

# Map Matters



Issue 44

Winter/Spring 2022

This is the 44th edition of Map Matters, the newsletter of the Australia on the Map Division of the Australasian Hydrographic Society.



Dear Readers,

This issue is a bit later than planned due to my schedule having been a bit crowded. Some of it was very good: including a vacation trip to Cairns but travel to Tasmania was less pleasant as winter decided to return there for the duration of my stay. Prior to that my other writing commitments were taking a lot of time, and I had a variety of time-consuming medical tests, but I'm happy to report that all is well again. At least as well as can be expected for an elderly arthritic.

I have included an unusual request, with so many knowledgeable readers I'm hoping somebody can identify an unidentified picture I recently acquired.

As usual we have some announcements and news articles. The wreck of the *Endeavour* was in the news again, some museums that were closed are now open again, but of course, always Covid permitting.

I've also included news stemming from a modern Malaspina expedition. It brings up questions about environment.

Exciting news is that Nonja Peters found the skipper of the *Leeuwin*. See her article in the Maritime Heritage Association Journal, *Leeuwin* commemorative issue of October 2022.

Robert King contributed an article about the visit of Malaspina to Port Jackson in 1793, purported as a scientific visit. Various contemporaries' ideas for the settlement are discussed.

We welcome a new contributor, Dr Martin Woods, who sent me a great review of the book "Navigating by the Southern Cross", by Kenneth Morgan.

A new book, "Three Sheets to the Wind", tells the story of the wreck of the *Sydney Cove*, near Van Diemensland and NSW in 1796. Well-known to historians, the book will inform the general public about the mishap and ensuing adventures that contributed to the destiny of what was to become Australia.

Finally, apologies that our usual website is still not back up. It seems to have been taken over by a foreign language user. Until the AHS committee has fixed the problem, we have an alternative website, without the "au", courtesy of Andrew Eliason: <http://www.australiaonthemap.org>.

Enjoy MM44 and I wish you all a good summer season.

Marianne Pietersen  
Editor

**Can you identify this painting?**

In my retirement village residents often move out (usually because they die or they move into a nursing home), leaving many items behind. Family or other helpers clearing out the residence give away or throw out these items when they don't have a use for them.

As a good old Dutchie I decided to adopt this art work, left by a former Dutch neighbour, and save it from probable destruction. It is a reproduction on reinforced paper in an interesting carved, dark wooden frame.

The image is obviously an assortment of 17<sup>th</sup> century ships, flying the flag of the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC. It is likely in Dutch waters, most probably just off Amsterdam, as some buildings can be seen in the far distance. I've tried to find out what, and where, this image is meant to be, and who is the author, but was unable to find out anything. There is no signature on the work, perhaps it is only a part of a larger image.

Maybe one of our readers can help?

Editor



**WA Maritime Museum**

The [WA Maritime Museum](#) is part of the WA Museum family which consists of six branches:

The WA Maritime Museum celebrates its 20 years existence this December. It is at Victoria Quay Road, Fremantle, and is host to the America's Cup winning yacht, Australia II, and to Jon Sanders' Parry Endeavour. It also hosts the HMAS Ovens submarine.

The original location of the Maritime Museum is now the WA Shipwrecks Museum, located inside Fremantle's historic Commissariat buildings. Originally built to store the food, clothing and building supplies of the Swan River colony, these buildings are among the first Western Australian sites built using convict labour. The Shipwrecks Museum opened to the public in 1979. It contains major parts of the wreck of the Batavia as well as many other items linked to the early navigators.



Other parts of the wreck of the Batavia are at the Museum of Geraldton, which also displays parts of the Dutch shipwrecks, *Gilt Dragon*, *Zuytdorp*, and *Zeewijk*, in their Shipwrecks Gallery.

In November 2022, several artefacts, believed to be from the *Vergulde Draeck* (Gilt Dragon) were found on the coast near Ledge Point, and were taken to the Western Australian Museum. For details see <https://museum.wa.gov.au/about/latest-news/return-dutch-shipwreck-artefacts-western-australian-museum>.

The WA Museum Boola Bardip in the Perth Cultural Centre started in 1891 in the Old Perth Gaol as the Geological Museum and its collections were geological, ethnological and biological. In 1897 it officially became the Western Australian Museum and Art Gallery. In 1959 the art collection became a separate museum, and the WA Museum concentrated on natural sciences, anthropology, archaeology and the State's history. During the 1960s and 1970s it also began to work in the emerging areas of historic shipwrecks and Aboriginal site management.

These days it also offers aboriginal and pop culture, art, music, movies, reptiles and many workshops. The Museum also manages 200 shipwreck sites of the 1500 known to be located off the WA coast and manages eight Aboriginal land reserves.

The buildings it occupies were renovated from 2016 through 2020, a new building was added on, but parts of the Old Perth Gaol are still standing, as well as the old Jubilee Building, dating from 1899.

The Museum of the Great Southern is located at Princess Royal Harbour, in Albany, at the WA south coast. It offers some maritime history and the history of WA early settlement as well as the history of the Menang Noongar, the local indigenous population.



The sixth branch of the WA Museum is the Museum of the Goldfields in Kalgoorlie. This does not contain material connected to the early navigators.

Not a museum, but a great source of information are the **Maritime Archaeology Databases**, which have been developed as a public facility where visitors can search the collection databases for shipwreck information, shipwreck artefacts, numismatic (coin) materials, as well as the ANCODS (Agreement between Australia and the Netherlands Concerning Old Dutch Shipwrecks) collection, which on 21 March 2011 was consolidated into the one collection at the WA Museum.

Editor

### Maps of the Pacific - Bonaparte Tasman Map (1644)

Since 1933, the State Library of New South Wales owns a 1644 chart of the Pacific, which has an interesting history. Its name comes from its 19th century owner: Prince Roland Bonaparte.

The map was published by the VOC and incorporates information gathered by Abel Jansz Tasman during his first expedition when he discovered Van Diemensland. On this first recorded (wide) circumnavigation of our continent he also skirted New Zealand and New Guinea, with the ships Zeehaen and Heemskerck in 1642.

The map has now been scanned as part of the Google Cultural Institute Art Camera Project. For a partial view see the link: <https://tinyurl.com/2fjfbjw9>



State Library of NSW

Editor

## National Library of Australia

The oldest world map held by the National Library of Australia dates back to 1493. Hartmann Schedel's *Secunda etas mundi*, or 'The Second age of the World', is part of the Rex Nan Kivell collection of maps and has been digitised so it's freely available on Trove.

Editor

## Australian and New Zealand Map Society

ANZMapS Newsletter 127, (Autumn 2022) contains a useful update from Australian state institutions on recent cartographic acquisitions and events.

Read it here: <https://tinyurl.com/4bk8teuj>

Editor

## Another Scientific Malaspina Expedition

An edited extract from [The Brilliant Abyss: True Tales of Exploring the Deep Sea. Discovering Hidden Life and Selling the Seabed](#) by Helen Scales, published by Bloomsbury Sigma

In 1789, the explorers Alessandro Malaspina and José de Bustamante set sail from Cádiz on Spain's first scientific expedition around the world. (This was Malaspina's 2<sup>nd</sup> around the world expedition, his first was a commercial voyage.) For five years, Malaspina and Bustamante studied and collected animals and plants across the Spanish empire, which stretched along the North, Central and South American Pacific coasts, and westwards to the Philippines. They also visited Port Jackson (see Robert King, below).

