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THE DISCOVERY
OF AUSTRALIA

ALBERT F. CALVERT

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THE DISCOVERY

OF



AUSTRALIA

BY

ALBERT F. CALVERT,

F.R.G.S., &c.

With Maps and Illustrated Appendix.

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PREFACE.

The introductions to many able works on the Australian colonies deal more or less fully with the voyages of Portuguese, Spanish, French and Dutch mariners, whose vessels may have been driven towards the dismal shores of of The Unknown Land.

I think it will be admitted that a strong family likeness pervades these more or less able narratives, and it is not to be doubted that the following pages bears a considerable resemblance to some of them. The reason is not far to seek. Data, upon which to found any theory, is extremely meagre, and a great deal of it of questionable authenticity. The arguments which have arisen are most plausible, but each seems to assume different premises; and on the whole the real truth seems rather obscured than ascertained.

In issuing this unpretentious volume I have not had the temerity to advocate any theory as to priority of claim. It merely professes to be what it is, viz., a simple statement of such historical facts as I could collect; and a reproduction of certain maps which more or less illustrate the gradual progress of knowledge regarding the great island continent, now called Australia. For both the former and the latter, I must acknowledge the assistance of the following writers and geographers:—Messrs. Major, Blair, Rusden, Favenc, Besant, Delmar Morgan, Collingridge, and Lieutenant Charles Low, R.N. To such of these gentlemen as these words can reach I tender my best thanks and apologies.

One field of research which I have studiously refused to be led away by, is presented by the various so described ancient globes, which are to be found on

all sides. Amongst the numerous specimens which have been brought under my notice was one representing a good half of the coast of Australia discovered before 1500. Although it was represented to me as of fifteenth century origin, the material of which it was composed and the varnish clearly proved the absurdity of the statement. The reader will notice that I have avoided relying upon globes for my information in the following pages, for I am convinced that the globe theory is open to the grossest fraud, and I feel it my duty to warn the cartographer against such delusive and dangerous authorities.

I hope I shall be excused for having lingered longer than necessary on the voyage of Captain Cook; but I conceive that he was really the discoverer of Australia in its present geographical configuration.

Documents and maps may lie hidden which would furnish unanswerable evidence in favour of some individual navigator, who, in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, landed on the western coast of Australia, and brought back the news of his discovery to Europe. These have not been found as yet; and in any case we may reflect with a feeling of profound thankfulness that the old foreign captains failed to see its value, and left Australia to form one of the noblest possessions of the English Crown.

ALBERT F. CALVERT.

128, Piccadilly, W.,

September, 1893.

THE DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE difficulties which confront the man who attempts to unlock the mysteries of Nature are tremendous. Her mighty doors are jealously guarded by such grim sentinels as starvation and water famine; while aboriginal ferocity likewise obstructs his path. Stout hearts have been stilled for ever amid polar snows, and the white north holds their bones. Steeped in dews and rains in other climes, parched with thirst and menaced by fierce beasts of the forest, resolute men have still pressed onward, eager to awaken Mother Nature in those vast wildernesses where she sleeps the sleep of ages.

The explorer's task is indeed an arduous one, oftentimes ill-requited and misrepresented; and those qualities which fit him to face the dangers and endure the fatigue are rarely united with the ready tongue and facile pen.

These perils again fade into insignificance when compared with those which met the heroic voyagers of old, who piloted their small vessels and frail caravels, in quest of strange lands, over trackless leagues of unknown seas.

It is easier, nevertheless, to penetrate the recesses of a continent, however vast, or even brave the terrors of the deep, than to lift the dark curtain of centuries, which hides from us the actual achievements of the original discoverers. It is, therefore, with some trepidation that I approach the question dealt with in the following pages.

There were many rivals for fame and glory among those old-time navigators. Different motives actuated their actions and marked their progress. Some sought fame and some sought gold, while the greater number looked for both. Now it has been my privilege to make certain investigations throughout Western Australia, which are already on record, and regarding which I have published my views. Pearls and gold stand out prominently among these. During my researches, however, an interest was re-awakened as to what nation were really the first discoverers of Australia.

B

As colonists it will be admitted that the English people rank first, and as discoverers they rank high; but I scarcely think they can claim to have first sighted the frowning reefs which for countless cycles of years have resounded to the thunders of the Indian Ocean.

Direct documentary evidence, proving beyond a shadow of doubt the certain discovery of the Great South Land in the 16th century, is meagre, still I find on old charts of the world many tracings which indicate that the existence of such a continent was known. The maritime nations of that period carefully concealed their knowledge from each other. Science, religion, conquest, and above all, treasure, were their pretexts and objects. The haughty Spaniard hated his Portuguese neighbour as a formidable rival in the race for wealth and fame, and the stalwart Dutchman was regarded by both as a natural enemy either by land or sea.

What the ancient mariners of Greece, Rome or China may have really known of a *terra incognita* it is impossible to do more than surmise. Certain remarkable allusions to a Southern Continent certainly occur among classic authors, one of the most striking being the words of the Latin poet Manilius, which the eminent Mr. R. H. Major has chosen for a motto, namely—“*Austrinis pars est habitabilis oris, Sub pedibusque jacet nostris.*” Aristotle, Aratus, Strabo and Geminus likewise refer to a southern segment of the habitable globe, one towards the north and the other towards the south. To come down to a later date, the learned Vicomte de Santarem informs us that “Certain cartographers of the middle ages still continue to represent the *Antichthone* in their maps of the world, in accordance with their belief that beyond the ocean of Homer there was an inhabited country—another temperate region—called the ‘opposite earth,’ which it was impossible to reach, principally on account of the torrid zone.”

The following are the maps of the world which represent this theory:—

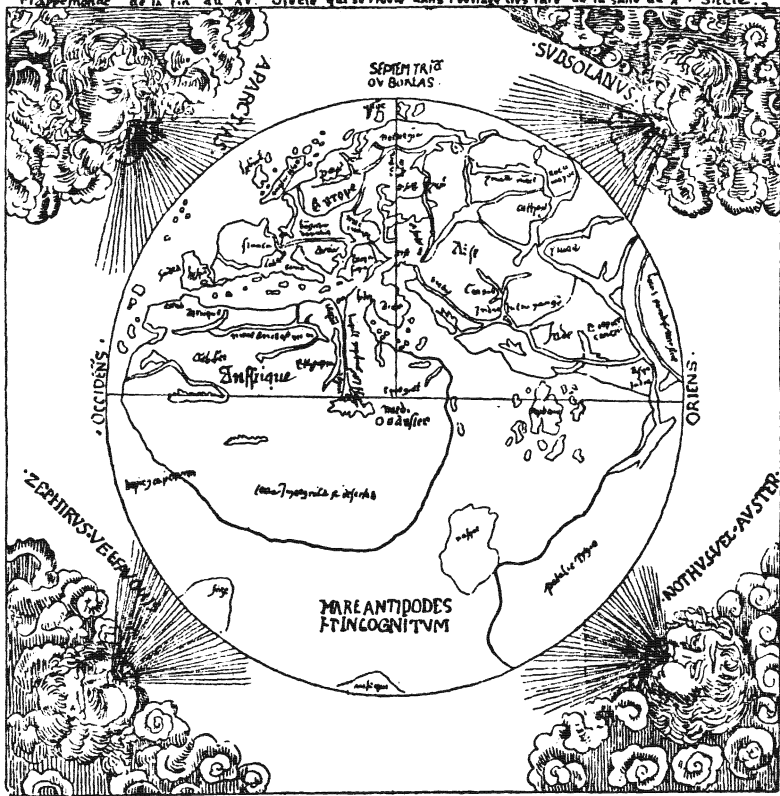
1. That in a MS. of Macrobius of the 10th century.
2. Map of the world in a MS. of the 8th century in the Turin library.
3. Map by Cecco d’Ascoli of the 13th century.
4. Map in MS., No. 7791 in the Imperial Library, Paris.
5. Map in Icelandic MS. of the 13th century.
6. Map in MS. of the Marco Polo of the 14th century.
7. Map on reverse of medal in the cabinet of Crignon de Montigny of the 15th century.

In illustration of the first of these, I have been fortunate enough to secure a photo-lithograph of a crude but unique map of the world, probably of French origin, which was found in a very rare work of the 10th century. This is of intense interest as bearing on the question I have alluded to.

MARCO POLO AND THE CHINESE.

There is a bare assertion that the Chinese had knowledge of this Southern Land, and Thevenot, in his “*Relations de divers voyages curieux*,” Paris, 1663, uses these words:—“The Southern Land which now forms a fifth part of the world has been discovered at different periods. The Chinese had knowledge of it long ago, for we see that Marco Polo marks two great islands to the south-east of Java, which it is probable that he learnt from the Chinese.” Now the said Marco Polo talks of a place named Lochac, a country governed

Mappe-monde de la fin du XV^e Siècle que se trouve dans l'ouvrage très rare du 10^e Siècle.



Rare Map of the World found in a work of the 10th century.

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by their own king, in which *elephants* were numerous, money in circulation, and considerable trade carried on. He says it is an extensive and rich province, gold being abundant; that it lies about 750 miles S.S.W. of Java, and that the king discourages the visits of strangers, in order that the treasures and secrets of his realm may be unknown to the rest of the world. He goes on to say, quoting from Marsden's translation of Marco Polo:—

"Departing from Lochac, and keeping a southerly course for 500 miles, you reach an island named Pentam, the coast of which is wild and uncultivated, but the woods abound with sweet scented trees. Between Lochac and this island of Pentam the sea for the space of 60 miles is not more than four fathoms in depth, which obliges those who navigate it to lift the rudders of their ships in order that they may not touch the bottom. After sailing these 60 miles in a south-easterly direction, and then proceeding 30 miles further, you arrive at an island—in itself a kingdom—named Malaiur, which is likewise the name of its city. The people are governed by a king, and have their own peculiar language. The town is large and well built. A considerable trade is carried on in spices and drugs, with which the place abounds. Nothing else that requires notice presents itself."

This certainly is not a description of Australia, and Mr. Marsden is of opinion that the account of Lochac refers to some part of the country of Cambodia, the capital of which was named "Loech," which contained elephants, gold, etc. Pentam is supposed by the same writer to be "Bintam," and the island and kingdom of Malaiur to be the kingdom of Malays, which seems a very reasonable explanation.

The effects of Marco Polo's narration, however, are to be traced in a very striking manner on many of the early engraved maps of the 16th century. We find indications of the great Terra Australis running northwards to New Guinea, in some cases joining on with that island, and in others divided from it. On the northern portion of this land we see such words as "*Beach provincia aurifera*," "*Lucach regnum*," "*Maletur regnum scatens aromatibus*," "*Vastissimas hic esse regiones ex M. Pauli Veneti et Ludovici Vartomanni scriptis perigrationibus liquido constat*." The word "Beach" is a mis-spelling of "Boeach," which again is a wrong form of "Lochac," and "Maletur" is an erroneous edition of "Malaiur." Thus were errors perpetuated and aggravated, each old cartographer getting farther and farther from the truth.

The intervening clouds of time, however, forbid us to form more than a hypothesis; but there can be little doubt that the theoretical attempt among the ancients to formulate a balance between land and water is the true solution of the mystery.

A MYTHOLOGICAL THEORY.

Here again is a strange prophetic foreshadowing of a certain unknown and mysterious land, written by Ælian three centuries and a half before the birth of Christ. He is referring to a still more ancient Greek writer, Theopompus by name, and recounts a conversation between Silenus and Midas, King of Phrygia. I give a modernized version of the old English translation of 1576:—

"Of the familiarity of Midas the Phrygian and Silenus, and of certain circumstances which he incredibly reported, Theopompus declareth that Midas the Phrygian and Silenus were knit together in familiarity and acquaintance.

This Silenus was the son of a nymph, inferior to the gods in condition and degree, but superior to men concerning mortality and death. These twain mingled communication of sundry things. At length in process of talk, Silenus told Midas of certain islands named Europia, Asia and Lybia, which the ocean sea circumscribeth and compasseth round about; and that without this world there is a continent or parcel of dry land, which in greatness (as he reported) was infinite and immeasurable; that it nourished and maintained by the benefit of the green meadows and pasture plots sundry big and mighty beasts; that the men which inhabit the same climate exceed the stature of us twice, and yet the length of their life is not equal to ours, but there be many and divers great cities, manifold orders and trades of living; that their laws, statutes and ordinances are different, or rather clean contrary to ours. Such and like things did he rehearse."

Thus did the demi-god Silenus tell King Midas of a great country outside the then known world. Although this old fragment belongs to the age of fable and mythology, it is interesting in its way as showing the bent of men's minds dozens of long centuries ago.

So much for the realm of tradition, which may almost be regarded as fabulous. I now pass on to a period which supplies rather more data for adequate conjecture.





WHEN Vasco de Gama achieved the feat of rounding the Cape, the gate of maritime discovery was opened. The navigators of Spain and Portugal were men of heroic mould and undaunted courage. The long hidden Great South Land could not much longer remain concealed. The ships were on the sea, and luck, accident, or design, were bound, sooner or later, to find it. Meagre as is our information, we can see slowly but surely, the progressive indications that a knowledge of Terra Australia was dawning in men's minds.

DE GONNEVILLE'S VOYAGE.

It has been asserted that the Frenchman, Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, on his way to the East Indies from Honfleur, in 1503, having doubled the Cape, was driven by stress of weather into unknown seas. He is said to have landed on shores inhabited by friendly blacks, and to have brought back with him to Europe one of the king's sons, who was ambitious of studying civilization and embracing Christianity.

If there were kings in Australia in those days, the politics of the Australian black boy have become very democratic in the interval. Doubtless the French mariner may have captured a young black with aspirations towards Christianity; but was the lad an Australian? I take leave to doubt it, and suggest that Madagascar was the home of the sable proselyte. Then the experience of subsequent travellers has shown that the New Holland natives were by no means friendly—quite the reverse; and the idea that the kidnapping of the heir apparent had engendered a violent animosity towards sailors in general, reduces the argument to an absurdity. A more cogent reason for disbelieving the Gallic claims, is the significant fact that the world only knew of the De Gonneville affair a hundred and sixty years after the alleged discovery, and when other nations had put forward their far more authentic titles. De Gonneville's specimens and papers are said to have fallen into the hands of a British corsair, but he failed to capture the little black prince. Moreover, we do not find any of the documents in question among the national archives. This narrative is given in a judicial declaration

made by De Gonneville, dated the 19th June, 1505, and first published in the "*Memoires touchant L'Etablissement d'une Mission Chretienne dans La Terre Australe,*" printed in Paris by Cramoisy in 1663, and dedicated to Pope Alexander VII, by an "*ecclesiastique originaire de cette mesme terre.*" The author gives his name by these initials, "J.P.D.C. Pretre Indien." This priest was stated to have been the great grandson of the young Australian prince, and he professed himself animated with a desire to go and preach the gospel to the Australian natives—his fellow-countrymen by descent. There is on the face of it, I think, a strong likelihood that this person had a natural desire for notoriety, and probably wished to ingratiate himself with the Pope. Whether his ambition to become an Australian missionary was ever gratified, it is hard to say. It does not seem as if the document ever reached the Pontiff, and it certainly never saw the light until the bookseller Cramoisy printed it about a century and a half afterwards. As I have before stated, De Gonneville having doubled the Cape, was probably driven by storms into a belt of calms, and so was guided by the flight of birds or otherwise to the coast of Madagascar. The crew are asserted to have refused to proceed to Eastern India. Would this have happened had they gone so far east as New Holland? No other nation has actually laid claim to have landed on New Holland, and so far back as 1503. The opportunity seemed tempting to the French, and so they seized upon it. Doubtless Cramoisy discovered and printed the Memoires of the mysterious "J.P.D.C. Indian Priest," but whether De Gonneville discovered New Holland, as therein declared, is a very different affair. The strongest reason for disbelieving De Gonneville's claim to have discovered New Holland, lies in his description of the inhabitants of the country he visited. No such state of semi-civilization, as he describes, ever existed among the Australians aborigines. Let France be content with having unearthed an interesting ecclesiastical and nautical relic: we cannot allow her on such slender and doubtful evidence the honour of having first discovered Australia.

VAN CAL-VERTE'S VOYAGE.

Between 1504-5, Van Cal-Verte, a Dutchman, in the *Faulcon*, claims to have voyaged from Java Minor to Java Major, reaching the extreme corner of North-West Australia, and, according to the MS., discovered gold.*

PARMENTIER'S VOYAGE.

In 1529, Jean Parmentier, of Dieppe, navigator, hydrographer, poet, and scholar, made a voyage to Sumatra, and on that voyage he died. He was accompanied on his journey by his friend Pierre Crignon, another French poet

*This is described in an MS. pamphlet containing a rough outline map of the North-west corner of Australia. This MS. was found together with the Charters of Maryland, Letters of Marque and other papers relating to the Calverts. Lord Cecil Baltimore, in the Commonwealth days of civil war and trouble, had felt it advisable to deposit them, for various reasons, in the Baltimore retreat at Altona, where they had quietly remained until the latter part of the last century, when Roland Edward Calvert, the only descendant of Lord Frederick Baltimore, removed them to London. These Calvert papers and documents were exhibited by John Calvert at his scientific conversazione in 1853, and this pamphlet was then amongst them, but alas! as it is at present not forthcoming, I am unable to give the fac-simile as I had intended.

of some note, and on his return to France he published Parmentier's poems. In the prologue to these he says that Parmentier was the first Frenchman who discovered the island of Trapobane, in the Indies, and adds "if he had not died I believe he would have reached the Moluccas." It would appear, therefore, that the French were not in the South Seas beyond Sumatra previous to 1529.

Crignon speaks bitterly of the greed and secrecy of the Portuguese, and in somewhat inflated terms, exclaims, "They seem to have drunk of the dust of Alexander; for that they seem to think that God made the sea and land only for them, and if they could have locked up the sea from Finisterre to Ireland, it would have been done long ago."

One cannot help reflecting, that when Alexander the Great wept—as it is said he did—because he had no more worlds to conquer, what a small world was his! Many centuries were to elapse before America and Australia were added to civilization.

DE QUIROS VOYAGE.

When Spain was in the zenith of her power, and the revealed wealth of the New World dazzled the eyes of Europe, her gallant seamen naturally cast their eyes across the seas towards Terra Australis. In the hope of reaching shores where the exploits of Cortes and Pizarro could be emulated, it has been stated that Pedro Fernandez de Quiros—for the honour of whose birthplace, both Spain and Portugal have contended—started on a voyage along with Louis Vaez de Torres, during which their ships' prows were doubtless directed towards Australia. The former reached the Solomon Islands, where he parted with his companion. Torres, I think, came nearer solving the secret of the Southern Seas. He has been stated to have even sighted the present Cape York; but, probably, the hills which met his view, were the higher land of Prince of Wales' Island. With the wealth of Mexico and Peru in his mind's eye, he would be naturally unfavourably impressed by the natives of the Straits, and see no prospect of rich plunder. Disgusted and disappointed, he concisely put on record that the aborigines were "black, naked, and corpulent." He may have indeed been surprised at their obesity on such a desolate shore; but unwilling to solve the problem of their fatness, he turned his back and sailed for pleasanter climes. This occurred in the year 1605, and truly, there is a strange mystery connected with the separation of these two voyagers. They had sailed from Callao with three well-equipped vessels, and were months in company, discovering many islands. Suddenly, one hour after midnight, as Torres, the lieutenant tell us "the *Capitana* (Quiros' ship) departed without any notice given to us, and without making any signal." The real cause for this strange conduct will never be known for a certainty; but it is conjectured that a mutiny had broken out among the sailors. Torres, after vainly waiting for many days, made his way by the coast of New Guinea to Manilla.

I have purposely put the name of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros first among the Spanish navigators—though, chronologically, it should have come later; because he was one of the most distinguished mariners of his time, and because although not actually the discoverer of New Holland, he did much to bring its discovery about. From the time the Spaniards landed on Santa Cruz, de Quiros kept on urging the solution of this great geographical problem; and,

speaking of him two centuries later, Dalrymple says : " The discovery of the Southern continent—whenever, and by whomsoever it may be completely effected—is, in justice, due to this immortal name."

He reached Mexico 3rd October, 1606, nine months after he had set out from Callao, and died in Panama in 1614. He was the last of the great Spanish heroes of the sea. " Reasoning,"—again to quote Dalrymple—" from principles of science and deep reflection, he asserted the *existence* of a Southern continent, and devoted with unwearied, though contemned diligence, the remainder of his life to the prosecution of this sublime conception."

MAGALHAEN'S VOYAGE.

Sixty-six years previously, however, namely in 1520, the famous Fernando Magalhaens circumnavigated the globe in a ship called the *Victoria*. This man was a Portuguese, although in the naval service of Spain. On this account Spain claims the credit of the first discovery, for, on entering the service of a foreign monarch, Magalhaens must have resigned his nationality. The claim is thus asserted in the "*Compendio Geographico Estadistico de Portugal y sus posesiones ultramarinas*," by Aldama Ayala, 8vo., Madrid, 1855, p. 482. "The Dutch lay claim to the discovery of the continent of Australia in the seventeenth century, although it was discovered by Fernando Magalhaens—a Portuguese—by order of the Emperor Charles V. in the year 1520, as is proved

VAZ DOURADO'S MAP.

by authentic documents such as the atlas of Fernando Vaz Dourado, made at Goa in 1570, on one of the maps in which, is laid down the coast of Australia. The said magnificent atlas, illuminated to perfection, was formerly preserved in the Carthusian library at Evora."

Then a similar claim was made for their distinguished countryman, by the Portuguese, in an almanack published at Angra, in the island of Terceira, by the Government press in 1832, and composed, it is supposed, by the Viscount Sa' de Bandiera, Minister of Marine at Lisbon. In the examination of this question the editor has exhibited much earnestness and care. He is the well-known author of that important work "Mariner's Tonga Islands"—Dr. John Martin.

In respect to the claim on behalf of Magalhaens a few extracts from his reports on Vaz Dourado's map may be interesting. He says:—

"On inspecting the map and examining the more southern regions, I found that the island of Timor was the most southern land laid down in latitude 10° S., which is its true situation; while further to the south all was blank, excepting certain ornamental devices, as far as about latitude 17° or 18°, which was the lowest margin of the map. To the west and east the map was bordered by a scale of latitude in single degrees; but this map did not occupy the whole sheet of vellum; for to the right of the eastern scale was laid down a line of coast running with a little southing from west to east, with many rivers and places upon it.

Now if the whole sheet is meant to constitute one map, then the coast in question is not where New Holland ought to be, being north of Timor, and too far eastward.

The reasons why I cannot consider this coast as part of New Holland, are:—
1st. It is at least one thousand five hundred miles in length, and *nearly* straight, though indented in parts.

2nd. It is represented as having numerous rivers, which are very rare in New Holland.

3rd. It is considerably distant from its true place to the South of Timor.

On a closer and more minute examination of Dourado's map, I think it is evident that the coast discovered by Magalhaens is no other than the northern shore of New Guinea."

In the face of this I think it safe to conclude that the Portugo-Spanish claim on behalf of this great navigator may be laid aside.

DON JORGE DE MENESES' VOYAGE.

Again in 1526 another noted Portuguese mariner, the companion of Tristan d'Acunha, Don Jorge de Meneses, is claimed to have discovered the Great South Land. He was separated from his companions and driven by storms almost within hail of New Holland, but certainly Galvano, his historian, never states that he got there. On the contrary, as soon as the winds were favourable he turned back and joined his comrades on the coast of Africa.

DON ALVARO DE SAAVEDRA'S VOYAGE.

Then in 1527 a Spaniard—related to the renowned Cortes—Don Alvaro de Saavedra, having been sent from New Spain on a voyage to the Moluccas, cast anchor at Papua or New Guinea, where he stayed for a month. Although in the neighbourhood of New Holland, in none of the recorded voyages of this period do I know of either Spanish or Portuguese mariners making any allusion to the Great South Land which has been laid down so clearly on the maps as "La Grande Jave."

Some estimate may be formed of the Spaniards' knowledge in the middle of the 16th century of this portion of the Indian and Pacific ocean, from the following extract. It is from an old work entitled "*El libro de las costumbres de todas las gentes del mundo y de las Indias.*" Antwerp, 1556.—"Thirty leagues from Java the Less is Gatigaro, nineteen degrees the other side of the equinoctial towards the south. Of the lands beyond this point nothing is known, for navigation has not been extended further, and it is impossible to proceed by land, on account of the numerous lakes and lofty mountains in those parts. It is even said that there is the site of the Terrestrial Paradise."

It is reasonable to suppose that had the Spaniards had any real cognizance of the localities in question, such imaginary nonsense would never have been translated into their language, for the original work was not written in Spanish.

BERNARD DELLA TORRE'S VOYAGE.

The alleged discovery of Bernard della Torre in 1542, is worthy of attention. This officer went out in that year with the Spanish Admiral, Juan Gaetan, from Mexico, on a voyage to the Pacific. They sailed towards the equator and reached an island Arezifa. They then directed their course towards the

Phillipines, and Della Torre was sent back from there to Mexico to report progress to the Viceroy. In returning, Della Torre went nearer the equator and discovered on his right hand in 30° South latitude, a great continent, along which he coasted for 650 leagues. In 6° South latitude he landed and found the inhabitants to be like negroes, with short crisp hair. They were said to be very active, armed with wooden lances and arrows, the latter not poisoned.

This certainly looks like a description of the Australian native, and it is quite possible Della Torre landed on the shore of New Holland.

CARTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCES.

Turning to cartographic evidence, we find that between 1512 and 1542 there are very definite indications that the discovery of land in the vicinity of New Holland was known to the hydrographers of the time.

They occur in several maps, the most prominent being four which are in England, and two which are in France.

Immediately below Java, and separated by a narrow strait, the line of a large county runs southwards.

MAP OF FRANCIS I.

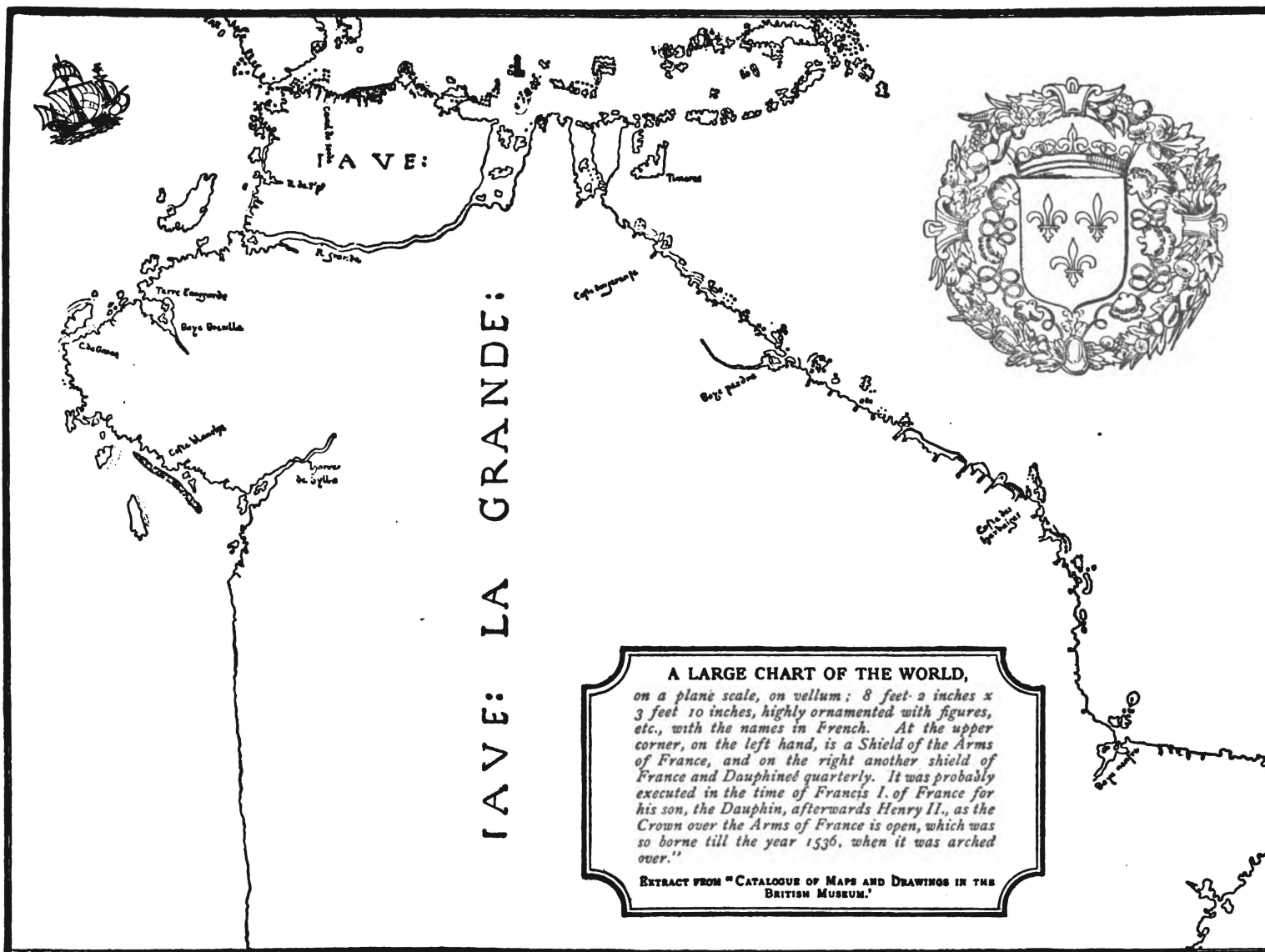
One of the earliest and most fully detailed of these maps, is a large chart of the world, highly ornamented with figures, etc., printed on vellum, and with the names in French. At the upper corner on the left hand, is a shield of the arms of France, with a collar of St. Michael, and on the right, another shield of France and Dauphin quartered. It was probably executed in the reign of Francis I. of France, for his son, the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II. This chart is dated 1536, and formerly belonged to Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, after whose death it was taken away by one of his servants. It was subsequently purchased by Sir Joseph Banks, Bart., a fellow-voyager with Captain Cook, and presented by him to the British Museum in 1790. Of the Australian section of this rare and valuable map, I have given a reproduction in outline, on a reduced scale.* I have also included a reproduction of the same map, with figures, etc., for which I am indebted to Mr. Collingridge.

MAPS BY JEAN ROTZ.

Two other maps I have included in the volume are of great geographical and historical importance.

One is a detailed map, surrounded with highly ornamental border, and quaintly illustrated with various devices, such as warlike processions, trees, animals, houses, etc. The other is a finely executed skeleton map of the world in hemispheres, with latitude and longitude marked. It is also splendidly embellished with artistic designs of ships and a floral border. There I find the names of "Lytel Java" and "The Londe of Java." This latter map is of special interest, because almost all others of this date have the coast line of

* This map is copied from that in Mr. Favenc's work on Australia.



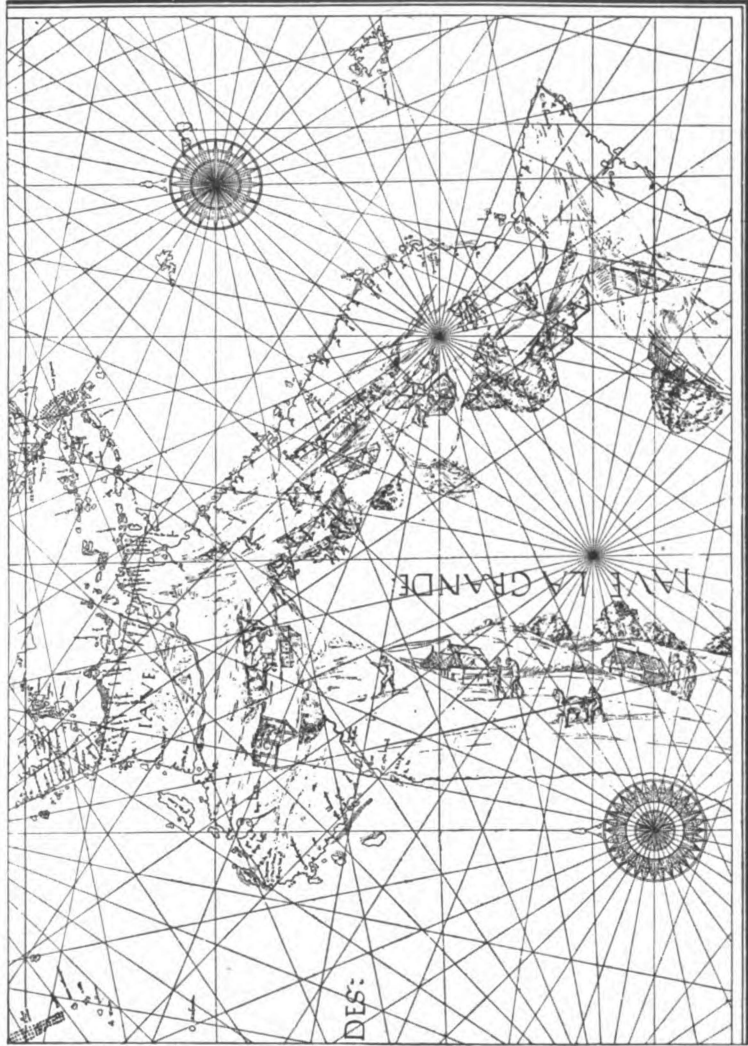
LA GRANDE

A LARGE CHART OF THE WORLD,

on a planè scale, on vellum; 8 feet 2 inches x 3 feet 10 inches, highly ornamented with figures, etc., with the names in French. At the upper corner, on the left hand, is a Shield of the Arms of France, and on the right another shield of France and Dauphinè quarterly. It was probably executed in the time of Francis I. of France for his son, the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II., as the Crown over the Arms of France is open, which was so borne till the year 1536. when it was arched over."

