**Toponymy, protest-art and historical woozles:**
**setting the record straight**

## Introduction

When Europeans colonised large swaths of the globe, they encountered settlements and topographic features with existing Indigenous names. Sometimes these were adopted into the coloniser's language and plotted onto their maps, but all too frequently, the names were simply ignored or replaced by European ones. Sadly, this practice is one of the characteristic by-products of conquest and colonisation: for when a new or replacement name is bestowed upon a place, it is a symbolic act of appropriation.[1] The British, for example, replaced the majority of toponyms bestowed earlier by the Dutch in Australia. In most cases this was deliberate in order to toponymically declare British sovereignty over the continent. The gravest example of this was, and is, the ignoring, replacing, and transferring of Australian First Nations' toponyms by the European occupiers of the land.

This article is a response to the article '~~NEW HOLLAND~~ (NOT) – Paining by Blak Douglas and Adam Geczy' posted on the DACC website on April 18, 2025 08:09 pm. In it, I consider some of the assumptions that underpin the creation of the artwork that remonstrates against the imposition of introduced names on the Australian continent, including the disregard of its first toponyms. It doing so, it will be necessary to look into some of the historical, linguistic and toponymic specifics that lie beneath these events.

### *The artwork ~~NEW HOLLAND~~ (NOT)*

The Indigenous Dunghatti man, Blak Douglas (aka Adam Douglas Hill), is a well-known Sydney-based artist, sculptor and musician, who won the 2022 Archibald Prize for his work *Moby Dickens*.[2] Much of his work focuses on abuses to the environment, social injustice and inequities, Australia's colonial legacy, and the continued reluctance of White Australians to acknowledge the Indigenous presence, past and present. Douglas declares his 'pieces of art are designed to remind the layperson…we occupy stolen land'.[3]

The Queensland Art Gallery / Gallery of Modern Art (QAGOMA) exhibits a work by Douglas and writer, fellow artist, Adam Geczy, reflecting some of these themes, and is entitled *~~NEW HOLLAND~~ (NOT).*

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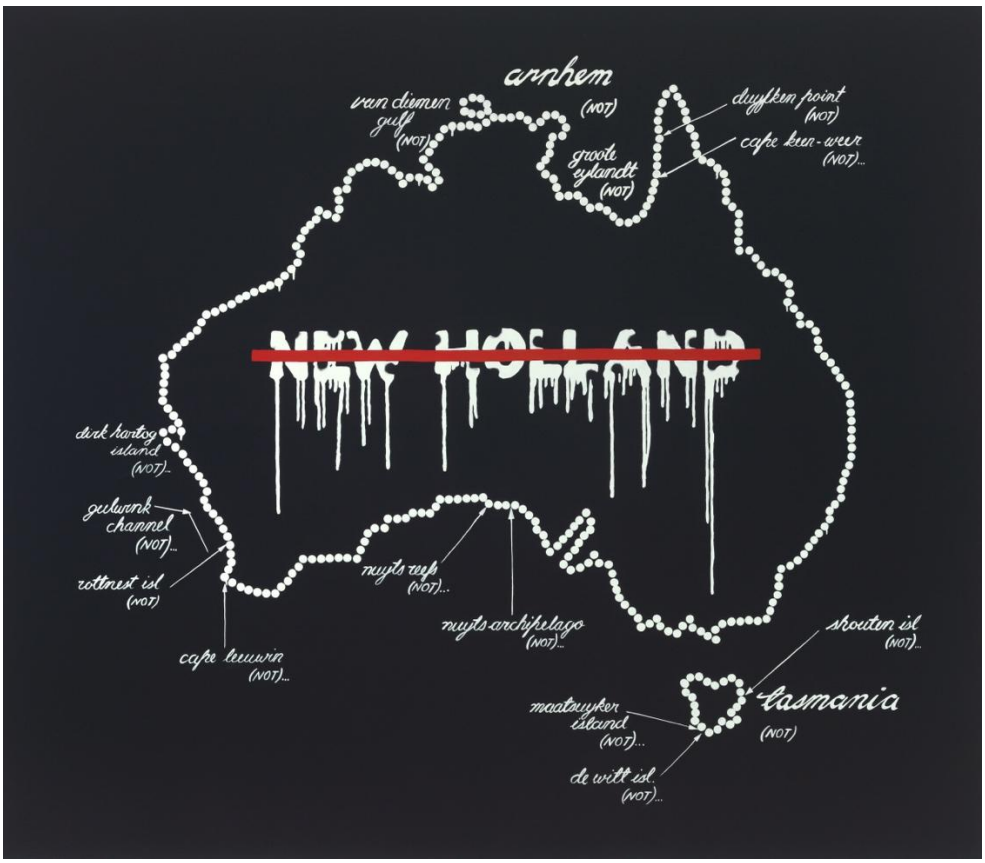
[1] See, for instance: Laurence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns, 'Naming as Norming : "Race", Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aoteraroa/New Zealand', *Environment and Planning: Society and Space* 14, no. 1 (1996): 99-122; Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History*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

[2] *Blak Douglas – Gadigal Country*. https://blakdouglas.com.au.

[3] Stella Martino, 'Artist Profile: Blak Douglas' *Art / Edit* (n.d.). https://artedit.com.au/artist-profile-blak-douglas/.




As can be seen, the work embodies two simple, yet effective, representative styles of expression. Firstly, the outline of the continent is in the distinctive and well-known Indigenous dot-painting style, and symbolising the traditional First Nations' ownership of the land. Surrounding the land are foreign (Dutch and Dutch-linked) placenames written in a cursive handwriting style representative of the interlopers. The rendering of the names without an initial uppercase letter should be seen as an orthographic means of protesting and undermining European spelling conventions for proper names.[4] In essence, this spelling is declaring these are not the original First Nations' names and are not proper toponyms, hence, they do not deserve to be recognised as proper names. In addition, the reason for concentrating on Dutch and Dutch-linked names is because the Dutch are seen as the first foreigners to impose themselves on this land and its peoples.[5] The arrows pointing to the locations they name are there due to lack of space, however, they may also be interpreted to signify the names were imposed from outside. The struck-through name, 'New Holland', represents the cancellation of the name. The bullet holes in the name's thick uppercase lettering represent the violence perpetrated against Australia's First Nations people, whilst the dripping paint represents the resultant shedding of blood by these people. The work is, therefore, a political remonstration against the European misappropriation of Indigenous lands through the imposition of foreign placenames.

