



'British Empire at a glance.' Cardboard reference wheel published by Frank Pitchford and Co Ltd, London c1928.

SPEARTRIT COLLECTION

## CHAPTER 21

# DISCOVERY

ALAN FROST

THE EUROPEAN DISCOVERY of the Australian continent stemmed directly from the Western quest for trade and empire which is the distinctive feature of world history from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. When the Portuguese had found new sea routes to 'both the Indias'; when the Portuguese and Spanish had discovered and colonised vast territories in the New World, and established forts and trading posts along the fringes of the Old; and when these Iberians had begun to draw enviable riches from their endeavours—then were their northern neighbours moved to emulate them. Then did Europeans generally encompass the world; and then, as part of that venturing, did they come upon the southern continent now known as Australia.

Europeans believed in such a geographical entity long before they discovered it. The concept of 'Terra Australis'—the southern land—first appeared in Western imagining in Greek and Roman times when, knowing the world to be spherical, geographers speculated that there might be land in the Southern Hemisphere, separated from that in the north by the scorched tropics. Writing in about 150 AD, the Alexandrian Ptolemy postulated that 'that part of the earth which is inhabited by us is bounded on the east by the unknown land which borders on the eastern races of Greater Asia . . . and on the south by the likewise unknown land which encloses the Indian sea and which encompasses Ethiopia south of Libya'. Scholars such as Macrobius, Isidore of Seville and Beatus of Liebana continued to advance versions of this idea into the Middle Ages.

Ptolemy's *Geography* enjoyed a great vogue in the Renaissance, with more than fifty editions of his world map appearing between 1477 and 1730. Although the Portuguese demonstration that the Indian Ocean was not landlocked caused some modification to notions of the position and extent of Terra Australis, belief in its existence continued undiminished. Both physical and religious truth required that it exist. On the one hand, without a southern landmass to balance that in the north, the world would fall to destruction among the stars. On the other, God's perfection necessitated symmetry in his creation. If there were not a Terra Australis, the earth would lack symmetry—which was by definition impossible. *Ergo*, 'in the southern hemisphere there is an uncovered surface of land correspondent, or nearly so, to that which has been discovered in the northern hemisphere'.

The Renaissance Terra Australis was the creation both of theoretical geography and innate desire. 'Java la Grande' is perhaps the result of actual discovery. The depiction of this region in a cluster of maps, produced by a school of cartographers centred on the northern French port of

Dieppe, is one of the puzzles of European history. Placed to the south of the Indonesian archipelago, Java la Grande is of approximately the right size and in about the right latitudes and longitudes to be Australia; and historians have long speculated that its appearance in these maps reflects an early Portuguese discovery. While details that would constitute proof, such as dates of the voyage or voyages, original journals, charts and reports, are still lacking, it does seem (as one of the best informed commentators has put it) that acceptance of the idea of a Portuguese discovery is 'much easier' than rejection.

Any precise knowledge of the Australian continent was soon lost sight of in Europe, however. Magellan's circumnavigation of 1519–22 seemed to confirm the existence of the Terra Australis of traditional conception, for geographers took the island he found on his left as he passed into the Pacific Ocean to be its fringes. They redrew their maps to incorporate his strait, and in doing so merged Java la Grande into the greater entity. This achieved its distinctive form in the second half of the sixteenth century, when Ortelius and Gerard Mercator first depicted it on world maps (1554, 1569) and when, with some minor revisions, Ortelius and Rumold Mercator then represented it in their magnificent atlases (1570, 1587). These cartographers showed a vast continent, *Terra Australis Nondum Cognita*, covering the entire southern polar region, extending northwards to 20°S and having two greater capes, one reaching to the southern tip of New Guinea, the other, comprising the regions of Beach, Luncach and Maletur, supposedly rich in gold and spices, to the south of Java. It was in search of this continent that Mendaña and Quiros sailed in the 1560s and 1590s, whose voyages led incidentally to Torres's discovery of the strait between Australia and New Guinea in 1606.

Torres's discovery remained largely unknown to Europe until the 1760s, when Alexander Dalrymple obtained some details of the voyage from archives in Manila and Spain. Dalrymple (1764) published a chart showing Torres's route which Banks took on the voyage of the *Endeavour*, so that Cook sailed in the knowledge that there was a way south of New Guinea from the Pacific Ocean to the East Indies. Later, Dalrymple obtained a copy of a letter Torres wrote describing the voyage; Burney then published Dalrymple's translation of this. No copy of any journal by Torres has been found. Major (1859; facs, 1963, 31–42) reprinted Dalrymple's translation of Torres's letter. *New light on the discovery of Australia*, edited by H.N. Stevens and translated by G.F. Barwick (London, Hakluyt Society, 1930), presents the account of the voyage by Torres's companion, Don Diego de Prado y Tovar.

The next sightings of the continent came not as a consequence of armchair geographers' speculations, nor of the ventures of Iberians driven by dreams of gold and Christian conversion, but from the activities of the more systematic, if more prosaic, Dutch. In 1602, anxious to share in the wealth of the East, the governing body of the United Provinces granted the United East India Company (VOC) a monopoly of Dutch trade in the vast area between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. Immediately on establishing itself in the East Indies, the VOC began to seek farther fields. In 1605, officials at Bantam despatched the *Duyfsken* [*The little dove*] 'to discover the great land Nova Guinea and other unknown east and south lands'. Like the progenitor sent out by Noah, this 'little dove' came to land—on a 320-kilometre stretch of the western coast of Cape York, between Pennefather River and Cape Keerweer. Its captain then struck north to New Guinea but failed to notice that a strait divided the two lands. In 1623, Jan Carstensz in the *Pera* and Willem Joosten van Colster in the *Arnhem* continued this investigation. Carstensz coasted further along western Cape York but also failed to find Torres Strait. Colster found the northeast fringes of Arnhem Land.

The Dutch also made extensive accidental sightings of the western and southern coasts of the continent in these years. In 1615, as a consequence of rapidly accumulating experience, the VOC ordered its captains to steer a fixed route to the East. With the westerlies at their back, they were to sail due east from the Cape of Good Hope for 1000 'mijlen' (about 5300 kilometres) until in the longitude of the Sunda Strait, when they were to turn north for Batavia. The winds not always appearing in the same latitude and the difficulty of calculating longitude precisely meant that the captains were soon striking Australia.

The first to do so was Dirck Hartog in the *Eendracht*, who reached the western coast at Shark Bay (25°S) in October 1616 and left his famous plate on the island named after him. Next was Claeszoon van Hillegom in the *Zeewolf* in May 1618 (22°S); he was followed by Houtman and Dedel in the *Dordrecht* and *Amsterdam* in 1619 (32°S) and the master of the *Leeuwin* in 1622 (from 32°S to 22°S). In 1627, Pieter Nuyts in the *Gulden Zeepaard* ran for some 1500 kilometres along the southern coast (to about 116°E). In June 1629, Pelsaert's *Batavia* was wrecked on Houtman Abrolhos.

