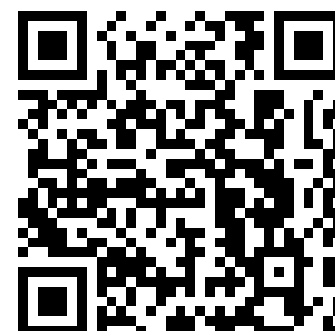

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

GoogleTM books

<https://books.google.com>



NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES



3 3433 00111756 7

Major

THE
DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA
BY THE PORTUGUESE
IN 1601,

FIVE YEARS BEFORE THE EARLIEST DISCOVERY

HITHERTO RECORDED;

WITH ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF A PREVIOUS DISCOVERY BY THE SAME NATION, EARLY IN
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, ESQ., F.S.A.

IN A LETTER ADDRESSED TO SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H.

Austrinis pars est habitabilis oris
Sub pedibusque jacet nostris.

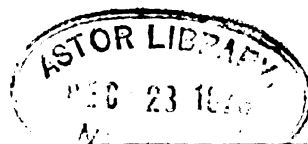
MANILIUS. *Astronomicon.*

LONDON :

PRINTED BY J. B. NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1861. *dm*

ROYAL
PUBLIC
LIBRARY



FROM THE

ARCHÆOLOGIA,

VOL. XXXVIII.

410-411
1001
1001

DISCOVERY OF AUSTRALIA BY THE PORTUGUESE IN 1601.

British Museum, March 1st, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

IF any doubt could be entertained of the importance of collecting and embodying in our literature the scattered relics of the early history of geographical discovery, the doubt might find its answer in the eager curiosity with which the more cultivated Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of America look back to every minute particular respecting the early history of their adopted country.

A vast field of colonization, second only to America, is rapidly developing itself in the South; and we may naturally presume that it will be a question of no inconsiderable interest to those who shall have chosen Australia as the birthplace of their children, to know who were the earliest discoverers of a land so vast in its dimensions, so important in its characteristics, and yet whose very existence had for so many thousands of years remained a secret.

In the year 1859 I had the honour of editing for the Hakluyt Society a work entitled "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," comprising a collection of documents and extracts from early manuscript maps illustrative of the history of discovery on the coasts of that vast Island from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the time of Captain Cook. In my introduction to that work it became my duty to show that in the early part of the sixteenth century there were indications, on maps, of Australia having been already discovered, but with no written documents to confirm them; while, in the seventeenth century, there was authoritative documentary evidence that its coasts were visited by the Dutch in a considerable number of voyages, although the documents *immediately* describing these voyages had not been found. The earliest of these Dutch voyages was made in 1606, and it consequently stood before the world as an unquestioned point in history that in that year the first authenticated discovery of Australia was made by the Dutch.

It is my purpose in this paper to announce that, within the last few days, I have met with a document in the British Museum which unequivocally transfers

that honour from Holland to Portugal, inasmuch as it gives to the latter country an advantage over the former of five years in unquestionable priority. The fact that Australia had been in reality discovered more than sixty years earlier, and in all probability also by the Portuguese, does not, I think, set aside the importance of this further fact—which I now wish to record as for the first time made known to the world—that the earliest known voyage to Australia to which a date and the discoverer's name can be attached, was made by the Portuguese in 1601. Were I, however, to confine myself to the bald enunciation of this fact, without showing the position which it will take in the history of supposed and authenticated Australian discovery, I fear my announcement would prove as uninteresting to you as it would be unsatisfactory to myself. In order, therefore, fairly to state my case, I feel it my duty to lay before you a summary of that which I have already written in ample detail in the introduction to my "Early Voyages to Australia," premising that for brevity's sake I have omitted the minuter details, and in some cases remodelled my language; but that, where no advantage was to be gained thereby, I have not pretended for the mere sake of appearances to alter the language in which I had written before. Such a proceeding seemed to me to be disingenuous and therefore unworthy.

I spoke of supposed indications of Australia, because, as in the case of America, so in that of Australia, surmises of the existence of these respective countries can be traced in the writings of the ancients, in geographical monuments of the middle ages, and still more palpable evidences of Australia individually on well delineated manuscript maps of the early part of the sixteenth century.

Among the very early writers, the most striking quotation that I am able to supply in connection with the Southern Continent, is that which occurs in the *Astronomicon* of Manilius, lib. i. lin. 234—238, where, after a lengthy dissertation, he says:—

Ex quo colligitur terrarum forma rotunda:
Hanc circum variae gentes hominum atque ferarum
Aerisque colunt volucres. Pars ejus ad arcus
Eminet, Austrinis pars est habitabilis oris,
Sub pedibusque jacet nostris.

The date at which Manilius wrote, though not exactly ascertained, is supposed, upon the best conclusions to be drawn from the internal evidence supplied by his poem, to be of the time of Tiberius.

At a later period, the belief in the existence of a great Southern Continent anterior to the discoveries of the Portuguese in the Pacific Ocean, is shown from

manuscript maps and other geographical monuments brought together by the researches of my lamented friend, the late learned and laborious Vicomte de Santarem, in his "Essai sur l'Histoire de la Cosmographie et de la Cartographie du Moyen Age." In vol. i. p. 229 of that work, he informs us that "D'autres cartographes du moyen-Âge continuèrent à représenter encore dans leurs mappemondes l'Antichthone, d'après la croyance qu'au delà de la ceinture de l'Océan Homérique il y avait une habitation d'hommes, une autre région tempérée, qu'on appelait la terre opposée, ou il était impossible de pénétrer à cause de la zone torride."

The earliest *assertion* of the discovery of a land bearing a position on early maps analogous to that of Australia, has been made in favour of the Chinese, who have been supposed to have been acquainted with its coasts long before the period of European navigation to the East.

Thévenot, in his "Relations de divers Voyages Curieux," part i. preface, Paris, 1663, says: "La Terre Australe, qui fait maintenant une cinquième partie du monde, a été découverte à plusieurs fois. Les Chinois en ont eu connaissance il y a long temps; car l'on voit que Marco Polo marque deux grandes isles au sud-est de Java, ce qu'il avait appris apparemment des Chinois."

