XIII.—*Further Facts in the History of the Early Discovery of Australia.* By
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Read 14th March, 1872.

In the year 1861 I had the satisfaction of laying before the Society of Antiquaries, and thereby making known to the world for the first time, the important fact that the great continental island of Australia had been discovered in the year 1601 by a Portuguese navigator, named Manoel Godinho de Eredia. Up to that time the earliest *authenticated* discovery of any part of the great southern land was that made a little to the west and south of Cape York by the commander of the Dutch yacht the *Duyfhen*, or *Dove*, about the month of March 1606. Thus the fact which I announced in 1861 gave a date to the first authenticated discovery of Australia earlier by five years than that which had been previously accepted in history, and transferred the honour of that discovery from Holland to Portugal. The document on which this fact, so entirely new to the world, was based, was a MS. *Mappe-monde* in the British Museum, in which, on the north-west corner of a country which could be shown beyond all question to be Australia, stood a legend in Portuguese to the following effect :—"Nuça antara was discovered in the year 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, by command of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha." This *mappe-monde* had the great disadvantage of being only a copy, possibly made even in the present century, from one the geography of which proved it to be some two centuries older. Still, the mere fact of its being a copy laid it open to a variety of possible objections, which fortunately I was able to forestall by arguments that I believe to be unanswerable, and which I think I need not repeat now, as they are already printed in the "*Archæologia*," vol. xxxviii. I will merely say that I had the good fortune at the time to find a happy confirmation of what was stated in the map in a little printed work which described the discoverer as a learned cosmographer and skilful captain, who had received a special commission from the Viceroy at Goa to make explorations for gold mines, and at the same time to verify the descriptions of the southern islands.

The Viceroy thus mentioned was the immediate predecessor of Ayres de Saldanha, under whose viceroyalty the map declares the discovery to have been made.

I have now the pleasure to announce that within the last few months there has been found in the Royal Burgundian Library at Brussels, by M. Ruelens the Librarian, a valuable batch of original autograph documents by Eredia himself, embodying the official report to King Philip III. of the discovery of Australia in 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Eredia, and accompanied by views, two maps on which Australia is laid down, and portraits. These documents bear the date of 1613. M. Ruelens communicated this discovery to me in November 1871, and I have been since hoping that he would adopt some means of editing these valuable papers, till at length, in the course of the month of February last, I learned from him that His Excellency the Chevalier d'Antas, Portuguese Minister at the Court of Brussels, has procured from his Government an authorization and a credit for their publication under his own care.

The title of this precious manuscript is as follows :—"Declaração de Malacca e India meridional com o Cathay em III Tract. ordenada por Manoel Godinho de Eredia. Dirigida a S. C. R. M. de D. Phelipe Rey de Esp. N. S. (Goa, 1613)." The translation of which is : "Declaration of Malacca and Southern India with Cathay in III Treatises, put in order by Emanuel Godinho de Eredia, and addressed to His Catholic Royal Majesty Don Philip III., King of Spain, Our Sovereign." M. Ruelens in his letter of February says : "J'espère que l'impression du volume pourra commencer sous peu, et je me ferai un devoir de vous en adresser un exemplaire." ^a

Now although I have thought it desirable to lay this announcement before the Society without any longer delay, yet, if, as I trust, the Council should deem the communication worthy of being printed in the "*Archæologia*," I would take the liberty to suggest that the paper be held over until His Excellency the Chevalier d'Antas shall have published the MS., when I would translate those portions which bear upon the subject in question, and so add sinew and muscle to what I am now only able to lay before you in the shape of a skeleton.

But now that I have had the pleasure of announcing to you this happy circumstance of the complete corroboration of what in 1861 I first made known to the world as the earliest authenticated discovery of Australia, I have the satisfaction to inform you that I myself have had the good fortune to make an entirely new discovery, which I shall proceed to relate to you. Till now I have

^a Mr. Ruelens has since published a notice of this manuscript under the title of *La Découverte de l'Australie*, Anvers, 1872, in which will be found a fac-simile of one of the maps.

