THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF JAMES COOK
Navigator, Humanist, and Anthropologist


This year is of great importance to Queensland, and indeed, to Australia. It is the year in which we celebrate the bi-centenary of Cook’s great voyage in the *Endeavour*, during which he discovered the eastern coast of the Australian continent, and took possession of it “from latitude 38° S. to . . . latitude 10° 30’ S., in right of His Majesty King George the Third,” naming it New South Wales. That historic date was 22 August 1770, when Cook landed on Possession Island—which he thus named—with a party from the *Endeavour* and erected a flagstaff on the island’s highest point, which was “not less than twice or thrice the size of the ship’s mastheads.” It is a small hilly island, lying just west of the continent’s northmost point, Cape York, which thrusts a gigantic finger into the waters of the Coral Sea, at the entrance to Endeavour Strait. Three miles long, from north to south, its highest point is 250 feet near its southern end. Not far away, fifteen miles north-west of Cape York, is Horn Island, about twenty square miles in area; it takes its name from the highest eminence, Horned Hill (341 feet) which another great navigator, Matthew Flinders (1803) described as “forming something like two horns at the top.” Horn Island is notable in our history for the fact that it was the tactical base for Allied air operations in the Torres Strait area, and had its first air raid on 14 March 1942. Nine American P40’s based there shot down two Zeros and a bomber for the loss of one P40 shot down and one damaged.

I mention Possession Island early in this paper because it is the focal point, although not the starting point of the great Cook story. And it is a great story—one of the greatest in the history of sea exploration. We will not have sufficient time tonight to traverse in their entirety this remarkable man’s career and the circumstances associated with his tragic death; nor to deal in great detail with the geographical importance of his three great voyages, for I think the major interest which concerns us is his voyage along the eastern coast of Queensland. First, let me try to summarise, as I see it, the achievements of Cook, before elaborating them in greater detail. At the outset, I am sure we all hope that a
great historic occasion will be fittingly celebrated. It appears, of course, apart from a crop of would-be debunkers of Cook, that there are some few people who, by their published com­ments, do not appreciate the great significance to Australia, its people, and its destiny, of Cook’s voyage along our eastern coast. Actually, for the record, he was not then a cap­tain, although the mistake has been and is constantly being made in print; he was a lieutenant, from which rank he rose successively to commander, and finally captain.
Firstly: Although Cook did not discover Australia in the purely geographical meaning of the term, it is definitely true, beyond all question or controversy, that Cook discovered Australia as a land eminently suitable for settlement and colonisation. Cook's own reports establish that beyond doubt. He said:

"The industry of man has had nothing to do with any part of it, and yet we find all such things as nature hath bestowed upon it, in a flourishing state. In this extensive country it can never be doubted but what most sorts of grain, fruit, roots, etc., of every kind, would flourish were they once brought hither, planted, and cultivated by the hands of industry; and here is provender for more cattle, at all seasons of the year, than ever can be brought into the country."

As Ernest Scott (Short History of Australia) has emphasised, in a deeper sense Cook did discover Australia. Not only did he discover—geographically—the entire eastern coast of the continent—and that, our former President, Sir Raphael Cilento, points out, was a larger piece of geographical discovery, made at one time, than has ever been achieved by one navigator before or since—but he discovered its abounding possibilities as a place for the habitation of civilised mankind.*

Secondly: Cook proved that this strange new continent was habitable, and a suitable region for settlement, at a period in history when Britain was locked in a struggle for survival with France, soon to be in the throes of the Revolution in which the liberty, equality, and fraternity for which the Revolution was fought, were drowned in a sea of blood; when Britain was entering a period that was to see the loss of the first British Empire—the American Colonies which afterwards became the United States—and the settlement, in lowly beginnings, of a new great dominion-to-be in the Southern Seas.

Sir Joseph Banks, the great botanist, who accompanied Cook, may have had a prescience of the future. He said: "I see the future prospect of Empire and Dominion which cannot now be disappointed. Who knows but England may revive in New South Wales when it has sunk in Europe."

When Banks wrote these words of mingled foreboding for England and hope for the future, Napoleon Bonaparte was the dictator and oppressor of Europe, and the out-

* Triumph in the Tropics (Cilento and Lack, pp. 31-32).
look for England, as indeed for all of Europe, was darkly ominous. Nelson and his captains made possible the settlement of Australia under the British flag. Had it not been for the strength of the British Navy and its victory at Trafalgar, Australia might well have become a French colony by right of conquest. Seventeen years before Trafalgar Jean Francois de Galoup La Perouse (1741-88), the French count, who had distinguished himself in the naval war against England, especially by destroying the forts of the Hudson Bay Company, was sailing the South Seas, with a commission, signed by Louis XVI, for exploration in the Pacific, and the conjecture of some historians that the French had the notion of annexing that part of Australia not annexed by Cook appears to have some basis of fact; among the stores of La Perouse’s expedition were copper plates on which were engraved the royal arms, for use in the ceremony of taking possession in the King’s name. The Australian Encyclopaedia (Vol. 5, p.241) says that the matter is discussed by E. T. Hamy in an article, *James Cook et Latouche-Treville, Bulletin de Geography Historique et Descriptive*, 1904, No. 2.

“TO GO FARTHER THAN ANY MAN”

The driving inspiration for Cook’s ten years of heroic exploration which began in 1768 is crystallised in his own words:

*I had the ambition not only to go farther than any man had been before; but as far as it was possible for man to go.*

Cook’s achievement, as historian C. Grant Robertson points out, was that “he added a new world to redress the balance so grievously upset for Great Britain by American independence.” It was, indeed, a great age in English history—an age of new political and economic ideas—“an epoch that rings with the imperious challenge of new ideas and aspirations, but one in which the political and economic strata were shifting and crumbling rapidly.” It was also an age of great personalities and great achievement in the world of art and letters: it was the age of the French Revolution—and of the Industrial Revolution; the age of Edward Gibbon’s monumental *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, one of the masterpieces of history for all time.

**FITTED FOR GREAT DESIGNS**

Cook was born in an age when his countrymen had acquired eminence in every pursuit that could confer renown, but maritime discovery was not one of them. What Britain had contributed to the common stock of geographical know-
ledge up till the latter decades of the 18th century did not bear comparison with the discoveries of the Venetians and Genoese, and was unremarkable compared with the regions of the new world which the maritime enterprise of the Spaniards and Portuguese had opened to the fleets of commerce. Considered as explorers, the greatest seamen of the Elizabethan period, or of the Puritan Commonwealth were, with a few exceptions, of little account in geographical achievement. Drake, Raleigh, and Cavendish had indeed carried their incursions and their arms into the remote islands of the eastern and western seas, and spread desolation and terror into the heart of mighty vice-royalties, but it is doubtful whether, on the whole, their achievements had assisted or retarded the progress of colonisation. At a later period Wallis, Carteret, and Byron derived some success, but their triumphs left no permanent trace in the history of discovery. Thus, although Britain had even at that early date been the chief gainer by the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco di Gama, her children for five generations had made no successful attempt to rival the fame of those celebrated navigators. It was not till Britain had attained a place among the foremost in the arts and sciences, and an almost unrivalled ascendency in arms, that she developed a greater interest in geography and exploration and evinced a desire to quest for lands in the new world for herself. The achievement of gratifying this ambition devolved on a man singularly fitted for conceiving and carrying out great designs. This is the man whose talents and virtues we are considering tonight.

**SETTING OF ACHIEVEMENT**

This was the great setting of achievement and progress into which the heroic personality of James Cook fitted; he was not only a great man in his day—he was one of the greatest of navigators, of exploration at sea, for all time. In 1768, he began the ten years of heroic exploration—and “heroic” is the fitting word—which discovered a new world to fill the void left for British enterprise and settlement by the eclipse of the First British Empire. He was the genius, the architect, who, although he knew it not, laid one of the foundations of the Second British Empire, by his momentous discovery of our eastern coast.

Cook was born of humble parentage, at Marton, in Cleveland, Yorkshire, where his father was an agricultural labourer, on 28 October 1728, the second child of James Cook, and his wife, Grace (nee Pace). When his father became bailiff of Airy Holme Farm, near Great Ayton, young
James worked on the farm, and for a short time as stable boy. All the formal education he ever received was at the village school. At the age of 12 he was apprenticed to a haberdasher at Staithes, a fishing village ten miles north of Whitby. After some disagreement with his master, his indentures were cancelled, and eighteen months later he was apprenticed to John Walker, of Walker Brothers, coal shippers, of Whitby.  

Cook served with the Walker Brothers for several years in the coastal, Newcastle, Norway and Baltic trade. In 1752, when he was twenty-four, Cook was appointed mate of one of the Walkers' ships. During his apprenticeship, Cook lodged in his master's house when he was not at sea. Here he indefatigably applied himself to self-education, spending his evenings improving his book-knowledge, and acquiring the principles of navigation—under the tutorship of John Walker. His first voyages were made in the collier *Freelove* (450 tons), later the *Three Brothers* (600 tons). At the end of his three years' apprenticeship he was made an able seaman in the *Mary*, trading in the Baltic, and in 1752, when he was twenty-four, he was appointed mate on the Walker Brothers' best ship, the *Friendship*.

**THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR**

In 1755, the Seven Years' War broke out; it was the third, and by far the longest (1756-1763) and most terrible of the struggles for the possession of Silesia, which the Empress Maria Theresa wanted to recover from Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia. Louis XV of France, the Czarina Elizabeth of Russia, and Augustus, King of Poland, who was also Elector of Saxony, ranged themselves on the side of Austria, whilst Britain, already at war with France in the colonies, aided Frederick with money, and placed an army in Hanover at his disposal. Those were the days, and for many years afterwards, when impressment was the means resorted to for manning the British Navy. The practice had not only the sanction of custom, but the force of law.  

**COOK ENLISTS IN THE NAVY**

In June 1755, Cook was mate of a ship lying in the Thames, and, although he had been offered command of the *Friendship*, he was determined to forestall the press gangs. He volunteered for the Navy, and was entered as able seaman aboard *H.M.S. Eagle*, of 68 guns, under the command

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1. See Appendix 1.  
2. See Appendix 2.
of Captain Hugh Palliser in October. Palliser, himself a Yorkshireman, took notice of his young countryman, who is said also to have been recommended to him by a Mr. Osbaldeston, member of the House of Commons for Scarborough. A month after his enlistment Cook was promoted to master's mate. Cook took part in a seafight against a French East Indiaman, which the Eagle captured in May 1756.

Cook rose to the rank of master on 30 July 1757, joining H.M.S. Solebay. In October of the same year he became master of H.M.S. Pembroke, which took part in the operations on the St. Lawrence River in 1758-59 and the attack on Quebec. Cook assisted Lieut. J. F. W. Des Barres and Samuel Holland, who were the engineers chosen by General Wolfe to prepare a large-scale chart of the St. Lawrence River. Holland later became Surveyor-General of Quebec. Cook is believed to have furnished Admiral Sir Charles Saunders with an exact chart of the soundings of the channel of the river, although it was his first essay at work of that kind. Whether this is true or an exaggeration, what is certain is that Cook attracted the favourable notice of Saunders, and that when Sir Charles returned to England, his senior officer, Lord Colville, appointed Cook as master of his own ship, the Northumberland, in September 1759. Cook received official praise for "indefatigable industry in making himself master of the pilotage of the River St. Lawrence." The results of his surveys about the St. Lawrence and the shores of Newfoundland were embodied in his Sailing Directory (1766-68), covering a period of about ten years.

COOK AND BOUGAINVILLE BOTH AT QUEBEC

It is of historical significance that two of the greatest of British and French maritime explorers—Cook and Bougainville—took an active part in Wolfe's campaign against Quebec, which, as C. Grant Robertson justly observes, was won as much by the British Navy as by the British Army.
Louis Antoine de Bougainville (1729-1811) was Montcalm’s lieutenant. He served as a soldier in Canada and Germany. In 1763, he was sent to found a colony on the Falkland Islands, and his voyage round the world made him famous, as it was the first made by a Frenchman.

Cook was with the fleet commanded by Admiral Sir Charles Saunders (1713-1775), who was promoted in 1759 to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and appointed Commander-in-Chief of the fleet for the St. Lawrence, which sailed from Spithead on 17 May, and entered the St. Lawrence at the beginning of June. At the end of the month he arrived in the neighbourhood of Quebec with 22 ships-of-the-line, thirteen frigates, numerous small craft, and transports carrying some 8,000 troops, under the command of Major-General James Wolfe. Notwithstanding the repeated attempts of the enemy, by means of fire-ships and fire-rafts to prevent their approach, the fleet succeeded in occupying such positions off Quebec and in the lower river as completely cut off the possibility of any supplies or reinforcements reaching the garrison, and covering the movements of the troops. The most friendly spirit obtained between the army and navy and rendered possible the decisive action which immediately led to the fall of Quebec and the conquest of Canada.

FLEET MADE VICTORY POSSIBLE

The great achievement of the battle of 13 September 1759, on the Plains of Abraham, to gain which the troops had to climb the cliffs in the dead of night, and the death of Wolfe at the height of victory, captured the imagination of the people of Britain, and there was a general failure to recognise that the fall of Quebec was only the crowning incident of a long series of operations, based on the actions of the fleet which alone rendered them possible. Both Wolfe and Montcalm lost their lives in the encounter, and both are commemorated on the site of the battle. In August 1765, Saunders was appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and on 16 September 1766, First Lord, an appointment which, it is said, caused some discontent among his seniors on the list. He was promoted to the rank of admiral on 18 October 1770. His portrait was painted by Reynolds. Another, by Brompton, is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, where there are also two paintings by Dominic Serres, of the unsuccessful attempts made by the French to destroy the fleet in the St. Lawrence in 1759.

At Halifax and St. John's, in Newfoundland, Cook was associated with Des Barres on surveys of the harbours, and
was commended by Admiral Lord Colville as "a man of genius and capacity . . . well qualified . . . for greater undertakings of the same kind."

**AS MARINE SURVEYOR**

While laid up at Halifax for the following winter, Cook applied himself to the study of mathematics, and obtained a sound practical knowledge of astronomical navigation. In the summer of 1762, being still master of the *Northumberland*, he was present at the operations in Newfoundland (Beatson *Memoirs*), and carried out a survey of the harbour of Placentia. Appointment of Captain Palliser in the following year to be Governor of Newfoundland, led to Cook's appointment as marine surveyor of the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. For the prosecution of these services he was given the command of the *Grenville*, schooner, which he continued to hold till 1767, returning occasionally to England for the winter months, with a view to forwarding the publication of his results. These were published as volumes of *Sailing Directions*, which were published in quarto volumes in 1766-68, which are said to have maintained even to the present day a reputation for remarkable accuracy, and which suggests that in other circumstances Cook would have proved himself as eminent a surveyor as he was an explorer.

On 5 August 1766, Cook made a good observation of an eclipse of the sun, the results of which were communicated to Dr. John Bevis, F.R.S. This was to have beneficial results for Cook's subsequent career, for it brought him to the attention of astronomers and of the Royal Society.

**COOK CHOSEN FOR EXPEDITION**

In 1768 Cook was raised to the rank of lieutenant. Shortly after his return, the Admiralty, at the instance of the Royal Society, determined to despatch an expedition to the Pacific

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5. The Royal Society dates its origins back to 1645, when "divers worthy persons, inquisitive into natural philosophy, and other parts of human learning, did, by agreements, meet weekly in London on a certain day, to treat and discourse of such affairs." Among these worthy persons were certain medical men, Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester; Foster, professor of astronomy in Gresham College; Wallis, the mathematician; and others, including Haak, a learned German from the Palatinate and out of their meetings arose the world-famous Royal Society. Cook's celebrated voyage to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus was undertaken at their instance. On 24 March 1768, the President of the Royal Society, Lord Morton, announced that the King had placed a grant of £4,000 at the Society's disposal for the voyage. From the voyage of the *Endeavour* to the voyage of the *Challenger* expedition of 1872, which circumnavigated the world with a staff of scientific observers on a four years' cruise, and made important additions to the knowledge of the physical geography and geology of the ocean depths, and also to that of the botany and ethnography of many remote parts of the world, it would be difficult to specify a scientific expedition which was not equipped under the advice of the Royal Society.
to observe the transit of Venus across the face of the sun, due to occur on 3 June 1769.

On the refusal of Lord Hawke, of Towton⁶ (1701-1781) to appoint the hydrographer, Alexander Dalrymple, the nominee of the Royal Society, to a naval command, Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, brought forward Cook’s name, and suggested that Palliser should be consulted in this connection. This led to Cook’s receipt of his commission as lieutenant, and his appointment to the command of the Endeavour for the purposes of the expedition. The Endeavour was a cat-built bark the Navy Board had acquired for the voyage.

A cat was a three-masted ship of about 300 tons.

The traditional story about Richard Whittington, the apprentice of London of the Middle Ages, tells how he owed his fortune to the lucky sale of a cat he had given to a friendly seaman who sold it to a Moorish king sorely troubled with rats and mice. It is half-true; the cat was not a feline; the cat was a ship; and the Londoner, who thrice became Lord Mayor of London, and was knighted by Henry V, traded with cats and sea-coal. The nursery-story of Dick Whittington and his famous cat, of the quadruped variety, goes back to the 16th century. But none need doubt the true part of his romantic history: of how when a poor boy weary of London he had made up his mind to seek fortune and adventure and leave London behind, he was stopped on Highgate Hill by a merry peal from Bow Bells which rang in his ears, “Turn again, Whittington, Lord Mayor of London.”

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⁶ Lord Edward Hawke (1705-1781) ranks with Nelson and Blake among the greatest of British naval commanders. In 1759 he won at Belleisle one of the most brilliant victories in the annals of history. During that year France was preparing fleets at Brest and Rochefort to cover an invasion of England. The Brest fleet, the more powerful of the two, under the command of M. de Conflans, consisted of twenty ships carrying 1412 guns. It was watched by Hawke with a fleet of twenty-three ships carrying 1666 guns. On 14 November the British fleet was driven off its station by a succession of furious gales, and Conflans seized the chance to slip to sea. Hawke, who had anchored at Torbay, had, however, left look-out frigates, by whom he was informed of the sailing of the French admiral. Concluding that Conflans would make for Rochefort, Hawke steered to cut him off at Ouiberon. His calculation proved accurate. On 20 November he caught the French, and, although it was blowing a gale, attacked at once. The battle was one of the most heroic ever fought at sea. In a gale, on the afternoon of a November day, and with one of the most terrible coasts in the world under his lee, Hawke forced on a close action. A famous story tells how his sailing-master expostulated at the order to take the flagship, the Royal George, of 100 guns, into the dangerous bay of Quiberon in such a gale and in the dark, and how Hawke replied: “Mr. Robinson, you have done your duty in pointing out the danger; you are now to obey my orders, and lay me alongside the French admiral.” The result was the destruction of the French fleet, and the collapse of the invasion scheme. It is curious that Hawke, who had been made a knight for the capture of Etendue’s squadron of nine ships, escorting a convoy of French merchant ships leaving for the West Indies, on 14 October 1747, did not receive the peerage this victory so well deserved till 1776, when he was made Baron Hawke of Towton. It is possible that the freedom with which he rebuked the Admiralty for its management of the fleet may have had something to do with the delay. In 1762 he had been made Rear-Admiral of England; in 1764 Vice-Admiral of England and First Lord of the Admiralty; and in 1768 Admiral of the Fleet; and in 1776 he was raised to the peerage.
“ENDEAVOUR” A COLLIER

The famous Endeavour was less than 500 tons burthen; her actual weight was 368 71-94 tons, so she was quite a small ship—not much bigger than our prawning trawlers. She had been a collier owned by Thomas Milner of Whitby, with the imposing name of Earl of Pembroke, and the ship was purchased on 29 March 1768 for £2800. There is no record that Cook had any part in the selection of the ship, but it is reasonably safe to assume that his opinion would be sought. Cook knew all about North Sea colliers; as master he knew their capacity from experience; they were stout little ships, a type of vessel that the ship builders of Whitby had been turning out for at least a hundred years; and the Endeavour would be a tough eighteenth century approximation to John Masefield’s

“Dirty British coaster with a salt-caked smoke stack
Butting through the Channel in the mad March days!”

Dalrymple asserted in 1773 that the ship was his choice, but this can be discounted; he was an eccentric, a disappointed man, resentful over the fact that Cook had been chosen instead of him to lead the expedition to the Pacific, and he never got over being passed over. There is ample evidence in the archives of the Admiralty, and in published documents, that the selection of the ship was a joint affair between the Navy Board and the yard officers at Deptford, the famous town on the south bank of the Thames, four-and-a-half miles below London Bridge—practically a part of London.