These sightings naturally raised questions about the southern land's full extent and economic potential, which Anthonie van Diemen, the governor general at Batavia 1636–45, attempted to answer. In 1636, van Diemen sent two small vessels to obtain further knowledge of the north and northwestern coasts. In 1642 he sent Tasman to explore thoroughly the southern reaches of the Indian Ocean. Tasman charted sections of the Tasmanian and New Zealand coasts, and then sailed north to Tonga and Fiji, and about New Guinea to Batavia again. In 1644, Tasman undertook the further exploration of the northwestern coast.

The consequence of these sightings and explorations was that Europeans at last had authentic knowledge of the geography of the world to the southeast of Indonesia. Though its eastern coastline remained unknown, the New Holland that the Dutch navigators had found was clearly of continental extent; determining its general location and outline was the first major step in the accurate delineation of Austalia.

But while the Dutch discovery of New Holland cast light on southern geography, it did not destroy belief in the older Terra Australis. New Holland might be of continental extent, but it could not match the grandeur of that in which Europeans had for so long believed. Therefore, there must be two southern continents, the one, whose outline was known in general terms, lying between the equator and 44°S latitude, and 122° and 188°E longitude, comprising New Guinea, Carpentaria, New Holland, Anthonie van Diemen's Land and the countries discovered by de Quiros; and the other, lying in the south Pacific between 150° and 170° of which New Zealand was the western extremity, which was yet to be substantially discovered, and to which the title of *Terra Australis Incognita* properly belonged. And despite the desolation of New Holland's coast, Europeans also continued to believe that both continents contained matchless wealth.

These views reached their peak in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, in a series of substantial publications in which authors such as John Campbell (*see* Harris, 1744–48), John Green (1745–47), Charles de Brosses (1756), John Callander (1766–68) and Alexander Dalrymple (1764, 1770–71) both described past endeavours at discovery and developed programs for future ones, and advanced schemes of colonisation and trade.

In the mid-1760s, animated by the accounts and speculations of these writers and harbouring a deep-seated desire to open a Pacific trade, the British embarked on a series of voyages that became one of the distinguishing features of the age. After Byron (1764–66) and Wallis and Carteret (1766–88/9) had opened the 'Spanish lake', Cook made a voyage that both effectively dispelled the old notion of Terra Australis and revealed the eastern coastline of New Holland. Cook had some distinct help from earlier efforts. Banks, his companion on the voyage, carried with him a copy of Dalrymple's (1764) work which included a chart showing Torres's route south of New Guinea. However, though the knowledge of this passage to Batavia no doubt smoothed his way towards the east coast of Australia, Cook seems to have been quite unaware of any prior Portuguese discovery of it. He made his first landfall on 19 April 1770 at Point Hicks, and for the next three months he proceeded north, charting as he went. On 15 August 1770, knowing that 'on the Western side I can make no new discovery the honour of which belongs to the Dutch Navigators', but confident that 'the Eastern Coast from the Latitude of 38° South down to this place . . . was never seen or visited by any Europeans before us', he hoisted the British flag on Possession Island in Torres Strait and claimed New South Wales for his King.

Cook's voyage largely completed the general delineation of the Australian continent, for after it only those coasts about Bass Strait remained entirely obscure. Many details remained unknown

or uncertain, however, and the gathering of these constitutes the last great phase of European discovery of Australia by sea. The representatives of two nations did the work of this phase—of Britain, which began its colonisation of the continent in 1788; and of France, which pursued a renewed interest in exploration and empire in the decades about 1800. Progressively, dedicated naval commanders such as Hunter, d'Entrecasteaux, Baudin and Flinders, and their junior officers, built upon the pioneering work of the Dutch navigators and Cook. From their tedious, time-consuming and often arduous surveys came the meticulous charts of the Australian coast and islands that mark this phase. (As seaborne 'discovery' is closely linked with land-based 'exploration' in this period, the latter has been treated in chapter 24 of this volume.)

In his introduction to the account of his labours, Matthew Flinders remarked that now the 'essential point' of New Holland and New South Wales forming 'one land' had been ascertained, a 'general name applicable to the whole' was needed. He had therefore titled his narrative *A voyage to Terra Australis* (1814; facs, Adelaide, LBSA, 1966) but, he remarked wistfully, 'Had I permitted myself any innovation upon [this] original term, it would have been to convert it into Australia'. 'Australia' was evidently first used in this context by the English translator of Gabriel de Foigny's imaginary *A new discovery of Terra Incognita Australia, or the southern world* (1693); Flinders died before he might know the renewed currency his passing footnote gave to it. By the 1820s, 'Australia' was coming into general use as the name of the southern continent; its derivative, 'Australians', was accepted as the name both of its Aboriginal inhabitants and of the Europeans who were then occupying it. In 1859, R.H. Major set the seal on this historical process when he titled his collection of narratives *Early voyages to Terra Australis, now called Australia* (facs, 1963). From speculation, from chance discovery, from systematic exploration and from historical researches did the sixth continent emerge on to the map of the world.

#### THE ART OF THE DISCOVERIES

As the voyages of exploration were more systematically planned and undertaken, the significance of the art produced during them increased. The early sailors, having no sense of aesthetic traditions or of the intrinsic significance of what they saw, drew only for utilitarian purposes—they sketched islands, shoals, headlands or stretches of coast to provide navigational aids for those who might come after them. Such production was usually so crude artistically as not to be interesting from other points of view, and was therefore less likely to be preserved than the age's more aesthetically accomplished works. No views are known from the Quiros voyage, for example, though Tasman's coastal profiles are preserved with his journal.

As Europe's interest in science and the distant world developed, voyagers began to pay more attention to exotic phenomena (peoples, landscapes, animals, birds, plants), either for their intrinsic interest or for the light they might cast on questions which increasingly concerned philosophers, such as the original state of nature and the 'natural' condition of humanity. As they did so, they began to draw and paint more carefully and extensively. De Vlamingh's coastal views and depictions of west Australian animals stand at the beginning of this development, which reached its peak in the later eighteenth century, when Cook took with him artists whose task it was to record exactly the shapes and colours of specimens, or the attitudes of peoples and ambiances of landscapes. Some of these artists' production was of a high aesthetic quality and had a profound influence on European sensibility. A comprehensive survey of this field is to be R. Joppien and B.W. Smith's *The descriptive catalogue of the art and the charts and views of Captain James Cook's voyages of discovery to the south Pacific*, to consist of three volumes (OUP, 1985– ).

