James Cook and the *Endeavour* at Botany Bay and Cooktown

I am honoured to speak to you today in this place that rightly bears the name of James Cook. Many years ago Manning Clark told me that an historian always needs a good pair of boots to enable him to walk on the place he wanted to write about. It is good to be here even without boots which must be worn in my mind as I contemplate the surroundings of the entrance, the river, the shore with its place of landing and repair, the mountains and above all the place of reconciliation even if there is a lack of certainty as to its exact location. All is here about us still and much remains as Cook saw it. Thus a great legacy lies upon us. We must ensure that the generations of the future can also step here and know that Cooktown and all that the name means is preserved into posterity.

I will begin by saying a few words about Cook even though he was reticent about his own feelings. This voyage was his first important command and his future in the Navy depended largely on how he carried it out. Although he could share his thoughts in some measure with Banks and perhaps one or two others, the responsibility for the safety of everyone aboard his vessel and their eventual arrival home was his alone. So far all had gone well. No one had died of scurvy and any casualty was due to mishaps over which he had no control. Thus the safe deliverance of the *Endeavour* from total shipwreck on the reef was assuredly a source of immense relief to Cook. In a guarded but real manner he had admitted to a lack of prudence in pressing on among the coral reefs.

Press on he had done with drastic results but that a safe harbour ‘very convenient for our purpose’ was close did not move him to express surprise, thankfulness or any emotion whatever. We however can take note of one thing. Had the near tragedy of the encounter with the reef not taken place, Cook would probably not have come into the river. Thus we would know little more today of the Aborigines in 1770 than that learnt in Botany Bay.

Some further matters come to mind. So far Cook’s voyage had failed in its two main objectives. The Transit of Venus had not been successfully observed and the Great South Land had not been discovered as he had wisely conjectured would be the case. Certainly New Zealand had been well and thoroughly charted and a good deal had been gained in knowledge of its people. But what then remained? One thing only and that was to get home, but which way would he opt to sail there from New Zealand? He could return on his tracks by sailing east; head west below Van Diemen’s Land and return home via the Cape or he could strike out for an unknown coast north of where Tasman had sailed east from Van Diemen’s Land in 1642.

Nothing new would be achieved by choosing either of the first two routes so, after a discussion with his officers, he decided to venture on the unknown even though he knew that there was little hope that he would make any discovery of value by charting the east coast of New Holland. His one hope seems to have been to settle any remaining argument as to whether Torres Strait actually existed.

Given the prejudiced first attitude to the Aborigines formed by Cook and Banks from reading Dampier’s account of meeting the Aborigines on the west coast in 1688 it is useful to look at it briefly. They naturally saw only the published account but the manuscript version held in the British Library does not have the grossly negative description so often quoted and especially the words claiming they were ‘the miserablest People in the world.’ Either Dampier was enticed to colour his manuscript or the ‘colour’ was added later by his editor or publisher.

Dampier was short of provisions and he tried to contact the Aborigines who would not have anything to do with him and his crew which dashed his hope of bartering with them. They had no houses, grain, cattle, cats, dogs or fowl. No wild beasts were seen except the track of one which might have been a kangaroo. They lived on the produce of the sea, but used weirs rather than nets or hooks to catch fish and swam between the numerous small islands, having no canoes. Rather like the people of the Endeavour River they lay behind boughs at night to keep the wind from them and moved from weir to weir bearing no household goods and wearing only grass or small branches as covering. Their weapons were spears without barbs and formed with stone.
The physical description of the Aborigines is the same as that of the easterners except for the removal of two fore teeth, apparently in infancy. Another difference is that Dampier came close to the women who, with the children, were afraid of him. Four men who were forcibly brought aboard the ship took no notice of anything they saw although they devoured the food they were offered. Exactly as had occurred at Botany Bay and at the Endeavour River, the natives of the West had no interest in any of the possessions of the whites.

It is small wonder, given Dampier’s unenthusiastic account, that the British showed no interest in the western part of New Holland. The Dutch, having charted most of the rest of the vast land mass, made no claim for it. Despite taking possession at several parts of the coast Cook’s principal objectives were to chart it he east coast, make a passage to Batavia and return home safely. All we can do is concentrate on human contact to which I turn happily and especially so in respect of the Endeavour River. Others will of course tell us about the wonderful world of natural history found about us here.

