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Map Matters



#### Issue 38

Spring 2019

This is the Spring 2019 edition of *Map Matters*, the newsletter of the Australia on the Map Division of the Australasian Hydrographic Society.



Dear Readers,

I hope you will enjoy the articles in this issue, when not distracted by Christmas or other seasonal cheer.

Two of our hard working committee members are receiving an award from AHS, well deserved I think.

One of them, Trevor Lipscombe, is helping to organise the Endeavour Festival in Mallacoota, NSW, and surrounding areas, including scenic flights over the landmarks named in Cook's logbook.

You can read the details below and booking information for the flights are at the end of this issue of Map Matters. Trevor also contributed another article addressing the related issue of Cook's non-existent Pt Hicks.

The other awardee, Andrew Eliason, contributed an article here on the first Map of Australia. Regular contributor, Robert King, has looked into the significance of a tract written by Franciscus Monachus about the Antipodes on a map.

As always, contributions and suggestions are welcome. Please send material for Map Matters to me at the email address, or the postal address, at the bottom of this newsletter. Happy Reading.

Marianne Pietersen Editor

#### NEWS

#### FY 18/19 AHS awards to be bestowed upon AOTM volunteers

The president of the AHS (Australasian Hydrographers Society) is to bestow the FY 18/19 AHS Awards on Trevor Lipscombe and Andrew Eliason. The awarding will take place at the first suitable occasion in the ACT in 2020. The citations are:

**Trevor Lipscombe** 

For volunteering his time, effort and skill as Treasurer for Australia On The Map, and for working tirelessly as Project Manager for the "Restoring Cook's Legacy" project, the James Cook Heritage Trail and other projects. A prolific writer and researcher, Trevor's engagement with a variety of community groups and local government organisations in promoting historical hydrography and cartography has brought great credit to Australia On The Map. By his actions, Trevor has supported the values and aspirations for which the Society stands.

#### Andrew Eliason

For volunteering his time, effort and skill as Secretary for Australia On The Map, translating various historical texts associated with hydrography and cartography, and in addition, supervising contributions to the publication "Map Matters". By his actions, Andrew has supported the values and aspirations for which the Society stands.

The awards will be presented during a suitable event to be held in Canberra.

Congratulations to Andrew and Trevor.! Editor

## Passing Endeavour Festival April 2020



The Endeavour Replica (© Australian National Maritime Museum)

Why not plan to join in the first commemorations in Australia of the 250th anniversary of Lt James Cook and the crew and gentlemen aboard *HMB Endeavour's* arrival off Australia's eastern coasts? The *Endeavour* replica will

pass this coast, subject to weather etc, hopefully at some time during the Festival.

The Passing Endeavour Festival is being organised by the Mallacoota and Cann River communities in East Gippsland, Victoria, in conjunction with Captain Cook Society Australia and Australia on the Map's Restoring Cook's Legacy 2020 Project. It is an inclusive event in cooperation with the local Aboriginal community.

Mallacoota will be the main focus for CCS and AOTM with a joint CCS meeting of Australian and New Zealand members on Friday 16 April. A major attraction will be scenic flights from Mallacoota Airport over all of the Cook sites on the coast of Victoria on Friday afternoon (and/or on subsequent days subject to weather and level of bookings). See flyer for this event below (*text at end of this MM – ed.*) - book early!

The Festival program is still under development but at Mallacoota there will be an address about the impact of Cook's arrival by a local Aboriginal elder on Saturday, and on Sunday morning a walk to the real Cook's Ram Head (today's Little Rame Head), the first real land feature that Cook named on the Australian coast (see Map Matters Issue 36).

AOTM are organising the flights and the walk, and hope to be able to present a talk on the latest evidence regarding what Cook actually saw and named on the coast of Victoria on the Saturday.

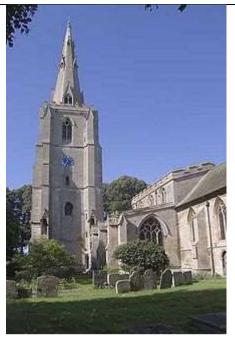
A Festival website is under development and some aspects of the program can be seen at <u>cook250.com.au</u>. If you are going or thinking about going, contact Trevor Lipscombe at <u>restoringcookslegacy2020@gmail.com</u> for updates etc. Early bookings for Mallacoota accommodation are advised.

#### **Trevor Lipscombe**

#### **Matthew Flinders Going Home**

The remains of Matthew Flinders will be taken to his home village after having been found under London's Euston train station earlier this year. The British navigator, hydrographer and scientist who was the first to circumnavigate Australia, is credited with giving us our name, Australia.

Upon request by Flinders' descendants, the remains will be reburied in the parish church of St. Mary and The Holy Rood in Donington, Leicestershire, England.



Church of St Mary and the Holy Rood, Donington, Lincolnshire (Wikipedia)

Flinders never received significant recognition for his achievements while alive, and is little known in the UK. But he is an icon in Australia. One of our largest universities, in South Australia, is named after him, as well as the Flinders Street train station in Melbourne. His name is also attached to the mountainous area of the Flinders Ranges in SA. In 1802 Flinders explored the region, which was later named in his honour the Flinders Ranges National Park.



Flinders statue at St Paul's, Melbourne. (Photo M Pietersen)

There are Flinders Streets in many towns, we have a Flinders Bay, Flinders Island, and Flinders parks, schools, and many more places named after him.

Flinders landed on Coochiemudlo Island (Qld) on 19 July 1799, while he was searching for a river in the southern part of Moreton Bay. The island's residents celebrate Flinders Day annually, usually on a weekend near 19 July.

#### **Marianne Pietersen**

#### ARTICLES

#### The First Map of Australia and the New Guinea Hypothesis

#### Andrew Eliason

### Introduction

The atlas of Nicolas Vallard of Dieppe, dated 1547, is one of the products of French cartography that have attracted attention because of their depiction of a continental land mass, often called Java la Grande, in the region of Australia. Sir Thomas Phillipps, its owner for several decades of the nineteenth century, refused to allow scholars access to it. But he had a lithographic copy made of its first chart and then had it printed at his private press and published in 1856 under the provocative title 'The First Map of Australia'. The chart depicts the eastern coast of Java la Grande or, as it is named in the atlas, *terra Iaua* (Terra Java). Richard Henry Major, the keeper of maps at the British Museum, complained of not having been able to gain access either to the original atlas or to Phillipps's recently-printed chart. (Major 1859, pp. xxvii-xxviii) For his research he had to make do with eye-witness testimony and published reports of it from fifty years earlier. Eventually, sixty years later, this chart led astray one of the leading scholars of early French mapping, the Abbé Albert Anthiaume.

# Facsimile or fake?

Phillipps's copy is sometimes used to illustrate arguments over whether Java la Grande depicts Australia and it is sometimes exhibited without a disclosure that it is not an image of the original. However, although the coastline is copied well enough and its vivid illustrations are close copies of the originals, it has many differences from the original. The differences suggest that it cannot be regarded as a facsimile and it cannot be relied on as a source of information about early French cartography. None of the differences would be obvious to a casual reader unless the original were available for comparison.

## Minor differences

The least important differences between the copy and the original are the omissions of three of the four decorative compass roses and all of the rhumb lines, those lines that radiate from the compass roses. The line marking the Tropic of Capricorn was also omitted. There is a more important difference in the latitude scales, which extend from 9 degrees to 53 degrees S: on the copy the latitude scales were straightened and its graduations were made more even. A quasi-ancient style of handwriting was used for the numbering of degrees on the scale on the eastern side, and the numbering there was corrected (on the original the number 49 may be seen where 40 should be), and the numbering of degrees on the western scale was omitted. And on the eastern side the area of sea was reduced.

# Inscriptions

Place names should also be in the category of minor differences, because the copyist seems to have struggled to reproduce the original handwriting. Most of them are readable, although they are not as fluently written as on the original chart. In several names, the copyist replaced letters, probably through negligence, and in some others misunderstood the names or letters. Examples of letter substitution are *Rio anna*, which became *Rio anno*, and *Rio serigno*, which became *Rio sarigno*. In the case of *dos portobonos*, the copyist left too little room to write it all on one line so that it had to be written in two parts: *dos portobon* followed by a vertical separator / | / and then at a higher level the two letters / *of* /.

