

PART 1.

*The*  
Story of the  
AUSTRALIAN  
PEOPLE

◆ BY

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*To Be  
Published  
in Ten  
Monthly  
Parts.*

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## Foreword

THIS "STORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE" is to be published in Ten Monthly Parts of 80 pages each. Those parts do not coincide in any way with the divisions of the book nor are they separately complete in themselves. When the work is completed the parts may be bound together to form one book of 800 pages. As, for obvious reasons, it would be difficult to publish in this First Part the Introduction, List of Contents, etc., these will form portion of our Tenth Part and will be easily detachable in order to be placed at the front of the book prior to binding.

The whole work is divided into Seven Books, of which this Part contains most of the First. The Books are as follows: I., *Prelude and Perspective*; II., *Penal Settlement (1788-1823)*; III., *Free Colony and Self Government (1823-1856)*; IV., *Democracy and Nationalism (1856-1885)*; V., *End of an Age (1885-1901)*; VI., *Commonwealth and War (1901-1919)*; VII., *The Latest Age (1919-1938)*.

The author feels that there is an obvious gap in Australian historical literature that remains to be filled by a comprehensive and sympathetic story of the Australian people. The attempt to fill that gap—or any gap—surely needs no apology. No book written now, when there are so many other gaps in our knowledge, can adequately or permanently fill that gap. But, if the present book be considered a satisfactory attempt in the present state of our knowledge, the author will consider himself well paid for the labor that went to its making. He trusts that it will help to recall to the Australian people the glorious heritage that is theirs, that, in this period of celebration of our 150th Anniversary, we shall remember the travail, sacrifice and struggle that our fathers had to go through in order to hand on to us what freedom we today enjoy and that we resolve, in the words of an Australian patriot of eighty years ago, "not to bequeath to our children a smaller measure of freedom than our fathers transmitted to us."

## BOOK I. Prelude and Perspective

Chapter I

TERRA AUSTRALIS

Then felt I like some watcher of the skies  
When a new planet swims into his ken;  
Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes  
He stared at the Pacific—and all his men  
Looked at each other with a wild surmise—  
Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

—J. Keats.<sup>1</sup>

1.—An Error With Far-Reaching Results; 2.—Balancing the Earth; 3.—Arabs, Malays, Indians, Chinese; 4.—Portuguese Come East; 5.—Spanish Come West; 6.—Mapping an Unknown Land; 7.—Australalia del Espiritu Santo; 8.—Torres Passes By.

**T**HE story that we have to tell takes us back far beyond the time when Captain Phillip's ships sailed up Port Jackson and deposited their human freight on the shores of Sydney Cove, or when the muskets of Cook's landing party put to flight the two dusky defenders of Botany Bay who, with spears in hand, disputed his intrusion. The history of Australalia had no sudden or accidental beginning and has had no detached course. Today, its fate is closely linked with that of Europe. Then, it was a part of the New World which the men of the Old began to discover, when, dismayed no longer by superstition, ignorance, and authority, and urged by desire for riches and lust of power, by love of adventure and religious inspiration, by hatred of tyranny and resentment of poverty and boredom, they broke through the bounds that had for centuries confined them to the narrow seas and intellectual backwaters of Mediaeval Europe. They were our fathers, these!

The Australalia part of that New World was a prize for which unknowingly they fought and braved and struggled and died—so that it might be possessed by Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, or English. It was that reality that remained after hundreds of years of seeking had dispersed the mists that supposedly had hidden from men's eyes Terra Australis—that El Dorado of the South, so wonderful because so unknown. That reality was not so attractive as the dream, and disappointment was the first reaction—until national and class conflicts in Europe determined a new overflow and continued the expansion of Europe. The

1.—Small figures refer to notes at the end of the Chapter.

history of Australian beginnings is a part of the history of that expansion. For thousands of years the waves of three oceans lapped on four sides the shores of this island continent, effectively hemming in its black inhabitants and shutting off would-be intruders. For the last few centuries of those millenia, hundreds of ships sought our land, even while they knew not what they sought. That search, why they sought, those blacks, whence they came—all these, too, form part of our story.

1.—AN ERROR WITH FAR-REACHING RESULTS.—Our story might, incongruously, begin about six and a half centuries ago in **Genoa**—that city-state of Northern Italy which then continually fought with **Pisa** and **Venice** (especially with Venice) for dominion over the Mediterranean and for monopoly of European trade with the East.<sup>2</sup> Just as England and Spain fought for the Atlantic and the New World in the 16th century, England and Holland in the 17th, and England and France in the 18th. Among the numerous battles of the interminable wars of the 13th century, two are of interest in our story. In the **Battle of Meloria**, in 1284, the Pisans suffered an overwhelming defeat, and many of them were taken prisoners to Genoa. Abortive peace negotiations left them in Genoa for 14 years when, in 1298, those whom death had spared were joined by Venetian prisoners taken by the Genoese victors of the **Battle of Curzola**, fought by the rival fleets off the Dalmatian coast.

In one of the Genoese prisons, two prisoners made acquaintance. One was a Venetian—and talked. The other was a Pisan!—and listened. The listener was **Rusticiano** (or **Rustichello**), a compiler of romances, who had seen something of the world, having travelled in the suite of Prince Edward (later Edward I of England) to the Holyland in the years 1270 to 1273. He was well fitted for the task given him by history—to write and hand down to posterity the story that he listened to, enthralled, as it fell from the lips of his fellow-prisoner. He, the Venetian, was **Marco Polo**, who told of a world and doings beyond imaginings—but a true story of a real world and of real adventures and experiences of the teller. "Let me tell you," says Rusticiano, in his prologue to the book he made of Marco's story, "that since our Lord God did mould with his hands our first Father Adam, even until this day, never hath there been Christian, or Pagan, or Tartar, or Indian, or any man of any nation, who in his own person hath had so much knowledge and experience of the divers parts of the World and its Wonders as hath had this Messer Marco!"

In 1260, Maffeo and Nicolo Polo (the latter the father of Marco), merchants of Venice, Constantinople, and the Crimea, had gone up the Volga River on a trading trip. Thence they had made their way across Asia until they reached the Court of Kublai Khan (or Kaan), "on or in the borders of Cathay." It

was a journey not often attempted in those days, but the Polos were not the first. In 1253, a monk, **William de Rubruquis**, had returned to Europe and told of the existence of a civilised nation in China, of the existence of a vast ocean to the east of China (a report that had, then, convinced the great **Roger Bacon** (1214-1294) of the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west from Europe and, later, determined others, including Columbus, to attempt it) and of Kublai Khan's "Parliament of Religions," where all could argue—reflecting a toleration unknown then in Europe. The Polos were well received, and so impressed Kublai that he decided to send them back to Europe as ambassadors, to ask the Pope to send him a large body of missionaries and teachers of science. The two brothers arrived home in 1269. Pope Clement IV had died, and none had been elected in his stead. It was not until 1271 that they could leave again for Cathay, and, then, with no teachers of science and only two Dominican monks, who, however, "lost heart and drew back when they had barely taken the first step of the journey." (Yule, p. 18.)

But, with the elder Polos went young Marco, a lad of 17. They travelled by Mosul, Baghdad, Hormuz, Khorasan, Badakhshan, across the Pamirs, Yarkand, Khotan, across the Gobi Desert, and past the northern frontier of China, until they "at last reached the presence of the Kaan, who was at his usual summer retreat at Kaipingfu [Shangtu], near the base of Khingan Mountains, and nearly 100 miles north of the Great Wall at Kalgan." (Yule, p. 19.) They had taken three and a half years on the trip. Young Marco was regarded with favor by Kublai, and he rapidly rose in the Khan's Civil Service, mastering the eastern languages and undertaking various journeys and commissions. He travelled through Shansi, Shensi, Szechuan, the "wild country" east of Tibet, Yunnan—and remembered what he saw, for the Khan liked to hear more than the mere official reports. He sailed down the eastern coast of China, he visited Cochin China and Southern India and, after 17 years in the realm of the Great Khan, wanted to go home. The Khan would not have let him go had not ambassadors from Persia, seeking a Mongolian Princess to take the place of the deceased favorite wife of Kublai's grand-nephew, the Khan of Persia, begged that the Polos be placed in charge of the ships that were to bear them home.

In the beginning of 1292, the Polos left China, in charge of a fleet of 14 ships, bearing the Persian ambassadors and the bride, Princess Kokachin. The trip, ill-fated and accompanied by many disasters, took over two years, whether to the chagrin of the bride-to-be or not is not recorded. However, when she finally reached Persia, she found the Khan (described as one of the handsomest men of his time) dead, and she had to find solace in the arms of his son, who was anything but handsome, but whose wife she of necessity became. Marco Polo, with his father and

uncle, arrived home in Venice in 1295. Three years later he was a prisoner in Genoa—happy chance!—and was dictating the story of his travels to an eager listener, who has passed them on to us.

"He was the first traveller," says Yule (Vol. I, p. 103), "to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen with his own eyes; the Deserts of Persia, the flowering plateaux and wild gorges of Badakhshan, the jade-bearing rivers of Khotan, the Mongolian steppes, cradle of the power that had so lately threatened to swallow up Christendom; . . . the first traveller to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, its mighty rivers, its huge cities, its rich manufactures, its swarming population, the inconceivably vast fleets that quickened its seas and its inland waters; to tell us of the nations on its borders with all their eccentricities of manners and worship; of Tibet with its sordid devotees; of Burma with its golden pagodas and their tinkling crowns; of Laos, of Siam, of Cochin China, of Japan, the Eastern Tule, with its rosy pearls and golden-roofed palaces; the first to speak of that Museum of Beauty and Wonder, still so imperfectly ransacked, the Indian Archipelago, source of those aromatics then so highly prized and whose origin was so dark; of Java, the Pearl of Islands; of Sumatra with its many kings, its strange costly products; of the naked savages of Nicobar and Andaman; of Ceylon, the Isle of Gems with its Sacred Mountain and Tomb of Adam; of India the Great, not as a dream-land of Alexandrian fables but as a country seen and partially explored, with its virtuous Brahmins, its obscene ascetics, its diamonds and the strange tales of their acquisition, its sea-beds of pearl, and its powerful sun; the first in mediaeval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian Empire of Abyssinia, and the semi-Christian Island of Socotra; to speak, though indeed dimly, of Zangibar with its negroes and its ivory, and of the vast and distant Madagascar, bordering on the Dark Ocean of the South, with its Ruc and other monstrosities; and, in a remotely opposite region, of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean, of dog-sledges, white bears and reindeer-riding Tunguses."

A story to amaze Europe—of countless pagans to be converted and of wealth to excite the cupidity of European merchants. The memory of all this remained in Europe until the opportunity came for Europeans to travel East. It urged them to make the opportunity. The East was transmuted with the aid of the magic of Polo's story into a lodestone to draw all men unto it. And he gave a name, in the imagination of his successors, to a Terra Australis that did not exist but which led men to seek it and to find a Terra Australis that *did* exist.

From his own travels and adventures, from his learning, from his inquiries of travellers and sailors, Marco knew all that the

men of the East knew, and, especially for our interest, all about the Indian Ocean and the islands that we today call the East Indies. What concerns us closely is his description of the lands one passes on the sea-route from China to India. Sailing down the eastern coast of China we reach Chamba, that is now called Cochin China. And then:

"When you sail from Chamba 1500 miles in a course between South and South-East, you come to a great island called Java. And the experienced mariners of these Islands, who know the matter well, say that it is the greatest island in the world, and has a compass of more than 3000 miles."

The vagueness of what is known and the patent ignorance of the real Java make it apparent that that island was on the border-line of his and their definite knowledge and that beyond it were legend and myth. But then, Polo's editor goes on:

"When you leave Java and sail for 700 miles on a course between South and South-West, you arrive at two islands, a greater and a lesser. The one is called Sondur and the other Condur. As there is nothing about them worth mentioning, let us go on 500 miles beyond Sondur and then we find another country which is called Locac. It is a good country and a rich; it is on the mainland; and it has a king of its own. The people are idolators, and have a peculiar language, and pay tribute to nobody, for their country is so situated that no-one can enter it and do them ill. Indeed, if it were possible to get at it, the Great Khan would soon bring them under subjection to him.\* . . . They have elephants and much game. . . . There is nothing else to mention, except that this is a very wild region visited by few people. . . . When you leave Locac, and sail for 500 miles towards the South, you come to an island called Pentam, a very wild place. . . . When you leave the island of Pentam, and sail about 100 miles, you reach the Island of Jave the Less."

Reading that description, one is likely to imagine that Marco Polo knew of the existence of Australia and had even visited it! Was Locac Australia? Look at the map—700 miles plus 500 miles [some manuscripts say 50] roughly south from Java to a huge strange land which Polo had visited. Had the 13th century Venetian gone to Australia? Had he landed on our north-west shores?—The answer is no—for us. But, for the successors of Marco Polo, the answer was yes! They believed that he was telling of a great south land—a new continent which remained to be fully discovered, explored, settled, and exploited. For another five centuries map-makers marked *Locach* (or *Beach*)

\* Marco advances this naive, perhaps malicious, reason as clinching the matter. How like the Khan must have been to 20th century Powers!

on a huge southern continent which, on their maps, centred at the Pole and sent up its spurs and capes towards the Equator in the Pacific, Indian, and Atlantic Oceans. And for those five centuries navigators and adventurers and merchants sought the Terra Australis—the lost South Land that once Marco Polo knew.

It was all a mistake. Neither Marco Polo nor the merchants of the Great Khan had known anything of the Australian continent. The former's story had been misunderstood. But the error has been more important than the truth; the geography of the imagination became more potent than the geography of actuality. A mythical Terra Australis filled the maps of the Southern Hemisphere and the imaginations of voyagers. They knew "Australia" did exist, although no-one had seen it—but, when it was found, many did not recognise it, for it was not what they had sought.

What was the source of the error that was to influence the explorations of 500 years? It originated in a misunderstanding of what Marco said. He was telling of the lands passed on the way from China to India. He got as far as Cochin China (see above, p. 7), and then, glancing aside from Cochin China, he described the Island of Java. We quoted that description. Then, our next quotation went on, "when you leave Java . . ." That is, we are given to understand, Locac lay to the South-West of Java. But what Polo meant to convey was that it lay south-west of Cochin China! He had, as we have just said, got as far as Cochin China, then glanced aside at Java, and then came back to Cochin China—and continued his description of the lands passed on the way from China to India. So, the story should run: "When you leave Cochin China . . ."

Modern critics have shown that that is how the story should run. And then everything is clear. Polo never visited Java. Java was on the outskirts of his world, semi-legendary. Locac was not Australia, but Siam or Cambodia. "Java Minor was not Tasmania or Groote Eiland, it was Sumatra," and the sequel of the story fits in: Nicobars, Andamans, Ceylon. Did ever mistake have so long a run or so wide an influence?

2.—BALANCING THE EARTH.—So, in the understanding of his contemporaries and successors, Marco Polo had told of the existence of a vast southern land. They, also, believed in its existence—not out of any blind incredulity nor because of an implicit trust in Polo's veracity. They believed because science and common sense combined to convince them that he was stating the mere facts. Had he denied the existence of a southern continent, they would have had cause to doubt him. For they believed in a southern continent for two reasons. One was based on the traditional geography; the other was the argument

that, of physical necessity, there must be a land-mass in the southern hemisphere to "balance" the land-mass in the northern. Otherwise the earth would not swing round the poles! The great geographer, Mercator, for example, said that the earth must be "in a state of perfect equilibrium." Whatever weight of land there was on one side must, it was obviously believed, be balanced by an equal weight on the other. There could be no bias in the terrestrial bowl, for the poles ever pointed in the same directions. It was like a problem in proportion. Three factors were already known (in Mercator's day, that is); the fourth had yet to be discovered: New World balanced Old World; land-mass in north balanced x—the unknown land-mass in the south!

But modern science has gone further in explanation. What was not understood in Mercator's day is that the earth's substance is not homogeneous and that "the geodetic" measurements of the values of gravity in various parts of the world have revealed the striking fact that the force of gravity is greater in the oceanic regions than it is on the surface of the continents. It is now generally accepted by geologists . . . that the depressions of the solid earth in which the ocean waters now lie are due to the sinking in of the inherently denser portions of the earth's outer shell or crust under gravitational attraction." So says a modern geologist.\* As Professor Wood put it: "The Himalayas rise to heaven, not because they are heavy, but because they are light—mere handfuls of dust when compared with the metal stuffs which drag down the ocean bed. There is due weight in the south, but it lies under water."

The other reason for their belief was the geography of Pomponius Mela, of Spain, and Claudius Ptolemy, of Alexandria. The latter lived, wrote and drew maps in the 2nd century A.D. His authority in geography and astronomy was supreme in Europe in his own day, and in later times when these two sciences began to throw off the theological shackles that bound them to the Hebrew Bible. The world as pictured by those who regarded that historical and literary miscellany as their sole text-book of science is amusing to us to-day. The description given by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote between 530 and 550 A.D., furnishes a refreshing sample. Fiske sums up his teaching:

"The earth is not a sphere, but a rectangular plane forming the floor of the universe; the heavens rise on all four sides about this rectangle, like the four walls of a room, and, at an indefinite height above the floor, these blue walls support a vaulted roof or firmament, in which God dwells with the angels. In the centre of the floor are the inhabited lands of the earth, surrounded on all sides by a great ocean, beyond which, somewhere out in a corner, is a Paradise

\* Geodesy: Branch of mathematics dealing with the figure and area of the earth.

from which Adam and Eve were expelled. . . . On the northern part of the floor, under the firmament, is a lofty conical mountain, around which the sun, moon and planets perform their daily revolutions. In the summer the sun takes a turn around the apex of the cone, and is, therefore, hidden only for a short night; but in the winter he travels around the base, which takes longer, and, accordingly, the nights are long. Such is the doctrine drawn from Holy Scripture says Cosmas, and as for the vain blasphemers who pretend that the earth is a round ball, the Lord hath stultified them for their sins until they impudently prate of Antipodes where trees grow downward and rain falls upward. As for such nonsense, the worthy Cosmas cannot abide it." (Fiske, vol 1, pp. 266-7.)

The eight-volumed book of Cosmas (who, in abject servility began: "I, the sinner and wretch, open my stammering, stuttering lips," etc.), was written in answer to Ptolemy's "Geography," which summed up the knowledge of the Ancients. The world known to them centred around the Mediterranean, was bounded in the south by a line drawn to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn, and, in the east, extended perhaps as far as Malay. Herodotus, the Greek historian, tells us that he had heard of Phoenicians who had sailed right round Africa, about 600 B.C. But he didn't believe it because they said that down south they had seen the sun in the north! Reason enough for us to give some credence to the story. What concerns us, however, in Ptolemy's geography is his belief that the Indian Ocean was a land-locked sea. There was no entrance to it at all, either in the west around Africa, or in the east around Malay. Both Africa and Malay were linked to the *Terra Incognita*, the Unknown Land, which stretched along the whole southern length of the Indian Ocean. Ptolemy's views had great influence during the middle ages, and the southern continent with which he filled up the Southern Hemisphere was accepted without questioning as really existing.

The other geographer, Pomponius Mela, who lived a century before Ptolemy, also had influence, especially in the 15th century, when men wanted his theories to be right. Mela, in his map of the world, represented Europe, Asia and Africa as completely surrounded by ocean—so that there were entrances to the Indian Ocean. This was easy of belief for Portuguese merchants, who, towards the end of the 15th century, were seeking a way to the east around Africa. But, for Mela, as for Ptolemy, the southern hemisphere was filled with a great continent, which was probably inhabited. Whether or not it was inhabited we could not know, because between the two worlds—the north and the south—there was "a burning zone" through which one

could not pass. The Portuguese, by their creeping south, proved him wrong in this particular, but succeeded in finding the way he had left open into the Indian Ocean.

Upon the authority, therefore, both of Mela and Ptolemy, a great southern continent existed, and, it was believed, Marco Polo had visited it, and knew of its riches. For centuries sailors sought it, and map-makers placed it on their maps—even after the discovery of Australia. Until Captain Cook, by sailing all over the Pacific, showed that the only place where a southern continent could exist was beneath the ice around the South Pole—where, to-day, Antarctic explorers have found it. The process of the discovery of Australia, to the extent that it was not accidental, was the process of showing where Ptolemy's southern continent did not exist. What was left was Australia!

3.—ARABS, MALAYS, INDIANS, CHINESE.—A glance at Northern Australia and the stepping-stones thence to the continent of Asia prompts one to wonder if Australia had not been discovered long before he Europeans came here. Four more or less civilised peoples were in easy distance at various times, and might have come—the Malays, the Chinese, the Indians and the Arabs. Did all or any of these know of Australia?

To-day, the Indian Ocean is a British lake. In the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, and before, it was an Arab lake. "The Indian Ocean became an outlying domain of Islam."<sup>11</sup> The "Mohamedans and not the Christians," says the late Prof. Wood, "became heirs to Greek culture."<sup>12</sup> "Ptolemy remained unread by Europeans till the 15th century. But, already in the 9th century, his books were translated into Arabic, and became the inspiration of a native Arabic science, which, in its turn, though not till the 13th century, was accepted by Christian scholars like Roger Bacon as their teacher and master."

At Baghdad, the very sound of whose name conjures up for us the romantic Haroun-al-Raschid, the Thousand-and-One Nights and Sinbad the Sailor and his adventurous travels, and at Damascus, observatories and schools of geography were established; while the former city and Cairo "became thriving centres of trade" (Fiske, vol 1, p. 269)—the last on the southern and the other two on the middle route between Europe and the East. The Red Sea and the Persian Gulf were completely dominated by the Arabs,<sup>13</sup> who "were bold sailors, and not only visited Sumatra and Java, but made their way to Canton."<sup>14</sup> What Arab scientists wanted to know of lands and conditions beyond the narrow seas they inquired of travellers and seamen; and their seamen helped to survey all the seas upon which Arab ships sailed. East Africa, India, Sumatra, Java, China saw Arab ships, and traded with Arab merchants.