DEPTFORD A FAMOUS TOWN

There was a royal dockyard here, dating from the time of Henry VIII; it was here that Captain Francis Drake was knighted by Queen Elizabeth I when he returned from his voyage around the world. Peter the Great worked at Deptford as a shipwright; Lord Howard of Effingham, commander of Elizabeth’s fleet that, with some help from the Atlantic storms, shattered the proud Spanish Armada—“Ocean seemed to groan beneath their burden,” says a writer of the time; as the historian Froude remarks, Howard supplied his serious deficiency of gunpowder from wrecked ships abandoned by the enemy, making the Spaniards, with poetic justice, provide him with the means of inflicting destruction upon themselves. John Evelyn, author of the famous Diary, lived here, at Sayes Court, the home he did so much to beautify; his delightful Diary (first published in 1818) covers a period of more than seventy years—and these among the
most memorable in English history; Sir Walter Scott said that he had “never seen a mine so rich.” Stout old Admiral John Benbow, one of the most famous in British history, lived here; he rented Sayes Court from Evelyn, and sub-let it to Peter the Great (a ‘right nasty’ inmate, so the records say). Deptford probably had more famous men to the square mile than any other town in England. Some of the others were: Grinling Gibbons, the eminent sculptor and wood-carver; Evelyn found him carving on wood Tintoretto’s “Crucifixion,” and on his recommendation he was appointed by Charles II to a post on the Board of Works, and employed in the ornamental carving of the choir of the chapel at Windsor; among his works in marble and bronze are the statue of James II, at Whitehall; the base of the statue of Charles I at Charing Cross; and that of Charles II at the Bank of England; and Captain Fenton, the associate of Frobisher, one of the great Elizabethan navigators, in his adventurous voyages to the Arctic and Hudson’s Bay regions. Christopher Marlowe, Shakespeare’s greatest predecessor in the English drama, was killed here, in a tavern rawl, in May 1593, at the age of twenty-nine, and is buried in St. Nicholas churchyard.

ALTERATIONS TO “ENDEAVOUR”

The lower deck of the Endeavour was 97ft. 7in.; its keel was 91ft. in length; it was 29ft. 3in. at its widest part, and its depth of hold, 11ft. 4in. Alterations made to the Endeavour included the building of an additional deck and the elevation of the quarter deck for the provision of extra cabins for the scientific staff. Almost all the masts and yards were renewed. Total cost of the alterations, including rigging, equipment and provisions was £5394. The Endeavour, unlike many ships of her day, had no figure-head, an ornamental figure or bust at the head of a ship, immediately under the bowsprit. Where the ship’s name could not be represented by such a figure, a piece of timber, finished off in the form of a volute or scroll, often took its place on sailing ships. The Endeavour had neither figure-head nor scroll; just a plain, blunt, straight stem. She was designated a “bark,” a name applied to vessels at that period. The term “bark” caused much confusion as to the rig of the Endeavour a hundred years later because a differently rigged ship, known as a “barque” was popular with ship builders in the nineteenth century. The “bark” Endeavour was ship-rigged, with square sails on all three masts; the type of ship designated a “barque” in after years, was equipped with square sails only
on the fore-mast and main mast; whereas the mizzen-mast was equipped with fore-and-aft sails.

**BRILLIANT TRIO OF SCIENTISTS**

Cook sailed for Tahiti on 25 August 1768. With him aboard were a brilliant trio of scientists: Joseph (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, the botanist and naturalist; Dr. Daniel Solander, the botanist, who had been a pupil of the famous botanist, Carolus Linnaeus, at the University of Uppsala; and Charles Green, the astronomer. Other members of the expedition were Buchan, a landscape artist, who died on the voyage; and Sydney Parkinson, a painter of natural history.

Sir Joseph Banks was a zealous naturalist (1744-1820). He had been a student of botany from his fifteenth year. In 1766, he made a voyage to Newfoundland, collecting plants; from 1768 to 1771, he accompanied Cook's expedition. In 1772, he visited the Hebrides and Iceland, whence he brought back a rich treasure of specimens for his studies in natural history. Before this voyage, Staffa, a celebrated island on the west of Scotland, was hardly known beyond its immediate vicinity. It was carefully examined by Banks, and through him its wonders were first made known. In subsequent years it was frequently visited, among others, by Wordsworth, Scott, Mendelssohn, and on 19 August 1847 by Queen Victoria.

**BANKS AND SOLANDER**

In 1778 Banks was elected President of the Royal Society, an office which he held for forty-one years; in 1781 he was created a baronet, and in 1802 a member of the French Institute. Banks founded and managed the African Association for the development of trade with Africa; and he had a great deal to do with the founding of the British colony in Australia, then loosely known in England as the colony of "Botany Bay." Through his efforts the bread-fruit tree was transferred from Tahiti to the West Indies, and the mango from Bengal, as well as many of the fruits of Ceylon and Persia. Many naturalists and travellers—Blumenthal, Horsemann, Burckhardt, Mungo Park, and others—were indebted to him for zealous and disinterested assistance. During the war with France, Banks did much to alleviate the sufferings of all captive men of science; and Cuvier, in an eulogy of him, stated that no fewer than ten times had collections, captured by British ships, been restored to France through Sir Joseph's instrumentality. Banks left a valuable library, catalogued by his friend, Jonas Dryander, the Swedish naturalist
and pupil of Linnaeus (5 vols. 1800-05), and a rich collection of specimens in natural history, both of which he bequeathed to the British Museum.

Daniel Charles Solander (1736-1782), was a Swedish botanist who had studied under Linnaeus, settled in England, and became connected with the British Museum.

**COOK AT TAHITI**

Apart from the Tahiti expedition, a major reason for the voyage was exploration in the South Pacific; Cook carried secret instructions from the British Admiralty to this effect. After touching at Madeira and Rio de Janeiro, and doubling Cape Horn, the *Endeavour* arrived at Tahiti on 13 April 1769, the transit being successfully observed on 3 June 1769.

Tahiti (Cook’s Otaheite), lies east of Tonga, south-east of Samoa, and north-east of the Cook Islands. It had been made known in England by Captain Wallis of *H.M.S. Dolphin*. Discovered by De Quiros in 1606, the group to which Cook gave the name of the Society Islands, were first accurately described in detail by him. Tahiti was the first South Sea name made familiar to the English people, through Cook’s laudation of its scenery and inhabitants, and through the lionizing of Omai, the Islander Captain Furneaux on Cook’s second expedition, brought back to England to be the pet and gaping-stock of London, as was the lot of another interesting Polynesian at Paris. Later and less desirable visitors to Tahiti were the mutineers of the *Bounty* (25 October 1788 to 4 April 1789).

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7. On the occasion of his first visit, Cook gave the name of the Society Islands to the archipelago of which Tahiti (600 square miles) is the largest island. The group was discovered by the Spanish navigator, De Quiros, but was first accurately described in detail by Cook, who gave it the name of Society Islands in honour of the Royal Society of London. The London Missionary Society commenced work on these islands in 1787; in 1812 they had to flee for a time to Australia. In 1880 Tahiti was proclaimed a full French possession. Near Papeete, the capital, is Point Venus, on which stands a lighthouse, and a tamarind tree reputed to have been planted by Cook. Near it is a great cave, or lava tunnel, in whose gloomy recesses were heaped up by the Tahitians pyramidal tombs or shrines of the old gods.

On the adjacent island of Moorea, or Eimeo, the bays are walled by mountain cliffs of a weird grandeur, their edges bristling with spires, turrets, and gables; their facades fluted, says the traveller, A. R. Hope Moncrieff, “as if by the hand of some giant architect, and fissured with hollows like cathedral aisles, below which precipitous steeps are mantled in green to a height which would make an English mountain.” Then above rise “pyramids before which those of Gizeh would appear as pygmies, and minarets such as the builders of the Kootub never dreamt of.” He compared the Austrian Dolomites as the only parallel in Europe “to those jagged needles, more than one of them entirely perforated by eyelets that pass for the wounds of a legendary hero’s spear.” Tahiti has been romanticised in the novels of Pierre Loti, the pseudonym of Louis Marie Julien Viaud, the French novelist (1850-1923). These islands were in former times governed by “kings” and “queens” belonging to an intricately-related royal family of which the head bore the title Pomare. On the islands are marais, tombs of enormous coral blocks, which in olden times were the scene of bloody sacrifices.
TAHITI NATIVE AS PILOT

Cook was permitted to erect tents on the shore for the sick, to build a fort, and set up an observatory. Cook was introduced to Oberea, the queen of the island, whom the narrative of Captain Wallis had made as much an object of interest to the people of England as if she was as beautiful and accomplished as Maria Theresa, the daughter of the Emperor Charles VI, and Empress of Austria, and mother of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, “a woman of majestic and winning appearance, animated by truly regal sentiments and an undaunted spirit.” Cook gave many gifts to the Tahitians, who showed him a confidence and goodwill such as no previous explorer had experienced. Tupia, one of the advisers of Queen Oberea, volunteered to accompany the expedition as pilot during the remained of the voyage, an offer which Cook accepted. Among his countrymen, Tupia had a great reputation for wisdom, and was believed to have an extensive knowledge of geography and navigation. He had made several voyages and could fix the positions of no fewer than eighty islands in the adjacent archipelagoes. He was acquainted with many of the dialects spoken in the South Pacific, and in the capacity of interpreter he rendered inestimable service to the expedition. After surviving many perils, Tupia died on board the Endeavour at Batavia, on the homeward voyage, one of the victims of an illness, probably scurvy, which struck down several members of the expedition and the crew.

After the transit of Venus had been successfully observed from three different points, Cook resumed his voyage.

THE SACRED FEATHERS

feathers, which had a sacred and potent significance for all

It was at Tahiti that Cook discovered the value of red

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8. The transits of Venus were hailed by astronomers in the 18th century as a means of solving the problem of the earth's distance from the sun; in 1672 Richer at Cayenne and Cassini at Paris, from observations on the opposition of Mars, estimated the sun's distance to be about 87 million miles. Flamsteed gave it as 81,700,000 miles, and Picard as 41 million miles. The differences were enormous. At the rare times when Venus partially eclipses the sun, the planet appears as a dark spot on the sun's disc, and it is only necessary to exactly determine, on the one hand, the moment when the planet enters the brightness or leaves it, or on the other, the time it takes to complete the passage. In succeeding decades, as the result of observations of transits, there was great difference of opinion as to the distance, and it was obvious there was considerable margin of error. These transits are rare; there are usually two transits within eight years of one another, and then a lapse of 105 or 122 years, when another couple of transits occur, with eight years between them. The transit of 1874 had for its successor that of 1882, and it has been estimated that there will not be another until June 2004. A transit can occur only when the planet is in or near one of her nodes at the time of inferior conjunction, so as to be in a line between the earth and the sun. "Nodes" is the name given to the two points in the orbit of a planet or moon where it crosses or intersects the ecliptic, called "ascending" when it goes north, and "descending" when it goes south. The estimated distance of the sun from the earth, on the latest computation, is now accepted as 92,500 million miles.
the Pacific Polynesian peoples. The quality of vivid redness in certain birds was known as *kura*, sacred feathers which were emblems of the highest chieftainship and symbols of the great gods of the Polynesians.\(^9\) Was not Tahiti itself hooked up by the god Maui who one day delayed the sun so that he could have more time to finish a canoe he was making with a shell axe? Maui put red *kura* feathers on his fish-hook, with which he brought Tahiti, the Tongan Archipelago, and other islands, including New Zealand, to the surface. When Maui nods there is an earthquake, and the natives in olden times used to stamp and shout to awaken him lest in his troubled dreams he should upset the islands altogether. Cook had brought some tropic-bird and red parakeet feathers from Tonga to Tahiti. He says:

"The important news of red feathers being on board having been conveyed on shore the day had no sooner begun to break next morning, than we were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. At first, a quantity of feathers, not greater than might be got from a tom-tit, would purchase a hog of 40 to 50 lb."

The most highly valued red feathers were the scarlet throat pouch of the frigate-bird; next in value were the

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9. The Polynesians had many gods; the principal deities were Io the Supreme, Tangaloa (or Tangaroa), Maui, Hikuleo, and Hemoana-uluii. Tangaloa, stern god of the Tongans and other branches of the Polynesian race, was the Polynesian Jupiter, who sent forth the thunder and the lightning. Alternately, in some other parts of Polynesia he was also the equivalent of the Greek Neptune, god of the sea, but among the Hawaiians, Hemoana-uluii was the god of the sea who reigned over the sea, the winds, and the tides. Tangaloa became softened in the New Hebrides to Tangaroa or Tagaro, the kindly Creator. Maui, who is also the Raratongan Tiki—whose son Taata ("man"), represents a Polynesian Adam, the ancestor of the human race—lives under the earth and bears it upon his shoulders—a curious dual Polynesian parallel of Pluto, Greek god of the Underworld, and Atlas, in Greek mythology, the leader of the Titans, who attempted to storm the heavens, and for this supreme treason was condemned by Zeus to bear the vault of heaven on his head and hands, in the neighbourhood of the Hesperides, at the western extremity of the earth, where day and night meet, on the mountains in the north-west of Africa, still called by his name. There is also a legend that he was originally a man who was metamorphosed into a mountain, and Ovid explains that Perseus changed him by means of the Medusa's head into stone for his inhospitality. Johannes C. Andersen, in his *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians*, finds some remarkable parallels in Old World mythology with some of the gods of the Polynesian pantheon. For example, Io was the ancient supreme deity of the Phoenicians; and Io was a priestess of Hera, a moon deity of whom Isis, the Egyptian goddess, was by the Greeks considered a counterpart. In Alexandrian times Io was commonly identified with Isis, so that Io also becomes a moon goddess. Andersen links up the Polynesian (Maori) Io with the ancient Io of the Phoenicians, Babylonians, and Greeks, and suggests that if the two are identical another clue is furnished for the threading of the labyrinth built by the Polynesians in their journeys based on three separate hypotheses: that they are Caucasian in origin, of Alpine stock, who migrated at some date in pre-history to the Persian Gulf, learned seamanship from the Phoenicians, and over the centuries of wandering, reached the islands of the Pacific; that the Polynesians are of Aryan origin, with traces of Phoenician and South Arabian blood, mixed with Mongolian and Malayan influences, and traces of the Visayan culture of the Southern Philippines; that the ancestors of the Polynesians came from Egypt and Babylonia, and possibly from ancient Ur, later moving into South-East Asia; that the Polynesian migration started from the Siam-Cambodia region of Indo-China—a hypothesis that corresponds to some extent with the hypothesis of Dr. Robert Carl Suggs, who traces their starting point to South China. (Voyagers of the Sunrise—the Enigma of the Polynesian World, by Clem Lack. Vol. vii, No. 2 Journal of The Royal Historical Society of Queensland, pp. 263-306.)
feathers of the scarlet honey-parrot; and the two scarlet tail streamers of the white tropic-bird. The quest for kura feathers led the Polynesian voyagers over thousands of miles of ocean, and it was the basic cause of their extensive migrations. Just as in Greek mythology, Jason went to far Colchis in quest of the Golden Fleece, so adventurous Polynesian voyagers searched for the sacred Kura. The frigate-bird belonged to, and is represented in the canoe prows of Malekula and the bird-cult figures of Easter Island. Bird and beak motifs are found throughout the Pacific, especially in the Solomons and northern New Hebrides, Easter Island, and on ancient Peruvian pottery. The frigate-bird, of two species, the Greater and the Smaller, frequents the seas of northern and north-eastern Australia, and occurs generally in tropical oceans; it obtains its food from the surface of the water or by compelling terns, gannets, and other sea-birds to disgorge their prey, which it adroitly catches; it feeds on young turtles, fish, cuttle-fish, etc. It is also called the Man o'War Hawk and the Sea-hawk. The frigate-bird has a distensible orange-coloured gular sac.

Cook cleared Tahiti on 9 August 1769. He steered south in a search for the "great southern continent" which some geographers, notably Alexander Dalrymple,\(^\text{10}\) hydrographer, claimed extended from the Antarctic as far north as 40° S.

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10. Dalrymple (1737-1808) was the seventh son of Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, and a younger brother of Sir David Dalrymple, and thus a member of an old and illustrious Scottish family. At the age of sixteen he entered the East India Company's service at Madras, and was in 1759 sent to explore trade possibilities in the East Indies. Later he signed a trade treaty with the Sultan of Sulu, and visited Canton in 1764. He was recalled from Madras in 1777 on an unfounded charge of misconduct. In 1779 he became hydrographer to the East India Company, and to the Admiralty in 1795, and died three weeks after his summary dismissal from the latter office. He had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1765. Dalrymple, in translating for the East India Company some Spanish documents captured in the Philippines in 1762, found evidence that Torres had voyaged along the south-east coast of New Guinea and eventually reached the Moluccas, thus establishing the existence of a passage south of New Guinea. He marked Torres's route of 1606 on a chart in his *Account of the Discoveries made in the South Pacific Ocean Previous to 1764*, published in London in two volumes in 1770. In this work he insisted on the existence of a great southern continent extending into low latitudes in the Pacific—a hypothesis that had been advanced by old cartographers. He brought Torres's route to the notice of Joseph Banks. The Royal Society proposed that Dalrymple should lead the expedition to the Pacific to observe the transit of Venus, but Dalrymple ruined his prospects by insisting that he should be made a captain in the British Navy, and Cook was appointed in his stead. On his return from his first voyage in 1771, Cook reported that no southern continent existed. In his major work, *An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean* (London, 1778), Dalrymple reiterated the truth of his hypothesis. Cook was directed to make further search for the supposed continent on his second voyage in 1772-75. This Cook did and proved beyond doubt that there was no continent as envisaged by Dalrymple. Dalrymple henceforth pursued Cook with a bitter enmity, and his vendetta did not even cease with Cook's death. Dalrymple was a brilliant cartographer, who produced some excellent maps and charts; but he was a violent and intolerant controversialist, difficult, overbearingly dogmatic and somewhat eccentric in temperament. He refused to retire from the post of Admiralty hydrographer in 1808 when asked to do so. As a result of his dismissal, "in the opinion of his medical attendants he died of vexation."
IN NEW ZEALAND

Cook reached this degree of latitude, but sighted no land, and meeting with stormy weather, he turned north-west, and later south-west, and on 7 September 1769 he sighted the eastern coast of the North Island of New Zealand, which the Dutch navigator Abel Tasman had discovered in 1642 and named Nova Zeelanda. New Zealand had never been visited by European voyagers since that date. Cook's success in establishing friendly relations with the Tahitians encouraged Cook to hope that he would be equally successful with the Maoris. He was mistaken; the Maoris showed great hostility, and in spite of Cook's prudence and tact he was not able to avert bloodshed. Hawke's Bay was named in honour of Sir Edward Hawke, First Lord of the Admiralty. The only other opening of importance on the North Island examined by Cook was Palliser Bay, so called after Cook's friend and patron, Sir Hugh Palliser, then Governor of Newfoundland. Cook circumnavigated the islands, and charted the entire coastline of 2400 miles. Crossing the channel now bearing his name, he anchored in a bay which he called Queen Charlotte Sound, after the consort of King George III. Here Cook landed, and setting up a flag, took possession of New Zealand. To the part of the coast which he last saw he gave the name of Cape Farewell, and on 31 March he resumed his voyage. He decided "to steer to the Westward until we fell in with the East coast of New Holland."

EAST COAST SIGHTED

On Thursday, 20 April 1770, at 6 a.m., Lieut. Zachary Hicks sighted the east coast of Australia at a point south-east of the mainland which was named after him. This date differs from Cook's log, which says the point was sighted on 19 April, but 20 April is correct: sailing west from Europe round Cape Horn, the Endeavour had lost a day, and its calendar at that stage had not been corrected. All Cook's log-dates from 6 October 1769 to 9 October 1770 are subject to correction, because he had not, when passing the 180th meridian of longitude, made the change of date that is now customary. Cook made the required change when he reached Batavia on 10-11 October 1770. Further, the nautical day began at noon and not, as the civil day did, at midnight, so that 6 a.m. on his 19 April (20 April) would, in civil time, be 6 a.m. on 21 April 1770; 30 April at 3 p.m. would be 1 May.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11} See References Triumph in the Tropics, Cilento and Lack, p. 20; The Australian Encyclopaedia, Vol 3, p. 41.
Sailing north, Cook landed at Stingray Bay (renamed Botany Bay) on 29 April; spent a week there, and continued his voyage up the coast. The second landing was at Bustard Bay on 25 May—"bustards such as we have in England... occasioned my giving the place the name of Bustard Bay."¹²

**NINE LANDINGS IN QUEENSLAND**

The celebration of Cook’s voyage which culminated in the discovery of the eastern coast of Australia, and resulted in the settlement of Australia as a British country, is of more significance to Queensland than any other State, and for this reason Queensland should play a major part in the celebrations. Of the ten landings Cook made in Australian waters, nine were on Queensland soil. They were:

- 25 May, Bustard Bay;
- 31 May, Pier Head, on Quail Island (378 feet high);
- 11 June, Yarrabah, near Cairns;
- 19 June to 5 August, Endeavour River, Cooktown;
- 12 August, Point Lookout, near Cape Flattery;
- 13 August, Lizard Island;
- 14 August, Eagle Island, one of the Direction Group;
- 23 August, Possession Island, Torres Strait;
- 24 August, Booby Island, Torres Strait.

Only two landings (Botany Bay, one week, and Endeavour River, seven weeks, gave Cook any opportunity for prolonged study of the country. Several of the landings, e.g., Lizard Island, Eagle Island, Point Lookout, were made to seek out the hazardous northerly course among the shoals.