## Distance scale

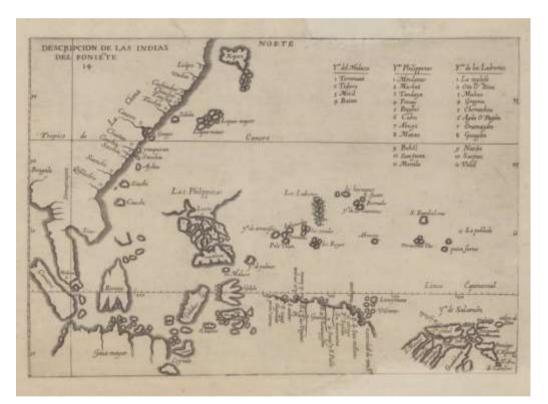
Most insidious is the copyist's replacement of the distance scale. The copy has a distance scale with nine main divisions, each of which has five subdivisions. The original chart has a distance scale with ten main divisions each of which has five subdivisions. But the new scale is not just shorter but is also differently calibrated.

The distance scale on the copy represents 450 miles or 112.5 leagues. In that case the main divisions represent 50 miles or 12.5 leagues and the subdivisions 10 miles or 2.5 leagues. This is not an unusual arrangement on charts of this era. By comparing this scale

with the latitude scale one can see that one degree of latitude is 70 miles, which, again, is the conventional length of a degree on charts of this era.

The original chart's distance scale represents 500 miles or 125 leagues. The main divisions again represent 50 miles or 12.5 leagues and the subdivisions 10 miles or 2.5 leagues. However, when the scale is compared with the latitude scale it becomes clear that, unusually, the original cartographer attributed 75 miles to one degree of latitude.

The copyist's replacement of the distance scale must have been deliberate. Why the copyist should have done so is a moot point but a reasonable conjecture is that the replacement was done with the purpose of concealing the original scale's unusual calibration and thus forestalling any questioning of the chart's authenticity.



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# The New Guinea hypothesis

Anthiaume compiled a list of almost all of the names on the eastern coast of Java la Grande from Phillipps's copy<sup>1</sup> and he published the list and his study of the nomenclature in 1916. Based on a very few place names he formed an opinion that names belonging to the north coast of New Guinea and the eastern Indonesian archipelago had been applied to eastern Java la Grande. This coast of Java la Grande has sixty-eight names of coastal features but Anthiaume's list has sixty-two of them. Of the names that he listed he mis-transcribed fifteen and discussed eight. And of these eight he misread three.<sup>2</sup>

He observed:

'Mais ce qu'il importe de noter, c'est que bien des noms inscrits par Vallard sur le côte orientale de Jave la Grande conviennent aux rivages septentrionaux des premières cartes espagnoles de la Nouvelle-Guinée. Le dieppois Vallard était donc bien mal renseigné sur la topographie de Jave la Grande. Signalons la partie principale de sa nomenclature qui se rapporte à la Nouvelle-Guinée. (1916, 534) [But what is important to note, is that many of the names inscribed by Vallard on the eastern side of Java la Grande suit the northern shores of the first Spanish charts of New Guinea. Vallard of Dieppe was therefore badly informed about the topography of Java la Grande. Let us point out the main part of its nomenclature that corresponds with New Guinea.]

His corresponding names are these:

- *Rio S. Jacque, Santiago.* Le port de Santiago figure sur la carte de Herrera de 1601. Santiago est le nom du navire que conduisait l'espagnol Saavedra lors de son expedition de 1528 et 1529. (1916, 534-5) [Rio S. Jacque, Santiago. The port of Santiago figures on the chart of Herrera of 1601. Santiago is the name of the ship that the Spaniard Saavedra steered during his expedition of 1528 and 1529.]
- Los portoboni, bonno porto, cap bonos port. Ces mots ne correspondent-ils pas au Buen puerto? (1916, 535) [Los portoboni, bonno porto, cap bonos port. Don't these words correspond with Buen puerto?]
- *Rio S. augno (S<sup>t</sup> Augustino).* C'est le nom que Ynigo Ortiz donna le 20 Juin 1545 à une rivière de la Nouvelle-Guinée, qui est une des bouches orientales du delta de l'Ambernoh,<sup>3</sup> et qu'on retrouve sur la pluspart des cartes de la seconde moitité du XVIe siècle. (1916, 535) [Rio S. augno (St Augustino). This is the name that Ynigo Ortiz gave on 20 June 1545 to a river of New Guinea, which is one of the eastern mouths of the delta of the Ambernoh, and that we find on most charts of the second half of the sixteenth century.]
- S. Nicollas; c'est la baie de S<sup>t</sup> Nicolas.(1916, 535) [S. Nicollas; this is the bay of St Nicholas]

- *Rio primero* répond peut-être à p<sup>o</sup> primero ou à la primera tierra, mentionée par Herrera (le Cap Goode-hoop<sup>4</sup> (1916, 535) [Rio primero corresponds perhaps with p<sup>o</sup> primero or with the primera tierra mentioned by Herrera (the Cape of Good Hope)]
- Terra alta est le nom d'une île située au Nord-Est de Timor. (1916, 535). [Terra alta is the name of an island situated to the north-east of Timor.]

Anthiaume's reading of Phillipps's chart	Inscription in the Vallard atlas	Meaning of the correct name	Remarks
Rio S. Jacque	Rio S Iacque	River of St James	
Los portoboni	dos portobonos	Two good ports misread	
bonno porto	bonno porto	good port	
cap bonos port	cap bon Espoir	Cape of good hope (or of good waiting)	misread
Rio S. augno	Rio serigno	serigno could mean a small mountain or a range of mountains	misread
S. Nicollas	S: nicollas	St Nicholas	
Rio primero	Rio primero	First river	
Terra alta	terra alta	High land	This was the name of an island east of Timor, not of New Guinea

# Table 1: Names on 'The First Map of Australia' that contributed toAnthiaume's New Guinea hypothesis

As can be seen in the table, after deducting the mis-readings and name of the island east of Timor, the names available with which to compare Java la Grande and New Guinea are not eight but four: *Rio S Iacque, bonno porto, S: nicollas*, and *Rio primero*.

Herrera's map of 1601 has seventeen Spanish names on or near the northern coast of New Guinea. Anthiaume identified four of them as being present on Java la Grande (see Table 2). In fact, as we have noted, two of the names are not present on Java la Grande (*R. de Santagustin* and *prim<sup>a</sup> tierra*). The remaining two are partially matching names but even so they probably unrelated. On Java la Grande *S: nicollas* is the name of a river, on New Guinea it refers to a bay. On Java la Grande *Rio S Iacque* is the name of a river, on New Guinea *S. Tiggo* is the name of a harbour.

Inscriptions on Herrera's map	Meaning	Inscription in the Vallard atlas	Meaning	Remarks
B. de San nic <sup>0</sup> laus	Bay of St Nicholas	S: nicollas	St Nicholas	Partial match
R. de Santagustin	River of St Augustine			Not on Java la Grande
S. Tiggo	St James	Rio S Iacque	River of St James	Partial match
prim <sup>a</sup> tierra	First land			Both on Java la Grande but as elements of other names

 Table 2: Place names on Herrera's 1601 map of New Guinea compared with

 names on Java la Grande

Besides these names Anthiaume stated that *bonno porto* (good port) on Java la Grande matches *buen puerto* (good port) on another of Herrera's maps that depicts New Guinea. He also pointed to *Terra alta* (high land) but this name refers to an island in the eastern archipelago, not to a place on or near New Guinea. Anthiaume's revised results are: one matching name of New Guinea (*bonno porto* = *buen puerto*); two partially matching (*S: nicollas* = *B. de San nic<sup>0</sup>laus*, and *Rio S lacque* = *S. Tiggo*); two single words that do not form one name on Java la Grande (*primero* and *terra* =  $prim^a$  *tierra*); and one matching name (*Terra alta*) that does not belong to New Guinea.