The accompanying exhibit label further expresses some of the sentiments that underpin the work. These will be discussed below.

[4] Confirmed by Blak Douglas, p.c. (email) 30 June, 2022.

[5] Also confirmed by Blak Douglas, p.c. (email) 30 June, 2022.

# Blak Douglas

Dhungatti people
Australia NSW b.1970

# Adam Geczy

Australia NSW/VIC b.1969

## ~~New Holland~~ (NOT) 2013

Synthetic polymer paint on wall

Gift of the artists through the Queensland Art Gallery | Gallery of Modern Art Foundation 2019. Donated through the Australian Government's Cultural Gifts Program

This stark collaborative painting recalls a history lesson chalked on a classroom blackboard, but one that differs in content from the widely accepted narratives of Australian history.

In 1644, Dutch navigator Abel Tasman first referred to the western and northern coast of the Australian continent as 'New Holland' during his circumnavigation of the landmass. In referencing his own homeland, Tasman disregarded the placenames already in use by the Indigenous owners. This process of renaming was perpetuated by a succession of European explorers, including Captain James Cook who, in 1770, claimed the island for the British under the falsehood that it was *terra nullius* – literally, 'empty land'. In ~~*New Holland*~~ *(NOT)*, artists Blak Douglas and Adam Geczy redress these acts of imperialist erasure by striking out the imposed European placenames.

This work was first created in Holland in 2013 to mark the 300th anniversary of the Peace of Utrecht, a group of treaties signed in 1713 by European powers, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession, delivered renewed political stability to Europe and set the stage for a new age of empire. In ~~*New Holland*~~ *(NOT)*, the artists aim to draw comparison between these conciliatory events and Australia's colonial history.

## Historical misconceptions

Unfortunately, the label contains (*pace*) some historical inaccuracies and woozles.[6] The first echoes the widely held belief that Abel Tasman 'referred to western and northern coast of the Australian continent as "New Holland"'.[7] There is, however, no documentary evidence to support this claim.[8] The first time the name was used was probably on Willem Jansz(oon) Blaeu's world map of 1645–46 [1619], *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla*.[9] The name *Zeelandia Nova* ['New Zealand'] also appeared for the first time on this map, the country having up until then been referred to as *Staete landt*, so named by Tasman in December 1642. It is my contention that a cartographer of the *VOC*, or other *VOC* officials conferred the two names for the sake of symmetry in order to honour the two main chapters of the company, *viz*, the maritime provinces of Holland and Zeeland.[10] No documentary evidence exists to verify the precise reasons for the name pair, so we shall never quite know. In any case, the reason or reasons for the names are not relevant in this instance.

The second claim the exhibit label makes is that Tasman circumnavigated the landmass of Australia. This is also inaccurate. On Tasman's first voyage of discovery during 1642–43, he merely skirted the southern and south-eastern coastlines of Tasmania as far north as Schouten Island. He then sailed east until he came across New Zealand. After this, he sailed north, through the Tongan archipelago and on past Fiji, then on to the Solomon Islands, and along the north coast of New Guinea, before heading to Batavia. Then, in 1644 he was dispatched by the *VOC* to explore Australia's northern coasts to see whether there was a passage into the Pacific Ocean between New Guinea and the Southland, and whether his *Anthony van Diemens Landt* (Tasmania) was attached to the Southland.[11] This expedition was restricted to the southern coasts of New Guinea, the coastlines of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and those of northern Australia to approximately the present-day Carnarvon.[12]

The third misconception is that Tasman 'disregarded the placenames already in use by the Indigenous owners'. On his voyage of 1642, Tasman went ashore on two consecutive days in Storm Bay, but did not have any interactions with the local inhabitants.[13] Tasman, therefore,

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[6] A 'woozle' (aka 'the Woozle effect' or 'evidence by citation') is a widely cited weak or unsupported factoid. The term derives from the 1926 book, *Winnie-the-Pooh*, by A.A. Milne. In chapter three Pooh and Piglet follow what they assume to be woozle footprints in order to catch a woozle. When the footprints become more numerous, Christopher Robin explains that they had been walking in circles, and the footsteps they had been following were their own. Also see: William Bevan, *Modern Psychologists: Scientific Woozle Hunters? An Opinion in Outline*. Nordisk Psykologi, Monografiserie 4, (København: Einar Munksgaards Forlag, 1953).

[7] See for instance: Wikipedia; Evan McHugh, *1606: An Epic Adventure* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2006), 94; David Hill, *The Great Race* (North Sydney: Random House Australia, 2012), 28; *inter alia.*

[8] See: Jan Tent, *Who Named New Holland?* ANPS Occasional Paper No. 13 (South Turramurra: Placenames Australia, in press). www.anps.org.au/publications.php?pageid=5.

[9] Willem Jansz(oon) Blaeu, *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla* (1645–46 [1619]). Maritiem Museum 'Prins Hendrik', Rotterdam, K259. Also see Günter Schilder, *Australia Unveiled: The Share of the Dutch in the Navigators in the Discovery of Australia* (Transl. Olaf Richter). (Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm Ltd., 1976), 364-69, Maps 61, 62.

[10] A view shared by: Eric H. McCormick, *Tasman and New Zealand: A Bibliographical Study* (Wellington: R. E. Owen, Govt. Printer, 1959); Michael King, *The Penguin history of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, NZ Ltd, 2003).

[11] Jacob Swart, *Instructie of lastbrief voor den schipper commandeur Abel Jansen Tasman in 1644. Medegedeeld door Jacob Swart* ['Instruction or letter of charge for the skipper commander Abel Jansen Tasman in 1644. Communicated by Jacob Swart']. Source: National Library of Australia, PETHpam 760. https://nla.gov.au:443/tarkine/nla.obj-69102369.

[12] The anonymous 'Tasman-Bonaparte Map' of ca. 1644–95, shows Tasman's sailing tracks and depth soundings indicated by dotted lines and the legends *Abel tasman passagie*. The map is held in the State Library of NSW, ML863. www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/tasman-map.

[13] Vibeke Roeper and Diederick Wilderman eds, *Het Journaal van Abel Tasman 1642–1643* ['The Journal of Abel Tasman 1642–43'] (Zwolle: Wanders Uitgevers, 2006), 74; Reiner Posthumus Meyjes, ed., *De reizen van Abel*

had no opportunity to consult the local peoples on their placenames. It is not known whether he made landfall on his 1644 voyage, or if he had any interactions with Indigenous peoples, since his journal of that expedition is no longer extant. Therefore, to claim he disregarded Indigenous placenames is at best overstated, and at worst inaccurate.