These, sailing out of the Indian Ocean to Canton, proved that Ptolemy's theory of a "land-locked Indian Ocean" was not true. There was at least an exit to the east. South they did not go because of the dangerous seas, they tell us<sup>12</sup>—and so did not discover anything about Ptolemy's "Terra Incognita." They evidently hugged the coast all the way around from the Red Sea or Persian Gulf to Sumatra, Java or Canton. There is no evidence that they knew anything of Australia. "Sinbad the sailor," says Wood, "knew a good deal about the orang-outang of Borneo or Sumatra, and he had heard about the great bird of Madagascar; but there is no reason to believe that he ever faced the kangaroo."<sup>13</sup>

But before the Arabs had become a world power, and, under the joint impulse of trade and Islam, sailed the eastern seas, the peoples of India had spread all over the northern half of the Indian Ocean. The Christians of Europe were not the first to build empires on the basis of faith and business. Indian Buddhists, Arab Mohammedans and the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English varieties of Christians—such was the order in which empires were laid on the shores of the Indian Ocean. Buddhism was all-powerful in India for about a thousand years (250 B.C.-700 A.D.), and from India, traders, colonists and missionaries were sent in every direction. Indian colonies were established on the east coast of Africa, on the Malay Peninsula, in the East Indies, in China, in Korea, in Japan. To-day, the wonderful temples of Java, which contain some of the finest of Buddhist art, bear witness to the wide extent of Buddhist culture.

Did the Indians know anything of Australia? It seems not. Their certain knowledge ended at Java—the terminus of trading routes from north and west. Towards the south-east, trade was in the hands of the Malays, who brought back to Java the spices and other delicacies that were sought in its markets. The Javanese, especially, were reputed by the Portuguese to have been good seamen. The question is, did they ever cross the Timor or Arafura Sea and reach the shores of Australia? The shortest distance between Australia and Timor is less than 300 miles, while from some of the smaller islands to the east the distance to Australia is still less. It seems almost certain that such a venturesome people as the Javanese (or other Malays) did visit the Australian shores. We know that they did in later times.

In 1802-1803 Flinders, during his circumnavigation of Australia, came upon evidences of Malay visits, and saw some Malays engaged in gathering trepang or beche-de-mer. This, he says, "is carried to Timor and sold to the Chinese, who meet them there."<sup>14</sup> When Flinders went to Timor he made inquiries there, and was told that, about 20 years before, one of the Malay boats was driven on to the shores of Australia. Much trepang was found there—and thus the trade began. That takes us back

only to 1783, but it establishes the possibility that other boats, in earlier times, were similarly driven by storms and adverse winds upon the shores of Australia. This much is certain, that whatever was known in the Spice Islands about Australia was told to Arabs, Indians and Chinese alike, and later to the Europeans. If any such knowledge existed it confirmed in the minds of the Europeans the existence of the land that Ptolemy a thousand years before had drawn on his maps.

What we have said of the knowledge of Arabs and Indians applies as well to the Chinese. These, too, were great traders, travelling as far as India and among the Spice Islands in their huge junks that could carry their 600 and 700 men. In early times they did this and then again, after a period of 300 years of reaction, in the 13th century, when the Mongol conquest reopened China to foreigners. It was during this time that the Polos came east. They were followed by other European travellers, who throw some light on our problem. For example, **Odoric**, a Franciscan monk, who came to the East at the beginning of the 14th century, and who visited Sumatra, tells of the **Mare Mortuum**, the Sea of the Dead, "which runneth continually southward, into the which whosoever falleth is never seen after." Others also speak of the impossibility of sailing beyond the islands because of the stormy seas. Knowledge seemed to end with the islands. But, on the other hand, **Ludowico de Varthema**, who visited the Spice Islands in the beginning of 16th century, tells us that he was told by a Malay captain of a land to the south that was inhabited. Was this Australia?<sup>15</sup> We can never know. We can only conjecture. Perhaps Australia was vaguely known; perhaps it lay hid for another hundred years until discovered by the Dutch. At any rate, as far as we know, no direct knowledge was had of it by Arabs, Indians, Chinese or the travellers who came East in the wake of the Polos.

Varthema on his way back home told the Portuguese, who had just defeated the Arabs in Indian waters (1506), all about the Spice Islands, and was partly instrumental in bringing them nearer Australia.

**4.—PORTUGUESE COME EAST.**—By the end of the 15th century, a new chapter had opened in the story of the discovery of Australia. During the 15th century the Portuguese had been creeping down the western coast of Africa in the hope ultimately of finding a way round its southern extremity to the East. The influence of Pomponius Mela rather than of Ptolemy urged them on, for, had they believed Ptolemy, they would not have sought a sea-way into his land-locked Indian Ocean.

**Prince Henry, the Navigator**, in his retreat on the promontory of Sagres in the south-west corner of Portugal, gathered round



him scholars who studied and taught "the mysteries of map making and the art of navigation."<sup>19</sup> Down south he sent on his captains, who sailed the uncharted Sea of Darkness and unrolled before their amazed eyes the mysteries and riches, the gold and slaves, of the African coast. By the time of Henry's death in 1463, they had gone only as far as Sierra Leone. In 1471, Santarem and Escobar crossed the equator, and, in 1482, Diego Cam reached the mouth of the Congo.<sup>20</sup> Two years later **Bartholomew Dias** was sent "with three fifty-ton caravels, to make one more attempt to find an end to the Atlantic coast of Africa."<sup>21</sup> He passed the Cape of Good Hope, and was convinced that he had discovered a southern route to the Indian Ocean. About the same time the king of Portugal had sent **Pedro de Covilham** through Egypt and the Red Sea to Aden, whence he had gone to India. On his way home he visited Abyssinia, and stayed there thirty years, till he died.<sup>22</sup> He was able to send home to Portugal information about Africa, India and the ocean between.

In 1497 **Vasco de Gama**, following in the course of Dias, rounded the Cape, sailed up the east coast of Africa, and got an Arab pilot to take him across the Arabian Sea to Calicut in India. He reached there in May, 1498, coming "in search of Christians and spices." The creation of the Portuguese Empire of the East had begun. On this first voyage the Portuguese made no attempt at setting up a factory.\* A factory was, however, founded when the second expedition arrived in 1500. The Arabs naturally resented the intrusion of the "Franks" (as they called all Europeans), and were determined not to give up their monopoly of the Eastern trade without a struggle. They were able to rouse the Zamorin of Calicut to action against them, and the Portuguese factory, together with the Portuguese in it, was wiped out. But odds were against the Arabs. There was a lack of unity in the Mohammedan world at the time, and the Hindu princes welcomed the Europeans as allies in the struggle to stay the Moslem advance in India. Portuguese factories were successfully established on the south-west coast of India—at Cochin in 1501 and at Cannanore in 1502. They were soon in a position to monopolise the trade of these towns and destroy ships that traded without a Portuguese permit.

To maintain a monopoly of the trade of the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese aimed at obtaining command of the trade gates into it—at Aden and the head of the Persian Gulf. In 1506 the combined Mohammedan fleets from India, Arabia and Egypt were defeated and destroyed. "History, ancient and modern, records no achievement of armed commerce so brilliant and so fraught with lasting result."<sup>23</sup> The following year saw the Portuguese established on the island of Socotra, but their activities in the Arabian

\* Factory, not in our sense, but in its original meaning: a trading settlement.

Sea during the next few years delayed the establishment and consolidation of possessions in the East. But, while they were never able completely to destroy Arab trade, and had to face further Arab attacks (for example, one organised by **Suleiman the Magnificent**, Sultan of Turkey (1520-1566) soon after his accession), their hindrance of that trade is reflected in the decline of the customs returns of the Sultan of Egypt.<sup>24</sup> They gained permission to erect a fortress at Ormuz, and thence were able to command the Persian Gulf. But Aden they were able to hold only from 1517 to 1538.

The obvious was finally seen. Why not control the spice trade at its source? **Malacca** was the centre of that trade and of eastern trade generally. Here the usual procedure was repeated. The Portuguese, under **Albuquerque**, established a factory there, and soon had possession of the town. They could, thenceforth, regulate the supply of spices in their own interests. From **Malacca** they found their way to **China** (1517) and **Japan** (1542). From **Malacca**, too, had gone out an expedition of three ships to explore the Spice Islands, and, incidentally, to bring the Portuguese closer to Australia than any Europeans had ever been. The captain of one of these ships was **Francisco Serrano**, a devoted friend of **Ferdinand Magellan**, who a few years later was to set out from Spain to circumnavigate the globe.<sup>25</sup> Thus, by 1512, the Portuguese had reached the goal they had been aiming at for over half a century, and had established themselves within a stone's throw of Australia. But not to them was reserved the honor of its discovery.

5.—**SPANISH COME WEST.**—While the Portuguese navigators were braving the mysteries and dangers of southern zones and feeling their way round the Cape of Good Hope, Spaniards were looking westward. In the same year that Diego Cam reached the Congo, **Christopher Columbus** arrived in Spain, and, five years before Vasco de Gama found the African route to India, he had found the western route to what he **thought** was the Indies.

**Christopher Columbus**<sup>26</sup> was born round about 1436, perhaps at Genoa, but certainly within the boundaries of the Genoese Republic. He was the son of a weaver, and began a seafaring life at an early age. He found time to study Latin, geography, astronomy and mathematics, and became an expert draughtsman.<sup>27</sup> His copy of Marco Polo has been preserved with marginal notes in his handwriting. About 1470, he went to Lisbon, which had become, under Prince Henry the Navigator, the chief centre of nautical science in Europe,<sup>28</sup> and made several voyages down the African coast. He married in 1473 and lived on the island of Porto Santo, of which his father-in-law, the noted Italian navigator, **Perestrelo** (died 1457), had been governor. Columbus spent his time studying the maps, sailing charts and other documents

left by Perestrelo, and listening, probably, to "the eager discussions that must have been held over the great commercial problem of the age: how far south that African coast extended and whether there was any likelihood of ever finding an exit to it."<sup>20</sup>

In 1472, Santarem and Escobar, after sailing east along the Gold Coast thinking they had at last found the passage to the East, found bitter disappointment when the African coast again turned south. It seemed then that Ptolemy was right—there was no way east around Africa. It was not long after this that King Alfonso V. of Portugal wrote (through Martinez, a captain of his court, who had discussed the matter with the Florentine to Toscanelli (1397-1482), the famous Florentine astronomer and cosmographer, asking his opinion about whether there could be a shorter way to the East than around Africa. About the same time, Columbus also wrote to Toscanelli asking similar questions. The latter answered the king and sent Columbus a copy of his reply. This reply was to the effect that, by sailing west one would reach the Cipango (Japan) and Cathay (China) of Marco Polo, whom he quotes, and the Spice Islands. He told of the riches of these lands and sent, both to the king and to Columbus "a sailing chart . . . made by my own hands."<sup>21</sup> together with instructions as to how to get there. He estimated the distance from the Canaries to Cipango at only 3250 miles—about one quarter of the actual distance.<sup>21</sup> Columbus himself, however, estimated the distance at only 2500 miles. A fortunate error we may imagine, for he would only with difficulty have got credit to go seek a land 12,000 miles away!

Other letters followed, and other sea-voyages, north and south. About the time that Diego Cam set out on his voyage down the African coast, Columbus placed his plan to travel west to Asia before King John II., who, rather than promise the high rewards that Columbus demanded as the price of his success, sent out a ship secretly with Columbus's sailing plans. The pilot on that ship was no Columbus, and soon returned. Columbus left Portugal for Spain, and entered the service of Ferdinand and Isabella, who had, by their marriage, united the crowns of Aragon and Castile, and were engaged in a war to drive the Moors out of Spain. Columbus's plans were again placed before a body of learned men, but the decision was postponed. In 1488 Columbus returned to Lisbon, where he met his brother, Bartholomew, who had been with the expedition of Diaz to the Cape of Good Hope and who had just returned. This success of the Portuguese in their original plans increased his own impatience. He sent Bartholomew to England, where he interviewed Henry VIII. No answer was given here, either, and Bartholomew went to France

In the meantime Christopher was again placing his plans before the authorities, and again consent was withheld. But as, dis-

gusted with the delays, he was setting out for France or England, other influence was able to obtain the promise of a reconsideration of his plans, as soon as the war was over. In January the Moors were defeated, and his case was in court. He demanded appointment as admiral of the ocean, and as viceroy of the lands he might discover and one-eighth of all profits. The price was put down as being too high, negotiations were broken off and Columbus was setting out again for France. Again he was recalled and an agreement was reached. Money was raised for the voyage; but money was not the only difficulty. Crews had to be found—and debts were wiped out and sentences of criminals remitted in order that men might be got to undertake service in the expedition. On Friday, August 3, 1492, they set sail—ninety of them—in three caravels, the largest of which was ninety feet long, and, after many difficulties, created by the fears and superstitions of some of the sailors, and threats of mutiny, they landed on one of the Bahama Islands on October 12.

Columbus believed, both then and in his later voyages, that he was in the lands of Marco Polo. Haiti was Cipango; Cuba was Cathay. When South America was discovered he thought it was Ptolemy's southern continent, and his fourth voyage was a reply to da Gama's success in reaching India. Columbus then sought the Straits of Malacca to reach the Indian Ocean from the east. He never knew that the vast Pacific separated his discoveries from Marco Polo's Cipango and the Spice Islands.

Those who came after Columbus continued the search for the great south land and the treasures—material and spiritual—it might contain. One of these was **Amerigo Vespucci**, after whom America is named. In 1502 he sailed down the east coast of South America, thinking he was sailing down the east coast of Terra Australis! "It is proper," he says in a letter to **Lorenzo de Medici**, describing the countries he had discovered, "to call them a new world. . . . For it transcends the ideas of the ancients; since most of them say that beyond the equator to the south there is no continent, but only the sea, which they called Atlantic; and if any of them asserted the existence of a continent there, they found many reasons for refusing to consider it a habitable country. But this last voyage of mine has proved that this opinion of theirs was erroneous and in every way contrary to the facts, since in those southern regions I have found a continent more thickly inhabited by peoples and animals than our Europe, or Asia, or Africa."<sup>22</sup>

Columbus had sought the Straits of Malacca around Panama, wanting to reach India. He failed, though many refused to believe they were not there. Now others were seeking to solve the problem. So, Vespucci sailed south. But in 1513 **Balboa**, "upon a peak in Darien," stood and looked, first of Europeans,

upon the eastern part of the ocean that was later to be called Pacific. Six years later, a "Portuguese commander of a Spanish fleet"<sup>28</sup> set out on the most wonderful voyage in the history of the world.

**Ferdinand Magellan**, a Portuguese nobleman, was born, round about 1480, at Saborosa, in the mountainous north-eastern corner of Portugal. Nothing much is known of his early years until, in 1505, we find him a volunteer in the Portuguese navy in the East. There he served, first under Almeida, the first Portuguese Governor of India, and then under his successor, Albuquerque. He was in the first European expedition east of Ceylon—that of Sequeira, which went to Malacca in 1508-9. It was while there that he formed an undying friendship with Francisco Serrano, whose life, together with that of Sequeira, he had saved. The story of Serrano's later adventures aroused in Magellan the desire also to sail to the Spice Islands. In 1512 he was back in Portugal, but out of favor at court. He saw service in Morocco, where he was wounded in the knee and was lamed for the rest of his life. He arrived at the conclusion in the course of his geographical studies, that there was, somewhere in America, a strait through which he could sail and join his friend Serrano in the Spice Islands. Upon maps of the period appear such straits—for example, the Globe of Schoner (1515). He placed the proposal before King Emmanuel, who would have nothing to do with it. Magellan left Portugal for Spain—just as Columbus had done.

He arrived in Seville in 1517. There he married Beatriz de Barbosa, daughter of another Portuguese in the Spanish service. Charles V. smiled upon his plans, and preparations were put under way. On September 20, 1519, he set out from Cadiz on board the "Trinidad" (110 tons), accompanied by the "San Antonio" (120 tons), the "Concepcion" (90 tons), the "Victoria" (85 tons) and the "Santiago" (75 tons), all old and rotten. The 280 men were of many nationalities—Spanish, Portuguese, Genoese, Sicilians, French, Germans, Greeks, Negroes, Malays and one Englishman from Bristol. The Portuguese king had agents on board to stir up mutiny in order to prevent the success of the voyage, and, of the other captains, one only was faithful to Magellan—Juan Serrano, of the "Santiago," a brother of his friend Francisco. They had not gone far before Cartagena (captain of the "San Antonio") had to be placed in irons for insubordination. By the end of November they were on the Brazilian coast. Most of January they spent in finding out whether the La Plata was a strait or not, and February and March in making their way through endless storms down the coast of Patagonia. At Port St. Julian, which they reached at the end of March, they determined to winter.

Here the simmering discontent boiled over. Their small boats had been buffeted by the storms; none had been further south

than they were; rations were short—but Magellan would listen to no talk of turning back. He promised rewards and appealed to the men's pride—but in any case they must go on. The mutinous captains told the men that Magellan, the Portuguese, was deliberately leading a Spanish fleet to destruction as an act of service to the Portuguese king. Mutiny broke out on April 1, 1520. The "San Antonio" now commanded by Magellan's cousin, was seized and one of the mutineers placed in charge. Thus three of the five ships were controlled by mutineers. But the commander was more than a match for them. He sent a boat's crew on board the "Victoria," and it, by surprise tactics, was able to take the ship. Now controlling three ships he opened fire on the other two, boarded and captured them. One captain, Quesada, was executed; the other, together with a priest, was left behind at Port St. Julian when the fleet sailed. During the winter the "Santiago" was wrecked. On August 24 they set out again.

On October 21 they reached Cape Virgins and were soon in the strait to which Magellan has given his name. They were more than five weeks passing through the strait, during which one of the ships, the "San Antonio," deserted and returned to Spain. But, to suggestions of returning, Magellan replied that he would go on "if he had to eat the leather off the ship's yards," words that were to come true. At last they were through the straits, and when Magellan "saw the way open to the other mayne sea, he was so gladd thereof that for ioy the teares fell from his eyes."<sup>29</sup> So peaceful seemed this new ocean to Magellan after the storms of the Atlantic that he gave it the name it has since borne: the **Pacific**.

Having sailed around the southern extremity of America and entered the Pacific, Magellan had proved at once that Columbus had **not** reached Japan or China, and that South America was **not** Terra Australis. But he had discovered something else—at least to the satisfaction of 16th century navigators and map-makers. Terra Australis did really exist—they knew it from Ptolemy. And they were very prone to see continents where only islands existed. So, having proved that South America was not Terra Australis, Magellan at once jumped at the conclusion that he had passed through the straits that separated South America from Terra Australis. In other words, **Tierra del Fuego** was the tip of the southern continent, and remained such until after **Drake** had proved it to be an island. Map-makers, who believed that North America (whose western coast was not properly known till Cook's day) was joined to Asia found both confirmation of Ptolemy's southern continent and proof that he was wrong about a land-locked Indian Ocean. Vasco da Gama had found a way into it from the west, around Africa, and now Magellan had found a way into it from the East, around America. Moreover, the latter had **seen** Terra Australis! So,

Ptolemy was right: the Indian Ocean did have two entrances, it is true, but Terra Australis stretched all along its southern length, from Tierra del Fuego, already seen, under the South of Africa to join again to Tierra del Fuego. The rest of that vast continent had still to be discovered, and, for another two centuries and a half, men sought it!

Magellan was now in the Pacific, "but the worst hardships were still before him. Once more a Sea of Darkness must be crossed by brave hearts sickening with hope deferred. If the mid-Atlantic waters had been strange to Columbus and his men, here before Magellan's people all was thrice unknown.

"They were the first that ever burst  
Into that silent sea;"

and, as they sailed month after month over the waste of waters, the huge size of our planet began to make itself felt.<sup>75</sup> Till mid-December they sailed north, then north-west and west. Even from Tierra del Fuego they had travelled already twice as far as Columbus had on his first voyage. They touched on two islands where neither food nor water was obtainable, and then faced 5000 miles of unknown ocean before they reached food and water on the Ladrone Islands. Their sufferings were terrible and, withal, most of them probably believed they were being taken to their destruction—lost on a vast ocean that might have no ending. "And having in this time consumed all their biscuits and other victuals," says Pigafetta, "they fell into such necessity that they were enforced to eat the powder that remained thereof, being now full of worms. . . . Their fresh water was also putrefied and become yellow. They did eat skins and pieces of leather which were folded about certain great ropes of the ships. But these skins, being made very hard by reason of the sun, rain, and wind, they hung them by a cord in the sea for the space of four or five days to mollify them and sodden them, and ate them. By reason of this famine and unclean feeding, some of their gums grew so over their teeth that they died miserably for hunger. And by this occasion died 19 men, and, . . . beside these that died, 25 or 30 were so sick that they were not able to do any service with their hands or arms for feebleness. . . . In three months and 20 days, they sailed 4000 leagues in one gulf by the said sea called Pacificum (that is, peaceable), which may well be so called forasmuch as in all this time, having no sight of any land, they had no misfortune of wind or any other tempest. . . . So that in fine, if God of his mercy had not given them good weather, it was necessary that in this so great a sea they should all have died from hunger. Which nevertheless they escaped so hardly that it may be doubted whether ever the like voyage may be attempted with so good success."<sup>76</sup>

All realised now, of course, that to turn back was as much the advice of despair as to go on. So, on they went—until, early in

March, they reached islands where they found fresh food and water but which, from the proclivities of the natives, they called the Ladrone Islands, or the islands of robbers. Less than a fortnight later they reached the Philippines—*islands that promised wealth to Spain*. Here, Magellan, the earnest Catholic, was able to convert the King of Sebu to Christianity. The latter, wishing to test the power of his new gods, declared war on another king who would not pay him homage and called on Magellan as an ally. And "the steadfast commander, the ally and protector of his new convert, the peerless navigator, the knight without fear and without reproach, now turned crusader as quickly as he had turned missionary."<sup>77</sup> But, the enemy was overwhelmingly superior—and Magellan died fighting valiantly as he helped to cover the retreat of his small force. "The Indians," Pigafetta mournfully tells us, "threw themselves upon him with iron-pointed bamboo spears and scimitars, and every weapon they had, and ran him through—our mirror, our light, our comforter, our true guide—until they killed him."<sup>78</sup>

Disaster followed disaster. The new "Christian" king, defeated and contrite, saw the errors of his ways and the futility of relying upon the Christian god, and made haste to appease his former gods by massacring about thirty of the leading Spaniards whom he had invited to a banquet. Only 115 of the original 280 remained. The "Concepcion," unseaworthy, was destroyed and, later, the "Trinidad" sprang a leak. The latter, after refitting, set sail (April 6, 1522) to re-cross the Pacific with 54 men. She failed to cross the Pacific; her crew were stricken with famine and scurvy, and she arrived back at the Moluccas with 19 men left—who were seized by the Portuguese and faced new horrors. Only four of them ever reached Spain again!