The bibliography that follows is arranged under several headings: European expansion; collections of voyages, 1690–1816; the discovery of the continent; the question of a Portuguese discovery of the continent; the discovery of New Holland; and the discovery of New South Wales.



## EUROPEAN EXPANSION

BOXER, C.R. *The Dutch seaborne empire, 1600–1800*. London, Hutchinson, 1965. 326 p, illus, maps.

BOXER, C.R. *The Portuguese seaborne empire, 1415–1825*. London, Hutchinson, 1969. 426 p, illus, maps.

Both informative and incisively written, and part of the distinguished series, *The history of human society*.

DIFFIE, B.D. AND WINIUS, G.D. *Foundations of the Portuguese empire, 1415–1580*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1977. 533 p, illus.

A detailed account, both scholarly and readable, this is one of a distinguished series entitled *Europe and the world in the age of expansion*.

HARLOW, V.T. *The founding of the second British Empire, 1763–1793*. London, Longmans, Green, 1952–64. 2 vols, maps.

The beginning point for those wishing to know about archival collections relating generally to British expansion in the period. However, Harlow died before writing his projected chapter on the settlement of NSW.

MARSHALL, P.J. AND WILLIAMS, G. *The great map of mankind: British perceptions of the world in the age of enlightenment*. London, Dent, 1982. 314 p, maps.

This distinctive work demonstrates how the eighteenth-century British 'saw' the non-European world. It therefore complements in interesting and informative ways those products of the traditional historical approach.

PARRY, J.H. *Europe and a wider world, 1415–1715*. London, Hutchinson, 1949. 176 p.

PARRY, J.H. *The age of reconnaissance*. London, World Publishing Co, 1963. 364 p, illus.

Careful surveys of the modes of, and the impulses behind, European expansion and convenient guides to a subject with a vast historiography. A revised edition of the first volume was published in 1966.

PARRY, J.H. *The Spanish seaborne empire*. London, Hutchinson, 1966. 416 p, illus, maps.

Another in the Hutchinson *The history of human society* series.

SCAMMELL, G.V. *The world encompassed: the first European maritime empires c800–1650*. London, Methuen, 1981. 538 p, illus.

This wideranging account offers a longer perspective than most. SPATE, O.H.K. *The Pacific since Magellan*. ANUP, 1979–v, illus, maps.

Immensely learned and precise in his scholarship, Spate is one of the foremost commentators on the European expansion. This work is distinguished from other such histories by being based on the concept of the geographical unity of the Pacific basin. Two volumes have appeared to date, subtitled 'The Spanish lake' and 'Monopolists and freebooters'.

WILLIAMS, G. *The expansion of Europe in the eighteenth century: overseas rivalry, discovery and exploitation*. London, Blandford, 1966. 309 p, illus, maps.

A comprehensive and readable account, based on meticulous scholarship.

## COLLECTIONS OF VOYAGES, 1690–1816

Most of the works listed here do not need annotations as their titles are self-explanatory. They all contain reports from voyagers who searched for the southern continent, some of whom reached Australia.

BROSSES, C. de *Histoire des navigations aux Terres Australes* ... Paris, Durand, 1756. 2 vols, illus.

BURNEY, J. *A chronological history of the discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*. London, G. and W. Nicol, 1803–17. 5 vols, maps.

Facsimile reprint issued in Amsterdam in 1967 as vols 3–7 of the series *Bibliotheca Australiana*.

CALLANDER, J. *Terra Australis cognita: or, voyages to the Terra Australis*. Edinburgh, A. Donaldson, 1766–68. 3 vols, maps.

Facsimile reprint issued in Amsterdam in 1967 as vols 8–10 of the series *Bibliotheca Australiana*.

CHURCHILL, A. AND CHURCHILL, J. *A collection of voyages and travels*. London, The Authors, 1704–32. 6 vols.

DALRYMPLE, A. *An account of the discoveries made in the south Pacific Ocean, previous to 1764*. London, The Author, 1767. xxxi, 103 p, illus, maps.

DALRYMPLE, A. *An historical collection of the several voyages and discoveries in the south Pacific Ocean*. London, The Author, 1770–71. 2 vols, illus, maps.

Facsimile reprint issued in Amsterdam in 1967 as vol 11 of the series *Bibliotheca Australiana*.

GREEN, J. comp, *A new general collection of voyages and travels* ... London, T. Astley, 1745–47. 4 vols, illus, maps.

HARRIS, J. *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca. Or, a complete collection of voyages and travels ... Originally published ... by John Harris ... Now carefully revised, with large additions and continued down to the present time* ... London, T. Woodward et al, 1744–48. 2 vols, illus.

First published in 1705, this edition was edited by John Campbell. The work is noteworthy mainly for Campbell's contributions, especially his proposal for a colonisation of the Pacific. A further revised edition was published in 1764.

ROBINSON, T. ed, *An account of several late voyages and discoveries to the south and north ... by Sir John Narborough, Captain Jasmen [sic] Tasman, Captain John Wood and Frederick Marten* ... London, Smith and Walford, 1694. 2 pts in 1 vol, illus, map.

## THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT

BEAGLEHOLE, J.C. *The exploration of the Pacific*. London, A. & C. Black, 1934, 411 p, maps.

A comprehensive survey by the great scholar of Cook's voyages, this includes a section on the discovery of NSW. Revised edition published in 1966 (Stanford University Press).

COLLINGRIDGE, G.A. *The discovery of Australia: a critical, documentary and historic investigation concerning the priority of discovery in Australasia by Europeans before the arrival of Lieut. James Cook in the Endeavour, in the year 1770*. Sydney, Hayes Brothers, 1895, 376 p, maps.

Another pioneering study of very considerable importance in Australian historiography, but now rather dated. Facsimile edition, Sydney, Golden Press, 1983.

FEEKEN, E.H.J. AND FEEKEN, G.E. *The discovery and exploration of Australia ... with an introduction by O.H.K. Spate*. Melbourne, Nelson, 1970. 318 p, illus, maps.

While the narrative is selective, it does constitute a convenient starting point, useful for its many illustrations and its bibliography of cartography.

PERRY, T.M. *The discovery of Australia: the charts and maps of the navigators and explorers*. Melbourne, Nelson, 1982. 159 p, illus, maps.

The author has been selective in the aspects described, but the number and quality of the illustrations make this a distinguished contribution.

RAINAUD, A. *Le Continent Austral: hypothèses et découvertes*. Paris, A. Colin, 1893. 491 p, illus, maps.

A pioneering study of European conception of a Terra Australis and of discovery of the Australian continent; this remains valuable for some of its details.

SHARP, A. *The discovery of Australia*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963. 338 p, illus, maps.

In these selections from original records together with interlinking narrative, Sharp offers a convenient survey of the subject.

WOOD, G.A. *The discovery of Australia*. London, Macmillan, 1922. 541 p, illus, maps.

