

Matthew Flinders's Australian Toponymy and its British Connections

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Introduction

On the 26 June 1814, about three weeks before Matthew Flinders's death, a copy of his *Atlas of Terra Australis*, with its sixteen survey sheets of the Australian coastline,¹ together with the two volumes of the *Voyage to Terra Australis*, were placed on the table of Sir Joseph Banks who had sponsored the voyage of HMS *Investigator*.² Thus Flinders completed the huge mission that the Admiralty had entrusted to him thirteen years earlier, and that the president of the Royal Society had supported, namely the charting of the country now known as Australia and everything from the preparations for the voyage to the publication of its atlas.

Flinders's names are now a major feature of the Australian identity, and comprise, together with the landing of James Cook and the arrival of the First Fleet, a significant part of the nation's historical narrative. This is especially true of South Australia, where Flinders's expedition and the French expedition of Nicolas Baudin were the first two European voyages to discover and chart the coasts.³ This official narrative has been relayed through historical fiction, creative writing, and narrative history, using Flinders's voyage as the basic material which on the one hand has prevented the *Investigator* voyage from being forgotten, and on the other has given Flinders national status and made his nomenclature widely known in Australia.

The purpose of this article is to analyse Flinders's nomenclature as it appears in his atlas, and is incorporated into his *Voyage to Terra Australis*, through its relationships and connections to the actors, structures and notions which characterized Flinders's time and are embodied in Flinders's nomenclature. It studies the process of naming and the distribution of names by means of statistical analysis. Place names have been inserted into a spreadsheet, identified and classified according to the various criteria that characterized the voyage and Great Britain at the time, and the results are presented in the form of bar graphs in an attempt to better understand Flinders's voyage, its legacy and the limits thereof, within the context of modern Australia.

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¹ Flinders, *Atlas of Terra Australis*. The atlas also included twenty-seven profiles of the coasts, and ten plates of selected plants. The charts from this atlas may be consulted on the website of the National Library of Australia, in the Digital Collection Maps, as detailed in the footnotes to this article.

² Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*. Joseph Banks sponsored the *Investigator* voyage, but it was the Admiralty which supervised it.

³ For example, the towns of the state of South Australia, with names given by Flinders, celebrated him and re-enacted the southern part of his voyage in 2002 during celebrations of the bicentenary of his meeting with Nicolas Baudin at Encounter Bay on the 8–9 April 1802. The *Investigator* voyage is hence considered as the primary event in the history of many localities in this region, as is apparent on the internet sites devoted to them. Flinders has been hailed as the man who named Australia, but the name Australia was not created by him and became increasingly official only after his death. See below and footnote 19.

The first part of this article presents the principles and conventions on which the nomenclature was based. In the second part the general list of names given by Flinders is classified into different categories based upon the two major themes that defined Flinders's nomenclature: names relating to British persons and European voyages, and names relating to the physical, geographical or natural aspects of the coastal features. This process of classification will enable us to determine which group of names is the most important, and to consider the reasons for this distribution. The third part analyses Flinders's place names on a regional basis, using for convenience the present Australian state divisions, to explore what they reveal of the geopolitical issues of the time (including the wars against France), the course of the voyage, the British perception of Australia, and the personality of Flinders himself.

1 Flinders's naming convention

1.1 The list of Australian places named by Flinders

Several writers have already listed the Australian names given by Flinders. In 1914 Stephen Scott catalogued in an appendix most of the 'names given by Flinders to important Australian coastal features'⁴ by voyages and by regions or states. Later, other writers provided extended national or regional nomenclatures.⁵ Most of their listed names are recorded in this analysis, although some have been removed⁶ and others added according to Flinders's official accounts of his expeditions and the sheets of his 1814 *Atlas*. Wherever Flinders's names have been changed,⁷ the names first submitted by Flinders have been incorporated into the graphs, not their new denominations.

The first of the British captains to assign place names in Australia was James Cook, who named more than a hundred places in New South Wales in the 1770s,⁸ followed by George Vancouver, who named fourteen places on the south-western coasts of Australia, now Western Australia, at the beginning of the 1790s.⁹ He was followed by James Grant, and later by John Murray¹⁰ who surveyed the south-eastern coast of New South Wales, now the south coast of Victoria. Then, during the final years of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, Matthew Flinders named 348 Australian places following his four

⁴ Scott, *The Life Of Captain Matthew Flinders*, pp. 413–17.

See also http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Life_of_Captain_Matthew_Flinders,_R.N./Appendix_C.

⁵ Brown and Cornell, 'Legacy of the Encounter', pp. 10–15; Yarrow, *We Discovered an Island*, pp. 94–110.

⁶ For example, Scott included Hat Hill (south of Botany Bay, now known as Mount Kembla) and Red Point (Port Kembla, not to be confused with Red Cliff Point, now Woody Point, in Queensland) in his list of names given by Flinders. These two names being previously introduced by Cook, and recognized as such by Flinders, have not been included in our list.

⁷ Just a small number of names have been changed. Among the most significant of these changes, in Tasmania, are *Great Island* and *Barren Island*, renamed *Flinders Island* (Fourneau Group) and *Hunter Island* (Hunter Group); and in Queensland *High Peak*, which became *Flinders Peak*.

⁸ Cook, *A Chart of New South Wales*. See also Cook, *The Journals of Captain James Cook*.

⁹ Vancouver, *A chart showing part of the S.W. coast of New Holland*. Vancouver's place names were included on Plate II of Flinders's atlas. They are still in use, albeit with some adjustments. Cape Chatham is now called Chatham Island; Cape Howe is now named West Cape Howe; Eclipse Isles is Eclipse Island; Break Sea I is Breaksea Island; King George III Sound is King George Sound; Mt Gardner is Gardner Rock; Doubtful Island is Doubtful Islands; and Point Hood is now Hood Island. Bald Head, Michaelmas I, Oyster Harbour, Princess Royal Harbour, Seal Island, and Termination Islands remain unchanged. See also Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*.

¹⁰ Lee, *The Logbooks of the Lady Nelson*.

missions in New South Wales and New Holland.¹¹ His atlas, in which he allocates proper names to bays, capes and other geographic features – nearly all of which are still gazetted and in use today – became a major tool in the official creation of Australia as a British outpost in the southern hemisphere. Only twenty of these 348 names fail to survive in one form or another in the *Gazetteer of Australia*, which lists every geographic name in Australia provided by the Committee for Geographic Names of Australasia.¹² Twelve of these are place names visited by Flinders during the *Norfolk* mission, downstream from the alluvial plain of the Tamar River. This alluvial plain has changed considerably with the urban development of the riverbanks of Launceston and Georgetown, while watershed planning of the river basin has almost certainly affected and remodelled the geographical features identified and named by Flinders.¹³ The seven other names given by Flinders which do not appear on modern maps are *C. Franklin* (west of Cape Barren Island, Fourneau Group, 148°01'E 40°20'S, Plate VI); *Bay of Rocks*, in the south-west of Cape Barren Island; *Eastwater Hill* (mentioned in the *Voyage*, 22 August 1802), *North-Point Isles* (22°S 149°50'E, Plate X), *Deep Passage* (21°55'S 150°05'W, Plate X), *Eastern Fields* (mentioned in the *Voyage*, Wednesday, 27 October 1802); and *Pandanus Hill* and *Mount Dundas* in the Gulf of Carpentaria (on Bustard Island). As a result, 328 of the names given by Flinders appear to be still in use.

Flinders explained his naming practice in a memoir written in 1805¹⁴ to elucidate the construction of his charts:

The names in the charts which have a line drawn under them were given before the Investigator voyage. Very few names are applied by me; for where I could not find a descriptive one, it was left to the Admiralty, or those whom their Lordships might chuse, to apply a name. It is not only consistent with propriety that the planners and promoters of a voyage of discovery should have a principle share in affixing names to the discovered parts, but it is necessary that the baptizing mania of some navigators should be under control, to prevent so many repetitions of names as we find in different parts of the world; nay sometimes in the same part. If such a controuling power had been vested in the hydrographer of the Admiralty, we should not have had two Cape Howes upon the south coast of Australia, or two Cape Deliverances upon the south coast of New Guinea.

In the present case, it is a great convenience to resign the office of applying names. The genius of the discoverer is too little inventive to find descriptive appellations sufficiently quaint and expressive, for so many bays, capes, mountains and islands, as are here brought into notice; and he prefers having recourse to the patrons of the

¹¹ First, the exploration of the coast just south of Botany Bay with his friend George Bass in the *Tom Thumb* in 1796; second, the voyage in the *Francis* in 1798 during which he surveyed the Kent's group of islands; third, later the same year, the circumnavigation of Van Diemen's Land with Bass in the colonial sloop *Norfolk*; and fourth, the voyage of the HMS *Investigator* to circumnavigate New Holland and New South Wales, from 1801 to 1803, under his own command: Howgego, *Encyclopaedia of Exploration to 1800*, pp. 94 & 386–7, and Howgego, *Encyclopaedia of Exploration 1800 to 1850*, pp. 225–8.

The rotting condition of the hull of the *Investigator* did not allow Flinders to complete his last voyage, and after Flinders's death the Admiralty gave instructions to Philip Parker King, eldest son of the late Governor King, to explore the northern and western coasts of Australia to complete Flinders's work. Thus Phillip Parker King applied British place names to the gulfs, rivers and archipelagos he discovered along coastlines that Flinders was unable to survey (for example Exmouth Gulf and Buccaneer's Archipelago). However, as the name 'New Holland' reminds us, the Dutch, in the 17th century, were the first Europeans to formally chart and name this very distant land: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm4701>.

¹² <http://www.ga.gov.au/place-names/>

¹³ For example Point Rapid, Crooked Reach, Glen Bight, and Brush Island.

¹⁴ Flinders, *Memoir Explaining the Construction of the Charts of Australia*, TNA ADM 55/76/36–88.

voyage for a nomenclature, as being more agreeable to the respect he owes them, rather than to the almanack and court Kalender which have been used, from time immemorial, to eke out the invention of the greater part of his predecessors.¹⁵

From its first line this extract is confusing. When Flinders wrote that the ‘names in the charts which have a line drawn under them were given before the Investigator voyage’ he excluded the names he gave to places during his surveying missions before the *Investigator* voyage, in New South Wales in 1796 (with the *Tom Thumb*) and around Tasmania with Bass in 1798 (in the *Norfolk*). Many of these names (for example, *Bass Strait* or *Wilson’s Promontory*, and geographical names) originated with Flinders and were then made official by the Governor Hunter at Flinders’s recommendation. However, this appears not always to be the case as Flinders states in the *Voyage* that Port Dalrymple was first named ‘by His Excellency governor Hunter, as a mark of respect’ to the first hydrographer to the Admiralty:

The harbour, which we entered with so much pleasure on Nov. 3, and finally quitted with still more on Dec. 3, was named Port Dalrymple, by His Excellency governor Hunter, as a mark of respect to Alexander Dalrymple, Esq., the late hydrographer to the Admiralty.¹⁶

At five, the western and most considerable of two shallow-looking openings bore north-west, seven or eight miles; and at sunset, some high and remarkable land was perceived bearing S. W. by W., which proved to be the same discovered by Mr. Bass, and now bearing the name of Wilson’s Promontory. At our recommendation governor Hunter called it Wilson’s Promontory, in compliment to my friend Thomas Wilson, Esq. of London.¹⁷

To the strait which had been the great object of research, and whose discovery was now completed, governor Hunter gave, at my recommendation, the name of Bass’ Strait. This was no more than a just tribute to my worthy friend and companion, for the extreme dangers and fatigues he had undergone in first entering it in the whale boat, and to the correct judgment he had formed from various indications, of the existence of a wide opening between Van Diemen’s Land and New South Wales.¹⁸

In his atlas Flinders did not underline these place names, nor that of *Port Dalrymple*. Thus the names in the charts which have a line drawn under them were actually those given by captains other than Flinders, while the names without underlining were those chosen (or in some way appropriated, as in the case of Port Dalrymple) by Flinders during one of his missions. Hence *Port Dalrymple* has not been included in our list, even though it is not underlined, because Flinders specified that it was Hunter who named the harbour without his recommendation.

Further confusion arises from the fact that Flinders did not always underline names that previous navigators had attributed to Australian places. For example, *Doubtful Islands* (Plate II) are not underlined even though he knew that Vancouver had named them:

¹⁵ TNA ADM 55/76/41.

¹⁶ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. clxii. In the account Flinders gave of his early mission in the *Norfolk* ‘to serve as an explanation to the charts of Van Diemen’s Land’, he also specified ‘It was so named by His Excellency governor Hunter, as a small token of respect to Alexander Dalrymple Esq.’ Flinders, *Observations on the Coasts of Van Diemen’s Land*.

¹⁷ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. cxv.

¹⁸ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. cxcii.

At four o'clock we had passed the Point Hood of Vancouver; and seeing a channel of nearly a mile in width between it and the two outer of his Doubtful Islands, steered through it with soundings from 20 to 24 fathoms.

Flinders also included *Cape Leeuwin* in his list of names. This is a little misleading as Cape Leeuwin had already been named, although its position was inaccurately charted. The Baudin expedition replotted the cape in the final week of May 1801, as did Flinders's expedition at the beginning of December 1801, then significantly, at Port Jackson, the captains jointly decided to name this cape *Cape Leeuwin* on their respective maps. The same agreement between the two captains led to the naming of *Encounter Bay / Baie de la Rencontre*. Thus, the two names belonged to both British and French lists respectively.

Also puzzling is the fact that Flinders very occasionally underlined names that appear to be his, for example *Shoals Haven*:

Dec. 6., he [George Bass] passed a long sloping projection which I have called *Point Bass*, lying about three leagues south of Alowrie. Beyond this point, the coast forms a sandy bay of four or five leagues in length, containing two small inlets; and the southernmost being accessible to the boat, Mr. Bass went in and stopped three days. This little place was found to deserve no better name than *Shoals Haven*. The entrance is mostly choaked up by sand, and the inner part with banks of sand and mud; there is, however, a small channel sufficiently deep for boats. The latitude was made to be 34° 52' south; the sloping Point Bass, to the northward, bore N. 12° E., and a steep head at the southern extremity of the bay, S. 35° E. The tide was found to rise seven or eight feet, and the time of high water to be about *eight hours and a half* after the moon passed over the meridian.¹⁹

In conclusion, most of the names in Flinders's atlas with 'a line drawn under them' had been provided by European captains who had discovered, surveyed and charted Australian places at an earlier date. Consequently, they are not included in our list. The names chosen by Flinders prior to the *Investigator* voyage and kept by Hunter as a result of his previous missions in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land are included in our list. Conversely, there are also names of places which were surveyed by Flinders himself during his voyage under Captain Hamilton in the colonial schooner *Francis*, and are classified as Flinders's names in Scott²⁰ or Yarrow²¹ (*Kent Islands, Armstrong Channel*, etc.). However, they are not included in our list of names because Flinders underlined them and clearly considered them as having 'been given by another person' than himself, Captain Hamilton in this instance. Flinders wrote on his 1814 general chart of Terra Australis or Australia:

A line drawn under a name in the particular charts implies that names to have been given by another person; those without a line are either given, or first used by me.²²

As discussed, in the second sentence of the extract from his *Memoir*, Flinders explained that he gave very few names because 'the genius of the discoverer' was 'too little inventive to find descriptive appellations sufficiently quaint and expressive, for so many bays, capes, mountains and islands, as are here brought into notice'. This was an

¹⁹ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. cvi.

²⁰ Scott, *The Life of Captain Matthew Flinders*, p. 413.

²¹ Yarrow, *We Discovered an Island*.

²² TNA ADM 352/478.

understatement, and Flinders's affectation related to his commitment to the institutions, and to 'the planners and promoters' who authorized the *Investigator* voyage under his command. Thus, Flinders specifies that he 'prefers having recourse to the patrons of the voyage for a nomenclature, as being more agreeable to the respect he owes them'.

The first institution that Flinders invoked in 'affixing names' was the Admiralty ('it was left to the Admiralty'), but he also added 'and those whom their Lordships might chuse'. It was under the authority of the Admiralty that Flinders's voyage was organized, with instructions received from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. However, when Flinders wrote 'those whom their Lordships might chuse' he implicitly referred not only to the personalities attached to the Admiralty or the Hydrographic Office, but also to other royal institutions keenly involved in the voyage, especially the Royal Society, and to Joseph Banks who had introduced Flinders's project to the first Lord of the Admiralty, George Spencer, a close friend of Banks, in December 1800.