The "Victoria" had, however, set sail for home in December via the Cape of Good Hope, with 47 men aboard. They passed through the Moluccas and by Timor—and so, not far from the Australian coast! No mention, however, is made in the account of the trip of Australia's having been seen, but Galvano, ex-governor of the Moluccas, writing in 1555, had this to say: "Beyond this island—one hundred leagues—they discovered certain islands under the Tropic of Capricorn, and, further on, others. All are peopled thenceforward, nor did they see land except it might be some islets up to the Cope of Good Hope."<sup>79</sup>

The "Victoria" reached home, with only 18 survivors, after an absence of three and a half years—the first ship to sail round the world. "Eastward, ho!" had been the burden of the encouragement given to Henry the Navigator's captains and crews as he sent them to find a way round Africa to the riches of the East. "Westward, ho!" had been the cry of Columbus and the Spaniards as they sought, in 1492, the self-same riches by sailing west. Now, thirty years after, they had met amongst the Spice

Islands they both sought and coveted. The Spanish, having the barrier of America to negotiate, had arrived late and found the Portuguese in possession.

When the Portuguese and the Spanish began their expansion beyond the seas, there would inevitably arise conflicts over the possession of the new discoveries. After the return of Columbus, the Spanish appealed to Pope Alexander VI, who, in response, granted to Spain possession of discoveries in the western ocean, just as formerly it had been granted to the Portuguese in the eastern. He fixed the boundary at a meridian one hundred leagues west of the Azores. In the following year (1494), the line was moved further west—to 370 leagues west from the Cape Verde Islands, that is, about 42 or 43 degrees west of Greenwich. Thus, part of Brazil was given to Portugal. If there were conflicts over the boundary in the Atlantic, there were bound to be more when Spaniards and Portuguese met on the other side of the world. The antipode of 43 degrees west of Greenwich is 137 degrees east—so that the Philippines and the Moluccas would fall to the Portuguese. But, owing to a miscalculation, Magellan thought they were in the Spanish zones. Whether those who came after him thought the same or not, they laid claim to some of the Spice Islands, and conflict arose between the two countries over the rival claims.

By other Spaniards who followed Magellan other discoveries were made and explorations carried out. In 1527, Saavedra brought an expedition west from Mexico to the Moluccas—but the Spaniards were defeated and Spain sold her claim to the Spice Islands. But she did not give up hope of establishing an eastern empire. New Guinea's northern coast was explored by Saavedra in 1528. Other expeditions aimed at establishing the centre of the Spanish eastern empire in the Philippines. In 1545, a Spanish colony there failed, but, in 1564, another, founded by an expedition sent from Mexico, succeeded, and the inhabitants were "conquered by arms or by the industry of the monks who sowed the Holy Gospel, in which all labored valiantly."<sup>40</sup> The problem of returning eastward across the Pacific was also solved, although, because of the prevailing winds, the return took much longer than the voyage out. Spain was soon enjoying a prosperous trade and, in 1580, the whole of Portugal and her possessions were annexed by Spain. The time was ripe for an intensive search for Terra Australis—and this certain Spanish navigators now took in hand. But before we turn to them we must glance at a few maps.

6.—MAPPING AN UNKNOWN LAND.—Australia, then, had, by the end of the 16th century, Europeans from two countries as close neighbors. The question arises, did they know Australia? They were as close as Timor, and had explored the north coast of

New Guinea, "but," says the late Professor Wood, "neither in Portuguese nor in Spanish writing is there one word (as far as I know) to suggest knowledge of anything south of the north coasts of the island chain from Java to Timor; no word save the passage in Galvana (see above, p. 21) telling of 'certain islands under the Tropic of Capricorn,' to which, he says, the 'Victoria' came a hundred leagues beyond Timor."<sup>41</sup> On the contrary, he adds, there are a "good many words to suggest ignorance." He refers to several contemporary writers. Barros, a Portuguese chronicler (about the middle of 16th century), says that south of Java there is an undiscovered sea, so the Javanese say, into which it is a peril to go—a statement which recalls Odoric's "mare mortuum," which is corroborated by other writers, and which it would appear, according to modern authorities, has some basis in fact. South of the Spice Islands, it was too dangerous to voyage.

The Portuguese Couto, writing about 1570, says that the "south coast is not frequented by us,"<sup>42</sup> while Linschoten (a Dutch traveller who visited the Far East at the end of the 16th century), a careful and industrious inquirer, who "first put into Dutch and English minds the idea of an eastern commercial empire,"<sup>43</sup> in his book, wrote that he was not certain whether Java was an island or not. On his map, he makes the south coast of that island smooth, showing that he knew nothing about it, and marks "Beach provincia aurifera"<sup>44</sup> to the south of it only "because like Ortelius and Mercator, he thought it necessary to find a place for Marco Polo's Locac or Beach."<sup>45</sup>

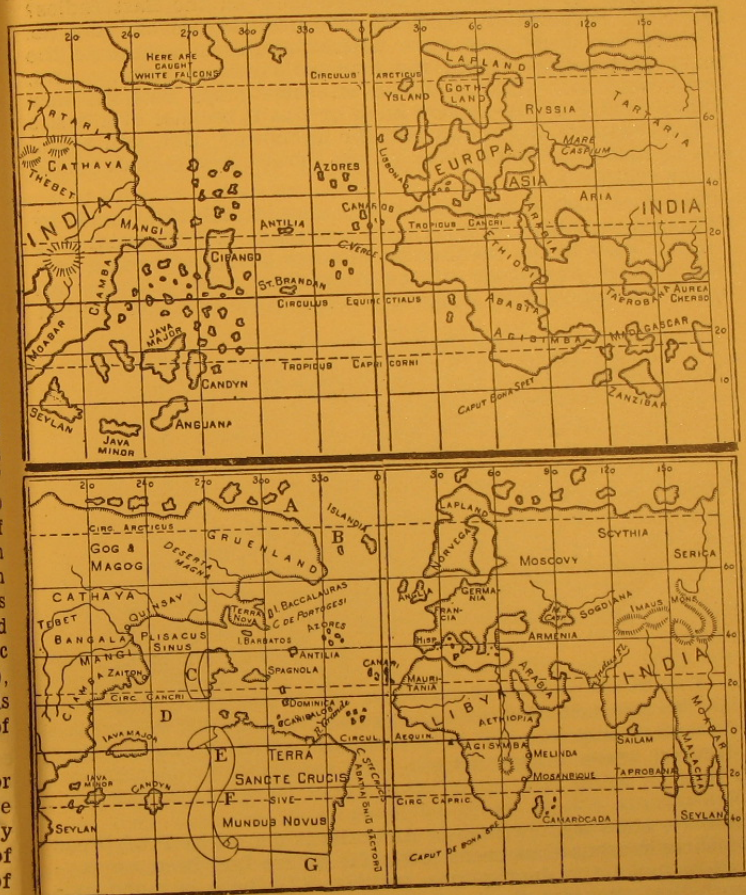
This ignorance, Prof. Wood pointed out, is not remarkable—for several reasons. The number of Portuguese and Spaniards in the Far East was small. "The harvest of spices was great and the laborers were few." "There was little motive for exploration and little possibility for undertaking it."<sup>46</sup> Moreover, "the courses of trading ships were such as practically to preclude the accidental discovery of Australia. For the Portuguese hugged the east coast of Africa on their way out. It was only when, in the next century, the Dutch struck right across the Indian Ocean, that the accidental discovery of Australia was both likely and actually made. The Spanish, on the other hand, sailed direct from Mexico to the Philippines, and winds were not likely to blow them on to the Queensland coast; while the Straits of Magellan were given up after the disaster of Del Cano's voyage in 1524. Ships from Peru sailing directly across the Pacific might have discovered Australia, but the earliest recorded of such voyages is that of Mendana in 1567, which "actually did discover the Solomon Islands."<sup>47</sup> Professor Wood laid special weight on the ignorance of Australia shown by Galvano, ex-Governor of the Moluccas, who wrote his "Discoveries of the World," before 1555.

But, if chroniclers have nothing to tell us of Australia, what of the map-makers? There are many 16th and 17th century

maps to study, and some have been thought to display a knowledge of the Australian coast. Professor Wood divided the maps into three groups.

Firstly, there are the maps that quite definitely show no knowledge of Australia. A map by **Francisco Rodriguez** (who had been a pilot in the Portuguese expedition of 1511-1512) shows the string of islands from Java to Timor, their "south coasts drawn in a way to suggest a knowledge of them."<sup>10</sup> **Pedro Reinel's** map (about 1517) shows the same string, but they run north and south and not east and west! This map seems "to show ignorance of the south coasts and a tendency to fill in the unknown vacancy with land."<sup>11</sup> In still another map, a Spanish map by **Ribero** (1529), only the north coasts of the islands are shown while the south coasts fade into the ocean.<sup>12</sup> We come to a map of one of the discoverers of America, **Sebastian Cabot**, made in 1544, and he wrote to the south of the islands, "unknown sea or land."<sup>13</sup> The famous German map-maker, **Sebastian Munster**, in a map dated 1572, says there is no continent to the south. There are other maps which tell us the same. Then there is a map that Shakespeare knew. It is a map in the second edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages*, published in 1598-1600. Maria, in "Twelfth Night," compares Malvolio's smile to it: "He does smile his face into more lines than are in the new map, with the augmentation of the Indies; I can hardly forbear hurling things at him."<sup>14</sup> On the map in the earlier edition of 1589 there was a huge southern continent; in the new edition that disappears,\* but there appears to the south of the East Indies a wavy line. This, Prof. Wood conjectured to represent the "certain islands under the Tropic of Capricorn, which Galvano (whose book Hakluyt admired), said the "Victoria" had passed on her way from home."<sup>15</sup> It is clear that the maps so far enumerated had no knowledge of Australia.<sup>16</sup>

The second class of maps are similar to the map of Mercator of 1569, which we here reproduce.\* These maps show the large southern continent which Ptolemy said existed. We have already shown that Tierra del Fuego was regarded as a northern tip of that continent. On some of these maps another wide peak of the continent is shown just to the south of the Spice Islands. Some show New Guinea connected with the continent; others show a strait between. On the continent we find the name "Beach" or "Locac." It seems apparent that the map-makers, taking for granted the existence of a southern continent, drew one of its peaks to come into the region of Java in order that they might be able to place Polo's "Locac." What they had to go on was: (1) Ptolemy's southern continent; (2) Polo's "Locac" to the south of Java—and they drew their maps accordingly,



Maps of the world sketched by Fiske from Behain's Globe, 1492 (at top), and Ruysch's map of the world, 1508.

connecting "Locac" (the tip of the continent "seen" by Polo) with Tierra del Fuego (the tip seen by Magellan). In between lay the coast that had to be discovered and explored and which Mendana and Quiros were soon to go and seek.

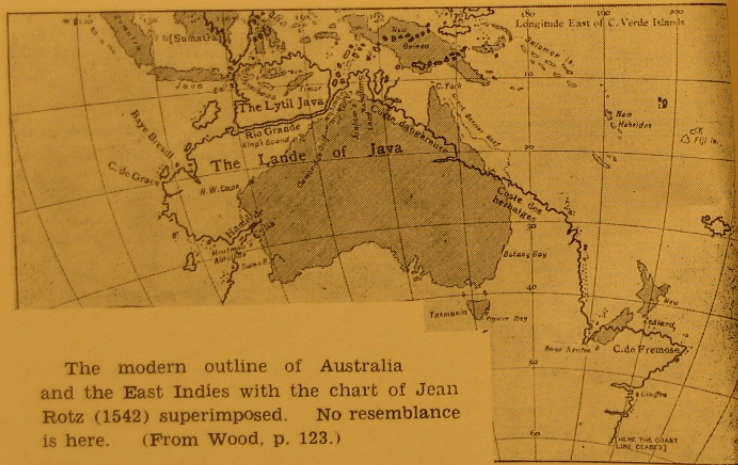
The question arises, however, was the continent drawn to the south of Java merely on the word of Polo, or was there other confirmation? Magellan had confirmed Ptolemy to the south

\* See maps on pp. 33 and 34.

of America. Had anybody confirmed Polo<sup>66</sup> in the East Indies? As far as documentary evidence is concerned, we can say no.

There may have been some natives' stories of a land to the south that indicated that the map-makers were right. And, again, why was a strait drawn on some maps between New Guinea—did the map-makers know or was it because of a desire to keep separate the known and the unknown? But, still again, and to counteract these maps, others showed New Guinea joined to the continent.

The third class of maps is a group (dating 1530-1570) made by French map-makers from a common original—a Portuguese map—which show to the satisfaction of some that there was a certain detailed knowledge of the Australian coast. These can best be considered from a reproduction that we here give.<sup>67</sup> That



the maps show a knowledge of Australia is denied by Prof. Wood for three reasons that seem final: (1) There had been no voyages to make the descriptions possible; (2) there is much evidence that they are the work of the imagination; and (3) the supposed resemblances are not convincing.<sup>68</sup>

I think it is with certainty we can say that in the 16th century there was no definite knowledge of Australia. Terra Australis had still to be discovered, and some Spanish navigators were now intent on seeking it.

7.—AUSTRIALIA DEL ESPERITU SANTO.—Peru in the throes of a war of conquest, Spanish expeditions before the middle of the 16th century set out from Mexico. By then, however, Peru had been "pacified," there was a settled government, and the

adventurers who had accomplished the pacification sighed for fresh worlds to conquer. "They wanted virgin fields such as Cortes and Pizarro had exploited, and they drank in greedily the tales of an undiscovered continent in the west which were current among the Indians and the seafaring population of Callao."<sup>69</sup>

There were rumors of an Inca's having crossed the ocean, discovered gold-bearing islands and brought back plenty of gold to prove it. Scientists and map-makers were telling about the great "Austral" continent and that these rich islands were its northern peaks. "It was an age of gold, and, to the Spaniard, the whole unknown world was yellow."<sup>70</sup> Juan Gaetano, in 1555, discovered the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>71</sup>

On November 19, 1567, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, with the story of the Inca's gold in his mind and the fear of the Holy Inquisition in his heart, because of its dislike of his "divination" (he had an ink which had the power of making any woman incapable of resisting him!), set sail from Callao in a subordinate position in an expedition that he had continually urged. He had expected to command it, but, instead, it was commanded by Alvaro de Mendana, nephew of the governor. The avowed object was an ambitious one: "To convert all infidels to Christianity" and to discover a *terra firma*—a continent—and also to appropriate any gold found in the process. The two ships (250 and 107 tons), with friars amongst the crews, set a course that would have taken them to Cape York. The ships were unfitted for a long voyage, and provisions were short. Amherst considers it almost a miracle that, after separating, the two ships were back in Callao harbor nineteen months later, with the loss of **only** one-third of the ships' companies. "It is difficult," he says, "for anyone unacquainted with the ocean miscalled the Pacific to realise the reckless daring of the enterprise. Leaving in the month of November with the hurricane season just approaching; crossing an ocean more than 7000 miles in width, beset with unknown coral reefs, in crazy vessels unprotected from the 'teredo,' and almost incapable of beating to windward,"<sup>72</sup> with the prevailing wind behind them, and a 'dead beat' all the way homeward; depending on provisions that no master, in the worst days of our merchant marine would have dared to put to sea with, the adventurers had a thousand chances to one against ever finding their way home again."<sup>73</sup>

The commander, Mendana (born about 1542, and therefore about 26 at the time of the voyage) "seems to have been a man of humanity and sympathy with natives rare in those days."<sup>74</sup> Rejecting Sarmiento's course, which, if continued long enough, would have brought them to Central Queensland, he sailed southwest down to 15½ deg. south latitude, for in 15 deg. Gallego, the pilot, understood the treasure islands to be, then west (aiming

at modern Cooktown)<sup>66</sup> for "620 leagues" and then a little north of west. In the last direction lay failure to find Australia. By the middle of January, one of the Ellice Islands was discovered, but no landing was made, and, on February 7, the "continent" was sighted. We now know that their "continent" was the Solomon Islands, so-called by the Spaniards later (not, apparently, by Mendana) because they were convinced (with very little reason) they contained much gold, and so **might** be the Land of Ophir from which King Solomon got the gold to decorate his temple!

The island, which Mendana called Santa Ysabel, was thoroughly explored and information gathered from the natives about other islands existing to the west and south. These natives, who were cannibals, refused to be led "as laborers into the vineyard of our Lord," and there were clashes between them and the Spaniards, in spite of the desire of Mendana and the friars to deal gently with them. What in them was, according to European standards, treachery was more than matched by Sarmiento's efficient and civilised cruelty. After six months in the islands, during which gold and silver and pearls and spices were much talked of but never seen, the idea of making a settlement was given up, and they sailed for home.

In the years that followed, these islands assumed somewhat the character of a mystery. The ignominious failure became a huge success in the popular imagination, and the islands became the fabled Ophir, teeming with riches. And this, mainly because they were lost! Mendana, says Amherst, "brought back to Peru an account of their discoveries so accurate and detailed that it is possible, 333 years afterwards (Amherst was writing in 1901) to identify every harbor and islet and creek by which they passed; and yet, though ship after ship set out to seek them, they were so completely lost to Europeans that, in the course of two centuries, geographers came to doubt their existence, and they were actually expunged from the chart, until they were re-discovered by Carteret and Bougainville in the latter half of the 18th century. And this, although the group included eight large islands stretched like a net across the course of navigators, in an almost unbroken line for 600 miles!"<sup>67</sup> But, because they were lost, much was "known" about them. Amherst gives examples of the stories that were told; for example, one by a certain Juan Montares who mentioned the gold plate on which the inhabitants had their food served and the canoes whose gunwales were bound round with gold!<sup>67</sup>

Mendana wished to undertake another expedition, but it was not until 28 years later that we find him again sailing west from Peru. He had had in his pocket since 1574 a Royal Permission to make a settlement, but royal decrees did not override the malice of Peruvian viceroys. One of these, an enemy

of Mendana, thrust him into prison in 1577, and it is not till 1595 that he is heard of again.

In the meantime, too, the English had taken a hand in Pacific exploration, were harassing Spanish shipping, and had made a few important discoveries. In 1578, Francis Drake sailed through the Magellan Straits and encountered a storm that is not paralleled in "any records . . . since Noah's flood."<sup>68</sup> This storm, which drove them southward of Tierra del Fuego, was responsible for their discovery that that island was really an island and not a tip of Terra Australis, as Mercator's map had shown it. Another rent in the mythical fabric of the great southern continent! Sacking Spanish towns on the way, Drake sailed up the western coast of America, crossed the Pacific and reached the Spice Islands. Here, so he said, the King of Ternate, by treaty, gave England a monopoly of the spice trade! Thence, touching at Java, he sailed home round the Cape of Good Hope. Another Englishman, Cavendish, in 1586-8, followed in Drake's wake, and suggested to Queen Elizabeth on his return home that, now that the Spanish power had been overthrown (Spanish Armada defeated, 1588), the time was ripe to overthrow the power of Portugal and seize the Spice Islands. Indeed, with Drake's "treaty" as an excuse, or as an honorable "casus belli," as one chooses, and the strength of the efficient fleet that was being built up, the way seemed open for an English bid for power and conquest in the East. In 1600, indeed, the British East India Company was formed.

In 1595, however, the Spanish search for souls to save, a continent to settle and gold to make enduring this vale of tears was continued. The King's Decree now ran in Peru, a new viceroy being favorable. But the most important person in this second expedition of Mendana was not the commander, but **de Quiros**—a name known to every Australian schoolboy.

Pedro Fernandez de Quiros was a Portugese born in 1555. He became a Spaniard when the whole of Portugal became Spanish in 1580. While still young, he was recognised as an eminent pilot. His was a character far different from that of the Spanish officials, adventurers and governors with whom he had to deal. We gather his character, says Sir Clements Markham, "from his narratives. He was a man of a humane and generous disposition; averse to violence and bloodshed. He was a zealous Catholic, striving to maintain religious feelings among his people. Brave and resolute himself, full of zeal and enthusiasm, he failed in the management of men. He was often weak and vacillating, and had not the force of will necessary to control the turbulent and cheer and half-hearted."<sup>69</sup> Speaking of his last voyage, the same writer says: "There was not a single instance of capital punishment during the expedition, and not a single death, with the exception of the Father Commissary, who died of old age.



Quiros was a thorough seaman, and the best pilot of his time. He was not a self-seeker, but was devoted to a great idea, and persistently strove to realise it with unswerving resolution, until death ended his career. . . . One dream of Quiros was that in his southern continent there should be justice to the converted natives, and that the evil deeds perpetrated in Mexico and Peru should not be repeated."<sup>70</sup> In one of his many late memorials to the Spanish king he begged that the natives of the South Seas be "gently and amiably intreated," and that the way with them should be the "way of sweetness."<sup>71</sup>

Nothing illustrates his hatred of the horrors of the Spanish conquest of America and the sense of duty he felt towards the backward races than the will that he drew up on his last voyage. In bitter allegory he condemns the Spanish conquerors and points to a better way of dealing with backward races.