This was a thorough survey for its time, but modern scholarship has dated it somewhat. A revised edition was published in 1969.

## THE QUESTION OF A PORTUGUESE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT

BURNEY, J. *A chronological history ... 1*, 379–83. (See above).

Significant because the author sailed the Pacific Ocean with Cook. His assessment was that the Dieppe maps most likely reflect an early Portuguese discovery, a view endorsed by Flinders.

COLLINGRIDGE, G. *The discovery of Australia ...* (See above). Collingridge drew particular attention to the Dieppe maps, but his amateur's enthusiasm led him to claim more than the evidence justified.

HERVÉ, M.R. 'Australia: in French geographical documents of the Renaissance', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 41, 1, 1955, 23–38. The author's detailed knowledge of cartography and exploration makes this a useful short consideration of the subject. Translated from the French by J.M. Forsyth.

HERVÉ, R. *Découverte fortuite de l'Australie et de la nouvelle Zélande par des navigateurs portugais et espagnols entre 1521 et 1528*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1982. 133 p, illus. A detailed examination of the subject, which adds to a complex mix the new element of the Spanish ship *San Lesmes* reaching the east coast in 1526. Without corroborating evidence, however (for example, the identified wreck), Hervé's thesis must remain speculative. English translation, without scholarly notes, published in Palmerston North, New Zealand, Dunmore Press, 1983.

McINTYRE, K.G. *The secret discovery of Australia: Portuguese ventures 200 years before Captain Cook*. Sydney, Pan, 1982. 256 p, maps.

A popular work which may be right in its general view but which is suspect in its scholarship and use of evidence. This edition slightly revised and abridged. First published in 1977.

McKIGGAN, I. 'The Portuguese expedition to Bass Strait in A.D. 1522', *J Aust stud* 1, June 1977, 2–32.

McKiggan assumes too much on a too slender basis of evidence. Interesting, however, for the attempt to settle the question by mathematical correction of the outline of Java la Grande on the Dieppe maps.

MacKNIGHT, C.C. 'On the non-"discovery" of "Australia"', *Canberra historical J* 12, 1983, 34–6.

The coasts in question are believed to be those of western and southern Java. There are some interesting identifications but, like those for the opposite view, the argument is not conclusive.

MAJOR, R.H. 'Introduction', in *Early voyages to Terra Australis, now called Australia: a collection of documents ... from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the time of Captain Cook*. London, Hakluyt Society, 1859, i–cxix.

Another discussion of the Dieppe maps and the European discovery of Australia. Major wrote that 'in the sixteenth century

there are indications on maps of the great probability of Australia having been already discovered, but with no written documents to confirm them'. Facsimile edition, New York, Burt Franklin, 1963.

RICHARDSON, W.A.R. 'Java-la-Grande: a case of cartographic confusion', *Geographical magazine* 54, 11, 1982, 615–22.

Valuable for its analysis of the place names of the Dieppe maps, from which the author concludes that the coasts of Java la Grande are not Australian ones. However, not all his reconstructions are fully convincing.

SPATE, O.H.K. 'Terra Australis—Cognita?', *Hist stud* 8, 29, 1957, 1–19.

Spate offers here the most judicious appraisal. Reprinted, with less documentation, in *Let me enjoy: essays, partly geographical* (ANUP, 1965).

WALLIS, H. 'The enigma of Java-la-Grande', in *Australia and the European imagination: papers from a conference held at the Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, May 1981*. Canberra, Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 1982, 1–40.

This analysis advances discussion of the question by giving greater details of the circumstances of the making of the Dieppe maps. It forms part of the author's introduction to *The maps and text of the Boke of Idrography presented by Jean Rotz to Henry VIII now in the British Library*, (London, Roxburghe Club, 1982).

## THE DISCOVERY OF NEW HOLLAND

DAMPIER, W. *A new voyage round the world*. London, J. Knapton, 1697, 550 p, illus, maps.

Reprints of the 1729 edition of this work were issued in 1927 (Argonaut Press) and in 1968 (Dover Publications).

DAMPIER, W. *A voyage to New Holland &c. in the year 1699*. London, Methuen, 1703, 162 p, illus, maps.

Dampier saw only the barren northwestern coasts of the continent; his description of the Aborigines as 'the miserablest People of the world' determined Europe's image of them for a hundred years.

HEERES, J.E. *The part borne by the Dutch in the discovery of Australia, 1606–1765*. London, Lucas, 1899. 256 p, maps.

Valuable for its scholarly introduction. Generally known by its Dutch title *Het aandeel der Nederlanders in de ontdekking van Australië 1606–1765*. Dutch and English texts on opposite pages.

LLOYD, C. *William Dampier*. London, Faber, 1966. 165 p, illus, maps.

A readable narrative, but without scholarly apparatus.

PUBLIC LIBRARY OF NEW SOUTH WALES. *Abel Janszoon Tasman: a bibliography*. Sydney, Government Printer, 1963. 80 p, illus.

A listing of books, journals and manuscript material held in the Mitchell Library and a number of other Australian collections.

ROBERT, W.C.H. *Contributions to a bibliography of Australia and the South Sea Islands*. Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1968–75. 4 vols.

A multivolume work with supplements on individual Dutch explorers. Only a few extracts of the journals of the early Dutch navigators were published at the time (and, indeed, seem to have survived). A detailed bibliography essential for researchers.

ROBERT, W.C.H. *The Dutch explorations, 1605–1756, on the north and northwest coast of Australia: extracts from journals, log-book and other documents relating to these voyages*. Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1973. 197 p, maps.

Another useful edition of surviving records.

SCHILDER, G. *Australia unveiled: the share of the Dutch*

# Making Australian History

Australia was the last continent to be discovered by Europeans. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries European explorers crossed the Indian and Pacific oceans looking for new lands, new trade routes and wealth. First the Dutch, then the Portuguese, the Spanish and the British touched the shores of the southern continent, named in turn Terra Australis, New Holland and finally Australia.

As a nation we are fortunate in having the journals and other written records of much of this early exploration. Dampier's record of his voyages, Captain Cook's and Joseph Banks's journals and Sydney Parkinson's drawings document Australia's British beginnings. The records of the first coastal settlements are contained in diaries, letters and reports to the British government. These give the early history of the colonies, some first settled by convicts, others for such reasons as the need for new lands. All of them grew as the British Empire and its trade expanded.

The early records contain many drawings and descriptions of the strange plants and animals unique to Australia. Joseph Bank's drawings of plants and Captain Cook's description of birds and Aborigines are interesting examples, and of course there was great interest shown in the kangaroo. As well as drawings, stuffed examples and live specimens were sent back to England.

Through these early records we can gain a very accurate view of eighteenth-century Australia. This volume contains details of much of this material that has been published. The following six pages show some illustrations and facsimile pages from these publications.