We begin, as Cook did, at Botany Bay on 28 April 1770. As you know the relations between Cook and his men with the Aborigines, as well as of the reaction of the Aborigines to them, are detailed principally in the Journals of James Cook, Joseph Banks, Sydney Parkinson and James Matra. They give us a basis for a comparison between the events in Botany Bay and those experienced later at the Endeavour River.

The expectation was that ready contact would be made with the Aborigines which had happened in the Society Islands although there had been previous contact there. Tupia, highly intelligent and a former chief at Tahiti, conversed comfortably with the Maoris and there was some hope, unfounded in the event, that the same would apply to the Aborigines. Perhaps this prompted Cook to remark that he had learnt very little from his week in Botany Bay and he wrote ‘we could but know very little of their customs as we never were able to make any connections with them.’

Perhaps the most striking thing we glean from the Journals is that the Aborigines wished to have no contact with their clearly unwonted visitors. Indeed their main objective, spelt out without equivocation several times, was to persuade their unwanted visitors to depart immediately. Although the initial response of two men to the landing was one of remarkable bravery and tenacity, it can only be explained by their determination to resist at all costs. This kind of negative behaviour was repeated on every possible occasion; they refused to come close to the whites; they spurned every effort to communicate in any way; they would have no truck with any gifts left for them.

Furthermore, their belligerence was unwearied and the request to lead the whites to water was rejected despite the Aborigines awareness that it was vital for life. Their fear, indeed horror of the whites, seemed sufficient to cause the adult males to desert the elderly and children and leave them to the mercy of the whites. Mere cowardice cannot explain that act. Sheer horror and desperation might do so.

Can these reactions be due solely to inherent hostility towards strangers? Can the lack of interest displayed in the presence of the Endeavour be explained by ignorance, heedlessness or what appeared to be a determined concentration on fishing? What then of total disinterest both in the persons of the whites and of the rejection of all the objects pressed upon them, including some few that could have proved to be useful?

Perhaps the reason for such behaviour is that the Aborigines had already seen vessels not unlike the Endeavour and that the encounter with their crews had been violent. Had that occurred in living memory their reactions to this visit is explicable. If in the remote past, could it not have been remembered in the Dreaming? Thus their initial reaction on this occasion would not be indifference but fear, if not horror, which would explain the immediate reaction of rejection and belligerence. We might even ask why it came about that, apart from an elderly woman, not a single meeting with a female was recorded? Had experience taught the Aborigines to conceal their females from strangers?

Cook’s behaviour and that of his crew at Botany Bay as judged by the Journals, and also by the then prevailing standards of conduct among many Europeans to natives, seems to have been exemplary. Cook was constantly courteous, open and even generous with the so-called presents. No sign of a reciprocal gesture was given. There is no evidence that any member of the crew acted badly and Hicks did his best to approach unarmed. Unlike in New Zealand, there was no loss of life and Cook was
careful to avoid wounding an Aboriginal in any serious manner, despite the repeated acts of provocation. Apart from taking a considerable number of spears which was done in defence rather than scientific curiosity, nothing of real value, such as a canoe, was taken from them. Fish and shell fish were abundant in the bay, as were sting rays, but Parkinson felt that the very presence of the *Endeavour* and its crew caused the Aborigines to be ‘constrained by hunger’ when they were forced to fish in the shallows away from the ship and to do so even before dawn. Yet the overall negative reaction to the presence of the whites took place before there was any evidence of competition for food.

The weaponry used by the Aborigines bears noting. A passage in Cook’s Journal on 6 May, which he deleted, runs, ‘The arms we saw among them were darts or offensive weapons (some of which were barbed with fish bones stuck on with gum) and wooden swords (womeras), their defensive weapon is a Target made of the bark of the gum tree’. No boomerangs were seen so that the main offensive weapon was the spear or ‘dart. The fact that ‘fish bones stuck on with gum’ formed the offensive section of the spear clearly indicates that, given its frailty, it was used for fishing rather than hunting game such as kangaroos, much less killing enemies. 

Banks and Parkinson both called habitations ‘houses’. This gives the impression that they were built for some degree of semi-permanency, which was probably not unusual in coastal areas with an abundance of sea food. This makes it even harder to understand why the Aborigines so readily fled from their homes, which one must imagine, together with their canoes, were of some value to them.

Despite the paucity of the knowledge gained at Botany Bay, Cook was moved to cause ‘the English Colours to be displayed ashore every day and an inscription to be cut out upon one of the trees near the watering place setting forth the Ship’s name, date, etc.’ Cook does not say that he did likewise at the Endeavour River.

