

Map Matters



Issue 42

Summer 2021-22

This is the 42nd edition of Map Matters, the newsletter of the Australia on the Map Division of the Australasian Hydrographic Society.

Dear Readers,

This issue contains the continuation of Robert King's article about what Australia's inhabitants came to be called. The first part was in MM41 and we were pleased to receive positive reactions about it. So, here are parts 2, 3 and 4.



As you will notice, King's article takes up most of this issue. But I managed to squeeze in an interesting article about Tasman in Mauritius, written by Peter Reynders. It contains some details you probably haven't seen before.

I hope you will enjoy reading MM42 and wish you all a happy and healthy holiday season. Stay away from the Covid and we will be back in 2012.

Marianne Pietersen
Editor

NEWS

W.A. Maritime Museum

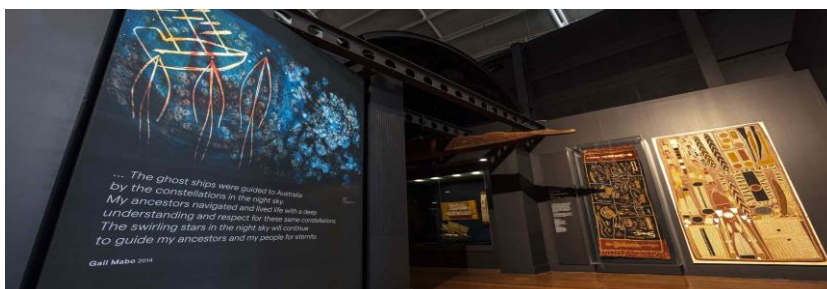
The Shipwreck Museum in Fremantle still offers the special series [Brickwrecks: Living History](#) till 30 January 2022.

Also on offer is an exhibition on [Wooden Boat Building in WA](#) from Saturday, 4 December 2021, till Sunday, 1 May 2022.

This exhibition shows the importance of wooden boat building in Western Australia, and marks the 25th anniversary of the construction of the *Duyfken* replica in Fremantle.

Australian National Maritime Museum in Sydney

The Museum is now open, but COVID-19 safety protocols are in place.



The Museum has a new gallery exploring the story of navigating and voyaging around Australia. It is called Under Southern Skies.

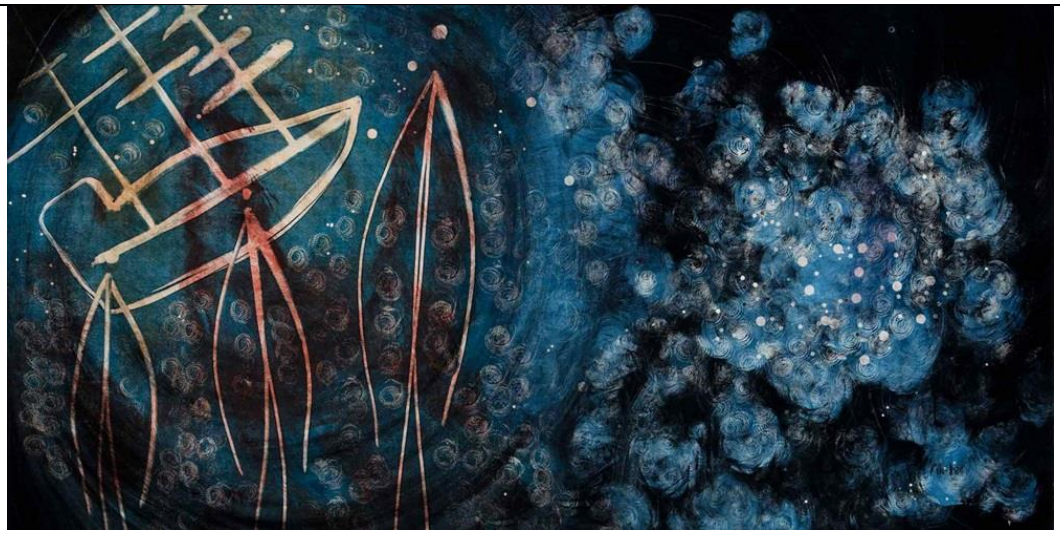
From the observation of the transit of Venus, to the importance of the night sky in Torres Strait Islander navigation and voyaging – planets and stars unite the long history of all navigators around Australia.

Incredible feats of navigation were not the sole preserve of the Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese or British, but were part of a global current of trade, migration and voyaging – all made possible by skills and technologies that understood wind, water and stars. This new gallery space tells the stories of all these navigators under the southern skies using more than 500 objects from the National Maritime Collection - many never shown publicly before.



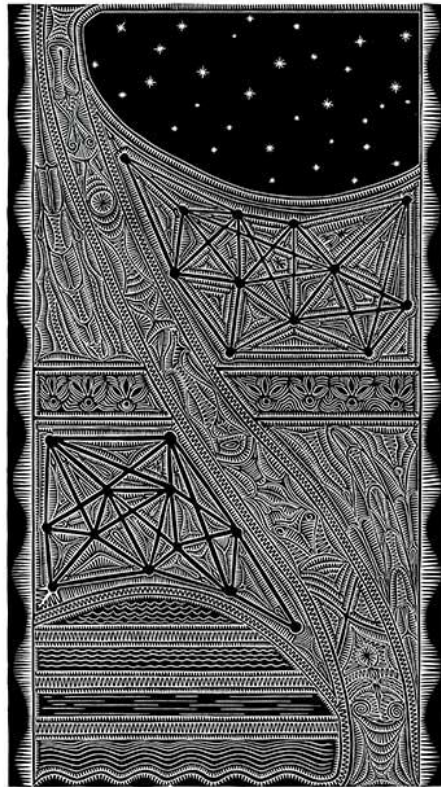
Indiae Orientalis, insularumque adiacentium typus by Abraham Ortelius, c 1590,
ANMM Collection 00000918

Ranging from bark paintings that depict Makassan fishermen trading with Indigenous communities in the Northern Territory, to sextants, compasses and telescopes that show the technological advancement in navigational instruments, modern indigenous art to historic portraiture, objects recovered from infamous Dutch shipwreck the *Batavia* and James Cook's HMB *Endeavour*, model ships and digital touchscreen technology – this fascinating exhibition travels across history.



*Constellation by Gail Mabo, 2014. © Gail Mabo
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From the Pacific to the Islands of Indonesia, ocean voyagers had been traversing and navigating around the coasts of Australia for centuries before Europeans arrived. The first navigators were Aboriginal people who crossed the seas to arrive in Australia over 60,000 years ago – the oldest known ocean migration in the world. From Muslim Makassan traders to the Chinese Grand Fleet of Zheng He to Polynesian sailors, the oceans around Australia were a swirl of cultural contact long before the first Europeans set foot on what they had called the Great Southern Land.



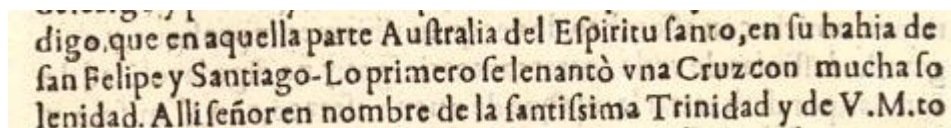
*Image: Kulba Yadail (Old Lyrics) by Billy Missi tells the story of how Torres Strait Islanders learn to read the stars, moon and the sea.
ANMM Collection 00049227. Estate of the late Billy Missi / licensed by Viscopy.*

Source: Website of Australian National Maritime Museum
For more info and bookings go to: <https://www.sea.museum/>

	From Antipodeans to Australians: the inhabitants of Terra Australis
	<p data-bbox="1318 241 1485 271" style="text-align: right;">Robert J King</p> <p data-bbox="328 297 639 327">Part 2: The <i>Australians</i></p> <p data-bbox="328 376 1485 1211">It took some time before the inhabitants of the Terra Australis were referred to as “Australians”, but in 1676, there was published, allegedly at Vannes in Brittany but in fact in Geneva in Switzerland, <i>La Terre Australe Connue</i>, by Gabriel de Foigny.³⁷ In this work, the word “Australien” was said to have been used for the first time to describe the inhabitants of the “Terre Australe”.³⁸ The book was suppressed for indecency and for containing things considered to be contrary to Holy Scripture by the Calvinist authorities in Geneva, hence the false place of publication being given as at Vannes, but a bowdlerized version was published in Paris in 1693.³⁹ Foigny was a former Cordelier (Franciscan friar) who had converted to Protestantism and moved from his native Lorraine to Switzerland.⁴⁰ His book was an imaginary account of travels, said to be written by Jacques Sadeur, and refers throughout to the “Australiens”. In the <i>Avis au Lecteur</i> (preface), he says that he imagined that if he wrote a circumstantial account, “the great enlightenment enjoyed by the Australians might better be judged by comparison with the darkness that envelops our minds”.⁴¹ A translation of the 1693 edition of the book was published in London, also in 1693.⁴² The translator rendered the title of chapter IV, <i>Description de la Terre Australe</i> as, <i>A Description of Australia</i>, whose inhabitants were referred to as <i>Australians</i>. Again, “Australians” are used in the sentence: “It is easier to judge by all that I have said of the incomparability of the humours and Interests of the <i>Australians</i> with the people of <i>Europe</i>”.⁴³</p> <p data-bbox="328 1256 1485 1554">Foigny acknowledged that his principal source of knowledge for <i>La Terre Australe</i> was the Eighth Memorial of Pedro Fernandes de Queiros (otherwise known by the Spanish form of his name, Pedro Fernandez de Quirós), which had been widely published in Europe.⁴⁴ He recognized the priority of Queiros, saying: “It is true, comparing the account of the Portuguese, Fernandez de Quir, with the description that follows here, that one is obliged to admit that if anyone concerned deserves this honour [of discovering the Austral Continent] it is he, rather than any of his predecessors”.⁴⁵</p> <p data-bbox="328 1599 1485 2029">Pedro Fernandes de Queiros, a Portuguese in the service of the King of Spain, was chief pilot on the 1595-1596 expedition from Peru commanded by Alvaro de Mendaña in an unsuccessful attempt to colonize the Solomon Islands. After his return to Peru, he expressed his belief that the Austral continent extended from New Guinea toward the Strait of Magellan, and that it equalled Europe and Western Asia in size. He was examined in Rome in 1600 by a committee of pilots and cosmographers, who approved his ideas and proposals regarding the Southern Continent, and in December 1605 he sailed from Peru in command of an expedition with the intention of finding and colonizing it. When in May 1606, the expedition reached the islands of Vanuatu (formerly called the New Hebrides, the name James Cook gave them in 1771), Queiros</p>

believed he had reached the long-sought continent and, on Pentecost Sunday of that year, as he related, he took possession: "of all this region of the south as far as the Pole, which from this time shall be called Austrialia del Espiritu Santo, with all its dependencies and belongings: and this forever, and so long as right exists, in the name of the King, Don Philip, third of that name King of Spain, and of the East and West Indies".⁴⁶