In 2010, another Spanish expedition set off from Cádiz, labelled the 2010 Malaspina expedition, tracing much of the original route and studying what the oceans are like today.

The team measured pollutants, plastics and chemicals that were not there in Malaspina and Bustamante's time. They collected samples of seawater and plankton. And all the way through the 31,000-mile voyage, the ship's sonar was switched on, listening for echoes from below. Their chief targets? Small silver fish that look like sardines or anchovies, only with bigger eyes and rows of spots that glow in the dark.

They are [lanternfish](#): there are about 250 species and they are not only the most common fish in the oceans' twilight zone but the most abundant vertebrates on the planet. Huge numbers were first noticed during the second world war, when naval sonar operators saw echoes from what appeared to be a solid seabed, one that rose to the surface at night and fell back down at daybreak.

The 2010 Malaspina acoustic survey did not rely on nets, and in 2014 its research led to estimates of the abundance of twilight-zone fish, ranging between 10 and 20 gigatonnes.

The prospect of such a colossal harvest raised an old question: could fish from the twilight zone help to feed a growing human population?

### **Too tempting to ignore**

Lanternfish are unlikely to appear directly on anybody's plate – they are far too oily and full of bones. However, they could be mashed down for animal feed, mostly for fish farms. After the Malaspina discovery, it has been suggested that if just half of the lower estimated mass of twilight-zone fish were caught, it could theoretically be turned into enough fishmeal to yield 1.25 gigatonnes of farmed seafood, which is considerably more than the current annual 0.1 gigatonne catch of wild fish.

However, setting aside environmental impacts of many types of fish farming, such as pollution from pharmaceuticals and waste, many question whether it would achieve the virtuous goal of securing food for everyone to eat.

A lot of fishmeal gets fed to salmon and prawns for developed countries, and a growing volume is increasingly being sold as a supplement in pet food. Moreover, previous attempts to establish lanternfish fisheries have been a commercial failure. [Fishing](#) these deep waters has so far proven too expensive, and fishmeal too cheap.

Initiatives to develop a “twilight fishery” reflect an overwhelming imperative to hunt for wild fish. Amid talk of sustainability – and of the need to “feed the world” – is the counter-assumption that to leave those fish unfished would somehow be a waste.

### **Climate consequences**

In contrast to extremely slow-growing deep-sea species such as orange roughy, lanternfish are more likely to withstand substantial hunting pressure; they are much faster growing, and their lives are measured in months. Nevertheless, fishing in the twilight zone could trigger a different kind of catastrophe by disrupting the way lanternfish and similar species help regulate the climate.

Their daily routine of swimming up and down forms vital connections between the surface and the deep by boosting the “particle injection pumps”. This is the process of little fish feeding in the shallows, then plunging downwards, where they are eaten by bigger fish that remain in the deep, thereby “pumping” carbon dioxide from the atmosphere into the deep ocean where it can be stored. If particles sink below 1,000 metres their carbon can be stored for up to 1,000 years before returning to the surface. A study of the continental slope off western Ireland estimated that deep-dwelling fish capture and store the equivalent of 1m tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub> a year.

No one can be sure how quickly or critically this biological carbon pump might weaken if twilight-zone fisheries were to damage that link between the surface and the deep. But there is a risk that lanternfish are a part of the global climate system that needs to be left alone.

The 2010 Malaspina study states its uncertainty and the limitations of the methods used. But the headline – that the twilight zone contains at least 10 times the amount of fish as previously thought – grabbed people's attention.

Crucially, the Malaspina study assumed that the acoustic “backscatter” – the measure of sound reflected from the deep and received by the sonar – came entirely from fish. But they are not the only animals in the twilight zone with reflective, gas-filled bubbles inside their bodies. They are also found in many siphonophores– intricate jellies that the 19th-century German naturalist Ernst Haeckel identified and illustrated.

A 2019 study reinterpreted the acoustic data from the 2010 Malaspina expedition, taking these uncertainties into account. The resulting estimates of twilight-zone fish ranged from 1.8 to 16 gigatonnes. It is surely too soon to start catching lanternfish based on the risky premise that there might be 20 gigatonnes out there.

Recent history tells us that when industrial fisheries sweep into new regions to catch new species there are always devastating environmental effects. Can the same mistake be avoided in the twilight zone?

Source: The Guardian, 29 Sept 2022

**Editor**

## **Wreck of the Endeavour**

The saga of the wreck of the Endeavour continues...

As reported previously, the shipwreck of James Cook’s *Endeavour* lies in waters off the coast of Rhode Island in the US. A marine biologist now says the wood has been infiltrated by shipworms.

Reuben Shipway, a University of Plymouth marine biology lecturer, dove down to the wreck and found shipworms had infiltrated a piece of wood belonging to RI 2394.

Shipway said: “This is a vessel that connects the UK to Australia, and to America, because it also played a really important role in the battle for American independence. It’s our shared cultural heritage. And it’s being destroyed.”



The naval shipworm, which is eating the exposed wood of the Endeavour wreck from within.  
Photograph: D W R Shipway/Mollusc of the Year 2022/LOEWE TBG

The Australian Maritime Museum said the site needed to be protected. “When the museum made the announcement regarding the *Endeavour* we raised the need for the ongoing protection of the site as a major concern,” a spokesperson said.

“There are a number of solutions that could be put in place to protect not only the site of the *Endeavour* but other important vessels in Newport Harbour.”

Shipway said the exposed wood of the wreck was being eaten from within by *Teredo navalis*, naval shipworm. “The shipworms’ guts are full of wood,” he told the Boston Globe.

Another species, crustaceans called gribbles, were also eating the wood.

Shipway said anyone who cared about the wreck should come up with the resources and funding to protect it.

Australians have no power to directly intervene, but hope the Americans will take measures to preserve what’s left. The museum has discussed site protection with the Rhode Island Marine Archaeology Project (Rimap), and has warned that it needs “active management”.

The museum has also raised it with the local Rhode Island heritage authorities.

A Rimap report is due to be published shortly.