Marco Polo's statement describes a country in the direction of Australia, containing gold, elephants and spices, a description which clearly does not apply to Australia. An error was doubtless made in the direction of the course suggested, and there is little doubt that the country intended to be described was Cambodia. I do not here stop to dilate upon the various blunders to which this statement gave rise on the face of the early engraved Dutch maps of the latter part of the sixteenth century. I have spoken of them in detail in my Hakluyt volume. They are interesting in connection with the important country to which they appeared to refer, and they are really amusing from their nature, variety, and number.

The earliest discovery of Australia to which *claim* has been laid by any nation, is that of a Frenchman, named Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, a native of Honfleur, who sailed from that port in June, 1503, on a voyage to the South Seas. After doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he was assailed by a tempest which drove him on an unknown land, in which he was hospitably entertained, and whence, after a stay of six months, he returned to France, bringing with him the son of the king of the country. Unfortunately Gonneville's journals on his return fell into the hands of the English and were lost; but a priest, a descendant of one of the natives of this southern region, who had married a relative of Gonneville's, collected from the traditions and loose papers of his family, and also from a judicial declaration which had been made before the French Admiralty under date of the

19th of June, 1505, materials for a work, which was printed at Paris by Cramoisy in 1668, entitled, "*Mémoire touchant l'Etablissement d'une Mission Chrétienne dans la Terre Australe; par un Ecclésiastique, originaire de cette mesme terre.*" The author, in fact, was animated by a strong desire of preaching the gospel in the country of his ancestors, and spent his life in endeavouring to prevail on those who had the care of foreign missions to send him there, and further, in some sort to fulfil a promise that had been made by the original French navigator, that he would visit that country again. The friendly intercourse with the natives, described by Gonneville, who speaks of them as having made some advances in civilisation, is quite incompatible with the character for treachery and barbarous cruelty which we have received of the natives of North Australia from all the more recent voyagers. "Let the whole account," says Burney, "be reconsidered without prepossession, and the idea that will immediately and most naturally occur is that the Southern India discovered by Gonneville was Madagascar. Having passed round the Cape, he was driven by tempests into calm latitudes, and so near to this land that he was directed thither by the flight of birds. Another point deserving of notice, the refusal of the crew to proceed to the Eastern India, would scarcely have happened if they had been so far advanced to the east as New Holland."

A more reasonable claim than the preceding to the discovery of Australia in the early part of the sixteenth century, may be advanced by the Portuguese from the evidence of various MS. maps still extant, although the attempt made recently to attach the credit of this discovery to Magalhaens, in the famous voyage of the *Victoria* round the world in 1520, is, as I shall endeavour to show, perfectly untenable. The claim of this honour for Spain is thus asserted in the "*Compendio Geografico Estadistico de Portugal y sus posesiones ultramarinas,*" by Aldama Ayala, 8vo., Madrid, 1855, p. 482:—"The Dutch lay claim to the discovery of the continent of Australia in the seventeenth century, although it was discovered by Fernando Magalhaens, a Portuguese, by order of the Emperor Charles V., in the year 1520, as is proved by authentic documents, such as the atlas of Fernando Vaz Dourado, made in Goa in 1570, on one of the maps in which is laid down the coast of Australia. The said magnificent atlas, illuminated to perfection, was formerly preserved in the Carthusian Library at Evora."

A similar claim was also made for their distinguished countryman, though the voyage was made in the service of Spain, in an almanack published at Angra, in the island of Terceira, by the government press, in 1832, and composed, it is supposed, by the Viscount Sa' de Bandeira, the present Minister of Marine at

Lisbon. In the examination of this subject, I have had the advantage of the assistance of Dr. Martin, of Lisbon, the editor of "*Mariner's Tonga Islands*," whose examination of Dourado's map leads me to the conviction, that the tract laid down on the map as discovered by Magalhaens is in fact a memorandum or cartographical side-note of the real discovery by Magalhaens of *Tierra del Fuego*, and that from its adopted false position on the vellum it was subsequently misapplied by Mercator to that part of the world now recognized as *Australia*, and hence the claim in question.

But I now pass to a more plausible indication of a discovery of *Australia* by the Portuguese in the early part of the sixteenth century, which ranges between the years 1512 and 1542. This indication occurs in similar form on several MS. maps, all of them French, on which, immediately below *Java*, and separated from that island only by a narrow strait, is drawn a large country stretching southwards to the verge of the several maps. This country is called *Jave la Grande*. In most of these maps this large country is continued all along the southern portion of the world, forming the great *Terra Australis*, which from time immemorial had been so extensively believed in, and again joining the known world at *Tierra del Fuego*. But in one of these maps a striking exception to this rule occurs, the coastline both on the east and west side of *Jave la Grande* ceasing at points which present remarkable evidence that they represent actual discoveries. For example, the southernmost point at which the western coastline terminates is in 35 degrees, the real latitude of the south-western point of *Australia*. The eastern coastline is not so correct, but extends far lower even than the southernmost point of *Van Diemen's Land*, but from its distant position it would be the part least likely to be explored, and, though incorrectly delineated, it accords with the general fact that the southing of the eastern coastline is much greater than that of the western. As regards the longitude of this Great *Java*, it may be advanced that, with all the discrepancies observable in the maps, there is no other country but *Australia* lying between the same parallels, and of the same extent, between the east coast of *Africa* and the west coast of *America*, and that *Australia* does in reality lie between the same meridians as the great mass of the country here laid down. As regards the contour of the coast, a single glance of the eye will suffice to detect the general resemblance on the western side, but on the eastern the discrepancies are, as might be expected, much more considerable.

On the most fully detailed of these maps are inscribed some names of bays and coasts which were noticed in the first instance by Alexander Dalrymple, the hydrographer to the Admiralty and East India Company, to bear a resemblance

to the names given by Captain Cook to parts of New Holland which he had himself discovered. In his memoir concerning the Chagos and adjacent islands, 1786, p. 4, speaking of this map, he says: "The east coast of New Holland, as we name it, is expressed with some curious circumstances of correspondence to Captain Cook's MS. What he names Bay of Inlets is in the MS. called Bay Perdue; Bay of Isles, R. de beaucoup d'Isles; where the Endeavour struck, Coste Dangereuse. So that we may say with Solomon, 'There is nothing new under the sun.'"

