Finding an ancient land: an illustrated research essay

This essay has been prepared according to the request from the Director, National Museum of Australia, to expand on the European discovery of Australia with a focus beyond James Cook RN onto 'early imaging of the Great South Land, Dutch, French and English voyages of discovery', on their claims to the east and west coasts, on Flinders' circumnavigation and on his meeting with Baudin. This was to be for the purpose of a new exhibit on the discovery of Australia. The images shown are presented purely as an indication of what is available to the Curators and some are selected as possible images for the revised National Museum of Australia exhibition.

M McCarthy 2005.

In a past before time.

It has been said of Australia—a land occupied for 40,000 years at least—that its campfires 'were first lit in a past before time'. (Horton, 1997, xii). By their stories, traditions and customs we now know that Indigenous societies were complex, their customs and beliefs ancient in origin and their knowledge of the environment comprehensive.

As one example, Australian Aborigines are considered amongst the first of the world's astronomers, naming the stars, recognising their movements and seeing them, their travels across the sky, and sometimes their colours, as portends and touchstones for events, happenings, human behaviour and natural occurrences. (Haynes *et al*. Cha 1).

The Aborigines also had a unique relationship with the land, linking it with the rest of the natural environment, the spiritual world, and with their own culture and social mores as the *Dreaming*—a concept that relates to events in a period before living memory or experience. Called the *Dreamtime,* this was the time of creation and of the spirits that brought the world as they knew it into being. Much of this appears in ancient rock art and in Aboriginal legend, the rest is lodged in oral tradition and cultural practices, some aeons-old. Ownership of land was to them not a relationship between individual people or groups for example, rather it was the complex and unalienable links and attachments forged by their ancestors, passed down in the telling that provided them with spiritual ties, tangible rights and conversely duties to the areas occupied and traversed on a regular basis. These ancient traditions cannot be easily translated into modern legal concepts however, and it is often for that reason that indigenous links to the land and to the environment were overlooked or ignored by most explorers and European settlers.

Image: A Wandjina Figure. (Crawford, 1968:48)

The Southland imagined

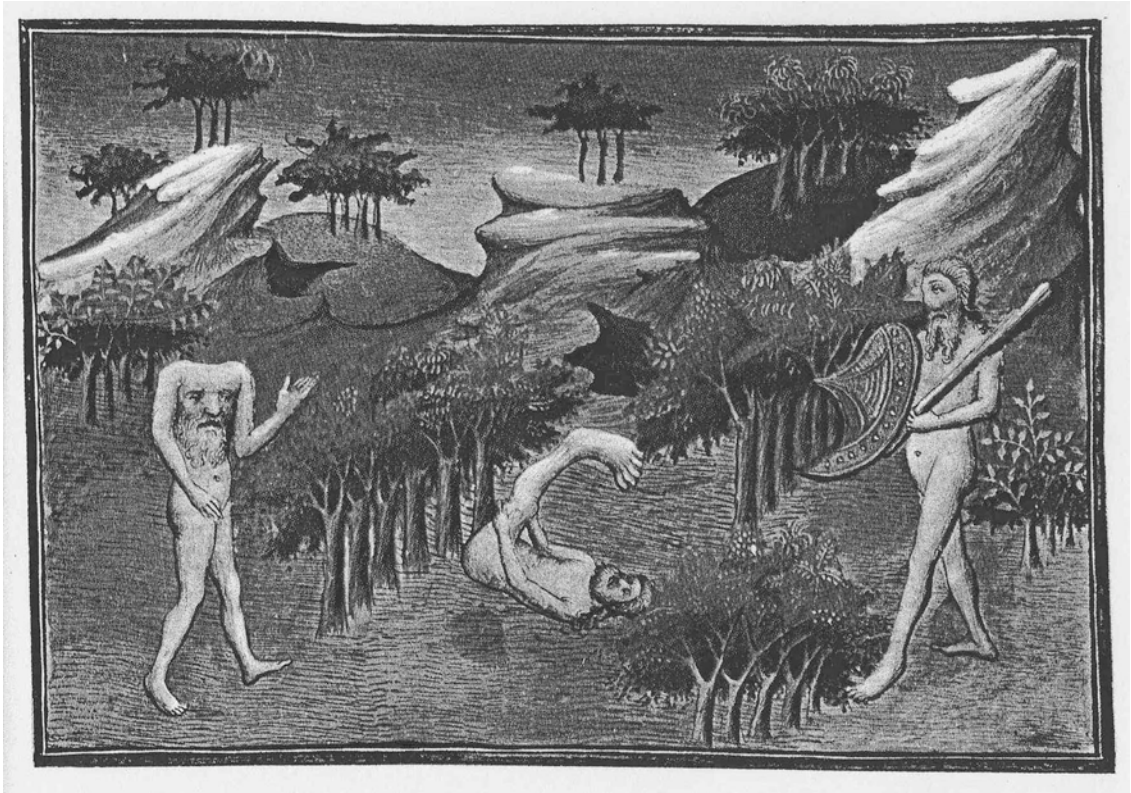
Around two thousand-five-hundred years ago the Greek scholar Pythagoras argued that, as the earth was a sphere, the land of the northern hemisphere had to be balanced by a large southern land mass. Three centuries later, this theory appeared envisioned in the globe shown below and in a Roman visualisation of the same notion produced another two centuries later. A century further on, apparently as a result of intelligence that was filtering through to him from travellers to distant shores, Ptolemy of Alexandria extended Africa and Asia south to meet the hypothetical southern land mass.

A globe by Krates of Mallos c. 150BC and a 'geographical view' of the world by Pomponius Mela before Ptolemy extended the African and Asian land masses south. (From Schilder, 1976:7).

Much was written on the subject of a vast legendary mass further south that came later to be known as *Terra Australis Incognita* (literally—unknown southern land) (Wood, 1922; Schilder, 1976). Unknown lands in the southern hemisphere were reputed—by virtue of their hypothetically-opposite and balancing nature to the ordered and familiar world in the north—to be the home of strange beings and grotesque animals; of lands surrounded by seas filled with horrendous creatures. The nature of southern seas, the location and form of the land itself, and the customs and appearance of its inhabitants were to become one of the greatest of all the ancient European 'dreamings' and one of its greatest unsolved mysteries.

The European world retreated into the 'Dark Ages' after the fall of the Roman Empire in the west and as a result, objective scholarly discourse about unknown regions was not to re-emerge until the 13th Century. The emergence of Jenghis Khan in the far east and the decision of the Catholic Pope to develop an overland contact with him were two major influences, eventually leading to the travels of the Polos. They were Venetian merchants who travelled overland to his court, eventually returning home with tales of his great

empire. They had also been told of rich lands south and east of India with whom mariners were in regular contact. Java was of special interest with its apparently vast riches, multitudinous shipping and fabulous spices. Marco Polo, the best known of his family, also studied Chinese and Arab charts, and his reports on these matters are credited with having 'revolutionized geographical conceptions' (Wood, 1922: 36).



A contemporary French imagining of the peoples inhabiting unknown southern lands (Source unknown)

Searching for the Southland

Overland links with the east became tenuous in the mid 14th Century after a rise in Chinese xenophobia following the overthrow of the Mongol empire, coupled with the expansion of the Ottoman Turks, who detested Christian incursions across their land via the overland route.

Attention then turned to the development of a sea route. As passage was forced down past the Cape of Good Hope under the patronage of the Portuguese King 'Henry the Navigator', (Diaz in 1486; da Gama in the following year). Spanish, Dutch, English and French seafarers also sought to access the riches of the east and wanted to locate the Southland. All were driven by the desire to expand their empires, to find trading partners and in some cases to convert souls to Catholicism.

Many believe that the *Great Southland* had been earlier visited by the Chinese who became renowned for their long-distance voyaging, especially under the legendary 15th

century Admiral Cheng Ho (Zheng He). Sent by his emperor to display Chinese might and to collect tribute, in the course of seven voyages—at times in very large ships, sometimes in great fleets—he travelled between 1405-1433. In doing so he visited places like Jeddah, Ormuz, Mogadishu, Calcutta, Singapore, Java, Sumatra and Malacca. Cheng Ho died soon after he returned home from his last voyage and the new emperor, beset by wars, decided that he could not continue with the voyages and China, as the 'Middle Kingdom' turned its back on what they considered to be an inferior outside world. Seafaring across the oceans was banned and Cheng Ho's records were destroyed (Petersen, 1994). Though he left material evidence of his visits e.g. at Malacca in the form of shrines and memorials, to this day there is no evidence that Cheng Ho made the relatively short journey south to arrive on Australian shores ahead of the European searchers.

Blown east of the Cape of Good Hope in 1503, one French explorer Palmier de Gonneville thought he had found the Austral (or south) lands in the southern Indian Ocean below Africa. His feat became a great source of pride for the French and though he was mistaken and the whereabouts of the place remained a great mystery, his discovery of what became known as *Gonneville Land* was the inspiration for those French voyagers that followed a few centuries later.