The oddest thing about Anthiaume's hypothesis is his failure to consider that New Guinea is depicted neither in the Vallard atlas nor on any other French map of this era. How could the maker of the Vallard atlas have made 'badly informed' placements of names of New Guinea on the coast of Java la Grande?



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# Conclusion

Sir Thomas Phillipps's fraudulent chart entitled 'The First Map of Australia' is like a snare and the Abbé Anthiaume became caught in it. It seems that the copyist's poor penmanship and Anthiaume's acceptance of the chart's authority spawned the New Guinea hypothesis. Perhaps Anthiaume might have developed a more defensible hypothesis had he examined the original atlas. Nowadays, when studying early French cartography, there is no need to consider Phillipps's chart, nor even to go to the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, to read the original Vallard atlas, because high resolution digital images of the atlas have been published online.

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- [Vallard atlas] (1547) [map] HM29, f.1. "Terra Java" (east coast of Australia?). Digital Scriptorium Huntington Catalog Database maintained by the Digital Publishing Group. <u>https://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/webdb/dsheh/heh\_brf?CallNumber=HM+29</u>. Viewed 8 November 2019.

1.Proofs of Anthiaume's use of Phillipps's chart are the misspellings *Los portoboni* for *dos portobonos, Cap bonnos port* for *cap bon espoir* and *Camoirroa* for *camouron*.

2. This chart of the Vallard atlas has 68 names of coastal features, including islands, of terra Iaua. Anthiaume failed to list *Illa grossa*, *G: secondo*, *Rio dernero*, *C: frimoza* and *cap do frimosa*, all on the eastern promontory, and elsewhere *Illa plata*.

3. The delta of the Mamberamo River.

4.Le Cap Goode-hoop: According to James Burney, this Cape of Good Hope is the west cape of Willem Schouten's Island, off the north coast of New Guinea. (Burney 1813, 107, footnote)

# Cook's Point Hicks – why some still believe that it is the former Cape Everard

#### **Trevor Lipscombe**

#### Preamble

Back in August 2014 an article appeared in Map Matters Issue 24 with the title 'Hydrographers v Historians – the truth about Point Hicks'. This was a summary of a longer article I had researched which was published in the refereed journal of record for Victoria, Victorian Historical Journal (vol.25 No.2, December 2014). My aim with his latter article was to thoroughly examine the evidence and produce an article that would finally bury the controversy about the whereabouts of Cook's Point Hicks. Point Hicks was a particularly important controversy to examine, because, as the title of the 2014 article suggests, it has been a long running battle between eminent historians and hydrographers/surveyors.

The informed views of the latter, far more qualified to pronounce on such matters than historians, had largely been ignored, as had the details contained in the primary data which Cook left in the *Endeavour* Journal, ship's log and charts. Publication in Victorian Historical Journal was important as more than a century ago this same publication had been the battleground between historian Ernest Scott and surveyor Thomas Walker Fowler. Scott's eminence and the fact that historians write books and hydrographers rarely do, meant that other historians took Scott's word that Cook's Point Hicks was a land feature then named Cape Everard. Despite all the evidence to the contrary Scott's view persists to this day.

With the approach of the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Cook's arrival off the coast of Victoria, and despite my VHJ article (which remains unchallenged), I found that many people,

including members of the international Captain Cook Society, still believed that the former Cape Everard was what Cook had named. This set me thinking about why this misunderstanding had persisted for so long when the evidence was so clear, as it has been to most mariners since the time of Matthew Flinders who left Point Hicks off of his charts. The result is this article, which I hope will finally convince historians and others of what really happened when Cook first saw the Australian coast on that April day 250 years ago.

#### Introduction

For too long misunderstanding has surrounded the location of Point Hicks, the first placename that Cook bestowed on the coast of Australia. As Lt James Cook approached this coast for the first time at 8 a.m. on 20 April 1770, he named what he believed was a land feature out to the west as Point Hicks. Lt Zachary Hicks was the officer of the watch and had made this first sighting. Cook recorded the estimated position of Point Hicks as 38.0 S and 211.07 W, a point well out to sea from the actual coast. Later navigators assumed from their own experience that Cook had mistaken a cloudbank for land – Cook's Point Hicks simply did not exist as a land feature. However, two hundred and fifty years later, many people (including some well versed in Cook's exploits) believe that Cook gave that name to a location on the actual coast to the north of his 8 a.m. position, known from 1852 until 1970 as Cape Everard, and officially since 1970 as Point Hicks.

This article explores why this belief persists. It argues that disbelief that Cook could have mistaken a cloudbank for land has led to dismissal of the cloudbank hypothesis, and fuelled the search for alternative explanations. The cloudbank hypothesis has received little previous analysis. Evidence is presented here that this was and is a common phenomenon, and that Cook's own data strongly supports the hypothesis.

This article also argues that the 'evidence' for Cape Everard being Cook's Point Hicks results from an elementary misreading of the *Endeavour* journal. The eminent early twentieth century historian Ernest Scott was the key proponent for Cape Everard being Cook's Point Hicks. He convinced other historians, including well respected Cook biographer and editor of Cook's Journals J C Beaglehole, and this published record has informed the views of governments and readers to this day.

Reverence for Cook has stood in the way of acceptance of the cloudbank hypothesis, while reverence for Ernest Scott and J C Beaglehole has led to acceptance that Cape Everard is Cook's Point Hicks.



Captain James Cook

#### How could Cook have mistaken a cloudbank for land?

The idea of Cook mistaking a cloudbank for land might appear incredible to today's lay person, as it did to Scott more than a century ago. But there is plenty of evidence to support this hypothesis.

#### Scott wrote:

Mr Fowler's suggestion that 'a bank of cloud was mistaken for land' would be fantastic, even if the observer was an amateur; but he was James Cook, the greatest navigator of his age, and one of the greatest of all time, the idea that he mistook a clot of mist for a cape is staggering... we may be quite sure that when Cook named 'a point of land' it was a point of land and not a meteorological freak.<sup>1</sup>

Surveyor Thomas Walker Fowler points out that 'banks of cloud close to the horizon do assume appearances resembling distant land that would deceive the most experienced'.<sup>2</sup> He cites the journals of Captain Tobias Furneaux in *Adventure* in 1773 (during Cook's Second Voyage), and Matthew Flinders and George Bass in *Norfolk* in 1798, to show that all were similarly deceived in the same area as Cook. Flinders recorded that the illusion persisted all afternoon, evidence that these were not necessarily fleeting deceptions. Early navigators were aware of this illusion and recognised Cook's error. Bass and Flinders could not find any land feature that met Cook's description and Flinders, and later John Lort Stokes, left Point Hicks off their charts.

Before Cook's voyage, the search for a southern continent had led to a number of apparent sightings of land in the Pacific Ocean, exciting speculation that these were parts of the large land mass that some believed existed there to balance the continents in the northern hemisphere. Alexander Dalrymple, a proponent of the existence of the continent, showed these on a chart which he presented to Joseph Banks before the *Endeavour* voyage. Shortly before Cook's departure from Britain, Captain Wallis in *Dolphin* had returned having visited Tahiti and observed apparent land, possibly the continent, to its south. Cook's secret instructions charged him with investigating this sighting:

...so soon as the Observation of the Transit of the Planet Venus shall be finished and

observe the following Instructions. You are to proceed to the Southward in order to make discovery of the Continent abovementioned until you arrive in the Latitude of 40°, unless you sooner fall in with it. But not having discover'd it or any Evident sign of it in that Run you are to proceed in search of it to the Westward between the Latitude beforementioned and the Latitude of 35° until you discover it, or fall in with the Eastern side of the Land discover'd by Tasman and now called New Zeland.<sup>3</sup>

Cook duly sailed south from Tahiti then west but found no land until he reached New Zealand. It seems that Wallis and *Dolphin's* company had been deceived. In time the sightings that Dalrymple had recorded also turned out not to be land at all or small islands. There was no Great South Land.