**Pelicans**, who would feed the inhabitants of the new land with their own blood,\* he wanted the Spaniards to be:—"I desire much that in these regions which it has been the will of God to show me, and in all those still hidden but, no doubt, as well peopled as those I saw, there be designed and fabricated some nests without brambles, nor other kinds of thorns; refuges and pleasant abiding places of pelicans, who first tear their flesh, open their bosoms and clearly show entrails and heart; and, not content with that, they should give to these people dishes cooked in many ways in the braziers of enlightene charity, being the pots and pans of piety and pity, and the table service of all equity; and that for drink there should be the sweat of the brows, if they prefer not giving the blood of their veins";—**sacrifice and service** which alas! have been conspicuous in only a few individuals in the whole history of the relations of the civilised with the backward races of the world even in our own Australia—"all this with pure and clear love always without ever a step backwards."

—**not Falcons**, birds of prey: "I should not wish, in no way whatever, that among these new and tender people there should come to settle and to live, or to enter into grand palaces for their nests, any falcons, or sakers, or other birds of prey, which, circling and dissimulating, spring suddenly on their prey and grasp them with their cruel talons and with their fierce and sharp beaks tear them into a thousand pieces, without ever being gorged, or picking the bones when there is no flesh left on them."

**And what of the American Indians?**—"I answer for them and say in this wise, that the force, injuries, injustices and great evil that have been done, and are done, are incredible, the methods infernal, the number not to be counted: and that never have I seen their masters, nor others who enjoy great part of the toil

\* Pelicans were supposed to feed their young with their own blood.

of the people, to lament the evil things they have done and do, that they may take their ease in all comfort. If, perchance, I have heard one grumble, cry, or quarrel, it is for me a pretence, and nothing more. For they have not pardoned, nor pardon, nor intend to pardon for the least thing they want, much less excuse any payment of money. It is money, I say, that they want and more money, though it be torn from men's entrails. . . . I say they require from them always more, and never less, though it should be in the deprivation of the glory and eternity of their hell and that of their victims. . . ."

**But, in the New Jerusalem** that Quiros will establish—"They will do works so honorable and beautiful as will make all others of the same kind look ugly. And more also: for God and His Majesty will be served in all these regions, and the natives will be made to prosper, as is just and right, . . . in the great and the small affairs; and this will be my reward."<sup>72</sup>

Alas! It was a dream! But it was also the last will and testament of a noble man in favor of the black races of Terra Australis and the islands of the Pacific. How we, his executors, have betrayed our trust is revealed in the history of our dealings with them. The way of the Spanish conqueror has prevailed here, too—not the way of the gentle Quiros.

When one contemplates the cruelties and horrors that were brought to pagan America by the Christian Spanish and that complete wiping out of the culture of a people which attended the conquest, one is thankful for the sake of our common humanity for any contemporary voice raised in protest. And we are especially interested when one of those voices is of a man whose name is linked with our own country. Quiros, two centuries before Canning, was calling in a new world to redress the balance of the old!<sup>73</sup>

On April 9, to return to Mendana's second expedition, the four ships set sail, carrying nearly 400 people including some married couples—new Arks to people a new world; In July, the **Marquesas** were reached. In all of these early voyages, we have to note the practical inability of navigators to ascertain their longitude.<sup>74</sup> So Mendana at first thought the Marquesas were the Solomons. However, finding out his mistake, he sailed on westward hoping to find the fabled Ophir again. Gallego, on the previous trip, had calculated that they were 2000 miles nearer Peru than they really are. The crews grew mutinous, knowing as well as Mendana, that they were lost. At last, land was again sighted on September 7—the island of Vera Cruz. On the same night his second-in-command sailed away and was never heard of again! It was decided to make a settlement. But the crews had no desire for settlement. They had come for gold and pearls—they had not come to be farmers. Mendana argued with them, but they threatened to kill him, though giving him the opportunity

to elect what they should drink from his skull! The character of these Spanish crews (of Mendana and later of Quiros), as well as of the English crews of Dampier later, is painted very black. De Quiros describes his as brutal and cruel murderers and barbarians, caring only for their own bodily comfort and welfare and riches—for these or for no excuse they were ready to kill man, woman or child. To this we can only add these remarks: That to set men an example of barbarism and to encourage and promote the most barbarous as the Spanish ruling class did in Mexico and Peru, and then to expect them to be other than barbarians is, at least, naive; that to train men to kill and subdue every humane instinct, as the seamen of Spain and England were trained, to teach them that the only good Englishmen or Spaniards were dead ones, is not to encourage them to be humane to men of a skin of a different hue; that, for those not so trained, who have education and refinement and wealth, it is easy to exaggerate badness; that the conditions of society brought the worst, the dregs, as well as some of the best and bravest, to serve on the sea; that the wonder is, not that they were so bad, but that they were no worse and that to seek to build a New Jerusalem with men who have been gathered together upon the promise of much wealth is the surest way to fail. So, the expeditions of de Quiros, himself concerned with the noble purpose of benefiting humanity and saving lives and souls, became mere piratical expeditions with himself powerless to achieve his good or to prevent their bad. And all the wickedness was not in the fore-castle—most of it was in high places at home, where the gold, had it been discovered, would have enriched the few who, no more than the sailors whom de Quiros upbraided, were concerned with uplifting and enlightening backward races.

After a mutiny, the death of Mendana and a voyage to Manila under the command of Mendana's widow (the "Governess," who used precious water to wash her clothes when men were dying of thirst—"you wash your clothes with their lives," Quiros told her<sup>70</sup>), de Quiros returned to Peru—but still determined to seek again Terra Australis and save the souls of its people. He sailed for Spain to seek permission and landed there with a few dollars in his pocket. He went to Italy, gained the approval of the Pope, Clement VIII, and returned to Spain. There he found no encouragement for the advancement of scientific knowledge or the saving of souls but some interest in his promise of future riches. He gained permission but had to beg his way back to Peru and after much delay set sail again from Callao on December 12, 1605.

This time nearly 300 men sailed on three ships, the second-in-command being Luis Vaez de Torres, another name linked with that of Australia. De Quiros, now in command, was to enforce decency and religion. Blasphemies were to be punished; prayers were to be said by all every afternoon; gambling was

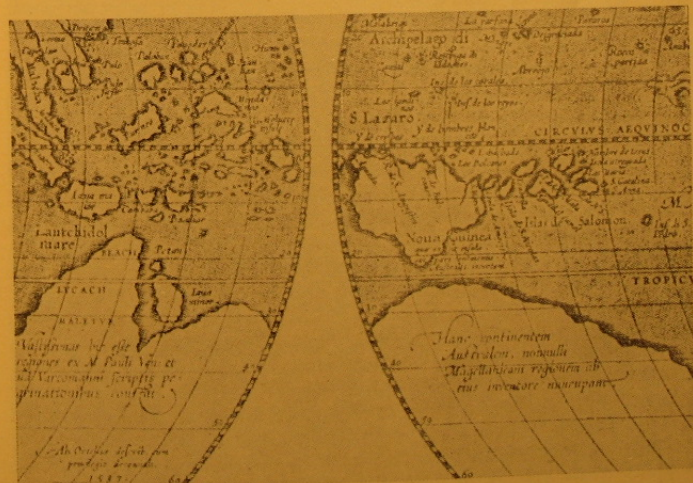


A sketch from Mercator's map, 1569.

completely forbidden; classes in reading, writing, arithmetic, navigation, the art of fortification, etc., were to be held. Natives were to be treated humanely.

De Quiros aimed at sailing south-west down to 30 degrees S., then north-west to 10 degrees 15 minutes, then west to Vera Cruz, then south-west to 20 degrees and north-west to 4 degrees, then west to New Guinea, and finally home via South Africa.

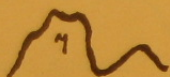
He became very ill and there was much discontent among the crew fostered by the chief pilot Juan Ochoa Bilboa, a protegee of



Part of Ortelius's Map of 1587.



Part of Map in  
Hakluyt's Voyages  
(published 1598—  
1600).



Figures refer to: (1) Iava Maior; (2) Sumatra; (3) Timor; (4) New Guinea; (5) Celebes; (6) Borneo; (7) The wavy line (see p. 21).

the Viceroy of Peru. Quiros had intended sailing in September and the delay to December was rendering the carrying out of his plan impossible. January 22, 1606, found them in latitude 26 degrees. A storm arose, de Quiros was sick and the chief pilot forced him to change his course to west-north-west, not without protest from Torres. In his account of the voyage, sent to the King from Manila, Torres says: "In latitude 26 degrees S., it appeared proper to our commander not to pass that latitude, because of changes in the weather: on which account I gave a



Part of Plancius's Map of 1594.

declaration under my hand that it was not a thing obvious that we ought to diminish our latitude, if the season would allow, till we got beyond 30 degrees. My opinion had no effect." Had they gone on in their original course, Markham (p. XXIII) points out, they would have struck New Zealand and Quiros's "dream would have been partly realised"—but only if they had continued on past the 30th parallel originally set as the furthest south to be reached.

They passed several islands, reached the 10th parallel and went westward seeking Vera Cruz. Islands were seen, there were clashes with natives, water was short, there were more disputes about longitude, and the pilot was arrested and sent aboard Torres' ship. A block for execution was set up on the yard arm to "encourage" the recalcitrant sailors—but was never used. Torres gives indications that he believed it should have been used. On April 7, water was obtained at one of the Duff Group of islands. Driven by wind and sea and the caprice of his subordinates, now south and east, now south and west, ill and ridiculed for his idealism by the intriguers, Quiros at last reached what he fondly imagined was the great southern continent. "Australia" was the natural name to give it—the obvious one-word derivative from "Terra Australis"—Australia: the Land of the South. But Quiros, in honor of the King of Spain, who was of an Austrian dynasty, added an "i" and called it "Austrialia"—he surnamed it "of the Holy Ghost" and its full designation, therefore, was "Austrialia del Espiritu Santo." It was one of the New Hebrides group—but to de Quiros it was the site for his New Jerusalem which was to rise on the banks of the Jordan that flowed into its fine harbor. The island grew abundant fruit trees, coconuts, and various nuts, and there were many pigs and wild fowl.

"Every prospect pleased," says Wood, "but the men were vile." Torres and a party of soldiers were sent to capture some natives. De Quiros and the friars wanted to save their souls and souls can't be saved unless the bodies are present. Paralleling a later British incident and Voltaire's comment thereon, the soldiers fired on a group of natives, killed one, cut off his head and foot, and hung his body on a tree in order, as they said, to "encourage" the others to make peace. Clashes, fights and massacres followed. . . .

They stayed in "Austrialia" for five weeks. During that time, de Quiros founded his New Jerusalem, appointed magistrates and other officers therein, took possession of all the land of the "continent" from there to the South Pole, had an official landing with thanksgiving and rejoicing, and was so enthused and inspired by the greatness of the mission he was accomplishing, and thought his men were too, that he took down the block from the yard-arm for he "could not believe that persons with such an

honorable destiny would do things the punishment of which would be the rope."<sup>78</sup>

On June 8, de Quiros sailed south to find out more about the land but, meeting adverse winds, returned. They all made port safely except de Quiros' ship which, in the dark and the storm of the night of June 11, failed to reach its anchorage. It put out to sea again, and then—sailed home to Mexico! The reason why is given in three different versions—respectively by:

(1) The pilot of de Quiros' ship (who says that the wind prevented their making the anchorage, that they went out to sea where the wind kept them till the 20th, when de Quiros, the others not having come out and joined him, decided to go to Vera Cruz and await them).

(2) De Quiros, himself, who tells substantially the same story.<sup>79</sup>

(3) Torres, who, in his letter to the Spanish King from Manila, already quoted, gave his opinion that De Quiros had been forced to sail away by those on board who did not wish to continue the search. This is backed up by **Diego de Prado Y Tabar**, an enemy of Quiros, who was on Torres' ship.

The truth seems to be that de Quiros had to face facts and acknowledge defeat. The wind and storm drove him out of the harbor, perhaps aided by the willingness of the pilot to be driven out. Then, the unwillingness of the majority to go back, the winter weather, and the hostility of the natives urged and finally determined surrender to circumstances and his desertion of New Jerusalem. He, himself, bewails the fact that the dilatoriness of the authorities in Callao, that meant his starting in December instead of September when he wanted to leave, was the cause of his failure.

The excellence of his character is shown in defeat and failure as it was in the ideals that he had embodied in plans that, through men and circumstance, had come to nought.<sup>80</sup> He had, as Sir Clements Markham says,<sup>81</sup> "devoted his life to the realisation of this glorious dream with unswerving devotion, never turning aside to the right hand or to the left; undaunted by difficulties or wearisome delays to his dying day; literally killed by councils and committees; but succumbing only with his last breath."

Arrived in Mexico, his friends had to pay his fare to Spain. He had to pawn everything he had to reach Madrid. He arrived there on October 9, 1607, with two maravedis in his pocket—and he gave them to a beggar! The vision of the work to be accomplished in the South Seas grew with him in the midst of his poverty. He wrote "Memorials" to the King, pawned all he had to print them and, when he had nothing left, wrote out copies. Fifty of them he drew up and made over 200 maps.<sup>82</sup> He knew those with whom he was pleading for the souls of the "Australians" and he tried to show how profitable the enterprise

would be. But even that plea fell on deaf ears, for Spain's day was done. The defeat of her Great Armada (in 1588) had crippled her, her stupid economic policies had squandered the riches that were in the Americas, and now the Dutch and the English were going, in both New World and Old and in newer ones to be discovered, to reap the fruit for which Portuguese and Spaniards had sowed. Souls a-plenty there were to be saved—but the gold, if any, would pass, not to Spanish grandees, but to Dutch bankers and English merchant princes. So—Quiros was a madman, to be humored, if not put out of the way.

A report of the Spanish Council of State, dated September 25, 1608, has recently been published for the first time.<sup>83</sup> It advises on the policy to be adopted towards Quiros' "Memorials." "For fresh conquests," it runs, "your Majesty's treasury is so exhausted that there will be much strain in retaining what has been discovered."—"The Council," moreover, "is not sure that with good conscience [sic!] it is possible to make these conquests of heathen who never disturb nor attack us." The Peruvians and Mexicans, then, did "disturb" and "attack us"? We are virtuous; Quiros is the villain. The devil was sick—before he was sick the devil a saint was he! Anyhow, "fresh discoveries will . . . open a way for Your Majesty's enemies to go to occupy them." But, as for Quiros, "it is not desirable to drive him to despair," because "he might have recourse to Your Majesty's enemies." So, it was decided that, until he could be got rid of, the greatest pilot of his day should be retained to draw maps and tell of the discoveries he had made when Spain was still young. But the "Memorials" continued. . . .

At last, in 1614, he was sent to Peru with instructions for the Viceroy to send him on another expedition to form a settlement in the South Seas. But, another despatch was sent at the same time to the Viceroy telling him to ignore the instruction carried by de Quiros. The latter seems to have suspected the duplicity but, worn out, he went to Peru. He had not long to wait.—In 1615, he died. . . .

**8.—TORRES PASSES BY.**—We left Torres and the rest of Quiros's expedition back in 1606 at "Austrialia." They remained there for 15 days<sup>84</sup> waiting and searching for Quiros, "at the end of which we took your Majesty's orders," says Torres in his letter to the King,<sup>85</sup> "and held a consultation with the officers of the frigate. It was determined that we should fill them, although contrary to the inclination of many, I may say of the greater part; but my condition was different from that of Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros." In Torres pilots and sailors were to find one who stood no nonsense.\*

\*For a full discussion of the characters of Torres and Quiros, the relations between them and the conflicting accounts of the whole voyage, see Appendix I, at the end of book.

The instructions were to go south-west to 20 degrees, then north-west as far as 4 degrees, and then west for New Guinea. Torres first convinced himself that Australia was an island and then sailed south-west according to instructions. They had to face many difficulties: "We had at this time," he told the King, "nothing but bread and water; it was the height of winter, with sea, wind and ill-will against us. All this did not prevent me from reaching the mentioned latitude [20 degrees], which I passed one degree, and would have gone further if the weather had permitted; for the ship was good. It was proper to act in this manner, for these are not voyages performed every day, nor could your Majesty otherwise be properly informed."

He then sailed north-west, again according to instructions. They reached 11½ degrees, according to Torres's reckoning, and struck the south-east corner of New Guinea. But, owing to the weather, they were unable to get around it to the north—"I could not weather the east point," says Torres, "so I coasted along to the westward on the south side." He began, that is to say, a voyage both dangerous and unique—and yet he gives no indication that he was aware either of its dangers or that he was the first to sail to the south of New Guinea, to sail, that is, between the known land of New Guinea and the unknown land of the southern continent.

A modern voyager and an authority<sup>80</sup> on Torres Strait tells us that "a ship is never safe in Torres Strait when out of the beaten track, the lurking dangers are so many. The changes made during heavy gales in the shape of rapid shifts and other accumulations of sand defy calculation, added to which the sea is so discolored by the New Guinea rivers flowing down that such dangers are made imperceptible.—Torres Straits," he tells us, "are about 200 miles long and a least breadth of 80 miles between Cape York and New Guinea. At this part the depth of water nowhere exceeds 12 fathoms, but elsewhere in the Straits the depth is somewhat greater, but rarely exceeds 20 fathoms. The entire surface of the Straits is strewn with coral reefs and sandbanks and islands, the larger of which are of volcanic origin. The smaller are low white islands of coral formation, scarcely raised ten feet above the sea level. West of Cape York a series of volcanic islands, succeeded by lines of coral reefs, with very narrow channels for ships between, lie like giant stepping-stones between Queensland and New Guinea, suggesting the idea that New Guinea and Australia were one land." And explaining, we may add, why explorers, both before and after Torres, thought that they were one land.

Torres sailed through the strait to which his name has been given. This we know—and as a result know, too, that he successfully passed through all these dangers, by means of a combination of good luck and good seamanship. But his "relation" to the King has nothing to say not only of a southern continent

but even of any idea of looking for or desire to see a southern continent. It would seem that he had given up any hope he had of finding a southern continent when he turned back north-west from 21 degrees. He evidently looked upon his instructions as being divided into two definite tasks: firstly, to sail south for Terra Australis; secondly, to reach New Guinea and the Philippines. Turning towards the north was synonymous with giving up the search for the continent. This argues for the lack of any knowledge by the Spaniards of Australia. Had Torres any knowledge of the existence of Australia he would almost certainly have sought it. But his interests were to the north not to the south—"he writes as one who neither expected a continent, nor saw one."<sup>81</sup>

But did he see the continent without knowing it?  
We have Torres's very meagre account:

"We went along 300 leagues of coast as I have mentioned, and diminished the latitude 2½ degrees, which brought us into 9 degrees. From hence we fell in with a bank of from three to nine fathoms, which extends along the coast above 180 leagues. We went over it along the coast to 7½ degrees S. latitude, and the end of it is in 5 degrees. We could not go farther on for the many shoals and great currents, so we were obliged to sail S.W. in that depth to 11 degrees S. latitude. There is all over it an archipelago of islands without number, by which we passed, and at the end of the 11th degree the bank became shoaler. Here were very large islands and **there appeared more to the southward**: they were inhabited by black people, very corpulent and naked: their arms were lances, arrows and clubs of stone ill-fashioned. We could not get any of their arms."<sup>82</sup>

That is all and it is most annoying. We can only let our imagination run and console ourselves with the belief that one of the large islands which appeared to the southward was the extremity of Cape York. But even this consolation, it seems, is denied us by the discovery, about seven years ago, of an account of the voyage by Diego de Prado y Tovar,<sup>83</sup> who was with Torres. This account allows the identification of some of the islands visited in the Strait. The researches of Commander Bayldon, an authority on Torres Strait (who, after the publication of Prada's account, "lived with Torres . . . working him backwards and forwards, from east to west and west to east, through every possible imaginable route through the strait, in order," as he says,<sup>84</sup> "to be sure of my deductions."), have enabled him to plot Torres's course through the strait with what he considers fair accuracy. According to him,<sup>85</sup> Torres's most southerly point, the island called "Montserrate" by the discoverer is the island known to us as "Mt. Ernest Island." This island is at 10 degrees 14

minutes and 27 miles from Cape York. Thence Torres sailed for three days and stopped for water "between two islands." These islands, Bayldon tells us are Banks and Mulgrave Islands. From the latter, we are told, Australia can be seen—but only on a clear day and only from the top of the peak on the island!

The odds, therefore, are against Torres's having seen Australia. But, whether he did or not, he sailed away to the north not knowing that he had all but succeeded where Quiros had failed and uninterested in what might lie to the south. His fading out of the Australian scene was symbolical. His country was also fading out. Spain knew she could no longer hold the sceptre as queen of discovery and conquest. Abler hands were grasping for it. Where Spaniards and Portuguese had sowed, English, Dutch and French were beginning to reap. The Spanish government did not publish the results of Torres's voyage. None, outside of Spain, knew for another century and a half that he had sailed between New Guinea and Australia. It was not until a few years before Captain Cook set sail for southern seas when Alexander Dalrymple obtained a copy of the Memorial of Dr. Arius<sup>2</sup> that it was known that Torres had sailed through the strait that now bears his name. Torres was (as far as we know) the first to sail between New Guinea and Australia—that was in 1606. The next to do so was Cook in 1770.

With the passing on of Torres, the Portuguese and Spanish chapter of Australian discovery ended. Torres may have seen Australia. But six months before he could have done so the Dutch pinnace, the "Duyphen" had touched upon the west coast of Cape York Peninsula and made the first authenticated discovery of our land.

Before, however, we turn to the Dutch and English discoveries, it is necessary to consider the background of European expansion across the seas.