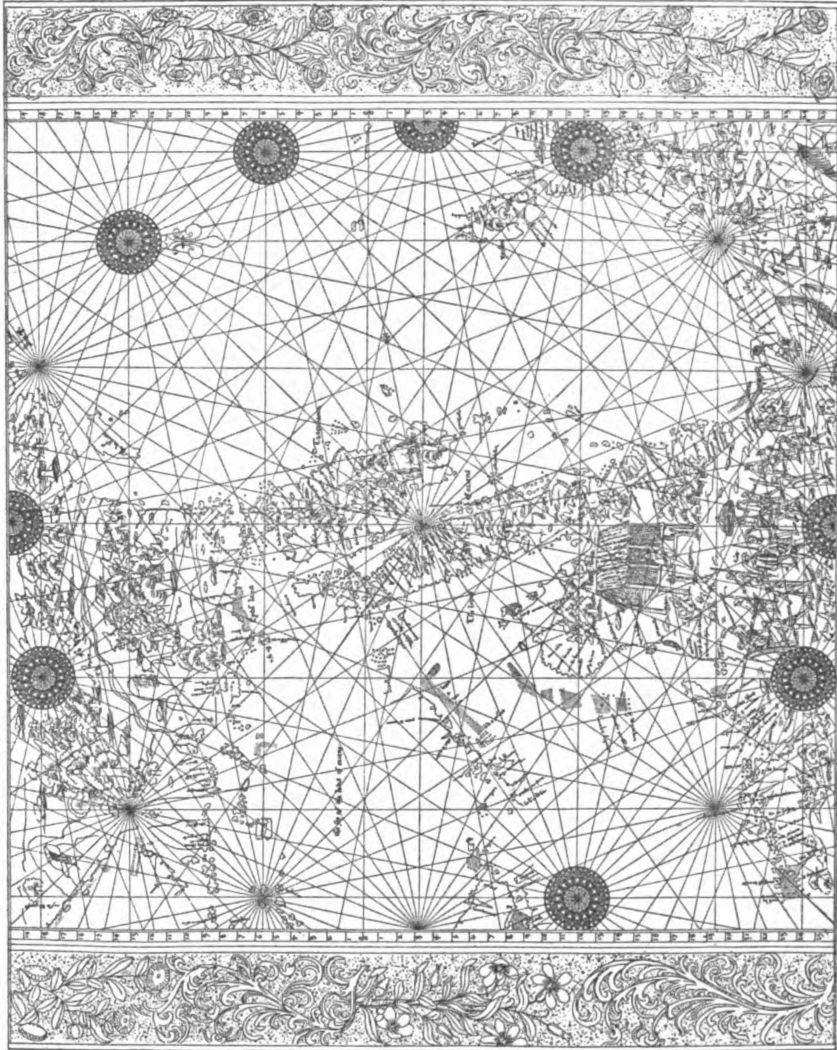
EXTRACT FROM "CATALOGUE OF MAPS AND DRAWINGS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM."

Section of Chart presented by Sir Joseph Banks to the British Museum.



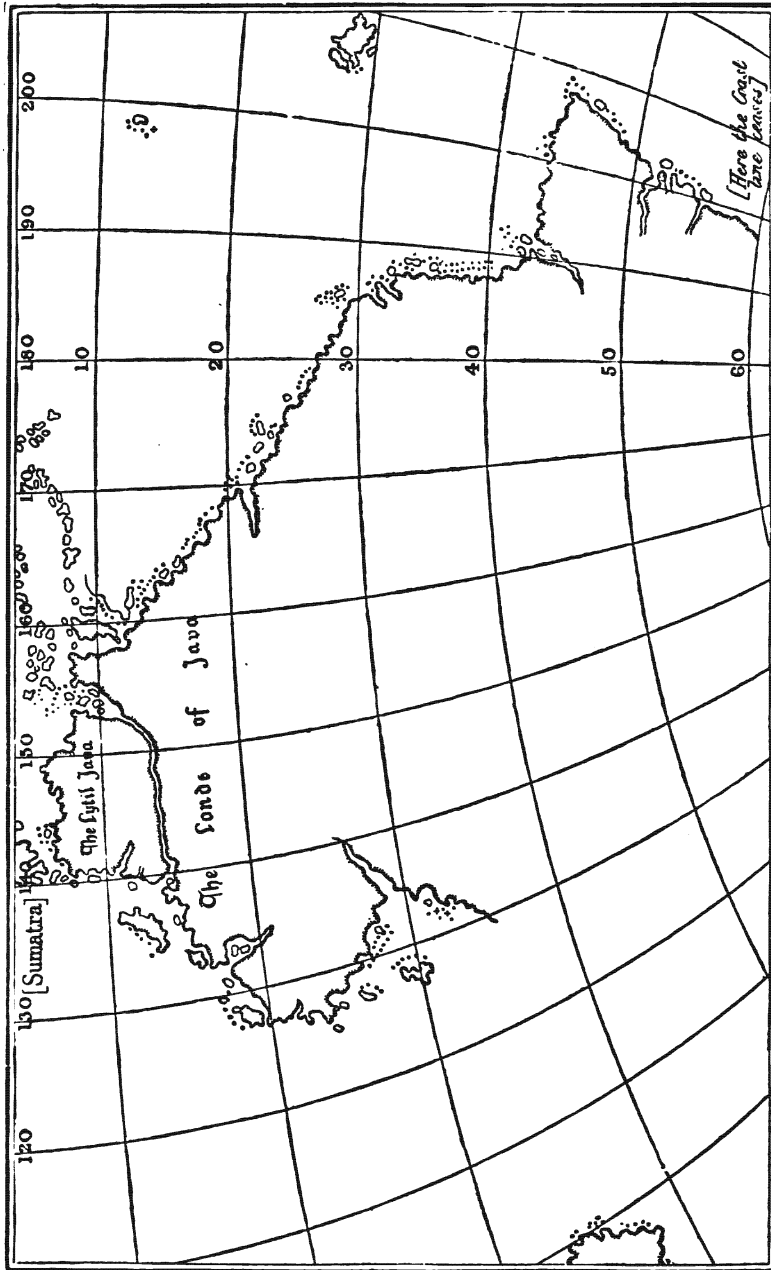
Dauphin Chart of Australia, date 1530-36.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.



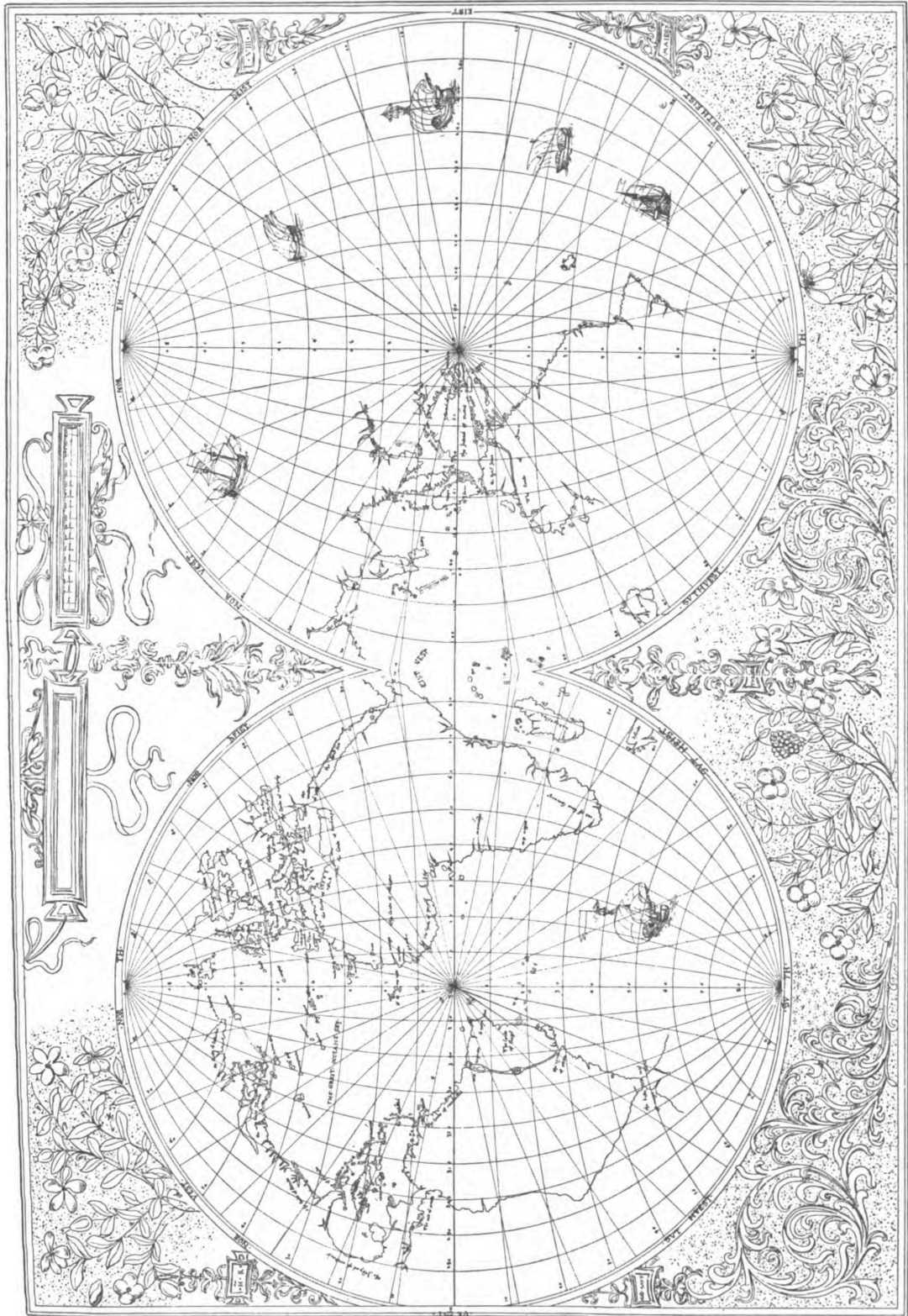
Rare Illustrated Map by Jean Rotz, dated 1542.

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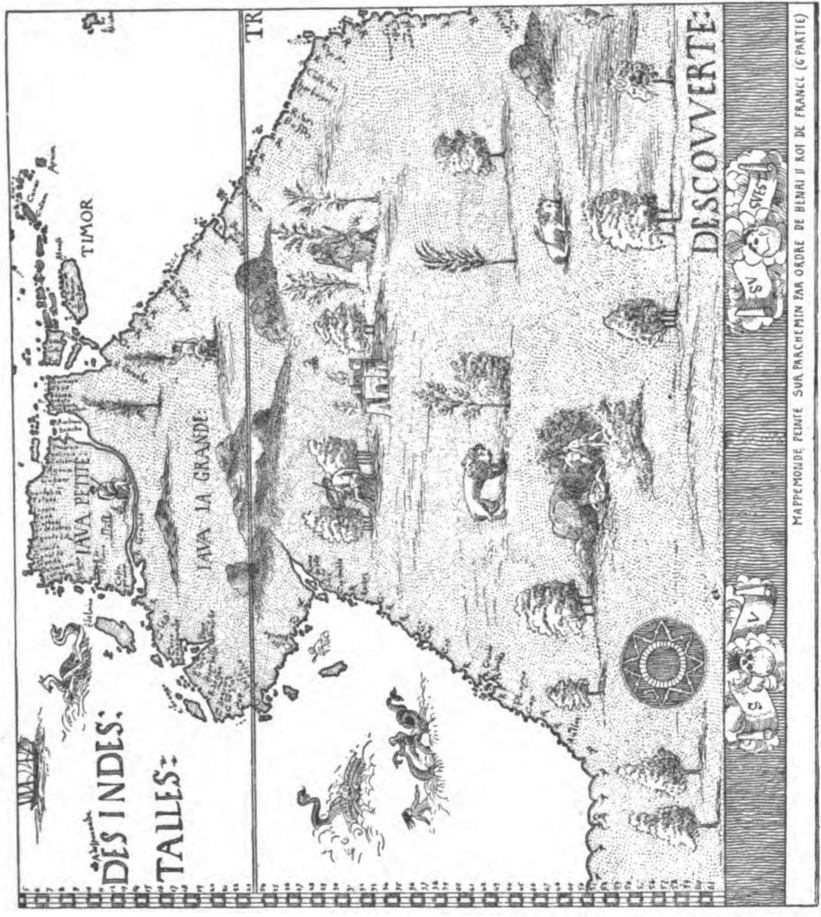
Section of Unique Map showing abrupt termination of coast line, by Jean Rotz, 1542.

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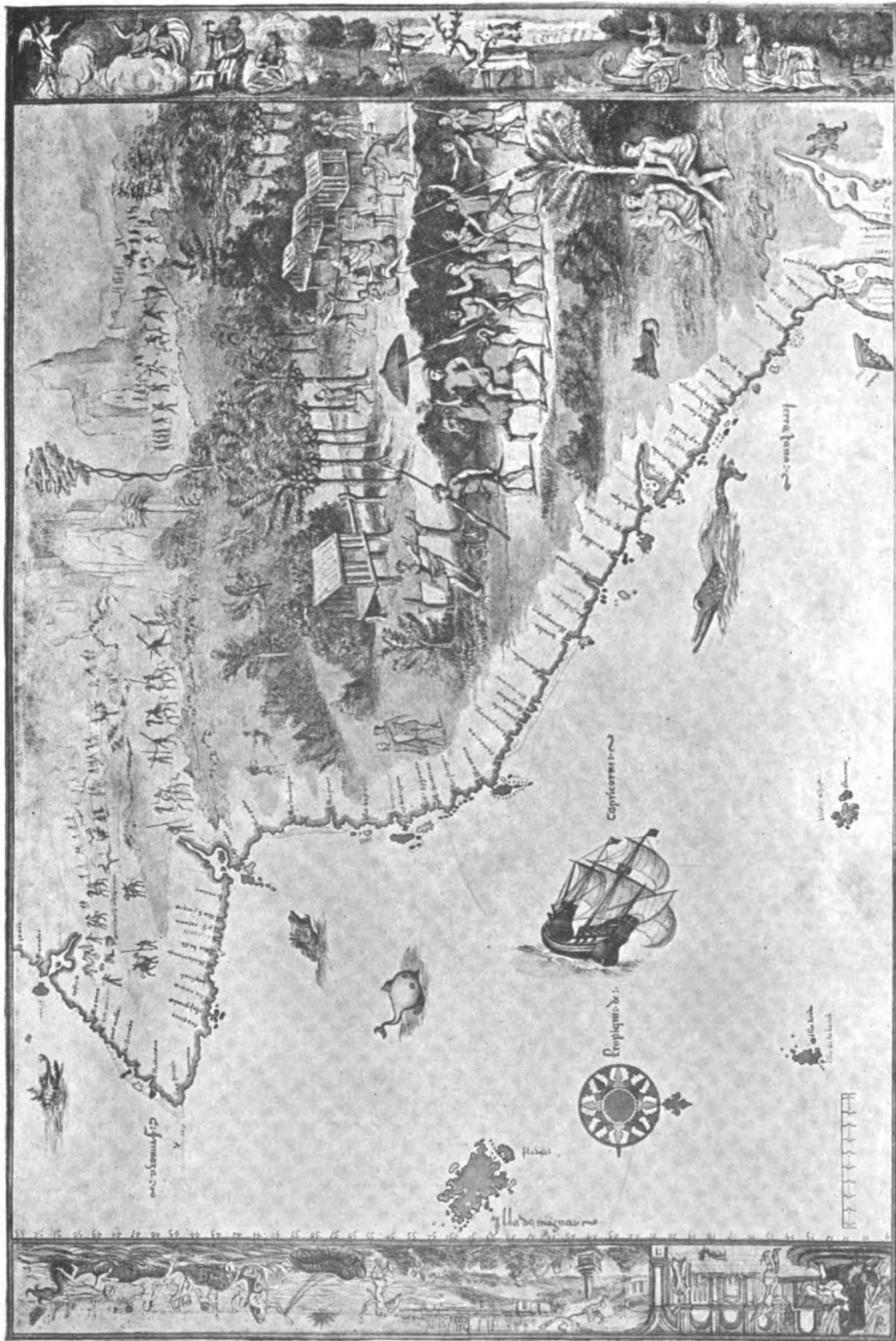
Map of the World by Jean Rotz, dedicated to Henry VIII., dated 1542.





Section of Map from Jomard's Atlas in the British Museum, dated 1546.

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Section of Map by Nicholas Vallard.

this remarkable country extended indefinitely to the south, whereas here the lines of both eastern and western coasts, cease abruptly at certain points.

I should mention that on the upper opposite corners of the former appear the letter "H.R." and "VIII.," which indicate the monarch to whom they were dedicated. They both bear the date of 1542, and the author seems to have been one Jean Rotz, who in the first instance intended them for the King of France, but afterwards dedicated them to Henry VIII., of England. In his dedication he says that his maps are made "*au plus certain et vray quil ma este possible de faire, tant par mon experience propre, que par la certaine experience de mes amys et compagnons navigateurs.*" At the close he states his intention of writing a book on the subject, which if we possessed might do much to solve the question.

"MAPPEMONDE" OF HENRY II.

Another curious specimen of cartographic art, of which I give a fac-simile executed by Mr. Collingridge, of Hornsby, N.S.W., is dated 1546, and is reduced from M. Jomard's atlas, now in the British Museum. It is described as "*Mappemonde peinte sur parchemin par ordre de Henri II., Roi de France.*" It is strangely illustrated with representations of lions, savages, trees, and off the coasts of both "Java Petite" and "Java la Grande" are creatures reminding one of the Great Sea Serpent.

NICOLAS VALLARD'S MAP.

Again we have a map of great importance which forms part of an atlas bearing the name of Nicolas Vallard, and published at Dieppe in 1547. It is in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., of Middle Hill, Worcestershire. Of this map Mr. R. H. Major says the following: "The editor has been unsuccessful in his efforts to gain a sight of this atlas, or even a fac-simile lithograph made by Sir Thomas Phillipps of the map supposed to contain the representation of Australia. Hence he has been compelled to rely on the memory of Sir Frederick Madden, who had an opportunity of examining the atlas some years since." I am fortunate enough to be able to include the section appertaining to Terra Australis from the map. This atlas is of considerable historic interest, for it fell into the possession of Prince Talleyrand at the beginning of this century. It is a magnificent work of art in the very best style of the French hydrographers, copiously adorned with figures, trees, animals, etc., and surrounded by an elaborate border of exquisite design.

M. BARBIÉ DU BOCAGE ON EARLY DISCOVERY.

M. Barbié du Bocage, the great French geographer, was much struck with this hydrographic relic, and in the course of his comments upon it on the 3rd July, 1807, he makes some sapient remarks upon the strange circumstance that although "Great Java" appears on the *atlases* of this period, the recorded *voyages* make no mention of its existence. He reminds us that the Portuguese were masters of the Molucca Islands in 1511, and drawing attention to the fact that the atlas which in the earliest bears date of 1542, he places the date of the discovery of New Holland as between these two dates. Continuing his

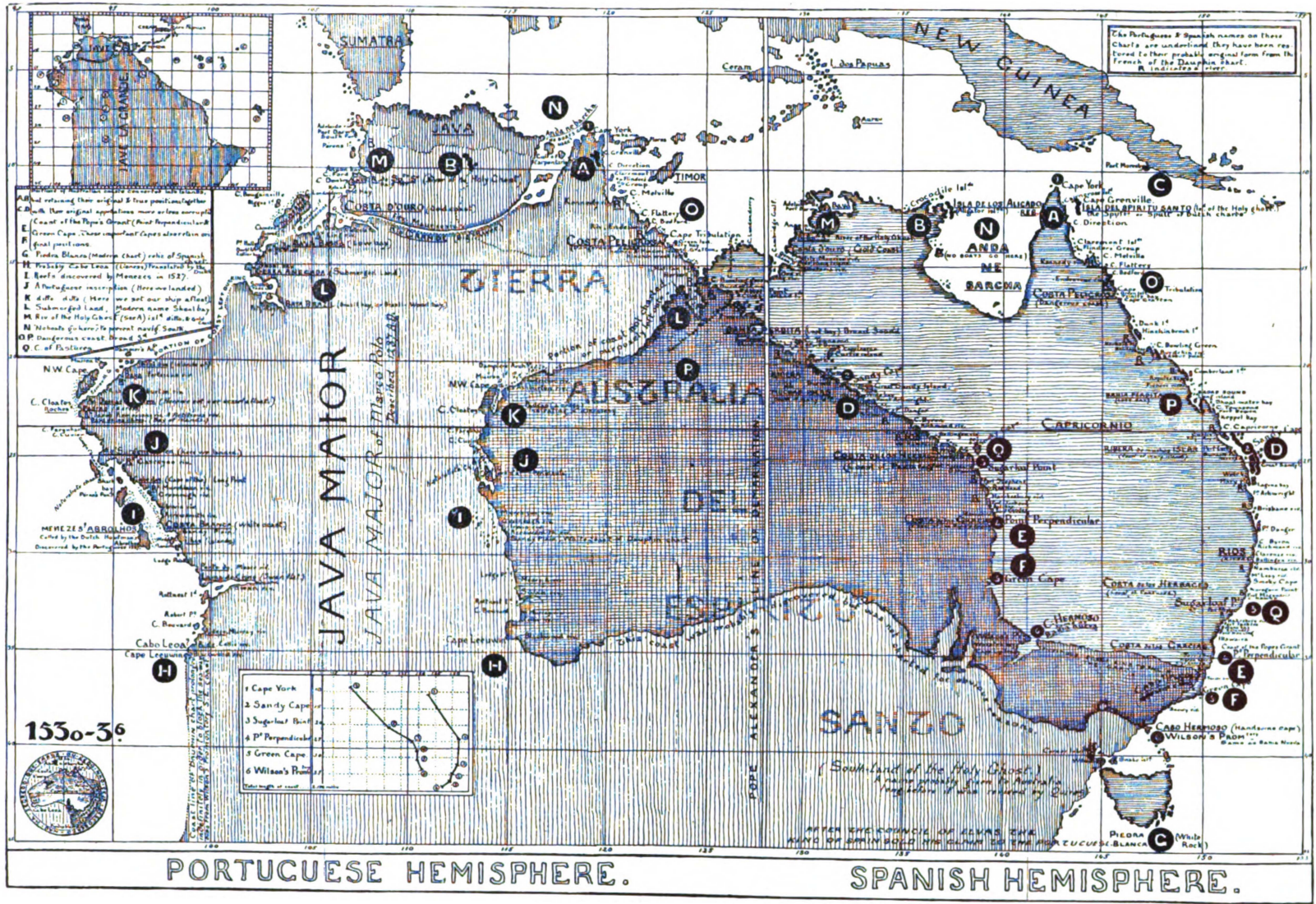
argument he tells us that after 1517 Spain and Portugal began to dispute the possession of the Moluccas, and that the Pope had previously arranged that all discoveries which might be made on the globe to the east of a meridian the hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, for a space of one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude, should belong to the Portuguese, and that those to the westward of that meridian for the same space should belong to the Spaniards. This line of demarcation has been since called the "Division of Pope Alexander VI." (A most rare and curious map, which I have included in this volume and dated 1530-36, strikingly illustrates this fact, and cannot fail to be of interest. For this interesting comparative map I am indebted to Mr. Collingridge.)

The foregoing agreement having been entered upon, and signed 4th June, 1494, Spain contended that the Moluccas belonged to them, as being situated within their allotted hemisphere, but, as a matter of fact, competent persons had never been sent out by either government to fix the points of division, hence each party went on making discoveries without reference thereto. Then after years of fruitless quarrels, the two nations appointed 24 commissioners, well skilled in navigation and geography, and from the commencement of 1524, these persons met alternately at the two cities of Badajos and Elvas, on the Spanish and Portuguese frontiers. The Spanish commissioners then included in their own hemisphere a large number of Portuguese possessions, which the latter declined to surrender. They did not go to war, however, for the two courts were on the point of a marriage alliance. At length King John of Portugal purchased his right to the Moluccas, and thenceforth the Spaniards were debarred from traffic to those Islands. This formed a justification of the Portuguese claims that the Moluccas were in their hemisphere. Now the greatest part of New Holland is more to the east than the Moluccas, and the French geographer believes that for this reason they kept silence as to their discovery. He then goes on to describe a voyage of one Gomez de Sequiera, a Portuguese navigator, who, about 1526, was driven on an island, having lost his rudder, and this island, he contends, was one of those afterwards called Prince of Wales' Islands by Captain Cook. Finally, he contends that since they had landed so close to New Holland in 1526, the discovery of that continent must have soon followed.

By way of explaining how French and English atlases contain tracings of New Holland as early as 1542, we are told by the same authority that Don Miguel de Sylva, Bishop of Viseo, fled from Portugal about 1542, and that King John, indignant at his treachery, (for he carried off papers of importance) deprived him of his benefices, and degraded him from his nobility. Our atlases therefore, and those of France, he concludes, may have been copies from original documents containing records of the Portuguese discoveries.

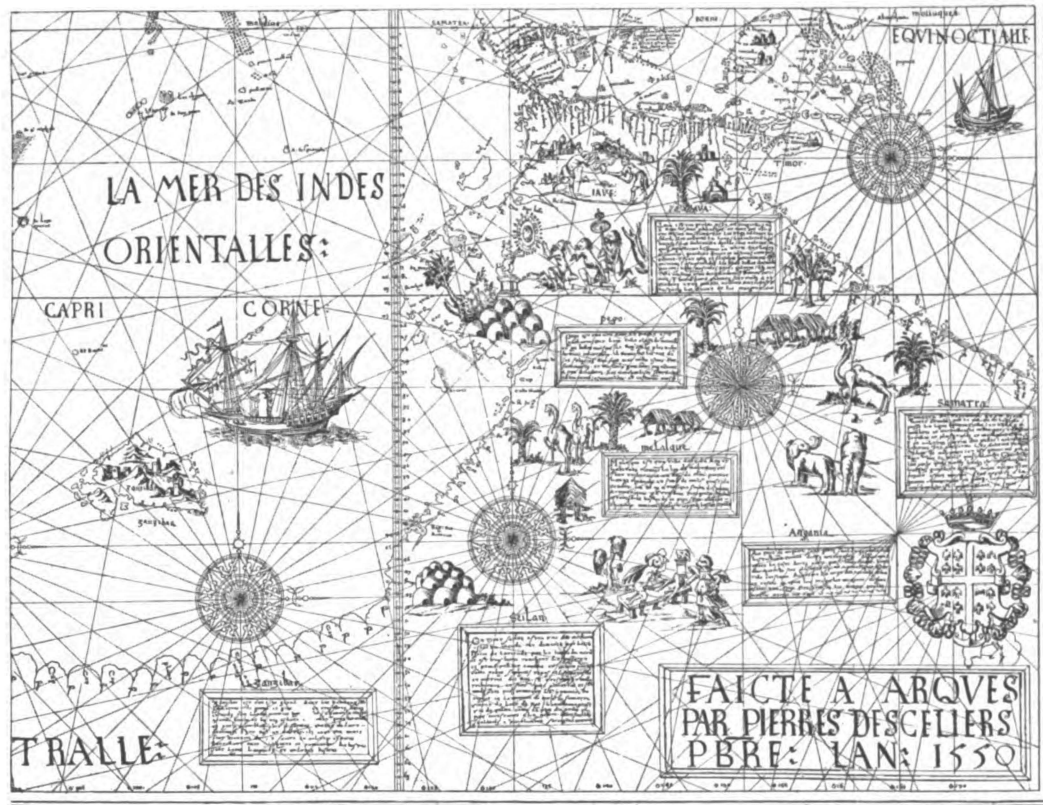
Now this theory of M. Barbié du Bocage is plausible, and it is just possible his conclusions may be correct, but there are various points in his statement which demand explanation.

In the first place, these original documents which were purloined by the traitorous Portuguese bishop, must have been of the highest importance to the state which acquired them. They contained intelligence of tremendous import. One would expect to find them among the national archives of either England or France, as forming the authority for a portion of the hydrographic atlases. Apparently, however, they have shared the fate of De Gonneville's



An old Chart of Australia and a modern one compared showing the division of Pope Alexander VI.

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Section of Map by Pierre Desceliers, Priest of Arques, dated 1550.



Map of the World, by Desleins, of Dieppe, studded over with the flags of different nations, dated 1566.

papers, which fell into the hands of an English privateer, and disappeared for ever.

Then again, as is pointed out by Mr. Major, this French geographer's story of Gomez de Sequiera's voyage is based upon the testimony of Castanheda, a Portuguese author, and Maffei, a Jesuit priest, who wrote a history of India.

M. Du Bocage has contented himself with the loose and inadequate narratives of these two writers, and never seems to have consulted a distinguished contemporary historian, Barros, who gives a most accurate account of this very voyage.

This description, minute in every detail, clearly shows that, according to the course taken by the navigator, he was not driven towards Endeavour Strait, but due east, through an open sea north of the Moluccas. In that neighbourhood is doubtless to be found the island which Sequiera reached, namely, Lord North's Island, otherwise known as the Island of Tobi, which is situated in lat. $3^{\circ} 2' N.$ and long. $131^{\circ} 4' E.$ All the narrative tells us of the natives, their appearance, manners and customs, which differ naturally from those of the inhabitants of New Holland, tends to confirm this view. Being anxious to substantiate this latter point, I consulted a rare little volume, written by one Horace Holden, an American, and published in Boston, Mass., in 1836. There is a copy in the library of the British Museum, recording a two years' sojourn, after being shipwrecked, and it is, I think, the only printed description of that small and desolate islet.

PIERRE DESCELIERS' MAP.

Another extremely rare and peculiar old map is that of Pierre Desceliers. It is covered with strange zoological and other descriptive designs, and has square tablets at intervals, giving geographical and other particulars in old French of quaint caligraphy. It bears the Regal Arms of France in one corner, and is dated 1550. The words "*Faictes a Arques, par Pierre Desceliers presbe 1546*" appear in bold capitals, the hydrographic school of Arques, near Dieppe, being referred to.

NICOLAS DESLEINS' MAP.

One of the most highly finished and exquisitely modelled of the maps I have introduced to illustrate these pages is the Dieppe map of Desleins. It is enclosed in a border of chaste design and delicate execution, and is a work of art irrespective of its geographical interest. The positions are reversed—north being south, and east, west—according to the modern system of cartography. As will be noticed, it is a map of the world, and is singular in respect that it is studded over with flags, each country being represented by its own emblem. Java la Grande stands boldly in its place, fully equal in size to South America, and is made by the artist to fly the flag of Portugal at intervals along the coast line. The same country is further honoured by having its southern extremity embellished with an elaborate scroll, bearing the words, "*a Dieppe Nicolas Desleins, 1566.*" From the former circumstance it would certainly appear that at this date the Portuguese were masters of the Australian continent,

GUILLAUME LE TESTU'S MAP.

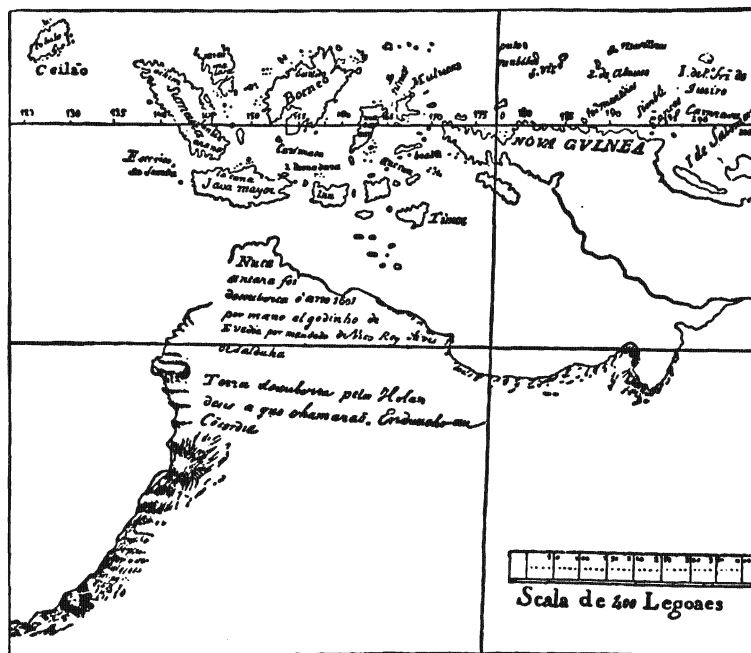
There is a map at the Depot de la Guerre, Paris, by Guillaume le Testu, and we are told he was the friend of André Thevet, cosmographer to Henry II., who speaks of him as "*renommé pilote et singulier navigateur.*" The map was drawn for and is dedicated to Admiral Coligny, and it agrees with its contemporaries regarding the outline of Terra Australis or Java la Grande.

MANOEL GODINHO DE EREDIA'S CLAIM.