Sailors of Cook's time were familiar with the illusion of clouds or fog being mistaken for land, and of its enduring nature. They referred to the phenomenon as 'Cape Flyaway'. Beaglehole recounts an instance as *Endeavour* approached the coast of New Zealand earlier in the voyage, citing Joseph Banks' journal: ' "Our old enemy Cape fly away entertained us for three hours this morn": it is Banks again, 5 October [1769], about latitude 38, and some were sure the clouds were land'.<sup>4</sup> Such illusions were an 'old enemy', convincing many and, as Flinders had previously observed, persisted for some time.

Similar occurrences from the *Endeavour* voyage are recorded In Banks' Journal on 23 September 1768, 9 January 1769 and 16 August 1769, and in Cook's Journal for the latter date. On 9 January, 1769, Joseph Banks wrote 'Clouds to the westward appear so like land this morn that even our first Lieutenant who prided himself on His judgement in this particular was deceivd'. On 16 August, 1769, James Cook wrote 'At 8 AM, saw the appearances of high land to the Eastward bore up to wards it, but at 10 we

discover'd it to be only Clowds at which we haule'd our wind to the southward'. Joseph Banks wrote

'Soon after we rose this morn we were told that land was in sight; it provd to be a cloud but at first sight was so like land that it deceivd every man in the ship, even Tupia gave it a name. The ship bore down towards it but in about 3 hours all hands were convincd that it was but a cloud'.

While historians and lay persons may find it hard to believe that Cook could mistake a cloudbank for land, experienced early mariners Flinders, Stokes, and Philip Gidley King, all familiar with this coast, have recognised Cook's error. Twentieth century surveyors and navigators Thomas Walker Fowler, L. Barker, Brett Hilder and Geoffrey Ingleton<sup>5</sup> have, apparently independently, plotted Cook's data on a modern chart, and all conclude that Cook's Point Hicks was a point out at sea far from actual land.

As early as 1872 a Melbourne newspaper article about the location of Point Hicks recorded that, among geographers: '...it has been assumed that Cook must have been deceived by optical illusion, due to some exceptional condition of the atmosphere...'<sup>6</sup> Nearly a century later Pacific navigator and hydrographer Captain Hilder shows 'cloud-land' on his chart showing *Endeavour's* movements in the area<sup>7</sup>, while maritime historian Geoffrey Ingleton reaffirmed that Cook's Point Hicks was out at sea and concluded that Cook saw 'a cloud formation giving the illusion of land'<sup>8</sup>. The same phenomenon is observed today in this area, as reported by yachtsmen at Mallacoota.

#### New light on Cook's first sightings of the Australian coast

Close examination of Cook's *Endeavour* Journal<sup>9</sup> entries reveals further evidence that he was deceived by cloudbanks on this important day in Australia's history. While the focus has been on Cook's first observation of the extent of apparent land at 6 a.m., the significance of two later observations has been overlooked.

Cook first observed the apparent coast 'extending from NE to West at the distance of 5 or 6 Leagues' at 6 a.m. (see Figure 1). His second observation was made two hours later, at 8 a.m., when he placed Point Hicks at: 'The Southermost Point of land we had in sight which bore from us W ¼ S', observing: 'To the Southward of this point we could see no land and yet it was very clear in that quarter'. At the same time the ship: 'bore away along shore NE for the Eastermost Land we had in sight'. So, Cook's observation of apparent land to the west persists for the two hours between 6 and 8 a.m., as does the

apparent land to the NE. This duration is consistent with other records of the persistence of this phenomenon.

Cook's third observation is at noon, four hours later. From here Cook observes 'extremes of the land extending from NW to ENE'. To the north west Cook was now observing the real coast, but his observation of 'land' to the ENE (where there is no land) suggests that the cloudbank in this quarter, observed to the NE at 6 a.m., still persisted.

Cook's 8 a.m. and noon observations lend further credence to the cloudbank hypothesis. There are three observations of apparent, rather than real, land (at 6 and 8 a.m., and at noon), and the observations at 8 a.m. and noon are consistent with the 6 a.m. observations. Apparent land was seen on all three occasions, and in the same quarters in which it was first observed at 6 a.m. This gives far greater certainty to what Cook actually saw – illusions of land to the west and north east. It also discounts the notion that he made a recording error at 8 a.m. which might account for his Point Hicks being out at sea.

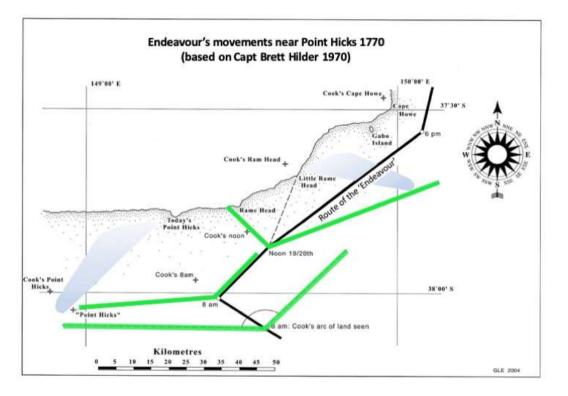


Figure 1: *Endeavour's* movements near Point Hicks 1770 plotted against the real coast line. Cook's positions for Point Hicks, Ram Head and Cape Howe are shown. These reflect minor errors in Cook's estimates of his position due to the limitations of the navigational technology of the time. Green lines show the extent of 'land' seen at 6 a.m., 8 a.m. and noon according to the *Endeavour* Journal. Approximate areas of cloudbank or illusions of land are also shown.

#### Other theories on the whereabouts of Point Hicks

Over the years since 1770 explanations have been sought for Cook's positioning of Point Hicks. Before 1800, Bass and Flinders had concluded that Point Hicks did not exist as a land feature and, based on their own experiences, it seems likely that they concluded that Cook had been deceived by a cloudbank. Failure to find Cook's Point Hicks led to a range of theories to explain what had occurred.

#### Did Cook make an error in recording Point Hicks' coordinates?

Given the evidence he left this seems highly unlikely. In the *Endeavour* Journal Cook gives his estimated position at 8 a.m., the bearing from this position to Point Hicks, together with its coordinates. Records from the ship's log, his soundings and chart of the coast provide further data. Each piece of this information is consistent with the other pieces, and correlates with *Endeavour's* earlier and later track on that day. It is also consistent with his recordings of the extent of land seen at 6 and 8 a.m. and at noon. Importantly, it also accords with Cook's usual precise recording of his observations.

#### Was there a compass error?

We can also discount gross compass errors on the basis of earlier and later observations in the area on that day. Modern plotting of *Endeavour's* track also demonstrates that Cook's minor errors in estimating his position (due to the limitations of navigational technology at that time) are broadly consistent. Both Ram Head and Cape Howe, named in the next few hours, show similar errors as that for Point Hicks (see Figure 1).

#### Did Cook name a feature on the real coast?

What features on the actual coast could Cook have seen at 8 a.m. and could one of these be the Point Hicks he named? Hills near the real coast would have been visible before the low-lying coastline was seen and it was suggested that one of these was what Cook had seen and named. Various theories have been put forward over the years.<sup>10</sup> All of these theories rely on the notion that Cook's coordinates for Point Hicks were recorded incorrectly, and the evidence above indicates otherwise.

#### Was Cook lying for the Admiralty?

Margaret Cameron-Ash, a lawyer by training, is the latest writer to offer an explanation for Cook's Point Hicks being out at sea.<sup>11</sup> She puts forward a case that Cook deliberately placed Point Hicks out at sea under orders from the Admiralty to create the impression that there was land there, to disguise the existence of Bass Strait, and dissuade the French from colonising Tasmania. Part of her case rests on Scott's notion that Cook could not possibly have mistaken a cloudbank for land. Her evidence for the thesis on which her whole book is based - that Cook was under secret orders from the Admiralty to falsify his charts and other records, is certainly ingenious, but largely circumstantial. Her suggestion that placing a false Point Hicks a few miles off the real coast and only about 7% of the distance to the north east corner of Tasmania was likely to disguise the existence of Bass Strait seems particularly unpersuasive.