In the original manuscript held in the Museo Naval, Madrid, a later hand has modernized the orthography, *inter alia* changing "La Austrialia del espiritu santo" to "La Australia del Espiritu Santo".⁴⁷ It has to be noted that the recital of his act of possession says the region shall be called, "la parte Austral del Espiritu-Santo"⁴⁸; but he also said in an explanatory note: "for the happy memory of Your Majesty, and for the surname of Austria, I have given it the name Austrialia of the Holy Ghost, because on your day I took possession of it".⁴⁹ He used both versions of the name, *Australia* and *La Austrialia del Espiritu Santo*, in his printed memorials. In his second memorial of 1608, he called the land *Austrialia*: "The whole land mass was called Austrialia of the Holy Spirit because that was the day it was taken possession of".⁵⁰ But it is *Australia* in his ninth memorial of 1610: "in that part of Australia of the Holy Spirit, in St. Phillip and Santiago Harbours, first and with great solemnity, a cross was erected and I took possession in the Holy Trinity's name under the royal standard".⁵¹ As concluded by Rupert Gerritsen after he reviewed the original documents: "Clearly there was inconsistency in terms of the spelling of the name being applied. It is uncertain why this was, and one can only speculate as to the cause".⁵²

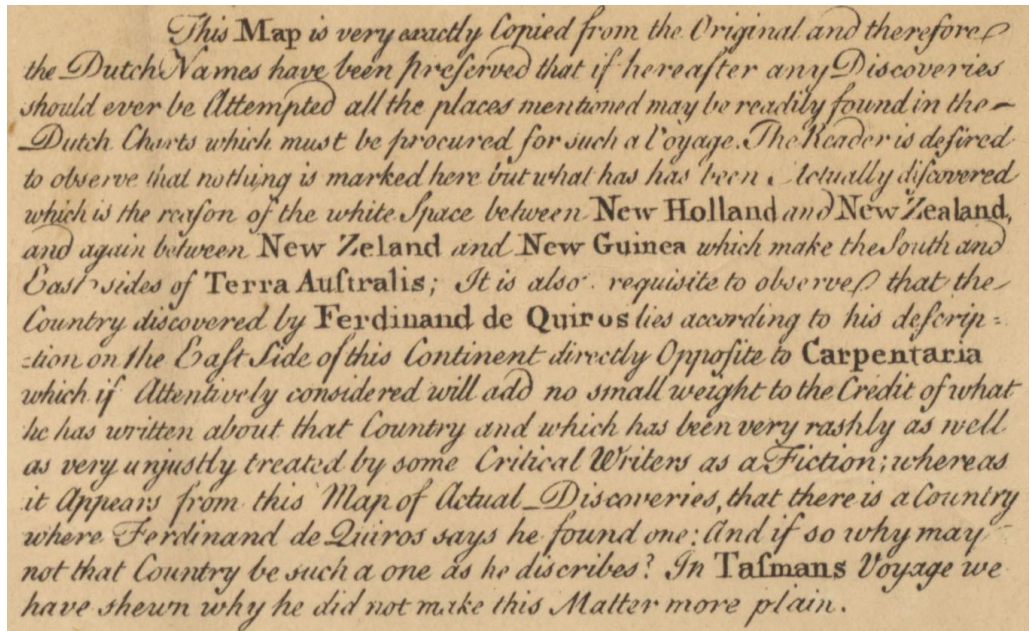


digo, que en aquella parte Australia del Espiritu Santo, en su bahia de
san Felipe y Santiago- Lo primero se levantò vna Cruz con mucha so-
lenidad. Allí señor en nombre de la santísima Trinidad y de V.M.to

Quiros Australia del Espiritu santo, in 9th in series of 14 known
Q presentation memorials, 1610, page 5v.

Queiros identified Austrialia/Australia del Espiritu Santo with the huge northward extension of the austral continent depicted in maps like those of the Netherlands cosmographers Gerard De Jode (1593), and Petrus Plancius (1594), which showed a huge promontory of the circum-antarctic *Terra Australis* extending northward to join New Guinea. For, as he said in his tenth printed memorial: "It should be noted that New Guinea is the tip (*el remate*) of the Austral Land of which I treat, and that people, and customs, with all the rest referred to, resemble them".⁵³ Plancius inscribed over New Guinea on his map: "because of its size it probably forms part of the Southern Continent".⁵⁴ In his eighth memorial, Queiros said: "The greatness of the land newly discovered... is well established. Its length is as much as all Europe and Asia Minor as far as the Caspian and Persia, with all the islands of the Mediterranean and ocean which encompasses, including the two islands of England and Ireland. That hidden part is one fourth of the world".⁵⁵

northern and southern coasts of Australia, beginning in 1616 with Dirk Hartog's landing on Eendracht Land (so called after his ship, *Eendracht*). By 1664, it was also known that the 1642-44 expedition of Abel Tasman and Franchoijs Visscher had circumnavigated the land upon which Hartog had landed and so proved that it was not part of the circum-antarctic *Terra Australis*. Joan Blaeu's world map of 1648 showed the land revealed by the Tasman-Visscher voyage as *Hollandia Nova*.⁶⁰ Regardless, Thévenot's map showed *la terre Australe* extending over the eastern part of New Holland with no boundary to the east: a large fragment "calved", as it were, from the main, circum-antarctic *Terra Australis*.



This Map is very exactly Copied from the Original and therefore the Dutch Names have been preserved that if hereafter any Discoveries should ever be Attempted all the places mentioned may be readily found in the Dutch Charts 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 lies according to his description on the East Side of this 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 this 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 shewn why he did not make this Matter more plain.

Emanuel Bowen citing Quiros on Terra Australis.
Complete Map of Southern Continent, 1747 or 1744.

Thévenot's chart was copied by the English geographer, Emanuel Bowen, for his *Complete Map of the Southern Continent*, published in 1747.⁶¹ Bowen's map was re-published in John Campbell's editions of John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca* (1744-48 and 1764), and so became widely known. The map divided the Southern Continent between *Hollandia Nova* and *Terra Australis* (Thévenot's *terre Australe*), west and east of a latitude staff running north-south along the equivalent of 135° East of Greenwich. *Terra Australis* was identified as the land described by Queiros by a legend on the map:

It is also requisite to observe that the Country discovered by Ferdinand de Quiros lies according to his description on the East Side of this 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 this 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?



Hollandia Nova and Terra Australis, Bowen, Southern Continent, 1744 or 1747.

The name, “Australians” continued to be used for the inhabitants. In 1756, Charles de Brosses published his *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*. In the preface, he divided *la terre Australe* into *Magellanique*, *Polynesie et Australasie* and declared with regard to the last that it was: “dans l’ocean des Indes au sud de l’Asie, que j’appellerai par cette raison Australasie”.⁶² John Callender’s translation of de Brosses, published in 1766, with reference to the inhabitants of the Southern Continent allegedly visited by Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, which was thought to lie to the south-east of the Cape of Good Hope, translated de Brosses’ “Austraux” as “Australians”.⁶³ He wrote of: “one of the *Australians*, or natives of the Southern World, whom GONNEVILLE had brought into *France*”, and that, “His godfather, in order to acquit himself, in some degree of what he owed to the *Australians*, procured him a small establishment in *France*, and married him to one of his own relations”.⁶⁴ De Brosses included in his book a chart by Didier Robert de Vaugondy, *Carte Réduite de l’Australasie*, on which *NOUVELLE HOLLANDE* stretched over the continent as its general name, while Queiros’ *Terre du St. Esprit* appeared as a small part of its northeastern coast.⁶⁵

James Cook, who had de Brosses’ book with him during his survey of the east coast of Australia in 1770, expressed his disbelief that the land Queiros discovered was joined to the continent: “we now begun to draw near the Latitude of those [islands] discover’d by Quiros which some Geographers, for what reason I know not have thought proper to Tack to this land”.⁶⁶ On 21/22 August 1770, he took possession of the eastern part of Australia and named it “New South Wales”, thus banishing Bowen’s *Terra Australis* from the map.⁶⁷ “Australians”, as the name of the inhabitants of the Southern Continent, was also relegated from current usage. In 1774, during his second Pacific voyage, Cook visited “the island *Tierra del Espiritu Santo*, the only remains of Quiros’s continent” which, with its neighbouring islands, he reduced on his chart to an archipelago and concluded, “as we not only ascertained the extent and situation of these islands, but added to them several new ones which were not known before and explored the whole,

What Banks proposed was influenced by what Matthew Flinders had written in a letter to him from captivity on the “Isle of France” (Mauritius), with which he sent him his “general chart of New Holland”. In this letter, dated 23 March 1804, Flinders wrote:

The propriety of the name Australia or Terra Australis, which I have applied to the whole body of what has generally been called New Holland, must be submitted to the approbation of the Admiralty and the learned in geography. It seems to me an inconsistent thing that captain Cooks New South Wales should be absorbed in the New Holland of the Dutch, and therefore I have reverted to the original name Terra Australis or the Great South Land, by which it was distinguished even by the Dutch during the 17th century; for it appears that it was not until some time after Tasman’s second voyage that the name New Holland was first applied, and then it was long before it displaced T’Zuydt Landt in the charts, and could not extend to what was not yet known to have existence; New South Wales, therefore, ought to remain distinct from New Holland; but as it is requisite that the whole body should have one general name, since it is now known (if there is no great error in the Dutch part) that it is certainly all one land, so I judge, that one less exceptionable to all parties and on all accounts cannot be found than that now applied.⁷⁰