The unworthy insinuation met with a sensible refutation, I am happy to record, from the pen of a Frenchman, M. Frederic Metz, in a paper printed at p. 261, vol. xlvii. of "*La Revue, ou Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique*," Nov. 1805, who very shrewdly observes: "If Cook had been acquainted with the maps in question, and had wished to appropriate to himself the discoveries of another, will any one suppose him so short-sighted as to have preserved for his discoveries the very names which would have exposed his plagiarism, if ever the sources which he had consulted came to be known. The 'dangerous coast' was so named because there he found himself during four hours in imminent danger of shipwreck. We must suppose, then, that he exposed himself and his crew to an almost certain death, in order to have a plausible excuse for applying a name similar to that which this coast had already received from the unknown and anonymous navigator who had previously discovered it. Moreover, names, such as 'Bay of Islands,' 'Dangerous Coast,' are well known in geography. We find a Bay of Islands in New Holland; and on the east coast of the island of Borneo there is a 'Côte des Herbages.'"

The sound sense of this reasoning, apart from all question of honour on the part of a man of the high character of Captain Cook, would seem conclusive; yet this similarity of the names has, to my own knowledge, been remarked upon by persons of high standing and intelligence in this country, though without any intention of disparaging Captain Cook, as an evidence that this country was identical with Australia. The similarity of the expression, "*Côte des Herbages*," with the name of Botany Bay, given to a corresponding part of the coast by Captain Cook, has been particularly dwelt upon, whereas it ought to be known that this bay, originally called Stingray, but afterwards Botany Bay, was not so named on account of the fertility of the soil, but from the variety of plants new to the science of botany which were discovered on a soil otherwise rather unpromising. It is plain that early navigators would assign such a designation as "*Côte des Herbages*," to a shore remarkable for its rich growth of grass or other vegetation, rather than from

the appreciation of any curious botanical discovery.* Had the similarity of the names "Rivière de beaucoup d'Isles," and "Côte Dangereuse," with Cook's "Bay of Isles," and the place "where the Endeavour struck," names descriptive of unquestionable realities, been advanced by Dalrymple as evidence of the high probability that the country represented on the early map was New Holland, without volunteering an insinuation against the merit of his rival, we should have accepted the reasonable suggestion with deference and just acquiescence.

That New Holland was the country thus represented, became an argument supported by a variety of reasonings by more than one of our French neighbours. Mr. Coquebert Montbret, in a memoir printed in No. 81 of the "Bulletin des Sciences," 1804, quotes Dalrymple's injurious observation, and silently allows it to have its deceptive effect on the mind of the incautious reader.

An atlas now in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, containing similar indications to those I have described, fell into the possession of Prince Talleyrand at the beginning of this century; and attracting the attention of the celebrated geographer M. Barbié du Bocage, drew from him a long notice, which was read at a public session of the Institute on the 3rd of July, 1807. In this he says that "we must come to the conclusion that these atlases have been copied from Portuguese maps, and consequently that the discovery of New Holland belongs to the Portuguese. This is the opinion," he continues, "of MM. Dalrymple, Pinkerton, De la Rochette, and several others; and I do not believe that any good reason can be alleged in refutation of an opinion so well founded." M. Barbié du Bocage, however, follows up this expression of his conviction by an attempt to fix the period of the discovery, in which attempt he has fallen into errors which I have endeavoured to refute, but which it would be tedious here to allude to.

The evidence which these maps afford of having been based on Portuguese discoveries, is as follows. They are all French; and that they are all repetitions, with slight variations, from one source, is shown by the fact that the inaccuracies are alike in all of them. The indications of Portuguese occur in some of the names, such as "terre ennegade," a gallicized form of "tierra anegada," *i. e.* "land under water," or "sunken shoal;" "Graçal," and "Cap de Fromose." The question then arises, judging from such evidence as this, Were the French or the Portuguese the discoverers? In reply, I offer the following statement.

In the year 1529, a voyage was made to Sumatra by Jean Parmentier of Dieppe,

* This unanswerable reason was supplied to me by the late distinguished Dr. Brown, who not only, as Humboldt has described him, was "Botanicorum facile princeps," but himself acquainted with the locality of which he spoke.

and in this voyage he died. Parmentier was a poet and a classical scholar, as well as a navigator and good hydrographer. He was accompanied in this voyage by his intimate friend the poet Pierre Crignon, who, on his return to France, published, in 1531, the poems of Parmentier, with a prologue containing his eulogium, in which he says of him, that he was "le premier François qui a entrepris à estre pilotte pour mener navires à la Terre Amérique qu'on dit Brésil, et semblablement le premier François qui a descouvert les Indes jusqu'à l'Isle de Taprobane, et, si mort ne l'eust pas prévenu, je crois qu'il eust esté jusques aux Moluques." This is high authority upon this point, coming as it does from a man of education, and a shipmate and intimate of Parmentier himself. The French, then, were not in the South Seas beyond Sumatra before 1529. The date of the earliest of our quoted maps is not earlier than 1535, as it contains the discovery of the St. Lawrence by Jacques Cartier in that year; but even let us suppose it no earlier than that of Rotz, which bears the date of 1542, and ask, what voyages of the French in the South Seas do we find between the years of 1529 and 1542? Neither the Abbé Raynal, nor any modern French writer, nor even antiquaries who have entered most closely into the history of early French explorations, as, for example, M. Léon Guérin, the author of the "*Histoire Maritime de France*," Paris, 1843, 8vo.; and of "*Les Navigateurs Français*," Paris, 1847, 8vo. offer the slightest pretension that the French made voyages to those parts in the early part or middle of the sixteenth century.