#### Historian Ernest Scott's error and its long reaching influence

From earlier than 1850 the current Point Hicks (the former Cape Everard) was locally assumed, by some at least, to be the feature Cook saw.<sup>12</sup> It was the nearest land to, and almost due north of Cook's 8 a.m. position, and Cook had recorded Point Hicks as the 'Southermost Point of land we had in sight', so it was assumed that this must have been what he was referring to. By the early 1900s, historian Ernest Scott had put forward the same explanation, and begun a campaign to have Cape Everard renamed as Point Hicks. It seems that Scott was aware of what he refers to as 'the traditional view' that had prevailed from at least 1850.<sup>13</sup> As we have seen, Scott's reverence for Cook would not allow him to accept the cloudbank hypothesis, leading to his espousal of this earlier assumption:

[Cook] wrote that he 'judged' the point to be where as a matter of fact there is no land at all, but only open ocean. We have therefore to infer what Cook's Point Hicks was from his descriptive words. The 'southernmost point' in sight of the Endeavour at the time was that which figures on Admiralty charts as Cape Everard.<sup>14</sup>

Scott is right, the southernmost point of real land nearest to Cook's 8 a.m. position was and is Cape Everard. This fact is at the heart of the error – it seems on the face of it to be a plausible explanation. However, there are several fundamental errors in Scott's proposition. Firstly, it misquotes Cook who recorded: 'The Southermost land we had in sight *which bore W 1/4 S* I judged to lay in the Latitude of 39.0 S and in the Longitude of 211.07 W'. This puts Point Hicks just south of west, and several leagues from his 8 a.m. position, a long way from almost due north which is where Cape Everard lies. Hardly an error that 'the greatest navigator of his age' could have made. Secondly, Fowler<sup>15</sup> notes

that Cook puts Point Hicks 22 nautical miles from his 8 a.m. position while Cape Everard is about half that distance. Thirdly, because of the curvature of the earth, Cook would have been too far away to be able to see the low-lying point at Cape Everard from his ship's position at 8 a.m. Fourthly, Cook's purpose in naming coastal features was for the guidance of future navigators. Hence these features needed to be prominent and distinctive so as to be readily recognisable from out at sea. Cape Everard does not meet this criterion and so it is very unlikely that Cook would have named it even if he had been able to see it.

It is important to note Scott's words 'We therefore have to infer what Cook's Point Hicks was from his descriptive words'. Scott's house of cards is constructed on an inference - and it is startling that it has been accepted so uncritically for so long. Despite a published debate extending over several years, the expert opinions of Fowler, a well-regarded surveyor, were shouted down by the far more eminent Scott, despite his complete lack any of maritime or surveying experience.<sup>16</sup> It seems remarkable that none of Scott's successors seemed to take the trouble to examine Scott's arguments, along with those of Fowler and the opinions of navigators since the time of Cook.

In its turn, reverence for eminent historian Scott resulted in acceptance of his views by other leading historians of his day, including J C Beaglehole. Later historians, most similarly unqualified in maritime matters, just accepted Scott's and Beaglehole's views as authoritative. As a result, the published record of this event to this day still largely reflects Scott's perspective. Historians cannot check everything. As Scott himself wrote in his Preface to 'Terre Napoleon' in 1910:

...however much disposed one may be to form one's opinions on tested facts apart from the writings of historians, several lifetimes would not be sufficient for a man to inquire for himself into the truth of a bare fraction of the conclusions with which research is concerned.

A century after Scott it is difficult to find an accurate version of what was seen and named when the Australian east coast was first sighted by those aboard *Endeavour*. Examples of Cook biographers (besides Beaglehole) who have fallen into Scott's error are Alan Villiers (2001), Vanessa Collingridge (2003), Frank McLynn (2012), and Rob Mundle (2013). Examples of other historians and authors who have accepted Scott's line are Manning Clark (1962), Andrew Sharp (1963), and Thomas Keneally (2009).<sup>17</sup> Hence, generations of students of Cook, reading about his exploits, have accepted this view of the event based on their own reverence for historical writers, particularly J C Beaglehole. As a key and trusted source, these lines have misled many readers:

Some confusion and controversy have arisen over Point Hicks, and even its existence... 'The Southermost Point of land we had in sight' however, could not have been in the position that Cook assigned to it, for that was in the open sea in 50 fathoms of water and over twelve nautical miles from the nearest shore. The matter has been conclusively treated by Ernest Scott, 'English and French Navigators on the Victorian Coast', in the Victorian Historical Magazine, II (1912) pp. 146-51. The cape is there says Scott: it was called Cape Everard... and today there is a lighthouse on it.

(J C Beaglehole – Endeavour Journal, 1955, p. 299, Footnote 1)

...at 6 Hicks saw the land, extending from north east to west five or six leagues off. The ship had been heading towards Bass Strait; she was held on this western course for two hours more, and then Cook bore away for the easternmost land in sight, calling the southernmost point of land he could at that time see Point Hicks. It is now known as Cape Everard...

(J C Beaglehole, The Life of Captain James Cook, 1974, p. 227)

Scott's views have also influenced governments. In 1924 distinguished historians, including Scott, combined to persuade the Commonwealth government to erect a plaque at Cape Everard claiming that it was Cook's Point Hicks. The plaque is still there.



Figure 2: The 1924 Plaque claiming that Cape Everard was Cook's Point Hicks. (Photo: Trevor Lipscombe)

In 1970, to commemorate the bicentenary of Cook's voyage the government of Victoria was persuaded, again by historians and despite protests by navigators, to rename Cape Everard as Point Hicks, a name it still bears<sup>18</sup>. This fake Point Hicks therefore appears on all modern maps, charts, and satnav screens. In the current absence of any on the ground information to the contrary, today's visitors to this land feature may well conclude that they are visiting the first land feature on the Australia coast named by Cook. Today, as we approach the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Cook's voyage, and despite Cook's central role in Australia's history, there is little apparent interest by public authorities in the State of Victoria in recognising and correcting this error.

Historians write books, but sailors seldom do. The expert views of experienced mariners Flinders, Stokes, King and twentieth century surveyors and navigators Fowler, Barker, Hilder and Ingleton, have received far less public exposure and consideration. It is only recently that more detailed analysis of the Point Hicks controversy has revealed the chain of events leading to the current widespread misunderstanding.<sup>19</sup> Captain Brett Hilder, a very experienced Pacific navigator and hydrographer, who provides the most elegant proof of *Endeavour's* track near today's Point Hicks, wrote despairingly: 'academics tend to believe the printed word of previous scholars rather than the printed charts of practical men who are the real experts in the matter of charting a coastline'.<sup>20</sup>

#### **Restoring Cook's Legacy**

After 250 years of error it is important to the memory of Cook, a stickler for accuracy, that there is a better understanding of what Lt James Cook really saw and named on the coast of Victoria in 1770. Should today's Point Hicks revert to its pre-1970 name of Cape Everard? It is perhaps ironic that those that have opposed that renaming in most cases support its retention, but there are good reasons for doing so. Hilder's view is that today's Point Hicks was 'certainly part of the land first seen by Hicks and I think should be left bearing his name to perpetuate the historic landfall'.<sup>21</sup> Historian Robert Haldane has a similar view 'Cook's intention to name the area of his first landfall after Zachary Hicks has been fulfilled'.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 3: Coast east of today's Point Hicks – Cook's first real landfall on Australia. "At 10...it made in sloping hills, coverd in part with trees and bushes, but intersperd with large tracts of sand." Banks' Journal (Photo: Trevor Lipscombe)

Hick's first sighting should be remembered somewhere in this area, and today's Point Hicks is also an appropriate place to commemorate Cook's landfall (or land first seen) on the continent. However, today's visitors and future generations should be under no illusions about what Cook named and why today's Point Hicks is where it is. An appropriately worded commemorative plaque of a permanent nature at today's Point Hicks would serve this purpose and should point out the importance of Cook's Ram Head.