In accessing their new sea routes to the east, the Portuguese and Spanish explorers were constrained by a 1494 agreement, the *Treaty Of Tordesillas,* later blessed by the Pope, allowing them control over all lands found which were not already governed by Christians. By its terms the entire world was divided into two hemispheres, one Portuguese east of a line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands off Africa, the other a Spanish zone to the west of it. Thus the Portuguese were able to claim the Spice Islands and the Spanish, the Philippines.[1] In 1509 the Portuguese sailing east from the Cape of Good Hope established themselves in India and the Indian Ocean and by 1511 they had occupied Malacca eventually moving through to the Moluccas (Spice Islands) and then throughout south east Asia, where they established a vast trading empire.

Sailing west from South America after Ferdinand Magellan's voyage in 1519 through the Straits that now bear his name, the Spanish also searched for the *Great Southland*. In thinking he had found it in the mid-Pacific, de Quiros leader of one three-ship expedition claimed the land and the entire region south to the pole as *Austrialia del Espiritu Santo* (Southern Land of the Holy Spirit) in 1605. This later proved to be an island in the New Hebrides. Separated from de Quiros the commander of another ship, de Torres sailed further west and passed through the strait that now bears his name. In doing so he delineated the southern limits of New Guinea and must have seen evidence of the lands to the south—but this discovery remained forgotten for another hundred and fifty years, however.

Many believe that early maps prove that the Portuguese may have found the Great Southland in this period, but kept their find secret (e.g. Collingridge, 1895; McIntyre, 1977). In essence, some expert late 18th and early 19th century navigators, like Matthew

[1] This line traverses the entire globe. Of interest, the border between Western Australia, South Australia and the Northern Territory follows that line. Thus Timor was a Portuguese colony, the Philippines Spanish.

Flinders RN, understood that early 16th century charts showed that mariners had voyaged the short distance south from the Indies to the Australian mainland. Noted contemporaries e.g. Joseph Banks and Alexander Dalrymple (one a noted voyager with Cook, the other the first British naval hydrographer and a chief proponent of the existence of the Southland) agreed. These particular charts were believed to have been copied from the Portuguese originals by the French. In the late 19th Century and early 20th Century, academics and theoreticians like George Collingridge and O.H.K. Spate, argued that these so-called Dieppe or Dauphin (French) maps derived from Portuguese originals—providing 'serious evidence' for a prior discovery of Australia. (Collingridge, 1895; Spate, in introducing the second edition of Wood, 1969:80). In these maps '*Java Maior'*, or '*Java La Grande'*, was the name given to a very large land mass shown south of present-day Java and Timor. Some of these authors also attest to the possibility that the Portuguese learned of the southern lands from the many expert mariners they encountered in the Indies.

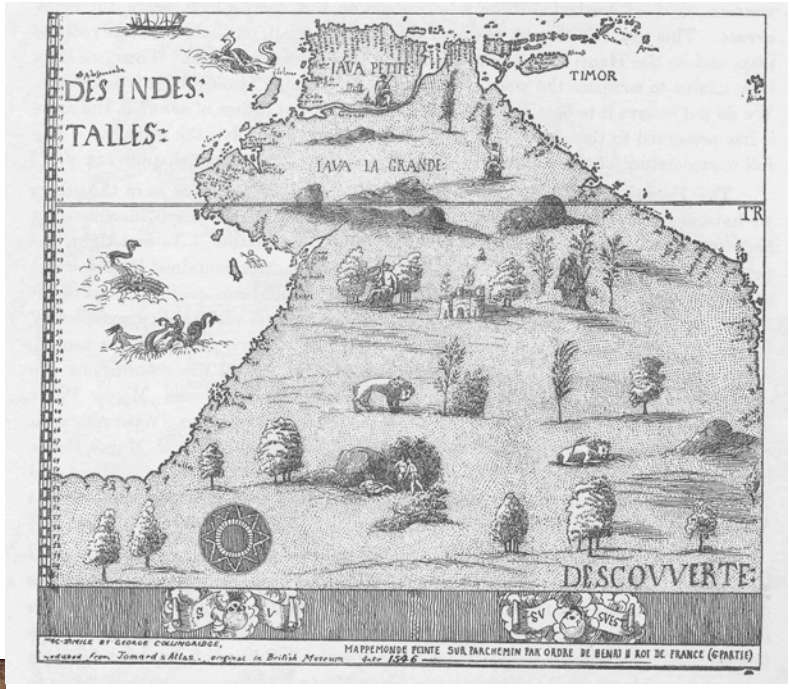


Image: A French map of 1546, apparently based on the Portuguese. Note the position of Timor. (Collingride, 1895:191)

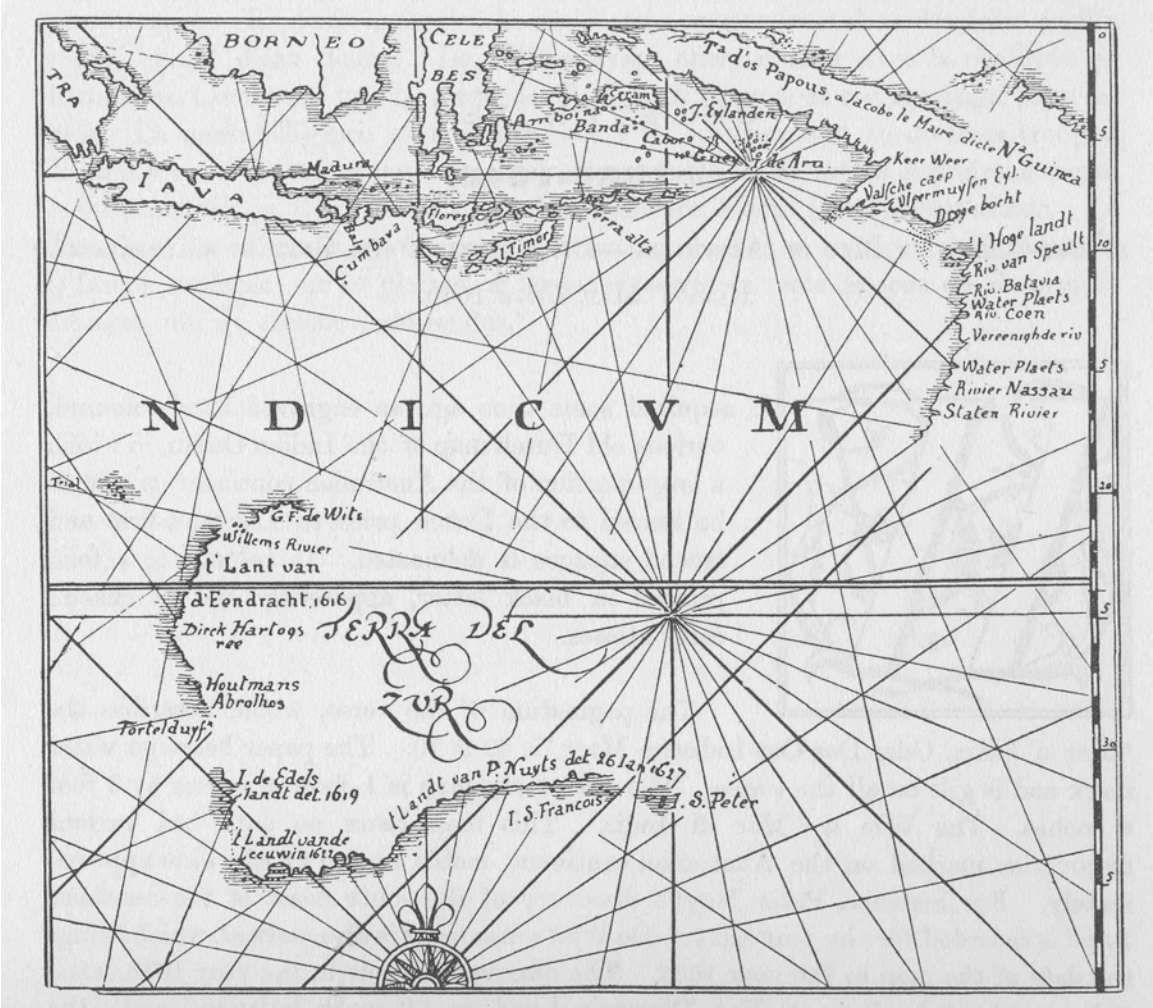
The East Indies ships arrive

Of all the strangers on Indigenous shores, it was the Dutch who are recognised as the first to land. Ever in search of goods and trade they ousted the Portuguese from the Spice Islands (East Indies) and arrived on Australia's northern coasts from their developing capital in the Indies (Batavia) in 1606 aboard the *Duyfken* (*Little Dove*) skippered by Willem Janszoon. Travelling along the south coast of New Guinea and thinking it still part of that land mass, they left it and landed on the east coast of what is now Cape York. A decade later *en-route* to the Spice Islands, they began travelling via a newly-found track down from the Cape of Good Hope, easting amongst the winds of the 'Roaring 40s', then heading north for the Spice Islands.