Accordingly, after Flinders's release from Isle de France (Mauritius²³), and after his arrival in London in October 1810, the then First Lord of the Admiralty, Charles Yorke, delegated the president of the Royal Society, Joseph Banks, and the second secretary of the Admiralty, John Barrow, to form a committee with Flinders 'upon the arrangements to be made for written the Investigator's voyage'.²⁴ The first action taken by Banks and Barrow was to retrieve Flinders's charts and written accounts from the Hydrographic Office to allow Flinders to resume work on them and fix the nomenclature. Flinders received his journals and charts in the week following the first meeting of the committee.²⁵ In his private journal Flinders does not mention any further meetings with Banks or Barrow regarding his voyage and its atlas, and it seems likely that Flinders did not have too much 'recourse to the patrons of the voyage for a nomenclature'. In actual fact, the only name he suggested, which was debated and became an issue, was *Australia*, which Banks declined after some vacillation in favour of its longer version, *Terra Australis*, which was already in use in the botanical sphere along with that of New Holland and New South Wales:

Sunday 14 August 1813 ... Recd a note from Sir Jos., in which, after I had used the term Terra Australis with his approbation and that of others, he disapproves of it; having apparently forgotten what had been before said and done upon it. The change seems to have been brought about the reasoning of Mr Brown.

Sunday. 15 August 1813 ... Wrote a note to Major Rennell, relative to the propriety of using the term Terra Australis, which I believe was discussed with him at Sir Jos. Banks'.

Tuesday 17 August 1813 ..; Finding an answer from Major Rennell on my return, wrote a long letter to Sir Jos. Banks, upon the subject of Terra Australis (see priv. lett. book) and took it to Soho Squ. in the evening, to be sent to Spring Grove.²⁶

²³ The island was renamed Mauritius after its conquest by the British (see below, footnote 161)

²⁴ Flinders, *Private Journal*, p. 340.

²⁵ Flinders, *Private Journal*, pp. 341–2.

²⁶ Flinders, *Private Journal*, pp. 450–51.

According to Scott, Banks withdrew his objection to ‘the propriety of calling New Holland and New South Wales by the collective name of Terra Australis’, but declined Flinders’s suggestion of *Australia*:

Two days after the receipt of Major Rennell’s letter Flinders wrote to Banks, reminding him that he was the first person consulted about the name Australia, and that he had understood that it was generally approved. Bligh had not objected to it. When part of the manuscript of the Voyage was submitted to Mr. Robert Peel, Under-Secretary for the Colonies (afterwards Sir Robert Peel and Prime Minister of England), and to Lord Liverpool, the principal Secretary of State, there had been some discussion respecting the inclusion of the Gulf of Carpentaria as part of New South Wales, and it was accordingly erased. But no objection was raised to the name Australia. Flinders fought hard for his word, but did not succeed completely. Captain Burney suggested that Terra Australis was a name ‘more familiar to the public.’ Banks on August 19th withdrew his objection to ‘the propriety of calling New Holland and New South Wales by the collective name of Terra Australis,’ and accordingly as *A Voyage to Terra Australis* his book ultimately went forth.²⁷

The origin of the name Australia has been abundantly documented,²⁸ so this article will not concentrate on this particular name but rather on the names that Flinders attributed to Australian places for the most part after his return to London in October 1810.

1.2 Flinders’s long naming process

In fact very few names were applied by Flinders during the *Investigator* voyage, either on his rough charts or on the charts sent to the Admiralty before his return to Britain. As Flinders explained, when the places were new to him and to European knowledge they were named by himself on his drafts with a system of letters:

For the sake of reference between the charts and any log and bearing books, during the survey, I applied letters to the different points, hills, and islands; small letters being appropriated to the islands, or what were taken to be such when first seen, and the capital letters to the projections and hills on the main land; but when the islands or points became numerous, it was necessary to husband this alphabetical treasure, by applying a letter to the largest or most conspicuous island or point, only; and the same letter, with the addition of 1, 2, 3, or 4, to the inferior projections or islands in the vicinity; sometimes also, recourse was had to double letters, or to numbers, for distinguishing the islands, as momentary convenience might dictate.²⁹

It may be proper to observe here, that to the part which appears to have been first discovered by the French captain Baudin, and so marked in the chart, it is his right, or that of his nation, to affix names, but this right extends no further on the south coast of New South Wales than to that space.³⁰

²⁷ Scott, *The Life of Captain Matthew Flinders*, pp. 379–80.

²⁸ See the synthesis in Morris, *Austral English*, pp. 10–11. See also Rigby and Van Der Merwe, *Pioneers of the Pacific*, p. 131.

²⁹ TNA ADM 55/76/41.

³⁰ TNA ADM 55/77/42.

On the 1804 *Chart showing such parts of Terra Australia and its vicinity* that Flinders drew at Isle de France,³¹ only two new names in the newly discovered part of the south coast were assigned by him: *Kangaroo Island* and *Cape Catastrophe*. The former referred to the impressive number of kangaroos that had fed them there, and was probably chosen to establish Flinders as the first discoverer of the island prior to Nicolas Baudin after the meeting of the two captains (8–9 April 1802) off the coasts of this island. The latter was named in memory of his master John Thistle and six of his men who tragically disappeared in February 1802 when they were ‘sent over with a cutter to the mainland in search of an anchoring place where water might be procured’³².

In this 1804 working sheet Flinders also named three places in the Gulf of Carpentaria, his instructions requiring him to ‘carefully’ examine ‘the parts to the westward thereof, between the 130th and 139th degrees of east longitude’. He named these *Blue Mud Bay* (a name descriptive of the mineralogical composition of the sea floor), and *Arnhem Bay* and *Cape Arnhem* (after the Dutch ship *Arnhem* which explored the coast in 1623). Besides these few names, most of the places he discovered during the *Investigator* voyage appeared in this early 1804 work only with a single letter of the alphabet, generally in upper case.³³ This use of letters on rough survey sheets was commonly applied in European surveying work. For example, on his working charts of Torres Strait with HMS *Providence*, Captain William Bligh, with whom Flinders sailed as a midshipman and learned his bearing and charting skills,³⁴ used this method, as did other European hydrographers, for example the French hydrographer Beautemps-Beaupré.³⁵

Thus Flinders followed and applied this same technique, and the nomenclature in his atlas was the result of lengthy charting work, where each place had been gradually and precisely geo-referenced in latitude and longitude with letters, often accompanied by additional numbers. Proper names were substituted only towards the end of the mapping process. For instance, the survey sheets that Flinders consecutively made of the Gulf of Carpentaria³⁶ and the east coast³⁷ between 1804 and 1814 provide insights into this naming process. This gulf was the first charting work that Flinders carried out at Isle de France to replace the chart of the Gulf of Carpentaria lost during the wreck of the *Porpoise* in August 1803. In the first sheet he issued (January 1804), Flinders named the new islands, capes and hills identified along the gulf with alphabetical letters, starting with the first letter A of the Latin alphabet (finally renamed later in his atlas as *Duyfhen Point*) to localize the uppermost north-eastern point of the gulf, to the last letter Z (renamed in his atlas as the *English Company’s Islands*) on the uppermost north-western part of the gulf.

Working steadily along the gulf coast from east to west the twenty-six characters of the alphabet in upper case were applied ‘to the projections and hills on the main land’ and ‘the largest or most conspicuous island or point’, while lowercase letters were applied to any smaller islands and points. For example, on this first sheet, geographical features from *Groote*

³¹ TNA ADM 352/477.

³² Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 135.

³³ TNA ADM 352/477.

³⁴ See William Bligh’s charts at:

<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=421536&itemID=823494>.

³⁵ National Maritime Museum (NMM) FLI/15/15-16-17, *Carte générale de la terre de Diemen*.

³⁶ The gulf was named by the Dutch navigator Jan Cartentz in 1623 after Peter de Carpentier, governor of Dutch East Indies.

³⁷ TNA ADM 352/ 548, 549, 479; and Flinders, *Atlas of Terra Australis*, Plates X and XI. TNA ADM 352/ 487, 486; and *Atlas*, Plates XIII, XIV and XV.

Eylandt to the *English Company's Islands* were all designated with letters in alphabetical order, starting with *Groote Eylandt*, which had already been charted by the Dutch but was represented by the letter 'm'. The letter 'n' showed what Flinders later named in his atlas as *Bickerton Island*, 'o' showed *North East Isles*, 'p' *Winchilsea I*, 'q' a low sandy isle, 'R' (capital) *Cape Barrow*,³⁸ 's' *Point Blane*, 't' *Cape Shield*, 'u' *Cape Grey*, 'V' (capital) *Mt Alexander*, 'W' (capital) *Cape Arnhem*, 'X' (capital) *Cape Wilberforce*, 'Y' (capital) *Cape Newbald*, and 'Z' (capital) *Inglis Island*. Wherever the large number of islets and features complicated charting, Flinders completed the letters 'with the addition of 1, 2, 3 or 4 to the inferior projections or islands in the vicinity', such as U, U1 and U2 to designate the geographical features around Arnhem South Bay, or Z, z1, z2, z3, z4 to designate the small islands later called *Bosanquet's Is.* (z1, z2, z3, z4) which were adjacent to the main area, *Inglis Island*, designated by a capital Z.

In 1806 Flinders updated this 1804 chart of the Gulf of Carpentaria with one of larger scale and greater detail to which he started adding names descriptive of the geography of the place. The hill in the middle of Groote Eyland was named *Central Hill*; two islets to the north of this island became *Cavern Islet* and *North Point Islet*; the peninsula between U1 and U2 *Point Middle*; and near point S he named *Round Hill Island* and *Round Head*. In the north he also added the *Malay Road*, a toponym with a clear cultural connotation. However, a year later (May 1807) he completed another chart of the Gulf of Carpentaria and Torres Strait on a smaller scale in which none of the names of the 1806 version appeared.

Finally, in London, Flinders re-plotted all the surveyed points along the coastlines after re-computing their longitudes using the actual observations made at Greenwich during his voyage rather than the values for lunar distances in the *Nautical Almanac* that he had carried, and started to replace the letters corresponding to these points with proper names. The letters in the region of Blue Mud Bay and Groote Eylandt were assigned with personal or descriptive names. For example the Cape 'R' became *Cape Barrow*, islands 's', 's1', 's2' became *Morgan's Island* (named after a crew member who died there), *Isle Woodah* ('its form having some resemblance to the whaddie or woodah, or wooden sword used by the natives of Port Jackson'³⁹), and *Nicol's Island* (after His Majesty's bookseller, the publisher of Flinders's work). Some of the few geographical names previously chosen by Flinders were changed, *Round Head* becoming *Mt Grindall*, and *Cavern Islet* becoming *Chasm Island*. Interestingly, the name *Malay Road* was retained⁴⁰ (see Figures 1 and 2).

³⁸ As mentioned above, Barrow was the secretary of the Admiralty involved with Banks in the supervision of Flinders's publications.

³⁹ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 193.

⁴⁰ Flinders, *Chart of Terra Australis. Sheet II*, Plates XIV and XV, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t599>. Also in Flinders, *Atlas of Terra Australis*.



Figure 1: An example of Matthew Flinders's working sheet, with letters from m to T to label the islands and geographical features surveyed during the *Investigator* voyage. Source: *Part of the North Coast of Terra Australis from sheets N^o1, 2 & 3*, by M. Flinders Commr of HM Ship *Investigator* & Schooner *Cumberland* Mauritius Jan 18 1804, TNA ADM 352/548.

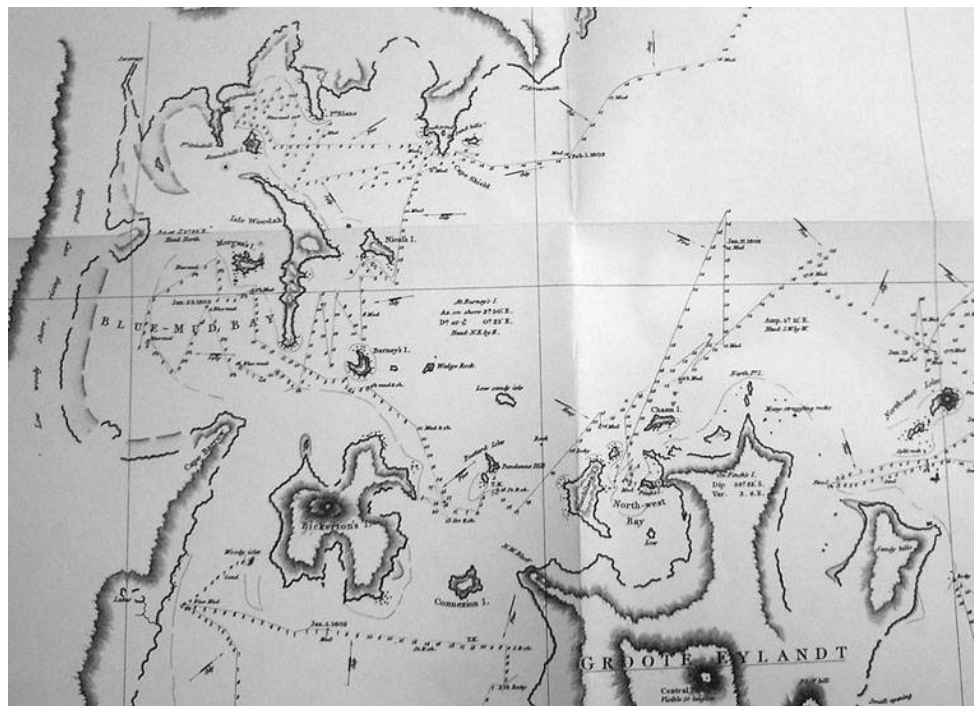


Figure 2: An extract from Matthew Flinders *North West side of the Gulf of Carpentaria*, Plate XV in *Atlas of Terra Australis*, London, G. & W. Nicol, 1814. The letters are now replaced by proper names.

Flinders also used numbers to designate new harbours, inlets and channels. For example, on his original chart of the northeast coast drawn at Isle de France in July 1804, Flinders named the new harbours and the passage he discovered on the coast already charted during Cook's first voyage: 'N^o1.Port', 'N^o2.Port' and 'N^o3 Passage'.⁴¹ On this chart he also added some new descriptive geographical names to the list of names given by Cook: *Hummock Mount*, *Flat Island*, *North-Point Island* and *West Hill*. Later, in London, Flinders dedicated the two ports respectively to 'admiral Sir Roger *Curtis*, who had commanded at the Cape of Good Hope and been so attentive to our wants', and 'in compliment to captain James *Bowen* of the navy as captain Bowen did the sea forces at Madeira, when we stopped at that island'.⁴² He called the passage *Strong Tide Passage*. Thus, the proper names issuing from Flinders's charting works are either names reflecting the geography of the place, or names evocative of a person.

To study Flinders's nomenclature in depth, these names have been classified into nine categories, revealing the natural geography of the coast as well as the routes of Flinders's voyages, the connection of Flinders's missions with Britain, early nineteenth-century European knowledge, and the geopolitics of the time, including the wars with France.

2 A meaningful nomenclature

2.1 Typology of the names

Flinders's names have been listed and inserted into a table with their geographical coordinates of latitude and longitude, updated to comply with current official data and spelling. In accordance with the current conventions applied by the Committee for Geographic Names in Australasia, the 's' of composite names has been dropped (e.g. Spencer's gulf is now written Spencer Gulf), and the word 'isle' has generally been replaced by 'Island' (e.g. Gambier isles are now Gambier Islands).

Naming is a very ancient question, debated by Plato in his dialogue with Cratylus, where Socrates demonstrates to Cratylus that names are human conventions. As a matter of fact, Flinders gave proper names to the features he surveyed, and these names became conventional. Today they evoke the memory of Flinders's voyage along with its connections and correlations with the wider world and Great Britain of the early nineteenth century. These names created the geography of Australia and along the way enshrined Flinders in Australian history, the man and his names now being part of the cultural heritage of the nation. In this paper Flinders's names are not analysed to demonstrate these established facts. Rather, they are analysed as toponyms which identify not only Australian shorelines and places, but also the institutions, people and knowledge of the era in which the *Investigator* voyage is set. They also involve Flinders's personality, as he was the major actor in the naming process. Accordingly, Flinders's names have been classified into nine categories which tell us about these contextual aspects. Two categories include names from physical and natural geography, the first one ('Geographical / geological features') incorporating names illustrative of topographical forms, sizes, landforms or mineralogical compositions, and the second having names related to the natural world of 'plants / animals'. A third category, labelled on the graph as 'High officers / personalities', groups together British senior officers, captains, public or scientific figures, and administrators of the East India Company (EIC) who were in

⁴¹ TNA ADM 352/487.

⁴² Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 19.

one form or another involved with Flinders and one of his voyages. The next three categories are connected with navigation and voyages of discovery: the names honouring or commemorating members of Flinders's 'Ship's company', names that commemorate 'Previous navigators / expeditions', and names related to the 'Surveying / nautical work / hazards during Flinders's navigation'. The two following categories of names are those honouring Flinders's relatives and friends ('Family / friends / acquaintances'), or 'British places', mainly in his native Lincolnshire. A last category includes names associated with Flinders's encounters ('Ethnogeography / human geography'). Then, to complete the analysis, these main categories have been divided into subcategories.