Source: The Guardian, 14 Aug 2022, 17 Aug. 2022

Editor

## ARTICLES

	<b>The New South Wales Colony: Panopticon or New Rome?</b>
	<p data-bbox="1321 1272 1481 1305" style="text-align: right;"><b>Robert King</b></p> <p data-bbox="328 1391 1481 1554">The visit of the Spanish expedition commanded by Alexandro Malaspina to Port Jackson (Sydney) in March-April 1793 was discussed by Juan Pimentel in <i>En el Panóptico del Mar del Sur: Orígenes y desarrollo de la visita australiana de la expedición Malaspina</i> (Madrid, 1992).</p> <p data-bbox="328 1585 1481 1883">The book also published for the first time the original text, transcribed into modern Spanish orthography, of the report on the English colony written by Malaspina and the notes compiled by one of his officers, Fernando Quintano. It was produced with the technical and economic collaboration of the Australian Embassy in Madrid. Ambassador H.C. Mott noted in the prologue that the writings of the members of the Malaspina expedition and of the commander himself give the first non-British description of the colony.</p>



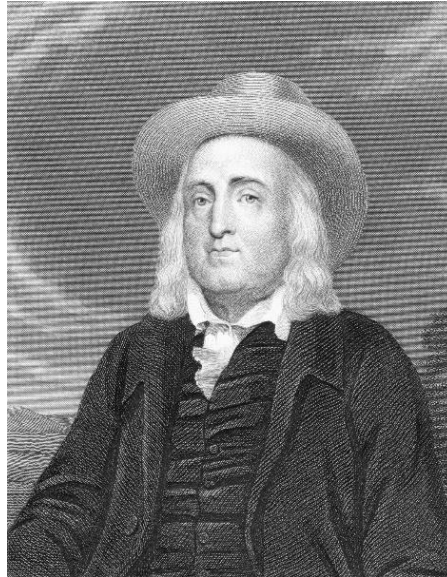


Alexandro Malaspina after his return from his expedition, in the uniform of Brigadier de Armada.

The first part of Pimentel's introductory essay is titled, "Converting Australia from paradise into prison". In parts two and three, "The Spanish Monarchy and the Foundation of New South Wales" and "The Stay at Port Jackson", Pimentel provides valuable information and insights. He establishes quite conclusively that the Spanish government, through its embassy in London, monitored closely the development of the Botany Bay project, and worried about the strategic implications of the new colony for Spain's vast but vulnerable empire in the Pacific.

This concern provided the underlying political motive for the visit of the ostensibly scientific expedition to Port Jackson. Pimentel also places the expedition in its context as an expression of the late eighteenth century Spanish enlightenment, with discussions of its roles as "itinerant embassy", floating "scientific academy", and "philosophers [*philosophes*] in the South Sea". But there was more to the English settlement of New South Wales than implied in the title of the first part: *Australia, el paraíso convertido en presidio*.

"Panopticon of the South Seas" was not a phrase that was used at the time to describe the English colony in New South Wales. Least of all would it have been used by Jeremy Bentham, the originator of the panopticon, who regarded the Botany Bay project as the antithesis and nemesis of his idea. Bentham was a trenchant critic of the transportation of convicts to New South Wales from the first days of the colony. Although the pressure on government finance in the 1790s was enormous, Bentham's arguments about the expense of New South Wales as a solution to the convict problem went unheeded. The settlement continued to be nurtured and this in turn meant the end of his panopticon project.



Jeremy Bentham (1748 – 1832)

R.V. Jackson observed in an article in 1988 that in carrying through his analysis of the costs of New South Wales, Bentham had proceeded as if the settlement were "nothing more than a place to send British convicts". To the extent that New South Wales did serve other policy objectives, Bentham's cost calculations were unsound and his case for the abandonment of transportation to the colony was unpersuasive.<sup>1</sup>

Bentham referred in an 1803 pamphlet, *A Plea for the Constitution*, to "the Penal Colony of New South Wales" but, as a term to describe New South Wales, "convict colony" is more accurate than "penal settlement".

The proposals by James Matra, Sir John Young and Sir John Young Call, and *The History of New Holland* prepared at the instigation of Sir Joseph Banks and Lord Sydney, make it clear that what was intended was a colony that would open up Australia and the Pacific as the Virginia colony had opened up North America. Convicts were sent there to perform the backbreaking work of laying the foundations, in the most literal sense. But free settlers were also received there from the beginning.

During his voyage on the *Endeavour*, Banks had read the proposal by John Callander in *Terra Australia Cognita* that Britain found a colony of banished convicts in the South Sea on the yet to be discovered Terra Australis to enable the mother country to exploit the riches of those regions. Callander observed that in the past, many states had been founded with such people: "*Romulus* founded *Rome* at the head of a troop of banditti".

Penal settlements in the true sense came later—Norfolk Island in its second phase, Newcastle, Moreton Bay, Sarah Island (Macquarie Harbour) and Port Arthur. It was during this period that panopticons were constructed in 1847 at Port Arthur and Norfolk

Island (though never used in the latter place as a prison). The initial settlement at Sydney Cove had broader purposes.



The unfinished panopticon on Norfolk Island.

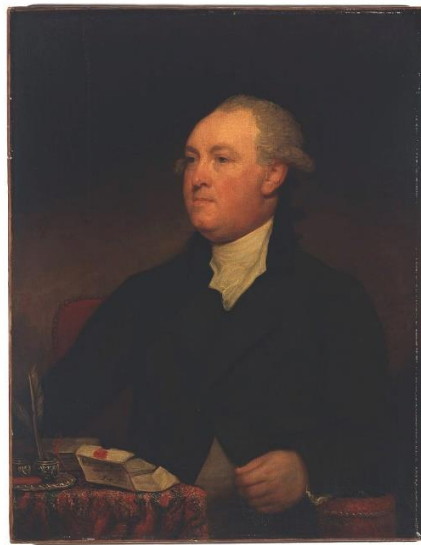
Lord Sydney would have been horrified at being identified as the author of what Pimentel describes as "a veritable totalitarian nightmare 'reified' at the confines of the world". Lord Sydney was an old-fashioned Whig, i.e. strongly opposed to any increase in the power and authority of the Royal prerogative. He had a particular hatred for the marriage of power and ideology which he saw as a contemporary trend.

In choosing the name "Sydney" when he was raised to the peerage in 1783, Thomas Townshend demonstrated his pride in being descended from the Sidney family, who had been eminent opponents of the royal absolutists, Charles I and James II. The name "Sydney" was a synonym in eighteenth century political debate for opposition to tyranny and absolutism. In this sense, it is a name that the capital city of New South Wales can bear with pride. It is a name worthy of a free city, not of a penal settlement.

Lord Sydney's vision for the colony was quite distinctive. David Collins dedicated his *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1798) to Lord Sydney, as the "Originator of the Plan of Colonization for New South Wales". He said that Lord Sydney's "benevolent mind" had led him "to conceive this Method of redeeming many Lives that might be forfeit to the offended Laws; but which, being preserved under salutary Regulations, might afterward become useful to Society"; and to Lord Sydney's "Patriotism the Plan presented a Prospect of commercial and political Advantage".

As Alan Atkinson has shown, it was Lord Sydney who was responsible for giving the new colony a constitution and judicial system suitable for a colony of free citizens rather than a gaol.<sup>2</sup> Sir Victor Windeyer's important 1962 article, "A Birthright and Inheritance", drew attention to the fact that Phillip's second commission of 2 April 1787 made him governor of a colony with a civil government, not of a penal settlement with a military government.<sup>3</sup> The Governor's Commission, together with the colony's Charter of Justice

establishing the legal regime, brought into existence in New South Wales a colony whose inhabitants enjoyed all the rights and duties of English law where, *ipso facto*, slavery was illegal.



Lord Sydney, portrait attributed to the American painter Gilbert Stuart, c. 1785. Source Wikipedia.