It is certain, moreover, that France was at that time too poor, and too much embroiled in political anxieties, to busy herself with extensive nautical explorations. Had she so done, the whole of North America and Brazil might now have belonged to her. At the same time, however, we know that the Portuguese had establishments before 1529 in the East Indian Islands, and the existence of Portuguese names on the countries of which we speak, as thus delineated on these French maps, is in itself an acknowledgment of their discovery by the Portuguese, as assuredly the feelings entertained by the French respecting the covetousness and exclusiveness of the Portuguese would not only have made the former most ready to lay claim to all they could in the shape of discovery, but would have prevented any gratuitous insertion of Portuguese names on such remote countries had they themselves discovered them. In tom. 3 of Ramusio's Collection, in the account of the *Discurso d'un gran Capitano di Mare Francese del luogo di Dieppa*, etc., now known to be the voyage of Jean Parmentier to Sumatra in 1529, and in all probability written by his companion and eulogist the poet Pierre Crignon, occurs this expression: "Io penso che li Portoghesi

debbero haver bevuto della polvere del cuore del Re Alessandro . . . e credo che si persuadino che Iddio non fece il mare nè la terra, se non per loro e che l'altre nationi non siano degne di navigare e se fosse nel poter loro di mettere termini e serrar il mare del Capo di Finisterre fin in Hirlanda, gia molto tempo saria che essi ne haveriano serrato il passo." But, further, as an important part of this argument, we must not overlook the jealousy of the Portuguese in forbidding the communication of all hydrographical information respecting their discoveries in these seas. It is stated by Humboldt, "*Histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent*," tom. iv. p. 70, upon the authority of the letters of Angelo Trevigiano, secretary to Domenico Pisani, ambassador from Venice to Spain, that the kings of Portugal forbade, upon pain of death, the exportation of any marine chart which showed the course to Calicut. We find also in Ramusio, "*Discorso sopra el Libro di Odoardo Barbosa*," and the "*Sommario delle Indie Orientali*," tom i. p. 287*b*, a similar prohibition implied. He says that these books "were for many years concealed and not allowed to be published, for convenient reasons that I must not here describe." He also speaks of the great difficulty he himself had in procuring a copy, and even that an imperfect one, from Lisbon. "Tanto possono," he says, "gli interessi del principe."

A notion may be formed of the knowledge possessed by the Spaniards in the middle of the sixteenth century, on the part of the world on which we treat, from the following extract from a work entitled "*El Libro de las Costumbres de todas las Gentes del Mundo y de las Indias*," translated and compiled by the Bachelor Francisco Thamara, Antwerp, 1556: "A treynta leguas de Java la menor, está el Gatigara a nueve y diez grados de la Equinocial de la otra parte azia el Sur. Desde aqui adelante no ay noticia de mas tierras, porque no se ha navegado por esta parte mas adelante, y por tierra no se puede andar por los muchos lagos y grandes y altas montañas que por aqui ay. Y aun dizese que por aqui es el parayso terrenal." Although this was not originally written in Spanish, but was translated from Johannes Bohemus, it would scarcely have been given forth to the Spaniards had better information on such a subject existed among that people.

The facts which I have thus been able to bring together lead me to the conclusion that the land described as La Grande Jave on the French maps to which I have referred, can be no other than Australia; and that it was discovered before 1542 may be almost accepted as a demonstrable certainty, but how long before is not clear. I hope also that I have succeeded in showing the high probability that the discoverers were the Portuguese.

In a map to illustrate the voyages of Drake and Cavendish by Jodocus Hondius,

New Guinea is made a complete island, without a word to throw a doubt on the correctness of the representation ; while the Terra Australis, which is separated from New Guinea only by a strait, has an outline remarkably similar to that of the Gulf of Carpentaria. These indications give to this map an especial interest, and the more so that it is shown to be earlier than the passage of Torres through Torres' Straits in 1606, by its bearing the arms of Queen Elizabeth, before the unicorn of Scotland had displaced the dragon of the Tudors.

In the article "Terra Australis," in Cornelius Wytfliet's "Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum," Louvain, 1598, we find the following passage : "Australis terra omnium aliarum terrarum australissima tenuique discreta freto Novam Guineam Orienti objicit, paucis tantùm hactenus littoribus cognitam, quod post unam atque alteram navigationem, cursus ille intermissus sit, et nisi coactis impulsisque nautis ventorum turbine rarius eo adnavigetur. Australis terra initium sumit duobus aut tribus gradibus sub æquatore, tantæque a quibusdam magnitudinis esse perhibetur, ut si quando integrè detecta erit, quintam illam mundi partem fore arbitrentur." The above significant statement was printed, it will be remembered, before any discovery of Australia of which we have an authentic account.

But while examining these indications of a discovery of Australia in the sixteenth century, it will be asked what explorations had been made by the Spaniards in that part of the world in the course of that century. From the period of the voyage of Don Alvaro de Saavedra to the Moluccas in 1527, we meet with no such active spirit of exploration on the part of the Spaniards in the South Seas. Embarrassed by his political position, and with an exhausted treasury, the emperor, in 1529, definitely renounced his pretensions to the Moluccas for a sum of money, although he retained his claim to the islands discovered by his subjects to the east of the line of demarcation now confined to the Portuguese. In 1542 an unsuccessful attempt to form a settlement in the Philippine Islands was made by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos ; but its failure having been attributed to mismanagement, a new expedition in 1564 was dispatched with the like object under Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, which was completely successful, and a Spanish colony was established at Zebu. It is not impossible that this settlement gave rise to voyages of discovery about this time by the Spaniards, of which no accounts have been published. In 1567 Alvaro de Mendana sailed from Callao on a voyage of discovery, in which he discovered the Solomon Islands and several others. There are great discrepancies in the different relations of this voyage. In 1595 he made a second voyage from Peru, in which he discovered the Marquesas, and the

group afterwards named by Carteret Queen Charlotte's Islands. The object of this expedition was to found a colony on the Solomon Islands, which he had discovered in his previous voyage, but from the incorrectness of his reckoning he was unable to find them. In the island of Santa Cruz he attempted to establish a colony, but without success, and in this island he died. In this second voyage he had for his chief pilot Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, who may be regarded as the last of the distinguished mariners of Spain, and whose name claims especial notice in a work treating of the early indications of Australia, although he himself never saw the shores of that great continental island. *