Flinders had concluded that the Terra Australis which James Cook had been sent to find did not exist (ignoring the frozen Antarctica), so wrote in *A Voyage to Terra Australis*:

There is no probability, that any other detached body of land, of nearly equal extent, will ever be found in a more southern latitude; the name Terra Australis will, therefore, remain descriptive of the geographical importance of this country, and of its situation on the globe: it has antiquity to recommend it; and, having no reference to either of the two claiming nations, appears to be less objectionable than any other which could have been selected. Had I permitted myself any innovation upon the original term, it would have been to convert it into AUSTRALIA; as being more agreeable to the ear, and an assimilation to the names of the other great portions of the earth.⁷¹

Acting on this, he gave his chart, published in 1814, the title *General Chart of Terra Australis or Australia*.⁷² His hint was taken up by officialdom and the public, and in time *Australia* became the preferred name for the country. In a despatch dated April 4, 1817, Governor Lachlan Macquarie acknowledged receipt of Flinders' charts of Australia, and in a private letter to Colonial Under-Secretary Henry Goulburn, 21 December 1817, referred to Phillip Parker King's forthcoming expedition and expressed the hope that “Australia” would be the name given to the whole country:

Lieut. King expects to be absent from Port Jackson between Eight and Nine Months, and I trust in that time will be able to make very important additions to the Geographical knowledge already acquired of the Coasts of the Continent of *Australia*, which I hope will be the name given to this country in future, instead of the very erroneous and misapplied name, hitherto given it, of New Holland, which properly speaking only applies to a part of this immense Continent.⁷³



Flinders, General Chart of Terra Australis or Australia 1814.

King gave the account of his expedition the title, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia*.⁷⁴ His charts were published by the Admiralty in 1824, with the title: *Charts of the Coast of Australia*.⁷⁵ This marked official acceptance of the name “Australia”.

This did not lead to revival of the name “Australians” for the original inhabitants of the country: they became referred to as “Aborigines”, “Australians” being appropriated for the settlers and their descendants. Probably the first occasion when the word “Aborigines” was used in official correspondence to refer to the indigenous people of Australia was in a despatch dated 11 September 1804 from Lieutenant-Governor Collins in Hobart to Governor King in Sydney, where he said that he would tell his settlers that “the Aborigines of this Country are as much under the Protection of the Laws of Great Britain, as themselves”.⁷⁶ The name did not become the official appellation for the indigenous people of Australia until the “Protectors of the Aborigines” were appointed in 1840s as a result of the recommendations of the 1837 Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements).⁷⁷

RJK

Footnotes:

37. Gabriel de Foigny, *La Terre Australe Connue: c'est à dire, la Description de ce Pays Inconnu jusqu'ici, de ses Moeurs & de ses Coûtures par Mr Sadeur: avec les Aventures qui le conduisirent en ce Continent, & les Particularitez du Sejour qu'il y fit durant trente-cinq ans & plus, & de son retour*, par Jacques Vernevil à Vannes [Genève], 1676. at:

https://books.google.com.au/books?id=tPrPAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=foigny+%22La+Terre+Australe+connue%22&hl=en&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=foigny%20%22La%20Terre%20Australe%20connue%22&f=false

38. Edward A. Petherick, "Australia and Australasia", *Notes and Queries*, 6th Series, Vol.XI, 28 February 1885, p.171.
39. Gabriel de Foigny and François Raguenet, *Les Aventures de Jacques Sadeur dans la Découverte et le Voyage de la Terre Australe: contenant les Coutumes & les Moeurs des Australiens*, chez Claude Barbin à Paris, 1693. At :
https://books.google.com.au/books?redir_esc=y&id=yGUZqHAMm5UC&q=Sadeur#v=snippet&q=Sadeur&f=false
40. Pierre Bayle, *An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, London, 1826, Volume 3, p.171. At :
https://www.google.com.au/books/edition/Les_Aventures_de_Jacques_Sadeur_dans_la/ZOdmAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Raguenet+%22Les+Aventures+de+Jacques+Sadeur+%22&printsec=frontcover
41. "on jugerait mieux des grandes lumieres dont jouissent les Australiens, par rapport aux tenebres dont nos esprits sont enveloppez".
42. Gabriel de Foigny, *A New Discovery of Terra Incognita Australis or the Southern World by James Sadeur, a French-man*, London, John Dunton, 1693.
43. Gabriel de Foigny, *A New Discovery of Terra Incognita Australis, or the Southern World, by James Sadeur, a French-man*, London, John Dunton, 1693, p.163. At:
https://www.google.com.au/books/edition/A_New_Discovery_of_Terra_Incognita_Austr/1142exa2pIC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=New+discovery+%22terra+incognita+australis%22&printsec=frontcover
44. Gabriel de Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, translated and edited by David Fausett, Syracuse, N.Y., Syracuse University Press, 1993, pp.xxx-xxxi, 3.
45. "Il est vrai que comparant la relation de Fernandez de Quir Portugais, avec la description qui doit suivre, on est obligé d'avoüer que, si quelqu'un en est approché, cet honneur lui est deu privativement à tous ses devanciers": Gabriel de Foigny, *The Southern Land, Known*, translated and edited by David Fausett, Syracuse, N.Y., Syracuse University Press, 1993, pp.xxx-xxxi, 3.
46. "tomo Posesion... de todas las tierras que deixo vistas y estoi viendo, y de toda esta parte del Sur hasta su Polo que desde a[h]ora se[h]a llamar La Austrialia [Australia] del espiritu santo [Espiritu Santo] con Tods sus anejos y pertencientes y esto para siempre jamas quanto en derecho ha lugar, en nombre de Rei [Rey] Don Filipe Tercero deste nombre Rei [Rey] de delas Españas, e yndias orientales [Indias Orientales] y Occidentales"; *Posesion in nombre de Su Magestad*, Archivo del Museo Naval, Madrid, MS 951; Justo Zaragoza, *Historia del Descubrimiento de las Regiones Australes hecho por el General Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*, Madrid, Manuel G. Hernandez, tomo I, 1876, p.316; original photo-reproduced in Rupert Gerritsen, "A note on 'Australia' or 'Austrialia'", *The Globe*, no.72, January 2013, pp.23–30, p.24.
47. "Relacion particular de la jornada que hizo el capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quirós, á las Indias Australia Ingógnita", Justo Zaragoza, *Historia del Descubrimiento de las Regiones Australes hecho por el General Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*, Madrid, Manuel G. Hernandez, tomo II, 1880, p.201.
48. "Plática que hizo el General al tomar posesión desta tierra en nombre de ambas Magestades", Justo Zaragoza, *Historia del Descubrimiento de las Regiones Australes hecho por el General Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*, Madrid, Manuel G. Hernandez, tomo II, 1880, p.156.
49. "Relacion particular de la jornada que hizo el capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quirós, á las Indias Australia Ingógnita", Justo Zaragoza, *Historia del Descubrimiento de las Regiones Australes hecho por el General Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*, Madrid, Manuel G. Hernandez, tomo II, 1880, p.201; translated in Rupert Gerritsen, "A note on 'Australia' or 'Austrialia'", *The Globe*, no.72, January 2013, pp.23–30, p.25. The name of the island is now truncated to Espiritu Santo (or more usually, Santo).

50. “A toda la tierra se puso nombre la Austrialia del espiritu santo, porque se tomó la possession en su mismo día, debaxo del estantarte Real, cuyos auto tengo em mi poder”: Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, *Señor: el capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, digo: que para descubrir la parte incognita del Sur*, 1608, p.1r; State Library of NSW Mitchell Library, SAFE 1/5p; second of the Queirós’ presentation memorials. At:

https://digital.sl.nsw.gov.au/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?embedded=true&toolbar=false&dps_pid=IE3698473

Translation by Dolores Turró at: <http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2493370~S2>

51. “en aquella parte Australia del Espiritu santo, en su bahia de san Felipe y Santiao – Lo primero se levantò una Cruz con mucha solenidad”, Pedro Fernández de Quiros, *Señor: el capitan Pedro Fernández de Quiros*, Madrid, [1610 p.11]; State Library of NSW, Dixon Library, SAFE/Q61/3; ninth in the series of fourteen known Quirós’ presentation memorials, [1610], p.6r; at:

https://digital.sl.nsw.gov.au/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?embedded=true&toolbar=false&dps_pid=IE3690904&_ga=2.52657256.1157289529.1630222036-696439269.1508903163

translation by Dolores Turró at: <http://library.sl.nsw.gov.au/record=b2027509~S2>

52. Rupert Gerritsen, “A note on ‘Australia’ or ‘Austrialia’”, *The Globe*, no.72, January 2013, pp.23–30, p.28.

53. *Adviertase, que la Nueva Guinea, es el remate de la tierra Austral, de que yo trato*; Queirós, Memorial 10, October 1610, p.5, at:

http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/discover_collections/history_nation/queiros/index.html

54. Partem autem esse continentis Australis magnitudine probabile facit: Petrus Plancius, *Insulae Moluccae*, Amsterdam, 1592; Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, revised and enlarged by R. A. Skelton, London, Watts, 1964, p.265.

55. “Relacion de un memorial que presentó á su magestad el capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quirós, sobre la población y descubrimiento de la cuarta parte del Mundo, Australia Ingógnita”, Justo Zaragoza, *Historia del Descubrimiento de las Regiones Australes hecho por el General Pedro Fernandez de Quirós*, Madrid, Manuel G. Hernandez, tomo II, 1880, p.218; English version of Queiros’ eighth memorial at:

<https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/digital/E4wAMazzoZaBy>

56. *Terra Australis incognita; or, A New Southerne Discoverie, Containing a fifth part of the World. Lately found out by Ferdinand de Quir, a Spanish Captaine. Neuer before published*. Translated by W.B., London, Printed for Iohn Hodgetts, 1617, p.5, at:

<https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/digital/E4wAMazzoZaBy>

And at:

<https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2240853072/fulltextPDF/A172172D097B4427PQ/1?accountid=12694>

57. Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1625, Vol. 4, pp.1422-1423, 1426; the same volume has *la Austrialia del Espiritu Santa*; see also in the same volume, p.1432, “A Note of *Australia del Espiritu Santo* written by Master Hakluyt”. at:

https://www.google.com.au/books/edition/Purchas_His_Pilgrimes/ghFZAAAACAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=%22Purchas+His+Pilgrimes%22+1625&printsec=frontcover

58. *Le Mercure François*, Vol. V, 1620, pp.120-132, p.131; at:

https://books.google.com.au/books?id=PFxBAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=en&ie=ISO-8859-1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

59. Melchisedech Thévenot, *Relations de divers Voyages curieux qui n'ont point esté publiées*, Paris, Thomas Moette, IV, 1664.
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74. Philip Parker King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western and Western Coasts of Australia: Performed between the Years 1818 and 1822*, London, John Murray, Volume 1, 1827.