As with any system of classification, this one is arbitrary to the extent that it allocates each name to a specific category while in reality the names might belong to several categories. In the case of proper names, the category which includes names related to British senior officers, personalities or administrators of the EIC, which represent the social and professional status of the person, was given priority. For example, when Flinders named *Townsend Island* and *Leicester Island* to 'follow the apparent intention' of Cook, these names could have been placed in the category of 'Previous navigators / expeditions' if we consider that Flinders honoured Cook's intention. But they have been placed in the category 'High officers / personalities' since it was ultimately the Marquis Townshend, Earl of Leicester who was being honoured and remembered with a place name. Flinders explained:

At dusk we anchored in 18 fathoms, soft mud, in a bight between Island Head and Cape Townshend, at the bottom of which was an opening one mile wide, where captain Cook had suspected an entrance into Shoalwater Bay.

Of the passage where the ship was lying, there was an excellent view; and I saw not only that Cape Townshend was on a distinct island, but also that it was separated from a piece of land to the west, which captain Cook's chart had left doubtful. Wishing to follow the apparent intention of the discoverer, to do honour to the noble family of Townshend, I have extended the name of the cape to the larger island, and distinguish the western piece by the name of Leicester Island.⁴³

Similarly, *Moreton Island*⁴⁴ was named with reference to the name *Moreton Bay*, given by Cook in honour of James Douglas, earl of Morton. Flinders surveyed this island during his mission on the *Norfolk* and named it Moreton Island with the redundant 'e' that occurred in the Hawkesworth edition of Cook's *Journal* that he was using. However, even with this added 'e', *Moreton Island* is classified in the category 'High officers / personalities' with the same logic as *Townsend Island* and *Leicester Island*, as well as *Percy Island*, named after the Duke of Northumberland, Hugh Percy, situated in the Northumberland isles and already named by Cook. In addition, the name of a land or place attached to a noble title (baronet, viscount, count, earl, marquis, duke) is related to the name of the owner of the title and not the category 'British places'. For example Leicester or Gatcombe are respectively included in the category 'High officers / personalities' because Leicester and Gatcombe were places attached to the noble titles of Marquis Townshend and Baronet Roger Curtis respectively, whom Flinders honoured in this way.

The classification of *Point Whidbey* and *Whidbey Isles* was also twofold. These names may have been classified as belonging to the 'Family / friends / acquaintances' category

⁴³ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 41.

⁴⁴ Now part of the greater Brisbane conurbation.

because Flinders presented Whidbey as ‘his worthy friend the former master-attendant at Sheerness’,⁴⁵ but our chosen category is ‘High officers / personalities’, in the subcategory ‘Senior officers from the Admiralty and the Royal Navy’, because ultimately it was Whidbey’s zealous involvement, alongside Isaac Coffin, which was crucial to Flinders in the preparation of the voyage.

The classification of *Bass Strait* and *Point Bass* is more complicated. The name was officially given by Governor Hunter, but at Flinders’s recommendation. In other words, Hunter endorsed Flinders’s choice. George Bass was Flinders’s ‘worthy friend and companion’, and may therefore belong to ‘Family / friends / acquaintances’. However, Bass had sailed with Flinders and could equally well belong to Flinders’s ‘Ship’s company’ in the sub-division of the ‘Names honouring the *Norfolk* voyage or *Tom Thumb* voyage’. It could also be classified in ‘High officers / personalities’ because Bass was an experienced surgeon in the navy who sailed in HM ships, or even in ‘Previous navigators / expeditions’ because Bass disappeared at sea a few years after ‘he had undergone in first entering it [Bass Strait] in the whale boat, and to the correct judgment he had formed from various indications, of the existence of a wide opening between Van Diemen’s Land and New South Wales’. *Bass Strait* has been classified in ‘High officers / personalities’, in the sub-category ‘Senior officers from the Admiralty and the Royal Navy’, because Bass and his skills in navigation and surveying work in the strait were recognized and remembered not only by Flinders but also by Hunter and the Admiralty, which paid a pension to his wife from 1805, similar to that paid to Flinders’s widow from 1814.

The classification of *Cape Wiles* and *Liguanea Island* also needs some clarification. Flinders named *Cape Wiles* after James Wiles, and *Liguanea Island* after the British Botanic Garden in Jamaica of which Wiles was superintendent and was later appointed botanist. Flinders became friends with Wiles during Bligh’s second voyage in HMS *Providence* when he was midshipman and Wiles was the botanist of the expedition in charge of collecting breadfruit plants. *Cape Wiles* and *Liguanea Island* could have been classified in the category ‘Family / friends / acquaintances’ because Flinders wrote: ‘I named CAPE WILES, after a worthy friend at Liguanea, in Jamaica’.⁴⁶ They could equally have been placed in the category honouring Flinders’s ‘Ship’s company’ because Wiles and Flinders were both members of the *Providence*’s company. However, the two names have been classified in the category ‘High officers / personalities’ for the reason that James Wiles was well known as a naturalist and as such became the official botanist of the British Botanic Garden in Jamaica.

The next classifications that need some explanation are those of *Point Culver* and *Point Dover*, classified in the category ‘Geographical / geological features’ and not in the category ‘British places’ even though they are obviously names of two British places. This is because they describe the Australian chalky limestone cliffs of a headland on the south coast of Western Australia by geographical analogy with the landform and the landscape of the white cliffs of Culver (Isle of Wight) and Dover.

Place names recalling Lincolnshire towns or estates have been gathered into the category ‘British places’ despite the fact that they could also represent Banks’s estates, or Flinders’s family, who were from Lincolnshire, or George Bass who was from Boston. Some of these place names can be easily related to Flinders himself,⁴⁷ to his relatives,⁴⁸ or to Joseph

⁴⁵ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 128.

⁴⁶ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 131.

⁴⁷ Especially *Cape Donington*, Flinders’s birthplace.

Banks.⁴⁹ However, it remains difficult to distinguish and document exactly to whom the Lincolnshire names are specifically dedicated, so by default they have been kept together in the category ‘British places’. Also, Woodah Island has been categorized in ‘Ethnogeography / human geography’ and not in ‘Geographical / geological features’ as from a European point of view the name Woodah, a wooden sword used by the natives of Port Jackson, stands expressly for an element of Aboriginal culture.

Furthermore, on two occasions, Flinders adopts traditional indigenous place names through dual naming, with a first name representing an introduced British toponym chosen by him, and a second name corresponding to the traditional indigenous name for the feature.⁵⁰ Thus, Port Hacking is named after the pilot of the *Tom Thumb*, but on the atlas sheet Flinders added under Port Hacking the name *Deeban* and explained in his *Voyage* that ‘by the natives it is called Deeban’.⁵¹ On the same sheet 1 of the east coast, just south of Port Hacking / Deeban, Flinders named *Watta-Mowlee* (now *Wattamolla*), but explained in his *Voyage*:

So sudden a change, from extreme danger to comparatively perfect safety, excited reflections which kept us some time awake: we thought Providential Cove a well-adapted name for this place; but by the natives, as we afterwards learned, it is called Watta-Mowlee.⁵²

Because Port Hacking, which is now the official adopted toponym, was presented as the main name on the sheet, it is classified in the category ‘Ship’s company’, and because Flinders signalled on his atlas only the name *Watta-Mowlee* (now *Wattamolla Beach*), but not the name *Providential Cove*, *Watta-Mowlee* is considered as the main name and is grouped with the category ‘Ethnogeography / human geography’.

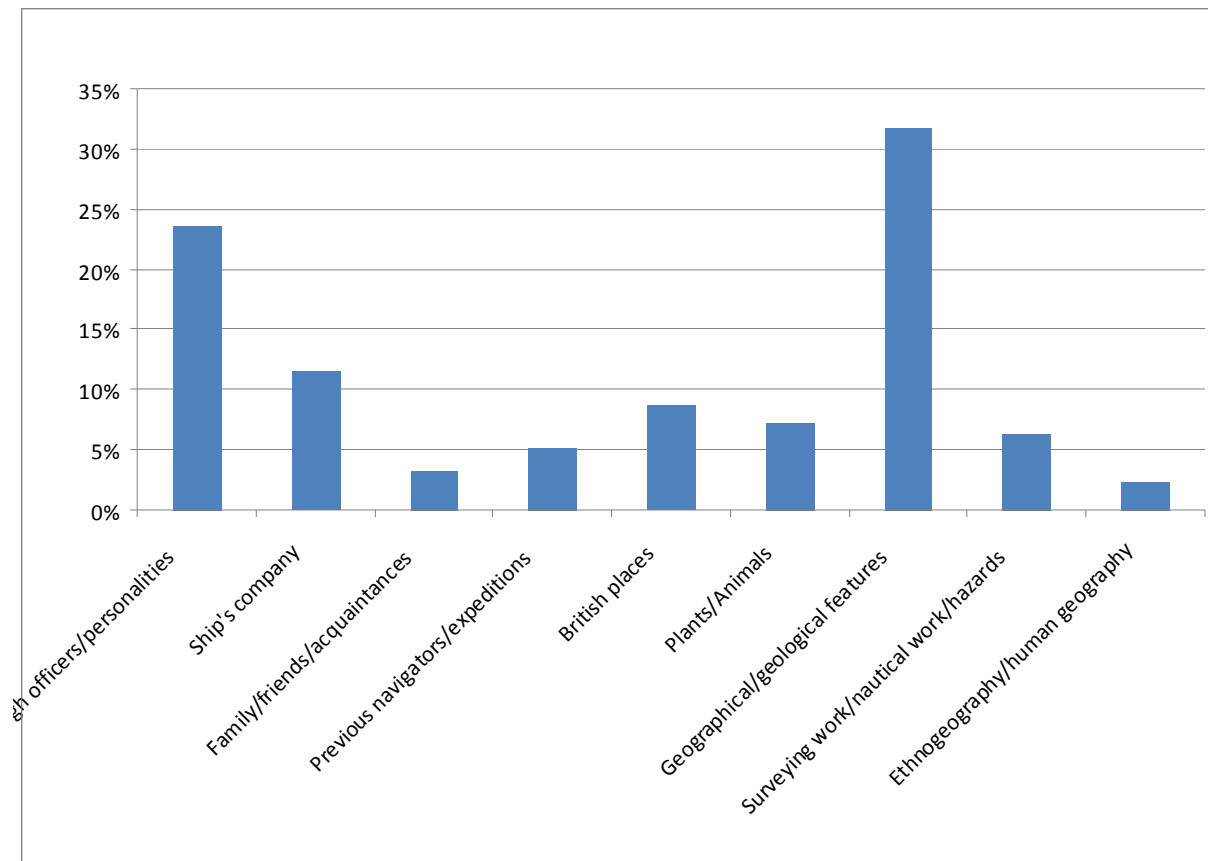
⁴⁸ For example, *Dalby island* refers to Rev. M. Tyler’s parish, the stepfather of his wife. *Spilsby Island* is the birthplace of John Franklin, Flinders’s cousin.

⁴⁹ *Reevesby Island* refers to Banks’s estate, Reevesby; and *Marum Isle* was named after the residence of Mr Stephenson, Sir Joseph Banks’s agent.

⁵⁰ Flinders, *Chart of Terra Australis. Sheet I*, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t577>.

⁵¹ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. cii.

⁵² Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 131.



2.2 Flinders's names portray predominantly the coastal geographical features he surveyed

The category labelled on the graph 'Geographical / geological features', which represents those names descriptive of the form, appearance or geology of geographical features, is the largest class in Flinders's nomenclature with a total of 110 appellations, representing thirty-two per cent of the names.

Thirty-nine per cent of these names are words, mainly adjectives, describing the topographical forms or sizes of reliefs (peaks, mounts, hills, hummock, table), elements of the coastline (headlands, capes, bight), or elements of the continental platform (outcrops of geological formations such as rocks or islands). These words include round, indented, craggy, twin, double, lofty, high, flat, upper, sloping, circular, crooked, great and barren, or other evocative words such as many, bayonet, corny, wedge, crescent and funnel. Some words were more specific, with geomorphological references like sugarloaf or chasm:

Manypeak, Cape Knob, Round Island, Twin Peaks, Twin rocks, Bayonet Head, Wedge Island, Point Lowly, Corny Point, Mount Lofty, Hummock Mount, Indented Head, Great Island (now Flinders Island), sloping Point, Cone Point, Low Head, Crescent Shore, Table Cape, Circular Head, Three-Hummock Island, Isle of Caves, Mount Table, Sugarloaf Point, High Peak (now Flinders Peak), Broadmount, Double Mount, Hummock Mount, Flat Isles, Mount Funnel, Upper Head, Craggy Islands, Chasm Island, Round Hill Island, Crooked Reach, Great Australian Bight.

The next twenty-eight per cent of the geographical names give indications of the location of the place, with words describing the place's position,⁵³ orientation or some measure of distance.⁵⁴ Often, the four cardinal points of the compass are used:

Northside Hill, Mount Middleback North, Middle Mount, Passage Point and Island, Ninth Island, Tenth Island, Western Arm, Middle Island, Point Roundabout, Middle Rock, Middle Island, Facing Island, Entrance Island, Westwater Head, Eastwater Hill, North-Point Isles, West Hill, Eastern Fields, Half Way Island, West Island, North Island, Centre Island, South West Island, North Point Island, North-West Bay, Middle Point, Sea Reach.

Some of the names include two aspects geographical information: *West, Middle, and East Mount Barren, Low Rocky Point.*

Eighteen per cent of the names were chosen by Flinders 'by analogy' with the shape of an animal or a plant (*Rame Head, Trefoil Island, Horseshoe Island*); or with the sails of a ship (*Top-gallant Isles*, shaped like a top gallant sail); or with a part of the human body (*Elbow Hill*) or human feeling (*Cape Grim, Smooth Island*); or with a part of a building (*Barn Hill, Backstairs Passage, Antechamber Bay*); or with a societal or cultural allusion (*The Pages, Judgment Rock, the Patriarchs, Battery Island, Harbour Rock*); or by analogy with the British landscape as mentioned above (*Point Culver, Point Dover*). A few names were chosen to evoke a sense of distance, such as *Neptune Island*, 'for they seemed to be inaccessible to men',⁵⁵ or *Truant Island*, 'lying away from the rest [of the other islands]'.⁵⁶

Eight per cent of the geographical names describe the hydrography of the seashores and coasts using basic hydrographic ('rapid', 'whirlpool', or relating to tide) and hydromorphologic ('glen') vocabulary: *Rapid Point, Glen Bight, Whirlpool Reach, Watering Cove, Half-tide Rock, Shoal Point, Shoal Bay, Strongtide Passage, Deep Passage.*

The last seven per cent of names depict the mineralogy of the coast with toponyms such as *Sandy Point, Bay of Rocks, Double Sandy Point, Stony Head, Rocky Cape, Pumicestone Channel*. Some names identify the dominant colour of the minerals that composed the coastal features: *Red Cliff Point* (now *Woody Point*) and *Blue Mud Bay*.

Practically, there is a descriptive relationship between the meaning of the geographical names and the topography of the shorelines, and Flinders chose names that could help navigators recognize the coasts and identify their main features from the sea. Theoretically, many of these toponyms arose from the European geographical concepts and nautical practices of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Oceanic voyages of discovery such as Flinders's voyage were at the root of eighteenth-century geography, as well as being the source of new geographical knowledge, renewing the classical representations of the world provided by portolans (the Catalan atlas for example). New regions were charted with more and more information regarding the physical components of their coastlines. It became conventional to lay down clearly every specific element of the shorelines, according to its geographical definition, using an increasingly accurate terminology in which geographical features were characterized by their forms and gradual dimensions, such as points, capes, promontories, heads and peninsulas; cliffs, hummocks, hills, mounts; Isles, Islets and islands; bays, sounds, inlets, chasms, gulfs and bights; and passages, channels and

⁵³ I.e. middle, ninth, tenth, facing, roundabout.

⁵⁴ I.e. half-way.

⁵⁵ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 134.

⁵⁶ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 233.

straits. Each of these identified forms was precisely positioned on the chart according to its geographical coordinates. These new charting methods⁵⁷ were practiced as much by the community of practical men of science, especially seamen such as Flinders and his officers, as by professional geographers such as James Rennell. Rennell gathered all available data collected by Flinders to conceptualize a modern geography through specialized books and maps with specific themes.⁵⁸ Because it was based on European concepts, this geography had its limits. Watershed and river systems were understood from a European viewpoint through their river channels, from mountainous regions to estuarine mouth, which took in European forms defined as rias, fjords, inlets, sounds, gulfs, lagoons or deltas, in a logic that made it difficult for Flinders, Baudin and their men of science to conceive of what lay behind the 140-kilometre long and deep coastal barrier system of sandhills of the Coorong: the Murray River. However, this modern geography became part of the European colonial enterprise, as atlases and charts which issued from the information collected by seamen were vital tools to secure maritime routes and to define, explore and conquer new territories.⁵⁹ In this way Flinders's nomenclature is embedded in this British colonial venture.