Image: 17th Century East-Indiamen at sea. Title Page of Ongeluckige Voyagie Van't Schip Batavia (1648)

All mariners at the time were best with problems in determining longitude, making the decision when to turn north a matter of ‘deduced (or dead) reckoning’. Thus, in 1616 Dirck Hartichs arrived unexpectedly on the coast. There he left a pewter dinner plate inscribed with an account of his landing on the island that now bears his anglicised name (Dirk Hartog Island).

Continually plagued with uncertainty about when to turn from the winds of the 40s latitude north for the islands, the Dutch regularly sighted the west, north and southern coasts of what they came to call *New Holland*. They gave their names to many places, some remaining in use today. One commander’s name is commemorated today in the Houtman Abrolhos, for example, another ship sighted the most south westerly point and gave its name to Cape Leeuwin, another carrying Peter Nuyts charted the south coast east, right across to islands that now bear his name, and yet another was briefly stranded on the north-west coast.

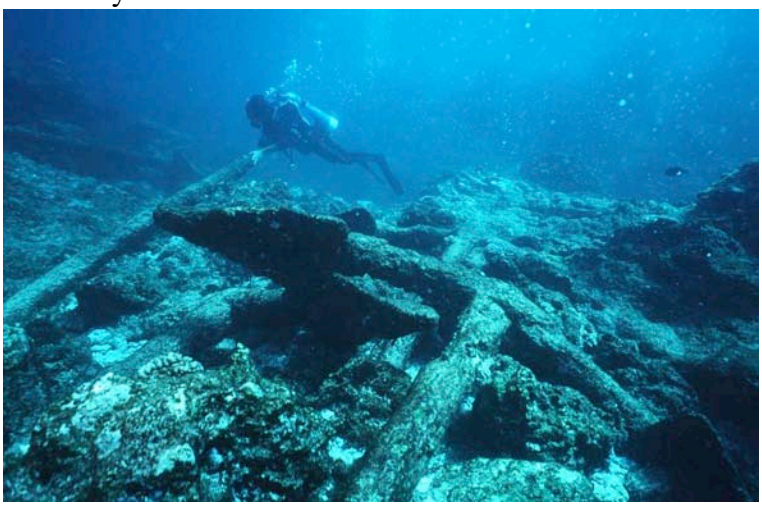


A Dutch chart of New Holland as charted c. 1630 (Collingridge, 1895: 276)

The infamous *Batavia* was wrecked two years after Nuyts in 1629 and over 100 people were massacred in an infamous mutiny that took place while they were ashore awaiting rescue. A 1648 account of the killings and the awful retribution entitled *Ongeluckige Voyagie Van't Schip Batavia* added further to the fear of the west coast of New Holland.

Image: The Batavia Massacre: From Ongeluckige Voyagie Van't Schip Batavia (1648.

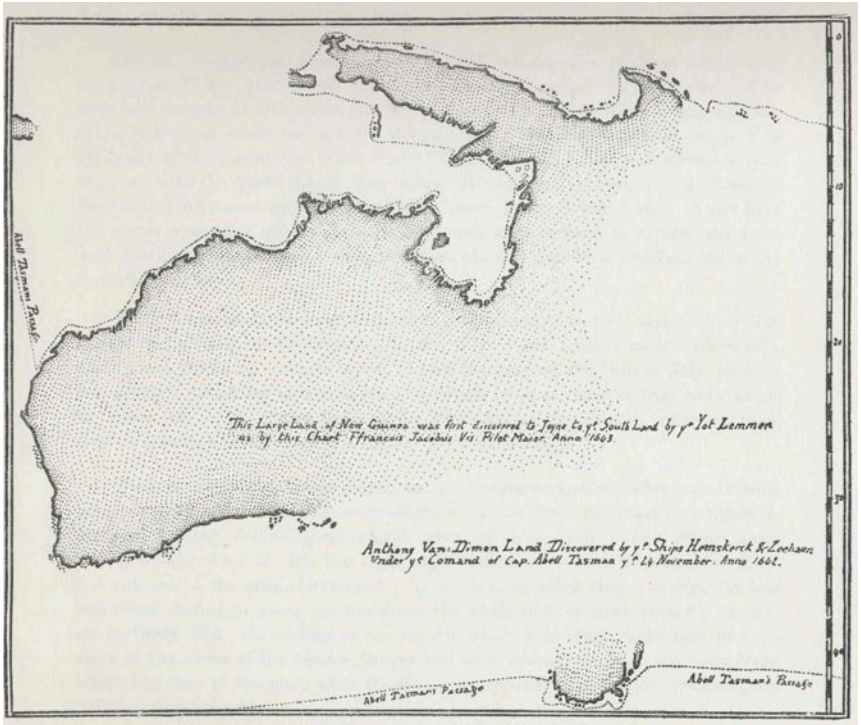
A short while earlier in 1622, the English East India ship *Trial* that had been following the newly-found Dutch route was wrecked on rocks that now bear its name. The survivors, the first Britons to land on Australian soil, briefly landed on what are now known as the Monte Bello Islands before heading north in open boats to Batavia (Jakarta).



The Trial *wreck on the Monte Bello Islands. WA Maritime Museum*

In 1642, not realising that his compatriots had already found it by accident, Abel Tasman received orders to proceed from Batavia to find the unknown southland. He sailed west to Mauritius down to the low latitudes and headed west beneath the then unknown Australian continent. There he sighted a coast he called *Van Diemen's Land* (now Tasmania). On 3 December 1642, on the peninsula that bears his name, Tasman sent men ashore and in hoisting a flag the land was claimed for the Netherlands (Herres, 1898; 1899). Sailing further east he came across another land mass, which he thought had already been discovered by his compatriots. This was later called *New Zealand* after a province in Holland. From there he returned home via the Pacific islands and the north coast of New Guinea. In 1644 on his second voyage he sailed from Batavia east to the south coast of New Guinea and then down the west coast of Cape York into the Gulf of Carpentaria closely following its coastline. Then he travelled down along the entire north-west coast of *New Holland,* south past what is now North West Cape, thereby delineating the shape of the northern and north-west coasts of Australia (Schilder, 1976). This work was subsequently used by cartographers and by mariners traversing the seas, as the following illustration shows.

A chart, by Captain T. Bowrey, dated 1687 showing Abel Tasman's voyages. (Collingridge, 1895:281)



Captain T. Bowrey's map, showing Tasman's tracks in his first and second voyages.
Date, *circa* 1687.

In 1656 the *Vergulde Draeck* (*Gilt Dragon*) was lost on reefs in sight of the western shore. Seventy-two survivors landed, most to disappear forever. Expeditions were sent to search for them and while searching were ordered to learn more of the land, its riches and

its inhabitants. Even more crew and boats were lost on these voyages and all came away in undiminished fear of the treacherous coast and with little positive to say about the land.

The great English 'pirate and hydrographer': precursor to Cook

In 1688 the English privateer *Cygnet* under Captain John Read arrived on the north-west coast. He and his crew were in search of food and water, their provisions severely depleted as they scoured the Pacific seas for Spanish plunder and booty. On board was William Dampier, a man with an extraordinary talent for observation and commentary. He was prepared to join with any, including pirates, privateers and buccaneers to further his thirst for knowledge. Just a year earlier, for example, he had written, *'I was well enough satisfied, knowing that the farther we went, the more Knowledge and Experience I should get, which was the main Thing that I regarded*' (Dampier, September 1687. Quoted in the Beken edition of his journal, 1998:207).

The journal he kept was comprehensive and detailed and in it he recorded many peoples, places, customs, the sea and its vagaries. Dampier was also lucky to still be alive, however, for having urged the crew to follow the previous captain (Charles Swan who was later replaced by Read) west across the Pacific, they began to starve and all plotted to kill and cook him and the captain unless they found food. Having found provisions just days before he was due to be eaten, Dampier characteristically recorded the event in a manner that helped serve to make his subsequent published work a best seller that has never been out of print. '*This made Capt. Swan say to me, after our arrival at Guam, Ah! Dampier, you would have made but a poor Meal. For I was as lean as the Captain was lusty and fleshy*. (Ibid:119).

