



NUMBER: 215 — MAY 2020

MEETING OF TWO CULTURES - 250 YEARS



The Cook Landing, by Yvonne Porta, (undated) oil triptych

In this painting artist Yvonne Porta places the Gweagal warriors in the forefront of this historic event.

MINDFUL OF THE PAST – FOCUSED ON THE FUTURE

EMAIL: shirehistory@gmail.com **SSHS WEBSITE:** www.shirehistory.org

FACEBOOK: Sutherland Shire Historical Society

**DON'T FORGET
SSHS MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL FEES FOR 2020-2021 ARE NOW DUE**

But Wait ... read this first

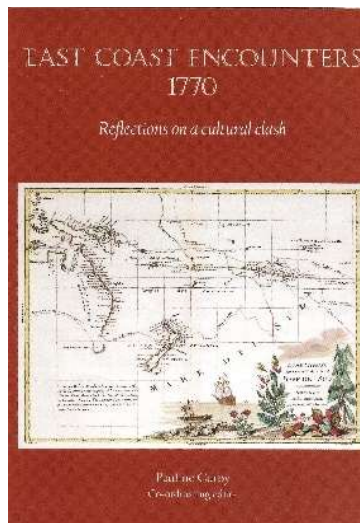
We have a deal for new members and renewing members

*Sutherland Shire Historical Society's new publication **East Coast Encounters 1770**, is normally available to members for \$30+postage (non-members \$35+postage).*

However, as a special deal for new SSHS members, or those renewing their membership, this book can be purchased for just

\$20 (+ free postage)

(See Book Review, p.19 and feedback from readers in the *Letters to the Editor*, p.4.
And go to our website: www.shirehistory.org to see video clips from the authors talking about their contribution)



The enclosed membership renewal form has the details



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Notice to SSHS Members

Win a bottle of wine

We are hoping to enlist your support to sell books by spreading the word to your friends and colleagues on Social Media, word of mouth, etc, and at the same time be in the running to win a nice bottle of wine.

We are running a competition amongst the membership with a decent bottle of Shiraz or Sparkling White Wine - your choice - to the person who initiates the most sales of *East Coast Encounters 1770*. The competition finishes on 1st September and the winner will be announced at the AGM (Saturday, 19th September). Just send us before the AGM (via post or email) the list of people on your contact list who have said they will buy the book, and we'll match it with our record of sales to find a winner. You could email or print your contacts a copy of the attached book order form which will explain how to purchase a book. Or you could direct them to our website: www.shirehistory.org

SUTHERLAND SHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE SOCIETY

The SSHS has a proud tradition stretching back more than half a century and is an entirely volunteer and not-for-profit organisation. Over the years the Society has taken on the responsibility of recording and preserving local history so that Shire residents can learn more about our past.

WRITING FOR THE BULLETIN

Since its beginning, the Society has fostered the skills of local writers and their work is recorded in the *Bulletin* – copies of which can be accessed in Sutherland Shire Library Local Studies room and on our website: www.shirehistory.org. Members and non-members are invited to submit material for future editions and although we give local history priority, we are happy to accept stories on Australian history generally. We ask that you quote your sources and acknowledge any material used as well as obtaining permission from authors. Any enquiries contact the Editor: Elizabeth Craig at elizabeth.craig@y7mail.com or phone 0491 096 642.

Digital copies of the *Sutherland Shire Historical Society Inc Bulletin* are emailed to all Society members with online access. Print copies are sent free to members without online access. Digital copies are also emailed to all Shire council libraries, the Mayor, Shire General Manager, all Councillors, the Royal Australian Historical Society, National Trust of NSW, NSW State Library, National Library of Australia, University of Sydney, University of NSW, State Rail Authority, Australia Post Archives, Sydney Water Board Historical Research Unit and Shire high school libraries. Issues from September 1966 are also posted on the SSHS website: www.shirehistory.org

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REGISTRATION

SSHS BULLETIN – ISSN 1444-2930 (from February 2000); ISSN 2652-0400 (Online) (from May 2019)

Society publications are registered with the National Library of Australia in accordance with International Standard Serial Numbering and have an ISSN or ISBN number.

SUTHERLAND SHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEETINGS

Monthly meetings are held on the THIRD Saturday of each month at 1.30 pm (except December) – at Stapleton Centre, 3A Stapleton Avenue, Sutherland (near the library). We welcome visitors to hear our guest speakers, mix with local history enthusiasts and share afternoon tea and a chat. Due to the COVID-19 crisis, meetings have been suspended until further notice.

SUTHERLAND SHIRE MUSEUM

Our museum is currently closed. We have been relocated from the Sutherland Memorial School of Arts in East Parade Sutherland to a venue in Venetia Street, Sylvania, which, after COVID-19 crisis is over, will be renovated to accommodate our Museum. More information on access, opening times etc will be released in due course.

DONATING MATERIAL: If you have items of historical significance for Sutherland Shire, we welcome their donation to the museum to keep for posterity. If you do not wish to part with items, we would appreciate having copies of documents and photographs. Temporary loans for specific periods are also welcome. Cash donations and sponsorship assist us to improve the museum and perhaps you can keep the museum in mind when planning your estate. Donations will be stored safely while we wait for renovations of our new venue to be finished.

CONTACTING THE SOCIETY

All correspondence and membership enquiries should be addressed to The Honorary Secretary,
Sutherland Shire Historical Society. PO Box 389. Sutherland. NSW. 1499

Alternatively, email us at shirehistory@gmail.com

SOCIETY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: 2019-2020

ELECTED MEMBERS

PATRON:	Shire Mayor, Clr Carmelo Pesce		
PRESIDENT	Bruce Watt	0405 493 187	watto51@optusnet.com.au
DEPUTY PRESIDENT	Joe Hales	0418 270 744	joe_hales@outlook.com
SECRETARY/PUBLIC OFFICER	Vacant		
TREASURER	John Doherty	0402 848 344	johndoherty55@gmail.com
COMMITTEE MEMBERS	Carol McDonald	9528 5122	jmcdonald@optusnet.com.au
	Elizabeth Craig	0491 099 642	elizabeth.craig@y7mail.com
	Helen Rosner	8539 7707	hmrosner@bigpond.com

APPOINTED POSITIONS

MUSEUM CURATOR/MANAGER	Vacant		
BULLETIN EDITOR	Elizabeth Craig	0491 096 642	elizabeth.craig@y7mail.com
ONLINE ADMINISTRATOR	Creo Moore	0425 226 405	creoaus@gmail.com
PUBLICATIONS OFFICER	Pauline Curby	0427 527 721	pcurby@iprimus.com.au
PUBLICITY OFFICER	Pauline Curby	0427 527 721	pcurby@iprimus.com.au
ARCHIVIST/RESEARCH OFFICER	Carol McDonald	9528 5122	jmcdonald@optusnet.com.au
GRANTS OFFICER	Don Rothnie	0409 820 815	bardon@bigpond.com.au
ASSISTANT SECRETARY	Carol McDonald	9528 5122	jmcdonald@optusnet.com.au
EXCURSIONS OFFICER	Vacant		
BULLETIN PROOF READER	Vacant		
EXCURSIONS BOOKING CLERK	Vacant		
HERITAGE WEEK LIAISON OFFICER	Helen Rosner	8539 7707	hmrosner@bigpond.com
WELFARE OFFICER	Gloria Hans	9589 0251	
HONORARY SOLICITOR	Michael Solari		

If you are interested in volunteering for any of the positions still vacant and wish more information, please don't hesitate to contact an Executive Committee member by email or speak to us at the next meeting

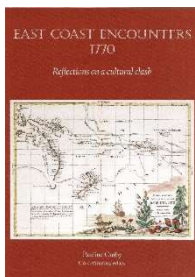
MEMBERSHIP RENEWALS FOR 2020-2021 ARE NOW DUE

MEMBERSHIP FORM IS ATTACHED

See inside front cover for details on purchasing a copy of our new publication, *East Coast Encounters 1770* for the heavily discounted price of \$20 if you renew your membership

Letters to the Editor

RESPONSE TO NEW PUBLICATION



East Coast Encounters 1770, Reflections on a cultural clash, SSHS 2020

Wow! First of all, congratulations on the Society getting behind the project that has seen this through to publication. What an interesting and eclectic mix of articles that are very thought provoking ... Of course that is what good history should be about. The nice thing about these articles is that on the whole they are relatively accessible. Not purely for an academic audience which is a relief, yet at the same time well referenced, which enables the general reader to follow up any further sources if they wish to. I liked the idea of the bibliography at the end of the book too. A very wise move. Thank you. I hope your Society is able to re-schedule your book launch to a date into the future after this CO-VID19 situation ends, as this publication deserves to be celebrated.

*Michael Christie
Prospect Heritage Trust*

Have read [East Coast Encounters 1770] from cover to cover. So many perspectives and all of great interest. Your book is so well designed and illustrated - and a good size too. Thank you for your insights into Sutherland Shire - fascinating. All your contributors have widened the present and historical picture beautifully.

*Rosie Block
Former Curator of Oral History, NSW State Library*

CORRECTING THE HISTORY ON HENRY LAWSON

Dear Editor,

This letter is to advise the Society that there have been misunderstandings relating to Henry Lawson's visits to your area. The article in your local newspaper, The St George & Sutherland Shire Leader of 22nd January 2020, was passed on to me by a Shire resident who has read some of my writing on Henry Lawson and knew I would be interested. (I am one of Henry Lawson's closest living relatives, all those of the previous two generations having passed away.)

The main point needing correction is the assertion that Henry spent 'years' in the Shire. He may have visited for a day or so as he drifted about in 1914-15 and again in 1918-19, as his old friend and publisher, Mr Archibald had a bushland retreat down that way. For those years, as for most of the previous decade from 1904 on, Henry was in Mrs Byers' care in North Sydney, in William Street or Euroka Street, and during the War he was in Leeton-Yanco in south-west NSW.

In 1915 the NSW State Premier, Mr Holman decided to send Henry Lawson to the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area (MIA), as Government-appointed journalist to write on the newly established MIA and encourage settlers, because all the young men required for farm labour had joined up and gone to the Front. It was decided to give him a State Government cottage at Leeton-Yanco and for Mrs Byers to be officially appointed to housekeep for him at Government expense. They left Sydney at New Year 1916, with the intention of staying there for the duration – initially for two years – as lack of labour in the MIA was a serious problem. The MIA was a prohibition area.

Henry was certainly not in the Sutherland Shire during that period. After their return at the end of 1917, Henry Lawson's home address was 31 Euroka Street, North Sydney. The only written evidence we have of his time in the Sutherland Shire is a letter he wrote to J.F. Archibald from 31 Euroka Street, North Sydney. It was dated 27th May 1919.

