Australian Historical Studies

Naming Places on the 'Southland': European Place-Naming Practices from 1606 to 1803

Jan Tent; Helen Slatyer

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Naming Places on the 'Southland': European Place-Naming Practices from 1606 to 1803

JAN TENT & HELEN SLATYER

The history of charting Australia's coastline is well documented from most perspectives, but not from a toponymic standpoint. Between 1606 and 1803, some nine hundred European placenames were bestowed along the Australian coast. We report here on an investigation and analysis of the place-naming practices of the Dutch, French, and English along the Australian coastline between 1606 and 1803, and show how these names reflect the social and political attitudes and motivations of the name-givers.

ON EVERY MAP we may find a wealth of historical, cultural, and linguistic information frozen in the names that people have given to places. Placenames also form an integral part of cultural and linguistic heritage, and may encapsulate details about the geographic nature of a named feature, when it was named, and who bestowed it.[1] Moreover, toponyms may offer insights into the belief and value systems of the name-givers, as well as political and social circumstances at the time of naming. In many regions, they also reveal the chronology of exploration and settlement. Australia is a prime example.

More than half of Australia's coastline had been charted by the Dutch before James Cook filled in much of the missing east coastline in 1770 (see Figure 1). This early history of the charting of Australia's coastline is well documented from most perspectives, but has largely been neglected from a toponymic standpoint. We have identified some 900 European placenames that were bestowed between 1606 and 1803. Many of these have been lost or replaced since colonisation. However, a number of the names bestowed during this period have become some of Australia's most iconic and emblematic toponyms: New Holland, New South Wales, Van Diemensland, Arnhemland, Shark Bay, Botany Bay, Gulf of Carpentaria, Groote Eylandt, Rottnest Island, Swan River, Port Jackson, Morton Bay, Whitsunday Island, Cape York, Endeavour Strait, Derwent River, Bruny Island, Freycinet Peninsula, Marion Bay, Encounter Bay.

The documentation of Australia's early European-influenced history from a toponymic perspective demands an examination of the mechanisms of place-naming: the procedures, methods, and strategies. Unfortunately, this approach has not yet been fully integrated into the research of many toponymists, as they have mostly concentrated on the etymological analysis of placenames.[2] One

---

[1] See Jan Tent, 'Geographic and Linguistic Reflections on *Moent* and *Dubbelde Ree*, Two of Australia's First Placenames', *Geographical Research: Journal of the Institute of Australian Geographers* 44, no. 4 (2006): 389–402.

[2] Peder Gammeltoft, 'In Search of the Motives Behind Naming: A Discussion of a Name-semantic Model of Categorisation', in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Ononmastic Sciences, Uppsala 19-24 August 2002*, Vol. 1, ed. Eva Brylla and Matts Wahlberg (Uppsala: Språk-och folkminnesinstutet, 2005), 151–60.

reason for this is, perhaps, the lack of an effective toponym typology. We attempt, here, to remedy this lack of an adequate typology and report on a preliminary investigation and analysis of the place-naming practices of the Dutch, British, and French up to the early nineteenth century.

Exploration and charting of the Southland

European exploration of the southern oceans was anchored in the ancient Greek belief that a vast southern continent was necessary to balance the landmass of the northern hemisphere. This reputed landmass came to be known as *Terra Australis Incognita* (the Unknown Southland, also known simply as the Great Southland).[3] However, it was not until the fifteenth century that Europeans had the means to locate this southern continent. Apart from geographical interests, commercial and scientific interests also became major factors motivating the exploration of these waters.[4] In our investigation of the early European attribution of placenames, it appeared that the Dutch motives for exploring and charting the Southland were different from those of the British and French.[5] This study, unlike much previous research, is empirically based. We created a database of toponyms from which we were able to analyse, categorise and quantify the different motivations behind the choice of placename.

---

[3] When the Dutch started charting the west coast of the Australian continent in the early part of the seventeenth century, the land became known as New Holland. The unmapped eastern region continued to be identified as *Terra Australis*. These appellations remained until James Cook charted the east coast of the continent, which he named New South Wales. For a time, maps of the continent labelled the western half New Holland and the eastern half New South Wales. In 1804, Matthew Flinders suggested the name Australia on his chart of the circumnavigation of the continent. Governor Lachlan Macquarie used the term Australia in all his correspondence. In 1830, official recognition of the name Australia was granted. See for example: National Library of Australia, *Australia in Maps: Great Maps in Australia's History from the National Library's Collection* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2007); David Taylor, *The States of a Nation: The Politics and Surveys of the Australian State Borders* (Bathurst: NSW Department of Lands, 2006), 20–21, 24–25.

[4] Jean Fornasiero, Peter Monteath and John West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis. The Australian Voyages of Nicolas Baudin and Matthew Flinders* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2004).

[5] See, for example, Geoffrey Badger, *The Explorers of the Pacific* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 1988); Charles de Brosses, *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes* (Paris: Chez Durand, 1756); Miriam Estensen, *Discovery: The Quest for the Great South Land* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1998); Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby; J.E. Heeres, *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606–1765* (London/Leiden: E.J. Brill, Luzuc and Co., 1899); John Kenny, *Before the First Fleet: Europeans in Australia 1606–1777* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 1995); R.H. Major, *Early Voyages to Terra Australis* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1859); Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1976); H. Swaardecroon, C. Chastelijn and J.S. Craine, 'Report to Jan van Hoorn and Council of India, 6 October 1705', in *Early voyages to Terra Australia, now called Australia: A collection of documents, and extracts from early manuscript maps, illustrative of the history of discovery on the coasts of that vast island, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the time of Captain Cook*, ed. R.H. Major (London: Hakluyt Society, 1856 [1705]), 165–73.
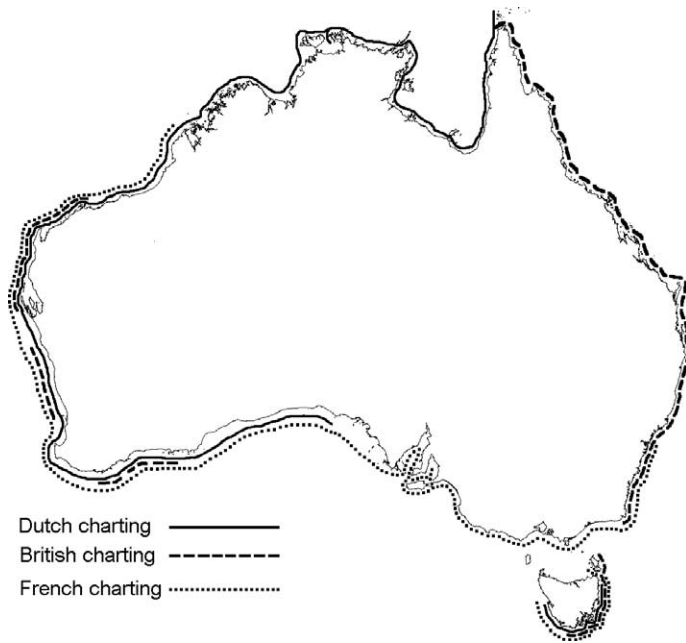
Figure 1. Areas of Australian Coastline Charted by the Dutch, British, and French

The Dutch

Dutch contacts with the Southland had their genesis in 1602, when the *Veerenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (United East-India Company) was established. The VOC, as it became known, was given exclusive rights to send fleets to Asia via the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, in order to conduct trade, maintain forts and factories, and conclude treaties with native potentates. During its 197-year existence the VOC sponsored a total of 4,722 voyages to the East Indies.[6]

Although its sole objective was trade and profit, the VOC also had ambitions to expand its geographical knowledge in order to guide vessels safely to its factories and trading posts, establish new markets, and find precious metals. Ventures to the reputed Southland were an obvious next step. This tenacious mercantile purpose frustrated those with a more curious or scientific outlook. In a letter written to his friend Ginsberg Cupper in 1712, Nicolaas Witsen, a Director of the VOC and avid amateur scientist, complained: 'You asked for information about Asia; but no, our people there are not interested in science, only in money.[7]

---

[6] Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, "Dutch-Asiatic Shipping 1595–1795", <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DAS> accessed 17 March 2005.