The discovery of the island of Santa Cruz suggested to the mind of Quiros, that the great Southern Continent was at length discovered, and in two memoirs addressed by him to Don L. de Velasco, viceroy of Peru, we meet with the first detailed argument upon this great geographical question, which, though he himself was not destined to demonstrate it by an actual discovery, may nevertheless be said to have been directly brought to a solution through his instrumentality. It is true that it is difficult, in dealing with these vague surmises respecting the existence of a Southern Continent, to draw distinctions between Australia itself and the great continent discovered in the present century, some twenty or thirty degrees to the south of that vast island. Dalrymple, who, nearly two centuries later, earnestly advocated the same cause as De Quiros had done, speaking of that navigator, says: "The discovery of the Southern Continent, whenever and by whomsoever it may be completely effected, is in justice due to this immortal name." It should be premised that there are, in fact, three points of ambiguity in connection with the name of that navigator, which it is well at once to state, as they might mislead the judgment of the superficial reader of the history of navigation of that period, as to his connection with the discovery of Australia. In the first place, though generally reputed to be a Spaniard, he is described by Nicolas Antonio, the author of the "*Bibliotheca Hispana*," himself a Spaniard, and not unwilling, it may be supposed, to claim so distinguished a navigator for his countryman, as "*Lusitanus, Eborensis, ut aiunt Lusitani*" (a Portuguese, stated by the Portuguese to be a native of Evora), and the style of his writings bears out the supposition. Secondly, Antonio de Ulloa, in his "*Resumen*," p. 119, quotes from an account of the voyage of Quiros, said to be given in the "*Historia de la Religion Serafica*" of Diego de

* For the account of this voyage, see a letter from Quiros to Don Antonio de Morga, cap. vi. p. 29, of "*De Morga's Sucesos en las Islas Filipinas*," Mexico, 1609, 4to.; and Figueroa's "*Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, quarto Marques de Cañete*," Madrid, 1613, 4to., l. 6, p. 238.

Cordova (a work which I have not had the good fortune to meet with), the discovery of a large island in twenty-eight degrees south latitude, which latitude is farther south than Quiros or his companions are otherwise known to have made in any voyage. Thirdly, the printed memoirs of Quiros bear the title of "*Terra Australis Incognita*," while the southern *Tierra Austral*, discovered by Quiros himself, and surnamed by him "*del Espiritu Santo*," is none other than the "*New Hebrides*" of the maps of the present day.

To both Quiros and Dalrymple we are in fact indirectly indebted for the earliest designation which attaches in any sense to the modern nomenclature connected with Australia, viz. for the name of Torres Strait. That Quiros, whether by birth a Portuguese or a Spaniard, was in the Spanish service, cannot be doubted. The viceroy of Peru had warmly entertained his projects, but looked upon its execution as beyond the limits of his own power to put into operation. He therefore urged Quiros to lay his case before the Spanish monarch at Madrid, and furnished him with letters to strengthen his application. Whether Philip III. was more influenced by the arguments of De Quiros, as to the discovery of a Southern Continent, or rather by the desire to explore the route between Spain and America by the east, in the hope of discovering wealthy islands between New Guinea and China, we need not pause to question. It is possible that both these motives had their weight, for Quiros was despatched to Peru with full orders for the carrying out of his plans, addressed to the Viceroy, the Count de Monterey; and he was amply equipped with two well-armed vessels and a corvette, with which he sailed from Callao on the 21st of December, 1605. Luis Vaez de Torres was commander of the *Almirante*, or second ship, in this expedition. The voyage was looked upon as one of very great importance; and Torquemada, in his account of it in the "*Monarquia Indiana*," says that the ships were the strongest and best armed which had been seen in those seas. The object was to make a settlement at the island of Santa Cruz, and from thence to search for the *Tierra Austral*, or Southern Continent.

After the discovery of several islands, Quiros came to a land which he named *Australia del Espiritu Santo*, supposing it to be a part of the great southern continent. At midnight of the 11th of June, 1606, while the three ships were lying at anchor in the bay which they had named San Felipe and Santiago, Quiros, for reasons which are not known, and without giving any signal or notice, was either driven by a storm, or sailed away from the harbour, and was separated from the other two ships.

Subsequently to the separation, Torres found that the *Australia del Espiritu*

Santo was an island, and then continued his course westward in pursuance of the exploration. In about the month of August, 1606, he fell in with a coast in $11\frac{1}{2}$ degrees south latitude, which he calls the beginning of New Guinea—apparently the south-eastern part of the island, afterwards named *Louisiade* by M. de Bougainville, and now known to be a chain of islands. As he could not pass to windward of this land, Torres bore away along its south side, and himself gives the following account of his subsequent course: “We went along three hundred leagues of coast, as I have mentioned, and diminished the latitude $2\frac{1}{2}$ 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 one hundred and eighty leagues. We went over it, along the coast, to $7\frac{1}{2}$ degrees south 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 south-west, in that depth, to 11 degrees south latitude. There is all over it an archipelago of islands without number, by which we passed; and at the end of the eleventh 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. We caught, in all this land, twenty persons of different nations, that with them we might be able to give a better account to your Majesty. They give much notice of other people, although as yet they do not make themselves well understood. We were upon this bank two months, at the end of which time we found ourselves in twenty-five fathoms, and 5 degrees south latitude, and ten leagues from the coast; and, having gone four hundred and eighty leagues here, the coast goes to the north-east. I did not search it, for the bank became very shallow. So we stood to the north.”

The very large islands seen by Torres in the 11th degree of south latitude, are evidently the hills of Cape York; and the two months of intricate navigation were passed in the passage through the strait which separates Australia from New Guinea. A copy of this letter of Torres was fortunately lodged in the archives of *Manilla*; and it was not till that city was taken, in 1762, by the English, that the document was discovered by Dalrymple, who paid a fitting tribute to the memory of this distinguished Spanish navigator, by giving to this dangerous passage the name of Torres Strait, which it has ever since retained.

De Quiros himself reached Mexico on the 3rd of October, 1606, nine months from his departure from Callao. Strongly imbued with a sense of the importance of his discoveries, he addressed various memoirs to Philip III. advocating the

desirableness of further explorations in these unknown regions; but, after years of unavailing perseverance, he died at Panama in 1614, leaving behind him a name which, for merit though not for success, was second only to that of Columbus; and with him expired the naval heroism of Spain. "Reasoning," as Dalrymple says, "from principles of science and deep reflection, he asserted the existence of a Southern Continent, and devoted with unwearied though contemned diligence the remainder of his life to the prosecution of this sublime conception." In a document addressed to the King of Spain by the Fray Juan Luis Arias, is given an account of De Quiros' earnest advocacy of the resuscitation of Spanish enterprise in the southern seas, and especially with reference to the great Southern Continent.