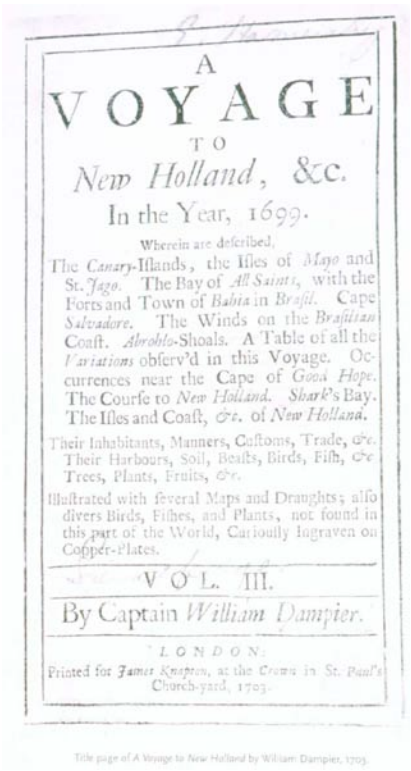
Again in need of provisions, they had a nine-week stay on the north-west coast of *New Holland,* where they careened the ship and mixed with the Aboriginal people. Again this was recorded by Dampier in great detail. When his journal was published in edited form in 1697, he became an overnight sensation. He was a 'pirate' published in Britain, France, Germany and the Netherlands and then feted for his vivid descriptions or peoples and places and for his oceanographic observations. In reporting on New Holland and its people, his journal was far more complementary than the book, which was edited either by him or his publisher. (Preston and Preston, 2004). In this negativity he was also to reflect Dutch opinion about the place and its people.

In 1699 Dampier published a second volume to the work, including as Part III a section entitled *Discourse of the Trade-Winds, Breezes, Storms, Seasons of the Year, Tides and Currents of the Torrid Zone throughout the World* which, as the title indicates, dealt with oceanographic, meteorological, and other phenomena of import to mariners generally.

Image. William Dampier Pirate and Hydrographer. (Thomas Murray) National Portrait Gallery. London.

Dampier's international reputation was such that his works were carried by mariners of many countries, including France, right through to the dawn of the 20th century. His works were considered by one biographer as his 'most important contribution to the science of hydrography' (Lloyd, 1966:29). They were of such long-lasting benefit, that a century later the Emperor Napoleon had a bust of Dampier erected in his 'Gallery of Consuls' (Marchant, 1998:104). His official portrait in London carries the tantalising title *'William Dampier, pirate and hydrographer'*, nonetheless.

After Dampier there came Willem de Vlamingh leading a fleet of three Dutch vessels. In search of yet another lost ship, he travelled along the west coast in 1696-7. His navigators and artists providing one of the first accurate depictions of the west coast north to the North West Cape in both their charts and in views from the deck. In landing at Dirk Hartog Island he also removed the Hartog plate and left one of his own (Halls, 1974).


A
VOYAGE
TO
New Holland, &c.
In the Year, 1699.
Wherein are described,
The *Canary*-Islands, the Isles of *Mayo* and St. *Jago*. The Bay of *All Saints*, with the Forts and Town of *Bahia* in *Brasil*. Cape *Salvadore*. The Winds on the *Brasilian* Coast. *Abrohlo*-Shoals. A Table of all the *Variations* observ'd in this Voyage. Occurrences near the Cape of *Good Hope*. The Course to *New Holland*. *Shark*'s Bay. The Isles and Coast, &c. of *New Holland*.
Their Inhabitants, Manners, Customs, Trade, &c. Their Harbours, Soil, Beasts, Birds, Fish, &c. Trees, Plants, Fruits, &c.
Illustrated with several Maps and Draughts; also divers Birds, Fishes, and Plants, not found in this part of the World, Curiously Ingraven on Copper-Plates.
VOL. III.
By Captain *William Dampier*.
LONDON:
Printed for *James Knapton*, at the Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1703.

Title page of A Voyage to New Holland by William Dampier, 1703.

Then in 1699 Dampier returned, this time in command of his own vessel, HM ship *Roebuck*. He had convinced the Admiralty that the then uncharted east coast of *New Holland* should be approached via Cape Horn and should be explored after first landing at around 35-40° latitude. He also advised that this coast may have first been first sighted 800 leagues west of Chile by a fellow privateer, a Captain Davis. The Admiralty also wanted him to see if this *Davis Land* was the *Great Southland*. Frustrated by official delays in providing him with a ship, and too late to risk a journey round Cape Horn, Dampier approached his objective from the Cape of Good Hope. Narrowly missing the Abrolhos Islands, first he landed at what he named Sharks Bay, after the many predators there. Then he landed on Dirk Hartog Island and at places further north, like Rosemary Island in the archipelago that now bears his name. Not convinced that Tasman's chart was entirely accurate Dampier also believed that a great channel passed through to the east and south coasts of *New Holland* from the north-west coast. He also landed just south of the Bay that now bears his ship's name. In describing and recording the plant, sea and animal life he encountered on his travels, Dampier, justly earning the title of Australia's 'first natural historian' (George, 1999). Then he moved further north and east across the top of New Guinea, discovering and naming *New Britain*, again describing the natural environment, the tides and the marine life. His ship leaking badly, his carpenter apparently inept, Dampier stopped just short of his goal in what is now called Dampier Passage on the north-east end of New Guinea. Then he returned home travelling back the way he had come, sinking at Ascension Island in the mid -Atlantic. Later in writing of his misfortune, Dampier wrote these remarkably prescient lines—words that are as applicable today as they were in Dampier's time.

> The World is apt to judge of every thing by the Success; and whoever has ill Fortune will hardly be allow'd a good Name. This, my Lord, was my unhappiness in my late Expedition in the Roe-buck, which founder'd thro' perfect Age near the Island of Ascension. (Dampier to the President of the Privy Council. Reproduced in Williamson, 1939: xxii).

In 1711, just a decade later, the Dutch East India ship *Zuytdorp* was wrecked at the foot of the cliffs that now bear its name. These lie just south of Shark Bay. Some of its passengers and crew are known to have got ashore, but in continual fear of the coast—and remembering the failure of other similar expeditions—a rescue ship was not sent south from Batavia. All of the *Zuytdorp* people disappeared to become one of the great mysteries of the west coast. Perhaps they intermingled with Aboriginal people. While there is no hard evidence that this occurred, one tantalising theory hinged on the presence in some of the Shark Bay Aboriginal population of the disease *Porphyria Variegata*. It began and then spread around the world from Cape Town around the time the *Zuytdorp* called in (Playford, 1996).

While the shape of the west, south and north coasts of New Holland became well known as a result of the voyages of the Dutch and Dampier, the nature and location of the eastern coast of New Holland remained a mystery, one that was to remain unsolved for well over half a century as this French map of 1755 shows.

Carte Réduite. 1755 by J.N. Bellin

The Macassans:

Around the time the French chart opposite was reproduced, Macassan trepangers began the first of their regular voyages to the northern and north-west shores of Australia; these they called *Marege'* and *Kayu Jawa*. The Macassans harvested trepang *Beche-de-Mer* or sea slug, fish, trochus shell, and other marine life, and they also established camps and processing works.

They planted trees, notably the Tamarind, and there was trade with the indigenous inhabitants who had ochres, pearl shell and other goods with which to barter. These voyages are replicated today by Indonesian trochus shellers. Some Macassan words were assimilated into the Aboriginal languages and the dugout canoe was copied from them. Some Aborigines willingly joined the Macassans and travelled

with them—some settling permanently in Macassar (Unjung Pandang) (Macknight, 1976; Worsley, 1955). Occasionally there was conflict, sometimes materials and canoes were stolen and often the Macassans went armed. In reflecting the often variable nature of the contact between Indigenous peoples and the Trepangers in the late 19th Century, one European pearler remarked that he had seen north-west Aborigines on sale in the slave market at Macassar.

Image: An Indonesian trochus shell diver. WA Maritime Museum

Taking possession: the British and French claims to the new lands

The loss of territory to the British on the north American continent in the late 1750s caused the French to actively look elsewhere for colonies. In 1763 L.A. de Bougainville, who had fought against the British in Canada and who was the first Frenchman to sail around the world, established a small colony at Port Louis on what he called the Iles Malouines in honour of the predominantly St Malo element amongst his colonists. The British countered this in 1764 by sending Commodore John Byron who arrived early in the following year, and took possession of them for Britain as the Falkland Islands. In that same year a British settlement was established on the West Falkland Islands and soon after France ceded its rights to Spain. For the next half a century Britain and France are found attempting to gain advantage whenever new territories are discovered. One focus of their attention after these events was to become the Great Southland.

As late as the mid 18th century, many thought the Great Southland lay somewhere in the Pacific, some in the Indian Ocean, others in Antarctic regions. It was not to be another half a century after Dampier, that the British Admiralty sent out the first of three new voyages of discovery in the 1760s. After rounding Cape Horn all three travelled in a north-westerly direction through the Pacific islands, passing well above New Holland. Continuing what in effect was a 'superpower' race for territory, the French despatched Bougainville with the same intention just three months later. While the French and the British found many islands in the Pacific, including Tahiti and Pitcairn, neither found the southern continent. The closest any came to Terra Australis was when Bougainville encountered the Great Barrier Reef adjacent to present-day Cooktown in far north Queensland. Unwilling to proceed further, he turned north to pass over New Guinea. On his return home Bougainville published an account entitled *A Voyage Round The World*, that increased French interest in the Pacific.