**THE GLASSHOUSE PEAKS**

Cook spent 100 days on the Queensland coast. On 16 May 1770, he was off Point Danger, the commencement of the southern boundary of Queensland, and on 17 May he was abreast of Cape Moreton (which he called Cape Morton, after the Earl of Morton, who was then President of the Royal Society). He wrote in his log that he believed the bottom of "Morton" Bay¹³ opened into a river, and he ob-

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¹². The Bustard, also called the Plain Turkey, occurs throughout inland Australia, extending to coastal regions; it has become rare in States other than Queensland. Specimens shot have been four feet in height, and up to twenty pound in weight. The landing at Bustard Bay was the first time Englishmen had ever set foot on Queensland soil. On 12 June 1926, Commodore Hyde, of H.M.A.S. Sydney, unveiled a cairn erected by the Historical (now the Royal Historical) Society of Queensland, and the Royal Geographical Society of Queensland jointly. It is located about 100 yards inland from the point of Cook’s actual landing place; and is of concrete on a base six feet square; eight feet six inches in height; and is a four-sided obelisk bearing on the seaward side a bronze tablet inscribed: “Under the lee of this point, Lieut. James Cook landed on 24 May 1770.” A Recreation Reserve of some 1850 acres was set apart by the Queensland Department of Lands in perpetuity.

¹³. Flinders, following Hawkesworth, changed the spelling to “Moreton” on his chart, despite the correct spelling of Cook’s earlier charts, and the error has been perpetuated ever since.
served the presence of three hills a little way inland and not far from each other. These “hills” were the Glasshouse Mountains\textsuperscript{14} which Cook named thus because of their resemblance to the glasshouses in his native Yorkshire.

\section*{ROD BAY AND PORT CURTIS}

Voyaging up the coast, Cook passed Rod Bay and Port Curtis.

Rod Bay, named by Captain King, of the Mermaid, on 1 June 1819, lies between Bustard Hoad and Port Curtis, of which it is actually the south end. Beyond Bustard Bay is

\textsuperscript{14} There are eleven of these peaks, as well as numerous outcrops and foothills. They are volcanic survivals of the Cainozoic Age, and are one of the most remarkable geological formations in the world. The Cainozoic falls into the relatively recent Tertiary period in geological time. The Glasshouses are a series of steep and massive pillars of trachyte, near the coast of Queensland, 45 miles north of Brisbane. Beerwah (aboriginal for “up in the sky”) is 1823 feet high. Among the other main peaks are Coonawrin (or Crookneck) (1231 feet) and Beerburrum (906 feet) meaning “the noise of parrots’ wings.” Some of them are steep and present a challenge to climbers, but all have been scaled at different times. Beerburrum was ascended on 26 July 1799 by Lieut. Matthew Flinders, R.N. On Saturday, 27 July 1963, sixty members of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, headed by the President, Sir Raphael Cilento, travelled by motorcade to Donnybrook, on Pumicestone Channel, and after a basket picnic there, followed literally in the footsteps of Flinders to the foot of Beerburrum, and emulated the explorer by climbing to the summit of the mountain. Subsequently, a mile above the township of Beerburrum, where the Bruce Highway crosses Tibrogargan Creek, the Society’s memorial plaque to Flinders, was unveiled by the Speaker of the Queensland Parliament, Hon. D. E. Nicholson, M.L.A. It has been set in a logwood frame anchored in cement by the Main Roads Department on a roadside rest area, almost under the frowning brow of Mount Tibrogargan, one of the Glasshouses.
the rapidly expanding town of Gladstone, found and named by Matthew Flinders on 2 June, 1802 after Admiral Sir George Curtis, then Commander-in-Chief at the Cape of Good Hope. Opposite Gladstone is Facing Island, also named by Flinders. Curtis Island, which Flinders also named, is separated from Facing Island by a narrow channel, extending from Gladstone Harbour north to Keppel Bay, with Cape Capricorn on the extreme north-eastern point. Part of Curtis Island was leased in 1872 to Arthur Campbell Mackworth Praed, as Monte Cristo station. His wife was Rosa Caroline Praed (1851-1935) novelist, better known as Mrs. Campbell Praed, daughter of Thomas Lodge Murray Prior, of Maroon station, the first Postmaster-General of the new colony of Queensland (1862-66), and a direct descendant of Edward I (1239-1307), King of England.

NORTHWARD UP THE COAST

Rounding Cape Capricorn, which is almost on the Tropic of Capricorn, and passing the archipelago of islands in Keppel Bay, north of Keppel Island, Cook in his voyage up the coast, discovered a passage thirty miles long between the mainland and the Cumberland Islands, from Shaw Island to Hayman Island—now an important tourist resort. This passage he named Whitsunday Passage because it was discovered on the church festival observed on that day.

15. Gladstone had an inauspicious beginning in 1847 as a Crown colony, established by William Ewart Gladstone (later Prime Minister of Britain), when he was Secretary of the Colonies, with the design of helping to absorb certain classes of convicts, and also to help colonise northern Australia, but the project was abandoned after Earl Grey succeeded, on 3 July 1846, Gladstone as Secretary for the Colonies. The town of Gladstone grew up on the site of the experiment, and in 1854 (Sir) Maurice O'Connell was appointed by the New South Wales Government as the first Government Resident there. It is one of the ironic jests of history that Robert Lowe, the future Lord Sherbrooke, attacked the settlement at Gladstone, and unmercifully lampooned Colonel Barney, who had been commissioned superintendent of the new colony. In rhymed satire, modelled on Pope's couplets, Lowe sneered at the project, one couplet reading—

"Bless'd land, what mighty works thy future hides! What zigzag roads shall climb thy mountains' sides."

Gladstone provides a classic example of the folly of uninformed prophecy. What was intended to be facetious humour has been confounded by time into golden fulfilment. The booming town of Gladstone today is destined to be Australia's second Newcastle, and one of the largest ports of the eastern Australian coast. Gladstone's $165 million alumina plant's current $50 million expansion programme will make it the world's largest such plant. Further references, intended as ridicule, to "aqueducts, windmills in swamps, and water-wheels on high," and a "basin . . . where no ship can ride," emphasise and heighten the grotesque inaccuracy of Lowe's shafts of satire, and how far from the mark they were!

16. Mrs. Campbell Praed's experiences of life on Curtis Island were turned to literary account in some of her books: An Australian Heroine (1880); The Romance of a Station (1889); and in her last novel, Sister Sorrow (1916). Her first political novel, Policy and Passion, which had been published in 1881 and re-issued in 1887 with the alternative title Longleat of Kooralbyn, accurately portrays squatting life in Queensland in the 1870's. Nadine: The Study of a Woman (1882), an effective portrayal of psycho-analysis; and Affinities (1885), which gives a notable pen-portrait of Oscar Wilde, were other works.
The oldest known map of Australia and a modern one, compared. Drawn by George A. Collinge.
Sailing steadily northward, he passed the sites of what are now the towns of Bowen (Port Denison), and of Home Hill and Ayr, a few miles inland on the Burdekin River. He named Cape Manifold, near Port Bowen, because of its peculiar formation; and Cape Townshend, next to Cook's Island Head, after Viscount Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Cape Clinton, another cape near Port Bowen, was named in 1802 by Matthew Flinders, after Colonel Clinton, of the 85th Regiment. Broadsound, where the tide rises from eighteen to thirty feet, was named by Cook; it is separated by the Palmerston Peninsula from Shoalwater Bay. At the south entrance is Townshend Island, separated from the mainland by Cook's Thirsty Sound, where he was unable to obtain fresh water. He saw big white ants' nests on the gum trees and amphibious fish jumping about on the mud. These fish were mud skippers (*Periophthalmus australis*). Cook and his companions could not, of course, have been aware that that unique fish, the *Ceratodus*, or "lung fish," one of the intermediate links in evolving types of fish, was to be found in other Queensland waters. On 3 June, Repulse Bay was named by Cook, 40 miles north of Mackay, sheltered on the east and south by Cape Conway and Repulse Islands.

Among other places on the Queensland coast, Cook named, on June 6 and 7, Cape Upstart and Cleveland Bay, with Magnetic ("Magnetical") Island off what is now Townsville. Cleveland Bay and Cape Cleveland were named by Cook after the second Duke of Cleveland. He named "Magnetical Island" in the belief that the variation in his compasses was caused by magnetic iron ore. The highest peak on Magnetic Island is Mt. Endeavour, rising to 1700 feet. In June 1841 John Lort Stokes, commander of H.M.S. *Beagle*, stayed at Magnetic Island five days to test his chronometers. In 1892, A. Gibb Maitland, of the Queensland Government Geology Department, carefully examined the island but could not determine the reason for the influence on Cook's compasses. He found the main part of the island composed of granite, with a few quartz reefs. Captain King of the *Mermaid* in 1819 found his compass varied in a surprising manner in shifting it a distance of only eight yards on the Cape Cleveland mainland.

Cook also named Halifax Bay and Palm Islands, where what was thought to be coconut palms turned out to be cab-

17. Mud-skippers enjoy the hot sun of the Tropics, and only occasionally enter shallow puddles. If threatened with danger they skip across the surface of a stream to a neighbouring bank without submerging. Their eyes protrude and are very mobile; their pectoral fins can be used as legs, on which they hop along in search of crustaceans, insects, and gastropods. They cling by their fins to rocks and climb among the aerial roots of mangroves.
bage palms. The islands were named by Cook on Palm Sunday. In June 1848, the Will O' The Wisp, a sandalwood cutter, was boarded by aborigines, who threw burning bark into the hold. They were repelled by the crew.

**HINCHINBROOK AND DUNK ISLANDS**

Then came Hinchinbrook Island, lying roughly midway between Townsville and Innisfail, and protecting the small port of Cardwell, and named by Cook after the family seat of his patron, George Montagu Dunk, First Lord of the Admiralty, Earl of Sandwich and Earl of Halifax. In honour of the same man, Cook bestowed in the same region the names Halifax Bay and Dunk Island.¹⁸

Since Cook could not see the channel, he used the term Mount Hinchinbrook. It was not until Lieutenant Phillip Parker King in the Mermaid, during his survey of the northern coast in 1819 examined the area that the island was recognised as such. Behind Hinchinbrook lie Lucinda, Ingham and Cardwell, and then further north Cape Sandwich, Rockingham Bay,¹⁹ and Dunk Island. Up the coast are Tully, Innisfail, and Gordonvale, one of the big districts of the opulent sugar belt. On 11 June 1770, Cook anchored in a bay three miles west of Cape Grafton,²⁰ with Green Island, both of which he passed, in the offing. Not far away was the site of the city of Cairns.

Cook went ashore near where the Yarrabah Mission now stands. A prominent landmark is Cape Tribulation, past Port Douglas and Mossman. Beyond this cape, so named because, as he noted in his journal, “here began all our troubles,” the Endeavour drove on to the Endeavour Reef, eighteen to twenty miles offshore.

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¹⁸ Dunk Island, three square miles in area, is about 100 miles north of Townsville and 75 miles south of Cairns. It is fertile and well-watered, with abundant tropical vegetation. From 1897 to 1923 the island was the home of E. J. Banfield, North Queensland journalist, and author of Confessions of a Beachcomber, My Tropic Isle, and other books. A cairn there marks his grave. The island is now a tourist resort. Dunk carries many species of birds, some of which were studied by John Macgillivray, naturalist (1821-1867), when H.M.S. Rattlesnake was anchored off the island in May 1848. Opposite the southern portion of Dunk Island is Tam O’Shanter Point, from which the explorer, E. B. Kennedy, began his tragic expedition of 1848. Kennedy was speared to death by aborigines in the neighbourhood of Escape River, and died in the arms of his aboriginal servant Galmahra (Jacky Jacky).

¹⁹ Named by Cook after the Marquis of Rockingham, Prime Minister of England during 1765-66. The bay was surveyed by King in the Mermaid in 1819.

²⁰ Named after the Duke of Grafton, First Lord of the Treasury, in Pitt’s ministry; in consequence of Pitt’s illness he had to lead the Government till his resignation in 1770. In 1771-75 he was Lord Privy Seal in Lord North’s administration. His name has been familiarised to the world by the bitter attacks made on him in the Letters of Junius. Grafton was the target at which Junius shot some of his sharpest invectives.
THE "ENDEAVOUR" STRIKES THE REEF

The time was a few minutes before 11 p.m. on 12 June, and the Endeavour struck at high tide. A few minutes previously the sounding lead had shown a depth of seventeen fathoms. The crew lightened the ship by throwing overboard six cannons and their carriages, ballast, and surplus stores, and heavy spars were lowered into the water. An unsuccessful attempt was made next day to winch the ship off by attaching lines to the anchors, but on a higher night tide the Endeavour floated clear of the reef. Cook says in his Journal: "About twenty past ten o'clock the ship floated, we having at this time three feet nine inches water in the hold." There was a leak in the bow where the ship had been holed by the coral. An old naval remedy was applied: a sail was stretched under the hull and, in Cook's words, "Several pieces of fothering (caulking), small stones, sand, etc., had stopped the water."

(The six jettisoned cannon were recovered last year by an American team from the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, U.S.A. They were ten feet apart, under a crust of coral. Queensland is to get one of them, and I understand it is to be located at Cooktown, due to the efforts of Sir Raphael Cilento.

Cooktown and a monument remind posterity of their sojourn in the Endeavour River.

COOK MEETS A KANGAROO

Posterity was also left a circumstantial account of Cook's first meeting with a kangaroo at the Endeavour River in 1770. He recorded: "I saw myself this morning a little way off from the Ship, one of the Animals before spoken of; it was of a light mouse Colour and the full size of a Grey Hound, and shaped in every respect like one with a long tail which it carried like a Grey Hound: in short, I should have taken it for a wild dog but for its walking or running in which it jumped like a Hare or Deer. Its progression is by hopping or jumping seven or eight feet at each hop upon its hind Legs only, for in this, it makes no use of the Fore, which seem to be only designed for scratching in the ground, etc. The animal (is) called by the natives Kangaroo or Kanguru . . ."

Joseph Banks recorded that: "It (the kangaroo) is different from any European and indeed any animal I have heard or read of except the Gerboas of Egypt . . ." Banks says that it carried its fore (legs) close to its breast, "and hopped so

21. See Appendix 4.
fast that in the rocky bad ground . . . it easily beat my grey hound, who, tho' he was fairly started at several kill'd only one, and that was quite a young one."

**DINGOES AND FLYING FOXES**

Cook's party, while at the Endeavour River, also saw a dingo ("like a wolf") and flying foxes "as large and much like gallon kegs." There were plenty of great termite nests, giant clams, flocks of whistling duck, and on 11 July, the first natives to make actual contact with the expedition. They came in a small canoe with an outrigger. A few days later (20 July) a party of sixteen or eighteen naked aboriginal men and women arrived. Ten boarded the *Endeavour*. When their demand for turtle was refused, they attempted to drag two large ones to the ship's side. When they were prevented from doing so, they quitted the ship in furious anger, and when they reached shore they set fire to the dry grass around the shore camp, destroying the forge and one of a litter of pigs, and threatening the destruction of the seine nets and other property. Cook was obliged to fire a warning charge of small shot, which frightened them away.

At sea again (5 August 1770) Cook made his way to Lizard Island, which he named, apparently because no living thing but lizards was seen on it. The island is some two-and-a-half square miles in area, about twenty miles north-east of Cape Flattery, between the Great Barrier Reef and the north-eastern coast. Cook spent a night on the island, and from its highest point (1179 feet) sighted the opening in the Barrier Reef through which he reached the open sea. It is now known as Cook's Passage. Between 1820 and 1871, survey vessels which visited the island included the *Rattlesnake* in 1848, with T. H. Huxley and John MacGillivray aboard. Both men spent a fortnight there collecting specimens and exploring.

(Lizard Island is notable in Queensland history for its association with the heroine of Lizard Island, Mary Beatrice Watson. She was the wife of R. F. Watson, a beche-de-mer fisherman. While she was alone, except for her infant son and two Chinese servants on the island, the hut was attacked by aborigines on 27 September 1881. The aborigines killed of the Chinese servants and wounded the other. Mrs. Watson drove them off with rifle shots. The aborigines continued to lurk on the island, however, and on 3 October, Mrs. Watson, with her baby and the wounded Chinese servant,

22. See Appendix 5.
escaped from the island, putting to sea in the lower portion of an iron tank, with a pair of crude oars. They succeeded in reaching an island in the Howick Group, to the northwest, where all three died of thirst. Their bodies, together with a brief and pathetic diary kept for eleven days by Mrs. Watson, were found in January 1882 by an aboriginal member of the crew of a schooner. The diary is preserved in the Oxley Memorial Library, Brisbane, and the iron tank is in the Queensland Museum. A monument to Mrs. Watson was erected in Cooktown.)

THROUGH THE REEF TO SMOOTH WATER

On 18 August 1770, after perilously clawing off a lee shore, the *Endeavour* raced with a light breeze and all her boats hauling the ship, through a narrow gap in the reef—which Cook aptly named Providential Channel—into smooth water beyond. Inside the reef, he again saw the mainland at a point which he named Cape Weymouth, and continued his northward course.

(The lengthy stretch of sea which takes in Princess Charlotte Bay had to be by-passed by Cook. Princess Charlotte Bay was named by Lieut. Charles Jeffreys (1782-1826), commander of H.M. Colonial brig, *Kangaroo*, in 1815. In April 1815, Jeffreys was sent to Ceylon by Governor Macquarie with the remainder of the 73rd Regiment. On this voyage Jeffreys named Molle Island (now a tourist resort) in the Whitsunday Passage after Lieut-Governor Molle, commanding officer of the 46th Regiment, and Mount Jeffreys on Molle Island after himself. Sailing around Cape York Peninsula in May, he discovered and named Princess Charlotte Bay. Lying to the north of Cooktown, it has Cape Melville—also named by Jeffreys, and scene of the great cyclone disaster of 1899—on its south; at the other extreme is Cape Direction.)

“HOISTED ENGLISH COULERS”

The question whether Australia was an island was settled beyond doubt by Cook, when he rounded Cape York on 16 August 1770. He named Cape York in honour of his late Royal Highness, the Duke of York, the King’s brother. To the opposite island, stretching to the north, he gave the name Prince of Wales, in honour of the King’s eight-year-old son. Off the coast is Possession Island, with the tide race of Endeavour Strait, named by Cook, sluicing between. Cook landed here on 21 August 1770, and at 6 a.m. on 22 August, he named the island Possession Island and took possession of
the entire eastern coast, hoisting "English Coulers," later giving the name "New South Wales" in his journal—because of a fancied resemblance to the northern shores of the Bristol Channel.

(Systematic charting of the coast of Cape York Peninsula for the British Admiralty was commenced by Matthew Flinders in 1802. Bass and Flinders had established the existence of a channel between Tasmania and the mainland of Australia in 1798.

Matthew Flinders was the first navigator to use the word "Australia" systematically. He wrote, in his *Voyage to Terra Australis*, published in 1814: "Had I permitted myself any innovation upon the original term Terra Australis, it would have been to convert it into Australia." The word came to be adopted, Governor Macquarie using it in his official correspondence, and M. M. Robinson used the word in his *Ode for His Majesty's Birthday*, published in the Sydney Gazette on 10 June 1815. By 1825 the word "Australia" was in general use by the colonists. (See Appendices for references to *Terra Australis* the Great Southern Continent.)

**AT BOOBY ISLAND**

Booby Island, where Cook landed on 24 August 1770, is a bleak dot of rock a quarter of a mile in circumference on the eastern edge of the Arafura Sea, twenty miles from Thursday Island; Cook narrowly escaped running on a reef adjacent to the island. The astonishing geographical fact is that both Cook and Bligh named the island Booby. Bligh of the *Bounty* passed the rock island during his epic open sea voyage after the *Bounty* Mutiny in 1789. He did not land there, although the statement has been made erroneously by some writers that he did so to give his crew and himself a

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23. See Appendix 6.
24. Booby Island is famous for its cave, which used to be the loneliest post office in the world. Its heyday as a post office began in the early 1800's when skippers of sailing ships which had navigated the dangerous Torres Strait left accounts of their experiences for skippers of other ships to read. In 1835, Captain Hobson, R.N., of *H.M.S. Rattlesnake*, left on the island a proper logbook, pens and ink in a box, with printed forms for ships' captains to fill in. Over the box was painted a notice, "POST OFFICE." The island was marked "Post Office" on the charts. Ships would leave mail in the box for other ships going in the opposite direction to deliver. Stores were left there also, for shipwrecked mariners and fugitives from the ferocious island head-hunters who would not land on the island from their great war canoes, because they believed it to be haunted. About 1847, the New South Wales Legislative Council voted £50 for stores to be left on Booby Island. Passing ships often left spare stores and such luxuries as rum and cheroots to solace castaways. But a visitor in 1850 found the box opened and the supplies scattered and left to rot in the sun instead of being placed in the cave. Nevertheless, the stores of provisions were maintained at the island until the late 70's, and the remains of some of them were still in the cave as late as 1920. Nobody knows what happened to the log-books, but the walls of the cave are still scrawled with the names of the old sailing ships which visited there.
respite from their ordeal. He sailed close to the rock and
gave it its name because of the large number of boobies he
saw. He was completely unaware of the fact that Cook had
given it the same name in 1770—nearly twenty years previ­
ously. Origin of the name was simple and obvious. They
were called booby birds because of their habit of blundering
clumsily into the yards and rigging of sailing ships. The
booby is a species of gannet, and the island has always been
the roosting place for hordes of them. Booby Island is in
10° 36' S. lat. and 141° 53' E. long, three feet above high
water. Apart from the lighthouse keepers who look after
the great lenses 166 feet above the surface of the Arafura
Sea, and the crew of the lighthouse tender which pays
periodic visits to the island and Goode Island lighthouse
eighteen miles to the west, there are no other inhabitants on
this lonely outpost and visitors are few and far between.