[7] Cited in Johan Fredrick Gebhard, *Het Leven van Mr. Nicolaas Cornelisz Witsen 1641–1717* (Utrecht: J.W. Leeflang, 1881), vol. I, 480; vol. II, 341.

The first introduced placenames in Australia date back to early 1606, when Willem Janszoon, commander of the pinnace *Duyfken* (*Little Dove*) stumbled across the north-west coast of Cape York. He recorded seven placenames along the three-hundred kilometres of coastline he explored, only one of which remains in use today: Cape Keerweer (Turn-again/Turn-about). The name encapsulates the general attitude of all other Dutch explorers towards the Southland: that it was barren and offered nothing of commercial value. Nevertheless, like Janszoon, many of the pre-settlement European mariners and explorers left their distinctive toponymic mark along much of the Southland's coastline.

In all, some thirty-four recorded visits were made by the Dutch to the coasts of the Southland, and they continued for 150 years. Most contacts were by accident. Up until 1617, VOC ships heading for the Spice Islands went past Madagascar, then headed north-east to catch the south-west monsoonal winds. Ships typically took twelve to eighteen months to reach the East Indies. After 1617 all ships were required to head in an easterly direction between latitudes 35°–40° after rounding the Cape of Good Hope. The Roaring Forties and currents between these latitudes allowed ships to make a very swift crossing of the Indian Ocean. After having sailed some 4,000 miles along this line, they were to turn north to Java, further benefiting from the counter-clockwise Indian Ocean currents. This route reduced outward-bound voyages to about six months. However, this route had perils. An error made in calculating longitude or the number of miles travelled, as was very easily made, could result in the ship unexpectedly finding itself upon the treacherous western coast of the Southland.[8] This happened on no less than twenty-one known occasions, and on at least four with disastrous results—the loss of the *Batavia* in 1629, *Vergulde Draeck* in 1656, *Zuytdorp* in 1712, and the *Zeewyk* in 1727.[9] Only eight contacts with the Southland were by design—the expeditions of Willem Janszoon (1606), Jan Carstenszoon (1623), Gerrit Thomaszoon Pool (1636), Abel Janszoon Tasman (1642 and 1644), Willem de Vlamingh (1697), Marten van Delft (1705), and Jean Etienne Gonzal (1756). Their purpose was either to chart sections of the coastline or to search for survivors of shipwrecks.

---

[8] Mike Dash, *Batavia's Graveyard: The True Story of the Mad Heretic Who Led History's Bloodiest Mutiny* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2002); Michael Pearson, *The Great Southern Land: The Maritime Exploration of Terra Australis* (Canberra: The Australian Government, Department of the Environment and Heritage, 2005); Phillip Playford, *Carpet of Silver: The Wreck of the 'Zuytdorp'* (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 1996), 18–32; Willem C.H. Robert, *The Dutch Explorations, 1605–1756, of the North and Northwest Coast of Australia. Extracts from Journals, Log-books and Other Documents Relating to these Voyages* (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1973), 3–49; Schilder, 43–221; Swaardecroon, Chastelijn and Craine, 165–73. The west coast of Australia boasts 45.6 per cent (or 3,747) of the continent's 8,222 islands. Geoscience Australia. Department of Industry, Tourism and Resources, Commonwealth of Australia, < http://www.ga.gov.au > accessed 7 April 2005, no pagination.

[9] Three other ships are known to have disappeared between Cape of Good Hope and the East Indies: the *Ridderschap van Holland* (1694), *Fortuyn* (1724), and *Aagtekerke* (1726). It is generally assumed they also ran aground along this coastline. Pearson, 20–44; Playford, 18–32.

Of the thirty-four recorded Dutch visits, charts and logs are available for less than half. In all, we have documented 153 placenames, approximately 80 per cent of which have been 'lost' (due to uncertainty of location), forgotten or supplanted, either because they were unknown and were inadvertently renamed by subsequent explorers and settlers or because a conscious decision was made to assert British sovereignty. Placenames are used by the powerful to insert their hegemonic version of history into the landscape, thus bringing these new placenames into their own discursive realm.[10]

Considering they had charted about 55 per cent of the Southland's coastline—from the tip of Cape York to the Nuyts Archipelago (just off the coast west of Ceduna, SA)—the Dutch actually conferred very few placenames. However, when their general motives in charting these waters are considered, this is perhaps not surprising. The VOC saw no potential for profit in this land, and unlike the British and the French in the latter years of the eighteenth century, had no territorial designs and no scientific interest in exploration. The placenames on Dutch charts were typically applied only to those features that had some significance for navigation or respite. Further naming was therefore unnecessary. Prolific naming of places is a characteristic by-product of scientific exploration, conquest, and colonisation, for when you name a place, you also take 'possession' of it.[11]

The British

In contrast to the early Dutch navigators, the eighteenth-century British and French explorers, who were a product of the intellectual climate of the Age of Reason, described and evaluated what they saw. They placed more value on carefully describing the flora, fauna, geography, and inhabitants of the newly found territories. The Pacific voyages of these nations were predominantly disinterested scientific endeavours. However, the geopolitical rivalry between Britain and France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries drove them to obtain as much geographic, scientific, and commercial intelligence as possible.

---

[10] For detailed discussions of this phenomenon see, for example: J.B. Harley, 'Maps, knowledge and power' in *The Iconography of Landscape*, eds. D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277–312; Robin A. Kearns and Lawrence D. Berg, 'Proclaiming Place: Towards a geography of place name pronunciation', *Social and Cultural Geography*, vol. 3, no. 3 (2002): 297; Peter G. Lewis, 'The Politics of Iranian Place-names', *Geographical Review*, vol. 72, no. 1 (1982): 99–102; John Murray, *Politics and Place-Names: Changing Names in the Late Soviet Period* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2000); Gareth A. Myers, 'Naming and placing the Other: Power and the urban landscape in Zanzibar', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geographie*, vol. 87, no. 3 (1996): 237–46; Val Plumwood, 'Decolonising Relationships with Nature', *PAN: Philosophy Activism Nature*, Issue 2 (2002): 7–30.

[11] See, for instance, Laurence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns, 'Naming as Norming : "Race", Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, vol. 14 (1996): 99–122; Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1987); Ron Crocombe, 'Naming and Claiming in the South Pacific', *Journal of the Pacific Society*, vol. 50 (1991): 1–19; R. Douglas K. Herman , 'The Aloha state: Place Names and the Anti-conquest of Hawai'i', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 89, no. 1 (1999): 76–102.

A natural corollary of these territorial ambitions was more prolific place-naming. Geographer R. Douglas K. Herman suggests that 'the politics of language, of place names, and of sovereignty are intertwined'.[12]

The first Briton to make contact with the Southland was John Brookes, Captain of the British East Indiaman *Tryall*. The ship was headed for Batavia when it foundered on a reef in the Montebello Islands (off the West Australian coast between Exmouth and Karratha) in 1622. The sight was subsequently identified on charts as *Tryall Rocks*. The next contact was in 1681 when John Daniel stumbled onto the West Australian coast near the Houtman Abrolhos. He was followed a few years later in 1688 by the buccaneers John Read and William Dampier, who careened their ship in King Sound (WA). Dampier made a second visit in 1699, charting the coast from Shark Bay to present-day Broome. On both occasions Dampier made detailed scientific observations of the local flora, fauna, people, topography, tides, etc., but only conferred two placenames.