Of course, this is not to deny that many of the Dutch explorers did make landfall and had interactions with local First Nations people (eg Willem Jansz(oon) in 1606, Carstensz(oon) in 1623, Maerten van Delft in 1705), which often resulted in lethal skirmishes seeing members of both parties killed, with Indigenous people generally coming off worst. With the exception of Jansz(oon), none of these explorers recorded any Indigenous words or placenames.

Jansz(oon) recorded an Indigenous word which was used as a toponym (or topographic descriptor) on his manuscript chart; this was *Moent*.[14] The name most likely derives from the Uradhi word *munhtha* 'charcoal, hot coals'.[15] A similar word, *munhth* 'coals, charcoal; cremation ground', occurs in the Wik-Mungkan language, spoken a little further south, near Cape Keerweer[16]— cremation of the dead being practiced in the region. Since the digraphs <nh> and <th> represent dental articulations of the sounds /n/ and /t/, the Indigenous words would have been perceived and rendered as *moent*(*a*) by the Dutch.[17] Jansz(oon)'s journal is no longer extant, so this loanword is testimony to his having made contact with the local First Nations people, and is the first recorded First Nations word by Europeans.

The exhibit label also implies, but does not explicitly state, that the names on ~~*NEW HOLLAND*~~ *(NOT)* were bestowed by Tasman, or at least the Dutch. This is also inaccurate. The following names, though inspired by the Dutch or their placenames, were bestowed by others:

- ***van diemen gulf***, originally named *Baya van Diemen* by Tasman in 1644 in honour of Anthonie van Diemen, Governor of Batavia at the time, and appears on Blaeu's map *Nova et Accvrata Totivs Terrarvm Orbis Tabvla* of 1645–46. It then appears as *Van Diemen's Gulf* on Matthew Flinders' 1822 edition of his chart *General Chart of Terra Australis or Australia* drawn up as a result of his circumnavigation of the continent between 1798 and 1803.[18]

- ***duyfken point***, originally named *Aschenshoek* ['Aschens Point'] during the 1756 exploration of the Gulf of Carpentaria by Jean Gonzal, in command of the *Rijder* ['Rider'], and Lavienne Lodewijk van Asschens, in command of the *Buijs* ['Buss'].[19] Later renamed by Flinders on 8 November 1802 during his circumnavigation of the continent aboard the *Investigator*. He named the point after Jansz(oon)'s yacht *Duyfken*

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*Janszoon Tasman en Franchoys Jacobszoon Visscher ter nadere ontdekking van het Zuidland in 1642 / 43 en 1644* ['The voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman and Francois Jacobszoon Visscher for further discovery of the Southland in 1642 / 43 and 1644'] ('s-Gravenhage: Matinus Nijhoff, 1919); Geoffrey H. Kenihan, ed., *The Journal of Abel Jansz. Tasman 1642. With Documents Relating to His Exploration of Australia in 1644*, https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks04/0400771h.html.

[14] A facsimile of this chart may be found at the National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 265 Vol. 5, Plate 125. https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1066939647/view. See also: Author c.

[15] Terry Crowley, 'Uradhi.' in *Handbook of Australian Languages*, Vol. III, ed. Robert M.W. Dixon and Barry J. Blake (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1983), 409. <u> should be pronounced as the <oo> in 'book'.

[16] Christine A. Kilham, Mabel Pamulkan, Jennifer Pootchemunka and Topsy Wolmby, *Dictionary and Source-Book of the Wik-Mungkan Language* (Darwin: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1986), 20.

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

[18] Matthew Flinders, *General Chart of Terra Australis or Australia: Showing the Parts Explored between 1798 and 1803 by M. Flinders Commr. of H.M.S. Investigator* ([London]: Admiralty Hydrographical Office, 1822). National Library of Australia, MAP RM 1777. https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-703257590/view.

[19] Jan E. Heeres, *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606–1765* (Transl. C. Stoffel) (London: Luzac & Co, 1899), 98. https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0501231h.html.

'['Little Dove'].[20]

- ***tasmania***, originally named *Anthony van Diemensland* by Tasman on 25 November 1642 in honour of Anthonie van Diemen, Governor-General of Batavia at the time.[21] In the mid-1800s the colony of Van Diemensland wanted to distance itself from the taint of a convict past and to honour Tasman rather than van Diemen. This led to a Petition to change name to *Tasmania*, which was granted by Queen Victoria, on 21 August 1855, and became effective on 1 January 1856.[22]

- ***nuyts archipelago***, named by Flinders on 8 February 1802 after Pieter Nuyts, the senior official of the *VOC* ship *'t Gulden Zeepaert* ['The Golden Seahorse'], captained by François Thijssen who mapped the southern coastline of Australia from Albany to Ceduna in January 1627 during a voyage from the Netherlands to Formosa and Japan.[23]

- ***nuyts reefs***, named by named by Flinders on 28 January 1802 after Pieter Nuyts.[24]

- ***cape leeuwin***, named by Flinders on 7 December 1801, it 'being the south-western and most projecting part of Leeuwin's Land'.[25] The *VOC* ship the *Leeuwin* ['Lioness'] came across the south-west coast of the continent in 1622, after which the name appeared on Hessel Gerritsz(oon)'s 1627 map as *'t Landt van de Leeuwin, beseylt Aº. 1622* ['The Land of the Leeuwin, sailed An. 1622'] and all subsequent maps.[26]

- ***geelvink channel***, named by Phillip Parker King on 18 January 1822, after de Vlamingh's ship the *Geelvinck* ['Yellow Finch'] that sailed through this channel in 1697 searching for survivors or wreckage of the *VOC* ships *Vergulde Draeck* ['Gilt Dragon'] and *Ridderschap van Holland* ['Knightage / Knighthood of Holland'] that went missing two years earlier: 'The passage or channel between the Abrolhos Bank and the coast has been distinguished by the name of Vlaming's ship, the Geelvink, since she was the first vessel that passed them (anno 1697)'.[27]

The remaining toponyms were indeed bestowed by the Dutch:

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[20] Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis Undertaken for the Purpose of Completing the Discovery of that Vast Country, and Prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802 and 1803, in His Majesty's Ship the Investigator…*, Volume II (London: G. and W. Nicol, Booksellers, 1814), https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00050.html.