* In the British Museum there is a map, in which the corner of a country is shown, which bears upon its face, in blundering Portuguese, certain words, of which the following is a translation:—"Nuca Antara was discovered in the year 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy, Ayres de Saldanha." Now this map is only a copy, but it is believed to be an authentic one from internal evidence. If it were a forgery, it would doubtless be a Portuguese forgery. Now a forgery would not be likely to be written designedly in bad Portuguese, nor would the forger of comparatively modern days be acquainted with the name of a real cosmographer who lived at Goa at the date mentioned. Even, however, supposing we still entertain a doubt as to its authenticity as a copy, we find that in a scarce pamphlet, translated from an ancient MS. in Lisbon, occurs a passage, of which the following is the English version:—

"Island of Gold. While the fishermen of Lamakera, in the island of Solor, were engaged in their fishing, there arose so great a tempest that they were utterly unable to return to the shore, and thus they yielded to the force of the storm, which was such that in five days it took them to the Island of Gold, which lies in the sea on the opposite coast or coast outside of Timor, which is properly called the Southern Coast. When the fishermen reached the Land of Gold, not having eaten during those days of tempest, they set about seeking for provisions. Such happy and successful good fortune had they while they were searching the country for yams and batatas, they lighted on so much gold, so that they loaded their boat so that they could carry no more. After taking in water and the necessary supplies for returning to their native country they experienced another storm, which took them to the Island of Great Ende (Flores). There they landed all their gold, which excited great jealousy amongst the Endes. These same Endes then proposed, like the Lamacheres fishermen, to repeat the voyage, and when they were all ready to start, both the Endes and the Lamacheres, there came upon them so great a trepidation that they did not dare on account of their ignorance to cross that Sea of Gold. Indeed, it seems to be a providential act of Almighty God, that Manoel Godinho de Eredia, the cosmographer, has received commission from the Lord Count Admiral, the Viceroy of India, within and beyond the Ganges, that the said Eredia may be the means of adding new patrimonies to the crown of Portugal, and of enriching the said Lord Count and the Portuguese nation. And therefore all and especially the said Lord ought to recognise with grati-

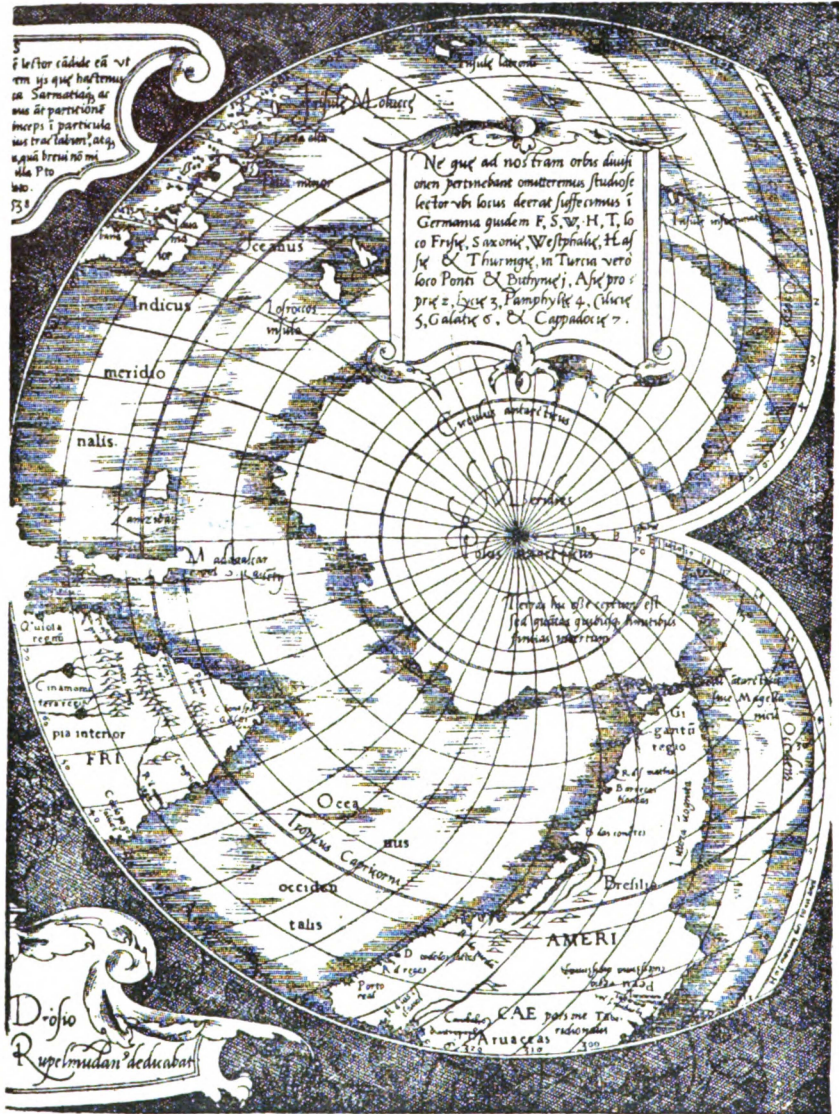
* I am indebted to Mr. Major for the succeeding interesting facts. See his letter to Sir Henry Ellis, March 1, 1861.



Section of Map in British Museum declaring Manoel Godinho de Eredia to have discovered Terra Australis in 1601.



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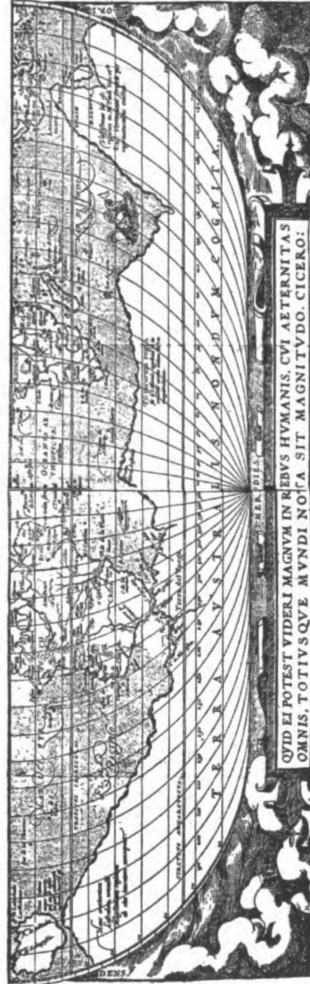


Double Cordiform Map by ~~Grontius Finicus~~ ^{Grontius Finicus}, dated ~~1531~~ ¹⁵³⁸

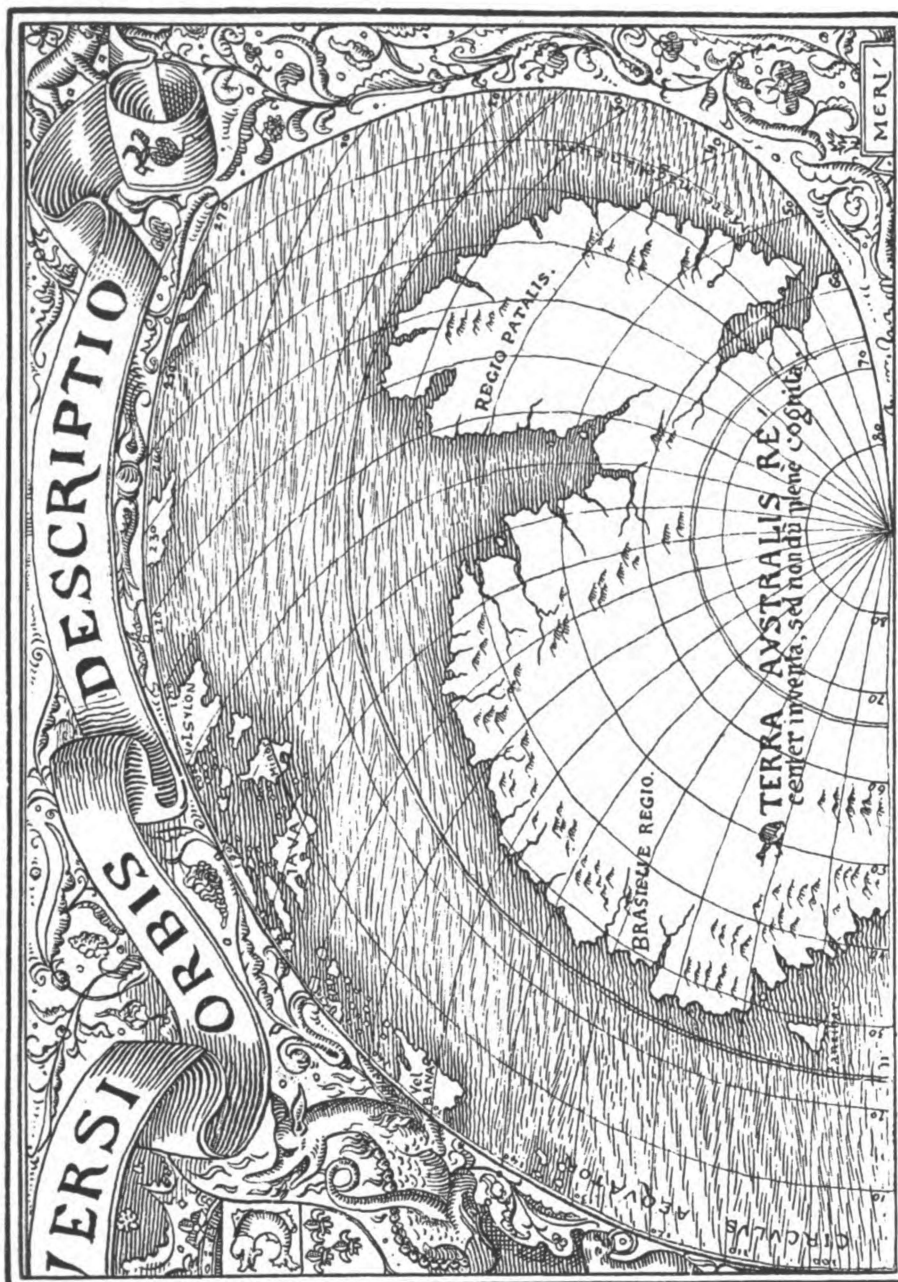
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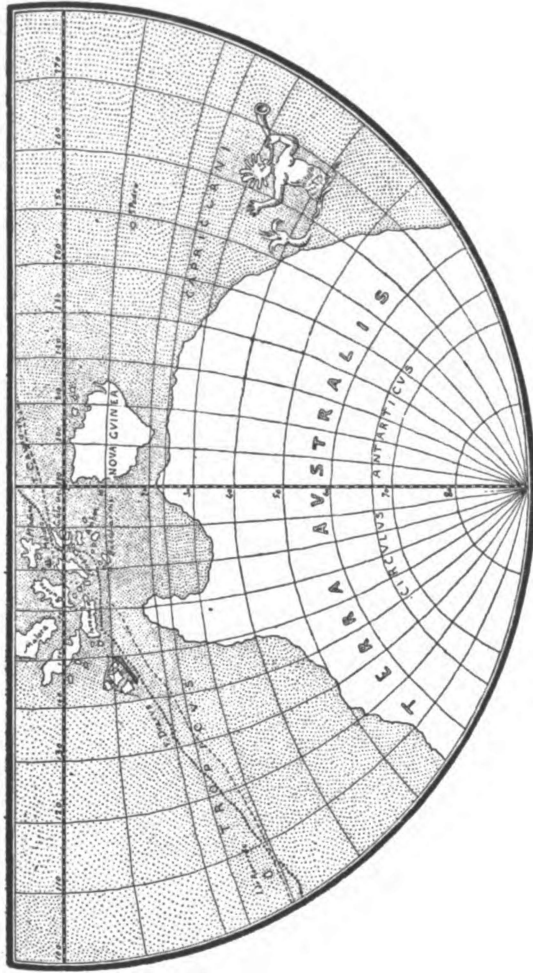
MAP OF THIS WORLD BY O. MERICATOR (Redeared from Nordenskiöld's Atlas.)



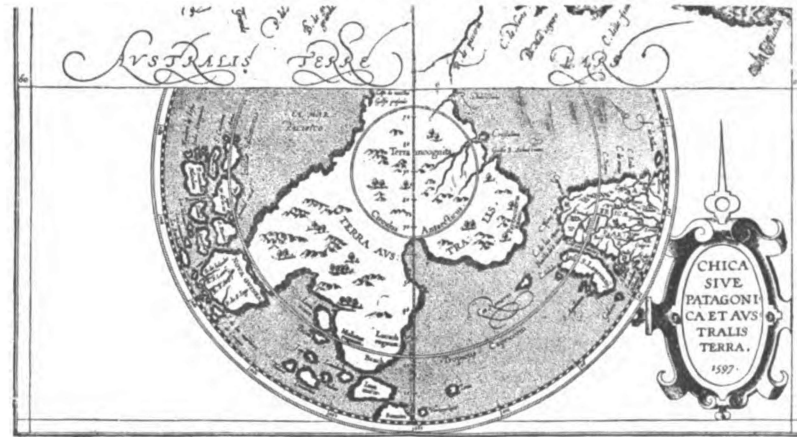
MAP OF THE WORLD, BY ORTELIUS (Redeared from Nordenskiöld's Atlas.)



Section from Map of the World by Orontius Finæus, dated 1531.



Part of Map showing Drake and Cavendish's Track, by Jodocus Hondius.



Map of South Polar Continent (Reduced from Wytfliet's Descriptionis, Ptolemaicæ Augmentum, 1597).



**Map of Southern Hemisphere, by Cornelius de Judæis, 1593.
(Reduced from Nordenskiöld's Atlas).**

tude this signal service, which if successful will deserve to be regarded as one of the most happy and fortunate events in the world for the glory of Portugal. The discoverer ought in any case for many reasons to be well provided for the gold enterprise. First, on account of the first possession of the gold by the crown of Portugal. Second, for the facility of discovering the gold. Third, because of the gold mine being the greatest in the world. Fourth, because the discoverer is a learned cosmographer. Fifth, that he may at the same time verify the description of the Southern Islands. Sixth, on account of the new Christianity. Seventh, because the discoverer is a very great captain, who proposes to render over great services to the King of Portugal, and to the most happy Dom Francisca de Gama, Count of Vidiguiera, Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies within and beyond the Ganges, and possessor of the gold carbuncle and spices of the Eastern Sea belonging to Portugal."

This somewhat grandiloquent but authentic tract seems to place beyond all manner of doubt that Manoel Godino de Eredia, Cosmographer and Captain, received the commission, which he executed as recounted on the Map I have described, and which may be referred to herein.

Some curious evidence of the influence of the discoverer upon the cartographer is noticeable in a production from Nordenskiöld's atlas, of a cordiform or heart-shaped map, by Orontius Finæus, a French cosmographer of Provence, dated 1531.

MAPS OF ORONTIUS MERCATOR AND ORTELLIUS.

For these three maps I am indebted to Mr. E. Delmar Morgan.

The antarctic continent takes a more definite shape, the coast line approaching South America, divided from it by the newly discovered Straits of Magellan. It is likewise indented by a deep gulf, nearly dividing the portion corresponding with Australia from the mainland, mountains are shown at intervals round the coast, and across the centre is the legend "*Terra Australia recenter inventa sed nondum plene cognita*" (a south land recently discovered but not yet fully known). The two maps of Mercator and Ortelius are also reproduced from Nordenskiöld's atlas, the former dated 1587, bearing the legend "*Terra Australis*," and the latter dated 1570, "*Terra Australis nondum cognita*." I observe that the latter hydrographer quotes from Cicero, in bold Roman capitals, the Latin words which mean "What can seem great in human matters to ONE who knows all eternity, and the immensity of the whole world?"

These maps are probably based on the discoveries of Amerigo Vespucci and Magellan.

Extravagant ideas prevailed at this period of this southern continent, and the mariners who sailed those seas fancied that the islands they met with were connected with the mainland. Ortelius and Mercator certainly defined the separation between New Guinea and Australia, but expressed their doubts on the subject by the words "*Nova Guinea nuper inuenta quæ an sit insula an pars Australis incertum est*." Even in later maps, long after Torres had traversed the Straits which bear his name, the same uncertainty appears, and it was not until Cook's famous voyage of 1770 that the two islands were finally separated on the maps, and the problem solved to the satisfaction of the world.

PORTUGUESE PORTULANO.

Another very interesting map is taken from a set of Portuguese Portulanos in the Vicomte de Santaren's Atlas, which was compiled to accompany his now very rare work entitled "*Essai sur l'Histoire de la Cosmographie et de la Cartographie du Moyen-Age*," which was written to prove the Portuguese claims as discoverers of Africa. It is used by Mr. George Collingridge in an argument in favour of the Portuguese origin of the Dauphin Chart.

In the sixteenth century then, we know that Spanish, Portuguese and French navigators were sailing the seas in quest of unknown countries. The two former nations excelled as mariners, the latter as hydrographers and cartographers. During this period as I have shown there are indications in the maps of the time pointing to the probability of Australia having been discovered, nevertheless, there is a strange lack of confirmatory documentary evidence.

So far as the Portuguese are concerned, this silence, as I have explained, is probably due to jealous fears lest rival powers should become cognizant of their discoveries, and to a lesser extent the same may be said of the other two nations.

These early voyages to the neighbourhood of New Holland were in almost all instances the result of accident. Mariners on their way to India or the Sunda Islands were driven out of their course by storms, and thereafter thrown on the west coast of the Australian continent. This view is borne out by Wytfliet, who writes thus towards the end of the sixteenth century:—"The shores are but little known, and the route thither, after one or two voyages, has been abandoned; only accidents could have driven some storm-tossed vessel in that direction."

From its geographical position, Western Australia must have been the first portion discovered, and it was not till long afterwards that the other coasts of the island continent were even visited by civilised man.

WANE OF SPANISH POWER AND RISE OF THE DUTCH NAVIGATORS.

With the commencement of the seventeenth century we find the power and glory of Spain on the wane. The down-trodden Dutch had shaken off the Spanish yoke, and having emerged from stupendous difficulties by steadfast valour and dogged perseverance, determined to share the transatlantic trade of Spain and Portugal. They shrewdly perceived that if the commerce of the hated Papist could be crippled, the southern provinces of the Netherlands might be regained, and the Protestant cause strengthened. Geography and hydrography became the object of earnest study, and one, Peter Plancius, opened a nautical school in Amsterdam, directing his course of teaching to the usurpation of the foreign dominions of Spain and Portugal. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten still further stimulated and instructed his countrymen. For fourteen years he had resided in the East in Portuguese possessions. Here he collected a vast amount of information, which he gave to the world in his "*Book of Voyages*" (Amsterdam, 1618).

Resulting from all this came the establishment of the Dutch East India Company, in 1602, and soon their ships were trading to Batavia, Bantam, Amboyna, Banda and other places.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

What the Dutch had discovered previously is uncertain. Sir William Temple, Ambassador at the Hague in the time of Charles II., gave it as his opinion, that "a southern continent has long since been found out." He states that, according to information he has collected, "it is as long as Java, and is marked on the maps by the name of New Holland, but to what extent the land extends, either to the south, the east, or the west, we do not know." He likewise declares that he has heard it said among the Dutch that their East India Company "have long since forbidden, and under the greatest penalties, any further attempts at discovering that continent, having already more trade than they can turn to account, and fearing some more populous nation of Europe might make great establishments of trade in some of these unknown regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the Indies."

The opinion of so high an authority carries great weight; at the same time the Dutch have indignantly denied the allegation that they secreted or suppressed the accounts of their early voyages. Mr. J. Van Wijck Roelandszoon, in 1824, published a remonstrance, in which he refers to the publication of Linschoten's voyages both to the North and to the East Indies in 1618, also to Schouten's and Lemaire's "Circumnavigation of the Globe," in 1615-18. He also points to the fact that the voyages of Van Noort, l'Hermite and Spilbergen were likewise published, and such had been the case with all Dutch voyages up to 1646, as exactly laid down in the 1660 edition of the maps of P. Groos. Sir William Temple's charge, however, was directed not so much against the Dutch generally, as against the Dutch East India Company, the indictment being two-fold—first, that they forbade exploration; and second, that they prohibited publication. At the present time there are thousands of unsearched volumes which have been handed over to the State Archives at the Hague, which may possibly contain a full solution of the Australian discovery problem.

VOYAGE OF THE DUYFHEN.

To return to the period we have now reached, we find according to Purchas that "on the 18th of November, 1605, the Dutch yacht, the Duyfhen (Dove), was despatched from Bantam to explore the islands of New Guinea, and that she sailed along what was thought to be the west side of that country to $19\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ of south latitude." Now this statement is contained in a document which fell into the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, and was published by Sir Alexander Dalrymple, Hydrographer to the Admiralty. It is a copy of the instructions to Commodore Abel Jansz Tasman for his second voyage in 1644. Having already, in 1642, discovered the island now named after him, and also New Zealand, he passed round the coast of Australia without seeing it, and sailed on his return voyage along the northern shores of New Guinea. In 1644 then, the Governor General at Batavia, Antonio Van Deiman, gave him instructions for a second voyage, prefaced with a recital in chronological order of the previous discoveries of the Dutch. I should mention that Father Tenison Woods, who has made some valuable researches in the cause of Australian discovery, informs us that Sir Joseph Banks* "turned over the old Archives at Batavia, and found the letter of instructions to Tasman."

* "Australian Monthly Magazine," 1866, Vol. 3. Australian Bibliography, page 440.

This document, although it does not state the name of the captain of the *Duyfhen*, is of great interest. By referring to a map it will be seen that the commander, while imagining himself off the coast of New Guinea, was really off the coast of New Holland—the reported latitude places the matter beyond doubt. They found the land, it is said, still extending southwards. On going ashore some of their crew were murdered by “the wild, cruel black savages,” and through want of provisions and other necessaries they left the discovery uncompleted. Being thus compelled to return, they named the point of land at which they turned homewards, Cape “Keer Weer” or “Turn Again.” As Flinders observes, “the course of the *Duyfhen* from New Guinea was southward along the islands on the west side of Torres Strait, to that part of *Terra Australis* a little to the west and south of Cape York. But all these lands were thought to be connected, and to form the west coast of New Guinea. Thus unconsciously the master of the *Duyfhen* made the first *authenticated* discovery of any part of the Great South Land about March, 1606, for it appears that he reached Banda in June of that year.

SPIILBERGEN'S VOYAGE.

In 1614 an expedition was fitted out by Dutch merchants in Amsterdam, independent of the Dutch East India Company, under the command of George Spilbergen. He took with him six ships, and his object was to find a passage to the East Indies, through the Straits of Magellan and the Pacific. On the 8th of August, 1614, Spilbergen sailed from the *Texel*, passed the Straits in April and May, reaching the *Manillas* on the 9th February, 1616, and *Jaccatra* (now called *Batavia*) on the 7th September.

SCHOUTEN AND LE MAIRE'S EXPEDITION.

Another expedition was fitted out in the next year, regardless of the East India Company. That corporation, in a spirit of grasping monopoly, had obtained by charter the right to prevent any vessels of their own nation, not belonging to their company, from trading to the east either by the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Horn, or Straits of Magellan. Indignant at their greed, William Cornelison Schouten and Isaac le Maire, with the aid of mercantile friends, provided the necessary funds. Le Maire was a man of singular sagacity, and pondering on the disposition of land and water on the globe, came to the conclusion that there must be a continent to the south of Magellan's Straits. He conjectured that if such land existed, it must lie in a desirable latitude, with a climate answering to that of Barbary, Syria, Persia, or the best part of the Indies, in the northern hemisphere. He made Schouten his confidante on these matters, and together they promoted the scheme. Under the designation of the South Company this group of merchants embarked in the aforesaid speculation. In the spring of 1615, two vessels set sail under their flag—the *Unity* of 360 tons, of which William Cornelison Schouten was captain; and the *Horn*, of 110 tons, commanded by John Cornelison Schouten, and Aris Clawson as super-cargo. They were well provisioned and armed, and left the *Texel* on the 14th June, 1615. William Schouten landed at Dover in passing, and engaged an English gunner, and soon after, being driven into Plymouth by a storm, added an English carpenter to his ship's company. On reaching South

America in January, 1616, they discovered the Straits, afterwards known as the Straits of Le Maire. Sailing across the Pacific westward, between the 10th and 20th degrees south latitude, they discovered Dog Island, Waterland, and Fly Island, named from the plague of flies in that quarter. Landing to find water, they were quickly covered with the flies, and when they returned they carried many millions with them into their ships. Their sufferings from these insects is thus described:—"They were a sort of black fly, of which there were such prodigious swarms that they came on board covered with them from head to foot, their hands and faces so beset that there was no seeing what complexion they were of. Their clothes were entirely hidden by the multitude of these animals crawling upon them, so that they composed themselves another sort of apparel. Besides, their very boats and oars were all over in the same as themselves, so that when they came back, the plague of flies began to rage in the ship, and every man was being to defend his face and eyes as well as he could. It was the best part of the day's work to be flapping the flies away, and it was hard for a man to open his mouth, either to speak or to eat, without taking in a mouthful of these vermin at the same time. This dreadful persecution lasted for about three or four days, in which time the flaps did such execution that their suffering was pretty well at an end, and few of the flies left alive to torment them."

They next touched at Traitor's Island, and steering north, fell in with Horn Island, anchoring on the 1st June, 1616, on the south-east coast of New Guinea. They describe the natives as extremely warlike and hostile to Europeans. They were armed with clubs, swords and slings, daringly attacking the ship, and were only dispersed by firing a cannon and knocking their boat to pieces. They were much of the negro stamp, and some used chalk as hair powder. They had plenty of hogs, cocoa nuts, bananas, dried fish, tobacco, and dried fruit. Their houses were built of mud, and covered with palm leaves, being raised from the ground some eight or nine feet by stakes. They appeared a much superior race to the Australian aborigines, and having Spanish jars and China ware in their possession, they had evidently engaged in trade or barter with European, Indian, or Chinese merchants.

On arriving at Batavia their ships and property were seized by the Governor of the East India Company, on the plea that they had infringed the Company's charter. They declared that they had not come by either of the forbidden routes, but by one discovered by themselves. The Governor then sent them home, so that they might seek redress, by two of the Company's ships. James Le Maire died at Mauritius, and Schouten reached Amsterdam, but whether he received compensation for his losses is not recorded.

According to the Dutch "Book of Despatches," the next voyage was undertaken in a yacht by order of the Fiscal d'Edel, with little success; but nothing certain is known, because the journals were lost.

DIRCK HARTOG'S VOYAGE.

The same authority informs us that in the years 1618, 1619, and 1622, the west coast of the Great South Land was visited by various vessels, among which was the *Endraght* or *Concord*, commanded by Captain Dirck Hartog, Hertoge, or Hartighs, of Amsterdam. These several ships explored the coast from 35° to 22° south latitude; and Hartog, who was there in 1616, discovered

Hartog's Roads at the entrance of the Sound in 25°, afterwards called by Dampier, Shark's Bay. On Dirck Hartog's Island—one of the islands forming the Roads—he left a tin plate, bearing a Dutch inscription, of which the following is a translation:—"On the 25th of October, 1616, arrived here the ship Endraght of Amsterdam, the first merchant Gilles Mibais Van Luyck, Captain Dirck Hartog, of Amsterdam, the 25th ditto set sail for Bantam, under merchant Jan Stoyne, upper steersman Pieter Dockes, from Bil., An. 1616."

WILHELM VAN VLAMING FINDS HARTOG'S RECORD.

When Wilhelm Van Vlaming—of whose voyage I shall speak in due course—found this plate in 1697, he copied the inscription upon a new plate, adding another inscription in his own language, of which the following is the English version:—"On the 4th of February, 1697, arrived here the ship Geelvinck, of Amsterdam; Captain Commandant Wilhelm Van Vlaming, of Vleilandt; assistant, Jan van Bremen, of Copenhagen; first pilot, Micheel Bloem van Estight, of Bremen; the hooker, the Nyptangh, Captain Gerrit Collaert, of Amsterdam; assistant, Theodorus Heermans, of the same place; first pilot, Gerrit Gerritz, of Bremen; then the galliot Wesel, Commander Cornelis Van Vlaming, of Vleilandt; pilot, Coert Gerritz, of Bremen. Sailed from here with our fleet on the 12th, to explore the South Land, and afterwards bound for Batavia."

CAPTAIN HAMELIN FINDS BOTH RECORDS.

More than a century elapsed before this strange record again met the eye of civilised man. The corvettes *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* made a voyage of discovery during the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804—an account of which was published by F. Peron. Captain Hamelin, of the *Naturaliste*, intending to sail into Shark's Bay, sent three men to Dirck Hartog's Island, for the purpose of signalling the *Géographe*, should she heave in sight. On the north point of the Island, nearly buried in sand, and lying near an old oaken post, to which it had been originally nailed, the boatswain found Vlaming's plate, about six inches in diameter, and the letters rudely cut. Captain Hamelin had a new post made, upon which he nailed the old plate, naming the point at which it was found the Cape of the Inscription. He likewise placed on the north-east part of the island another plate, upon which was inscribed the name of his corvette, and the date of his arrival on these shores.

Peron, in his translation of Dirck Hartog's inscription, makes some strange blunders in punctuation, by which Bantam, the port for which they sailed, is transformed into the undermerchant, the undermerchant into the chief pilot, etc.

PREVOST AND DE BROSSES.

In his *Histoire des Voyages*, tom II., page 201, the Abbé Prevost falls into a curious mistake, and the same blunder is made by the President de Brosse, in his *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*, tom I., page 432. Both these authors state that in the year 1618, one Zeachen, a native of Arnheim, dis-

covered the country called Arnheim's Land and Van Deimen's Land on the north coast of Australia, in latitude 14° . They likewise aver that Van Dieman's Land owes its name to Anthony Van Deiman, at that time General of the Dutch East India Company, who returned to Europe with vast wealth in 1631, and that Arnheim's Land was named after the native place of the discoverer.

Major Lunn, following Flinders, thinks that it is an error on the part of these writers, which has been literally copied by Callender in his unacknowledged translation, entitled "Collection of Voyages." Zeachen, or Zeachean, is not a Dutch word, but is intended for Zeehaen, which is not the name of a man, but of a ship. The Zeehaen, or Sea-hen, was one of Tasman's vessels. This is all the more likely to be the case, seeing that Van Dieman was not Governor of Batavia till 1636, while this voyage is said to have been made in 1618. It is just possible that Arnheim might have commanded a ship called the Zechaen, 1618, but this would not account for the name of Van Diemen's Land at that date. No such voyage as this is mentioned in the preface to Tasman's instructions, and it is probable that Arnheim's Land received its name from the ship Arnheim, which visited this quarter in 1623, to which voyage I shall refer in due course.

VOYAGE OF THE MAURITIUS.

In 1618, the captain of the ship Mauritius explored the western coast of Australia, discovering Willem's River near the north-west Cape. His name, like that of many other Dutch commanders, is not recorded.

JOHN EDEL'S VOYAGE.

In the following year John Edel visited the western shore of New Holland, and gave his name to that part immediately south of Endraght's Land. In the chart of Thevenot, published in 1663, Edel's Land extends from 29° northward to $26\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; but in Van Keulen's Chart, some forty years later, it extends southward to $32^{\circ} 20'$, which tract of country Thevenot's chart attributes to the discovery made in 1622 by the ship Leeuwin (Lioness).

HOUTMAN'S ABROLHOS.

Houtman's Abrolhos, a great reef off the coast of Edel's Land, was also discovered at this period. The name Abrolhos is of Portuguese origin, signifying "keep your eyes open," which has an obvious appropriateness when applied to a dangerous chain of rocks. Why Houtman's name should be added is not very clear, as although there was a celebrated Dutchman of the period named Frederick Houtman, there is no record of his having visited this coast.* In this same year, 1662, other mariners, whose names are unknown,

*Houtman's Abrolhos. Mr. Delmar Morgan, F.R.G.S., in a paper read in August, 1891, at the International Congress of Geographical Sciences, at Berne, makes the following statement regarding these island and reefs:—"The Portuguese navigator, Menezes, is commonly reported to have visited this part of the Australian coast in 1527, but it is most unlikely that he ever did so. Some authorities go so far as to declare that he actually charted these islands and reefs. They were charted, however, if not before, soon after his voyage, as they are marked on all

made discoveries in these parts, calling the country the "Land of Leeuwin." It extends from 35° northward to 31°, and the extreme southern point they named "Cape Leeuwin."

In the same year, the Governor General, Jan Pietersz Coen, sent out the yachts De Haring and Harewind, but this voyage produced no special result.

JAN CARSTEN'S VOYAGE.

In January of the next year, 1623, the same Governor gave orders for another expedition under the command of Jan Carstens. The yachts Pera and Arnheim thereupon set sail from Aboyna, with instructions to investigate the manners, customs and country of New Guinea. Carstens and eight of his crew were murdered by the natives, but the vessels continued in their course "and discovered the great islands Arnhem and Spult." Arnhem's land lies between the Gulf of Carpentaria and Cambridge, its northern boundary being the Arafura Sea, and its eastern the Gulf of Carpentaria. In a chart included in Valentyn's *Beschryvingh van Banda*, we find the river Spult in Arnhem's Land, in about the position of Liverpool River, with which it is probably identical.

According to the Dutch recital, the vessels became "untimely separated," and the Arnhem returned to Amboyna. The Pera, however, continued its voyage, and sailed along the coast as far as Cape Keer Weer, thereafter pursuing its discoveries southwards as far as 17°, being Staten River; "from this place," to quote the original description, "what more of the land could be discerned, seemed to stretch westward."