In 1768, while Bougainville was still at sea, Lt James Cook RN, set out in command of HM Bark *Endeavour*, rounding Cape Horn, following his four predecessors through the Pacific Islands but then heading south to New Zealand. After proving it comprised two islands, Cook then headed north-east bound for Van Diemen's land. On board was the botanist Joseph Banks, a man later to become very influential in the course of future explorations, both British and French.

Driven north by a storm they sighted the mainland coast instead and in proceeding along it, eventually they landed at a sheltered place lined with trees and shrubs they called Botany Bay. There they were confronted by two Aboriginal men armed with spears, who apparently opposed the landing. *Endeavour* moved on up the coast keeping close to it, moving north inside the Great Barrier Reef. Opposite a point they called Cape Tribulations, *Endeavour* struck a coral outcrop and but for the crew's skill and Cook's great leadership, would have lost the ship. Running the ship ashore at the river that now bears its name, they effected repairs and continued north rounding Cape York, then headed west towards the Torres Strait. Before doing so on 22 August 1771 a boat was sent ashore, the Union Jack was raised and, in the name of the King, Cook took possession of the 'whole Eastern coast'. His chart of the land soon to be called *New South Wales* was later published and Cook's travels and exploits, oft retold and regularly published, became the 'stuff' of the discovery of Australia, serving to put all earlier visitations in the shade, especially for commentators in Britain and on the east coast of the island continent. As so much is known of these events and because so much has been written on Cook and his travels, there is little need to re-visit his achievements in this work.

In the following year while in command of a three-ship fleet searching the Indian Ocean for *Gonneville's Land*, the French explorer de Kerguelen mistakenly thought he had located the fabled continent. In calling it *France Australe,* Kerguelen precipitately hurried back to France with the news. Left behind by his leader, Francois de St Alloüarn travelled west to arrive at Dirk Hartog Island. There in raising a flag, placing a parchment in a bottle, and two coins at the top of a high dune, he formally annexed the land opposite for France (Godard and deKerros, 2002).

The French annexation bottle. WA Maritime Museum

None of the three claimants to these shores, the Dutchman Tasman in 1642, Englishman Cook in 1771 and Frenchman St Alloüarn in 1772, were in any position to ascertain the Aboriginal thoughts on the matter. Not only did they have very little, if any, contact with the indigenous people, the language barriers were insurmountable, and they all lived in an era when non-Europeans of all colours and descriptions were considered inferior beings. For this reason the claimants were not in a position to know or appreciate the fact that ancient rights to the land, with associated links and duties to the flora, fauna and to the seas they had just claimed, already prevailed. Further, none knew whether New Holland, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were joined as one, or whether they were vast unconnected islands.

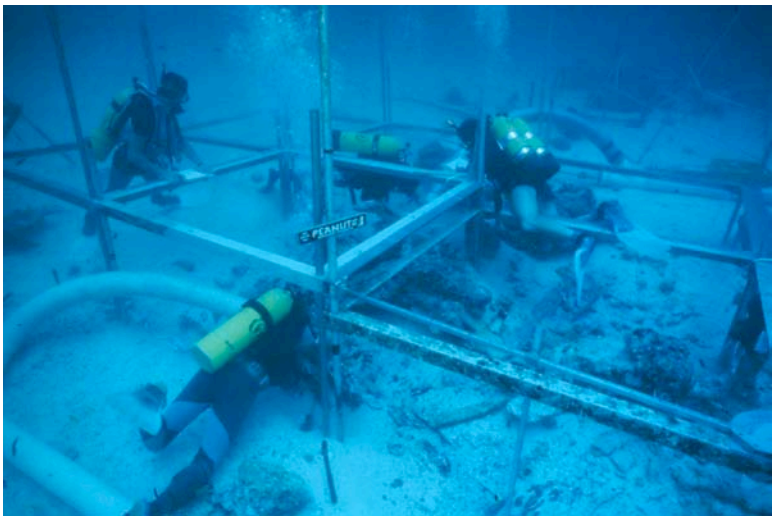
These mysteries and the whereabouts of *Terra Australis Incognita* remained in European minds and one aim of Cook's second voyage in 1772-5 was to solve the question whether the Great Southland lay in areas yet to be traversed by European explorers. Sailing via the Cape of Good Hope with two ships he traversed the southern latitudes of the Indian and Pacific Oceans and also scoured the mid-Pacific, proving finally that there 'was no

continent' there. This left only the eastern shores of New Holland, the western coast of New South Wales and northern Van Diemen's land (later called Tasmania) remaining a mystery after this time. There also remained the question posed by William Dampier over half-a-century earlier whether there was an opening to an inland sea near the islands that now bear his name.

Rivals on new-found shores.

The young Napoleon Bonaparte apparently applied for a place on the voyage of la Pérouse, the next French expedition after Cook into the region, but was lucky to be refused. The best equipped of all scientific forays up to that time, this two-ship expedition left French shores with a large contingent of scientists and naval personnel in 1785. While they were at sea, in January 1788 the British First Fleet arrived at Botany Bay in New South Wales. After extensive explorations in the Pacific, the French were ordered from Kamchatka to Botany Bay in New South Wales in order to observe the British landing there in 1788. Finding that the British had moved on to Port Jackson, the French observed them for a while, left mail and despatches with them, and departed for further work in the South Seas, never to be seen again.

In this same period William Bligh was in Pacific waters on HMS *Bounty*, following on from Dampier's earlier revelations about the efficacies of breadfruit. After the infamous mutiny, and ignorant of the nascent settlement at Port Jackson, Bligh navigated in an open boat across the top of the continent, through Torres Strait on to Timor and safety. It was an epic journey, one celebrated in the annals of small boat voyaging.



Late in 1791—just as HM Frigate *Pandora* entered the region in search of the Bligh mutineers, only to be lost on the Great Barrier Reef—another well-equipped French expedition was sent under the command of d'Entrecasteux to continue the exploration and to search for La Pérouse.

Image: At work on the Pandora site. WA Maritime Museum.

Soon afterwards d'Entrecasteaux arrived at New Holland, charting the south coast and then crossing east to chart parts of Van Diemen's land. While in these two places, his botanists, artists and naturalists described and illustrated the plants, animals and people with great skill (e.g. Hamilton, 1999; 42, 36). On the south coast of New Holland, they took natural science specimens, charted again with great skill and named many features.

While they were to continue to give generally adverse accounts of New Holland, on the south-east coast their descriptions of the land and people were to provide some relief to the predominantly negative reports of previous explorers. There d'Entrecasteaux observed that the tribe they encountered:

> …seems to offer the most perfect image of pristine society, in which men have not yet been stirred by passions, or corrupted by the vices caused by civilization…Oh! How much would those civilized people who boast about the extent of their knowledge, learn from this school of nature (Reproduced in Duyker & Duyker, 2001:xxxviii).

French Depictions of Australian Aborigines (Reproduced in Hunt & Carter, 1999)

Their visit followed that of George Vancouver, who left Plymouth in April 1791 for the north Pacific via the Indian Ocean and the south Pacific. He landed at, and named King George the Third Sound (Albany), then travelled for a short distance east along the southern coast before being forced out to sea by bad weather.

In 1793 the d'Entrecasteaux expedition arrived in the Dutch East Indies on its way home. There they landed to news of the revolution, the execution of King Louis XVI, and a state of war between the new Republic and much of Europe. By then both commanders and many others on board had perished through illness. To make matters worse, the republicans on board were denounced by their shipmates, imprisoned by the Dutch, and both ships were sold to defray expenses. After being confiscated by the British, Joseph Bank's intervention saw the extensive natural science collections, maps and charts eventually find their way back to France. Though preceded by Cook and Banks, the embattled French natural scientists were the first to publish their work. Ironically, one of their better-known depictions is a flowering *Banksia*; the first such image of that particular plant to appear. This is doubly ironic for some recommended that the lands Cook had earlier discovered to have that same name.

D'Entrecasteaux Expedition, Esperance 1792

Image: Banksia by Pierre Redoute
Reproduced in Marchant 1998: 202.

In 1795 Matthew Flinders and George Bass arrived at the new colony at Port Jackson and together they set out to examine the nearby coast in Bass' small boat *Tom Thumb*. Two years later with a six-oared whaleboat, also called *Tom Thumb,* Bass then set off south travelling part way through the strait that now bears his name. In late 1798 he and Flinders again joined forces circumnavigating Van Diemen's land and locating a number of suitable places for settlement. Flinders and Bass then left the colony and while they were away small settlements were established at the Derwent and Tamar Rivers on Van Diemen's Land. Having published an account of his explorations Flinder's proposals to conduct further explorations were accepted by the Admiralty, urged on by Banks. In July 1801 he set sail for Cape Leeuwin on the west coast with the aim to chart the entire coasts of new Holland, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, beginning in the west. He stopped at many places as he charted, allowing his botanists and artists to record the flora, fauna and the people in wonderful detail. Again these works were published well ahead of Banks. As he proceeded west along the south coast, Flinders had cause to praise

the charts of Beautemps-Beaupré, cartographer on d'Entrecasteaux's voyage. In proceeding east past their last point of contact with the coast, he found and then sailed up the two extensive bays, expecting them to lead up into the Gulf of Carpentaria via a sea separating New Holland from New South Wales. Disappointed that they were not joined to the northern gulf he examined them in detail, called them Spencer Gulf and St Vincent Gulf and headed further east, charting as he went with such a skill that his works were used well into the 20th Century (Scott, 1914).