Cook established “beyond all controversy” that New
Guinea, the largest island in the world, unless the Australian
continent is considered an island, was not an outlying part of
New Holland. In the copy in the British Museum Cook’s
map shows the Endeavour’s track, drawn in by Cook him­
self. The Endeavour arrived at Batavia on 11 October
1770. Here the fatal scurvy attacked the officers and crew,
and there were several deaths. His departure was delayed
until 26 December. Before the Endeavour reached the Cape
of Good Hope, thirty of the ship’s company had died. Among
them were Dr. Monkhouse, the ship’s midshipman surgeon
—whose name is commemorated at Monkhouse Point, not
far from Cooktown—Sidney Parkinson, the natural history
painter, and Tupia, the Tahitian. Banks and Cook were also
attacked with the malady. Although such a mortality was
not at that time considered excessive, or even great, it no
doubt gave rise to serious reflections in Cook’s mind, which
afterwards bore good fruit.25

Cook’s achievement was outstanding. Without a chronom­
eter26—the longitude had to be observed by lunar observa-

25. Notably the prevention and curing of scurvy. See Appendix 7.

26. Chronometers had been invented but were not widely used in Cook’s time. It
was a time-keeping instrument used for determining longitude at sea. In 1714, the
British Government offered prizes of £10,000 £15,000 and £20,000 for the dis­
covery of a method for determining longitude within sixty, forty and thirty miles
respectively. After much persevering labour John Harrison, a Yorkshireman, made
a chronometer which, in a voyage to Jamaica in 1761-62, was found to determine
the longitude within 18 miles. After another voyage to Jamaica, and further trials,
he was awarded the prize of £20,000 in 1765. He died in London on 24 March
1776. Later, several excellent chronometers were produced in France by Berthoud
and Le Roy, to the latter of whom was awarded the prize offered by the Academie
Royale des Sciences. Progress was made in England in the development of the
chronometer by Mudge, Arnold, and Earnshaw, to whom prizes were awarded by
the Board of Longitude. Chronometers are mostly set in gimbals, so as to avoid any
disturbance due to the action of the ship.
tions—he had charted 5,000 miles of coast with extraordinary accuracy. The *Endeavour* anchored in the Downs\textsuperscript{27}, a roadstead for shipping off the east coast of Kent, on 12 June 1771, finally reaching port on 13 July 1771.

**THE SEQUEL**

By way of sequel to Cook's first voyage, it should be noted that he proclaimed British sovereignty over only what are now the eastern parts of New South Wales and Queensland. Formal possession, on behalf of the British Crown, of the whole of the eastern part of the Australian continent and Tasmania was not taken until 26 January 1788. It was on this last date that Captain Phillip's commission, first issued to him on 12 October 1786, and amplified on 2 April 1787, was read to the people whom he had brought with him in the "First Fleet."

On 17 February 1824, the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Thomas Brisbane was notified by Earl Bathurst, Henry, the third Earl (1762-1834), Secretary for the Colonies from 1812 to 1828, that he had recommended to His Majesty the dispatch of a ship of war to the north-west coast of New Holland for the purpose of taking possession of the coast between the western coast of Bathurst Island and the eastern side of Coburg Peninsula. Thus, on 20 September 1824,

\textsuperscript{27} The Downs is opposite Ramsgate and Deal, between North and South Foreland, and protected externally by the Goodwin Sands—a natural breakwater, with one to four fathoms water, and often partly dry at low tide. This large natural harbour of refuge is eight miles by six, with an anchorage of four to twelve fathoms. The obstinate but indecisive Battle of the Downs was fought in June 1666, between an English fleet under Monk and the Dutch, under De Ruyter, De Witt, and Van Tromp. The famous sandbanks known as the Goodwin Sands stretch about ten miles in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction at an average distance of 5\&frac{1}{2} miles from the east coast of Kent. These sands have always been dangerous to ships passing through the Straits of Dover. On the other hand, they serve as a breakwater to form a secure anchorage in the Downs when easterly or south-easterly winds are blowing. The Downs, though safe under these circumstances, become dangerous when the wind blows strongly off shore, at which time ships are apt to drag their anchors, and to strand upon the Goodwins. As a rule wrecks are soon swallowed up by the greedy sands. Many celebrated wrecks have taken place here; the most terrible was the loss of an entire fleet of thirteen men-of-war during the "great storm" on the night of 26 November 1703. In two of these, the *Mary* and the *Restoration*, every man perished. Admiral Beaumont, with 1200 officers and men were lost. Many seamen got on to the Goodwins when the tide was out, and were seen from the shore. The then Mayor of Deal, one T. Powell, seized the custom-house boats, and paid five shillings for every man saved. More than 200 were rescued from being drowned by the rising tide. These dangerous sands are said to have once been a low fertile island called Lomea (*Intera Insula* of the Romans), belonging to Earl Godwin, where he lived and kept his fleets; but in 1014, and again in 1099 it was overwhelmed by a sudden inundation of the sea, which also did great damage in other parts of Europe. The tale is that at the period of the Conquest by William of Normandy these estates were taken from Earl Godwin's son, and bestowed upon the abbey of St. Augustine at Canterbury. The abbot, having diverted the funds with which it should have been maintained to the building of Tenterden steeple, allowed the sea-wall to fall into a dilapidated condition; and so, in the year 1099, the waves rushed in, and overwhelmed the whole. Tenterden is an inland place near the south-west frontier of Kent, 15 miles north-north-east of Hastings. Thus "Tenterden steeple was the cause of the Goodwin Sands"; so, at least, says one of the many legends connected with these remarkable shoals. But geology indicates a date long anterior to the catastrophe of the legend.
Captain James J. Gordon Bremer of *H.M.S. Tamar*, took possession of the coast from the 135th to the 129th degree of east longitude. On 16 July 1825, the entire territory between those boundaries was described in Governor Darling’s commission as being within the boundaries of New South Wales, thus increasing its area by 518,134 square miles, and making it, including New Zealand, and excluding Tasmania, 2,076,308 square miles. Western Australia was annexed in 1827. On 9 November 1826 an expedition under Major Lockyer, sent by Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Darling, Governor of New South Wales, to found a settlement at King George Sound, sailed from Sydney. It landed at the Sound on 26 December, and on 21 January 1827 hoisted the British flag. In June 1829, Captain James Stirling, afterwards Sir James Stirling (1791-1865) visited Swan River and reported to the governor in glowing terms on its suitability as a place of settlement (1827). On his return to England he continued his advocacy in spite of official discouragement—colonial administrators in London shied away from assuming further territorial burdens. He was at last successful, helped by French moves for colonisation in the Pacific; was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of a new colony in West Australia, and with a party of settlers arrived at Garden Island, near the Swan River, in the ship *Parmelia* in June 1829. On 2 May, in the preceding month, Captain C. H. Fremantle, in command of H.M.S. *Challenger*, had arrived and hoisted the British flag on the south head of Swan River, asserting possession of “all that part of New Holland which is not included within the territory of New South Wales.” Thus, before the middle of 1829 all of the territory now known as the Commonwealth of Australia had been constituted a dependency of the United Kingdom. Stirling proclaimed the foundation of the colony on 18 June 1829.

Cook received high commendation from the Admiralty on the results of his voyage. He was appointed to command *H.M.S. Scorpion*, but he never actually joined this ship; he was, in fact, being kept “on tap,” with an eye to future developments.

In August he was presented to King George III, and was given his commission to the rank of commander. Plans were being made for a second voyage of Pacific exploration. Dalrymple and other geographers persisted in the belief that there was somewhere in the unexplored regions of the Pacific, a great southern continent. Cook’s secret instructions for a new voyage included a complete circumnavigation of the world in high southern latitudes. The *Resolution*, his ship
on his second and third voyages, was another collier, and about 100 tons larger than the *Endeavour*. The *Resolution*, 460 tons, was rated a sloop of twelve six-pounder guns, also carrying twelve swivel-guns, and had a complement of 110. A sloop in the British Navy at that time, was a one-masted, cutter-rigged ship, midway between a corvette and a gunboat.

The *Resolution* had been built by Fishburn at Whitby in 1770 for William Hammond of Hull, and had been named the *Marquis of Granby*. In 1771, the Admiralty purchased the ship for the Royal Navy, and re-named it the *Drake*. In December 1771, by order of the Admiralty, she was again re-named the *Resolution*—"a much properer name" Cook commented. In Deptford dockyard, her upper works were raised, and the figurehead of a seahorse added. The alteration to the upper works were made to enable the accommodation of the large number of scientists, artists, and servants who were assigned to the expedition. More than £10,000 was spent on the alterations. But the top-hamper made the ship unsafe, and it was removed, as the ship would be in the Antarctic. In an acrimonious correspondence with the Navy Board, Sir Joseph Banks condemned the *Resolution* as "unsuitable," and strongly urged the substitution of another ship, either a forty-gun man o' war, or a frigate of the East India Company, which would ensure better accommodation, but the Navy Board accepted Cook's opinion that a north-country-built ship designed for the coal trade was the most suitable type. As a result of the controversy Banks withdrew from the expedition.

The second ship of the expedition, the *Adventure*, 330 tons, was commanded by Captain Tobias Furneaux. With the expedition were a staff of astronomers, naturalists, and artists, including William Wales (1734-1758), mathematician and astronomer; William Bayly (1727-1810), also an astronomer and the associate of Wales; and Johann Reinhold Forster, German traveller and naturalist (1729-1798), and his eldest son, Johann Georg Adam (1754-1794), natural history painter.

[William Wales (1734-1798), mathematician and astronomer, had been sent in 1769 by the Royal Society to the

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28. Tobias Furneaux (1735-81), naval officer, between 1760 and 1763 served in ships on the French coast, the African coast, and the West Indian station. Between August 1766 and May 1768 he was second lieutenant in *H.M.S. Dolphin* (Captain Samuel Wallis) on a voyage of discovery round the world. Furneaux, second in command on Cook’s second voyage, was promoted captain in August 1775, and commanded *H.M.S. Syren* during Sir P. Parker’s attack on New Orleans in July 1777, in the war with the revolting American colonies. He died at Swilly, near Plymouth, England, his birthplace, on 19 September 1781.
Prince of Wales fort on the north-west coast of Hudson’s Bay to observe the transit of Venus. The results of his investigations were communicated to the Society (Transactions lix, pp. 467-480; lix, 100-137), and were published in 1772 under the title of *General Observations Made at Hudson’s Bay*, London, 4to. During his stay at Hudson’s Bay, he employed his leisure in computing tables of the equations of equal altitudes for facilitating the determination of time. They appeared in the *Nautical Almanac* for 1773, and were republished in 1794 in his *Treatise on the Method of Finding the Longitude by Timekeepers*, London, 8vo. Wales returned to England in 1770 and in 1772 he was engaged with William Bayly by the Board of Longitude to accompany Cook in the Resolution on his second voyage round the world and to make astronomical observations. He returned to England in 1774, and on 7 November 1776 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1777 the astronomical discoveries made during the voyage were published, with an introduction by Wales, at the expense of the Board of Longitude, in a quarto volume, with charts and plates. In the same year appeared his *Observations on a Voyage with Captain Cook*, and in 1778 his *Remarks on Mr. Forster’s Account of Captain Cook’s last Voyage*, London, 8vo., a reply to Johann Georg Adam Forster who, with his father, had accompanied the expedition as naturalist, and had published an unauthorised account of the voyage a few weeks before Cook’s narrative appeared. In 1776, Wales sailed with Cook in the Resolution on his last voyage. Wales edited *Astronomical Observations Made During the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook*, London 1788, 4to.; aided John Douglas (1721-1807), in editing Cook’s Journals; and assisted Constantine John Phipps, second Baron Mulgrave, in preparing his account of a *Voyage Towards the North Pole*, 1774, 4to.

William Bayly, who had been engaged as an assistant at the Royal Observatory, on the recommendation of Dr. Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, was in 1769, sent out by the Royal Society to the North Cape to observe the transit of Venus, and his observations were printed in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Society in 1772. Bayly sailed with Cook on his second and the third and last voyage. In 1785 Bayly was made headmaster of the Royal Academy at Portsmouth, which office he continued to hold until the establishment of the Royal Naval College in 1807 when he retired on a pension.]
CROSSES THE ANTARCTIC CIRCLE

The ships sailed from Plymouth on 13 July 1772; and were at Table Bay 30 October-22 November. Here the naturalist Anders Sparrman joined the Resolution, completing the complement of scientists. This expedition was out for three years: its basic objective was to discover how far the lands of the Antarctic stretched northwards. On 17 January 1773 Cook crossed the Antarctic Circle—for the first time in history—and then sailed east towards New Zealand. Meanwhile, Furneaux in the Adventure had parted company from Cook in February and sailed more than 5,000 miles alone, exploring the southern and eastern coasts of Tasmania. The chart that he made records the names Mewstone, Swilly, Storm Bay, Fluted Head, Adventure Bay,29 an inlet on the eastern side of Bruny Island, Tasmania; Bay of Fires, and Eddystone Point. Cook later gave the name Furneaux to a group of islands lying between the Australian mainland and Tasmania in Bass Strait. Furneaux was of the opinion that only a deep bay existed north of these islands and did not believe there was a strait between Tasmania, and the mainland. Cook found the Adventure at anchor in Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand (May 1873). By his repeated criss-crossing of the Southern Pacific during the remainder of 1773, Cook established the fact that there was no unexplored space left in which a continent could be found. The Adventure and Resolution were again separated in October. On 3 November Cook was back in Queen Charlotte Sound, but Furneaux was not there, and after waiting till 25 November, Cook sailed again for the South.

DISCOVERS NEW CALEDONIA AND NORFOLK ISLAND

On 30 January 1774 Cook reached Lat. 71° 10' S., a record which stood until 1823 when Weddell reached 74°

29. In November 1642 Abel Tasman’s ships, the Heemskerk and Zeehaen came before a bay that would have ensured good shelter, but they were driven out to sea before they could enter it. There is no doubt that this was the same bay in which Furneaux anchored his ship, and which was subsequently named Adventure Bay. Cook himself, on his last expedition of discovery, entered Adventure Bay with the Resolution and Discovery on 26 January 1777; he stayed here two days, and in that period shore parties made contact with aborigines. At that time the sailing master of the Resolution was William Bligh: eleven years later, on 21 August 1788, he anchored the Bounty in the area. Bligh planted seeds, some apple trees and other English trees, near what is now known as Dorrigo’s farm—which recalls that Admiral Lord Collingwood, second in command to Nelson at Trafalgar, in his walks in the English countryside, always carried a pocketful of acorns which he planted in the soil so that England should never want oak trees for her ships. When in 1792 Bligh again sailed into the bay, in the Providence, he recorded that bushfires would probably prevent the successful growth of introduced trees. In 1792, Antoine D’Entrecasteaux, the French navigator, entered Adventure Bay while making contact with the Australian coast seeking traces of the lost expedition of La Perouse.
15° S. in the Weddell Sea. Making by way of Easter Island and the Marquesas for Tahiti, thence he travelled round the Fijian Islands to the New Hebrides; identified the discoveries of the Spaniard de Quiros; and on 5 September discovered New Caledonia and on 10 October, Norfolk Island, returning to Queen Charlotte Sound on 18 October. On 10 November, he left the Sound, and voyaged across the ocean towards the Strait of Magellan, along the line of lat. 54° S. He rounded Cape Horn on 29 December; sighted and named South Georgia on 1 January 1775; sighted the South Sandwich Islands on 30 January; and re-visited Table Bay from 21 March to 27 April. Then he set his course for England, reaching Portsmouth on 30 July. Almost a year earlier, Furneaux had made his way back to England via Cape Horn, reaching Spithead on 14 July 1774. Furneaux had had his problems and anxieties. He had cruised for some time in the hope of rejoining the Resolution; he had clashed with the Maoris at Queen Charlotte Sound, where a boat's crew of two officers and eight seamen had been killed. He took home with him Omai, a native of Ulaietea, who remained in England for two years, and was then taken back to the South Seas by Cook on his third and fatal voyage.

**FRICTION BETWEEN FORSTER AND WALES**

There was considerable friction between Forster and William Wales, the eminent astronomer and mathematician, and member of the Royal Society, who was also a member of the expedition. At Erromanga, in the New Hebrides, Cook who went ashore waving a green branch with a party including Forster and Wales, had a brush with the natives, during which two members of the party were slightly wounded and four natives were also wounded with musket fire. The natives succeeded in escaping with two oars. A four-pound shot was fired at them. In 1777 Forster and his son, in their pub-

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30. Easter Island, a lonely Pacific Island in 27° 8’ S.lat., and 109° 24’ W.long., the most easterly island of Polynesia, was discovered by the Dutch navigator Roogeveen on Easter Day 1722. It is forty-seven square miles in area; is entirely volcanic, with many extinct craters rising more than 1,000 feet. Mysterious colossal monuments on the island are one of the enigmas of history; they consist of a multitude of stone statues, consisting of gigantic heads, thin-lipped, disdainful of aspect, and capped by crowns of red tufa. They range from four feet to thirty-seven feet in height, the average height being 16 feet. They stand on seaward platforms 200 to 300 feet long, of cyclopean masonry. There are also nearly 100 stone houses with walls five feet thick, and interiors bearing paintings of birds, animals, etc.

31. New Caledonia was given up by the British as “worthless,” and annexed by France in 1853. It lies midway between the Fiji Islands and the east coast of Queensland. It has many valuable minerals, especially nickel, copper, cobalt, antimony, etc. After 1873 France began to use New Caledonia as a penal settlement, and many convicts, mostly political prisoners, were sent there. Escapees who landed on the coast of Queensland over the years were a constant problem. It is discussed by the author, in The Problem of the French Escapees From New Caledonia, Journal Historical Society of Queensland, Vol. No. 3, pp. 1046-1065, 1955.
lished narrative of the voyage, which was unauthorised, and preceded Cook's own account by some weeks, made serious reflections on Cook and his officers, and referring to the fracas on the beach at Erromanga, described how the natives threw weapons from behind a sandhill, and how Cook's party "for some time amused themselves to fire at them as often as their heads appeared"; adding: "I cannot entirely persuade myself that these people had any hostile intentions." Wales was enraged with the Forsters' narrative, and in 1778 published a pamphlet refuting the aspersions and allegations contained therein. He described Forster's account as "one of the most singular pieces of misrepresentation ever dropped from a pen, and should I attempt to describe the ideas excited in my mind by reading it, I should be greatly at a loss for words without transgressing the bounds of decency."

INSOLENT NATIVES OF TANNA

There was more trouble with the natives at Tanna. After presenting Cook's party with some coconuts, which they threw out of canoes, they received in exchange some cloth. Crowding alongside the boats, "their behaviour was insolent and daring," Cook records. They seized the ensign and attempted to tear it from the staff. A four-pounder and some musket bullets were fired at them. Next day, there was another clash. In order to show the effect of their firearms, "without materially hurting any of them," Cook fired a fowling-piece loaded with small shot, "and when they were above musket shot off, he ordered some of the musketoons to be fired." On going ashore, there were many armed natives, who were dispersed with gunshot.

But in the following days, according to Cook's journal, relations improved, and the natives showed "a readiness to oblige them in everything in their power." Forster busied himself carrying large plant presses and other equipment. Cook realised, by the behaviour of the natives towards the German, that they mistook Forster for a woman, because among the natives of Tanna, only women carried loads on their backs!

Forster described how the natives threw a light green reed with such force as to enter more than an inch into the hardest wood. Wales made some derisive comments on this. But Cook, in his official account, added a passage from Wales's journal, which read as follows: "I have often been led to think the feats which Homer represents his heroes as performing with their spears a little too much of the marvellous
to be admitted into a heroic poem; I mean when confined within the straight stays of Aristotle. Nay, so great an advocate for him as Mr. Pope acknowledges them to be surprising. But since I have seen what these people can do with their wooden spears and them badly pointed, and not of a very hard nature, I have not the least exception to any one passage in that great poet on this account.”

**NO GREAT SOUTHERN CONTINENT**

The geographical discoveries made by Cook in this voyage were both numerous and important: and by proving the non-existence of the Great Southern Continent, which had for so long been a favourite myth, he established knowledge of the Southern Pacific on a sound basis. In fact, the maps of the world still remain essentially as he left them, although of course much has been done in perfecting details.

But the most important discovery of all was the possibility of keeping a ship’s company at sea without serious loss from sickness and death which had occurred on earlier voyages, notably those of Anson and Carteret. In this second voyage only one man died of disease—not from scurvy—out of a complement of 118, and this notwithstanding the lengthy duration and hardships of the several cruises during which was more fully realised the value of Cook’s discovery. The men throughout the voyage were remarkably free from scurvy, and the dreaded fever was unknown. Of the measures and precautions adopted to attain this result, Cook, who had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in February 1776, read a detailed account before the Society on 7 March 1776, which acknowledged the addition thus made to hygienic science as well as the important service to the maritime world and humanity, by the award of the Copley Gold Medal. This was the highest honour bestowed by the Royal Society for the advancement of medical science. It was presented to Cook’s wife after he had sailed on his third and last voyage. The paper was printed in *Philosophical Transactions* (Vol. lxvi appendix).\(^{32}\)

**THE THIRD VOYAGE**

Within a few days of his return, Cook was promoted to the rank of captain and received an appointment to Greenwich Hospital. It was shortly afterwards determined to send an expedition to the North Pacific to search for a passage

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\(^{32}\) See Appendix 7.
round the north of America, from the western side. In 1776 a reward of £20,000 was offered for its discovery. Cook immediately offered himself as commander. His offer was gladly accepted, and Cook, again in the Resolution, sailed from Plymouth on 12 July 1776. Master of the Resolution was William Bligh. The Resolution was followed on 1 August by the Discovery under the command of Captain Charles Clerke, which joined the Resolution at the Cape of Good Hope on 10 November. The two ships sailed together from the Cape on 30 November: touched at Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand, and spent the following year among the islands of the South Pacific. On 22 December 1777, they crossed the line and discovered the Sandwich Islands, now known as the Hawaiian Islands (18 January 1778), which Cook named after Lord Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty.