Parrot of Norfolk Island, from a watercolour 22.8 x 18.3 cm  
in Governor John Hunter's sketchbook, 1790.

REX NAN KIVELL COLLECTION, NATIONAL LIBRARY



MACROPTUS MAJOR. *Man*



Wa-ra-ta, watercolour sketch in Governor Hunter's sketchbook, 1790.

REX NAN KIVELL COLLECTION, NATIONAL LIBRARY

New South Wales and  
 14 July 1770  
 Mr Gore being out in the Country shott one of the Animals before Spoke of, it was a small one of the sort Weighing only 28<sup>lb</sup> clear of the Entrails the head Neck and Shoulders of this Animal was very small in Proportion to the other Parts, the tail was nearly as long as the Body, thick next the rump & Tapering towards the End the fore legs was 8 inches long and the Hind 22 its Progrefsion is by hopping or Jumping 7 or 8 feet at each Hop upon its hind Legs only for in this it makes no use of the Fore which seem only designed for Scratching in the ground & the Skin is covered with a Short Hairy fur of a Dark Mouse or Grey Colour, excepting the Head Hair which I thought was something like a Hares it bares no sort of resemblance to any European Animal I ever Saw, it is said to bear much resemblance to the Gerbua excepting in [...] the Gerbua being no larger than a Common rat.' (Transcript from Lieutenant James Cook *The journal of H.M.S. Endeavour 1768-1771*)

14 July 1770

Mr Gore being out in the Country shott one of the Animals before Spoke of, it was a small one of the sort Weighing only 28<sup>lb</sup> clear of the Entrails the head Neck and Shoulders of this Animal was very small in Proportion to the other Parts, the tail was nearly as long as the Body, thick next the rump & Tapering towards the End the fore legs was 8 inches long and the Hind 22 its Progrefsion is by hopping or Jumping 7 or 8 feet at each Hop upon its hind Legs only for in this it makes no use of the Fore which seem only designed for Scratching in the ground & the Skin is covered with a Short Hairy fur of a Dark Mouse or Grey Colour, excepting the Head Hair which I thought was something like a Hares it bares no sort of resemblance to any European Animal I ever Saw, it is said to bear much resemblance to the Gerbua excepting in [...] the Gerbua being no larger than a Common rat.' (Transcript from Lieutenant James Cook *The journal of H.M.S. Endeavour 1768-1771*)

Description of a kangaroo, 1770, from *The journal of H.M.S. Endeavour 1768-1771*, by Lieutenant James Cook. Facsimile edition, Genesis Publications Limited in association with Rigby Limited, 1977.

The Great Grey Kangaroo, *Macropus major*, from John Gould's *A monograph of the Macropodidae*, London, The Author, 1841, part 1.

Sketch of the Eastern Water Skink, *Sphenomorphus quoyii*, by Thomas Watling, from the original watercolour and pen and ink drawing, 17 x 27.5 cm.

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April 1770

After dinner the boats were mann'd & we set out from the ship intending to land at the place where we saw these people hoping that as they regarded the ship's coming into the bay so little they would as little regard our landing we were in this however mistaken for as soon as we approachd the rocks two of the men came down upon them each arm'd with a lance of about 10 feet long & a short stick which he seemd to handle as if it was a machine to throw the lance they call'd to us very loud in a harsh sounding Language of which neither us nor Pupia understood a word shaking their lances & menacing in all appearance resolv'd to dispute our landing to the utmost tho they were but two & we 30 or 40 at least in this manner we parley'd with them for about a quarter of an hour they waving to us to be gone we again signing that we wanted water & that we meant them no harm they remaind resolute so a musquet was fird over them the Effect of which was that the Youngest of the two dropt a bundle of lances on the rock at the instant in which he heard the report he however snatchd them up again & both renewd their threats & opposition a Musquet loaded with small shot was now fird at the Eldest of the two who was about 40 yards from the boat it struck him on the legs but he minded it very little so another was immediately fird at him on this he ran up to the house about 100 yards distant & soon returnd with a sheild in the mean time we had landed on the rock he immediately threw a lance at us the young man another which fell among the thickest of us but hurt nobody 2 more musquets with small shot were then fird at them on which the Eldest threw one more lance & then ran away as did the other we went up to the houses in one of which we found the children hid behind the sheild & a piece of bark in one of the houses we were conscious from the distance the people had been from us when we fird that the shot could have done them no material harm we therefore resolv'd to leave the children in the spot without even opening their shelter we therefore threw into the house to them some beads, ribbands, cloths & c, as presents & went away we however thought it no improper measure to take away with us all the lances which we could find about the houses amounting in number to forty or fifty.

(Transcript from Sir Joseph Banks, Endeavour journal 1769-1771.)