In 1660, the Royal Society for the Promotion of Natural Knowledge (usually shortened to 'the Royal Society') was founded. It became a catalyst for the development of a union between science and government. The British government's interest in science and exploration increased during the late eighteenth century because it sought to maintain and reinforce its position as a leading world power. The sending out of John Byron in 1764, Samuel Wallis in 1766, and James Cook in 1768 and 1772 to find and claim the Southland were perhaps Britain's most overt expressions of this strategy.[13] Cook's secret instructions clearly outline his government's intentions:

Whereas there is reason to imagine that the Continent or Land of great extent, may be found to the Southward of the Tract lately made by captn Wallis in His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin (of which you will herewith receive a Copy) [...]You are to proceed to the southward in order to make discovery of the Continent above-mentioned until you arrive in the latitude of 40 degrees unless you sooner fall in with it. But not having discover'd it or by any Evident signs of it in that Run, you are to proceed in search of it to the Westward between the Latitude before mentioned and the latitude of 35 degrees until you discover it, or fall in with the eastern side of the Land discover'd by Tasman and now Called New Zealand.[14]

Further, if Cook discovered the Southland, he was to provide details of 'the nature of the soil and its products, beasts, birds, fishes, and minerals', samples of 'seeds of the trees, fruits and grains, and an account of the native inhabitants, if any, and friendship, alliance and trade with them'. He was 'with the Consent of the Natives to take possession of Convenient Situations in the Country in the Name of the King of Great Britain; or, if you find the country uninhabited take

---

[12]   Herman, 96.

[13]   Even though Cook had discovered the eastern coastline of Australia in 1770, he was subsequently sent out on a second voyage to search for the reputed great southern continent.

[14]   Cited in John Cawte Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 148.

Possession for His majesty by setting up Proper marks and Inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors'.[15]

Cook discovered the east coast of Australia in 1770, conferring more than 130 placenames, often providing the motivation for the naming in his journal. Tobias Furneaux, the escort on Cook's second voyage of discovery (1772–75), was the next to explore the region. He charted the east coast of Tasmania and conferred thirteen placenames. The next significant naming on the continent by a British navigator occurred as a result of the mutiny on the *Bounty* in 1788. After being set adrift in the Bounty's launch, Bligh was forced to sail to Batavia via the north-east coast of Cape York and Torres Strait. He carefully charted this area, conferring some seventeen placenames. In 1792, Bligh was again sent out to collect breadfruit plants in Tahiti for the slave colonies in the Caribbean. Bligh returned to Tahiti via Tasmania, adding four more placenames to the map.

The visits by John Henry Cox to Tasmania in 1789, Edward Edwards to the Barrier Reef and Torres Strait in 1791, and John McCluer to the north coast of Arnhem Land in 1791, resulted in only a handful of topographic features being named.[16] In contrast, the charting of sections of the south coast of Western Australia in 1791 by George Vancouver, and John Hayes' visit to Tasmania in 1793, resulted in no less than fifteen and fifty-nine placenames respectively.[17]

The appearance of Jean-François de Galoup, comte de la Pérouse, at Botany Bay a few days after the arrival of Arthur Philip in command of the First Fleet in 1788 added to British suspicions of French intentions in the region and continued until after the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the Restoration. La Pérouse's visit resulted in an intensification of British explorations and settlement efforts.

The French

The first charting of the Australian coastline by the French did not take place until 1772, when Louis François Marie Alesno de St. Allouarn, commander of *Le Gros Ventre* in Kerguelen-Trémarec's expedition, arrived on the south-west coast of Australia. This was only one of many attempts by the French to explore the *Terre Australe* (South Land) and was motivated in part by the voyage of Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, who left Honfleur in 1503 in the ship *L'Espoir* and landed in an unknown south land which he assumed to be the undiscovered southern continent. De Gonneville lost the ship's records in a pirate attack on

---

[15] Ibid., 149.

[16] Cox charted Maria Island on his way to explore the north-west coast of America. Edwards was dispatched in the *Pandora* to capture the twenty-five *Bounty* mutineers, and McCluer was with the (English) East India Company. He surveyed the coast of New Guinea and returned to Benkulen via the Arnhem Land coast.

[17] Vancouver was leader of an expedition to survey the north-west coast of America. He charted a section of the south coast of Western Australia on his way to America. Hayes was leader of a private expedition to gauge New Guinea's economic potential. He called at Adventure Bay on his way to New Guinea. He unwittingly renamed many features named by d'Entrecasteaux shortly before.

the return voyage, so the precise location of 'Gonneville's Land' has remained unknown to this day. It was nevertheless the object of much curiosity, stimulating subsequent exploration over three centuries. Indeed, in 1756 the philosopher Charles de Brosses, in his authoritative and comprehensive account of European exploration of the Southland, considered the circumstances surrounding the published version of de Gonneville's story. He said it:

attest(s) to the accuracy of the work, and the truth of one of the oldest maritime expeditions, which demonstrates without difficulty that the French nation has the honour of making the first discovery of the *Terre Australe*, 16 years before Magellan's departure.[18]

De Brosses encouraged French exploration and settlement of the reputed Southland, suggesting that an expedition of cartographers, astronomers, botanists, painters, and surgeons should be sent to explore the coastlines of this land and document its natural and cultural wonders. However, de Gonneville's affidavit included no geographical information and recent analysis of de Gonneville's testimony questions whether he actually rounded the Cape of Good Hope, suggesting instead that he sailed west from southern Africa landing not in Australia but in South America.[19]

In addition to the desire to locate and colonise the Southland, the French *Académie* [*Royale*] *des Sciences*, established in 1666, promoted science as a key part of France's expeditions into the Pacific. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the revolutionary, Napoleonic, and Bourbon governments all ensured that the expeditions were well equipped for scientific exploration and explicitly included scientific aims in the mission of the voyages. In particular, the communiqué printed for d'Entrecasteaux's 1791 voyage clearly indicated the revolutionary government's attitude to scientific exploration overseas.

While condemning the old explorers in the time of the *ancien régime*, as rapers of the world who sought to get precious metals, it indicated that the new alternative government would not stop this effort, but would change the aims of exploration to promote the better gold of science, to aid truth and enlightenment all manner of topics.[20]

France was also motivated to rebuild its colonial strength after being stripped of most of its colonial possessions in India and Canada following the Treaty of Paris (1763). It needed halfway houses to supply commercial and scientific voyages into the Indian and Pacific Oceans and was also keen to impede Britain's imperial intentions. The British and Dutch both had colonies in temperate climates and Australia seemed to be well situated for such a settlement. It was also argued that, because gold and silver had been discovered in South America

---

[18] Charles de Brosses, *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes* (Paris: Chez Durand, 1756), 103.
[19] Armand d'Avezac, *Campagne du navire l'Espoir de Honfleur, 1503–1505* (Paris: Challamel, 1869).
[20] Leslie R. Marchant, *France Australe: A Study of French Explorations and Attempts to Found a Penal Colony and Strategic Base in South Western Australia 1503-1826* (Perth: Scott Four Colour Print, 1998), 80.

along these latitudes, the Southland must also be fabulously wealthy[21]— a view that motivated exploration in view of trade opportunities in the Southland.

France never did succeed in fulfilling her colonial ambitions in Australia. Expectations based on Kerguelen's glowing but inaccurate reports that the west of the continent was a fertile land highly suitable for European settlement were soon countered by reports from subsequent expeditions that supported Dampier's belief that this was an arid land that held little or no interest for Europeans. French interest in the east of the continent was tempered by the presence of the British, and each sign of French interest on the east coast led to a prompt response from the British aimed at thwarting any French ambitions.[22] Opinion about the west remained divided until after the return of Freycinet's 1817 voyage when the French government commenced plans to settle the western part of the continent and fulfil the long-held ambition to establish a colony in a temperate zone.[23] However, there were a series of missed opportunities, largely due to the fact that the explorers (in particular De Bougainville in 1768 and Duperrey in 1824) sent to investigate settlement attempted to sail south along the coast of western Australia where they encountered adverse winds. The British, learning of the French intentions, again responded promptly, sending a contingent to King George Sound in 1826 and establishing a colony on the Swan River in 1829.[24] However, the French had by this time turned their attentions to New Zealand, thereby ending their territorial ambitions on the Southland.