But, while the glory of Spanish naval enterprise was thus on the wane, the very nation which Spain had bruised and persecuted was to supplant her in the career of adventure and prosperity. The War of Independence had aroused the energies of those provinces of the Netherlands which had freed themselves from the Spanish yoke; while the cruelties perpetrated in those provinces which the Spaniards had succeeded in again subduing, drove an almost incredible number of families into exile. The majority of these settled in the northern provinces, and thus brought into them a prodigious influx of activity. Among these emigrants were a number of enterprising merchants, chiefly from Antwerp—a town which had for many years enjoyed a most considerable though indirect share in the transatlantic trade of Spain and Portugal, and was well acquainted with its immense advantages. These men were naturally animated by the bitter hatred of exiles, enhanced by difference of faith and the memory of many wrongs. The idea which arose among them was to deprive Spain of her transatlantic commerce, and thus to cripple her resources and strengthen those of the Protestants, and by this means eventually to force the southern provinces of the Netherlands from their oppressors. This idea, at first vaguely entertained by a few, became general when the Spaniards forbade Dutch vessels to carry on any traffic with Spain. This traffic had existed in spite of the wars, and had furnished the Dutch with the principal means of carrying it on.

Being thus violently thrust out of their share in transatlantic commerce, the Dutch determined to gain it back with interest. Geography and hydrography now became the subjects of earnest study and instruction; and the period was distinguished by the appearance of such men as Ortelius, Mercator, Plancius, De Bry, Hulsius, Cluverius, etc. whom we are now bound to regard as the fathers of modern geography. Among these, the most earnest in turning the

resources of science into a weapon against the oppressors of his country, was Peter Plancius, a Calvinist clergyman, who opened a nautical and geographical school at Amsterdam for the express purpose of teaching his countrymen how to find a way to India, and the other sources whence Spain derived her strength. We do not here dwell on their efforts to find a northern route to the East. Their knowledge of the direct route to that wealthy portion of the world had become greatly increased by the appearance of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's great work (Amst. 1595-96). Linschoten had for fourteen years lived in the Portuguese possessions in the East, and had there collected a vast amount of information. The Dutch East India Company was established in 1602; and, in 1606, we find a vessel from Holland making the first authenticated discovery of that great south land to which they gave the name of New Holland. In our own time that designation has been exchanged, at the suggestion of Matthew Flinders, to whom we are so largely indebted for our knowledge of the hydrography of that country, for the distinct and appropriate name of Australia.

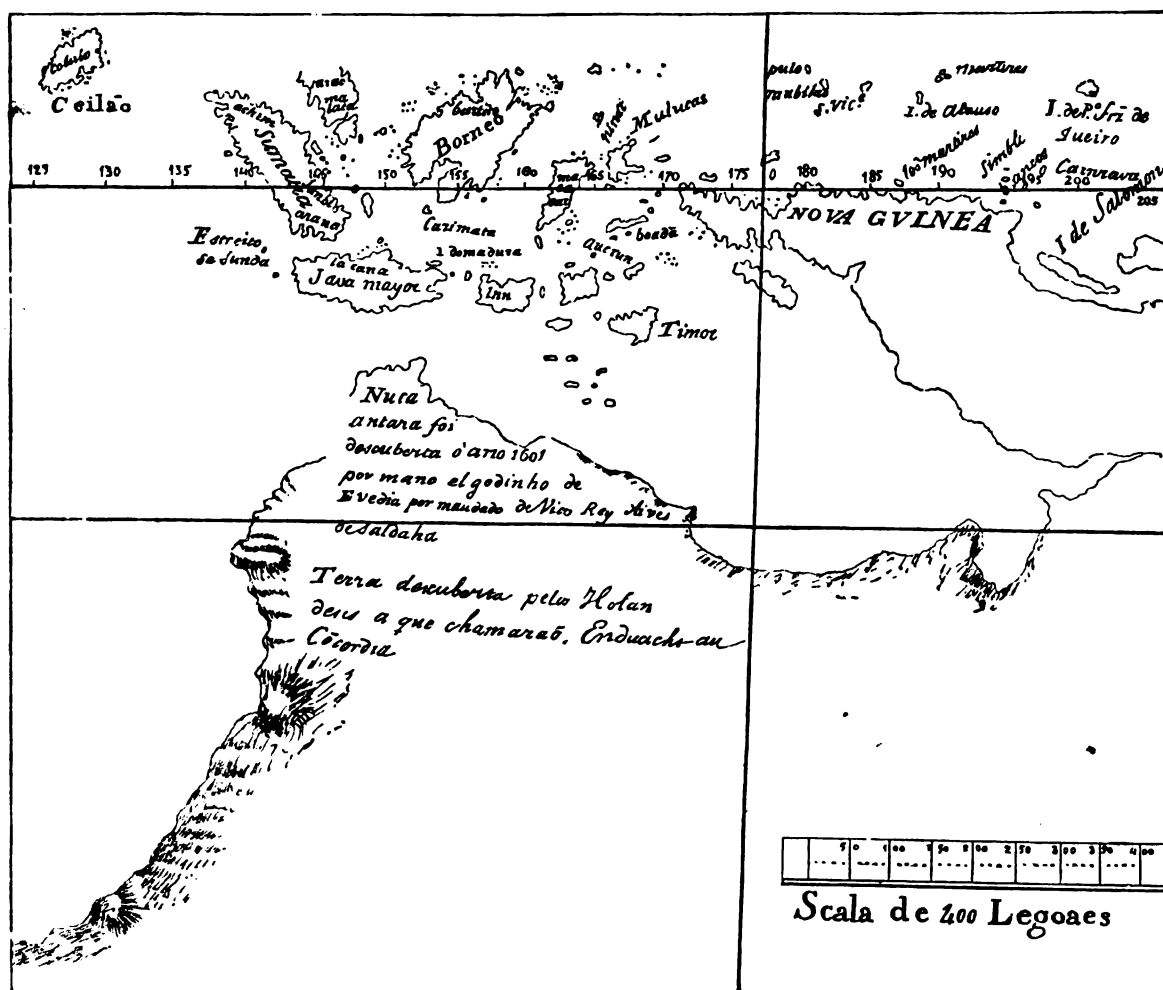
Of the discoveries made by the Dutch on the coasts of Australia, our ancestors of a hundred years ago, and even the Dutch themselves, knew but little. That which was known was preserved in the "*Relations de divers Voyages Curieux*" of Melchisedech Thevenot (Paris, 1663-72, fol.); in the "*Noord en Oost Tartarye*" of Nicolas Witsen, (Amst. 1692-1705, fol.); in Valentyn's "*Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*" (Amst. 1724-26, fol.); and in the "*Inleidning tot de algemeene Geographie*" of Nicolas Struyk, (Amst. 1740, 4to.). We have, however, since gained a variety of information, through a document which fell into the possession of Sir Joseph Banks, and was published by Alexander Dalrymple (at that time hydrographer to the Admiralty and the East India Company), in his collection concerning Papua. This curious and interesting document is a copy of the instructions to Commodore Abel Jansz Tasman for his second voyage of discovery. That distinguished commander had already, in 1642, discovered not only the island now named after him, Tasmania, but New Zealand also; and, passing round the east side of Australia, but without seeing it, sailed on his return voyage along the northern shores of New Guinea. In January, 1644, he was despatched on his second voyage; and his instructions, signed by the Governor-General Antonio Van Diemen and the members of the council, are prefaced by a recital, in chronological order, of the previous discoveries of the Dutch.