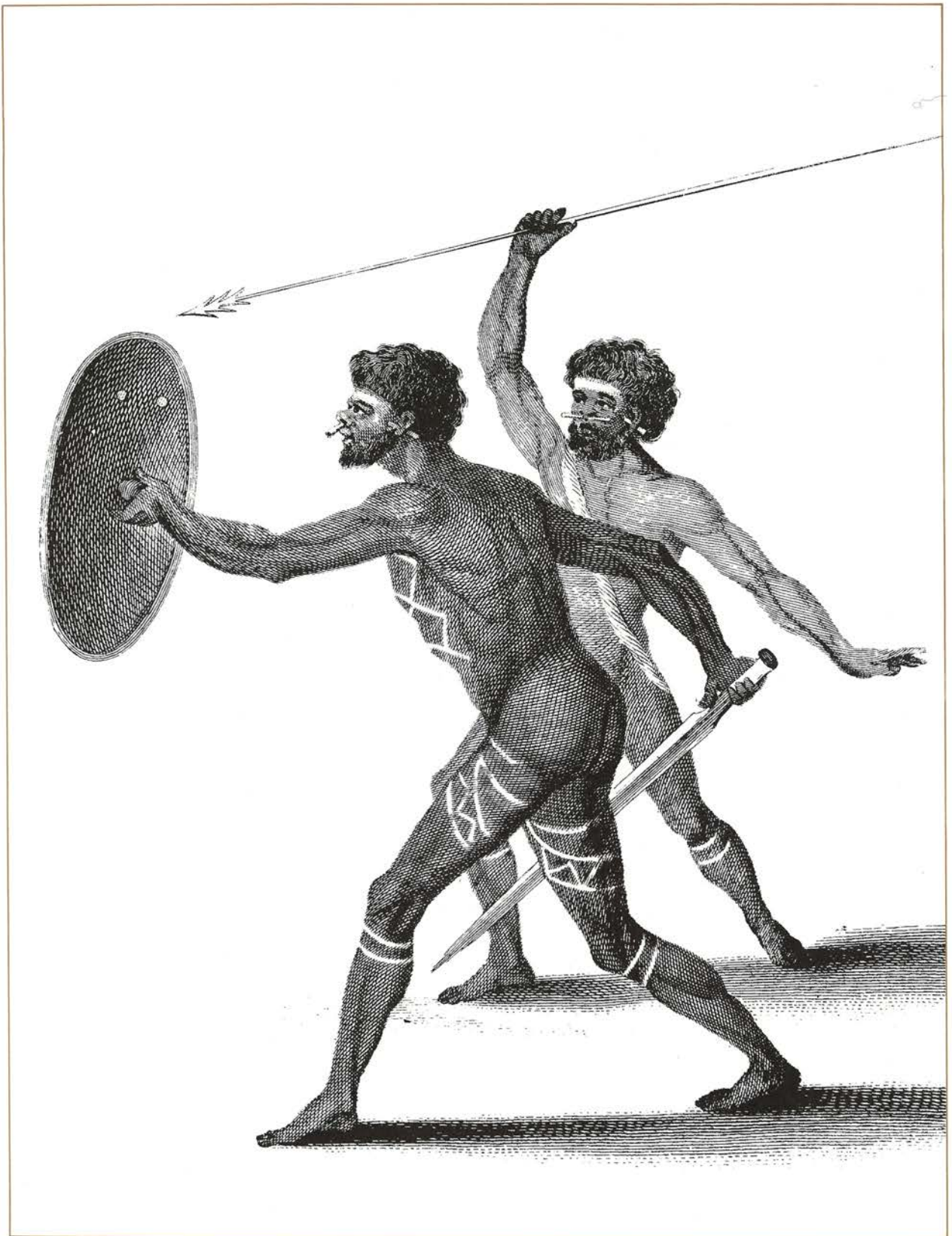
April 1770. Botany Bay.  
the 1<sup>st</sup> of April  
After dinner the boats were mann'd & we set out from the ship intending to land at this place where we saw these people hoping that as they regarded the ship's coming into the bay so little they would as little regard our landing we were in this however mistaken for as soon as we approachd the rocks two of the men came down upon them each arm'd with a lance of about 10 feet long & a short stick which he seemd to handle as if it was a machine to throw the lance they call'd to us very loud in a harsh sounding Language of which neither us nor Pupia understood a word shaking their lances & menacing in all appearance resolv'd to dispute our landing to the utmost tho they were but two & we 30 or 40 at least in this manner we parley'd with them for about a quarter of an hour they waving to us to be gone we again signing that we wanted water & that we meant them no harm they remaind resolute so a musquet was fird over them the Effect of which was that the Youngest of the two dropt a bundle of lances on the rock at the instant