The second half of the eighteenth century saw a surge of activity by the French who sought to compete scientifically with the British and to attempt to claim the Southland for France. The first expedition, under the command of Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, left France in 1766 in the *Boudeuse* and the *Etoile* with instructions to sail across the Pacific and circumnavigate the world. In addition, the expedition was well equipped for scientific exploration. Bougainville sailed west through the Straits of Magellan and arrived within one hundred kilometres of the east coast of Australia, narrowly escaping being wrecked on the Great Barrier Reef, before sailing on to Mauritius. He was the first European to reach the east coast of Australia. This successful voyage was followed by several other, less successful, attempts to explore the Australian coastline.

Bouvet de Lozier, supported by the French East India Company, sailed south around the Cape of Good Hope and discovered what is now known as Bouvet Island. Bad weather forced the expedition to abandon the attempt to reach Australia. Two further expeditions set out to discover Gonneville's land, but similarly sailed too far south into the Roaring Forties: those of Marc Joseph Marion-Dufresne in 1771 and Yves Joseph de Kergeulen-Trémarec in 1772. Marion-Dufresne reached Tasmania without having sighted the mainland, then

---

[21] John Dunmore, *French Explorers in the Pacific* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).
[22] Marchant.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Jean Fornasiero, Monteath and West-Sooby, *Encountering Terra Australis*.

continued east. De Kergeulen-Trémarec sailed east across the Indian Ocean, reaching Kergeulen Island. Plagued by fog and bad weather, he decided to abandon his aim of reaching Australia and headed north to Mauritius, leaving his consort *Le Gros Ventre* under the command of Louis François Marie Alesno de St. Allouarn, to continue east to the coast of Western Australia. St. Allouarn charted the area around Storm Bay and buried an act of possession for the French King in Turtle Bay. St. Allouarn bestowed the first French names on Australian shores in 1772.

Louis XVI's interest in Cook's voyage motivated the expedition in 1785 of Jean-François de Galaup de La Pérouse in *La Boussole* and *L'Astrolabe*. Louis XVI played a major role in setting up this large-scale, scientific survey expedition. La Pérouse was sent to explore both the North and the South Pacific. However, he arrived in Botany Bay to find Captain Philip there with the First Fleet. The British fleet sailed north to Port Jackson where they settled, leaving Botany Bay vacant for the French to land. La Pérouse's expedition stayed for six weeks, leaving Botany Bay on 10 March 1788 never to be seen again. The disappearance of La Pérouse prompted the French government to organise an expedition to find him. In 1792, Antoine Raymond Joseph de Bruni d'Entrecasteaux in *La Recherche* and *L'Espérance* was sent, principally to find La Pérouse but with a secondary aim of charting the southern coast of New Holland. He succeeded in charting south-east Tasmania, including Bruny Island and the mouth of the Derwent River. He also charted sections of the south and west coasts of Australia, bestowing some forty-nine names.

It was Nicolas Baudin who contributed by far the largest number of placenames. Baudin's expedition was motivated by exploration, trade, and botany with a further aim to undertake ethnographical research.[25] Baudin himself lobbied the *Institut National* to approve the voyage with the following stated aims:

To check on certain doubtful points of geography; to chart unknown coasts; to visit the peoples who inhabit them; to explore, if possible, the interior of their countries; to increase their wealth by exchanging objects with them or by making them gifts of animals or plants that can adapt to their soil, and subsequently offer resources to navigators; to accept in return from these nations such gifts of products that will increase our national wealth; to undertake in these unknown places, or in others that have not been properly visited by scientific travellers, the natural history research and the collections that will complement in every respect those held in the museum.[26]

The voyage was approved with considerable support from both the scientific community and Napoleon Bonaparte. The expedition finally departed on 19 October 1800 with detailed instructions from the Ministry of the Marine, including a tight timetable that left little leeway for varying the itinerary. The major objective was to ensure that Baudin beat the English in charting the south coast of New Holland.[27] Baudin charted the west coast of Australia, Hunter and

---

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., 19.

[27] Ibid.

King Islands and the south-west of Tasmania. Over four hundred names were attributed during this expedition, which, despite the important geographical and scientific impact, failed to claim possession of the west for France. Table 1 chronicles the most significant Dutch, British, and French expeditions—from a toponymic perspective—and indicates the extent of place-naming on the Southland's coastline in the period 1606–1803 for each of the expeditions.[28]

Place-naming practices

It is reasonable to assume that British place-naming practices and motivations would have changed after settlement in 1788. Once the British had laid claim to Australia, place-naming had the purpose of confirming that claim. Indeed, Carter observes that place-naming in the colonial Australian landscape produced 'a form of "linguistic settlement" that *produces* places'.[29] However, because the French extended their scientific explorations up until 1803, the toponyms resulting from these French expeditions have been included in the survey. It is assumed that their place-naming practices would have been consistent with those of the British prior to colonisation, even though the French had surreptitious intentions of surveying the region to establish settlements in Tasmania and on the mainland. In addition to these visits by the French, there were a number of independent British expeditions, unconnected to the fledgling penal colonies at Sydney Cove and Norfolk Island. These comprised the voyages of Bligh (1788), Cox (1789), Vancouver (1791), Edwards (1791), McCluer (1791), Bligh (1792), and Hayes (1793), all of which resulted in sections of the coastline being charted and placenames being conferred. These placenames are also included in this survey.

For the purposes of determining place-naming practices a typology of place-names needed to be developed. Therefore, all available primary sources were consulted to produce a first dataset of toponyms. Secondary sources were then consulted for confirmation and extension of the initial dataset. All placenames bestowed during the survey period were recorded, including those that were subsequently replaced, 'lost', or forgotten, not merely those that have survived on today's maps. The criteria for registering a name in the database were:

- date of exploration/charting of the coastline
- chief explorer(s)/mariner(s) (if known)
- vessels involved (if known)
- region of contact, exploration and/or charting
- placename(s) bestowed
- translation (where necessary)
- date of first recording of the placename (where available)

---

[28] The numbers represent *all* names bestowed during our survey period, including ones that are no longer extant.

[29] Carter, 137.

Table 1. Chronicle of Dutch, British, and French Place-naming on the Southland 1606–1803

Year of visit	Chief explorer(s) (nationality)	Ship(s)	Area surveyed or sighted	Number of names bestowed
1606	Janszoon (D)	*Duyfken*	West coast Cape York Peninsula	8
1616	Hartog (D)	*Eendracht*	Shark Bay region	1
1618	Jacobszoon (D)	*Mauritius*	North West Cape	1
1619	de Houtman & d'Edel (D)	*Dordrecht, Amsterdam*	Rottnest Is, Swan River region, and Houtman Abrolhos	3
1622	unknown (D)	*Leeuwin*	Cape Leeuwin region	1
1622	Brookes (E)	*Tryall*	Montebello Islands	1
1623	Carstenszoon & van Colster (D)	*Pera, Arnhem*	West coast of Cape York and Arnhem Land	24
1624	unknown (D)	*Tortelduyff*	Turtledove Shoal	1
1627	Thyssen & Nuyts (D)	*'t Gulden Zeepaaert*	Cape Leeuwin to Nuyts Archipelago	3
1628	de Witt (D)	*Vianen*	Pilbara coast	1
1629	Pelsaert (D)	*Batavia*	Houtman Abrolhos	3
1636	Pool & Pieterszoon (D)	*Cleen Amsterdam, Wesel*	Gulf of Carpentaria	4
1642	Tasman (D)	*Heemskerk, Zeehaen*	Tasmania	13
1644	Tasman (D)	*Limmen, Zeemeeuw, Braq*	Gulf of Carpentaria, Arnhem Land, and Kimberley coast	20
1681	Daniel (E)	*London*	Houtman Abrolhos and Rottnest Is	2
1696–97	de Vlamingh (D)	*Geelvinck, Nijptang, Weseltje*	Rottenest Is, Swan River to North West Cape	12
1699	Dampier (E)	*Roebuck*	Shark Bay to Port Hedland region	2
1704–05	van Delft (D)	*Nova Hollandia, Waijer, Vosschenbosch*	Arnhem Land north coast	48
1727	Steyns (D)	*Zeewijk*	Houtman Abrolhos	1
1756	Gonzal & van Asschens (D)	*Rijder, Buijs*	Gulf of Carpentaria and Arnhem Land	8
1768	De Bougainville (F)	*Boudeuse, Etoile*	Great Barrier Reef, 100 km off north coast	4
1770	Cook (E)	*Endeavour*	East coast from Pt Hicks to Cape York	134