From this recital, combined with a passage from Saris, given in Purchas, vol. i. p. 385, we learn that, "On the 18th of November, 1605, the Dutch yacht, the *Duyfhen* (the Dove), was despatched from Bantam to explore the islands of New

Guinea, and that she sailed along what was thought to be the west side of that country, to $19\frac{3}{4}$ degrees of south latitude." This extensive country was found, for the greatest part, desert; but in some places inhabited by wild, cruel, black savages, by whom some of the crew were murdered; for which reason they could not learn any thing of the land or waters, as had been desired of them; and for want of provisions, and other necessaries, they were obliged to leave the discovery unfinished. The furthest point of the land, in their maps, was called Cape Keer Weer, or "Turn again." As Flinders observes, "The course of the Duyfhen from New Guinea was southward, along the islands on the west side of Torres Strait, to that part of Terra Australis a little to the west and south of Cape York. But all these lands were thought to be connected, and to form the west coast of New Guinea." Thus, without being conscious of it, the commander of the Duyfhen made the first authenticated discovery of any part of the great Southern Land about the month of March, 1606; for it appears that he had returned to Banda in or before the beginning of June of that year.

The honour of that first authenticated discovery, as hitherto accepted in history, I am now prepared to dispute. Within the last few days I have discovered a MS. Mappemonde in the British Museum, in which on the north-west corner of a country, which I shall presently show beyond all question to be Australia, occurs the following legend: "Nuca antara foi descuberta o anno 1601 por mano (*sic*) el godinho de Evedia (*sic*) por mandado de (*sic*) Vico Rey Aives (*sic*) de Saldaha," (*sic*) which I scarcely need translate, "Nuca Antara was discovered in the year 1601, by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha."

The misfortune is that this map is only a copy, but I think I shall be able to answer from internal evidence any doubt that might be thrown upon the authenticity of the information which it contains. The original was made about 1620, after the discovery of Eendraght's Land, on the west coast of Australia, by the Dutch in 1616, but before the discovery of the south coast by Pieter Nuyts in 1627. So far from its author suspecting the existence of a south coast, he continues the old error which had obtained throughout the sixteenth century, of representing the Terra Australis as one vast continent, of which the parts that had been really discovered were made to protrude to the north as far as the parallel in which these discoveries respectively lay. Thus in this map we have Australia, as already described, on the right side of the map; and the *Island of Santa Cruz* in the New Hebrides, there called Nova Jerusalem, discovered by Quiros, on the left side; but both connected and forming part of the one great Southern Continent.



Facsimile of a portion of a MS. Map in the British Museum.

Now, it may be objected that this map, being only a copy made at the beginning of the present or close of the last century, the statement which forms the subject of the present paper may have been fraudulently inserted. But to give such a suggestion weight, a motive must be shown, the most reasonable one being that of assigning the honour of the first authenticated discovery to Portugal instead of to Holland. For this purpose we must suppose the falsifier to have been a Portuguese. To this I reply, that while all the writing of the map is in Portuguese, the copy was made by a person who was not only not a Portuguese himself, but who was ignorant of the Portuguese language. For example, the very legend in question, short as it is, contains no less than five blunders all showing ignorance

of the language: thus, the words "por Manoel" are written "por mano el," "Eredia" is written "Evedia," "do" is written "de," "Ayres" is written "Aives," "Saldanha" is written "Saldaha" without the circumflex to imply an abbreviation.

But further, if we attribute to such supposed falsification the ulterior object of claiming for the Portuguese the honour of a prior discovery, whence comes it that that object has never been carried out? It is not till now that the fact is made known, and those most interested in the ancient glory of the Portuguese nation are ignorant of the discovery which this map declares to have been made. That it never became matter of history, may be explained by the comparatively little importance which would at the time be attached to such a discovery, and also by the fact that the Portuguese, being then no longer in the fulness of their prosperity, were not keeping the subject before their attention by repeated expeditions to that country, as the Dutch shortly after really began to do.

Again, the speculation might be hazarded that, as this map is a copy, the date of the discovery may have been carelessly transcribed; as, for example, 1601 may easily have been written in the original 1610, and erroneously copied. Fortunately, the correctness of the date can be proved beyond dispute. It is distinctly stated that the voyage was made by order of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha, the period of whose viceroyalty extended only from 1600 to 1604, thus precluding the possibility of the error suggested, and terminating before the period of the earliest of the Dutch discoveries.

But yet, again, it may be objected that a country so vaguely and incorrectly laid down may not have been Australia. The answer is equally as indisputable as that which fixes the date. Immediately below the legend in question is another to the following effect: "Terra descuberta pelos Holandeses a que chamaraõ Enduacht (*sic*) au Cõcordia" (land discovered by the Dutch, which they called Endracht or Concord). Eendraghtsland, as we all know, was the name given to a large tract on the western coast of Australia, discovered by the Dutch ship the Eendraght, in 1616.

Moreover, if the legend in question were not a genuine copy from a genuine ancient map, how came the modern falsifier to be acquainted with the name of a real cosmographer who lived at Goa at a period which tallies with the state of geographical discovery represented on the map, but none of whose manuscript productions had been put into print at the time when the supposed fictitious map was made or the legend fictitiously inserted?