The islands were said to have been discovered by Gaetano
in 1542, but little was known in Europe about them. He then steered north-east to the coast of Oregon (7 March). He then voyaged along the coast to Nootka Bay (30 March), where the ships anchored for a month. Cook spent all summer, searching for a passage to the Atlantic, at first round Alaska, and then west along the Siberian coast. On 29 August he reached a point which he named Cape North—probably Cape Ryrkain, south of Wrangel Island, but was baffled by adverse winds and, unable to penetrate further, turned back. In September he returned to the Hawaiian Islands which he proposed to survey in greater detail during the winter months. En route he visited the Russian settlement at Unalaska. The ships anchored in Karakakoa (Kealakekua) Bay in Hawaii, on 17 January 1779, and remained there for almost a fortnight, during which time relations with the natives were quite harmonious.

**SURLY AND INSOLENT**

On 4 February, the ships put to sea, but, getting into bad weather, the *Resolution* sprang her foremast, and they returned to their former anchorage on 11 February. The demeanour of the natives had changed. Thievish they had been previously; they now became surly and insolent, and their robberies were bolder and more persistent. On 13 February one of them was flogged on board the *Discovery* for stealing an armourer's tongs. On the same afternoon, another native again stole the tongs, jumped overboard with them, and swam towards the shore. A boat was sent in pursuit, but the thief was picked up by a canoe and landed. The officer in command of the boat insisted that the thief should be given up, and attempted to seize the canoe as a guarantee, action which caused a severe skirmish, out of which the boat's crew escaped with difficulty. On the same night, the *Discovery*’s cutter, lying at her anchored buoy, was stolen, and so quietly was the theft carried out that nothing was known of the loss till the following morning.

On the theft being reported to Cook, he went on shore with an escort of nine marines, under Lieut. Phillips, with the intention of bringing the native king or chief off as a friendly hostage to ensure the return of the boat. The *Resolution*’s launch, under Lieut. John Williamson, and a cordon of boats, with armed seamen, were stationed offshore to give assistance and protection, if required. The king readily consented to go on board, but his family and the islanders pre-

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36. Unalaska is one of the Aleutian Islands, which constitute part of Alaska, U.S.A.
vented him, and many of them were armed with spears and clubs. They assembled in great numbers, and Cook, who wished to avoid a conflict, retreated to the boats. The marines fired at the crowd of menacing natives, but Cook called out to them to cease fire, and ordered the boats to close in to the shore.

**MARINES DRIVEN INTO THE SEA**

Only one boat obeyed the command. The marines, having discharged their muskets, were rushed by hundreds of natives and driven into the sea before they could reload, and four of them were struck down and killed. Three others, including the officer, Phillips, were dangerously wounded.

Cook, left alone on the shore, attempted to make for the nearest boat. As his back was turned, a native stunned him with a blow on the head. He sank to his knees, and another stabbed him with a knife. He fell into the water where he was held down by the seething crowd. He struggled to the shore but was again beaten over the head with clubs and stabbed repeatedly, the islanders—"snatching the daggers out of each other's hands to have the horrid satisfaction of piercing the one victim of their barbarous rage," says the official account of the time.

**PASSIVE SPECTATOR**

Meanwhile, the inshore boat was so crowded with fugitives and in such a state of confusion that it was unable to offer any assistance. The other boat near the shore, commanded by Lieut. John Williamson, lay off a passive spectator without firing a shot, and finally returned to the ships, leaving Cook's dead body in the hands of the savages. He also failed to bring off the bodies of the four marines, after the beach had been cleared of natives by cannon fire from the ships.

The complaints and censures that followed on the conduct of Lieut. Williamson were so loud as to oblige Captain Clerke publicly to take official notice of them, and to take the depositions of Williamson's accusers down in writing. Professor J. K. Laughton, in his biography of Cook in the *British Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. 12) suggests "it was supposed that Clerke's bad state of health and approaching dissolution induced him to destroy these papers a short time before his death." This was stated by David Samwell, 37

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37. David Samwell (died 1799), a surgeon, sailed with Cook on his third voyage, as surgeon's first mate on the *Resolution*. On the death of William Anderson, he succeeded John Law as surgeon of the *Discovery*. In this capacity he was an eyewitness of Cook's death, of which he wrote an account for *Biographica Britannica*, which was published separately in 1786 as *A Narrative of the Death of Captain James Cook*. 
surgeon of the *Discovery*, in his *Narrative of the Death of Captain James Cook*. Professor Laughton comments, “Justice, however, though tardy, eventually overtook the miserable man—Williamson; nineteen years later he was cashiered for cowardice and misconduct at the Battle of Camperdown—a sentence that Nelson thought should have been made capital.” (Nelson, *Despatches*, iii.2.)

On 15 February, it was learnt that Cook’s body had been partly cooked or burnt; the question whether portions of the body were eaten is still a matter of dispute. On 17 February, because of the continued hostility of the natives, the village was put to the torch. On 20 and 21 February, what remained of Cook’s body, said to be portion of the skull and scalp, and the hands and bones of the limbs, were conveyed in solemn procession to the beach by Hawaiian priests, led by a chief, and handed over to Clerke, now in command of the expedition. At sunset the remains of the great navigator were buried at sea, the *Resolution* firing minute guns in a funeral salute of ten rounds.

**CLERKE TAKES COMMAND**

On the death of Cook, Captain Clerke assumed command of the expedition. On 16 March 1779, the ships left the Hawaiian Islands to continue their explorations in the Arctic Seas. The summer was spent in attempts to find a passage through the ice pack beyond Behring Strait. Clerke died of “consumption” on 22 August. With the approach of winter conditions, Lieuts. Gore and King, as commanders, brought the two ships down the Asiatic coast to Macao, which they reached on 1 December, and thence via the Cape to England, reaching port on 4 October 1780. News of Cook’s death had reached England in the previous January, having been sent on from the Russian port of St. Peter and St. Paul (Petropavlovsk) on the coast of Kamchatka.

In November 1874 an obelisk to Cook’s memory was erected in the immediate neighbourhood of the spot where he fell, but as one biographer has justly commented, “his truest and best memorial is the map of the Pacific Ocean.”

**“SAVAGE FURY”**

Cook’s biographer in the *British Dictionary of National Biography* (Professor J. K. Laughton) gives his opinion that there is no reason to suppose that Cook’s death was “anything more than a sudden outburst of savage fury, following on the ill-will caused by the sharp punishment inflicted on the thieves, but the mere fact that the case was one of the
first on record was sufficient to call more particular attention to it: and the exceptional character of the principal victim seems to distinguish the tragedy from all others. Hence, many stories were invented and circulated. One story published in the Athenaeum, on 16 August 1884 was that Cook was put to death for breaking tabu by giving orders to pull down a temple. Another story was that he had passed himself off as a god, expecting and requiring divine honours (Athenaeum in loc. cit.: Cooper Letters, 9 October 1784).” But in the view of the National Dictionary biographer, this was “quite unfounded, and in any case had nothing to do with the attack and the result.”

But I do not think the mystery of Cook’s death can be dismissed so easily. Cook may have had too little command of his temper, as some biographers have suggested. A biography published in 1892 asserts “had he been less hasty and more tactful, it is probable that he would not have lost his life as he did.” The Australian Encyclopaedia, in its biography of Cook, says, “His one defect in character was his hasty temper; yet his incessant care for and interest in his men, his personal courage, and his temperance in his living habits won him respect and affection from all with whom he worked.” It is an established fact that Cook insisted upon the officers and men under his command treating the natives with consideration, and any instance of cheating or violence brought under his notice was severely punished. On one occasion, some seamen robbed a native plantation, for which they received a dozen lashes. One of the culprits, in extenuation of his offence, contended that there was no harm in robbing a native plantation, although it was very wrong for a native to steal from a European. Cook marked his notion of such a view of reciprocity by giving the proponent of it an extra half a dozen lashes.

**AVATAR OF THE GOD RONO**

But in my view there has been no adequate and satisfying explanation of the motives which prompted the murder of Cook by the Hawaiians. I believe that the reason was founded on mystical and religious grounds, and the spark which ignited the fury of the Hawaiians was disillusionment—for they believed Cook was a god and they worshipped him as a god. This theory is supported by William Ellis, an early missionary in the Hawaiian Islands and was the subject of an article by J. N. Ingram in Town and Country Journal on 1 December 1877. Ingram had visited Captain Cook’s monument in Hawaii, and said that he had talked with “ven-
erable missionaries, who had learned the details from old white-headed Hawaiians, probably handed down from their fathers and grandfathers. The substance of his narrative was that Cook had been hailed by the Hawaiians as the avatar\(^38\) (a deity upon the earth in a manifest shape) of the god Rono (or Lono) a high chief who lived in ancient times, renowned among the people for his great deeds, a giant in stature (Cook was tall, more than six feet in height, of severe countenance and of powerful physique), mighty in strength, valiant in courage, the Ajax of many battles, and victorious in many wars. He was the hero of his age, and was afterwards immortalized like Hercules and Jove, and became the Vishnu or the Apollo of the Hawaiian pantheon. Legend said that Rono, after he had led his armies over many battlefields, married a beautiful young bride. One day, a great boulder fell from a cliff overhead and crushed her fatally. Rono, overcome with grief and anguish, lost his reason, and constructing a raft, set out to sea to hunt for his bride, and disappeared over the horizon.

There is a close resemblance in this legend to that of Quetzalcoatl,\(^39\) the god of the Toltecs, who was forced out of his kingdom by his twin brother Texcatlipoca, but told his followers that one day he would return. Similarly, Rono assured his people, who gathered on the shore to bid him farewell, that he would return to them one day. For many years the Hawaiians waited for Rono to come back. The first thing they did at sunrise each morning was to scan the sea for his returning raft, and the last thing they did at night was to pray to their gods before their altars, where stood representations of the gods—huge wicker-work "idols"

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38. Avatar, from the Sanscrit avatara, was specially applied to the descent of a Hindu deity upon the earth in a particular form. It is thus almost synonymous in its signification with the Christian term "incarnation." The ten avatars of Vishnu are the most famous in Hindu mythology.

39. The ancient Toltecs created the poetic figure of Quetzalcoatl (literally meaning "serpent covered with green feathers"), the symbol of the priest-king who became a god, and one of the three great rulers of the Toltecs. It was the old Indian belief in the return of Quetzalcoatl that helped Hernando Cortes in his conquest of Mexico. In the legend Quetzalcoatl (The Plumed Serpent) was despised by his followers and had to abandon his kingdom. He prophesied before his departure that one day he would return; that there would come in great ships over the sea from the East, men with beards, and with their heads covered with basins of metal, and they would give Mexico another god. When the Spaniards came, the prophecy was fulfilled. Cortes posed as Quetzalcoatl himself. Quetzalcoatl was the Kukulcan of the Maya. The Maya culture lasted in all its different stages of growth and decay for possibly 3,000 years, the Spanish conquest terminating what was left of it. A race of remarkable builders called the Toltecs established themselves at a period that has not been dated with any accuracy; attained their greatest power and wealth between 1200 and 1376 A.D., and fell before the invading Aztecs, whose coarse, brutal, and bloody culture was destroyed at the hands of Cortes and his none-too-delicate conquistadores. Scholars have lamented that Spanish religious bigotry destroyed all Maya and Aztec literature. This is just criticism, but that sort of thing has been done since the dawn of history. With the destruction of Carthage, the Romans obliterated the Phoenician culture of the city, reputedly founded by Dido. In our own time, Nazi Germany consigned to the flames anything written by a Jew, regardless of its value.
adorned with feathers, pearl-shell for eyes and dogs'-teeth set
in their mouths—that Rono would be sent back to them.

Years passed and they died, but they taught their children
to revere and cherish Rono as a god, and to watch for his
coming.

He passed into their traditions as a god that would come
back to his people. And when the masts and spars and sails
on Cook's ship came into sight, they as fully believed that
Rono was coming back as did those learned men who be-
lieved that their foretold Lord had appeared on that memora-
able occasion when the morning stars sang together. A hasty
session of the pagan priests and high chiefs was held, as a
result of which it was proclaimed that their long-lost god
Rono had come back to them from the Spirit Land. A deputa-
tion of priests was formed and marched in solemn pro-
cession down to the shore to welcome the god home and pay
him homage.

A TRANSFIGURED GOD

When Captain Cook lowered his boat and came ashore to
the waiting committee, his white countenance was accepted
as a transfiguration in the mystic realms of the gods, and as
evidence of his omnipotence, purity, and standing among
the council of deities, and added confirmation to their faith in
his identity. When Cook stepped ashore, they fell down on
their knees and worshipped him, prostrated themselves on
the ground at his feet, and paid him devout homage. Choice
viands and dainties, eaten only by the chiefs were offered
him, and their gratification at his condescending to accept
their gifts raised them to the highest pitch of emotional joy.

News of Rono's arrival was carried by messengers and
heralded and spread over the mountains to the most remote
parts of the island. Multitudes of natives swarmed over the
mountains and formed a vast procession miles in length
down to the beach, each bringing a gift which with rever-
ence they laid at the feet of their newly-risen god. They took
Captain Cook by the hand and led him up to their chief
temple and set him up on an altar, and the great throng with-
in the walls and those that crowded outside fell down and
raised a loud shout of joy at Rono's return.

The reactions of Cook at his elevation to godship will
never be known, but there is no doubt that he acted very
imprudently and unwisely in allowing the deception to be
continued, and it was an error of judgment that cost him
his life. He was occupying a supreme position in the hier-
archy of Hawaiian gods. His administration could be ex-
pected to appear clear as crystal and above suspicion, but this divine manifestation did not appear. The rough seamen very soon revealed their mortal lineage by taking liberties with the wives and daughters of the Hawaiians, and gave the natives the impression that they were unhallowed attendants of a divine ambassador.

**AMOROUS SEAMEN**

The amorous sailors debauched the young island maidens, and turned the heads of the native women, whose voluptuous nature ran wild after these pale-faced swains, and who forsook their native partners, causing a bedlam of jealousy. These excesses engendered strife, anger, and ill feeling on all sides.

Gradual doubts developed into suspicions, and Cook's divine origin began to be questioned when Cook's seamen talked of their own white god and their king in far-off England. Friction was also caused by the thoughtless destruction for firewood of a fence surrounding a temple, and some wooden images—surely strange conduct for the attendants of a deity!

When the ships on their departure were forced to return to the harbour by a storm, the suspicion that Cook was not what he appeared to be was heightened. If he was the god Rono, why was he not able to command the sea and the wind?

**DEATH OF A GOD**

The theft of the *Discovery*'s cutter precipitated the fatal outbreak. Cook landed with a party on Sunday, 14 February 1779; discovered that the Hawaiians had broken up the boat to obtain the iron from it; and then attempted to seize the Hawaiian king or chief as a hostage until reparation was made. There was an immediate uproar, and one of the priests tested his divinity by piercing him in the side with a spear. But this god was not invulnerable, as Achilles, the hero of Homer's *Iliad*, was invulnerable—except in the heel by which his mother, the nereid Thetis, held him when she dipped her infant into the waters of the Styx. Cook betrayed his earthly origin with a groan of agony.

The Hawaiians, pressing about Cook's party, cried out, "He is no god; he cries!" It was the final convincing proof to the priests and their followers that he was a mortal man—because gods do not groan! Rage and disillusionment at the deception of which they had unwittingly been made the victims, developed into frenzied fury. They rushed upon Cook
and felled him to the earth, and he was repeatedly clubbed and stabbed to death at the edge of the water, near his boat. Another version, given by William Ellis,⁴⁰ a missionary, says that when the attack was made on Cook, they saw his blood running, and heard him groan, and exclaimed: "No, this is not Rono!" His lifeless body they burnt on a lava altar on the brow of the bluff. Ellis said that some, however, after Cook's death, still believed him to be Rono, and expected that he would manifest himself again. Not all of Cook's remains were recovered by Clerke and his men.

"Some of Cook's bones, considered sacred, were deposited in a heiau (temple) dedicated to Rono, on the opposite side of the island. There religious homage was paid to them, and from thence they were annually carried in procession to several other temples, or borne by the priests around the island, to collect the offerings of the people for the support of the worship of the god Rono. The bones were preserved in a small basket of wickerwork completely covered over with red feathers, which in those days were considered to be symbols of kingship or godship, and were the most valuable articles the natives possessed." Ellis stated that since the time of his arrival in the islands, in company with the députation from the London Missionary Society in 1822, every endeavour had been made to learn, though without success, whether Cook's bones were still kept, and their location. All the Hawaiians of whom inquiry had been made had asserted that they were formerly kept by the priests of Rono, and worshipped as sacred objects. "Whenever we have asked the king, or Hevaheva, the chief priest, or any of the chiefs, they have either told us they were under the care of those who had themselves said they knew nothing about them, or that they were now lost. The best conclusion we may form is that part of Captain Cook's bones were preserved by the priests, and were considered sacred by the people probably till the abolition of idolatry in 1819; that, at that period they were committed to the secret care of some chief, or deposited by the priests who had charge of them, in a cave, unknown to all besides themselves. The manner in which they were then disposed of will, it is presumed, remain a secret, till the knowledge of it is entirely lost."

Mythologists of the school of Grant Allen, the novelist (1848-1899) suggest that Cook was killed by the Hawaiian

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⁴⁰ William Ellis (1794-1872) was despatched in 1816 as a foreign missionary of the London Missionary Society, in the South Sea Islands, where he laboured for ten years, first at Eimeo, ten miles west-north-west of Tahiti, where Christianity was first introduced in Polynesia, and where the South Sea College of the Society was established; and next at Oahu, in the Hawaiian Islands. Among his publications was Polynesian Researches (1829).
natives because he was a god, perhaps in order to keep his spirit among them.

**RANKED WITH COLUMBUS**

Cook has been placed by some biographers and historians as a marine explorer in the same rank with Columbus, and the comparison does no wrong to the great Genoese. Cook contributed more to the cause of discovery than all his predecessors, from Alvaro Mendana down, put together. He treated the Polynesian natives with an indulgence that was unknown to his predecessors. In an age when slavery was legal and deemed unsinful, and when orthodox Christians like John Newton, the friend of the poet Cowper, and a bigoted Calvinist, were not ashamed to go to the coast of Guinea with a cargo of hymn-books and handcuffs, Cook did not hesitate to recognise the natives as fellow creatures.

Apart from his achievements in exploration and geography, Cook made great contributions to the study of Anthropology as revealed in his reports. An entirely self-educated man, his scientific accuracy in observation was remarkable, and as extraordinary in its way as his success in exploration. Stanley Casson (*The Discovery of Man*) has pointed out in this connection that Cook’s observations on the habits and customs of the natives both of New Zealand and Australia are of the most accurate and competent kind. “Not only does he record the natural history of the places he visits, but aspects of local life in the greatest detail. Burial customs, religious rites, and ceremonials are meticulously observed. He is himself a true ethnologist.”

But Cook did not confine himself only to observations. He made a remarkable and comprehensive collection of specimens representing all activities of native life. A great part of the collection he made is preserved in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford. In it are ethnological specimens from the Society Islands, from the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, from the Marquesas, Tahiti, Tonga, New Zealand, and New Caledonia.

**“MOST ILLUSTRIOUSNAVIGATOR”**

Dumont d’Urville described Cook as “the most illustrious navigator of both the past and future ages, whose name will

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41. The Marquesas were first sighted by the Spaniards in 1595; Pedro de Quiros was sailing master for Mendana, who bestowed on the islands the name Las Marquesas de Mendoza, after his friend and patron, the Viceroy of Peru. The natives were shockingly treated by the Spaniards, who massacred in hundreds by the Spanish arquebuses—and left behind them a destroyer far more potent—the dread smallpox, which wiped out thousands of the Islanders. Cook, who visited the islands in 1774, judged the Marquesans as the finest people he had seen in the South Seas, if not in any part of the world.
forever remain at the head of the list of sailors of all nations.”
A graceful tribute was made by another great French con-
temporary, La Perouse, in the last spoken utterance of his
which history has recorded. As La Perouse was leaving
Botany Bay in January 1788, on the last fatal voyage from
which he and his ship’s company never returned he said,
farewelling Lieut. P. G. King: “In short, Mr. Cook has done
so much that he has left me nothing to do but admire his
work.”

King George III granted a coat-of-arms to Cook’s family;
a pension of £200 to his widow, whom he had married (nee
Batts) on 21 December 1762; and £25 to each of his three
children. The Royal Society struck a special gold medal in
his honour and presented it to Mrs. Cook. Of their six chil-
dren, three died in infancy, and the others before the end of
the century. James, the eldest, rose in the Navy to the com-
mand of H.M. sloop Spitfire; was drowned in attempting to
reach his ship at anchor in Poole Harbour,42 Dorsetshire,
during a heavy gale on 25 January 1794. He was unmarried.
Nathaniel the second son, aged 16 was lost in H.M.S. Thun-
derer, which foundered during a hurricane in the West Indies
on 3 October 1780. Hugh, the youngest, died at Cambridge,
where he was studying for the Church, at age 17. Cook’s
widow long survived her family; she lived to be ninety-three
and died at Clapham on 13 May 1835. She was buried by
the side of her sons Hugh and James in the Church of St.
Andrew the Great, Cambridge. Her will was sworn for pro-
bate at under £60,000—a fortune based mainly from the
sale of Cook’s books. Cook’s portrait, by Nathaniel Dance,
is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, to which it was pre-
sented by the executors of Sir Joseph Banks.