Since Cook's Point Hicks does not exist as a land feature, the first place on this coast that Cook named is Ram Head. Stokes, Fowler, Hilder and others have pointed out that today's Little Rame Head is Cook's Ram Head, and not today's Rame Head as is commonly supposed.<sup>23</sup> As earlier writers have suggested, Little Rame Head should be renamed as Ram Head as Cook intended. More appropriately it might bear a dual name – Ram Head- Aboriginal Name. Cook would have appreciated this gesture. He had great respect for native peoples and used local names on his charts where he could obtain this information, as at Tahiti. Cook's mighty achievements and small mistakes deserve our belated recognition. 1.Ernest Scott, English and French Navigators on the Victorian Coast, *Victorian Historical Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 8, December 1912, p. 149.

2.Thomas W. Fowler, Captain Cook's Australian Landfall, *Victorian Geographical Journal*, vol. 25, 1907, pp. 7–12.

3.John C Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974, p.146.

4.Beaglehole, The Life of Captain James Cook, p.198.

5.Fowler, Captain Cook's Australian Landfall, pp. 7–12; L. Barker, Chart: Snowy River to Twofold Bay with Lieutenant Cook's Coast Line and the track of H.M. Bark "Endeavour", Property and Survey Branch, Commonwealth Department of Interior, 1933, Series A876, GL400/14, Item barcode 172111, National Archives Australia, Canberra (NAA); Geoffrey C. Ingleton, Cook's Landfall: Why Cape Everard is Not Point Hicks, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 April 1970; Brett Hilder, Point Hicks: Land or Illusion of Land, *Victorian Historical Magazine*, vol. 41, May 1970, pp. 285– 97.

6.Anon, The Surveyor-General's new map of the colony, *The Argus*, Melbourne, 7 September 1872.

7.Hilder, p.290.

8. Ingleton, SMH, 3 April 1970.

9..J.C. Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, vol. 1, The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768–1771*, Cambridge, Hakluyt Society and Cambridge University Press, 1955, p. 298.

10.Trevor Lipscombe, The Point Hicks Controversy - the Clouded Facts, *Victorian Historical Journal*, Vol.85, No. 2, December 2014, p.235; Cook's Point Hicks: Error that just won't go away, *Cook's Log*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2015, p. 26-32.

11.Margaret Cameron-Ash, *Lying for the Admiralty*, Sydney, Rosenberg Publishing, 2018. p. 152; Captain Cook Invented Point Hicks to hide Bass Strait, *The Globe - Journal of the Australian and New Zealand Map Society Inc.*, Issue 84, 2018.

12.Trevor Lipscombe, Cook's Point Hicks – Reports from the 1870s, *Cook's Log*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2018, p. 36.

13.Scott, English and French Navigators, p. 147.

14. Ernest Scott, A Short History of Australia, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1916.

15. Thomas Walker Fowler, The Charting of the Victorian Coast Line: A Reply to Mr Ernest Scott, *Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol. V, No. 2, December 1916, p. 64.

16.Lipscombe, The Point Hicks Controversy, p. 236 and 239-243.

17.Alan Villiers, *Captain Cook, The Seaman's Seaman*, London, Penguin Books, 2001, p. 134; Vanessa Collingridge, *Captain Cook*, Sydney, Random House Australia, 2003, p. 199; Frank McLynn, *Captain Cook: Master of the Seas*, Yale University Press, 2012, p. 141; Rob Mundle, *Cook: From Sailor to Legend*, Sydney, ABC Books, 2013, p. 204; C. Manning H. Clark, *A History of Australia*, vol. 1, Melbourne University Press, 1962, p. 49; Andrew Sharp, *The Discovery of Australia*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 99; Thomas Keneally, *Australians: Origins to Eureka*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 2009, p. 25.

18.Lipscombe, The Point Hicks Controversy, p. 245-7.

19.Lipscombe, The Point Hicks Controversy; and Cook's Point Hicks – Reports from the 1870s.

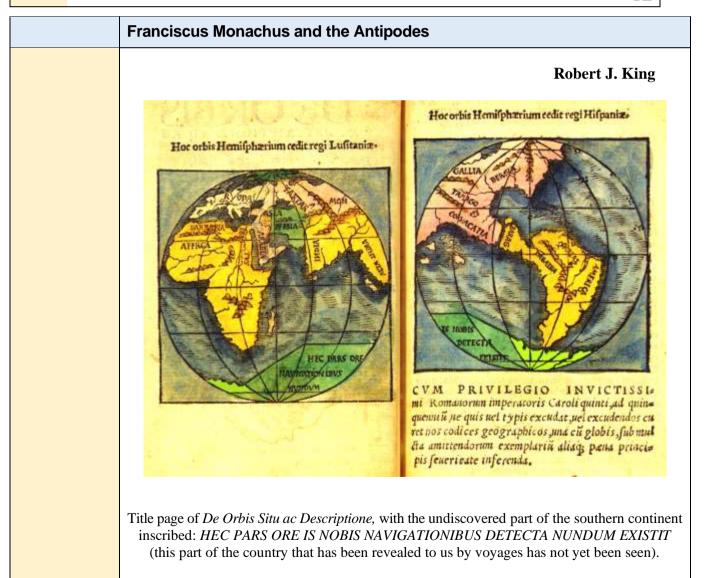
20.Hilder, p. 295.

21.Hilder, p. 293.

22.Robert Haldane, A Beacon on the Wilderness Coast: The Story of Point Hicks (Cape Everard), *Gippsland Heritage Journal*, no. 25, 2001.

23.Trevor Lipscombe, Ram Head – the first place Cook named in Australia, *Map Matters*, No. 36, 2019. http://www.australiaonthemap.org.au/wp-content/uploads/Map Matters 36.pdf

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"This part of the country that has been revealed to us by voyages has not yet been seen" (*hec pars ore is nobis navigationibus detecta nundum existit*). Such is the legend inscribed over the southern continent on a map of the world that illustrates the title page of *De Orbis Situ ac Descriptione*, a short tract on geography written by Franciscus Monachus in Mechlen, Brabant, in 1526. The tract was composed to accompany and explain a globe made by the goldsmith Gaspard van der Heyden for the Privy Counsellor of the Imperial Netherlands, John Carondelet.

The map is a simple outline of both world hemispheres. The southern continent occupies a large area of both hemispheres. It is separated from *AMERICA* (South America) by an unnamed Strait of Magellan. On the other side of the strait a shore is shown with indentations, indicating, as explained in the text of the tract, that it represents a land that had been discovered. This part of the continent bears no inscription; the undiscovered part is represented on the map by three straight lines, indicating no more than a notional coastline. This is the part inscribed as above.<sup>1</sup> The text of the tract explains:

to the South, land has been found in two places south of America toward the South Pole, stretching in longitude 43 degrees westward, to latitude South sometimes to 54, sometimes 53, sometimes 55 degrees as the topography reveals. Moreover, in the year 1526, a land was discovered at 0 degrees longitude and 52 degrees South latitude, parts of which are empty of inhabitants. The rest of the austral coasts are still hidden in obscurity but it seems to me very likely that that part of the Earth is not covered and overspread by the ocean. Indeed, it is conjectured and argued that vast and extensive regions and islands lie there, but because of the distances between places and the infertile nature of the soil, they are less frequented.<sup>2</sup>

This was a revolutionary declaration for its time, in terms of Christian teaching. Saint Augustine (354–430 AD), a Doctor of the Church, had written in *The City of God*: "And that there are supposed to be Antipodeans, that is, men on the opposite side of the Earth, where the Sun rises when it sets for us, who tread their footsteps opposite to our feet: there is no reason for belief in them."<sup>3</sup> But Franciscus, a Franciscan friar, wrote that:

Experts in nature and in mathematics deny the Antipodes, a heresy put forward by Saint Augustine, in spite of the acumen of his celestial genius; but experience and the sense of our eyes clearly prove the contrary. For under the Equator and beyond, diametrically opposite, there are Antipodes, which our globe and its clearly considered description allows to be known.<sup>4</sup>