Table 1 (*Continued*)

1772	St Allouarn (F)	*Gros Ventre*	Cape Leeuwin to Shark Bay and to Melville Island	17
1773	Furneaux (E)	*Adventure*	Tasmania	17
1788	Bligh (E)	*Bounty & Bounty* longboat	Tasmania and north-east coast of Cape York	17
1789	Cox (E)	*Mercury (Gustaf III)*	Tasmania	3
1791	Vancouver (E)	*Discovery, Chatham*	South coast of WA	15
1791	Edwards (E)	*Pandora*	Great Barrier Reef	2
1791	McCluer (E)	*Panther, Endeavour*	North coast of Arnhem Land	1
1792	Bligh (E)	*Providence, Assistant*	Tasmania	4
1792–93	D'Entrecasteaux (F)	*Recherche, Esperance*	South coast of WA & Tasmania	49
1793	Hayes (E)	*Duke of Clarence, Duchess*	Tasmania	59
1802–03	Baudin (F)	*Geographe, Naturaliste*	Western Australia	410
unknown	unknown (D)	Unknown	Pilbara coast (Remmessens R.)	1
TOTAL				**890**

- source of first recording of the placename (i.e. chart and/or journal)
- citation explaining motivation for the placename (where available)
- subsequent naming (if known)
- toponym categories (3 levels)

In order to analyse the names in the database in terms of place-naming practices, a practical and effective typology for toponym specifics was required.

Toponyms typically consist of a 'generic' element and/or a 'specific' (or 'unique') element where, for instance, in Oyster Harbour, 'Oyster' (the specific element), explicitly identifies 'Harbour' (the generic element), which in turn identifies the type of geographic feature named. The generic element is analogous to a family name, whilst the specific element is akin to a given name. Many toponyms consist of a specific element only; for example, The Brothers, Orfordness (Qld), Rottenest (WA), Mewstone, and Asses' Ears (Tas). Such toponyms are often eponyms or transferred placenames.

Australia's toponyms are best classified under two broad systems—the Indigenous and the introduced—each of which may be further divided into appellations bestowed before and after European settlement in 1788 (see Figure 2). This figure also demonstrates graphically the distinctive and historic roles that the Dutch, British, and the French have played in Australia's early toponymy. The names bestowed were applied to topographic features (e.g. stretches of coastline; mountains and hills; rivers; harbours; headlands and capes; islands; shoals and reefs, etc.) and hydrographic features (e.g. bays, bights and gulfs; straits, passages and channels; and roadsteads). The vast majority of Australia's introduced placenames and many of the extant Indigenous place-names were only recorded after 1788. These colonial names include not only topographic and hydrographic features, but also habitations and settlements (e.g. cities, towns, suburbs), settlement and land use features (e.g. stock stations, paddocks, waterholes, lines of road, etc.), and administrative divisions (e.g. states, parishes, local government areas, and electorates).

Toponym typology

As mentioned above, the lack of a standardised and practical typology for toponym specifics is a significant obstacle to any effective analysis of place-names. This situation has been likened to 'a definitional morass that seems interminable', and an appeal has been made for the systematic 'cataloguing and arranging [of] all the objects under investigation into some logical, coherent classificatory scheme'.[30]

Unfortunately, there is very little literature devoted to the classification of toponyms, especially for toponym specifics. With the exception of the system developed by the Danish toponymist, Peder Gammeltoft,[31] no typology has

---

[30] Wilbur Zelinsky, 'Slouching Toward a Theory of Names: A Tentative Taxonomic Fix', *Names: A Journal of Onomastics*, vol. 51, no. 2 (2002): 248.

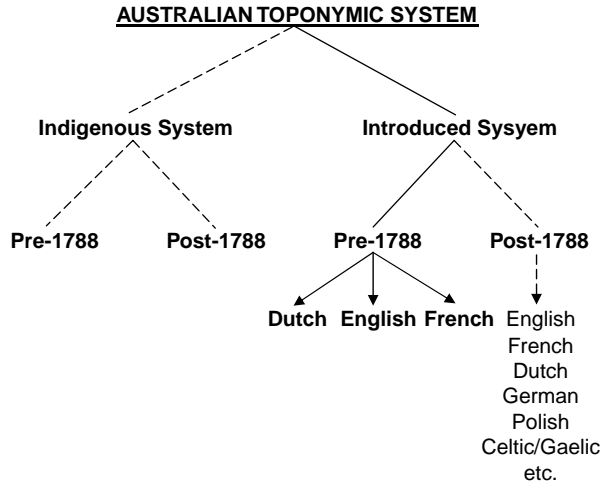[31] See n 2.

AUSTRALIAN TOPONYMIC SYSTEM

Figure 2. Australia's Toponymic System

proven to be very effective, and certainly none could be applied to the Australian situation. For a typology to be effective in any domain it must be able to distinguish between:

- classification by specific and generic elements,
- linguistic substance of the toponym (i.e. morphology, syntax, and semantics), and
- the mechanisms that underlie the bestowal of the name.

It is remarkable that such fundamental distinctions have largely been ignored in typologies. Several linguists and toponymists have formulated typologies that range from the simple to the complex. H.L. Mencken,[32] for example, sees toponyms as falling into eight classes:

- from personal names
- transferred from other and older places
- Native American names
- foreign language names (e.g. Dutch, Spanish, French, German, Scandinavian)
- biblical and mythological names
- descriptive of localities
- suggested by local flora, fauna, or geology
- purely fanciful names

---

[32] H.L. Mencken, *The American Language: An Inquiry into the Development of English in the United States*, abridged ed (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967 [1921]), 643.

Table 2. Stewart's typology

Main category	Subcategory
1. Descriptive names	sensory descriptives
	relative descriptives
	intellectual descriptives
	metaphorical descriptives
	subjective descriptives
	negative and ironic descriptives
	hortatory descriptives
	repetitive descriptives
2. Associative names	
3. Incident names	acts of God
	calendar names
	animal names
	names of human actions
	names from an event associated with a person
	names from feelings
	names from sayings
4. Possessive names	
5. Commemorative names	persons
	other places
	abstractions
	miscellaneous
6. Commendatory names	
7. Folk-etymologies	
8. Manufactured names	
9. Mistake names	
10. Shift names	

Several of these categories show considerable overlap or lack of consistency. First, placenames derived from 'other and older places', 'foreign language names', and 'biblical/mythological names' are regularly all examples of 'personal names'. Moreover, it is difficult to clearly distinguish between 'descriptive of localities' and 'suggested by local flora, fauna, or geology'. Secondly, some classes identified are too broad (or inclusive) on the one hand (e.g. 'descriptive of localities'), and too narrow (or exclusive) on the other (e.g. 'biblical/mythological').

Perhaps the most well-known and comprehensive discussion on the classification of toponym specifics is found in George Stewart's *Names on the Globe*.[33] Eleven short chapters are devoted to it. Stewart's system recognises ten main toponym types (see Table 2 above).

Like Mencken's system, this typology has several overlapping categories (e.g. 'commendatory names' and 'names from feelings'), and ones that are too

---

[33] George R. Stewart, *Names on the Globe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

narrow (e.g. 'repetitive descriptives') or broad (e.g. 'associative names'). The system is also inconsistent in that some main categories have unnecessarily detailed subcategories (e.g. 1 and 3), whilst others (e.g. 2, 8, 9, 10) require further partitioning.

Two other systems developed for introduced and Amerindian placenames in the United States employ complex numbering systems and have conflicting, indistinct or overlapping categories.[34] However, most importantly, details of the mechanism or motivation of the naming play an extremely minor and imprecise role.