Thaddeus Haenke, one of the botanists with the Malaspina expedition, wrote to Sir Joseph Banks from Sydney Cove on 15 April 1793 that England was founding "another Rome" in New South Wales.<sup>4</sup> The expression would have pleased Banks, for the Great Seal of the Territory of New South Wales, in the design of which he had been closely involved, depicted "Convicts landed at Botany Bay, their fetters taken off and received by Industry..." with the motto, "Sic fortis Etruria crevit", referring to the mythic origins of Rome.<sup>5</sup>



NSW Great Seal on 1850 postage stamp

Both Banks and Phillip referred to the settlement at Sydney Cove as the future "Seat of Empire", as did an unnamed officer on board the First Fleet who, in a letter from Cape Town written in December 1787, said: "the new settlers... may be the founders of an Empire greater than that from which they are banished". The letter was published in

*The Times* of 30 May and *The London Chronicle* of 31 May 1788. The expectation that the colony was to become the seat of a new empire, and not simply a place of exile, was widely current at the time.

When the decision for colonization was first announced in late 1786, the daily newspapers identified James Matra and Sir Joseph Banks as the authors of the plan adopted by the Government. *The London Chronicle* of 12 October 1786 said: "Mr. Matra, an Officer of the Treasury, who, sailing with Capt. Cook, had an opportunity of visiting Botany Bay, is the Gentleman who suggested the plan to Government of transporting convicts to that island".<sup>6</sup>

In 1985, David Mackay argued in *A Place of Exile*, that there was "no evidence that Matra, Call or Young were in fact consulted directly by government" and that it was "highly misleading to draw any conclusions about government intentions from the private plans of these private individuals".

But a Cabinet memorandum of December 1784 shows that Matra's plan formed the basis for the scheme of colonization, which was announced by the London newspapers in November 1784: "A plan has been presented to the [Prime] Minister, and is now before the Cabinet, for instituting a new colony in New Holland. In this vast tract of land...every sort of produce and improvement of which the various soils of the earth are capable, may be expected".<sup>7</sup>

After the decision to establish the colony was announced in September 1786, an abridgement of Matra's proposal was published in *The General Advertiser* in October of that year. These and many other articles in the English press discussing the forthcoming colonization were promptly re-published in the press of other European countries and in America. They helped form the view of the Spanish Prime Minister, Count Floridablanca, of the objects of British policy in the Pacific, which he expressed in June 1790 to the British Ambassador, that the colony at Botany-Bay must have been founded to support fur traders at Nootka Sound, second a design to make the British masters of the trade of Mexico, Peru & Chili, and to add the conquest of the Philippines to their empire.

Sir Joseph Banks' leading part in the Botany Bay project was no secret. An article in *The Morning Post* of 14 April 1789 declared: "Mr. Matra, the present Council [Consul] General at Morocco, was the projector of the Botany Bay settlement.... Having accompanied Captain Cook in his voyage, on his return he communicated his sentiments to Government, and being warmly seconded by Sir Joseph Banks, his scheme was at length carried into execution".

Banks advocated a British colony at Botany Bay from March 1779, when he proposed it to the House of Commons Select Committee, on the grounds that: "it was not to be doubted that a Tract of Land such as *New Holland*, which was larger than the whole of *Europe*, would furnish Matter of advantageous Return".<sup>8</sup>

Alexandro Malaspina understood the advantages which the British hoped to derive from their new colonies in the Pacific as twofold:

"The first is to sustain the public credit with new speculations, which feed the hope of being able to one day extinguish the public debt; hopes, without which it would be impossible to contract new national debts, necessary on the other hand just at the moment when a Rupture is so feared;

"the second, to ensure that Holland and Spain suffer the main brunt of the outbreak of war, with help of the Islands of the Pacific for essential maintenance of squadrons, or corsairs, which would at will direct their courses now toward Asia, now toward America."

He saw the transportation of convicts as "the means and not the object of the enterprise. The extension of Dominion, mercantile speculation, and the discovery of Mines, were the real object; and to these, albeit vain, hopes, were sacrificed the restraints of Legislation, the principles of sane policy, and above all the compassionate cries of oppressed Humanity".

The recently founded English colony had been included in the expedition's itinerary in response to repeated urgings from the military governor of Concepcion, Chile, the Irish-born Ambrose Higgins. Following the visit of the Lapérouse expedition to Concepcion in February-March 1786, he drew attention to the fact that, although the expeditions of Cook and those of his fellow countrymen who preceded him as circumnavigators—Byron, Wallis and Carteret—had been promoted by the English under the specious pretext of perfecting geography, navigation and knowledge of the globe, no one could have remained ignorant of the involvement of other ideas which necessarily formed their principal objective, of establishing and possessing colonies in these regions. Higgins therefore considered a maritime survey of the Pacific by a Spanish expedition to be indispensable.



Location of Concepcion, Chile

He no doubt pressed his concerns on Malaspina when he visited Concepcion in 1787 in command of a ship of the Royal Philippines Company exploring a new, direct route to Manila. Also influential was a memorandum drawn up in September 1788 by Malaspina's fellow naval officer, Francisco Muñoz y San Clemente, who warned of the dangers it posed to the Spanish possessions in the Pacific in peace time from the development of a contraband commerce and in war time as a base for British naval operations. Muñoz said: "The colonists will be able to fit out lucrative privateers so as to cut all communication between the Philippines and both Americas.... These possessions will have a navy of their own, obtaining from the Southern region whatever is necessary to establish it, and when they have it ready formed, they will be able to invade our nearby possessions".<sup>9</sup>

In the confidential report he wrote following his visit, Malaspina echoed the warning from Muñoz, writing of the "terrible" future danger for Spain from the English colony at Port Jackson, "from whence with the greatest ease a crossing of two or three months through healthy climates, and a secure navigation, could bring to our defenceless coasts two or three thousand castaway bandits to serve interpolated with an excellent body of regular troops."

When he learned of the founding of the New South Wales colony, an alarmed Higgins wrote to the Spanish Prime Minister, the Count of Aranda, saying: "I fear that the numerous settlers situated at Port Jackson are thinking of extending their colonies from that place little by little throughout the whole Pacific Ocean, as they have already advanced as far as Norfolk... passing further and having such settlements in the Sandwich and Friendly Isles, and those of the Society, or what is more probable, in Tahiti, forming a chain of possessions with which they may approach these coasts and disturb in the near future our own exclusive commerce. My concern in this regard is longstanding... so much that I said then can be of use today, insomuch as the ideas regarding this have taken a much greater extension than I could ever have foreseen".<sup>10</sup>

Pimentel cites these concerns by Malaspina, Muñoz and Higgins, so it is somewhat surprising that he overlooks them to stay with what had become the traditional rationale for the founding of the colony.

It is not often that Spanish historians have taken an interest in Australia, so Pimentel deserves our gratitude for publishing for the first time the original text of Malaspina's report in Spanish, but it must be said that in relying on popular English sources like Robert Hughes' *The Fatal Shore*, he neglected the opportunity to give the contemporary Spanish view of the reasons behind the settlement of New South Wales.

**Robert J. King**

-----  
1. R.V. Jackson, 'Luxury in Punishment: Jeremy Bentham on the Cost of the Convict Colony in New South Wales', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol.23, no.90, 1988, pp.42-59.