Dear Mr Archibald,

I was very glad, grateful and relieved to hear of your kind offer re the Port Hacking place. I would pack up and shift any time, any day, but would probably leave Mrs Byers here for a week or two.

Kindly give her a few points how to get there, etc.

Believe me,

Yours very gratefully,
Henry Lawson

It seems that Henry Lawson did stay in the Shire for the winter of 1919 for about three months because he wrote letters from 31 Euroka Street early in June and again late in September. The letter of 27th May 1919 suggests he knew his way to the cottage, so had no doubt made the odd visit before. It is worth remembering that in those days the boundaries of townships – rough bush tracks in the main – were not as they are now, so his reference to 'the Port Hacking place' was just a general location – for ether the Como cottage, or perhaps another bush retreat Mr Archibald may have owned. Whichever cottage it was, Henry certainly did not rent it, as the article states. He was Archibald's guest.

I would appreciate it if you would inform members of your society of the content of this letter.

Olive Lawson
Woollahra, NSW

Authorities for further research on Henry Lawson:

- Dr Colin Roderick, *Henry Lawson: A Life*, Angus & Robertson, 1991
- Olive Lawson, *Henry Lawson at Leeton, January 1916 – August 1917*, Leeton Family & Local Hist. Soc, 2004

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

BRUCE WATT



I began writing this report on Anzac Day morning, April 25 2020, a momentous day for many reasons. For many years I have attended the Anzac Day ceremony at Monro

Park in Cronulla. Over the years the crowds have grown, huddled reverently often in the bracing chill of the pre-dawn morning. This year it is very different. With a candle, I stood at the front gate of my house as a mark of solidarity but in isolation because of the distancing protocol associated with the Corona virus pandemic and lockdown which has turned our lives upside down since February, and possibly will into the foreseeable future.

This morning was special. A mild morning with several neighbours also standing quietly outside their houses with a candle. The solitude exacerbated the beauty of the scene with gum trees gently moving, magpies warbling and at intervals from several directions, the distant sound of bugles and pipers.

This is not the first time that Anzac Day was not celebrated publicly in Australia. In 1919 it was not observed, as soldiers returning from the Great War carried influenza. In Australia it would claim about 15,000 lives and about 50 million lives worldwide. Lives were even lost in the thinly populated Sutherland Shire. It was not held again in 1942 as Darwin was bombed.

Covid-19 is one of a group of Corona viruses (eg SARS and MERS) causing respiratory tract infections that can range from mild to lethal, especially in this case among older victims. Australia has so far avoided the high infection and death toll in Asia, Europe and the USA, in part due to a lock down which has radically changed the way we live.

Unable to cluster together, millions of workers have been stood down, many businesses have

closed and travel restrictions have led to businesses like Virgin Australia being placed in administration. We are living through one of the most tumultuous periods of our history. Our governments have acted swiftly to provide economic assistance to large sectors of the workforce and businesses. Though Australia appears to be coping better than other regions of the world, we may be still in the early stages of the pandemic and the ultimate economic cost is yet unclear.

Our membership is largely in the cohort that is most affected. I do hope that we are following the lockdown rules and keeping safe from infection. The new rules will affect all manner of people as a result of isolation. This is why it is important to maintain social contacts, read, keep active and remain positive. Despite the life changing impacts, we look forward to seeing you when things return to normal.

A huge number of public events have been cancelled due to distancing laws. The full range of national Heritage Festival events were cancelled, including the hosting of the opening of the Sutherland Shire Heritage Festival. The Sutherland Shire Historical Society had requested that we host this event as it marked the 250th anniversary of the arrival of Captain James Cook in HMB Endeavour at Botany Bay in April 1770. The Society had been instrumental in the compilation of a book, *Employ'd as a discoverer*, based on papers presented at the Captain Cook bi-centenary symposium between 1-3 May 1970. In fact the commemoration stretched over the whole of the year with many significant legacy items completed including the establishment of the E G Waterhouse Camellia Gardens, a water feature honouring James Cook's wife Elizabeth, Forby Sutherland Park at Sutherland and an amphitheatre at Gunnamatta Park where a performance of 'Corroboree' by eminent local composer John Antill was performed.

For this year's commemoration, the Society produced a book called *East Coast Encounters 1770, Reflections on a cultural clash*. History is constantly being reassessed. Heroic deeds of Empire had been the focus of Australian history in the past. A more nuanced approach that includes Indigenous culture and history has added balance to our history which has been a welcome trend. This book artfully captures this approach. The launch was cancelled due to the lockdown and social distancing regulations. A more detailed report on the book is included elsewhere in this *Bulletin*. I must congratulate the ten contributors and the SSHS publications committee comprising Elizabeth Adams, Elizabeth Craig (project manager), Pauline Curby (convenor and co-ordinating editor) and Ian Stewart, on a fine contribution to our literary output.

I'm reminded of the Society's prodigious literary output in recent years. These have included a members anthology of memories: *My world when I was 10*, a Shire history, a history of the Sutherland Shire Historical Society, a suburb profile on Kareela, a text on the Dharawal Aboriginal people, the 250th commemoration book just mentioned and of course many *Bulletins* which have been recognised as among local historical societies' best. Our congratulations and gratitude go to our talented and hard-working *Bulletin* editor, Elizabeth Craig who has overseen the digitisation of the entire back catalogue of *Bulletins* which can now be searched on line.

With all museums in lockdown, including our own, there is little to report. As stated many times previously, the Sutherland Shire Museum is to be relocated from its present site of 34 years. The lockdown occurred as the Society moved to close the museum in preparation for the move. Little has proceeded as a result, and Council has been unable to refurbish the alternative site.

Our Museums and Galleries consultant has been keen to coordinate the pack up, and we had him booked to talk to the meeting in June about a strategic plan for moving the museum and the Society forward. This is likely to be

postponed. As with so many things in our lives at the moment, it's a case of 'watch this space'!

I have visited Kurnell where the 'Meeting of two cultures' ceremony on April 29 has also been postponed. However, much progress can be reported on the 250th commemorative event. The Captain Cook obelisk, erected by Thomas Holt in 1870 to honour the centenary of Cook's landing has been restored. Three sculptures have been completed and designed by Indigenous artists. They include the rib bones of a whale (Orca), an animal sacred to the Dharawal people and two Nawi's (Aboriginal canoes) Overlooking the landing site, the cottage, originally built in the 1820s, rebuilt at the turn of the 20th century, has now been restored. The pier linking Kurnell with Sans Souci and La Perouse and the new Discovery Centre has yet to be commenced.

On a sad note, I have to report that our very hard working and popular Secretary, Don Rothnie has decided that due to growing family commitments it is no longer possible for him to continue in this role. Don's work in ensuring we comply with regulations, his good-humoured patience with our sometimes recalcitrance, and his friendship have been greatly valued and we will miss him. Fortunately, Don has agreed to stay on as Grants Officer – a huge asset to the Society. Through the grants organised by Don we have been able to acquire equipment, such as scanners, computers, display cabinets and the interactive kiosk, that we otherwise would not have had. Thank you for your great service and commitment as Secretary, Don. We look forward to seeing you at meetings again soon.

One final matter. On one of the last days that the museum was open, a donation of great importance was made to the Society from a Como resident. We were delighted to receive an extremely interesting typewriter from 1889 in its original box. (Mechanical typewriters were first invented in 1873.) Students, raised on computer keyboards find typewriters fascinating. We love to surprise and delight our museum visitors, and this will eventually be on show. (See image of the Victor Typewriter on inside back cover of this *Bulletin*.)

SSHS CALENDAR: JUNE 2020 – AUGUST 2020
(See website: www.shirehistory.org for updates)

SSHS MEETING - normally held at 1.30pm, 3rd Saturday in the month
at the Stapleton Centre, Sutherland

NO MEETINGS UNTIL JULY

Due to the Corona-Virus there will be no meetings
in MAY or JUNE

THE MUSEUM IS CLOSED

Because of our relocation from the Sutherland Memorial School of Arts
to a venue in Venetia St., Sylvania - to be renovated prior to SSHS moving in -
the Museum will be closed until further notice. We will keep you posted

DATE

JULY 2020	Sat. 18th	SPEAKER: Greg Jackson and Pam Forbes will be presenting 'Endeavour, Her Life After Cook.' Archaeologists from Australia's National Maritime Museum, together with American Colleges, have been searching the cold waters of Newport Rhode Island attempting to answer this question. This presentation looks at Endeavour's history after 1771 and the search for her final resting place, a search that is still ongoing, but seems to be nearing a successful conclusion.
AUG.	Sat. 21st	SPEAKER: Carol McDonald, SSHS Researcher & Archivist, will talk on the history of Sylvania through photos and documents from our Archive, explaining the significance Sylvania to the Shire.
SEPT.	Sat. 19th	SSHS AGM Think about standing for a Committee position. Crucial positions currently vacant: Secretary and Museum Curator If you have an interest in museums, this is an opportunity to be in at the beginning to put your stamp on the way SSHS displays our artefacts .
SUN. 25TH OCT.		EXCURSION: to the Nursing Museum at the Old Prince Henry Hospital, then on to La Perouse Museum and Bare Island guided tour. Cost: \$15 (\$13 concessions) for Bare Island tour. Advise to bring lunch. Departing Sutherland outside Museum at 9.15am and car pool. Let Christine Edney know if you will attend – 8519 4711 or cmedney@gmail.com.au

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

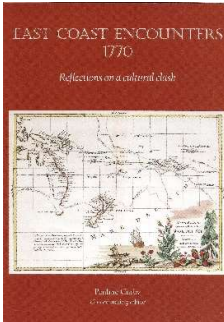
As you couldn't help but notice, this *Bulletin* has been dedicated to topics around the 250th anniversary of the arrival of Lt James Cook and the *Endeavour* crew. They contain some very thoughtful new information as well as some thought-provoking ideas about this well-known story.

I noted with interest that the April 1970 *Bulletin*, in marking the bicentenary of Cook's arrival, focussed mostly on the Symposium that was about to be held, for which they managed to secure Prof. John Cawte Beaglehole as their keynote speaker. A real coup, as he was the foremost authority in the world on Cook! I have learned since that a very good friend of Beaglehole's, Dr Avrille Lysaght was the godmother of SSHS Member Vincent Megaw, who edited the book, *Employ'd as a Discoverer*, a compilation of addresses at the Symposium. Ah ha! How wonderful to have connections like that!

We are very proud of our commemorative book, *East Coast Encounters 1770*, and hope you will support SSHS and buy a copy. (It would make a good present too!)

PUBLICATIONS REPORT

PAULINE CURBY



It was going to be a gala occasion on 18 April - the launch of our new publication, *East Coast Encounters 1770, reflections on a cultural clash*. Club on East was booked, the two launchers organised and the books had arrived, but then the impact of COVID-19 meant we were obliged to cancel our long-awaited book launch. With many potential sales outlets closed and no monthly Society meetings at which members could purchase copies of the book, things were looking grim.