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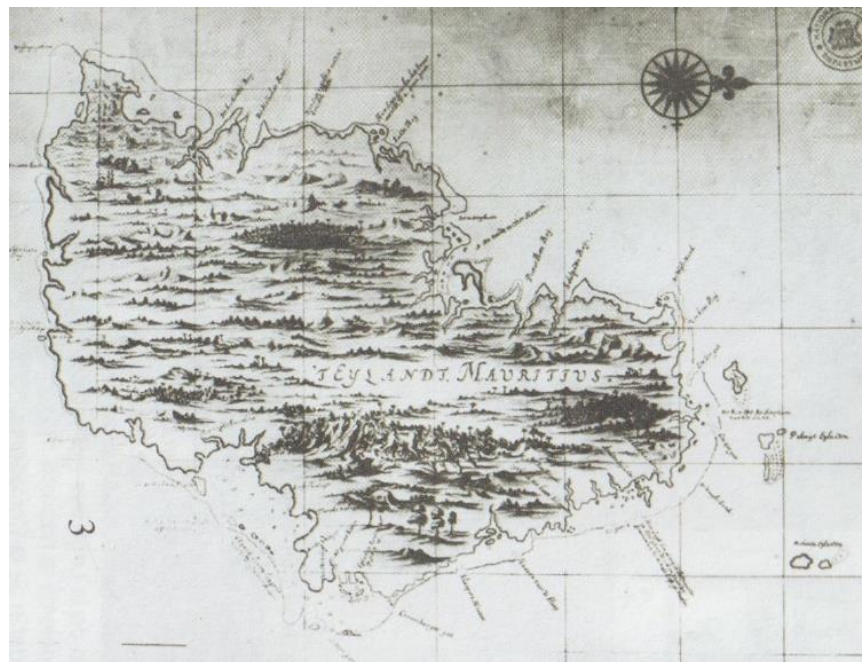
76. "Among the Enclosures which this Duplicate covered, I perceive a Proclamation under your Excellency's Signature, respecting the Security and Protection afforded to the Natives of New South Wales in their Persons and Property. This essential point having formed an article in my Instructions, I should have issued a General Order at Port Phillip to the same effect, and would have repeated it here, had I found the Natives of this part of Nev Holland inclined to come in our way, but at present we have not any intercourse with them, which I do not much regret; and not finding any disposition to straggle among my People, I shall wait until my Numbers are increased, when I shall deem it necessary to inform the whole, that the Aborigines of this Country are as much under the Protection of the Laws of Great Britain, as themselves". Collins to King, 11 September 1804, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Vol.I, *Port Phillip, Victoria 1803-1804; Tasmania 1803-June 1812*, Sydney, 1921, pp.281.

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RJK

Abel Tasman in Mauritius

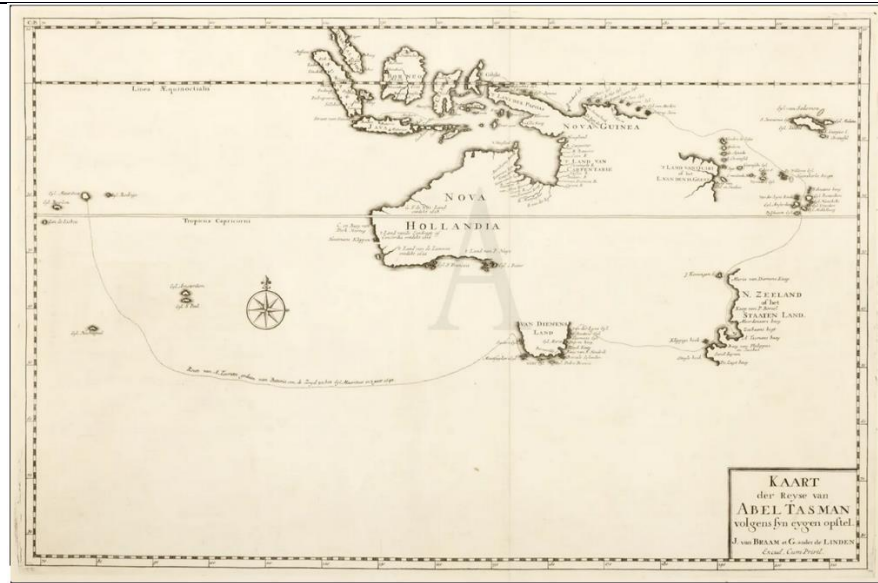
Peter Reynders



Dutch Map of Mauritius (Anonyme c. 1670) ¹

Details rarely referred to

A relatively important event during the VOC's occupation and administration of Mauritius was the 'stopover' of the two VOC ships the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen* in 1642 under Commander Abel Tasman. The stay there is rarely elaborated upon in literature of Tasman's journeys along coasts of and around what in the 19th century would be named Australia, bar in the voyage's log itself and its translations, and in books about the social history of Mauritius both in English and in French.



Tasman's Route, from Tasman's Log. Source: antiqueprintmaproom.com/

Indeed, it is not always made clear what occurred there, why they stayed there so long, and the impact of the stay on the first of Tasman's two voyages to what turned out to be the smallest continent. The two ships stayed five weeks at the formerly unpopulated island, preparing for their exploratory voyage that resulted in the European discovery of Tasmania, New Zealand and some islands in the South Pacific.

Its trajectory roughly identified the maximum possible extent of the continent that was subsequently named New Holland, and found that this continent did not include, and was not close to, the South Pole - at least not as close as the then known South America. It thus became clear that it was not the theoretical Terra Australis Incognita of old, which had hitherto been thought of, defined, and depicted, to be a truly gigantic southern continent, emanating from the South Pole.

Two and a half centuries later, Tasman's expedition was observed to have made the first circumnavigation of Australia, wide though as it was, as read and documented by the then expert on this material, the Tasmanian James Backhouse Walker,¹⁾ I have not been able to find any published and credible text stating that Walker was wrong and why. Yet, some people view it differently.

Circumnavigations are usually targeting a geographical entity of which their placement on the map is more accurately known. Tasman's, so Walker seemed to present, occurred by chance, but is nevertheless a circumnavigation. The ships sailed anti-clockwise from Java to Java around the continent. This could be challenged by the view that the expedition actually started at Mauritius. I take the view, however, that the two vessels clearly started and finished in Batavia and that the five-week visit at Mauritius was the longest stay of the two vessels at any coast during the expedition.

The reasons for the infrequent inclusion of action details about the Mauritius period can be attributed to the absence of any excitement of finding a hitherto unknown coast on that visit. Perhaps also to the fact that in interest and relevance the narrative differs only in some aspects from any 17th century ship's preparation for a voyage of potentially a year at sea.

Most readers will have an idea of at least an outline of the rest of the story of this voyage. Following publication of the much-copied chart, and some other information from the voyage,

western cartographers continued to place Terra Australis Incognita around the South Pole, just further south than before. An example is the Jan Jansson map *Polus Antarcticus* of 1657 (NLA map T730). Not until the 19th century was the most southern continent indeed confirmed to be existing.



Tasman Monument in Hobart, Tasmania. -© M Pietersen, 2016.

The need for and making a plan

The Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC, which translates to the United East-Indies Company and came from the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands' Provinces, maintained a management body in what was then called Batavia, on the island of Java, to oversee Dutch trade with Asia and its intra-Asian trade there. Members of this 'Council of the Indies' were in 1642 the ambitious Governor-General Anthonie van Diemen and members Cornelis van der Lijn, Joan Maetsuycker, Justus Schouten, Salomon Sweers, Cornelis Witsen and Pieter Boreel.

Before 1642, maps by VOC cartographer Hessel Gerritszoon and others had depicted some long but disconnected stretches of coast that had been charted during a series of VOC voyages in the region south of Java. It threw up 'puzzles' for the VOC. These included [and the concluding answers in late 1644 were also between brackets]: how large was this land [not sure precisely, but much smaller than expected]; was it really the legendary southland? [no]; were the east shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria charted by Janszoon in 1606 and Carstenszoon in 1623 connected to the western coasts charted by Hartog, etc.? [yes]; and also to New Guinea? [probably].

The last finding was wrong as the relevant vessel could not get through. Was it possible to sail to the Pacific and hence South America along a route south of a southern coast partly charted by Thijssen and Nuyts in 1627? [yes]. The for the company perhaps more relevant question was: Can these lands supply tradable goods or produce, for the intra-Asian or European trade?

[not detected]. For this last reason, the two Tasman expeditions were considered a disappointment.

After communication within the Council of the Indies and with the VOC's 'Gentlemen 17' in Amsterdam during 1641, Van Diemen had asked a number of experienced mariners, Abel Janszoon Tasman, Isaac Gilsemans and Matthijs Quast amongst them, to discuss and develop detailed ideas for an expedition, to find answers to those questions. Draft plans written up by Maarten Gerrit Vries and François Jacobszoon Visscher are known to have been submissions to Van Diemen. The one by Visscher, whose submission is dated 22 January 1642 shows alternative scenarios.



Tasman Monument, Hobart, Tasmania 2016. © M Pietersen

Instructions

Only on the day before departing Batavia were the detailed written instructions for a voyage of exploration provided to Squadron Commander Tasman and his senior officers, including 'Pilot-Major' Visscher. The rank of Pilot-Major did not previously exist within the VOC and was probably created to provide Visscher with extra status or influence so Tasman and the other senior officers would take him most seriously, because of his expertise, experience, knowledge and levelheadedness. The text also indicated the Council's high expectations as to what they might find in terms of trade potential. Many details of the instructions arose from the submissions.