The experience Franciscus referred to was that described in the *Mundus Novus*, a somewhat embellished version of Amerigo Vespucci's account of the discovery of a southern land of continental extent made in 1501 during the Portuguese expedition in which he sailed.<sup>5</sup> Franciscus emphasized the southern extent of the newly discovered country, and therefore its antipodean character, and it is likely he drew upon the version of the *Mundus Novus* 

published by Matthias Ringmann in 1505, *De Ora Antarctica per Regem Portugallie pridem inventa* (The antarctic/southern country discovered some time since by the King of Portugal). Ringmann was impressed by the southern, or antipodean location of the new land, and he wrote in *De Ora Antarctica*:

Virgil, our poet, has sung in his Aeneid of a world that lies beyond the stars, beyond the paths of the year and the sun [the ecliptic and the tropic], where Atlas the heaven bearer turns on his shoulder the axis of the firmament [the poles] studded with blazing stars. If one should wonder at a thing like this, he will not restrain his surprise when he reads attentively what a great man of brave courage nor small experience, Americus Vespucius, has first related, not falsely, of a people living toward the south, almost under the Antarctic pole.<sup>6</sup>

The verses of Virgil's *Aeneid* cited by Ringmann were part of the epic poem's prophecy of the expansion of the Roman empire under the reign of Augustus to include the whole world, extending to the Antipodes. The preceding verses said: "This, this is the man you heard so often promised—Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who will renew a golden age in Latium, in fields where Saturn once was king, and stretch his rule beyond the Garamantes [in Africa] and the Indians".<sup>7</sup> Ringmann saw Amerigo's discovery as fulfillment of Virgil's prophecy: a new Caesar, the Holy Roman Emperor, was about to inherit an empire that would include the Antipodes. He elaborated on the description of the southern land in the poem he composed as an epigraph to *De Ora Antarctica*:

Far beyond the Ethiopians and the sea-girt isle of Bassa<sup>8</sup> there lies a region, unknown to thy charts, Ptolemy, over which Capricorn is seen in the tropical zenith accompanied by rain-bringing Aquarius: yet afar off under the Antarctic Pole is a land which a tribe of naked men cultivates. A king, of whom noble Portugal may well be proud, discovered this land by sending a fleet across the stormy sea. <sup>9</sup>

Franciscus Monachus had a similar view, reinforced by the success of Ferdinand Magellan's expedition of 1519-1522. In *De Orbis Situ*, he wrote:

Has it ever been heard of since the creation of the world that a fleet has circled the whole Earth? But this has been allowed to come to pass by the gods above under the auspices of Charles Caesar. It went so far as to glimpse the Antarctic Pole<sup>10</sup>, unknown lands, seas, people beyond the Equator, the very existence of whom was not long ago a matter for continual conjecture.

Rather than Virgil, he invoked the more recent prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl:

In the year of the nativity of Christ 1520 there was applied to our Prince, Charles, none surpassing in human excellence, the oracle of the Helvetian Sybil, verily in these words: *The confines of the Antipodes shall close the empire and to him Gaul shall bow the neck, to his knee shall suppliant Britain swim with a fleet.*<sup>11</sup> Who, I say, looking at this state of things, would not consider that what the prophet predicted is confirmed for our Caesar? Do not the Antipodes revere Caesar's rule and splendour?

The mathematician and cosmographer, Johannes Schoener, also apparently drew upon the *Mundus Novus* for the description he gave of the antarctic continent, which he called *Brasilia Australis* in the *Opusculum Geographicum*, a tract he wrote to accompany the globe he produced in 1533. In it, he wrote:

Brasilia Australis is an immense region toward Antarcticum, newly discovered but not yet fully surveyed, which extends as far as Melacha [Malacca] and somewhat beyond. The inhabitants of this region lead good and honest lives, neither are they Anthropophages [man-eaters] like other barbarous nations. Laws they do not have, nor kings, but venerate their elders and are obedient to them.<sup>12</sup>

Franciscus Monachus is believed to have influenced the construction of the globe gores attributed to Schoener, titled *Terra Avstralis recenter inventa at nondum plene cognita* (Terra Australis, recently discovered but not yet fully known); these are also known as the Stuttgart Gores as it is not certain that Schoener was their author. Franciscus' influence is also apparent on Oronce Fine's 1531 world map, on which the southern continent bears the inscription: *Terra australis recenter inventa sed nondum cognita* (the *Terra Australis* recently discovered but not yet known). The southern continent on Schoener's 1533 globe was inscribed with the same words as on Fine's map. According to the cartographic historian Armand Rainaud, Franciscus Monachus was one of the principal sources for Fine.<sup>13</sup> Antoine De Smet also noted the apparent influence of Franciscus' globe on Fine and Schoener, given the representation of Asia and America as a single continent on all three and the similarity of the

Also apparently influenced by Oronce Fine's map, Caspar Vopell produced a globe in Cologne in 1542, which bore an inscription over the southern continent attributing its discovery by implication to Amerigo Vespucci: *TERRA AVSTRALIS recenter inventa sed nondum plene cognita Anno 1499.* He produced a world map in 1545, on which the southern continent was inscribed: *Terra Avstralis recenter inventa anno 1497 sed nondvm plene cognita* (the austral land recently discovered in the year 1497 but not yet fully known). Three regions were named on this southern continent: *Patalis Regio, Psittacorum Terra* (Land of Parrots) and *Brasilie Regio.* The last bore the inscription, obviously drawn from the *Mundus Novus*: "The Region of Brazil: this place has a most clement climate. In this country dwell tall, naked and handsome men; they are quite without laws or kings and only their elders are venerated by them".<sup>15</sup>

With regard to the southern continent, Franciscus' influence on cartography was far-reaching: His *australis ore* (austral lands) became on Gerard Mercator's map of the world of 1538 a circum-antarctic continent that bore the inscription: 'It is certain that there are lands here, but how much and the limits of their boundaries is uncertain'. Mercator's 1541 globe and 1569 world map, as also that of Abraham Ortelius of 1570, also boldly displayed a

huge austral continent, as did the mid-sixteenth Dieppe school of mapmakers. Rather than Ameriqo's Brazil, these mapmakers identified part of the southern continent with Ptolemy's Region of Patala and Marco Polo's Locach/Beach or Java Major (Java la Grande). Subsequent generations of cartographers and geographic theorists continued to elaborate the enticing image of a vast and wealthy Terra Australis to tempt the cupidity of merchants and statesmen, a process which reached its peak with the proposals of John Callander and Alexander Dalrymple in the 1760s for Great Britain to send out expeditions to discover the fabulous land. John Callander put forward a proposal in 1766 that Britain found a colony of banished convicts in the South Sea or on the yet-tobe-discovered Terra Australis that would enable the mother country to exploit the riches of those regions. He said: "who can doubt that this vast tract must furnish objects innumerable, both of commercial advantage and curiosity, equal to any that were found in America by the first discoverers?....this world must present us with many things entirely new, as hitherto we have had little more knowledge of it, than if it had lain in another planet".<sup>16</sup>

Callander's proposal was influential in the framing of British Admiralty instructions to Samuel Wallis, which said that there was: "reason to beleive [*sic*] that Lands or Islands of great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European Power may be found in the Southern Hemisphere between Cape Horn and New Zeland, in Latitudes convenient for Navigation, and in Climates adapted to the product of Commodities useful in Commerce", which Wallis was to search for.<sup>17</sup> Upon his return from the voyage, Wallis reported that near Tahiti he and his crew had "actually had in View" the fabled Southern Land, but that he had not been able to explore it.<sup>18</sup>

Alexander Dalrymple, a long-time enthusiast for the discovery of the Southern Continent, presented a beguiling tableau of it, estimating its population at more than 50 million, and declaring that it occupied "a greater extent than the whole civilized part of Asia, from Turkey to the eastern extremity of China". He observed that there was "at present no trade from Europe thither, though the scraps from this table would be sufficient to maintain the power, dominion, and sovereignty of Britain, by employing all its manufacturers and ships".<sup>19</sup> The exploration of the land seen by Wallis was added to the tasks of the expedition commanded by James Cook in instructions that were to be opened only after he had left Tahiti. Having searched for the Southern Continent in accordance with these instructions and determined that Wallis's sighting was in the nature of a mirage, and subsequently that New Zealand did not form part of the Terra Australis, Cook decided to make a running survey of the east coast of New Holland. This had remained unsurveyed by Dutch navigators who in the previous century had revealed most of the coastline of the rest of the country. Cook's survey formed the basis for a territorial claim that Britain made good eighteen years later by establishing a colony such as Callander had proposed, the Botany Bay convict colony.