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April 1770. Botany Bay.  
some beads, ribbands, cloths & c, as presents & went away we however thought it no improper measure to take away with us all the lances which we could find about the houses amounting in number to forty or fifty. They were of various lengths from 10 to 15 feet in length both those which were thrown at us & all we found except one had a pointed head with very sharp fish bone scales were beset with a greenish coloured gum that at least 5 or 6 or 7 or 8 or 9 or 10 or 11 or 12 or 13 or 14 or 15 or 16 or 17 or 18 or 19 or 20 or 21 or 22 or 23 or 24 or 25 or 26 or 27 or 28 or 29 or 30 or 31 or 32 or 33 or 34 or 35 or 36 or 37 or 38 or 39 or 40 or 41 or 42 or 43 or 44 or 45 or 46 or 47 or 48 or 49 or 50 or 51 or 52 or 53 or 54 or 55 or 56 or 57 or 58 or 59 or 60 or 61 or 62 or 63 or 64 or 65 or 66 or 67 or 68 or 69 or 70 or 71 or 72 or 73 or 74 or 75 or 76 or 77 or 78 or 79 or 80 or 81 or 82 or 83 or 84 or 85 or 86 or 87 or 88 or 89 or 90 or 91 or 92 or 93 or 94 or 95 or 96 or 97 or 98 or 99 or 100 or 101 or 102 or 103 or 104 or 105 or 106 or 107 or 108 or 109 or 110 or 111 or 112 or 113 or 114 or 115 or 116 or 117 or 118 or 119 or 120 or 121 or 122 or 123 or 124 or 125 or 126 or 127 or 128 or 129 or 130 or 131 or 132 or 133 or 134 or 135 or 136 or 137 or 138 or 139 or 140 or 141 or 142 or 143 or 144 or 145 or 146 or 147 or 148 or 149 or 150 or 151 or 152 or 153 or 154 or 155 or 156 or 157 or 158 or 159 or 160 or 161 or 162 or 163 or 164 or 165 or 166 or 167 or 168 or 169 or 170 or 171 or 172 or 173 or 174 or 175 or 176 or 177 or 178 or 179 or 180 or 181 or 182 or 183 or 184 or 185 or 186 or 187 or 188 or 189 or 190 or 191 or 192 or 193 or 194 or 195 or 196 or 197 or 198 or 199 or 200 or 201 or 202 or 203 or 204 or 205 or 206 or 207 or 208 or 209 or 210 or 211 or 212 or 213 or 214 or 215 or 216 or 217 or 218 or 219 or 220 or 221 or 222 or 223 or 224 or 225 or 226 or 227 or 228 or 229 or 230 or 231 or 232 or 233 or 234 or 235 or 236 or 237 or 238 or 239 or 240 or 241 or 242 or 243 or 244 or 245 or 246 or 247 or 248 or 249 or 250 or 251 or 252 or 253 or 254 or 255 or 256 or 257 or 258 or 259 or 260 or 261 or 262 or 263 or 264 or 265 or 266 or 267 or 268 or 269 or 270 or 271 or 272 or 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416 or 417 or 418 or 419 or 420 or 421 or 422 or 423 or 424 or 425 or 426 or 427 or 428 or 429 or 430 or 431 or 432 or 433 or 434 or 435 or 436 or 437 or 438 or 439 or 440 or 441 or 442 or 443 or 444 or 445 or 446 or 447 or 448 or 449 or 450 or 451 or 452 or 453 or 454 or 455 or 456 or 457 or 458 or 459 or 460 or 461 or 462 or 463 or 464 or 465 or 466 or 467 or 468 or 469 or 470 or 471 or 472 or 473 or 474 or 475 or 476 or 477 or 478 or 479 or 480 or 481 or 482 or 483 or 484 or 485 or 486 or 487 or 488 or 489 or 490 or 491 or 492 or 493 or 494 or 495 or 496 or 497 or 498 or 499 or 500 or 501 or 502 or 503 or 504 or 505 or 506 or 507 or 508 or 509 or 510 or 511 or 512 or 513 or 514 or 515 or 516 or 517 or 518 or 519 or 520 or 521 or 522 or 523 or 524 or 525 or 526 or 527 or 528 or 529 or 530 or 531 or 532 or 533 or 534 or 535 or 536 or 537 or 538 or 539 or 540 or 541 or 542 or 543 or 544 or 545 or 546 or 547 or 548 or 549 or 550 or 551 or 552 or 553 or 554 or 555 or 556 or 557 or 558 or 559 or 560 or 561 or 562 or 563 or 564 or 565 or 566 or 567 or 568 or 569 or 570 or 571 or 572 or 573 or 574 or 575 or 576 or 577 or 578 or 579 or 580 or 581 or 582 or 583 or 584 or 585 or 586 or 587 or 588 or 589 or 590 or 591 or 592 or 593 or 594 or 595 or 596 or 597 or 598 or 599 or 600 or 601 or 602 or 603 or 604 or 605 or 606 or 607 or 608 or 609 or 610 or 611 or 612 or 613 or 614 or 615 or 616 or 617 or 618 or 619 or 620 or 621 or 622 or 623 or 624 or 625 or 626 or 627 or 628 or 629 or 630 or 631 or 632 or 633 or 634 or 635 or 636 or 637 or 638 or 639 or 640 or 641 or 642 or 643 or 644 or 645 or 646 or 647 or 648 or 649 or 650 or 651 or 652 or 653 or 654 or 655 or 656 or 657 or 658 or 659 or 660 or 661 or 662 or 663 or 664 or 665 or 666 or 667 or 668 or 669 or 670 or 671 or 672 or 673 or 674 or 675 or 676 or 677 or 678 or 679 or 680 or 681 or 682 or 683 or 684 or 685 or 686 or 687 or 688 or 689 or 690 or 691 or 692 or 693 or 694 or 695 or 696 or 697 or 698 or 699 or 700 or 701 or 702 or 703 or 704 or 705 or 706 or 707 or 708 or 709 or 710 or 711 or 712 or 713 or 714 or 715 or 716 or 717 or 718 or 719 or 720 or 721 or 722 or 723 or 724 or 725 or 726 or 727 or 728 or 729 or 730 or 731 or 732 or 733 or 734 or 735 or 736 or 737 or 738 or 739 or 740 or 741 or 742 or 743 or 744 or 745 or 746 or 747 or 748 or 749 or 750 or 751 or 752 or 753 or 754 or 755 or 756 or 757 or 758 or 759 or 760 or 761 or 762 or 763 or 764 or 765 or 766 or 767 or 768 or 769 or 770 or 771 or 772 or 773 or 774 or 775 or 776 or 777 or 778 or 779 or 780 or 781 or 782 or 783 or 784 or 785 or 786 or 787 or 788 or 789 or 790 or 791 or 792 or 793 or 794 or 795 or 796 or 797 or 798 or 799 or 800 or 801 or 802 or 803 or 804 or 805 or 806 or 807 or 808 or 809 or 810 or 811 or 812 or 813 or 814 or 815 or 816 or 817 or 818 or 819 or 820 or 821 or 822 or 823 or 824 or 825 or 826 or 827 or 828 or 829 or 830 or 831 or 832 or 833 or 834 or 835 or 836 or 837 or 838 or 839 or 840 or 841 or 842 or 843 or 844 or 845 or 846 or 847 or 848 or 849 or 850 or 851 or 852 or 853 or 854 or 855 or 856 or 857 or 858 or 859 or 860 or 861 or 862 or 863 or 864 or 865 or 866 or 867 or 868 or 869 or 870 or 871 or 872 or 873 or 874 or 875 or 876 or 877 or 878 or 879 or 880 or 881 or 882 or 883 or 884 or 885 or 886 or 887 or 888 or 889 or 890 or 891 or 892 or 893 or 894 or 895 or 896 or 897 or 898 or 899 or 900 or 901 or 902 or 903 or 904 or 905 or 906 or 907 or 908 or 909 or 910 or 911 or 912 or 913 or 914 or 915 or 916 or 917 or 918 or 919 or 920 or 921 or 922 or 923 or 924 or 925 or 926 or 927 or 928 or 929 or 930 or 931 or 932 or 933 or 934 or 935 or 936 or 937 or 938 or 939 or 940 or 941 or 942 or 943 or 944 or 945 or 946 or 947 or 948 or 949 or 950 or 951 or 952 or 953 or 954 or 955 or 956 or 957 or 958 or 959 or 960 or 961 or 962 or 963 or 964 or 965 or 966 or 967 or 968 or 969 or 970 or 971 or 972 or 973 or 974 or 975 or 976 or 977 or 978 or 979 or 980 or 981 or 982 or 983 or 984 or 985 or 986 or 987 or 988 or 989 or 990 or 991 or 992 or 993 or 994 or 995 or 996 or 997 or 998 or 999 or 1000

Three pages from Joseph Bank's Endeavour journal 1769-1771.

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Sydney Parkinson, Two of the natives of New Holland, advancing to combat, in his *A Journal of a voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's ship, the Endeavour*.

REX NAN KIVELL COLLECTION, NATIONAL LIBRARY

We have, and have been compelled to turn our attention to praying or cultivating to keep our families from straying.

44. Do you find a strong disposition to marry amongst the convicts?  
I have found such a disposition amongst them.

45. Do you think that Marriage improves the Morals of the convicts?  
I think it does.

46. Do you think that the conversation of these people is worse than that of the common labourers in England?  
I think it is much worse - they are much addicted to swearing and use the most brutal kind of oaths - and this I think cannot be otherwise from their association with every kind of vice.

47. Do you think their children inherit their vices?  
I do not. And the most striking contrast between them and their parents is the opinion that the former uniformly show to drunkenness, the principal vice of their parents.

*Child from parents to drink & become*

48.

48. Then you consider that the offspring of the convicts afford a fair hope of great and progressive improvement to the population of the colony and its character?  
Most certainly I do. And for myself I can say, I should have quitted the colony long ago, but for this circumstance.

49. Are the married convicts anxious to educate their children?  
I think they are, whatever may be the irregularity of their own lives.

50. I believe that you acted as a Magistrate for some time at and for the Windsor district?  
I acted in that capacity from June 1811 till January 1818 - when His Excellency the Governor, at my particular request allowed me to resign that office.

51. Were complaints frequent of convicts against their Masters for insufficient food & ill-treatment? And do you think that the convict labourer has sufficient opportunities afforded him of preferring complaints to the Magistrate against his Master?  
Such

*Windsor as Magistrate at Windsor*

Two pages from the Bonwick transcripts of the Bigge report, recording an interview with the Reverend Robert Cartwright on 26 November 1819.

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### November 1819

James Bonwick was one of the earliest historians to gather together original material concerning the European settlement of Australia, held in government archives in England. He came to Australia as a teacher, but later returned to England, and in the 1880s began to transcribe by hand the records of the settlement of Queensland, New South Wales and Tasmania. His transcriptions became the basis for the many volumes of the printed *Historical records of New South Wales* and later *Historical records of Australia*.