In his meticulous and sophisticated analysis of the French exploration of Australia, Leslie Marchant includes a simple typology of toponyms conferred.[35] He identifies eight different types of toponyms based on who and/or what the places were named after as follows:

- expedition members
- expedition ships
- earlier French navigators in the region
- notable historical figures in French science, literature, and war
- then-contemporary notable figures in French politics, science, and war
- French revolutionary and Napoleonic military victories
- physical appearance of the feature
- an incident at the place
- flora or fauna noted at the place

This is quite an effective typology and clearly reflects French culture, politics, and values of the time. However, this typology, like those of Smith and Gasque, is specifically designed to deal with a very restricted category of toponym, and is, therefore, unsuited for analysis of a broader range of toponyms.

An effective typology needs to be broad enough to admit all types of toponym. However, if it has too many categories, it becomes unwieldy; if it has too few, it will be ineffective. A practical typology must also be flexible enough to allow for additions of categories without causing fundamental structural changes, as well as accommodate toponyms bestowed in different regions and eras.

The typology formulated for this study (see Table 3) is a step in this direction. It was based on a typology developed by the Australian National Placename Survey, and is centred around the 'mechanism' of the naming process. In other words, it is based on the *modus operandi* of the naming. Where available and relevant, it takes into account the procedures, methods, strategies, motivation, original reference and/or referents of names. The typology recognises nine

---

[34] Grant Smith, 'Amerindian Place Names: A Typology Based on Meaning and Form', *Onomastica Canadiana*, 78 (1996): 53–64; Thomas J. Gasque, 'A Number System for the Classification of U.S. Placenames', unpublished paper presented at *ICOS 22*, Pisa, 2005.

[35] Marchant, 316.

Table 3. Toponym typology

0 Unknown—where the meaning, reference, referent, or origin of the toponym is unknown.

1 Descriptive—indicating an inherent characteristic of the feature.

    1.1 Topographic—describing the physical appearance of a feature either qualitatively or metaphorically (e.g. Cape Manifold, Steep Point, Point Perpendicular, Broken Bay, Mount Dromedary, Pigeon House Mountain, Cape Bowling Green, Pudding-pan Hill).
    1.2 Relative—indicating position of a feature relative to another (e.g. South Island vs North Island, North Head vs South Head, Groupe de l'Est vs Groupe de l'Ouest).
    1.3 Locational—indicating the location or orientation of a feature (e.g. Suyt Caap, Cape Capricorn, South West Cape).
    1.4 Numerical/Measurement—measuring or counting elements of a named feature (e.g. Three Isles, Three Mile Creek, The 2 Brothers, Cape Three Points).

2 Associative—indicating something which is always or often associated with the feature or its physical context.

    2.1 Environmental—indicating something of an environmental or biological nature seen with or associated with the feature (e.g. Lizard Island, Shark Bay, Palm Island, Green Island, Thirsty Sound, Botany Bay, Magnetic Island, Cornelian Basin, Oyster Bay, Bay of Isles).
    2.2 Occupation/Activity—indicating an occupation or habitual activity associated with the feature (e.g. Fishermans Bend).
    2.3 Structures—indicating a manufactured structure associated with the feature (e.g. Seven Huijsien ('Seven Houses'), Telegraph Point).

3 Occurrent—recording an event, incident, occasion (or date), or action associated with the feature.

    3.1 Incident—recording an event, incident or action associated with the feature (e.g. Cape Keerweer, Magnetic Island, Indian Head, Cape Tribulation, Smokey Cape).
    3.2 Occasion—recognising a time or date associated with the feature (e.g. Whitsunday Islands, Pentecost Island, Trinity Bay, Paasavonds land ('Easter Eve's land'), Restoration Island, Wednesday Island, St Patrick's Head, Ile du Nouvel-An ('New Years Island')).

4 Evaluative—reflecting the emotional reaction of the namer, or a strong connotation associated with the feature.

    4.1 Commendatory—reflecting/propounding a positive response to the feature (e.g. Hoek van Goede Hoop ('Good Hope Point'), Fair Cape, Hope Islands, Ile de Remarque ('Remarkable Island')).
    4.2 Condemnatory—reflecting/propounding a negative response to the feature (e.g. Mount Disappointment, Passage Epineux ('Tortuous Passage'), Baie Mauvaise ('Bad Bay')).

5 Shift—use of a toponym, in whole or part, from another location or feature.

    5.1 Transfer—transferred from an other place (e.g. Pedra Brancka, Rivier Batavia, 't Eijlandt Goeree, Orfordness, River Derwent, Lion Couchant, Cap du Mont-Tabor).
    5.2 Feature Shift—copied from an adjacent feature of a different type (e.g. Cape Dromedar*y* from nearby Mount Dromedary, Pointe de Leuwin from adjacent 't Land van Leeuwin, Cap Frederick Hendrick from surrounding Frederick Hendrix Baaij).

Table 3 (*Continued*)

5.3 Relational—using a qualifier within the toponym to indicate orientation from an adjacent toponym of the same feature type (e.g. East Sydney < Sydney, North Brisbane < Brisbane).

6 Indigenous—importing an Indigenous toponym or word into the Introduced system.

6.1 Original placename—using the Indigenous toponym already used for that location or feature (e.g. Ku-ring-gai, Parramatta, Turramurra).

6.2 Dual name—restoring an original Indigenous toponym as part of a dual-naming process (e.g. Uluru/Ayers Rock, Darling Harbour/Tumbalong).

6.3 Non-toponymic word—importing an Indigenous word, not being a toponym and having no associative connection with the feature (e.g. Charco Harbour from the 'charco' or *yir-ké*, an exclamation of surprise).

7 Eponymous—commemorating or honouring a person or other named entity by using a proper name, title, or eponym substitute as a toponym.

7.1 Person(s) — using the proper name of a person or group to name a feature.

7.1.1 Expedition member—where the named person is a member of the expedition (e.g. Tasman Island, Point Hicks, Crooms River, Labillardière Peninsula, Huon River).

7.1.2 Other—where feature is named after an eminent person, patron, official, noble, politician, family member, or friend etc. (e.g. Maria Island, Anthonio van Diemensland, Cape Byron, Terre Napoleon, Cap Molière, Prince of Wales Island, Princess Royal's Harbour, Cap Dauphin, Ile de la Favourite).

7.2 Other Living Entity—using the proper name of a non-human living entity to name a feature (e.g. Norseman after a horse, Banana after a bullock).

7.3 Non-Living Entity—using the proper name of a non-living entity to name a feature.

7.3.1 Vessel—named after a vessel, usually one associated with the 'discovery' (e.g. Endeavour River, Arnhem Land, Tryall Rocks, Cap du Naturaliste, Pointe Casuarina, Pantjallinngs hoek after the Nova Hollandia).

7.3.2 Other—named after a named non-living entity (e.g. Agincourt Reefs after the battle, Vereenichde Rivier after the Dutch United Provinces).

8 Linguistic Innovation—introducing a new linguistic form, by manipulation of language.

8.1 Blend—blending of two toponyms, words or morphemes (e.g. Australind from 'Australia'+'India'; Lidcombe from 'Lidbury'+'Larcombe').

8.2 Anagram—using the letters of another toponym to create a new anagrammatic form (e.g. Nangiloc, the reverse of 'Colignan').

8.3 Humour—using language play with humorous intent to create a new toponym (e.g. Bustmegall Hill, Howlong, Doo Town).

9 Erroneous—introducing a new form through garbled transmission, misspelling, mistaken meaning etc.

Table 3 (*Continued*)

9.1 Popular etymology—mistaken interpretation of the origin of a toponym, leading to a corruption of the linguistic form (e.g. Coal and Candle Creek from 'Kolaan Kandhal', Collector, Delegate, Tin Can Bay).
9.2 Form confusion—alteration of the linguistic form, from a misunderstanding or bad transmission of the original (e.g. Bendigo, Dee Why from Dy Beach).

---

major categories for toponym specifics, all of which are further divided into a number of sub-categories (note that the order and numbering of categories is arbitrary). The draft typology was tested with the toponym specifics in the database and gradually refined until was able to account for all the names. The final typology allows for categories of toponyms bestowed after colonisation in 1788 to be classified at a future date to include, for example, placenames stemming from:

- an occupation or habitual activity associated with the feature, as in Fishermans Bend etc., and
- a manufactured structure associated with the feature, as in Telegraph Point etc.