Our aim to publicise our book as widely as possible in these difficult times has led us to think hard about promotion. As a result, Sutherland Shire Historical Society's publications committee has launched an online/social media campaign to promote *East Coast Encounters 1770*. We are working closely with Graham Sciberras, previously technical officer for RAHS, who now works at the Universities Admissions Centre as content editor. We are recording short monologues/interviews with the writers for online distribution, with Bruce Howell's thoughtful talk on his chapter 'First encounter, a reassessment based on the *Endeavour* journals' the first up on our website <https://www.shirehistory.org/ece.html>, and our new YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCKchZQNvWnBzwvENsPis9Bw>. Others will follow soon.

A welcome initiative from Sutherland Library is the plan for the library to host a virtual launch of *East Coast Encounters 1770* in early May. We are very appreciative of this gesture and for the support of Sutherland Shire Council in awarding us funding in the form of a heritage publication grant. Unfortunately, notification of this came too late for an acknowledgment to be

included in the publication. This grant is in addition to one already received from Create NSW's Cultural Grant program – a devolved funding program administered by the Royal Australian Historical Society on behalf of the NSW Government. Receiving such grants not only indicates the confidence these organisations have that SSHS can deliver a quality product, but it means that the Society's funds are safeguarded if the book fails to generate a profit – something we are confident will not be the case.

Meanwhile the publications committee is working hard to 'spread the word', contacting historical societies, libraries and other like-minded organisations throughout the state. Cronulla's Best Little Bookshop in Town has begun to receive interstate orders for the book which is amazing – and very gratifying.

Further on the money front – the Society has had its deposit from Club on East refunded, so we are not out of pocket. Another good news item is that members have been offered a special \$20 book deal when they renew their membership. If you haven't taken up this offer now is the time to do so.

And for those members with a bit of a competitive spirit and a taste for a good wine, we have set up a competition for the person who can generate the most sales of *East Coast Encounters 1770*. The winner, to be announced at our September AGM, will be awarded a decent bottle of red or white wine – your choice. Just send us a list of people who have told you they will order the book, and we'll match your list with our orders. (An order form with book and postage costs can be found at www.shirehistory.org/ece.html.)

Thank you to everyone who has enabled this publication to come to fruition, in particular the publication committee and other members of SSHS executive who have supported this venture with enthusiasm.

ENDEAVOUR AFTER COOK

GILLIAN LEWIS, PAM FORBES AND GREG JACKSON

Introduction:

The story of James Cook's first voyage to the south Pacific Ocean aboard HM Bark *Endeavour* from 1768 to 1771 is well known. What is not so well known is the fate of *Endeavour* after Cook's successful voyage. This article looks at *Endeavour's* fate after 1771 and the search for her final resting place, a search that is still ongoing but nearing a successful conclusion.

Endeavour the ship:

HM Bark *Endeavour* was a Whitby (Yorkshire, UK) bark of 360 tonnes originally called the *Earl of Pembroke*. Round-bowed and deep waisted, a slowish sailer but solidly reliable of a type Cook knew during his time in the coal trade in the Merchant Navy. She could carry plenty of cargo, but before setting out for the southern oceans needed a refit and additional accommodation on a new deck laid over structural cross members in the hold area to create a living area for a majority of the 94 sailors, marines and officers who started the voyage with Cook.



Image 1: Replica of *Endeavour* at ANMM, Darling Harbour, launched 1993 [courtesy: ANMM]

Endeavour was not a large vessel, being smaller than most modern harbour ferries. She had a length on deck of 33m (101'), a beam of 8.9m (29') and a draft of only 3.6m (12'), a definite advantage for a vessel of exploration in uncharted waters. Excellent plans of *Endeavour* exist from a survey 1768 and in 1993 a full-size replica, built in Fremantle WA, was launched. This ship has replicated Cook's first voyage and travelled the world extensively, demonstrating the Admiralties' wisdom in choosing this type of vessel for Cook in 1768.

Cook's first voyage:

The aims of Cook's first voyage of exploration to the Southern Ocean were twofold. Firstly, to observe the transit of Venus from Tahiti, and then to search the largely uncharted ocean to the south and west for undiscovered lands. Both these aims were achieved but not without incident. While sailing up the eastern coast of Australia *Endeavour* ran aground and was badly damaged on *Endeavour Reef*, near modern Cooktown. This near catastrophe resulted in the first artefacts from the *Endeavour* being deposited. In 1969 an underwater search discovered six abandoned cannons, ballast and an anchor which had been discarded by the *Endeavour's* crew in 1770 whilst successfully refloating the ship.

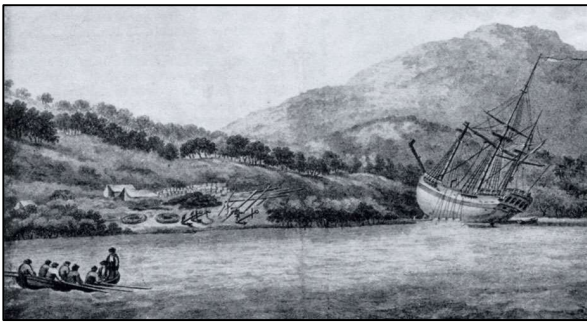


Image 2: *Endeavour* being repaired in the *Endeavour* River, Queensland's Great Barrier Reef. Engraved by William Byrne after Sydney Parkinson, 1773
[Courtesy: National Maritime Museum, Greenwich]

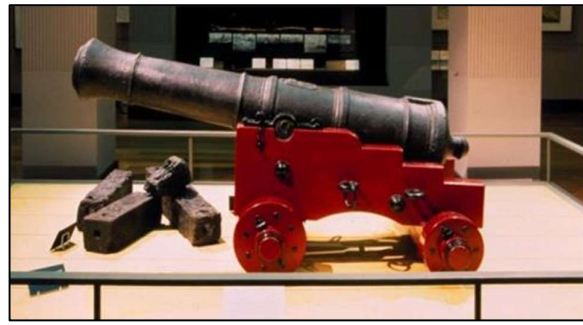


Image 3: *Endeavour* cannon and iron ballast lost for over 200 years. Wreck debris found in 1969, now on display at ANMM [Photo: Greg Jackson]

Naval service post Cook:

While Cook and Joseph Banks were fêted after their successful voyage, *Endeavour* was largely forgotten. Within a week of her return to England, she was directed to Woolwich Dockyard for refitting as a naval transport. Under the command of Lt James Gordon, she then made three return voyages to the Falkland Islands in South America, the last in 1774.

In 1775 a naval survey found *Endeavour* to be in poor condition, a result of her 70,000 sailing miles over a 10-year period. The Royal Navy sold her in March 1775 to shipping magnate J. Mather for £645. Following repairs to *Endeavour*, now named *Lord Sandwich*, she was awarded a contract in February 1776 to transport troops and materials to the rebellious North American colonies. The new name honored John Montagu, the 4th Earl of Sandwich, who served as First Lord of the Admiralty during the latter half of the 18th century and was an avid supporter of Cook's voyages.

Lord Sandwich sailed on 6th May 1776 from Portsmouth in a fleet of 100 vessels - 68 of which were transports - which was under orders to support Howe's campaign to capture New York. *Lord Sandwich* carried 206 men. The scattered fleet assembled at Halifax then sailed to Sandy Hook where other ships and troops assembled. In 1777 France entered the war on the side of the Americans and in July 1778 the French squadron arrived at Narragansett Bay. The French fleet was superior in strength and numbers to the British at Rhode Island and the British declined to engage the French.

The sinking of *Endeavour*:

In the summer of 1778, the Americans with their French allies agreed on a pincer plan to recapture Newport from the British. The American army would approach overland and a French Fleet would sail into the harbour. To prevent the latter the British commander, Captain John Brisbane, determined to blockade the bay by sinking surplus vessels at its mouth. Between 3rd and 6th August a fleet of Royal Navy and hired craft, including *Lord Sandwich*, were scuttled at various locations in the Bay. *Lord Sandwich*, previously *Endeavour*, and before that *Earl of Pembroke*, was sunk on 4th August 1778, one of five ships sunk across the channel between Goat Island and North Battery. Research in the 1990s identified the area where *Endeavour* was sunk, and the recorded information of the other transports ships sunk in close proximity. Such historic research is being used to help archaeologists locate and identify the remains of the *Endeavour*.

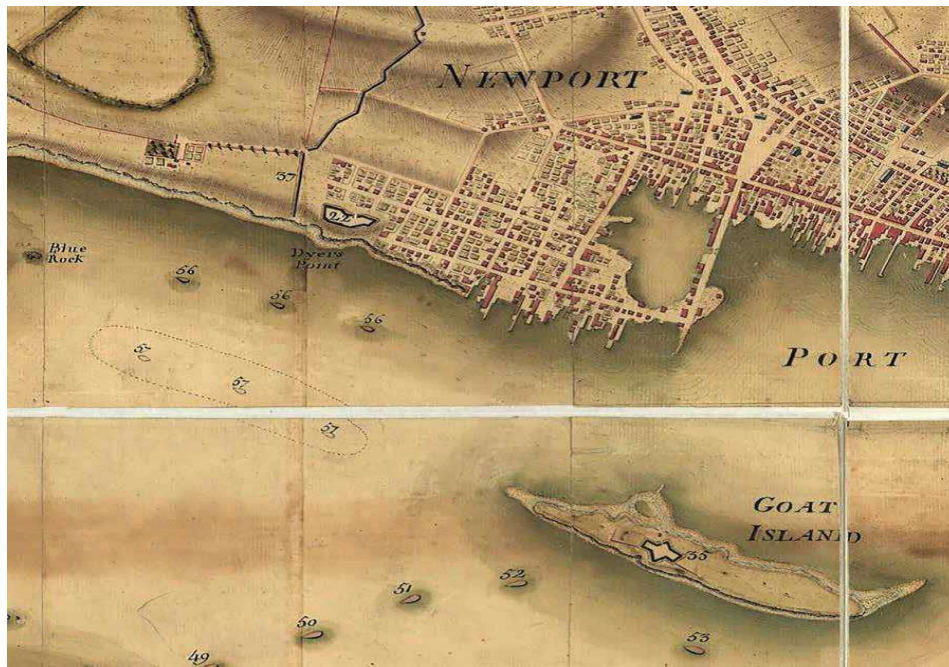


Image 4: Lord Sandwich was scuttled in about 7 fathoms of water between Goat Island and Battery Point (Dyers Point). There she remains, slowly succumbing to the ravages of worm and decay ¹

Better known by its nickname the 'Kerry Site', named after Dr Kerry Lynch, an American archaeologist and the Rhode Island Marine Archaeological Project (RIMAP) Field Supervisor. The Kerry site is located in Narragansett Harbour. Rhode Island RIMAP investigators first detected the wrecks in 1993, and identified them as ships scuttled by the British in 1778.

