groussac suggested. The Spaniards from *Isla Soledad* demanded that the British leave West Falkland; the British were equally ardent in demanding that the Spaniards depart. Spain had bought off the French and were determined to drive out the British. On June 10, 1770, with warships and troops from Buenos Aires, the Spaniards took possession of the British colony at Port Egmont. The British became belligerent when the news of the loss of Port Egmont reached England in September.<sup>56</sup> With French support, by means of the Family Compact, Spain might fight over the Falklands or Malvinas with some hope of success; without it, she might better seek a settlement and peace.

The personal and political battle between Madame du Barry, the French king's mistress, and Choiseul, the king's minister, decided the issue and determined the name. Choiseul recommended that France support Spain, even though it meant war with Britain. Madame du Barry objected, for personal reasons — it seems — rather than for reasons of state. The king listened to the mollifying voice of Madame du Barry rather than to the belligerent and anti-British voice of Choiseul, and Choiseul was dismissed. Where the minister had lost, the mistress had won, and therefore Spain sought peace with Britain.<sup>57</sup>

The king of Spain ordered the restitution of the British colony at Port Egmont, without, however, in any way affecting his "prior Right of Sovereignty of the Malouines Islands, otherwise called the Falklands."<sup>58</sup> Lord Chatham complained fruitlessly to the House of Lords that Port Egmont alone had been restored and not Falkland. Samuel Johnson, using the name of *Junius*, ridiculed the idea of going to war over what he called a "Magellanick rock," reviving the neglected name of Magellan. Had the Bourbons combined against the British the latter might have suffered serious losses. The British were happy for the "miraculous interposition of Providence"<sup>60</sup> which brought them peace, and they should also have been thankful

<sup>56</sup> *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, 1. 701–703.

<sup>57</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–64; Groussac, *op. cit.*, 317, n. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Groussac, *op. cit.*, 134–136.

<sup>59</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70; and *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, 1. 703.

for the interposition of Madame du Barry who had prevented French support for Bourbon Spain without supporting Britain.

The return of Port Egmont to Britain strengthened her claim to the Falklands. But the period of British occupation was brief. In 1774 the colonists were happy to abandon these desolate and distant islands. While deserting them, however, the governor put up a notice, engraved on lead, claiming the Falklands.<sup>61</sup>

During the Spanish American wars for independence the islands were generally neglected and ignored. The Spaniards had deserted Soledad by 1811. Having won their independence from Spain, the United Provinces of La Plata, as Argentina was then called, assumed that they had inherited the Falklands. Not until 1829, however, did they take possession by establishing a colony at Soledad.<sup>62</sup> The British protested but they had no colony there to support their claims, and to defend.

During the years of neglect, North American sealers and whalers found refuge in the bays and inlets of unoccupied islands. Even the Americans left place names. *Bernard Harbor* was named for Charles H. Bernard, an American sea captain; *Smylie Channel* was named for William H. Smyley, with a change in spelling.<sup>63</sup> When Louis Vernet, the Argentinian governor, arrested Americans for "violating Argentine fishing laws," Silas Duncan, commanding an American naval expedition, captured the Argentinian garrison, arrested the governor, and destroyed the settlement, making Soledad once again a place of solitude whose sovereignty as well as its name was at stake. Argentina and the United States then started a heated debate over their respective rights in the Falklands, which even the North Americans called "Las Malvinas."<sup>64</sup>

While the two argued, in 1833 Britain moved back into the Falklands with colonists and a colonial garrison, insisting that she had never abandoned her claims. The Argentinians protested vehemently but they have been unable to budge the British to this day. Each gives preference to its own nomenclature. A map made by the

<sup>61</sup> The Spanish governor took the name-plate and stored it in the archives of Buenos Aires; but when General Beresford captured Buenos Aires in 1806 he brought the plaque to Britain. Boyson, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>62</sup> Saenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-103; Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-98.

<sup>63</sup> Boyson, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 *et seq.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Argentinian Military Geographical Institute refers to the two large Falklands as *Malvina Oeste* and *Malvina Este*, and the name Falkland is restricted to the channel where it was originally applied. A typical Argentinian title for the archipelago is *Islas Malvinas (o Falkland) poseidos actualmente por Inglaterra*, giving preference to the Spanish name and using the English name only parenthetically.<sup>65</sup> A book by Juan Carlos Moreno, an Argentinian, with the title *Nuestras Malvinas*, was so popular that it went through six editions between 1938 and 1950.<sup>66</sup> To the Argentinians the islands are not only *Nuestras Malvinas* but also the *Terra Irredenta*. Yet English names are now scattered all over the islands with an occasional foreign name to give them an international flavor. During World War I the British won a great victory over the German navy in the Battle of the Falklands, bringing those remote and murky islands into the limelight and stimulating the pride of possession. Yet the dual claims and the dual names persist.

University of Wichita

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<sup>65</sup> See map in Groussac, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 200.

<sup>66</sup> (6th ed., Buenos Aires, 1950).