The instructions were titled *Beschrijvinge noopende het ontdekken van Suijderlandt*. (Precise assignment concerning the discovery of the Southland).²⁾ This title is a small part of the substantial evidence that those southern coasts charted before 1642 were assumed, also by the VOC, to be part of a huge, but long only theoretical, southland. This was debunked in the opinion of most western cartographers based on the information obtained from the Tasman voyage.



Tasman's ships at the Tasman Fountain in Hobart, Tasmania. © P Reynders

The focus here is mainly on the instructions concerning Mauritius, the first port of call, and how these were carried out. The instructions were to set sail from Batavia on 13 August 1642.

They were to catch the SE trade winds, after sailing through Sunda Strait 'as quickly as possible', which would take them to the island of Mauritius. The ships were to anchor there in the S.E. Port in front of Fort Frederik Hendrik. They carried specific letters and goods from the Council of the Indies to be handed to Mr. Adriaan van der Stel*, the Commander of the VOC settlement on Mauritius. There, they were to supply their ships with plenty of water, firewood and victuals in preparation of the actual voyage into the unknown. They were not to remain at Mauritius beyond the following 15 October.

The crews were to be fed well with fresh food during their stay in order to achieve their optimum health when leaving Mauritius. There was clearly an awareness that fresh food minimized the outbreak of scurvy, even though the knowledge that a diet deficient of vitamin C caused scurvy was only documented in the 1930's. Mauritius was known to potentially provide much fresh fruit, indeed from the wild vegetation, as well as feral goats and pigs, abundant fish and birds.

Van der Stel had been sent orders by the Council of the Indies to assist Tasman, such as by providing permission to hunt wild animals and get water and firewood. When preparations for the voyage were finalised, the immediate post-Mauritius instructions included that they were to depart taking a southerly course until they would be at 36 or 38 degrees South, where they were to catch winds that would take them further south still. Only at 52 or 54 degrees South were they to sail East. Considering that Cape Agulhas, the most southern point of Africa, was just under 34 degrees South, the intended trajectory was a very southerly route. {But still north of Antarctica's northernmost point at 63 degrees South – Ed.}

The Ships' Council would meet when required by the most senior officer, when one or more significant decisions had to be made by way of vote if necessary, and members'

recommendations and the council's decisions were to be recorded. It is relevant to realize that these were not vessels of the Navy of a nation and that the VOC hierarchy was only quasi-military.

The Council of the squadron consisted of:

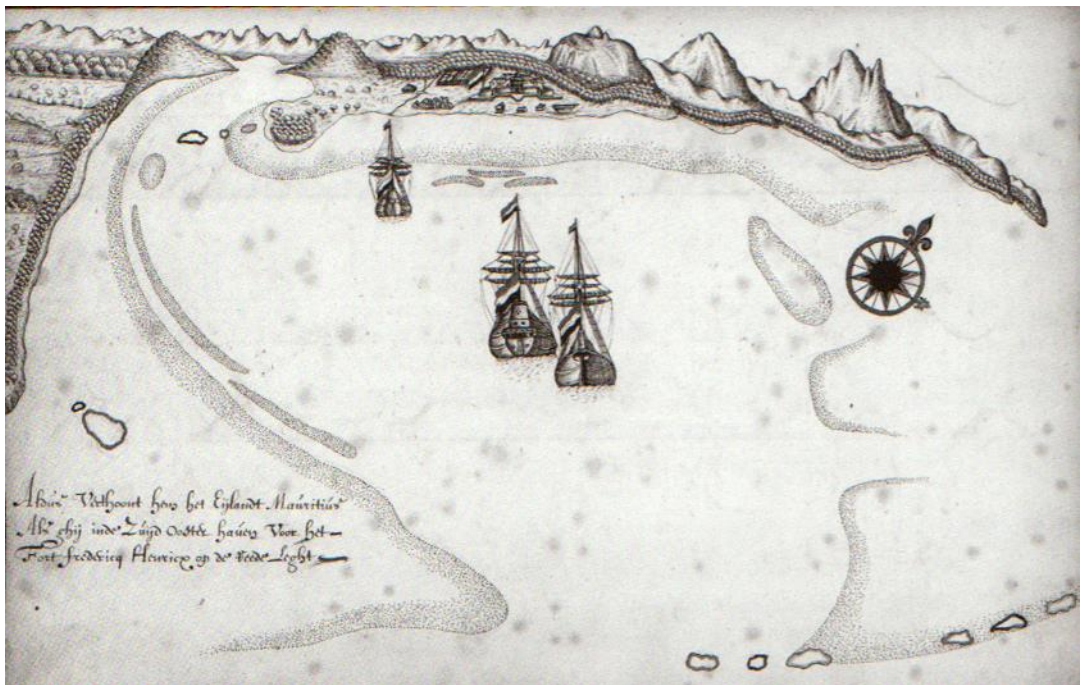
Commander Tasman, President,

Undermerchant on the *Heemskerck*, Abraham Coomans, Secretary, and members:

the *Heemskerck*'s Skipper, Tjerckszoon Holman, the *Heemskerck*'s Pilot-Major, Françoij Jacobszoon Visscher, the *Zeehaen*'s Skipper, Gerrit Janszoon, the *Zeehaen*'s Merchant/administrator and also artist, Isaac Gilsemans and the Uppersteersman of the *Zeehaen*, Hendrik Pieterszoon.

Departure

The two vessels sailed from Batavia on 14 August 1642, but unfavourable winds prevented them from leaving Sunda Strait until 17 August. Land was seen during the night of 4 September, which the next morning was confirmed to be Mauritius. They dropped anchor at 9 a.m. Already two days later some crews were sent ashore to hunt for game. They stayed there several days to be replaced by others. Every few days the ships would be supplied with hunted or live captured feral goats or pigs, up to as many as twelve at a time. After having been inspected on the *Heemskerck*, they were allocated to both ships.



View of Mauritius seen from a ship in the southeastern harbour at Fort Frederik Hendrik. Drawn by Isaac Gilsemans as part of Tasman's log, the ships represent the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen*; the little one is the ship *Arent* (from the book by Roper and Wildeman).

On the 6th of September a vessel was sighted. It approached and moored near the two ships a few hours later. It was the VOC yacht *Arent* (Eagle). It had left Holland on 23 April in a VOC convoy with the vessels *Salamander*, *Zutphen* (named after the town), *Leeuwerik* (Lark) and

Visscher (Fisherman), all of which had continued to Batavia, presumably via the Brouwer route, thus bypassing Mauritius further south. The *Arent* brought provisions, ammunition, sailors and soldiers for Mauritius, which had a European population of just a few dozen at that time. The master of the *Arent* had reported to Van der Stel that the ship arrived at the island of Rodrigues on 27 August, thinking it was Mauritius. They had contacted a French ship at the roadstead there but had received mixed messages from its crew on their destination and where it had sailed from. Some had said from Dieppe, some the Red Sea and that they were heading for Madagascar.

The *Arent* had left the island simultaneously with the French vessel and separated from it on 5 September. At night they could still see it and as it appeared to sail a WSW course. Van der Stel decided, on the basis of this report, to send a team to the NW side of the island to see if the French had gone that way. He suspected the French wanted to get a load of ebony there, and he even considered that they could attack the Dutch. Either action had to be prevented or at least resisted.

Commander Van der Stel had replaced a Mr Cornelis Gooyer the previous year, when he had arrived with seventy men to harvest ebony. Forty of them were disabled people thought to have a chance of recovery on the island. It has a most pleasant climate and is today one of the most popular holiday destinations, helped by the feature of the top of its second tallest mountain which has the shape of a human head and neck, also named after a former VOC Governor-General. Yet, twenty-three of the 'disabled' men later died, the rest had been sent back to Batavia, apparently recovered.

The Commander then had bought 105 slaves at Madagascar, where they occasionally were offered for sale, apparently being prisoners of war from conflicts there. Due to the Dutchmen's total inexperience, inaptitude and a lack of a company protocol on how to manage slaves, half of them had already escaped by the time Tasman arrived. They clearly lived somewhere hiding on the island, which provided plenty of food and water to survive. Only 18 of them were ultimately recaptured.

Repairs

There are no written instructions known referring to ships' repairs on Mauritius. However, from the 7th of September substantial repairs were made to the rigging of the *Zeehaen*. This work continued for several weeks. Some repair work was also done on the *Heemskerck*. One of the ship's carpenters was sent ashore to search for suitable timber, which was to be sent to the fort to be sawn into planks. These extensive repairs may have been entirely the initiative of Tasman following discovery of the dismal state the ships were in. He apparently did not have much choice.

The question arises whether Van Diemen and his Council were aware that at least the *Zeehaen* required so much work? It appears from entries in Tasman's log that the ships were thought to be in good condition when they left Batavia, but were not. The *Zeehaen* ran aground on the very first day but got afloat again during the night without any notable damage. Alternatively, it may have been damaged after all, it just having been discovered a little later. In any case, on 15 August Tasman reported in his log, without providing details, that he 'refitted' the *Heemskerck* for a whole day. In order to attend to this, he decided to ride at anchor at sea "before Anjar" (now Anyar or Anyer a coastal holiday resort on Java) at the northern entry of Sunda Strait. But worse, on 16 August the yard-arm attached to the bowsprit of the *Zeehaen*

collapsed at sea, meaning the ship arrived at Mauritius requiring at least the bowsprit replacement.

The Governor-General had apparently been unaware of these issues. Whether a thorough inspection of the ships was actually carried out before they left Batavia is still an unanswered question. If not, other problems that needed repair were only discovered while traveling to Mauritius. It is still conceivable that planned repair activities at Mauritius could have been recorded on separate but now lost documentation or that they were only conveyed verbally. Also, the long period provided to stay at Mauritius may support the allowing of time for repairs.

Nevertheless, after Tasman's ships had left Mauritius, Van der Stel sent a letter to the Council of the Indies in October 1643, indicating not being too impressed and asserting that the ships had been fitted hopelessly inadequately for such an arduous voyage, apparently criticizing the Council for letting them depart Batavia like that.