I think these arguments are conclusive in establishing the legitimacy of the

modern copy from the ancient map. As regards the discoverer, Manoel Godinho de Eredia (or rather Heredia, as written by Barbosa Machado and by Figaniere), I find the following work by him: "Historia do Martyrio de Luiz Monteiro Coutinho que padeceo por ordem do Rey Achem Raiamancor no anno de 1588, e dedicada ao illustrissimo D. Aleixo de Menezes, Arcebispo de Braga;" which dedication was dated Goa, 11th of November, 1615; fol. MS. with various illustrations.

Barbosa Machado calls him a distinguished mathematician; and Figaniere, a cosmographer resident at Goa. It follows as a most likely consequence that the original map was made by himself. The copy came from Madrid, and was purchased by the British Museum, in 1848, from the Señor de Michelena y Roxas. It will be matter of interest to discover at some future day the existence of the original map, but whether that be in the library at Madrid, or elsewhere, must be a subject for future inquiry.

In a scarce pamphlet entitled "Informação da Aurea Chersoneso, ou Peninsula e das Ilhas Auríferas, Carbunculas e Aromaticas, ordenada por Manoel Godinho de Eredia, Cosmographo," translated from an ancient MS. and edited by Antonio Lourenço Caminha, in a reprint of the "Ordenações da India, do Senhor Rei D. Manoel," Lisbon, Royal Press, 1807, 8vo., occurs a passage, which may be translated as follows:—

"*Island of Gold.* While the fishermen of Lamakera in the Island of Solor^a were engaged in their fishing, there arose so great a tempest that they were utterly unable to return to the shore, and thus they yielded to the force of the storm which was such, that, in five days, it took them to the Island of Gold, which lies in the sea on the opposite coast, or coast outside of Timor, which properly is called the Southern Coast. When the fishermen reached the Land of Gold, not having eaten during those days of the tempest, they set about seeking for provisions. Such happy and successful good fortune had they, that, while they were searching the country for yams and batatas, they lighted on so much gold, that they loaded their boat so that they could carry no more. After taking in water and the necessary supplies for returning to their native country, they experienced another storm, which took them to the Island of Great Ende;^b there they landed all their gold,

^a The inhabitants of the coast of Solor are specially mentioned as fishermen by Crawford, in his "Dictionary of the Indian Islands."

^b This is the Island of Flores. In a "List of the principal gold mines obtained by the explorations (curiosidade) of Manoel Godinho de Heredia, Indian cosmographer, resident in Malaca for twenty years and more," also published with the "Ordenações da India," Lisbon, 1807, the same story is told, but the Island Ende is there called Ilha do Conde.

which excited great jealousy amongst the Endes. These same Endes therefore proposed, like the Lamacheres fishermen, to repeat the voyage; and, when they were all ready to start, both the Endes and Lamacheres, there came upon them so great a trepidation that they did not dare, on account of their ignorance, to cross that Sea of Gold.

“Indeed it seems to be a providential act of Almighty God, that Manoel Godinho de Eredia, the cosmographer, has received commission from the Lord Count-Admiral, the Viceroy of India within and beyond the Ganges, that the said Eredia may be a means of adding new patrimonies to the Crown of Portugal, and of enriching the said Lord Count and the Portuguese nation. And therefore all, and especially the said Lord, ought to recognize with gratitude this signal service, which, if successful, will deserve to be regarded as one of the most happy and fortunate events in the world for the glory of Portugal. In any case, therefore, the discoverer ought for many reasons to be well provided for the gold enterprize. First, On account of the first possession of the gold by the crown of Portugal. Secondly, For the facility of discovering the gold. Thirdly, Because of the gold mines being the greatest in the world. Fourthly, Because the discoverer is a learned cosmographer. Fifthly, That he may at the same time verify the descriptions of the Southern Islands. Sixthly, On account of the new Christianity. Seventhly, Because the discoverer is a skilful captain who proposes to render very great services to the King of Portugal, and to the most happy Dom Francisco de Gama, Count of Vidigueira, Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies within and beyond the Ganges, and possessor of the gold, carbuncle, and spices of the Eastern Sea belonging to Portugal.”

Short of an actual narrative of the voyage in which the discovery, which is the main subject of this paper, was made, we could scarcely ask for fuller confirmation of the truth of that discovery than that which is supplied by the above extract. Manoel Godinho de Eredia is there described as a learned cosmographer and skilful captain, who had received a special commission to make explorations for gold mines, and at the same time to verify the descriptions of the Southern Islands. The Island of Gold itself is described “as on the opposite coast, or coast outside of Timor, which properly is called the Southern Coast.” It is highly probable from this description that it is the very Nuca Antara of our MS. map, which does lie on the southern coast opposite to Timor. It is still further most remarkable that, by the mere force of facts, the period of the commission here given to Eredia is brought into proximity with the date of his asserted discovery of Australia. The viceroy Francisco de Gama, who gave that commission,

was the immediate predecessor of Ayres de Saldanha. His viceroyalty extended only from 1597 to 1600, and the asserted discovery was made in 1601, though we know not in what month. A more happy confirmation of a discovery, unrecorded except in a probably unique map, could scarcely have been hoped for.

In laying this letter before a Society of Antiquaries, who venerate the past, I would not close without one word of reverent tribute to the ancient glories of a once mighty nation. The true heroes of the world are the initiators of great exploits, the pioneers of great discoveries. Such were the Portuguese in days when the world was as yet but a half known and puny thing. To Portugal, in truth, we owe not only a De Gama, but, by example, a Columbus, without whom the majestic empire of her on whose dominions the sun never sets might now have been a dream, instead of a reality. England, whose hardy mariners have made a thoroughfare of every sea, knows best how to do justice to the fearlessness of their noble predecessors, who, in frail caravels and through an unmeasured wilderness of ocean, could cleave a pathway, not only to the glory of their own nation, but to the civilization and the prosperity of the entire world.

I remain,

My dear Sir Henry,

Yours very truly,

R. H. MAJOR.

To SIR HENRY ELLIS, R.H.

&c. &c. &c.

24
3-

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

[illegible]

DEC 1 - 1925