Referring to the above, the Dutch "Book of Despatches" winds up thus.— "In this discovery were found everywhere shallow water and barren coasts, islands altogether thirsty, peopled by divers cruel poor and brutal nations, and of very little use to the Dutch East India Company."

VOYAGE OF THE GULDE ZEEPARD AND OF VIANEN.

Continuing, the same recital states:—

"Through the little success of this third voyage, but mostly because no ship could be spared, the discovery was again omitted till 1636; but in the interim, in the year 1627, the south coast of the Great South Land was accidentally discovered by the ship the Gulde Zeepard, outward bound from Fatherland, for the space of 1,000 English miles; and again accidentally in the year following, 1628, on the north side, in the latitude 21° south, by the ship Vianen, homeward bound from India, when they coasted about 200 English miles without gaining any particular knowledge of this great country, only observing a foul and barren shore, green fields, and very wild, black, barbarous inhabitants—all which, by the loss of the ship Batavia, and the

these old Australian charts, although the word "*Abrolhos*" appears on Pierre Descelier's chart alone (1550). When the Dutch undertook their voyage to the East Indies by way of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1595, Frederick Houtman, although merely commercial chief of the expedition, assumed the title of Captain General, and history falsely conferred on him the glory of having conducted the first Dutch expedition to the East Indies. In the same way his name was prefixed undeservedly to the Portuguese discovery on the Western coast of Australia, but at what period it would be difficult to determine.

cruelties and miseries which followed from that, is fully proved and was experienced by the yacht *Sardam* in their course along this coast."

This part of the country was named De Witts' land; but it is not certain whether this designation was applied to it by the captain of the *Vianen*. De Brosse, whose account in places is somewhat inaccurate, says "William De Witt gave his own name to the country which he saw in 1628 to the north of Remessen's River, and which Viane, a Dutch captain, had to his misfortune discovered in the month of January in the same year, when he was driven upon the coast of De Witt in 21° of latitude, and lost all his riches."

It occurs to me to ask the question "Where did these riches come from?" Certainly they might have been gained elsewhere than on the coast of Western Australia; but a Dutch skipper of the seventeenth century was not likely to be carrying his store of wealth on a voyage of discovery, and it is just possible that a goodly quantity of Australian nuggets may have gone down in the *Vianen*, about which the crafty Dutch have preserved a prudent silence.

GOVERNOR PIETER CARPENTER'S EXPEDITION.

In support of this view it is noteworthy that five ships which had been sent into the Southern Seas, under Governor Pieter Carpenter, brought back to Holland a large quantity of gold, spices and other riches. The voyagers gave out that they had acquired this booty from a wrecked ship; but one wrecked ship would scarcely load up five, and it is possible that Carpenter, who had confessedly been making discoveries in Australia, may have got his gold from that quarter.

In any case the circumstance whetted the cupidity of the Dutch to such an extent that they fitted out a fleet of eleven sail to closely investigate and explore the resources of the Great South Land. We know nothing of the fate of the main portion of the fleet; but we have interesting details connected with one vessel, the *Batavia*, under Pelsart, whose voyage ended in disaster.

FRANCIS PELSART'S VOYAGE.

The *Batavia*, which according to Thevenot's account, was commanded by Captain Francis Pelsart, sailed from the Texel in October, 1628, and was shipwrecked on the night of June 4th, 1629, on the Abrolhos Reefs. It appears that at daylight the shipwrecked sailors sighted an island some nine miles off, and nearer saw two islands, to which the passengers with a portion of the crew were sent. No fresh water being available, Pelsart put to sea on one of the boats which had been saved, and sailed for the mainland, which was distant some eight leagues. The coast was rocky and barren, and he endeavoured to land in a sandy bay. He failed, however, through stress of weather, and was compelled to keep off the shore till the 14th June, having steered northwards. In 24° lat. he saw the smoke of fires, towards which he directed his course. In spite of breakers and a dangerous coast, six of his sailors leaped overboard, and with great difficulty reached the shore, his boat remaining at anchor outside. Whilst searching for water the sailors saw four natives, who fled at their approach, and these were seen to be wild, black and entirely naked. Not finding water, the seamen regained their boat, bruised and half drowned. Again they set sail, and on the 15th discovered a cape and two dangerous reefs, stretching out into the sea. At last they managed to land, and procured a supply of forty

gallons of rain water. They were terribly annoyed with myriads of flies, and saw eight savages carrying spears, who ran away on seeing them. On the 16th, endeavouring to get more water, they failed, and again set sail, hoping to make Remessen's River near the North-West Cape. The wind shifted however, and they were obliged to keep out to sea, determining to make for Batavia. This they reached, and the captain afterwards returned in the yacht Saardam to the Abrolhos, where the bulk of the sailors and passengers had been left.* They had found good food and water there, and had managed to sustain life. A shameful conspiracy was then discovered by Pelsart, who hanged several mutineers, and put two on shore on the opposite mainland. In Tasman's instructions for his voyage in 1644, we find that he was directed "to inquire at the continent thereabouts after the Dutchmen, who, having forfeited their lives, were put on shore by commodore Francis Pelsart, if still alive. In such case you may make enquiries of them about the situation of those countries; and, if they entreat you to that purpose, give them passage hither."

Regarding the plot thus alluded to, it would seem that on Pelsart's return to rescue his passengers and crew, he found that Cornelis, the supercargo, had persuaded a number of the sailors to seize the ship and its commander on arrival, intending to sail away as pirates. They had actually murdered 125 of the people—men, women, and children; and came off in two boats for their nefarious purpose. Being apprised of their designs by one Neberhays, who remained faithful, Pelsart managed to secure the mutineers, some of whom were put to death. Their hopes, however, in the direction of discovery were defeated for the time, and the Dutch published the whole account of the affair, believing that the nature of the coast, barrenness of the land, and wretchedness of the savages, would deter any other nation from explorations in that direction.

With reference to the voyage of the *Gulde Zeepard*, quoted in the "Book of Despatches," the journal seems to have been lost. Mr. R. H. Major made every possible investigation in Holland and Belgium for a record of the voyage, but without success. The only evidence there is the passage referred to and the Dutch charts, which give the name of Pieter Nuyts to the vast tract of country thus discovered. "Nuyts," says Mr. Major, "is generally supposed to have commanded the ship; but Flinders judiciously remarks that, as on his arrival at Batavia, he was sent Ambassador to Japan, and afterwards made Governor of Formosa, it seems more probable that he was a civilian, perhaps the Company's First Merchant on board, rather than captain of the ship. In estimating the 1,000 miles coast sailing, described in the recital, allowance must doubtless be made for the singularity of the coast, embracing from Cape Leeuwin to St. Francis and St. Peter's Islands." This discovery of Nuyts consisted of the whole stretch of coast from Cape Leeuwin to South Australia and to within that colony as far as Nuyts' Archipelago.

It is indeed remarkable that in these Dutch discoveries the names of the captains are so frequently absent. Evidently far more value was placed upon the ships than on their commanders. The ships' names we find in abundance, but the journals of the voyage are constantly missing. Taking into considera-

*The Dutch East Indiamen nearly always carried an enormous crew besides passengers making a living freight of human beings utterly unprovided for in case of accident.

tion the enterprise of the nation at this period, and the immense importance of their researches, the absence of these records is most unaccountable.

THOMAS POOLE'S VOYAGE.

In April, 1636, Gerrit Tomaz Pool, or Poel, commanding the yachts *Klyn*, *Amsterdam*, and *Wezel*, was sent out from *Banda* on a fresh expedition to the South. When they reached *New Guinea* a party went ashore, and the captain, his secretary, and two sailors, coming into conflict with the savages, met with the same fate as the unfortunate *Jan Carstens* seven years before. The voyage was, however, continued by *Pieterz Pietersen*, along the coast of *Arnhem*, or *Van Deimen's Land*, by which names the northern part of the continent was then known the Dutch. He coasted about 120 miles without seeing any people, but many signs of smoke.

VALENTYN'S ACCOUNT.

The catastrophe which befel Pool is thus quaintly translated from *Valentyn's* account:—

“On the 30th of June following, both these vessels (*Amsterdam* and *Wezel*) returned and informed the Governor, that having reached the *Flat Point*, in about $4\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of South latitude, on the 18th of April, they had determined to send some of their people on shore to take a view of the country. The commander, *Pool*, desirous to see everything himself, resolved to be of the party, and took with him his steward, *Andries Schiller*, a native of *Nuremberg*. They were scarcely landed when a large body of wild *Southlanders*, who at first appeared friendly, but acted afterwards in a hostile manner, surrounded them in so much that it was not in their power to escape. The commander, *Pool*, perceiving the danger greater than he at first expected, was still in hopes to escape, but he found himself attacked one of the first, and received a blow with a hazegay, which immediately brought him to the ground. When he recovered his senses, and saw that his steward was still defending himself, he called out to him that he would do better to try and make his escape, or otherwise he would not be able to do it, for the savages were coming on in yet greater numbers. He did so, but was likewise soon knocked down. The wild *Southlanders* perceiving the hanger that commander *Pool* had in his hand, forced it from him, and cut these two men to pieces and carried them into the wood, but it never could be discovered what they did with them, nor what became of the two sailors, which were likewise missing.”

I think it is all too probable that they were eaten; in any case it was a melancholy termination to the exploration of these unhappy Dutchmen.

Thus from 1602, when the Dutch Government granted a charter to the great *East India Company* of the Netherlands, many settlements were effected in the *Indian Archipelago*, and Dutch vessels were constantly cruising about the unknown waters lying to the southwards and eastwards of these settlements. It was not till 1642, however, that any material results were secured to the adventurers.

ABEL JANSZ TASMAN'S VOYAGE.

At that time *Anthony Van Diemen* was Governor General at *Batavia*, and

one of his most trusted commanders was a Hollander of obscure birth, named Abel Jansz Tasman. An expedition was fitted out for the exploration of the Australian continent, under the command of Tasman.

Strange to relate, for more than a century, the only account of the memorable voyage—during which Tasmania and New Zealand were discovered—was a curtailed abridgement published in Amsterdam, in 1674, and an abstract by Valentyn.

About 1771, however, a MS. journal in Tasman's own handwriting was brought to England surreptitiously, and offered for sale to Sir Joseph Banks. He recognized its great value and purchased it, placing it among his other treasures in his splendid library. A translation was made by Rev. Charles Godfrey Woide, chaplain to the Dutch Chapel at St. James' Palace, but I do not find it included among the several works by Mr. Woide, which are in the library of the British Museum. The original document, however, with the translation, was lent by Sir Joseph to Flinders, and also to Captain (afterwards Admiral) Burney, who was engaged in compiling a chronological history of discoveries in the South Seas. Doubts have been cast upon its genuineness, but Captain Burney discusses the question in a carefully written introduction, and proves beyond question the authenticity of the journal. It possesses internal incidents of navigation from leaving Batavia till arriving in the South Seas, which are noted therein, and various details which no forger would think of inventing. Valentyn, in his narrative, almost copies from it, but in a condensed form, and changing it from the first to the third person. The journal commences in the fashion prevalent in those days: "Journal or description by me, Abel Janz Tasman, of a voyage from Batavia, for making discoveries of the Unknown South Land, in the year 1642. May God Almighty be pleased to give His blessing to this voyage! Amen."

They weighed anchor from Batavia on the 14th of August, 1642, and stood out south-eastward to sea, "for which the Lord be praised," remarks the pious captain. He had two vessels under his command, the *Heemskirk* and the *Zeehaen*, and on the 27th, it is recorded that a council was held, when it was resolved that a look-out should be kept constantly on the masthead, and whoever should discover land, sands, or banks under water, should receive a reward of three reals and a pot of arrack. On the 24th November, in the afternoon, land was sighted, bearing east by north distant about ten miles, and in the evening high mountains were seen to the east-south-east, and to the north-east two smaller mountains. On the 25th, the ship stood in for shore. The journal then continues thus.—"As the land has not been known before to any European, we called it Antony Van Diemen's Land, in honour of our high magistrate, the Governor General, who sent us out to make discoveries. The islands near us we named in honour of the Council of India, as you may see by the little map we made."

The voyagers did not land, but cruised along the shore. On the 28th they approached three small islands, one of which "has the shape of a lion's head, and is about three miles from the mainland." Next day they intended to land, having found a good roadstead in a bay, but a storm arising they had to make sail and stand out to sea. To this bay Tasman gave the name of Storm Bay, and at this very anchorage Captain Furneaux stopped in 1773, when he called it Adventure Bay.

On the 2nd December two armed boats, under charge of the first steersman,

were sent ashore a mile to the north-west of where they lay, to look for "fresh water, refreshments, or any green things." They returned bringing greens of the kind that grow at the Cape of Good Hope, and another kind like scapsley. The seamen heard voices and a noise like a gong, but saw nobody; remarkably tall trees with steps cut in them, traces of animals "with claws resembling those of *tigers*," were also remarked. No fish were taken except mussels. Many of the trees were marked with fire, and smoke observed rising in several places. On the day following a standard was planted and the territory taken possession of in the Prince's name. To this bay Tasman gave the name of Fredrik Hendrik's Bay. He also marks the South Cape of Storm Bay with Tasman's Island to the South, and the larger island near it he named "Maria's Island," in honour, as he says, "of the excellent lady of the Governor General."

Around this name a romantic story has been entwined, and has been the cause of much discussion. Mr. Delmar Morgan, F.R.G.S., thus draws attention to the subject. "Another word, 'Maria,' which also occurs several times in connection with Tasman's pseudo-discoveries, is most likely of Spanish origin. Mr. Petherick, a good authority on the question of Australian discovery, says, speaking of Tasman and his compeers:—

"These Dutchmen were satisfied with drawing coast outlines and charts, naming the bays and islands and formally taking possession." Dr. Ross, in his chronology of Van Diemen's Land, (*Hobartown Almanack*, page 84) after recording its discovery and naming by Tasman, adds:—"He also named Maria Island, in memory of the Governor's daughter, to whom he was attached." Mr. Petherick then quotes various writers who have in one way or another handed the story down, among whom Father Tenison Woods is the only one who asserts in a positive way that the story is *not true*. He says, correcting the error:—"There is a romantic story of his having named the Maria Island after the daughter of Van Diemen, to whom he was engaged to be married. The story is simple and pretty, and can do no harm; but it is not true." Mr. Petherick's last quotation but one, shews how charmingly illogical women can be, and will be sometimes—it is from Mrs. Meredith's "Our Island Home." She says:—"In these days of disillusion, when the beloved beliefs of our childhood are ruthlessly toppled down around us by heartless and impertinent modern investigators; when we are bidden to consider brave Robin Hood, gentle fair Rosamond, faithful Blondel, glorious King Arthur, and scores besides, as mere nursery myths; it is highly probable, if not certain, that some officious expositor has demonstrated that there never was such a navigator as Tasman, such a Governor of Batavia as Anthony Van Diemen, nor such a Governor's fair daughter as Maria, the beloved of Tasman For me, I love beauty and brightness, romance as well as reality; and when a charming old story unites the two, I shall cling to it, despite a world full of busy-body detractors. In Tasman's old chart of the coast, he has this island marked as 'Maria's Eylandt,' and so long as I live to look upon it, I shall cherish the remembrance of the simple old story thus narrated. The pleasing story of the discovery of Tasmania is almost too well known to require repetition. It runs briefly, thus:—"Tasman, a young sailor with more wit than wealth, and more courage than rank, was rash enough to fall in love with Maria, the fair daughter of Anthony Van Diemen, the Governor of Batavia. Van Diemen discovered the secret of his passion, and in order to rid himself

of so troublesome a suitor, despatched him as commander of an expedition to what was then denominated the 'Great Southern Sea.' His voyage proved extremely successful, and in the course of it he discovered Tasmania; and to conciliate the father of his mistress, he called the island Van Diemen's Land, while he gratified his love by naming several places after the lady herself. On his return, all obstacles were removed to their union, by his being rewarded by letters patent of nobility, and an income from the state. Few countries can boast so romantic an origin.' 'But alas,' remarks Mrs. Morgan, 'for the impertinence of modern investigation, and the prosaic brutality of hard facts! Tasman was a married man and father of a family when he set sail on his first voyage to the South Seas in 1642, and Governor Van Diemen had no children.'"

For my own part I confess the wording of Tasman's journal conveyed to my mind that Maria's Island was named after the Governor's wife, she being referred to as "the excellent lady of the honorable the Governor General."

On the 5th December they quitted Van Dieman's Land, and after sailing in various directions, on the 13th discovered a mountainous country in latitude $42^{\circ} 10' S.$ and longitude $178^{\circ} 10' E.$, which he named "Staaten Land," in honour of the States General of Holland. They cast anchor in the strait between the northern and middle island of New Zealand. Here they had a conflict with the natives. Seven canoes full of warlike Maories lay off the Zeehaen, and five surrounded the Heemskirk. The savages upset the boat of the Zeehaen, killing three seamen, and forcing others to swim for their lives. Being rather disheartened at this reception, and the weather being stormy, Tasman weighed anchor and sailed eastward, naming the place "Murderer's Bay." The event is thus described in Tasman's journal:—

"I sent my shallop with seven men to put the people of the Heemskirk upon their guard, and to direct them not to place any confidence in these people. My seven men, being without arms, were attacked by these savages, who killed three of the seven and forced the other four to swim for their lives, which occasioned my giving that place the name of the "Bay of Murderers." Our ship's company would undoubtedly have taken a severe revenge if the rough weather had not hindered them."

Space will not allow me to dwell further upon this memorable voyage, which was the precursor of another of even greater importance.

Tasman's methods were characteristically Dutch. For example, he traversed only a portion of the north-west coast of New Zealand, and left without ascertaining whether it was an island, islands, or a continent that he had discovered. He reached Batavia after a ten months cruise on the 15th June, 1643. On this trip he does not appear to have gone near the north-west of Australia, but in the next year as we shall see he set out for that express purpose.

TASMAN'S SECOND VOYAGE.

In 1644 a second expedition was fitted out under the same commander. This time he was to be furnished with three yachts—Limmen, Zeemeuw and Brak—well armed and equipped in all respects. His instructions were clearly laid down in the "Book of Despatches" already referred to. He was to proceed to Amboyna and Banda, and thence to the south coast of New Guinea and "after quitting False Cape you are to continue eastward along the coast

to 9 degrees south latitude, crossing prudently the cove at that place. Looking about the high islands or Speults River with the yachts for a harbour, despatching the tender Brak for two or three days into the cove in order to discover whether within the great inlet there be not found an entrance into the South Sea." Thus ran his instructions, thereafter telling him to coast along New Guinea to the farthest known spot in 17° south latitude, and to follow the coast* *despite adverse winds*, in order that his Dutch masters might be sure "whether this land is not divided from the great known South Continent or not." *This latter point he did not determine*, although he generally fulfilled his mission with the highest honour and credit, bringing back much valuable information, charts, plans, drawings and journals, which alas, have never seen the light of day since they fell into the clutches of the Dutch East India Company, who certainly concealed, and perhaps destroyed them.

Returning to Tasman's instructions; the Council then proceeds to express their belief that no opening will be found between New Guinea and New Holland, and adds that should Tasman find this so, he was to run down the north coast to south latitude 22°, proceed to Houtman's Abrolhos, and endeavour to fish up a chest of rix-dollars lost in the Batavia's wreck, doubtless a harrowing recollection for the miserly Dutchmen. After attending to the dollars he was to look out for Pelsart's two marooned mutineers, as already referred to. If the weather did not permit him to go to Houtman's Abrolhos, he was to complete the coast exploration of Arnheim and Van Dieman's Lands, and return by Java and the straits of Sunda.

No thirst for knowledge pure and simple; no ambition for fame or glory; no love of discovery for its own sake; animated the Dutch East India Company. A narrow spirit of commerce and grasping avarice dominated the souls of the Hollanders.

Tasman was to be exact in taking formal possession of every place for the Company or for Holland, "to prevent any other nation in Europe reaping the fruits of our labour and expenses in these discoveries." And therefore he was directed to put up signs of having taken such possession, by erecting stones or posts, planting European trees, or putting the arms of the Netherlands and the Company, with the date of discovery on such stones, posts, or rocks. If he found people with whom he could trade he was to show them the goods with which he was furnished, noting their preferences and requirements. Above all, he was to make special enquiries after gold, silver, and precious metals, and "to keep the inhabitants ignorant of the precious value of the metals, not seeming greedy after them. If they offer to barter for your goods," the narrative runs, "seem not to covet these metals; but show them copper, tutenag (zinc), pewter, and lead, as if they were of more value to us." Then, if the natives were capable of understanding so much he was to enter into treaties with them, preserving a monopoly of their trading for the Dutch nation.

From these and other indications of the intensely mercantile spirit in which the Dutch nation entered upon their expeditions of discovery, it will readily be seen the difficulties which they were desirous of placing in the path of possible rivals. Moreover, their reticence and concealment of documents present serious obstacles in the way of modern investigators.

*This shows what amazing confidence his masters reposed in Tasman. I think he might have been excused if he failed to carry out their modest commands.

Burgomaster Witsen, in his treatise on the migrations of mankind, published in 1705, gives some account of the inhabitants of New Guinea and New Holland. He mentioned the name of Tasman as his authority. From this it would appear that narratives of these voyages were accessible to Dutchmen sixty years after they took place, at which period Tasman had doubtless paid the debt of nature. The only portion of this journal, as quoted by Witsen, has been thus translated by Mr. Dalrymple in his work on Papua:—"In latitude $13^{\circ} 8'$ south, longitude $146^{\circ} 18'$ the coast is barren. The people are bad and wicked, shooting at the Dutch with arrows, without provocation, when they were coming on shore. It is here very populous.

"In $14^{\circ} 58'$ south longitude $138^{\circ} 59'$ the people are savage, and go naked; none can understand them. In $16^{\circ} 10'$ south, the people swam on board of a Dutch ship, and when they received a piece of linen, they laid it upon the head in token of gratitude. Everywhere about, all the people are malicious. They use bows and arrows of such length that one end rests on the ground when shooting. They also have hazegays and kalawayes, and attacked the Dutch, but did not know the execution of the guns.

"In *Hollandia Nova* in $17^{\circ} 12'$ south, longitude 121° , or 122° east, I found naked black people with curly hair, malicious and cruel, using for arms bows and arrows, hazegays and kalaways. They once came to the number of fifty double armed, dividing themselves into two parties, intending to have surprised the Dutch, who had landed 25 men; but the firing of the guns frightened them so much that they took to flight. Their canoes are made of the bark of trees; their coast is dangerous; there is but little vegetation; the people have no houses.

"In $19^{\circ} 35'$ south, longitude 134° , the inhabitants are very numerous, and threw stones at the boats sent by the Dutch to the shore. They made fires and smoke all along the coast, which, it was conjectured, they did to give notice to their neighbours of strangers being upon their coasts. They appear to live very poorly, go naked, eat yams and other roots."

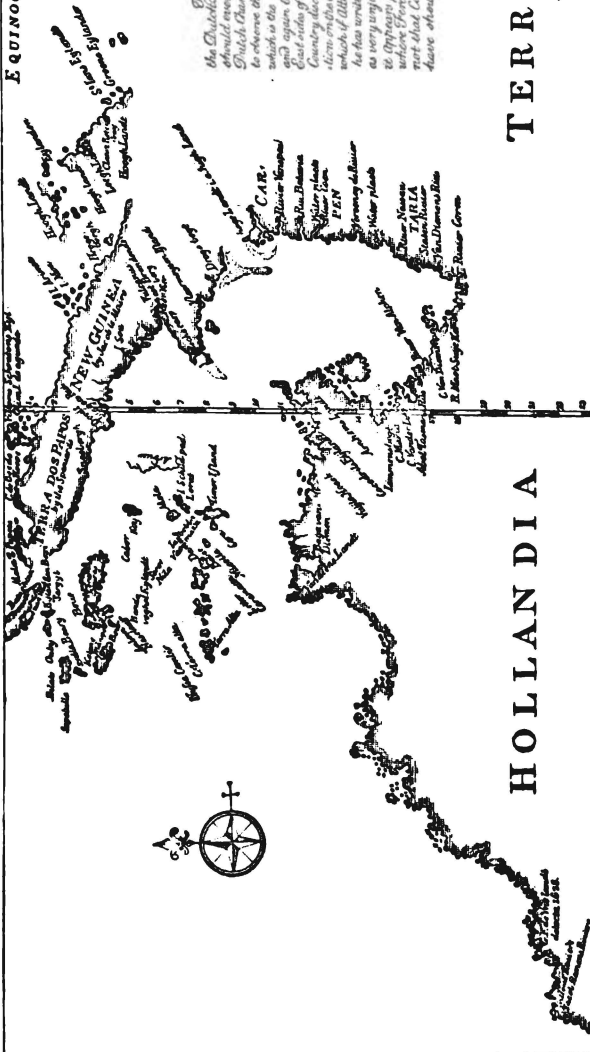
This account coincides with the reports of other voyagers regarding the natives of these parts, except *in their being very numerous and using bows and arrows*. It has been suggested that the description applies more fully to the inhabitants of New Guinea, and that the natives seen at this time had crossed from that island to Australia. It is possible, however, that Tasman exaggerated their numbers, and mistook the aboriginal spears and throwing sticks, for bows and arrows of great length.

Mr. Van Wyk Roelandszoon writes a letter, dated 26th July, 1825, to the editor of the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, and states that many investigators of the highest standing have for years made fruitless searches for the original papers of Tasman.

One Dutchman of great ability made a special voyage to Batavia, with that single object in view, but died shortly after landing there. Van Wyk goes on to say:—"We still live in hope of receiving some of these documents." Mr. Major likewise made strenuous efforts and repeated enquiries with a similar lack of success. He only consoles himself for the non-appearance of any detailed account of this most important voyage, by the fact that on several maps which appeared soon after, the outline of the coast visited by Tasman is clearly laid down.

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EQUINOCTIAL LINE



This Map is very exactly copied from the Original and the copy... the Dutch, who think of New Guinea as a single Island... to observe that nothing is mentioned here but what has been actually discovered...

TERRA AUSTRALIS
Discovered 1644

OF CAPRICORN

It is impossible to conceive Country that promises a more fertile... the discovery of the South Sea Islands... the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope...



HOLLANDIA

NOVA
TROPIC

Discovered 1644

Land of New-Highs Discovered 16 Jan 1660
It is the only Country which... the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope...



TASMAN'S MAP.

I have given a reproduction, on reduced scale, of what is designated "A complete map of the Southern Continent, surveyed by Captain Abel Tasman, and depicted by order of the East India Company in Holland, in the Stadt House at Amsterdam."

The western portion is inscribed "Hollandia Nova, discovered 1644." On the north right hand corner are the following words:—"This map is very exactly copied from the original, and therefore the Dutch names have been preferred, and if, hereafter, any discoveries should be attempted, all the places mentioned may readily be found in the Dutch chart, which must be procured for such a voyage. The reader is desired to observe that nothing is marked here but what has been actually discovered, which is the reason of the white space between New Holland and New Zealand, and again between New Zealand and New Guinea, which make the south and east sides of Terra Australis. It is also requisite to observe that the country discovered by Ferdinand de Quiros is, according to his description, on the east side of the continent, directly opposite to Carpentaria, which, if attentively considered, will add no small weight to the credit of what he has written about that country, and which has been very rashly, as well as very unjustly treated by some critical writers as a fiction; whereas it appears from the map of actual discoveries that there is a country where Ferdinand de Quiros says he found one. And if so, why may not that country be such a one as he describes? In Tasman's voyage we have shown why he did not make this matter more plain."

Then on the southern half of Terra Australis these words occur:—"It is impossible to conceive a country that promises fairer from its situation than the Terra Australis—no longer *incognita*, as the map demonstrates, but the southern continent discovered.

"It lies precisely in the richest climates of the world. If the islands of Sumatra, Java and Borneo abound in precious stones and other valuable commodities, and the Moluccas in spices, New Guinea and the region behind it must by a parity of reason be as plentifully endowed by nature; if the island of Madagascar is so noble and plentiful a country as all authors speak it, and gold, ivory and other commodities are common in the southern part of Africa from Melinda down to the Cape of Good Hope, and so up again to Cape Gonzalez, here are ye same latitudes in Carpentaria, New Holland and New Zealand; if Peru overflows with silver, if all the mountains of Chili are filled with gold, and this precious metal and stones much more precious are ye product of Brazil.

"This continent enjoys the benefit of the same position, and therefore whoever perfectly discovers and settles it will become as infallibly possessed of territories as rich, as fruitful and as capable of improvement as any that have been hitherto found out, either in the East India or in the West."

These self-explanatory and highly congratulatory remarks show what the Dutch thought of their new acquisition, now for the first time called New Holland; and that while they are disposed to admit some remote Spanish pretensions, they take to themselves the main credit of the discovery.

THEVENOT ON THE DUTCH.

Regarding this period, remarks Thevenot, "The Dutch pretend to have a

right to the Southern Land, which they have discovered. . . . They maintain that these coasts were never known by the Portuguese or other nations of Europe. . . . It is to be noticed that all this extent of country falls within the line of demarcation of the Dutch *East* India Company (if we are to believe their maps), and that this motive of interest has perhaps made them give a false position to New Zealand, lest it should fall within the line of demarcation of the Dutch *West* India Company, for these two companies are as jealous of each other, as they are of the other nations of Europe, . . . It is to be observed that although the Portuguese possess many places in the Indies they are extremely weak by reason that their enemies are masters of these seas, and of the traffic which they themselves formerly possessed."

Here then we have a Frenchman denying the Dutch claims as discoverers, and supporting those of the Portuguese. Strange to say, however, he makes no claim whatever on behalf of his own nation, in spite of French M.S. maps and the reputed voyages of De Gonaëville and Parmentier—though regarding the latter navigator Australian claims are not put forward.

Although Tasman failed to perform that portion of his duty which involved the exploration of the Torres Straits, so that the Company "might be sure whether the land is divided from the Great South Land or not," he fulfilled his mission in other respects with conspicuous ability and success. The Great South Land was henceforth known as New Holland, and in spite of the neglect of his ungrateful countrymen, the name of Abel Tasman has gone, and will go, down to posterity as a great discoverer, and one of the ablest seamen that Holland has ever produced.

Dampier, in his volume of voyages, mentions his possessing a chart of Tasman's; and an outline copy of the same was inlaid on the floor of the Groote Zaal in the Stadhuis in Amsterdam.

NAMES GIVEN BY TASMAN.

Many of the names still retained in the neighbourhood of the Gulf of Carpentaria are indicative of Tasman's exploration. For example, we have Vanderlin Island after Cornelis Van der Lyn, Sweers' Island after Salamon Sweers, Maria Island after his *supposed* sweetheart (but more likely after the lady who would have been her mother—if *she had ever existed*—Maria Van Dieman, the childless wife of the Governor of Batavia!), and Limmen Bight after his ship the Limmen.

Mr. R. H. Major observes in his "*Early Voyages*," "From the voyage of Tasman to the close of the seventeenth century, it is probable that a considerable number of voyages were made to the west coast of New Holland, of which no account has ever been printed." This may readily be accepted as true, and indeed, judging from the narrow-mindedness, jealousy and greed of the Dutch East India Company, it is a marvel we have even so much information. The same writer, through the assistance of an Amsterdam bookseller—Mr. Frederick Muller—has procured some rare documents from the Hague referring to some of these suppressed expeditions.

WRECK OF THE DE VERGULDE DRAECK.

The earliest of these voyages is given in an account of the wreck of the

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**Black Swan River on New Holland, opposite
Rottenest Island, from Vankeulen.**

De Vergulde Draeck, and the search for survivors undertaken by ships both from Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope. The lost vessel set sail from the Texel in 1655, and was wrecked on a reef on the west coast of Australia. From Batavia were despatched the Witte Vaclck and the Goede Hoop to render assistance and save specie and merchandise. Meeting with no success the Vinck was sent out to New Holland in 1657.

THE WAECKENDE BOEY AND THE EMELOORT.

Then followed, by order of the Company, two galliots, the Waeckende Boey and the Emeloort, on 1st January, 1658. These vessels returned to Batavia the same year, not having succeeded in rescuing anyone or anything, but bringing a description of the west coast of the Great South Land by the captain of the Waeckende Boey, together with charts of the coast.

VLAMING'S VOYAGE.

The rocky shores of New Holland were thus dreaded by Dutch mariners, by reason of the many shipwrecks which had occurred, and finally we read of Wilhelm de Vlaming, in 1696, being ordered to search for the survivors of the ship *Ridderschap van Holland*, which had been missing *ten* years, having left the Cape of Good Hope in 1684 or 1685. This commodore commanded the *Geelvink*, *Nyptang*, and *Wezel*, on a voyage to India; and after a fruitless search for the wreck, made two other important discoveries. The first was Dirck Hartog's inscriptions of 1616, which I have already referred to; and the second, Swan River, from whence two black swans were taken alive to Batavia. De Vlaming's observations were made from Rottenest Island to Willem's River, and he remained on this coast about three months.

PLAN OF ROTTENEST ISLAND.

A reproduction of an old plan of Black Swan River and Rottenest Island, by Van Keulan, is here given. It must have been published about this period, and it will be observed that the black swans are very strongly emphasized, and made to appear as large as elephants. The climate of Batavia, we learn, did not agree with these unfortunate birds, for they died soon after their arrival.

CRAWFORD PAKO (?).