Relations between Van der Stel and Tasman

On 9 September, five days after they arrived, Commander Van der Stel issued an order for the ships' crews. It included limiting the issue of alcohol (arak) to one nip a day and only for those who had suffered cold, wet or 'became very dirty on the island because of their work'. He claimed to impose such limitations as per orders from the Council of the Indies. Tasman, whose crews outnumbered the population under Van der Stel's command, was apparently not impressed with such close and detailed interference with his crews by the island's Commander. He decided instead to issue half a glass a day to all crew 'to keep the peace'. No requirement to get dirty first to qualify. His voyage instructions from the Council of the Indies also specified the crews' daily arak ransom and he apparently stuck to that. The relationship between Tasman and Van der Stel was at that stage perhaps less than cordial.

There were however also indicators to the contrary: Tasman received from Van der Stel a printed book *De Nieuwe Werelt*, which included a few small maps and accounts of the voyage by LeMaire and Schouten to the Solomon Islands and other parts. He was also given a 'dictionary' of languages spoken by inhabitants of the Solomon Islands, New Guinea and other islands, which he could perhaps use in establishing relations with people he might encounter in the south seas.

Further Activities at Mauritius

On the 10th of September Skipper Tjerckszoon Holman took Van der Stel on board to draw on his knowledge of the surrounds of the island to determine a rendez-vous location in case the ships would be separated by a storm. Tasman also asked all senior officers for their written advice on this. Batavia's standing orders included that this be determined.

Carpenter Jan Joppen finally came back on board on the 10th of September advising he had chopped a number of large logs from forest trees to be sawed into planks at the fort, but no other suitable timber seemed to be available in the particular forest where he had searched. The next day the carpenter went with the skipper and some crew to deliver the timber logs at the fort. The day after, more logs were transported to the fort, where one sailor, Joris Claesen van Bakhuis, was wounded when sawing the timber. Both the ship's 'doctor' Haelbos and his assistant were immediately sent to attend to him.

The team sent out by Van der Stel to see whether the French ship had landed at the island reported on 14 September that the ship had not been seen. From 15 September a crew was put ashore to make ropes for several days. On the 16th a small yacht *Cleyn Mauritius* left for the east of the island to get a load of ebony for the *Arent* to take to Holland. It could, however, not get out of the bay until the 21st of September because of contrary winds.

The Councils of the settlement and of the ships, including of the *Arent*, held a joint meeting on the 16th and resolved presumably as recorded in the book of resolutions. This book is unfortunately lost. A whole list of ships' parts was transferred from the *Arent* to the *Zeehaen* on the 17th to ensure its repairs could be done adequately. This was likely to have been one of the resolutions of the previous day.

The *Zeehaen* was thoroughly checked for leaks and repaired on the 19th of September. All joints were freshly tarred.

On 20 September Tasman went 'shooting' with the second in command of the fort, Mr. Van der Maerzen, its under-merchant. Thus, not with Van der Stel. They returned with thirteen wild birds. There is no mention whether this included the flightless dodo, which became extinct by 1681. The likely cause of this was the populations of rats having escaped from visiting ships, who were feeding on dodo eggs laid in nests on the ground.



Dodo painted by Roelandt Savery in 1626. Source: Natural History Museum, Tring, UK.

The transport of the newly sawed planks from the fort to the ships commenced using the ships' boats, and a new spare middle sail was made on the same day. Also, a team was sent ashore to chop long timbers to be used as spars and anchor rods. They returned towards the evening with adequate timber rods and poles for each ship. The hauling of water to the ships from a well, located to the east of the fort, started on the 23rd of September. The following days a steady supply of hunted wild meat, firewood and water continued to arrive at the two ships until the 4th of October.

On the 25th of September Pilot-Major Visscher and Mr Gilsemans had 'measured' the coast. A map was drawn up, to which Van der Stel contributed some details and he sent it to Batavia, as he had been asked to supply information about the land. It was incomplete and inaccurate, as Tasman did not have the time or inclination to allocate more staff and more time to carry out a detailed survey, although he, rather than Van der Stel, had staff with the surveying expertise and equipment to make a more accurate map. The rather limited assistance with that task may have further impacted the apparent less than ideal relationship between the two leaders. The map indicated Dutch names given to several places: *Zwarte Rivier* (Black River), *Diepe Rivier*, (Deep River), *Bocht Zonder Einde* (Bay, or 'Bend' Without End, today's *Grand Baie*) and others that have survived until today albeit in French translations.

Departure from Mauritius

A meeting of the squadron's council was held that decided to aim at leaving on the 4th of October. The yacht *Cleyn Mauritius* returned on the 29th of September and brought, apart from ebony, also one of the many escaped Malagasy slaves.

On the 4th of October the wind was not suitable for sailing. Franchoijs Jacobszoon Visscher and Hendrik Pieterszoon of the *Zeehaen* were sent to measure the depths in the eastern outlet from the bay, the way out for the ships. It was hardly thirteen feet with high tide. Headwinds continued on the 5th. Instead of departing, under-steersman Jurriaenszoon, an experienced sea-fisherman, was sent out to catch fish, probably with some crew although this is not recorded. He returned with enough fish for a meal for the whole crew.

The next day an equal quantity of fish was caught. Also on the 6th, when an attempt had failed to sail out of the gap by use of throw-anchors. The same day a team that had been sent out to try and catch escaped slaves returned without any. On the 7th of October another attempt to depart using throw anchors also failed. At daybreak on the 8th of October there was a soft land breeze and they weighed anchors. But the winds changed and anchors were dropped again. Around 8 o'clock the wind, however, turned to N.E.E. Anchors were weighed and the ships entered the sea pointing at a S.S.E. course.

Outcome

It is clear from the instructions and the log that much more than just the instructions had been carried out to the letter at Mauritius. They were not always followed for the rest of the voyage, but sometimes drastically deviated from by the squadron council. It became an exciting and long story. If they had not been forced by cold and brutal weather to abandon taking the prescribed trajectory at 50 degrees or further south, they may have found neither Tasmania nor New Zealand. Narratives covering the rest of the famous voyage of discovery after leaving Mauritius, if needed, can be found in the relevant references mentioned below.

The relatively healthy condition of the crew, apparent at the conclusion of the ten-month voyage on 15 June 1643, can be substantially attributed to the directions by the Council of the Indies on how to prepare at Mauritius. It resulted in the improvement of the health of the crew during the five weeks at Mauritius. At the completion of this voyage into the unknown, only fifteen crew had been lost, ten due to illness, four from an attack by Maoris and one by desertion after having been accused of the rape of a cabin boy.³⁾ For those days that was remarkably good considering it was a voyage of about 10 months.

Tasman led a second voyage in 1644, then with three vessels, closely charting the north coast of the continent.



Statue of Abel Tasman at Tasman Fountain, Hobart, Tasmania. © P Reynders.

Other sources

Thus far, most of this information originates from Tasman's log.⁴⁾ However, Mr. Hendrik Haelbos, the ship's doctor of the *Heemskerk*, also made a report of the voyage⁵⁾ that survived, but he dedicated very little text to the events on Mauritius. Haelbos conveys the rest of the expedition's meetings with other civilizations, as do the illustrations drawn by Gilsemans. Another story could cover those. Through both of these the encounters get a fascinating human dimension; more so than from Tasman's log.

Haelbos' narrative mentions their arrival in Mauritius and the appearance of the Dutch ship that arrived to supply victuals and pick up a load of ebony, but he called it the *Swarte Arend* (Black Eagle) rather than just *Arend*. A current list of VOC ships⁶⁾ mentions 14 VOC vessels called *Arend* or *Zwarte Arend* in its current Dutch spelling. In those times, ships' names were not infrequently reported under nicknames, or with additions, including in logbooks. Haelbos then proceeds to the expedition's departure from Mauritius on the 8th of the 'wine month'.

* His grandson Willem Adriaan van der Stel, was Governor of the Cape Colony from 1699 to 1707.

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Footnotes:

- 1) Walker, J. B. (F.R.G.S), 'Abel Janszoon Tasman - his Life and Voyages'. Read before the Royal Society of Tasmania, 25th November, 1895, Hobart. Publ. January, 1896. William Grahame, Jr., Government Printer, Hobart, 1896;
Its preface begins with: "No life of the first circumnavigator of Australia has hitherto appeared in English".
Walker may have had access to the English translation of the Journal of Abel Tasman, made by the German scholar Karl G. Woide for Sir Joseph Banks in 1776.
- 2) Schilder, Günther, *Australia Unveiled*, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd. 1975, p 159 and 192, Translation P Reynders, via J. Verdam. *Middle-Dutch hand-dictionary*, 1932.
- 3) V. Roper and D. Wildeman, *Het Journaal van Abel Tasman 1642-1643*, Publ. Nat Arch, The Hague and Waanders Uitg, Zwolle, 2008, p 27.
- 4) As translated into modern Dutch in Roper and Wildeman (2008) (see note 3 above) AND as translated into English in J.E. Heeres 'Abel Tasman's Journal' (1898): e-book, Gutenberg 2006. <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks06/0600571h.html>.
- 5) A translation into modern Dutch of Haelbos' report is included in Roper and Wildeman (2008) pp 197-205.
- 6) (<https://www.vocsite.nl/schepen/lijt.html?of=50&sn=a>).

PR

From *Antipodeans* to *Australians*: the inhabitants of *Terra Australis*

Robert J. King

Part 3: The *Aborigines*

In classical Greek and Roman literature, the term 'Aborīgīnēs' (or 'Aborīgēnēs') is used in a particular, and not a general sense, to refer to one of the ancient Italic peoples. And whereas many modern works on archaic Italy tend to dismiss the Aborigines as an obscure, legendary people, there would appear to be sufficient evidence to indicate that 'Aborīgīnēs' is simply one of many forms of the name 'OpSci', the Oscans of historical record.

The name was apparently first recorded by the Syracusan historian Kallias (fl.c.280 B.C.), who described Latinus as king of 'ton Aboriginon'. Kallias' history of Sicily was used as a source by the later historians Cato and Dionysius, and possibly Varro.