## Notes and References to Chapter I.

1. Of course, it was not Cortez who first saw the Pacific; it was Vasco Balboa. This is Keats's error which, however, by no means mars his fine sonnet.

2.—**BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR CHAPTER I.**—As our bibliographies cannot, by any means, be exhaustive, they are limited to books and documents used and books recommended for further reading.

### FOR THE CHAPTER GENERALLY:

G. A. Wood: *Discovery of Australia* (1922), has served as an excellent guide for the whole of the chapter.

John Fiske: *Discovery of America* (1892). Standard, scholarly, eloquent, and packed with information.

W. Cunningham: *Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects* (1910), Vol. 2. Mediaeval and Modern Times.

Nordenskiöld: *Facsimile Atlas*.

### FOR SECTION I:

Henry Yule: *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (2nd Ed., 1874)—at once a beautiful production and a veritable treasure-house of information and interest.

R. H. Major: *Early Voyages to Terra Australis, now called Australia* (1859), is a collection of documents relating to the early voyages to Australia, with a long historical introduction.

### FOR MENDANA'S VOYAGE:

Lord Amherst and Basil Thomson: *The Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendana in 1568* (1901), contains six accounts of Mendana's voyage (1) by Gallego, chief pilot, (2) by Sarmiento, (3) by Mendana himself, (4) a second account by Mendana, (5) an anonymous account, (6) by Catoira, chief purser—together with an excellent introduction and notes and maps.

### FOR THE VOYAGES OF QUIROS AND TORRES:

Sir Clements Markham: *The Voyages of Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, 1595 to 1606* (1904).—Besides ac-

counts by Quiros of Mendana's second voyage these two volumes contain accounts of the 1606 voyage of Quiros by (1) Belmonte Bermudez secretary to Quiros (2) Gaspar Gonzalez de Leza, chief pilot, (3) by Torquemada, Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Mexico when Quiros returned, (4) Luis Vaez de Torres, in a letter to the King of Spain written after his arrival in the Philippines. (This is also contained in Major's *Early Voyages*.)

The introduction gives a short life of Quiros and an appendix contains three of the memorials by Quiros, a memorial by Don Fernando de Castro (hostile to Quiros), two letters by Diego de Prado y Tovar to the king in which he brands Quiros as "a liar and a fraud" and "fit to be clerk in a merchant ship," a note on the memorials of Quiros by the Council of the Indies and a Memorial by Dr. Juan Luis Arias, written after the death of Quiros, urging the Christianising and colonising of the discoveries of Quiros "for the English and Dutch heretics, who are instigated by the devil as much as in his power, roam about avariciously to reconnoitre, discover and settle the principal ports, which, on this great land, face the South Sea, and to establish there the most poisonous venom of their apostacy. With most vehement anxiety, they seek to be before us, who bring the sovereign light of the evangel."

Purchas *His Pilgrimes* (1625)—a collection of voyages and adventures by Samuel Purchas after the model of Hakluyt—contains two of Quiros's Memorials.

H. N. Stevens: *New Light on the Discovery of Australia* (1930), contains, together with some nonsense by its editor, the newly-discovered "Relation" of the voyage of Torres by Don Diego de Prado y Tovar, who accompanied Torres and in this document claims to have been in command! (See Appendix 1 at the end of this book.)

3.—It is probable that Rusticiano was taken prisoner at the battle of Meloria.

4.—Yule's Marco Polo, vol. 1, p. 15.—Cathay was the old European name for China.

5.—Yule's Marco Polo, vol. 2, p. 254; Wood, p. 41.

6.—Yule's Marco Polo, vol. 2, pp. 256-7; note, p. 257; note pp. 258-261; pp. 261, 264; Wood, p. 42; Major's Voyages, pp. XIV-XVIII.

7.—Locac, Lucach or Lochac came also to be written "Beach".—"The name of Beach, or rather Boeach, is another form of the same name, which crept into the Basle edition of Marco Polo of 1532, and was blunderingly repeated by the cartographers."—Major's Early Voyages, p. XVII.—On Behaim's globe, Locach underwent another change, and became Coachs;—Wood, p. 108, note.

8.—Wood, p. 46.

9.—Note by Professor Cotton, of Sydney University, in Wood, pp. 95-6.

10.—Wood, p. 406.

11.—Hunter's History of British India, vol. 1, p. 47, quoted by Wood, p. 26.

12.—Wood, p. 26.

13.—Cunningham, p. 183.

14.—Fiske, vol. 1, p. 269.

15 and 16.—Wood, p. 28.

17.—Flinders: Voyage to Terra Australis, vol. 2, pp. 228-233.

18.—Re Odoric, Varthema, et al., see Wood, pp. 48-60.

19.—Fiske, vol. 1, p. 319.

20.—Do., pp. 326-7.

21 and 22.—Do., p. 331.

23.—Hunter: History of British India, vol. 1, p. 113, quoted by Wood.

24.—Cunningham, p. 185.

25.—Wood, p. 69.

26.—It is necessary to disabuse our minds of our school-boy conception of Columbus who preached that the world was round while everybody else thought it was flat.

27.—Fiske, vol. 1, p. 349.

28.—Do., p. 351.

29.—Do., p. 354.

30.—In this letter, Toscanelli referred to the Polos and spoke of the predecessors of the Great Khan who two hundred years ago . . . sent to the pope and asked for a number of persons learned in the faith that

they might be enlightened." The whole letter is printed in Fiske, vol. 1, pp. 356-61.

31.—Not because Toscanelli thought the world proportionately smaller than it is, but because he thought Asia much bigger than it is. In fact, he calculated the earth's circumference at the equator at almost exactly the true figure—less than 124 English miles too much.—Fiske, vol. 1, pp. 375-6.

32.—Fiske, vol. 2, p. 109.

33.—Wood, p. 74.

34.—Pigafetta's Journal, quoted by Fiske, p. 200. The Chevalier Antonio Pigafetta went as a passenger on the "Victoria," "for to see the marvels of the ocean," and his journal is the principal source of our knowledge of the voyage. He was among the 18 survivors who returned by the "Victoria."—The version quoted here (from Fiske) is that of Eden, published in 1555. It is of interest in that it was the edition that Shakespeare used to obtain "local color" for "The Tempest."—Fiske, pp. 193, 198, 199.

35.—Fiske, vol. 2, pp. 200-2.

36.—Do., pp. 202-3.

37.—Do., p. 206.

38.—Do., pp. 206-7.

39.—Quoted, Wood, p. 75.

40.—Quoted, Wood, p. 79.

41.—Wood, p. 83.

42 and 43.—Wood, p. 84.

44.—Beach provincia aurifera: the gold-bearing province of Beach.

45.—Wood, p. 84.

46.—Do., p. 86.

47.—The following is closely based on Wood.

48.—Wood, p. 86.

49, 50, 51.—Wood, p. 88.

52.—Wood, p. 90.

53.—Twelfth Night, Act 3, Scene 2.

54.—See above p. 21; Wood, p. 92. Richard Hakluyt (about 1552-1616) was the author of Hakluyt's Voyages, a collection that delighted the hearts of the Elizabethans at a time when the old world was beginners and explorers were bringing back stories of the wonders of unknown lands and seas.

55.—Some of the maps in Norden-skjold's Facsimile Atlas and the land

in the south shown therein:

p. 72.—Behaim's Globe, 1492 (no land at all to S. of East Indies); pp. 73-4.—Laon Globe, 1493, (ditto); p. 75.—Lenox Globe of beginning of 16th century (ditto); p. 77.—Leonardo da Vinci's map of the world, about 1514 (no land to S. of East Indies, land round S. Pole, not rising above latitude of Cape of Good Hope, highest N. between Africa and America); p. 79.—Schoner's Globe of 1515—(ocean round S. Pole—land all round it with entrance in W. Pacific just to E. of East Indies—rises furthest N. in Indian Ocean and East Pacific); p. 81.—Map of the world by Antonius Florianus, middle of 16th century (big land mass round the S. Pole, highest N. to S. of East Indies, a N. tip where Tierra del Fuego is); p. 89.—Heart-shaped map of Orontius Finaeus, 1531 (ditto—has legend in Latin: "Terra Australis recently discovered but not yet fully explored"); p. 91.—Mercator's double heart-shaped map of 1538 (ditto); p. 97.—Hondul's Map, 1599 (has "Terra das Papous—Nova Guinea"—then to S. what looks like the W. coast of Cape York Peninsula); p. 105.—Map of Vadianus, 1534 (no S. continent); p. 127.—Map of S. America by Paulo di Forlani has much detail (that doesn't exist) on Tierra del Fuego—proves that detail on Terra Australis need not be taken seriously; Plate XXXII.—Ruysch's map of 1508 (the New World is Terra Australia and a way to the East is shown between the Americas, N. America is a part of Asia); Plate XXXIII.—a map in the Ptolemy Geography of 1511 (East India Islands, no continent);—and so on.

A list of surviving maps is given in Markham's Voyages of Quiros.

56.—Or, of course, it must be remembered, what Polo was supposed to have said.

57.—Wytfliet's map, drawn in 1597, has been taken as proof that Australia was known in the 16th century. It represents a huge Terra Australis centring at the Pole and sending up huge extensions north: one approaching Africa, and one approaching South America, and a bifurcated one approaching New

Guinea and Java. That it is a product of the imagination is shown by the detail in it, e.g. a river which rises quite close to the South Pole and flows into the South Atlantic. Attached to the map is a treatise in which the following is found: "The Terra Australis is the most southern of all lands. It is separated from New Guinea by a narrow strait. Its shores are hitherto but little known, since, after one voyage and another, that route has been deserted, and seldom is the country visited, unless when sailors are driven there by storms. The Terra Australis begins at two or three degrees from the equator, and is maintained by some to be of so great an extent that, if it were thoroughly explored, it would be regarded as a fifth part of the world." Wood (p. 113) regards the significance of the passage as much exaggerated. He points out that Mercator and other map-makers regarded Magellan as having seen the continent when he saw Tierra del Fuego. Wytfliet's shipwrecked sailors could have landed on that island and still have been credited with having visited Terra Australis. The statement that the continent was separated from New Guinea could easily have arisen from a knowledge or a belief that New Guinea was an island without any knowledge of Australia itself.

58.—Wood, pp. 113 ff.

59.—Amherst, p. IV.

60.—Do., p. III.

61.—Do., p. IV, quoted by Wood.

62.—All seamen who voluntarily put to unknown and distant seas in the ships of the 15th and 16th centuries were heroes. Apart from the "obstacles based on fallacious reasoning or superstitious whim were those that were furnished by the clumsiness of the ships and the crudeness of the appliances for navigation. As already observed, the Spanish and Portuguese caravels were less swift and manageable craft than the Norwegian 'dragons' of the tenth. Mere yachts in size we should call them, but far from yachtlike in shape or nimbleness. With their length seldom more than thrice their width of beam, with narrow, tower-like poops, with

broad-shouldered bows and bowsprits weighed down with spritsail yards, and with no canvas higher than a topsail these clumsy caravels could make but little progress against headwinds, and the amount of tacking and beating to and fro was sometimes enough to quadruple the length of the voyage. For want of metallic sheathing below the water-line, the ship was liable to be sunk by the terrible worm which, in Hakluyt's phrase 'many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake.' For want of vegetable matter in the larder, or anything save the driest of bread and beef stiffened with brine, the sailors were sure to be attacked by scurvy, and in a very long voyage the crew was deemed fortunate that did not lose half its number from that foul disease. Often in traversing unknown seas the sturdy men who survived all other perils were brought face to face with starvation when they had ventured too far without turning back. We need not wonder that the first steps in oceanic discovery were slow and painful."—Fiske, vol. 1, pp. 312-13.

63.—Amherst, pp. VI-VII.

64.—Do., pp. X-XI.

65.—Wood, p. 133.

66.—Amherst, p. 1.

67.—Amherst, vol. 2, pp. 468-9.

68.—Quoted by Wood, p. 141.

69.—Markham: Voyages, p. XXVIII.

70.—Do., p. XXIX.

71.—Purchas His Pilgrimes vol. IV, p. 1424.

72.—Markham, vol. 1, pp. 291 ff.

73.—In the 1820's when French influence seemed about to predominate in Spain, Canning, British Foreign Minister, determined to recognise the independence of the revolting Spanish colonies in Central and South America. "I resolved," he said, "that, if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old."

74.—Amherst (p. LXII) quotes Pigafetta's statement: "Pilots nowadays are satisfied with knowing the latitude and are so presumptuous that they refuse to hear the mention

of longitude."—Wood, p. 148. Fiske (pp. 315-6) has this to say: "For taking the sun's altitude rude astro-labes and jack-staffs were in use, very crazy affairs as compared with the modern quadrant, but sufficiently accurate to enable a well-trained observer, in calculating his latitude to get somewhere within two or three degrees of the truth. In calculating longitude the error was apt to be much greater, for in the absence of chronometers, there were no accurate means for marking differences in time. It was necessary to depend upon the dead-reckoning, and the custom was first to sail due north or south to the parallel of the place of destination and then to turn at right angles and sail due east or west. Errors of eight or even 10 degrees were not uncommon. Thus, at the end of a long outward voyage the ship might find itself 100 miles or more to the north or south, and 600 to 700 miles to the east or west of the point at which it had been aimed. Under all these difficulties, the approximations made to correct sailing by the most skilful mariners were sometimes wonderful. Doubtless this very poverty of resources served to sharpen their watchful sagacity. To sail the sea was in those days a task requiring high mental equipment; it was no work for your commonplace skipper. Human faculty was taxed to its utmost, and human courage has never been more grandly displayed than by the glorious sailors of the 15th and 16th centuries."

75.—Wood, p. 151.

76.—Do., p. 159.

77.—Major, Voyages, p. 32.

78.—Quoted, Wood, p. 176.

79.—Wood, pp. 183-4.

80.—Markham.

81.—Markham, p. XXVIII.

82.—Wood, p. 198. "Sir,—(says Quiros in one petition that has come down to us), "I, Capitaine Fernand de Quiros, shew unto you, that this is the eighth petition, which by met-hath been presented to your Majesty view, to persuade the conduction of some colonies, unto the land which your Majesty hath commended to be discovered in the parts of Australia Incognita. [Note the use of the word 'Australia,' the

first use of the word in print; the date of the publication of this English translation is 1625.—J. N. R.] And yet to this hour no resolution is taken, neither have I received any answer or hope, whereby I might rest assured to obtaine my dispatch, although I have attended fourteen moneths in your court, and have employed fourteen yeares in this Discovery without any profit or other respect but the benefit thereof"—he told of the riches that would accrue from the enterprise, knowing his masters, and, then, "This, Sir, is a great work, against which the Divell doth bandie himselfe with all the puissance hee may: And it is not consonant to reason to abandon these contries to his tyrannie and power, whereof know your Majesty is Defender."—Version in Purchas His Pilgrimes,

vol. 4, pp. 1422-1437.

83.—Prado y Tovar, in Stevens: New Light.

84.—Relation of Torres, in Major: Early Voyages, p. 38.

85.—Sent from Manila (dated July 12, 1607), by Fray Juan de Merlo, "one of the three religious who were on board with me, who, having been an eye-witness, will give a full relation to your Majesty."

86.—Admiral Moresby, quoted by Wood, p. 195.

87.—Wood, p. 196.

88.—Torres's Relation, in Major.

89.—Edited by Stevens, Lond., 1930.

90.—In a letter to Prof. Scott: see article in the "Argus" (Melbourne), August 9, 1930.

91.—Royal Australian Historical Society's Journal, vol. 16.



## Chapter II.

## THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

The trewe processe of Englysh polycye,  
Of utterworde to kepe thys regne in rest, . . .  
Is thys, . . .

That we bee maysteres of the narowe see, . . .  
Shall any prynce, what so be hys name, . . .  
Be lorde of see, and Fflemmyngis to our blame  
Stoppe us, take us, and so make fade the  
floures

Of Englysshe state, and disteyne oure  
honoures?  
Ffor cowardyse, allas! hit shulde so be.

—Libel of English Policy (1436)<sup>1</sup>

1.—A Wonderful Age. 2.—The New Main Street. 3.—Trade War.

**T**HE discovery of Australia, like the discovery of America was a by-product of the expansion of European commerce into the East. That expansion brought Europeans into the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Thence, as we have seen the search for Terra Australis was begun. Finally, Australia was discovered and, in the fullness of time and circumstance, settled. Time and circumstance were determinant both of the discovery and the settlement. Neither was accidental or fortuitous. Both were the outcome of the particular epoch at which European history had arrived and of the particular stage to which its social organism had developed. Just as, although Europeans knew of the existence of America hundreds of years before Columbus and had visited there, its complete discovery and settlement had to wait for the Commercial Revolution of the 15th and 16th centuries so, too, the vague Terra Australis of the mediaeval map-maker was not concretely delineated as New Holland or New South Wales until the Age of Merchants—when trading ships were to be found on the seven seas, wherever ships

<sup>1</sup>—Small figures refer to notes at the the end of the Chapter.

could go, and men with goods to sell or buy in every nook and cranny of the globe.

**1.—A WONDERFUL AGE.**—It was, then, an age of merchant enterprise.<sup>2</sup> Around the merchants of the towns were being solidified everywhere the mass of the people which formed the solid core of new nations. Nationality was a concept almost foreign to the minds of the people of the feudal Middle Ages. When the feudal lord was supreme there was no such thing as patriotism—only loyalty to the feudal chief next up above. The growth of towns and of a townspeople created a basis for the power of a king, and thus of a central government. Patriotism was born. Nations began to take the place of feudal conglomerates. The centralised and personal government of a divine right king was accepted by the mass of the people because absolute monarchy was an advance on feudal anarchy and the symbol of a nation's unity and strength. So, the great poet of the age in England, Shakespeare, used his art to glorify kingship, and wrote plays to extol and justify its divinity. But for all that it was an age of the common people, who builded and created, thought new thoughts, and discovered new worlds of matter and idea and laughed and sang with the joy of creation.

The epoch of a century and a half that ended with the discovery of Australia in 1606 was one remarkably full of movement and incident and wonderful in achievement.

Its beginning was marked by the last invasion of Europe by an Asiatic people. When the Turks took Constantinople in 1453 they gained a foothold in Europe that was to begin their long domination of the Mediterranean Sea and of south-eastern Europe up to the very gates of Vienna. That domination was not the determinant of European commercial expansion in directions other than by the old caravan-routes. But it acted for the commercial development of the countries of Western Europe as a negative influence, cancelling the previous commercial hegemony of the great Italian republics that was based in and on the Mediterranean Sea. The days of Venice and Genoa were over—their mantle passed to Spain and Portugal and later to Holland, England, and France, and the Mediterranean became, for a long time, a back-water. Venetian and Genoese ships and men served foreign countries. It was the ships of Venice and Genoa that checked Turkish domination of the western Mediterranean by the Battle of Lepanto in 1571—but they were in the service of the Emperor. And the ships of discovery of almost every nation were manned, and sometimes captained, for decades to come, by Venetians and

Genoese. Columbus was a Genoese. But the evening of the Italians' trade monopoly was the eve of the commercial domination of the countries of western Europe.

The beginning of that epoch saw, too, the end of the Hundred Years' War between France and England. The Battle of Chatillon (1453) marked the final defeat of the English invaders and their expulsion from the France they had ravaged for over two centuries. France was free, France was independent, France was united. These were aims for which "The Maid of Orleans" had fought and, 22 years before, had died. She had brought an inspiration to the people of France that resulted in their taking the defence of their country from the hands of a decadent and traitorous aristocracy into their own keeping. With such result that the invader dominated their country for only two decades after her death. "Before her day," says an old chronicler, "200 Englishmen would drive 500 French before them; but now 200 French would beat 400 Englishmen." Joan of Arc had not died in vain.

But the Hundred Years' War resulted in, not merely the driving out of an invader from France, but also in the giving of a deadly blow to the military might of feudalism and aristocracy. It had been the feudal chivalry of France that lost battles—it had been the yeomen of England who won them. Proud knights and nobles had haughtily ridden, gaily caparisoned and weighed down with armor, against the English archers, the arrows from whose long bows had mowed them down, even through their armor, with a rapidity of fire never equalled by fire-arms until the days of breech-loading rifles. Base blood<sup>3</sup> conquered blue blood on the fields of Crecy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and Agincourt (1415), where blue blood from thousands of the flower of French nobility soaked its native heath. French feudal armies outnumbered English yeomen three to one at all those battles—but it was the yeomen who brought the aristocrats low. And then, at the end of the war, it was the base blood of France that did what aristocrats had failed to do. The armies of a newly united people drove out the invader and laid the basis of a free and independent France. Henceforth, the power of feudalism was to decline still further and the power of the people grow—at first supporting a despotic monarchy against aristocracy and, finally, three hundred years later, sweeping both away.

France, however, was not the only country in which feudalism received blows from which it could not recover. In England, it turned from waging war upon France in upon itself. This epoch saw there the mutual destruction of feudal lords in the Wars of

the Roses (1455-85) that laid waste tracts of the English countryside and spread terror everywhere. Those wars at once weakened the power of the nobility and welded the mass of the people into a unified and unifying force. And not only by mutually exterminating each other did the nobles aid the people and the cause of material and spiritual progress. That cause was aided also by the fact that while the gentlemen fought each other they had little time to interfere with the doings of ordinary mortals. Industry expanded, new towns grew, and commerce began to stretch out across the seas. When the wars were finally ended the middle classes had become a powerful force that was the mainstay of the merchant prince, Henry VII, whose accession to the throne brought peace and security, trade expansion, and the reign of law.

By his "Statute of Livery," Henry made it illegal for any noble to give uniform and badges to his retainers. The "Bear and Ragged Staff" of Warwick, the "Swan" of Gloucester, the "Knot" of Buckingham, and all the other badges, under which men had fought in private armies, were never again to be allowed to clash in England's streets and fields in private wars. And by his "Statute of Maintenance" and his Court of Star Chamber, he forced his powerful subjects to respect the law and prevented their over-riding and terrorising of the law courts. The settlement of noble grievances was in future to be sought not at the point of the sword but at the point of a pen held in clerk's hand recording a court's decision.