Archaeology exploration:

There are several possible candidates for the *Endeavour* at the Kerry site, but clues exist to guide the search.

- *Endeavour* was the largest of the ships scuttled at the Kerry site.
- *Endeavour*'s keelson was elm wood. This is unusual for a ship built at that time.
- *Endeavour* was repaired with Australian timbers after running aground on the Barrier Reef. Finding these Australian timbers on a ship at the Kerry site would be conclusive proof that Cook's *Endeavour* had been found.

Time and mud have proved determined adversaries in the quest for *Endeavour*. The visibility in Newport Harbor during the summer and autumn months is usually less than two metres. The seabed is predominantly silt that is easily disturbed and can reduce visibility to zero in moments. The water also tends to be chilly, even when the air temperature is warm. Dive times can be up to 1 hour, so divers wear dry suits with warm clothes underneath. The site has previously been damaged by dredging that destroyed some of the archaeology and dangerous old torpedoes which were manufactured nearby are also a hazard.

Based on preliminary research and site investigation a most-likely wreck has been identified. The wreck is largely buried beneath the seabed, but its visible features include stone ballast, four small 18th-century cannons, a lead scupper and a variety of partially exposed wooden hull components of frames, as well as the stump of a stanchion (vertical post) and sections of hull (external) and ceiling (internal) planking. The scantlings (dimensions) of the visible hull

timbers are substantial and correlate well to those of *Endeavour* (Lord Sandwich). More than 10,000 photographs were collected over the course of the 2018 field season alone, and the sheer volume of images has meant that generating a composite 3D photogrammetry images of the shipwreck has been painstakingly slow. An explanation of photogrammetric images is contained in the side box.



Image 5: *Photogrammetric image of wooden hull frames* ². [Photo: James Hunter, ANMM]

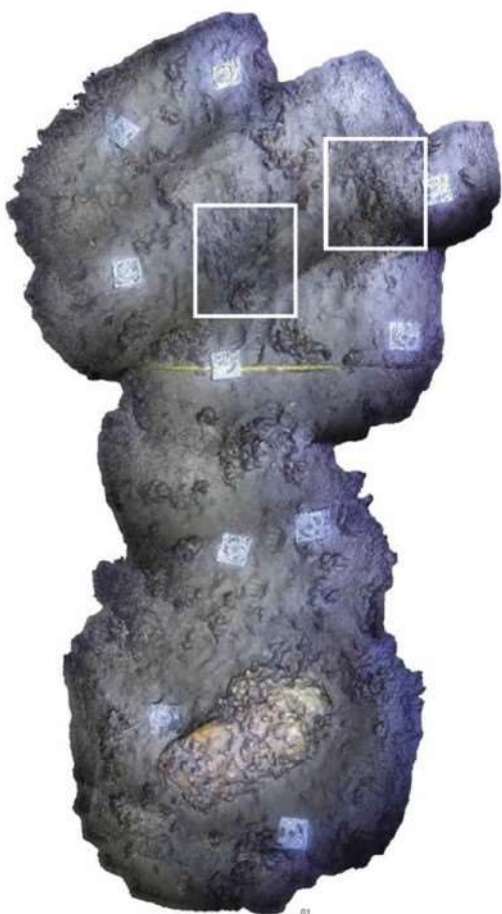


Image 6: *Photogrammetric image of three timber frames this section is the most visible of any of the hull remains. The black and yellow scale is 0.91m (3feet) long.* [photo: James Hunter, ANMM]

Conclusion:

The search had proceeded slowly, due to the difficulty identifying the many shipwrecks detected in Newport Harbour, and because of limited funds. But the investigators are now more sure than ever that they had found the right shipwreck. The recent underwater excavations by divers from RIMAP, the Australian National Maritime Museum and the Australian non-profit Silentworld Foundation have recovered hundreds of artefacts from the wreck now thought to be the *Endeavour* (*Lord Sandwich*), including wood fragments, bits of leather, textiles, glass, ceramics, gun flints and ballast stones.

The fleet of scuttled ships at the Kerry site is significant to USA's national history because of the part it played in events leading up to the Battle of Rhode Island in the American Revolution. It is equally important to Australians because of the iconic status of *Endeavour* as the first European ship to sail our east coast waters. The Australian National Maritime Museum has been instrumental in supporting RIMAP, providing both maritime archaeologists and research. The race is on to positively identify the *Endeavour* wreck in time for the 250th anniversary of Captain Cook's historic voyage to Australia.

PHOTOGRAMMETRY

PHOTOGRAMMETRY USES A COMBINATION OF PHOTOGRAPHY AND COMPUTING TO CREATE 3D IMAGE FROM MULTIPLE OVERLAPPING 2D DIGITAL PHOTOGRAPHS. IT IS PARTICULARLY USEFUL IN POOR VISIBILITY, UNDERWATER APPLICATIONS WHERE MULTIPLE IMAGES, TAKEN AT CLOSE RANGE, CAN BE COMBINED BY A COMPUTER INTO ROTATABLE SCALABLE UNDISTORTED IMAGE WHICH, BECAUSE THE IMAGES WERE ALL TAKEN FROM CLOSE RANGE, HAS THE APPEARANCE OF BEING TAKEN IN CLEAR WATER.

References:

1. Library of congress, 1780, *Plan de la position de l'armée française autour de Newport et du mouillage de l'escadre dans la rade de cette ville*. Call Number/Physical Location G3774.N4S3 1780 .P53
<https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3774n.ar102000/?r=-1.429,-0.094,3.858,1.42,0>
2. Rhode Island revisited: The search for Cook's Endeavour continues
<https://www.sea.museum/2019/12/13/rhode-island-revisited-the-search-for-cooks-endeavour-continues>

JAMES COOK'S *ENDEAVOUR* JOURNAL

BRUCE HOWELL

In terms of the history of Australia, it would be hard to think of a document more significant than James Cook's *Endeavour* journal. This is the journal kept by James Cook throughout his first great voyage, commencing in 1768 and finishing in 1771. The section that records the traversing of the east coast of 'New Holland' is, of course, especially relevant in 2020 as we mark 250 years since that time.

But there are various 'versions' of Cook's *Endeavour* Journal. Firstly, there is the journal written by James Cook himself, *in his own hand*, while aboard the *Endeavour*. This original document is referred to as 'Cook's holograph'.¹ Then, there are three *copies* of Cook's holograph that were transcribed during the *Endeavour* voyage. So by the end of the journey there was Cook's holograph, plus three handwritten copies of it.

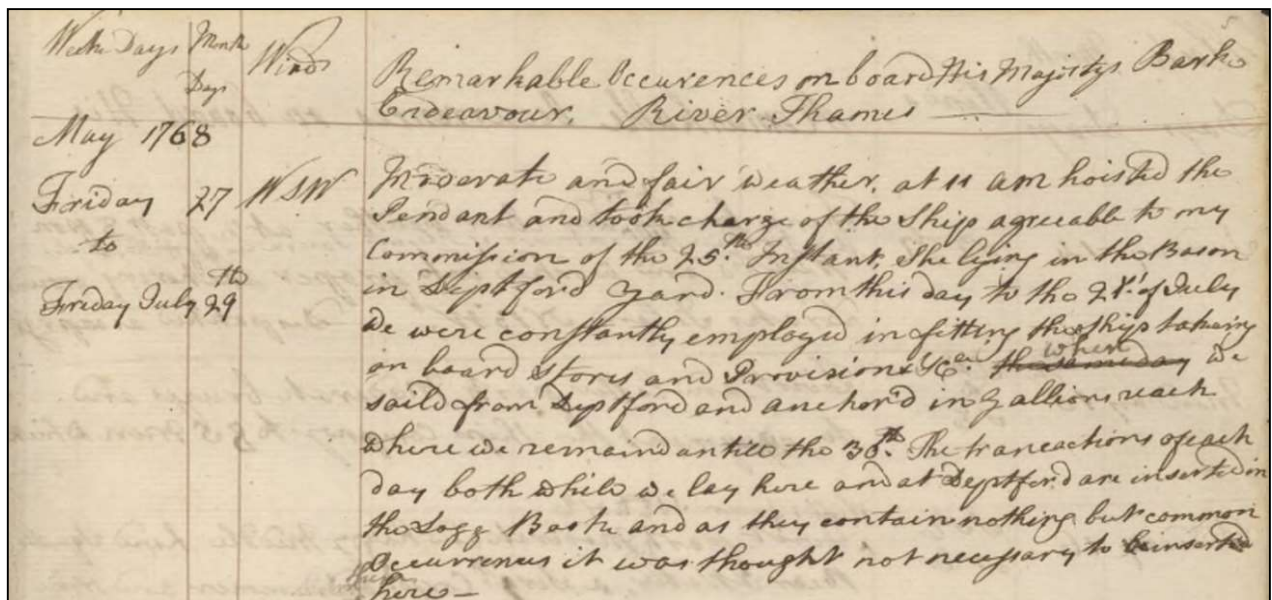
One of the three copies was sent back to London, soon after the *Endeavour* reached Batavia.² Another was presented to the Admiralty (the 'Admiralty copy') upon returning to England, and a third copy was presented to the King George III (later referred to as 'the Queen's copy').³

Cook's Holograph:

James Cook retained his own journal, and it appears to have remained in his family for many years. It resurfaced over a hundred years later in 1895, without raising much interest.⁴ Perhaps this was because it is essentially Cook's 'rough copy' – it contains his corrections and afterthoughts – words crossed out, words and sentences squeezed in within the lines of text,⁵ and comments written within the margins.⁶ But looking back on that voyage now, it is those changes that are the most interesting – they offer the opportunity to learn more than has already been learned from the transcribed copies.

The holograph resurfaced again in 1923 when it was purchased at auction for the Australian Commonwealth Parliamentary Library and is now held by the National Library of Australia.^{7, 8}

The opening entry from the holograph:



And so the story begins... notice that even in this first entry, Cook has changed his wording slightly on the bottom lines. The holograph has no title page, nor formal cover, in fact it commences exactly as above.