By then post-revolutionary France under Napoleon Bonaparte was actively searching for a base on which to establish their own colony in the region. As a result, another two ship expedition was at sea. It was travelling under the banner of *Liberte* and *Egalite* with a brief to further examine and chart New Holland, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Led by Nicolas Baudin with J.F.E. Hamelin as his second-in-command they first concentrated on the west coast preparing charts, collecting plant and animal specimens, recording the natural environment and the indigenous peoples with a remarkably positive imagery that is perhaps influenced by their post-revolutionary attitudes to all the world's people.

Having vastly different sailing qualities and riven by internal frictions, the two ships were rarely together, however. While at Dirk Hartog Island on the west coast, waiting for Baudin's ship to arrive, Hamelin's crew found de Vlamingh's plate lying at the foot of its post on Dirk Hartog Island and brought it on board. Recognising its significance in an act that was precursor to modern attitudes to the cultural heritage, Hamelin ordered it to be returned ashore where it was re-erected together with a memento of his own visit. His record is yet to be found (Marchant, 1998).

Image: Hartog, de Vlamingh's and Hamelin's record of their landings on Dirk Hartog Island. (Halls, 1974)

Baudin in the meantime had continued his explorations, examining some of the north-west coast *en route* and eventually Hamelin also moved north, meeting Baudin at Timor. Later they sailed well out to sea, back south and then east, heading for southern Van

Diemen's land, travelling along it's east coast and again separating at Bass Strait. From there Hamelin went up to Port Jackson while Baudin pressed on westwards intent on finding whether a strait existed between New Holland and New South Wales. *En-route* he met Matthew Flinders where they exchanged pleasantries and information at a place soon to be called Encounter Bay (Brown, 2000). Proceeding west and having seen the gulfs discovered by Flinders, Baudin departed for Port Jackson to join Hamelin. There they were assisted by colonists despite their own difficult circumstances and despite their concerns at French intentions towards the fledgling colony.

A duality in French attitudes to new found people and places is found expressed in two separate utterances, the first of Baudin, the expedition leader, and the other by François Péron, the first 'anthropologist' in Australia (Marchant, 1998). Ironically, it was Baudin, a 'Captain of the Blue' who had proceeded through the ranks despite his 'lowly' birth who reflected post-revolutionary French sentiments of *'Liberté*, *Egalite, Fraternité*' in expressing very strong, and in his own words 'no doubt impolitic', views to Governor King in Sydney about the situation thus:

> To my way of thinking, I have never been able to conceive that there was justice or even fairness on the part of Europeans in seizing, in the name of their governments, a land seen for the first time, when it was inhabited by men who have not always deserved the title of savages, or cannibals, that has been freely given them (Baudin to Governor King, 23/12/1802; (Quoted in Hunt and Carter, 1999)

On the other hand, and quite ironically, Péron the anthropologist was to urge the overthrow of the fledgling colony in his letters to Decaen, the Governor of Ile de France (Mauritius). Clearly one of the two de Freycinet brothers on-board (most likely Louis) was also implicated in the subterfuge.

> Once the English Colony is conquered it can be easily defended by our troops against any attack with great force, and since the colony has enough subsistence it won't starve of hunger because of enemy warships. Thus it will be strong enough to hold out against British land and sea forces.
>
> M. Freycinet, the young officer, has especially concerned himself with examining all the points upon the coast of the environs of Port Jackson which are favourable to the landing of troops. He has collected particular information concerning the entrance to the port; and if ever the Government should think of putting into execution the project of destroying this freshly set trap of a great power, that distinguished officer would be of valuable assistance in such an operation' (Quoted in Hunt and Carter, 1999).

Matthew Flinders after meeting Baudin

In the meantime, Flinders continued east from Encounter Bay charting as he went, accurately fixing the coast and describing its many features. He entered Port Phillip Bay,

unaware that much of the coast in the vicinity had been earlier examined by Lt James Grant. He was also unaware that the Bay itself had been found by Grant's successor Lt John Murray only ten weeks earlier. Both had been surveying south from Port Jackson in a small brig that was to join Flinders when he arrived at Port Jackson. From Port Phillip Bay Flinders proceeded north where eventually the four exploration ships—his, Murray's and the French corvettes— all came to anchor.

Hamelin was then ordered home, his ship crammed with natural science specimens, and with artworks depicting the flora, fauna and peoples. Many of the plants and seeds found their way to the Empress Josephine's gardens at Malmaison on the River Seine, where many were drawn, propagated, or replanted by her artists and gardeners. Baudin for his part returned to the south and west coasts with the talented cartographer Sub-Lt Louis de Freycinet in charge of a small locally-built schooner. In examining the two gulfs seen by Flinders, the French named them *Golfe Josephine* and *Golfe Bonaparte,* apparently in ignorance of Flinder's nomenclature. They also named the entire southern coast *Terre Napoleon* on their charts. The south-west coasts were also examined in detail, and Shark Bay was charted by de Freycinet with great skill. On the north-west coast they explored and named Joseph Bonaparte Gulf and also charted the Dampier Archipelago, named in honour of their great predecessor, whose works they carried on board.

Flinders and Murray also continued charting proceeding north along the coast before Murray's brig was found unsuitable and was sent back to Port Jackson. Flinders carried on, charting up to the tip of Cape York and then down into the Gulf of Carpentaria and across to Arnhem Land. His ship had become so rotten that Flinders and his crew were in constant fear of sinking, however. He was then forced to head to Timor intent on sending a senior officer to England with the charts and records of his explorations and with a request to send out a new ship to Port Jackson. In the meantime he planned to return there via the north-west coast, charting in the stricken ship as he went. These plans came to nought however and with his ship in grave danger of foundering and with storms on the north-east coasts, Flinders was forced to nurse his ship back to Port Jackson via the west and south coasts. Thus he became the first to circumnavigate *New Holland* and *New South Wales*, two lands now joined as one, first by his explorations and then just a few weeks later by those of Baudin.

At Port Jackson it was decided that he would take his charts and records to the Admiralty in London and there he would press the case for another ship. By an extraordinary series of mishaps, shipwreck and misunderstandings he came to be imprisoned by Governor Decaen at Ile de France (Mauritius) en route, however. There his discoveries and charts were also impounded (but apparently not copied by the French). Notwithstanding Flinders was able to work on them and he regularly called them from the repository in which they were locked (Scott, 2001 edition: 276-281).

In correspondence dated 25 August 1804, written while in confinement, Flinders called the newly united island continent Australia. From then on he used the term frequently and later successfully fought opposition, including that of Joseph Banks, before having the term adopted. He was not the first to use the term, nonetheless, for it had been used in a general sense as early as 1638 by a Dutch author, later by two British commentators, and by the French botanist Labillardière in 1804, part of d'Entrecasteaux's expedition.

Incarcerated until Ile de France was captured by the British in 1810, Flinders was never able to return to the north-west, west or south-west coasts and he was forced to use the Dutch and some French records in producing his crowning work entitled '*General Chart of Terra Australis or Australia, Showing The Parts Explored by M. Flinders Comm'dr of H.M.S. Investigator*.

His imprisonment by the French has been the subject of many works, one most poignant, that from the perspective of his wife Ann entitled '*My Love Must Wait* (Hill, 2002). The strategic rivalry between France and England, and his initially fractious relationship with Decaen, was apparently the cause for Flinder's demise and the delay in his work reaching Britain.

Any belligerent thoughts were dashed at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805, not long after the Baudin expedition returned home. England's dominance of the seas then became unquestioned and thus ended France's dream of a colony in eastern Australia, until the peace that ensued after the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the French monarchy saw a rekindled interest.

Leader of the first of a series of new expeditions that was partly to examine the possibility of establishing a colony at King George's Sound in the south west coast was Louis de Freycinet. Though this and subsequent voyages did not result in a French occupation, it was a great success as one of the greatest of the French scientific expeditions. It is made the more notable by the recovery of the de Vlamingh plate and in the voyage of Rose de Freycinet, the first woman to circumnavigate the globe and tell the tale.