[21] Roeper and Wilderman, 2006, 74; Posthumus Meyjes; Kenihan.

[22] Manning Clark, *Manning Clark's History of Australia / Abridged by Michael Cathcart* (Melbourne University Press, 1993), 273; Placenames Tasmania, 'Tasmania' (Department of Natural Resources and Environment Tasmania). www.placenames.tas.gov.au/.

[23] Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis Undertaken for the Purpose of Completing the Discovery of that Vast Country, and Prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802 and 1803, in His Majesty's Ship the Investigator …*, Volume I (London: G. and W. Nicol, Booksellers, 1814). https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00049.html.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Hessel Gerritsz(oon), *Caert van 't Landt van d'Eendracht uyt de Iournalen ende Afteykeningen der Stierluyden t' Samengestelt, Aº. 1627. Bij Heßel Gerritsz. Met Octroy vande H.M.H. de Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden* (1627) ['Map of the Land of the Eendracht Compiled from the Journals and the Markings of the Helmsmen, An. 1627. At Hessel Gerritsz. With Patent of the High Mighty Lords of the States General of the United Netherlands'], National Library of Australia MAP RM 749. https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231306061/view.

[27] Phillip Parker King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts Of Australia. Performed between the Years 1818 and 1822*. Volume II. (London: John Murray, 1827). https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00028.html.

- ***NEW HOLLAND***, popularly claimed to have been named by Tasman in 1644. However this is contestable (see f.n. 8).

- ***arnhem***, named by Willem van Coolsteerdt in 1623 after his ship *Arnhem*, which was named after the Dutch town of Arnhem. The name first appears on the anonymous chart of 1670 which is a copy of van Coolsteerdt's original chart.[28]

- ***groote eylandt***, popularly claimed to have been named by Tasman in 1644.[29] However this is also contestable.[30]

- ***cape keer-weer***, named by Jansz(oon), who charted approx. three hundred kms of the north-west coast of Cape York Peninsula in 1606 in the yacht *Duyfken*. *Cabo Keerweer* ['Cape Return'] was the southernmost point he reached where he 'turned about' and headed back to Bantam.[31]

- ***shouten*** [sic] ***isl***, named *Schoutens Eylandt* by Tasman on 5 December 1642, in honour of Justus Schouten, a member of the Council of the *VOC* in Batavia. [32]

- ***de witt isl***, originally named *Witsen Eijlanden* by Tasman on 25 November 1642, in honour of Cornelis Witsen, a member of the Council of the *VOC* in Batavia.[33]

- ***maatsuyker island***, named *Maet Suickers Eijlanden* by Tasman on 25 November 1642, in honour of Joan Maetsuijcker, a member of the Council of the *VOC* in Batavia.[34]

- ***rottnest isl***, first named *Mist Eylandt* ['Fog Island'] by Willem de Vlamingh in 1697, but a few days later renamed *'t Eylandt Rottenest* ['The Rats' Nest Island'] after discovering quokkas on the island and thinking they were large rats.[35]

- ***dirk hartog island***, named by de Vlamingh on 4 February 1697, in honour of Dirk Hartogh who nailed a pewter plate on a pole on the island, proclaiming he had visited the island on 25 October 1616.[36]

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[28] Anon. (1670). ['Chart of the Arnhem']. *Van der Hem Atlas*, Österreichische Nationalbibiothek, Vienna, 389030-FK, XLI, 34. See: Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, 318, Map 38; National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 265 Plate 126. https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1066940560/.

[29] McHugh, 94; Hill, 27; *inter alia*.

[30] See: Jan Tent, *Who Named Groote Eylandt?* ANPS Occasional Paper No. 14 (South Turramurra: Placenames Australia, in press). www.anps.org.au/publications.php?pageid=5.

[31] The 1670 anon. manuscript chart, a copy of Jansz(oon)'s no longer extant original chart, shows the sailing track of the *Duyfken*. At *Cabo Keerweer*, Jansz(oon)'s track turns back. A facsimile of this chart may be found at the National Library of Australia, MAP Ra 265 Vol. 5, Plate 125. https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1066939647/view. See also: Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*, 44, 286 (Map 22).

[32] Roeper and Wildeman, 46, 87, 90.

[33] Ibid., 46, 74, 87.

[34] Ibid., 46, 74, 87.

[35] Richard H. Major, ed., *Early Voyages to Terra Australis, Now Called Australia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*; Günter Schilder, ed., *Voyage to the Great South Land: Willem de Vlaming 1696–1697* (Transl. C. de Heer) (Sydney: Royal Australian Historical Society,1985); Heeres.

[36] Major; Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*; Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*; Heeres.

Of the sixteen placenames on the artwork, nine were actually named by the Dutch—only three verifiably by Tasman (with the addition of a possible two), and four by other Dutch mariners. The other seven were named by the British.

My clarifications of the origins of the toponyms on ~~*NEW HOLLAND*~~ *(NOT)* are not intended to detract or delegitimise the artwork as such, and the justified sentiments underpinning it. They are merely intended for historical accuracy.

**Of endonyms and exonyms**

The toponyms applied to the Australian coastlines by the Dutch (as well as later by the English and French) should be considered as exonyms (i.e. names used in a specific language for geographical features situated *outside* the area where that language has official status, and differing in form from the names used in the language(s) of the area where the geographical features are situated).[37] Every society has exonyms for places outside its own territory (cf. English: *Japan*, and Japanese: 日本 '*Nippon*' or '*Nihon*', and formally 日本国 '*Nihonkoku*'). Therefore, it is reasonable for foreign navigators exploring the Southland's coasts to apply exonyms to geographic features. These names were often descriptive, intended to aid future mariners in determining their positions. Moreover, if it were reasonably possible for these mariners to adopt the local endonyms on their charts, such names would have carried little, if any, meaning to the navigators.

The purpose of Dutch place-naming along the coasts of Australia was mainly for navigational and victualling purposes. The profit-seeking Dutch were uninterested in invading and colonising the Southland, in which they saw no commercial opportunities. The naming of features along the continent's west coast was solely for the benefit of mariners making their way north to the Spice Islands. Given the difficulty in calculating longitude at the time, many Dutch ships unexpectedly found themselves adjacent the west coast of Australia, some of which foundered. Having charts with locations marked and named, helped navigators to know where they were. Is it worth mentioning here that the only placenames bestowed by the Dutch are along the coastlines, thus also indicating that they Dutch barely set foot on Australian soil except to collect water for their crews and when they were shipwrecked. There are no Dutch explorers such as Maj. Thomas Mitchell, or Burke and Wills.