Accordingly, some of the categories in the inventory in Table 3 are not represented in the analysis of pre-settlement and non-settlement associated toponyms.

The following taxonomy was generated at the same time to show how the various categories are nested and linked. A set of binary semantic component definitions was also drafted (see Figure 3 and Table 4).

In order to determine the nature and extent of national place-naming practices, frequency counts were taken of each relevant toponym category and subcategory for each nationality and are presented in Table 5. A total of 890 names were recorded—153 Dutch, 257 British, and 480 French. No doubt we will have missed a few; however, we are confident that the vast majority of names bestowed between 1606 and 1803 were documented and have been included. The final analysis was conducted on 862 toponyms because twenty-eight names (3.1 per cent) were either considered to be toponymic descriptors[36] or no distinct classification could be given to them.[37] The number of toponyms conferred by each nationality under each of the seven relevant naming mechanism categories is displayed in Table 5.

---

[36] For example: *waterplaets* 'watering place', *zoutrivier* 'salt(y)' river. The Dutch were especially fond of using such generic terms on their charts.
[37] For example, the origin and referent of Baudin's Les Espions (The Spies), and John Daniel's Maidens Isle were unknown at the time of writing.
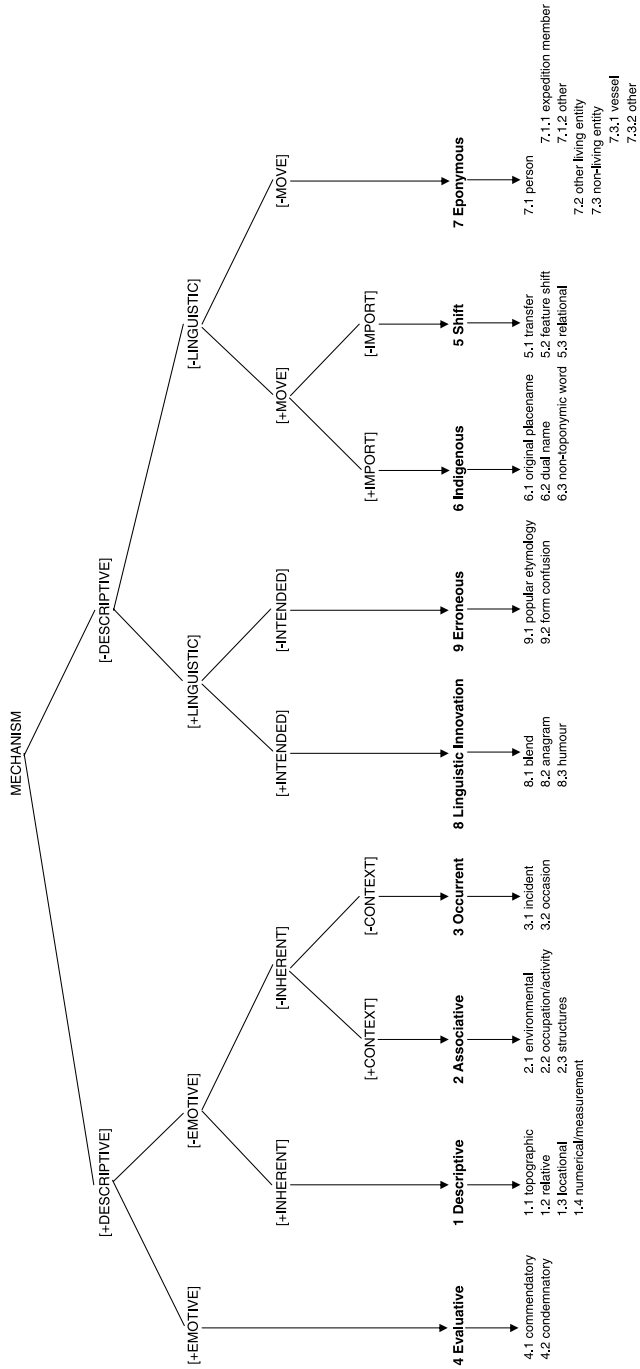
Figure 3. Taxonomy of Australian Toponym Specifics

Table 4. Semantic Component Definitions

Semantic Component	Definition
[+DESCRIPTIVE]	Reflects a characteristic of the feature or its environment.
[+EMOTIVE]	Reflects a subjective response by the namer to the feature.
[+INHERENT]	Characteristic of the feature itself, rather than of its surrounds or context.
[+CONTEXT]	Characteristic of the physical surrounds of the feature, rather than of any event associated with the naming.
[+LINGUISTIC]	Relates to the linguistic form of the name.
[+INTENDED]	Deliberately constructed as an innovative linguistic form.
[+MOVE]	Indicates the toponym has been reapplied from another location, another feature-type, or another language system.
[+IMPORT]	Indicates the toponym has been reapplied from an Australian Indigenous language.

A Chi-square test of association was carried out on the seven main toponym categories (Level 1) and showed a highly significant difference in naming practices between the three national groups (Chi-square $= 119.810$, df $= 12$, $p = .0001$).[38]

All nationalities favoured eponymous placenames (64 per cent of the total). The French seem to have been especially fond of them, with more than 80 per cent of their toponyms falling under this category. This might indicate a national pride in remembering scientists and writers of note, as well as, to a lesser extent, crew members. Naming places after non-expedition members is the most widespread category for all three nationalities (31 per cent of the total). Consistent with their commercial bent, the Dutch tended to name places after VOC officials. The British tended to favour the nobility and political figures, while the French named places after scientists, literary figures, philosophers, as well as military and naval figures. Naming places after influential people was a very convenient way of establishing a national identity in a far-flung land, and gaining favour with influential people back home. Naming places after vessels was more common with the Dutch than the British or French. Once again, this may be a reflection of their predominantly commercial interests.

British naming patterns show a preference for more [–EMOTIVE] descriptive names, with more than 46 per cent of them comprising descriptive, associative, and occurrent toponyms. These kinds of names were also common among the Dutch navigators, with almost 40 per cent of their toponyms coming under this category.

Not so surprisingly, transferred toponyms are uncommon among all three nationalities. Such toponyms seem to be a natural and rapid corollary of settlement and colonisation.

---

[38] Chi-square analyses on toponym category Levels 2 and 3 were not conducted because too many cells in the cross-tabulations contained expected frequencies of less than five.

Table 5. Place-naming Practices

Toponym Category Level 1	Toponym Category Level 2	Toponym Category Level 3	No. (%) of toponyms		
			Dutch	English	French
1 Descriptive			**20 (14.4%)**	**50 (20.2%)**	**44 (9.3%)**
	1.1 Topographic		17 (12.3%)	40 (16.2%)	22 (4.7%)
	1.2 Relative		1 (.7%)	5 (2%)	12 (2.5%)
	1.3 Numerical/Measurement		2 (1.4%)	4 (1.6%)	9 (1.9%)
	1.4 Locational		0	1 (.4%)	0
2 Associative			**17 (12.2%)**	**37 (14.9%)**	**31 (6.3%)**
	2.1 Environmental		16 (11.5%)	37 (14.9%)	30 (6.3%)
	2.3 Structures		1 (.7%)	0	0
3 Occurrent			**5 (3.6%)**	**28 (11.3%)**	**9 (1.9%)**
	3.1 Incident		3 (2.2%)	17 (6.9%)	9 (1.9%)
	3.2 Occasion		2 (1.4%)	11 (4.4%)	0
4 Evaluative			**7 (5.0%)**	**9 (3.6%)**	**6 (1.2%)**
	4.1 Commendatory		2 (1.4%)	4 (1.6%)	3 (.6%)
	4.2 Condemnatory		5 (3.6%)	5 (2%)	3 (.6%)
5 Shift			**6 (4.3%)**	**15 (6.0%)**	**3 (.6%)**
	5.1 Transfer		6 (4.3%)	12 (4.8%)	1 (.2%)
	5.2 Feature Shift		0	3 (1.2%)	2 (.4%)
6 Indigenous			**1 (.7%)**	**1 (.4%)**	**0**
	6.3 Non-toponymic word		1 (.7%)	1 (.4%)	0

Table 5 (*Continued*)

			83 (59.7%)	108 (43.5%)	383 (80.6%)
7 Eponymous					
	7.1 Person(s)		67 [39]	99 [40]	358 [41]
		7.1.1 Expedition member	17 (12.2%)	9 (3.6%)	90 (18.9%)
		7.1.2 Other	41 (29.5%)	77 (31%)	151 (31.8%)
	7.3 Non-Living Entity		16	9	25
		7.3.1 Vessel	14 (10%)	8 (3.2%)	20 (4.2%)
		7.3.2 Other	2 (1.4%)	1 (.4%)	5 (1%)

[39] For nine of these, it is not known whether they should be Level 7.1.1 or 7.1.2. This is why the figures under Level 3 Categories do not add up to the numbers indicated under Level 2. All percentages are calculated as a proportion of the total number of toponyms analysed for each individual nationality.