There are several editions of Cook’s voyages. An account
of the first voyage originally appeared as Vols. II and III of
Hawkesworth’s Voyages (1773); the narrative of the second
was written by Cook himself, 2 vols. with 1 vol. of plates
(1777); that of the third appeared in 3 vols. and an atlas
(1784), partly by Cook and partly by Captain James King.
In 1788 the Life and Voyages of Captain James Cook was
published by Andrew Kippis (1725-1795), and reprinted
in 1883. Kippis was a D.D. of Edinburgh, and a Fellow of
the Royal and Antiquarian Societies.

42. Poole Harbour is five miles west of Bournemouth. On Brownsea or Branksea
Island, just within the narrow entrance to the harbour, is a castle dating from the
time of Henry VIII. The men of Poole were great fighters in days of old by land
and sea, as buccaneers, smugglers, and Cromwellian soldiery. There was “Arripay,”
or “Harry Page,” who, about 1400 kept the seas against France and Spain; and
there was William Thompson, who, with a man and a boy, captured a French
privateer in 1695.
“SIMPLICITY AND MODESTY”

Characteristic of Cook’s unaffected simplicity and modesty are his words at the close of the preface to the narrative of his second voyage, when he asks his readers to excuse inaccuracies of style by remembering that the work “is the production of a man who had not had the advantage of much school education, but who had been constantly at sea from his youth; and who, though he had with the assistance of a few good friends, passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice boy in the coal trade to a post captain in the Royal Navy, had had no opportunity of cultivating letters.” He adds that, after this account of himself, he hopes the public will “consider him as a plain man, zealously exerting himself in the service of his country, and determined to give the best account he is able of his proceedings.”

Cook’s discoveries are commemorated by several memorials along the Australian coast. There is a statue of Cook in Hyde Park, Sydney, by Thomas Woolner, R.A., which was unveiled in 1879. His landing place at Botany Bay is marked by a monument, near which the landing is annually commemorated. Tablets are also placed on Cape Everard, near the hill first sighted from the Endeavour; on Mount Warning, a “remarkable high peak,” noted in Cook’s log; on Possession Island in Torres Strait, where he annexed the eastern coast to Britain, and in Whitsunday Passage. There are also several hundreds of memorials in Cook’s honour throughout the world, and translations of his journals have been published in many languages.

The statue of Cook in Hyde Park, Sydney, by Thomas Woolner, R.A., was unveiled on 8 March 1879, by the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Hercules Robinson. It was estimated that the vast crowd numbered 100,000. On the parapet on the western facade of the Australian Museum was a native of New Guinea, claimed by the Press of the day to be the first to set foot on the shores of New South Wales. Within the enclosure itself were three young lads from the Solomon Islands, the sons of the chiefs of Cicila, Symbo, and Wanderer Bay. There were also native visitors from Africa, and we are also informed by the reporter of the Sydney Morning Herald of 8 March 1879 that “the dense crowd of pale faces was also relieved by the sombre visages of a few Australian aborigines.”

Sir Hercules Robinson prophesied in his address that in the second centenary of Cook—i.e., 1970—the population of Australia would probably not be less than 40 millions!
He was quite a few millions wide of the mark. At the census of 30 June 1966, the population of Australia was 11,550,462. Evidently, Sir Hercules was neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet.

The oldest building in Australia stands in the Fitzroy Gardens, Melbourne. It is the stone cottage built by James Cook, the father of Captain Cook, at Great Ayton, Yorkshire, in 1755; Cook was then twenty-seven years old and a seaman in the Navy. Contrary to assertions made in a recent television programme from London, Cook never lived in the tiny cottage which is of two stories; the only times he stayed in the cottage were on his infrequent visits to his parents on leave from the Navy. The cottage was purchased at auction for £800 by Wilfred Russell (later Sir Russell) Grimwade, a Melbourne business man who presented it to the Victorian Government. It is surprising that the British Government and the British National Trust should have allowed it to leave England. The cottage was dismantled, packed into 250 cases, and shipped to Australia. The ivy growing on the walls is from the original plant.

The voyages of Cook and of Flinders up the Queensland coast figured in the folk-lore of the early Queensland aborigines, and formed the subject of their corroborees. Reference to this is made in Appendix 10.
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APPENDIX I

HISTORIC WHITBY

Whitby is important in English history and literature. It is a sea-port in the North Riding of Yorkshire, some fifty-four miles by rail north-north-east of York. It stands, looking northward over the North Sea, at the mouth of the Esk, which here emerges from its wooded valleys and hills to form a wide tidal pool, walled in by jet-veined cliffs of alum shale.

In Cook’s time, a stone bridge (rebuilt in 1835) 172 feet long, with a swivel by which ships were admitted to the inner harbour, connected the two halves of the town. On the east side, the oldest part of the town, steep narrow streets, passages, and red-tiled houses, climbed tier upon tier up the cliff, where, in decaying beauty stood the ruinous abbey of St. Hilda, the patroness of Whitby, who was the daughter of Hereric, a nephew of Edwin of Northumbria, and was baptised at fourteen by Paulinus, missionary to Northumbria, first of the Archbishops of York. He had been sent on his mission by Pope Gregory in 601 A.D., and first laboured under Augustine in the evangelisation of Kent. By him he was consecrated bishop in 625 A.D., when he accompanied Etheburga, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, whose wife. Bertha, was a Christian princess, and the daughter of a Frankish king. Edwin and his court submitted to baptism at York, in a wooden chapel dedicated to St. Peter, the foundation of the Minster, the cathedral church of York, which is among the most magnificent of English cathedrals, and which is of special architectural interest because of the fact that the fabric-rolls have been preserved, so that the precise dates at which the various portions were erected are known. Paulinus carried the gospel over Northumbria, but after six years’ constant labour, the death of Edwin in battle at Hatfield put a sudden end to his work. He did not wait for the honour of martyrdom, but went back with the widowed queen to Kent. In the same year he received the pallium as Archbishop of
York from Rome, but he never returned, dying on 10 October 644 A.D. He was buried in the chapter-house at Rochester. Hilda, recalled by Bishop Aidan from her retreat in a French monastery, became abbess of Heorta (Hartlepool) in 649 A.D. In 657 A.D., she founded the famous monastery at Whitby, a double house for nuns and monks, over which she ruled for twenty-two years, dying in 680 A.D.

Sir Walter Scott's *Marmion* commemorates the belief that the fossil ammonites found in Whitby were snakes "changed into a coil of stone" by Hilda's prayers.

". . . Whitby's nuns exulting told,
. . . how in their convent cell
A Saxon princess once did dwell,
The lovely Edelfled;"

Edelfled was the daughter of King Oswy, who, in gratitude to Heaven for the great victory which he won in 655 A.D., against Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, dedicated Edelfleda, then only a year old, to the service of God, in the monastery of Whitby, of which St. Hilda was then abbess. She afterward adorned the place of her education with great magnificence.

"and how, of thousand snakes, each one
Was changed into a coil of stone,
When holy Hilda pray'd;
Themselves, within their holy bound,
Their stony folds had often found.
They told, how sea-fowls' pinions fail
As over Whitby's towers they sail,
And sinking down, with flutterings faint,
They do their homage to the saint.

Scott, in Note 26 of the Appendix to *Marmion* in the First Edition of the Albion' edition of Scott's Poetical Works, says that the relics of the snakes which infested the precincts of the convent, and were, at the abbess's prayer, not only beheaded, but petrified, "are still found about the rocks" and are termed by fossilists, *Ammonitae*. Ammonites are a genus of fossil shells, closely allied to the genus *Nautilus*, being like it, chambered and spiral. Ammonite shells were mainly in the form of a flat spiral with a variety of modifications in form and ornament. They varied in size from small shells to giant forms which if uncoiled would have a length of more than thirty feet. They came into existence during the geological period known as the Triassic, and developed to such an extent, and became so widespread in all parts of the world, that they are used as zone fossils in many Mesozoic rocks. They reached their maximum development in the Jurassic and Cretaceous but at the close of the latter became extinct. The Cretaceous rocks of Queensland are a prolific source of ammonites, and a variety of forms have been described. They also extend into north-western New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia. A study of the Cretaceous ammonite fauna made it possible to establish zonal correlations with European horizons. Ammonites have been called *Cornua Ammonis* from a fancied resemblance to the horns on the sculptured heads of Jupiter Ammon, the chief god of the Romans. Ammon was a god of the ancient Egyptians, worshipped especially in Thebes, and early represented as a ram with downward branching horns, the symbols of power. From about the time of the twenty-first dynasty, he came to be considered the god of oracles, and as such was worshipped in Ethiopia and in the Libyan Desert. Twelve days' journey west of Memphis, in the desert was a green oasis fringed with a belt of palm
trees, on which rose the temple of Ammon. Hither came pilgrims laden with costly gifts; among them Alexander the Great and Cato of Utica. Alexander was hailed as the actual son of the god by the priests, quick to anticipate the wishes of the hero. The Persian conqueror Cambyses sent against the temple an expeditionary force, which perished miserably in the sands. The worship of Ammon spread at an early period to Greece, and afterwards to Rome, where he was identified with the Greek god Zeus and the Roman god, Jupiter.

In former times the fossil shells of the Ammonites were ignorantly mistaken for petrified snakes; and impositions were practised on collectors by adding to specimens cleverly carved snakes' heads; whilst the general absence of heads was popularly accounted for by a legend of a saint (St. Hilda) decapitating the snakes, and turning them into stone. Several hundred species of Ammonites are known to geologists and palaeontologists; some are quite minute, while others are as large as dray-wheels.

The other miracle is mentioned by William Camden, the scholar and antiquary (1551-1623), in his Britannia, a survey of the British Isles, a work described by Bishop Nicolson as "the common sun whereat our modern writers have all lighted their little torches." Camden said that it was ascribed to the power of St. Hilda's sanctity, "that these wild geese, which, in the winter, fly in great flocks to the lakes and rivers unfrozen in the southern parts, to the great amazement of everyone, fall down suddenly upon the ground, when they are in their flight over certain neighbouring fields hereabouts: a relation I should not have made if I had not received it from several credible men. But those who are less inclined to heed superstition attribute it to some occult quality in the ground, and to somewhat of antipathy between it and the geese, such as they say is betwixt wolves and scylla roots. For that such hidden tendencies and aversions, as we call sympathies and aversions, are implanted in many things by provident Nature for the preservation of them, is a thing so evident that everybody grants it." But Scott points out that Charlton (1779) in his History of Whitby found the true origin of the fable, from the number of sea-gulls that, when flying from a storm, often alighted near Whitby; and from the woodcocks, and other birds of passage, who did the same upon their arrival on shore, after a long flight. St. Hilda's effigy still stands on the ancient seal of Hartlepool, and churches preserve her name both there and at South Shields.

At Whitby also is the ancient parish church of St. Mary. St. Kilda (614-680 A.D.)—who has the honour of a Melbourne bayside suburb named after her—founded in 657 A.D. the monastery of Streaneshalch (Whitby), for religious of both sexes, which has memories of Caedmon (died circa 680 A.D.) the first English writer of note who used his own Anglo-Saxon language, and the first religious poet of the Teutonic race. All we know of him is from Adam Bede, the Venerable, the greatest name in the ancient literature of England, who devotes to him a chapter of his History. In Bede's account, written not more than 60 years after the death of Caedmon, we are told that Caedmon, until he was of mature age, had never learned any poem, and that sometimes when at festivals his turn came to take the harp and sing, he would rise from the feast and go home. On one such occasion, having gone out to the stables, which it fell to him that night to guard, and falling asleep, he had a vision, in which one stood by him and said, "Caedmon, sing me some song!" "I cannot sing," he said, "for this cause I have come out hither from the feast." "But you shall sing to me." "What," asked Caedmon, "ought
I to sing?” “Sing the beginning of created things.” And straightway a poetic inspiration seized him, and he began to pour forth verses in praise of God, of which Bede adds, “this is the sense, though not the order”; “Now ought we to praise the author of the Heavenly Kingdom, the Creator’s might and counsel, the works of the Father of Glory; how through the Eternal God he became the author of all wondrous things; Almighty Guardian who for men’s sons created first heaven for their roof, and then the earth.” When he awoke from his dream, the words remained fast-rooted in his memory, and were recited by him to others with new confidence. He was taken before Hilda, abbess of Streaneshalch (now Whitby), when she and the learned men who were with her in the monastery immediately declared that he had received the gift of song from Heaven. He was educated, became a monk, and spent the rest of his life composing poems on the Bible histories and on miscellaneous religious subjects, a long list of which is given by Bede, who says that in all he wrote “his care was to draw men away from the love of evil deeds, and excite them in the love of well-doing”; and that “none of those who tried after him to make religious poems could vie with Caedmon, for he did not learn the poetic art from men, but from God.”

Whitby also has memories of St. John of Beverley, an English prelate, who was canonised as a saint. He was born about the middle of the seventh century at Cherry Burton, Yorkshire; appointed abbot of St. Hilda; afterwards Bishop of Hexham in 685 A.D., and two years later Archbishop of York. He founded a college for secular priests at Beverley, where he retired in 717 A.D., and died in 721 A.D. Bede was his pupil, and believed that he could work miracles, a power attributed to his remains for some centuries. Beverley is the chief town of the East Riding of Yorkshire. It takes its name from the priory founded by St. John of Beverley.

It was at Whitby that in 664 A.D. was held the great “Council of Whitby,” where the controversy as to the celebration of Easter in England was authoritatively settled by the adoption of the Roman usage, St. Wilfred, Bishop of York (634-709 A.D.) being the spokesman of the victorious party, and Bishop Colman the defender of the traditional Celtic usage.

The monastery was burned by the Danes in 867 A.D.—they or their successors changed the name of the place to Presteby or Whyteby (“priests,” or “white town”)—but in 1078 it was re-founded by William de Percy as a Benedictine Abbey for monks. The stately ruins of the Church of St. Mary, which was 300 feet long, are Early English and Decorated in style, and comprise choir, north transept, and part of the nave; the great central tower fell in 1830. On the south side is Whitby Hall, built about 1580 by Sir Francis Cholmley, and restored in 1867. The whale fishery of Whitby (1733-1837) belongs to the past, but in the nineteenth century there was a considerable shipping trade of iron steamers trading mainly from the Welsh coal ports. Over the years many fossils have been obtained in the locality, including large specimens of crocodile and alligator species of the Jurassic Age.

APPENDIX II

THE PRESS GANGS

The impressment of men for the British Navy can be traced in English legislation from the days of Edward I; and many acts of Parliament from the reign of Mary to George III were passed to regulate the system. Impressment consisted in seizing by force, for service
in the Royal Navy, seamen, river-watermen, and at times even lands­men, who were young, strong, and able-bodied, in times of emerg­ency. The press gang, an armed party of reliable seamen, com­manded by petty officers, would proceed to such houses in the sea­port towns which were the resort of the seafaring population, lay violent hands on all eligible men, and convey them forcibly to the ships of war in the harbour. As it was not in the nature of seamen to yield without a struggle, many terrible fights took place between the press gangs and their intended "recruits"—combats in which lives were often lost.

From the viewpoint of justice there is little, if anything, to be said for the barbarous system of impressment, which had not even the merit of an impartial selection from the whole available population. Under the laws, all eligible men of seafaring habits were liable between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five; but exemptions were made in favour of apprentices who had not been two years apprenticed; fishermen at sea: a proportion of able seamen in each collier: har­pooners in whalers; and a few other categories. A press gang could board a merchant ship, or a privateer of its own nation in any part of the world, and carry off as many of the best men as could be re­moved without actually endangering the ship. The exercise of this power made a privateer dread a friendly man-of-war more than an enemy ship, and often led to as exciting a chase as when enemies were in pursuit of each other; for the privateer's men were the best sailors, for their purpose, that the naval officers could lay hold of. Impressment for the Navy continued with varying degrees of harsh­ness until the early years of the nineteenth century; most of the British seamen who fought in the French wars were impressed off the streets, and many of them had never trod the deck of a ship. Among them were clerks from counting-houses, tailors, and farm labourers. In 1835 the term of an impressed man's service was limited to five years, except in urgent national necessity. By that time the system was becoming obsolete. It was a hard life, of constant exertion, ceaseless monotony and discomfort.

"They passed their lives," says Arthur Bryant in Years of Victory, "in crowded wooden ships not much bigger than modern destroyers, with three or four times as many inhabitants, and for lack of fresh vegetables and water suffered from recurrent scurvy and ulcers." The impressment system reached its peak during the Napoleonic Wars. "The ships—minute by modern computation—that clung to their blockading stations on the stormy shores of western Europe were the highest masterpieces of the constructional skill and capacity of their age. A line-of-battle ship in all her formidable glory, was the equivalent in her day of a medieval cathedral or a modern dreadnought. Her handling in the Biscay gales was as much an achievement as her making. So were her rhythm and precision in action. And fully half of the men who manned her guns and trimmed her sails were 'land-lubbers' pressed into service, who learnt the ways of the sea the hard way, in unceasing monotony and dis­comfort, in gales out of the west that split the masts and tore the sails to tatters."

APPENDIX III

SIR HUGH PALLISER, PATRON OF COOK

Sir Hugh Palliser (1723-1796), who took favourable notice of Cook and aided his advancement, rose to be a British admiral. He was the central figure in a quarrel with Admiral Keppel, which ended
in court-martial proceedings, and caused a great sensation in England. Sir Hugh Palliser, the member of an old Yorkshire family, was the son of Hugh Palliser, a captain in the British Army, who was wounded at Almanza. In 1735 he was entered as a midshipman on board H.M.S. Aldborough, commanded by Captain Nicholas Robinson, brother of Palliser's mother, who was a daughter of Humphrey Robinson, of Thicket Hall, Yorkshire.

Palliser was First Lieutenant of H.M.S. Essex in the action off Toulon, on 11 February 1744, when the British fleet was defeated by a combined French and Spanish fleet. Palliser, with some of the other lieutenants of the Essex, preferred charges of cowardice and misconduct against Richard Norris, captain of the Essex, who fled from his trial, and died in obscurity.

In March 1748, in the West Indies, when he was captain of the fifty-gun ship, H.M.S. Sutherland, Palliser was severely wounded by the accidental explosion of an arms-chest, and returned to England till he recovered; but the after-effects of the wound remained with him for the rest of his life and probably influenced his behaviour against Admiral Keppel several years later.

During the summer of 1758, Palliser commanded H.M.S. Shrewsbury in the fleet off Ushant under Anson, and in 1759, still in the Shrewsbury, he took part in the operations in the St. Lawrence leading up to the reduction of Quebec.

In April 1764 he was appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Newfoundland with the broad pennant in H.M.S. Guernsey. This was then a summer appointment, ships coming home for the winter, but in Palliser's case was twice renewed, in 1765 and 1766, during which time he acted as commissioner for adjusting the French claims to fishing rights, and directed a survey of the coast, which was carried out by James Cook.

In 1770 Palliser was appointed Comptroller of the Navy, and on 6 August 1773 was created a baronet. On 31 March 1775 he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral, and was shortly afterwards appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty under the rule of the Earl of Sandwich. In the same year, by the will of his old chief, Sir Charles Saunders, he came into a legacy of £5,000, and was appointed Lieutenant-General of Marines in succession to Saunders.

On 29 January 1778, he was promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue; and in March, when Admiral Keppel was appointed to the command of the Channel Fleet, Palliser, while still retaining his seat on the Admiralty, was appointed to command in the third post under him.

For three days—24 to 27 July—the British and French fleets were in the presence of each other, Keppel vainly trying to bring the enemy to action. On the morning of 27 July 1778, Palliser's squadron was seen to have fallen to the leeward, and Rear-Admiral Campbell, captain of the fleet, made a signal to it to make some sail. This was a matter of routine, and according to Professor J. K. Laughton, writing in the British Dictionary of Biography, it did not appear that Keppel had personally anything to do with the order; but Palliser was very annoyed, and his annoyance increased when Keppel was enabled by a shift of the wind to bring the enemy to action without waiting for the line of British warships to get into perfect order, or for Palliser to get into his place in the line. After a partial engagement, the two fleets drew clear of each other and Keppel made signal to reform the line, hoping to renew the battle.

Palliser, however, did not obey. He had attempted, with the rear squadron, to renew the action at once, and he wore towards the
enemy, but finding himself unsupported, wore back again. In spite of signals and messages he did not get into his station till after nightfall.

When the next day broke the French fleet was not in sight, and Keppel returned to Plymouth. Keppel made no complaint to Palliser, and the fleet soon left for a cruise off Ushant. In its absence the failure was ascribed in the newspapers to Palliser's conduct, and on the return of the fleet, Palliser brusquely desired Keppel to write to the newspapers and contradict the report. Keppel refused, whereupon Palliser applied to the Admiralty for a court-martial on Keppel, which resulted in an acquittal. The London mob celebrated the triumph of the popular party by gutting Palliser's house in Pall Mall and burning Palliser in effigy. In York, a mob was said to have demolished the house of Palliser's sister who became insane with fright (Letters of Horace Walpole,* Vol. iii, 180).