The Botanists and Artists

After the remnants of the d'Entrecasteaux voyage, including the gardener Delahaye and botanist de Labillardière, eventually found their way back to France, Labillardière published his *Relation du Voyage à la Recherche de La Pérouse* in 1799, going through three English editions and two German by 1804. Containing 265 black and white illustrations together with 13 plates by the renowned botanical artist Redouté, it was the first illustrated work after Dampier's in 1699 to capture the imagination of the Europeans in respect of the flora and fauna of the Southland.

Napoleon and his consort, Empress Joséphine developed a keen interest in the next voyage of discovery to the Southland and Joséphine especially maintained an interest in its flora and fauna. Despite the opposition of scientists, many of the plant and animal specimens collected on the Baudin voyages found their way to Joséphine's garden at

Malmaison on the banks of the River Seine in Paris. There they proved an object of continual fascination to the French. Many were planted elsewhere and to this day Australian eucalypts are visible in southern France.

While many plants were recorded in beautiful drawings, especially by Redouté, the expedition's assistant gunners Lesueur and Petit also stunned Europe with their illustrations of the people and the animal life (Hunt and Carter, 1999; Bonnemains, *et, al*., 1988).

The French were not alone. Ferdinand Bauer and the naturalist Robert Brown circumnavigated Australia with Matthew Flinders in HMS *Investigator* on a voyage that coincided with that of the Baudin expedition. Bauer sketched over 1000 plants and 200 animals, but he unfortunately presented but a few in his *Illustrationes Florae Novae Hollandiae* that was published in 1813 (Watts, *et al*., 1997).

It is fair to say that publication of the French images of the flora, fauna and of the Aboriginal people changed the perceptions that followed on from the Dutch and from William Dampier's widely disseminated and predominantly negative reactions to the land and its peoples. Perhaps they were influenced by the post-revolutionary expedition slogan *Liberte* and *Egalite* that was emblazoned on the Baudin literature.

That the art works had a significant effect in France is indicated after the voyage when Rose de Freycinet's mother—advising her daughter when she too expressed negative reactions to the people encountered in New Holland—stated that she need 'look at the drawings in Baudin's voyage and you will have a true idea of these people' (Quoted in Bassett: 1962:92).

All these works were soon forgotten, however and though the 738 beautiful plates eventually produced as *Banks' Florilegium* were not published until the 1980s, the works of Banks and his artist Sydney Parkinson remained well-known in scientific circles. It is they who were considered 'the first—after William Dampier—to bring attention in Europe to the Australian flora' as a result (Hamilton, 1999:1). Unlike the Cook voyages, which have continually been the subject of widespread international interest, the Baudin explorations were known to but a few outside France; and were not re-assessed until recently. It was to be the end of the 20th Century before a full appreciation of the extraordinary depictions of Australian flora and fauna by the Baudin people came to light outside France (Bonnemains, *et al*.,1988). It was also only then that Baudin, a man much maligned by those he once led, was afforded the credit due to him.

Rose de Freycinet.

The Baudin voyage was written up by Péron on Baudin's death and then by the talented Louis de Freycinet after Péron's demise. In 1816, after he had finished the work, the

newly-married Louis de Freycinet took command of the corvette *L'Uranie*. It was a scientific mission part-charged with the investigation of the shape of the earth, terrestrial magnetism, meteorology, natural science. The expedition report was to be presented under seven headings, geography, history, observations of the people, government, commerce, primary produce, industries and art, with 596 sub-classes listed under them that made it one of the most significant anthropological expeditions conducted by the French (Marchant, 1998).

There was also an illicit element to the *Uranie* voyage, for when it left Toulon in September 1817 the 22-year-old Madame Rose de Freycinet (née Pinon) was aboard, initially disguised as a man. Unlike Matthew and Ann Flinders—who fell foul of official recalcitrance—the de Freycinet's were successful in remaining united. Though her presence quickly became known to outraged authorities, Rose de Freycinet completed a three-year circumnavigation with her husband, writing a series of letters—effectively a diary. This was the beginnings of one of France's great love stories, albeit one forgotten until recently.

Rose de Freycinet was not mentioned in any official account of the circumnavigation, including Louis' own reports, however. Though appearing in the original sketches and watercolours, she is removed from all official depictions of the voyage. The official version showing a camp de Freycinet established in Shark Bay, for example, shows Louis de Freycinet at work on his calculations at a table outside a very distinctive and quite incongruous circular tent, whereas in the original and unofficial version Rose appears seated nearby. Partly as a result, her achievements remained largely-forgotten after her untimely death of cholera in 1832 and that of her distraught husband a decade later. Her story was not resurrected until 1927 when her letters were discovered and later published in France. Two English language accounts based on that earlier work followed, one in the 1960s, the other more recent. In them both—one written by a woman (Bassett, 1962), the other by a man (Rivière, 1996), each selecting entries from the letters—Rose de Freycinet has provided a new perspective on exploration voyages. Apart from detailed comment on the voyages, the places, the people, on clothing and other personal matters, she had a keen observing eye for customs, making her account doubly of importance.

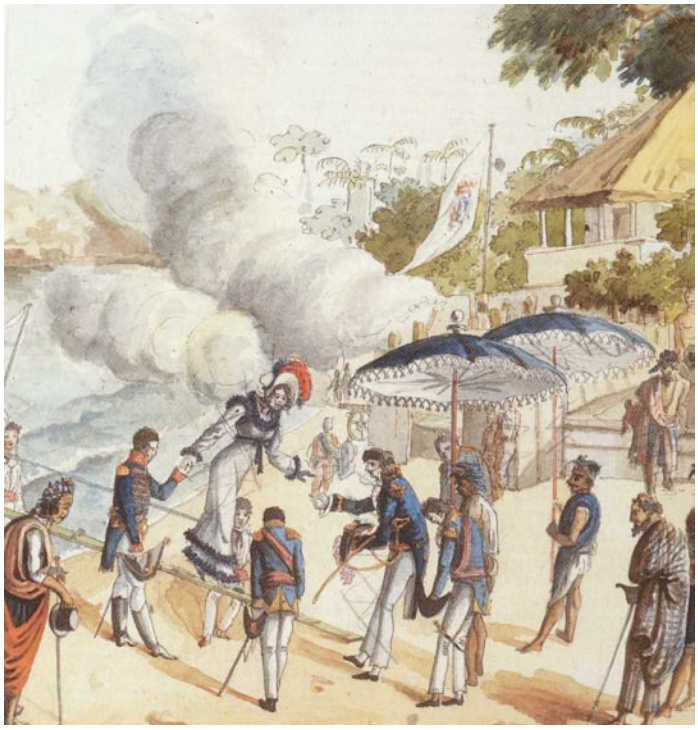
The first female circumnavigators

Though she was preceded by Jeanne Baré, who was on Bougainville's round the world expedition of 1766-69, Rose de Freycinet was the first European woman to provide an account of her circumnavigation of the globe. Like de Freycinet, Baré also initially disguised herself as a man, to complete the voyage as a woman when she was 'outed' in Tahiti by incredulous islanders who demanded she adopt a woman's garb and manners.

Sadly she left few personal records and is remembered mainly through the accounts of others. These two were followed by Gabrielle-Anne Cisterne de Courtiras, Countess de Saint-Mars, a newly-married 20-year-old, who circumnavigated the world between 1843 and 1851. A keen observer of customs and society, her account was published in 1856 as the *Journal d'une Parisienne* written by Alexandre Dumas. Reproduced in French, German and Belgian editions it appeared in English in 1944 as *The Journal of Madame Giovanni*. Though the events, people and places described are historically correct, Dumas apparently added fictional detail, reducing the import of the work. The third woman to produce an account of her circumnavigation was a Viennese, Ida Pfeifer, who eventually published five books dealing with travels that commenced in 1844, one entitled *A Woman's Journey Round the World*. Her work received great acclaim and attracted the attention of noted scientists and geographers. Described as an 'energetic and down-to-earth woman who un-hesitantly faced danger and disease on her travels, Pfeifer claimed that 'she wanted above all things to add to the stock of human knowledge' (Forster, 2000:3-4).

The Uranie in Australia and Timor

Rose de Freycinet and the expedition artist Jacques Arago describe the location and removal of the de Vlamingh plate from Dirk Hartog Island and they also record a meeting with Aboriginal people marred by 'a certain mistrust'. When concerned at a developing impasse, Arago relieved the tension when he produced a pair of castanets and played a 'sort of tune', which resulted in astonishment and then a dance in response from some of the Aborigines.



Rose de Freycinet landing at Timor. Note the crosses. A Pellion.

The exuberant, almost uninhibited nature of Jacques Arago's art and writings, and Rose de Freycinet's frank musings on people, places, events and her reflections on her own reactions, and on occasion, even the appropriateness of her own attire in respect to local custom, allows us to view both her and Arago's accounts as important social commentary.