Independently of Kallias, Lycophron of Alexandria (d. c.270 B.C.) referred in his epic *Alexandra* (1.1253) to the 'Borigonoi' (or 'Boreigonoi') as a people of central Italy.

According to the first century BC historian, Gnaeus Trogus Pompeius: "The first inhabitants of Italy, were the Aborigines".¹ And Caius Julius Solinus (early third century AD), in his *Collectanea* referred to: "auncient Townes, which first the Aborigens, Arunks,

Pelasgians, Arcadians, Sicilians, and lastlie the inhabiters of all parts of Greece, and above all others, the victorius Romaines have builded".²

Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 B.C.) was the first Roman historian to attempt a complete account of the origins of Rome in the Latin language. He relied heavily on the Greek historians of Magna Graecia, such as Kallias, although he also utilized the native Roman traditions. Only fragments of his work remain, one of which states: 'Cato in the Origins says, and his authority is followed by Sallust in the War with Catilena, that the first to hold Italy were the Aborigines. These, after the coming of Aeneas, joined with the Phrygians under the one name of Latins'.³

Sallust said:

The city of Rome, as I have understood, the Trojans at first founded and inhabited; who, under the guidance of Aeneas, flying from their country, wandered about in uncertain settlements; and with them were the Aborigines. They founded the city together with the Aborigines, a wild race of men, without law, without political institutions, free and unrestrained.⁴

The fullest account of the Aborigines in the Latin language was given by Marcus Terentius Varro (116-127 B.C.) in his *Antiquities*, which unfortunately is no longer extant. The *Antiquities* was, however, used by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (d. 7 A.D.) as the basis of his account of the Aborigines, and most of Varro's information seems to have been transmitted by Dionysius.

One of Dionysius' principal aims in writing his *Roman Antiquities* was to make the Romans 'respectable' by giving them a Greek, and thus 'non-barbarian' ancestry. He used the account of the Aborigines recorded by Cato and Varro, but he gave it a twist of his own by attempting to prove they were originally immigrants from Arcadia in the Peloponnesus. It was Dionysius who first attempted to give an etymology for the name (1.9, x): he considered and dismissed in turn *ab-origo* meaning 'autochthones', and *ab-errare* meaning 'wanderers' and finally settled on *ab-hora* meaning 'mountain-dwellers', as being most appropriate to his purpose (Arcadia being a mountainous district).



Latinus and the Latins receiving Aeneas and his Trojans (wearing the Phrygian cap).
From a fourth century manuscript of Virgil's *Aeneid*

In contrast, Marcus Valerius Flaccus, a contemporary of Dionysius, gave the following definition of the name in his *De Significatione Verborum*: 'Those called the Aborigines, who are now the Roman people, wandered and camped in the open. They were the most ancient people of Italy'.⁵

It is possible to separate Dionysius' spurious attempts at etymology from his apparently faithful transmission of the tradition recorded by Cato and Varro, according to which the Aborigines first dwelt in the high mountain districts around Reate (Rieti) and in the valleys which extended from thence towards Mt. Velino and Lake Fucino.

From this area they were expelled by the Sabines, who descended upon them from the still more elevated regions around Amiternum, and drove them towards the west coast; yielding to this pressure, they descended into the valley of the Anio, and from thence gradually extended themselves into the plains of Latium. Here they came in contact with the Siculi, who were at that time in possession of the country; and it was not until after a long contest that the Aborigines made themselves masters of the land, expelled or reduced to slavery its Sicilian population, and extended their dominion over the whole plain between the Volscian mountains and the sea, and even as far as the river Liris. (Dion. Hal., 1.9,10,13,14; 11.49).

In this war we are told that the Aborigines were assisted by a Pelasgian (Greek) tribe, with whom they became in some degree intermingled, and from whom they first learned the art of fortifying their towns. In conjunction with these allies, they continued to occupy the plains of Latium until about the period of the Trojan War, when they assumed the appellation of Latini from their king Latinus (Dion.Hal., 1.9,60; Livy, 1.1,2).

In the words of Dionysius:

[The Aborigines] had previously lived on the mountains in unwall'd villages and scattered groups, but when the Pelasgians, with whom some other groups had united, assisted them in the war against their neighbours, they drove the Sicels out of the place, walled in many towns, and contrived to subjugate all the country that lies between the two rivers, the Liris and the Tiber.... And this people remained in this same place of abode, being never afterwards driven out by any others; but although they continued to be one and the same people, their name was twice changed. Till the time of the Trojan War they preserved their ancient name of Aborigines; but under Latinus, their king, they began to be called Latins, and when Romulus founded the city named after him sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, they took the name which they now bear. And in the course of time they contrived to raise themselves from the smallest nation to the greatest and from the most obscure to the most illustrious, not only by their humane reception of those who sought a home among them, but also by sharing the rights citizenship with all who had been conquered by them in war after a brave resistance, by permitting all the slaves, too, who were manumitted among them to become citizens, and by disdaining no condition of men from whom the commonwealth might reap an advantage, but above everything else by their form of

government, which they fashioned out of their many experiences, always extracting something useful from every occasion. (Dion.Hal., 1.9, 1-10).

Whatever degree of historical authority we may attach to this tradition, there can be no doubt that it correctly represents the fact that the Latin race, such as we find it in historical times, was composed of two distinct elements: the one of Pelasgic origin, the other essentially different in language and origin. Both these elements are distinctly to be traced in the Latin language, in which one class of words is closely related to the Greek, another wholly distinct from it, and evidently connected with the languages of the Oscan race. The Aborigines may be considered as representing the non-Pelasgic part of the Latin people, and to them we may refer that portion of the Latin language which is strikingly dissimilar to the Greek.

The obvious relation of this to the Oscan dialects would at once lead us to the same conclusion with the historical traditions above related: namely, that the Aborigines, a mountain race from the central Apennines, were nearly akin to the Aequi, Volsci and other ancient nations of Italy, who are generally included under the term of Oscans or Ausonians, and as clearly distinct from the tribes of Pelasgic origin, on the one hand, and from the Sabellian family on the other.

Pliny said in his *Historia Naturalis*, that: "The settlers of Latium were, at various times, the Aborigines, Pelasgians (archaic Greeks), Arcadians, Siculs, Auruncians, Rutulians and, beyond Mount Circeo, Volscians, Oscans and Ausonians".⁶

The Oscans were the nation which, at the earliest time of which we have anything like a definite account, occupied the central part of Italy. The earliest extant historian to mention them was Antiochus of Syracuse (d.c.435 B.C.) who called them Opikoi (Opici) and their country Opikia (Opicia). Antiochus' works on the history of Sicily and Italy, of which only fragments survive in quotations by later writers, were held in high esteem by the ancients on account of their accuracy, and were used as sources by many subsequent historians, beginning with Thucydides. According to Antiochus, the Opicans drove the Sicels into Sicily (Thuc., VI.ii,4). He used the name Opicia for that part of Italy comprising Lucania, Campania and Latium. His account is corroborated in another early work, Aristotle's *Politics*, (VII, x, 3): 'The settlers in the direction of Tyrrhenia were Opicans, who today as in former times bear the additional name of Ausonians'.

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grammarians Sextus Pompeius Festus says: 'in omnibus fere antiquis commentariis scribitur Opicum pro Obsco.' ('In almost all the ancient commentaries Opicans is written for Obscans'. Fest. 189).

One of the difficulties for the study of archaic Italy is that the names of the Italic nations were recorded in many different forms according to the language of the writer, of his source, the time, and the branch of the nation being treated of. The Oscans were known at various times and at different places as Opisci, Obsci, Opisci, Opici, Ausonici, Aurunci, Apuli, Aequi, and Volsci as well, presumably, as Aborī-gīnēs. The primary form was derived from *Ops*, or *Op-is/Oqu-is*, the Italic Earth Goddess, the goddess of fecundity.

A sufficient body of the Oscan language has survived in records and inscriptions for linguists to be able to deduce principles of dialectal divergence and euphonic change. No difficulty obtains, therefore, in reducing to one origin and classifying the different tribal names into which the root *ops/oquis* enters. The *qu-* is found only in *Aequ-us*; the *p* appears in *Op-icus* and *Ap-ulus*, it is vocalized in *Obs-cus*, assimilated in *Os-cus/Oks-cus*; the *ps* is absorbed in *Ausoni-cus*; the *s* is rhotacized in *Auruncus/Au-sunicus*; and *ps* is represented only by an initial *v* in *Volscus/Apuliscus*.

According to the same principles, *Ops* could become *Abori-* when joined with *gens* ('people'), or with *genies* (as in *pro-genies*), 'children': Lycophron calls them *Borei-gonoi*, and *gonoi* means 'children' in Greek. It is worth noting that the cognate Oscan word *upsa* ('a work') has in Latin the form *opera*. Another Latin word, 'Opigena', an epithet given Juno signifying her as goddess of childbirth, combines the elements *ops* and *gene*.

More weight is given the interpretation of 'Aborigines' as meaning 'people', or 'children' of *Ops*, the Earth Goddess, by the religious and historical traditions which ascribe to them the same characteristics as the Oscans. Both nations are recorded as occupying the same part of Italy, and whereas Cato and Varro write that it was the Aborigines who conquered and drove out the Sicels, Antiochus assigns the same role to the Opici. Similarly, while Roman tradition records Janus, Saturn, Faunus, Picus and Latinus as being the kings of the Aborigines, linguistic and archaeological evidence indicates that these gods belong to the oldest stratum of Italic religion; that they were, in other words, the gods of the Oscans.

The reign of Saturn was in classical times conceived to have been the golden age of Italy, and especially of his subjects, the Aborigines. His name is derived from the same root as the verb *sero, sevi, satum*, 'to sow' and to him was ascribed the introduction of agriculture and civilized life in general to Italy. As agriculture is the source of wealth and plenty, his wife was *Ops*, the representative of plenty. The latter's name is derived from the same root as *opera, copia, opulentus, inops*, and *officium* ('opi-ficium'). Her abode was the earth, from which all plenty comes.