The story was probably exaggerated, says Professor Laughton. But the court-martial of Admiral Keppel pronounced the charges "malicious and ill-founded." Palliser consequently resigned his appointments and applied for a court-martial on himself. Keppel was directed to prepare the charge but positively refused to do so. The Admiralty, under the presidency of the Earl of Sandwich, were determined that the court should sit and should acquit their colleague. "The court was packed," said the biographer, "in a way till then unknown; ships were ordered to sea if their captains were supposed to be hostile; ships were called in if their captains were believed to be favourable." The trial lasted for twenty-one days, but there was no prosecutor; there were no charges, and the proceedings were more in the nature of a court of inquiry. Finally, in three days of loud and angry contention, the court found that Palliser's conduct and behaviour were in many respects highly exemplary and meritorious. But it added, "it cannot help thinking it was incumbent on him to have made known to his commander-in-chief the disabled state of the Formidable," which he might have done." The court was further of the opinion that in other respects, he was "not chargeable with misconduct or misbehaviour," and acquitted him accordingly, but neither

* Horace Walpole, fourth Earl of Orford, author and virtuoso (1717-1791). He was the third son of Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards first Lord Orford, by his wife, Catharine Shorter; from 1721 until 1742 Sir Robert held, without interruption, the highest office in England—in effect, he was England's first Prime Minister. Horace Walpole's literary reputation rests chiefly upon his Letters and Memoirs. His Letters range over the period from 1735 to 1797. His Letters in the Cunningham edition extend to 2665; they were collected in nine volumes in 1857-1859 by Peter Cunningham (Bentley). The Memoirs of Horace Walpole were edited by Eliot Warburton (1852). John Wilson Croker, politician and man of letters (1780-1857), who himself wrote seventeen works, including Memoirs, Diaries and Correspondence (2 Vols. 1884), but who is chiefly remembered for his onslaught on the poet Keats, and Macaulay's onslaught on him (Macaulay "detested him more than cold boiled veal"), was a persistent critic of Horace Walpole. Nevertheless, he reiterated Byron's opinion that Walpole's letters were incomparable, and "a perfect encyclopaedia of information from the very best sources—politics from the fountain-head of parties, debates by the best of reporters, foreign affairs from an habitue of diplomatic society, sketches of public characters by their intimate acquaintance or associate, the gossip of fashionable life from a man of fashion, literature from a man of letters, the arts from a man of taste, the news of the town from a member of every club in St. James's Street and all this retailed, day by day, and hour by hour, to a variety of correspondents ... by a pen whose vivacity and graphic power is equalled by nothing but the wonderful industry and perseverance with which it was plied through so long a series of years." To this may be added the verdict of another writer, by no means favourable to Walpole personally: "We expect," said Lord Macaulay, "to see fresh Humes and fresh Burkes before we again fall in with that peculiar combination of moral and intellectual qualities to which the writings of Walpole owe their extraordinary popularity." In politics it has been said of Horace Walpole that he was an aristocrat by instinct and a republican by caprice.
unanimously nor honourably. Professor Laughton expressed the opinion that a fair and independent court, with a capable prosecutor, would probably have arrived at a very different conclusion.

Palliser immediately asked to be reinstated in the offices which he had resigned. Lord Sandwich shrank from granting this request, but he appointed Palliser governor of Greenwich Hospital in the following year.

[Greenwich Hospital occupies the site of an old royal palace, in which Henry VIII, and his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, were born, and where Edward VI died. The first idea of its foundation is said to have originated in 1692 after the great naval victory of La Hogue, on the north coast of France, when, on 19 May, 1692, the French fleet under de Tourville, which Louis XIV had collected for the purpose of invading England in support of James II, was defeated by the combined English and Dutch fleets under the Jacobite Admiral Russell. Twelve large French line-of-battle ships which took refuge in the shallow roadstead of La Hogue were destroyed, under the eyes of King James, by boats' crews led by Admiral Rooke. It was then proposed to raise a suitable monument as a mark of the gratitude which England felt towards her brave seamen. The Great Hall is remarkable for its painted ceiling, a work carried out by Sir James Thornhill in 1707-27. It contains several valuable pictures of great naval battles and of the heroes who fought in them; there is still preserved the coat which Nelson wore when he was shot at Trafalgar. In 1873 Greenwich Hospital became the college for the Royal Navy.]

Spirited but vain protest was made by the Opposition in the House of Commons. Keppel, in the course of the debate, said "he had allowed the Vice-Admiral behaved gallantly as he passed the French line; what he wished to complain of was the Vice-Admiral's neglect of signals after the engagement; for after the lion gets into his den and won't come out of it, there's an end of the lion."

On the downfall of the Ministry, no attempt was made to disturb Palliser at Greenwich. He became an admiral on 24 September 1787, and died at his country seat of Vach in Buckinghamshire, on 19 March 1796, "of a disorder induced by the wounds received on board the Sutherland, which for many years had caused him much suffering." He was buried in the parish church of Chalfont Saint Giles, where there is a monument to his memory. His biographer, Professor J. K. Laughton (British Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XLIII, 1885-1900) says that Palliser's character was very differently estimated by the factions of the day, "and his conduct on 27 July 1778 remains a mystery, but the friend of Saunders, Locker, Mark Robinson, and Goodall could scarcely have been otherwise than a capable and brave officer; it is possible that the pain of his old wounds rendered him irritable and led to his quarrel with Keppel. It was characteristic of Lord Sandwich to utilise it for party purposes."

APPENDIX IV

THE ENDEAVOUR'S GUNS

It has been reported from Canberra that three of the six cannon jettisoned by Cook will remain in Australia—one in Queensland, one in New South Wales, and one in Canberra. Announcing this, the Prime Minister (Mr. Gorton) said one of the others will go to the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, which was responsible for their recovery; one will go to New Zealand, and one to Britain. In 1886 the Queensland Government was interested in the problem
of recovering these guns, as is shown by a letter sent by Lord Granville, Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated Downing Street, 8 July 1886, to the then Governor of Queensland, Sir Anthony Musgrave. The letter stated, in reply to a despatch by His Excellency, dated 9 March, that Her Majesty's Government would have pleasure in transferring to the Queensland Government the guns thrown overboard from the *Endeavour*, "if they can be recovered."

The letter enclosed copy of a memorandum, with a chart by the hydrographer of the Admiralty in regard to the supposed position of the guns.

The memorandum stated: "It is, I fear, not possible to give a very exact position for the spot where Captain Cook went aground . . . threw his guns overboard. The distance of the reef from the mainland of Australia, the absence of recorded bearings of the distant mountains (which probably were obscured by haze), the small scale of Cook's chart, and the fact that to this day the labyrinth of shoals among which the *Endeavour* was stranded has not been thoroughly examined, and that a large part of this area is a blank, all combine to make such a determination doubtful."

"I have, however, after a careful examination of Cook's original journal in the light of our present knowledge, come to the conclusion that the *Endeavour* struck not far from lat. 15° 47 o.o. long. 145° 36 45" E. on the south-eastern side of the reef, partly shown on the Admiralty chart No. 2351 and marked 'Endeavour Reef.' The name 'Endeavour Reef' has been for some years attached to the reef next north of this, but an examination . . . convinces me that it was so placed under a misapprehension in 1848, and I have no hesitation in altering it."

The Hydrographer (W. J. L. Wharton) showed on the chart two copies of portions of the original charts from the *Endeavour*, indicating so far as the small scale permitted, the shape of the reef and the position of the *Endeavour*'s guns.

Wharton added that the guns would probably lie in not more than three fathoms of water, but after the lapse of 116 years, the branches of coral would most likely have formed a screen around them.

That memorandum was dated 18 May 1886, and I can find no evidence, in my search of official records, that the matter was pursued further by the Queensland Government, or any attempt made to salvage the guns until the American Expedition of 1969 successfully accomplished this mission.

**APPENDIX V**

**COOK AND THE KANGAROO**

Actually, the name "kangaroo" originated in an erroneous impression obtained from the aborigines by officers of the *Endeavour*. While the *Endeavour* was being repaired, the voyagers made determined efforts to learn the language of the aborigines. They sought to do this by means of signs, and by pointing to objects, and then writing down the sound given by the aborigines in identifying it. In an attempt to describe the marsupial to the natives, one of the *Endeavour*'s crew made a succession of leaps in imitation of the animal's actions. The efforts of the seaman caused great hilarity among the aborigines, who exclaimed "kan-gar-oo!" The officers busily wrote the name down, which has thus survived in our nomenclature of fauna, and was even adopted by French travellers, who spelt the word differently, "cangorou." It was not learnt until long after Cook's visit that the word "kangaroo" meant "leaping" in the
language of the tribe in that region, and it has been suggested that
the name they actually used for the marsupial was "menuah." There
is, however, a difference of opinion on the point. Sir Joseph Banks
accepted the name "Kangaroo," "Kanguru," or "Kangaru," but Sir
Raphael Cilento (Triumph In The Tropics, Cilento and Lack) says
that in some dialects "Kangarra" meant "head of an animal." He
comments: "Did the white men, enquiring the name, point perhaps
to the head—the 'Kangarra'—a likely enough gesture?"

Ellis Troughton, F.R.Z.S., C.M.Z.S., recorded in Furred Animals of
Australia that, as a result of close comparison of a skin and skull of
a medium-sized Cooktown wallaby with Solander's original descrip­
tion and Parkinson's sketch, it was "established beyond reasonable
doubt by Troughton and colleague Tom Iredale (Records of the
Australian Museum, Vol. 20, Part 1, 1937) that the first specimen
described by Cook's naturalists was actually the northern representa­
tive of the whip-tail wallaby." Troughton gives Wallabia cangaru as
the correct generic and specific names for Cook's kangaroo "a com­
bination which appropriately emphasises that there is no vital anato­
mical difference between a wallaby and kangaroo." "The specific
name cangaru also links the aboriginal name with the landing at
Cooktown and first observation of kangaroos on the coast of "New
Holland." Recorded as kanguru and Kangaroo the native term
about Cooktown was positively included in the vocabulary of the
local Koko-Yimidir tribe, as then listed by Captain Cook. Accord­
ing to Dr. W. E. Roth, when Chief Protector of Queensland Aborig­
ines, kangaroos were still spoken of as ganguru in the tribal language
in 1901 (North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin 2, Section 8,
1901)."

A living kangaroo, the Great Grey, or "Forester" kangaroo, which
were common about Port Jackson during the period of the First
Settlement, was sent to England for King George III three years after
the arrival of the First Fleet, and twenty-one years after Cook's dis­
covery of the wallaby at Cooktown. In Historical Records of New
South Wales, the text of a letter written by Governor Phillip to Lord
Grenville, Secretary of State, dated Sydney, 22 November 1791,
states: "My Lord, the Commander of the armed tender Supply has
an animal in charge which is known in England by the name of
"kangaroo," and which I hope will live to be delivered to your Lord­
ship for the purpose of being sent to his Majesty. I have taken this
liberty, as it is not known that any animal of the kind has hitherto
been seen in England. I have, etc., A. PHILLIP." Phillip wrote
again on 14 December, informing his Lordship that another kan­
garoo had been put aboard H.M.S. Gorgon, for delivery to the King.
Live kangaroos were frequently exhibited at sideshows and fairs in
London in the 1790's.

PELSAERT SAW WALLABIES

Cook was not the first European to see the Kangaroo type of
marsupial. The first observations were recorded in 1629 on the
tammar (or Damar) wallaby of Western Australia by the Dutch
navigator, Francois (or Francisco) Pelsaert, who was commander
of the Batavia, which when voyaging from Holland to the East
Indies, was wrecked on a reef of the Houtman Abrolhos, off the west
coast of Western Australia. The survivors mutinied, and in a mass­
acre on a small island of the Wallabi group, 125 persons were killed.
Before the massacre occurred, Pelsaert had gone in the ship's boat
in an attempt to reach the East Indies, with several companions, in­
cluding the skipper of the Batavia (Jacobsz), the chief mate, other
officers and men, and two women and a three months' old child. The voyage of almost 2,000 miles was accomplished in about a month, a feat in navigation comparable with that of the redoubtable and unjustly maligned Bligh, who, after the mutiny of the Bounty in 1789, with his seventeen loyal followers, found their way through the Barrier Reef to Direction Island (2400 miles in twenty-eight days in an open boat, with rations for only nine days), and subsequently went up through Torres Strait and on to Timor, the total distance being 3,600 miles, in forty-one days—the longest recorded open boat voyage in history.

On reaching Batavia, Pelsaert returned to the Houtman Abrolhos in another ship, the Sardam. He rescued the castaways who remained alive, hanged several of the mutineers, and set two others adrift in a sampan. After salvaging some of the treasure carried by the Batavia, he returned to Java. Pelsaert had slept one night on the Australian mainland within a few miles of Point Cloates. He was the first white man to record, on two of the islands, the existence of wallabies (which he called "cats"). William Dampier also saw wallabies when he entered Sharks Bay on 6 August 1699, in command of H.M.S. Roebuck during his second visit to the west coast of Australia. His Journal recorded that: "The Land-animals that we saw here were only a sort of Raccoons, different from those of the West Indies, chiefly as to their Legs; for these have very short Fore-Legs; but go jumping upon them as the others do (and like them are very good Meat)." Animals were later collected by French naturalists, who named the species from specimens placed in the Paris Museum.

APPENDIX VI

TERRA AUSTRALIS

The ancients were impressed with the idea of a Terra Australis, which would one day be revealed. An early Chaldean tradition, credited to the historian Berossus, a priest of Babylon who wrote, in Greek, three books of Babylonian-Chaldean history, in which he made use of the archives in the temple of Bel at Babylon, tells of the existence of a continent to the south of India. References to a Terra Australis are made in the works of Aelianus (A.D. 205-234); Manilius, a contemporary of Tiberius Caesar; and Ptolemy (A.D. 107-161). Phoenician mariners had made their way through the outlet of the Red Sea to eastern Africa, the Persian Gulf, and the coasts of India and Sumatra. But Ptolemy still conceived the Indian Ocean to be an inland sea, bounded by the south by an unknown land, which connected the Chersonesus Aurea (the Malay Peninsula) with the promontory of Prasum. This erroneous notion prevailed in mediaeval Europe although some travellers, like Marco Polo, heard rumours in China of large insular countries to the south-east. There is evidence that the Chinese knew of the existence of a Great Southland as early as 1420, and in 1477 Emperor Ying Tsung had a remarkably clear porcelain map of the Australian coastline. A Chinese admiral, Cheng Ho, is reputed to have circumnavigated this Great Southland with sixty-two ships. References by Marco Polo (1254-1324) to a land called Locae and several indications on maps and globes in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries have been in some quarters, assumed to refer to Australia.

Japanese history books refer to voyages made to the eastern coast of Australia during the early part of the fifteenth century. The Japanese "Pirate of the Pacific," Yamada Nagamaso, is said to have
landed his cut-throats on Cape York Peninsula between 1628 and 1633. He called it Sei-tso, The South Land of Pearls. But whether these early tales belong to the realm of history or legend is a matter of conjecture. But when Matthew Flinders was at Arnhem Land in 1803, he encountered no fewer than sixty Malay prahu engaged in beche-de-mer fishing, and it seems likely that in earlier times Malay prahu and Chinese junks penetrated as far as Gulf waters, touched at points on the Peninsula coast of the Gulf, and abducted natives. Raids on the New Guinea coast by Malayan slave-hunters were also probable.

Cornelius Wytfliet's map of 1597 indicates roughly the eastern and western coasts of Australia, as well as the Gulf of Carpentaria.

**WALLIS AND CARTERET**

On 22 August 1766, the British Admiralty had sent Samuel Wallis and Philip Carteret on a voyage of discovery, with the objective of finding *Terra Australis*, or the Great Southland. Wallis (1728-1795) was a captain in the Navy, who had served in the French wars. He commanded the *Dolphin*, which had been the ship of John Byron (grandfather of the poet) on a similar mission; Byron, nicknamed “Foul Weather Jack” had accompanied Lord Anson on his celebrated voyage round the world in 1740-1744. Philip Carteret had sailed as lieutenant in Byron's voyage, and commanded the *Swallow*, the second ship in Wallis’s expedition.

The two ships passed through the Straits of Magellan and came into the Pacific on 12 April 1767. Then they separated, nor did they again meet. Wallis, in the *Dolphin* kept away to the north-west, taking a course totally different from that followed by all his predecessors, none of whom in fact, except Magellan and Byron, had primarily aimed at discovery. The others were Spaniards, or Englishmen looking out for Spaniards and stuck close to the track of the Spanish trade. The result was that Wallis opened up a part of the ocean till then unknown. He sailed through the Tuamotu Archipelago, and discovered Tahiti, which he called King George the Third’s Island. Wallis was confident he had discovered the elusive Great South Land. George Robertson, master of the *Dolphin*, wrote in his log-book that they “all rejoiced” . . . “relieved from all our distresses . . . in the . . . long wished for Southern Continent.” The Society group had, in fact, been discovered by Pedro Fernandez de Quiros in 1606, “the last of the Conquistadors,” and almost the last of Spain’s incredible explorers, who in 1603 had secured the approval of the King of Spain to search for *Terra Australis Incognita*, the Great South Land. Wallis went to Batavia, and thence home by the Cape of Good Hope, arriving in the Downs on 18 May 1768. Professor J. K. Laughton (*British Dictionary of National Biography*) says that without having displayed any particular genius as a navigator or discoverer, Wallis was fully entitled to the credit of having so well carried out his instructions as to add largely to the knowledge of the Pacific, and still more for having kept his ship's company in fairly good health during the whole voyage. Although thrown entirely on their own resources, there was no serious outbreak of scurvy, and when the ship arrived at Batavia, only one man was sick. Batavia was then notorious among seafarers as a pestilential hole, and while there many men died of fever and dysentery, but on leaving Batavia, the sickness immediately abated, and a month at Table Bay enabled the ship’s company to recuperate. Wallis’s account of his voyages was first printed in Hawkesworth’s *Voyages of Discovery*, Vol. i (1733)
Philip Carteret, separated from Wallis in April 1767, while clearing the Straits of Magellan, proceeded alone, discovering Pitcairn and a number of other small islands, one of which, in the Solomon Archipelago, bears his name, and returned round the Cape of Good Hope to England, 20 March 1769. His long voyage, in a ship ill-found and unseaworthy, added much to the geographical knowledge of his time. He retired from active service in 1794 with the rank of rear-admiral, and died at Southampton, 21 July 1796.

Less than a year after Wallis's visit, the French navigator, Louis Antoine de Bougainville (1729-1811), the best of the French Pacific explorers, visited Tahiti, landing on 6 April 1768. He gave the island in view of the sensual nature of the Tahitian maidens, the more fitting name of Cythera, the southernmost of the seven Ionian islands, in classic times sacred to Venus, as the land that received the goddess when she arose from the sea. One of the French seamen, a tall, athletic young fellow, caused some surprise by showing no interest in the women of Tahiti. After the expedition had left Tahiti, and were cruising in the New Hebrides, still searching for the elusive Continent, it was revealed that the "young fellow" was a French girl, Jeanne Bare, an orphan, who must have been an adventurous young lass, and has gone down in history, as definitely the first of her sex to have circumnavigated the world.

THE FATE OF H.M.S. FALMOUTH

Wallis, in the frigate Dolphin, had sailed into Batavia Roads on 30 November 1767, and wrote "We found here a great number of small vessels, and His Majesty's ship, the Falmouth, lying upon the mud in a rotten condition." This was the beginning of one of the most extraordinary stories in the annals of the British Navy. In 1955, the fate of the Falmouth and her crew was the subject of an article by J. D. Spinney in Blackwood's Magazine. To summarise his long account, Wallis found on examination that the great ship was without masts or bowsprit, and had been hauled up on to the mud as far as she would go. Her stern-post was decayed, and her decks were worn and rotten. But a pathetic remnant of her crew was still on board, left behind to care for the ship; they were in as bad a condition as their ship. They had been there for nearly three years. These men petitioned Captain Wallis to take them home. The gunner had long been dead, and his stores spoiled, particularly the powder, which the Dutch had thrown into the sea. "The boatswain, by vexation and distress, had gone mad, and was then a deplorable object in the hospital ashore." All his stores were spoiled and rotten; the masts, yards, and cables were dropping to pieces; the carpenter was dying; the cook, a wounded cripple; and such was the state of the ship that all expected to be drowned as soon as the next monsoon set in.

What followed is an amazing example of the lengths to which "red tape" and hide-bound regulations can go. Captain Wallis replied that it was not in his power to relieve them, and that, as they had received charge of stores, they must await orders from home. The unhappy men replied that they had never received a single order from England since they had been left in Batavia. Ten years' pay was due to them. They were not allowed to spend a single night on shore, and when they were sick no one came to visit them on board. They were robbed by the Malays, and in constant dread of being murdered by them. But Captain Wallis refused to budge; regulations were regulations. The best he could do was to promise these unhappy people that he would do his utmost to procure them relief when he reached England. And that was that!
Captain Wallis arrived home safely and wrote an account of his voyage, "but he had nothing more to say about the Falmouth." She had been a brand-new ship when the Seven Years' War broke out; a fourth-rate of fifty guns she was a typical two-decker fighting ship of the period. How she had got into this ruinous condition; why her master, Captain Brereton had "struck his pendant" and abandoned her, setting sail for England on a Dutch East Indiaman to report the sad affair to the Lords of the Admiralty, leaving the Falmouth in the charge of the boatswain, the gunner, and the carpenter, is a heartrending story which is too long to be told here.