Indeed, an inspection of the available sailing instructions to the various Dutch navigators in the employ of the *VOC* reveals that it was never the company's intention to claim and occupy any part of the Southland. On the contrary, the instructions made clear navigators had to chart the coasts for navigational purposes, look for opportunities for trade, and find suitable places for revictualling.[38] Applying toponyms to their charts was a *sine qua non* to achieve these objectives. Besides, the early explorers of Australia were skirting unknown and treacherous coasts and were thus disinclined to make landfall and establish contact with the inhabitants.

Moreover, the Dutch never officially claimed to have taken possession of any part of the Southland. Of the various Dutch maps published during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

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**37** *Endonyms* being names of geographical features in one of the languages occurring in that area where the feature is situated. Examples: endonym *Москва* 'Moskva' ↔ exonym *Moscow*; endonym *Deutschland* ↔ exonym *Germany*; endonym *Aachen* (German) ↔ exonym *Aix-la-Chapelle* (French); वाराणसी / *Vārānasī* (Hindi) ↔ exonym *Benares*; endonym **กรุงเทพมหานคร** / *Krung Thep* (Thai) ↔ exonym *Bangkok*; endonym محافظة الأقصر / *al-Uqṣur* (Arabic) ↔ exonym *Luxor*; endonym *Ljouwert* / *Liwwadden* (Frisian) ↔ exonym *Leeuwarden*; endonym *Wayasewa* ('Little Waya') (Wayan Fijian) ↔ exonym *Wayalailai* (Standard Fijian); endonym *Wien* ↔ exonyms *Vienna*, *Vena* (Russian), *Wenen* (Dutch).

**38** 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); Roeper and Wildeman; Major; Schilder, *Australia Unveiled*; Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*; Heeres.

showing their so-called foreign possessions, none include any part of the Southland. Apart from their seeing its coastlines as navigational hazards, they considered it totally unworthy of their commercial interests, therefore, they never took the trouble to take possession of it or any part of it.[39] Some partial evidence that may be seen to verify this are the three known inscriptions left on the Southland by the Dutch. The first is Dirk Hartog's famous pewter plate nailed onto a pole and erected on the seaward-facing cliff of Dirk Hartog Island in 1616. It merely records the date when he arrived there, the name of his ship, and those of his senior crew. The second is de Vlamingh's plate which he substituted for Hartog's plate in 1697. His plate included Hartogh's original words, with the addition of his own, which also records the same kind of information as Hartog's.[40] The third instance is that of Carstensz(oon) erecting a wooden board at his Staaten Riever, upon which the following was inscribed: *anno 1623 den 24sten April sijn hier aengecomen twee jachten wegens de Hoog Mog. Heeren Staten-Generaal* ['anno1623 the 24th April here arrived two yachts on behalf of the High and Mighty Lords of the States-General'].[41] These inscribed announcements can hardly be interpreted as declarations of possession taking. If anything, they are simply 'We were here' declarations, so often made over the centuries (if not millennia) by explorers, travellers, tourists, and members of military campaigns in foreign climes.[42]

Having said that, there is, however, one documented instance of a Dutch explorer proclaiming possession of part of Australia. On 3 December 1642, Tasman sent a carpenter ashore in what is believed Blackman's Bay with a pole (into which the *VOC's* mark or logo had been carved), and a Prince-flag 'to be set up there, that those who shall come after us may become aware that we have been here, and have taken possession of the said land as our lawful property'.[43] Notwithstanding this, neither the *VOC* or the States General took any notice of Tasman's declaration.

The official taking possession of any part of the continent did not take place until 1770 during Cook's first voyage. His specific instructions included the directive that: 'with the Consent of the Natives to take possession of Convenient Situation in the Country in the Name of the King of Great Britain…'[44] With the exception of obtaining 'Consent of the Natives', Cook faithfully followed these instructions. Not only did Cook raise the Union Flag on 22

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**39** See: C. Manning H. Clark, *A History of Australia. Vol.1 From the Earliest Times to the Age of Macquarie* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979 [1962]), 23-26; Femme S. Gaastra. 'The Dutch East India Company a Reluctant Discoverer', *The Great Circle: Journal of the Australian Association for Maritime History* 19, no. 2 (1997): 109-123; J. Peter Sigmond and Lous H. Zuiderbaan, *Dutch Discoveries of Australia: Shipwrecks, Treasures and Early Voyages off the West Coast*. (Adelaide: Rigby, 1979), 23.

**40** Schilder, *Voyage to the Great South Land*, 223-227.

**41** L.C.D. van Dijk, *Mededeelingingen van het Oost-Indisch Archief No.1. Twee Togten naar de Golf van Carpentaria, J. Carstensz 1623, J.E. Gonzal 1756, Benevens Iets over den Togt van G. Pool en Pieter Pietersz*. ['Communications from the East India Archive No.1. Two Voyages to the Gulf of Carpentaria, J. Carstensz 1623, J.E. Gonzal 1756, Besides Something about the Voyage of G. Pool and Pieter Pietersz.'] (Amsterdam: J.H. Scheltema, 1859), 39.

**42** See, for instance: Wendy van Duivenvoorde, 'Dirk Hartog Was Here! His 1616 Inscription Plate and Dutch Ship Communications', in *A Touch of Dutch: Maritime, Military, Migration and Mercantile Connections on the Western Third 1616–2016*, ed. Nonja Peters ([Perth]: Carina Hoang Communications, 2016), 14-37; Martin Gibbs and Brad Duncan, 'The Dirk Hartog Island Post Site: Early European Encounters with Australia and the Establishment of a Maritime Cultural Landscape', in *Tjop tjop! Vänbok till Christer Westerdahl med anledning av hans 70-Årsdag den 13 November 2015* ['Festchrift for Christer Westerdahl on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday on November 13, 2015'], eds Staffan von Arbin, Pal Nymoen, Frans-Arne Hedlund Stylegar, Morten Sylvester, Anders Gutehall and Peter Skanse (Skärhamn, Sweden: Båtdokgruppen, 2015), 121-140.