Between the years 1720 and 1730, several Dutch vessels were lost on Houtman's Abrolhos, when journeying to or from the East Indies. Amongst these were the *Zuysdorp*, in 1711, and the *Zeewyk*, in 1727. In 1840, an English commander, whose name is given as Crawford Pako (the surname evidently a mis-spelling) found here various remains of shipwreck, viz:—a brass gun, Dutch bottles, large buckles, and copper coins dated between 1620 and 1700.

LAST DUTCH EXPEDITION.

On the 23rd January, 1705, was despatched what was probably the last

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expedition for discovery on the north-west and western coasts of New Holland, sent out by the Dutch, to which I will refer shortly, before proceeding to the explorations of Dampier, who had visited New Holland before this date. From the imperfect account which has been preserved we learn that three ships were appointed for the expedition—the Vossenbach, the Wager and the Nova Hollandia. On the 2nd of April they reached the north-west corner of northern Van Diemen's Land. They explored bays, headlands, islands, rivers, etc., but being ill supplied with victuals, many of their number fell sick and died. They then put back to Batavia and lost many men on the return voyage, including the skipper of the Vossenbach.

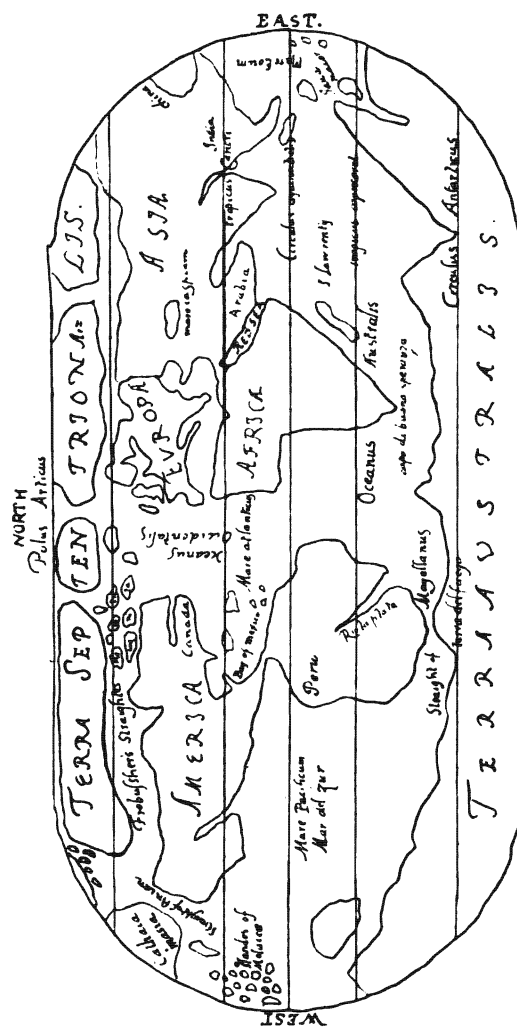
MARTIN VAN DELFT'S DISCOVERY.

One Martin van Delft then became captain of the ship, and his name, together with that of the skipper of the Nova Hollandia—Pieter Frederick—are the only names given. Seeing so many islands, they came to the conclusion "that the South Land consisted in a great measure of islands," and not having reached the end of Cambridge Gulf they concluded that it probably went "right through to the south side of New Holland." This, if true, would just about slice off Western Australia from the mainland. Lastly, they declare they saw a "tiger," which speaks well for their imaginative powers. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that the only animal of a ferocious nature in Australia is *man*.

ROGGEWEIN'S EXPEDITION.

Nothing further is contributed by the Hollander to the history of Australian discovery, although in 1721 an enterprise was set on foot by the Dutch West India Company to found a colony in Nuyt's Land. One Roggewein sailed with a squadron of three ships, was out ten months, and never found New Holland at all. He came across some islands in searching for New Guinea, which he named Bowman's Islands, and eventually the ships were seized at Batavia by the East India Company. This act, however, was reversed by the States General, and the arbitrary power of this corporation was checked by the infliction of very heavy damages. The Dutchman now passes from early Australian history, giving place to the nation which made her what she now is.

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Map of the World published with the Account of Frobisher's Voyages in the year 1578

ENGLISH DISCOVERIES.

As discoverers of Australia the English were late in the field, and it may be said they reaped the fruit of other men's labours. Be that as it may, the island continent owes her present prosperity to her adoption by the most successful race of colonists on earth—the English.

The theory of the existence of *Terra Australis* was entertained by the old English geographers of three centuries ago. Their idea on the subject may be seen in a map of the world published with the account of Frobisher's voyages in the year 1578. The description of the country represented is likewise instructive. The writer says:—" *Terra Australis* seemeth to be a great firme land, lying under and about the south pole, being in many places a fruitfull soyle, and is not yet throwly discovered, but onely seene and touched on the north edge thereof, by the travail of the Portingales and Spaniards to the East and Weast Indies.

"It is included almost by a parallel passing in forty degrees in south latitude, yet in some places it reacheth into the sea, with greate promontories, even into the tropicke Capricornus. Onlye those parts are best knowen, as over against *Capo d'buona Speranza* (where the Portingales see popingayes, commonlye of a wonderfull greatnesse), and againe, it is knowen at the south side of the Straight of Magellanus, and is called Terra del Fuego.

"It is thought this South Lande aboute the pole Antartike is farre bigger than the North Lande aboute the pole Artike; but whether it be so or not we have no certaine knowledge, for we have no particular description hereof, as we have of the lande under and about the North Pole."

This is probably the earliest description of the suspected continent from the pen of an English geographer.

How the light of truth gradually broke upon our countrymen may be traced in a short statement of Purchas about fifty years after. Referring to "The Lands on the Southern side of the Magellan Straits," he says:—"The land about the Straits is not perfectly discovered, whether it be continent or islands. Some take it for continent, and extend it more in their imagination than any man's experience towards those Islands of Salomon and New Guinea esteeming (of which there is a great probability) that *Terra Australis* on the Southern Continent may for the largeness thereof take up a first place in order, and the first in greatness in the division and parting of the Whole World."

I have given a reproduction of this old English map taken from the original work in the British Museum library.

WILLIAM DAMPIER'S VOYAGE.

So far as we know, the first Englishman that ever set foot on Australia was

William Dampier, sometimes called "the Learned and Faithful Dampier," sometimes "the Prince of Voyagers," and sometimes "the Buccaneer." Probably all these appellations apply to him, for he was a man of varied attainments, who had a romantic and chequered career. Born in 1652, at East Coker, in Somersetshire, he received a fair education, and was subsequently apprenticed to a shipmaster of Weymouth. After some years of wild adventure and restless activity, he joined the buccaneers, and made various expeditions in the Pacific. His chief object was, of course, to plunder the Spanish settlements. "War to the Death with Spain," was his motto for many years; and strange to relate, during this piratical and lawless period, he constantly kept a journal, displaying the keenest observation and great accuracy of description.

In 1683, Dampier, with some of his bold comrades, seized a Danish vessel, which they humourously renamed *The Bachelor's Delight*, and set off on a voyage round the world. After some wild and reckless exploits, he gained command of another vessel named *The Cygnet*, in which he sailed to the Philippines, from whence he resolved to make a cruise to New Holland.

It was from the Island of Timor that Dampier approached New Holland. According to their charts, he was only some twenty leagues distant; but they ran some sixty leagues south before making land.

DAMPIER'S FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF AUSTRALIA.

His journal runs thus:—"On January 4th, 1688, we fell in with the land at 16°, 50' latitude, and running along to the east twelve leagues, came to a point of land, three leagues to the east of which is a deep bay. We anchored a league to the east of this point, January 5th, two miles from the shore, in 29 fathoms, hard sand and clean ground. New Holland is a vast tract of land, but whether an isle or part of the continent is unknown hitherto. This much I am sure of, that it neither joins Asia, Africa, or America, hereabouts. It is very low and sandy ground, the points only excepted, which are rocky, and some isles in this bay. This part had no fresh water, except what was dug; but divers sorts of trees, and among the rest the dragon tree, which produces the gum-dragon, or dragon's blood. We saw neither fruit trees, nor so much as the track of any living beast of the bigness of a large mastiff dog. Some few land birds, but none larger than a blackbird, and scarcely any water fowl. Neither does the sea afford any fish except tortoises and manatus, both of which they have mostly plenty. The inhabitants are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods (Hottentots), though a nasty people, are gentlemen to these people, who have no houses, nor skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, etc., as the Hodmadods have; and setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, straight-bodied, and thin, with small long limbs. They have great heads, great round foreheads and great brows. Their eyelids are always half closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes, they being so troublesome that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's faces; and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, they will creep into one's nostrils and mouth too if the lips are not shut very close. So that from their infancy, being thus annoyed with these insects, they do never open their eyes as other people; and therefore they cannot see far unless they hold up their heads as if they

were looking at something over them. They have great bottle noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths; the two front teeth of the upper jaw are wanting in all of them—men and women, old and young. Whether they draw them out I know not. Neither have they any beards. They are long-visaged and of an unpleasing aspect, having no graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short, and curled like that of the negroes, and not long and lank, like the common Indians. The colour of their skin, both of their face and the rest of their body, is coal black, like that of the negroes of Guinea. They live in companies—twenty or thirty men women and children together. Their only food is a sort of small fish, which they get by making weirs of stones across little coves or branches of the sea, every tide bringing in small fish and leaving for a prey to these people, who constantly attend there to search for them in low water. This small fry I take to be the top of their fishing; they have no instrument to catch great fish should they come, and such seldom stay to be left behind at low water; nor could we catch any fish with our hooks and line all the time we lay there. Of the shell fish mentioned there are few, so that their chief dependence is on what the sea leaves in their weirs, which be it much or little they gather up and march to their place of abode. There the old people who were not able to stir abroad by reason of their age and the tender infants wait their return, and what Providence has bestowed on them they presently broil on the coals and eat it in common. Sometimes they get as many fish as makes them a plentiful banquet, sometimes they scarcely get everyone a taste; but little or much each one, whether able to go out for it or not, has his share. When they have eaten they lie down till the next low water, and then all that are able march out, be it night or day, rain or shine, it is all one. They must attend the weirs or they must fast, *for the earth affords them no food at all*. There is neither herb, root pulse, or any kind of grain that we saw, nor any bird or beast that they can catch, having no instrument for it."

When we reflect on the wonderful variety of roots, nuts, fish, flesh, and fowl which forms the bill of fare of the Australian aborigines, we see how erroneous first impressions are apt to be.

"I did not perceive that they did worship anything," continues Dampier. "Some of them had wooden swords, others had a sort of lance. The sword is a piece of wood shaped somewhat like a cutlass.* The lance is a long straight pole, sharp at one end, and hardened afterwards by heat. I saw no iron nor any other sort of metal; therefore it is probable that they use stone hatchets, as some Indians in America do. How they get their fire I know not, but probably as the Indians do, out of wood. I have seen the Indians of Buenos Ayres do it, and I myself have tried the experiment. They take a flat piece of wood that is pretty soft, and make a small dent in one side of it; then they take another hard round stick about the bigness of one's little finger, and shaping it at one end like a pencil, they put the sharp end in the hole or dent of the soft flat piece; then rubbing or twirling the hard piece between the palms of their hands, they drill the soft piece till it smokes, and at last takes fire."

He goes on to say that he gave them some old clothes to induce them to help in carrying small water barrels to the canoes. But though the barrels contained only six gallons each, and they put them on their shoulders for

*Possibly Dampier mistook the boomerang for a sword.

them, all the signs they could make to get them to carry them were useless. As the narrator puts it, "they stood like so many statues without motion, and grinning like so many monkeys. So we were forced to carry the water ourselves, and they very fairly put the clothes off again and laid them down, as if clothes were only made to work in." This refusal to work is highly characteristic of the Australian native of to-day, for they have a strong objection to anything in the nature of work as the European understands it; though, of course, their whole life is one of constant arduous toil to keep body and soul together.

It is clear that Dampier was not favourably impressed either with the country or its inhabitants, and so far as the latter were concerned probably the feeling was mutual. When brought on board his ship four of them made a very hearty meal of rice and turtle, but expressed not the slightest interest in anything or anybody else on board, running off at full speed whenever their feet again touched dry land. It appears that they made a warlike demonstration on the top of a cliff, shaking their swords and lances, but the captain gained a bloodless victory, for he completely routed them by beating a drum vigorously. "On hearing the noise," he says, "the poor creatures ran away as fast as they could drive, and when they ran away in haste they would cry 'Gurry, Gurry,' speaking deep in the throat."

DAMPIER LEAVES NEW HOLLAND.

Dampier quitted the coast of New Holland on the 12th of March, 1688, and directing his course southward, passed Sumatra and arrived at the Nicobar Islands in May. He parted from his comrades, and after various other vicissitudes landed in England on the 19th of September, 1691.

DAMPIER'S SECOND VOYAGE.

Like all great travellers who have the gift of narrating in graphic style their adventures, William Dampier, "the Buccaneer," after publishing his voyages, found himself a famous man. His reputation attracted the attention of Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, High Admiral to William III., and this monarch having projected an expedition for the discovery of unknown lands, the command was entrusted to this now distinguished navigator. The vessel in which he sailed was named His Majesty's Ship *Roebuck*, and she was by no means a sea-worthy craft. She carried an armament of 12 guns and a crew of 50 men and boys, provisions for twenty months, and other equipments for promotion of the traffic, &c. Trade, however, was a secondary consideration of the voyage, the immediate object of which was examination and discovery in New Holland and New Guinea. She weighed anchor on the 14th January, 1699, and set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, touching at the Cape Verde Islands, Bahia, and the coast of Brazil. At these places Dampier made his usual careful notes and shrewd observations, giving a minute description of all he saw and did.

HIS IMPRESSIONS ON HIS SECOND VISIT.

He rounded the Cape in June, and stood away for the coast of New Holland, which he neared on the 4th of July. On the night of the 1st August the ship

touched bottom on the northern part of the Abrolhos shoal, in latitude $27^{\circ} 40'$ S. Next morning the mainland was observed about six leagues distant, but owing to foul weather they were unable to land until the morning of the 6th, when they moored the ship two miles from shore, in the harbour named Dirk Hartog's Reede. To this place the explorer gave the name of Shark's Bay, its entrance being in latitude 25° S. He says in his journal:—"The land here is of moderate height, and from the sea appears level, although it is found to be gently undulating. The mould is sand by the seaside, producing a large sort of samphire, which bears a white flower. Further in the mould is reddish, mixed with a sort of sand, producing some grass plants and shrubs. Of trees and shrubs here are divers sorts, but none above ten feet high. Some of the trees were sweet scented, and reddish within the bark, like sassafras, but darker. The blossoms of the different sorts of trees were of several colours, but mostly blue, and smelt very sweet and fragrant. There were besides some plants, shrubs, and tall flowers, some very small flowers growing in the ground which were very sweet and beautiful, and for the most part unlike any I had seen elsewhere. There were but few land fowls. I saw none but eagles of the larger sort of birds, and but five or six sorts of small birds. The larger sort of these were no bigger than larks, and some no bigger than wrens, all singing with great variety of fine shrill notes, and we saw some of their nests with young ones in them."

FIRST MENTION OF THE KANGAROO.

In striking contrast are his observations with those of his first voyage, when he fancied the wretched natives had to live on fish. This time he saw plenty of water fowls with their young ones, also ducks, curlews, galdens, crab catchers, cormorants, gulls, pelicans, eagles, white parrots, and others, that he had never seen elsewhere. Among the animals which he observed was one which attracted his special notice, "a sort of raccoon, different from that of the West Indies, chiefly as to the legs, for these have very short fore-legs, but go jumping upon *them* (Dampier must mean the long hind legs) as the others do, and like them are very good meat." "This," says Flinders, "appears to have been the small kangaroo, since found upon the islands which form the roads, and if so, the description is probably the first ever made of that singular animal." He saw likewise very ugly iguanos, which, he says, instead of a tail had a knob like a second head, but without eyes or mouth appearing, as if the creature were made either to run backwards or forwards.

HIS EXTRAORDINARY STORIES.

Another of his statements, which is certainly open to grave doubt, is concerning the capture of a shark, in which he informs us "we found the head and bones of a *hippopotamus*, the hairy lips of which were still sound, and not putrified, and the jaw was also firm, out of which we plucked a great many teeth, two of them eight inches long, and as big as a man's thumb, small at one end and a little crooked, the rest not above half so long." Now, I confess, I find it about as hard to swallow this story as the shark must have found it to swallow the hippopotamus, and yet M. Malte le Brun defends its accuracy. In support of him whom he called "the Learned and Faithful Dampier," he

mentions that Bailly, when exploring the Swan River, "heard a bellowing much louder than that of an ox from among the reeds on the river side, which made him suspect that a large quadruped lay somewhere near him." Travellers' tales, however, frequently show signs of long bow-drawing, and we can always resort to a salutary pinch of salt.

Fresh water became scarce, and was difficult to obtain even by digging. He therefore sailed northward on the 14th August to $20^{\circ} 21'$, where he met again with tides, which impressed him that there was an opening eastward into the Pacific. Still, it did not fall to his lot to find again the Torres Straits. Where he lay to was an archipelago, still called by his name. One of the islands off Bluff Point he called Rosemary Island.

They left the place on the 23rd August, and after coasting for some time lost sight of land on the 27th. On the 30th smoke became visible on the shore in latitude $18^{\circ} 21' S$. He had hitherto seen no inhabitants, but on going ashore he met with several who fled on the approach of the English. From a height they descried a savannah studded with what he first thought were *huts* and then discovered to be *rocks*; but I notice a footnote in Vol. I. of Flinder's Voyages, page lxxv., to the effect that "Dampier could not have examined these *rocks* closely; for there can be little doubt that they were the ant hills described by Pelsart as being 'so large that they might have been taken for the houses of Indians.'"

They had a slight encounter with the natives, which is humanely and regretfully referred to, the captain having been obliged to fire in order to save the life of a sailor. After this he writes—"I returned with my men, designing to attempt the natives no further, being very sorry for what had happened."

Among the savages was one whom he imagined to be a chief. "He was a brisk young man, active, and courageous. He was the only one of a group that was painted. A circle drawn with some white pigment surrounded each of his eyes, and a white streak reached from the forehead to the tip of his nose." He sums up the people in general in his usual graphically scornful style, having as poor an opinion of them as he had formed eleven years before, in fact, he constantly refers to them as "The poor winking people of New Holland." All of them have the most unpleasant looks, and the worst features of any people I ever saw, though I have seen a great variety of savages. The New Hollanders were probably the same sort of people as those I met with on this coast in my voyage round the globe: for the place I then touched was not above 40 or 50 leagues to the north of this, and those were much the same blinking creatures; here are abundance of the same flies teasing them, and the same black skin and hair frizzled, tall, thin, etc., as those were. But we had not an opportunity to see whether these as the former wanted the two foreteeth. . . . We saw no houses, and I believe they had none, since the former people had none, though they had all their families with them." He humourously remarks that except for the pleasure of discovering the barrenest spot on the face of the globe, this coast of New Holland would not have charmed him much.

It is noteworthy that Dampier originally intended in this second voyage to begin his discoveries upon the eastern and least-known side of New Holland. He did not carry out this intention because he was afraid of "compassing the South of America in a very high latitude in the depth of the winter there;" and likewise for another reason, which he states in the following words:—



Map of the East Indies from Dampier's Voyages.

"For should it be asked why, at my first making that shore, I did not coast it to the southward, and that way try to get round to the east of New Holland and New Guinea. I confess I was not for spending my time more than was necessary in the higher latitudes, as knowing that the land there could not be so well worth discovering as the parts that lay nearer the line, and more directly under the sun."

Having at length replenished his water barrels, Dampier left these inhospitable shores, and finding the passage between Timor and the Island of Anaboo, landed at the latter place. Meeting with discourtesy from the Dutch Governor, he shaped his course for New Guinea, intending again to visit New Holland. He obtained soundings at forty fathoms, but never sighted land, besides which he unhappily fell sick, and many of the crew suffered from scurvy. The ship likewise sadly needed repairs, so he ordered his officers to steer for Java. Subsequently the *Roebuck* sprang a very serious leak, and was lost off the Isle of Ascension, in February, 1701. In this shipwreck many of his papers and collections went to the bottom, and after five weeks on the island, a man-of-war, observing their signals, carried them to Barbadoes, from whence Dampier embarked for England in an East Indiaman.

Irrespective of his skill as a sailor, Dampier was a man of undoubted talent; and, strange to say, we find him more appreciated by foreign nations than by his own compatriots. The prophet's lack of honour in his own country is here illustrated. By the French and Dutch he was admired and revered. They deck his name by such adjectives as the "eminent," the "exact," the "skilful," the "incomparable." The learned Humboldt considers this ex-buccaneer a man far superior to the scientific trained navigators who succeeded him and explored the same seas. Malte-Bran inquires in his work on Australian discovery, "*Mais où trouvé-t-on des navigateurs comparables à Dampier ?*"

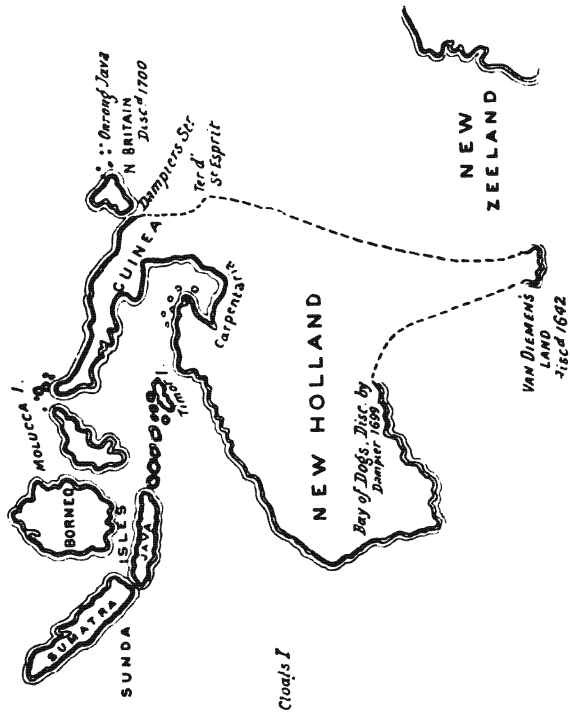
Although in his later years he scarcely maintained his great fame, his name will ever be memorable as the rescuer of Selkirk on Juan Fernandez—the sailor immortalized by Defoe in his famous story of *Robinson Crusoe*.

Having thus so far traced the progress of Australian discovery, it is apparent that whatever credit may be due to the storm-driven mariners of Portugal, France or Spain, the Dutch were the first *intentional* discoverers. Still, of course, as most of the greatest discoveries have been the result of accident, we must not lay stress on this point. The mariners of the sixteenth century, intent on gold and plunder, directed their course with that one object. If they found themselves in the Pacific, having rounded the Horn, they usually coasted South America, and continued on till they reached California, and then either retraced their path or crossed the South Sea towards Manilla. This course was likewise taken by such navigators as Drake, Cavendish, Van Noort, Spilbergen, Dampier, Rogers, Shelvocke, and Anson. Tasman was the first who deliberately ventured into high southern latitudes, bent on finding the unknown land.

In spite of all that had been ascertained regarding the Great South Land, much remained to be done. In 1771 a learned geographer writes: "So far as to absolute experience we continue ignorant whether the Southern Hemisphere be an immense mass of water or whether it contains another continent and countries worthy of our search."

The great space bounded on the north by the 25th parallel of latitude, and by meridians of longitude 85° west and 170° east was unexplored and unknown.

We were likewise in the dark as to the Northern Pacific. The northern side of New Holland was certainly known, but the Straits, accidentally discovered by Torres, had been entirely forgotten. Australia was supposed to join New Guinea on the north and suspected to do the same by Van Diemen's Land on the south. The Western boundaries of New Zealand had been visited, but no one knew how far it extended to the East. Dalrymple in this connection remarks: "It is still a question if Staats Land (New Zealand) be part of a continent or only islands, though it is most probably the former, as Tasman supposes." It was fondly imagined that the waves of the Pacific and Indian oceans washed a Great Southern Continent, exceeding Europe in extent and all other empires of the world in wealth. Yet still the great problem remained unsolved.



New Holland, from Map of the World in Emanuel Bowen's Atlas, London, 1747.

CAPTAIN COOK'S DISCOVERIES.

The next, and by far the most important of the navigators, who set out on a voyage of exploration to the island of New Holland, was Captain James Cook. The existence of the Great South Land had been definitely established by his predecessors, but it was left for him to definitely settle the question of its separation from New Guinea, prove its insularity, and thoroughly examine the almost unknown east coast.

Like many others whose names will for ever live in history, Cook's parentage was of the humblest description. It is hard to realize that his father was an agricultural labourer, but such is the fact. His birthplace was likewise obscure, a small village in Yorkshire called Marton, in the Cleveland district. The cottage in which he was born was pulled down a hundred years ago; even the house which succeeded it has disappeared, and the only relic of this great discoverer's childhood is a pump still called "Captain Cook's pump," and said to have been the handiwork of his father. He was the second son of a large family, and at a very early age was engaged at farm-work. The wife of his yeoman master—Mary Walker by name—taught the child his letters, and afterwards, when the family removed to Ayton, a gentleman named Skottowe took a fancy to the boy, now some ten years old, and paid his expenses at a village school. On reaching his thirteenth year he was bound apprentice to a shopkeeper at Staithes, a fishing village, where he heard from the seafaring men those stories which fired his soul with a desire to sail the ocean. He finally ran away to Whitby—an extra shirt and a jack-knife his sole belongings. He is even said to have stolen a shilling from his master's till.

It may be so, and if the story be true it was indeed a fortunate piece of larceny for the English nation. He joined a ship sailing out of Whitby, and visited the town from time to time, between voyages. Ten years or so later the news came that a press-gang had seized the young sailor for King George's Navy.* Ten more years passed, and the little port was astounded to hear that he has risen to command a ship of war, and sailed for the Pacific Ocean to fight the French. He was now known as Lieutenant Cook, R.N.

In appearance he is said to have been six feet high, spare and muscular, with a small well-shaped head. His hair was dark brown rolled back from a broad forehead. His nose long and straight with finely cut nostrils; his eyes small, brown, and piercing; eyebrows bushy; with firm mouth and rounded chin. Austerity was combined with the mark of energy, courage, and perseverance. Thus Captain King writes of him after his death—"During his long and tedious voyages his eagerness and activity were never in the least degree abated. No incidental temptation would detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impa-

* As a matter of fact, Cook was not seized by the press-gang; but fearing that he might be, he volunteered to serve as an A.B., and thus began his naval career.

tience whenever they could not be employed in making a further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs."

Such is a graphic word-picture of this remarkable man. He is said to have had no intimate friends, and most writers state that he did not leave even a letter behind him, showing how he lived in his private life. On this latter point I shall have more to say however.

I wish I could linger longer on the early days of this unrivalled sailor's life; for the courage, grit, and determination which raised him from a position even lower than that of Robert Burns, and placed him on a rank with Christopher Columbus, explains how James Cook eclipsed all his predecessors on the Southern Seas. Through his skill and bravery the long smouldering theory of a Southern Continent blazed into a brightness which will shine till the end of time. The charts of the sixteenth century were ignorant as to the *Terra Australis incognita*: the charts of the seventeenth are little better. Certain suggestions of New Holland's shores are certainly to be seen in those of the eighteenth up to 1750. But only the west coast is given and a small corner which indicates New Zealand, with New Holland and New Guinea united. Much was left to be done at the time Cook held the comparatively humble post of master in the Royal Navy.

It was known that a transit of Venus would occur in 1769, and a memorial was drawn up by the Royal Society, praying that the King should appoint an expedition to make observations. This was granted, and the most convenient stations were then thought to be either the islands of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, or the Marquesas. It was likewise proposed that Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, a man of great geographical and scientific knowledge, should take command of the ship, with brevet rank as captain. The Admiralty, however, seeing that he was not a sailor, and bearing in mind previous disastrous results from such an appointment, absolutely refused to sign the commission for any landsman. This ever after seems to have rankled in Dalrymple's mind, and may explain his bitter enmity towards the man whom he supposed to have supplanted him. Someone who combined the necessary qualities for preserving discipline, navigating, and scientifically conducting the expedition had to be found, and no one seemed more fitted for the post than James Cook, who had just returned from the surveyorship of Newfoundland and Labrador. His splendidly drawn charts had already brought him credit, and his name as a navigator and scientific sailor was already well known in the Royal Navy. Thus did he rise in one step from the position of master to the higher rank of lieutenant.

Here is the description of the ship he considered best for the purpose intended, as given in his narrative. He says, "The success will more chiefly depend on the size or the properties of the ships chosen for the service, as the greatest danger to be apprehended and provided against on a voyage of discovery, especially to the more distant parts of the globe, is that of the ship's being liable to be run aground on an unknown desert, or perhaps savage coast. So no consideration should be set in competition with that of her being of a construction of the safest kind, in which the officers may with the least hazard venture upon a strange coast. A ship of this kind must not be of a great draught of water, yet of a sufficient burden and capacity to carry a proper quantity of provisions and necessaries for her complement of men and for the term requisite to perform the voyage.

"She must also be of a construction that will bear to take the ground, and of

a size which in case of necessity may be safely and conveniently laid on shore to repair any accidental damage or defect. These properties are not to be found in ships of war of forty guns, nor in frigates, nor in East India Company's ships, nor in large three-decked West India ships, nor indeed in any other but North Country built ships, such as are built for the coal trade, which are peculiarly adapted for this purpose."

His first ship, the Endeavour, was of the collier class, built in the town of Whitby, and she was in all respects "staunch and strong a goodly vessel," designed more for strength than speed. Three hundred and seventy tons was her measurement, and until within the last thirty years she actually carried coal along our coasts. It is surprising, indeed, that the nation did not secure her and keep her like the Victory as a memorial of England's triumph of peace.

Cook having accepted the offer, she was fitted at Deptford, and the expedition sailed from Plymouth on August 26th, 1768.

The scientific party was made up of Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks—a wealthy private gentleman—Dr. Sollander—an official in the British Museum—and Mr. Charles Green, assistant in the Royal Observatory. The first named brought with him a party of skilled draughtsmen, naturalists and others. The ship was manned by forty able seamen, twelve marines, and with the captain and the officers, numbered eighty-one in all. Her armoury included ten carriage and twelve swivel guns, and she was provisioned for eighteen months. Her destination was altered on the return of Captain Wallis, who had meantime discovered Otaheite, that island being deemed most suitable for observation of the transit of Venus. It would be impossible to reproduce the voluminous journal, which, by the way, was not written by Cook himself, but by Dr. Hawksworth, although expressed in the first person. The following is a short account of the ship's course till New Zealand was reached :—

"August 26th, 1768.—The Endeavour weighed anchor from Plymouth.

"September 13th.—Reached Madeira and received every hospitality from the residents.

"November 13th.—Sighted Rio de Janiero after a prosperous voyage so far.

"January 14th, 1769.—Entered the Straits of Le Maire. Doubled Cape Horn and arrived off the western end of the Straits of Magellan in thirty-three days.

"April 10th.—Sighted Otaheite, having on the run from the Horn discovered Lagoon Islands, Thurnel Cape, Bow Island, The Groups, Bird Island and Chain Island.

"April 13th.—Cast anchor in Matavai Bay.

"June 1st.—Transit of Venus observed.

"July 13th.—Sailed from Otaheite, and cruised among the islands of the group, landing on and naming several.

"October 7th.—Sighted New Zealand."

Among the attendants of Oberia, Queen of Otaheite, was a native priest named Tupia, who showed great attachment to the English explorers. Cook was naturally anxious to engage an intelligent native of the South Seas to act as interpreter, etc., and so Tupia, with his son Tayeto, were received on board the Endeavour, having formally joined the expedition, and ratified their engagement with some strange ceremonies. They served the British faithfully and well, but both succumbed to the effects of the low, swampy situation of Batavia, and died there at the beginning of December, 1770.

A memorable day is the 8th of October, 1769, for upon this date Captain Cook landed on the coast of New Zealand, the forerunner of thousands of his countrymen. They came to anchor at the mouth of a small river, and on reaching the shore, some of the natives, who had been in ambush, rushed out to attack the party. Truly an inhospitable reception, but only what strangers might expect from such noble savages as the Maories. One of their number fell, pierced by a bullet, and the terrible sound of the musket-shot so terrified the others that they fled. Again on the 9th, they met with a hostile reception, and several Indians (as Cooks calls them) fell before British guns.

On the 11th he set sail, hoping to find better anchorage, but the Endeavour was becalmed in the evening. On the 12th, several canoes surrounded them, full of war-like natives, who were only driven off by the discharge of a 4-pounder, loaded with grape.

On the 15th, they pursued their course, and next morning had a fine view of the inland country.

On the 17th, gave the name of Cape Turnagain to a headland, and on the 19th, to a peculiar looking cape, the name of Globe End Foreland.

On the 22nd they again weighed anchor and stood for another bay, a little way to the south, going ashore on the 23rd, where they fell in with friendly natives, and heard the war song of the Indians. On the 29th of October, the Endeavour quitted the bay in which they had lain, and sailing to the northwards, discovered East Island; continuing in the same course, Cook gave its name to White Island.

Proceeding with their explorations and meeting with various parties of natives, on the 9th November, Mr. Green landed to observe the transit of Mercury, and successfully accomplished his object. In consequence of this the bay was called Mercury Bay. On the 20th the Endeavour came to anchor, and they named the river they discovered the Thames, it having some resemblance to our own noble stream.