The Three Copies:

The Copy sent back from Batavia

This copy, in the hand of Richard Orton (Cook's clerk), was sent to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir Philip Stephens, on 24th October 1770. Stephens appears to have kept this copy, since it ended up in the hands of his descendants. It was sold in 1890 to a Mr John Corner and is sometimes referred to as 'the Corner copy' or 'the Corner journal'. Then in 1895 Australian philanthropist F.H. Dangar bought it from the executors of Corner's will for presentation to the Australian Museum in Sydney. In 1935 it was transferred to the Mitchell Library.^{9, 10}

The 'Admiralty Copy'

Upon the *Endeavour's* arrival back in England, a second copy of the journal (also in Orton's hand) was deposited with the Admiralty. It contains the entries for the remainder of the journey home from Batavia, from 24th October through to 13th July 1771, almost nine extra months of entries.¹¹ There are small changes to the Admiralty copy that can be found nowhere else, not even in the holograph journal.^{12, 13}

A Third Copy

This is the copy believed to have been presented to King George III shortly after arrival back in England. There are many unusual things about this copy. It is written in several different hands, and is complemented by information from the ship's log regarding weather conditions, courses taken and wind directions.¹⁴ Furthermore, the entries in this copy terminate on 10th October 1770, the day *Endeavour* reached Batavia.¹⁵

Published Versions of Cook's Journal:

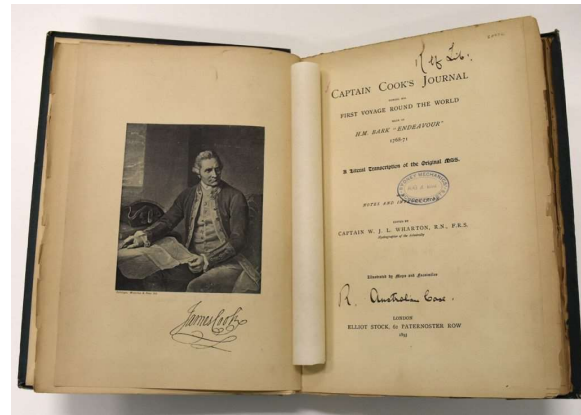
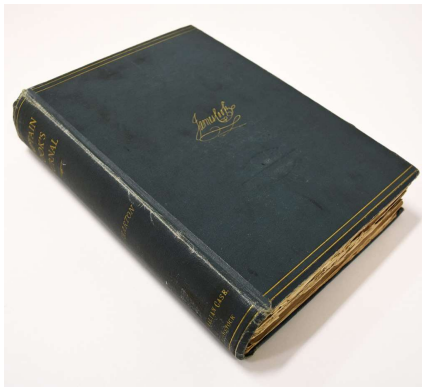
Hawkesworth's Edition

This was compiled by John Hawkesworth and published in 1773. It was part of a three volume publication usually referred to as *Hawkesworth's Voyages*.¹⁶ The Admiralty had given Hawkesworth access to the journals of James Cook and Joseph Banks and charged him with the task to 'write the voyage'.¹⁷ The publication was very well received at the time but there is an aspect of the way that Hawkesworth wrote the narrative that makes it of limited use. Hawkesworth used material from both Cook's and Banks' journals, and then imagined it all through Cook's eyes. Furthermore, he included thoughts of his own, again as if through Cook's eyes, but doesn't indicate where he has done so.^{18, 19}

Wharton's Edition

In 1893, more than a hundred years after the completion of the voyage, this edition, 'Captain Cook's Journal', was published. It was edited by William James Lloyd Wharton, Hydrographer of the Admiralty. The text was taken from the 'Corner copy', with parts of the 'Admiralty copy' referred to where appropriate, with an explanatory note. The existence of Cook's holograph journal was unknown to Wharton at the time.²⁰

The last portion, from October 23rd, 1770, which was available to Wharton only in the Admiralty copy, was necessarily taken from it.²¹



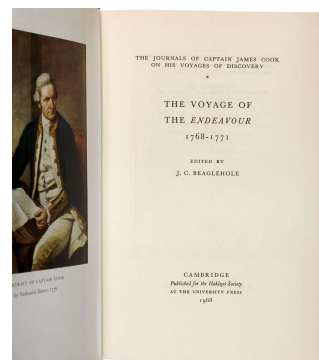
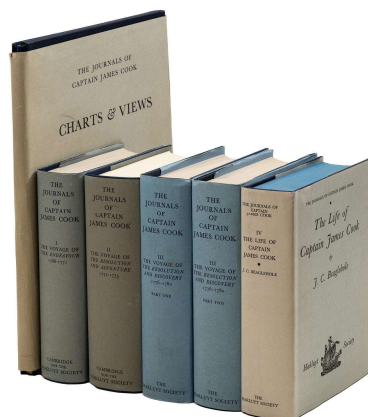
Wharton's edition of Cook's journal, published in 1893.

[Images as featured at: <https://50objects.library.curtin.edu.au/2017/04/29/captain-cooks-journal/>].

Beaglehole's Edition

James Cook's holograph was finally published in 1955 as Volume 1 of a four volume work: *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery*, edited by JC Beaglehole, 1955-1969.

This edition is widely acclaimed as a masterful piece of research, and most writers use it as their primary reference when studying the *Endeavour* voyage, referring to it simply as 'Beaglehole'. However copies of 'Beaglehole' are not easy to find, and no online version nor digital transcription of Volume 1 has yet been found by the author of this article.²²



The full set of JC Beaglehole's works covering all three of James Cook's major expeditions. [Images from: <https://www.pbagalleries.com/view-auctions/catalog/id/334/lot/102017/The-Journals-of-Captain-James-Cook-on-His-Voyages-of-Discovery>]

* * * * *

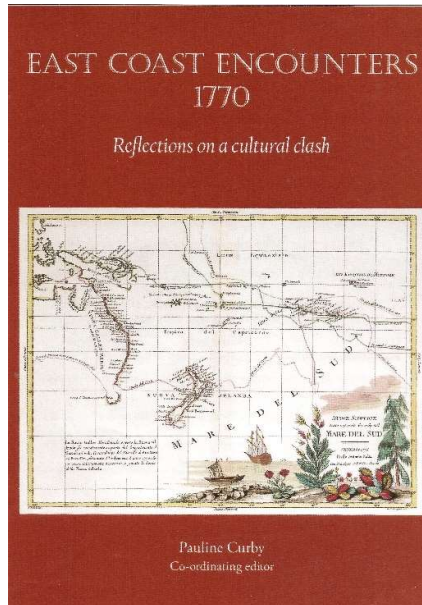
Given the historical significance of the *Endeavour* voyage, the handwritten journals and printed publications referred to above are endowed with a special importance, and each one offers something different. Small changes in the journals reveal that Cook carefully reviewed what was in them. Differences between his holograph and the 'Admiralty copy' suggest that he used the latter as his final checking copy prior to presenting it to the Admiralty. The extensive editorial comments and observations in the Wharton and Beaglehole publications provide yet another dimension. Together they help to allow a fuller appreciation of just how significant the *Endeavour* voyage really was.

Endnotes:

- ¹ A *holograph* is any document written in the hand of the author of the document.
- ² Batavia was the capital of the Dutch East Indies (now Jakarta in Indonesia).
- ³ See 'James Cook, his early life and the Endeavour voyage', compiled by Pauline Fanning at <https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/jamescook.pdf>, in which it is stated on page 36 that "some weeks later [after arriving back in England] he [James Cook] was presented to King George III to whom he gave a copy of his journal."
- ⁴ See the references to Cook's holograph at: <https://50objects.library.curtin.edu.au/2017/04/29/captain-cooks-journal/>
- ⁵ Referred to as 'interlineation'.
- ⁶ Another likely reason that little interest was shown in 1895 is that a major publication of one of the transcribed copies had been published only two years before, so the content of the journal was available to whoever could afford to pay for it.
- ⁷ See the references to Cook's holograph at: <https://50objects.library.curtin.edu.au/2017/04/29/captain-cooks-journal/>
- ⁸ Cook's holograph, both the individual handwritten pages and digitised transcripts of each page can be viewed via the National Library of Australia at: <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-228958465/view> for scans of the handwritten pages, and at http://southseas.nla.gov.au/index_voyaging.html for digitised transcripts.
- ⁹ See: <http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110330179>, (note the attribution to Orton as scribe). Also see 1923 newspaper article "Captain Cook's Diary" on Trove at: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/1870372>. On FH Dangar, see: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dangar-frederick-holkham-288>.
- ¹⁰ Scans of the handwritten pages of this first copy of the journal plus a partial transcript can be viewed via the NSW State Library at: <http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110330179> for the scans of the handwritten pages, and <http://archival-classic.sl.nsw.gov.au/transcript/2017/D05368/a3430.html> for the partial transcript.
- ¹¹ Those extra 9 months were particularly eventful, since it was in this period of time that several of those aboard the Endeavour died of diseases contracted in Batavia.
- ¹² Where changes have been made to the entries in the Admiralty copy, a comparison to the corresponding entries in the holograph indicates that (at some stage) Cook read through the Admiralty copy, made small additions and deletions, but without transferring those changes back to his holograph.
- ¹³ The 'Admiralty copy' can be downloaded (for a small fee) from the UK National Archives, catalogue reference ADM 55/40, at: <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C2976712>
- ¹⁴ For more information on the third copy, see: <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/archive/objects/505801.html>.
- ¹⁵ High quality scans of the third copy are available at: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-JOD-00019/1>
- ¹⁶ The full title starts with "AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES UNDERTAKEN BY THE ORDER OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY FOR MAKING Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, In the DOLPHIN, the SWALLOW, and the ENDEAVOUR: DRAWN UP From the JOURNALS which were kept by the several COMMANDERS, And from the Papers of JOSEPH BANKS, Esq; By JOHN HAWKESWORTH, LL.D. IN THREE VOLUMES."
- ¹⁷ For much more on the Hawkesworth edition see: "The Hawkesworth Copy" by Ronald L Ravnberg (2008), in particular footnote 3 on p 6, available at: <https://www.captaincookociety.com/Portals/ccs/Files/ccsu4148.pdf>.
- ¹⁸ In the preface to Captain WJL Wharton's 1895 publication of Cook's journal, he comments: *Dr. Hawkesworth, into whose hands the Journals were put, not only interspersed reflections of his own, but managed to impose his own ponderous style upon many of the extracts from the united Journals; and, moreover, as they are all jumbled together, the whole being put into Cook's mouth, it is impossible to know whether we are reading Cook, Banks, Solander, or Hawkesworth himself.* [Note: Although Wharton refers to Solander here (the Swedish botanist who worked closely with Banks), no trace of any journal kept by Solander has ever been found, although there have been some historic references to such a journal. See *Daniel Solander and Australia*, by Per Tingbrand (1988), p 42, at: <http://www.danielsolander.se/soltexter/Australia%20and%20Daniel%20Solander.pdf>, and *Daniel Solander: collected correspondence 1753 – 1782*, (1995) by Edward Duyker and Per Tingbrand, p 9 of the introduction, at: <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=rwSODwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:%22Per+Tingbrand%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi0uMjejdLmAhUj73MBHRFTA0YQ6wEIKzAA#v=onepage&q&f=true>.
- ¹⁹ Hawkesworth's edition is available at: http://southseas.nla.gov.au/index_voyaging.html.
- ²⁰ See <https://50objects.library.curtin.edu.au/2017/04/29/captain-cooks-journal/>
- ²¹ Wharton's edition is available via *Project Gutenberg* at: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00043.html>
- ²² However, the full set of Beaglehole's publications relating to James Cook and his voyages is available for reference in the local studies section of Sutherland Shire Library.