The other category of names describing the natural environment refers to the animals and plants seen in the location (*Wombat Point, Albatross Island, Kangaroo Head*). Through them, Flinders wished to honour the bounteousness of the place in providing food for the crew, for example *Bountiful Island*, with its ample population of sea turtles, and *Kangaroo Island*, where so many kangaroos were killed to feed the *Investigator*'s company. However, this method is not systematic, as we see from Flinders's note on the *Swan Isles*:

One mile from the north-west end, lies a low, rocky islet, and several rocks both above and under water. All these are comprehended under the general name of the Swan Isles; a name which, on examination, they appeared very little to deserve, for we did not see a single bird of that species, or any of their nests; but there were several of the bernacle [*sic*] geese, and two of them were shot by Mr Bass.⁶⁰

Despite the presence of the botanist Robert Brown on board the *Investigator*, together with the painter-naturalist Ferdinand Bauer and the gardener Peter Good, Flinders did not introduce many names describing the Australian vegetal kingdom and flora, except *Green Cape* – which describes in a very general way the grassy appearance of the Cape by analogy with its green colour – *Brush Island, Mangrove Point, and Green Island*:

At nine we came abreast of a smooth, sloping point which, from its appearance, and being unnoticed in captain Cook's chart, I named GREEN CAPE. The shore, for about seven miles to the northward, lies N. 16° W., and is rocky and nearly straight, and well covered with wood: the Cape itself is grassy.⁶¹

Indeed, zoology and botany were not within Flinders's expertise, and they represent just seven per cent of the geographical names. This does, however, show that there were mutations in the organization of knowledge at the turn of the nineteenth century. While men of the Enlightenment favoured encyclopaedic knowledge and disciplines such as philosophy and botany, knowledge in the nineteenth century turned into specialized sciences based on

⁵⁷ As a result, the word 'cartography' and the discipline associated with it emerged in the 1820s.

⁵⁸ Withers, 'Eighteenth-Century Geography,' pp. 711–29; Withers and Mayhew, 'Geography,' pp. 445–52.

⁵⁹ Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography*.

⁶⁰ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. cxlviii.

⁶¹ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. cxxi.

physics and mathematics, promoting new techniques and the production of a new generation of atlases of the world. In these atlases, coastlines were represented with increasing precision thanks to the observations collected by captains and explorers such as Flinders.

In summary, thirty-eight per cent of Flinders's names describe the geography and natural environment of Australian coastlines. In contrast, the next paragraph studies the names that were not descriptive but were related to British personalities and individuals.

2.3 The names that honoured personalities and individuals

With a total of eighty-three toponyms (twenty-four per cent of the place names), the second most important category, labelled on the graphs 'High officers / personalities', is composed of names representing British senior officers, personalities, and administrators of the East India Company. This category includes the British authorities who made the decisions and encouraged Flinders in his surveying and cartographic enterprise. It provides key insights into the hierarchy of power within British institutions. To highlight this social and political hierarchy, this category has been subdivided into several subclasses.

These subdivisions show that the majority of names in this category honoured 'Senior officers from the Admiralty and the Royal Navy' (first subcategory). As Flinders was a Royal Navy officer, and the *Investigator* voyage was undertaken under the authority of the Admiralty, this is to be expected. Accordingly, he named his most significant discoveries after the First Lords of the Admiralty who, as heads of the Admiralty and the Royal Navy, became involved either in the preparation of the *Investigator* voyage in 1800–01, or, from 1810 with the publication of Flinders's *Voyage* and *Atlas* after his release from Isle de France. These are, to begin with, George John Spencer, second Earl Spencer and John Jervis, first Earl of St Vincent; later, the Right Honourable Charles Philip Yorke, who later became Lord Hardwicke; and Henry Dundas, first viscount Melville and his son the Right Honourable Robert Saunders Dundas, later second viscount Melville. Accordingly, Flinders named on the south coast *Spencer Gulf*, *Gulf St Vincent*, and *Yorke Peninsula*, and in the Gulf of Carpentaria, *Melville Bay*. Flinders also named capes (*Cape Spencer*, *Cape Jervis*), islands (*Althorp Isles*, after Lord Spencer's eldest son, *Melville Isles*), a bay (*Hardwicke Bay*), points (*Point St Vincent*, *Point Dundas*), and mounts (*Mount Dundas*, *Mount Saunders*). In total, thirteen names represent the First Lords of the Admiralty who supported Flinders's surveying mission and charting work.⁶²

Flinders also paid homage to the commissioners and secretaries of the office of Lord High Admiral who were in charge of the Admiralty's administration, respectively the Sea Lords and Commissioners Gambier (*Gambier's Isle*), Young (*Mount Young*), Troubridge (*Troubridge Hill*, *Troubridge Shoal*) and Bickerton (*Bickerton's Island*); the secretaries Sir Evan Nepean (*Nepean Bay*), who signed Flinders's instructions, and Marsden (*Point Marsden*), who acted in favour of Flinders's liberation when he held the post of first secretary of the Admiralty from 1804 to 1807; and John Barrow (*Cape Barrow*), already mentioned. In total, eight names. Overall, Flinders dedicated to the heads of the Admiralty twenty-one toponyms, a quarter of the category 'High officers / personalities'.

⁶² Flinders did not name any features after those First Lords who were in office during his captivity. He selected only the First Lords who showed their commitment to the ends and results of his voyage.

Besides these expected recognitions, more or less required, Flinders also complimented admirals, captains, commissioners, and clerks of the Royal Navy and the Admiralty who took steps to ensure that the best possible preparations were made for the *Investigator* voyage, or acted for his release, or facilitated his contacts and work upon his return to London. These include the resident commissioner Sir Isaac Coffin Greenly, with *Coffin's Bay*, *Point Sir Isaac*, *Greenly's Isles* and *Mount Greenly*;⁶³ Sir Gilbert Blane, of the Naval Medical Board with *Point Blane*; Captain William Shield⁶⁴ with *Cape Shield*; and also two helpful clerks at the Admiralty, William Pearce and Richard Riley, with *Point Pearce*⁶⁵ and *Point Riley*,⁶⁶ two following points on the west coast of Yorke Peninsula in what is now South Australia. Sir Roger Curtis, commander-in-chief at Portsmouth, was remembered with *Port Curtis*.⁶⁷ Flinders also named *Gatcombe Head*, from the Curtis baronetcy of Gatcombe in the County of Hampshire. Captain James Bowen, commissioner at the Transport Office, was given *Port Bowen*;⁶⁸ and Sir Edward Pellew, who offered Flinders in 1806 'in his name, any assistance of which I might stand in need'⁶⁹ received *Sir Edward Pellew's Group* and *Cape Pellew*,⁷⁰ and Captain James Burney was honoured with *Burney's Island*.⁷¹ In addition to this, he honoured the captains of HM ships or HM colonial schooners with whom he sailed with the place names *Cape Pasley*,⁷² *Isle Waterhouse*, *Waterhouse Point*,⁷³ *Kent's Groups*,⁷⁴

⁶³ Coffin married Elizabeth Browne who was the heiress of William Greenly, and Coffin changed his surname to Coffin-Greenly 'in anticipation of his marriage but relinquished it 13 Mar. 1813': <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/coffin-sir-isaac-1759-1839>.

⁶⁴ Shield was a naval commissioner whom Flinders met at Cape Town, then often in London. Flinders appreciated 'his sober family', whom he often visited: *Private Journal*, 15 July 1811.

⁶⁵ William Pearce was a senior clerk at the Admiralty from 1800 to 1813. Flinders acknowledged him as 'my friend', and met him often in 1810 and 1811, looking either for advice about applying for allowances, or concerning the back-dating of his commission, or the situation of his post captain rank, or for information regarding French prisoners, or even the publication and the circulation of his paper and other matters. See Flinders, *Private Journal*.

⁶⁶ Richard Riley was a junior clerk at the Admiralty in 1800, and was advanced to senior clerk in 1807. Flinders met him several times in 1812 and 1813 at the Admiralty, or with friends. See Flinders, *Private Journal*.

⁶⁷ Sir Roger Curtis, a naval officer appointed admiral in 1803, fought during the Great Wars and later became commander-in-chief at Portsmouth in 1809. Flinders recorded in his *Private Journal* that Sir Roger Curtis had partly brought an end to 'the shameful treatment' undergone by General Wellesley's cartel regarding passengers from Mauritius, who were, as a result, to be put on board a transport and sent to France (*Private Journal*, Monday, 30 September 1811). It is important to remember that in 1810 Curtis presided over a controversial court martial examining the case of Lord Gambier and the Battle of Basque Roads. Gambier, who did not join the action until later, indirectly gave the opportunity to the French Fleet to partly escape the British blockade. Curtis sided with Gambier's cause. With Port Curtis, which is a significant place name, Flinders did not call into question Curtis's touchy appraisal of Gambier's action.

⁶⁸ Flinders wrote in the *Voyage* 'I named it Port Bowen, in compliment to captain James Bowen of the navy as captain Bowen did the sea forces at Madeira, when we stopped at that island'. Later, he often met with Bowen in London.

⁶⁹ Flinders, *Private Journal*, p. 122, Sunday, 20 April 1806

⁷⁰ Sir Edward Pellew was naval commander in the East Indies from 1804 to 1808 while Flinders was prisoner at Isle de France (Mauritius).

⁷¹ James Burney accompanied Captain Cook on his last two voyages. He wrote a history of discoveries in the South Sea that Flinders borrowed and used for his voyage. Flinders was also a friend of his brother, Dr William Burney.

⁷² Captain Thomas Pasley sponsored the young Flinders's entry into the Royal Navy in 1789, at the age of sixteen, under Pasley's command aboard HMS *Scipio*, then aboard HMS *Providence* in 1791 with Captain Bligh, then again under Pasley's command aboard HMS *Bellerophon* in 1794 during the Battle of the Glorious First of June against the French:

<http://flinders.rmg.co.uk/DisplayDocument2c7c.html?ID=70&browseBy=Recipient>.

⁷³ Henry Waterhouse was second commander of the *Reliance*, after Hunter. Waterhouse visited Flinders quite often in London.

Hamilton Road,⁷⁵ or British naval officers who supported his nation by defeating the French fleet and its allies during the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (*Point Malcolm*,⁷⁶ *Cape Radstock* and *Waldegrave's Isles*,⁷⁷ *Point Drummond*,⁷⁸ *Cape Willoughby*,⁷⁹ *Mount Grindall*, *Grindall Point*,⁸⁰ *Cunningham Islands*⁸¹).

With irony, Flinders also attributed a toponym to his French rival, Baudin, to name 'a cluster of low rocks' that the French captain reported to him during their meeting at Encounter Bay. This homage was not without ulterior motives, as it provided the opportunity to Flinders to highlight that the French did not position the rocks exactly and that Péron neglected them in the narration of the French voyage. Hence, Flinders explained in his Voyage that he 'called them Baudin's Rocks; and since no name is applied to them in M. Peron's account of their voyage, the appellation is continued.'

To summarize, Flinders's list of place names liberally honoured the Admiralty and the Royal Navy, which received an important total of fifty-four toponyms (including the Admiralty heads), equivalent to sixty-seven per cent of the names belonging to the category 'High officers / personalities'. However, Flinders remained quite selective in his choices. Some high ranking officers were more kindly or generously represented compared to others (Isaac Coffin for example), while some naval officers with high rank, as well as competent hydrographers who had been helpful to Flinders, are noticeably absent. None of the distinguished hydrographers of the time – especially Thomas Hurd, the hydrographer to the Admiralty after Flinders's return to London who assisted him to set up a series of experiments on the magnetic variation of the compass in 1812, and also the practitioners involved with these demanding experiments that required a great deal of expertise (Peter Heywood,⁸² Captain Schomberg⁸³) and so important to Flinders – had a place named after

⁷⁴ William Kent was in command of the *Supply*, which sailed with her consort the *Reliance* (with Hunter, Bass and Flinders) in 1795 to New South Wales. Flinders kept contact with Kent through their correspondence.

⁷⁵ Captain Hamilton ran the *Sydney Cove* ashore and was forced to beach the vessel on Preservation Island in the Furneaux Group (northeastern Tasmania) in terrible weather. Later, Flinders sailed under Captain Hamilton in HM colonial schooner *Francis* to bring back what could be salvaged from the *Sydney Cove*:

<http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks13/1300541h.html>.

⁷⁶ Later Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm.

⁷⁷ William Waldegrave, Baron Radstock (1753–1825), naval officer, fought at the Battle of St Vincent in 1797 and was promoted admiral in 1802. Flinders was relatively frequently invited to dinner by Lord Radstock, where he met the critical writer John Weyland on several occasions.

⁷⁸ 'Captain Adam Drummond of the navy', he was captain of HMS *Bulldog*:

<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections>.

⁷⁹ Willoughby was injured and lost an eye during a naval battle off Mauritius in August 1810 against a French force commanded by Guy-Victor Duperré. His ship, HMS *Nereide*, was lost. It is said that Duperré and Willoughby, both wounded during the battle, were treated in the same room in a chateau named Maison Robillard, and that 'the two recovering foes exchanged handshakes and talked over their battle': Taylor, *Storm and Conquest*, p. 299. Hamelin, who sailed with the Baudin expedition in command of the corvette *Le Naturaliste*, was involved in this battle.

⁸⁰ Sir Richard Grindall played an important role in the Battle of Trafalgar.

⁸¹ From Charles Cunningham, who saw action during the Great Wars, was resident commissioner of His Majesty's Yards at Deptford and Woolwich when Flinders was back in London. As a matter of fact, on 25 April 1811, Flinders 'went to dine with Dr. Dale in Devonshire street Bishopsgate, where was Commr. Cunningham', and he dedicated to them two adjacent places, *Dale Point* and *Cunningham Islands*, on the north-western side of the Gulf of Carpentaria. See footnote 97. Flinders, *Private Journal*, p. 357.

⁸² Flinders transposed information from Captain Heywood's surveying work in HM Bomb Vessel *Vulcan* into his chart of Timor: Flinders, *Private Journal*, p. 361, 19 May 1811.

⁸³ James Horsburgh, another skilful hydrographer to the East India Company, wrote in a letter of 10 November 1812 to Flinders, reflecting the dedication and commitment of British hydrographic practitioners to the progress of hydrographic knowledge: 'Your paper on the Variation published in the Philosophical Transactions, much

them. Flinders acknowledged their competence and support but did not attribute them any place names⁸⁴ while he was still working on the charts of his atlas in 1813 and 1814. It may be that the naming process was possibly finalized before the magnetic experiments in 1812, and that it was too late for Flinders to add the names of his hydrographer colleagues. It is also possible that Flinders's naming practice was, to some extent, governed by deference to the most powerful authority rather than by gratitude for assistance rendered, and that in the community of practitioners there was an aversion to recognizing their colleagues in a place name, including the hydrographers and the astronomers such as Inman who all worked for Flinders's projects. This would also explain why Flinders did not propose Dalrymple as a place name in the way that he advocated other personalities, such as Bass to Hunter. This abstention regarding practical men of sciences differentiates Flinders's voyage from that of Baudin.⁸⁵

More understandably, Flinders did not attribute any name in honour of Vice-Admiral Bertie, despite Bertie's position as commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope.⁸⁶ At Cape Town in July 1810, Bertie asked Flinders, who was just released on parole, to give him information about Isle de France and to sketch the plan 'of the town and port of the I. of France', to prepare for its invasion in October 1810. Flinders wrote in his journal:

Saturday 4. Calm with cloudy weather, after rain in the night. Reading Pratts' Gleanings. Dined today with Admiral Bertie. I had previously refused three invitations to keep myself unengaged for the admiral, he having invited me twice before when I could not accept.

Furthermore, Bertie seemed to have overlooked Flinders's request to bring back to London his third logbook that the French governor, Charles Mathieu Isidore Decaen, had confiscated.⁸⁷

Besides the officers of the Royal Navy, Flinders paid tribute to some British high ranking officials or members of the aristocracy (second subcategory) who acted for his cause, with twenty names (twenty-three per cent of the names within the category). Flinders gave a place name to the secretary of state for the colonies, Portland (*Cape Portland*), to the colonial secretary at the Cape of Good Hope, and to the commandant at Madeira, Colonel Clinton (*Cape Clinton*). He 'indulged' his 'gratitude' to the governor-general of British India, Richard Colley Wellesley, second earl Mornington, who 'humanely used his efforts to relieve

attracted my attention, ... Heywood [another hydrographer] sent me a copy of the results of your last observations taken at Spithead, but these could not be noticed in my Directions, which were published in Augt . 1811, otherwise I certainly should have noticed them; for I assure you Sir, like yourself, I trust my endeavours are directed entirely to approximate to truth, and contribute if possible, to assist in clearing the way for my Brother ...': <http://flinders.rmg.co.uk>, accessed 28 August 2013. As a matter of fact, Captain Schomberg was selected and sent in command of the frigate *Le Loire* to assist Flinders's experiments on magnetism in ships.