**43** Roeper and Wilderman, 88; Posthumus Meyjes, 34; Kenihan; The Prince-flag was the Dutch flag used from the late-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century, based on the flag of Prince William of Orange-Nassau (aka 'William the Silent') (1533–84), its colours being orange, white and blue.

**44** John C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery: The Voyage of the Endeavour 1768–1771* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1955), cclxxxiii.

August 1770 on what he sardonically dubbed *Possession Island*, he had also done so at other locations along the east coast. His journal entry for that day reads:

> I had in the Name of His Majesty taken possession of several places upon this coast, I now once more hoisted English Coulers and in the Name of His Majesty King George the Third took possession of the whole Eastern Coast from the above Latitude [referring to 38° South] down to this place [referring to what is now known as Possession Island] by the name of New South Wales…'[45]

Naming upon the continent by the Dutch should therefore not be perceived as anything more sinister than applying labels in order to be able to refer to it and its significant geographic features along its coastlines. After all, the primary motivation for naming geographic features is to distinguish them from other features in order to recognise them and to unambiguously refer to them.[46] That is, on balance, the purpose of a toponym.[47]

The Dutch, English and French were, of course, not the only ones to apply names on the Australian continent. We shall never know for certain whether the Portuguese, let alone Chinese, had reached its shores and had bestowed names. However, there are at least two attested names (exonyms) that were applied by the Makassans to the northern reaches of the continent.[48] These were *Marege'* and *Kayu Jawa*.

The Makassans, who emanated from the Makassar (in the south of Sulawesi / Celebes), had been visiting Arnhem Land and the Kimberly regions to fish for *bêch-de-mer* (trepang / sea cucumber) from at least the seventeenth century.[49] The Makassan name for the fishing grounds along the Arnhem land coast from the Coburg Peninsula to Groote Eylandt was *Marege'*, and *Kayu Jawa* for the fishing grounds along the Kimberly coast from Napier Broome Bay to Cape Leveque.[50] The Makassans had extensive contact with the local Indigenous peoples of these

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[45] James Cook, 'Cook's Journal: Daily Entries—22 August, 1770' in *South Seas* [electronic resource]*: Voyaging and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Pacific (1760–1800)*, ed. Paul Turnbull (Canberra: South Seas, 2004). http://southseas.nla.gov.au/journals/cook/17700822.html.

[46] David Blair and Jan Tent, 'A Revised Typology of Place-Naming', *Names: A Journal of Onomastics* 69, no. 4 (2021): 30-47.

[47] See Richard Coates, 'Properhood', *Language* 82, no. 2 (June 2006): 356-382, for a comprehensive examination of the pragmatic referential function of proper names.

[48] I do not include here the name *Beach* (aka *Locach*) which some scholars erroneously suggest is a reference to gold in the Kimberley region (eg Roger Hervé, *Découverte fortuite de l'Australie et de la Nouvelle Zélande par des navigateurs portugais et espagnols entre 1521 et 1528* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1982), 69). This contention is based on the name's appearance on the so-called Dieppe Maps of 1538 and 1569, and globe of 1541, depicting an imagined great landmass stretching across the bottom of the southern hemisphere. See: William A.R. Richardson, *Was Australia Charted before 1606? The Java La Grande Inscription* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2006); William A.R. Richardson, 'Asian Geographical Features Misplaced South of the Equator on Sixteenth-Century Maps', *Terrae Incognitae* 47, no. 1 (2015): 33-65; Robert J. King, 'Finding Marco Polo's Locach', *Terrae Incognitae* 50, no. 1 (2018): 35-52.

[49] Charles Campbell Macknight, *The Voyage to Marege': Macassan Trepangers in Northern Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976); Regina Ganter, 'Muslim Australians: The Deep Histories of Contact', *Journal of Australian Studies* 32, no. 4 (2008): 1-14; Kathleen Schwerdtner Máñez and Sebastian C. A. Ferse, 'The History of Makassan Trepang Fishing and Trade', *PLOS ONE* 5, no. 6 (2010): e11346; Charles Campbell Macknight, 'The View from Marege': Australian Knowledge of Makassar and the Impact of the Trepang Industry across Two Centuries', *Aboriginal History* 35 (2011): 121-143; Marshall Clark and Sally K. May eds, *Macassan History and Heritage*: *Journeys, Encounters and Influences* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013).

[50] The origin of the name *Marege'* is obscure. It is discussed in some detail by Philip O.L. Tobing, *Hukum Pelajaran dan Perdaganan Amanna Gappa* ['The Navigation and Commercial Law of Amanna Gappa'] (Makassar: Jajasan Kebudajaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1961). Benjamin F. Matthes, *Makassarsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* ['Makassarese-Dutch Dictionary'] (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1859), 255, claims the name refers to the Indigenous peoples of the region: '**Marêgé**, Al-dus genoemd een volkstam van Nieuw-Holland, die zich bijzonder met tripang-visscherij bezig houdt.' ['Thus called a tribe of New Holland, which is particularly occupied with trepang fishing']; and '**Kiki**, schreeuwen, van blijdschap bijvoorbeeld. Ook gebez. van het geluid dat de Marêgé's bij het dansen maken' ['to scream for joy, for example. Also particularly the sound that the Marêgés make when dancing']. *Kayu Jawa* literally means 'Java Wood'.

regions, trading with them and employing them in fishing and the drying of the *bêch-de-mer*. It is interesting the Makassans seem to have maintained their exonyms for these regions and did not use any local endonyms. One reason is that perhaps there were no local names for these extensive regions. Either way, we cannot condemn the Makassans for bestowing their own names, because they were just following a tradition which has been practised by humans since time immemorial.

With regard to the naming of New Holland and Van Diemensland / Tasmania, we cannot say there was a collective First Nations' name or variety of names (i.e. endonyms) for either, consequently, it cannot be claimed that such names were replaced or ignored. It was not uncommon for inhabitants of a place or region not to have a name for their own territory. Our own planet doesn't really have a proper name in the traditional sense, either. We simply call it *Earth* (i.e. 'dirt', 'soil'), and is a prime example of a purely descriptive term or phrase becoming a toponym. However, we have conferred proper names to other terrestrial bodies, and are exonymic in nature even though there are no endonyms on these bodies. Proper names are apt to be bestowed upon territories outside our own realm.