On the 29th they had another skirmish with the savages, but peace was restored, and on entering a quiet village some of the sailors proceeded to rob the natives of their potatoes, for which they were promptly flogged by orders of the commander. One man complaining that an Englishman should be flogged for robbing a savage received additional lashes.

It may be noted here that in spite of the name for severity which has been given to Cook he never administered more than two dozen lashes, while the captains of his day frequently ordered two hundred, and even more.

After this time they met with foul weather and adverse winds, and it is remarkable that the Endeavour was three weeks in making ten leagues to the westward, and five weeks in sailing fifty leagues.

On the 5th of February Cook sailed out of a long bay, in which they had been lying, and which, from the man-eating propensities of the savages, he named Cannibal Bay. These people, however, strange to say, had some knowledge of iron, which he had not found among the other tribes. The Endeavour now stood over to the eastward, and was carried by a current close to one of the islands at the entrance to Queen Charlotte's Sound. Here they were in imminent danger of being dashed on the rocks.

On the 7th a favouring breeze bore them through the Strait. Next morning they were off Cape Palliser, and found that the land stretched away to the north-eastward of Cape Turnagain. After various other discoveries and

adventures, they left the coast of New Zealand on the 31st March, and sailed round all its inhospitable shores.

The foregoing short narrative in some degree indicates how Cook did his work. Tasman, the discoverer, who called it Staten Island, never went ashore, having been attacked by the Indians, in what he called Murderers' Bay. Cook landed in many places, and gives the most minute description of his discoveries and adventures, besides proving the existence of the two islands of New Zealand.

On the 27th of April, Cook landed on the shores of Australia, and met with a somewhat hostile reception, but no special damage was done on either side, and on May the 1st, Sutherland Point received its name from the fact that a seaman of that name died there and was buried on the shore. Mr. Banks also having collected many plants, named the bay Botany Bay.

On Sunday the 6th, they sailed from this place, and at noon were off a magnificent harbour, which was called Port Jackson.

After making many explorations inland, on Thursday, the 24th, they sailed out of the bay, and on the day following, were abreast of a point named Cape Capricorn. On the 1st of June they named Cape Palmerston, on the 2nd, Cape Hillsborough, on the 3rd, Cape Conway and Repulse Bay, on Saturday, the 9th, they came on some small islands, which they named Frankland's Islands.

There is only space in this small volume for a few brief specimens of Cook's journal, and as in a condensed form such reading is bound to be monotonous, I shall confine myself to only special points of interest in the forthcoming pages.

Hitherto no very remarkable accident had befallen the adventurers, but on Sunday, June the 10th, they found themselves in a very perilous situation.

At six in the evening, in latitude $16^{\circ} 6' S.$, and longitude $214^{\circ} 39' W.$, they had shortened sail, and hauled off shore close upon a wind to avoid rocks ahead. They had got into twenty-one fathoms of water when suddenly they fell into eight, within a few minutes. They were on the point of anchoring when on a sudden they again found themselves in deep water, and believed the danger at an end, thinking they had crossed the tail of a shoal. In less than an hour, without warning, the Endeavour struck on a rock, and remained immovable. Not being near the shore they were well aware of the horrors of this position. They feared that they were on a rock of coral, and all sails were taken in and boats lowered. She beat so violently against the rock that the crew could scarcely keep their feet. For hours they threw overboard guns, ballast stores, in order to lighten the ship, and as Cook says, "Not an oath was sworn, so much were the minds of the sailors impressed with a sense of the danger." They had struck just after dark, and at daylight they descried land some eight leagues distant, "but not a single island between them and the main on which part of the crew might have landed, while the boats went on shore with the rest; so that the destruction of the greater part would have been inevitable had the ship gone to pieces."

It does seem strange that on such an expedition as this, with only a complement of some eighty souls to provide for, that the Endeavour's boats were not equal to carrying all ashore. High water was expected at about eleven o'clock; they had lightened her by fifty tons and hoped she would float off. The tide fell short it seems, and she still needed eighteen inches. Everything therefore that could possibly be spared was sacrificed, and as the tide fell the

water could hardly be kept under by incessant pumping. Their only hope now lay in the midnight tide, but the leakage increased to such an extent that they feared she would sink even if she cleared. Their plight was now an awful one, for every man knew that when the fatal moment arrived all discipline would be at an end, and the horrid fight for the boats was dreaded even more than shipwreck. It was thought likewise that those who were left on board to perish in the sinking ship would have a happier fate than those who would have to face an existence among the most rude of savages, for well they knew that there was not the remotest chance of rescue from these lonely, barren shores.

At twenty minutes past ten, however, the ship floated, but the leak had gained on the pumps, and there was now three feet nine inches of water in the hold. They were wearied to death, each could only pump a few minutes at a time, and then flung himself exhausted on the deck. Thus they battled with impending death, hoping against hope. At last the following accident almost drove them to despair. Between the inside lining and the ship's bottom there is a space of some eighteen inches. Hitherto, the man who sounded the well had gone no farther than the inside lining, but being relieved by another, who took the depth to the outside planks, it appeared as if the water had gained on them a foot and a half. For the moment they were paralysed with despair, but the error discovered, joy succeeded grief and inspired them with such energy that by eight in the morning they had considerably gained on the water. Eventually they got a sail drawn over the leak, and anchored in the evening seven leagues from shore.

On the 17th, after searching for a harbour, they found a safe place where she could be moored close to the beach. On examining the ship's bottom they discovered the very singular fact that had a large piece of rock not broken off and stuck in the large hole made, she must inevitably have foundered.

Scurvy had broken out among them by this time, Mr. Green being seriously ill.

On the 5th July the Endeavour again floated, and they sailed across the bay. Here they landed, and we read that they saw animals, "two of which were chased by Mr. Banks' greyhound, but they greatly outstripped him in speed by leaping over the long, thick grass, which incommoded the dog in running, and it was observed that these animals bounded forward on two legs instead of four."

After various adventures with the blacks they put to sea again on the 4th of August, standing E. by N., and coming to anchor, named the northernmost point Cape Bedford.

On Sunday, the 12th, it was thought well to leave the coast altogether. "They had sailed," says Captain Cook, "without ever having a man out of the chains heaving the lead when the ship was under sail." This was indeed a remarkable feat of patience, courage and endurance, they having been absolutely surrounded by unknown reefs, shoals, rocks and countless dangers at sea and ashore for over three months. The passage through which they passed to the sea is in lat. $14^{\circ} 32'$ S., and is known by three islands, which Cook named the Islands of Direction.

On the 15th they steered a westerly course so as to discover the still unascertained passage between Australia and New Guinea. Again they narrowly escaped shipwreck on a terrible reef towards which they were driven, but a

a breeze sprang up and saved them. Providence Channel was the name given to an opening through which they passed to safety.

On the 18th Forbes Islands were discovered, likewise Cape Grenville and Temple Bay.

At this time Cook formally planted the British flag, and took possession of all the eastern coast from the 38th° of S. latitude, in the name of King George. They now advanced to the northern extremity of the islands, and viewed the open sea to the westward, giving their name to Prince of Wales Islands. Between the island and the mainland is a passage, which he named Endeavour Straits.

On the 24th August, 1770, they left the coast of New South Wales and steered for the coast of New Guinea, passed through the Torres Straits, and established the fact that New Holland and New Guinea were separate islands.

On the way homewards Cook called at Batavia, and was received with much hospitality by the only English gentleman there, a Mr. Leith. He waited on the council of the Dutch East India Company, the Governor of which ordered him a supply of cash for the purpose of refitting the Endeavour, as by this time this gallant navigator seems to have run short of money.*

Having set sail from Batavia on the 27th of December, 1770, and calling at various ports, the Endeavour found herself in the following February on the way to the Cape of Good Hope.

Death was making sad havoc in the ship's company. To use Lieutenant Low's words, "The fatal seeds of disease the people had inbibed at Batavia, began now to appear in dysenteries and low fever. In a short time the ship was little better than a hospital, and almost every night a corpse was committed to the sea. Mr. Banks was among the number of the sick, and for some time his life was despaired of. In the course of six weeks they buried Mr. Sporing, a gentlemen of Mr. Banks' retinue; Mr. Parkinson, his natural history painter; Mr. Green, the astronomer; the boatswain; the carpenter and his mate; Mr. Monkhouse; the sailmaker and his assistant; the cook; the corporal of marines; two of the carpenter's crew; a midshipman; and nine sailors—in all, three and twenty persons."

To this bill of mortality must be added seven persons buried at Batavia.

On the 15th March, at 10 p.m., the Endeavour came to anchor off the Cape, and the Governor offered all hospitality and assistance. They stayed a month to recruit and take in stores, &c., setting sail on the 15th April, and on Monday 1st May, reached St. Helena.

On the 4th they set sail in company with the Portland man-of-war with her convoy of East Indiamen. The larger craft were found to outsail the gallant little Endeavour, and Captain Cook sent by Captain Elliott of the Portland, despatches for the Admiralty.

Two more deaths took place on the homeward voyage, and their bodies committed to the deep. At last, to their inexpressible joy, the cry of "Land

* I cannot but wonder at this scarcity of money on the Endeavour. Of course it must have been quite accidental, for none of the party had any opportunity of spending any in Australia or New Zealand.

ho!" was heard from the masthead, and they knew the Lizard had been sighted.

This was on the 10th of June, next day a fair wind carried them up the Channel, Beachy Head was passed on the morning of the 12th, and at three o'clock they were safely lying in the Downs.

In the introduction to his second voyage Cook thus simply sums up the first. He says, "I was ordered to proceed to Otaheite, and after astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the design of making discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean by proceeding to the south as far as latitude 40° ; then, if I found no land, to proceed to the west between $40'$ and $35'$, till I fell in with New Zealand, which I was to explore; and thence to return to England by such route as I should think proper. In the prosecution of these instructions, I sailed from Deptford the 30th July, 1768; from Plymouth the 26th August; touched at Madeira, Rio de Janeiro, and Strait le Maire, and entered the South Pacific Ocean by Cape Horn in January the following year.

"I endeavoured to make a direct course to Otaheite, and in part succeeded; but I made no discovery till I got within the tropic, where I fell in with Lagoon Island, The Groups, Bird Island, Chain Island, and on the 13th of April arrived at Otaheite, where I remained three months, during which time the observations on the transit were taken.

"I then left it, discovered and visited the Society Isles and Ohetoroa, thence proceeded to the south till I arrived in latitude 40° , 22 south longitude, 147° , 29 west, and on the 6th of October fell in with the east side of New Zealand.

"I continued exploring the coast of this country till the 31st of March, 1770, when I quitted it and proceeded to New Holland, and having surveyed the eastern coast of that vast country, which part had not before been visited, I passed between its northern extremity and New Guinea, landed on the latter, touched at the island of Savu, Batavia, Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, and arrived in England on the 2nd of July, 1771."

Thus happily ended Cook's first great voyage of discovery, after an absence from England of two years, nine months and fourteen days.

In looking back over this memorable voyage, it is fair to own that Cook's theory of dealing with the savage tribes he encountered was based on humane and reasonable principles. It was somewhat difficult to carry these principles into practice. These wild creatures naturally resented the invasion of their coasts by white strangers totally ignorant of their language, customs and religion. Hence, unhappily, tyrant force had to be used in order to terrify and subdue them, and bloodshed led to further bloodshed.

The rules he laid down for the guidance of his ship's company were as follows:—

1. To endeavour by every fair means to cultivate a friendship with the natives, and to treat them with all imaginable humanity.
2. A proper person or persons will be appointed to trade with the nations for all manner of provisions, fruit and other productions of the earth; and no officer, or seaman, or other person belonging to the ship, except such as are so appointed, shall trade, or offer to trade, for any sort of provisions, fruit or other productions of the earth, unless they have leave so to do.
3. Any person employed on shore on any duty whatsoever, is strictly to attend to the same; and if, by neglect, he loses any of his arms or working

tools, or suffers them to be stolen, the full value thereof will be charged against his pay, according to the custom of the navy in such cases; and he shall receive such further punishment as the nature of the case may deserve.

4. The same penalty will be inflicted on every person who is found to embezzle, trade, or offer to trade, with any part of the ship's stores, of what nature soever.

5. No sort of iron, or anything that is made of iron, or any sort of cloth, or other necessary articles, are to be given in exchange for anything but provisions.

There cannot be a doubt as to what Cook's sentiments and wishes on this subject were, but his benevolent designs were too often frustrated by the actions of his subordinates. That these primitive savages have some sense of justice is illustrated by the following incident. Soon after reaching Otaheite and after establishing friendly relations with the natives, Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse found, that during a feast, their pockets had been picked, the one of a snuff box, the other of an opera glass. Mr. Banks, on hearing this, started up from where he was sitting and struck the butt end of his musket violently on the ground. On this most of the natives ran away, but the chief remained. He was much distressed, and though he had nothing to do with the theft he offered Mr. Banks several pieces of native cloth as compensation. On Mr. Banks refusing to accept these he went out, and in half-an-hour returned with the snuff box and the empty case of the opera glass. When his attention was drawn to the absence of the glass he took Mr. Banks by the hand and led him towards the shore at a rapid pace. They reached a house followed by Dr. Solander and Mr. Monkhouse, where a woman received them with friendly signs. Some beads were given to her, and she went out bringing back the opera glass in a few minutes. The beads were now returned and cloth forced on Dr. Solander, so that he could not well refuse it though he gave a present in return. Many other such instances of a sense of fairness and equity must be put to the credit of these untaught children of nature.

There are one or two points in connection with the rules and regulations of the Admiralty of Cook's period which may be of interest. When appointed to the command of the Endeavour he held the position of Master in the Navy. This post, which has been abolished over thirty years, was followed by that of Navigating Lieutenant, which has also been done away with.* Mr. Besant tells us, in his "Life of Cook," that the duties of Master were shortly as follows:—"To navigate the ship under the directions of her superior officer, to see that the log-book was kept, to inspect all stores and provisions, to stow the hold, trim the ship, take care of the ballast, to observe coasts, shoals, and rocks, and to sign vouchers and accounts. In other words he was the chief executive officer on board."

The pay varied from £4 a month on board a Sixth Rate, to £9 2s. a month on a First Rate. The surgeon was paid £5 a month; the captain eight guineas a month on a Sixth Rate, and £28 a month on a First Rate.

The weekly rations of the men were seven pounds of biscuits, seven gallons of beer, two pounds of pork, four pounds of beef, one quart of pease, three pints of oatmeal, six ounces of butter, twelve ounces of cheese.

* I make this statement on the authority of Mr. Besant, but since setting it down I notice that the post still appears in the Navy List.

Mr. Besant makes the following comparison, showing that the Jack Tar of a century ago fared on the whole rather better than the Blue Jacket of to-day:—

Allowance per diem for each man:—

1780.	1890.
One pound of biscuit.	One pound and a quarter of biscuit.
One gallon of beer.	One ounce of cocoa, one quarter-ounce tea, two ounces sugar, half gill rum.
Six-sevenths of a pound of meat.	One pound of meat.
One-seventh of a quart of pease.	Half-a-pound of vegetables.
Three-sevenths of a peck of oatmeal.	No oatmeal, butter, or cheese.
Six-sevenths of an ounce of butter.	
One and five-sevenths of an ounce of cheese.	

Certainly the quantity of beer allowed is liberal in the extreme, and we cannot but reflect what a considerable cargo of that beverage must have been taken on board. On foreign voyages, however, when beer ran short, half a pint of rum, arrack, or brandy, might be substituted. This is a great contrast from the half gill with which the modern man-o'-warsman has to content himself.

No tobacco was served out, but the purser could sell it to the men in quantities not exceeding two pounds for each man per month. Half a pound of tobacco per week is certainly a noble allowance.

I have already alluded to the circumstance of the preference shewn to Cook by the Admiralty over Dalrymple, on the ground that the latter was not a sailor. This caused a rancorous jealousy on the part of Dalrymple, quite unworthy of so distinguished a man. We read that when at the capture of Manilla by the English, in 1762, it was found that Torres, in sailing along the south coast of New Guinea, had, unknown to himself, passed through the Torres Straits, Dalrymple, the Admiralty Hydrographer, "paid a fitting tribute" to Torres, by giving them the name which they have ever since retained. But was not his underlying motive a desire to obscure the name of the great circumnavigator, whom he considered his supplanter? The Dutch disbelieved in the existence of such a passage, and sent Tasman, in 1644, to report upon the matter, and he failed to find it.

Again we find Dalrymple doing Cook a further injustice, by stating that he had examined certain maps before he sailed, which led him to the discovery of what he called Endeavour Straits. In a note to his work on Australia, Mr. Rusden makes the following remarks in this connection:—

"How little," he says, "the maps of the sixteenth century could have aided him! The Dauphin map, 1530, is extolled as laying down the coast of New Zealand. But it makes the land continuous from the East Cape of New Zealand to Cape York in Australia. Moreover, it does not shew New Guinea. In one of the maps of the period, made at "Dieppe, par Nicolas Desleins, 1566," and preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris—the same features occur; and between Java la Grande, or Australia (which is represented as

extending far southward of the latitude of Cape Horn), and the Cape of Good Hope, a large island is shewn, occupying about seven degrees of longitude and nearly five of latitude. On the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, it is appropriately styled Isle des Geantz. Perhaps Swift had his eye upon this map in satirically choosing the same place for his Liliput."

Here is Cook's own description of the discovery. "We climbed the highest hill, which was not more than three times as high as the mast head, and the most barren of any we had seen. From this hill no land could be seen between the south west and the west south west, so that I had no doubt of finding a channel through. The land to the north west of it consisted of a great number of islands, of various extent and different heights, ranged one behind the other, as far to the northward and westward as I could see, which could not be less than thirteen leagues. As I now was about to quit the eastern coast of New Holland, which I had coasted from 38° to this place, and to which I am confident no European had ever been before, I once more hoisted English colours, and though I had already taken possession of several particular parts, I now took possession of the whole eastern coast from latitude 38° to this place, latitude 10½° S., in right of His Majesty King George III., in the name of New South Wales, with all the bays, rivers, and islands situate upon it; we then fired three volleys of small arms which were answered by the same number from the ship. Having performed this ceremony upon the island which we called Possession Island, we embarked in our boat, but a rapid ebb setting N.E. made our return to the vessel very difficult."*

The number of islands which crowd the Torres Straits probably explains why Tasman supposed the land to be continuous.

The account of Cook's first voyage was not written by himself, which is much to be regretted. It was thought that advantage would be gained by placing his journal in the hands of Dr. Hawkesworth, a writer of the day, noted for his learning and grace of literary style. He undertook the work, for which he was paid a large sum, and certainly displayed great erudition. It is written in the first person, as if Cook was the narrator, but the plain blunt mariner is completely lost in the mist of scholarship which surrounds his phraseology. The antics of some savages in a remote South Sea Island are supposed to remind the untutored Cook of the athletic sports of Corinth and Athens. He is made to speak to his *female* readers of Fénélon's Telemachus, and talk learnedly of writings imputed to Ælian and Apollonius Rhodius. Dr. Hawkesworth had previously written the voyages of Byron, Wallis and Cartaret, and regarding his productions, Mr. Besant aptly remarks: "It must be owned that the author of this literary job was careful to preserve every incident recorded in the journals, yet their mode of presentment robbed the journals entirely of their personal element, which is the chief charm in all books of travel. Wallis and Cartaret have disappeared altogether. Cook himself is invisible under the classic garments with which he is arrayed. When we read of the 'poetical fables of Arcadia,' of the 'Purpura of the Ancients,' we feel the felicity of passing Cook through a classical mill."

Instead of the simple and sailor-like, but expressive, "Douse the glim," we have the grandiloquent "extinguish that nocturnal luminary," a painfully

* Cook's First Voyage round the World, by Hawkesworth, vol. iii., page 616.

incongruous and disappointing state of affairs. We cannot but be thankful that we have Dampier's voyages *in puris naturalibus*, with a saltness of the sea about them which keeps them ever fresh and wholesome. Fortunately the learned Doctor did not lay his super-classical hands on Cook's subsequent journals.

However meagrely the Admiralty rewarded the services of Cook he was nevertheless the recipient of unstinted praise and high honour. On their arrival in the metropolis he and his companions received a hearty welcome and sumptuous entertainments, both from the scientific world and the highest ranks of fashionable society. They were likewise presented to the King at St. James' Palace, when Cook exhibited his journal, charts, and maps, and the other explorers their zoological, botanical, and other specimens. Whatever praise and glory he received at the time however, was trifling compared with that bestowed upon his memory when the real grandeur of his discoveries became manifest, and a new nation was founded in the Southern Sea.

It is a singular coincidence that when Cook's ship the Endeavour was leaving Doubtless Bay in the North Island of New Zealand, a French navigator named De Surville was quite close to the island, and neither mariner knew of the others' presence. It seems that a rumour had become current that the English had discovered an island of gold in the Southern Sea: hence the presence of the Frenchman. In December, 1769, he cast anchor in Doubtless Bay, landing immediately afterwards. The natives were extremely friendly, supplying the strangers with food and water. One day as a party of invalids were endeavouring to reach the ship they were driven back, and being detained by inclement weather were attended to with the utmost kindness by a chief named Naginouï. When the tempest had abated one of the ship's boats was missing. De Surville suspected the natives, and having with friendly assurances induced Naginouï to come on board his ship he put him in irons. In addition to this insult he burnt the village in which his sick had been cherished in their hour of need. He carried the chief away from his native land, and in Abbé Rochon's *Voyages* (1791) we read "Naginouï did not survive his capture long; he pined for fern-root, wept that he would never again behold his children, and died of a broken heart eighty days after his seizure. Men's evil deeds are occasionally punished in this world, and so were De Surville's, for eleven days' after Naginouï's death he was drowned in the surf when landing at Callao in Peru."

Says the same author, "Amongst all nations, crime begets crime; and retaliation, not forgiveness, is the ruling principle in the human breast. Three years after Naginouï's capture, and not far from the scene of it, Marion du Fresne, another Frenchman, landed in New Zealand. It was on the 11th of May, 1772, that this unfortunate man anchored his two ships between Te-Waiti Whais Island and the Motu Arobia (the Motuaroo of navigators) in the Bay of Islands."

He sailed in the Mascarin, accompanied by the Marquis de Castries, from the Mauritius, early in the year 1772, chiefly in search of the Southern Continent, arriving off the west coast of Tasmania on the 3rd day of March, being the first European to visit that island since the time of Tasman. Steering southeast and then northward, he coasted on the rocks and islands on the southern side till he reached Frederick Hendrick's Bay of Tasman. On landing, the natives were extremely friendly, but for some reasons which do

not appear, became quarrelsome, and finally attacked the Europeans. Both Marion and De Castries were wounded, and it was only after repeated volleys of firearms that they were enabled to beat off their fierce opponents.

Not being able after this to procure water or conciliate the natives, Marion sailed for New Zealand, where he was massacred. Various accounts have been given of this catastrophe. One by Crozet, captain of the *Mascarin*, is as follows:—"His masts being damaged, and not being able to find any trees in Van Dieman's Land suitable for making new ones, he looked out for them here (Bay of Islands, New Zealand). He found excellent pines, but at such a distance from the shore that he was obliged to cut a road through the dense woods for three miles. The natives appeared on the best terms with them, and Marion had one party of men on an island in the bay cleaning the casks preparatory to refilling them with fresh water. Another party was in the woods cutting down trees. After thirty-three days of peaceful intercourse, Captain Marion is represented as setting out one evening to visit his different parties at their work. He had been to the waterers on the island, and had gone to a 'hippah' of the natives on a hill, where he was accustomed to call on his way into the woods where Captain Crozet was superintending the operations of the woodcutters. Here, it is said, he was suddenly and unexpectedly set upon and murdered, together with his few attendants and the boat's crew awaiting him on shore.

The alarm was given to Captain Crozet in the wood, who managed to get on board with all his people safe, but had scarcely pushed off from the shore when a host of natives set up their song of defiance, and discharged volleys of stones at them. An attack was then planned against the waterers on the island by night, but was defeated. This having failed, a hundred large canoes openly attacked the ships themselves, and paid dearly for their temerity. As it was impossible to procure the necessary timber without driving the hostile natives from the neighbourhood, Captain Crozet determined to attack and destroy their 'hippah.' The natives boasted that he would find it impregnable, but he soon carried it, killing many of them, and putting the rest to flight. After this he completed his operations in peace, and after an abode of sixty-five days in the Bay of Islands sailed thence for the South Sea Islands."

Such is the French version of the story of the murder of Marion and his boat's crew as given by Crozet; but the New Zealanders themselves tell a very different tale.

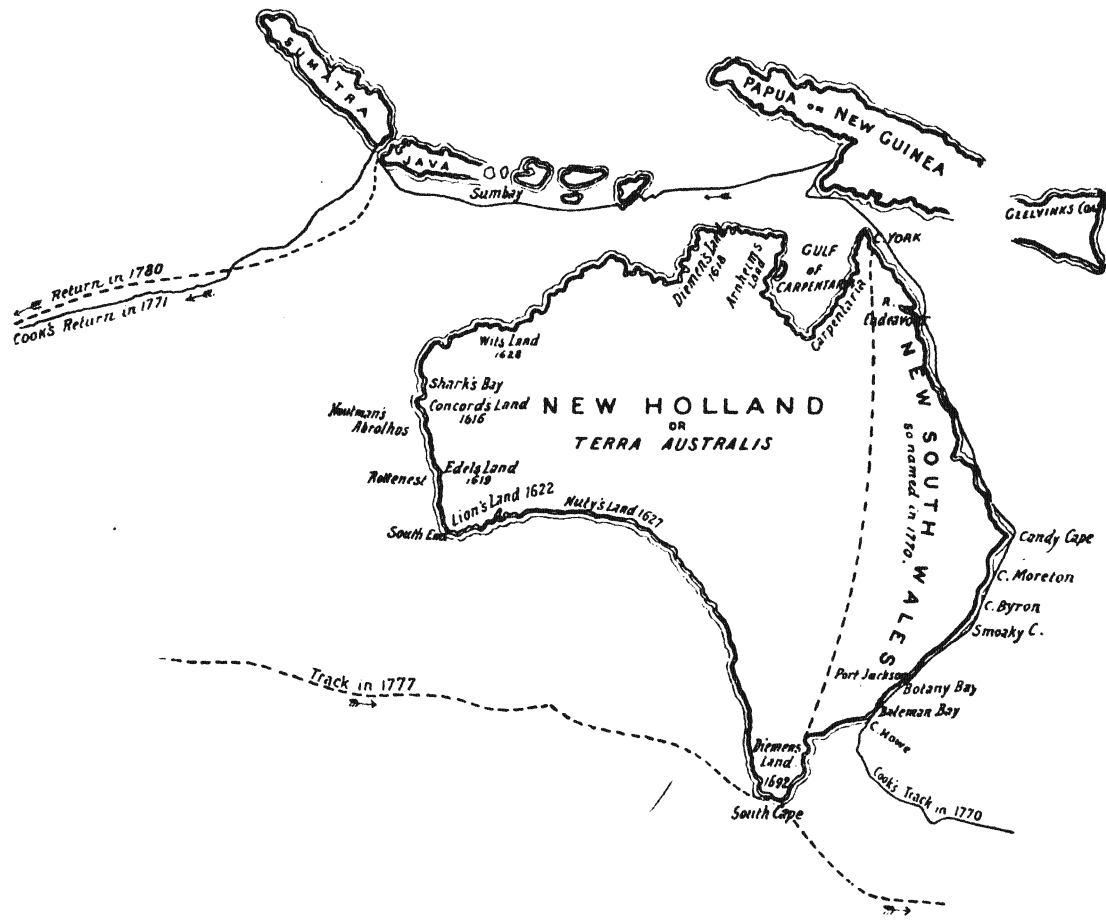
This is what Dr. Thomson says in his "Story of New Zealand." "Crozet, in his narrative, repeatedly states that the French gave no cause of offence, that up to the fatal day nothing could exceed the apparent harmony in which both races lived. They treated us," says Crozet, "with every show of friendship for thirty-three days with the intention of *eating us* on the thirty-fourth." Such is the French account of Marion's massacre. The native version of the affair I accidentally heard on a singular occasion. During the winter quarter of 1851 the French corvette *l'Alcmène*, thirty-two guns, Commander Count d'Harcourt, was totally wrecked, and ten lives lost, on the west coast of New Zealand, the opposite side of the island, but only fifty miles distant from the scene of Marion's massacre. As several men were severely wounded when the ship foundered, the Governor requested me to go and assist their transit across the country to Auckland. When so employed, I awoke one night, and saw a crowd of New Zealanders talking earnestly round a fire. There were upwards

of a hundred French sailors and nearly two hundred natives plunged in sleep in the open air all about. Hearing the name of Marion mentioned I pretended sleep, and listened to the conversation. I gathered that two vessels, commanded by Marion, belonging to the same nation as the shipwrecked sailors, visited the Bay of Islands, and that a strong friendship sprang up between both races, and that they planted the garlic which flavours the milk, butter and flesh of cows fed in that district. Before the Wiwis, as the French are now called, departed, they violated sacred places, cooked food with tapued wood, and put two chiefs in irons; that in revenge their ancestors killed Marion and several of his crew, and in the same spot the French burned villages and shot many New Zealanders.

Civilized men who judge savage races by civil laws may deem the native cause assigned for Marion's massacre frivolous; but those acquainted with the ancient customs of the New Zealanders must admit that violating sacred places, and enslaving sacred chiefs, are ample provocations to strife. The circumstance related of the natives having ceased visiting the ships before Marion's massacre, was a sure proof of hostility. It also affords evidence that the whole tale is not told, and that Crozet's narrative is garbled.*"

I have introduced the foregoing short sketch of these French expeditions, partly because they were undertaken at the same period, and with the same object as that of Captain Cook, and partly to illustrate how this system of trifling with the religious sentiments of the natives has led to terrible disaster. A fatal error of this kind robbed us of Captain Cook, to whose death I shall shortly refer hereafter.

*Dr. Thomson's Story of New Zealand Vol. I, page 236.



New Holland, from Map of the World in Lawrie & Whittle's Atlas, London, 1798. Showing Cook's Track.

COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.

In the simple words of this truly great man—James Cook :—“ Soon after my return in the Endeavour, it was resolved to equip two ships to complete the discovery of the Southern Hemisphere.”

He had returned to his home on June 12th, 1771. Two of his children had died during his absence. His wife was living at Mile End Old Town, near where is now the People's Palace. He had put in order his papers, etc., and handed them in to the Admiralty, and if ever a man needed rest, it was he. His active mind, however, found vent in at least one publication, “ An account of the Flowing of the Tide in the South Sea, as observed on board His Majesty's Bark, the Endeavour.” He had given his country Australia and New Zealand, and modestly hoped that he would be promoted to the rank of Post Captain. The Government of the time thought the position of Commander a sufficient recompense for a continent, and we do not know that he grumbled.

The burning question of a Southern Continent was again started by the publication of Cook's first voyage. He had not yet found it. Australia and New Zealand had nothing to do with the matter.

It is almost incredible to reflect that little more than a century ago, during the lifetime of fathers of men now alive and well, such views were held regarding a great undiscovered country. Dr. Kippis,* Cook's biographer, thus writes in 1788 : “ The writer of this narrative fully remembers how much his imagination was captivated, in the more early part of his life, with the hypothesis of a Southern Continent. He has often dwelt upon it with rapture, and been highly delighted with the authors who contended for its existence, and displayed the mighty consequences which would result from its being discovered. Though his knowledge was infinitely exceeded by that of some able men, who had paid a particular attention to the subject, he did not come behind them in the sanguineness of his hopes and expectations.”

“ Its longitude,” says Dalrymple,” is as much as that of all Europe, Asia Minor, and to the Caspian Sea and Persia, with all the islands of the Mediterranean and Ocean, which are in its limits embraced, including England and Ireland. That unknown part is a *quarter of the whole globe*, and so capacious that it may contain in it double the kingdoms and provinces of all those your Majesty is at present lord of, and that without adjoining to Turks or Moors, or others of the nations which are accustomed to disquiet and disturb their neighbours.”

This reads like a sixteenth century statement, and not like one belonging to the end of the eighteenth.

The order came to Cook to go to and find this wondrous continent. The

* Mr. Besant draws attention to this in his life of Cook.

Earl of Sandwich was then First Lord of the Admiralty, and appears to have selected him without hesitation; although Wallis and Cartaret had likewise high reputations, and infinitely more family influence, which went a long way in those days, as it does still. The date of his commission was 28th November, 1771.

The Endeavour had been sent out to the Falkland Islands as a store ship, therefore two other vessels of somewhat similar design, and made by the same builders, were purchased from Captain William Hammond, of Hull. Both were good Whitby vessels, of the Endeavour stamp, the larger one named the Resolution, of 462 tons burden, and the smaller, the Adventure, of 336 tons. The first was fitted out at Deptford, the second at Woolwich. Cook was appointed to the Resolution, and Tobias Furneaux, who had been second lieutenant to Captain Wallis, was promoted to command the Adventure. The dreadful mortality on board the Endeavour caused Cook to take special precaution against scurvy, and his successful efforts in this direction alone would entitle him to the gratitude of his countrymen, irrespective of his great achievements as a navigator. He substituted wheat for oatmeal, reduced the quantity of oil and supplied its place with sugar, likewise taking on board stores of malt, sour-kraut, salted cabbage, portable broth, lemon juice, saloop, mustard, marmalade, carrots, and inspissated juice of wort, from which beer could at once be made. Some of these articles were experimental, and other well-known for their antiscorbutic qualities.