In part there is a striking similarity between the impression made upon earlier Europeans when they first encountered a new people to that made upon Cook and his men on our coast. Pedro Álvares Cabral, in command of a large Portuguese fleet left Lisbon in 1550 to go around Africa and thence to India. In so doing, he came upon the coast of Brazil. As happened at both Botany Bay and at the Endeavour River, the complete nakedness of all they met struck the Portuguese forcibly, ‘They were quite dark and naked,’ although some were in part painted. Also ‘The innocence of this people was such that that of Adam could not have been greater.’ They had no iron tools but ‘cut their wood and boards with stones’ and they neither tilled the earthy nor bred stock. ’ Their food was mainly manioc and ‘the seeds and the fruits which the earth and trees produce.’ Nonetheless, ‘they are stronger and better fed than we are with all the wheat and vegetables we eat.’

James Matra also wrote a Journal on the *Endeavour* which J. C. Beaglehole accepted as authentic and it is hard to explain why so little use has been made of it by students of Cook. American-born and well educated, Matra signed on as a ‘young gentleman’ and later promoted to full midshipman rank on the voyage. He left Navy and in 1787 became the English Consul General at Tangier, acting there as Ambassador on several occasions and dying in 1806.

In his account of first meeting the Aborigines, Matra says that two ‘natives’ armed with spears and shields ‘resolutely opposed our disembarkation. Until being wounded by our shot, and unsupported by any of their countrymen, they retreated slowly to their houses within the bushes, but constantly faced us the whole way. This they did to gain time for their wives to remove themselves with their children, with their domestic and culinary utensils farther into the woods, and when this was done they hastily retreated themselves.’ Clearly Matra judged the behaviour of the natives in an entirely different and more chivalrous light than that in the other accounts. He thought the men protected their families and only departed once they believed them to be hidden safely from the men of the *Endeavour*.

Describing the habitations as ‘wretchedly built’ Matra was careful to insist that the Aborigines, although naked and black nevertheless ‘differed from the negroes of Africa’ in that their hair was long and straight, instead of having ‘wool on their heads’. At the time Africans were regarded as the lowest form of human life and his differentian meant that he regarded the Aborigines as on a higher level. His description of their weapons and canoes is consistent with the others, as is his conclusion that the Aborigines lived ‘chiefly on fish’ they showed no interest in the presents given to them.
Matra also describes a semi-warlike incident in which the Aborigines challenged ‘us to battle’. A group of whites were fishing close to the shore and, clearly having counted them, the same number of Aborigines presented themselves, armed, and ready to fight. On being refused, they selected two only of their own ‘and challenged as many of us to fight them’ but, once this proposal was rejected ‘they all retired.’ Soon afterwards several came to the shore and an officer fired ‘a musket loaded with a ball into a tree at some distance.’ This feat evidently so delighted the Aborigines that they persuaded him to repeat the act ‘which he did, and they soon after retired apparently well pleased.’

In the immediate aftermath twenty-two armed Aborigines followed part of the crew through the ‘woods’. A mariner suggested an imprudent ‘scheme to entrap some of the Indians, which had near proved fatal.’ The idea was to approach the Aborigines as closely as possible and then, ‘feigning a fright’ to run from them with the hope that they might entice them to a pursuit and thus afford the opportunity ‘of surrounding and taking some of them.’ The opposite happened in that, as soon as the crew began to run from the Aborigines, they were showered with a hail of spears none of which it seems met their intended mark. Matra says that ‘After this attack, they all precipitately retired to the woods; and we, collecting their spears, returned with them to our ship.’

To accept Matra’s account as true forces us to conclude that the summation of the Aborigines of Botany Bay by Banks was grossly wide of the mark in one respect at least. Banks said that he went ‘botanizing’ in the bush without any fear ‘as our neighbours have turned out such rank cowards.’ On the contrary their behaviour in respect of armed combat bore a remarkable resemblance to that of the fabled knights of feudal times. The Aborigines were prepared to fight fairly and on equal terms without prejudice to the non-combatants. Furthermore, it is surely difficult to reconcile the lack of accuracy with their spears in this encounter in that not a single spear met its mark. At the Endeavour River both Cook and Banks were almost in awe of the accuracy of the Aborigines with their spears. Why should those of Botany Bay lack the same skill? Could it have been that, in order to avoid further conflict and deaths, they were deliberately inaccurate?