The author of the article, obviously based on Admiralty records, says that the Admiralty orders about the Falmouth and her unfortunate people "must have gone astray"; for they were still on the Batavia mud two years later when Captain Wallis of the Dolphin saw them. "After Wallis sailed, it is hard to say what happened. Mr. Harding, the carpenter, died in February 1769, but apart from this the Admiralty records are silent. However, there is a suggestion elsewhere that the last survivors were sent home by the Dutch in their own ships early in 1770, and this is supported by the fact that the last accounts in the Falmouth's pay-book were closed in that year. Be this as it may; when, in October 1770, Lieutenant James Cook sailed into Batavia, the Falmouth and all connected with her had disappeared."

JOHN DEE, MASTER-SPY OF THE 16TH CENTURY

Dr. John Dee, the English mathematician, alchemist, astrologer, geographer and necromancer, a dabbler in the black arts (1527-1608), was positive of the existence of a Terra Australis. Dee was a remarkable personality, a man of extraordinary knowledge of the arts and sciences of that time. In 1542, he was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, where for three years he studied eighteen hours a day. One of the original fellows of Trinity (1546), he earned the reputation of a sorcerer by his mechanical beetle in a representation of Aristophanes' Peace, and next year he brought from the Low Countries various astronomical instruments. This was the first of many foreign visits to Louvain and Paris (1548-51), where he lectured on Euclid; to Venice and Presburg, in Hungary (1563); to Lorraine (1571); to Frankfurt-on-Oder (1578); to Bohemia (1583-89). He was imprisoned under Queen Mary on suspicion of compassing her death by magic (1555); but Edward VI had conferred two church livings on him, and Elizabeth showed him considerable favour, twice visiting him at his Mortlake home, and in 1595 making him warden of Manchester College. He was constantly in difficulties, although he claimed to have found in the ruins of Glastonbury, a quantity of the Elixir, "the philosopher's stone," a term applied by the alchemists to various solutions employed in attempts to transmute metals to gold. He was reputed to have transmuted, with one grain of his "elixir," a piece of a warming-pan into gold. Dee appears to have been as much dupe as charlatan and deceiver, the dupe of his assistant, Edward Kelly, during 1582-89. This knave, who had lost both ears in the pillory, professed to confer with angels by means of Dee's magic crystal, and talked him into consenting to a community of wives. In 1604, Dee petitioned James I to let him clear himself by public trial of the slander that he was a "caller of divels," but six months later he was back at his invocations.

But the most remarkable feature of Dee's career was the fact that he was probably the most important spy in the service of Sir Francis Walsingham, principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. He was, in fact, the James Bond, the 007 of his day, the twentieth cen-
tury hero of the novelist, Ian Fleming. This was the secret of his seemingly innocent wanderings over Europe; he was an expert in coding and ciphering of secret messages, disguised in horoscopes and cabalistic writings. His reputation as a magician and a necromancer was an effective cloak to his activities as a master-spy. Walsingham was distinguished even among the ministers of Elizabeth for acuteness of penetration, extensive knowledge of public affairs, and profound acquaintance with human nature. His administration of foreign affairs was founded on the system of bribery, espionage, and deception. He is said to have had in his pay no fewer than fifty-three secret agents, and eighteen spies in various countries; and no minister was better informed of the intrigues of foreign courts. Dee's extraordinary career as a spy is told in *A History of the British Secret Service*, by Richard Deacon, who says that Walsingham maintained agents not only in Spain; but also in France, Germany, Italy and Holland. Dee's great service was to have obtained and passed on to Walsingham secret and accurate details of the Spanish Armada, and was believed to have forecast, presumably by his magic arts, the terrible autumn storm which scattered the great galleons of Philip of Spain. He is said to have warned Walsingham before 1587 that the Armada was being prepared, and that there was a plot to set on fire the forests in England from which ship-building material was obtained. As a result of the message to Walsingham, concealed in the form of Dee's conversation with an angel named Madimi, Walsingham was able to scotch the plot. The secret intelligence which Dee was able to send to Walsingham provided details of the number of ships in the Spanish fleet, their tonnage, munitions, artillery, the number of soldiers and seamen, and of the slaves who worked the oars of the giant galleys of Biscay and Castile.

Authorities differ as to the exact strength and constitution of this great fleet, but it has been conservatively estimated at 128 ships and 29,000 men, mostly soldiers, with an armament of more than 3,000 guns. The storms of the northern seas broke on the Armada and finished the work of destruction begun by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher and their men. The rocks of the Hebrides and the western coast of Ireland were not more fatal to the ships than the Islesmen and the Irish to the hapless Spaniards. Dee is credited with having suggested the attack on the Armada by eight fireships—vessels smeared with pitch and carrying combustible material—in the Calais Roads, which scattered the Spanish fleet.

Dee died wretchedly poor, in December 1608, and was buried in Mortlake church. “A mighty good man he was” is the testimony of John Aubrey, the English antiquary and folklorist (1626-1697), whose quaint, credulous *Miscellaneies* (1696) was the only work printed in his lifetime—“a great peace-maker, a very handsome man, with fair, clear, sanguine complexion, and a long beard as white as milke.” Of Dr. Dee's seventy-nine works, only thirteen have ever been printed; the rest are in M.S., at Oxford, Cambridge, and the British Museum. They deal with logic, mathematics, astrology, alchemy, navigation, geography, the “Rosi Crucian secrets,” and the reformation of the calendar (1583) in which at least he was much in advance of his countrymen. His *Private Diary* was edited by J. O. Halliwell (Halliwell-Phillipps) for the Camden Society in 1842. Thomas Cooper, in the *British Dictionary of National Biography*, dated 1888, gives a very full account of Dee’s strange career, but makes no mention of his espionage activities.
APPENDIX VII

COOK AND THE PREVENTION OF SCURVY

No mariner had ever conducted such important research with so little loss of life as Cook. Until his time the mortality which prevailed on board a discovery ship was shocking, and was thought to be inevitable. The fleets were, in fact, floating hospitals. Even at this distant date it is impossible to read without feelings of pity and horror Lord Anson's list of dead and dying on his memorable voyage (1740-1744), during which he circumnavigated the world, and returned to Spithead with £500,000 in Spanish treasure. It was Cook who first proved that the dreadful disease of scurvy might be resisted and conquered, and that a three years' cruise did not necessarily injure the health of a seaman. This fact alone would entitle him to be called the benefactor of mankind.

Scurvy, or Scorbutus, is a disease characterised by debility, bloodlessness, swollen gums, and a tendency to the occurrence of haemorrhages. It is produced by a deficiency of vegetable diet; the malady was brought on by the exclusion of fresh vegetables from the dietary, and subsistence for long periods on salt meat. The first distinct account of the disease is contained in the history of the Crusade of Louis IX in the thirteenth century against the Saracens of Egypt, during which one French army suffered greatly from it. In the sixteenth century it was endemic in various parts of the north of Europe, and it seems only to have abated towards the close of the eighteenth century. It occurred in badly-fed armies, in besieged cities, and on board ship; its ravages were appalling, and it has been claimed that more seamen perished from scurvy alone than from all other causes combined, whether sickness, tempest, or battle. For instance, only 1512 seamen and marines were killed in all the naval battles of the Seven Years War; but more than 133,000 died of disease, or were missing, and scurvy was the principal disease. Although the virtues of lemon-juice in scurvy were known in England as far back as 1636, when John Woodhall, Master in Surgery, published The Surgeon's Mate, or Military and Domestic Medicine, lemon juice was not made an essential element of nautical diet till 1795, the author of the change being Sir Gilbert Blane, physician (1749-1834), who in 1783 was elected physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, London. As head of the Navy Medical Board, he was instrumental in introducing the use of lemon juice and other measures for the prevention of scurvy and other diseases aboard ship. In 1812 he had a baronetcy conferred upon him. Lime juice was equally efficacious as an anti-scorbutic, and large quantities were carried by clipper ships during the great sailing era of the nineteenth century—hence the name "lime-juicers" bestowed on these ships.

APPENDIX VIII

THE FATE OF COOK'S SHIPS

"Whatever became of the Endeavour?" is a query that has echoed through British and Australian history for the past 150 years. There has been much speculation, but no positive factual information. One story that has come down the years is that in 1790 she became a whaler sailing French colours, under the name of La Liberte, and that she was eventually wrecked on the beach at Newport, Rhode Island. But it is a fact that more than one English collier was named Endeavour, and there is no conclusive evidence that this particular whaler was Cook's Endeavour. It is more likely that, under
the strenuous service of the Royal Navy, having regard to the life-span of wooden ships, she would have ended up as a hulk by 1790.

The subsequent fate of Cook's ships makes melancholy history. Upon the return of the *Resolution* to England in 1780, she was converted into an armed transport. She sailed for the East Indies in March 1781, but in June 1782 she was captured by the French ship *Sulphide*, belonging to the squadron of Commander Pierre Andre de Suffren in East Indies waters. After an action at Begapatam, a seaport on the Coromandel coast, 180 miles south by west of Madras, which was captured by the English in 1781, the *Resolution*, under French colours, was sent on 22 July 1782 to Manila for wood, biscuit and rigging. About a year later Suffren expressed the fear that the ship had foundered, or been captured, as she had not been heard of since she had been sighted in the Straits of Sunda. Ten years later, John Barrow (afterwards Secretary to the Admiralty) reported seeing a coal-hulk at Rio de Janeiro, which he thought might be Cook's *Resolution*, but this was never established.

The *Resolution's* consort on Cook's second voyage, the *Adventure*, was built by Fishburn at Whitby, and taken over by the Navy in 1771. She was a ship of 336 tons, with a complement of eighty-one men. In 1783 she was sold by the Navy, and resumed her career in the coal trade for many years, until she was finally wrecked in the St. Lawrence River in May 1811.

The *Discovery*, the consort for the third voyage, was also built at Whitby, and purchased by the Navy in 1776; she was a ship of 299 tons, with a complement of seventy men. Subsequently, her fate was to be a convict-hulk; she lay at Sheerness from December 1805 until May 1818, and at Woolwich from May 1818 until November 1833. In February 1834 she was broken up at Deptford.

(Pierre Andre de Suffren was one of the most brilliant of French naval heroes, and proved himself a consummate master of naval tactics. But he had to struggle against scurvy, want of supplies, and, still worse, the disaffection and cowardice of his senior officers. Having captured Trincomalee, he two days later, stood out of the harbour with fifteen ships against an English fleet of twelve, and fought a hard but indecisive battle. His last fight (June 1783) was also indecisive. Suffren arrived in Paris early in 1784, and was received with the greatest honours, and created a vice-admiral of France. He died suddenly at Paris, 8 December 1788, probably of apoplexy; he was extremely corpulent. French historians give the Bailli de Suffren (he had been made Bailli of the Order of Malta) the most exaggerated praise, and Professor J. K. Laughton (*Studies in Naval History*) styles him "one of the most dangerous enemies the English fleets have ever met, and without exception the most illustrious officer that has ever held command in the French Navy."

**APPENDIX IX**

**COOK IN ABORIGINAL LEGEND**

The voyage of Cook along the eastern coast and incidents connected therewith, survived as legends in the myth and folk-lore of the Australian aborigines. A curious account of a tradition of the Botany tribe in New South Wales appears in the autobiography of Archbishop Ullathorne (William Bernard) (1806-1889), an English Benedictine priest, who became Vicar-General of the Roman Catholic Church in Australia, arriving in Sydney in February 1833.
Archbishop Ullathorne, the pioneer prelate,* wrote in his autobiography, which was written in 1868: “Father McEncroe and I once had a most interesting account from two young men of the Botany tribe, telling us their traditions of the arrival of Captain Cook in that Bay.

“When they saw the two ships (sic) they thought them to be great birds. They took the men upon them in their clothes and the officers and marines in their cocked hats, for strange animals. When the wings (that is, the sails) were closed up and the men went aloft, and they saw their tails hanging down (sailors wore pigtails in those days), they took them for long-tailed ’possums. When the boat came to land, the women were much frightened: they cried and tried to keep the men back. The men had plenty of spears and would go on.

“Cook took a branch from a tree and held it up. They came on, and they trembled. Then Cook took out a bottle and drank and gave them it to drink. They spat it out—salt water! It was their first taste of rum!

“Cook took some biscuit and ate it, and gave them some. They spat it out—something dry! It was the old ship-biscuit! Then Cook took a tomahawk and chopped a tree. They liked the tomahawk and took it. Thus, the first gift they saw the value of was the axe that was destined to clear their woods and to make way for the white man. Allowing for the broken English, that is an accurate narrative of the tradition of the Botany Bay tribe.”

**CORROBOREES BY ERASER ISLAND ABORIGINES**

The aborigines of Great Sandy Island or Fraser Island incorporated memories of Cook in their corroborees. One of these was translated by Edward Armitage, of Maryborough, in 1923. These were commented upon by the late Mr. F. J. Watson, an authority on the vocabularies and place-names of the tribes of South-east Queensland—the Kabi, Wakka, Yugarabul and Yugumbir—which was published as a booklet some forty years ago, by the Royal Geographical Society. The territory of the Kabi practically coincided with the

* William Bernard Ullathorne was born at Pocklington in Yorkshire, England, and was a lineal descendant of Blessed Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of Henry VIII, whose steadfast refusal to recognise any other head of the Church than the Pope, led to his execution for high treason, after imprisonment for more than a year, on 7 July 1535; he was beatified in 1886. Ullathorne’s mother was a relative of Sir John Franklin, fifth governor of Tasmania, and polar explorer. He was ordained deacon of the Benedictine Order in 1830 and priest in September 1831. His appointment to the Australian Mission as Vicar-General was welcomed at the Colonial Office, because Father Therry, the senior priest in Sydney, had had differences with the Governor and had been suspended from his official chaplaincy. Later in 1835, as a result of Ullathorne’s recommendation that the Australian mission should be detached from the see of Mauritius, Father Polding, who had been Ullathorne’s prefect and novice-master, reached Sydney as bishop, and Ullathorne continued to act as vicar-general. His work embraced every inhabited settlement under government control, including Norfolk Island. In 1836 he sailed for Europe. In England, he published *The Catholic Mission in Australasia*—up to that time the most important document in Australian Catholic history. He also wrote *The Horrors of Transportation Briefly Unfolded*, the purpose of which was to expose convictism in Australia, and dissuade the misguided proletarian of England from committing petty crimes in the hope of being transported. In 1838 he gave evidence in England before the Parliamentary Commission on Transportation; he deeply impressed the Commission, and several quotations from his evidence were embodied in the final Report that recommended the abolition of transportation. In 1840, Ullathorne left Australia with Bishop Polding; they formulated a scheme for the establishment of a hierarchy in Australia which was approved by the Holy See. In 1848 Ullathorne was chosen by the English bishops to negotiate at Rome for the restoration of the hierarchy in England, which eventuated in 1850. Ullathorne was appointed Archbishop of Birmingham, and was later nominated by the English bishops to succeed Cardinal Wiseman at Westminster, but Pope Pius IX over-rulled the choice and appointed Cardinal Manning. In 1888 he retired to Oscott College, where he died.
basins of the Mary and Burrum Rivers, as well as those of the smaller streams that drain the Blackall Range on its eastern slope. It also included Great Sandy or Fraser Island and Bribie Island.

The Wakka tribe occupied the basins of the tributaries of the Upper Burnett River. The territory of the Yugarabul comprised the basins of the Brisbane and Caboolture Rivers, and that of the Yugumbir the basins of the Logan and Albert Rivers. The Taraubul group of the Yugarabul tribe lived in the territory which included the site of the city of Brisbane. The name has been rendered by pioneers and historians variously as Turbul, Turrubul, Turrabul and Toorbal. The word tarau, which is common to the Yugarabul and Yugumbir tribes, means stones, referring particularly to loose stones, and the name Tarabaul was evidently derived from the geological nature of the Brisbane area, consisting almost entirely of schist.

The corroboree translated by Edward Armitage had as its subject the passing by Cook in the *Endeavour* of Indian Head.* The translation of the native story handed down from the tribal camp-fires of over 150 years, was as follows:

"These strangers, where are they going? Where are they trying to steer? They must be in that place Thoorvour, it is true. See the smoke coming in from the sea. These men must be burying themselves like the sand crabs. They disappeared like the smoke."

Armitage noted the Thoorvour was the name of a dangerous shoal near Indian Head, where the steamers Changsha and Marloo were wrecked.

A NUMBER OF INDIANS

Watson explains that the reference is clearly to Cook, who passed the high, rocky bluff so close that he saw there, and mentioned in his log, "a number of Indians." The aborigines saw him and his men on deck, and took note of the man at the wheel, and that the ship moved this way and that as he moved the wheel. They supposed him to be the chief of the strangers. They thought that he was going to hit the Thoorvour shoal. His disappearance over the horizon they compared to the sand crabs and to smoke and clouds. They had no conception of any other lands or countries than their own.

What Cook did not know was that the aborigines had followed him from the south end of the island in their excitement at the first ship they had ever seen.

It is also a matter of interest that another corroboree referred to by Armitage relates to a visit by Matthew Flinders to Watoomba Creek on the far side of Woody Island, inside Hervey Bay, where Flinders went ashore at several points. The corroboree relating to Flinders was translated thus: "Two times held up something and made loud noise and smoke. Their heads are like dingoes’ tails. The paddles are like wood shaped from the fire. Woomingela must be drowned, or killed by the strangers. He is not with us now."

REFERRED TO FLINDERS

Watson recorded that he thought at first that the two corroborees related to one incident, and that Flinders and not Cook was seen by

* Cook skirted the eastern shore of Fraser Island, also known as Great Sandy Island, believing the island to be a long promontory and named Sandy Cape, the northernmost point, and the treacherous Breaksea Spit which extends for 20 miles to the north of the cape. The island is seventy-seven miles long and from three to fourteen miles wide; it protects Hervey Bay and the entrance to the Port of Maryborough. Fraser Island is separated from the mainland by Great Sandy Strait, which is narrow and treacherous. Because of the number of camp-fires and "Indians" seen, Cook gave the name of Indian Head to the only other promontory on the seaward coast.
the natives. His reason for so thinking was that Cook did not mention any boat landing on any part of the Island and did not come so far into the Bay before he turned back because of shoal water. He doubted if Cook came as far as Watoomba Creek, where the aborigines saw the shore party, but Flinders came many miles further right inside of Woody Island. He felt sure that in one song, the aborigines referred to Flinders and not Cook. The other song referred to a passing ship at Indian Head only and no reference to a boat landing; and it agreed with Cook’s own account of the high bluff and the “Indians he saw there.” Thus, the songs deal with separate and quite different incidents. The aborigines said that the boat landing at Watoomba Creek was not seen after the passing of the ship, but a “long time after.”

“A long time,” with the aborigines could mean any period of time: they had only the crudest ideas of time or numbers: anything more than a few days was “a long time.” They could only count up to five, anything more being “a big lot.” Twenty-nine or thirty years elapsed between Cook’s passing and Flinders’ visit, but there was no doubt that the aborigines recorded both events in their corroborees, although they had no idea of the time between.

He pointed out that the localities and the incidents and circumstances described showed this clearly enough. The phrase “Kong kong!”—budela ni-ye beraar-ang kong kong”—represented the report of a gun. The aborigines say that they went out on a sand spit watching the boat passing in their direction, but one of the strangers fired a gun in their direction. This so scared them that they all ran back to the bush and moved away to what they considered a safe distance. They thought that the men’s hats were part of their heads, not knowing anything of clothing or head coverings. The tails, Armitage comments further, were probably ribbons streaming from the band. “I often wore them.”

**PIGTAILS LIKENED TO “DINGOES’ TAILS”**

Watson commented in this connection that Armitage’s deduction was probably incorrect. In the days of Cook and Flinders, the ordinary head covering of seamen, when at sea, was a kerchief bound round the head and tied behind. Further, the seamen of that day wore their hair in pigtails. The likening of this head-dress to “dingoes’ tails” was probably inspired by the fact that the adult male aborigine when in “full dress” usually had his head adorned with a forehead band made of dingoes’ tails.

Reference to “the paddles like wood shaped by the fire” means that they observed the shape of the oar blades, and they were reminded of the way they used fire to assist them in making their wooden weapons, as their cutting tools were only sharp-edged stones.

Woomingela was the name of one of the aborigines. When they gathered together after their hurried retreat from the open beach, they made a new camp. At nightfall they found that Woomingela was missing. They assumed that he had met with some disaster, either by drowning or at the hands of strangers whom they regarded as hostile and dangerous. But before morning the missing man had turned up and told them how he had hidden in bushes where he could watch these strangers without being observed by them. He described how Flinders took away some fresh water, how some of the white strangers killed some of the numerous wild-fowl with their loud-sounding weapons, and how they afterwards went away in their kondole (boat or canoe) towards the ship they came from.

It seems, explained Watson, that their first impulse was to receive
the strangers in a friendly manner, but evidently the crew of the boat, few as they were, could not trust in their good intentions, and fired the guns to scare them off.

Watson commented finally that Armitage's translations were, no doubt, very broad, and derived from translation by the aborigines. Literal translation, however, was difficult because of the way in which the words ran into one another, and were embellished with extra syllables, as was done in nearly all aboriginal chants. There was little doubt, however, that the songs referred to the visits of Cook and Flinders, and that the traditions and songs had been perpetuated ever since the occurrence of the visits.