[40] For thirteen of these, it is not known whether they should be Level 7.1.1 or 7.1.2.

[41] For 141 of these, it is not known whether they should be Level 7.1.1 or 7.1.2.

Only two Indigenous words are associated with early place-naming on the Southland. The first is Moent on the western tip of Cape York Peninsula, and is thought to derive from Wik-Mungkan or Uradhi and refer to coals, charcoal, or cremation ground.[42] The other, Charco Harbour, is said to be derived from the language of the Guugu Yimidhirr people. It was used by Cook's crew to refer to the Endeavour River and, according to Beaglehole, is a rendition of *yir-ké* ('an exclamation of surprise').[43] Europeans had very little direct linguistic contact with the Indigenous people of the Southland compared to the contact that they had with the Māori of New Zealand and other Pacific islanders. This may help to explain the remarkable paucity of Indigenous Australian names on European charts, compared to places in the rest of the Pacific.[44]

Overall, our typology worked surprisingly well for the majority of toponyms in the dataset, and proved to be an effective instrument in revealing place-naming practices of the three national groups, with the vast majority of placenames being easily attributed to one category. However, no classification scheme is without flaws. On occasions, a toponym either did not fit very elegantly into any of the typology's categories, or could be legitimately assigned to two categories. Examples of the first involve names that refer to named entities indirectly (i.e. category 7 toponyms) – Staaten Rivier (States River) and Vereenichde Rivier (United River), both being oblique references to the United Dutch Provinces. Other examples include:

- Pantjallinngs hoek (Pantjallings Point—from Malay *pantjalling*, a large two-masted sailing vessel) referring to one of van Delft's three ships, the *Nova Hollandia*, which is described as a *pantjalling*.[45]
- Princess Royal's Harbour named in honour of Princess Charlotte Augusta Matilda.
- Ile de la Favourite (Favourites Island) refers to the favourite mistress of the King of France.
- Cap Dauphin (Cape Dauphin) refers to the eldest son of the King of France.

Although these toponyms are not eponyms, it was decided to treat them as eponym substitutes, and they were therefore assigned to category 7 toponyms.

---

[42] See Tent, 'Geographic and Linguistic Reflections'.

[43] John Cawte Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery. Vol I, The Voyage of the 'Endeavour' 1768–1771* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 366, fn. 1.

[44] For instance, Cook's charts of Tahiti, Tonga, Hawai'i, and New Zealand abound in local Indigenous placenames. In all these places, Cook had extensive intercourse with the inhabitants.

[45] H. Swaardecroon, C. Chastelijn and J. S. Craine, 'Report to Jan van Hoorn and Council of India, 6 October 1705', in *Early voyages to Terra Australia, now called Australia: A collection of documents, and extracts from early manuscript maps, illustrative of the history of discovery on the coasts of that vast island, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the time of Captain Cook*, ed. R.H. Major (London: Hakluyt Society, 1856 [1705]), 165–73; George Collingridge, *The Discovery of Australia. A Critical, Documentary and Historic Investigation Concerning the Priority of Discovery in Australasia by Europeans Before the Arrival of Lieut. James Cook, in the 'Endeavour,' in the Year 1770*. Facsimile edition (Gladesville: Golden Press, 1983 [1895]), 299.

The other cases involve toponyms that embrace two classifications because they have complex specifics, e.g. Carstensz. Droge Bocht (Carstenszoon's Dry Bight = 7.1.1 + 2.1), Vossenbosch Ruijge hoek (Vossenbosch Rough point = 7.3.1 + 1.1), Noordhoek van Van Diemens Land (Northpoint of Van Diemens Land = 1.4 + 7.1.2), and Oosthoek van 3 bergens bocht (Eastpoint of 3 mountains bight = 1.4 + 2.1). If, in the latter cases, the locational elements were bestowed *after* the eponymous elements, then the toponym would qualify for a 1.4 'Locational' designation. However, if both elements were bestowed concurrently, as seems to be the case with Carstensz, Droge Bocht, and Oosthoek van 3 bergens bocht, then the toponym qualifies for classification under two categories. Creating new categories for toponyms that embrace two or more categories seems unwise and would create an unduly complex typology. Membership of such dual categories would also be very small.

Where to from Here?

This study is an initial attempt at defining place-naming practices in the context of European exploration of Australia prior to colonisation. Like all classification schemes, our typology has limitations that will be addressed in a subsequent study, and modified as we expand the dataset by including European toponyms bestowed during seventeenth and eighteenth century European exploration of the Pacific and New Zealand. Further research aims to document in more detail the political and social conditions surrounding the planning of explorations to Australia and the Pacific. This information might assist in elucidating place-naming practices more precisely and also help to identify the idiosyncratic differences between individual navigators' place-naming practices.

Most of the Dutch and French placenames bestowed during our survey period are no longer used or have been calqued into English. Not surprisingly, the majority of British placenames have been retained. De Fleurieu, in his address to the International Society of Geographers at the beginning of the twentieth century, questioned the theoretical validity of renaming locations that had previously been named by Indigenous populations or previous explorers.[46] He lamented the loss of recognition of the efforts of the early navigators that these names bear witness to and suggested that continued efforts should be made to re-establish previous nomenclature. Our future investigations will catalogue all replaced placenames.

Our typology and taxonomy will also be further tested on a representative sample of Australia's estimated five million placenames, taking into consideration names conferred both before and after settlement. Such a typology might lead to a deeper understanding of the nation's placenames in general, and also reveal regional and temporal place-naming fashions.

---

[46] Comte A. De Fleurieu, *La nomenclature française en Australie et en Tasmanie* (Paris: Masson et Cie. Editeurs, 1914).

Conclusion

The early European navigators who charted the Southland's coastline made significant and influential contributions to the linguistic, cultural, social, and toponymic character of the continent. However, little is known about the reasons behind the attribution of the names they bestowed. The aims of the study reported here were, therefore, twofold:

a. To study the place-naming practices of the early European explorers in an attempt to identify the motivations for the attribution of toponym specifics during the charting of the Australian continent, and whether these place-naming practices reflected national identities or priorities;
b. To develop and test a typology for placenames that would enable us to analyse place-naming practices, and classify a broad range of toponym specifics than existing typologies more effectively.

Both these aims were satisfied. Firstly, the findings of the study have enabled us to draw preliminary conclusions about the existence of national differences in place-naming practices, here borne out by the significant differences in the way the Dutch, British, and French navigators attributed names. It is clear, and perhaps not surprising, that place-naming practices are anchored in contemporary social, cultural, and political contexts.

Secondly, we are able to conclude that our typology enables the classification of the majority of the names in our database and, therefore, has the capacity to classify toponyms from different sources. This typology can now be used for further research into place-naming.

A possible further outcome of our research could be the restoration of originally attributed names along the lines of de Fleurieu's theory of place-naming. Like people's given names, toponym specifics are more than just labels for identification—they are precious reminders of who we are, and whence we came. They define both people and places.