been speaking to you only of the first *authenticated* discovery of Australia. I use the word *authenticated*, for want of a better, to express discoveries of which we know the date, and the name, if not of the discoverer, at least of the ship in which the discovery was made. But although these can be traced back to no earlier date than 1601, it is a matter of demonstrable certainty that Australia was discovered at least some seventy years before. I have treated fully on this subject in my "Early Voyages to Terra Australis," edited for the Hakluyt Society in 1859, but, as I have now something new to communicate, I will recite to you the points of evidence on which our knowledge of this less distinctly authenticated, but no less certain, fact is based. There are in France two, and in England five, manuscript maps, but all of them French, on which is laid down a large country which I will presently give my reasons for describing as Australia. One of these is anonymous and without a date, but it bears the arms of the Dauphin, and was doubtless executed in the time of Francis I., and probably for his son the Dauphin, afterwards Henry II., who came to the throne in 1547. It formerly belonged to Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford, after whose death it was taken away by one of his servants. It was subsequently purchased by Sir Joseph Banks and presented by him to the British Museum in 1790. The next is a volume, dated 1542, which contains two maps bearing the same evidence. The author is one Jean Rotz, who, although the work is dedicated to Henry VIII., and much of it is written in English, himself declares the King of France to be "Mon Souverin et naturel Seigneur." It is in the Map Collection at the British Museum. The next is an Atlas drawn at Dieppe in 1547, and in the collection of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham. At the beginning of the century it was in the possession of Prince Talleyrand. Another is a map of which M. Jomard gave a fac-simile in his "Monuments de la Géographie," and which he describes as a "Mappemonde peinte sur parchemin par ordre de Henri II. Roi de France," but which I suspect from its bearing the arms of the Dauphin to have been made before that sovereign's accession. Another is a superb map by Pierre Desceliers of Arques, near Dieppe, bearing the date of 1550, of which the British Museum gained possession by purchase in 1861. The last is a map in a Portulano at the Dépôt de la Guerre, Paris, drawn for Admiral Coligny in 1555 by Guillaume le Testu, a pilot of Havre de Grace. On all these maps, with one exception, 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 (Great Java). 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. In one of the maps, however, in the volume of Jean Rotz, dated 1542, a striking exception to this rule occurs, for while agreeing with all the rest in the delineation of the northern portion of this great country, named in them Jave la Grande, but by him "the Londe of Java," the coast line both on the east and west side of that country ceases at points which present remarkable evidence that they represent actual discoveries. For example, the southernmost point at which the western coast line terminates is in 35 degrees, the real latitude of the south-western point of Australia. The eastern coast line 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 coast line is much greater than that of the western ; but what I principally want to call your attention to is that this country is on this map absolutely severed from the great imaginary Terra Australis. This individual map is too small to bear any legend beyond the name "the Londe of Java," but all the others bear inscriptions indicative of real discovery, such as the names of bays and rivers, coasts, &c. Le Testu's map, also, though not showing this severance, bears legends which distinguish the discovered from the undiscovered parts. 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. I will observe, however, that the dangers existing on the north-east coast of Australia are distinctly laid down on these maps, and that the discovery of New Zealand is clearly indicated.

I think, then, from what I have here recited to you as to the peculiarities of these maps, you will agree with me in the conclusion that in those early times Australia was really and truly discovered. In no printed book or manuscript, however, have I found the slightest trace of descriptive confirmation of the circumstances of the discovery ; and the date of it, as you have seen, is entirely left to inference from the maps themselves. Eleven years ago I offered the

conjecture that what I thought to be the earliest of them, viz., the so-called Dauphin map, might possibly be carried as far back as 1530, but mere conjecture in these matters is always very unsatisfactory. I have now, however, to announce to you the following remarkable fact. There has recently fallen into the possession of the British Museum, by purchase, a small map of the world, entitled "*Nova et integra universi orbis descriptio*," laid down on a stereographic projection, but each hemisphere drawn in the eccentric shape of a heart. On the southern hemisphere is delineated that great southern land which is almost universally in sixteenth-century maps made to surround the whole southern pole, the recognisable starting point of which is the north of *Tierra del Fuego*, discovered by Magalhaens in 1519, though Cape Horn, its southern point, was not discovered till a century later by Schouten. On this great land is laid down the inscription "*Terra Australis recenter inventa sed nondum plene cognita*." So much of all this is of necessity imaginary, that it might be supposed that the said inscription bore reference solely to Magalhaens discovery, and that fiction supplied the whole of the rest. But here I would invite your attention to the fact that in the longitude of Australia, which you will detect by reference to the position of Java to the north-west, are two indications, vague if you will, but yet very suggestive indications of actual discovery. The one is the representation of a vast gulf, suggestive of the Gulf of Carpentaria, the other the presence of a distinct name for the country, viz., "*Regio Patalis*." I think it must be conceded that there seems intention in all this. Indeed, so strong is this semblance, and so remarkable the coincidence with our present knowledge, that we may truly say, with the Italians, "*Se non è vero, è ben trovato*." Moreover, you will observe that to the south of the said *Regio Patalis* is a curious indication of the termination of land. You have already seen that on the MS. maps which I have described to you the same vast southern land starting from *Tierra del Fuego* is depicted, but still leaving unimpaired the fact that in its own proper longitude the true Australia is recognisable. The engraved map differs from them very materially, inasmuch as, though bearing a name on the assumed Australia, it does not carry the same legends, of which in them there are several, and it is very far indeed from being so definite in geographical delineation; but that which it does exhibit, and which is of the greatest importance, is the remarkable date of 1531, a very early date indeed for any engraved map, but specially remarkable in one presenting such indications as these. I need scarcely say that I have made great search, both in likely and unlikely places, for any elucidation of the name of *Regio Patalis*. The chances of success, under the circumstances, were naturally but small, and the search has