BOOK REVIEW

GREG JACKSON



EAST COAST ENCOUNTERS 1770, Reflections on a cultural clash

Pauline Curby, Co-ordinating Editor

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East Coast Encounters 1770 is a book containing a series of ten articles - each by a different author - that cover a broad range of Cook related topics. Its co-ordinating editor is Pauline Curby, a professional historian since the 1990s and a past winner of the NSW Premier's Award (Regional and Community History).

The book is beautifully illustrated with old and new photographs, maps and reproductions of paintings, but if you are looking for a history of Cook's exploits on the east coast of Australia in 1770 then this is not the book for you. The topics covered are eclectic with most unrelated, although there is a strong indigenous thread running through many of the articles. This analysis of history from an indigenous perspective is most welcome after years of being fed a diet of history viewed from a western perspective.

Of particular interest to me was the handling of confrontation during Cook's eight days in Kamay Botany Bay by Bruce Howell, and a convincing interpretation of the words spoken by the two indigenous warriors at the moment of Cook's landing, by Ray Ingrey, Shane Ingrey and Paul Irish.

The ten authors of the articles are a mixture of academics, professional and amateur historians and prominent indigenous authors. At 132 pages the book is not long but is full of interest offering new perspectives on events on the east coast of Australia in 1770.

THE REASSESSMENT OF COOK'S ACHIEVEMENT

PT 1: THE SECRET 'DISCOVERIES' OF AUSTRALIA

GARRIOCK DUNCAN

A common assumption is that History is an unbroken line of sequential events, ie facts. Unfortunately, this is not so. History is the result of how historians analyse those facts and arrange them. Additionally, this arrangement needs to be reassessed in the future as interpretations of past events can change in the light of later ones. In historiography, this process is called 'revisionism'. The most recent edition of the *Bulletin* (February 2020) provides an example of this process in the revised assessment of the meaning of Lt James Cook's visit to our shores in 1770.

For the 200th anniversary of Cook's arrival in 1770, the Sutherland Shire Council and SSHS released a commemorative book, *Employ'd as a Discoverer*.¹ For the 250th anniversary, the Society's response has been similar in publishing *East Coast Encounters 1770: Reflections on a cultural clash*.² The focus of each book is radically different. Whilst the former was focused on Cook himself, the latter 'takes a bold look at the impact of Cook's arrival. Neither hero-worshipping nor vilifying Cook...'.³ Why this difference both of title and emphasis? 'In the years since then there has been a re-evaluation [i.e. re-assessment] and a more nuanced approach to the meaning and ramification of this event'.⁴

Many of you might be unfamiliar with a branch of Australian studies which claims that the east coast of Australia was 'discovered' up two hundred and fifty years before Cook's arrival. I wish to look at three such claims, those of China (1421), Portugal (c. 1522) and Spain (1595). The one which is the most substantial and to which I will devote most of this article, is that of Portugal. Appropriately, I have derived the second half of the title from that of the Australian lawyer and historian Kenneth Gordon McIntyre's best selling revisionist account, published in 1977, of the alleged discovery of Australia's east coast by the Portuguese mariner, Cristovao da Mendonça.⁵ It was so successful that it even spawned a short film version.⁶

(1) China: the (Undocumented) Expedition of Admiral Zheng He, 1421

In 2002, English author, Gavin Menzies published *1421: The Year The Chinese Discovered The World* (Transworld), which claimed that a Chinese celebrated mariner, Admiral Zheng He ran an expedition in 1421 that circumnavigated the world, discovering Australia's east coast and leaving 'evidence' along the way, such as the 'Mahogany Ship' which was one of his junks wrecked near Warrnambool.⁷ (As we see later, the Mahogany Ship is also linked to early Portuguese visits.)

Other clues pointing to Chinese visits to Australia at that time according to Menzies, include the Gympie Pyramid, a low terraced hill some kilometres north-west of Gympie, Queensland. He says its shape and size is typical of Ming Dynasty observation platforms. This natural occurrence has, at some point, been modified by European hands to construct crude dry-walled rock terraces. Although a number of theories have attempted to explain this unusual feature, the origin is more simple - built by a now forgotten European immigrant for the purpose of, most likely, viticulture.⁸ The Bittangabee ruins at Bittangabee Bay south of Eden in New South Wales, is claimed by Menzies to have been a Chinese fortification dating from 1421. In fact, they are what is left of an unfinished house built in the mid-19th century.⁹

On the fleet's return to China, says Menzies, a change in imperial policy saw the deliberate destruction of all charts and documents pertaining to this voyage. Even Chinese historians reject Menzies' findings.¹⁰

(2) Spain: Spanish commander Lope de Vega's two ships in Port Jackson in 1595

Between the 4th and 5th tees of the North Bondi Golf Course, a rocky outcrop bears some crudely carved images. They were to play a crucial role in the advancement of the argument that the Spanish pre-empted Cook at Port Jackson.¹¹

In 1595 Lope de Vega got lost on his way to the Solomon Islands. In 1909, Lawrence Hargraves (Australian explorer and aeronautical pioneer) presented a paper, 'The End of Lope de Vega' to the Royal Society of NSW. According to Hargraves, two ships - the *Santa Barbara* and *Santa Ysabel* - under the command of Lope de Vega, from Alvaro de Mendana's expedition to colonise the Solomon Islands had become separated from the other ships and found their way to Port Jackson. However, the names of all four ships of this little flotilla are known - the *San Geronimo*, *Santa Ysabel*, *Santa Catalina* and *San Felipe*. There was no *Santa Barbara*. And the fate of all is now known and does not include a solo visit by the *Santa Ysabel* to Sydney.¹²



Inscription on rocky outcrop at North Bondi Golf Course, interpreted by Hargraves as: 'We in the Santa Barbara and Santa y Isabel conquered W from point to point. By the sign of the cross.'
[M. Grealey, 'Mystery carvings near 4th tee,' SMH 15.3.1986, p.5]

Apart from the Bondi 'inscription', Hargraves believed there was additional evidence of Spanish activity around the harbour. However, all such sites have been recently found to be of indigenous origin.¹³

(3) Portugal – the Spectacular Failure of Cristovao da Mendonça, 1522.

(The reason for my title will become obvious, as you read on.¹⁴)

(i) History of the Theory of Portuguese Primacy

Within little more than a generation after Cook's 1770 voyage, the theory that he was pre-empted by Portuguese mariners was first advanced by the French diplomat and geographer, Charles Etienne Coquebert de Montbret, in 1803 in Paris.¹⁵ For now, though, I shall confine myself to those English writers who advance the same argument.¹⁶ For as early as 1859 R H Major, a British geographer, who curated maps for the British Museum advanced this claim.¹⁷ However, the popularisation of this theory was achieved by Sydney writer and illustrator, George Collingridge in his 1895 book, *The Discovery of Australia*.¹⁸ A second book, *The First Discovery of Australia*, was published in 1908.¹⁹ Collingridge's theory became accepted as a virtual fact in the early years of the 20th century, as evidenced by Melbourne historian, E Scott, in his introductory history of Australia, published in 1918.²⁰

Popular interest in an earlier discovery, albeit Portuguese, of the Australian east coast was revived by Kenneth McIntyre (1977). By the mid 1980's, McIntyre's argument had prevailed, at least, among authors writing for the popular market, e.g. Jack Loney and Laurence Fitzgerald.²¹ MacIntyre's argument was later revised and updated by journalist, Peter Trickett (2007). The argument was still being promoted by UNSW geographer, Brian Lees, in 2019.²²

(ii) The Wreck of the 'Mahogany Ship'



16th century Portuguese caravel similar to the one identified as the Mahogany Ship. [credit Michael RosskothShutterstock.com]

This wreck was first seen in 1836 by some whalers, men familiar with ships of the era. These men felt the ship was of foreign construction, built out of a wood, which they found unfamiliar. It was seen several times until 1881. Several major searches in recent years have not yet managed to find the wreck, believed to be buried under sand dunes in the Warrnambool area in Victoria. It is possible that the wreck no longer exists. Having been deposited, presumably by one storm, it has been swept back out to sea by another.

(iii) Macintyre and Cristovao da Mendonça.

McIntyre was the first to introduce the shadowy, but no less real, character, Cristovao da Mendonça, into the discussion, and linked him to the mysterious wreck we now call the 'Mahogany Ship'.²³ No doubt, providing the name of a known Portuguese mariner added weight to his argument. Mendonça's voyage is set in the context of the renegade Portuguese navigator, Ferdinand Magellan, and his circumnavigation of the world, 1519-1522. When Magellan's flotilla broke into the Pacific, Portuguese authorities in the Spice Islands allegedly sent a flotilla, under the command of Cristovao da Mendonça, to intercept him. In 1521 Mendonça had left Goa with three ships to search for the 'islands of gold' which the Portuguese believed lay west of Sumatra. He is known to have reached the Malaccas by the end of the year. Unfortunately his later movements are unknown.²⁴

However, McIntyre's Mendonça failed spectacularly. While Magellan sailed north to reach the Philippines, Mendonça sailed to the far south, down the east coast of Australia and into Bass Strait. He must have reached as far as Warrnambool, where, according to McIntyre, one of his ships was lost to become the Mahogany Ship.

Nonetheless, and in spite of the uncertainty, Warrnambool has benefited from the mystery. For Warrnambool has its own specific cultural festival, the biennial Warrnambool Portuguese Cultural Festival last held in February this year. It reflects the unqualified faith of the Portuguese community of Victoria in the Mendonça-Mahogany Ship saga, even to the extent of setting up a *padrão*. A *padrão* does not honour any specific navigator but marks the furthest limit reached by Portuguese mariners.²⁵

Apart from an enigmatic shipwreck, there is another potentially more significant legacy of Mendonça's voyage:

Though open to much conjecture, an expedition by the Portuguese Christavo Mendonca in 1522 may have circumnavigated Australia and produced maps.²⁶

It is speculated that Joseph Banks possessed a copy [of one] of the 'Dieppe Maps' of the east coast of the Australian continent drawn up to 200 years earlier than when he and Lieutenant Cook sailed for the South Pacific in 1768.²⁷

The Dieppe Maps, a series of world maps produced in Dieppe, France in the mid 16th century, all show a land mass, *Jave la Grande*, vaguely occupying much the same place as Australia on current maps. Its supporters argue that it is Australia but just drawn to the wrong projection. Whether he had a copy in 1768, eight years later Banks certainly did have a copy of a Dieppe map, the 'Harleian Map', named after former owner, Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, at which time, he lent it to Alexander Dalrymple, the man passed over in favour of Cook for the Transit of Venus expedition to Tahiti.