Among the documents transcribed by Bonwick were the Bigge reports. Commissioner Bigge was sent out to New South Wales in 1819 by the British government to report on Governor Macquarie's management of the colony. The commissioner interviewed colonists on such matters as the convict system, the granting of land and the governor's methods. He judged matters by English standards and often took evidence informally. His report is an interesting document, but his conclusions were sometimes doubtful. Bigge criticised Macquarie's liberal attitude to emancipists and regarded the governor's building program - which included some beautiful Georgian buildings by Francis Greenway - as extravagant. Some valuable reforms flowed from the report, in both New South Wales and Tasmania.

*navigators in the discovery of Australia*. Amsterdam, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976. 424 p, illus, maps.

This comprehensive collection of reproductions of maps and charts is a rich record of the Dutch discovery of Australia.

SCHILDER, G. ed, *De ontdekkingsreis van Willem Hesselsz. de Vlamingh in de jaren 1696–1697*. 's-Gravenhage, M. Nijhoff, 1976. 322 p, illus, maps. (Linschoten Vereeniging, The Hague, *Werken*, 78–9).

Includes extracts from journals of various members of the voyage.

SHARP, A. *The voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968. 375 p, illus, maps.

A readily available version.

SHIPMAN, J.C. *William Dampier: seaman-scientist*. Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas Libraries, 1962. 63 p, illus.

A brief account which offers a general perspective only.

SIGMOND, J.P. AND ZUIDERBAAN, L.H. *Dutch discoveries of Australia: shipwrecks, treasures, and early voyages off the west coast*. Adelaide, Rigby, 1979. 176 p, illus, maps.

A utilitarian narrative, which offers basic information and a number of relevant illustrations.

TASMAN, A.J. *Abel Janszoon Tasman's journal of his discovery of Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand in 1642 with documents relating to his exploration of Australia in 1644*. Amsterdam, Muller, 1898. 195, 59, 163, 21 p, illus, maps.

A scholarly edition of the surviving records, prepared by F.A. van Scheltema and A. Mensing. It includes 'The life and labours of Abel Janszoon Tasman' by J.E. Heeres. Facsimile edition, Los Angeles, Kovack, 1965.

VLAMINGH, W. de. *The explorations, 1696–1697, of Australia by Willem de Vlamingh: extracts from the two log books concerning the voyage to and explorations on the coast of Western Australia ...* Ed by W.C.H. Robert. Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1972. 206 p, illus, maps.

## THE DISCOVERY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

BANKS, J. *The Endeavour journal of Joseph Banks, 1768–1771*. Ed by J.C. Beaglehole. Sydney, Trustees of the Public Library of NSW in association with A & R, 1962. 2 vols, illus, maps.

Beaglehole's editions of Cook's and Bank's journals are among the glories of modern scholarship.

BEAGLEHOLE, J.C. *The life of Captain James Cook*. London, Black, 1974. 760 p, illus, maps. (Also published as vol 4 of the *Journals*.)

Includes much of the material of Beaglehole's introduction to the *Journals*. Together with the *Journals*, it is the culmination of a lifetime's study of Cook and the British exploration of the Pacific Ocean. Magisterial in its range and detail, it also provides points of departure for others.

BEDDIE, N.K. ed, *Bibliography of Captain James Cook, R.N., F.R.S., circumnavigator* (2nd edn). Sydney, Council of the Library of NSW, 1970. 894 p.

Issued to celebrate Cook's discovery in 1770 of Australia's eastern shores. An exhaustive listing of all references to Cook known at the date of publication. Supersedes an earlier bibliography commemorating the 150th anniversary of Cook's death in 1778.

CARR, D.J. et al, *Sydney Parkinson: artist of Cook's Endeavour voyage*. ANUP, 1983. 300 p, illus.

This beautifully produced book, with lavish illustrations, contains also a series of scholarly essays on the various fields in which Parkinson worked.

COOK, J. *Captain Cook in Australia: extracts from the journals of Captain James Cook giving a full account in his own words of his adventures and discoveries in Australia*. Ed by A.W. Reed. Wellington, NZ, Reed, 1969. 192 p, illus, map.

A popular account for the general reader.

COOK, J. *The journals of Captain James Cook on his voyages of discovery*. Vol 1. *The voyage of the Endeavour, 1768–1771* (corr edn). Ed by J.C. Beaglehole. Cambridge, Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1968. cclxxxvi, 696 p, illus, maps.

First published in 1955. The definitive edition of Cook's *Endeavour* voyage which had been first published in 1773 as part of *An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of his present majesty for making discoveries in the southern hemisphere ...* Edited by John Hawesworth, this was very popular in the eighteenth century and Cook's and Banks's descriptions of NSW, which Hawesworth reproduced with reasonable fidelity, formed the basis of the Pitt administration's 1786 decision to colonise Botany Bay.

FROST, A. 'New South Wales as terra nullius: the British denial of Aboriginal land rights', *Hist stud* 19, 77, 1981, 513–23.

British attitudes to colonisation are explored in the context of Cook's and Banks's descriptions of the Aborigines.

FROST, A. "'A strange illumination of the heart": James Cook, Tahiti, and beyond', *Meanjin quarterly* 29, 4, 1970, 446–52.

This essay describes the way in which Cook's imagination was changed by the geographies and peoples encountered.

GAMMAGE, B. 'Early boundaries of New South Wales', *Hist stud* 19, 77, 1981, 524–31.

A study of the British claim to NSW in the light of Cook's *Endeavour* voyage.

HILDER, B. *The voyage of Torres: the discovery of the southern coastline of New Guinea and Torres Strait by Captain Luiz Baez de Torres in 1606*. UQP, 1980. xxxii, 194 p, illus, maps.

A detailed but not entirely successful analysis attempting to determine Torres's exact route and thus answer the vexing question of whether or not he saw northern Australia.

KING, R. 'The territorial boundaries of New South Wales in 1788', *The great circle* 3, 2, 1981, 70–89.

King places the territorial claim of the British in the context of rivalry with Spain.

MURRAY-OLIVER, A. comp, *Captain Cook's artists in the Pacific, 1769–1779*. Christchurch, NZ, Avon Fine Prints, 1969. xxiv, 165 p, illus.

The large reproductions are beautifully done.

SMITH, B.W. *European vision and the south Pacific, 1768–1850: a study in the history of art and ideas*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960, 287 p, illus, maps.

A pioneering study which opened a new world, and which remains impressive.

WILLIAMS, G. "'Far more happier than we Europeans": reactions to the Australian Aborigines on Cook's voyage', *Hist stud* 19, 1982, 499–512.

Complements, and in some details extends, Smith (1985).