⁸⁴ For example, Flinders noted, 'at my request, captain Schomberg was good enough to take the swivel moorings in again, and I made, with his assistance and that of Mr. Swain the master, some interesting observations with the compass on the gangways and in a lighter alongside; and with the aid of Mr. Stebbing some others, with the dipping needle in the lower parts of the frigate's decks. At four we left the Loire and reached the shore before six, ready for dinner after ten hours fasting': *Private Journal*, 22 May 1812.

⁸⁵ See below.

⁸⁶ In his private journal, Flinders expressed his lack of empathy for Bertie, noting on 16 July 1810 in Simon's Bay at the Cape of Good Hope, 'This day I passed wholly at home, except paying a visit to Mr. Alexander and calling at Mr. Maude's, and sitting half an hour with the admiral [Bertie]; but he was too ill, busy, and sulky as usual for me to stay long': *Private Journal*, p. 318.

⁸⁷ Scott, *Terre Napoléon*, pp. 117–18.

me [Flinders] from an imprisonment'⁸⁸ (*Isle Mornington and Wellesley's Islands*), and Lord William Bentinck 'of whose obliging attention, when governor of Madras, I shall hereafter have to speak in praise'⁸⁹ (*Bentinck Island*). Flinders honoured General Grey, later commander of the forces at the Cape of Good Hope (*Cape Grey*), and named *Point Alexander*, *Mount Alexander*, and *Caledon Bay* 'as a mark of respect to the worthy nobleman',⁹⁰ Mr Du Pré Alexander, Earl of Caledon. Flinders also named *Winchelsea Island* and *Finch's Island* after the Finch-Hatton family and George Finch, 'the noble possessor of Burley Park, in the county of Rutland'.⁹¹

A third subcategory represents the East India Company. Flinders thanked the generosity of the company, especially that of its directors,⁹² administrators and captains, with five names (six per cent): the *English Company's Islands*;⁹³ *Cotton's Island*, 'after captain Cotton of the India directory'⁹⁴ to whom Flinders sent his abridged paper on the magnetism of ships in October 1812; *Wigram Island*, *Bosanquet Island* and *Inglis Island*, after the directors of the EIC at the time when Flinders was working on his charts in London and with whom he was in contact through, for example, dinner by invitation at the City of London Tavern. Flinders also remembered that unfortunate EIC convoys had been attacked by the French and he named *Astell Island* in honour of Robert Hay, captain of East Indiaman *Astell*, who was seriously wounded during one of these operations.⁹⁵

Finally, a very paltry number of place names (only three in total) epitomize the commonwealth of letters or sciences, and its main personality, Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society. Flinders allocated two place names in honour of the botanist of the *Providence*, James Wiles⁹⁶ (*Liguanea Island*, *Cape Wiles*), with whom he sailed as a midshipman for Tahiti under the command of Bligh. Of course, he also gave a place name on the coast he discovered to Joseph Banks (*Sir Joseph Banks' Group*) 'in compliment to the Right Honourable president of the Royal Society, to whose exertion and favour the voyage was so much indebted'.⁹⁷ In addition to this, some Lincolnshire names were associated with Banks's estates, such as *Reevesby Island*⁹⁸ in the Sir Joseph Banks' Group. Besides, a cape was already named after Banks from Cook's first voyage,⁹⁹ and, as mentioned above, Flinders remarked in his *Memoir* on the desirability of preventing 'so many repetitions of names as we find in different parts of the world; nay sometimes in the same part'.

⁸⁸ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 159.

⁸⁹ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 136.

⁹⁰ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 210.

⁹¹ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 189, Friday, 14 January 1803.

⁹² 'The sum of £600. was ordered by the Court of Directors, to be paid as an allowance to the men of science, to the officers of the ship, and myself, for our tables; and the same sum to be given at the conclusion of the voyage. This allowance the directors were pleased to make, from the voyage being within the limits of the Company's charter, from the expectation of our examinations and discoveries proving advantageous to their commerce and the eastern navigation, and partly, as they said, for my former services': Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 6.

⁹³ '...in compliment to that respectable body of men, whose liberal attention to this voyage was useful to us and honourable to them, the whole cluster is named the English Company's Islands': Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 234.

⁹⁴ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 233.

⁹⁵ Action of 3 July 1810.

⁹⁶ 'I named Cape Wiles, after a worthy friend at Liguanea, in Jamaica': Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 131.

⁹⁷ Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 142.

⁹⁸ Reevesby Abbey became Banks's family home from 1714 when it was bought by his great-grandfather.

⁹⁹ Cape Banks, north of Botany Bay, New South Wales.

Certainly, all the men of science in Flinders's ship's company, especially Robert Brown, whom Banks selected to take part in the *Investigator* voyage, received place names with *Point Brown*, *Cape Brown*, *Mount Brown*, *Point Westall*, *Mount Westall*, *Goods Island*, *Allen Island*, and *Cape Bauer*. It was, however, more their dedicated and careful work as part of the *Investigator* mission, rather than their status as men of science, that Flinders acknowledged with a place name, on the same basis as the other members of his crew who received a name, such as his two lieutenants (*Point Fowler*, *Flinders Island*¹⁰⁰), and his worthy masters (*Thistle's Cove*,¹⁰¹ *Akens Island*¹⁰²). Also, Flinders honoured the able young men who came on board as aspiring officers or landsmen, not yet experienced, seeking training and advancements, to start building a career in the navy, and who developed their skills throughout the voyage. He named *Franklin Islands*,¹⁰³ *Evans Island*,¹⁰⁴ and *Lacy Island*¹⁰⁵ after Franklin, Evans and Lacy, who came on board as petty officers and whom Flinders shuffled between the billets; while *Sinclair Rocks*¹⁰⁶ and *Lound Island*¹⁰⁷ were named after Sinclair and Lound, who came on board as landsmen and were advanced to ordinary seaman and then to midshipmen. Flinders also named places after his surgeon, Hugh Bell (*Point Bell*), his surgeon's first mate Purdie (*Purdie Islands*), and his clerk, John Olive (*Olive island*).

These names are grouped in the category 'Ship's company' along with names given in memory of crew members who died during the voyage from dysentery, scurvy or heat stroke (*Draper Island*,¹⁰⁸ *Douglas Island*,¹⁰⁹ *Point Hillier*,¹¹⁰ *Morgan Island*¹¹¹), or drowning, near *Cape Catastrophe* (*Thistle Island*, *Williams Island*, *Grindal Island*, *Hopkins Island*, *Lewis Island*, *Little Island*, *Taylor Island*). There again, Flinders was selective and did not include, for example, James Greenhalgh, who died from dysentery. This is difficult to understand as Flinders had a very high opinion of him:

¹⁰⁰ His brother Samuel Flinders.

¹⁰¹ 'On the following morning I sent the master to examine a small bay or cove lying two miles to the westward of Lucky Bay. He found it to be capable of receiving one ship, which might be placed in perfect security in the western corner, with anchors out on the off bow and quarter, and hawsers on the other side fast to the shore. She would thus lie in from 3 to 5 fathoms, almost near enough to lay a stage to the beach. There was wood for fuel; and at less than a hundred yards from the shore, a lake of fresh water, one mile in circumference, from which a small stream runs into the cove; but another stream, descending from the hills nearer into the western corner, would better suit the purposes of a ship. This account was from the master, after whom this little but useful discovery was named Thistle's Cove': Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, I, p. 82.

¹⁰² John Aken was master's mate, and from the 12 August 1802 acting master: ADM 36/15885/170v.

¹⁰³ From John Franklin: TNA ADM 36/15885/169v.

¹⁰⁴ From Thomas Evans: TNA ADM 36/15885/167v.

¹⁰⁵ From Denis Lacy: TNA ADM 36/15885/169v.

¹⁰⁶ From Kennet Sinclair: TNA ADM 36/15885/167v.

¹⁰⁷ From Sherrard P. Lound: TNA ADM 36/15885/168v.

¹⁰⁸ Flinders wrote in the *Voyage*: 'On the 2nd of June we lost John Draper, quarter master, one of the most orderly men in the ship; and it seemed to be a fatality, that the dysentery should fall heaviest on the most valuable part of the crew'.

¹⁰⁹ Flinders specified that Mr Douglas was interred upon Middle Island, and 'an inscription upon copper placed over his grave': Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 266.

¹¹⁰ 'William Hillier, one of my best men, also died of dysentery': Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 266.

¹¹¹ 'Thomas Morgan, a marine, having been some time exposed bare-headed to the sun, was struck with sunburn; he was brought on board with Mr. Whitewood, and died in a state of frenzy, the same night': *Voyage*, II.

This day James Greenhalgh, sergeant of marines, died of the dysentery; a man whom I sincerely regretted, from the zeal and fidelity with which he had constantly fulfilled the duties of his situation.¹¹²

From his previous missions, Flinders also thanked the company of the *Norfolk*¹¹³ with *Point Hibbs*,¹¹⁴ *Norfolk Bay*, *Norfolk Range*, and the *Tom Thumb*'s small but efficient crew with *Martin Islet*¹¹⁵ and *Port Hacking*.¹¹⁶ In total, eleven per cent of the place names (forty names) honoured Flinders's ships' companies, mainly the *Investigator* crew (eighty-eight per cent of this eleven per cent).

Flinders's distribution of names also reflects his strong concern for ensuring that the memory of previous discoverers was well respected, with eighteen names (five per cent of place names) commemorating earlier European expeditions which had sailed nearby but off the coasts surveyed by Flinders.¹¹⁷ These include the seventeenth-century Dutch expeditions of Pieter Nuyts (*Nuyts Reef*, *Cape Nuyts*, *Nuyts Archipelago*, *St Francis Island*, *Point Peter*), Abel Janszoon Tasman (*Mount Heemskerk* and *Mount Meehan* after his two ships and *Sweers' Island*, *Vanderlin*, *Cape Maria*, after Maria Van Diemen, the wife of Anthony Van Diemen¹¹⁸), and Gerrit Frederikssoon de Witt (*De Witt Range*). In many cases, Flinders remembered prior captains indirectly through the name of their vessels, such as *Duyfhen Point*, after Willem Jansz's expedition; *Pera Head*, after that of Jan Carstensz; and *Arnhem Bay* after that of Willem van Colster. Flinders also remembered the expedition of Captain Edwards in HMS *Pandora* (*Pandora Entrance*).

Flinders attributed twenty-two names (six per cent) to his navigation, surveying and nautical work. Some refer to a nautical manoeuvre or surveying work, such as *Haul-off Rock*, *Anchor Bight*, *Tacking Point*, *Long Reach*, *Station Island*, *Prospect Hill*, *Station Peak*, *Inspection Head*, *Observation Island*, *Connexion Island*. Others refer openly to nautical hazards with happy, disappointing or tragic outcomes, such as *Lucky Bay*, *Denial Bay*, *Anxious Bay*, *Avoid Bay* and *Avoid Point*, *Dangerous Reef*, *Thorny Passage*, *Probable Island*, *Wreck Reefs*, *Cape Catastrophe*, and *Memory Cove*. These names all help maintain the memory of the *Investigator* voyage.

Flinders did not forget his worthy friends (*Wilson's Promontory*,¹¹⁹ *Mount Bonner*, *Mallison Island*,¹²⁰ *Dale Point*¹²¹) and family.¹²² They represent just three per cent of the

¹¹² Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 269.

¹¹³ From the subcategory 'Names honouring the *Norfolk* or *Tom Thumb* voyages': Flinders, *Voyage to Terra Australis*, II, p. 197.

¹¹⁴ After the colonial master of the *Norfolk*.

¹¹⁵ '[O]ur young companion in the boat': Flinders, *Observations on the Coasts of Van Diemen's Land*, 25 March 1796.

¹¹⁶ Flinders explained that 'we found the river, or rather port, which was the original place of our destination; and it having been a pilot named Hacking, from whom the first information of it had been received, it was named after him': Flinders, *Observations on the Coasts of Van Diemen's Land*, 2 April 1796.

¹¹⁷ Category 'Names in honour of a previous expedition'.

¹¹⁸ In August 1642, the Council of the Indies, consisting of Antonie van Diemen, Cornelis van der Lijn, Joan Maetsuycker, Justus Schouten, Salomon Sweers, Cornelis Witsen, and Pieter Boreel in Batavia despatched Abel Tasman and Franchoijs Visscher on a voyage to hitherto unknown regions of the South Sea.

¹¹⁹ 'In compliment to my friend Thomas Wilson, Esq. of London': Flinders, *Observations on the Coasts of Van Diemen's Land*, 7 February 1798.

¹²⁰ Mrs Mallison was a relative of Mr Wilberforce.

nomenclature but are significant because it was very unusual at the time for this kind of expedition to name places after people who were part of the captain's personal life. Neither Cook, nor Bligh, nor Vancouver mixed public with private names in their nomenclature.

A final category of names is linked with encounters and interactions with Aboriginal and Malay people (*Skirmish Point, Malay Road, Pobassoo Island*), or with the French expedition (*Encounter Bay*) that occurred during the voyage, or were evocative of Aboriginal way of life (*Woodah Island, Smoky Bay, Alowrie* now *Illawarra, Watta-Mowlee* now *Wattamolla Beach*). Despite their very small percentage (two per cent), they show some awareness of the human and cultural geography of Australia.

To conclude, Flinders's general nomenclature reflects both the nature of the *Investigator*'s voyage and the personality of its captain. It pays tribute to Flinders's ability to maintain his independent character and to prioritize his geographical work without failing to dutifully respect his hierarchical superiors and to express his gratitude to his friends.

Consequently, on the one hand, the most representative category of place names corresponds to the geography of the Australian coastlines and is testament to the care taken by Flinders to provide sufficiently evocative names that made recognizable the geographical features he identified and charted. The second most important category of names, which honoured senior officers and persons involved with explorations and his voyages, represents Flinders's loyal recognition towards his authorities, patrons and sponsors as well as Flinders's personal recognition of those who did their best to contribute to the preparation of his voyage.

On the other hand, the nomenclature marginalized science and its theorists: the astronomer Crosley who left the voyage at the Cape of Good Hope on health grounds; the royal astronomer Maskelyne, and his successor Pond; or John Inman, the astronomer who arrived too late in Port Jackson to replace John Crosley on the *Investigator* but who was later involved with Flinders's experimentation on magnetism in ships; or even the geographer James Rennell, fellow of the Royal Society who was the scientific expert of the time on currents and oceanic circulation. The very famous instrument makers who provided some of the *Investigator* equipment did not receive a place name although, cautiously, Flinders' publisher George Nicol and his engraver Arrowsmith were rewarded with *Nicol Island* and *Point Arrowsmith*. This absence of representation of men of science differentiates Flinders's distribution of names from that of the French expedition (see below).