Harleian map [commons.wikimedia.org]

So, did Cook ever have access to such maps? For the answer, readers will have to wait for Pt. 2 (forthcoming in the August issue of the *Bulletin*).

¹ J V S Megaw, 1971, ed., *Employ'd as a Discoverer*, Sutherland Shire Council.

² P Curby, 2020, ed, *East Coast Encounters 1770: Reflections on a cultural clash*, Sutherland Shire Historical Society.

³ B Watt, 'President's Report', *SSHS Bulletin* (henceforth cited as *SSHSB*), 214, February 2020, p. 7

⁴ B Watt, Foreword, *East Coast Encounters 1770*, p. vi

⁵ K G McIntyre, 1977, *The Secret Discovery of Australia*, Souvenir Press.

⁶ *The Secret Discovery of Australia*, Suatu Film Management, 1983. The Internet Movie Database contains a listing: www.imdb.com/title/tt1317488/

⁷ P Stephenson, 1977, 'The Mahogany Ship', *The Australian Encyclopaedia*, vol. 5, p. 461

⁸ 'The Gympie Pyramid: Evidence of an Ancient Civilisation in Australia', www.newdawnmagazine.com/articles/the-gympie-pyramid-evidence-of-an-ancient-civilisation-in-australia/

⁹ M Pearson, 2005, *Great Southern Land*, Commonwealth of Australia, p. 17.

¹⁰ 'It's Official: Admiral Zheng beat Cook to Australia', *The Age*, November 25, 2002, (www.theage.com.au/world/lts-official-admiral-zheng-beat-cook-to-australia-20021125-gdutvo.html/) ; For a rebuttal of Menzies' argument, see: W A R Richardson, 2004, 'Gavin Menzies Cartographic Fiction: the Case of the Chinese Discovery of the World', *The Globe*, 56, pp. 1-11.

¹¹ See: www.atnf.csiro.au/people/morris/SydneyRockArt/BondiGolfCourse/index.html/ ; M Grealy, 1986, "Mystery carvings near the 4th tee", *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 15, p. 5. See, also: B Watt, 2012, "Lope de Vega", *SSHSB*, 15(1), February, p. 18a.

¹² M Estensen, 2006, *Terra Australis Incognita: the Spanish Quest for the Great South Land*, Allen & Unwin, pp. 60-61, 71-73.

¹³ K V Smith, 'Eora Blog', 57-69: www.eorapeople.com.au/ .

¹⁴ I have written previously on this topic for the *Bulletin*: G Duncan, 2005, "Of Lost Ships and Stolen Maps: An Often Untold Story of the Discovery of Australia", *SSHSB*, 8(2), May, pp. 22-27.

¹⁵ McIntyre, 1977, pp. 361, 366. I must thank Edward Duyker for providing this reference.

¹⁶ The most prolific Australian writer to reject the Portuguese primacy theory is W A R (Bill) Richardson, formerly Reader in Portuguese and Spanish Studies at ANU. He has published two summaries of his many articles: 1993, *The Portuguese Discovery of Australia: Fact or Fiction*, National Library of Australia; 2006, *Was Australia Charted before 1606?*, *ibid*.

¹⁷ A. Sharp, 1963, *The Discovery of Australia*, OUP, 4.

¹⁸ G. Collingridge, 1895, *The Discovery of Australia*, Hayes Brothers (reprinted by Golden Press, 1983).

¹⁹ G Collingridge, 1908, *The First Discovery of Australia*, William Brooks. . .

²⁰ E. Scott, 1918, *A Short History of Australia*, OUP, pp. 5-6.

²¹ L Fitzgerald, 1984, *Jave la Grande*, The Publishers; J Loney, 1985, *The Mahogany Ship*, Neptune Press.

²² B Lees, 2019, 'The landscape of Java on the Jean Rotz. *Mappamundi*', *The Globe*, 85.

²³ On Mendonça, see: G Williams, 1988, ed., *From Terra Australis to Australia*, OUP (Melbourne), p. 36, n.12. The fullest discussion is; I McKiggan, 1977, "The Portuguese Expedition to Bass Strait in A.D. 1522", *Journal of Australian Studies*, pp. 1, 2-32

²⁴ M. Cannon, 1987, *The Exploration of Australia*, Readers' Digest (Sydney), p. 19.

²⁵ 'The mystery of the Mahogany Ship and the Portuguese discovery of Australia', SBS, 2016, www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/portuguese/en/audiotract/mystery-mahogany-ship-did-portuguese-discover-australia/

²⁶ Watt, 2008, "A (very) brief History of the World, pt. 2", *SSHSB*, 11(2), May, p. 23b.

²⁷ Watt, 2012, 18b.

COOK, A PLAQUE, A PICNIC AND A WITNESS

STEPHANIE BAILEY

On 10 December 1862, the Honourable Thomas Holt (MLA), wrote the following letter from his Camden Villa home in Newtown:

Mr dear Douglass. I have been told that you and Mr Alexander Berry are the only survivors of those who were present at a very interesting ceremony which took place some forty years ago. I refer to the occasion when the brass plate in commemoration of Captain Cook's first landing in the colony was affixed to a rock at the South Head of Botany Bay. I am also told that an old blackfellow was present at the time, and pointed out the exact spot where Captain Cook landed. Will you oblige me by telling me if I have been informed correctly?¹



Portrait of Dr Henry Grattan Douglass, MD, MLC 1790-1865, Assistant Surgeon, 18th Regt of Foot, c.1810 [Source: SLNSW]

To explain, the recipient of Holt's letter was Dr Henry Grattan Douglass (1790-1865), a medical doctor and public servant who, after immigrating to New South Wales in May 1821, was placed in charge of the general hospital at Parramatta.² Just one month after he arrived in the colony Douglass, along with a handful of Sydney's more notable identities – Dr James Bowman, Barron Field, Major Frederick Goulburn, Captain Francis Irvine and Edward Wollstonecraft – established the Philosophical Society of Australasia, the forerunner of today's Royal Society of New South Wales.³ The stated purpose of this group was to collect 'information with respect to the natural state, capabilities, productions, and resources of Australasia and the adjacent regions,' and to occasionally publish 'such information as may be likely to benefit the world at large.'⁴

Unfortunately though, as their Minute Book reveals, the Society was not quite so concerned with meticulously documenting the conversations that took place during their weekly meetings. What this means therefore, is that there is a frustrating lack of specifics regarding the circumstances surrounding the Society's decision to erect a commemorative plaque on a rockface near (what is now called) Kurnell on 20 March 1822. [See image on back cover] And this includes evidence of the presence – or otherwise – of an elderly Aboriginal man. Furthermore, newspaper reports on the affixing ceremony were also light on details; although the *Sydney Gazette* and *New South Wales Advertiser* did publish two poems by Barron Field in honour of the occasion, as well as the actual text inscribed on the plaque:

A.D. MCCCLXX. Under the auspices of British science, these shores were discovered by James Cook and Joseph Banks, the Columbus and Maecenas of their time. This spot once saw them ardent in the pursuit of knowledge; now to their memory, this tablet is inscribed in the first year of the Philosophical Society of Australasia. Sir Thomas Brisbane, KCB, FRSL and E. (corresponding member of the Institute of France). President. AD – MDCCCXXI.⁵

But to return to Holt's original enquiry, on 12 December 1862 Douglass penned this reply:

My Dear Holt. You have been accurately informed as to the placing of the copper, indicated by a black man, where, when he was a youth, he saw our great circumnavigator land. I believe the plate is there still.⁶

Buoyed with this information, a plan to commemorate the anniversary of Cook's landing with a grand picnic on the southern shores of Botany Bay began to take shape. On 10 April 1863, in the Sydney rooms of property agents, Richardson and Wrench, Holt and 30 or 40 other interested gentlemen met to consider how they might proceed with such an event. Another matter up for discussion was the location of the Philosophical Society's plaque; the consensus being that it did not mark the exact spot where Cook first stepped ashore, but rather the 'point on which the landing was effected.' In fact, the Society were commended for having wisely placed their tablet 'beyond the reach of boys or any casual injury.'⁷



1899 map showing Dedicated Area of Cook's Landing Place, from 'Dedication of Captain Cook's landing place, Kurnell, Botany Bay' <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-411190921>

Of particular importance to those at the Sydney meeting in April 1863 was that Dr Douglass and the merchant Mr Alexander Berry (1781-1873), who had both been present at the original affixing ceremony, attend the proposed festivities. It was hoped that Douglass and Berry might then deliver to those gathered at the picnic 'the oral testimony of two living witnesses who had seen the spot pointed out by the black who had witnessed the landing.'⁸

The following weeks saw a wave of enthusiastic activity across Sydney: 28 April was declared a public holiday; excursion tickets for the Captain Cook Demonstration at Kurnell were advertised, bought and sold; arrangements for conveying the anticipated crowds of people to and from the site were prepared; and there was much discussion about the significance of the impending 'national commemoration,' as well as considerable reflection on the fact that such a celebration had never previously been staged. 'In our long neglect of the memory of Captain Cook,' stated the *Empire* newspaper, 'we stand self-disgraced before the world. ... We trust that the approaching commemoration will serve to do away with all this, and excite a general feeling of interest in all that concerns the history of our country.'⁹ There was also a growing fascination with what Douglass and Berry might be able to recall regarding any interactions that may have taken place between the Philosophical Society and the old Aboriginal man some forty years earlier. The two elderly gentlemen were even encouraged to take an *aperient* (a drug used to relieve constipation) as it was thought this might help to improve their mental faculties and thus their ability to provide an authoritative account, not just of the historic events of 1822, but those of 1770, as this curious list of leading questions put forward for their contemplation suggests:

1. Did the aboriginal tell you how it was he happened to be present when Captain Cook landed, or anything about what he was doing on that day?
2. Was he one of the two warriors who disputed Captain Cook's landing, or was he one of those who ran away?
3. Did the aboriginal tell you anything about the small stream where Captain Cook filled his water casks?
4. Did the aboriginal point out to you the place where [Forby Sutherland] was buried? Was the aboriginal at the funeral of Forby Sutherland, and if so, did he give any description of it?
5. Did your aboriginal remember having seen the ship's colours, and the tree on which Captain Cook inscribed the name of his ship?¹⁰

As it turned out however, Alexander Berry, who had essentially been a recluse for almost twenty years, had no interest in partaking in either the anniversary picnic or any public dialogue on events at Kurnell, and therefore offered no further illumination on the subject. Intriguingly though, it was soon revealed that he and Douglass were not, in fact, the only living witnesses to the plaque's affixing ceremony at Kurnell in 1822. There were two others.