The Resolution had a complement of 112 officers and men, while the Adventure carried a ship's company of 81.

Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks had intended accompanying this expedition, but considering the accommodation on board inadequate for their requirements abandoned the project.* So great, however, was the enthusiasm exhibited regarding the search for the Great South Land, that according to Boswell even Dr. Samuel Johnson himself contemplated being one of the party. If this were the case we cannot but regret that he did not carry out his intention. A record of the voyage from his inspired pen would have thrown additional lustre on Cook's great achievement.

In addition to the usual boats the frame of a small vessel of twenty tons was carried by each ship in case of emergency, and a number of medals were struck bearing the King's head on one face and a representation of the two ships on the obverse. An astronomer accompanied each ship, Mr. William Wales being appointed to the Resolution and Mr. William Bayley to the Adventure. Mr. William Hodges, a landscape painter, was engaged to make drawings of places and people, and two German naturalists, John Reinhold Forster and George Forster, his son, were sent to look after their own department of science.

In the Museum at Whitby is a so-called model of the Resolution. She is a stout three-masted vessel, broad in the beam, speed being less her object than strength. Her figure-head is a black savage, with spear and shield; she has no bulwarks, but a strong timber railing runs round her, giving her a sort of hurricane deck, open to the sweep of the seas, which latter peculiarity is probably an error on the part of the modeller. Her upper deck is nearly flush, the quarter-deck being raised about a foot. There are no cabins or rooms on

* Another version of this story is that Banks somehow incurred the enmity of a high Admiralty official, who used his influence to prevent his sailing with Cook on his second voyage.

the upper deck, which is left entirely unprotected. She is pierced for twenty-six guns, which is probably another inaccuracy, since the Resolution carried only twelve, though pierced for sixteen. When one thinks of a hundred and twelve men living on the small vessel, with live stock, consisting of bulls, cows, rams, ewes, goats, and fowls, one cannot but admire the patience and endurance of the sailors who sailed the seas a century ago. George Forster, the younger of the two naturalists just referred to, wrote an account of this voyage, which appeared in 1777. It was regarded as a breach of confidence,* and its publication was so strongly resented by the Government that the Forsters were offered no further appointments, and eventually went back to Germany.

The Resolution set sail from Deptford on the 9th April, 1772, and after being joined by the Adventure was detained by adverse winds till the 10th of May. The rigging of the former was found to be too heavy for the hull, and she was considered too "crank" to continue her voyage until alterations were made. These were effected in Sheerness, and on the 22nd of June she again weighed anchor, joining the Adventure in Plymouth Sound on the 3rd July. After being inspected by Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser, the ships set sail for Madeira on the 13th of July.

On the 29th they anchored in Funchal Roads, and after taking in fresh stores sailed again on the 1st August. Running short of water they touched at Porto Praya in the island of St. Jago, anchoring off Cape Town on the 30th of October. There they were informed by the Governor that a French ship had discovered land in the meridian of the Mauritius, in latitude 48°, and also that in the previous March two French ships under Captain Marion had touched at the Cape en route for the South Pacific. This voyage I have already referred to. On the 22nd of November the expedition left the Cape and steered a course towards Cape Circumcision, which was their first object of search. The weather turning out very cold, jackets and trousers were served out, made of stout flannel called 'fearnought.' They encountered heavy gales, with hail and snow, and were driven far to the eastward of their course. Nearly all their live stock (sheep, hogs, and geese shipped at the Cape) died through the sudden transition from heat to cold.

On the 10th December, an island of ice was seen, in latitude 50° 40' south, and 2° 0' east of the Cape of Good Hope. In thick, hazy weather, with sleet and snow, the ships continued their course, the Resolution leading, and soon found themselves among icebergs or ice-rocks, as Captain Cook called them. The ships were in great peril, owing to the enormous pressure of packed ice which surrounded them, and the cold was so intense that an iceberg, which was examined, had no water running down its sides, as is usually the case in summer. Still for six weeks Cook kept on pushing south whenever an opening occurred. Several cases of scurvy appeared among the crew, which were cured by doses of fresh wort. Christmas day was spent according to Forster, with the usual cheerful hilarity, by officers and passengers; and by the crew, with "savage noise and drunkenness, to which they seem to have particularly devoted the day." The naturalist, seemingly, was highly discontented with his surroundings, and speaks feelingly of "the gloomy uniformity with which we slowly passed dull hours, days and months, in this desolate part of the world. We were perpetually wrapped in thick fogs, beaten with showers of rain, hail,

* See Appendix, Cook's letter to Dr. Douglas.

sleet and snow, surrounded by innumerable islands of ice, against which we daily ran the risk of being shipwrecked, and forced to live upon salt provisions, which concurred with the cold and wet, to infect the mass of our blood." Cook himself, however, never seems to have found time hang heavy on his hands, but then he may be said to have been in his native element, whereas Forster was, in a sense, 'a fish out of water.' Having reached latitude 67° 15' south, even the redoubtable Cook seems to have had enough of it, and concluded to 'bout ship and steer north. "Very natural," says Forster, "that our people, exhausted by fatigue and the want of wholesome food, should wish for a place of refreshment, and rejoice to leave a part of the world where they could not expect to meet with it."

They had certainly endured many hardships, and suffered severely from various causes, although Cook denies that scurvy was so rife as Forster describes. The Antarctic circle had been crossed on the 17th of January, 1773, and search made in vain for the land said to have been seen by the French captain in the longitude of the Mauritius. On the 8th February, during thick weather, the Adventure became separated from the Resolution, and though according to arrangement Cook had cruised for three days about the spot where his consort had been last seen, burning blue lights and firing guns, he was compelled to abandon the research. On the night of the 17th the Aurora Borealis was seen, and cast a light sufficiently strong to allow a book to be read.

It was in the middle of March, when the Antarctic summer was nearly over, that Cook shaped his course northward, to the great delight of Forster. His intention had been to visit Van Dieman's Land, but the wind was adverse, so he steered for New Zealand.

On Friday the 26th March, after 117 days at sea, and sailing over 3660 leagues (10,000 miles), the Resolution entered Dusky Bay, at the south-west end of the Middle Island.

There ended," says Forster, our "first cruise in the high southern latitudes. . . . Our whole course from the Cape of Good Hope to New Zealand was a series of hardships which had never been experienced before. All the disagreeable circumstances of the rails and rigging shattered to pieces, the vessel rolling gunwale to, and her upper works torn by the violence of the strain. . . . We had the perpetual severities of a rigorous climate to cope with. Our seamen and officers were exposed to rain, sleet, hail and snow; our rigging was constantly incrustated with ice, which cut the hands of those who were obliged to touch it; our provision of fresh water was to be collected in lumps of ice floating on the sea, when the cold and saline element alternately numbed and scarified our sailors' hands."

This is a true landsman's view of the matter, and, of course, what appeared to him extreme hardship, would be treated as a matter of course by Cook and his crew. Cook had seen far worse weather and a lower thermometer off the coast of Labrador.

A secure harbour having been found, the ship was moored to the shore, her yards being locked in the overhanging trees, and a stream of fresh water within a hundred yards of her stern. Here they made themselves very comfortable, and at Cook's suggestion, brewed some capital beer from the leaves of a tree resembling the American black spruce. Shooting and fishing parties went out constantly, and had friendly intercourse with the natives. In pursuance of his

desire to benefit the countries he visited, Cook left five geese, brought from the Cape, in a retired cove, which was named Goose Cove. A garden was likewise dug, and seeds sown.

On the 28th of April, the Resolution again weighed anchor, but encountering adverse winds, did not fairly to sea until the 11th May. They then proceeded along the west coast towards Queen Charlotte's Sound, between the two islands. At five o'clock in the morning of the 18th of May, they fired some guns, and were saluted by Captain Furneaux with a salvo of thirteen guns. Great joy was manifested on both sides at the meeting of the two ships; and it appeared that after the separation, Furneaux had cruised about for several days, firing guns in the hope of being answered by the Resolution. Friendly relations were established with the natives, considerable trade done, and the coast explored.

On the 7th of June, 1773, both ships put to sea, intending to explore all the unknown parts of the ocean between the meridian of New Zealand and Cape Horn. They steered a north-west course and got into warmer weather, when news came to Cook that scurvy had broken out on board the Adventure. Their cook had died, and twenty men were on the sick list. Fresh vegetables were absolutely necessary for their cure, and accordingly a course was made for Otaheite. They sighted several small islands, and arrived at Oaita-piha Bay on the 16th of August, after undergoing perilous risks of shipwreck on the surrounding reefs. The place was evidently to Mr. Forster's taste, and he bursts into rapturous prose—"Faint breezes," he says, "wafted delicious perfumes from the land, and curled the surface of the sea. The mountains rose majestic in various spiry forms. Everything seemed as yet asleep, the morning scarce dawned, and a peaceful shade still rested on the landscape."

Here is a pretty poetical picture of the people of Otaheite as drawn by Mr. Forster. As Mr. Besant puts it, "it seems to represent the emotion of the writer in recalling a fond memory of the delightful place he would never be privileged to visit again. Scientifically it is vague." The naturalist writes:—

"The men are all well proportioned, and some would have been selected by Phidias or Praxitiles as models for their masculine beauty. Their features are sweet and unruffled by violent passions. Their large eyes, their arched eyebrows and high foreheads give a noble air to their heads, which are adorned by strong beards and a comely growth of hair. The sex, the partners of their felicity, are likewise well formed; their irregular charms win the heart of their countrymen, and their unaffected smile and a wish to please, ensure them mutual esteem and love. A kind of happy uniformity runs through the whole life of the Tahitians. They rise with the sun, and hasten to rivers and fountains to perform an ablution equally reviving and cleanly. They pass the morning at work, or walk about till the heat of the day increases, when they retreat to their dwellings or repose under some tufted tree. There they amuse themselves with smoothing their hair and anoint it with with fragrant oils; or they blow the flute and sing to it, or listen to the song of the birds. At the hour of noon, or a little later, they go to dinner. After their meals they resume their domestic amusements, during which the flame of mutual affection spreads in every heart and unites the rising generation with new and tender ties. The lively jest without any ill nature, the artless tale, the jocund dance, and frugal supper bring in the evening, and another visit to the river, conclude the

actions of the day. Thus, contented with their simple way of life, and placed in a delightful country, they are free from cares, and happy in their ignorance.

"Ihr Leben fliesset verborgen Wie klare Bäche durch Blumen dahin."

The German naturalist describes a sort of earthly paradise, a modern Arcadia. Yet these were the men who three years afterwards shocked the world with a deed of blood.

On September 17th the ships were again at sea. Cook's intention was to touch at Middleburg and Amsterdam before hauling up for New Zealand. At night they hove to, lest they should pass land in the night. On the 23rd they discovered Hervey's Islands, but saw no inhabitants. On the 1st of October they reached Middleburg, and landing, entertained the natives with a tune on the bag-pipes. Three young native women sang "with a good grace;" and the chief afterwards came on board, dined, and was very friendly. They were now at the Tonga Islands, and Cook, in token of the gracious conduct of the savages, called them the Friendly Islands, by which name they are now known. Tasman, who had discovered them in 1642-3, had named the two principal islands Amsterdam and Middleburg.

Leaving Ea-oo-we, or Middleburg, the ship ran on to Tongatabu, and anchored in Van Diemen's Roads in forty-seven fathoms. Barter and trade was conducted, and the two captains landed at the invitation of the chief Attago. Then Cook entered into the idolatrous rites of the savages, making offerings on their altars. In this he did wrong, as Monkhouse had done in the previous voyage, and to his abnegation of allegiance to his own religion may be traced his ultimate sad fate. Great man that he was, his perception of right and wrong must have been subordinated to the convenience of the moment, and this, as we shall see, led to his death.

They met with some artful thieves here. One man got into the captain's cabin, stole some articles, and leapt through the port. Being pursued by the boats, he dived under them time after time, and finally unshipping the rudder, rendered the pursuing boat unmanageable, and so escaped. Mr. Wales lost his shoes and stockings, and so forth. The voyagers seem to have enjoyed themselves here, and bartered very successfully. Attago, the chief, however, insisted on being presented with a uniform similar to Captain Cook's! One very curious custom of these natives is noted. Nearly all the adults had lost the little finger of one hand, some of both; and it was conjectured that the amputation was made at the death of parents.

On the 7th of October, the expedition again weighed anchor, and a course shaped for Queen Charlotte's Sound to take in wood and water, and after encountering a very heavy gale (during which the ships again became separated) and making various discoveries, arrived there on the 3rd of November. A harmonious intercourse was kept up with the natives, and here we find another unaccountable action on the part of Cook. A party had gone up country on a war expedition, and returned with the dead body of a slain youth. Much of the flesh had been eaten, but one of the officers brought several pounds of this meat and the head on board the Resolution. Several savages being on the ship at the time, actually boiled and ate this *in the presence of Captain Cook and his officers*, and the horrid act turned them sick. One of the crew actually tasted the dreadful food, and a native Otaheitian, Oedidee, who had joined the expedition, viewed and spoke of the proceedings with unmitigated disgust. I suppose

Cook wanted evidence of their cannibalism, but it was difficult to understand how he could tolerate such a feast in his presence.

The Adventure was searched for in vain, and all hopes of seeing her during the voyage was abandoned, as no *rendezvous* had been fixed.

On the 26th November, Cook left Cape Palliser on a second voyage into the Southern Ocean. The Captain's account of this period and the passengers' (Forster's), are strangely divergent. To the iron frame of Cook everything was comfortable and convenient, but to Forster and his father the hardships were appalling. Scurvy and illness came upon them. "Our situation" he writes, "was indeed very dismal to those who possessed the blessing of health; to the sick, whose limbs were tortured with excessive pain, it was insupportable. The ocean about us had a furious aspect, and seemed incensed at the presumption of a few intruding mortals. A gloomy melancholy air loomed on the brows of our shipmates, and a dreadful silence reigned among us. Salt meat, our constant diet, had become loathsome to us all, even to those who had been bred to a nautical life from their tenderest years. The hour of dinner was hateful to us." . . . and then comes the remark which shews the indomitable spirit of Cook, "The Captain (who had been ill) seemed to recover as we advanced to the southward." On January 30th, 1774, in latitude 71° 10' South, they reached the great southern wall of ice.

Then they turned northwards, and Cook fell ill, with what he called a bilious colic. He makes light of it, but Forster says he was at death's door. In any case, fresh broth was necessary for him, and a dog was killed for this purpose. It was Forster's dog, by the way, so no doubt he considered Cook in a very bad way.

On the 11th March, 1774, land was sighted, and proved to be Easter Island. Here they landed and observed some strange gigantic statues,* of the origin of which the natives knew nothing, nor did they pay them any respect.

On the 16th of March they left Easter Island and visited the Marquesas, whose position Cook desired to fix. After procuring fresh food, they sailed from here on the 12th of April, 1774, and ten days afterwards reached Otaheite. Forster was enraptured, quotes Latin, and says:—"They resemble the happy, indolent people whom Ulysses found in Phæacia, and could apply the poet's lines to themselves with peculiar propriety:—

"To dress, to dance, to sing, our sole delight,
The feast or bath by day, and love by night."

On the 15th of May they left this Garden of Eden behind them, visited various islands, including New Caledonia, of which they explored the south-west coast, and likewise Norfolk Island.

I may remark that at every place they touched the natives either stole, or attempted to steal something; and this led to frequent collisions. Everything was so intensely novel to these aborigines, that they seem to have had an irresistible impulse to possess themselves of a sample of civilization. Cook resented this, and his efforts to make them honest cost him dear, as we shall see.

On one of the islands visited, after leaving the high lands to the south-west

* One of these, if I mistake not, now stands on the right hand side of the entrance to the British Museum, outside the building.

of the Friendly Islands (the Australia del Espirito Santo of Quiros), some of the officers were nearly poisoned by eating portions of two reddish fish. They were seized with pains in the head and bones, attended with a scorching heat all over the body, and numbness of the joints. The crew of Quiros suffered in a like manner.

Mr. Forster thus describes their very miserable plight:—"Our ship now resembled an hospital. The poisoned patients were still in a deplorable situation; they continued to have gripes and acute pains in their bones. In the daytime they were in a manner giddy, and felt a great heaviness in their heads. At night as soon as they were warm in bed their pains redoubled, and robbed them actually of sleep. The skin peeled off from the whole body, and pimples appeared on their hands. Those who were less affected with pain were much weaker in proportion, and crawled about the decks emaciated to mere shadows. We had not one lieutenant able to do duty; and as one of the mates and several of the midshipmen were likewise ill, the watches were commanded by the gunner and the other mates."

On the 3rd of August they reached another island, and after some altercation fired on the natives, the *skirmish ending in the retreat of the English*. Cook, after getting safely on board, evidently lost his temper, for he ordered a round shot to be fired at two natives, who came to return oars which had been lost. His unhappy temper led him to his fate, and it does seem incredible how really great men seem incapable of ruling their own spirits.

The name of this island is Erromanga, where sixty-six years afterwards, John Williams, one of the noblest in the missionary band, was foully murdered. The heritage of hate, I fear, remained, and may be indirectly traced to the unfortunate actions of Cook.

This sort of work seems to have been repeated at island after island, invasion and aggression on the part of the English, misunderstandings, and then a resort to gunpowder. As Mr. Kingston says: "Fortunately the muskets supplied to the Resolution must have been in very bad order as they missed fire as often as they went off, or more lives of savages would have been sacrificed." And again, "It would have been difficult to teach untutored savages who had been peppered with duck shot and fired at with bullets and cannon balls, that their white visitors were influenced by the purest feelings of philanthropy and a desire to do them good."

On the morning of the 28th of August the ship left Resolution Harbour in Tanna Island; and continued a survey on the coasts of the group. The supposed continent of Quiros was soon reduced to narrow dimensions, and when Cook left the point at latitude $15^{\circ} 40'$ and longitude $165^{\circ} 59'$, he named it Cape Lisburne.

At the next stoppage there was more bartering and squabbling, but not so much thieving according to Cook.

Forster shot a duck, and so forth. Curious natural formations like the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, and the place was called Botany Island.

From this they sailed on 1st October, and bore away for New Zealand.

The natives were still shy of the English. On the 17th of October Mount Egmont was seen from the mast head, and after standing off for a day or so warped up, moored, and started trading. The conduct of the Maoris was somewhat strange. At first they kept at a distance, armed to the teeth, but eventually established friendly relations. It is noticeable, however, that they

would not allow any of the women to approach the British sailors. Cook was becoming a master in the art of barter and exchange; but kept strongly on his guard, fearing treachery.

On the 10th of November the Resolution again weighed anchor, and left Queen Charlotte's Sound for the last time.

On the 17th of December they made for the west coast of Terra del Fuego. The natives here seem to have struck Cook unfavourably. "Of all the people I have ever seen," he says, "the Pecheras are the most wretched. They are doomed to live in one of the most inhospitable climates in the world, without having sagacity enough to provide themselves with such conveniences as might render life in some measure more comfortable."

Cape Horn was rounded on the 28th December, and an island visited where many seals were slaughtered.

Again, on the 3rd of January, 1775, the Resolution put to sea and searched for land between 53 and 54 degrees of latitude. Bird Island was sighted and taken possession of in the name of His Majesty of England. Then another island was named the Isle of Georgia. A wretched spot evidently, for Cook says:—"The disappointment I felt did not, I must confess, affect me much, for to judge of the bulk by the sample, it would not be worth the discovery."

Various other discoveries were made, and then Cook steered for the Cape of Good Hope. On the 16th of March, two sail were sighted, shewing the navigators that they were approaching the track of vessels. On the 21st of March the Resolution anchored in Table Bay. Here was found a letter from Captain Furneaux, explaining the conduct of the Queen Charlotte Sound natives. It seems that on the 17th December, 1773, the Adventure's large cutter, with ten men, had landed to get vegetables. Some quarrel arose, muskets were discharged, and eventually the whole batch of Englishmen were murdered, and some of them eaten. After this misfortune, the Adventure had sailed for the Cape, and thence steered for England.

Leaving the Cape on the 15th of May, St. Helena was sighted, and on the 28th anchored off Ascension. Fayal, in the Azores, was reached on the 13th of July. They sailed again on the 19th, and on the 29th made land near Plymouth, anchoring off Spithead next day.

Cook thus concludes his journal:—"But whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enabled me to make, that having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a Southern Continent will have ceased to engage the attention, and divide the judgment of philosophers."

And in these modest words he sums up his second voyage:—"It doth not become me to say how far the principal objects of our voyage have been attained. Though it hath not abounded with remarkable events, nor been diversified by sudden transitions of fortune; though my relation of it has been more employed in tracing our course by sea than in recording our observations on shore, this perhaps is a circumstance from which the curious reader may infer that the purposes for which we were sent into the southern hemisphere were diligently and effectually pursued. Had we found out a continent there,

we might have been better able to gratify our curiosity ; but we hope our not having found it, after all our preserving researches, will leave less room for future speculators about unknown worlds remaining to be explored."

I think I will conclude this voyage with a quotation from Mr. Kingston's work on Cook. Perhaps he takes a narrow and severe view of the case ; nevertheless his remarks are instructive :—

" It is well," he says, " while admitting the value of the discoveries made, and admiring the perseverance and general prudence of the discoverer, to express deep regret that the scrupulous and unremitting care exercised over the physical health of the crew was not with equal assiduity and anxiety manifested in respect of their moral health. Those were not the days in which the souls of sailors were much cared for ; but it may be supposed that the character of this expedition, together with the unusual number of educated gentlemen on board, furnished facilities for Christian exertion, which were not improved. So far indeed as the existing records of this voyage inform us, we are led to the conclusion that instead of setting an example of morality and virtue to the ignorant heathen they visited, it would, in many instances, have been better for the heathen if they had never known those so-called Christians."

COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.

Having landed in England, as stated, on the 30th of July, 1775, it cannot be said that Cook's achievements were altogether unacknowledged by his country. On the 9th of August he received post rank, and three days afterwards was appointed to a captaincy in Greenwich Hospital, which would have enabled him to live in honourable retirement. In February, 1776, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and in consequence of reading an important paper upon prevention of scurvy, it was decided to present him with the Copley gold medal of the Society. In a speech of eloquent commendation and praise, describing the success of Cook's wise precautions, Sir John Pringle thus concludes:—"For if Rome decreed the civic crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man, who, having himself saved many, perpetuates in your transactions the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages, preserve numbers of her intrepid sons, her mariners who, braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire of their country."

But Cook, although forty eight years of age, was as eager for active adventure as a youth of twenty. *Otium cum dignitate* had no charms for him. He had settled the question of the Southern Continent, and when another problem arose for solution, he offered himself to Lord Sandwich, being of course promptly accepted.

For two hundred years the question of a passage by the north west, round the coast of North America, into the Pacific, had been agitated, and various expeditions had been privately fitted out, but failed to clear up the mystery. Bold adventurers, from the days of Frobisher in 1576, had, from time to time, made the attempt in vain.

At this period enlightened men of science had been again raising the question, and the Admiralty resolved on the expedition known to the world as Cook's Third Voyage.

He received the secret instructions for his guidance on the 6th July, 1776. He was ordered to proceed to Otaheite or the Society Islands, and then having crossed the Equator into the northern tropic he was to hold such a course as would enable him to find a north-east passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic.

The Resolution was again chosen, and with her the Discovery, a sloop of 300 tons burden, the command of which was given to Captain Clerke, who had been second-lieutenant on Cook's second voyage.

I am aware that this voyage has little or nothing to do with the early discovery of Australia, but I am reluctant to leave untold a few brief particulars of Cook's tragic death.

A very short sketch of the voyage will suffice. After various delays the Resolution set sail from Plymouth on the 11th July, 1776, and was joined by the Discovery at Table Bay on the 10th November. On the 30th both ships

sailed together ; and on December 12th, the islands discovered by Marion and Crozet in 1772, were named Prince Edward Island, Marion's, and Crozet's Islands.

From December 24th to 30th, Kerguelin Island, Christmas Harbour, was examined and explored ; and on January 12th, 1777, they anchored in Adventure Bay, Van Dieman's Land.

On February the 12th, the ships reached Queen Charlotte's Sound, which they left on the 25th, and on the 29th discovered Mangeea Island. Here they remained some time, and among the presents left by Cook was an axe, roughly fashioned of iron. It is still treasured on the island as a relic of the visit.

They left Mangeea on the 30th March, not without regret, as the place seemed capable of supplying all their wants.

After this, on April 1st, Wateea was discovered and visited, and on the 4th they landed on Wenoo Ette. Then on the 6th Hervey's Island was visited, and on the 28th the ship anchored off Komango, where they traded and met with a friendly reception. They took to thieving as usual, however, which ended in a chief being flogged for stealing a hog.

On the 17th May they reached Hapae, which consists of four islands of considerable elevation, and here they made acquaintance with the King of Tongataboo—Fenou by name, who on various occasions was entertained on board the Resolution. Little did Cook dream that these natives, with whom he had such friendly relations, fully intended murdering him and his ships' crews, and that their amiable monarch was the prime mover in the plot. Through disagreement among themselves as to the mode of procedure, however, Cook and his countrymen escaped.

After leaving the Tonga group they did not see land till the 8th of August, when they fell in with a small island, the natives of which spoke the language of Otaheite, and called their island Toobouai. It was on this island that Christian and the mutineers of the Bounty tried to form a settlement in 1789.

On the 12th Maitea was seen, and soon after Otaheite hove in sight.

At the Friendly Islands Gilbert* gives us an illustration of Cook's hasty temper. Several cases of thieving had occurred, and " Captain Cook punished this vice in a manner rather unbecoming a European, viz. : by cutting off their ears, firing at them with small shot as they were swimming to the shore, and suffering his people to beat them with oars and stick the boathook into them. One in particular he punished by ordering our people to make two cuts upon his arm to the bone, &c."

Again at Tahiti, according to Captain Cook's own account, a goat was stolen and all knowledge of the animal denied by the natives. " Therefore," he says, " I set fire to six or eight houses, which were presently consumed with two or three war canoes, &c." Gilbert referring to this says that all the tears and entreaties of the women and old men who had been left alone " could not move Cook to desist in the smallest degree from these cruel ravages."

The discovery of the Sandwich Islands completed this voyage across the Pacific from north to south. The whole summer had been spent in carrying out the main purpose of the expedition, viz., the search for a north-east passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic. The most northerly point reached was lat. 69° 36', and after careful examination Cook came to the conclusion that these seas were

* See Appendix.

never free from ice, and that the Arctic summer sun never melted it sufficiently to make navigation possible. On October the 26th finally left Oonalashka and steered south, appointing the Sandwich Islands as a rendezvous for the Discovery. Twelve hundred leagues of coast had been examined in the North Pacific, but the north-east passage problem remained unsolved.

On December 1st the Sandwich Islands were again reached to the great joy of all on board.

After bartering with the natives of Owhyhee (now called Hawaii) for several weeks, a bay was discovered, and next day the ship came to an anchor in Karakakooa Bay.

A few words of explanation may be allowable as to the causes which led to the tragic death of Cook, to which final point my narrative draws near.

The native of Hawaii had a legend that a certain god, Rono or Lono, having killed his wife through jealousy, had been driven by remorse from the island, and his return was thus prophesied by the god himself, "I will return in after times on an island bearing cocoa-nut trees, swine and dogs."

When Cook appeared they imagined him to be the long absent deity, who had come as the bearer of plenty and peace. The ships happened to arrive in the middle of a holy week of *tabu*, and so profound was the belief, that the *tabu* was instantly removed, and tens of thousands flocked to see the great swine god of their ancestors. "When Cook went on shore," says Mr. Hopkins, in his History of Hawaii, page 98, "heralds announced his approach, and opened a way for him through the crowds. As he moved the assemblage covered their faces, and those nearest to him prostrated themselves on the earth in the deepest humility. As soon as Lono had passed, the people sprang up erect and uncovered their faces. The evolution of prostration and erection was found at last, so inconvenient and to require so unwonted an agility that the practical-minded people found that they could best meet the case by going permanently on their hands and feet; and so at last the procession changed its character, and ten thousand men and women were seen pursuing or flying from Captain Cook on all fours."

King, who tells the story, certainly did not understand the significance of all these ceremonies, which were, no doubt, incomprehensible to Cook himself.

According to the former, "they approached to adoration," and there can be no question but that Cook allowed the priests to pay him divine honours, and allowed himself to be worshipped as a god.

Then again a sacred fence, to which many idols were attached or leaning against, was demanded for fuel, and could not be refused to the god Lono. Fancy any unknown being demanding the tombs of Westminster Abbey for ballast; but Cook's demand was in its way as outrageous.

Then an old seaman died, and was buried on the shore, and it is possible that the natives may have, on this account, begun to have suspicions of the power of Lono. In any case the consumption of hogs and vegetables by the god and his crew was to be a matter of anxiety with them, and they were very glad to see the last of them on the 4th of February, 1779, when they set sail.

They met with foul weather, and the Resolution sprung her foremast in a gale; and on the 10th returned to Karakakooa Bay.

This time they were received quite differently, and the manner of the Hawaiians showed suspicion and distrust. They started thieving as usual, and were rewarded with the usual powder and shot.

Then the Discovery's cutter went a missing, to the great wrath of Cook, who loaded his double-barrelled gun, resolving to seize the king by strategy, and hold him until the cutter was restored. This was on the morning of Sunday, February the 14th. He went on shore with Mr. Phillips and nine marines; and proceeding to the king's house easily persuaded the old man and his two sons to accompany him on board. As they were embarking, however, one of his wives dissuaded him. Here is the native account of what followed, as given by Mr. Hopkins:—

“Cook having come ashore, and had an interview with Kalaniopuu, the two walked together towards the shore, Cook designing to take the king on board his ship and detain him there till the missing boat should be restored. The people seeing this, and having their suspicions already roused, thronged and objected to the king's going further. His wife, too, entreated that he would not go on board the ships. Kalaniopuu hesitated. While he was standing in doubt, a man came running from the other side of the bay, crying “It is war. The foreigners have fired at a canoe from one of their boats, and killed a chief!” On hearing this the people became enraged, and the chiefs were alarmed, fearing that Cook would put the king to death.

Again his wife Kanona used her entreaties that he would not go on board, and the chiefs joined with her, the people in the meantime arming themselves with stones, clubs, and spears. The king sat down, and Captain Cook who seemed agitated began walking towards his boat. Whilst doing so a native attacked him with a spear. Cook turned, and with his double-barrelled gun shot the man who struck him. Some of the people then threw stones at the Englishman, which being seen by his men in the boats they fired on the natives. Cook endeavoured to stop the firing, but on account of the noise he was unable to do so. He then turned to speak to the people on shore, when someone stabbed him in the back with a dagger, and at the time a spear was driven into his body. He fell into the water, and spoke no more.”

Such was the melancholy end of this great man—the most skilful and intrepid navigator of his age. Of him, it is not too much to say that he was the first Englishman who gave shape and outline to the mysterious land of New Holland, and to the distant islands of New Zealand, and that he first opened the eyes of his countrymen to the great possibilities of these remotest countries.

Besides this he had discovered the Society Islands, and had on three successive occasions traversed the Antarctic Ocean. Having sailed completely round the globe in high latitudes, he had exploded the theory of a great Southern Continent. He had explored the coast of New Caledonia, the next largest island to New Zealand in the South Pacific. Sandwich Land, the most southern land known, had been discovered by him, and likewise that lovely archipelago called the Sandwich Islands. He had examined the North American coast for nearly four thousand miles, and ploughed the Arctic Seas in quest of a north-west passage.

As a navigator he had no equal; for depth and breadth of knowledge, combined with courage and perseverance, he was the foremost figure of his age. And this was the son of a day labourer. Well may the poet sing—

“The gardener Adam and his wife,
Smile at the claims of high descent.”

Had he been spared to live as long as his wife, who died at Clapham at the age of ninety-three, he might have adorned the British peerage; for in the wars which soon followed his decease his clear brain and commanding genius would have been in eager demand. That he would have distinguished himself in naval warfare there can be no doubt; but no exploit of arms could add to the lustre which already surrounds his name. Like the conqueror of Trafalgar, he departed in the very zenith of his fame. The great sea-warrior and the great sea-voyager died in the arms of victory.

We know the grand results which immediately followed his great expeditions, and proud as she is of her Australian Colonies, England will ever accord to James Cook a high place among her greatest men.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY CAPTAIN COOK.

AT the risk of censure for introducing matter somewhat extraneous to the subject on hand, I have thought it well to append a few pages of matter connected with the memory of Captain Cook.

A very eminent author wrote these words a few years ago :—

“What his (Cook’s) private and intimate friends said and thought of him is unknown to us. Beneath the stern commander there was—it is admitted by all—a kindly and human heart. *We must look for proof to the journals of his voyages, because there does not survive, to my knowledge, a single letter from him, or a single word from a personal friend.* His private life—how he lived and talked at home and among his old friends and cronies—is almost as much lost to us as the private life of Shakespeare. Certainly he had some friends—it is most likely he had very few. For if we consider, the course of his life from the age of twenty-seven, was not such as to continue the old friendships. The rude sailors among whom his boyhood was passed, the rough officers of the merchant service among whom he spent his early manhood—those people could hardly have anything in common with the most scientific officer in His Majesty’s Navy.”