In that respect they represent far more of an anthropological resource than the more

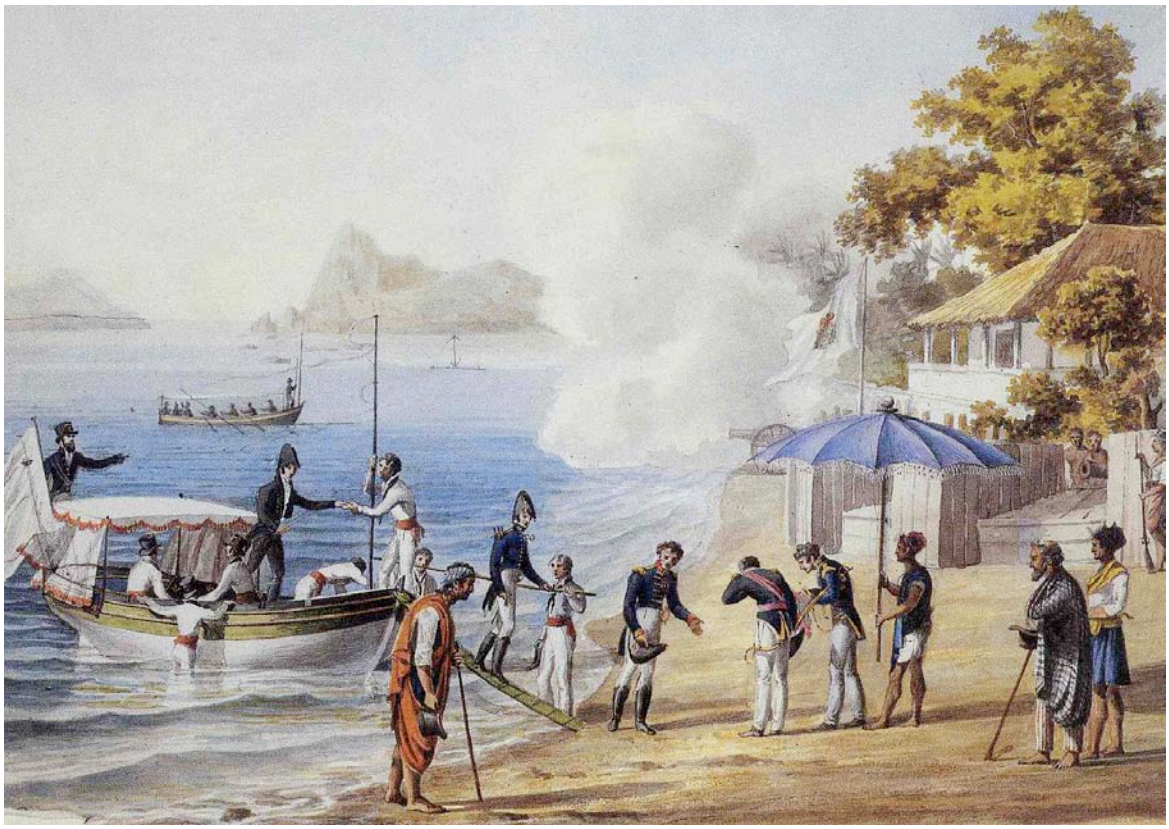
formal accounts of the officers and officials on board *L'Uranie* and on most other exploration ships. The images of her in the camp are also of considerable significance. So too are the images of her landing at Timor after leaving Shark Bay. There the official artwork again ignores the presence of Rose, while the unofficial works on which they are based celebrate her landing in style, for example. In one particular work (above), her husband Louis is found crossing out those parts of the image that were to be omitted for the official version. Of additional interest, while the depiction of the scene by the artist A. Pellion (above) shows her in an outfit trimmed in red, the other by Arago (below) shows her in a dress with blue accoutrements.

The de Freycinets landing at Timor. J. Arago.

Notwithstanding the discrepancy in these two records, the latter is also interesting in its depiction of the realities of life. There in the bows of the boat, behind Rose and her husband is an officer upended, an hilarious, barely concealed, image that is scarcely the stuff of the official record and the air of pomp and circumstance Louis de Freycinet attempted to convey.

The illustration below is the final version, approved for publication by Louis de Freycinet. It is an image, that while quite beautiful, is very formal, almost stilted, thereby missing the warmth and humanity of the two above. In that respect these artworks works

reflect the value of Rose de Freycinet's account of her circumnavigation as a complement to the more formal official journals and works of the men on board.



The official version of the landing by Marchais. From Freycinet 1827.

Rose de Freycinet's account of this event reads thus:

> We anchored a few days ago . . . The Portuguese Governor . . . sent me fruit and fresh bread with an invitation to dine with him the next day. . . I did not possess suitable attire for such formal occasions; a light muslin dress alone, together with a hat decorated with a few feathers, was all the finery I had. The minute our boat landed, from a fortress nearby there was such a loud salute from so many guns, and such a large crowd had scattered on the beach that I needed Louis' arm to reach the gangway without stumbling. . . When I stepped ashore, he gave me his hand and invited me to share with him the shade of a huge parasol carried by a Timorese slave dressed in strange clothes. A similar parasol was held over Louis' head. (Reproduced in Rivière 1996:59)

The weaknesses of history (in its oral, written and art-forms) as a tool in providing an objective and/or reliable account, or rendition of past events are starkly present here, taking the reader of these pages back to the much-maligned Nicolas Baudin and to William Dampier's earlier observations on the effect that failure (or perceived failure)

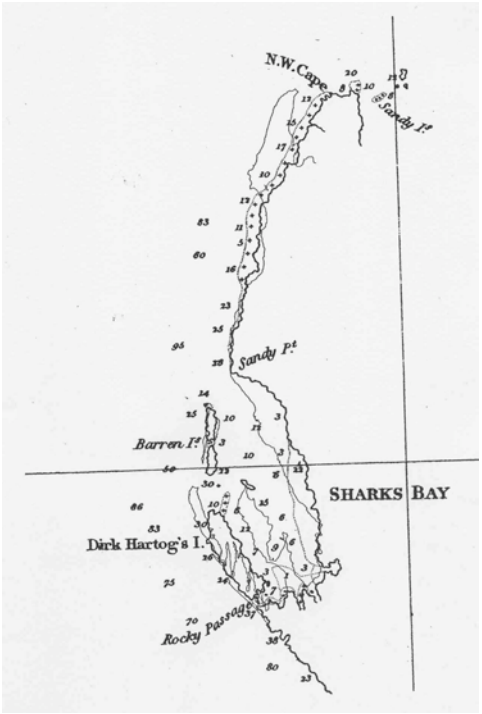
has in skewing the record and in prejudicing judgment.
From Timor, the *Uranie* voyagers travelled to Tahiti and there Rose de Freycinet produced a remarkable series of observations, including a baptism and a wedding on board ship before arriving back in Australia at Sydney. On the first night in town they were burgled. As an example of her style, and how contemporary Australian society was viewed elsewhere, de Freycinet's account is reproduced below.

> We learnt that during the night our silver, table linen, our servants' clothing and other effects had been stolen from the ground floor of the house we occupy. You know the purpose of this colony and what sort of people are to be found here in plenty; you will therefore not be astonished at this misdeed: might one not say it is roguery's classic shore. It would be astonishing not to find thieves here as it would not to meet Parisians in Paris and Englishmen in London.

It could be observed that the term 'roguery's classic shore' is in itself a most memorable assessment, one that not only attests to Madame de Freycinet's powers of language and observation, but as a quotation well worthy of a broader airing were comment is sought on contemporary attitudes to nascent Australian society.

Flinders' chart and the Portuguese discovery

While it appears possible, the only known evidence of a pre-settlement Portuguese arrival on the shores of New Holland, appears with the loss in 1816 of the *Correio Da Azia*. It was wrecked near Point Cloates on the Ningaloo Reef en-route Lisbon to their base in Macau. The survivors from the wreck set off in the launch and eventually got to Macau. A search party was sent back in the brigantine *Emillia*. The captain da Silca Beltrao published a report that appeared in Calcutta in 1818. The wreck was found in April 2004 by following the Beltrao's contemporary accounts and modern state-of-the-art airborne magnetometers.
Though they had their own problems, including a fire in the binnacle, Point Cloates was also wrongly positioned on the charts of the time. Part of the blame for this was thought to lie with Flinders and the French on whose works the charts carried by *Correio Da Azia* were based.



The coast as charted by the early explorers against the reality. A Boyd. WA Maritime Museum

Knowing that the French did not chart this part of *Terre Napoleon* and that Flinders was thwarted in his attempt to complete his charts of the Australian coastline, it is now apparent that they were not at fault, however. Flinders,

Baudin and de Freycinet were all forced to use Tasman's and de Vlamingh's charts for the north west coast of Australia

It was not until the Australian-born navigator Phillip Parker King completed his triple circumnavigation of the island continent in the 1820s—filling in the gaps left by his predecessors—that mariners were able to accurately fix the Ningaloo Reef and Point Cloates, Australia's furthermost westerly part (Hordern, 1998).

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