The bestowal of multiple names (often-times exonyms) is also evidenced in Australia's First Nations cultures.[51] For instance a prominent geographical feature may be given distinct names by people of neighbouring or nearby clan estates. One example is the mountain range known as *Gariwerd* (aka 'The Grampians') by the Jardwadjali / Djabwurrung people, whilst the Dhauwurdwurrung know it as *Murraibuggum*, and as *Tolotmutgo* by the Wathawurrung people.[52] The question arises as to what is the 'legitimate' name of the feature? To whom does the mountain range belong? If it is the Jardwadjali / Djabwurrung people, does that then negate the legitimacy of the other two names?

A similar phenomenon can be seen in the names for First Nations' ethnonyms, [53] languages, and the counties to which they belong. These are often the same name, e.g. *Wiradjuri* (clan name, language name and country name). These names mostly derive from outside the clan to whom the name applies, and are therefore also originally exonyms. Often, these names are based on some characteristic linguistic feature of the language. For instance, many languages, clans and estates of the Murray basin have reduplicated forms of their respective words for 'no' as their names, thus: *Wemba-Wemba*, *Latjilatji*, *Muthi Muthi*, *Nari-Nari* etc. These names would have been bestowed from outside those respective speech communities. Such naming cannot be considered as out of the ordinary, or indeed acts of appropriation or dispossession.

**Over-laying of Anglo-Australian nomenclature: Place-naming post-1788**

Unfortunately, an ineluctable consequence of colonisation is the over-laying of colonial toponyms on existing Indigenous toponyms; the ethics and morals of which are a matter for another occasion.

Concomitant with colonial place-naming was the adoption of Indigenous names, especially for colonial habitation names.[54] For the most part, Australia's First Nations people

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**51** Patrick McConvell, 'Shibbolethnonyms, Ex-exonyms and Eco-ethnonyms in Aboriginal Australia', *Onoma* 41 (2006): 185-214; Ian D. Clark, 'Multiple Aboriginal Placenames in Western and Central Victoria', in *Indigenous and Minority Placenames: Australian and International Perspectives*, eds Ian D. Clark, Luise Hercus and Laura Kostanski (Canberra: ANU Press, 2014), 239-250, and *passim*; Peter Sutton, 'On the Translatability of Placenames in the Wik Region, Cape York Peninsula', in *The Land Is a Map Placenames of Indigenous Origin in Australia*, eds Luise Hercus, Flavia Hodges, Jane Simpson eds. (Canberra: ANU Press, 2009), 75-86.

**52** Clark, 246.

**53** 'Ethnonym', the a proper name of an ethnic group (clan) or speech community; or the name of a member of such a group.

**54** It is common in toponomastics to distinguish between 'habitative' and 'topographical' placenames. The former refer to names of settlements, villages, towns, cities etc. The latter refer to natural geographic features, such as rivers, bays, mountains etc.

did not build permanent structures, so the application of Indigenous words and names for settlements etc (such as the town *Mudgee*),[55] negates and cancels their original referential functions, making such names hollow and empty.

Other examples of the misappropriation of Indigenous words and names is evidenced by naming places after First Nations people. The two most prominent examples being the site upon which Sydney's Opera House is situated, *Bennelong Point*, and the nearby *Barangaroo* (ie east Darling Harbour). *Bennelong Point* was traditionally known by the local Dharug people as ***Jubgalee ~ Dubbagullee ~ Tubowgule***. Barangaroo, was Bennelong's second wife. Australia's Indigenous peoples never named places after people.

Another example of the disconnect between European place-naming practices and those applied in Indigenous toponymic systems, is the naming of post offices and railway stations / sidings during the latter nineteenth century. The authorities that named these generally operated from afar with little or no knowledge of local Indigenous languages. The so-called 'Aboriginal' names they chose usually came from lists of words and names considered to be euphonious, and were applied arbitrarily without any regard for their meaning or the language from which they were taken.[56]

The adoption of Indigenous names in Australia also has a poor record compared to other former British colonies in Oceania. Fiji's current toponymy boasts some 97 per cent Fijian names, New Zealand approximately 42 per cent Māori names, whilst Australia can only muster 28 per cent of its toponyms that have an Indigenous or Indigenous-derived element.[57]

Apart from tacitly racist reasons, two linguistic explanations help explain Australia's paucity of Indigenous and Indigenous-derived placenames. The first is the large number of First Nations languages originally spoken (an estimated 300). With such a diverse number of languages, each with its own sound system, grammar, vocabulary, and place-naming practices, made it difficult for the monolingual (and often poorly educated) English colonists to properly transcribe the names and their referents. The second, was the 'exotic' sound systems of the languages, many of whose sounds were very alien to English ears that names were sometimes anglicised to such a degree that they became unrecognisable:

- *Tom Groggin*, from (?) Ngarigo or Wogul, ***tomarogin*** 'water spider (?)'[58]
- *Collector*, from Ngarigo, ***colegdar ~ caligda ~ kaligda*** (meaning unknown)[59]
- *Tin Can Bay*, from (?) Yuggera / Yugarabul, *tinchin* 'mangrove' or (?) Kabi, *tinken* 'kind of vine'.[60]

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[55] It is not clear whether *Mudgee* is the local Indigenous word (probably from the Wiradjuri language, and originally pronounced /moodji/) used as a generic for camping places, or whether it was the specific name for that particular location, with the meaning 'nest'. The name was first promulgated by James Blackman, Supervisor of Convicts at Bathurst, when he reached the area in 1821 with his Indigenous assistant Aaron. Lieutenant William Lawson further explored the area in the following year; but the name was not officially gazetted until 1838. (Source: Australian National Placenames Survey database). www.anps.org.au.

[56] Flavia Hodges, 'Language Planning and Placenaming in Australia', *Current Issues in Language Planning* 8, no. 3 (2007): 383-403.

[57] Jan Tent, 'Indigenous Toponyms in the Antipodes: A Gazetteer-Based Study', *Names: A Journal of Onomastics* 65, no. 4 (2017): 204-214.

[58] * indicates a reconstructed pronunciation or hypothesised orthographic form of a toponym. It is not possible to know with any certainty how the name was originally pronounced.

[59] John Gale, *Canberra: History and Legends Relating to the Federal Capital Territory of the Commonwealth of Australia* (Queanbeyan: A.M. Fallich & Sons, 1927), 15.