Nevertheless there are a few letters from the greatest navigator of his age still existing, which I give without further comment than that they somehow seem to reflect his modest, manly, generous nature.

The first which was written shortly before embarking on his second voyage is addressed to Nevil Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal and F.R.S.

Cook had written a paper for the Royal Society called “An Account of the Flowing of the Tides in the South Sea, as observed on board His Majesty’s Bark the Endeavour.” The letter is unimportant, but it is the earliest I know of. It runs as follows :—

LETTER No. I.

“ Mile End,

“ Feb. 5th, 1772.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I here send you the few Observations I made on the Tides in the

South Sea ; to which I have only to add that from many circumstances and observations, I am fully convinced that the flood comes from the Southward or rather from the S.E.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble servant,

“ J. COOK.”

Then come eight letters from Cook to Dr. Douglas, Canon of Windsor, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. He edited Cook's "Second Voyage," doing the work honestly and well, in striking contrast to the editor of the "First Voyage," who completely obscured the great navigator's characteristic straight-forward narrative with clouds of scholastic rhetoric.

Douglas may have omitted certain matter, and doubtless with Cook's full approbation, as we see hinted at in one of the letters in question.

The "Third Voyage," from which Cook never returned, was published in three volumes, quarto; the first and second from his own log-book and journals, the third from the books of Captain King. The Bishop edited this work, but not with the same regard to Cook's verbal integrity. The sailor's direct simple narrative is mixed up with observations and embellishments, which extinguish the great navigator's personality.

LETTER No. II.

“ Mile End,

“ Thursday, 4th Jan., 1776.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have received your obliging favour, and am very sorry it is not in my power to accept of your kind invitation to Windsor.

“ For some time past I have been looking out for a ship to accompany the Resolution on her intended voyage. I expect one will be purchased to-morrow; but then I shall have to attend to the alterations which will be necessary to be made in her. These things have retarded the copying of my journal. Five books are done which I shall send you by the machine* to-morrow, and if you choose you may return those you have gone through by the same conveyance. I leave it entirely to you to make such alterations as you

see necessary, and even think superfluous. By such time as you come to town I hope to have the whole ready to put into your hands.

“ I am, with great esteem,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your obliged humble servant,

“ JAMES COOK.”

“ Dr. John Douglas,

“ Canon of Windsor,

“ Windsor Castle.”

LETTER No. III.

“ Mile End,

“ January 10th, 1776.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have received your letter of the 7th, and also the box with its contents. I have not had time to look over the corrections which you have made; but have not the least doubt that they were necessary, and that I shall be perfectly satisfied with them.

“ The remarks you have made on the bits of loose paper I find are very just.

“ With respect to the *amours* of my people at Otaheite and other places, I think it will not be necessary to mention them at all, unless it be by way of throwing a light on the characters or customs of the people we are then among. And even then I would have it done in such a way as might be unexceptionable to the nicest readers. In short, my desire is that nothing indecent may appear in the whole book, and you cannot oblige me more than by pointing out whatever may appear to you as such.

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ Your most obliged humble servant,

“ JAMES COOK.”

“ The Rev. D. Douglas,

“ Canon of Windsor,

“ Windsor Castle.”

* “ Machine ” here is used a Scotticism if Cook means a vehicle, as he probably does.

LETTER No. IV.

“ Mile End,

“ Thursday Morning, 8th March, 1776.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I beg your acceptance of three dozen pints of Constantia wine, white and red ; and half-a-dozen of a different sort, which is pale coloured. I will not answer for them being packed in such a manner as to go safe to Windsor, though I think they will.

“ You will herewith receive five books more of my M.S., having kept the remaining three as they want some alteration.

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ Your most obliged and most humble servant,

“ JAMES COOK.”

“ The Rev. Dr. Douglas,

“ Half Moon Street,

“ Piccadilly.”

LETTER No. V.

“ Mile End,

“ 9th March, 1776.

“ Dear Sir,

“ As I intend to look over my whole manuscripts, I shall have an opportunity to make such alterations as may appear necessary to bring it either to the present or past times, if you will be so kind as to give me your opinion on the matter.

“ It was first written in the present time, but on finding Dr. Hawkesworth had mostly used the past, I set about altering it ; but I find many places have escaped me.

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ Your very obliged and most humble servant,

“ JAMES COOK.”

“ To the Rev. Dr. Douglas,

“ Canon of Windsor,

“ Windsor Castle.”

LETTER VI.

" Mile End,

" April 26th, 1776.

" Dear Sir,

" I have just drawn off a hhd. of Madeira which was round in the Resolution. I expected it to have been of the very best, but I think it does not prove so. Perhaps you are a better judge than I am, therefore I must ask your permission to send you a few bottles to taste. I wish to know whether you would have it sent to Windsor or to your town house. If to the former by what conveyance.

" I have had a little conversation with Mr. Strahan about my Journal, he has promised to give it all the assistance in his power.

" Captain Campbell will look over the nautical part, and Sir Hugh Palliser has also promised his assistance. I have divided it with books and chapters, taking the former voyages and Lord Anson's for my guidance; but submit the whole to your better judgment, with full hopes that you will make such alterations as you may see necessary.

" I am, with great esteem and respect,

" Dear Sir,

" Your most obliged and very humble servant,

" JAMES COOK."

" To the Rev. Dr. Douglas,

" Canon of Windsor,

" Windsor Castle."

LETTER VII.

" Mile End,

" Sunday Morning.

" Dear Sir,

" Last night I was favoured with your agreeable letter, and have sent my servant for the books, as you desired. I am very sorry Captain Furneaux's Journal has given you so much trouble. I am, in some measure, in fault for not looking over the copy before it was put into your hands. If it is equally convenient to you, I should be glad to put off waiting upon you until next Saturday, when I will bring the whole manuscript with me, to let you see how I have divided it into books and chapters.

“ By that time I may have the Introduction ready for you to look over. I may also know my Lord Sandwich's opinion on Mr. Forster's work, a part of which, I am told by my friend, Dr. Shepherd, is in his Lordship's hands.

“ There are some other reasons make me wish to put off our meeting till that day.

“ On your return to Windsor you will find a letter from me requesting your permission to allow me to send you a little Madeira wine, and to know whether you would have it sent to Windsor or Half Moon Street. Without waiting for your answer, I shall take the liberty to send it to the latter place to-morrow, if the man who has it in charge is but in the way.

“ Your acceptance of it will add many obligations conferred on,

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your very obliged and most humble servant,

“ JAMES COOK.”

“ P.S.—This wine is part of a cask that was round in the Resolution. It does not turn out so good as I had a right to expect; but the cooper tells me it will mend in the bottles. I have not tasted it since it was fined and bottled.

“ To the Rev. Dr. Douglas,

“ Canon of Windsor,

“ Windsor Castle.”

LETTER VIII.

“ Mile End,

“ June 11th, 1776.

“ Dear Sir,

“ Yesterday Mr. Strahan and I went to the Admiralty, in order to meet Mr. Forster, to settle about the publication, but instead of finding them there I found a letter from him, couched in the following terms :—

“ That Lord Sandwich had thought proper to interpret the agreement between us in such a manner as he thought did not agree with its purport, and as his Lordship, on that pretence, excluded him from all participation in the Admiralty's assistance, our meeting was rendered unnecessary.

“ I afterwards saw Mr. Barrington, who informed me that Mr. Forster had absolutely refused to make the least alteration in his M.S.

"What steps my Lord Sandwich will now take, I cannot say, but I apprehend I shall have to publish alone. I do not expect to see his Lordship till Thursday morning; and, perhaps, the next day I may leave town, unless I was sure of seeing you on Saturday or Sunday. In that case I would certainly wait a day or two, all events. What Mr. Forster intends to do I have not heard, but I suppose he will publish as soon as possible; and if so, he will get the *last of me. He has quite deceived me. I never thought he would have separated himself from the Admiralty; but it cannot hurt me, and I am only sorry my Lord Sandwich has taken so much trouble to serve an undeserving man.

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your most obliged humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

"To Dr. Douglas,

"Canon of Windsor,

"Windsor Castle."

LETTER IX.

"Mile End,

"14th June, 1776.

"Dear Sir,

"Last night I received your favour, and as matters stand at present your meeting me in town can be of no use, nor did I wish it, only if business had called you up I meant to have waited upon you.

"I was with my Lord Sandwich yesterday morning and found he had not quite given up Dr. Forster, but I believe he will be obliged to do it at last.

"I had some conversation with the Dr. last night, and used all the arguments I was master of, to persuade him to submit to his lordship, but to no manner of purpose.

"The charts are all finished, but the other plates I am told will not be done before Christmas, but I am to have the whole. The Admiralty will I know forward them as much as possible. I have to remain in town till this matter is settled, and at the desire of Lord Sandwich I shall join Mr. Stuart with Mr. Strahan to manage the publication of my book, &c.

"It is now with Sir Hugh Palliser and Captain Campbell for them to look over the nautical parts. As soon as they have done with it it shall be put into Mr. Strahan's hands. My Lord Sandwich gave me one engraving

* I suppose Cook means the "best" of me.

concerning Omai which I have tacked in its proper place in the sixth book. His lordship desired that you might see it, and also the Introduction. This shall be sent you to-morrow by the stage; and as to the other you can at any time look it over at Mr. Strahan's. I shall take care to get a complete list of all the plates to leave with the manuscript, and have already made notes where the most of them are to be placed.

"I thank you for your kind wishes and prayer that neither you nor my worthy friends will be disappointed in their expectations of

"Dear Sir,

"Your very obliged and most humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

"P.S.—I do not expect to leave town till about the middle of next week, so that you may expect to hear from me again.

"To the Rev. Dr. Douglas,

"Canon of Windsor,

"Windsor Castle."

Another letter is written to the Reverend Mr. Lightfoot, Chaplain to the Duchess of Portland.

I quote a letter to the *Times* which gave rise to its being brought to light:—

"To the Editor of the *Times*.

"Sir,

"My attention has been called to Mr. Calvert's letter in your paper of September 23rd, in which he falls into an error upon the most important specimen of the whole collection. It has a historical character from the fact of its having been several times alluded to, both in manuscript and print, in the latter years of the last century, and was the cause of a quarrel between the Duchess of Portland and Sir Joseph Banks, which took all the tact of her curate, Mr. Lightfoot, to heal.

"The indomitable commander of the 'Scout' could not have had Cook's letter before him. He must have quoted from memory, or he would not have made the blunder of saying Captain Cook gave a tomahawk to a New Zealander and saw the fellow a '*few days afterwards*.'

“ In perusing some twenty years' correspondence of Lightfoot's, this bone handle is mentioned as having been carved during the period of Cook's first and second voyages, and there is nothing contradictory to that in Cook's letter, of which I enclose a copy. The letter has no date as to year; of course it must be 1776.

“ I am yours obediently,
“ J. TAYLOR.”

LETTER No. X.

“ Mile End,
“ Thursday Morning,
“ 7th March.

“ Dear Sir,

“ Last night I was favoured with your obliging letter, and am very glad it is in my power to grant your request, so I beg your acceptance of the desired Compass.

“ During my voyage I gave a tomahawk head to a New Zealander. When I afterwards saw the fellow, the thing had been handled with this beautiful piece of bone carving, proving the skill and cunning ingenuity the savage had shown in so rapidly adapting himself to fresh circumstances, as he had never seen an iron hatchet before.

“ About the same time we lost from the ship a very large ivory or bone marling spike. It is not impossible that one savage stole our marling spike, and another converted it into the handle. At any rate I bought it off him, and now give it to you together with one of my ship's compasses, which was round in the Endeavour. The other one I have long since presented to my friend Banks, *the remaining three belonging to the ship.*

“ I am, Dear Sir,

“ Your obliged and most humble servant,
“ JAMES COOK.”

GEORGE GILBERT'S DIARY.

In the "English Men of Action" series, Mr. Walter Besant in "Captain Cook" (London, 1890), quotes a journal never before published. It had been kept by one, George Gilbert, of the Resolution. He appears to have gone out as master's mate, or midshipman, on board the Discovery. By the successive deaths of Captains Cook and Clerke, he was promoted to be lieutenant. On the return of the expedition he received promotion, but immediately afterwards died of small-pox.

RELICS OF CAPTAIN COOK.

And now as to the collection of relics, of which I have inserted diagrams.*

They naturally possess for me a special interest, having been discovered by my grandfather, John Calvert, in a very remarkable manner.

It will be remembered that Sir Joseph Banks accompanied Cook during his first famous voyage in the Endeavour; and this eminent *savant* subsequently established a museum at 32, Soho Square, which bore his name. A century ago this house was the resort of the most illustrious scientists and naturalists of the day.

Robert Brown, the celebrated author of "*Prodromus Floræ Novæ Hollandiæ*," became Sir Joseph's librarian in 1810, and on the former's death he was appointed by his Will, tenant for life and owner of his library and museum, until he could make arrangements for transferring it to the Trustees of the British Museum.

Mr. John Calvert also owned a museum, partly inherited and partly of his own collection. When it came to his knowledge that the historic building was in the market, he lost no time in possessing himself of the premises, built and designed by the renowned Sir Joseph, who, for so many years, had been virtually Dictator of British Science. To a man of Mr. Calvert's tastes, a house sanctified by such associations was a relic much to be desired, and a curio of no mean order.

When my grandfather entered into possession, the museum, which reached from Soho Square to Dean Street, contained many objects of interest, some filling the very niches where Sir Joseph Banks' hand had placed them.

* These diagrams are reproductions of those which appeared in the *Graphic*.

In order to fully explain the finding of the Endeavour Relics, I shall transcribe a portion of a letter which appeared in the *London Standard* of 27th September, 1887, over the signature of John Calvert.

He says: "In 1840 I presented Robert Brown with some botanical specimens of interest to him, and amongst other curios, he showed me the cupboard of Endeavour things, and told me the late Sir Joseph had given them to him presuming that he would reverence them with the devotion which he had personally for them, as few persons seemed to care for them. The cupboard was dark, the contents dirty, and Brown shut the door with a kind of pettish slam, muttering 'Nobody cares a straw for them, I won't show them again;' and I presume he never did.

"Twenty years after, a few days after I took possession of the old museum, viz: 17, Dean Street—the part Brown had lived in so many years, and where he died—no trace of a door was left. It had been pasted over, and the cracks were caulked with dirt, proving it had not been opened for a very long time."

And now I quote a few lines which appeared over Mr. Calvert's signature in the *Times* of 23rd September, 1887:—

"The premises came into my possession, and I cut into the panel doors at the end of the gallery, which have been pasted over with old charts for a long time, and discovered the treasures, among which were some manuscripts—maps with the soundings and tracks laid down by the great navigator himself. Also a very beautiful carved bone handle of a tomahawk inlaid with pearl shells."

I return to Mr. Calvert's former letter:—

"On making the discovery I communicated with Mr. Bennett, Robert Brown's acting executor, who said they belonged to the late Dr. Brown—Banks gave them to him. I then bargained for them. A great auk's egg I had found in another part of the building, labelled with the autograph of Sir Joseph Banks, and a pair of red curtains, which hung in what was the studio, and no doubt Sir Joseph had pulled them together many times. Bennett wanted to except the ship's compass, ivory carved handle and rum bottle, but I would have all or none; so he gave way, and I bought all that was left in the house of him.

This explains then the finding of the relics on the 5th May, 1859, which were eventually acquired by Sir Saul Samuel, Agent General of New South Wales, and presented to the colony on the occasion of its centenary celebrations.

Within the cupboard (which might more properly be termed a tomb, for it contained human remains) was found the inscription, "Instruments used, carvings, weapons, and heads, collected by Captain Cook during the voyage of the Endeavour.—J. Banks."

I now quote from *The Daily Telegraph* of 23rd September, 1887: "By industrious research, Mr. Calvert has proved incontestably that this, as well as the memoranda on some of the objects, was the veritable handwriting of Banks; and Sir Saul Samuel, into whose possession the find has now come, has

**Implements collected by Capt. Cook and Sir Joseph Banks during the
voyage of the Endeavour.**

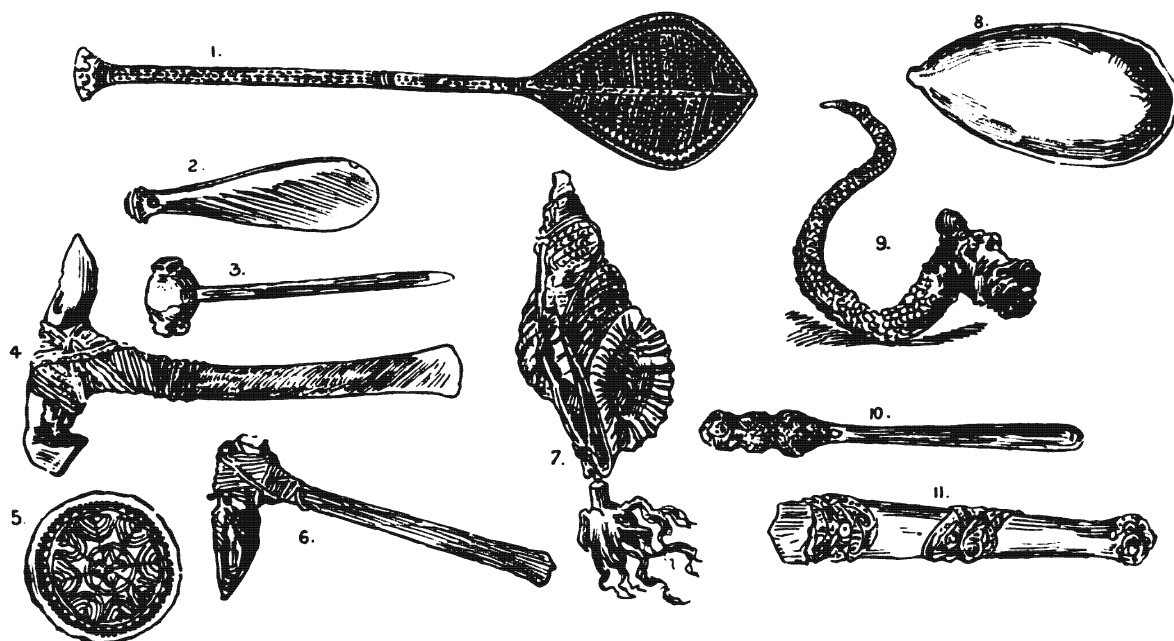
(From the Calvert Museum formerly belonging to Sir Joseph Banks.)



- 1 Head of elaborately carved Wooden Spear, New Zealand.
- 2 Ditto Ditto
- 3 Dagger, edged with Shark Teeth, Pacific Islands.
- 4 Heraldic Symbol of Line of Descent, Tattooed on the left temple, enlarged from No. 5.
- 5 Mummied Head of a New Zealand Chief, with Jade Ear Pendant.
- 6 Carving, representing a Native Deity, New Zealand.
- 7 Papapato in Carved Wood, New Zealand.
- 8 Mummied Head of a Native, New Zealand.
- 9 Head of a Spear, Pacific Islands.
- 10 Paddle, Carved with the Symbol or Mark of Lineal Descent of the Chief to whom it belonged, New Zealand.
- 11 Spear Head, edged with Shark Teeth, Pacific Islands.

Implements collected by Capt. Cook and Sir Joseph Banks during the voyage of the Endeavour.

(From the Calvert Museum formerly belonging to Sir Joseph Banks.)

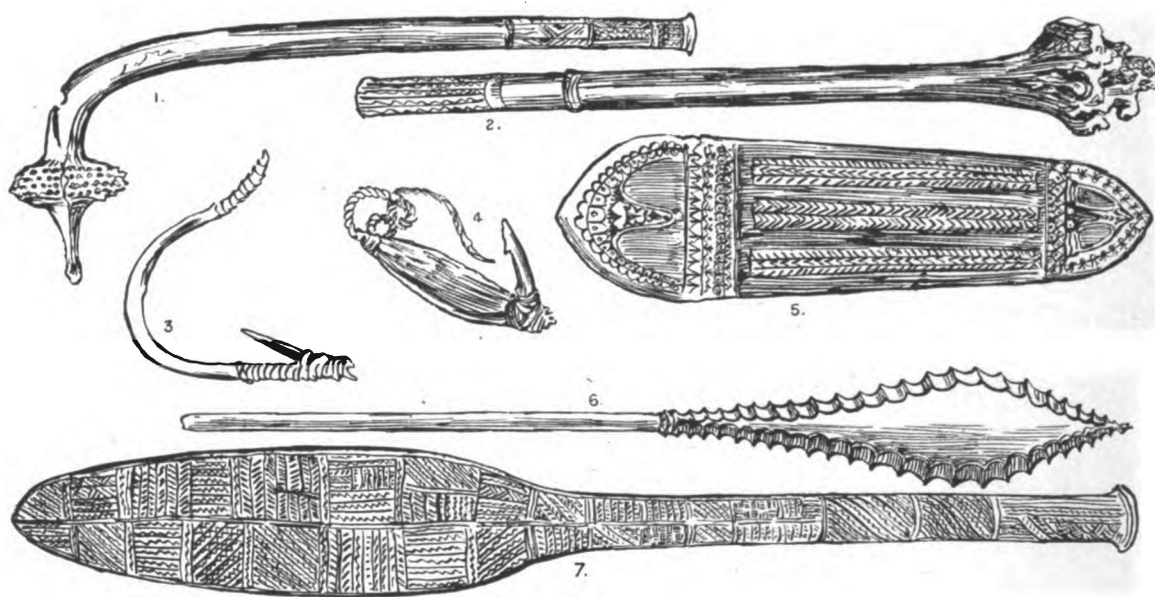


- 1 Elaborately Carved Paddle, New Zealand.
- 2 Papapatoo, made of Basaltic Greenstone, New Zealand.
- 3 Stone Hammer, New Zealand.
- 4 Stone Hatchet, on which is written: "Brought to England in 1771, by Captain Cook, from Otaheite."
- 5 Carved Tortoise-shell Ornament, upon Conch Shell, Pacific Islands.
- 6 Stone Hatchet, New Zealand.
- 7 Triton-shell, converted into a Trumpet, and mounted with Human Hair and Shin-bone, Pacific Islands.
- 8 Wooden Blood-bowl, used to hand round among the victors the blood of those they had slain.
- 9 Carved Dragon Head, with Fish-scale Body, probably from Batavia.
- 10 Meraare (or Sceptre), with idolatrous carving. On it are scratched the words: "Made for me by Wonga.—J.C."
- 11 Carved Ivory Tomahawk Handle, New Zealand.

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**Implements collected by Capt. Cook and Sir Joseph Banks during the
voyage of the Endeavour.**

(From the Calvert Museum formerly belonging to Sir Joseph Banks.)



- 1 Carved Club, New Zealand.
- 2 Club, New Zealand.
- 3 Fish-hooks, New Zealand.
- 4 Ditto Ditto
- 5 Carved and Stained Shields, Botany Bay.
- 6 Large Paddle, Pacific Islands.
- 7 Carved War Club, in the form of a Paddle, New Zealand.

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abundantly satisfied himself of the genuineness of the objects. It is rather a pity Sir Joseph did not label more of his curiosities. Nowadays it is difficult in some cases to determine the origin. Perhaps the major portion are from New Zealand, and others again from Otaheite, and the varied groups of the Polynesian Archipelago. Three varieties of the human family have contributed these curiosities—the Australian Aborigines, the Maories of New Zealand and the Polynesians."

The diagrams are now numbered and described. Whether Sir Joseph would have appended similar descriptions, I know not. Doubtless he might have told us the history of the grim decapitated heads, and something more about the horrid blood-bowl—which is quite an innocent looking object in the diagram. The Maori cannibals themselves, however, present a highly anthropagous appearance.

From the *Standard* I quote a few words from a lengthy article referring to this long hidden hoard.

"Among the collection are old quadrants and other instruments used by the famous navigator; two mummified heads of New Zealand Chiefs, covered with the ordinary tattooing; two native models of New Zealand canoes, two large canoe paddles, ornamented spears and war clubs, a native chief's paddle with carving; and a very fine stone hatchet of a type now very rare. On the latter, Sir Joseph has written, 'Brought to England in 1775 by Captain Cook, from Otaheite.' There were also a wooden bowl with lip, used for handing round human blood in the days of cannibalism; and what is described as a 'wooden sceptre,' with the words scratched upon it, presumably by Captain Cook, 'Made for me by Wanga.—J.C.' Altogether, the collection is of no particular scientific value—for specimens as good, or even better exist in many private cabinets—is yet of real historical interests. Regarding its authenticity there cannot, we think, be any doubt. No one would consider it worth his while to perpetrate so elaborate a fraud for what must be so trifling a gain, with the certainty of immediate detection. The handwriting of both Banks and Cook is well known, and the date of the instruments can, of course, be easily verified. At the same time we should like to have it explained why Captain Cook presented his scientific instruments to Sir Joseph, then Mr. Banks, more especially as they belonged, not to himself, but to the Navy Board, whose servant he was; and why Sir Joseph should have made the mistake of saying that Cook brought the relics from Otaheite in 1775, when in reality he returned from his second voyage *on the 30th of July, 1774.*"

In answer to this latter question, Mr. Calvert writes to the *Standard*, on 27th September, 1887: "The inscription upon the stone hatchet is 'Brought to England in 1771, by Captain Cook, from Otaheite,'"—not 1775.

This shows the hatchet to have been obtained during Cook's *first* voyage. But supposing the inscription had been 1775, as the *Standard* supposes. Where lies the inconsistency? The *Standard* is wrong for once. Cook did not return from his second voyage on the *30th July, 1774*, but a year later, namely, *30th July, 1775*. Did he not sail from Plymouth Sound on July 13th, 1772, and did not his voyage last three years and sixteen days? It seems strange that this

blunder should have been committed by a critical journalist in his attempt to correct what he conceived to be an error.

Again with reference to Cook's right to bestow nautical instruments. In the course of the same letter to the *Standard*, Mr. Calvert writes:—

“ In a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to a friend of Captain Cook's, to whom he had given a ship's compass, he says:—‘ James Cook also gave me a ship's compass and a few more instruments we had used on board the *Endeavour*. Several friends had presented him with a few useful things upon his sailing, and your compass is the one I gave, while mine is the one his valued friend Dr. Douglas gave him a few days before he started; *that will account for the five compasses on board the Endeavour*, the other three belonging to the ship. The hardships and peril of that expedition have grown in me a lasting attachment for anything connected with the voyage. So my old friend, in his most courteous manner, presented me with a long box made on board by the carpenter of wood obtained during the voyage, filled with carved paddles, stone tomahawks, and other strange, savage things. Outside the box some of the large paddles and spears were spoilt by being cut to suit the stowage. He must have anticipated very rough work when he invented his rum bottle of thick glass cased over with iron, which I also have.’ ”

Finally I would refer the reader to letter No. X., in which Cook shows that he fully distinguished between his own property and that of the Navy Board.

COOK'S MARRIAGE.

On December 21st, 1762, James Cook was married to Elizabeth Batts. The entry in the parish register of St. Margaret's, Barking, Essex, runs as follows:

“ James Cook, of ye Parish of St. Paul, Shadwell, in ye County of Middlesex, Bachelor, and Elizabeth Batts, of ye Parish of Barking, in ye County of Essex, Spinster, were married in this church, by ye Archbishop of Canterbury's license, the 21st day of December, one thousand, seven hundred and sixty-two. By George Downing, Vicar of Little Wakering, Essex.”

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Black Swan shot by Capt. Cook during the voyage of the Endeavour.

(From the Calvert Museum, formerly belonging to Sir Joseph Banks.)

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**Microscope presented by the Duchess of Portland to
Sir Joseph Banks, for his use during his voyage with
Captain Cook round the world in the Endeavour.**

(From the Calvert Museum)

BLACK SWAN SHOT BY COOK.

There are two other undoubted relics of Captain Cook to which I must shortly refer, and of which I have given diagrams. They are both connected with the Endeavour voyage. The first is a Black Swan, which was shot by Captain Cook during his first visit to Australia. It became the property of Sir Joseph Banks, and was included in his ornithological bequest to the British Museum. Montague House was limited as to space, however, and as one case of stuffed birds was in very bad condition—in fact the creatures were tumbling off their perches—the whole legacy was rejected, so far as the feathered tribe were concerned. Dr. Brown then became possessed of them, and subsequently the Swan with other relics found its way into the Calvert museum.

SIR JOSEPH BANKS' MICROSCOPE.

The other memento of the Endeavour voyage is a microscope, which was presented to Sir Joseph Banks by the Duchess of Portland. It is made of brass and ivory, and of beautiful construction. The makers name is absent. It has different appliances in a small drawer underneath, and likewise several dozens of prepared specimens, &c. The case is of oak, and of pyramidal shape. It has been thoughtfully surmounted by a ring, so as to make it to swing in safety from the roof of a ship's cabin. Regarding its pedigree, I may say that John Calvert acquired it from Dr. Brown, Sir Joseph Banks' executor, in exchange for some botanical specimens.

COOK'S LAST WRITING.

The last words Cook is known to have written show how grievously he was mistaken in his estimate of the savages who murdered him. They are as follows :

“I had never met with a behaviour so free from reserve and suspicion in my intercourse with any tribes of savages as we experienced in the people of this island. . . . It is to be observed to their honour that they never once attempted to cheat us in exchanges, nor to commit a theft. They understood trading or work as most people, and seemed to comprehend clearly the reason for our plying upon the coast. . . . We moored with stream anchor and cable to the northward, unbent the sails, and struck yards and topmasts. The ships continued to be crowded with natives and were surrounded with a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere in the course of my voyage seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place. For besides those who had come off to us on canoes, all the shore was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ship like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of the scene, and perhaps there were few on board who ever lamented our having failed in our endeavours to find a northern passage homeward last summer. To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery, which though the last seemed in many respects to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.”

Regarding this statement, Mrs. Besant remarks : “These are the last written words of Cook, if indeed he did write them, which only Bishop Douglas can tell us. It is singular, not only that his confidence should prove so mistaken, but that he should also so greatly exaggerate the importance of this new discovery. What is Hawaii ? what are all the Sandwich Islands together, compared with New Zealand and Australia ?

COOK'S REMAINS.

In Mr. Gilbert's Journal we find the following : “On the 20th (February, 1779), in the morning, a Chief that we had not seen before came on board to negotiate a peace with us ; and promised to restore part of the Captain's body. Accordingly, in the afternoon, Captain Clerke, with three or four boats, well armed, went in shore on the south side, where he concluded a peace with the chief, and brought on board Captain Cook's head and hands, which were all the remains we could possibly procure. The head was too much disfigured to be known, but one of the hands, we were well assured, was his, from a wound which he had formerly received in it which made it remarkable. One of the natives brought about a handful of small human bones, which he said belonged

to the marines whom they had burnt. We made several enquiries to know if they ate them; but could not find the least reason to believe so, for they seemed to express as great a horror for such an act as any European. They told us that no part of Captain Cook was burnt, but what became of the remainder of his body we could not learn. . . . In the afternoon we buried the remains of our much lamented commander alongside, with every ceremony due to his rank; whose name will be perpetuated to after ages, and ever stand foremost on the list of British navigators."

DAMPIER'S VOYAGE.

WRECK OF THE ROEBUCK AT ASCENSION ISLAND.

The indifference of the Admiralty of the time is sadly illustrated in the disgraceful state of the *Roebuck*. The best Dampier could do was to patch up her rotten timbers. They brought up at Ascension in a sinking condition on 21st February, 1701. Nothing could be done to save her. Speaking of the leak which the carpenters tried in vain to stop, Dampier writes:—"The plank was so rotten it broke away like Dirt, and now it was impossible to save the Ship; for they could not come at the Leak because the water in the run was got above it. I worked myself to encourage my men, who were very diligent, but the water still increased, and we now thought of nothing but saving our lives. Wherefore I hoisted out the Boat, that if the ship should sink we might be saved; and in the Morning we weighed our anchor and warped in nearer the shore, though we did but little good." And after describing the means adopted for getting ashore, Dampier concludes, "Many of my books and papers were lost."

Finally, he writes, "The same earnest desire to clear up Mistakes to do myself justice in the opinion of the world, how unlucky soever it proved to me, is the reason that induced me to publish it. And I persuade myself that such as are proper judges of these sort of performances will allow that I have delivered many things, new in themselves, capable of affording much instruction to such as meditate future discoveries and which in other respects may be of great utility to the present age and to posterity."

LIST OF CIRCUMNAVIGATORS WHO PRECEDED COOK.

Ferdinand Magellan.....	Sailed from Seville,	1519, and returned	1522
Sir Francis Drake	„ „ Plymouth,	1577, „ „	1580
Sir Thomas Cavendish	„ „ „	1586, „ „	1588
Oliver Van Noord.....	„ „ Goree,	1598, „ „	1601
George Spilbergen	„ „ Texel,	1614, „ „	1617
Shouten and Le Maire.....	„ „ „	1615, „ „	1617
Cooke, Cowley and Dampier	„ „ Virginia,	1683, „ „	1686
William Dampier.....	„ „ „	1683, „ „	1686
Dampier and Funnel	„ „ London,	1703, „ „	1706
*Woodes, Rogers & Courtney	„ „ Bristol,	1708, „ „	1711
John Clapperton	„ „ Plymouth,	1719, „ „	1722
George Shelvocke.....	„ „ „	1719, „ „	1722
Roggewein.....	„ „ Texel,	1721, „ „	1723
Anson.....	„ „ St. Helen's,	1740, „ „	1744

* On this voyage Dampier was pilot.

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