It was held that Saturn came to Italy in the reign of Janus, was hospitably received by the latter, and formed a settlement on the Capitoline hill, which was thence called the Saturnian hill. In aftertimes, his temple stood at the foot of that hill, on the road leading to the Capitol. Saturn then made the people acquainted with agriculture, suppressed their savage mode of life, and led them to other, more peaceful occupations, and morality. As

a result, the whole country was called Saturnia, or the land of plenty, Virgo *Aen.* viii, 358; Justin, xliii.1; Macrobi. *Sat.* i.7; Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* V.42; Fest. s.v. Saturnia; Victor, l.c). Saturn and Ops were not only the protectors of agriculture, but all vegetation was under their care as well as everything which promoted their growth. Their son, Faunus, was protector of all animals, domestic and wild.

The historical and religious traditions outlined above, together with the linguistic evidence, all indicate that the Aborigines were one and the same people as the more well-known Oscans.

RJK

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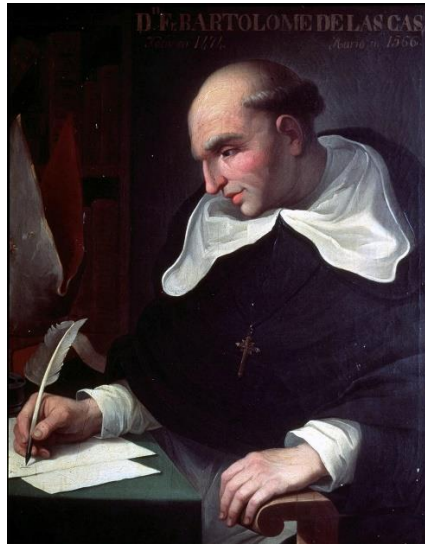
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	<p>Smith, William. (ed.) <i>Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography</i>. London, 1851: <i>Aborigines; Ops; Osci; Saturnus</i>.</p> <p>Stolz, F. "Beitrage zur lateinischen Wortkunde: Der Name Aborigines." <i>Wiener Studien</i>, 26, 1904: 318-323.</p> <hr/> <p>Footnotes:</p> <p>1. <i>Thabridgment of the Histories of Trogius Pompeius, Collected and Wrytten in the Laten Tonge by the Famous Historiographer Justine, and Translated Into English by Arthur Goldyng</i>, London, Marshe, 1570, bk.xliii, f.172v. "Italīae cultores primi aborigines fuere"; <i>Epitome historiarum Trogi Pompeii</i>, 1502, liber xliii, p.79. at:</p> <p>https://books.googleusercontent.com/books/content?req=AKW5Qaerv9Qg5k4nGhA8w1YrvGU05OCMJNnif2zQKZS1y6nV5-A_S8J-nqJ4zhQEVBy_b3SCK7Slu2gQGygMIqqpri-8oy7ysqXhnC2wUDb4KBrTSicPsymrXwZtUQGzFJmCHxts5v8FDz7CbXIXQs6ONwsKb7EFiQ8XgyNAZk-rpSfjY6jrbZVzrX81RV5XzRZdlfgncWupFjZCJ0XZNck6yHX1FWwLPvvdLg-FglisQK9umo2ORztLqF5YuuCorLyyjOTTK2DKapQKdkFL4vv4xV8zfs-sMQ</p> <p>2. "veterum oppidorum, qvæ primùm Aborigenes, Aurunci, Pelasgi Arcades Siculi, totius postremo Graeciae advenae et in summa victores Romani condiderunt"; Iulius Solinus, <i>The excellent and pleasant worke of Iulius Solinus Polyhistor</i>, translated by Arthur Golding, London, Hacket, 1587, cap.vii; Caius Julius Solinus, <i>Collectanea rerum memorabilium</i> ('Collection of Curiosities', also known as <i>Polyhistor</i>), cap.vii.</p> <p>3. 'Cato in <i>Originibus</i> hoc dicit, cuius auctoritatem Sallustius sequitur in <i>Bello Catilinae</i> (6, 1-2), primo Italiam tenuisse quosdam, qui appellantur Aborigenes. Hos postea adventu Aeneae Phrygibus iunctos Latinos uno nomine nuncupatos.' (Serv. <i>Verg. Aen.</i>, I, 6. 'genus unde Latinum'.</p> <p>4. 'Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere atque habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi, sedibus incertis, vagabantur, cumque eis Aborigenes, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum'; Sallust, <i>Bellum Catilinae</i>, VI.1,2.</p> <p>5. 'Aborigenes qui appellati sunt, quos errantes convenerint in agrum, qui nunc est populi Romani. Fuit enim gens antiquissima Italiae.' (<i>ap. Fest.</i> 19).</p> <p>6. 'Latium colonis saepe mutatis tenuere alii aliis temporibus, Aborigenes, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, Rutuli, et ultra Circeios Volsci, Osci, Ausones': Plinius, <i>Historia Naturalis</i>, III, 50.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">RJK</p>
	<p>From Antipodeans to Australians: the inhabitants of Terra Australis</p>
	<p style="text-align: right;">Robert J King</p> <p>Part 4: <i>Aborigines</i> as a synonym for <i>indigenes</i></p> <p>The name “Aborigines” was first applied to the indigenous peoples of the New World (otherwise called, following Columbus, 'Indians') by Bartolome de las Casas:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Those provinces of Mexico, Tezcuco and Taxcala, whose own natural inhabitants and aborigenes were the people who called themselves Otomies. Those who are called Aborigenes are those peoples of any country so ancient that no one knows whence they came originally, like those ancient people who held and populated Italy and were poured</p>

forth by her when Aeneas came there, who called themselves Aborigenes, as if without origin or of unknown origin. Thus, they are referred to by Sallust, and Trogus Pompeius in the beginning of his Book 43, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Book 1, and Titus Livy in the beginning of his Decades, and Solinus, chapters 2 and 8).⁷

Las Casas' *Apologetica Historia* was written in the 1550s to refute the treatise put forward by Juan Gines de Sepulveda, which attempted to justify the Spanish conquest of the New World by arguing. that the indigenes were not children of Noah and therefore sub-human. Las Casas held that all peoples of the world were men with equal desires and senses. A debate between the two took place at Valladolid in August 1550 before the Councils of the Indies and of Castile. As a result of Las Casas' arguments, it became established Spanish policy that the Indians were men entitled to enjoy the privileges of any citizen: property, civil liberty, human dignity and Christian communion.




Bartolomé de las Casas, Source: Wikipedia

The name 'Aborigenes' became established as a synonym for 'Indians' in Spanish and, as Spain was the foremost colonial power, this usage, as with many other colonial terms, passed into other European languages, notably French, Portuguese and English.

Probably the first occasion when the word Aborigines was used in official correspondence to refer to the indigenous people of Australia was in a despatch dated 11 September 1804 from Lieutenant-Governor Collins in Hobart to Governor King in Sydney, where he said that he would tell his settlers that “the Aborigines of this Country are as much under the Protection of the Laws of Great Britain, as themselves”.⁸

The word did not become the official appellation for the indigenous people of Australia until the 'Protectors of the Aborigines' were appointed in 1840s as a result of the recommendations of the Report of the House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) 1837. Previous to that time they had been variously called 'natives', 'Indians' or 'blacks' as well as Aborigines. In recent years, 'First Nations People' has emerged as a name that recognises Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people as the first peoples of Australia.⁹

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	<p>Footnotes:</p> <p>7. "Aquellas provincias de Mexico, Tezcuco y Taxcala, cuyos propios naturales habitantes y aborígenes eran la gente que se llaman otomies. Dícense aborígenes las gentes que habitan en algunas tierras que son tan antiguas que no se sabe de ellas de donde trujeron origen, y así las gentes antiquísimas que se hallaron y poblaron a Italia y estaban derramadas por ella cuando Eneas vino a ella, se dijeron aborígenes, cuasi sin origen o que no se sabía su origen. Así 10 refiere Salustio, y Trogo Pompeyo en el principio del libro 43, y Dionisio Alicarnaso, libro 10, y Tito Livio en el principio de sus <i>Decadas</i>, y Solino, capítulos 2 y 8"; (<i>Apologetica Historia</i>, cap. cxx'ii, 1560). "The first inhabitants of Italy, were the Aborigines"; <i>Thabridgment of the Histories of Trogo Pompeius, Collected and Wrytten in the Laten Tonge by the Famous Historiographer Justine, and Translated Into English by Arthur Goldyng</i>, London, Marshe, 1570, bk.xliii, f.172v; "veterum oppidorum, quæ primùm Aborigenes, Arunci... / auncient Townes, which first the Aborigens, Arunks, Pelasgians, Arcadians, Sicilians, and lastlie the inhabitants of all parts of Greece, and above all others, the victorius Romaines have builded": Iulius Solinus Polyhistor, <i>The excellent and pleasant worke of Iulius Solinus Polyhistor</i>, translated by Arthur Golding, London, Hacket, 1587, cap.vii.</p> <p>8. "Among the Enclosures which this Duplicate covered, I perceive a Proclamation under your Excellency's Signature, respecting the Security and Protection afforded to the Natives of New South Wales in their Persons and Property. This essential point having formed an article in my Instructions, I should have issued a General Order at Port Phillip to the same effect, and would have repeated it here, had I found the Natives of this part of Nev Holland inclined to come in our way, but at present we have not any intercourse with them, which I do not much regret; and not finding any disposition to straggle among my People, I shall wait until my Numbers are increased, when I shall deem it necessary to inform the whole, that the Aborigines of this Country are as much under the Protection of the Laws of Great Britain, as themselves". Collins to King, 11 September 1804, <i>Historical Records of Australia</i>, Series III, Vol.I, <i>Port Phillip, Victoria 1803-1804; Tasmania 1803-June 1812</i>, Sydney, 1921, pp.281.</p> <p>9. Sara Weuffen, Fred Cahir and Margaret Zeegers, "What's in a Name?: Exploring the Implications of Eurocentric (Re)naming Practices of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Nomenclature in Australian Education Practices", <i>The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education</i>, vol.45, no.2, 2016, pp.181-190; The Common Ground Team, "First Nations, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, or Indigenous?", January 28, 2021, at: https://www.commonground.org.au/learn/aboriginal-or-indigenous.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">RJK</p>
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