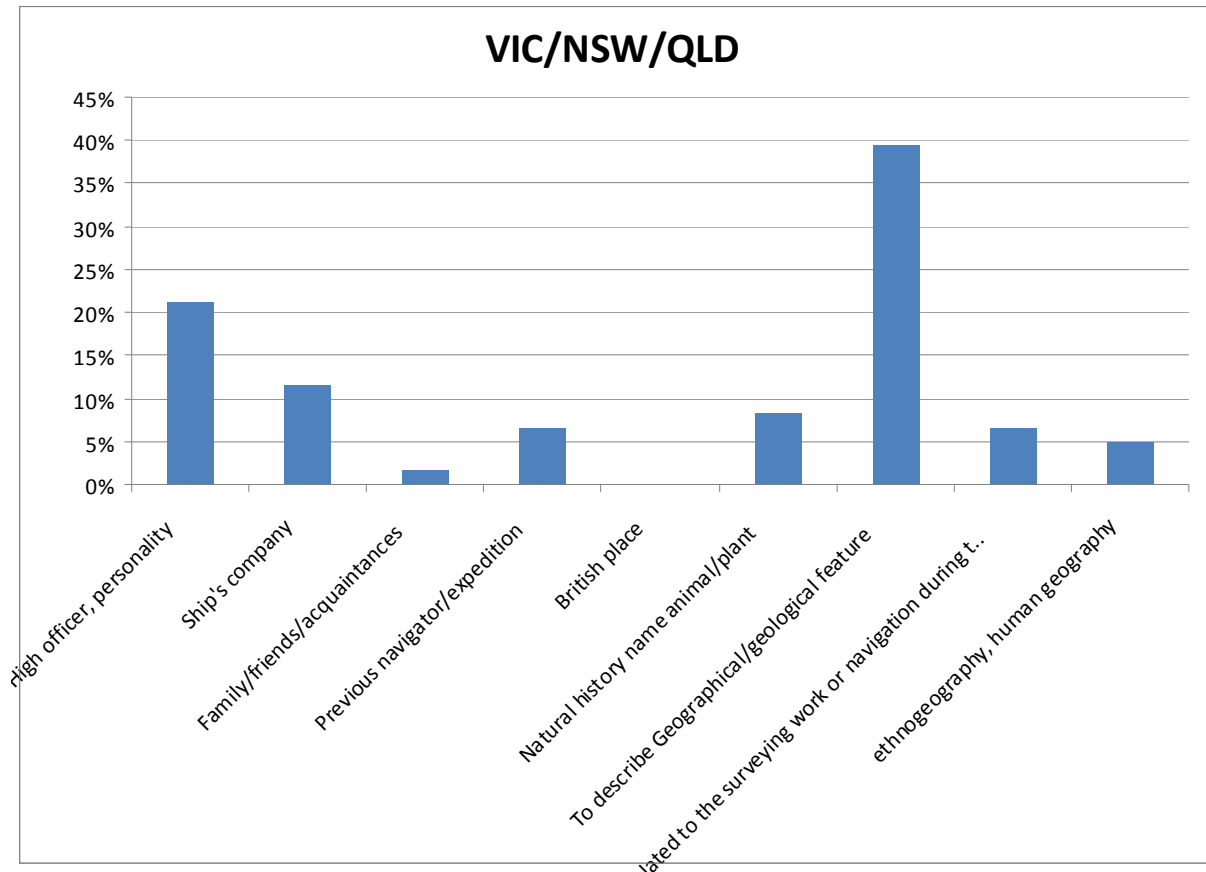
This general analysis covers to a great extent contrasted situations and, consequently, needs to be completed by regional analyses, done at a state scale, to bring a regional perspective to the understanding of the *Investigator* voyage.

¹²¹ From Dr and Mrs Dale. Dale showed Flinders 'every attention, in acknowledgement of mine [Flinders] to his son Alfred, when we were prisoners at the Isle of France'. See *Private Journal*, 27 May 1811. Dale also became Matthew's, Anne's and Ann Flinders's doctor.

¹²² Bromby Islets after the Reverend F. Bromby of Hull, a cousin of Mrs Flinders. Cape Newbald after Henrietta Newbald, née Flinders, who introduced him to Pasley. Pearson Island after Flinders's brother-in-law. Ward Island after his mother's maiden name. Mount Arden was Flinders's great-grandmother's name. Chappell Point and Chappell Islands after Miss Ann Chappell, Flinders's bride-to-be.

3 The nomenclature as a marker of regional history

Each Australian coastal region followed a distinct pattern of naming when compared to the general distribution, except, to some extent, the coasts of Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland.



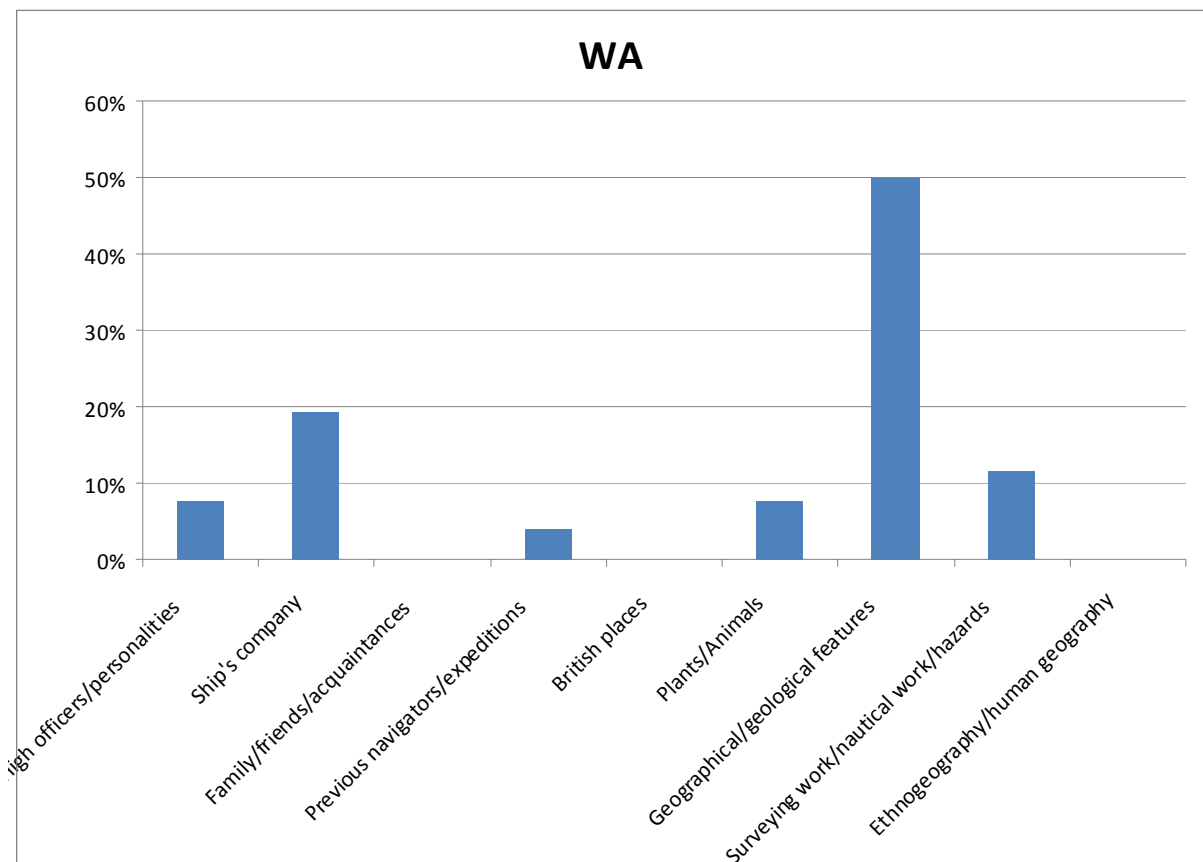
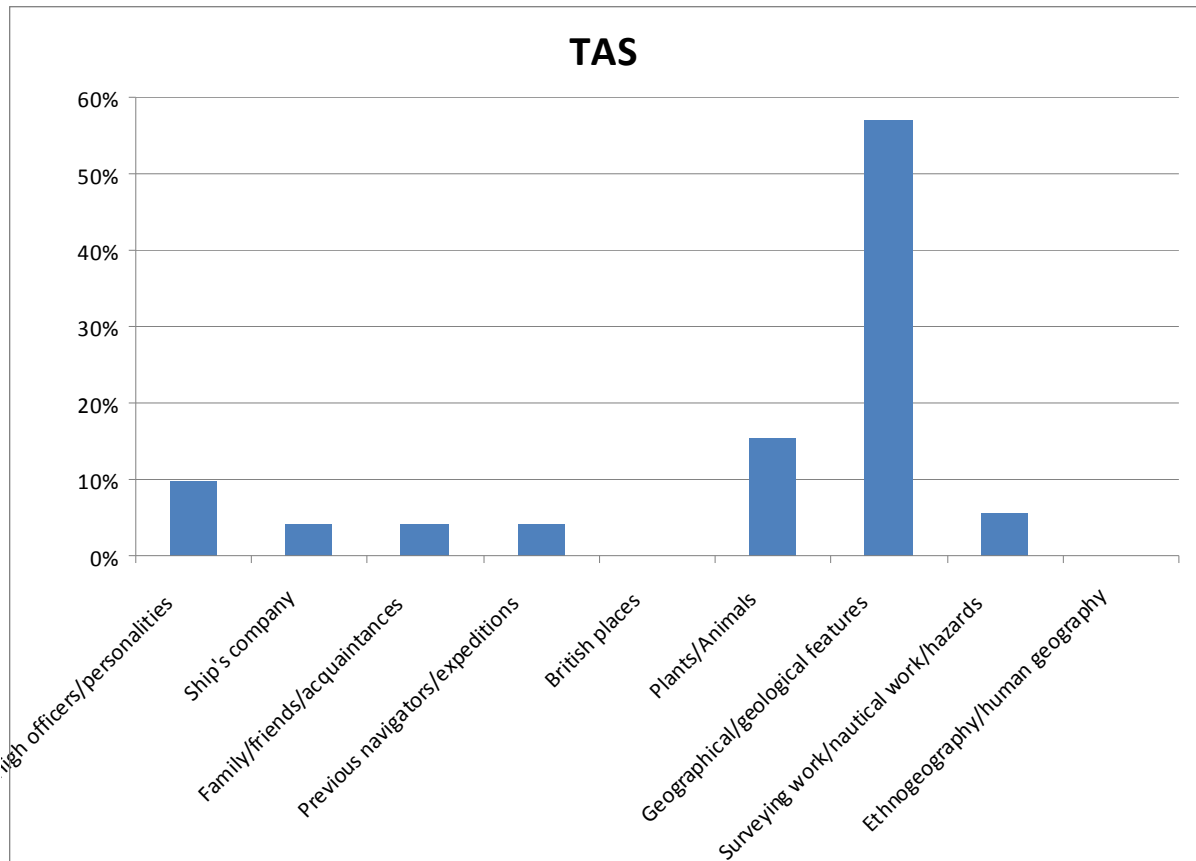
On these coasts, which comprise a total of sixty-one names, Flinders's nomenclature followed more or less the general model. The three categories with the majority of place names are the same in both regions. Firstly the names describing geographical features; secondly the names honouring high officers and personalities; and thirdly the names honouring Flinders's ship's company. The patterns of the other coasts lie further away from the general graph, revealing some regional characteristics and differences.

3.1 The Tasmanian and south-western Australian coasts. The importance of geographical names

The Tasmanian and south-western Australian coasts are distant from each other, with different landscapes, but have been grouped together because their distribution of names (seventy-three Tasmanian names,¹²³ and twenty-six in Western Australia¹²⁴) albeit not identical, present some similarities.

¹²³ Flinders, *Chart of Terra Australis. Sheet VI*, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t576>.

¹²⁴ Flinders, *Chart of Terra Australis. Sheet I*, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-vn3791187>.



The names are predominantly geographical, with a larger percentage than the general average of half or more of the total names, attesting to the ascendancy of Flinders's surveying, hydrographical, and geographical interests. This is particularly the case in Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), where the toponyms relating to natural history are twice as important than average, the total of the descriptive toponyms totalling seventy-one per cent of the names (nearly three quarters of the Tasmanian nomenclature). On the other hand, the percentage of names from the category entitled 'High officers / personalities' is much smaller than average, and Tasmania and Western Australia mainly have names of captains of the Royal Navy, and just a few names of high ranking officers from the Admiralty. For example, in Western Australia, compared to Vancouver who named the two major sounds he discovered after members of the royal family, *King George's Sound* and *Princess Royale Harbour*, Flinders honoured two captains of the Royal Navy with *Cape Pasley*¹²⁵ and *Point Malcolm*.¹²⁶ In Van Diemen's Land, Flinders remembered mainly those captains who plied the seas off New South Wales (*Kent Group*, *Waterhouse Island and Point*, and the unfortunate Hamilton, with *Hamilton Road*). The limited presence of London-based high ranking officials has to be related to the fact that Flinders was simply an officer during his survey of the Van Diemen's Land coasts, and had been sent by the governor of New South Wales and not the Admiralty. In Western Australia, this was different. Vancouver was the first European to claim this part of the coast for Great Britain, and Flinders was simply completing Vancouver's survey.

The details of these names are very revealing as they could possibly play the role of a geographical guidebook describing the coasts in the early nineteenth century, and of Flinders's surveying work with all its challenges. Flinders's successive toponyms on the north coast of Tasmania¹²⁷ surveyed with the *Norfolk* from *Double Sandy Point* in the northeast to *Cape Grim* in the north-west, including the difficult hydrographic survey of the river now called the Tamar, may serve as case in point. *Double Sandy Point* evoked the sedimentary sequences with sandy beaches between capes;¹²⁸ *Stony Head* the sandstone formation;¹²⁹ while *Low Head* described the low altitude, and *Green Island* the grasslands. The Tamar River valley and drainage pattern and its hydrography were detailed from downstream to upstream with *Western Arm*, *Middle Island*, *Long Reach*, *Point Rapid*, *Crooked Reach*, *Round-head Bay*, *Point Roundabout*, *Whirlpool Reach*, *Shoal Point*, *Crescent Shore*, *Middle Rock*, *Middle Island*, *Sea Reach*, *Watering Cove*, and also biogeographically with *Brush Island*, *Egg Island*, *Swan Point*, and *Shag Rocks*. Further along the north-west coast of Tasmania, the steep, cliffy head with a flat top resulting from tertiary volcanic events was described by Flinders as *Table Cape*, while he depicted *Circular Head* as a volcanic plug.

Therefore, in these two states, Flinders was more preoccupied with his surveying observations than in claiming the places he charted as British. This was not the case on the north and south coasts.

¹²⁵ See footnote 72

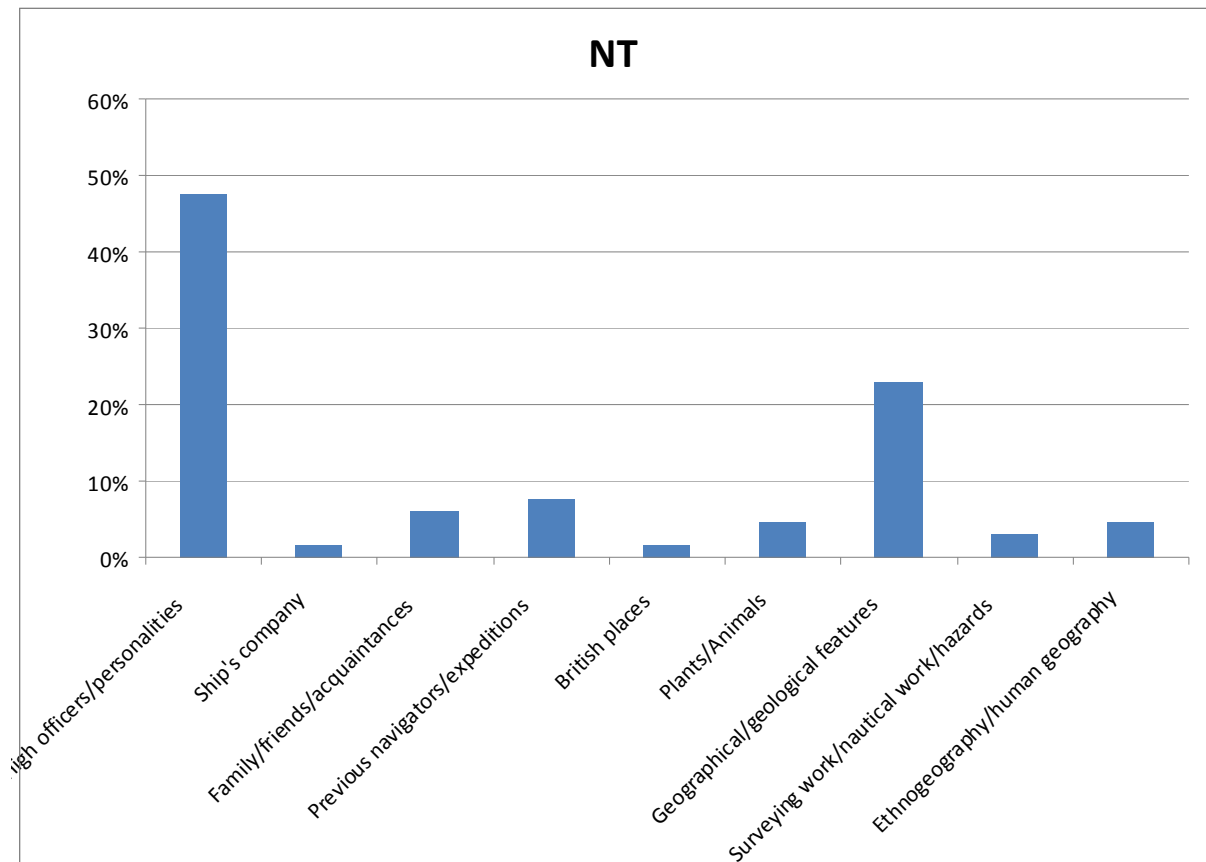
¹²⁶ Captain Pultney Malcolm was Pasley's nephew.

¹²⁷ Flinders, *Chart of Terra Australis. Sheet VI*, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t576>.

¹²⁸ Palaeozoic sequences.

¹²⁹ Ordovician formation.