But if the period that we are reviewing was one in which trade and enterprise were bursting bonds and expanding to the confines of the world and if it saw the archer (and later the gunner) make the armored knight an anachronism on the battlefield, it had its achievements in thought and invention, no less renowned than those of war. It saw that revival of learning and that love of culture that we call the Renaissance. Criticism took the place of authority and laid the basis of modern science. Humanism made the learning of the ancients live again. Upon the bases of the new geographical discoveries physical science began to build its noble edifice and to wrest from theology the whole realm of knowledge. The invention of printing made possible the multiplication of books and the dissemination of the new knowledge and the national literatures that were now being written.

Great deeds and great achievement gave birth to great literature and to great art. Consider the immortal names of this century and a half: William Shakespeare (1564-1616) and Edmund Spenser (1553-1599), of England; the great Cervantes

(1547-1616) with his "Don Quixote" and Lope **de Vega**, of Spain, **Rabelais** (c. 1490-1553), of France, and **Erasmus** (1466-1536), of every country. That century and a half saw, too, the lives, or parts of the lives, of **Leonardo da Vinci** (1452-1519), **Michelangelo** (1475-1564), **Raphael** (1483-1520), **Titian** (c. 1477-1576), **Albrecht Durer** (1471-1528), **Holbein** (1479-1543), **Rubens** (1577-1640), **Van Dyck** (1599-1641), and the first master composer, **Paestrina** (1524-94). An amazing prodigality of art!

It was the epoch, too, that saw the revolt of reason against authority and the claiming by men of the right to think instead of being thought for. On October 31, 1517, Martin Luther nailed his theses to the door of Wittenberg Church. The noise of his knocking, besides sounding the death-knell of ignorance and superstition, called the people of Germany and of all Europe to combat against a universal and reactionary empire which, though claiming to be wholly spiritual, stifled nationality and independence and extracted for its own use a vast proportion of the wealth of every country. Luther went so far but showed a path that led further than he was prepared to go. The peasants of Germany, taking him at his word, revolted in an attempt to obtain for themselves a more decent human life. Luther, frightened of the results of his own teaching, turned on them and counselled the nobles of Germany to kill and destroy, massacre and annihilate them. The peasants were defeated—the cause of national unity in Germany was defeated. In the first half of the 17th century, the German people saw their country ravaged and made the battlefields of rival factions and foreign armies. Towns and villages were destroyed, the population was decimated, and wolves roamed in packs where war had made a desert and a desolation. The consummation of national unity in Germany was put back by centuries.

Luther, Calvin, and the other Reformers had rejected, upon the basis of their own understanding and their own reason, the authority of Pope and Church. Erasmus before them, using the same dissecting table, had examined every church dogma and practice. But even these, although partially liberating the individual conscience, substituted a Book for a Pope as final arbiter. The Bible had to be interpreted and the new official interpreters were as prone as their predecessors to use the weapons of fire and scaffold to enforce acceptance of their conceptions of orthodoxy. "New Presbyter," as Milton said, with literal and symbolic accuracy, "was but old Priest writ large." The very idea of orthodoxy is anathema to freedom of thought and a brake on mental progress. Nevertheless, persecution

could no more prevent other interpretations, and even rejection, of the new authority, than it could prevent the breaking from the subjugation of the old.

The full vindication of human reason was left to modern science, whose foundations were being laid in the same epoch that saw the Protestant Revolt, the Commercial Revolution, and the great geographical discoveries. Modern science rejects every authority except that based on human experience and observed phenomena. It is by its methods of induction and of building up theories after observation and experiment that it is distinguishable from mediaeval science. The latter was limited by the necessity of having to make no deductions that conflicted with Bible or dogma. But it was also handicapped in another way. The deductions it did make were from general principles and doctrines accepted to start with from Church or the ancients—especially from Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). He had been an authority for both Christians and Mohammedans. The former owed to the latter the preservation of his writings, and it was a professor at the Mohammedan University of Cordova, in Spain, **Averroes** (c. 1126-1198), who said that Aristotle had been "appointed by Providence to know everything that was to be known."

Not all mediaeval scientists and thinkers had limited themselves to deductions from the dicta of churchmen and ancient philosophers. One, indeed, had anticipated not only many modern inventions, but also some of the principles of modern scientific method. He was **Friar Roger Bacon** (c. 1214-1294). Truth was to be reached, he thought, by pursuing three lines of investigation: the careful examination of natural phenomena and their changes in order to find out what was really happening, experimenting and the preparation of necessary apparatus to enable experimentation to take place. But it is not till the 16th and 17th centuries that we find the modern method of experimentation, observation and induction put forward as the necessary basis of science by two men whom we have to regard as the originators of modern scientific method. These two men were **Francis Bacon** (1561-1626) and **Rene Descartes** (1596-1660).

In his "Advancement of Learning," published in 1605, Bacon ridiculed those who, without observing nature or what lay outside them, "did, out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, spin us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books, . . . cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."—"New discoveries," he said, "must be sought in the

light of nature, not fetched back out of the darkness of antiquity."

But, if Bacon and Descartes were systematising a basis of scientific method, individual scientists, by that very method, were making discoveries in every realm of knowledge. The superstition of astrology began to give place to the science of astronomy and the alchemy which sought the philosopher's stone to turn base metals into gold, or to prolong life, began to be superseded by the chemistry which weighed and measured and analysed.

Copernicus (1473-1543), defying alike the Church, which decreed that, according to the divine word, the world was the centre of the universe, and Ptolemy, whose teachings enjoyed universal acceptance in the Middle Ages, because they said the same thing, averred that the Sun was the centre of the Solar System, and the Earth was only one of its planets. Galileo (1564-1642) and Kepler (1571-1630) followed him, and the new Copernician Theory displaced the Ptolemaic, in spite of torch and fagot of Holy Church. Copernicus was careful enough not to publish his book during his lifetime, but gave directions for its publication after his death. Galileo was not desirous enough of being a martyr to refuse to recant and, to please the Church, and to save his own life, said that the sun went round the earth; he knew that time was on his side, and that the vindication of truth did not need the sacrifice of his life. But Giordano Bruno (c. 1548-1600), being made in an heroic mould, refused to deny what he knew to be true, and died at the stake!

Science, too, was being taken out of the hands of a few cloistered monks. Men of science of the new world that was emerging from the old feudal world organised to seek and find and disseminate fresh knowledge—often with the active assistance of governments which regarded the new scientific discoveries as much a part of a nation's achievements as the finding of new lands. The Royal Society was founded in London in 1662 under the patronage of Charles II., and Colbert, Finance Minister of Louis XIV., set up the French Academy of Science four years later. Astronomical observatories were established—the one at Paris in 1667, and the Greenwich in 1676. Scientific journals were begun that popularised the results of scientific discussion and investigation.

But it was not merely in the realms of knowledge, religion, art and literature that a new spirit was abroad. The age was a new age of advance in freedom and democracy as well. Not that oppression had ceased, that poverty was no more, nor that men and women ruined themselves. But that the individual was

beginning to have some human rights, that the mass of the people were counting for more than feudal lords and that a public opinion was becoming informed and articulate, often boldly so. It was an age when merchant prince was taking the place of landed aristocrat, and was becoming as arrogant and oppressive to his employees as the latter had been. But it was also a period when the majority of merchants were not rich in our modern sense, when merchant and servant, trader and sailor, employer and employee worked and risked together, and when there were common bonds that united them, at first against aristocracy and then against king. It was a transition period before the time when merchant princes became industrial capitalists and degraded the bulk of the population below the level of feudal serfs. All that was still in the future. But, in the age of Australia's discovery, "Jack and Tom and Will and Dick" were finding, to the consternation of such as James I,<sup>5</sup> new prominence in the world, and a new sense of their dignity as human beings. The mediaeval serf was a mere cog that could never be moved from where it was originally placed. But the countryman of Elizabethan times might seek his fortunes on unknown seas and in unknown lands. A man of Bristol sailed, a lone Englishman among all the others, with Magellan, in the most wonderful voyage in the world's history! A saga of the common man could be written; an epic is yet unsung. The deeds of heroism, the sacrifice and the endurance that were necessary for the exploring of new oceans and the charting of new continents were the contribution of the common man to the new worlds that, in the next three centuries, held out prospects of freedom to millions of Europeans.

It was an age when the men of Europe, for the first time since the days of the Roman Empire, were seeing manhood instead of slavery, achievement instead of frustration, endeavor instead of brutishness, independence instead of quiescence and knowledge instead of ignorance.

2.—THE NEW MAIN STREET.—One way in which we described the period of Australia's discovery was to call it the age of the Commercial Revolution. A moment's thought will show us that here we have a fundamental characteristic. The 15th and 16th centuries covered the period when merchants and traders, townspeople and middle-class were displacing nobles and landowners as the dominant class in a country. The wealth that was found in ships cargoes, the coffers of merchants and the strong-rooms of goldsmiths' shops, because it had to grow to live, was becoming

more powerful than the wealth that consisted in land and serfs.

This change from a feudal economy to a merchant economy was the basis of every other change that we have mentioned. It led the feet of Europeans on the paths towards the culture, freedom, art and science at whose origins we have glanced. When Europe began to emerge from the stagnation of feudalism, new knowledge must needs have been sought with a youthful keenness, new songs have been sung with an unheard-of zest and defiance valiantly shouted at old traditions, old authorities and old fears.

To regard commerce as the prime mover towards the riches of the East, the mysteries of the West and the terrors of the South is not to trace the period's achievements to individual greed for gain. Commerce was the key that unlocked the door that led from the mediaeval haunted house, filled with goblins and cobwebs, into the sunlight of modern times. People fought their way out, often only after many bitter battles with those from whom they were escaping and who wished to keep them locked up, and sought riches outside. There were many greedy ones who escaped and many more became greedy. The seeking of riches is not greed, but the seeking of riches at the expense of others. Cruelty and oppression, hatred and exploitation still existed and to deny it is to cast over all an unreal glamor. But the romance and wonder of new enterprises and great deeds existed side by side with the sordid and the cruel.

Commerce did not begin with the 15th century. When the German tribes had overrun western Europe a thousand years before and had completed the overthrow of the Roman Empire, the commerce that had previously spread its tentacles in every direction from the Mediterranean, which it had dominated, was not utterly destroyed. Some of it still persisted in spite of the fact that Europe was broken up into small economic units, more or less self-sufficing, and the political disunity of feudalism replaced the centralised empire of Rome. A purely feudal society is composed of units completely self-sufficing and economically independent. One of the bases for the birth of trade is the production by certain of the units of more than they can absorb and the lack by some of articles that others produce in abundance. When feudal lords became conscious of the desire for goods their own serfs could not produce and especially when they became aware of, and came into contact with, the luxuries of the East, they welcomed traders who displayed their wares in villages and at the gates of feudal castles. At first, the geese that laid the golden eggs were killed, when merchants had to pay tribute after tribute to lords of manors or had all their merchandise stolen

from them and themselves beaten or killed by feudal levies who lay in wait for them. But this apparently easy way to obtain the goods they wanted was soon seen by the feudal lords to amount to self-denial. Merchants refused to come where they were badly treated.

On the bases of trade centres and market places and with the growth of a class of people that was not dependent on the land or its feudal masters—traders, artisans and others—towns sprang up and grew powerful enough to wrest rights from feudal lords or to be a desirable ally for a king against his unruly vassals. It was the towns and the townspeople that gave power to an absolute monarch to weld social anarchy into nationhood. This in turn still more strengthened the "bourgeoisie"—French name for the English "townspeople"—until it was able, after bloody civil wars, to take over complete political control—ridding themselves of their king or giving him nothing to do.<sup>6</sup>

It would have been a long process—this gradual ousting of a natural, by a money, economy,<sup>7</sup>—if no outside influences had hastened it. But there were outside influences. Many towns of the old Roman Empire had been destroyed but many also remained, even though with diminished populations. Moreover, the most important trade routes of Roman times still continued to be traversed by traders and the trickle of trade thereon was never quite dried up. Towns favorably situated on these routes became rich, and many of them, because of their economic strength or their strategic position, could defy king and baron, emperor and pope. Of such towns were Genoa, Venice, Florence, Pisa, and others in Italy, the towns of Flanders and the Netherlands, and those of northern Germany that combined in the 13th century into the Hanseatic League. This league dominated the trade of the Baltic and North Seas and had factories<sup>8</sup> in the Scandinavian countries, England, Germany and the Netherlands and also at Novgorod, in Russia, whither by the caravans from Central Asia came the luxuries of the East.<sup>9</sup>

But the most important external influence to help bring about the break-up of European feudalism came from the Mediterranean. That sea formed, for centuries, the battle-ground on which was fought out a war between Christians and Mohammedans. The Crusades were a part of that struggle and they, firstly, increased the power of the Italian city-states (Venice and Genoa especially strongly situated because of their commanding economic position, dominating the passes through the mountains from the Mediterranean into western and northern Europe and because of the lack of political unity in Italy, fostered

by conflict between pope and emperor) and, secondly, brought to feudal lords knowledge of the wealth of the East and took them back to gain it. After the Crusades,<sup>10</sup> Venice and Genoa were rich and powerful merchant republics. The trade with the Near and Far East was in their hands. They ruled the Mediterranean and fought each other for its sole control. Genoese galleys dominated the Black Sea and Venetian merchants sailing through the straits of Gibraltar and along the Portuguese, Spanish and French coasts, were to be seen in Southampton, London, Bruges, and Antwerp. The Mediterranean Sea was the Main Street of Europe and Venice and Genoa the universal providers situated thereon.

The immense trade of the Italian cities fostered trade elsewhere: along the navigable rivers of western Europe, in Flanders and between the towns on opposite sides of the English Channel and the North Sea. Soon, with the unifying of England, France and other countries into national states, the development of their naval power and their mercantile marine, and the extension of knowledge about the world, the traders of those countries were no longer content to act as mere distributing agencies for the Italian cities. They desired to get at the source of the wealth of the East, to break the monopoly that Venice and Genoa held.

Now, the spices and luxuries of the East reached Italy by long and devious routes. The spices left the East Indies and were taken by native boats or Chinese junks to India or to China. From the ports of the latter they went by long caravan routes across Asia to ports on the Black Sea. In the Indian Ocean, Arab ships held the monopoly and brought their cargoes from India to the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, whence caravans took them respectively to Alexandria and Beyrout or Jaffa. On the Black Sea and the Mediterranean they were transferred to Italian galleys, and reached the consumers months and even years after they left the faraway Spice Islands.

It was open to the countries of Western Europe either to try to oust Venetian and Genoese galleys from the Mediterranean and to secure control of the eastern caravan routes, or to find a new way to reach the East. It was in this latter direction in the main that they all moved. The difficulties of trading by caravan were increasing, especially after the Turks dominated the Eastern Mediterranean. But, we have pointed out\*, these difficulties were rather only negative influences, not initiating the venturesome voyages of discovery that took Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and Dutch south and east and west, but decreeing the weakening and final downfall of Venice and Genoa

\* See above, p. 47.

which were unable to stand up to the competition of cheaper and more efficient transport. The day of inland seas was over; the day of oceans had begun—and to the men who lived on the shores of the ocean lay the future. The Main Street of Europe was no longer the Mediterranean Sea. It was the eastern shores of the Atlantic and the English Channel.

To those who thought about the matter it seemed that there ought to be other ways to the East. Why not sail south and around Africa? We have seen that Prince Henry, the Navigator, thought that way, and he sent his ships in that direction. They were successful and established the first European empire in the East. And why not sail west, if the world is round? Columbus tried this for the Spaniards and found America. Then, when America was found to block the way, it was asked why not go through or go around it to the north or to the south. We have seen that efforts were made to get through and Magellan sailed round—to the south. Later, others tried to get round North America—to find the North-West Passage to the East.<sup>11</sup> Still others began to ask: Why not sail north and pass round the north of Europe and Asia to reach the East that way. And that way was tried, too.<sup>12</sup> The race for trade dominance was on and was to be decided only by a long series of bloody wars—wars of extermination against the new peoples that Europeans found in the new countries and wars between Europeans themselves.

3.—TRADE WAR.—The geographical discoveries were followed by wars between the new nations in almost all the possible combinations: Spain v. Portugal; Spain v. France; Spain v. Holland; Spain v. England; England v. Holland; Holland v. France; England v. France. Over three centuries of wars for possession of the newly-discovered lands and the monopoly of the trade with them ended in 1815 with England's holding the lion's share.

The success of Vasco da Gama's voyage (1497-8) pronounced the doom of the Italian cities. The Spanish discoverers who went westward, also in search of the spices of the East, found, instead, the silver and gold of the New World. Portugal, therefore, gained a monopoly of the spice trade and held it for nearly a century. In 1502, the Pope created the King of Portugal "Lord of the navigation, conquests and trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India." And we have noticed the attempts made by the pope to divide the world between Spain and Portugal. The Congress of Badajos, 1524, between the two countries, sought to settle the boundary between their dominions in the East but it broke

up in disagreement. Conflict between the two ended only when Portugal was annexed by Spain in 1580.

Economically, however, Portugal's trade with the East was not on a sound basis. The cost in man-power and in money was great. Portugal, unlike Spain, had, in going East, come into contact with civilised or advanced peoples with whom trade, not mere collection of booty, as in America, had to be carried on. And, on the one hand, Portugal had few products to exchange, while, on the other, she was not strong enough to conquer the new lands and exact a tribute by force. At home, also, there was no strong class of traders. The spices brought to Portugal were sold to Dutch merchants. A few individuals in Portugal became rich but the real beneficiaries of Portuguese trade in the East were the merchants of Antwerp and Amsterdam.

Spain in the 16th century, was one of the dominant Powers of Europe. By 1492, as we have already seen, it was a united nation and, in 1519, because of a series of Royal marriages, Charles I of Spain became Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire,<sup>13</sup> inheriting all of the Habsburg possessions, including the Netherlands. Southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Austria, the German States, the Netherlands and the new American colonies—all these were brought under the control of this king-emperor. During practically the whole of his reign Spain and France were at war. That war had important results: it helped prevent the consolidation of the Habsburg possessions into a unified kingdom or empire, it rendered easier the advance of Turkey into Europe (because of the Franco-Turkish alliance against Spain), it gave freedom for the development of Protestantism in Germany and it laid the basis of French commerce in the Near East.

The discovery, by Spanish discoverers, of gold and silver in the West instead of spices in the East has had a profound influence on world history. With greater resources than Portugal, Spain might have been able to make a success of establishing a commercial empire in the East. Australia might have been Spanish. But the finding of gold and silver in America brought ruin to Spain. The nobility became rich—and so did the foreign traders who supplied both Spain and her colonies with goods that both places could have produced. Very few attempts were made to build up the resources of the colonies, to cultivate the soil or to establish industries there. Gold and silver were regarded as the only wealth and they brought no benefit to the Spanish people. As in the case of Portugal, empire enriched, not the Spanish people, but German bankers and Dutch traders. After

the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the Spanish government was bankrupt.

The reign of Philip II (1556-1598), who inherited only the possessions (including the Netherlands) of the Spanish, and not the Austrian Habsburgs, was a tragic one for Spain. He aimed at making it a prosperous and dominating kingdom, with himself a divine-right monarch and his power based on a middle class strong enough to stand against the aristocracy. But his policies, internal and external, allied with Spain's economic ills, destroyed the very basis for a middle class.

The long wars drained the resources of the Spanish people, while the gold from America passed into the hands of individual grandees or of Italian and German bankers. Industry and commerce were paralysed by heavy taxes and by the persecution, by the Holy Inquisition, of Jews and Moors who formed the backbone of the industrial and commercial classes. Most of the land was in the possession of clergy and nobles, who paid no taxes at all! Philip laid claim to Portugal in 1580 and, having gained control of it, forbade foreign ships to trade with Portuguese ports, with the result that the Portuguese monopoly of Eastern trade passed to the Dutch.

Two smashing blows that Philip received were the revolt of the Netherlands and the defeat of the Armada that he sent against England. His reign of terror—(under the six years' regency of the bloody Duke of Alva, 1567-73, in the Netherlands, it is estimated that 8000 were executed, 30,000 deprived of their property and 100,000 driven out of the country)—could not cow the Dutch people who finally gained their independence.

It was **England**, however, that Philip regarded as his arch-enemy. English ships attacked Spanish treasure-ships and harried Spanish colonies. England, under Henry VIII and Wolsey, supported France to prevent Spain from becoming too powerful. And England was Protestant. Philip married Mary I of England, who was a Catholic and, on her death, proposed marriage to her sister, Elizabeth, who was a Protestant. When Elizabeth refused he sent agents to stir up sedition against her and planned her assassination. These failing he tried war. But his Armada of 130 ships was almost completely destroyed, all England, Protestant and Catholic, being united against it. The defeat marked the beginning of England's sea power, the basis of a growing overseas commerce and, also, freed Holland from any real danger of a successful attempt by Spain on her independence.

The Dutch were amongst the peoples most favorably situated

to take a big part in the new geographical discoveries and the extension of commerce beyond Europe. Holland lay at the mouth of the Rhine and thus had always been at the terminus of one of Europe's great trade thoroughfares and a base for trade on the northern inland seas—the North Sea and the Baltic—occupying a position analagous to that of Venice and Genoa in the south. Moreover, Holland was now, with the shifting of the centre of trade gravity westward, at the very front door of Europe.