Matra’s treatment of the time spent at the Endeavour River was clearly written hastily and with a lack of sound judgement and was probably written well after the events recounted. The people were ‘low of stature’ ‘small and slender in shape, but very active’ with ‘flat noses, thick lips, and bandy legs, like the negroes of Guinea.’ They were also ‘ignorant, poor, and destitute’; ‘strangers’ to bread which they would not eat, ‘naked and slovenly’ although he admits that ‘we saw none of their women.’ He skims over the conflict caused by the refusal to share the turtles and concentrates on the attempt by the Aborigines to burn the fishing nets and linen. ‘Captain Cooke (sic) wounded several of them…but a few hours after they returned peacefully.’

To compare the Aborigines of the Endeavour River with those of Botany Bay is a task one undertakes with hesitation. However, one factor in particular needs to be considered. That some contact with other peoples had been made by the Guugu Yimithirr before the arrival of the Endeavour seems probable. The structure of their canoes, even though only one was seen, being fitted with outriggers indicates this unless they evolved there separately. The people of the Torres Strait islands certainly went to sea with canoes fitted with outriggers and also sails. The same applies to the people of the East Indies, at least for coastal fishing. There is no evidence that canoes with sails were seen at the Endeavour River and Cook was clear in his own mind that the local canoes were incapable of true sea going ventures.

It is clear that in many respects Cook and those with him regarded the Guugu Yimithirr people as culturally advanced on the southerners. Yet there were very little differences between them. The weapons used by both were much the same although those in the North may have been more deadly. While neither built ‘huts’ or ‘houses’ that were structurally sound, it does seem that in the South the Aborigines made constant use of such structures while in the North there is no evidence of their living in them at the time of Cook’s visit. On the contrary, the Northerners used flimsy wind breaks and slept on grass beds on the ground. The difference in the winter and early spring temperatures possibly accounts for this variation.

None of our Journalists remarks on any marked physical differences between the two groups so that, essentially, they were regarded as the one people. Both painted their bodies in somewhat the same manner while in the North forms of bodily scarring, presumably of a ritualistic kind, were common among the adult males. Their teeth were the same, but piercing the nose in the North was widespread.
Both sexes went about unclothed although some slight evidence of temporarily covering their genitals among males in the North was noticed.

No close contact was ever made with married or nubile females in either place except for one elderly woman in Botany Bay. But the most notable difference was that, while children were seen and even met regularly in the south, there is not a single instance of even seeing a child in the North although it was obvious at one camp that the children had been playing there shortly before the arrival of Banks and two others.

The absence of contact with children perhaps may be explained by the much longer time gap between the first sightings of the whites by the Aborigines. At Botany Bay the Aborigines had no time to prepare and hence take precautions before the *Endeavour* moored although the lighting of fires along the coasts in the days preceding the landing might indicate that some pre-knowledge was available. In the North over two weeks passed before first contact. During that time plans could have been made to hide the women and children. Yet this does not fully explain why no woman except the elderly lady in question was ever seen at a close pass. It is difficult to accept that the women were always occupied gathering seeds and plants in the bush, and hence unseen, when the whites were in the vicinity. The aborigines had no way of knowing that the whites were able to see them at a distance through their glasses.

It would seem that ‘Warra warra wai’ was the only expression recorded at Botany Bay and whether it meant ‘Go away’ is uncertain. Thus no comparison can be made between the languages used there with that at the Endeavour River on which Parkinson dwelt at some length. He said that it was not harsh but distinctly articulated and ‘made with a great motion of their lips.’ The only word that ‘we could distinguish, to accord with the Otahitean language’ was *Aipa* and the Aborigines seemed to have repeated it as ‘a mark of dissent.’ However, not being certain of its meaning, he omits *Apia* in his vocabulary which contains over 200 words dealing with parts of the human body, the birds, animals, plants, natural features, utensils, weapons and human acts. Only nine names are given, obviously all male and Yaparico seems to have been the first name of a person recorded by the whites which surely makes him memorable. Their voices were also regarded as ‘soft and tunable’ by Cook although no singing is recorded. He also said that ‘they could easily repeat many words after us.’ Banks recorded about 50 Guugu Yimithirr words, including the Aboriginal ganggurru which he transcribed as Kanguru. Cook recorded it as Kangooroo or Kanguru.

There is no mention of the use of fire at Botany Bay but at the Endeavour River Cook was intrigued by the way in which fire was used to clear the land and he concluded that it was used in some way for the taking of the kangaroo.’ He also gives a vivid description of how fires were spread by ‘one of these planters of fire’ who would run swiftly along holding ‘a small spark in dry grass, which, when he had run a little way, having been fanned by the air that his motion produced, began to blaze; he then laid it down in a place convenient for his purpose, inclosing a spark of it in another quantity of grass, and so continued his course.’