3.2 The coasts of the Gulf of Carpentaria (Northern Territory): naming for the EIC



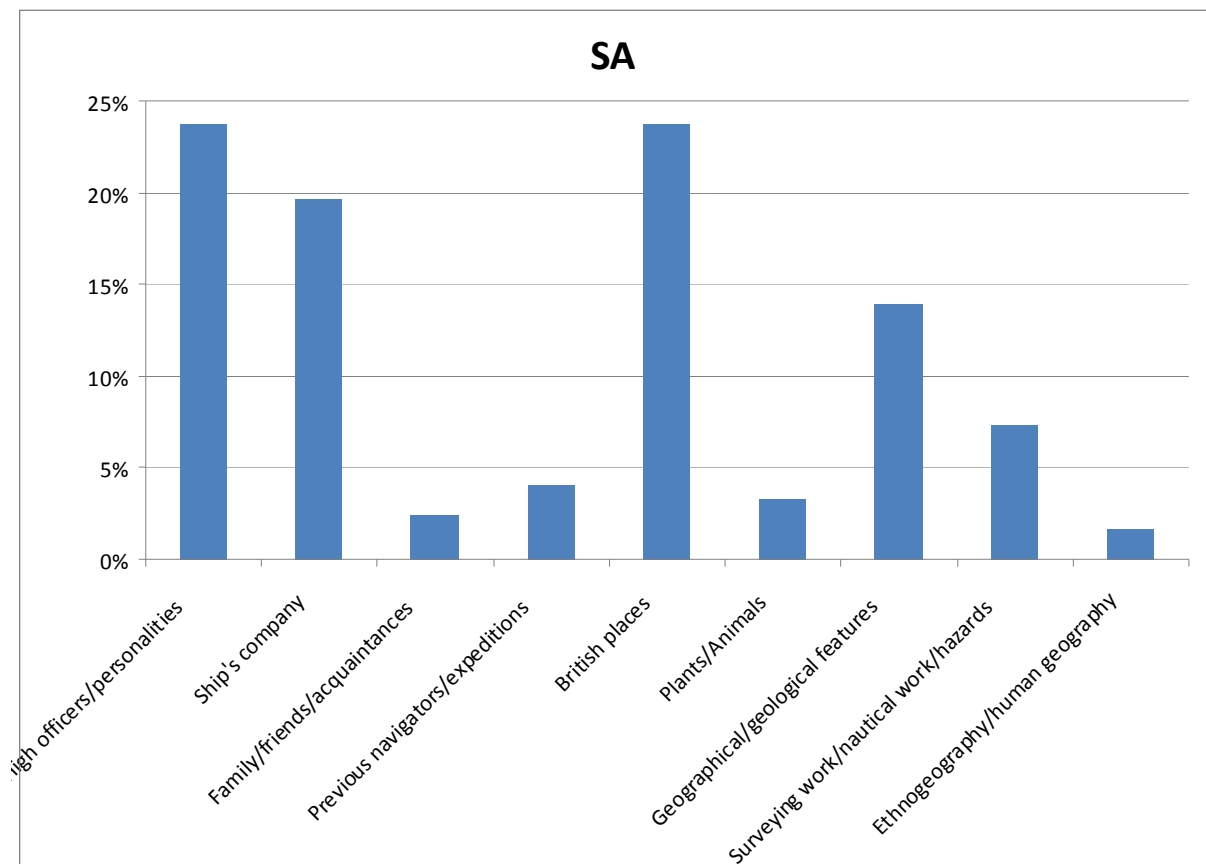
This coast, which bears a total of sixty-five names,¹³⁰ departs from the general average. The category with the largest number of names was not that of geographical names but that of names honouring high officers and personalities (forty-eight per cent of the sixty-five names). Among these the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Right Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas, viscount Melville, who was mainly in charge when Flinders was working on his atlas, received five names with *Mount Saunders*, *Mount Dundas*, *Melville Island*, *Melville Bay*, and *Point Dundas*. Lord Melville was more often remembered on this north coast than First Lords Spencer, St Vincent and Yorke.¹³¹ This has to be related to the fact that the north coast is the only one where the EIC is honoured with place names, and Lord Melville acted in favour of the Company.¹³² Flinders honoured its directors with names (see above) because they were relying on Flinders's voyage to confirm the viability of a maritime route through the Torres Strait and to the north of New Holland to reach India, and were sponsoring the *Investigator's* officers and men of science with this in mind. Also, the presence of ethnographic names (such as *Malay Road*, *Pobassoo Island*) demonstrates that Flinders was aware of this coast being part of a large trading zone which included the East Indies and China.

¹³⁰ Flinders, *Chart of Terra Australis. Sheet II*, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t583>.

¹³¹ Their names were mainly represented on the unknown south coast. See below.

¹³² Lord Melville took action to help the EIC recover from its trading loss with the creation of a special committee and the renewal of the company's charter.

3.3 The South Australian coast: naming against the French



As on the north coast, the distribution of names on the Australian south coast, which was unknown to Europe until the Flinders and Baudin expeditions, is utterly different to the average pattern. Before analysing the names in this area it is important to remember that the *Investigator* voyage was launched partly in response to the French expedition, which was sent in October 1800 under the command of Nicolas Baudin, who had also been given the mission to survey this great unknown part of Terra Australis. Indeed, both expeditions surveyed and charted this unknown coast in February to April 1802. Flinders was the first to survey the western sector (which happened to be the most interesting, including the two gulfs where Adelaide and Port Lincoln were later founded), while Baudin was the first to survey the eastern sector (now the Coorong coast).

With 123 names, Flinders's nomenclature is here numerically more important, with a greater density of place names along the coast.¹³³ The most important category of names, almost never represented on the other coasts, is 'British Places' (twenty-four per cent of the names given by Flinders in what is now known as South Australia). It is composed exclusively of Lincolnshire names. Secondly, the place names related to the ship's company (in this instance the *Investigator* crew) are far more numerous than on the other coasts, with a percentage of twenty per cent, close to the percentage of names representing 'High officers / personalities' (twenty-two per cent). Thirdly, this latter category gathered a higher percentage of names representative of the Admiralty and the Royal Navy than on the other coasts. In total, these three categories counted for two thirds of the toponyms.

¹³³ Flinders, *Chart of Terra Australis. Sheet III*, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t573>.

This distribution was mainly in reply to the fact that the French expedition also surveyed Flinders's western coastline after the first meeting of the two captains at Encounter Bay in April 1802,¹³⁴ and then again in January-February 1803, with a small shallow draught vessel, the *Casuarina*, allowing more detailed surveys. This confusing situation, well documented,¹³⁵ became even more difficult after the death of Baudin in September 1803, when the authors François Péron¹³⁶ and Louis Freycinet¹³⁷ published two volumes¹³⁸ and a historical atlas¹³⁹ of their expedition while Flinders was being held for six years in captivity at Isle de France, unable to publish his own work. With some justification, as they obviously needed to name the places they were describing and charting, but disregarding the right of the first discoverer, Péron and Freycinet littered the part of the south coast first surveyed by Flinders with French names, and the entire south coast was, with headlong zeal, christened 'Terre Napoléon'.¹⁴⁰ As expected, as soon as the French publication, printed at Paris in 1807,¹⁴¹ reached London, a number of virulent articles condemning Péron were issued.¹⁴² For example, the *Quarterly Review*, published in 1810 before Flinders's release, carried an article wherein the French voyage was referred to as a 'voyage d'espionnage', while the author of the article (John Barrow, mentioned in our first part), methodically compared Péron's narrative with the journal kept by Flinders on the *Investigator* and felt himself 'called upon to 'unfold a tale' respecting this Land of Napoléon, which will leave him, at once, without a shadow of the claim to which his flatterers would entitle him'.¹⁴³

The next important article relating to this Anglo-French naming war was written by John Weyland¹⁴⁴ after Flinders's return to London. The article¹⁴⁵ was also a review of

¹³⁴ We may assume that during the meeting between the two captains Baudin did not understand what exactly Flinders had surveyed. There were serious problems of comprehension. Baudin did not anticipate that the British would also send an expedition to discover the unknown coasts, and Flinders showed Baudin just a very rough sketch of his survey, without details. Baudin's journal confirms that, almost certainly, he did not know that Flinders had surveyed the two gulfs.

¹³⁵ Scott, *Terre Napoléon*; Baudin, *French Exploration in South Australia and The Journal of Post Captain Nicolas Baudin*; Fornasiero and West-Sooby, 'Naming and Shaming'.

¹³⁶ François Péron embarked on *Le Géographe* as a zoologist apprentice, and studied medicine.

¹³⁷ Louis Claude de Saulces de Freycinet embarked on *Le Naturaliste* as midshipman, and was promoted to lieutenant.

¹³⁸ Péron, *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres Australes*. Not once did Péron mention the name of Baudin in his work.

¹³⁹ Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes* and *Atlas*. This historical atlas ('Historique') should not be confused with the geographical atlas of the expedition ('Partie navigation et géographie'), published later (see footnote 148), even though the first published chart of Australia and charts of its western, southern and Tasmanian coasts were included in the historical atlas: <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-raa>.

¹⁴⁰ <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-raa1>. Péron and Freycinet gave names on the south coast to a total of 273 places (excluding Van Diemen's Land / Tasmania), with 261 names in South Australia and twelve names in Victoria, mainly representative of French culture. Forty-seven per cent of the names honoured men and women dedicated to sciences, letters, and arts. Then, senior officers and ministers received thirty-two per cent of the names, the Imperial family seven per cent, and Bonaparte victories six per cent. They kept few of Baudin's original names, which were generally more related to natural history or the course of the voyage.

¹⁴¹ Napoléon and his continental empire were, in 1807, at their height after French victories at Austerlitz and Friedland, and the peace of Tilsit, and his wife, Josephine de Beauharnais, was very keen to welcome in the park of La Malmaison the kangaroos, emus and swans brought back by the expedition.

¹⁴² Some virulent articles advocating Flinders's cause were also written in France by the geographer Malte-Brun who condemned 'the imperial plagiarism'.

¹⁴³ Barrow, 'Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes', pp. 43–51.

¹⁴⁴ John Weyland was a writer and a justice of the peace who condemned Malthusian population theory. He founded *The British Review* and the *London Critical Journal* to review publications with an evangelical spirit, as opposed to the non-religious perspective of the two major periodicals of the time, the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*. However, his article on Péron appears to be driven rather by a great spirit of war against France than by genuine Christian spirit: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820->

Péron's narrative of the French voyage. Weyland wrote a caustic critique that had been read, commented on and documented by Flinders himself, whom Weyland met in London 'for information about Baudin's voyage, and my own [Flinders's], for a critique upon Peron's book'.¹⁴⁶ The French expedition was described as dreadful, Baudin's nautical skills were laughed at, and the content of Péron's *Voyage* was systematically ridiculed and reprovved, including not only his expansionist designs, such as the establishment of an 'Australian Pondicherry',¹⁴⁷ but also the scientific results, which were reduced to nothing of significance.¹⁴⁸ Weyland concluded by asserting that Péron's work could only at best be an 'entertaining peregrination, in an octavo collection of Voyages and Travels', not to be taken seriously.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, Weyland was using the article as an all-out attack on 'the tyrant of Europe' (Napoléon Bonaparte), motivated by Flinders's anger and British enmity over revolutionary and Napoleonic France.

However, back in London, Flinders was prompt in replacing Péron's and Freycinet's nomenclature on the unknown coast, that he himself had surveyed a few weeks before the French, with toponyms of his own. The names of the three successive First Lords of the Admiralty, *Spencer Gulf*, *Gulf St Vincent* and *Yorke Peninsula*, were substituted for *Golphe Napoléon* and *Golphe Josephine* (who was no longer the empress at the time of the publication, because of Napoléon's divorce to marry the daughter of Habsburg Emperor Francis I of Austria) and the *presqu'île Cambacérès* (the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire and President of the House of Peers), while *Port Lincoln* was substituted for *Port Champagne* (the French minister for foreign affairs). At the same time Flinders sprinkled a great deal of Lincolnshire names in the vicinity of Port Lincoln.¹⁵⁰ Instead of the French names related to the Bonaparte family in the region of St Peter and St Francis Island, he used names related to worthy members of his ship's company. He restored the name *Kangaroo Island* that Péron and Freycinet had changed to *Ile Decrès* (after the French minister of Marine),¹⁵¹ and *Cape*

1832/member/weylan-land-john-1774-1854 and

<http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=Weyland%2C%20John%2C%201774-1854>.

¹⁴⁵ Weyland, 'Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes', pp. 66–105.

¹⁴⁶ Flinders, *Private Journal 1803-14*, p. 346.

¹⁴⁷ Pondicherry was an enclave of former French India.

¹⁴⁸ Weyland was unaware that Péron's research in jellyfish, classified by Linné as Medusa by reference to the Gorgon's head of Greek mythology, was a pioneer work. Péron understood that they were different from other animals, with radial symmetry, primitive but already intricate organs, and bioluminescence. Péron wrote a report of more than two hundred pages entitled *Histoire générale des méduses*, with sixty-two drawings made by Lesueur, wherein 122 species, mainly new to European knowledge, were described and classified according to the scientific criteria still in force in our time. Through lack of funding the report was not published until 1995 (Goy, *Les Méduses de Péron et Lesueur*). Failure in funding also affected the publication of the geographical atlas of the French expedition, which was completed in 1812 but published more than three years later after the fall of the Napoleonic Empire (see <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-raa2>). This allowed Flinders's atlas, the 'expenses of reducing and engraving the charts, landscapes, figures, and the parts of natural history' of which were supported by the British Admiralty, to be published before the French geographical atlas edited by Freycinet from the working sheets of the geographers (Charles Boullanger and Pierre Faure) and officers of the Baudin's expedition: Flinders, *Private Journal 1803-14*, p. 341.

¹⁴⁹ Weyland, 'Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes', p. 105.

¹⁵⁰ Paul Carter has shown that Flinders transposed the geography of his home country, Lincolnshire, into the toponymy of the newly discovered Spencer Gulf. Carter puts forward the idea of an 'antipodean Lincolnshire', stating that Flinders's Lincolnshire names in Spencer Gulf 'preserve the spatial and topographical relationship of the Lincolnshire villages': Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, pp. 184–5.

¹⁵¹ Kangaroo island was renamed several times by the French. In his journal, initially, Baudin named the island *Ile des Kangaroes*, then, from February 1803, *Ile Borda*: Baudin, *The Journal of Post Captain Nicolas Baudin*, pp. 460, 472). Back in France, the island was renamed *Ile Decrès* in Péron's *Voyage de découvertes aux Terres australes* and in Freycinet's first editions of the historical and geographical atlases of the expedition. In these

Catastrophe that the French had named *Cap Grécourt*. On the whole, except on the south-eastern coast of what is now South Australia,¹⁵² Flinders disregarded all of the French names, including those surveyed by the *Casuarina* but not the *Investigator*,¹⁵³ and created his own nomenclature where, interestingly enough, he thanked Weyland for his article with *Point Weyland*,¹⁵⁴ next to *Cape Radstock* on the north-western part of the Peninsula now called Eyre Peninsula. As a matter of fact, on Wednesday, 20 February 1811, Flinders ‘dined with Mr. Weyland and a small company, in which was Adm. Lord Radstock’ where the naming issue was very likely discussed with some passion, resulting in Flinders naming two facing capes on the unknown coast in the honour of his friendly ‘small company’¹⁵⁵ in favour of what Péron and Freycinet had named *Cap Fernel* (mathematician and physician) and *Cap Hallé* (Napoléon’s first medical officer).

As a result, Flinders’s nomenclature in South Australia reflects the naming war with Baudin’s expedition, and is consequently more nationally representative when compared to the other coasts, with a stronger percentage of British proper names representing on the one hand British high-ranking naval officers and personalities, and on the other Flinders himself, through his voyage and his native country.¹⁵⁶ These names make a strong connection between the region of the two gulfs and place the Eyre Peninsula within the British sphere, originally to stifle French ambitions and interests in this region. This, through time, has induced officials to choose the very name of ‘Flinders’ for other major South Australian geographical features (Flinders Ranges), together with institutions (Flinders University) and numerous streets, thereby reinforcing Matthew Flinders’s memory.

Indeed, Péron and Freycinet’s toponymy, which Olivier Chapuis has described as puffed up with nationalism,¹⁵⁷ was chosen as such in the expectation that ‘the government wanted to create his entitlements to occupy this part of New Holland’¹⁵⁸ but discredited their work in the long term because of the political non-viability of the Napoleonic Empire. The Napoleonic Empire, reorganizing Europe (especially the Germanic confederation and the Italian principalities) with a modern administration divided into 134 departments and the

French atlases a plan of the island with coastal place names were shown. However, Flinders did not plot them in his *Atlas of Terra Australis*, and left the coastline blank.