been fruitless. The name of the author is given on the map, at the head of an address to the reader, in this form: "Orontius F. Delph.," an abbreviation for Orontius Finæus Delphinus, *i.e.* Oronce Finé of Dauphiné. It is a name that I have known for more than a quarter of a century as that of a celebrated astronomer and mathematician, a native of Briançon, born in 1494, and deceased in 1555, the maker of a remarkable clock, now in the Library of St. Geneviève, in Paris.* I have also been cognizant of a map of the world bearing his name, brought out in 1566, eleven years after his death, but which, being posterior to the French MS. maps already described, presented no special claims on my attention. I have also seen it stated that an edition of Pomponius Mela, of 1540, is illustrated by a map of the world by him, not improbably a duplicate of that now in question, but as the copy in the Museum does not contain the map, and consequently I have never seen it, it was impossible for me to predict what story it might tell.

A very natural objection might at first sight be raised against the application to Australia of this country named Regio Patalis, that the name Brasilies occurs on a part of the imaginary great Terra Australis too far to the west to meet with a counterpart in reality, but I think this objection will disappear when I inform you that on the north-west side of the Grande Jave of all the MS. maps, also occurs the name "Baye Bresille;" while to look for accuracy in longitude in the year 1531, on a map where the hemisphere is formed in the shape of a heart, would be scarcely a reasonable expectation. But now I have to submit to your judgment some conclusions of my own from these dates, which are of a very startling character. You will have noticed that the MS. maps which exhibit this unauthenticated discovery of Australia in the sixteenth century are all French, but as the legends on all of them were sufficiently similar to show a common origin, and were in a language that looked like Gallicized Portuguese, as for example, "Terre ennegade" for "Terra anegada," "Submerged land;" "Baie basse" for "Bahia baja," "Low Bay;" "Cap de Fremose" for "Cabo Feroso," "Handsome Cape;" I argued thirteen years ago the high probability that the original discovery was Portuguese, not only because the Portuguese predominated at that time in those seas, but because Frenchmen would undoubtedly not record Portuguese names on a country which they had themselves discovered. Meanwhile, amid the scanty details handed down to us of French explorations in the Southern Seas, one fact was known as an indisputable

* For an account of his dials and clocks by Mr. Octavius Morgan, see *Archæologia*, vol. XXXIV. p. 259.

certainty, viz., that in the year 1529 a Dieppese, named Jean Parmentier, had made a voyage to Sumatra, and in that voyage died. He was accompanied therein by his intimate friend the poet Pierre Crignon, who, on his return to France, published in 1531 the poems of Parmentier, in the prologue to which he says that "Parmentier was apparently the first Frenchman who had discovered the Indies as far as Sumatra, and, if death had not prevented him, I believe he would have gone as far as the Moluccas." This did not look very favourable for anything like French claims to the discovery of the country laid down on these remarkable MS. maps. Then, as regarded the Portuguese, their exclusiveness was such that in a document preserved to us by Ramusio, relating also to Parmentier's voyage, Pierre Crignon, the probable author, says, "They seem to have drunk of the dust of the heart of King Alexander, for they seem to think that God made the sea and the land only for them, and, if they could have locked up the sea from Finisterre to Iceland, it would have been done long ago." With such facts as these before my mind, I think I may be excused for having advocated the high probability that the Portuguese were the discoverers of the land laid down on these maps, and that the maps had been made by French cartographers from some Portuguese original, of which they had been fortunate enough to gain possession. This opinion was certainly shared by Captain Matthew Flinders, by Alexander Dalrymple, the Hydrographer to the Admiralty and East India Company, and by M. Barbié du Bocage, which last wrote a memoir on the Talleyrand map, now in Sir Thomas Phillipps's collection.