The first of these was the maritime artist, Frederick Garling (1806 – 1873). On 13 April he wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* that on the occasion when 'the exact spot was pointed out by a blackfellow, I beg to state that I was also present ... having accompanied my father and Captain Piper. I was only a boy at the time.'¹¹ The following week, readers of the *Empire* learnt that William Beckett, the man who had actually laid the commemorative plate into the rockface at Kurnell, was alive and residing at the Parramatta Benevolent Asylum. Described as being an 'intelligent tradesman', Beckett (who probably arrived in NSW in September 1821 as a convict aboard the transport ship *Grenada*¹²) was said have a 'good recollection of the whole circumstances' from 1822.¹³ Yet nothing more appears to have been recorded of what either Beckett or Garling remembered of this singular event.

The reason for this may be because the huge celebratory picnic which was due to take place at Kurnell on the anniversary of the *Endeavour's* arrival (then marked on 28 April) ended up being postponed due to poor weather. When the event finally did go ahead on 16 May it was a rather private affair attended only by Sydney's more elite citizens; the general public were excluded (some suspected) by 'certain aristocratic noses [that] quivered at the thought of an unwashed mortal coming between the wind and their nobility.'¹⁴ Whatever the case, neither Beckett nor Garling made it to the rescheduled picnic and so it was left to Dr Douglass to act as sole historical guide; a duty he seems to have relished. In part he stated:

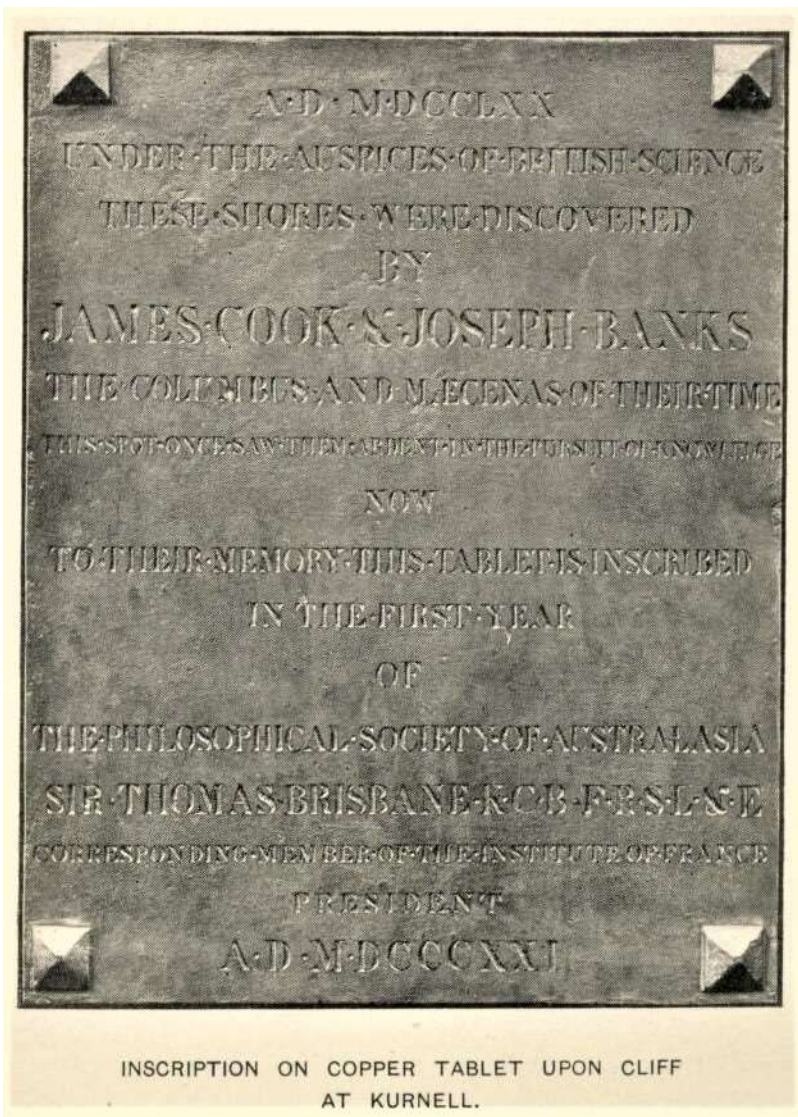
[Sir Thomas Brisbane] suggested the desirability of ascertaining the precise spot where Captain Cook landed, and directed that enquiries should be made amongst the natives of Botany Bay, if any of them saw the great captain arrive. The search was a long time discouraging. At length an old black man was found, whose hair was white from age, who said he had seen the big ship come in, and could show the precise spot. That he was a reliable witness could not be doubted ... and led to the supposition that he had been one of those who threw the spear, and attempted to prevent the landing of the party. Sir Thomas Brisbane directed a plate to be prepared, whereon was engraven the inscription which remains to this day.¹⁵

It is a vivid and compelling story, but did it actually happen? Well, almost certainly not as described here; although to be fair, Douglass was encouraged – with steering prompts – in his recount of the four-decade-old event. And memory can be a very slippery thing.

The first problem with Douglass's account is that Thomas Brisbane (1773-1860) did not arrive in New South Wales to take over the governorship from Lachlan Macquarie until November 1821, and he only attended his first Philosophical Society meeting in January 1822 (where he was immediately appointed President). Yet it was back in July 1821 that Barron Field first presented his fellow Philosophical Society members with an inscription – written in Latin by a friend – for 'the purpose of being engraven on brass and erected on the spot' to commemorate the landing of Captain Cook and Sir Joseph Banks.¹⁶ Clearly it was not on Brisbane's directive that the plaque was produced and erected. More importantly though, there is no mention at all in the Society's Minute Book that an Aboriginal witness to the *Endeavour's* arrival was ever sought out, consulted or even present on the day when the memorial plate was affixed to the rock at Kurnell. None.

Of course, not all history is written down. An unrecorded event is not the same as one which never occurred, but verification is obviously elusive; and that is certainly the case with Douglass's description as outlined above. For example, after the Philosophical Society resolved in August 1821 that an English inscription would be preferable to one in Latin, each member was asked to write their own tribute to Cook and Banks; the Society then chose one (by Major Goulburn) to use on the plaque. The original text includes the line: 'This spot then saw them land, ardent in the pursuit of knowledge.' By the end of the month, the line had been amended to: 'This spot once saw them ardent in the pursuit of knowledge.' Note that in the former version the plaque marks landing place of Cook and Banks; in the latter it does not. If this change was motivated by the testimony of an Aboriginal witness to the *Endeavour's* arrival, then the Philosophical Society did not document it. Indeed, the change was more likely due to the realisation of the fact that when Cook and Banks first stepped ashore on the east coast of Australia, it was not in front of a rockface conveniently suitable for the purpose of supporting a memorial plaque, but further along inside the bay. In any case, on 23 January 1822 the Inscription Committee reported that 'the Tablet was now ready, and that they had ascertained a proper place for its erection.'¹⁷ Two months later, on 20 March, the Philosophical Society affixed their plaque to the rockface at Kurnell.

And so, it would seem that the events of the early 1820s probably did not occur in the manner recounted by Douglass at the 1863 picnic at Kurnell. Still, he and Thomas Brisbane were said to have been in steady contact – Douglass was a regular visitor to the Governor's residence – and so it is entirely plausible that the two men engaged from time-to-time in conversations regarding the Philosophical Society, the commemorative plaque, and events that took place on the shore at Kurnell. Whether Governor Brisbane – the man whose proclamation in 1824 of martial law across the Bathurst region led to the deaths and bloodshed of countless Wiradjuri people – ever actively sought out an Aboriginal observer to Cook's landing, is anyone's guess.¹⁸



¹ Captain Cook. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 December 1862, p. 3.

² K.B. Noad, 'Douglass, Henry Grattan (1790-1865)'. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.

³ The merchant Alexander Berry, and the surveyor-general and explorer John Oxley, were also early members.

⁴ Minute book of the Philosophical Society of Australasia, 27 June 1821 – 14 August 1822, p. 2.

⁵ Sydney. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 22 March 1822, p. 2.

⁶ Captain Cook. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 December 1862, p. 3.

⁷ Landing of Captain Cook. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 April 1863, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ The Empire. *Empire*, 16 April 1863, p. 4.

¹⁰ The Captain Cook demonstration. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 April 1863, p. 3.

¹¹ The landing of Captain Cook at Botany. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 April 1863, p. 8.

¹² Ancestry.com. 1828 *New South Wales, Australia Census (Australian Copy)*.

¹³ The Captain Cook commemoration. *Empire*, 24 April 1863, p. 5.

¹⁴ The Empire. *Empire*, 18 May 1863, p. 4.

¹⁵ The landing-place of Captain Cook. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 May 1863, p. 5.

¹⁶ Minute book, p. 5.

¹⁷ Minute book, pp. 11, 14 and 43.

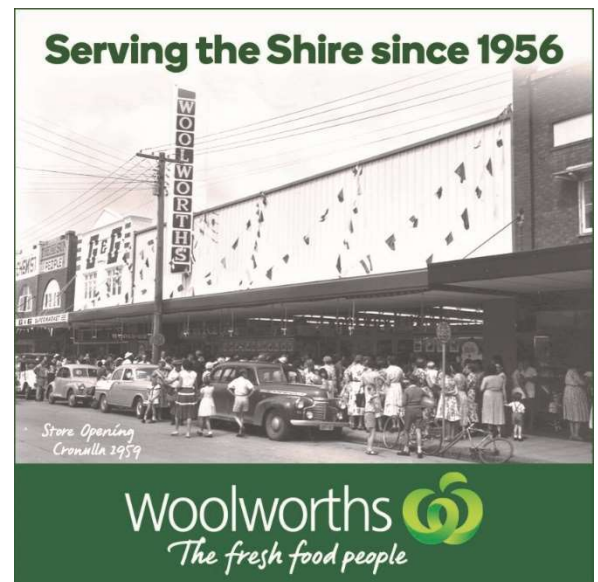
¹⁸ Proclamation. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 19 August 1824, p. 1.



Victor Typewriter, 1889, the first daisy wheel typewriter recently donated to SSHS by a Como resident, as reported in the President's Report (pp.6-7) [Photo: E. Craig]



*Engraved kangaroo and grinding grooves, Waterfall.
[Photo: Bruce Howell, 2018]*





Inscription Point, where a plaque was laid in on the rock overhang in 1822 by the Philosophical Society of Australasia (forerunner of today's Royal Society of NSW) to indicate the site of Lt Cook's Landing Place (See article: 'Cook, a Plaque, a Picnic and a Witness' on p.24) [Photo: Stephanie Bailey, 2018]



Steadman & Lisa Sailor of Descendance Aboriginal Dance Company performing at the Meeting of Two Cultures ceremony, 2016. [Source: SSC]