Bill Gammage’s book, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia,* was launched last week. Bill argues that much of Australia was shaped over the centuries before 1788 by the manner in which its people used fire to create a pleasing and gracious landscape. To illustrate this Bill reproduced an engraving of Sydney Parkinson’s sketch ‘A view of Endeavour River’ which he drew here in July 1770. There is a mountain with trees and grass on the right while the hill below is mostly grass with a line of trees along its summit. Then there is a dense forest on the shore line which gives way to cleared space for Cook’s camp. Behind it well spaced lines of young trees run up And along the hills in lanes while on the left is an open shore. The Blady Grass on the left covers most of Grassy Hill which was Cook’s name for it. He climbed the hill on 19 June when it must have been cleared by fire otherwise Cook would not have been able to look out from it. We cannot do so today. From there he ‘had a perfect view of the inlet or River ...the low lands near the River is all over run with mangroves.’ Then on 16 July, this time from ‘one of the high hills on the north side of the River’ where the land must also have been fired, he ‘had an extensive view of the inland country which consisted of hills and vallies and large planes agreeably diversified with woods and lawns.’

The most remarkable difference in contact was that between outright rejection in Botany Bay while at the Endeavour River an initial period of shyness, reluctance, prudence and an understandable suspicion of the motives of the whites was followed by acceptance, open and warm relations and a readiness to
act on trust. However there is one episode that mars this period of happy relations which stems from the refusal to share turtles with the Aborigines. Clearly they regarded the turtles as belonging to them. They were treasured as an item of food but a large part of the year had to pass before they were caught when they came ashore to lay their eggs. The Aborigines must have been astonished to see how they were caught in largish numbers by Cook’s crew. This occurred once a period of mutual understanding and trust had been arrived at, which makes it more difficult to comprehend why Cook especially could not bring himself to share even one turtle with them. Banks’s explanation that the turtle was the one thing ‘we were the least able to spare them’ rings hollow. Banks refers to them as ‘our good friends’ before the incident and even afterwards he calls them ‘our friends.’ To be willing to share such a desirable foodstuff as turtles would seem to have been an ideal way of demonstrating friendship.

The fact that Cook was also the purser on the Endeavour needs to be taken into account. Whenever it was possible to obtain food freely, rather than by barter, he benefited in that no drain was made on his accounts. That he would attempt to profit to some degree by virtue of his role as purser casts no reflection on him. Furthermore, as captain, his primary responsibility was to his crew and long leagues as sea still lay before them and fresh food, especially meat. When we consider why the British took fifteen years to make possession of eastern New Holland a reality it is useful to remember that in a mercantile age the lack of any hope of engaging in barter for or purchase of worthwhile goods was a huge barrier to action.

Nonetheless, the most pleasing fact is that, despite the short period of hostility at the Endeavour River, amicable relations were resumed almost immediately after a ‘little old man’ came in peace to Cook and to his men. In the aftermath of this experience the episode of one of the crew straying from his companions, being amicably treated by the Aborigines and assisted to walk in the correct direction back to the Endeavour testifies further to the genuine character of a relationship that enriched those involved.

Were any one Aborigine to be thought of as representing the grand courtesy of the Northerners in their interaction with Cook and his crew, the ‘little old man’ is our man. He must have persuaded his companions that further resistance was futile and that to seek peace and amity was imperative. He knew the force of Cook’s arms and could only trust that his peaceful approach would be seen and accepted as such. His courage and strength of character belied his physical frailty and he stands nobly as an exemplar of true and lasting relations between all Australians.

In concluding Cook said that the Aborigines were not ‘a war like people, on the contrary I think them a timorous and inoffensive race, no ways inclinable to cruelty.’ They were few in number without ‘fixed habitation’ but living in ‘mean small hovels not much bigger than an oven.’ He criticized the structure of their canoes and also remarked that ‘we never saw one inch of cultivated land in the whole country.’ The generous captain then launched into his famous eulogy of the ‘Natives of New Holland’ who, in his estimation ‘are far more happier than we Europeans’ and ‘think themselves provided with all the necessaries of life and that they have no superfluities.’