	<p>2. Alan Atkinson, 'The first plans for governing New South Wales, 1786–87', <i>Australian Historical Studies</i>, vol. 24, no. 90, 1990, pp.22-40.</p> <p>3. Sir Victor Windeyer, 'A Birthright and Inheritance', <i>Tasmanian University Law Review</i>, vol.1, no 5, 1962.</p> <p>4. Robert J. King and Victoria Ibáñez, 'A Letter from Thaddaeus Haenke to Sir Joseph Banks, Sydney Cove, 15 April 1793', <i>Archives of Natural History</i>, vol.23, no.2, 1996, pp.255-259.</p> <p>5. Robert J. King, "'Etruria": the Great Seal of New South Wales', <i>Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia</i>, vol.5, October 1990, pp.3-8.</p> <p>6. <i>The London Chronicle</i>, 12 October 1786.</p> <p>7. <i>The Whitehall Evening Post</i>, 4 November 1784. The news was reported in the overseas press, such as the <i>Gazzetta Universale</i> (Florence), 30 Novembre 1784, p.765; <i>The Pennsylvania Gazette</i>, 26 January 1785; <i>The Weekly Monitor</i> (Litchfield, Mass.), 1 February 1785; <i>The United States Chronicle</i> (Rhode Island), 24 February 1785; and <i>The Massachusetts Centinel</i>, 2 March 1785.</p> <p>8. <i>Journals of the House of Commons</i>, 19 Geo. III, 1779, p.311.</p> <p>9. Robert J. King, 'Francisco Muñoz y San Clemente and his Reflexions on the English Settlements of New Holland', <i>British Library Journal</i>, vol. 25, no.1, 1999, pp.55-76.</p> <p>10. Higgins to Aranda, 18 October 1792; Archivo nacional de Chile, <i>fondo de la Capitanía-General</i>, Vol.793, ff.230-3; Vol.742, núm.59. Quoted in Ricardo Donoso, <i>El Marqués de Osorno: Don Ambrosio Higgins</i>, Santiago, 1942, p.262.</p>
	<b>R. J. K.</b>

## BOOKS

	<b>Navigating by the Southern Cross</b> , by Kenneth Morgan
	<p><b>Review by Dr Martin Woods</b></p> <p>Writing a sweeping history of European engagement with Australia's maritime discovery is a rare undertaking. Kenneth Morgan notes in his introduction that other than Arnold Wood's <i>The Discovery of Australia</i> (1922) and Michael Pearson's <i>Great Southern Land</i> (2005), few authors have attempted to lay out and analyse the succession of European seafarers who sailed the edges of the Australian continent, up to and including Phillip Parker King's circumnavigation. Tom Perry's <i>Discovery of Australia</i> (1982), might also be included in Morgan's short list, but it is a short one, if the educational and children's markets are excluded.</p> <p>Understandably, there are far more works of maritime history within specialisations such as navigator biography, the advancement of maritime sciences, marine survey, shipping and commerce, or in explaining the part of maritime endeavour in moments</p>



of nation-building or imperial rivalry. In recent years too, a more inclusive impulse has seen authors explore under-researched spaces including gender and the sea, and the role of an indigenous voice in Australia's maritime story.

Even so, there is room for a wide-ranging discovery history. Something that is rare is potentially interesting or valuable; to update us on recent research and reflect on some relevant specialisations. Overall, the author's intention is to explain 'how Australia was gradually discovered by Europeans and incorporated onto charts, maps and atlases.' This is achieved in 335 pages of clear-cut narrative, recounting the sequence of voyages intended to find Australia and explore its coastline. It is indeed an enormous span, and for those more graphically minded, a companion work or website may be needed to comprehend the numerous voyages and discoveries.

The book contains 24 reproductions of early maps interspersed with the text, and as is inevitably the case except in large format atlases, much of the detail is unobtainable in such a volume. In his eleven chapters covering waves of European explorers, the author has ably summarized and brought up to date the known voyages and findings about Australia's maritime history through to the mid-nineteenth century, consulting a multitude of sources in writing the book. The extensive bibliography alone is a valuable addition to scholarship and further research.

With a background which includes writing the history of 18th and 19th century maritime exploration in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, Professor Morgan is the author of *Australia Circumnavigated: The Journals of Matthew Flinders on H.M.S. Investigator* (2 vols, 2015). As his previous volumes show, he is adept at showing how incremental advances in geography and navigation progressed knowledge about Australia's coast.

Though not an expert in astronomy or marine survey, it is within the author's means to explore his related aim, 'to explain the process of intelligence gathering' or how more accurate knowledge about Australia was embedded on maps and charts, and in voyage accounts. To these an additional aspiration has been added, to examine and explain 'changing European attitudes towards the indigenous people that explorers came across in Australia.'

Here Professor Morgan seeks to portray European perceptions of 'the bodies, gestures, actions and behaviour of Aboriginal communities.' He is clear that he feels constrained not to venture into discussion of Aboriginal perceptions of European voyages, though this is a rich and emerging field of research and community interest.

After the introductory chapter the book commences with an account of the early theories about the existence of Terra Australis derived from the ancients. Morgan largely avoids getting bogged down in discussing the impact that ancient cosmological assumptions had on Renaissance explorers and geographers, a topic covered in many other works.

There is a clear enough account of the Terra Australis myth as it appeared on some of the key world maps of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, though the author avoids dipping his toe too deeply into these murky, interpretative waters. He traces the mapmakers (Monachus,

Finé, Mercator and others), who championed Ptolemy's Terra Incognita/Australis, and how the globe was adapted to take account of New World and Asian discoveries, including the confusion caused by readings of Marco Polo.

There is also brief coverage of the discovery claims of Chinese, Portuguese and Spanish voyages, acknowledging some of the controversies around national claims to primacy of contact. The author is disinclined to explore the linguistic or navigational theories behind some of these claims, and there are few excursions into supposed voyages to Terra Australis, though he acknowledges their influence, and that of their advocates such as the prolific hydrographer (and later head of the British Hydrographic Office) Alexander Dalrymple, perhaps the pre-eminent purveyor of myths about potential Portuguese Australian discovery voyages in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.



Terra Australis Nondum Cognita by Abraham Ortelius, 1570

In his chapter on the Dutch discoveries, the author rightly characterises Dutch interest in exploratory navigation as an off shoot of their commercial activities under the VOC or Dutch East India Company. He follows Schilder's lead in identifying Dutch voyages as either accidental discoveries, usually off the west coast (activated by the Brouwer route across the Indian Ocean), or efforts to locate alternate routes to the Great South Land and to report back to the VOC governor on findings. This reviewer finds problematic the author's assertion that the pre-Tasman discoveries fitted no obvious pattern, with 'no indication that the places they came across were part of a large landmass.' Reliance on the 1627 map by Gerritsz could lead to such a conclusion.

However, if Gerritsz's 1628 map of Australia and the Indies is referenced, there is little doubting that he had conceptualised an integrated Australian coast long before Tasman. It also perhaps undersells Gerritsz's importance to label him 'the expert professional artist, engraver and chartmaker for the VOC's Amsterdam Chamber' rather than accord him his actual role as the Company's chief chartmaker and

hydrographer, with access to all the journals, maps and drawings submitted by voyages, and his likely conceptualisation of Australia derived from this role.