[60] Queensland Government. *Queensland Place Names.* www.resources.qld.gov.au/qld/environment/land/place-names/search#/; John G. Steel, *Aboriginal Pathways in Southeast Queensland and the Richmond River* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983), 186.

- *Terrible Billy*, from Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay, and Yuwaalayaay, *Garra-bilaa* (a location / placename) meaning 'cracks-parallel'. Perhaps also used to mean a long lagoon.[61]
- *Coopernook*, from the Gathang / Birrbay, *Gupanuk* (a placename, from *kupa* / *guba* '(upper) arm; elbow').[62]

Such corruptions make it difficult or impossible to determine their linguistic or geographical source, let alone to trace their original meanings. All such toponyms, including ones like *Mudgee*, *Canberra*, *Bombala*, *Jindabyne*, etc, should, therefore, *not* be referred to as 'Indigenous', but as 'Indigenous-derived', 'Indigenous-based' or 'Anglo-Indigenous'.

## Concluding remarks

The sentiments expressed by Blak Douglas and countless other First Nations people of Australia, and indeed of other former European colonies, are justified, appreciated, acknowledged and reasonable given the appalling way they have been, and continue to be, treated by their oppressors. First Nations lands, cultures and identities have been appropriated and misappropriated. The bestowal of foreign toponyms is just one example of this. To consign colonisation to the past is to fail to address this ongoing pain and loss. Accordingly, the reinstatement of silenced toponymies should be a priority in this day and age. This is, however, not as straight-forward as it may seem. Firstly, there are often two or more First Nations clans residing near a geographic feature that is slated for renaming. The adjoining clans usually have their own name for the feature, and so, disputes on naming rights may arise regarding which name should be used. A controversial example of which involved the 2008 renaming of a range of rocky peaks, *The Niggerheads*, in Victoria's Bogong High Plains. The State Government renamed it *The Jaithmathangs*, after one of the traditional languages of the spoken in the Bogong High Plains. However, the Dhudhuroa Native Title Group claim the mountain is on their territory, and that they were not consulted about its renaming, and advocated for a Dhudhuroa name.[63]

My critique of ~~*NEW HOLLAND*~~ *(NOT)* should not be perceived as intending to detract from its powerful message. Some of the woozles behind the work are the result of communal reinforcement, a social phenomenon where an idea is repeatedly asserted in a community, regardless of whether sufficient empirical evidence has been presented to support it. Over time, the idea is reinforced to such an extent that it may become part of the zeitgeist. Often, such factoids may be further reinforced through school history lessons, publications, the mass media, or indeed works of art.

The exhibit label's declaration, that ~~*NEW HOLLAND*~~ *(NOT)* 'recalls a history lesson chalked on a classroom blackboard, but one that differs in content from the widely accepted narratives of Australian history' is certainly true. As regards to the first half of the declaration, school history lessons are often a primary source of perpetuating historical woozles, such as the once ubiquitously peddled myth that Captain Cook 'discovered' Australia. The artwork does,

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[61] John Giacon and David Nathan, *Gaman guladha Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay, Yuwaalayaay* ['Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaalayaay Dictionary'] Version 0.99 02-04-2022 (2022). www.dnathan.com/gaman/index.php; Thomas L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia; With Descriptions of The Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the Present Colony of New South Wales.* Second Edition. Vol. 1 (London: T. & W. Boone, 1839), 9 December, 1831. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00035.html.

[62] Amanda Lissarrague, *A Salvage Grammar and Wordlist of the Language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie. Part 2, Wordlists* (Nambucca Heads: Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative, 2006), 119; Amanda Lissarrague, *A Grammar and Dictionary of Gathang: The Language of the Birrbay, Guringay and Warrimay.* (Nambucca Heads: Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative, 2010), 236.

[63] ABC News, 'Indigenous Stoush Erupts over Mountain Renaming' (12 December 2008), www.abc.net.au/news/2008-12-12/indigenous-stoush-erupts-over-mountain-renaming/238234.

without a doubt, differ in content from the 'accepted narratives of Australian history', in particular, the narrative I have just presented.

To further explicate, as explained above, the reason the artwork focusses on Dutch and Dutch-linked placenames is that the Dutch are seen to be the first to impose themselves on the continent and its peoples, which is indeed correct. However, a closer examination of Dutch imposition (excluding violent skirmishes, whilst still acknowledging them) was quite minor, especially their toponymic impact. Between 1606 and 1756, there were some thirty recorded Dutch contacts with or explorations of the Australian coastline—fewer than half of these are known to have imposed placenames. A tally of their names appearing on charts of the Southland predating 1756 reveals there were some 132. Of these only 35 (26 per cent) are to be found on current maps and in national and state gazetteers. The remaining 74 per cent were either forgotten or expunged by the British. In contrast, the British imposed 232 placenames along the Australian coastlines before 1803, whilst the French conferred names upon 473 geographic features and coastal stretches.[64] These figures, including the evidence presented above, clearly illustrate that the Dutch impact culturally, imperially and toponymically was negligeable. This is the current empirically supported narrative; one that 'differs in content' and 'intent' of the narrative portrayed in ~~*NEW HOLLAND*~~ *(NOT)*. In order to correspond with current empirically supported narrative of European exploration of the continent, the artwork would need to also include English and French toponyms.

Ultimately, the case Douglas and Geczy try to make in ~~*NEW HOLLAND*~~ *(NOT)* (including its accompanying exhibit label) has plenty of pathos and kairos, but lacks logos and a certain amount of êthos. Logos is lacking in that the artwork requires logical appeal, or appeal to reason. It uses no data or empirical evidence to support the case relying on woozles and the rather misguided list of toponyms. Êthos is lacking in that the artwork is partially wanting in an appeal to credibility, by only focussing on Dutch and Dutch-linked placenames, on one side of the argument, and relying the audience's belief in the artists' reputation, honesty and experience. The artwork would have been more effective in its 'argument' if these two modes of persuasion had been more carefully considered. Pathos is certainly present and powerful in the design of the artwork itself, through its juxtaposition of European writing and the dot-painting of the coastlines, the bullet holes in the name New Holland and the symbolic dripping of blood. Kairos is present in that in recent decades, the acknowledgement of Australia's Indigenous heritage has taken a secure foothold, and the reinstatement of Indigenous placenames is gaining momentum.



[64] Author h. These figures include only names bestowed by explorers and mariners not associated with the British colony established in 1788. The French ceased their explorations after 1803.