In the towns of the Netherlands a money economy had early appeared. Various factors prevented the growth of a strong national kingdom where Belgium and Holland now lie and also fostered the economic strength of the towns of the Netherlands. Industry centred in the southern, or Belgian, provinces; the towns of the northern or Dutch provinces became centres of commerce. Bruges and Ghent were, for centuries, famous for the woollen manufactures. Dordrecht and Amsterdam were equally famous as commercial ports and as centres of the fishing industry. Dutch ships were, from the 15th century, to be seen all over Europe—taking wool and dairy produce from Holland or taking back to Holland and to the Mediterranean countries corn from Poland, Prussia and Russia, a carrying trade that "came to be of far greater importance than all the rest of the Dutch trade put together."<sup>11</sup>

The attainment of independence by the Dutch provinces, the continued domination by Spain of the Belgian provinces and the absorption of Portugal and its empire into the Spanish economy were godsend for Holland and powerful factors in building her commercial might. Refugees from the south took trade secrets to Amsterdam which began to supplant Antwerp as the industrial centre of the Netherlands. Antwerp had been the distributing centre for the spices that were brought to Europe from Portugal's colonies in the East. That trade passed to Amsterdam and the Spanish attempts to break its monopoly only drove the Dutch merchants to go direct to the East for their spices. Philip was successful in preventing Dutch ships from trading with Portuguese ports—and merely drove them to the East and pronounced the doom of the Portuguese eastern empire.

The Dutch first of all attempted to find a way East by sailing around the north of Europe and Asia—a route that has been traversed only in recent years by Russian ships preceded by ice-breakers. That was in 1594 and similar attempts had already been made by the English. But, in 1595, the first Dutch fleet for the East sailed around Africa. In the years that followed other fleets went and factories were established. The Portuguese

were not able to protect themselves against the Dutch and the empire of the former gradually passed from their hands.

The increased trade in spices meant a fall in prices and many Dutch companies were ruined. The most powerful survivors formed themselves into the Dutch East India Company in 1602. The company used to pay native rulers pensions to exterminate the nutmeg and the clove<sup>15</sup> so that their production could be concentrated in Amboyna where the Dutch themselves could control it. By the middle of the 17th century, Holland was the foremost commercial nation in Europe. Amsterdam had also become the financial centre of Europe when Philip of Spain, in 1596, had repudiated his debts and thereby ruined the German and Italian bankers who were his creditors.

English merchants and explorers were early on the scene of the new geographical discoveries. In May, 1497, John and Sebastian Cabot, set out from Bristol for North America, discovering that continent about the same time as Columbus saw South America. John was rewarded by the careful Henry VII with £10 and "great honors." Henry VIII laid the basis for an English national navy and his daughter, Elizabeth, encouraged and supported the voyages of Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins, and closed her eyes to their attacks on Spanish ships.

English explorers sought also passages to the East around North America—the North-West Passage—and around the north of Europe and Asia—the North-East Passage. After attempts had been made on the North-West Passage, two other English captains, Willoughby and Chancellor, set out, in 1553, in three ships to discover the North-East Passage. The boats were separated and Willoughby and his crew were frozen to death. Chancellor, however, discovered the White Sea, where he wintered, and went by sledge to Moscow. As a result of his voyage the English Muscovy Company was formed. Its agents went south across Russia and carried on a trade by road with Persia and India—surely a most ingenious way of getting to India! Fresh attempts were made on the North-West Passage by Martin Frobisher, John Davis, William Baffin and others.

These routes being found impracticable, the English also were driven to the routes discovered by the Portuguese and the Spaniards. In 1580, Drake returned from his voyage round the world with his alleged treaty with the King of Ternate in his pocket.\* Eight years later, Cavendish returned from a similar voyage expressing the view that Englishmen could easily seize their share, and more, of the East Indies and their trade. The interest of Englishmen in the East grew in the next few years—especially as Dutch and English travellers returned and

\* See above, p. 29.



told of its wonders. Finally, James Lancaster was sent out in command of the first English expedition that went round Africa to the East in 1591. In 1600, the British East India Company was formed and was given a charter by the queen. It was given a monopoly of trade with all lands east of South Africa and west of South America, with the exception of those "actually possessed" by Christian nations with which Queen Elizabeth was on friendly terms. "Among the lands not actually possessed by friendly Christians was Terra Australis Incognita."<sup>16</sup>

Systematic colonisation by England was begun about the same time. Many companies were formed for purposes of trade and colonisation: the Virginia Company, the Massachusetts Bay Company, the Hudson Bay Company, four West African companies, and so on. These companies were given charters granting them monopolies in certain countries or provinces, or over certain goods. The existence of these monopolies indicates a difference between the merchant capitalism of the 17th century and the industrial capitalism that was ushered in with the industrial revolution. The source of profit to the industrial capitalist is the value added to commodities in the course of production, over and above what is paid for the labor necessary to the production. The merchant capitalist, however, made profits by selling goods at home at a price artificially inflated by the monopoly he held. In those countries, therefore, where the merchant class was strong, the resources of the State were used to foster the interests of the merchant princes and the big merchant companies and to protect them against unrestricted competition at home, efforts to break their monopoly by foreign traders and, later, attempts by colonists to establish their own industries. It was because, and to the extent that, the English merchant class was powerful enough to have its interests the first consideration of government policy, that England became a powerful mercantile nation.

We have seen how the Tudor monarchs and the merchant classes were united in pursuit of common ends. In the reign of Henry VIII "Parliamentary representation [was] mainly in the hands of the landed gentry and the prosperous commercial classes. . . . A century and a half was to pass before Parliament again met so often or sat so long as it did during the latter half of Henry VIII's reign. . . . The interests of the king and of the lay middle classes coincided. . . . In ecclesiastical politics they, as well as the king, had their grievances against the Church."<sup>17</sup>

As the commercial classes became more powerful still, they demanded further extension of their interests overseas. It was

a cause of the Puritan Revolution, not that the Stuart kings did not do so much for them as the Tudors had done, but that they didn't do more. For example, "the king [James I] showed an inclination to favor Spanish tobacco, which as the Virginian tobacco paid Customs duties, was manifestly unjust and impolitic."<sup>18</sup> The company appealed to the Government in vain. And, says Cunningham,<sup>19</sup> "the inefficiency of the admiralty arrangements under Charles I. disgusted the trading classes and directly prepared the way for the fall of the monarchy."

Many of the leaders of the Parliamentary party in the Civil War were interested in the colonies<sup>20</sup> and the party itself gained most of its support from the towns and the small farmers. When victorious, the Puritans pursued a vigorous colonial policy and it was Cromwell who made "England for the first time and the last at once the greatest naval and military power in Europe,"<sup>21</sup> whose fleet dominated the Mediterranean and took Jamaica and who recognised that it was no longer Spain but Holland that was England's formidable rival and national enemy. In 1651, he passed his Navigation Act, directly aimed at the Dutch, forbidding the carrying of commodities to and from England except in English ships or the ships of the country of origin. Charles II continued and reinforced that policy with his Navigation Act of 1660.

James II, however, wanted to turn back the clock. He tried to substitute his own authority and will for those of Parliament. But his greatest sin was to desire an alliance with France which was then replacing Holland<sup>22</sup> as England's "national enemy" and commercial rival. The Whigs of London, therefore, invited France's greatest enemy on the Continent, William of Orange, to become King of England. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 was thus consummated, and 100 years and more of wars with France over trade and colonies began.<sup>23</sup>

During the 18th century, the whole of the resources of the State were used to further the interests of the merchants. Wars were waged with France and Spain and did not cease until France was ousted from North America and India, and till England became the dominant naval and commercial power in the world.

French sailors had been almost as early on the scene as English, but their pioneering was not followed up by the whole-hearted support of a united people and their government for the country's commercial interests. By 1504 French fishermen were on the banks at Newfoundland<sup>24</sup> and, in 1522, an Italian in the employ of the French, Verrazana, captured two Spanish treasure ships. This spoil, turned over to the King, Francis I, was an urge to the latter to father other overseas enterprises. Ver-

razana was sent out to explore the Atlantic coast of North America and, on the basis of this exploration, France laid her claim to that continent. The St. Lawrence River was explored by French sailors, and, after one failure to establish a colony there, a permanent settlement was made in Acadia, now known as Nova Scotia. By 1688, at the beginning of the series of Anglo-French wars, both France and England had colonies in North America. The English colonies stretched along the coast; the French held Quebec, territory around the great lakes and the hinterland along the Mississippi River.

In India, too, the French were able to gain a footing and French East India companies were founded. So successful were they in India that it seemed in the 18th century that that country—as well as most of North America—would remain French. France had rapidly overcome the handicap of a late start in the race for trade and colonies. Only the victories of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) finally determined that England, not France, was to be predominant in North America and in India.

France had been handicapped in that race by its internal affairs. There, the middle class was not so strong as in England. Nor did it have confidence in its strength. The period of its dependence upon, and its support of, a divine-right king was longer than in England. The French bourgeoisie did not find that they could do without a king until 1789. The English came to that conclusion over 100 years before. This was due partly to the more rapid development of commerce in England, owing to its insular position, partly to the greater strength of the nobility in France, where no wars of the roses had killed many of them off, partly to the greater power of the French king, who, in the midst of a hostile Europe, had control of a mighty military force, and partly to the strength of the Church which had been able, because of the other factors just mentioned, to maintain its dominance. Another factor that had prevented France's early competition with the other Powers in the race to the East had been the wars—external and internal—which she waged during those years.

We have already seen that in the time of Francis I (1515-1547), France was engaged in a life and death struggle against Spain and the Empire while Spanish and Portuguese ships sailed the seas of the new worlds and brought back riches. One benefit, however, to France of those wars was, as we have mentioned, the founding of a lucrative trade with the Near East.

For the 30 years after the death of Francis I, France was rav-

aged by internal troubles and civil wars. The wife of Henry II (1547-1559), the bloody Catherine de Medici, ruled during the reign of her three sons (1559-89) and sided with the reactionary nobles against the Huguenots, the French Protestants, who were mainly of the middle classes. It was she who ordered the massacre of all Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. These years saw a recrudescence of the power of the nobles who were allied with the most reactionary elements in the Church. When it became apparent that Catherine's sons would have no heirs, the nobles organised (1585) a league under Henry of Guise, a claimant to the throne, and with the support of Philip of Spain. Their aim was to prevent the succession of the real heir, Henry of Navarre, a Protestant. Henry III, the king, making three Henries, the civil war that followed was called the War of the Three Henries.

Henry of Navarre was successful after a long struggle, with the support of the Protestants and the "Politiques"—the liberal section of the Church—and after he had become a Catholic. He became king as Henry IV (1589-1610) and ruled over a France that was nearly bankrupt. Whole districts were uncultivated, unemployment was rampant, towns were burned down, roads neglected, bridges destroyed—and, withal, the power of the nobility had increased. Under Henry and his minister, Sully, a Huguenot, efforts were made to rehabilitate France. Agriculture was fostered, swamps drained, canals built, the silk-worm introduced. Factories were founded in India; colonists were sent to America. Foreign policy aimed at maintaining peace in Europe.

The middle classes were unable to take advantage of an opportunity that was given them during the minority of Louis XIII (1610-1643). When France faced a financial crisis in 1614 the Estates-General (equivalent to the English Parliament) was called together. The three Estates (Nobles, Clergy and Commons) sat separately. The first two refused to tax themselves or to co-operate with the Commons. They were all dissolved. They never met again until 1789 in the midst of similar circumstances. But then, the Commons forced recognition of themselves as the representatives of the people and took power into their own hands. After 1614, however, power passed into the hands of Cardinal Richelieu who had two aims: to make France the dominant Power in Europe and to make the King supreme in France. He crushed the military power of the Huguenots but gave them freedom of worship. He demolished the fortified castles of the nobles, centralised administration into the hands

of 30 Intendants, mainly bourgeois, and left the nobles nothing to do but live lives of luxury and to dance attendance upon the king.

Louis XIV (1643-1715) and his ministers pursued similar policies. The Fronde, the last attempt before the Revolution of 1789 to throw off absolutism, was crushed and the nobility made finally subservient to the king and powerless.

The policies of Richelieu and Louis XIV involved France in a long series of wars which gained practically nothing for the immense outlay in wealth and human lives. Richelieu played his part in the Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618-48), ensuring that Germans, Danes, and Swedes should exhaust themselves before France actively intervened—his aim being to weaken the Habsburgs. Germany was left almost a desert; France was able to extend its frontiers.

The reign of Louis XIV saw still other wars. The strength of the commercial classes grew. But the wealth created by the growth of commerce and industry was squandered in riotous living by king, court and nobles and in the wars. Louis fought three wars to extend the territories of France to their "natural boundaries": the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, the Ocean, and another war to gain the crown of Spain, and on his death-bed told his great-grandson (he outlived his son and grandson) and heir, Louis XV (1715-1774) to avoid wars! But the latter also plunged into a war over the Polish question and that was barely over when France was again involved in another war with England.

Not only was France exhausted by these wars. She gained nothing by them. All of the good administration by bourgeois finance ministers could not balance budgets when the wastage of millions of money and thousands of lives was bringing France to disaster. The Seven Years' War, which deprived France of most of her colonies, seemed the last blow necessary to lay her prostrate. And there was still to come the War of American Independence in which again France was to face England. The France, therefore, that sent out La Perouse and other explorers into southern seas was a France on the verge of ruin and also on the verge of revolution. The discovery of new colonies which would replace those lost to England, might save France from both. New wealth and new lands were sought to give a new lease of life to the old regime that had lasted as long as Louis XV did—as he was wont to say it would when he was warned of the nemesis that awaited it. When Cook discovered New South Wales that nemesis

was only 18 years away; when Philip landed in Botany Bay, it was only a year away.

By the third quarter of the 18th century, then, Britain was the foremost commercial Power, supreme in North America and in the East. Holland had been defeated in the struggle for position and had joined England to help crush France. But Holland was still entrenched in the Far East, in the Spice Islands that she had wrenched from Portugal. Thence, while England and France had been occupied elsewhere, her explorers had searched southern seas and seen southern lands, while her traders waxed rich. English sailors and traders also looked in the same direction and, in the peace that came in 1783 and that meant the loss of England's colonies in North America, renewed their efforts to discover new lands for England. Moreover, as we have just seen, Frenchmen in despair were seeking wealth and colonies for France. It is at the completion of the discovery of Australia that was the result of all these activities that we have now to glance.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER II.

1.—These lines are taken from an important political poem written in 1436. It aimed at "exhortyng all Englande to kepe the see environ, and namele the narrow see, shewyng whate profete coumeth thereof and also worshype and salvacioun to Englande and to alle Englyshe menne."—(Kepe, guard; environ, around; regne, kingdom; maysteres, masters; Flemmyngis, Flemish; disteyne, stain, disgrace; "For cowardyse, allas! hit shulde so be," it is cowardice that it should be so.)

Libel, here, has a different meaning from that which we give it. It here has the meaning of a dissertation, on a presentation of a case.

2.—Bibliography.—The number of books dealing with the subject of this chapter is, of course, enormous. We make a few suggestions of important and easily accessible ones.

E. P. Cheyney: *European Background of American History* (1904);

H. W. C. Davis: *Europe from 800 to 1789* (1930); J. A. R. Marriott: *The Evolution of Modern Europe, 1453—1932* (1933); Maurice Dobb: *Capitalist Enterprise*; Hayes: *Modern Europe*; Cunningham: *Western Civilisation in its Economic Aspects*; Cunningham: *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*; Egerton: *Short History of British Colonial Policy*; Ehrenberg: *Capital and Finance in the Age of the Renaissance, A Study of the Fuggers*. (The Fuggers were German bankers. They had correspondents all over the world, even in the Indies, who reported on conditions. Many of those reports have been published in two volumes, "The Fugger News-letters, 1568-1605" and "The Fugger News-letters Specially Referring to Queen Elizabeth and England." They are important documents and form interesting reading.) An excellent novel of the period of geographical geographies is Kingsley's "Westward Ho!"

3.—We recall the words that Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Mountjoy, French herald, who comes, after the Battle of Agincourt, to seek from Henry V permission to sort out the noble dead from the base-born:

"I come to thee for charitable licence,

That we may wander o'er this bloody field,

To book our dead, and then to bury them;

To sort our nobles from our common men;

For many of our princes (woe the while!)

Lie drowned and soaked in mercenary blood;

So do our vulgar drench their peasant limbs

In blood of princes."

—Henry V., Act 4, Sc. 6.

4.—"Maintenance" was the name given to the custom of a lord's sending his men-at-arms into a court of law to intimidate the jury and overawe the court. By the Statute of Maintenance an end was put to this practice and juries were now found which would give verdicts against lords.

5.—James I hated the Presbyterian form of church government because of its democracy. He saw its implications. If people could govern themselves in church affairs and do without bishops, they could just as easily get along without kings. At the Hampton Court Conference (1604), which was called to consider the matter of church government, he said that, if Presbyteries were established, "Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their will censure me and my council."

6.—As feudalism declined, the power of the king increased. It increased because of the growing strength of the middle classes. King and people formed a partnership against the feudal aristocracy. It was inevitable that the king should imagine that he was needed by the people more than they were needed by him. He became the Divine Right monarch—appointed by, and responsible only to, God. The people acquiesced in this as long as

they had to because of their own weakness, the strength of the king or the power of the reactionary aristocracy.

The classical statement of the divine-right theory is that of Bishop Boussuet (1627-1704). The hereditary king (1) is sacred, being anointed by priests, and it is blasphemy to assail him or conspire against him; (2) is the father of his people and must provide for and protect them; (3) has absolute power and is answerable only to God; (4) has the gift of greater reason than anyone else.

7.—Feudalism is a natural economy, its several units being self-sufficing. The growth of trade could only result from the introduction of money. Money, therefore, played a big part in the break-up of feudalism. In its economic aspect the change from feudalism to mercantile capitalism was a change from a natural to a money economy.

8.—See note on p. 14.

9.—In days when there was not the variety of foods that there is today the spices from the East were welcomed and found ready sale. Pepper, nutmeg, cloves, ginger, etc. were bought eagerly. Pepper was used as a dish by itself. Other spices were used in wines and to preserve meats. Silks, precious stones, and other luxuries were also brought to Europe from the East.

10.—"Devotion and commerce were closely inter-related in the Christian attempts to recover possession of the Holy Land. Mercantile enterprise combined with religious zeal in subtle proportions from the outset of the struggle, but the only lasting gain went to the trading interest, as merchants obtained a permanent footing in lands where the dominion of Christian rulers had been destroyed. . . . In the Fourth Crusade the religious interest fell entirely into the background. It was an expedition which was directed by the Venetians to forward their mercantile projects."—Cunningham: *Western Civilisation, in Its Economic Aspects (Mediaeval and Modern Times)*, pp. 108, 126.

11.—The North-West Passage was traversed by sea for the first time by Amundsen, in August, 1906.

12.—The North-East Passage seems likely, as a result of Russian experiments and achievements with ice-breakers, to become a commercial route between Archangel and Vladivostok.

13.—After the fall of the Roman Empire, there were various attempts to revive it. There was finally set up what became known as the Holy Roman Empire, although a wit described it as neither Holy nor Roman nor an Empire. The office of Emperor became hereditary in the house of Habsburg, but, with it went little real power. The strong Emperors owed their strength to their position as Archdukes of Austria and not to their position as Emperor. The existence of the Empire and the struggles between Emperors and Popes during the Middle Ages were two of the chief causes that kept Germany and Italy disunited. The Emperors, who were Germans, sought to retain Italy within the Empire and poured out lives in endeavors to do so. The Empire lasted, in name at least, until it was abolished in 1806 by Napoleon.

14.—Cunningham, p. 198.

15.—Cunningham, p. 201.

16.—Wood: *Discovery of Australia*, p. 210.

17.—Pollard: *Henry VIII*, pp. 256-7.

18.—Egerton: *Short History of British Colonial Policy*, p. 34.

19.—Cunningham: *Growth of*

*English Industry and Commerce*, p. 14.

20.—See Egerton, pp. 59-64, on the interests of the Parliamentary leaders in colonial enterprise.

21.—Egerton, p. 64.

22.—The wars between Holland and England were: (1) 1652-1654; (2) 1665-1667; (3) 1672-1674.

23.—The wars between England and France from 1689 to 1815 were: 1689-1697: War of the League of Augsburg.

1702-1713: War of the Spanish Succession.

1740-1748: War of the Austrian Succession.

1756-1763: Seven Years' War.

1775-1783: War of American Independence.

1793-1802: War Against the French Republic.

1803-1815: War Against Napoleon.

In all these wars (except the War of American Independence) England was fighting as one of an alliance. But in them all France was the enemy. Most of the fighting between the two took place at sea, in America and in India. Even in the intervals of "peace" fighting went on between French and English in America and India, both sides using the natives.

24.—The chief result of the Cabots' discovery was the establishment of the Newfoundland fisheries which, by the middle of the 17th century, were "by far the greatest English enterprise in America. . . . There were said to be employed in it 270 sail of ships and 20,000 seamen." —(Egerton, p. 13).

## Chapter III.

## NEW HOLLAND AND NEW SOUTH WALES

A thousand miles from land are we  
Tossing about on the roaring sea;  
From billow to bounding billow cast  
Like fleecy snow on the stormy blast.

—Barry Cornwall.<sup>1</sup>

1.—First Blood to the Dutch; 2.—In the Footsteps of Quiros; 3.—The Discovery of West Australia; 4.—Abel Janssen Tasman; 5.—The Coming of the English; 6.—Plans and Romances; 7.—The French Take a Hand; 8.—The Discoveries of Cook; 9.—Terre Napoleon.

**M**ETHODICAL Dutch business men, then, succeeded to the heritage of Portuguese and Spanish soldiers, missionaries, adventurers and conquerors.<sup>2</sup> The Portuguese maintained a foothold here and there, and the Spaniards maintained possession of the Philippines for another 400 years. But the Dutch became ensconced in the East and the rich spice trade fell into their hands. From the Spice Islands as a base they stretched out in all directions—in all directions, that is, where wealth might be or opportunities for trade. No Quiros was amongst them to risk all in order to find lost souls to save. Rather were they all hard-headed—and hard-hearted—business men in whom the charge that they were concerned more with religion than commerce roused the deepest indignation—and amazement that any could be found to believe it.<sup>3</sup> The stories of their rich trade, and of the opportunities for trade, brought the English and the French to the East to see and to stay.