Nevertheless, the author credits the 'VOC's expert cartographers' with responsibility for disseminating discoveries in Australia in the period 1606-40, though perhaps understates the role that the commercial side of cartography played in circulating the Australian discoveries more broadly during this period. Abel Tasman, VOC seafarer, explorer, and merchant, best known for his voyages of 1642 and 1644 gets his own chapter, and rightly so. His first voyage added more to nautical knowledge of the southwest Pacific than any navigator before Cook, and removed the probability that New Holland might be part of a fabled Great South Land.

However, the VOC were not well pleased with his apparent lack of initiative in exploring the region between New Guinea and the Gulf of Carpentaria (as he was instructed), and his limited exploration of Van Diemen's Land. Governor Van Diemen and his associates commissioned Tasman for a second voyage, specifically ordering him to establish whether there lay a passage below New Guinea into the Pacific, and if so to sail down to the newly discovered Van Diemen's Land via whatever coast lay ahead.

Sadly for Dutch and European interests Tasman did not locate a channel through Torres Strait. The surviving maps and reported statements indicate Tasman considered Torres Strait to be a bay of shoals, confirming earlier voyages in this area by *Duyfken*, *Pera* and *Arnhem*.

As the author notes, due to a lack of surviving documentation we do not know Tasman's route on this second voyage, nor his thoughts as he navigated. We know that after failing to discern a strait below New Guinea, his vessels charted the Gulf of Carpentaria and traced the coast as far west as North West Cape, though lack of documentary evidence means we do not know his route nor how much exploration of land occurred.

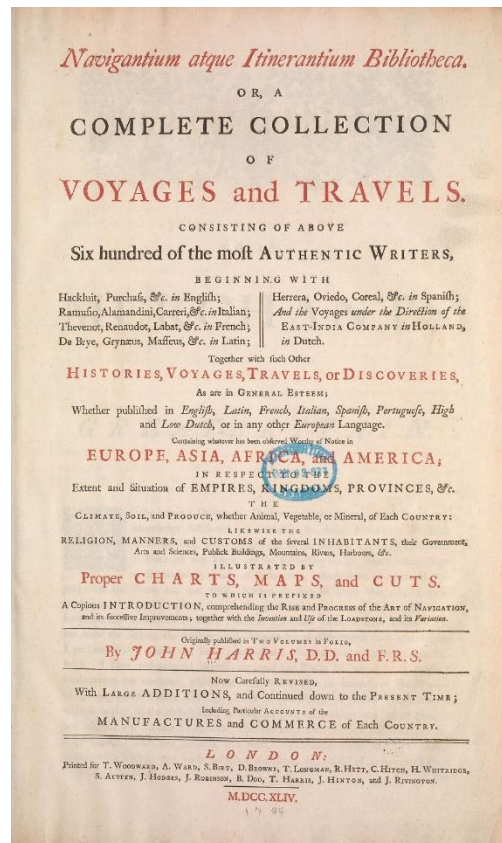
The VOC judged Tasman poorly for his perceived inattention to the instructions, and the author is right to conclude that Tasman's legacy is also mixed, for virtually circumnavigating Australia without establishing its coast. Dissemination of the Tasman discoveries, while reaching the popular mind, left much still open to speculation.

In opening 'From Tasman to Cook' the author provides brief summaries of the final Dutch voyages, chiefly Willem de Vlamingh's late VOC charting of Australia's west coast (which Flinders later used to complete his own Australian chart). Then commences a narration of English interest, commencing with the opportunist Dampier, who following the Dutch began exploring New Holland for commercial potential, including as a base for routes to the South American markets. The two voyages 1688 and 1699 added little barring minor chart definition, and fell short of delineating Torres Strait.

But Dampier's popular voyage accounts, descriptions of flora, fauna and native peoples, together with a tranche of English maps of New Holland generated interest in the southern continent and provided impetus for later exploration.

The author outlines Dampier's contribution to cataloguing Australia's wild-life, and his generally adverse assessment of its people. He considers the impact of these negative and folkloric observations on later explorers, and concludes with their transmission in

popular publications, including imaginative literature such as Defoe and Swift, along with Campbell's *Navigantium Atque..*, Harris' Collection of voyages, the Seller and Bowen maps.



Navigantium Atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca by John Harris, 1744

Beyond these impacts the author gauges that geographical knowledge advanced little between Dampier and Cook, leading to narrative and depictive repetition. Most maps of the land mass were based on Dutch discoveries up to and including Tasman, sometimes embellished with a speculative east coast. At the same time the gaps in knowledge, particularly the stubborn resistance of the Strait between New Guinea and Australia, remained an attraction to further exploration.

Narration of James Cook's *Endeavour* voyage commences with the aims of British exploration during a period of conflict with Spain and France to establish its dominance as a sea power, including in the Pacific. Morgan credits scientific exploration and advancement – across geography, botany, zoology, ethnography, hydrography and astronomy – as another major impetus.

For the author, official interest in finding out more about Terra Australis remained 'only partially related' to these broader Pacific goals. He traces the trio of Byron, Carteret and Wallis, whose voyages contributed to a gathering belief that a large landmass existed. None came upon Australia's east coast, with a focus further east on waters between Cape Horn and New Zealand.

The author's summary of the reasons behind the *Endeavour* voyage posits observation of the Transit of Venus across the Sun to determine the astronomical unit. This would be achieved via calculation of the distance of the Earth from the Sun (not the distance between Venus and the Sun as given on page 69). Beyond this primary goal, with its advancement of longitude calculation, a secondary objective revealed in the Admiralty's secret instructions, inspired Cook the navigator to persist further west in the search for Terra Australis. He is rather light on Cook's suitability to lead the expedition, and there is little reference to Cook's ground-breaking North American hydrographic achievements, undoubtedly a key reason behind his selection.

The narrative follows Cook's decision to track a westerly course from New Zealand after charting the islands of Aotearoa (and eliminating it as part of a Great South Land), and then with the Dutch maps as a guide, tacking towards but above Van Diemen's Land. There is mention of Margaret Cameron Ash's recent assertion that Cook concealed the existence of the Bass Strait, though the author considers in the absence of documents to this effect it is a theory impossible to prove. In recounting Cook's decision to make landfall on the Australian coast higher than Tasman's northernmost contact with Van Diemen's Land, it is perhaps surprising the author makes no mention of Cook's log, which consistently referenced strong southerlies as the *Endeavour* approached the mainland.

There follows a brief account of Botany Bay and Cook's northward running survey before encountering the Great Barrier Reef, and his claiming the east coast for Britain. The author includes interactions that Cook and others described at Endeavour River with Guugu Yimithirr people (unfortunately referred to in the text as 'Guguyimithiar natives'). There is a useful comparison of Cook, Banks and Parkinson's interaction with indigenous peoples, the latter two having developed language lists through their interactions. Surprisingly for this reviewer, discussion of Tupaia is limited to his role as an interlocuter with Pacific islanders. There is no discussion of any possible 'collaboration' with Cook as regards navigation and the resultant enigmatic map of the southern Pacific.