The antipodean southern continent described by Franciscus Monachus on the basis of discoveries made by Amerigo Vespucci and Ferdinand Magellan inspired generations of subsequent geographers and mapmakers, and eventually led to the establishment of an antipodean colony by Great Britain in New South Wales.

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1. This inscription was mistranslated by Henry Harrisse in 1892: see Robert J. King, "Franciscus Monachus' Southern Continent, in his own words", *The Globe*, no.81, 2017, pp.101-104.

2. Franciscus Monachus, De Orbis Situ ac Descriptione, Antwerp, nd, c.1529-1530.

3. "Quod vero et Antipodas esse fabulantur, id est homines a contraria parte terrae, ubi sol oritur, quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus nostris calcare vestigia: nulla ratione credendum est". Aurelius Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*, 16, Caput IX, "An inferiorem partem terrae, quae nostrae habitationi contraria est, Antipodas habere credendeum sit" (On whether we are to believe that there are Antipodeans, who live on the opposite side of the Earth to where we live).

4. Franciscus Monachus, *De Orbis Situ ac Descriptione*; translation by Robert J. King, *The Globe*, no.86, 2019, pp.43-69.

5. Americus Vespucius, Mundus Novus, Antwerp, Paris, Venice, 1503.

6. Matthias Ringmann, *De Ora Antarctica per Regem Portugallie pridem inventa* [The antarctic country discovered some time since by the King of Portugal], Strassburg, 1505, title page.

7. Virgil, Aeneid, VI. 795–7; Riggs Alden Smith, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2013, p.87.

8. Bassa: an island to the south of Taprobana (Sri Lanka) the most southerly in Ptolemy's *Geography*.

9. Ringmann, De Ora Antarctica, title page.

10. Perhaps an allusion to the constellations about the Antarctic pole, the Greater and Lesser Magellanic Clouds.

11. The prophecy of Sibylla Tiburtina was said to have been found in 1520, carved on a marble slab uncovered by a landslide in Switzerland; Richard Bulkeley, *Prophetical Extracts*, London, Terry, 1689, p. 37.

12. Johannes Schoener, *Opusculum Geographicum*, Norimbergae, 1533, II Pars, Cap.XX, *De Regionibus extra Ptolemaeum: Brasiliae Novae Terrae Annotatio*.

13. Armand Rainaud, *Le Continent Austral: Hypothèses et Decouvertes*, Paris, Colin, 1893, p.283.

14. Antoine De Smet, "L'Orfevre et Graveur Gaspar Vander Heyden et la Construction des Globes à Louvain dans le premier tiers du XVIe siècle", *Der Globusfreund*, no.13, 1964, pp.38-48, pp.43-4.

15. BRASILIE REGIO: Haec clementissime coeli temperiem habet. Hanc plagam incolunt viri nudi & proceri, formosique admodum legem non habentes neque regem solummodo seniores venerantur; *Nova et Integra Vniversalisqve Orbis Totivs ivxta Germanvm Neotericorvm Traditionem Descriptio* (A New Complete and Universal Description of the Whole World, according to the Modern German Tradition); the 1558 Venice edition is held at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, and is on-line at:

http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:1196240?buttons=y

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18. Hugh Carrington, *The Discovery of Tahiti: A Journal of the Second Voyage of HMS Dolphin Round the World under the Command of Captain Wallis,* London, Hakluyt Society, 1948 p.130.

19. Alexander Dalrymple, *An Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean*, Vol.I, London, 1769 and 1770, p.xxviii-xxix.

RJK

#### Passing Endeavour Festival April 2020 – Scenic Flights

A unique experience you should not miss! Fly along this wild shore and over the land features that Lt James Cook named in Victoria in 1770 (and some he didn't name!). These are the first places seen and named by Europeans on the eastern shores of Australia. In the remote and beautiful wilderness of Croajingolong National Park, these features remain largely as they were when *Endeavour* sailed by almost exactly 250 years ago. Today, all are remote and some are inaccessible except by a long wilderness walk.



Gabo Island with Cape Howe beyond

Flights will operate from Mallacoota Airport on Friday afternoon 17 April 2020 subject to both weather conditions and demand, with the possibility of flights on Saturday and/or Sunday.

The flight options are:

Option 1 – Mallacoota Airport – Little Rame Head – Mallacoota Airport \$80 per person

Option 2 – Mallacoota – Little Rame Head – Gabo Island – Mallacoota \$120 per person

Option 3 – Mallacoota – Point Hicks – Rame Head – Little Rame Head – Gabo Is. – Cape Howe – Mallacoota \$220 per person

For details of the places listed see below. See also www.jamescookheritagetrail.com.au

Child fares are half-price and infants travel free. The modern single engine aircraft can take 3 adult passenger or 2 adults and 2 children under 13 (subject to weight). Flights will operate in order of booking, so early booking is advised. Flights are operated by Merimbula Air Services but bookings must be made through <u>trevorlipscombe@gmail.com</u> to achieve these very reasonable prices. Please state number of seats required, your preferred Option and where possible your second choice.

**Point Hicks** (formerly Cape Everard), not the one that Cook named (that was out at sea!) but it was just east of here where *Endeavour's* crew first saw the new continent. See the coast here just as Joseph Banks first described it: '*At 10...it made in sloping hills, coverd in part with trees and bushes, but intersperd with large tracts of sand.'* 

**Rame Head**. Long thought to be the Ram Head that Cook named. It is the same shape 'a point rising to a round hillick', but the real Cook's Ram Head is further east! George Bass and his convict crew landed here at Fly Cove on his whaleboat voyage to Western Port in 1797 and spent several days sheltering from the weather. You may get a view of the seals on The Skerries off Wingan Point.

**Little Rame Head.** This is Cook's Ram Head and the most important Cook site on this coast. Since Point Hicks does not exist as a land feature, this is the first place Cook named on the coast of Australia. As Cook left Plymouth UK he passed Ram Head in Cornwall, the same shape - 'a *point rising to a round hillick*'. So, by a remarkable topographical coincidence his point of departure from UK is neatly linked with his place of arrival in Australia. And Ram Head is the first place in Australia to be named after a place in Britain. You can walk here on Sunday morning 19 April from Shipwreck Creek, south of Mallacoota, a round trip of 13km. Details from trevorlipscombe@gmail.com

'What we have as yet seen of this land appears rather low and not very hilly, the face of the Country green and woody but the sea shore is all a white sand' Endeavour Journal

Mallacoota. Even more lovely from the air!

	<b>Gabo Island</b> . 'A small Island lying close to a point on the Main [today's Telegraph Point] bore west distant 2 Leagues.' Home to a lighthouse and lots of penguins. Above it on the mainland is Howe Hill.
	<b>Cape Howe</b> . Australia's south east corner. A long walk from Mallacoota 'This point I have named Cape Howe, it may be known by the Trending of the Coast which is north on one side and SW on the other. It may likewise be known by some round hills upon the Main just within it'. Cook now realised that it was likely that he had found the east coast of New Holland. Here Endeavour went offshore for the night: 'Having brought too with her head off shore we at 10 oClock wore and lay her head in untill 4 am at which time we made sail along Shore to the northward.'
	Photo Trevor Lipscombe
	AOTM Monthly Meetings - Members welcome
	Meetings of the Australia on the Map Council are usually held on the first Thursday of the month, at 2.00pm in a meeting room on the 4 <sup>th</sup> floor of the National Library of Australia in Canberra. All AOTM members and interested parties who would like to attend are encouraged to do so.
	How to contact AOTM
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