Banks wanted to give a better account of his Indians’ than Dampier, ‘the only man I know of who has seen them besides us.’ He decided that Dampier ‘either was very much mistaken in his account or else that he saw a very different race of people from those we have seen.’ This immense land, larger than Europe, was ‘thinly inhabited’ and more than thirty inhabitants were never seen gathered together in the one place. Although only seen from afar women were generally employed in some laborious occupation as fetching wood, gathering shell fish etc. He also decided the way of life of the Aborigines were nearly the same throughout the whole length of the coast although the canoes made by the northern Aborigines were ‘far superior’ to those made in the south. Furthermore, in every place they were apparently ‘ignorant of the arts of cultivation’, and as a consequence the inland, lacking marine life and hence food for humans, was uninhabited. ‘These people seemed to have no idea of traffic, nor could we teach them’ and they received willingly what they were given but returned little in exchange with the exception of one small fish. Nonetheless, they never stole anything and asked openly for whatever they wanted, bearing a refusal with equanimity except in the matter of turtles.

Thus it would seem that forms of barter, widely practised among the Aborigines, were not entertained as having any use in respect of the whites who, in their estimation, had nothing worthwhile to barter. The Aborigines clearly believed that the turtles belonged rightly to them so that barter did not enter into the matter.
Banks also has his own eulogy, even if somewhat more restrained than Cook’s. He concluded with, ‘Thus live these I had almost said happy people, content with little nay almost nothing’ and ‘From them appear how small are the wants of human nature, which we Europeans have increased to an excess which would certainly appear incredible to these people could they be told of it.’ As examples of these excesses he instances the ‘Luxuries’ which have degenerated into necessities, such as ‘strong liquors, tobacco, spices, tea, etc.’

I conclude by restating that Throughout the whole period of the stay at the Endeavour River there is no evidence that Cook and his crew generally acted in any way contrary to the higher dictates of civility among fellow human being. Today it is impossible to compare the richness of the relations with the people of the Endeavour River to those that seem to have been of a generally sterile and negative nature experienced at Botany Bay. Comparisons indeed are often sterile and to ascribe to the people of Botany Bay any unworthy characteristics without the means to understand why they acted as they did would be to demean them. Nonetheless the Guugu Yimithirr of the Endeavour river area and the people of the Endeavour set before us a pattern of dignified and precious human relations that should be indelibly etched into the consciousness of all Australians. This relationship was formed at and about modern day Cooktown rather than at Botany Bay. Justice and history demand that we recognize and make known this fact.

John Molony Emeritus Faculty, 15 October 2010

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1 Cook, 17 August, 1770 wrote in his Journal ‘I must own I have engaged more among the Islands and shoals upon this coast than may be thought with ‘Prudence I ought to have done with a single ship312 in J.C. Beaglehole, (ed), The Voyage Of The Endeavour, Cambridge, 1955, p. 380.
2 Ibid., Cook, 14 June, 1770, p. 348
3 See BL Sloan MS 3236 [ff. 233] [Title on binding] Dampier’s Adventures in Darien Etc. [Written at beginning of ms] The Adventures of William Dampier with others who Left Capn. Sherpe in the South Seas and traveled back over Land through the Country of Darien. [begins in 17 April 1681 – embarking from island of Plata for St Maria River – and end in 1690 with return to England] Ff. 220-223
4 Ibid., Cook, 6 May, 1770, p. 312
6 Cook, 6 May, 1770, p. 312 in The Voyage
7 The source for Caminha’s letter to the King of Portugal is William Brooks Greenlee (trans.) The Voyages of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, Hakluyt Society, London, 1937.
9 Ibid., pp. v to xv
10 Ibid., p. 110 Despite being a member of the crew as a naval ‘apprentice’, Matra, unlike his captain, uses the civilian method of dating.
11 Ibid. His description of the soil, the birds and of ‘a quadruped’, clearly a kangaroo, is also of interest. pp. 111-114
12 Ibid. pp. 114-5
13 Ibid. pp. 115-6 I find it difficult to understand how Matra could have mistaken May for August unless perhaps he wrote his account of the events which took place at Botany Bay in April and May of that year while the Endeavour was beached at the Endeavour River in August 1770. By Cook’s account the Endeavour in fact sailed from Botany Bay on Sunday, 6 May.
14 Ibid. 122-3
15 Ibid., p. 367

Cook in *The Voyage*, ps. 349,360

For Cook as purser see Dan O’Sullivan *In search of Captain Cook: exploring the man through his own words*, London, 2008, pp. 92-4

Cook in *The Voyage*, pp.396-7


Banks, in *The Endeavour Journal*, p. 111

Cook