Concluding the section 'Cook and the Aborigines' the author considers the Cook legacy as regards indigenous relations and references Deborah Bird Rose's 1984 interpretation of Mudburra man Hobbles Danayarri's Cook saga. It's an important work underpinning much contemporary scholarship and debate. The author's reference to Danayarri is a key acknowledgement, though it comes with errors. This reviewer is aware of variant spellings, Daniari, Danaiari and Danayari, but has been unable to locate the author's 'Daniyeri', a ceremonial man of 'the Yarralin peoples' – Yarralin is a township community comprising several language groups. Cook barely had time for Australia in his second and third voyages, and the author's coverage of these is brief. Of Cook's second Pacific voyage, Norfolk Island is mentioned, as are the key findings that disproved the existence of a Great South Land.



Norfolk Island, Captain Cook Lookout © Steve Daggar, Wikimedia

In two subsequent chapters the author then traces the French and English voyages and mapping after Cook. The chapter on French voyages to Terra Australis usefully informs the reader of early French motivations, and the influence of the de Gonneville story on successive voyages, including the largely unsuccessful expedition led by Bouvet de Lozier in 1738.

The subsequent work of Charles de Brosses, undoubtedly a major contribution to European knowledge of the South Seas, lay behind Bougainville's voyage around the world 1766-69. Notwithstanding Bougainville's Pacific discoveries and navigational information, the failure to locate a southern continent was made all the more disappointing given Cook's almost concurrent findings. The 1771-72 voyage of St Alouarn and Kerguelen carried its own secret instructions about Terra Australis and led to a French proclamation on the west coast, but one that didn't stick.

Dufresne's survey of 1772, though relatively minor, saw the first Europeans land on Van Diemen's Land, and provided an account of encounters with Aboriginal people. The author records the largely negative impressions recorded by French officers, which may be compared and contrasted with the Cook/Banks experience. The chapter concludes with accounts of the La Perouse and d'Entrecasteaux expeditions, the latter contributing significant Australian geographical findings and nuanced impressions of Tasmanian Aborigines.

The chapter on English voyages prior to Flinders shows these to be uncoordinated, though led to important findings such as an improved route through Torres Strait forged by Cox, and Bligh's running survey, while in 1789 Vancouver charted over 300 miles of the southwest Australian coast. Vancouver's account adds to contemporary (and later) assumptions about indigenous nomadism, while adding useful accounts of burning practices, together with the results of several important excursions by the Scottish naturalist Archibald Menzies who left many descriptions of flora and fauna (Menzies is strangely not included in the Australian Dictionary of Biography).

Subsequent survey expeditions by Heywood and other minor voyages complete the impression of disparate voyaging, while the coastal explorations in the 1790s by Bass,

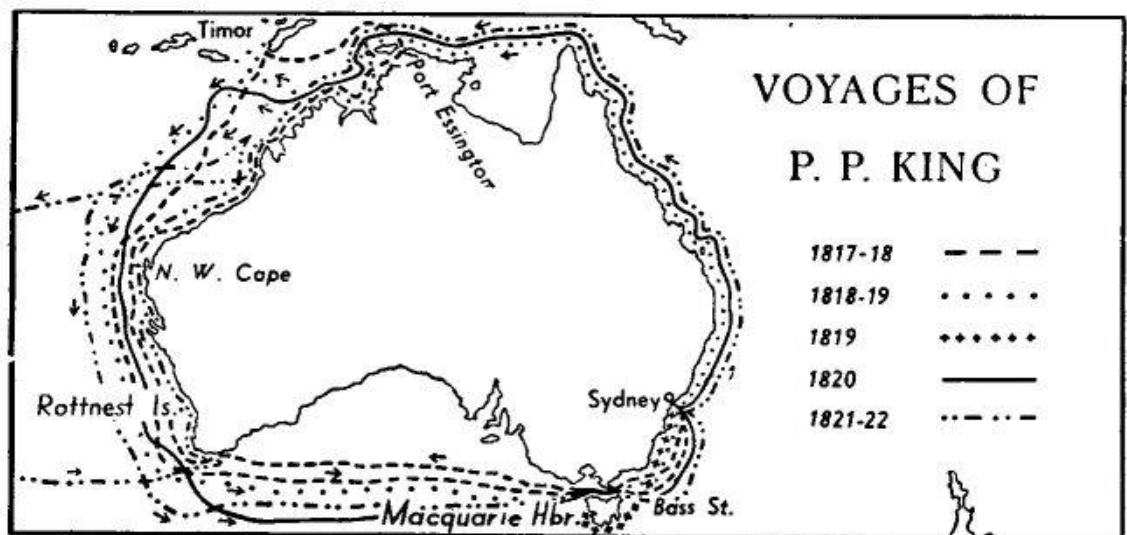
Flinders and others of the east coast and Tasmania, sponsored by early governors were more mindful of the colony's future development.

The chapter on Flinders and the *Investigator* follows the voyage as it surveyed the coast counter-clockwise from the west coast to Port Jackson, and the east coast through the Torres Strait and the north coast, leading to Flinders' publication of a *Voyage to Terra Australis*, which revealed much previously unknown to British interests. The author rightly summarises Flinders' encounters with Aborigines as more extensive than Cook's, including description of diverse language, cultural practice and interactions, reflecting the wide range of communities encountered.

These accounts are welcome inclusions in writing maritime history. However, the author falls short of acknowledging the practical insights these contacts made in terms of conducting trade, exchange and information sharing with coastal Aborigines they provided Flinders (and through him later explorers), preferring to characterise his interactions as generally friendly and peaceful, if beset with communication difficulties.

The most extensive French expedition, by Nicolaus Baudin, is also given its own chapter. It was also the most volatile of expeditions. Personal and political allegiances of its participants were a latent factor between the voyage officers and scientists, leading to in some places somewhat limited hydrographical achievement though remarkably rich scientific, cartographic and artistic output.

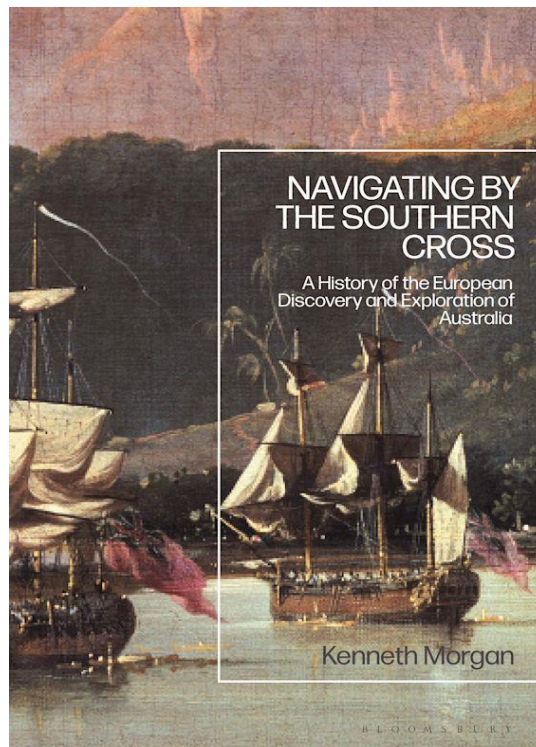
Like their British counterparts, the expedition's interactions with indigenous Australians were in part affected by the 'noble savage' tradition; its findings also influenced by Peron's rather standoffish conduct.