**1.—FIRST BLOOD TO THE DUTCH.**—Java was seized by the Dutch in 1598. That was only about three years after the first Dutch ships sailed around Africa. Those ships were under the command of Cornelius **Houtman**, who had previously been in the services of the Portuguese.<sup>4</sup> The expedition left Holland in April, 1595, and was away until 1597. John **Linschoten** had arrived back in Holland in the year that the expedition had left. He had gone to India in 1583 and had lived there since. On his return he had written of the East, its wonders, its riches, and its trade routes. His book inspired Dutch traders and was translated into English to inspire English traders. Other ships

1.—Small numbers refer to notes at end of Chapter.

and other traders followed the first Dutch fleet, to seek and to hold what Linschoten had described and the Portuguese had hitherto held. In 1602, the Dutch East India Company was formed and in 1606 Malacca fell into Dutch hands.

It was the search for gold that brought the first Dutch ship into Australian waters. New Guinea had long been a land of mystery and rumors had spread over the East Indies that it was a land of gold. Torres heard them when he reached there in 1606. The Dutch had heard them too.

In November, 1605, Willem **Jansz**, in the small pinnace, the "Duyfhen," left Bantam to explore the south coast of New Guinea and to seek its gold. Sailing along the south coast, they reached the Straits, which appeared less like straits than a much broken stretch of land,\* and turned south. The "west coast of New Guinea"<sup>5</sup> that they then discovered was, of course, the west coast of Cape York Peninsula. Australia was at last discovered! And it was about March, 1606—six months before Torres sailed through the Strait that today bears his name.

The "Duyfhen" sailed down the coast as far as Cape Keerweer (Cape Turnagain). Provisions running short here, they turned back. They had seen "wild, cruel, black savages" and by these nine of the crew were killed.<sup>6</sup> The black Australians had defended their country against the first white invaders they had seen!

**2.—IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF QUIROS.**—The rest of the discoveries made, generally accidentally, on the Australia coast by the Dutch were made by ships of their East India Company on their way to or from the East Indies. But one expedition, outside of the company, left Holland in 1615 to seek Quiros's Terra Australis. **Schouten**, a famous Dutch seaman, and James **Le Maire** were in charge of it, and it consisted of two ships, the "Eendracht" and the "Horn."

Isaac Le Maire, father of James, had read Quiros's Memorials and believed that the southern continent contained gold and spices in abundance. The "Australian Company" was formed in 1610 and was given by Prince Maurice a charter to "trade in the Kingdoms of Tartary, China, Japan, India, Terra Australis, and the islands of the South Sea."<sup>7</sup>

By Dutch charter, only the ships of their East India Company could pass round the Cape of Good Hope or enter the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan. Schouten and Le Maire sought a new way. They sailed between Tierra del Fuego and Staten Island. That was their new way. It will be remembered that

\* See above, p. 38.

Drake had proved the map-makers wrong who thought that Magellan had seen the tip of Terra Australis when he saw Tierra del Fuego. Now Schouten and Le Maire, in their turn, pronounced Staten Island to be a part of Terra Australis.

First to round Cape Horn, which they named, they entered the Pacific. They sailed north-west towards Quiros's "Austrialia" until they were about somewhere between Fiji and Samoa. Thence Le Maire wished to strike westward. Had they done so they would have anticipated Cook's discovery of the east coast of Australia by a century and a half. Instead, however, Schouten, who did not wish to pass to the south of New Guinea in unknown seas (the voyage of Torres was, it will be remembered, unknown outside of Spain until just before Cook's voyage), had his way and the two ships sailed round the north of New Guinea. Having arrived at Java, they were forced to hand over their ships and cargoes to the East India Company.

Another Dutch voyage that owed its inspiration to Quiros and his Memorials was that of Roggeveen, over a hundred years later. In 1721, Roggeveen, who had been out in the East Indies and had made his fortune there, was able to prevail on the Dutch West India Company to send him to the south seas in search of Terra Australis. By this time, as we shall presently see, the western half of Australia had taken definite shape as New Holland, but neither the land nor the people had appealed to the Dutch. The real Terra Australis must surely be a more favored country than New Holland.

Roggeveen sailed round Cape Horn, going down south as far as 62 degrees. He turned north, touched at Juan Fernandez and thence commenced his search for Terra Australis to the west.<sup>10</sup> He found only some beautiful and fertile islands, amongst them being the Samoan group, and gave up hope of finding the mythical southern continent. Many still believed, however, that it existed, and it was to find trace of it that Cook sailed all over the Pacific sixty years later.

Quiros's dream had not, then, yet been proved to be a dream. And, while the dream was believed in, the reality was all but ignored.—Let us now turn to that reality.

3.—**THE DISCOVERY OF WEST AUSTRALIA.**—It was not till ten years after Jansz made the first authentic discovery of any part of the Australian coast that the continent was touched upon again by Dutch ships. The Dutch East India Company inherited, together with the Portuguese eastern empire, the Portuguese route to the Indies. That route was the route of Vasco da Gama as far as India: round the Cape of Good Hope, up the east

coast of Africa and then across the Arabian Sea to India. Thence, around India to the Indies. The discovery of West Australia was due to a change of route.

In 1611, a Dutch captain, Brouwer, attempted another route. Instead of turning up the African coast he struck eastward across the Indian Ocean. He sailed eastward 4,000 miles and then turned north. This route was found to save about ten months in the voyage!

The inevitable, as we see it, happened. In October, 1616, Dirck Hartog, sailing, in the ship "Eendracht," further to the east than usual, discovered the coast of West Australia. He sailed along the coast, between 21 degrees and 28 degrees, landed on the island now known as Dirck Hartog's Island and nailed to a post there a pewter dish with an inscription upon it recording his discovery.<sup>11</sup> The whole land discovered became known as Eendracht Land, being named after Hartog's ship.

"Land of Concord" was thus the name first given to our land by its European discoverers. For "Eendracht" is Dutch for "Concord."

Two years after Hartog, another Dutch ship, the "Zeewulf," touched on the West Australian coast, at about 20 degrees. Its captain did not know of Hartog's discovery and reported that it would be a good plan for ships, travelling east, to take the eastern monsoon for the coast he had discovered and thence sail straight to Java.<sup>12</sup>

Terra Australis and Polo's "Beach" were not yet forgotten and, when Houtman, in 1619, sighted land just below where Perth now stands, he maintained that he had discovered "Beach." Just over a week later he discovered the archipelago that is still known as Houtman's "Abrolhos." Further north, it was thought the land "might not unlikely prove to be gold-bearing,"<sup>13</sup> and, in the maps that later plotted the newly-discovered coast, the land bore the old legend, "Beach provincia aurifera."<sup>14</sup> A further Dutch discovery was made in 1622, when the ship, "Leeuwin," struck land at the point now known as Cape Leeuwin.

The successors of Houtman agreed that ships bound to the Indies should make for the Australian coast and then to Java. It was, therefore, necessary that the land be explored in more detail. There was an added reason: the possibility that lay in the words "Beach provincia aurifera,"<sup>15</sup> and in the mystery of the still-unknown land between the west coast of Australia and the

\* See Note 4 to this Chapter.

\*\* See Note 44 on page 42 above.

southern coast of New Guinea. And there was the question of what lay beyond Cape Leeuwin. Dutchmen began to take a keener interest in Eendracht Land.

The wreck of an English ship, the "Trial," in 1622, called attention to the necessity of properly charting the coast. The "Trial" was the first English ship of which we have any record to visit Australia. Ninety-seven men were lost when their ship foundered on rocks in latitude 20 deg. 10 min. The survivors, who reached Java, blamed the Dutch for the disaster because their new route was followed by the "Trial."<sup>14</sup>

Three months after the wreck of the English ship, Governor-General Coen gave instructions for two ships to set out on a voyage of exploration. They were to sail down the west coast of Australia and to find out what lay to the south or the east of Cape Leeuwin. The instructions went into great detail: "You will have to discover and survey all capes, forelands, bights, lands, islands, rocks, reefs, sandbanks, depths, shallows, roads, winds, and currents, and all that pertain to the same, so as to be able to map out and duly mark everything in its true latitude, longitude, bearings, and conformation. You will, moreover, go ashore in various places, and diligently examine the coast in order to ascertain whether or no it is inhabited, the nature of the land and the people, their towns and inhabited villages, the divisions of the kingdom, their religion and policy, their wars, their rivers, the shape of their vessels, their fisheries, commodities, and manufactures, but specially to inform yourselves what minerals, such as gold, silver, tin, iron, lead and copper, what precious stones, pearls, vegetables, animals and fruits, these lands yield and produce."<sup>15</sup> They were told to take possession of all they discovered, enter into friendly relations with the kings, try to have these places themselves under the protection of Holland and to seek out places suitable for settlements. It would have been easier to list the things they were not to discover, survey or examine. Considering the promise of assiduousness on the part of these explorers-to-be, we must lament the fact that they never set out on their voyage! The two ships were needed elsewhere.

In January, 1623, however, Jan Carstenz, in command of the "Arnhem" and the "Pera," set out to complete the discovery of the land seen by Janz in 1606. They also sailed along the south coast of New Guinea, also found no way through Torres Strait and therefore came to the conclusion that it was a bay and thought Cape York Peninsula was New Guinea. They sailed down its western coast, as the "Duyfhen" had done. But they

went further than Cape Turnagain. A landing was made and their coming recorded on a board which they nailed to a tree.

The "Arnhem" parted company with the "Pera," which returned home the way it had come. Carstenz (who was on the "Pera") furnishes us with one of the earliest descriptions that we have of the Australian aborigines. He had been instructed to capture some of the natives. He tried to do so. "By showing them bits of iron and strings of beads we kept them on the beach, until we had come near them; upon which, one of them who had lost his weapon was, by the skipper, seized round the waist, while at the same time the quartermaster put a noose round his neck, by which he was dragged to the pinnace. The other blacks, seeing this, tried to rescue their captured brother by furiously assailing us with their assegais. In defending ourselves we shot one of them."<sup>16</sup> Then, Carstenz complains, "the blacks received us as enemies everywhere." He described the country as the "most arid and barren region that could be found anywhere on earth." While he was on his way home, the "Arnhem" had sailed across the Gulf of Carpentaria, discovered Groote Eylandt<sup>17</sup> (which he called Speultland, after the Governor), and Arnhemland, still so named.

The Australian coast-line was, then, gradually being mapped. In 1627, the ship, "Gulden Zeepaart," outward bound from Holland with the "Hon. Peter Nuyts, Extraordinary Councillor of India" on board, went so far out of its course that it sailed eastward past Cape Leeuwin for about a thousand miles—to the Nuyts Archipelago on the eastern half of the Great Australian Bight. It remained the farthest east that any European discovered along the south coast of Australia until Flinders explored it again in 1802. The land discovered by the "Zeepaart" was named, after its distinguished passenger, P. Nuyts Land.

But the west coast still remained perilous for ships coming out from Holland. The "Vyanen" was driven ashore in 1628, but got off again and made more discoveries along the north-western coast. In the previous year, Governor Coen, returning for another term as Governor, just escaped being wrecked on Houtman's Abrolhos. The necessity for more accurate maps was stressed by these and other episodes. In 1629, the "Batavia," Captain Francois Pelsart, was wrecked on the Abrolhos. Women, children and sick were on board and it was decided to land them. One hundred and eighty were landed on two islands, seventy men being left on board. Pelsart, setting out for aid, made his way in a pinnace along the coast from the Abrolhos to North-west Cape and, finding no water and the land barren,

branded the country, now seen at close quarters for the first time by Europeans, as cursed and useless. He reached Java and returned with a ship to rescue those who had been left behind. The rest is a tale of horror.

The supercargo of the wrecked ship, Cornelis, had been one of the seventy left on the ship. He floated on a mast to one of the islands, plotted with others to seize the ship in which Pelsart was to return and turn pirates. They killed all on the two islands who would not join them, except forty-five who got away on a raft to a third island. They attacked the loyalists but were defeated and Cornelis was taken prisoner. When Pelsart returned the prisoners were tried and executed, except two who were put ashore, Pelsart expressing the pious hope that God would "grant that this punishment may ultimately redound to the service of the company, and that the two delinquents may come off with their lives, so as to be able to give trustworthy information about these parts."<sup>18</sup> They were never heard of again.

One Australian owes to Pelsart his introduction to Europeans. He said he saw "a species of cat, which are very strange creatures; they are about the size of a hare, their head resembling the head of a civet-cat; the fore-paws are very short, about the length of a finger. Its hind legs are upwards of half an ell, and it walks on these alone."<sup>19</sup> The kangaroo had stepped out into the strange Australian scene before the astonished eyes of Europeans!

4.—**ABEL JANSSEN TASMAN.**—In January, 1636, Anthony Von Diemen became Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies—a man who, having come to the East under a false name to elude his creditors, and as a soldier, had rapidly risen from the position of clerk in the Company. He was determined to fill in the gaps in the map of the South Land. Recalling the details of our story, we remember that Arnhem Land and the West coast of Cape York Peninsula had been discovered. But what lay between? The Gulf of Carpentaria (named after a Dutch Governor), though called a gulf, might be a strait or a channel running right through to P. Nuyts Land in the south. Then nothing was none of what lay between Arnhem Land and North West Cape, where Eendracht Land began. It might be land, it might be water. From North West Cape right round to the Nuyts Archipelago in the Great Australian Bight the coast had been mapped. But none knew what lay further to the East or whether the land stretched down to the South Pole. Finally, the East coast was completely unknown. A month

after he was settled as Governor, Van Diemen sent out Gerrit Thomas Pool to find answers to these problems and to seek the gold and spices the new land might contain.

Pool did not get further than New Guinea—where he was killed by the natives. His second-in-command continued the voyage and rediscovered Arnhem Land, which he called Van Diemen's Land and characterised as being as "wild and barren" as the west coast.<sup>20</sup>

In 1642, Van Diemen consulted Frans Visscher, who had "greater skill in the surveying of coasts and the mapping out of lands than any of the steersmen present in these parts."<sup>21</sup> He suggested a voyage round the south of Australia, and a return by way of the Solomons, to be followed by other voyages to explore the Pacific thoroughly and to trace the coast, if there was a coast, from Cape York Peninsula to North-west Cape. His plan was adopted.

The captain selected to carry out the job was Abel Janssen Tasman, and Visscher was to be his "Pilot Major." Tasman was born in the village of Luytjegast, Holland, in 1603 and had come out to Java in 1633 in the service of the Company. By 1642 he was a skilled captain who had already been on voyages of trade and discovery in the North Pacific. Beyond his skill as a captain he seems to have had nothing to recommend him. His was a "nature coarse-grained, and even brutal. The society of Batavia was not a society likely to be squeamish in its moral judgment, but it thought that Tasman, in his later years, was unworthy to serve it as Church elder."<sup>22</sup>

On August 14, 1642, Tasman set out on his memorable voyage in command of two ships, the "Heemskerck" and the "Zeehaen," filled with silk, linen, blankets, steel and other goods to trade with the natives and accompanied by the prayers of the Company that the voyage "may redound to the benefit and increase of God's Church, and to the conversion of many blinded heathen, to the profit of the Company's shareholders, and to the credit of our country."<sup>23</sup>

They sailed first for the island of Mauritius, where they had to repair their ships. They left Mauritius early in October, sailed south to nearly 50 deg., then turned back to 44 deg. and sailed along that latitude eastward. On November 24, at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, they sighted land, "the first we have met with in the South Sea, and not known to any European nation, we have conferred on it the name of Anthony van Diemen's Land."<sup>24</sup> Today its name honors not the Governor but the explorer—Tasmania.



Tasman sailed round the south of the island, was prevented by a storm from entering the modern Storm Bay (he sheltered in Adventure Bay which he called Storm Bay), rounded "The Pillar" and, on December 1, anchored in Prince of Wales Bay. Next day, Visscher, with two boats, entered Blackman's Bay and landed. They procured water and found evidence to convince them that the Tasmanians, whom they did not see, were giants —notches cut five feet apart in trees for the purpose of climbing them! After taking formal possession of the land on December 3, they resumed their voyage northward on December 4. But after sailing as far as what is now Freycinet's Peninsula they turned eastward, to the chagrin of the Company when it found out because it wanted to know what relation the new land bore to P. Nuyts Land. By not continuing northward, Tasman failed to anticipate Bass in the discovery of the strait that separates Tasmania from Australia or even Cook in discovering the east coast of Australia.

As it was, however, Tasman discovered New Zealand, on December 13. He sailed up the west coast of South Island and anchored in Golden Bay. There, first of Europeans, they met the Maoris and fell foul of them, three or four of the Dutch being killed as a result. Tasman, therefore, called the place Murderers' Bay. Sailing towards Cook Strait, Tasman thought that the closing in of the land on both sides meant they were sailing into a bay, not a strait. He therefore turned back and sailed up the west coast of North Island. He called the new land he had discovered Staten Land presuming that it, as well as the Staten Land of Le Maire,\* was a part of the great southern continent. The name *Nieuw Zeeland* seems to have been given after Brouwer had, in 1643, sailed round the first Staten Land and proved it to be a small island.

Taking leave of New Zealand at Cape Maria van Diemen, a name given "in honor of the Honorable Consort of the Honorable Governor-General," Tasman and his ships set out on a voyage up the Pacific the story of which shows how difficult it was to find places in a vast ocean when it was next to impossible to discover longitude. The Dutchmen were completely lost and ran for latitude 4 deg. They sailed along it westward, to the north of New Guinea, and arrived home in Batavia on June 14, 1643.

The Governor-General and his Council were not over-pleased with the voyage. Gold and spices formed no part of its fruits. However, it seemed probable that one aim had been achieved.

\* See above, pp. 71-2.

This was to find out whether there was a passage from the Indian Ocean to the south of Australia and across the Pacific to Chili. The Dutch wanted to establish themselves there in order to prey on Spanish shipping. A further expedition was promised. In the meanwhile, Tasman was to explore Northern Australia.

In February, 1644, he set out again and, sailing along the course taken by the "Duyfhen" in 1606 and the "Arnhem" and the "Pera" in 1623, was able to answer in the negative the question was there a passage from the Gulf of Carpentaria to the South Sea and, therefore, a route to Chili? Torres Strait was still regarded as a "shallow bight" but the Gulf of Carpentaria was proved to be a gulf. From the gulf Tasman traced the coast around until he came to known landmarks of Eendracht Land. As a result of this second voyage of Tasman the tracing of the coastline of Australia was completed from Cape York in the north-east right round to half-way along the shore of the Great Australian Bight. His first voyage had proved that Australia was not a part of any great southern continent centering at the Pole. "Tasman's voyages had been profitable to geographers, but very unsatisfactory to shareholders. He had mapped the outline of a huge continent, but it seemed to be as useless as it was huge."\*

Van Diemen was not able, because of trouble with the Portuguese, to carry out his plan of sending a new expedition to seek a southern route to Chili. And the Directors of the Company at home frowned upon his other projects of exploring the new lands discovered and of seeking gold and silver in the North Pacific. They thought that the Company had enough countries already to trade with and they feared that the English would reap the benefit of their discoveries. "I have heard it said 'among the Dutch,' a contemporary tells us, 'that their East India Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest penalties, any further attempts of discovering that continent, having already more trade in those parts than they can turn to account, and fearing some more populous nation in Europe might make great establishments of trade in some of those unknown regions, which might ruin or impair what they have already in the Indies.'" The Directors determined to concentrate on their trade with Japan and the East. The dreams of gold and riches in a southern continent, inspired by the reading of Polo and Quiros, had been proved, to the satisfaction of the Directors, to be but dreams. And trade had nothing to do with dreams.

\* Wood: Discovery of Australia, p. 291.

Tasman was not sent on any further explorations in southern seas. We hear of him planning more efficient methods for capturing Spanish ships, laden with gold from the Philippines, at the Ladrone Islands—thus again justifying their name—laying down better routes for trading ships, and fighting against the Spaniards. In 1649, however, he was found guilty of attempting, and all but succeeding in, hanging a young sailor for some alleged minor offence. He was suspended from his duties and the Church removed him from his position as elder. He was later re-employed by the Company but, apparently, not for long. He died in 1659 and left some of his wealth to be divided amongst the poor of his native village.

The Company did not succeed in carrying out its policy of keeping the new discoveries hidden from the rest of the world. Maps were published in Holland to show the new lands: New Holland, Van Diemen's Land and Nieuw Zeeland. Dampier had one such map when he came to Australia in 1699 and Cook and Banks, in 1770, knew and took as an authority the published extracts of Tasman's journal. Cook continued and completed Tasman's work.

But the Dutch chapter of Australian discovery was not finished with the passing of Tasman. The old route from the Cape of Good Hope eastward was maintained and Eendracht Land served as a landmark. And there were more wrecks, as a result of which the coast was properly charted. In 1696, Willem de **Viamingh**, searching for a missing ship, carefully explored the coast from the Swan River to North-west Cape. They rowed up the Swan River and saw men, birds, black swans, geese, cockatoos, and parroquets which "all fled at the sight of us,"<sup>28</sup> but "without discovering anything of importance." Their final report on the country they explored was that it was "a barren, bare desolate region."

The Dutch were not yet convinced that there was no passage through New Holland to the South Seas and, in 1705, ships were sent to explore the north-west coast and to find such a passage, if it existed. As a result of this exploration, it was thought that, perhaps, Van Diemen's Gulf (to the east of Darwin) was the entrance of a channel leading to the South Sea and that New Holland probably consisted of a large number of islands. Surely, it was imagined, the inhabitants would not be of such a "rude and barbarous character and malicious disposition" if it was a continent they lived in!

Dutch exploration ended and the Dutch verdict was passed upon New Holland and its people. The land was useless and