¹⁵² Flinders, *Atlas of Terra Australis*, South Coast, sheet IV (Plate V), <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t574>. Flinders plotted on this plate the French names from *Cape Bernouilli* to *Cape Buffon* shown on the general map of New Holland in the historical atlas of the French voyage that carries the date of 1808, ‘carte de la Nouvelle-Hollande’: Freycinet, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes*, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-raa2>.

¹⁵³ Some places seemed to have been surveyed only by the French expedition, such as the successive capes of the west coast of Gulf of St Vincent.

¹⁵⁴ Scott did not put Weyland in his list of South Australian names given by Flinders: Scott, *The Life of Captain Matthew Flinders*, p. 414. In Yarrow, he is presented as a midshipman: Yarrow, *We Discovered an Island*, p. 106. In Brown and Cornell, Weyland is listed with a question mark: Brown and Cornell ‘Legacy of the Encounter’, p. 11. In this paper, he is considered as a personality, in the category ‘High officers / personalities’ and in the subcategory grouping the few names representative of the commonwealth of letters / thinkers.

¹⁵⁵ Flinders, *Private Journal 1803-14*, p. 347.

¹⁵⁶ <http://nla.gov.au/nla.map-t573>.

¹⁵⁷ Chapuis, *À la mer comme au ciel Beautemps-Beaupré*, p. 418. These names often replaced Baudin’s original names, which were more creative and descriptive of the voyage but which were tenaciously wiped from the survey sheets. See Fornasiero and West-Sooby ‘Naming and Shaming’. Gregory Eccleston, who has transcribed and translated Baudin’s original toponymy of the Victorian coast, suggested ‘the identification of some of these named features by reference to the official register of geographic names’, to eventually replace Freycinet’s names with Baudin’s originals, as Baudin’s names were ‘the oldest name applied to it’: Eccleston, ‘The Neglect of Baudin’s Manuscript Charts of the Victorian Coastline’, pp. 27, 29.

¹⁵⁸ Malte-Brun, ‘Sur le Plagiat Imperial, relatif’, p. 269.

introduction of the ‘code civil’, was working as a war machine against Britain.¹⁵⁹ However, it was artificially based on French military and administrative pressure over European populations mainly hostile to the French intrusion, and this was not sustainable in the medium term. The Empire was collapsing dramatically when Flinders published his atlas in June 1814. Besides, neither Péron’s *Voyage* nor Freycinet’s *Atlas Historique*, published respectively in 1807 and 1811 at the height of Napoleonic power, nor Péron’s memoir on the British settlements of New Holland, Van Diemen’s Land and the Pacific, appealed convincingly to the emperor despite Péron’s efforts to demonstrate that it was worth organizing a conquest of New South Wales, suggesting a detailed plan to do so, and, overconfidently, concluding that it would be ‘one of the worst things we could do to England’.¹⁶⁰ The only recorded Napoleonic proposition is a letter in which the emperor responded on the 9 June 1810 to the Minister of Marine, Decrès, regarding news from Isle de France. His intention was to direct four little warships from Bayonne to Isle de France in June to September, carrying about 1500 men. Then ‘on arrival of these expeditions, an offensive would be proposed to take the colony located on South of Ile de France where extensive resources would be available’.¹⁶¹ However, Napoléon’s intention did not prompt any effective action, and was doomed to failure after the fall of Isle de France on 3 December 1810 and its subsequent reversion to the name Mauritius.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ The wars between France and Britain also had overseas extensions, especially in India and the Indian Ocean where British and French convoys were respectively attacked, and in America which in the early 19th century was caught in the conflict between the two European powers who respectively wanted the Americans on their own side. Napoléon’s decision to organize the continental blockade against Great Britain’s growing trading power led him to occupy Portugal, at that time an ally of England. With the Spanish resistance, this occupation triggered the decline of the Napoleonic Empire, which indirectly affected the publication of the geographical atlas of the Baudin’s expedition, mentioned in footnote 110, as well as the other scientific results.

¹⁶⁰ ‘l’un des plus grands coups que nous puissions aujourd’hui porter à l’Angleterre’: Péron, ‘Mémoire sur les établissements anglais à la Nouvelle Hollande’, p. 172. This rather exaggerated report did not fall within the instructions given to the French expedition or to any mission given by Baudin to Péron during the voyage. However, Péron was as aware as anyone that both French and British voyages of discovery were intertwined with colonial and imperial ambitions. He wrote a first report on this subject just before the departure of the *Géographe* from Isle de France in 1803, addressed to ‘citoyen Capitaine general’ Decaen, the governor of Ile de France, who was very concerned about the vulnerability of the island which was coveted thanks to its well-located position in the Indian Ocean:

http://sydney.edu.au/arts/research/ baudin/pdfs/peron_nouvelle_hollande.pdf.

Back in France, Péron forwarded a more substantial ‘Mémoire sur les établissements anglais à la Nouvelle Hollande’ to Antoine François de Fourcroy, a skilled chemist who became part of the leading group of scientists that Napoléon Bonaparte appointed to administer his empire. As Conseiller d’Etat and then chief executive, Fourcroy was responsible for setting up the French Public Education system. He had also been director of the Museum d’histoire naturelle since 1799. As Fourcroy died in 1809, we can assume that Péron’s report was written between 1804 and 1809 at a time when overseas conquests were not the priority for Napoléon. Péron was extremely concerned that the British would move ahead of their French competitors to settle colonies in New Holland and Van Diemen’s Land, as they already did in Port Jackson and ‘le comté de Cumberland’. Thus, through the chapters of his memoir, Péron built up geopolitical developments demonstrating British expansionism in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, writing about the danger of ‘British invasion’ on the south coast of New Holland and the ‘importance of the strategic position of New Holland regarding Peru and Chili (‘Importance de la position de la Nouvelle Hollande par rapport au Pérou et au Chili’, p. 93), and, more generally, regarding the Spanish colonies on the western coasts of America, to convince the French authorities to take action against the colony of Port Jackson. In his last chapter he assesses the British defences and the best possible way to attack them and Port Jackson to keep the colony.

¹⁶¹ ‘[O]n proposerait, à l’arrivée de ces expéditions, de faire prendre la colonie anglaise de Jackson, qui est au sud de l’île de France, et où l’on trouverait des ressources considérables’: *Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er}*, XX, p. 59, document 16544.

¹⁶² With the conquest of the island by the British in December 1810 the name of the island reverted from Isle de France to Mauritius (after the Dutch Prince Maurice Van Nassau).

In this context, the main result of the publication of Péron's and Freycinet's *Voyage* and historical atlas was to stir up the general resentment and mistrust between the British and French and to re-enact some of the classical stereotypes in which 'French vanity'¹⁶³ was pitted against 'perfidious' Albion.¹⁶⁴ However, the fall of Napoléon smoothed the way for British authorities to firmly establish Flinders's nomenclature, in many aspects as nationalistic in South Australia as was that of the French. Even the capes on the eastern side of Gulf St Vincent, which were surveyed by Freycinet and Boullanger in January 1803 and named by them and not by Flinders, lost their French denomination, especially where they were alluding to contentious subjects that made the two countries angry with each other, such as *Cap Jeanne d'Arc*,¹⁶⁵ which was never going to appear in a British atlas, nor the names celebrating Bonaparte victories.¹⁶⁶

Now, there is one final point which needs to be strongly emphasized. Despite the geopolitical implications of the two voyages that the place names and Péron's memoir reflect, the comparison between Freycinet's and Flinders's nomenclatures on the south coast confirms that, regarding science, the two expeditions were by nature very different. In the French nomenclature, the category of names that is clearly dominant, with nearly half of the names, honoured a personality in literature, the arts or science associated with French culture (forty-seven per cent of the names). This contrasts strongly with Flinders's nomenclature. Furthermore, within this category, a large percentage honour mathematicians, astronomers, physicists, and chemists (twenty-seven per cent). Nine per cent of the names represent geographers, explorers and cartographers; another nine per cent honour botanists, naturalists, anatomists and anthropologists; five per cent honour doctors, physicians; and another five per cent honour engineers and leading academic institutions.¹⁶⁷ This illustrates that the main centre of attention of Baudin's expedition was the physical and natural sciences, and the collecting of samples and observations that would increase knowledge of the world. Freycinet, addressing Flinders in the house of Governor King at Port Jackson, showed more evidence of the scientific character of the French expedition, with Baudin giving time to his scientists to observe the natural environment of Van Diemen's Land and collect samples representative of its natural history:

The first lieutenant, Mons. Freycinet, even made use of the following odd expression, addressing himself to me in the house of governor King, and in the presence of one of his companions, I think Mons. Bonnefoy: 'Captain, if we had not

¹⁶³ For example, Weyland deplored 'We cannot help observing, however, that the pretension that Captain Flinders was sent out to rival the French expedition is a characteristic and ridiculous trait enough of national vanity' and again "those who knew him [Péron] in his life-time thought well of him; and *allowance made for a large share of French vanity* [in italic in the text], believed him to be an amiable man': Weyland, 'Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes' pp. 70, 72.

¹⁶⁴ Péron, 'Mémoire sur les établissements anglais à la Nouvelle Hollande', p. 123. Péron denounced also 'the British usurpations' and 'the huge and faraway regions that Great Britain invaded': p. 22.

¹⁶⁵ Now Black Point, 34°36'57" S, 137°54'27" E .

¹⁶⁶ These names concentrated on Bonaparte's victories (the campaign of Italy and on the Ottoman Empire), not the campaigns completed after the return of the expedition, such as Austerlitz, etc. Flinders consented to put on his atlas only the *Baye de Rivoli*, which was part of the south coast discovered first by Baudin (see footnote 152). As a general rule, instead of naming after battles, Flinders preferred naming after specific officers who saw recent action against the French (see above).

¹⁶⁷The other names in this category honour men and women of letters (twenty-six per cent and nine per cent), and artists (ten per cent).

been kept so long picking up shells and catching butterflies at Van Diemen's Land, you would not have discovered the South Coast before us'.¹⁶⁸

Furthermore, the exhaustive and lengthy inventories and lists made by Baudin, Milius, and the other French officers and scientists during the voyage, and then again at Isle de France and at the reception of the corvettes in Le Havre and Lorient, and by the institutions who received the work and collections in Paris (Muséum d'histoire naturelle, Dépôt général de la marine, and Bureau des longitudes¹⁶⁹), testified that it was the French scientific institutions that headed the French expedition. As Jussieu noted, 'from all the collections from distant countries at various times, this very one, brought back by the Naturaliste and the Géographe Vessels, is certainly the most substantial'.¹⁷⁰ Jussieu praised Leschénaut for 'himself drawing more than 600 species that he believes new [to science]', the 'herbaria of 1500 species', the 'zoological collection of the Museum complemented with 2542 new species', 2500 other non-identified 'objects' awaiting classification, and Lesueur's 960 drawings and paintings.¹⁷¹ For Flinders, it was the Admiralty which supervised the voyage, sponsored but not ruled over by the president of the Royal Society.

¹⁶⁸ Flinders quoted Freycinet's sentence in his voyage with some derision. Weyland also used it in his article, turning it into a mockery. As a matter of fact, what shows through Freycinet's frustration is Baudin's great dedication to the natural sciences (flora and fauna) which he prioritized during the first stage of his voyage, especially in Van Diemen's Land. It proves also that, despite the fact that Britain and France had competitive ambitions in the south seas and were, at that time, often at war, the French expedition was not, strictly speaking, racing against Flinders's voyage as is occasionally suggested. Baudin did not know about the *Investigator* voyage until the Encounter Bay meeting, and he became fully aware of Flinders's mission only at Port Jackson. The preparation of the second stage of the French voyage, after the refitting and stay at Port Jackson, has been studied in Starbuck, *Constructing the 'Perfect Voyage'*.

¹⁶⁹ For example, the exhaustive 'Inventaire général relatif à l'hydrographie et à la marine provenant de l'expédition des corvettes Le Géographe et Le Naturaliste' and the inventories 'renvoyés par le Ministre de la Marine et des colonies à l'administration du jardin des plantes et Musée d'Histoire Naturelle', ANF Marine BB4-997.

¹⁷⁰ 'De toutes les collections qui nous sont parvenues des pays éloignés, à diverses époques, celle-ci, apportée par les vaisseaux Le Naturaliste et le Géographe est certainement la plus considérable': Jussieu, 'Notice sur l'expédition à la Nouvelle-Hollande', p. 7.

On 19 April 1804, Fourcroy congratulated in identical terms Pierre Milius, in command of the *Géographe* after the death of Baudin, for the considerable collections of natural history brought back to the Museum 'where we aim to bring closer and collect the worldwide productions' (ANF, SHM, Vincennes, CC/7/1771, Dossier Pierre Bernard Milius, *lettre du conseiller d'état Fourcroy Directeur du Muséum d'histoire naturelle au citoyen Milius*). In fact Milius wrote also at Isle de France a report to Decaen suggesting, in more concise terms than Péron, the conquest of Port Jackson 'to disrupt British trade in the Indian sea': http://sydney.edu.au/arts/research/ baudin/pdfs/milius_nouvelle_hollande.pdf

Yet the fact that Péron dedicated his major 'Mémoire sur les établissements anglais' to Fourcroy, and not to Decrès, the Minister responsible for the French Navy and colonies, and that this report did not lead to any political decision, also shows clearly that the nature of the French expedition was scientific, and remained as such, despite the desperate efforts of Péron and Freycinet to introduce on a more concrete level a French colonial perspective to their work. In addition, the leading role played by the Museum d'histoire naturelle and l'Institut de France in the Baudin expedition may explain partly the funding issues, and the reluctance of the Ministry responsible for the French Navy and colonies, which already had a budget deficit that concerned Decrès, to pay for the various publications of the voyage.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 10, 11. Furthermore, in his thesis on Baudin's voyage, B. Van Reeth compared all the inventories and, gathering their lists, found a total of 66,600 specimens from the zoological kingdom brought back by the *Naturaliste* and *Géographe*: Van Reeth, *Nicolas Baudin et le voyage aux Terres australes*, pp. 205. This dedication to natural history transformed the *Geographe* into a crowded laboratory and zoo where captive animals were given the fullest possible care to bring them alive to France. This difficult task, that made life on board even more difficult than it already was, has gained admiration since some of the species described in their natural environment by the scientists of Baudin's expedition are now extinct. This is the case of one specimen of the King Island Emu (*Dromaius ater*), which was brought back to France (La Malmaison) and which underwent a taxidermy treatment after its death at the Museum. Its DNA has recently been studied and shows that 'the

Conclusion

Flinders's nomenclature is an invitation to return to the past with Flinders and his company to rediscover the Australian shores. Through his descriptive geographical names the Australian coastlines are outlined, and the deep emotions and great moments of his voyage are preserved in names like Anxious Bay, Avoid Bay, Cape Catastrophe, Memory Cove, Encounter Bay, Skirmish Point, and other toponyms that construct the emotional geography and history of Australia in all its happier, difficult, and saddest moments.

This nomenclature also reveals Flinders's personality and his character, especially his sense of duty and devotion to his missions. It reveals his pragmatism and professionalism when facing dangers and fatalities, although in his naming he never expresses directly his personal feelings of beauty, choosing instead words of a more factual nature. And it shows us his gratitude, respect and faithfulness to his friends, and his rancour towards his enemies.

In addition, the high percentage of names honouring Royal Navy high officers, and the absence of governmental ministry names, must be seen as a sign of the growing power of the British Admiralty which would support the development of the British Empire throughout the nineteenth century, with Australia as one of its key colonies where important settlements were to be developed on parts of the south Australian coasts that Flinders carefully surveyed, charted and named.

Finally, it should be remembered that Flinders was aware that the coasts he surveyed were already named, and, as we have seen, he adopted in his atlas the names Wattamolla and Illawara from the information obtained from his encounters with the Dharawal community in the region of Botany Bay. However, as his mission was to chart the Australian geographical coastal features for the British Admiralty, he applied the European surveying and naming methods of his time. Flinders constructed his atlas with its nomenclature within this context, which superimposed a British orderliness¹⁷² on the network of traditional Aboriginal place names. This is now recognized as part of the dual history of Australia.

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King Island and modern Emu share a recent common ancestor. King Island emu possibly underwent insular dwarfism as a result of phenotypic plasticity. The close relationship between the King Island and the modern Emu suggests it is most appropriate that the former should be considered a subspecies of the latter': Heupink, et al., 'Ancient DNA Suggests Dwarf and 'Giant' Emu Are Conspecific'.

¹⁷² Luise Hercus and Jane Simpson oppose the 'indigenous placename networks' to 'the introduced placename system', where 'the placenames bestowed by Europeans have been systematically recorded' and form 'the bulk of the official placenames of Australia'. They demonstrate that 'the ways of forming Indigenous placenames ... differ greatly from European toponymic practices': Hercus, et al., *The Land is a Map*, p. 1.

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