The book concludes with the meticulous surveys conducted by Phillip Parker King between 1817-22 that completed some of the parts left unexplored by Flinders, and the subsequent hydrographic surveys through to the 1860s. In reading these accounts of surveyors, the reader is struck not only by their highly professional efforts in difficult conditions, but by the impressions of Australia's diverse coastline, the growing realisation of its limited river systems, the complexity of peoples and languages beyond their understanding.

A note on accessibility – Morgan’s book is currently available in hard (about \$120) and paperback (about \$60) formats. Disappointingly, this reviewer was compelled to avail himself of the National Library’s ebook, the only format it has collected. While this digital-first policy is arguable for novels and text-only works, it is disappointing that the nation’s repository has deemed an ebook sufficient for accessing an illustrated reference book about Australia. For those wishing to consult the hardcopy before they buy, the state libraries of New South Wales and Western Australia have acquired one each.

(Dr Woods is a former curator of maps and special collections at the National Library of Australia)



Navigating by the Southern Cross, 2022  
 London ; New York : Bloomsbury Academic, 2021.  
 335 pages : illustrations ; 25 cm

**Three Sheets to the Wind** by Adam Courtenay

**How a motley crew of merchant seamen walked 600 miles to save 7000 gallons of rum.**

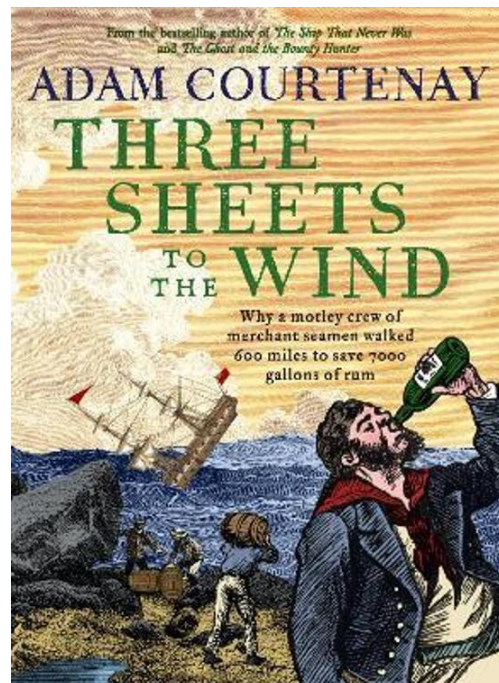
When, in 1796, Calcutta-based Scottish merchants Campbell & Clark dispatched an Indian ship hurriedly renamed the *Sydney Cove* to the colony of New South Wales, they were hoping to make their fortune. The ship's speculative cargo was comprised of all kinds of goods to entice the new colony's inhabitants, including 7000 gallons of rum. The merchants were planning to sell the liquor to the Rum Corp, which ruled the fledgling colony with an iron grip, despite the recent arrival of Governor John Hunter.



But when the *Sydney Cove* went down north of Van Diemen's Land, cargo master William Clark and sixteen other crew members were compelled to walk 600 miles to Sydney Town to get help to save the rest of the crew and the precious goods.

Assisted by at least six Indigenous clans on his journey, Clark saw far more of the country than Joseph Banks ever did, and his eventual report to Governor Hunter led to far-reaching consequences for the fledgling colony. And the rum? Some of it was saved.

By the bestselling author of *The Ship That Never Was* and *The Ghost and the Bounty Hunter*, *Three Sheets to the Wind* is a rollicking account of a little-known event that changed the course of Australian history.



HarperCollins Publishers, \$32.99

Editor

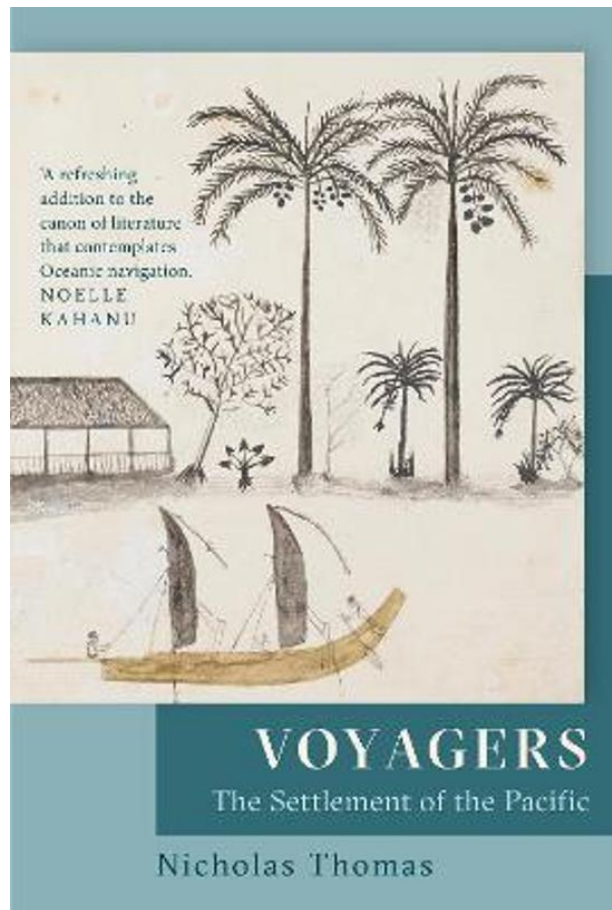
## **Voyagers** , by Nicholas Thomas

### **The Settlement of the Pacific**

Thousands of islands, inhabited by a multitude of different peoples, are scattered across the vastness of the Pacific. The first European explorers to visit Oceania, from the sixteenth century on, were astounded and perplexed to find populations thriving so many miles from the nearest continents. Who were these people and where did they come from?

In *Voyagers*, anthropologist Nicholas Thomas charts the course of the seaborne migrations that populated the islands between Asia and the Americas. Drawing on the

latest research, Thomas provides a dazzling account of these long-distance migrations, the sea-going technologies that enabled them, and the societies that they left in their wake.



ISBN 978-1-803-28463-7, 2022,  
 Publisher: Head of Zeus GB, \$27.99

Editor

**AOTM New Members welcome**



Australia On The Map is open to new members. Interested persons, whether AHS members or not, are encouraged to contact the Chair, email address below. Committee members at present communicate electronically or by email/telephone. Map Matters is distributed in electronic format, but printed copies can be made available, upon request. Contributions to Map Matters are always welcome. Please send to the editor's email or home address below.

**How to contact AOTM**

Australia on the Map, Division of Australasian Hydrographic Society, 12 Wrest Street, Lyons A.C.T 2606  
 Chair: Paul Hornsby, [paul.hornsby@me.com](mailto:paul.hornsby@me.com)  
 Editor: Marianne Pietersen, [marianne.pietersen@inet.net.au](mailto:marianne.pietersen@inet.net.au)  
 130/58 Collingwood Rd, Birkdale Qld 4159. Mob 0402-008-124  
 AOTM website: [www.australiaonthemap.org](http://www.australiaonthemap.org).  
 facebook: <http://on.fb.me/1pbrijpQ>