Still there remained the inexorable fact that all these MS. maps were French, and the new appearance of the discovery of Australia on this engraved map of Oronce Finé, himself also a Frenchman, caused me very seriously to reconsider my old conclusion; and I began to attach more value than I had hitherto done to the fact that on a magnificent Portuguese portulano in the British Museum, by Diogo Homem, of the date of 1558—a date sufficiently late for the purpose—not the slightest indication of Australia is laid down. The thought then presented itself to my mind that, *cæteris paribus*, it was far more reasonable that on French maps the legends should be French than Gallicized Portuguese, and the question arose whether it was possible for them to be French, even though not, as Chaucer would say, "Frenche of Paris." Several of them indeed were really in genuine French, as, for example, "Rivière de beaucoup d'isles;" "Coste dangereuse," on that really dangerous N.E. coast; "Coste des Herbaiges," &c. I now set myself to see whether the supposed Portuguese legends might not prove to belong to some of those branches of the old Langue Romane which prevailed

in the South of France from Gascony to Provence. The result has been the discovery that every one of them which is decipherable belongs to the language of Provence, and two of them are deserving of somewhat special notice. In one of them—namely, Coste de Gracal—we have a word which exists in Provençal, and means a bowl or cup, the equivalent of “Graal” in the famous word “sangraal,” but for which, though it would, and did, bear to a pre-occupied mind a Portuguese aspect, no equivalent is found in the Portuguese dictionary at all. In another legend, Baye de Gao, we have a word meaning in Provençal “a cock,” and applied by the people of the Bouches du Rhône to a kind of crab, the *coq de mer*, or Cock of the sea, so called from the form of its claws. Two of the maps are Dieppese, and this will account for the false grammar of one of the legends “Cap de Fremose,” which in the Provençal map would, I doubt not, stand in true Provençal “Cap Fermoze,” or handsome cape, the Dieppese copyist being naturally ignorant of the southern language. I may incidentally state, not as an argument, but merely as a suggestive fact, that two of the MS. maps, in common with the engraved map of Oronce Finé, himself a native of Dauphiné, bear the arms of the Dauphin as well as those of the King, and the contiguity of Dauphiné to Provence makes me strongly suspect the likelihood of their having been originally made by men of Dauphiné. At all events, from what I have now stated to you, I think there only remains the inevitable conclusion that Australia was discovered by Frenchmen, and chiefly by the men of Provence, in or before the year 1531.

If anybody asks me how it came to pass that I, who have had this subject of Australia before my thoughts for nearly twenty years, could have remained in this state of misapprehension all that time, I can merely reply that, for reasons which I have recounted to you, my mind was pre-occupied with the belief that the discoverers were Portuguese, and thus all idea of looking for them in another country was precluded. Meanwhile the French themselves, who were unquestionably the earliest rivals of the Portuguese in South Sea explorations, have put forth no claim to the discovery of Australia, except in the one single case of a voyage by one Binot Paulmier de Gonneville in 1503, which is utterly untenable, and which good French critics have themselves acknowledged to apply to Madagascar, and more lately to Brazil, but certainly not to Australia. Of one thing I am quite sure, that the omission to make such a claim would never result from any deficiency of patriotic zeal. But when I state to you that three Frenchmen of distinction, viz., M. C. Coquebert Montbret in 1803, M. Frédéric Metz in 1805, and M. Barbié du Bocage in 1807, wrote three several

dissertations on these important French MS. maps, not only without entertaining the slightest idea that they represented French discoveries, but two of them took the legends specially in question to be Portuguese, I, an Englishman, may fairly be excused for not having my suspicions awakened. M. Frédéric Metz, however, objects that if the Portuguese had really visited Australia we should know the name of the intrepid navigator and the date of the voyage. In like manner it may be said to me that if the French had really made the discovery now attributed to them, we should have known the name of the navigator and the date of the voyage. In reply I beg to remind you that this very evening I have had the honour to announce to you that only just now in Belgium has been found the documentary confirmation of that first authenticated discovery in 1601 by Manoel Godinho de Heredia, of which the Portuguese themselves were entirely unaware until I had the good fortune to be able to make it known to the world 260 years later. I have now only to wait in the patient hope that a similar corroboration may some day be found of that earlier discovery, the indications of which I have now had the honour to submit to your consideration; and I will merely say, in addition, that should such confirmation ever present itself, I earnestly trust that it may not take the shape of an infamous French forgery, such as that which I had the pain of exposing in my "Life of Prince Henry the Navigator," with respect to pretended early discoveries by the French on the West Coast of Africa. Such vile attempts can only serve to throw a momentary tarnish on the glory of a noble nation, which has in reality too much to be proud of to deserve to be slandered by the falsehood of any of her children.